

THE
ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
PROTESTANTISM

VOLUME 1
A – C

HANS J. HILLERBRAND
EDITOR

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PROTESTANTISM

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Preface

Protestantism, alongside the Roman Catholic and Orthodox traditions, has been one of the three major manifestations of the Christian religion ever since the sixteenth century. Its total number of adherents is estimated to be roughly 391,000,000, to which should probably be added another 345,000,000 who are members of so-called independent traditions, most of which are distinctly Protestant. While statistics of this sort are not always reliable, one may well conclude that Protestants at present comprise some 40% of world Christianity, with Roman Catholicism and Orthodox churches comprising the rest. Protestantism is not confined to Europe and North America but has been, since the nineteenth century, a truly global phenomenon.

Unlike Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, however, Protestant Christianity is divided not only geographically and culturally, but also theologically and ecclesiastically. There is no single Protestant Church as such the way there is, despite various diversities, a single Roman Catholic Church. Quite the contrary, there are dozens upon dozens of Protestant churches. Some of these, such as the Anglican Communion, are worldwide in scope and distribution of membership; others, such as the Church of the Prussian Union, are confined to a single country or are solitary church bodies or congregations, such as the independent snakehandling churches of the Appalachians in the United States. Despite such diversity, which Catholics in the past used to buttress their own truth claims (since truth, as Bishop Bossuet noted in the seventeenth century, must be one, not many), all of these traditions, however, have staked out the same truth claims as have the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. Until the modern era, all Protestant churches insisted on the exclusive prominence of Christian truth and, each in its own way, echoed the ancient Catholic notion that “*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*”—outside the church there is no salvation.

This diversity of Protestant traditions raises the question of their essential identity. The name “Protestant” itself comes, of course, from the “protest” which the supporters of the Reformation lodged in 1529 at Speyer against the decision of the Catholic estates and rulers to carry out the stipulations of the Edict of Worms against Martin Luther and his followers. The term is, therefore, a negative one, even though some interpreters of the action in 1529 have pointed to the root meaning of the Latin “*protestari*” as denoting “to bear witness.” Still, while Protestantism may well be defined with a number of positives, it is also correct to call Protestant all those individuals and churches that repudiate the authority and office of the Roman pontiff of the Catholic Church.

This Protestant diversity finds its obvious explanation in the absence of a central authoritative entity—either person or structure—in Protestantism that would constitute normative authority (and power). The Protestant recourse to the Bible, or the Word of God, as ultimate authority has produced multiple divergent interpretations of the Bible. And ever new and different theological or biblical interpretations have frequently assumed structural concreteness. Yet, it is neither fair nor theologically accurate to

contrast the relatively homogeneous Catholic and Orthodox churches with the bewildering diversity of Protestant denominations—and to find in this diversity proof positive for the non-viability of Protestant truth claims. The Roman Catholic tradition can sustain its theological homogeneity through the process of excommunication or inciting the voluntary separation of dissenting members. Thereby, the Roman Catholic Church is at once able to retain its relative homogeneity but also to become the source of the larger diversity within Christendom. The very existence of Orthodox and Protestant traditions suggests that the Roman Catholic Church has not been able to sustain its truth claims universally but has sloughed off dissent within its ranks. In Protestant churches, excommunication and dissent likewise have led to separation, but with a difference—the frequent result of the establishment of new groups and churches. The phenomenon of new ecclesial structures has been particularly prominent in places where the legal freedom to do so existed. The absence of “established” churches in North America and the non-European world has allowed dissent from the mainstream to express itself organizationally, sociologically in the form of new churches, each of which advances its own truth claims.

The diversity of Protestant groupings and churches, especially pronounced in the United States, has entailed two consequences. One is the difficulty of speaking of “the” Protestant understanding or view of almost any topic—be it worship, doctrine, ethics, etc. Even in regard to the traditional and hallowed and fundamental hallmark of Protestantism, namely, the priority of grace in salvation, there are diverse Protestant notions as to how exactly divine grace and human will and effort are to be related. Accordingly, while one might assume that a reference work on Protestantism would have definitive entries on the Protestant understanding of basic theological topics, grace, to cite one example, the reality is different and complicated.

Second, there is the increasingly popular (at least among scholars) tendency to use the plural and speak of “Reformations” of the sixteenth century, which is to denote the empirical reality of Protestant diversity in the sixteenth century. Analogously, the term suggests the use of the plural for “Protestantism” as well.

This *Encyclopedia of Protestantism* seeks to offer a comprehensive reference work for this diverse Protestant tradition, both historically and theologically. In so doing, we face the seemingly simple yet truly complex question as to what is and what is not Protestant, and, therefore, what is to be included in this reference work? To cite one example: Is the Unification Church a Protestant church? The answer is simple, if all non-Catholic traditions are considered Protestant. The Unification Church then is definably Protestant, and the definition of Protestantism is simply that Protestant is whatever is not Catholic (or Orthodox).

Historically, the question may be answered with relative ease. Protestant Christianity may be defined as those theologies, church structures, and polities that consciously separated themselves from the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, Protestantism may indeed be defined negatively, that is, Protestantism is not Catholicism. This separation from Rome took place at first painfully and reluctantly. It is a truism that Martin Luther and the other early reformers did not want to separate themselves from the church. They were forced out of the Roman Church by excommunication rather than by their own decisions to leave it.

But it is an equal truism that, once the break had occurred, theological reflection made it clear to the Protestant reformers that their understanding of text and message differed categorically from that of the Catholic Church. There surely should be no doubt about that reality—the only exceptions seem to be systematic theologians who tend to view the past from the perspective of their understanding of the present. From a certain point onward, the reformers and their successors would not have returned to the Catholic Church even if they had been welcomed as a “sect.”

Theologically, the argument leading to the emergence of the Protestant tradition was over authority. The radical newness of the Protestant assertion lay in the insistence that there were two dramatically different sources of authority—the church, in its various representations (council, bishop, pope), or Scripture. The reformers vigorously argued for Scripture and thereby against the Catholic notion that Scripture and tradition were in effective harmony. All Protestant groupings have been heirs to Martin Luther’s insistence that the Word was not only the primary source of religious authority but also that it was self-affirming, clear, and self-evident in its message. The sixteenth century reformers tended to be arrogant in their strident polemic that the Catholic Church did not base its teachings on the Bible, but on what they called “human traditions.” That, of course, was sheer polemic, but it did point to the fact that at issue was not so much the Word but whether or not that Word “alone” was the authority.

There were other pivotal Protestant affirmations. They focused on human salvation and argued that salvation was *sola gratia* and *sola fide*—solely by grace, solely by faith. Protestants also disagreed with Catholics on the number of sacraments. Contrary to the Roman Catholic affirmation of seven sacraments, Protestant churches affirmed only two, baptism and the Lord’s Supper. Indeed, if it is the definition of a sacrament that it is a vehicle of divine grace, then many Protestant churches reject such a notion of a sacrament altogether, understanding the act of baptism or receiving bread and wine as symbolic. They speak instead of ordinances or memorial signs. Protestants have also emphasized the notion of the church as a community, rather than hierarchy, of believers, a notion found in Luther’s concept of the priesthood of all believers, which made all Christians equal before God.

In this *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, the historical dimension dominates. This is understandable inasmuch as Protestantism has had a rich and varied history, not the least because of the invigorating emergence of new Protestant groups and groupings ever since the sixteenth century. This rich history, much of which has not been thoroughly studied, deserves adequate and comprehensive treatment.

This *Encyclopedia* seeks to be an accurate and comprehensive reference work reflecting the best in current scholarship. At the same time, it strives to be neutral to the extent to which such is possible, since it is the responsibility of a reference work to present fairly the current understanding of a given topic. The *Encyclopedia* is also intended to be global in scope, thereby acknowledging that the twentieth century has truly turned Protestantism into a worldwide phenomenon that is no longer restricted to Europe and North America. Understandably, however, the *Encyclopedia* favors North American topics, though it is hoped not to the exclusion or marginalization of non-North American entries. One striking aspect of contemporary scholarship on Protestantism is that its European and North American component are far more thoroughly explored than Asian and African Protestantism. Arguably, it has been on the North American Continent that

the rich diversity of Protestantism has come to bear its most meaningful fruit. Accordingly, North American Protestantism deserves special consideration in a reference work such as this.

A number of editorial policies are worth noting. The *Encyclopedia* includes a judicious number of entries that might be considered marginal in their relation to Protestantism. It includes literary and artistic figures as well as figures from public life, whose historical significance, however, does not lie in the realm of Protestant Christianity. The editorial decision was to be restrictive and only include those figures for whom it might be reasonably expected that prospective searchers will turn to a reference work on Protestantism to find the particulars.

A related policy had to do with the inclusion of figures still living. The vicissitudes of life might suggest that, given the longevity of reference works, any policy of this sort will quickly face the realities of life, but the editorial policy was to include living figures if the argument can be made that the individual has played a significant role in shaping and molding twentieth century Protestantism.

In these days of ecumenicity and post-Enlightenment understanding of the Christian faith, the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the ensuing Protestant traditions often seem terribly distant and without dynamic response to the issues and questions of the twenty-first century. Lutherans and Roman Catholics agreed, in the final years of the twentieth century that they possessed a common understanding of the doctrine of justification—over which the reformers of the sixteenth century had separated from the Roman Catholic Church. Other ecumenical agreements could be easily cited. Thus, some Protestants devoutly wish to find ways to be reunited with Rome.

Despite its four volumes, this *Encyclopedia* is by no means able to offer the kind of comprehensive coverage of much larger reference works. This reality allows mention of two recent reference works published in Germany—the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, with its 33 volumes to date, and the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, with 11 volumes to date. As regards biographies, the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Wörterbuch zur Kirchengeschichte*, in over 20 volumes, also available on-line, may be commended.

As is invariably the case in a project that is the work of many hands, the four volumes do not necessarily represent what had been envisioned in the beginning. Thus, if the viewer of this Encyclopedia does not find the “obvious” author connected with a given entry, the reason will be quite complex, since it did not always prove possible to coordinate the schedules of prospective authors with the editorial schedules of a reference work of over 1000 entries.

It remains for me to offer a public word of appreciation to all who contributed significantly to this work. Kevin Ohe, now with the Encyclopedia Americana, proposed this project; Linda Hollick, formerly the publisher at Routledge New York, intervened at a crucial stage to set things right; and Sally Barhydt, who joined the editorial staff at Routledge late but sought to keep things on their right track with indefatigable determination. I also note with appreciation the help I received from the members of the editorial board as well as from Sheila Davaney, Linell Cady, and Mark Toulouse.

The preparation of this Encyclopedia proved to be a more formidable project than I had anticipated. I would be deeply amiss if the last sentence in this encomium were not an appreciation of my family, which once again supported my endeavor with grace. I hope that Bonnie, together with Susanna, Dylan, Johannes, Noah, Annika, Keenan,

Maximilian, Addison, and Madeleine—who must have sensed that the last few years I was preoccupied with the “encyclopedia”—will derive insight and meaning from these volumes.

Hans J.Hillerbrand
Duke University

A

ABOLITIONISM

see Slavery, Abolition of

ABORTION

In ethical discussions the word *abortion* is used to describe the deliberate termination of the developing fetus in the mother's womb. Christian opinion from at least the time of the Didache has condemned "the slaying of the child by abortion" (Didache 2.2), although on the question of whether abortion is sometimes justifiable as the lesser of two evils, Protestant opinion is deeply divided. Roman Catholic and Evangelical leaders, working together, have led the ongoing opposition to abortion. Indeed, according to *The London Times*, "the Catholic and the fundamentalist Protestant religions form the backbone of the anti-abortion movement." However, the United Kingdom Abortion Act of 1967 closely followed the recommendations made by the Church of England in *Abortion: An Ethical Discussion of 1965*, a report issued by that group's Board for Social Responsibility. The act also enjoyed the support of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Methodist and Baptist Churches, and the British Council of Churches. A comparable situation existed in the United States, where fundamentalist Protestant opinion was vehemently opposed to abortion on any grounds, whereas the leadership of many Protestant churches including the Episcopal, the Methodists, and the Society of Friends has consistently favored a more liberal position.

The Protestant case against abortion is rooted in the Sixth Commandment: "You shall not kill." This is linked to biblical passages that suggest that God's relationship with human beings predates their birth. Thus Jeremiah was told: "Before I formed you in the womb I chose you, and before you were born I consecrated you" (Jeremiah 1:3). Likewise, we are told that immediately after the Annunciation, the fetus of John the Baptist "leaped for joy" in his mother's womb on discerning the presence of the newly conceived Christ in the womb of Mary (Luke 1:39, 44). Such texts imply that personhood goes back to conception and hence that the earliest dawn of life is entitled to an absolute protection.

Liberal scholars take a different position, noting that in biblical terms, life commences only when the breath enters the nostrils and the man or woman then becomes “a living being,” and that this view has been consistently taught in the Jewish tradition since biblical times. Moreover, in the only biblical text to refer to a humanly caused miscarriage the passage does not regard the person whose violence caused the woman to lose her child as guilty of murder. Indeed the text does not even regard the loss of the fetus in itself as causing the woman “harm” because it goes on to specify what should happen “if any harm follows” (Exodus 21:23). In taking this view, the biblical law code embraced a far more liberal line than that of other ancient law codes such as the Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite, or Persian, all of which equated the causing of a miscarriage with homicide. That the one biblical passage to discuss the issue takes a different line is potentially significant, especially because it immediately follows, and therefore qualifies, the teaching given in the Ten Commandments in the previous chapter.

Most Protestants today would not seek to resolve such issues by “proof-texting” in this way, given that abortion as we know it has only now become possible through the advance of modern medicine and is really quite different from the causing of miscarriage by violence or poison in earlier centuries. Likewise our understanding of fetal development is quite unlike the almost total ignorance with which the issue was surrounded in past ages. This change affects human attitudes toward the morality of abortion in wholly different ways.

For the opponent of abortion, modern medicine has shown that our biological identity goes back to the merging of our parental DNA to create a unique person. It has also shown us how very early sentience and pain awareness can be shown to be present, and from what an early date it is possible to obtain photographic evidence of manifestly human embodiment in, for example, a perfectly formed but tiny hand.

Other scholars highlight different issues such as the fact that 70 percent of fertilized ova spontaneously abort, in what a woman might experience only as a late period, or that a single fertilized ovum can sometimes develop into twins or a double ova merge back into a single entity. Such findings suggest that to date personhood from conception is barely intelligible, and they suggest instead that personhood develops imperceptibly slowly through the period of pregnancy and early infancy, and that no single borderline is of fundamental moral significance in an evolving and developing reality.

However, for almost all Protestant Christians (as indeed for Roman Catholics, too) abortion can never be regarded as good in itself. It is always an evil even if for some it can be a justified evil. In practice, through the doctrine of double effect, almost all Christians are able to persuade themselves that abortion is justified when the mother’s life is in real peril. Most go much further and would allow abortion when the mother’s health in general is at risk, when the pregnancy was the product of rape, or when the birth of a handicapped child was likely. A few go much further and embrace social considerations such as the wellbeing of the existing family or even the “woman’s right to choose.” These latter considerations are often felt to have changed the background against which abortion was initially legalized. Almost all countries introduced abortion for special cases, but by a process often referred to as “procedural deterioration,” the situation has subsequently evolved so that “abortion on demand” is perceived by some to be the reality of the present position. This “sliding down a slippery slope” has caused some popular Christian opinion to wish to tighten the liberal abortion laws of the 1960s.

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PAUL BADHAM

ABSOLUTISM

Although applied by historians today to the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the term *absolutism* was not used then. The term “absolutism” was coined in France in the 1790s to describe the principle, or the exercise, of complete and unrestricted power in government; that is, a political system in which the prince as head of government acts free, or is believed to act free, of traditional laws and agreements, or *legibus absolutus*. As the theory of politics associated with the term was discredited, the term was used more and more widely as a way of characterizing the approach to politics, and the practice of politics, in the epoch that had just passed and had ended with the French Revolution. In the 1830s and 1840s, as the political tradition of absolutism also faded in central Europe, the term was translated from French into German and into English. A few decades later, historians began to discuss the scope and the legacy of political rule labeled absolutism, and in doing so they looked into the various periods or phases and into the various forms of absolutism.

In the late nineteenth century, historians distinguished a first or confessional phase of absolutism, the period dominated by the Hapsburg ruler Philip II in Spain and Ferdinand II in Austria, from the baroque variety best represented by Louis XIV in France, and from enlightened absolutism, or enlightened despotism, as exemplified by Maria Theresa and Joseph II in Austria, Frederick II in Prussia, and Catherine II in Russia. As German and Italian historians described the accomplishments of absolutist rulers, they replaced the older pejorative meaning of the term and elaborated the positive achievements of absolutism as a necessary phase of development in the formation of the modern state. By contrast, historians in Great Britain and France never praised the victory of absolutism over traditional laws and the victory of absolutist rulers over the estates and parliaments, as these representative bodies could be transformed into modern parliaments, as in eighteenth century Great Britain. In, for example, modern international historiography, the term absolutism possesses some significance only for the epoch between the Renaissance and REFORMATION on the one hand and the period of ENLIGHTENMENT and Revolution on the other.

Within this limited chronological range, and only with regard to European history, several aspects of absolutist rule deserve special attention. In the area of economics, absolutist rulers believed in the strict application of the economic theory of mercantilism and in a policy of increasing the working population of their territories. In the field of culture they invested large sums of money to develop their courts into centers of cultural

representation, in particular in the fields of architecture, the arts, and in music. The baroque style seems to have been congenial with their intentions.

In military matters they created well-trained professional armies with long-serving soldiers. In domestic politics, absolutist rulers not only pushed through modern forms of taxation, but they also attempted to discipline the population of their realms. For absolutist rulers, increasing the work ethic of their populations was a high priority. Especially in the period of enlightened despotism, absolutist rulers initiated social reforms. Recent research has shown, however, that many of the new laws and regulations pronounced by absolutist rulers were never followed or observed by any significant group of citizens under their control. Many of the edicts had to be repeated time and again. As a result, a marked discrepancy can be noted between the norms and intentions of absolutist rule and the realities of life for average citizens in the territories ruled according to this theory. Furthermore, there seems to be a particularly close correlation between the policies of absolutism and the crisis of the seventeenth century. On the one hand, the despotism of absolutist rulers and especially their aggressive foreign policy was one of the main causes for the deterioration of political, social, and economic conditions from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries, for which the term "crisis of the seventeenth century" is used by historians. On the other hand, absolutist rulers like Louis XIV of France claimed that they were better equipped to deal with this crisis than the representatives of estates and parliaments. Absolutism is, therefore, at least in part responsible for the severe consequences of the crisis of the seventeenth century. At the same time, absolutist rulers seem to have profited from this crisis because they promised a kind of crisis management and argued that only their absolute power would be able to bring back economic prosperity and restore political stability.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, a close relationship can be observed between absolutism and the history of Christian churches in Europe. During the sixteenth century, rulers in all European countries considered the Christian churches a part of their exclusive regal domain. Because they based their power on the theory of the divine right of kings, they demanded complete obedience of the churches; in priests and pastors they saw the king's loyal servants. This approach caused severe difficulties both in Catholic and in Protestant countries. Whereas the French kings followed the concept of Gallicanism, that is, a policy based on the assumption that they and not the pope in Rome had the ultimate right to rule over French Catholicism, kings in England relied on the concept of Anglicanism, which had been developed during the English Reformation. Within the Protestant and the Catholic territories of the Holy Roman empire, absolutism supported the policy of confessionalization of the churches. Religious reform movements such as PURITANISM in England and Jansenism in France opposed the divine right of kings. Within German LUTHERANISM, the movement of PIETISM was split over this issue. Although Pietists in Brandenburg-Prussia supported the absolutist rule of the Hohenzollern and were rewarded by the Berlin court with privileges for the Pietist institutions at HALLE, Württemberg Pietists took the side of the estates and defended traditional law. One of the lasting achievements of the religious opponents of absolutism is the fight for religious liberties, which, in due course, would become the cornerstone in the defense of all personal rights and liberties as spelled out in the American and in the French Revolutions. Even so, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in countries such

as Sweden or Germany, remnants of the legacy of absolutism are found in the view of the church as a state institution.

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HARTMUT LEHMANN

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

Known as *The Acts and Monuments of the English Martyrs*, first published in 1563, this was the major work of the English scholar JOHN FOXE (1517–1587). The volume went through four editions in the author's lifetime (1563, 1570, 1576, 1583), and each edition had a slightly different title.

The Acts and Monuments was first conceived during the Protestant ascendancy of Edward VI as a general defense of the REFORMATION, demonstrating the antiquity of the Protestant interpretation of the faith. It was to be a rebuttal of the common Catholic gibe, "Where was your faith before Luther?" At first there was no intention to focus particularly on England, but for a number of reasons the first material that Foxe collected related to English Lollards. These were followers of the English reformer and theologian John Wycliffe (1330–1384), most of whom had suffered for their faith between 1410 and 1530. Martyrology was always going to be the basis of the history because martyrs were, for Foxe, the touchstone of the True Church. He saw the whole of ecclesiastical history in

terms of the battle between the True Church (which suffered persecution) and the False Church (which inflicted it).

Before any of this could be written the circumstances in England changed. Edward VI died in July 1553 and was replaced by his Catholic half-sister, Mary. Foxe lost his position, and in the spring of 1554 fled first to the NETHERLANDS and then to Strasbourg, and later to Frankfurt and Basel. While Foxe remained in exile a dreadful saga of persecution unfolded in England. Starting in February 1555 nearly 300 English Protestants were burned at the stake; many others died in prison, and many more recanted. Foxe was both deeply distressed and intensely angry. To him this persecution, which was severe even by contemporary standards, demonstrated all the Satanic credentials of the Catholic Church (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM; CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). What had been a somewhat academic exercise in church history became instead an intense personal crusade.

This did not happen at once. At first he was at a loss to know how to react to the horrifying news. He toyed with the idea of returning to ENGLAND but was persuaded that the cause would be better served if he wrote the history of what had occurred. He began to collect material, but not in any systematic way, and did not seem to know quite how to set about his task. He was well aware that he had only a small part of the story, and his first thought seems to have been to spread the news of the English persecution among the reformed churches of the continent. To that end he began to revise an earlier work, *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1554), mainly a history of the Lollards, to include some of the latest martyrs. However, before that project could come to fruition, Mary died in November 1558, and was succeeded by ELIZABETH I.

Elizabeth acted with careful deliberation. The persecution stopped at once, but it was over six months before her reformed settlement was in place, and longer still before a new team of bishops began to take over. It was December 1559 before Edmund Grindal was consecrated bishop of London. By that time he and William Cecil, the new and powerful principal secretary, had decided that Foxe's half-formed project was exactly the kind of propaganda statement that the new and fragile church needed. Above all, it was necessary to destroy the credentials of the Catholic clergy; to show them as cruel and lawless thugs. Foxe was soon working on the brief to produce a new martyrology (see MARTYRS AND MARTYROLOGIES) of the English church, in the vernacular, concentrating on the events of the last few years. A suitable printer was found in the person of the rich—and Protestant—John Day, and financial support was mobilized from the City of London. Foxe handed over his European material to his friend Henri Panteleon, and set to work. From then on he was a driven man, deeply committed to the task he had undertaken.

The first edition of the *Acts and Monuments* (eighteen hundred folio pages with fifty woodcuts) appeared in 1563, with a fulsome dedication to the Queen. This martyrology started with the Lollards and did not ignore the continental background, but it concentrated mainly on the events of Mary's reign. It was put together from registers, court records, letters, eyewitness accounts, and the testimonies of those involved. It was a massive undertaking, and only a portion of it was written in Foxe's own words, although his anger and total conviction are apparent on every page. It was enormously controversial, and enormously successful. The following year it was supported by

publication of a volume of *The Letters of the Martyrs* from the same printer. This went under the name of MILES COVERDALE (1488–1569) but was actually the work of Foxe's friend Henry Bull. Foxe immediately joined the ranks of Europe's leading martyrologists, and at once set about correcting and revising his work. This was partly because he was genuinely sensitive to criticism and anxious to be accurate, but also because the agenda changed as Elizabeth's settlement took root. As the persecutors died out, it became less urgent to discredit them, and more urgent to build up the links between the Reformation and the early church.

In the second edition of *Acts and Monuments* in 1570 Foxe corrected some stories and incorporated new ones; he also went back to the persecutions of Diocletian, adding about 30 percent more text to its already great length. This edition was less triumphalist than the first and included more continental material, but it remained a fiery and compelling piece of anti-Catholic propaganda. It was revised twice more in Foxe's lifetime, but much less drastically; and by the time he died it was an establishment classic, set up by order in all cathedrals, and spontaneously in many parish churches. The later editions had over 150 illustrations, many of them specially commissioned, and these added greatly to the impact of the text.

Foxe was not a nationalist in any modern sense, but shortly after his death Timothy Bright produced an abridgement of the *Acts* that placed much greater emphasis on the special providence of England, and that remained part of his legacy. In 1632 the seventh edition was converted by its editors into propaganda against the English prelate WILLIAM LAUD (1573–1645), and the later editions never recovered their early quasi-official status. The last of the old editions appeared in the fraught circumstances of 1684.

Revisions and new editions began again in the nineteenth century, fueled by the ecclesiastical struggles of that period and driven by partisan agendas. This prompted the British Academy in 1993 to authorize the production of a new scholarly variorum edition on CD-ROM.

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DAVID LOADES

ADAMS, HANNAH (1755–1831)

American author. Born on October 2, 1755, in Medfield, Massachusetts, Hannah Adams educated herself by reading books, learned Greek and Latin from divinity students lodging in her father’s home, and became the first American female professional writer. Her *A Summary History of New-England* (1799), which presented an early account of the SHAKERS and was later abridged for school use (1805), provoked a controversy with conservative Calvinist Jedidiah Morse. Adams’s more popular *Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects* saw four American editions between 1784 and 1817, when this lucid survey of world religions was marketed as *A Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations*.

Although this work primarily featured Protestant sects, it included Deism, Paganism, Judaism, Islam, and (in later editions) various Asian religions. Adams sought to represent these diverse groups nonjudgmentally, but sometimes she intruded, as when reporting her personal distaste for the torments electively endured by Hindu yogis. *History of the Jews* (1812) is notable for its unusual early-American advocacy of the restoration of a Jewish homeland. Adams also published *The Truth and Excellence of the Christian Religion Exhibited* (1804); biographies and extracts from the writings of Christian apologists; and *Letters on the Gospels* (1824), spiritual instruction designed for young women. Adams’s account of her difficulties in seeking an education and a literary career appeared in *A Memoir of Miss Hannah Adams* (1832), which was printed after her death on December 15, 1831 in Brookline, Massachusetts. The monument at her grave reads: “Hannah Adams, historian of the Jews and reviewer of the Christian sects.”

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WILLIAM J. SCHEICK

ADIAPHORA

Adiaphora is a Greek term meaning indifference. It was a concept originally used by the ancient Cynics and Stoics to designate actions that were understood as morally indifferent: neither good nor bad but neutral in themselves. In the Christian tradition this moral philosophy was adopted and appropriated to represent matters pertaining to actions, rituals, and doctrines that were deemed nonessential to the faith.

Although the word *adiaphora* is not found in the BIBLE, elements of its philosophical influence are inherent in New Testament writings. In the Gospel accounts Jesus is depicted as challenging several religious customs. For example, he considered Sabbath laws as adiaphora (Matthew 12:1–14; Mark 2:23–28; Luke 6:1–11). Paul had a similar approach toward various issues in his correspondence to other Christians. He perceived traditions concerning food (Romans 14:6; I Corinthians 8:8), observances of special days (Romans 14:5–6; Colossians 2:16), and circumcision (I Corinthians 7:19; Galatians 5:6) as matters of indifference.

Adiaphoristic ideas continued to develop throughout the early church. The first theologian to employ the term was plausibly Clement of Alexandria in *Stromata*. Numerous discussions discerning adiaphora also took place during the REFORMATION. One of the most significant debates during this time occurred between Erasmus of Rotterdam and MARTIN LUTHER. Erasmus's *De libero arbitrio* (1524) and Luther's response in *De servo arbitrio* (1525) debated the essentials of Christian faith and their applications. In the Reformation, LUTHERANISM was beset by an intense controversy over adiaphora, the Adiaphoristic Controversy. It dealt with issues such as ceremonies and the sacraments and was triggered by the imposition of the Leipzig Interim.

See also Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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ADVENT CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The Advent Christian Church is an evangelical denomination that arose in the United States during the mid-1800s. The church was formally established as the Advent Christian Association in 1860 by a group of former Millerites—followers of WILLIAM MILLER who had predicted Christ's literal return for October 22, 1844. Advent Christians were distinguished from most other adventist groups by their belief in conditional immortality, and from the conditionalist SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS by the Advent Christian's Sunday observance and the decision not to recognize the prophetic ministry of ELLEN GOULD WHITE. Conditional immortality, the view that immortality is granted to the righteous only through the grace of God at the resurrection, is a belief the Advent Christian Church still holds and was originally advocated by George Storrs. Two related doctrines are that of "soul sleep," the view that death is a state of unconsciousness lasting until the resurrection; and annihilationalism, the belief that the unrighteous are annihilated permanently rather than suffering eternally in hell.

The Advent Christian Church is congregational in nature, with regional conferences and institutions coordinated, although not controlled, by the Advent Christian General Conference of America. Missionary activity was begun in 1891 and remains an important focus, with the Advent Christian Church active in more than 30 countries. According to 2003 figures, the world membership of the Advent Christian Church is 61,000 with 26,000 members in the United States, 17,000 in India, and 5,000 in Nigeria. In 1964 the Life and Advent Union, another denomination with Millerite roots, merged with the Advent Christian Church.

See also Congregationalism; Millenarians and Millennialism; Missions

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AESTHETICS

Although the word *aesthetics* is based on ancient Greek, it is a modern invention, coined by German philosopher Alexander Baumgarten (1714–1762) to signify the “science of sensuous form of cognition and representation,” *scientia sensitiva cognoscendi et proponendi est aesthetica*, as he defined the term in 1739. He composed the term “aesthetics” from *aisthesis*, the Greek noun meaning “perception,” and intended by it the study of what is known as the “perfection” of human perception. The experience of beauty is a form of knowledge that is not abstract as are discursive propositions. Beauty is rather the formation of a unified, clear, and individual form in the field of sensation. This felt or sensuous apprehension of the beautiful constituted a form of knowledge in Baumgarten’s view.

In the course of the eighteenth century, philosophers in Britain, France, and Germany investigated the operation of aesthetic judgment, widely understood in terms of the faculty of taste. The appreciation of art consisted of the pure exercise of enjoyment, which was considered important because it engaged what was variously defined as genius, imagination, spirit, intellect, soul, freedom, judgment, or taste. The form of experience enabled by the faculty to which these terms referred was widely characterized as “disinterested,” that is, the experience was designed to satisfy no need other than the apprehension of beauty for its own sake. The work of art was not to fulfill such needs as hunger, sexual desire, or any other bodily requirement. Disinterestedness has remained the hallmark of aesthetic value and experience ever since.

Taste was often described as a *sensus communis*, a sense for what is right, fitting, or appropriate that was shared by many. The history of one tradition within Protestantism intersects importantly with the history of aesthetic thought on this point. PIETISM contributed significantly to German thought in the eighteenth century by stressing feeling as an intuitive discernment and an autonomous judgment. Baumgarten had been educated in a Pietist orphanage and university (HALLE), and one of the most important aesthetic theorists of the century, Karl Philipp Moritz (1756–1793), was raised in a devout Pietist home. Yet another Pietist, Friedrich Oetinger (1702–1782), likened the *sensus communis* to “heart,” the nonrational sense for what is good and right on which the faithful rely in making moral judgments. The coupling of taste with common sense gave an important place to disinterestedness, because any moral judgment was not intended to benefit whoever made it but simply to exercise the inner light or sense shared by the community. Moral and aesthetic judgment suspended or subordinated personal interest to the common good. Each act of judgment based on the *sensus communis* therefore reinforced the life of the community. This appealed to Pietists and Puritans (see PURITANISM) alike. JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758) argued that true spiritual knowledge consisted of a “taste” for the “beauty of that which is truly good and holy.” According to Edwards, contemplation of God’s goodness entailed a forgetting of the self and is therefore properly described as disinterested.

If the Protestant Reformation trained a critical eye on virtually every liturgical, pictorial, musical, sculptural, poetic, and architectural form it inherited from Catholic Christianity, it is by no means accurate to consider Protestantism as inherently anti-aesthetic. Some, but hardly all, strains of Protestantism wasted little time in purging religious practice of such items as imagery, organs, architectural decoration, and highly formal liturgical programs. This purging, however, did not leave churches and devotional practice bereft of aesthetic features: it might be said to have exchanged one aesthetic sensibility for another. JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) and his followers despised how readily the human desire for God invested itself in cultural forms that in turn were mistaken for God. “A perpetual forge of idols,” as Calvin described it in the eleventh chapter of his *Institutes*, the human mind is strongly inclined to substitute its inventions for the real God to satisfy its needs by being able to control its own inventions. In Calvin’s scheme, nothing could be more self-interested than idolatry.

However, this did not result in Calvinist churches shorn of aesthetic value. Calvinists in the NETHERLANDS, ENGLAND, and colonial America prized a plain style of architecture and adornment in dress and liturgics. This style encouraged worship to focus on a confession of faith for which human depravity and moral self-examination were paramount. In smooth, cleanly lit walls, rigorously organized grids of pews and sanctuaries, and spare architectural appointments, these acts of piety found a visual expression of the call to gather together and practice a “common sense” in which disinterestedness was a principal moral as well as aesthetic value. Indeed, it is impossible to distinguish aesthetic from moral judgment in much Protestant architecture, music, and liturgy. MENNONITES, Quakers, and many Evangelicals (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF; EVANGELICALISM) have regarded architecture as a shell to contain the human architecture of the assembled community of belief. Eschewing the sacramentalism of Catholic as well as Anglican, Lutheran, and some Calvinist worship, adherents of “radical” Protestantism have practiced a kind of aesthetic minimalism, but an aesthetic nonetheless (see ANGLICANISM; LUTHERANISM; CALVINISM).

Pietist, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Anglican, and, since the nineteenth century, Methodist and Presbyterian Prot-estants have found an important place for pictures (often mass-produced), stained glass, and elaborate church architecture in congregational life (see METHODISM; PRESBYTERIANISM). Architecture, instrumental music, and visual adornment accompany and artistically interpret highly developed sacramental and liturgical practices in many of these traditions. MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) had championed music and even wrote hymns, and he made a point of defending the visual arts against a politically threatening iconoclasm in Wittenberg in the early 1520s. Pentecostal, charismatic, and many BAPTIST communities depend significantly on vernacular music and dance. The incorporation of indigenous forms of dance, recitation, and song into liturgies of European origin over the past two centuries have produced new artistic forms that have helped fuel the global success of Protestant missions. Regardless of the confessional or nondenominational tradition, the choices that communities of belief make regarding the arts contribute fundamentally to the maintenance of shared identity. Implicit, if not explicit, in such choices are tastes that form and sustain Protestantism in its countless permutations around the world.

Yet taste as a feature of the religious community should not be defined solely in terms of disinterestedness. Believers very commonly practice a passionate rather than

dispassionate engagement with art forms such as music, dance, prayer, devotional meditation, and visual art with the aim of procuring improved health, fertility, companionship, financial success, or peace of mind. In this way, an image of Jesus is deemed beautiful by virtue of its representing the power that is able to provide the desired benefit in an appealing or compelling manner. The image, the need it satisfies, the particular manner of visual representation, and the belief in God's power to provide satisfaction are all shared by the community. This collective sense informs judgments that are not disinterested but are nevertheless properly understood as aesthetic because they constitute an apprehension of beauty. If IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804) and modern formalist critics would separate the experience of the image's style of representation from these other factors to delineate an autonomous mode of aesthetic judgment, this segregation does not necessarily occur in the context of religious belief, which remains deeply interested in the robust "life purposes" of sacred art.

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AFRICA

The Protestant churches arrived in Africa together with the colonial administrators and explorers that followed the nineteenth-century partition of the African continent into bounded territories, particularly in those administered by Britain and GERMANY, that is Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. In SOUTH AFRICA the Afrikaner communities had been present in Cape Town since the seventeenth century and were an expansive force of Dutch Protestantism. During the twentieth century, Anglican communities grew in Britishcontrolled territories while there was an expansion of both ANGLICANISM and PENTECOSTALISM in South Africa. By the end of the British colonial period (1960s) the Anglican presence in Africa was strong, whereas Pentecostal and Evangelical churches were widely present in South Africa (see EVANGELICALISM). Today there are more than 200 million Protestants in Africa.

Nineteenth-Century Expansion

European powers began the exploration and occupation of African territories during the nineteenth century. As territories were "discovered" and explored, military forces, colonial officers, and missionaries began a process of colonization. Both the annexation of territories and the missionary enterprise required international treaties to set some rules. The Berlin Conference, which took place between November 15, 1884, and February 26, 1885, provided those rules.

Previously, explorers and missionaries had mapped territories unknown to Europeans while making contact with indigenous communities. DAVID LIVINGSTONE (d. 1873) had conducted sporadic explorations of the Zambezi River (southern Africa) and the Senegal and Gambia Rivers (West Africa) and had started some small Christian communities in South Africa, Tanzania, and Malawi. John Ludwig Kraft and John Rebmann, German missionaries of the London-based CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, had also explored the possible evangelization of East Africa as a region. Kraft arrived in Mombasa in 1844 after having served as a missionary in southern Ethiopia (among the Oromo). In June 1846 Rebmann joined Kraft in Mombasa and began contact with the Chagga peoples of the Tanganyika interior. Rebmann was the first European to see Mount Kilimanjaro in May 1848.

Throughout that period London remained the center of such missionary enterprise. The rise of African Protestantism started from a British outcry against SLAVERY and the foundation of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787 (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). In 1795 the London Missionary Society was founded, an

organization that was not solely dedicated to missionary work in Africa, but that together with a smaller organization, the Church Missionary Society, was to recruit European missionaries as well as freed African slaves willing to return to Africa as part of the colonial enterprise. It was through the West African forts that the missionaries saw the reality of slavery, the kingdom of Dahomey being a prominent center of slave trade.

The first Anglican missionary to Africa was Thomas Thompson, who was sent to Cape Coast Castle by the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG) in 1752. His successor, PHILIP QUAQUE, was himself an African who acted as chaplain to the boat crews. However, the first African to be ordained to the Protestant ministry was Jacobus Capitein, a West African Fante, who, after arriving in Holland as a boy, studied at the University of Leiden and in 1742 was sent back to West Africa as a missionary.

Between the years 1880 and 1900 the Protestant missionary enterprise came to depend on the colonial powers that supported Protestantism, mainly Britain and Germany. However, after the First World War African German territories such as Tanganyika and Cameroon became British. In Southern Africa the Dutch East India Company had already settled in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1652 and as a result Dutch missionaries had accompanied the Afrikaner communities involved in agriculture.

The Protestant missionary within the early colonial era, always associated with the reign of Queen Victoria, saw himself as a preacher and teacher of the biblical message of God. The Protestant preaching was done mainly through an interpreter and the missionary would move from one African village or settlement to another. For Protestants there was an immediacy of personal conversion that in most cases was associated with the colonial enterprise of education, which at that time included learning the biblical text. In the case of the Anglicans such life in Christ also included their involvement in hospital work, but for others, such as the Scottish Presbyterians, the strict observance of biblical law was at the center of the Christian life of all Protestants. The translation of the Bible into African languages played an important part of early missionary enterprises and fluency in an African language was made compulsory for most Protestant preachers. In the case of the Baptist Missionary Society in the Congo, for example, all missionaries were put on probation for three years until they proved that they could indeed learn an African language.

In most territories Protestant missionaries had to work within a general acceptance of Roman Catholic missionaries who competed for the conversion of African monarchs, tribal chiefs, and indigenous authorities. It was clearly understood that whoever converted the leaders would have their subjects converted as well. For example, in 1884 the Church of Scotland's Foreign Missions Committee wrote to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, appealing for a blockade of Portuguese advances in the Shire River area of Malawi that would eventually have an impact on the success of the missions at Blantyre and Livingstonia. After mass rallies in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, a petition signed by eleven thousand ministers and elders of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND was presented to Lord Salisbury. After an ultimatum to the Portuguese to withdraw their soldiers from the Shire a British Protectorate was established in 1889. Thus public opinion had supported the abolition of slavery against the Portuguese and missionaries had secured a territory where Catholics, Boers, and Arabs did not have much influence.

In the case of southern Africa, Protestant missionaries supported violent conflict and army occupation to break African systems of government that impeded the rapid conversion of Africans to Christianity. Although not widely supported, such practices helped the spread of Norwegian Lutherans in Zululand (1870s), and of the London Missionary Society in Matabeleland (1880s) and in Rhodesia after the Matabele war of 1893.

Within such Protestant expansion of the nineteenth century, the Scottish mission in Nyasaland (Malawi) and the Church Missionary Society efforts in Uganda were the most successful in creating a Protestant society that followed religious practices that were present in Britain while avoiding major confrontations with other missionary groups. Once again, reasons for such territorial success can be found in the fact that Britain was a clerical society where established churches had an enormous influence on people's lives, whereas in other European countries, such as Germany, the NETHERLANDS, and SWITZERLAND, anticlericalism had diminished the churches' influence within the colonial period.

Less-established Protestant groups, such as the BAPTISTS, had a smaller presence in Africa during the colonial period because their spheres of social and political influence were reduced. For example, the British Baptist mission at the Cameroon River had to be abandoned after the German takeover of the Cameroon in 1884 and the Baptists were not able to convince the British Government of the need of their presence within German territory. Shortly afterward, German missionaries from the BASEL MISSION replaced the British Baptist missionaries. German missionaries from the Bethel Mission, the Moravians (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), the Berlin Missionary Society, and the Leipzig Society also founded missions in Tanganyika (German East Africa), whereas missionaries from the Universities' Mission to central Africa, the Church Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society moved into northern Rhodesia, Kenya, and Uganda.

Twentieth-Century Consolidation

By 1910, four thousand Protestant missionaries were present in Africa, with over fifteen hundred in South Africa and a handful in French West Africa. The largest meeting of Protestant missionaries took place that year in Edinburgh, with more than twelve hundred delegates, but with only one African from Liberia present (see WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE). During the twentieth century Protestantism expanded throughout the continent as the colonial territories were opened to all groups. Particularly after the period of independence, evangelical missionaries linked to Pentecostal groups and a variety of independent African churches made their presence felt within postcolonial Africa.

During the first half of the twentieth century the Anglican Church consolidated her presence in British East Africa, particularly in Uganda. After a brief confrontational religious war between Protestants (British) and Catholics (French) in 1892, Christianity grew with the support of the ruler of the largest kingdom, the kingdom of Buganda. The church missionary became very influential so that by the time of Ugandan independence most of the population were Christians and of those 50 percent were Protestants. The same happened in a smaller scale in Kenya where the central role played by the Anglican

Church within the British colonial administration helped the rapid growth of indigenous African communities around Nairobi. Before the Mau Mau rebellion in the 1950s, Anglicans, Methodists, and the Church of Scotland also had a strong presence in rural Kenya. The exception on Protestant presence was the Northern Frontier District of the Kenya colony where expatriates in general and missionaries in particular were forbidden to live because of ethnic conflicts and the instability of the pastoral groups living in the area.

In South Africa the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH had a complete monopoly until the nineteenth century; however, after the Boer Wars American Pentecostal missionaries started their preaching. Zionist and Pentecostal missionaries arrived in South Africa from the United States between 1904 and 1908. At the time of the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, white Protestants or Pentecostals instructed and encouraged the participation of their laborers into the Pentecostal movement. Pentecostalism grew rapidly and today Pentecostals constitute 40 percent of the total population of South Africa. Of those, 10 percent are so-called classical Pentecostals, mainly members of the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, the Apostolic Faith Mission, and the Full Gospel Church of God, with whites and blacks in every congregation. This group includes the formerly white-dominated International Fellowship of Christian Churches. The other 30 percent include groups that have a black membership such as the Zionist and Apostolic churches, including the Zion Christian Church, by far the largest denomination in South Africa. Others churches include the St. Engenas Zion Christian Church, the St. John Apostolic Faith Mission, and the Nazareth Baptist Church (*amaNazaretha*). There are also between four thousand and seven thousand smaller churches that gather membership at a local urbanized level. All those Pentecostal groups emphasize the power of the Holy Spirit in the church, manifested through healing, prophecy, exorcism, and speaking in TONGUES.

The South African situation is not unique. In countries such as Uganda and Kenya, where the Anglican tradition is well established, Protestants divide themselves between those with links to the colonial past and those who have broken ties with European-dominated traditions. There are those churches that are still related to centralized European reformed traditions (Anglicans, Methodists, Lutherans) and others that have stressed African traditions such as healing, dancing, spirit possession, and ancestral communication (Baptists, Pentecostals in general, African Independent Churches).

One important twentieth-century phenomenon has been the rise of the African Independent Churches (see AFRICAN-INSTITUTED CHURCHES). They have posed a challenge to ecclesiastical definitions and theologies that have otherwise divided Christianity in Africa between Roman Catholics and reformed Protestants. The African Independent Churches follow reformed traditions that use the BIBLE as the central marker of AUTHORITY and revelation. However, they also include African rituals and traditions that represent a departure from worship based on Bible readings, hymn chanting, and preaching. Within the preindependence period, prophets arose within the African colonies that combined new forms of reading the Bible and praying but also challenged the existence of colonial powers and therefore were part of resistance movements of an anticolonial nature (see AFRICAN THEOLOGY).

In the Belgian Congo (Zaire, now Democratic Republic of the Congo), for example, SIMON KIMBANGU started a movement in 1921 with the name of the Church of Jesus Christ, through which he challenged the reading of the colonial Bible. He was imprisoned

and died in October 1951 after thirty years in prison. From 1954 Joseph Diangienda, Kimbangu's youngest son and a colonial civil servant, took over the leadership of the church, together with his two brothers. By 1956 a council of the Kimbanguist Church had been organized and by December 1957 the Belgians had recognized it as a church rather than as a rebel movement. In April 1960, just before independence, the body of Simon Kimbangu was brought from Elisabethville to a mausoleum in Nkamba, the Kimbanguist New Jerusalem. Kimbangu had been brought up in the Baptist tradition; however, by the time that his movement, then a church, was publicly recognized, his leader Simon Mpadi faced a church that endorsed polygamy and told the story of his fourteen resurrections.

Some of the most important African Independent Churches developed in Nigeria. The largest, the Aladura (the prayer-people) churches, began during the epidemic of 1918 in the context of Anglican communities. Joseph B. Shadare and other members of the Anglican parish of St. Saviour's at Ijebu-Obode sought help against an epidemic through prayer; in a dream he saw people divided between those who neglected prayer and those who used prayer constantly. Shadare began a prayer group supported by Sophia Odunlami, a young female schoolteacher, who began to have inspirations from the Holy Spirit. By 1921 the group had joined a Pentecostal group affiliated with the American Faith Tabernacle. On January 18, 1925, the Aladura group had its first independent meeting in Ibadan and groups affiliated with the ethnic Yoruba spread throughout Yorubaland. There are other Aladura congregations in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ghana. Vestments and gowns, rosaries, and crosses are used widely among Aladura congregations following symbolic theologies associated with the Anglican Church.

Since the 1970s Pentecostalism has provided a third response to the indigenization of African Protestant churches. The previous two, Ethiopian churches and Aladura, had provided a challenge to the colonial model of European Christianity. Most of these new congregations have their beginnings in groups of youth and women who challenged the reformed churches' European understanding of Christian life. Such congregations and fellowships relate themselves to the Assemblies of God and the Church of God but they also integrate elements of African society that they feel have enriched their understanding of the coming of the Holy Spirit and its role in the church today. Within such fellowships the emphasis is on the prosperity given by God and the blessings associated with the Old Testament. Such association of blessings/ richness and sin/poverty is close to the African model of traditional prosperity in which land or cattle were the signs of a fruitful life in community.

Despite being criticized by the reformed churches, these congregations have grown rapidly in the past twenty years, particularly in West Africa, a region otherwise dominated by Islam. However, what unites these "new churches" with the older reformed traditions is the democratic and egalitarian access to God and God's blessings, not mediated by ritual leaders but available through the Bible and through communal sessions of prayer and healing. For example, the Precious Stones fellowship, a group of women in Zimbabwe, originally related to the Families of God Pentecostal Group, began when the wife of the founder of the Families of God, Dr. R. Wutaun Ashe, had a vision from God in 1990. She saw a stream where stones were washed and in that vision she concentrated in a particular gem that was in the water. That group of women gathers in daily prayer to celebrate mother-hood and the blessings of God on African women and girls. They perceive themselves as foundation stones for society and they challenge the

patriarchal values given by traditional African societies. For some commentators they are part of a feminist discourse within Protestantism in Africa; for others they reiterate the patriarchal dominance within African society in general and African Protestantism in particular.

Geographical Distribution

There are pockets of Christians in the Northern African region; however, most of them belong to the Roman Catholic tradition within expatriate communities. Within sub-Saharan Africa the largest number of Protestants are located in East and southern Africa. Statistics per country (in percent, starting with Benin): Angola, 100,000; Benin, 10; Botswana, 30; Burkina Faso, 10; Burundi, 30; Cameroon, 10; Cape Verde, 2; Central African Republic, 25; Chad, 5; Democratic Republic of Congo, 5; Republic of the Congo, 5; Cote d'Ivoire, 6.6; Djibuti, 0.1; Equatorial Guinea, 2; Eritrea, 10; Ethiopia, 5; Gabon, 10; The Gambia, 5; Ghana, 30; Guinea, 1; Guinea-Bissau, 5; Kenya, 25; Lesotho, 50; Liberia, 50; Madagascar, 20; Malawi, 60; Mali, 1; Mauritania, 0; Mauritius, 15; Mozambique, 5; Namibia, 50; Niger, 0.1; Nigeria, 30; Reunion, 0.1; Rwanda, 5; São Tomé and Príncipe, 10; Senegal, 1; Sierra Leone, 2; South Africa, 70; Swaziland, 50; Tanzania mainland, 25; Togo, 5; Uganda, 30; Zambia, 5; Zimbabwe, 5.

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MARIO I.AGUILAR

AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM

African American Protestants have been historically divided between two major streams of denominational adherents: those who have remained in predominantly white mainline denominations and those who have separated into predominantly black denominations. More than 80 percent of African American Protestants have chosen membership in the black denominations. The reasons for separation involved the legacy of slavery, acts of racism, issues of full ordination as clergy and election as bishops, and the desire for independence and autonomy from white control. Racial factors have also been involved for African Americans who belonged to predominantly black churches within white denominations.

The Legacy of Slavery and the Establishment of Black Churches

African American Christianity was a product of the fusion of elements from traditional African religions and Euro-American Protestantism during the several centuries of SLAVERY and the period of Jim Crow segregation that followed it. With the exception of the colony of Maryland, which came under Catholic influence, most of the thirteen colonies were founded by Protestant religious groups like the PURITANS who were seeking the freedom to practice their religion without persecution. Although Native Americans and Africans were viewed as subhuman by some, efforts toward conversion were pressed. COTTON MATHER wrote religious instructions for enslaved Africans in Boston. As early as 1667 the Commonwealth of Virginia passed laws, which other colonies followed, that permitted the BAPTISM and CONVERSION of African slaves without setting them free. In 1701 the Anglican SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS began missionary efforts among slaves and Native Americans, but it was not until the early decades of the nineteenth century that many of the slaves became converted. In northern cities and places such as Charleston, South Carolina, some slaves were converted to Christianity during a national religious revival called the Great AWAKENING (1740–1760) by the itinerant evangelist GEORGE WHITEFIELD. However, it was the Second Awakening (1790–1830), which began in the frontier states of Kentucky and Tennessee in camp and tent meetings and swept through the plantations of the South, that affected many of the enslaved Africans. The REVIVAL brought with it an emotional, evangelical form of Protestant piety that became embodied among Baptists and Methodists. For many white slave owners and missionaries, however, Christianity was largely viewed as an instrument of social control, used to produce “obedient and docile” slaves.

Despite the many efforts to hinder or control their religious life, religion became the only institutional area where African slaves exercised a measure of freedom. Sometimes

stealing off to the backwoods and bayous of southern plantations, or meeting clandestinely in the slave quarters, and at times even openly in services with whites present, they performed their own rituals, songs, and other cultural forms of religious worship. They also [developed] their own preachers and leaders so that the “invisible institution”—the underground slave religion—could effectively merge with the rise of institutional black churches in the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During several centuries of slavery, most political, economic, educational, and other cultural and social institutions were deemed illegal for blacks and remained relatively undeveloped. As the only significant social institution other than the family open to blacks, black churches took on multiple roles and burdens that differed from their white counterparts.

African American Baptist and Methodist Churches and Denominations

Emerging from the “invisible institution” of slave religion, the first known black churches arose before the American War of Independence with the establishment of the African Baptist or “Bluestone” Church on the William Byrd plantation near the Bluestone River in Mecklenburg, Virginia, in 1758, and the Silver Bluff Baptist Church on the South Carolina bank of the Savannah River sometime between 1750 and 1775. These first churches were of Baptist origin, which meant members believed that only adult baptism and baptism by total immersion in water were doctrinally correct. They also supported a congregational POLITY that asserted the autonomy of a congregation to choose its own pastor and to make decisions independent of any larger association. Early Baptist preachers George Liele, Andrew Bryan, and Jesse Peters (also called Jesse Galphin) were instrumental in founding the Springfield Baptist Church of Augusta, Georgia, and the First African Baptist and First Bryan Baptist churches of Savannah, Georgia. Liele became a missionary to Jamaica in 1783 and established the first Baptist churches there.

Whereas the Baptists founded the first black churches, it was the Methodists who organized the first black denominations, which also became the first national associations for African Americans. In 1787 former slaves RICHARD ALLEN (1760–1831) and Absalom Jones established the Free African Society of Philadelphia, a mutual aid and benevolent society that assumed both secular and religious functions. Allen, Jones, and several black worshipers withdrew from the St. George’s Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia after being pulled from their knees during worship in a gallery they did not know was closed to black Christians. In protest, “All went out of the church in a body,” according to Allen, “and they were no more plagued with [us] in that church.” Two black churches arose out of the Free African Society. In 1790 Richard Allen founded the African Church that eventually was called the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, the mother church of African Methodism, whereas Absalom Jones became the rector of the St. Thomas African Episcopal Church in 1794. In New York City similar incidents of segregation during worship led to the withdrawal of the black members from the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church near Wall Street. Jealousy

and competition for new members, however, resulted in the inability of both black Methodist movements on the East Coast to unite in one body.

The central questions of the full ordination of black preachers as clergy, the election of blacks as bishops (episcopacy), the desire for worship in their own cultural style, and issues of black independence and control of their own religious institutions finally led to the establishment of two black Methodist denominations. The “Allenites” of Philadelphia and Baltimore established the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (A.M.E.) CHURCH as a denomination in 1816 and elected Richard Allen as its first bishop. The Rev. Daniel Coker became the first A.M.E. missionary to Africa in 1820. In New York City Peter Williams and Francis Jacobs along with James Varick of Newburgh, New York, founded the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH in 1821, led by Bishop James Varick. Both denominations became the institutional base of an incipient black middle class of free Negroes, and they adopted and adapted many of the organizational structures, worship rituals, and disciplinary rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church from which they withdrew. These included a connectional polity in which a bishop appointed pastors to churches, symbolic baptism by sprinkling water on the head rather than full immersion, and the system of itinerancy or circuit riding, which moved clergy to different churches after a designated number of years.

The A.M.E. Church distinguished itself in the field of education with the founding of Wilberforce University in 1857 by Bishop Daniel Payne, its first president. Although the A.M.E. church participated in the movement to abolish slavery, with Richard Allen using Mother Bethel as a hiding place for escaped slaves in the underground railroad (a system in which abolitionists helped blacks flee the slave states for safety in the North or Canada), Zionites became the leaders of abolitionism. Long known as the “Freedom Church,” the A.M.E. Zion Church claimed such abolition luminaries as Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Rev. Jermain Louguen, Catherine Harris, Rev. Thomas James, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS, who was licensed as an A.M.E. Zion preacher in Rochester, New York. The A.M.E. Zion denomination was also the first of all Christian denominations, black or white, to extend the vote and full clerical ordination to women in 1898. Although both the A.M.E. Church and the A.M.E. Zion Church originated as northern black denominations, during the CIVIL WAR (1861–1865) they also sent missionaries to follow the Union Army’s march through the South and recruit blacks and their churches to their fold. As a result, South Carolina has the largest number of A.M.E. churches in the United States, and North Carolina has emerged as the A.M.E. Zion stronghold.

The issue of slavery split the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844 into northern and southern branches. The question of whether one could be a bishop in good standing in the denomination and a slave owner at the same time became the divisive issue. The split in Methodism foreshadowed the greater division of the country between the northern Union and the southern Confederacy during the Civil War. In 1866 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South—in response to the twin pressures of blacks who wanted autonomy and whites who wanted to dispense with the black membership—made arrangements for the eventual withdrawal of its black constituents at their petition. Thus the third black Methodist denomination, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, was founded in 1870 by Bishops William H. Miles and Richard H. Vanderhorst.

Headquartered in Jackson, Tennessee, the denomination replaced the name “Colored” with “Christian” in 1954.

Although they had the earliest churches and the largest constituency of African American congregants, the black Baptists did not organize a national denomination until 1895 when the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA (NBC, USA) was established. Its first president was the Rev. E.C.Morris. However, the principle of congregational autonomy plus the charismatic force of strong-willed pastors led to a number of denominational schisms. In 1897 the LOTT CARY FOREIGN MISSIONARY CONVENTION broke away. The NBC, USA experienced schism twice more in the twentieth century, once in 1915 with the formation of the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA in a dispute over the control and ownership of a publishing house in Nashville, Tennessee, and again in 1961 with the organizing of the PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION (PNBC). Led by the Rev. Dr. Gardner Taylor of New York’s Concord Baptist Church, who became the first President of the PNBC, the supporters of DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. (1929–1968) challenged the status quo of the NBC, USA and eventually withdrew to form the more politically progressive denomination.

African American Holiness and Pentecostal Churches and Denominations

In his memoirs JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791), the founder of Methodism, stated his belief that the attainment of “spiritual perfection” was possible in this life. This belief fueled the Holiness/Pentecostal movement among blacks and whites that arose in 1867 with the establishment of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT). Members believed that a second blessing of the Holy Spirit or experience of “sanctification” was required beyond the act of individual SALVATION (“being saved” or “born again”). This blessing was manifested in a cathartic emotional experience that left some believers rolling in spasms on the floor (“falling out”), whereas others engaged in the uncontrollable movements of the “holy dance.” These behaviors led to the popularized label of Holiness Christians as “holy rollers.” In the quest to become more holy, a rigid and disciplined lifestyle evolved.

Among African Americans, the Holiness/Pentecostal movement became the major carrier of black folk cultural practices that middle-class black Baptists and Methodists attempted to discard in their desire to achieve the “order and decorum” of the worship services of their white counterparts. More foot stomping, handclapping, tambourine banging, and shouting occurred in the emotional cauldrons of the “sanctified people.” Women members often wore modest white dresses and head coverings to symbolize their purity and quest for a more holy life. The massive black migrations to northern cities in the twentieth century gave rise to numerous sanctified “storefront” churches with names such as the “Fire Baptized Holiness Church.” Because the sanctified churches also allowed horns, guitars, drums, and other musical instruments in their services, they also became the musical training ground for many African American blues and jazz musicians, and a dynamic interaction developed between the storefront church and the nightclub. For example, Thomas Dorsey, or Georgia Tom as he was known on the

nightclub circuit, learned to play the piano in church and eventually brought the blues back to the churches in the form of “Gospel music” in the 1920s. His most famous song was “Precious Lord, Take My Hand.”

The modern Pentecostal movement in the United States includes both black and white people and dates from the Azusa Street Revival held in Los Angeles, California, from 1906 to 1909 under the leadership of William J. Seymour, a black Holiness preacher. After attending the Azusa Street Revival in 1907, Elder Charles Harrison Mason, a black preacher from Memphis, Tennessee, led his Holiness group into PENTECOSTALISM in that same year. Mason became the founding bishop of the largest black Pentecostal denomination, the CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST (COGIC). Originally, COGIC was interracial, and Bishop Mason ordained black and white Pentecostals as Church of God in Christ ministers. However, the racial climate of the larger society affected this interracial stance, and the white clergy eventually withdrew from COGIC and established the predominantly white ASSEMBLIES OF GOD denomination in 1914. By 1924 this brief interracial experiment had all but ended.

Pentecostalism has become the fastest growing sector of Christianity in the world, especially in the United States among Caucasians, African Americans, and Latinos, and in developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. From a few hundred members in 1907, the Church of God in Christ has increased to more than 5 million members.

African Americans in White Denominations

A smaller number of African Americans have always been members of churches in predominantly white denominations, such as the United Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, American Baptists, and Episcopalians. Blacks in the United Methodist Episcopal Church represented the largest number in any white denomination, about 400,000 members and 2,600 churches at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, race continued to be a major factor, and the majority of black United Methodists were members of predominantly black congregations, often led by a black preacher.

In a segregated society, black preachers in white denominations endured much abuse and paternalistic treatment from their white colleagues. In the midnineteenth century, the Rev. James Pennington, a Presbyterian minister and an abolitionist, brought his own food and slept on the pews of the church when he attended denominational clergy conferences in New Jersey, while his white fellow clerics dined at the home of the host minister and stayed at inns. In 1939 when the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH was formed from a union of three largely white Methodist bodies—the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church—the leaders created a separate black unit in the new church. After dividing the country into five geographical units or episcopal jurisdictions, they added a sixth unit called the “Central Jurisdiction,” which encompassed all black conferences, missions, and clergy. Although African Americans in the Central Jurisdiction could participate equally as other units in the national church, they were segregated at all other levels. Black bishops could have authority only over black Methodists, and they were not widely recognized nor respected

by white members. The Central Jurisdiction of the United Methodist Church was not officially dissolved until 1966 when the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN joined the denomination and a decade of civil rights upheavals had ended.

In spite of the incidents of racism, the factors of family tradition, local neighborhood church, educational opportunities, and the more abundant resources of white denominations have been appealing to the African American members and clergy that have remained with these denominations. The predominantly black denominations have had great difficulty in providing pension and health benefits to their clergy, whereas those in white denominations have greater access to these resources. Black clergy have also been attracted by the educational opportunities and greater financial support in white denominational seminaries.

Conclusion

The black churches and denominations of African American Protestants have yet to experience the steep decline in membership of the white mainline Protestant denominations over the past three decades. Part of the reason for the lack of decline is the greater loyalty of African Americans to their churches, and the roles and functions that churches have historically assumed in black communities. Although primarily focused on meeting the worship needs of their adherents, black churches and clergy have a long tradition of involvement in the political sphere. They have participated in civil rights protests and mobilized the vote to elect clergy-politicians and others who represent their interests. In economics, black churches have provided the financial resources and leadership for the formation of black-owned banks, insurance companies, shopping centers, and employment training programs. Since the civil rights movement, black churches have been extensively engaged in building housing for senior citizens, the working class, and poor people.

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LAWRENCE H. MAMIYA

AFRICAN-INSTITUTED CHURCHES

In this essay we consider what, on the surface, is a simple question: what is the “Protestant-ness” of African-instituted churches? Rarely is the question posed so starkly in the literature on African-instituted churches. One reason why others may not have posed this question stems from the fact that the liturgies and theologies of African-instituted churches have hardly been the focus of scholarly analyses of a philosophical kind. What we have instead are historical discussions of their origins, sociological analyses, and descriptions of their worship patterns, organizational structures, schisms, and leadership (Webster; Peel; Turner; Omoyajowo). The situation has not been helped much by the fact that many founders of African-instituted churches and their successors in leadership seldom articulate, in anything that resembles scholarly work, their theologies or what might pass for philosophical or theoretical justification for their prophetic visions. Finally it is as though scholars take it for granted that their Protestantism is obvious in that generalized sense in which the definition of “Protestant” is identified with “non-Catholic.”

Much has been written on African-instituted churches. To delineate the boundaries of the Protestantism of these churches, we must take seriously the genealogy of Protestantism itself in AFRICA. Although one must acknowledge Africa’s long involvement with Christianity almost from its inception, the immediate impetus for the implantation of Protestantism on African soil must be traced to the second wave of evangelization that occurred in the nineteenth century, especially in West Africa. The earlier wave that witnessed the creation of Christian communities, including states, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries occurred before the Protestant REFORMATION. The fact that the second wave was post-Reformation and, for the most part, was dominated by Protestant groups—the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS), the Presbyterian Church, the Methodists, and the BAPTISTS—is the reason that this history is required for a proper accounting of the Protestantism of African-instituted churches.

The second wave of evangelization was characterized by a heterodoxy that saw several denominations jostling to win the souls of Africans for Christ. That there was such a plurality of denominations could not but affect the orientation of the people regarding the appropriateness of the standpoint of one faith, many interpretations. (More on this point shortly.) Additionally, the second wave of evangelization was directed less at the rulers of African societies and more at those who inhabited the margins and other ordinary folk. What this meant was that from the onset both congregations and ministers were characterized by a seeming equality that could countenance differentiation only at the level of merit, variously defined: the ability to read the BIBLE and, ultimately, with training, expound on its niceties and intricacies. Finally, seized of the underlying principles that had developed with the Protestant Reformation, the churches that took root

in the continent, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, were solicitous of the development of an African native agency instituted in the emergence of national churches. It is in the context of the foregoing that we can best situate the African-instituted churches and make sense of their Protestant pedigree. First, we present in a capsule the basic features of the Protestant faith.

Certainly any attempt to distill from its many variations an essential definition of Protestantism is sure to come to grief. Yet there are some common features that all share that we put under the rubric "Protestant." Although the importance of each feature will be differentially redeemed for each denomination, David A. Rausch and Carl Hermann Voss have proposed four organizing ideas identified as the basic tenets of Protestantism. According to the authors, "No religious faith can live by its denials. Thus, Protestantism affirms and testifies to certain principles and concepts—principles and concepts evident even within the Lutheran declaration of protest made by the minority princes at the Second Diet of Speyer (see SPEYER, DIETS OF). These may be summarized in part as (1) individual conscience and freedom of religion, (2) grace and faith, (3) the authority of the Bible, and (4) the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS" (Rausch and Voss 1987:2). Individual conscience is the principle on which is founded the Protestant commitment to difference, heterodoxy, and TOLERATION. "Much of the complexity and diversity among Protestants and Protestant denominations stems from this concept" (Rausch and Voss 1987:2). We need not go into the details of the metaphysics of the self at the bottom of this commitment to heterodoxy, although it suffices to note that its acknowledgment of the radical insufficiency and fallibility of human nature, notwithstanding its capacity for moral discernment, underwrites Protestantism's insistence that only by the GRACE of God are we saved and only by FAITH might we "earn" that grace. Such is principle (2).

Given the provenance of Protestantism in the contradiction with the AUTHORITY of the original church, it is no accident that Protestant denominations insist on the authority of Scripture "as the absolute norm of the Christian faith. Protestantism has emphasized that the Bible's central message of grace and faith, can be as clear to the average man, woman, or child as to the highly educated and intellectually astute" (Rausch and Voss 1987:3). Finally the concept of the priesthood of all believers is probably the most important of the identifying features of Protestantism and it is one that is crucial to the protestant character of African-instituted churches. Although "community is essential in Protestantism" (Rausch and Voss 1987:4), the fact that Protestantism came to be in a radical break with the excesses of a church in which hierarchy laid waste to the imagination and energies of ordinary congregants made it imperative to deemphasize "church" and promote a community of self-directing believers each acting "as a 'priest' for other believers, that is, praying for one another, confessing to one another, helping one another" (Rausch and Voss 1987:4).

When the new wave of evangelization hit West African shores in the nineteenth century there were indeed among the ranks of the missionaries those who took seriously some of the principles just adumbrated. For that group, although they were convinced that the African converts had a long way to go before they could attain the level of civilization that Europeans had reached, there was no doubt in their minds that, as members of a common humanity, Africans were capable of reaching that pinnacle. Foremost among the ranks of this category of missionaries was the Reverend Henry Venn who for more than forty years was the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the

principal evangelizing arm of the Anglican Church in Africa and Asia. A capsule account of the core elements of his thinking on the aims, method, and scope of missions is crucial to understanding the Protestant character of African-instituted churches.

First, Venn believed and was able during his tenure to persuade the CMS of the cogency of his thought that the native church should be organized and developed as “a national institution” (Venn 1969:133).

As soon as converts can be gathered into a Christian congregation, *let a native church be organized as a national institution*; avail yourself of national habits, of Christian headmen, of a church council similar to the Indian Panchayat; let every member feel himself doubly bound to his country by this social as well as religious society. Train up the native church to self-dependence and to self-government from the very first stage of a Christian movement. (Venn 1969:133)

Just so that no one would think that the reference to the creation of a native church as a national institution was gratuitous, Venn followed it with a further explication that “as the native church assumes a national character it will ultimately supersede the denominational distinctions which are now introduced by foreign Missionary Societies” (Venn 1969:133). By the latter injunction Venn meant to communicate the vision that the national church in, say, Nigeria would not be a pale imitation of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND by whose initial missionary efforts it was constituted. Rather, he said, the church in Nigeria would creatively adapt the rites and liturgies that the English church has given it and remake them after its own image, an exercise that would remain firmly anchored on “God’s holy word.”

We of the Church of England are bound by our fundamental rules to train up every congregation gathered from the heathen according to the discipline and worship of the Church of England. But our own Prayer-book has laid down the principle that every national church is at liberty to change its ceremonies, and adapt itself to the national taste, and therefore we look forward to the time when the native church of India shall have attained that magnitude and maturity which will entitle them to modify and perfect themselves according to the standard of God’s holy word. Then missionary efforts will cease; but inasmuch as we have infused Gospel truth, and supplied well-trained witnesses for the truth, our work will be found to praise and honour and glory through Jesus Christ. (Venn 1969:134)

It is significant that Venn spoke about a definite time that “missionary efforts will cease.” In fact, he argued that the success of the mission was to be measured by how quickly it made itself irrelevant to the survival and thriving of the church it has helped to midwife. Such success would be seen as the capacity of the converts to take charge of not merely running their local church but, and this is more important, searching by their own light “for the hidden treasures of the [Bible], to bring them forth for the edification of others, to urge upon their countrymen its warnings, promises, and threatenings, as God’s word

written, to present in their own spirit and behaviour a living epistle of Christ, known and read of all men” (Venn 1969:134). Hence his conclusion:

Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native church, under native pastors, upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors, and that as it has been happily expressed, the euthanasia of a mission takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. (Venn 1969:137)

The model of church-making just described was that through which many Africans were introduced to Christianity in the early part of the nineteenth century. Lamentably, by the end of that century, a new breed of missionaries had taken over from the likes of Venn and the latter were less persuaded of either African agency or its capacities. Rather than a mission that was headed for euthanasia, the latter missions became somewhat “professionalized”; rather than native churches that were organized as national institutions, local churches became problematic parodies of the mother churches in the metropolis; rather than “self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating” churches in native communities, local churches were substituted that depended on handouts from the mother churches and overseas congregations for their survival.

That Africans did not enthusiastically accept the new dispensation is evidenced in the proliferation of African-instituted churches. Perhaps one way to understand the Protestant character of African-instituted churches is to regard the denial of African agency and the thinly disguised attempts to hold the African church in extended, even permanent, pupillage, by the missionaries of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth, as the requisite “orthodoxy” against which the Africans were protesting. Needless to say, not all protesting Africans instituted new churches. Many chose to remain and work from within the established denominations. Their protest took a different path but their results have not been any less original and nationalistic as those who are familiar with the works of some of their members would attest. Of greater relevance to us are those who went ahead to found new African churches. As J.B. Webster puts it:

The African churches were a revolt against changing mission practice in the twentieth century, but lightly veiled under proclamations of adherence to policy laid down in the nineteenth century. Broad and liberal theories aiming to create churches culturally identified with Africa were replaced by policies of stifling conformity which sought to produce in African exact replica of the parent denomination. (Webster 1964:42)

Whether they originated from revolts within the Protestant mission societies or were independently founded, African-instituted churches, in their protest against the imposition of the ORTHODOXY of the established denominations or mother churches

(as identified here) illustrate the first identifying tenet of Protestantism: individual conscience and freedom of religion. They were not prepared to accept the authority of the mother churches on matters regarding their capacity for church making or that of suiting *their* churches for *their* peculiar cultural terrain. Having been socialized into the idea that *their* church should speak in *their* respective national idioms, it was difficult for them to accept that, judged by the orthodoxies of the mother churches, they were heretics, apostates, or outlaws. There were divergences between the African founders of the churches and the established denominations on matters ranging from whether drumming and dancing were to be permitted in church ceremonies to the permissibility of polygamy (see PLURAL MARRIAGE) for clergy and laity alike. For the most part, African-instituted churches have been more tolerant of polygamy. As for other cultural elements, for example, naming ceremonies, funerals, and tioletaking, so successful were they in Africanizing Christianity that the African replicas of the mother churches have been forced to incorporate similar elements into their rites and liturgies. Such practices will include drumming and dancing, the use of local names in BAPTISM, and even a benign approach to the occurrence of polygamy among the LAITY.

Principles (2) and (3) cited above will be dealt with more cursorily. The most problematic of the characteristic features of Protestantism is that of grace and faith. Given that many African churches are Spirit-based, it is difficult to claim that for them, we are saved by grace alone. A fundamental aspect of some of these churches turns on the centrality of pneumatology in their ECCLESIOLOGY. Such is the position of the Spirit that in Omoyajowo's view, "the [Cherubim and Seraphim] sees the Holy Spirit as almost a substitute for Jesus and it is this that markedly distinguishes it from other Churches" (Omoyajowo 1982:122). This is not surprising in light of the fact that many African churches did not emanate from a reaction to established churches but arose from "phenomena...which are considered a manifestation of the Holy Spirit—prophesying, interpreting dreams, seeing visions and interpreting them, speaking in tongues and healing by faith and praying" (Omoyajowo 1982:122).

The third of the features of Protestantism to consider is that regarding the authority of the BIBLE. In the first place it is hardly possible for any church to be regarded as such that does not evince a commitment to the authority of the Bible. Second, not only do African-instituted churches accept the authority of the Bible, in their deployment of it in their healing ministries, they underscore this acceptance. What may occasion controversy is whether one who seeks to make sense of the lineaments of scriptural authority requires specialized training or theological education of the sort that is rife in the mother churches. In disclaiming the necessity of specialized training and relying instead on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in scriptural interpretation and understanding, the African churches incarnate the fourth characteristic feature of Protestantism: the priesthood of all believers. The discussion concludes with an exploration of this element.

Recall what was said above about the origins of the Protestant movement itself in revolt against the overreaching clericalism. Whether we speak of the African churches that originated from schisms within what are here called the Protestant mother churches or those that have their birth in variants of pneumatological inspiration, they all incarnate either explicitly or implicitly the principle of the "priesthood of all believers." Because access to the Holy Spirit does not require any specialized training of an intellectual kind, it is obvious that on this reckoning every believer, as a child of God, armed with faith,

has the potential to be as anointed of the Spirit as everyone else. Although some may consider the tendency to fragmentation of African churches to be a problem, if not a defect, others have suggested that it could indeed be a positive aspect. Speaking of one of them, Omoyajowo has remarked: “The congregational structure of the Cherubim and Seraphim and its belief in the ‘priesthood of all believers’ are an orthodox and very effective evangelistic tool. The promotion of an indigenous ministry, however, is certainly not unchristian. On the contrary, it shows that Africans have the ability, with the endowment of the Holy Spirit, to shepherd the Flock of Christ; that leadership in the Church of God is not the prerogative of any one race” (Omoyajowo 1982:221). The adherence to the priesthood of all believers explains the subsequent evolution that we witnessed in the emergence of new Pentecostal churches in the closing decades of the last century. Thanks to the exertions and achievements of the earlier generation of African churches, no one now asks questions about the “Christianness” of the African churches or the “Africanness” of the Christianity authored by them.

This brings us back to the first identifying principle of Protestantism: the supremacy of individual conscience and freedom of religion. The discussion has turned full circle. In this piece, we have examined some principal themes of Protestantism with a view to establishing the criteria for adjudging African churches as Protestant. No doubt there are other aspects that need to be explored, including issues of DOCTRINE that are standard in discussions of Protestantism. On this score one must admit that there is more systematic theorizing and second-order explorations of such themes among the ranks of the African branches of the mother churches and the Catholic Church. Although there is an increasing body of literature about these issues on the part of scholars, there is a dearth of primary literature and philosophical reflections on them by the leading lights of the African churches themselves. One can only hope that the future brings about remedies for this lack.

See also African Theology; Baptist Missions; Evangelism, Overview; Missionary Organizations; Missions; Missions, British; Missions, German; Pentecostalism

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OLÚFÉMI TÁÍWÓ

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The African Methodist Episcopal (often referred to as AME church) Church's origins date to the late eighteenth century when blacks in the Northeast of the United States became increasingly offended by racially discriminatory and segregationist policies of the mainly white Methodist Episcopal Church (see METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH CONFERENCE). Forming a con-nection in 1816 under the leadership of RICHARD ALLEN, the AME Church included congregations from four states: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. With only 1,000 members in 1816 the denomination now has over 3.5 million members in the UNITED STATES, CANADA, the CARIBBEAN and South America, and AFRICA. It has at least nineteen episcopal districts, one of them led by the first woman bishop in any black Methodist tradition.

The church organization, or POLITY, closely resembles that of other major American Methodist bodies. The AME has a General Conference that meets once every four years, a Council of Bishops, a General Board of Trustees, and a Judicial Council. Other boards and commissions typical of Protestant bodies are also evident, including those focused on pensions, Christian education, MISSIONS, and WOMEN. The AME supports a number of higher education institutions: Morris Brown College (Georgia), Allen College (South Carolina), Paul Quinn College (Texas), Shorter College (Arkansas), and Edward Waters College (Florida). Turner Theological Seminary, a constituent member of the Interdenominational Theological Center (Georgia) and Payne Theological Seminary, affiliated with Wilberforce University (Ohio), are the two graduate schools in theology. The AME publishes the *AME Christian Recorder*, the *AME Review*, the *Journal of Christian Education*, the *Voice of Missions*, the *Women's Missionary Magazine*, and the *Secret Chamber*. The AME Church has taken pride in its tradition of combining religious faith and social action.

The AME churches rose in a context of evangelical Protestant Christianity, racial discrimination and segregation, and the revolutionary and early national eras of human equality and freedom. Richard Allen, with the approval of a kind slaveholder, purchased his freedom from slavery. Having served as an itinerant preacher in the mid-Atlantic area for a number of years beginning in 1783 or 1784, Allen, as other African American Methodists, grew weary with racial restrictions and proscriptions in the Methodist Episcopal denomination. In particular, Allen, Absalom Jones, and a number of others decided to establish separate worship services in Philadelphia when they were forcefully ejected from an area of the church reserved for whites in the St. George Methodist Episcopal Church. Scholars differ on the precise date, but this group also during the late 1700s formed the Free African Society, a mutual aid society that was both religious and

social service in nature. In 1794 Allen and others constructed the Bethel AME Church (“Mother Bethel”) and over time gained independence of operations from the Methodist Episcopal Church. This process of withdrawing from white churches because of discriminatory treatment occurred in other cities of the Northeast. In 1816 Allen, Daniel Coker of Maryland, Peter Spencer of Delaware, and others officially organized a new denomination. After Coker declined appointment as bishop, for reasons not absolutely clear, Allen assumed the bishopric and was instrumental in guiding the church’s growth until his death in 1831.

Although most black Methodists remained with the Methodist Episcopal Church, the AME, for whatever reasons, considerably outgrew its counterpart, the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION (AMEZ) CHURCH, founded in the early 1820s. The AME’s greatest geographical area of strength was the mid-Atlantic states, but it expanded as well into the Midwest, had a few churches in the South, and by 1850s had established a presence in California. The greatest AME membership growth, as with other black bodies formed before 1860, occurred as the denomination extended into the South during the CIVIL WAR. By 1860 the church had only about twenty thousand members, located mainly in the northeast; by 1876 it had increased tenfold to approximately two hundred thousand members. By 1890 clearly 75 percent of all AME members lived in the former Confederacy. The AME, furthermore, spread outside the United States into Canada, Haiti, and other parts of the Caribbean, and as early as the 1820s had established a presence in SIERRA LEONE, West Africa. Its presence in foreign lands would increase in the late 1800s and the twentieth century, especially in western and southern Africa and the Caribbean.

Like other independent black religious bodies, the AME Church represented the capacity of African Americans to survive and govern themselves apart from the system of SLAVERY. The AME was clearly among the most vigorous leaders in the fight against the slave system. Richard Allen organized the National Negro Convention movement, a group of black leaders discussing issues of pressing concern to the race, which held its first meeting in “Mother Bethel” Church in 1830. The Denmark Vesey Conspiracy to rebel violently against the slave system was planned in and with the support of members of the AME congregation in Charleston, South Carolina in 1822. Morris Brown, rumored to be among the conspirators, escaped to the north and became the second bishop in the AME Church. Members of the AME gave help and safe haven to those escaping slavery, publicly spoke against it, condemned it in print, and in other ways registered their moral disdain for the system (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

The AME Church has also been a strong advocate for civil rights for the African American population. Its clerical and lay members figured prominently in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction activities in the South. Henry M. Turner helped to found the Republican Party in Georgia, served as postmaster, and was elected to, but later expelled from, the state senate. Richard Harvey Cain of South Carolina participated in the state reconstruction convention and held a U.S. congressional seat. Although some advocated emigration to Africa or other places in the late 1800s and early 1900s, most AME leaders and spokespersons insisted on claiming their American citizenship despite increasing segregation and disfranchisement. Reverdy C. Ransom called for a SOCIAL GOSPEL approach to solving society ills and was heavily involved in ecumenical activities to secure broad black religious support for tackling injustice. The modern

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT also found strong support in the AME, represented by prominent individuals such as Oliver Brown, the lead plaintiff in the pivotal *Brown v. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education* case; Daisy Bates of the Little Rock school desegregation efforts; and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

As the nation entered the post-Civil Rights Era of the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the emergence of BLACK THEOLOGY sought to combine MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.'S conviction that the true understanding of Christianity included the commitment to freedom and justice with the by then deceased Malcolm X's views of black nationalism, self-help, and racial pride. JAMES H. CONE, a professor at Union Theological Seminary and an AME member, became the chief spokesperson for Black Theology in his many books and articles on race, religion, and human liberation. Jacquelyn Grant, another AME member, in her contributions to the rise of WOMANIST THEOLOGY, critiqued both FEMINIST THEOLOGY and Black Theology, ultimately prompting a considerable segment of the advocates of both schools of thought to incorporate more clearly and decisively the concerns of black and other women of color. Regarding issues of gender, the AME, as most Christian churches, has a mixed record. Sarah Ann Hughes was ordained deacon by an annual conference in the 1880s, but that ordination was later rescinded by the denomination. In the late 1940s the AME Church officially approved ordination at every rank of the ministry for women. In the 1990s the denomination elected its first woman bishop, itself a first among black Methodist denominations.

The AME Church at the dawn of the twenty-first century continued its membership growth and involvement in the quest of human justice.

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SANDY D WAYNE MARTIN

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church, one of seven major groups in AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM, shares basic episcopal polity, church

discipline, and Wesleyan theology with other American Methodists, although it has always shown greater openness than most Methodist counterparts to the role of laypeople and demonstrated a greater openness to women's leadership, including PREACHING. With roots traceable back to the 1790s, the AMEZ in the early 1820s broke from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and pursued EVANGELISM, civil freedom and justice, ECUMENISM, and MISSIONS, officially adding "Zion" to its title in 1848. By 2000 the AMEZ had about 1.3 million members, 6,000 ordained clergy, 12 active bishops, and 2,900 churches in the UNITED STATES, the CARIBBEAN, CANADA, South America, and west AFRICA. It also had thirteen general officers and heads of departments (including Publishing, Christian Education, and Public Affairs), a Judicial Council, Connectional Lay Council, and the Woman's Home and Overseas Missionary Society. It sponsors four colleges: Livingstone College (North Carolina), Lomax-Hannon Junior College (Alabama), Clinton Junior College (South Carolina), and the AME Zion Community College University (Liberia); one theological seminary: Hood Theological Seminary (North Carolina); and four major publications: *The Star of Zion* newspaper, the *AMEZ Quarterly Review*, the *Missionary Seer*, and the *Church School Herald*.

African Americans were found among the earliest Methodist churches, attracted to their EVANGELICALISM, and their frequent antislavery teachings and concern for others disadvantaged (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). By the late 1780s the earlier antislavery tenor of white Methodists was diminishing, segregation in church services increasing, and the resistance to black ministerial rights remaining firm. Protesting racial prejudice, some black Methodists began worshipping separately from the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City in 1796, while still affiliated with the denomination. These earliest Zion leaders included Frances Jacobs, Peter Williams, William Miller, and William Brown. Shortly, members of the original African Chapel meeting place built the Mother Zion African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, which was incorporated in 1801.

The Mother Zion, the Asbury Church, also in New York City, and congregations from Long Island, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut formed a society and by 1820 were requesting recognition as an annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Encountering opposition to their proposal from the New York Annual Conference, these churches held a conference in 1821 and elected James Varick superintendent. By 1824 the Zion Methodists had made a decisive, clear break with the mother denomination. Varick continued serving as bishop or superintendent until 1828 when he was replaced by the Southern-born Christopher Rush, who served for two decades.

With slower growth than its counterpart, the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (AME) CHURCH, the AMEZ expanded by 1860 into New York state, the New England states, and Canada and claimed affiliations in the District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio. In the early 1820s the AMEZ had 6 churches and about 1,500 members, nearly 1,700 members in 1831, and less than 5,000 by 1860, although the CIVIL WAR era occasioned sharp membership growth for the AMEZ and other independent black religious groups. The AMEZ had 300,000 members in 1884, 450,000 in 1896, and 700,000 in 1916. During the 1880s and 1890s Zion came within 100,000 members of equaling the membership of the AME. Geographically, the center of Zion's membership shifted from the Northeast to the South, with North Carolina becoming Zion's greatest single area of strength. Like other postwar black religious

groups, however, Zion continued its expansion westward into states such as Texas, Kansas, Oregon, California, and Nevada, and into the Caribbean, South America, and western Africa.

Zion's history is full of notable individuals. Denominational historians have included Christopher Rush, the second bishop, J.J.Moore, James W.Hood, and the twentieth-century David Bradley and William J.Walls. Antislavery forces included Zionites. The renowned abolitionist FREDERICK DOUGLASS started his public speaking career as an AMEZ exhorter. Harriet Tubman, the conductor on the Underground Railroad, became a lifelong member of the denomination. Bishop John J.Clinton was a great promoter, organizer, and agent of missions among the freedpeople. James Walker Hood was a church organizer, civil rights spokesperson, active in Reconstruction era politics, and an active bishop for forty-four years. Sarah Pettey during the 1890s was a strong advocate of equal rights for women in the church and society, TEMPERANCE, and women's suffrage. With clerical ordination denied most Protestant women during the late 1800s and early 1900s, Zion women secured this right in 1898 when Mary J.Small was ordained elder. Other prominent women ministers were Julia Foote, an author and Holiness advocate ordained in the 1890s as deacon and as elder in the early 1900s, and Florence Spearing Randolph, who enjoyed a long preaching and pastoral career in the twentieth century.

Historically the AMEZ has faced a number of crucial issues.

- (1) A strong rivalry has existed between it and the larger and slightly older AME for membership and status as the oldest black denomination.
- (2) Between 1852 and 1860 the AMEZ experienced a schism over the respective authority of bishops. The 1860 reconciliation recognized that all bishops held equal authority.
- (3) After the Civil War the AMEZ defined its bishopric in line with other Methodists by dropping the term "superintendent" and electing bishops for life (or later retirement) without their having to stand for reelection quadrennially.
- (4) From the Civil War period into the twenty-first century, the AMEZ discussed merger with the AME and the Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church, and considered pan-Methodist consolidations with other American Methodists. During the early twenty-first century the AMEZ appeared near a successful union with the CME.
- (5) Ecumenically Zion has participated in world-wide Methodist meetings, the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the 1960s CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, and joint activities with other black denominations.

Barring merger or some unseen calamity, the AMEZ promises to continue its strong presence well into the future.

See also Bishop and Episcopacy; Black Methodists; Methodism, North America

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SANDY DWAYNE MARTIN

AFRICAN THEOLOGY

African Theology Defined

African Christian theology is a discourse in which African theologians in different parts of the continent and representing different denominational and cultural traditions rearticulate the content and meaning of the Christian faith in and through the mediation of African culture to make it relevant to African people.

Insofar as it is Christian, African theology claims a legitimate place in the ecumenical history of the church, At least formally, it stands in continuity with, on one hand, the theologies of the early church fathers: Augustine, Cyprian, Athanasius, and Tertullian. On the other hand, African theology is also historically continuous with the Catholic theologies from the Middle Ages and the Council of Trent into the modern period, and with the theological perspectives of the Protestant Reformations of the sixteenth century and their modern offshoots. Insofar as it is African, African theology claims historical continuity with African traditional religious and cultural beliefs.

African Theology and the Reformation

If African Christian theology is marked by a profound pluralism both in its contemporary expression as well as in its historical derivation, then it follows that the variety, range, and complex relationships among the current and historical aspects of its identity make its depiction in terms of any one historical tradition (Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox)

rather difficult. To be sure, African theology has a strong Protestant identity evidenced in some of its basic commitments, which include an emphasis on the BIBLE as the sole authority in matters of faith; the sinfulness of humanity; the belief that SALVATION is available only through FAITH in the GRACE and power of Christ and not primarily through human effort; the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS; and other confessional claims generally associated with Protestant Christianity in its traditional forms. However, the Protestant identity of African theology is not necessarily traceable to the Protestant REFORMATION of the sixteenth century in a straightforward way. First, African Protestantism was mediated through Protestant missionaries in the context of CoLONIALISM. This meant that missionaries did not always distinguish between their own colonial cultures and the Eurocentric religious confessions they represented. Thus today Protestant African theology is often an odd mixture of aspects of European and American culture and some Reformation principles. Second, the reception of Protestant Christianity, indeed of all Christianity in Africa, was more or less in terms of prevailing African thought patterns and cultural frameworks despite missionary efforts. The result was a hybrid, heavily inflected African Protestantism that consisted of elements of African traditions, European culture, and Reformation theologies.

African Protestantism

The Protestant identity in African theology is most clearly evident in the African reception of Christianity, which in a fundamental sense was informed by a deep “protestant” thrust of its own. Africans vigorously protested against the colonialism that was so much an integral part of the missionary effort and also against missionary tutelage. Like the reformers of the sixteenth century, African Christians persistently and programmatically demanded religious and political freedom. When that protest was suppressed or ignored, as it often was, Africans broke away in large numbers not only from Catholicism but also from the mainline Protestant denominations and set up their own ecclesial institutions.

African Instituted Churches

Breakaway churches carried with them something of the teaching and beliefs of their parent denominations, albeit in modified form and often reinterpreted in the light of their own needs and new-found freedom. The rise of the so-called independent church movement throughout the continent was the result. AFRICAN-INSTITUTED CHURCHES (as they are sometimes called) are now regarded as the bona fide expression of a true African Protestant spirit. They have been compared both to the Donatists of the early church and also to the radical reformers of the sixteenth century. As with the latter, their theologies emphasize less the formal role of the Bible, the creeds, and the SACRAMENTS than the creative work of God’s Spirit among believers. It is in the African-Instituted Churches that many theologians on the continent find inspiration for defining an African difference in theology, a difference marked by a multiple sense of Protestantism: in the historical sense inherited from missionary Christianity; in the sense

of being a real protest against the theological as well as cultural shortcomings of that inheritance; and in the prophetic sense of being a protest against colonialism. In addition, African feminist theologies and the black theologies of SOUTH AFRICA have all exhibited the same spirit of religious and political protest (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY, BLACK THEOLOGY). In all these senses African theology, according to its Protestant advocates, embodies and in its own way perpetuates the legacy of protest initiated by MARTIN LUTHER and others in the sixteenth century.

Some of the leading Protestant African theologians are John Mbiti (Kenya), Kwame Bediako (Ghana), J.N.K.Mugambi, Gwinyai H.Muzorewa, John S. Pobee, Musa Dube, Kwesi Dickson, Itumeleng Mosala, and Mercy Oduyoye. Their major writings are cited below.

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EDWARD P.ANTONIO

AGRICOLA, MICHAEL (C. 1507–1557)

Finnish reformer. Agricola, reformer and father of Finnish literature, was born around 1507 in the parish of Pernaja (Swedish Pernå) in the province of Uusimaa (Swedish Nyland) about 70 kilometers east of Helsinki. His mother tongue was no doubt the Swedish common in the province, but very soon he acquired the masterly command of Finnish shown in his literary work.

Son of a well-established peasant and of bright intelligence, Michael was sent to school in Wiborg. There he acquainted himself with the ideas of humanism and the

REFORMATION, which were already well known in the southern side of the Gulf of Finland in the Baltic countries. At school he took for himself the name "Agricola," common in humanist circles in GERMANY.

In 1528 Agricola was appointed as the secretary of Martin Skytte, the first bishop in Turku after the Reformation. Skytte was a devout Dominican friar, but an Erasmian reformist with respect for new ideas. In 1531, he sent the first Finnish students to Wittenberg. Agricola bought a Latin *postil*, or book of sermons, of the reformer MARTIN LUTHER, was ordained, and left for Wittenberg in October 1536. He attended the lectures of Luther and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON and translated the New Testament into Finnish with the help of a pair of fellow Finnish students.

Agricola received his doctorate in April 1539. Provided with letters of recommendation from Luther and Melanchthon, he was made the headmaster of the school in Turku and the canon of the cathedral chapter. The bishop was growing old and decrepit, and Agricola became the de facto leader of the diocese of Turku in the 1540s.

Martin Skytte died in 1550, but king Gustav Vasa left the see vacant, and when it was committed to Agricola in 1554, it was not the same as before. The king had divided it into two parts. The new diocese of Wiborg now composed the eastern part of Finland.

Agricola was a member of the Swedish peace delegation to Czar Ivan the Terrible in Moscow. He died on the return trip on April 9, 1557 and was buried in Wiborg.

Agricola wrote the *ABC book*, the first book in the Finnish language, printed in Stockholm in 1543. In addition to the alphabet, it contains the CATECHISM, based mainly on Luther's Small Catechism. Agricola's prayer book (1544) comprises more than eight hundred and more than six hundred prayers. Agricola used medieval sources, particularly the *Missale Aboense* of 1488, but also made use of evangelical prayer books. He took some prayers from Luther and Melanchthon, and also from Herzog Albrecht von Preussen and Kaspar von Schwenckfeld. He translated in extenso the *Precationes Biblicae* of Otto Brunfels and the *Precationes aliquot* of Erasmus.

The New Testament was published in 1548, a book of seven hundred pages in quarto and with one hundred woodcuts. The work contains two forewords, as well as prefaces for all the books of New Testament except the last. The Gospel forewords are from Jerome; Agricola translated them from Erasmus's New Testament. Other prefaces are from Luther's BIBLE. More than five hundred marginal glosses come from Luther, too. In prefaces and glosses, Agricola revised his sources, making deletions and additions.

Agricola reported that he translated "partly from Greek and partly from Latin, German and Swedish books." He used the Greek Latin edition from Erasmus, the Vulgate, Luther's Bible, the Swedish New Testament published in 1526 and the so-called Gustaf Vasa's Bible of 1541. Agricola made use of all his basic texts. The influence of Greek and Latin is evident especially in the Gospels, whereas in translating the Epistles, Agricola mostly followed Luther.

It was Agricola's intention to translate the whole Bible, but the king refused to give a penny for the printing of the Finnish books, and the cathedral chapter of Turku was deprived of its resources. Nonetheless, Agricola published the Psalter and a selection of the Old Testament prophets and a Finnish manual and a missal, translated from the works of the Swedish reformer OLAUS PETRI.

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SIMO HEININEN

ALL-UNION COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS- BAPTISTS

From 1944 to 1989 the largest Protestant denomination in the Soviet Union and, for this period, the only Protestant church with legal status in all Soviet republics was the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (AUCECB).

Origins

Three indigenous Protestant movements emerged simultaneously in RUSSIA in the latter half of the nineteenth century that later would merge in the AUCECB. Factors contributing to the growth of Protestantism in tsarist Russia included: (1) the disillusionment of some with the Orthodox Church's social conservatism and subservience to the state (see ORTHODOXY, EAST ERN); (2) the social ferment surrounding the reforms of Alexander II; (3) the mid-nineteenth century pietistic revival (see PIETISM) that spread through and beyond Russia's German Protestant colonies; (4) the publication of the Bible in the Russian vernacular (1876) and its widespread distribution; and (5) the peasantry's increased accessibility to Scripture through growth in literacy.

In the Caucasus beginning in 1867 BAPTIST believers emerged from the ranks of mostly middle-class *Molokani*, Orthodox schismatics who held beliefs similar to Protestants. Although German Baptists played a key role in the conversion of *Molokani*, Russia's German MENNONITE and LUTHERAN colonists, under pietistic influences, generated a following among Ukrainian and Russian peasants beginning in 1869. Detractors called these believers *Shtundists* because of their regular devotional hours (*stunden* in German). Finally, between the years of 1874 and 1878, Lord Radstock, a PLYMOUTH BRETHREN lay evangelist, won influential and wealthy St. Petersburg aristocrats to evangelical faith through compelling preaching in their palaces. Followers

of the movement came to be called Pashkovites after their leader, Guards Colonel Vasili A.Pashkov, who was banished from Russia in 1884, six years after Lord Radstock suffered the same fate.

From the 1880s to 1905 Oberprokurator of the Holy Synod Konstantin P.Pobedonostsev oversaw systematic repression of indigenous Slavic Protestants, including arrest, impressment, banishment, internal exile, confiscation of property, and the forcible separation of children from parents. The 1905 Revolution led Nicholas II to issue an Edict of Toleration that brought a brief respite to Russian Protestants, although the outbreak of World War I in 1914 brought new persecution stemming from government suspicions that Russian evangelicals held pro-German sympathies. In contrast, the Revolutions of 1917 ushered in a golden decade of evangelism for Evangelical Christians (successors of the St. Petersburg Pashkovites) and Baptists that spread across the country from Ukraine and the Caucasus.

The Soviet Era

Factors contributing to evangelical growth in the first decade of Soviet rule included: (1) the end of Orthodox state-church status; (2) Bolshevik fixation on ORTHODOXY as a serious ideological challenge and its assumption that Protestant growth would be at Orthodox expense; and (3) the influence of Lenin's secretary, Vladimir D.Bonch-Bruevich, a scholar of SECTARIANISM positively disposed toward Protestants. The relative freedom of the years between 1917 and 1927 led to energetic Protestant evangelism, publishing, missionary activity, promotion of Sunday schools, and leadership training. Whereas Evangelical Christians and Baptists totaled approximately 97,500 in 1912, by the end of 1928 their numbers exceeded two million members and adherents in some 7,000 churches.

Nevertheless, from 1926 forward, Soviet authorities increasingly pressured Evangelical Christians and Baptists to forsake their historic PACIFISM in favor of military service. In 1929, with the ascendancy of Joseph Stalin and a new draconian law on religion, Protestants, along with all religious believers, faced dire persecution: wholesale church closures, mass arrests, imprisonments, and executions. Baptist and Evangelical Christian central offices closed by 1935 and 1940, respectively, and at most a few hundred Protestant churches remained open on the eve of World War II.

In 1943 and 1944 Stalin granted modest concessions to Orthodox and Protestant believers, apparently to solidify the churches' support for the war effort and Soviet foreign policy. State authorities actually facilitated a meeting of the two major Protestant denominations on October 26, 1944, which formed the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists. Arminian theology (see ARMINIANISM) was an Evangelical Christian contribution that prevailed in the new union, whereas Russian Baptist features included stricter membership requirements enforced by excommunication, more precise doctrinal formulation, episcopal (centralized) church governance, and less involvement in compassionate ministries than was the Evangelical Christian custom. In fact, the state dictated AUCECB episcopal POLITY and disengagement from charitable outreach. In addition, Soviet preference for an amalgamation of Protestant groups led a portion of Pentecostals to join the AUCECB in 1945, as well as CHURCH OF CHRIST, Brethren,

and MORAVIAN congregations in newly annexed territories. Mennonites entered the union in 1963.

By 1947 the AUCECB's *Bratsky Vestnik [Fraternal Herald]* was reporting 350,000 members in 3,000 congregations, with additional adherents numbering 3.5 million. However, the Khrushchev antireligious campaign (1959–1964) spelled another disaster for the denomination: authorities closed approximately half of all ECB churches and precipitated a painful denominational split over the issue of church-state collaboration. Dissidents, or *Intsiativniki*, who charged AUCECB had sold out to state demands to quell “unhealthy missionary tendencies,” formed their own Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (CCECB), with a peak membership of perhaps 155,000 in 1965. The period 1964 to 1988 witnessed a state carrot-and-stick approach to ECB churches: permission in 1968 for an AUCECB correspondence course for pastoral training as opposed to numerous arrests of CCECB pastors and systematic harassment of unregistered congregations. Dissidents struck back with voluminous underground publishing and a remarkably effective Council of Prisoners' Relatives that regularly fed protests to the West.

Glasnost and Perestroika

Between 1987 and 1989 freedoms granted under Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* (openness) spelled dramatic improvements for Evangelical Christians-Baptists and other believers: the release of all prisoners of conscience; an end to shortwave radio jamming; imports and in-country printings of Bibles in the millions; the revival of organized Christian charity, public evangelism, mission activity, and seminary education; the dismantling of the atheist establishment; and in 1990, the legal codification of the new religious liberty in national and republic-level legislation. The AUCECB itself underwent *perestroika* (restructuring) as its 1990 Congress (1) elected 44-year-old Ukrainian Grigori Komendant to succeed older leaders closely associated with Soviet church-state arrangements; and (2) changed its name to Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists. Less-positive developments from an ECB perspective included the wholesale exodus from the denomination of Pentecostals and Mennonites; a shift from all-union to republic-level governance; and difficulties in overcoming a longstanding siege mentality, social separatism, legalism, and pastoral authoritarianism. The Euro-Asiatic Federation of Unions of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, formed in 1993, serves only as a consultative and coordinating body, in effect illustrating the transfer of denominational authority from the former AUCECB to the republic-level ECB unions. With the formation of many new Protestant denominations and substantial emigration of ECB faithful to the West, the denomination also faced a considerable challenge in disciplining and retaining new believers. Further troubles came in 1997 in the form of a restrictive Russian law on religion that spelled serious discrimination and harassment for non-Orthodox faiths.

Evangelical Christian-Baptist membership dropped from 550,000 in the mid-1980s to 208,705 in 1991, rebounding to 344,805 by 2001 for all post-Soviet republics combined.

See also Communism; Evangelicalism; Church; Pentecostalism

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MARK R.ELLIOTT

ALLEN, RICHARD (1760–1831)

African American freedman, social leader, and first bishop of the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. Born a slave in Pennsylvania, Allen grew up and matured in Delaware. As a teenager he attended prayer meetings with local Methodists (see METHODISM). Impressed with Allen's piety, his master allowed the slave to buy his freedom. Allen met leading white Methodist itinerants like Freeborn Garrettson and FRANCIS ASBURY, both critics of SLAVERY. In 1783 or 1784, Allen became a lay preacher, settling in Philadelphia in 1786 and preaching there at St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1787 he and other blacks left the church in protest over racism. Allen exercised leadership skills in Philadelphia's Free African Society (1787–1794) and in the Bethel African Methodist Church (established 1794), where he preached although still unordained. Bethel Church attracted the attention of notable Methodists like Asbury and Thomas Coke, and Allen was ordained a deacon by Asbury in 1799. Allen's public service was important to both black and white Philadelphians.

Continuing struggles with white Methodists led blacks to form the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in 1816, and its conference chose Allen as bishop. Under his leadership the church gained members in several states, initiated MISSIONS in AFRICA and HAITI, and opposed the plans of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY to expatriate free blacks. Allen's publications are few: a *Narrative* (1794), co-authored with Absalom Jones, concerning a yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia; a hymn book (1801); a *Life* (1833); and several addresses, letters, and sermons.

Modern views of Allen have been influenced by an explosion of interest in the man and the A.M.E. Church, beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing to the mid-twentieth century. Allen emerged as a master organizer in African American society, providing leadership for a people seeking a group identity and collective progress. Thus the emphasis was on Allen's defense of blacks' actions in the yellow fever epidemic, his leadership of black Christians out of an unfair congregation and finally into an independent denomination, and his financial acumen, which allowed him to purchase

land for church buildings in Philadelphia. This corporatist approach to Allen bypassed his theology. By the last third of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, conditions were right for a consideration of Allen's theological views despite the paucity of his texts. Both BLACK THEOLOGY and renewed attention paid to the originating acts of the United States in the 1770s and 1780s, in which Philadelphia was the center of activity, have encouraged a clearer view of Allen's theology. The difficulty posed by the shortage of extant documents is compounded by Allen's claim in his 1830 autobiography always to have preached a simple faith without doctrine. This claim is implausible because Allen joined the Methodists at a time when PREDESTINATION was being hotly debated and when the majority of Methodists were choosing the ARMINIANISM of JOHN WESLEY, although a minority remained committed to CALVINISM. Moreover, most articulate black Christians from 1760 to 1820 were Calvinists. Living in Philadelphia, the intellectual and religious crossroads of North America, Allen could scarcely have been unaware of these circumstances. It is possible that in 1830 he intended to avoid stirring up conflict over doctrine because he knew Arminianism had triumphed so thoroughly over Calvinism in North American religion.

The evidence, sketchy as it is, suggests that Allen preached an amalgamation of Calvinist and Arminian doctrines. The covenant between God and a chosen people, a staple of PURITANISM, appeared in his writings on the yellow fever epidemic. Blacks were a people in covenant with God and they were able to avoid the moral corruption attendant on the social disorder caused by the disease because they kept the terms of the covenant. The reformed heart, which was common to JONATHAN EDWARDS and free-will Christians, appeared prominently in his writings. Affection, benevolence, and virtue—all signs of a reformed heart—should lead to equality among the races. The freedom of the will in the matter of personal salvation, the centerpiece of Wesleyan Methodism, was implied throughout Allen's writings. Belief in the ability of ordinary people to turn to God without a long period of preparation was crucial to the success of the Methodists and the BAPTISTS, both black and white, in preaching to African Americans in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. In preaching these doctrines, Allen would have had one foot in the world of his black peers and the other in the new African American religious sphere of the nineteenth century.

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JOHN SAILLANT

ALLEN, ROLAND (1868–1947)

English missionary. Roland Allen was born in Bristol, England. The youngest of five children, he was orphaned at an early age when his father, an Anglican priest, died in Belize City, British Honduras, now Belize. Allen was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, and at Leeds Clergy Training School for Anglo-Catholics. Ordained as a deacon in 1892, he went to north CHINA in 1895 as a missionary of the "High Church" SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG). His assignment was to a small school in Peking, where he studied Mandarin, trained catechists, served as a district missionary, and acted as chaplain to the British Legation. When the Boxer Rebellion broke out in June 1900 he, along with the foreign community, remained under siege at the British compound until relief came two months later.

Returning to ENGLAND for furlough, he married Mary Beatrice Carlton in 1901 and they had two children, Priscilla and John. He had no sooner returned to China with his new family when, after a few short months, his health broke and he was forced to return home in 1903. Allen then accepted the position as parish priest of Chalfont St. Peter in Buckinghamshire. Resigning in 1907 over an issue he called "baptismal rigorism," he never held another official Anglican position, but became a voluntary, nonpaid priest, the subject he proposed in his last major work, *The Case for Voluntary Clergy*. Many believed this was a turning point for him and the beginning of his "real" ministry. Until his death forty years later, he earned his living by writing or in other ways.

After this brief missionary and pastoral experience, he radically reassessed his THEOLOGY and VOCATION. Concerned about the paternalism practiced in China he published *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* in 1912 and *Missionary Principles* in 1913, which have become classics in the study of mission methodology and strategy. Often referred to as a radical proponent of the "Three-Selfs" indigenous church principles as espoused by Henry Venn, RUFUS ANDERSON, John Nevius, and others, he argued that they did not go far enough. Allen called for an additional spiritual dimension, the gift of the Holy Spirit in mission, and articulated this in *Pentecost and the World: The Revelation of the Holy Spirit in the "Acts of the Apostles."* In his understanding the Acts of the Apostles constitutes a missionary book and can be understood only in the context of the Holy Spirit in mission. He described the gift of the Holy Spirit of Acts 2 as enabling the recipients to preach Christ to people of every nation.

In 1914 Allen met Sidney J.W. Clark, a wealthy Congregationalist, who enlisted him to work for the envisioned Survey Application Trust (SAT) and its publishing arm, World Dominion Press. The Trust's deed of 1918 was laid down with the purpose of applying Clark's indigenous church principles asserted in his pamphlets and perpetuating Allen's MISSIOLOGY. The surveys advocated by Clark and Thomas Cochrane did not capture his interest; instead, Allen's attention was focused in the quality of work where mission

activity was already established. His major contribution to the Trust came in his numerous writings. These writings greatly influenced the exposition of indigenous church principles that have become a major component in contemporary Protestant mission strategy, particularly among Evangelicals and Pentecostals.

Allen called for a mission strategy based on St. Paul's New Testament principles. Following this reasoning he insisted that they should be biblical and normative for all times and contexts. In 1927 he published *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes Which Hinder It*, in which he stated, "if the church is to be indigenous it must spring up in the soil from the very first seeds planted.... [I]f we want to see spontaneous expansion we must establish native churches free from our control" (pp. 4–5). However, his fellow clergymen did not understand or approve of this radical thinking. A mission theorist ahead of his time, he once remarked to his son that his works would not be appreciated until around 1960.

The Allens emigrated to Kenya in 1931 to live near their two children where he resided until his death in 1947. He resigned from public ministry and thereafter celebrated the sacraments only in his home. In his late years he became embittered and depressed over the fact that his ideas were all too often dismissed as impractical and unpalatable, resulting from his irritating and stinging criticisms of the mission policies of the Anglican Church. Allen's primary value lies in the area that most irritated the church leaders of his own day: the persistence of precisely those theological issues that are most easily evaded because current practice is called into question. Evangelicals continue to read his works and Ecumenists are now discovering those treasures. Not without his critics both then and now, Allen's influence has made a profound and lasting impact on missiology.

See also Anglicanism; Anglo-Catholicism; Diaconess, Deacon; Ecumenism; Missions

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WARREN B. NEWBERRY

ALLINE, HENRY (1748–1784)

American evangelist. Born in Newport, Rhode Island, on June 14, 1748, Alline moved north with his family and other New England planters at age twelve to what would become Falmouth township, Nova Scotia. Because of the absence of educational and religious institutions in a frontier environment, Alline developed his innate intelligence and interest in religion and theology by immersing himself in devotional literature. After struggling for several years with a strong sense of sin and guilt, he experienced a full assurance of salvation on March 26, 1775, and shortly thereafter, a call to ministry. In keeping with the Congregationalist tradition of a learned ministry (see CONGREGATIONALISM), he proceeded to New England for theological training, only to be forced back by travel difficulties arising from the outbreak of the American rebellion. Deciding to defy convention, he began to preach and travel, organizing a number of New Light churches in the Annapolis Valley, two of which ordained him as an evangelist on April 6, 1779. Preaching the need for a “new birth,” and with little interest in church finances and institutional organization, he was constantly on the move, covering most of Nova Scotia, and the settled parts of what became New Brunswick, before finally in 1783 heading south to New England. A few months later, on February 2, 1784, he died of consumption in North Hampton, New Hampshire.

During his short ministry he wrote many hymns, which were posthumously collected, reprinted several times in the United States, and used by Benjamin Randall (1749–1808) and the FREE WILL BAPTISTS. The churches Alline organized either collapsed after his death or joined the Regular Baptists, thereby breaking with his controversial anti-Calvinist theology (see CALVINISM). Expounded in his major works, *Two mites on some of the most important and much disputed points of divinity* (1781), and a pamphlet, *The anti-traditionalist* (c. 1783), Alline’s thought was influenced by writer WILLIAM LAW (1686–1761) and religious mystic JACOB BOEHME (1575–1624). His antimaterialism, mysticism, egalitarianism, and his conviction that God’s universal love enabled all human-kind to be saved, appealed to Nova Scotia’s frontier population disoriented by immigration and war. Historians have depicted Alline, therefore, as the apolitical leader of an early popular movement, who through religious language and experience offered hope and meaning during a time of political and social crisis.

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MARGUERITE VAN DIE

ALTARS

One of three liturgical centers in Christian churches, along with the pulpit and the baptismal font, the altar consists of a *mensa*, or single slab, placed horizontally atop a solid base or set of supporting columns and used during worship to support the elements of the Eucharist.

Pre-Reformation Altars

Christian altars derive from the stone altars upon which Roman and Jewish priests made animal sacrifices and placed offerings. The double meanings of sacrifice and offering, or gift, have variously informed Christian use of the altar throughout history, depending on changing understandings of the Eucharist. As the Eucharistic meal came to symbolize the sacrifice of Christ, the altar service or Mass was viewed as the reenactment of that sacrifice, and the altar was considered the holiest place within a church. With the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION, the significance of the altar and site of this miraculous transformation expanded exponentially, and Christians indicated the holiness of the altar with consecration rituals, placement in the chancel, and the use of veils to shield it from view. By the medieval period the altar's significance was indicated by a ciborium (a canopy placed above it), rood screens, elaborate sculptural programs ornamenting the base, retables, or structures rising from it and displaying scenes and figures, and reredos or large screens of niches filled with statuary that covered the wall behind it. Because altars were used to inter the bodies of saints or other relics, their sanctity was further enhanced. This practice lengthened the altar from its earlier near-square form to an oblong several feet longer than its width, a form that came to be known as the "coffin" style in later years. Christian altars have been constructed of either stone or wood since the early church.

Altar Controversy during the Reformation

The primacy of the altar as the holiest liturgical center and worship focus endured from the second century to the sixteenth, when it was challenged by the REFORMATION substitution of the Word for the sacrament as the focus of worship. MARTIN LUTHER, who slightly modified the mystical view of the Eucharistic transformation, substituting the presence for the body of Christ in the elements, relocated the celebrant behind the altar during the service and distributed both elements to the laity. These alterations significantly demystified the meanings associated with the altar, which Luther argued was not inherently sacred. Nevertheless, he did retain the altar and renamed the Eucharist service the "sacrament of the altar." JOHN CALVIN, who understood the meaning of the sacrament in terms of the elements' instrumentality in sealing God's covenant and in their signification of Christ's promise, also retained the altar and performed most of the service, except for the sermon, from behind it.

More radical reformers, however, attacked the altar as they condemned the doctrine of transubstantiation. The elaborate decoration of altars also enraged many who launched iconoclastic assaults on altar sculptures and reredos. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, countering the real presence theology with one emphasizing Christ's gift of grace and the gathering of a spiritual community, attempted to re-create the setting of the primitive church by substituting a communion table for the altar. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the substitution of a table for the altar appealed strongly to Reformed groups, as did placing the table within the body of the gathered congregation. During the reign of ELIZABETH I, churchwardens in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND often moved the table, which normally stood altarlike in the chancel, to the center of the nave for communion services. This altar/table interchangeability corresponded to Anglican willingness to view the sacrament as both a sacrifice and a gift. In 1616, however, WILLIAM LAUD'S directives relocated the table to the chancel and required that rails be placed around it, thus redefining it as a sacred altar despite cries of "popery" from Puritans.

Changing Significance of the Altar

After the Reformation, groups that viewed the Eucharist elements as containing some form of the mystical presence of Christ usually retained the altar, whereas those who argued that the essential spiritual nature of Christ could not be contained within material form tended to discard altars. Yet a brief historical survey demonstrates that a high church/altar and low church/ table dichotomy never fully characterized Protestant use of these furnishings.

Humanistic philosophy and pursuit of reason in the eighteenth century fostered a classical aesthetic that downplayed the role of the mystical presence and shifted worship toward the Word. In Anglican churches designed by CHRISTOPHER WREN and James Gibb, highly decorated pulpits eclipsed altars as the most significant liturgical centers even though altars retained pride of place in the chancel. In Lutheran churches, pulpits similarly outshone altars.

The nineteenth century brought a renewed stature to the altar. Adherents of the German Reformed, Mercersberg theology produced ornamented altars in western Pennsylvania. Scandinavian Lutherans enhanced their altars with retables consisting of framed paintings of Christ. Anglican and Anglo-Catholic churches embraced the elaborate altars of the Gothic period, encouraging figural sculpture and reredos. Moreover, as Reformed denominations including Congregationalists, Presbyterians, BAPTISTS, and Methodists embraced the Gothic Revival, many congregations replaced their communion tables with ornamented altars to consistently apply the architectural style. No parallel shift in doctrine toward a sacrificial understanding of the sacrament accompanied this use, however. The application of what was perceived as an authentic historical style outweighed theological understandings of liturgical furnishings.

Renewed interest in formalist worship and altars also characterized the early twentieth century. Architect Ralph Adams Cram, propounding Gothic forms as most appropriate to Christian worship, significantly influenced not only Episcopalians and Lutherans but also liberal Protestant congregations seeking modern worship forms and unity among denominations. Many Unitarian, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Presbyterian

congregations adopted the “split-chancel” liturgical arrangement that featured an altar placed in the center of the chancel and flanked by a lectern and pulpit on either side. Though made of wood, these altar-tables mimicked medieval “coffin” altars. Again, no transformation of doctrine accompanied this use.

These arrangements remained popular until the post-World War II ecumenical movement, which emphasized community over formalism and embraced the table as a symbol of community interaction with Christ. Reformed congregations abandoned altar-oriented arrangements, and Lutherans, Episcopalians, and even Catholics adopted tables as indicative of an accessible, community-oriented religious experience, sometimes placing the table in the center of the worship space and arranging seating around it. Altars, however, remain in wide use among congregations that embrace liturgical formalism or emphasize Christ’s presence in the Eucharist.

See also Anglicanism; Congregationalism; Presbyterianism; Lutheranism; Methodism; Architecture, Church

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JEANNE HALGREN KILDE

ALTHUSIUS, JOHANNES (1563–1638)

German political theorist. Althusius was born in 1563 in the County of Wittgenstein-Berleburg and studied at the universities of Cologne and then Basel in SWITZERLAND, where he received his doctoral degree in Roman law in 1586. In the same year, he was called to the Reformed Academy at Herborn (Hohe Schule) in the County of Nassau-Dillenburg as a member of the Faculty of Law. The academy had been founded two years before and immediately attracted students not only from GERMANY, but also from all over Europe. The first rector of the academy was Caspar Olevianus, co-author with Zacharias Ursinus of the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

In 1592, Althusius was called to the Reformed Academy of Steinfurt, located in Westphalia near the border with the NETHERLANDS. In 1596, the Count of Nassau-Dillenburg called him back to Herborn, which in the meantime had been transferred to the city of Siegen. Althusius was elected rector in 1599 and again in 1602, when the Academy was transferred back to Herborn.

Two years later, Althusius gave up his academic career to accept an appointment as syndic of the Reformed city of Emden in East Friesland. Emden was one of the first cities of Germany to adopt the Reformed faith and had become a veritable “Geneva of the North.” Althusius remained in Emden for 34 years until his death in 1638. In 1617, he was elected elder of the Church of Emden. Combining the functions of syndic and elder, Althusius had a position that enabled him to coordinate civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and gave him enormous influence, which in a sense was comparable to that of JOHN CALVIN in Geneva. As a city syndic, Althusius defended the rights and liberties of the city of Emden and the Frisian estates against the Lutheran count. He tried to secure the northern Netherlands’ support for his politics. In the end, however, he did not succeed in establishing a free Reformed Republic of Emden.

Althusius’s major work is his *Politics (Politica methodice digesta)*, first published in Herborn in 1603. This is one of the first books on early modern politics and makes him one of the founding fathers of political science. The central point of *Politics* is the problem of community building. Althusius saw the community not as a result of hierarchical power and rule concentration, but rather as a dynamic process of consensual and social, or, rather, consociational, institutionalizing, which starts with the formation of smaller communities and moves to the larger union of the whole. In many respects, Althusius’s political theory represents an institutional alternative to the teachings of his older contemporary Jean Bodin: by viewing political authority as founded on smaller communities; by attributing sovereignty not to the ruler, but rather to the community; by limiting sovereign power not only by natural law, but also by positive, especially fundamental, law; and, finally, by conceding a right to resist tyrannical government, especially if religious freedom is involved. It is in this context that the beginning of constitutional thought must be sought and not in Bodin’s absolutist concept of sovereignty. Moreover, the legal and political theoretical requirements for a subsidiary and federal concept are formulated here, enabling the structural accommodation of different community formations in a consociational commonwealth.

In *Politics*, Althusius follows the Ramist logic and emphasizes method and systematic reasoning. His argumentation relies heavily on the BIBLE and contains thousands of quotations, especially from the Old Testament. It is nevertheless a work of political theory, not of political theology. Althusius is highly interested in limiting each discipline to its own purpose; that is, in differentiating between theological and political reasoning or, in other words, between the Christian and the political communities. Notwithstanding, his political theory is deeply influenced by Christian Reformed thinking, especially the idea of COVENANT, yet without giving churchmen power over political matters.

The other main body of Althusius’s work is devoted to Roman law and legal theory. He began his studies with a little book on Roman law in 1586 (*Iuris Romani libri duo*), which was constantly revised and enlarged over many years and, finally, in 1617, culminated in a comprehensive theory of justice (*Dicaeologica*).

After the second half of the seventeenth century and the end of the religious wars, the work of Althusius to a large extent fell into oblivion. In the last part of the nineteenth century, Otto von Gierke rediscovered *Politics* and gave a new impetus to the research of Althusius. Meanwhile, in Germany, a learned society had been founded (*Johannes Althusius Gesellschaft*) devoted to the research of the life and works of Althusius and his times. The impact of Althusius in recent decades seems to be based on the fact that his

political theory has been vastly influential in the shaping of modern republican and federal governmental patterns, especially in the New World, and even more on his insights into the nature of the political order in general.

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DIETER WYDUCKEL

AMANA

The Amana Church Society is the American descendant of the Community of True Inspiration, a mystically oriented pietist sect that formed in eighteenth-century

GERMANY (see GERMAN GROUPS IN AMERICA). Because of economic pressures and religious harassment, the Inspirationists migrated to the United States in the 1840s, where they settled in western New York and adopted a communal economic system. Later, the Inspirationists migrated to Iowa, renaming themselves the “Amana Society” and eventually established seven geographically proximate villages. In 1932 the Society abandoned its economic communalism and reorganized itself as the “Amana Church Society,” which continues to gather for worship in Amana’s villages.

Origins

Amana’s roots lay in German PIETISM, a late seventeenth-century reaction to mainstream German Protestantism. Inspired by the writing of PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER and August Herman Francke, the Pietists contended that state-sponsored LUTHERANISM had lost its evangelical fervor, substituting abstract theological disputes for true Christian piety. The more radical Pietists, called “Separatists,” withdrew from their state churches, believing that independent assemblies for worship, or CONVENTICLES, provided better contexts for nurturing communion with God.

Two prominent Separatists, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock, became the founders of Amana’s European precursor, the Community of True Inspiration. In 1714 Gruber and Rock were visited by like-minded (albeit more mystical) Pietists who believed that God spoke through divinely inspired human instruments. Encouraged by their visitors’ words, Gruber and Rock threw their energies into forming the Community of True Inspiration. Rock himself became a *Werkzeug*, that is, an inspired minister through whom God spoke. Although Gruber never received this gift, he assumed the title “Overseer of the *Werkzeuge*” organizing the association by recording its DOCTRINE and its behavioral guidelines, which stressed selflessness, sobriety, and separation from “worldly” activities.

Decline, Revival, and Migration

The Community of True Inspiration suffered decline during the second half of the eighteenth century. Gruber died in 1728 and Rock died in 1749, and although the Inspirationists had become well organized before their founders’ deaths, the lack of charismatic leadership took its toll. Some Inspirationist congregations ceased to exist; others declined as their elderly members died off.

Between 1817 and 1823, however, the appearance of three new *Werkzeuge* brought revival to the flagging movement. The first of these prophets was Michael Krausert, who reported a divine inspiration shortly after encountering an Inspirationist congregation in 1817. Some members resisted granting Krausert status as a *Werkzeug*, but others affirmed his inspiration as a harbinger of revival. Soon, Krausert identified a second *Werkzeug*, Barbara Heinemann, who in turn prophesied that Christian Metz would also become inspired. By 1824 Metz was the community’s only remaining *Werkzeug*. Krausert left the movement in 1819, doubting his own inspiration, and Heinemann lost the gift in 1823 upon her marriage, which was deemed inappropriate for a *Werkzeug*. Fortunately for the

group, Metz was a capable leader, fostering numerical growth and a renewed sense of purpose.

In response to harassment from German authorities, the Inspirationists migrated to the United States in 1843 and 1844, settling near Buffalo, New York. Here the Inspirationists formed a community separated from the world (see SECTARIANISM), retaining their German language and adopting a relatively strict form of economic communalism. Although the Inspirationists had experimented with some forms of economic collectivism before they emigrated, only now did they assign land ownership and the means of production to the entire community (see SOCIALISM). Some private ownership remained, and each community member was given a modest spending allowance, although members worked at community-owned industries without pay.

By the mid-1850s, the Inspirationists had constructed four small villages with over one thousand residents who worked together, shared community kitchens, and ate communal meals. However, the strains of numerical growth and concerns about the world's proximity soon compelled them to search for a more isolated region where they could prosper economically and spiritually. This search led them to eastern Iowa, where they relocated after 1855.

The Amana Society

The Inspirationists structured their Iowa communities after their New York communities. Eventually forming seven small villages, they incorporated under the name "Amana Society," a reference to Song of Solomon 4:8 (Amana means "remain faithful"). The membership of the Amana Society peaked in 1881 with some 1,813 members.

Werkzeug Christian Metz continued to exhibit inspired leadership until his death in 1867. At that point, Barbara Heinemann Landmann assumed Metz's role. Although Landmann had lost her inspired status in 1823, she remained with the movement, regained her *Werkzeug* status in 1849, and assumed added authority upon Metz's death. Even before Metz's death, however, formal leadership structures had developed that handled most community issues. A thirteen-member, all-male Great Council managed the society's temporal affairs and oversaw its spiritual life. Local councils in each village made additional decisions, operating within the Great Council's guidelines.

Each of Amana's seven villages contained one unadorned church building where the village's residents gathered for religious services eleven times per week. The congregants sat on unpainted, wooden pews, segregated by GENDER. The services, like the meetinghouses themselves, were characterized by simplicity and restraint: silent prayers, BIBLE Readings, recitations of inspired Amana pronouncements, and unaccompanied, chanted HYMNS. According to one observer, the content of Amana's Sunday morning services has "not changed appreciably for 150 years" (Andelson 1997).

The Great Change

In many ways, the Amana Society comprised one of America's most successful communal experiments, lasting for almost ninety years. By the early twentieth century,

however, member commitment to economic communalism had become tenuous. Younger members in particular found these ways restrictive, and growing financial strains intensified the desire for change. Finally, a special committee appointed by the Great Council polled the society's adult members about structural reorganization. With a majority of members in consent, the Amana Society reorganized itself in 1932. The society's economic enterprises were converted into a joint stock company, with each member becoming a shareholder. The society's religious functions were assigned to the autonomous Amana Church Society, which was governed by elected elders.

Presently, Amana Church Society members gather for worship only once a week, on Sunday mornings. Still, the society's religious rituals mirror earlier concerns about simplicity and NONCONFORMITY to the world. Unadorned worship in simple meetinghouses, gender-segregated seating, remnants of plain dress—these practices continue to attract visitors to eastern Iowa, much as the Old-Order AMISH attract tourists to regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. Unlike the Amish, however, the reorganized Amana Church Society has not experienced numerical growth and entered the twenty-first century with a membership of 500, one-third of its historic membership high.

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DAVID L. WEAVER-ZERCHER

AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES

The American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. (ABC-USA) is a major Baptist denomination in the UNITED STATES consisting of 5,786 churches with about 1.44 million members (2001 statistics). There are ABC-USA churches in all fifty states; about eight hundred of them are dually aligned with another, usually Baptist, denomination. The current name was adopted in 1972. From 1950 to 1972 the denomination was known as the American Baptist Convention. It was formally established in 1907 as the Northern Baptist Convention, but it had a long prehistory before its formal, national establishment as a denomination.

Background

The first Baptist church in America was established in 1638 in Providence, Rhode Island, with another church soon formed in Newport, Rhode Island in 1648. Although BAPTISTS were, then as now, deeply committed to the autonomy of the local churches, they also believed deeply in the importance of associational cooperation. By 1670 the first regional association was founded (General Six Principle Baptists; see GENERAL BAPTISTS). In 1707 the Philadelphia Baptist Association was established by five churches, which is the oldest continuing Baptist association in America. This Association was very influential and functioned as a virtual national body for its time. In 1742 it adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, the first Baptist document of this type in America. It sponsored the establishment in Providence, Rhode Island of the first Baptist college in America in 1764 (later known as Brown University).

In the early nineteenth century many Baptist societies and organizations began to emerge. In 1800 the Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes was founded, followed in 1802 by the establishment of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. This society first published in 1803 the *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, which remains today as the oldest Baptist periodical in continuous publication. Over the years, it had various names; today it is the official ABC-USA periodical, known since 1992 as *American Baptists in Mission*.

A major development was the formation in 1814 of the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions (known also as the Triennial Convention, which held its first meeting in 1817). The prime organizer of this Convention was Luther Rice (1783–1836), who had sailed for India with Adoniram and Ann Judson and others in 1812 (see JUDSON FAMILY). The Judsons and Rice became Baptists on their voyage. The Judsons went to Burma and Rice returned to the United States to organize support for them and the budding Baptist overseas missionary enterprise. In 1846 the Convention was renamed the American Baptist Missionary Union.

In 1924 the Baptist General Tract Society was organized in Washington, D.C. The name was changed in 1840 to the American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society (“and Sunday School” was dropped in 1845). In the 1840s the Society relocated to Philadelphia. In 1832 the American Baptist Home Mission Society was begun in New York City, organized at the close of a Triennial Convention meeting. In 1833 the New Hampshire Baptist Convention approved the New Hampshire Confession of Faith, an expression of moderate Baptist CALVINISM, which became very influential in the life of Baptists.

On May 8, 1845 the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION was founded in Atlanta, Georgia, representing a separation of southern Baptist churches from the Triennial Convention and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The separation was prompted by issues related primarily to SLAVERY, the abolitionist movement (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), and denominational structure.

In the 1850s and 1860s there also emerged separate conferences for various ethnic groups (e.g., the German Baptist Conference in 1851; the Swedish Baptist Conference in

1857; the Danish Baptist Conference in 1864), which used the languages of the immigrants forming these groups.

In 1853 the American Baptist Historical Society was established. In 1871 the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society was organized, followed by separate women's home mission societies for the East and the West in 1877. Also significant for Baptists was the publication in 1876 of the first edition of Augustus Henry Strong's (1.836–1921) *Systematic Theology*, which eventually saw eight editions and thirty printings.

Early History (to 1950)

The many strands of American Baptist life and organization came together on May 17, 1907 in a meeting in Calvary Baptist Church in Washington, D.C. to organize the Northern Baptist Convention (NBC). There were representatives from local churches, various associations, the American Baptist Missionary Union, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, and the American Baptist Publication Society. Thus, there emerged formally the national DENOMINATION now known as the ABC-USA, with the organizing groups maintaining their separate identities. Charles Evans Hughes, governor of New York, was elected as the first president of the Northern Baptist Convention.

In 1908 the NBC became a charter member of the Federal Council of Churches (now the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES). In 1910 the American Baptist Missionary Union was renamed the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. In 1911 the Free Will Baptist General Conference (see FREE WILL BAPTISTS) merged with the NBC. That same year the NBC created its Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board. The East and West women's home mission societies, formed in 1877, merged into one organization in 1913.

Early in the history of the NBC the tensions and controversy between FUNDAMENTALISM and MODERNISM were growing in the United States, especially in Northern Baptist Convention circles. In 1920 the Fundamentalist Fellowship was founded, which hoped to get the NBC to adopt the New Hampshire Confession of Faith. This failed in 1922, with the NBC voting instead that the New Testament was the "all sufficient ground of faith and practice." This led to the formation of the BAPTIST BIBLE UNION in 1923, which was transformed into the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTIST CHURCHES in 1932, a group that formally separated from the NBC. The controversy continued within the NBC, and in 1943 the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society was formed. In the 1946 NBC annual meeting it became clear that this new Mission Society was viewed by the majority as inappropriate. Thus in 1947 the CONSERVATIVE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION of America was formed, also formally separating from the NBC.

Several other events of importance took place as well during these years. In 1921 Helen Barrett Montgomery (1861–1934) became the first woman to be president of the NBC. In 1924, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Baptist Publication Society, the Society published Montgomery's English translation of the Greek New Testament (the only other woman to have done this was Julia E. Smith in

1876). In that year also the publication arm of the Society became known as Judson Press. Also in 1921 the National Laymen's Movement was begun, which later became the American Baptist Men. In 1938 the first issue of *The Chronicle* appeared, which later became *Foundations*, which since 1982 has been known as the *American Baptist Quarterly*, the denomination's scholarly journal. In 1944 the NBC created a national conference center at Green Lake, Wisconsin, known as the American Baptist Assembly. In that year, too, the American Baptist Publication Society merged with the Northern Baptist Board of Education to form the American Baptist Board of Education and Publication.

History (1950 to the Present)

Growing out of the many developments of the recent decades and the post-World War II ethos, the NBC established a review commission, which led in 1950 to a new structure and name for the NBC. The denomination took the name of the American Baptist Convention (ABC) and created the top administrative office of general secretary. Reuben Nelson was the first person elected to this position. More recent general secretaries have been Robert C. Campbell, Daniel E. Weiss, and A. Roy Medley.

The American Baptist Women was established in 1951 (now known as American Baptist Women's Ministries). In 1955 both the home and the foreign women's mission societies were merged with the respective American Baptist Home and American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies. The ABC headquarters was relocated to a new facility in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in 1962 (renamed in 1994 the American Baptist Churches Mission Center).

In 1965 the first of many churches in the African American tradition (see AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM) that belonged to various black Baptist denominations dually aligned with the ABC. Ethnicracial sensitivities and issues led to the formation of the black caucus in 1968, the Hispanic and Indian caucuses in 1970, and the Asian caucus in 1972.

Another major denominational reorganization took place in 1972, which led to changing the name to the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. (ABC-USA). Beginning in 1973 the denomination moved from an annual to a biennial meeting. The Foreign Mission Society became known as the Board of International Ministries, the Home Mission Society as the Board of National Ministries, and the Board of Education and Publication as the Board of Educational Ministries. All three of these boards were known as the program boards. A general board was created, representative of CLERGY and LAITY, the range of geographical regions, and the ethnic-racial composition of the denomination. The general board became the policy-making agency of the ABC-USA, with interlocking relationships with the three program boards, whose meetings were held in common with the general board. Regional bodies also began to share more in the authority structures of the denomination.

In 1973 William T. McKee became the first African American to head a program Board (Educational Ministries). The Feminism and the Church Today project was organized in 1975, which became the Women and the Church project in 1985. In 1980 the Women in Ministry Project was established. In 1989 Jean B. Kim became the first

woman to head a program board (Educational Ministries). In 1999 Trinetta McCray was elected as the first female clergy president of the ABC-USA.

In 1992 various concerns and tensions within the ABC-USA led to the formation of two groups, the American Baptist Evangelicals and the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists. Also, in 1992 the General Board approved a resolution stating that "We affirm that the practice of homosexuality is incompatible with Christian teaching."

Related Organizations and Denominational Data

The ABC-USA consists of thirty-four regions (related to cities, states, parts of states, and combinations of states; there is also a nongeographical Indian Ministries Region), each of which is led by an executive minister. There is an associate general secretary for Regional Ministries. There is also the Ministers and Missionaries Pension Board, led for many years by Gordan Smith. There are currently seven official caucuses: Asian, Black, Hispanic, Indian, Haitian, Women's, and Young Adult, which represent the interests of these groups within denominational life.

There are sixteen American Baptist-related colleges and universities (see CHRISTIAN COLLEGES; HIGHER EDUCATION) and ten American Baptist-related SEMINARIES and theological schools (American Baptist Seminary of the West, Andover Newton Theological School, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Evangelical Seminary of Puerto Rico, Morehouse School of Religion, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, Shaw University Divinity School, and The Samuel DeWitt Proctor School of Theology, Virginia Union University).

The American Baptist Homes and Hospitals Association, established in 1930, includes seventy-four retirement communities, twenty-six long-term care facilities, twenty children's homes and special services, and eight administrative facilities.

There are many other groups active in ABC-USA life, both within and outside of the official structures of the denomination. Mention has already been made of the American Baptist Evangelicals and the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists. In 1968 the American Baptist Charismatic Fellowship (now known as the Holy Spirit Renewal Ministries in the ABC; Gary K. Clark, national chair since 1981) was organized, and since 1975 it has held a Holy Spirit Conference each summer at the American Baptist Assembly. Various other groups (e.g., the Fellowship of American Baptist Musicians, the Roger Williams Fellowship) serve particular interests within denominational life.

There are about four thousand ordained clergy within the ABC-USA, about 10 percent of whom are WOMEN. Free Will Baptists ordained women as early as 1876 (M.A. Brennan was the first). Although the evidence is difficult to assess, it appears that Susan Elizabeth Cilley Griffin was in 1893 the first woman ordained among what would become the Northern Baptists (see WOMEN CLERGY). By 1928 there were about fifty ordained women within the NBC.

In 2001 about 69 percent of ABC-USA churches were Euro-American, about 20 percent were African American, about 6 percent were Hispanic, with various Asian, American Native, and Haitian churches composing the rest. In that same year about 48 percent of ABC-USA church members were Euro-American, 46 percent were African

American, a little over 3 percent were Hispanic, with the remaining 3 percent composing Asian Pacific, American Native, Haitian, and multiracial members.

The ABC-USA has extensive ecumenical connections. It is a member of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, and the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE. It is an official observer at the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS and has an observer relationship with the Church of the Brethren (see BRETHREN, CHURCH OF THE).

Distinctives

The ABC-USA holds to classic Baptist principles, with emphasis on “the Lordship and atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, believers’ baptism, the competency of all believers to be in direct relationship with God and to interpret Scripture, the importance of the local church, the assurance of freedom in worship and opinion, and the need to be Christ’s witnesses within society” (from the 2003 ABC-USA web site). There is strong commitment to EVANGELISM, mission, justice, and ecumenical cooperation. The ABC-USA is an inclusive denomination. This is true in terms of its ethnic-racial composition and in terms of its theological spectrum.

In 2001 the General Board approved a new document, the Common Criteria for Cooperating Churches, which was subsequently accepted by at least 75 percent of the thirty-four Regions of the denomination and thus became effective in 2003. The Criteria include commitment to the statement “We Are American Baptists” (which is a short document that includes a fairly traditional statement of trinitarian faith, CHRISTOLOGY and ATONEMENT, and the AUTHORITY of the BIBLE) along with affirmation and participation in ABC-USA purposes and mission at the local, regional, and national levels.

See also Baptist Family; Baptist Missions; Baptists, United States

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AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY

The American Bible Society (ABS), established in New York City in 1816, rapidly evolved into one of the world's largest scripture production, distribution, and translation agencies. It worked tirelessly to promote pandominational Protestant unity, served historically as a focal point for American missionary efforts, and developed innovative programs that sought to bring the Bible to a wider audience. By the dawn of the twenty-first century, the ABS constituted one of the most successful and longest-lived philanthropies in the United States. The society's modest beginnings and early struggles, however, offered little clue to its prosperous future.

International and local impulses both contributed to the society's founding. The ABS modeled its constitution and its administrative structure largely on the precedent of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (BFBS), which had been established in London in 1804. The BFBS carefully nurtured and financed the establishment of state and county BIBLE SOCIETIES throughout early nineteenth-century America. The leaders of these scattered organizations, concentrated disproportionately in New England and the middle Atlantic states, felt the need by 1816 for a national institution that would pool their financial resources and coordinate their distribution efforts. They adopted a constitution that stipulated their "sole object" as encouraging "a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment." They created a board of managers that included some of the most socially and politically prominent Protestant laymen of the young republic, and named their creation the American Bible Society.

The ABS's founders sought especially to overcome the denominational divisions and sectarian strife that appeared so pervasive on the antebellum American landscape. The broadly representative governing board appeared somewhat weighted toward Congregationalists and Presbyterians, but also included a respectable representation of Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Quakers, and members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Still, denominational tensions always percolated just below the surface. The balance on the board shifted, for example, in response to demographic change and disagreements within the American Protestant polities. Methodists quickly achieved greater influence within the ABS and constituted a more powerful presence on the board as that denomination expanded rapidly in the 1820s and 1830s. They remained staunch ABS supporters throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Baptists, in contrast, withdrew from the Bible Society fellowship after a dispute over translation principles in 1836 and established a competing, denominationbased agency (see AMERICAN BIBLE UNION). The ABS quickly found that Christian unity proved difficult to achieve in practice, given that both theological wrangling and political contentiousness fragmented the movement.

Despite this apparent lack of unity, the ABS flourished as an institution. Several factors accounted for its remarkable growth. From its earliest days, the society remained

a technological and organizational innovator. As a publisher, the institution rapidly incorporated such innovations as steam-powered presses, stereotype printing, and sophisticated binding equipment into its operations. By the mid-nineteenth century, the ABS's New York headquarters constituted one of the largest and most efficient manufacturing plants in America, and peers recognized the society as a leading force in the printing and publishing trades. Inexpensive mission editions, designed for mass distribution and heavy use, constituted the organization's stock-in-trade.

Other ABS innovations included the development of sophisticated distribution and promotional programs to accomplish its goals. The organization operated through a nationwide network of county and town auxiliaries that shared the ABS's mission, coordinated distribution within their local areas, and received a discount on scriptures purchased from the national office. The ABS thus linked together a national network of committed Christians who volunteered their money and expertise to the cause of circulating bibles and encouraging scripture reading. Gradually, over the course of the nineteenth century, the society relied more heavily on paid agents who handled distribution and fund-raising chores within specific geographical areas. These Bible agents, who reported to administrators in New York, monitored the activities of local auxiliaries, cultivated donors, and promoted the ABS among Protestant congregations. Special distribution programs, such as periodic efforts to supply every family in the United States with a Bible, also generated considerable excitement among the society's core constituency.

The most critical factor in the ABS's long-term success, however, involved the support services that it provided for Protestant denominations. The ABS offered financial backing and technical expertise for scripture translations in hundreds of languages during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The society established Bible houses throughout the Near East, Far East, South America, and Latin America, many of which constituted social and intellectual centers for American missionaries. Inexpensive Bibles proved instrumental in a broad range of Protestant missionary efforts, and denominations counted on the ABS for a steady and reliable supply of quality products. The society itself also remained on the lookout for new audiences. It printed special scripture portions for the freed slaves after the CIVIL WAR, pioneered in the production of brailled Bibles for the visually impaired, provided foreign language scriptures for distribution to immigrants arriving at Ellis Island, and even engaged in cooperative ventures with the Roman Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council.

The society experimented with new products in the late twentieth century, such as a popular series of thematic scripture selections designed to help Christians understand and cope with various social and personal issues. Perhaps its best-known twentieth-century product, however, was the *Good News Bible* (1976). This common-language translation, based on the principle of dynamic equivalence and illustrated with strikingly effective line drawings, proved especially popular with new readers, younger audiences, and people who simply found the seventeenth-century language of the King James Version more baffling than enlightening. The ABS moved ahead with a variety of other innovative translations, even experimenting with multimedia scriptures.

Finally, the ABS also played a major role in cultivating the growth of Bible societies throughout the world. It proved instrumental in founding the United Bible Societies in 1946 and has remained a major financial and administrative supporter of that interna-

tional consortium. The ABS helped train translators by sponsoring various institutes and funded world-wide distribution programs. It remains a dynamic, adaptable, and innovative organization that plays a significant global role while maintaining many traditional functions within American Protestantism.

See also Bible; Bible Translations

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PETER J. WOSH

AMERICAN BIBLE UNION

Established in 1850 in New York City, the American Bible Union (ABU) assumed a broad mandate to translate and circulate “the most faithful versions of the Sacred Scriptures *in all languages* throughout the world,” according to its original 1850 constitution. However, the story of the ABU began with a translation controversy that created a schism within the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY (ABS) during the 1830s. Baptist missionaries in Calcutta had applied to the ABS in 1835 for funding to publish a second edition of their revised New Testament in Bengali. Their request proved controversial because the missionaries elected to translate the Greek term *baptizo* as *immerse* rather than *baptize*. From the Baptist perspective, this choice reflected their desire to remain faithful to the original text and to favor biblical accuracy over mere transliteration. Other Protestants viewed their position as merely sectarian, and an attempt to sacrifice the purity of the biblical text in favor of a narrow theological perspective. The ABS’s board of managers, which included a broad denominational representation, voted against sponsoring the translation. Most BAPTISTS on the ABS board, including such major figures within the denomination as William Colgate, Leonard Bleecker, and the Rev. Spencer Cone, resigned shortly thereafter. They established the American and Foreign Bible Society (AFBS) in 1836 as a competitor to the ABS, dedicated to financing biblical translations that supported their beliefs and, in their minds, to promoting scriptures that reflected accurate meanings found in the original Greek.

Controversy soon splintered the AFBS as well. The new organization supported and financed various “immersion” versions developed by overseas missionaries but adopted a fairly conservative approach toward English Bible translations. The AFBS essentially circulated a reprint of the 1611 King James Version, with some modernized spellings and a table that explained the proper meaning of various controversial words. Thus, for example, readers received instructions that Angel, Baptism, Baptize, Bishop, Charity, Church, and Easter should be read respectively as Messenger, Immersion, Immerse, Overseer, Love, Congregation, and Passover. The organization attempted to occupy a middle ground but managed to alienate two important constituencies. Non-Baptists largely viewed the AFBS’s English Bible as an effort to cloak denominational principles within scripture, and they remained loyal to the more inclusive and broader-based ABS. Factions within the AFBS itself, including several powerful members who precipitated the initial withdrawal from the ABS, called for a more radical and thoroughgoing revision of the King James Bible.

This issue reached a critical stage in 1850 when the Rev. Cone and his colleague the Rev. William Wyckoff presented the AFBS with a more complete English revision. The organization balked at supporting this new translation, fearing that additional tinkering with the King James Version would irrevocably stamp them as sectarian and permanently cut off comity with other Christians. Cone, Wyckoff, Colgate, and numerous supporters viewed this as excessive timidity and a compromise of basic principles. They resigned from the AFBS, garnered significant financial and intellectual support within the Baptist denomination, and publicly announced their intention to form a rival bible society, vowing to correct over 24,000 documented errors that they had identified in the King James Version. They soon established the ABU with Cone as its first president.

The Union’s organizational structure mirrored that of similar American antebellum voluntary institutions. Twenty-four managers met monthly to discharge institutional business, whereas standing committees set policies and supervised activities concerning publication and finance, agencies, versions, legacies, and the library. A small staff conducted affairs at the Union’s headquarters on Chambers Street in New York City, and annual anniversary meetings rallied the faithful at prestigious urban churches. The managers established various membership categories for individual donors, and the monthly *Bible Union Reporter* informed the lay constituency. Preparing new translations constituted the highest priority. The ABU immediately announced its intention to support major English, French, and Spanish revisions, and appropriated additional money to circulate immersion versions in Burma, China, and India and to print an Armenian New Testament.

The ABU’s reach, however, often exceeded its grasp. The English language project proved particularly problematic. Some of the initial translators lacked sufficient scholarly background and ability, and the committee on versions elected not to publish their New Testament in 1856. This, in part, precipitated an organizational crisis: Spencer Cone had died in 1855, several prominent officers and board members resigned, and some of the translators appeared embittered. Only a general reorganization and the addition of such recognized biblical scholars as Thomas Conant and Horatio Hackett to the translation team kept the project moving along. Still, progress was slow. A complete English New Testament appeared only in 1862–1863, at which time the ABU authorized the distribution of thousands of pocket-size Bibles for CIVIL WAR soldiers. Work on the

Old Testament continued throughout the 1860s and 1870s, with individual parts often published serially in the *Bible Union Reporter*. In fact, the complete American Bible Union Version did not appear until after the ABU's dissolution. In 1883 the American Baptist Publication Society (ABPS) in Philadelphia assumed the work of both the AFBS and the ABU and established a new committee to review the Union's version. The ABPS finally issued an "improved edition" of the American Bible Union's New Testament in 1891 and a complete Bible in 1912, "based in part on the Bible Union Version."

Despite its relatively brief history and its overtly denominational roots, the American Bible Union illustrated some significant trends in late nineteenth-century biblical scholarship. It especially reflected the sectarian tensions, intellectual divisions, and personal controversies that severely fragmented the bible movement and strained ecumenical efforts throughout the nineteenth century. Perhaps most tellingly, it constituted part of a broader movement that called into question the authority and authenticity of the King James Version. By arguing that all translations excepting those of the original authors appeared fallible, that language needs to change in response to altered cultural circumstances, and that translators should focus on original meanings rather than words, the ABU placed itself within very modern theological currents.

See also Baptist Missions; Bible; Bible Societies; Bible Translations; Sectarianism

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AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

Starting from a vision of global spiritual conquest shared by a gathering of students at Williams College in 1806, The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) became the flagship of American Protestant missionary outreach in the nineteenth century.

The Massachusetts General Association, a conservative Congregational conclave centered at Andover Theological Seminary, chartered the Board in 1810. As its

controlling vision, the group adopted the Great Commission, Protestant terminology for Christ's New Testament charge to preach the Gospel in every land. New England Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM) provided most of the early funding and leadership to the formally independent missionary society. The United Foreign Missionary Society, a PRESBYTERIAN and DUTCH REFORMED group, joined the cause in 1826. Because the Board made no ecclesiastical claims, its missionaries maintained allegiance to their own denominations. The ABCFM expanded its geographic reach by deliberately seeking members outside New England and holding annual conferences in such places as Cincinnati and Detroit.

To facilitate fundraising, the Board regularly employed agents who promoted the formation of regional Foreign Mission Societies, as well as smaller local auxiliaries. Beginning in 1821, *The Missionary Herald* carried both news from the mission field and pleas for support to a national audience. Although the group raised just under \$48,000 in its first five years, donations between 1855 and 1860 exceeded \$2,000,000.

Early Missions

Outreach began in 1812, when four missionaries established outposts in India. Adoniram Judson stood at the forefront of this group, and although his theological convictions and missionary work soon turned in a Baptist direction (see BAPTISTS; BAPTIST MISSIONS), his name became synonymous with foreign missions and his biography became an inspirational standard (see JUDSON FAMILY). Board missionaries reached Ceylon in 1816 and the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) in 1820. Many island natives, including several key leaders, preferred missionary material aid and spiritual counsel to the exploitative edge of ongoing commercial contacts. By the 1830s, over 18,000 new believers testified to the efforts of more than ninety Americans and hundreds of native laborers. Hawaii became the Board's model of success, although critics such as American author Herman Melville (1819–1891) declared the mission an unwelcome assault on native culture.

Closer to home, Board missions among Indian tribes in the Old Southwest did not match Hawaiian successes. Mission schools and churches among the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks yielded some conversions and locally significant increases in literacy rates. However, they also fired resentment among Indian leaders who resisted Western ways, and angered Southerners eager to exploit tribal lands. Internally, Board members debated whether such “civilizing” efforts sullied their spiritual objectives. The Board was also involved in public controversy during the Removal Crisis, when such luminaries as Cherokee missionary Samuel A. Worcester and *Missionary Herald* editor Jeremiah Evarts forcefully defended tribal land claims in the South. Those efforts failed in the 1830s, but Board missionaries persevered in the trans-Mississippi West for most of the century, despite few long-term successes.

By 1850 the Board counted 157 ordained missionaries and 395 total personnel in ten countries. A dozen publication outlets distributed 37,000,000 pages of material annually in thirty languages. ABCFM free schools enrolled nearly 22,000 students. Eighty-five new churches had been established, with membership approaching 25,000.

Growth and Conflict

Growth complicated the Board's effort to maintain consistent mission policy. In the 1850s, Corresponding Secretary RUFUS ANDERSON pressed the society to reaffirm its spiritual purpose, encourage use of the vernacular in mission work, and support the timely transfer of new churches to native control. The Board's Prudential Committee generally concurred in an 1856 report, calling particularly for renewed emphasis on spiritual conversions and direct preaching rather than education, material aid, or other "auxiliary" purposes.

Board president Mark Hopkins also supported these commitments, but church leaders increasingly favored missions that strengthened their own denominational distinctiveness. When the Board's New-School Presbyterian allies reunited with their Old-School brethren in 1870, they also redirected their resources toward denominationally sponsored missions. The Board's Dutch and German Reformed contingents followed similar paths.

Later Developments

Doctrinal battles between Protestant liberals and conservatives in the late nineteenth century provided another source of conflict. The "Andover controversy," marked by debate over whether salvation was attainable in the afterlife, proved particularly divisive. Several conservative leaders departed when the Board affirmed its missionaries' theological freedom, although the society continued a liberal course. In the twentieth century, missions commonly emphasized education, material assistance, social services, and other "civilizing" efforts.

Lay persons accounted for 70 percent of mission personnel by 1910, with over half of them female. Women had long been active as supportive wives and "assistants," but public recognition rarely matched their contributions. In the twentieth century, they became the virtual backbone of the mission field. Many women carried the missionary title even though they lacked ordination. Although formally assigned to the care of indigenous females, they actually served widely in teaching, health care, and other social services.

Theological disputes, denominational resurgence, and the Board's departure from an aggressive spiritual agenda enabled more conservative evangelical groups committed to a "gospel first" strategy to gain missionfield prominence in the twentieth century. War and social upheaval in eastern Asia during the 1930s and 1940s reduced the Board's longstanding missionary presence in Asia.

The ABCFM's affiliation with the United Church Board for World Ministries in 1961 made it the missionary arm of the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST and ended 150 years of formal independence.

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MARK Y. HANLEY

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

The American Colonization Society (ACS), officially the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States, was founded in the winter of 1816–1817 in Washington, D.C. by ROBERT FINLEY, a Presbyterian minister. Revolutionary-era America appeared for a time to be moving toward a slavery-free society. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, many church people, including some BAPTISTS, Methodists, and Presbyterians, had retreated from earlier, strong antislavery stances. Freeing enslaved blacks upon condition of their emigration to AFRICA seemed a perfect idea for some.

Supporters (e.g., James Monroe, John C. Calhoun, Bushrod Washington, and blacks including the Methodist Daniel Coker and the Baptists LOTT CARY, Collin Teague, and John Day) argued that colonization would end SLAVERY, bringing relief to the enslaved and removing a sinful taint from the country, thus solving the “problem” that many whites had with the presence of an unacceptable people. The ACS envisioned colonization as a vehicle for Christianizing and “civilizing” Africans and building a prosperous, truly free black nation.

ACS opponents (e.g., African-American leaders RICHARD ALLEN, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison), with strong justification, regarded colonization as a scheme cementing slaveholding by removing free, antislavery black communities from support of enslaved siblings. Other concerns were the ACS’s insufficient emphasis on the antislavery nature of the enterprise, the endeavor’s impracticality, and the insistence that African Americans were already living in their rightful “home” while recognizing people’s right to emigrate on their own terms to other lands.

The ACS thus contributed to the founding of the Liberian republic in 1847 and the transport of more than fifteen thousand blacks to LIBERIA by 1885. Nonetheless, the coming of emancipation and constitutional abolition of slavery and recognition of black citizenship crippled the ACS, which limped along until its final dissolution in 1963.

See also Black Methodists; Methodism, North America; Presbyterianism; Slavery, Abolition of

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SANDY DWAYNE MARTIN

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is one of the best known and most honored denominational humanitarian and social change organizations in the United States. Although founded and still governed by Quakers, it now is staffed largely by people who are not members of the Religious Society of Friends. While it still brings relief to victims of war and disaster all over the world, it has become equally committed to attempting to remove the root causes of violence and poverty by bringing about change in unjust social and political structures. This course has won it support in many quarters, but has also brought charges that the AFSC has become overly politicized and has lost touch with American Quakers.

Origins of the AFSC

The impetus for organization of the AFSC was U.S. entry into World War I. In May 1917, a small group of Philadelphia Friends, led by Haverford College professor Rufus M. Jones (1863–1948), met to organize what they called the Friends National Service Committee. Assuming that Quakers would be exempted from the draft, they wished to create a structure by which young Quaker men could render some sort of service, preferably aid to civilians in war-torn areas. Moving quickly, within two months this group had raised thousands of dollars, established a training unit at Haverford College,

had made contacts with English Friends and Red Cross staff already engaged in relief work in France, and had changed the name of their organization to the American Friends Service Committee. Relations with the Wilson administration proved tricky, because while recognizing conscientious objection, it wished to keep those engaged in alternative service within the military. Not until February 1918 did the government accept the AFSC's work as an acceptable alternative to military service, by which time the first AFSC Reconstruction Units, as they became known, were already overseas.

In FRANCE, AFSC volunteers engaged in a variety of activities: nursing in hospitals, erecting new housing, farming lands for disabled owners, and otherwise attempting to restore normality to war-torn areas. Most of the members of the Reconstruction Unit, which included some women, were Friends deeply committed to pacifism and other Quaker beliefs, although a few caused concerns by drinking, smoking, refusing to attend religious worship, and even repudiating PACIFISM. The Red Cross was so impressed with the general quality of AFSC work, however, that they encouraged it to remain in France after the war, adding new responsibilities, including work with German prisoners of war.

After the Armistice in 1918, the AFSC made the critical decision to continue work in Europe. Its first major project outside France was in GERMANY, where it undertook a child-feeding program. By June 1920 it was feeding 615,000 children in 87 German cities; the number reached one million by the end of the year and continued to grow through 1924. It undertook similar work in Eastern Europe, particularly in RUSSIA. Its scrupulous neutrality allowed it to work effectively with both the American and Soviet governments. In 1922 it expanded work within the United States when it decided to offer food and clothing to the children of striking coal miners in Pennsylvania and Virginia. The success of such efforts led to the decision in 1924 to make the AFSC a permanent organization, with sections on foreign, interracial, home, and peace service.

Another critical point for the AFSC came in 1929 with the hiring of Clarence Pickett, an Earlham College professor and former Quaker pastor, as executive secretary. Pickett oversaw the expansion of AFSC work along the lines followed in the 1920s, which ranged from efforts to relieve the families of striking textile workers in North Carolina in 1929 to work among children and refugees during the Spanish Civil War. As conditions worsened in Germany in the 1930s, the AFSC set up offices in Berlin and Vienna to try to expedite the departure of Jewish refugees, aiding thousands in their escape before the outbreak of war. The AFSC also undertook new types of work in the United States, such as the attempted resettlement of hundreds of unemployed coal miners in Appalachia on subsistence homesteads. The deep friendship that developed between Pickett and Eleanor Roosevelt, who was especially interested in the Arthurdale Subsistence Homestead in West Virginia, brought the organization considerable positive publicity.

The 1930s also saw a new departure, what amounted to overt political activity by the AFSC. This was the Emergency Peace Campaign of 1936 through 1938, which enlisted hundreds of young Friends in peace caravans to try to arouse sentiment against U.S. involvement in already looming wars in eastern Asia and Europe. It worked in tandem with the political leanings of most American Friends, who tended to be isolationist Republicans in their sympathies.

When war did come, the committee once again engaged in relief work. Efforts in the Far East centered on China, with AFSC workers entering JAPAN after its surrender. The

AFSC was generally excluded from Nazi-occupied Europe, although it did work in Vichy, France, before 1942, but after the war it again mounted major efforts, especially to feed children. In the United States its projects included aid to Japanese Americans in the internment camps and the administration of Civilian Public Service camps for conscientious objectors. The quality of AFSC work was so impressive that it won, along with its British counter-part, the Nobel prize for peace in 1947. By 1951, when Clarence Pickett retired, the committee had staff numbering in the hundreds engaged in diverse activities around the world.

Organizational Change

The 1950s also saw fundamental change in the organization. Since the late nineteenth century, American Quakers had been fractured into pastoral and unprogrammed bodies, the former often evangelical in sympathy and strong in the Midwest, the latter more politically and doctrinally liberal and largely on the east coast. In the AFSC's early years, it emphasized ties with the pastoral groups. For example, a 1933 study showed that the single institution that had produced the largest number of AFSC workers was Earlham College in Indiana. The first four executive secretaries—Vincent Nicholson, Wilbur K. Thomas, Clarence Pickett, and Lewis Hoskins—all came out of pastoral Friends.

After World War II, however, this more evangelical, pastoral Quaker strain would be notably less in evidence. On one hand, many of the Friends on the staff were convinced that too many Quakers had made dangerous compromises with the larger society, especially on matters of peace and nonviolence, and wanted to use the AFSC to bring Quakerism back to its radical roots. On the other hand, by 1960 a majority of AFSC staff were not Friends, and most of its donations and money came from non-Friends, impressed by the idealism and accomplishments of the organization. As non-Quakers became increasingly visible, some Quakers had a sense of loss of control, and resented it.

The new direction was also apparent in the programs and commitments of the committee. In the late 1940s, the AFSC made a critical decision to become outspoken in criticizing U.S. dependence on atomic weapons to counter Soviet expansionism, and became more prone to question Cold War orthodoxy. Between 1950 and 1960 several vital changes took place. One was a growing emphasis on domestic affairs in the United States. In 1950 a majority of AFSC funds were spent outside the United States. In 1960 a majority were being dispersed within the country. Much of that new domestic emphasis was focused on matters of race and support for the emerging civil rights movement. The AFSC, for example, was responsible for the first mass distribution of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s *Letter from the Birmingham Jail* (1968), and AFSC staffers like Jean Fairfax played important roles at critical times in places such as Little Rock and Mississippi.

Even more important was a shift in the nature of the AFSC's peace work. The turning point was the publication of *Speak Truth to Power* (1955), an articulate pacifist analysis of American military and foreign policy. As an internal summary put it, the report "challenged the assumption that under present circumstances power could be applied rationally, and a constructive program for peace carried on simultaneously with a program for military defense [and]...the assumption that force is the only realistic means of dealing with international problems." The authors concluded, "we would rather give

up our military strength and accept the risks that this involves, than keep our guns and lose our democracy.” A new vision of pacifism and the traditional Quaker peace testimony was emerging, one that did not simply resist participation in war, but sought fundamental social, political, and economic change in order to remove the sources of all kinds of violence. A 1957 reorganization of the Peace Education Department brought in a leading advocate of this vision, Norman Whitney, as the department’s head. By 1960 almost half of AFSC expenditures were devoted to efforts to affect U.S. foreign policy. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, AFSC staff became increasingly visible in public protests, such as vigils at the White House and Fort Detrick, Maryland, to protest chemical weapons research and atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons.

Criticism of U.S. Foreign and Domestic Policies

From the 1950s to the 1970s, the AFSC expanded the range of its work to offer increasingly critical analyses of U.S. foreign and domestic policy. Typical was the 1965 call for a “New China Policy,” which in many ways presaged Nixon administration policy in the early 1970s. In 1970 the AFSC called for greater attention to Palestinian rights in *Search for Peace in the Middle East*. In 1971 the AFSC published two important statements: *Who Shall Live*, on world population growth and control, and *Struggle for Justice*, a scathing critique of the American legal system. In 1968, for example, the AFSC annual report showed commitments ranging from support for the Poor People’s Campaign in Washington to relief work in Biafra to attempts to mediate conflicts between India and Pakistan to experiments with corn productivity in Mexico to draft counseling all over the United States.

During the Vietnam War, the AFSC emerged as a major force in the antiwar movement. By 1964, staff were publicly expressing concern over U.S. policy, and in 1965, as President Lyndon B. Johnson substantially escalated American involvement, the AFSC offered a pointed response. It included meetings in Paris with a representative of the North Vietnamese government and statements urging a halt to hostilities by all sides with a negotiated settlement. The first mass demonstrations and teach-ins against the war also drew AFSC participation and support. In 1966 the AFSC, with the approval of the South Vietnamese government, began relief work in the south, most notably at Quang Ngai, where thousands of civilian victims of the war were fitted with artificial limbs and treated for other injuries.

Antiwar Activities

From 1966 the AFSC became more pointed and radical in its antiwar activities. In 1967 it began to send medical supplies to North Vietnam as well, arguing that it had a responsibility to relieve human suffering wherever it was found. One official, by 1967, was publicly comparing U.S. treatment of Vietnamese civilians to that of Hitler in Europe during World War II. Both staff and leadership found themselves involved in lengthy, tortuous debates over the conditions under which the AFSC could ally itself with other antiwar groups, especially those in the New Left that did not embrace nonviolence. In

1969 the AFSC joined with a wide range of antiwar groups in the New Mobilization to End the War or “New Mobe,” and participated in the 1969 Moratorium Day demonstrations in Washington. Across the country it offered draft counseling and went to court to support staff who tried to withhold what they regarded as war taxes. By 1969 and 1970 antiwar activists with AFSC ties were engaged in radical direct action such as the destruction of draft records, albeit without AFSC endorsement.

This direction did not come without controversy. Many American Quakers, evangelical in religious views and politically conservative, were horrified by what they saw as disloyal, if not procommunist, activism. Even many AFSC staff, especially in the Baltimore, Chicago, and New York regional offices, privately expressed misgivings, arguing that the AFSC was compromising bedrock principles of nonviolence by allying itself with revolutionary leftist groups. Other Quakers, however, criticized the AFSC as too cautious and urged an even more searching critique of what they saw as the depredations of American militarism, capitalism, and imperialism. Many other Friends, especially those in the more doctrinally liberal, unprogrammed yearly meetings that made up Friends General Conference, remained largely supportive of AFSC activities.

These tensions burst into the open with the end of the Vietnam War. Senior staff and board members created considerable controversy with their uncritical view of the victorious communist regime in Vietnam and Cambodia; one was even charged with informing the Hanoi government that a leading Buddhist pacifist was a CIA agent. In a widely reported protest, Quaker economist Kenneth Boulding (1910–1993) staged a sit-in at AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia in March 1977. Today, many in the AFSC see this failure to apply the same standards to the communist regimes in Southeast Asia that AFSC applied to the U.S. government as one of the organization’s worst failures.

AFSC Today

At the end of the twentieth century the AFSC continued many of the relief activities that brought it international acclaim in humanitarian circles. Local Quaker meetings still collected used clothing and put together emergency kits to be used in places hit by war or disaster. On the other hand, the AFSC has also felt it appropriate to take public stands on controversial social political issues that it saw as issues of peace, human rights, and justice. In 1979 it added gay men and lesbians to its affirmative action statement. It has embraced a pro-choice position on abortion. In the 1980s it endorsed the nuclear freeze movement and denounced the Star Wars missile defense program. It was outspokenly critical of Reagan administration policy in LATIN AMERICA and Israeli policy in the Middle East. In the 1990s it endorsed gay rights initiatives. These stands, and the relatively small number of Quakers on the AFSC staff (less than 20 percent in the year 2000) have brought charges that it is no longer an organization in which Friends offer service, but has instead become simply another leftist activist group, leading demands that it rename itself the American Service Committee. Some Quaker congregations and yearly meetings have cut ties for this reason. Other Friends, however, continue to see the AFSC as the most powerful Quaker witness in the larger contemporary world.

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AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

Lutheranism was brought to North America by German and Scandinavian immigrants beginning in the 1620s, although well into the twentieth century, language, settlement patterns, theology, and piety tended to isolate Lutherans from other American Protestant groups. Moreover, theological debates, usually related to the interpretation of sixteenth-century Lutheran confessional documents, particularly the Augsburg Confession, and institutional mergers focused Lutheran attention internally. In 1988, with the formation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), most American Lutherans belonged to this body or to the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS) and increasingly participated in ecumenical dialogues.

Before the arrival of Henry M. Muhlenberg (1711–1787) in North America from the pietist University of Halle, Germany, in the 1740s (see PIETISM, HALLE), colonial Lutherans were poorly organized and isolated not only from one another but also from the European churches they depended on for support and an educated clergy. The first North American Lutheran congregation was organized in 1649 in New Netherlands, whose boundaries extended from Manhattan to Albany, New York. The initially Dutch congregation was accustomed to being a religious minority, and it included a rich variety of nationalities among its membership. Its Reformed-influenced constitution provided the model for others in subsequent decades. Swedish immigrants brought their own Lutheran church to New Sweden with a royal mandate to evangelize among the natives; a second congregation formed in the Danish West Indies in the 1660s. However, the bulk of the Muhlenberg strand of Lutherans came from the Palatinate in the early 1700s and settled in New York and Pennsylvania. From his base near Philadelphia, Muhlenberg built up and gathered these congregations together. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania (1748) endeavored to unite Lutheran churches with a common order of worship and a means to ordain clergy.

Further migration spread Lutheranism into the western frontier and south into the Carolinas. By the early 1800s its leaders were increasingly Americanized. Samuel S. Schmucker, educated at Princeton, was the leader in organizing a seminary in Gettysburg and a General Lutheran Synod, a second effort to unite Lutherans of several backgrounds. His interest in reviving Lutheran confessional identity turned to revisionism, which prompted the American Lutheranism controversy in the 1850s which related to the question if distinctive Lutheran teachings should be sacrificed to accommodate the sentiment of American Protestantism. Schmucker's opponents included the southern Henkel family, which published an English translation of the *Book of Concord*, and the moderate founders of Philadelphia Seminary and the General Council (1867). Additional European immigration, mainly to the Midwest, provided the basis of a third, more strictly confessional body, the Synodical Council (1872), formed by groups such as the Missouri Synod and the Norwegian Synod.

Major theological disputes about ELECTION (PREDESTINATION), the proper basis for cooperation in SACRAMENT and PREACHING, CHILIASM, and membership in secret societies (The Four Points) consumed considerable energy late in the nineteenth century. Along with these debates came realignments among the synods according to their theological position (more or less strictly confessional) and their tradition of church practice (more or less pietistic). Relatively little official attention was given to issues such as abolition, woman's rights, or temperance, although many individuals were involved, particularly in the latter cause. Despite this doctrinal preoccupation, numerous Lutheran colleges were founded, seminaries established, and hospitals and other charitable institutions begun. William A. Passavant provided significant leadership both among the eastern churches and among the newcomers. The deaconess movement he introduced expanded with guidance from women such as Norwegian Elizabeth Fedde. Following the lead of other Protestants, Lutheran women such as Emmy Ewald organized local and federated societies in support of the church's mission, both domestically and abroad, specifically in India, China, and Africa.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the trend toward institutional differentiation changed. Three bodies from the Muhlenberg tradition adopted The Common Service (1887), an order for worship that prepared the way for their reuniting as the United Lutheran Church in 1918. The United Norwegian Lutheran Church drew together three moderate groups in 1890. Throughout the twentieth century a series of mergers united bodies, first within ethnic groups and traditions of piety and then across them. Cooperation during World Wars I and II—providing chaplains to military personnel, relief efforts in Europe, and resettlement of refugees in the United States—facilitated the process of mergers. Student work on college campuses was another early arena of cooperation. In 1960 The American Evangelical Lutheran Church (ALC) joined the moderate German-based American Lutheran Church (founded in 1930) with most of the Norwegian-based synods and the commonly named “holy” or “sad” Danes, with headquarters in Minneapolis. This body was often characterized as more rural, more midwestern, and more pietist than the Lutheran Church in America (1963). The LCA included the United Lutheran Church, the Swedish Augustana Synod, and the “happy” Danes as well some others. It was characterized as more urban, more eastern, and more liberal theologically and socially. American Lutherans, led by such men as Franklin Clark Fry, assumed a greater role in world Lutheranism and the Lutheran World Federation.

As Lutherans moved beyond traditional ethnic enclaves, from the mid-twentieth century they increased efforts to expand their membership and to involve themselves more broadly in civic affairs. Caucuses were formed by African-American, Asian, Native American, and Hispanic Lutherans to promote their members' full participation in the life of the church. At its formation in 1988, the ELCA used a representational principle to ensure ethnic and racial diversity, gender balance, and lay participation in decision making. Women gained responsibility locally and in the larger church. In 1970 women's calls to ordained ministry were recognized. The Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, and South African apartheid raised church members' consciousness of their role as citizens. National church bodies, cooperative agencies, and parachurch groups became bolder in making statements on political and social issues, intended more as advisories than as official requirements. Even so, some generated controversy, for example, the ELCA's social statement on human sexuality. In the mid-1970s heated disagreements about biblical interpretation and related issues divided the LCMS.

Having stood apart for decades, in the last half of the twentieth century Lutherans were energetic participants in ecumenical conversations, both official and informal. Cooperation grew between congregations and in local projects. Beginning in 1962 the churches engaged in formal dialogues with Reformed churches, Roman Catholics, and others in the United States and internationally. These dialogues and resulting agreements prompted debate among Lutherans about the essentials of their confessions and traditions. At issue were matters of doctrine such as justification relative to Roman Catholic theology and matters of governance such as the historic episcopate relative to Episcopalians. The LCMS continued its stricter standards of theological agreement, whereas the ELCA moved into full communion with churches in the Reformed tradition and the Episcopalians.

See also Lutheranism

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L. DEANE LAGERQUIST

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

The American Missionary Association (AMA) was a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century missionary agency associated with New England CONGREGATIONALISM. The AMA was formed in 1846 from the merging of the Union Missionary Society, the Committee for West Indian Missions, and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society.

As an evangelical mission agency (see EVANGELICALISM), the AMA continued the work of the parent organizations in Africa and Jamaica and initiated new work in Hawaii, Egypt, and Thailand. However, the primary distinction of the AMA was a strong antislavery agenda (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). The leadership protested against the silence of other mission agencies with regard to the “peculiar institution,” and advocated both ecclesiastical reform and political action to end slavery. In 1847 the agency began to provide care and relief for slave refugees in CANADA, sending aid workers, teachers, and preachers to establish schools and churches. However, the primary field for the AMA was the United States. By the mid-1850s over one hundred missionaries had been sent to the West and to the slave states of Missouri, North Carolina, and Kentucky. These agents often suffered popular and political repression in their efforts to proclaim the gospel and establish religious schools on an avowedly antislavery basis.

By the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, the AMA was functioning more as an antislavery society than as a conventional missionary agency. Throughout the war years, hundreds of teachers and missionaries provided relief, spiritual care, and education to the slaves escaping across the Confederate lines. Heroic efforts were given to the prevention of physical and sexual exploitation and abuse by the liberating Union Army. At the War's end, the agency refocused its efforts and energy toward meeting the multiple needs of the freedmen. By 1868 over five hundred missionaries were at work in the South, providing relief, aiding the former slaves in the acquisition of land and their civil and political rights, and establishing churches and schools. The Congregational Church movement was generally unsuccessful in the South, primarily because of the determination of black religious leaders to maintain their independence from white control. It is in the area of education that the AMA made a lasting contribution.

The leadership of the AMA viewed the development of educated, moral, and industrious African American citizens as essential to the survival of the black community and the nation. Hundreds of schools were founded and staffed throughout the South. As governments took responsibility for many of these elementary and secondary schools, the AMA shifted its focus to the development of normal schools and colleges. Some of these schools did not succeed nor survive, but among the successes were Hampton, Fisk, Atlanta, Dillard, and Howard universities.

Irrespective of the noble motives, tensions and difficulties soon emerged between AMA personnel and the African Americans they hoped to serve. AMA agents were not simply teachers or aid workers; they were deeply committed evangelical Christians of

their time. They were particularly disturbed by card playing, drinking, dancing, and “worldly amusements” on the Sabbath. Their attempts to inculcate these mores into the community they served were not well received, particularly when these efforts turned to open and often stinging criticism of black religious leadership.

The more serious issue was that of control and paternalism. Although AMA agents had worked in partnership with black religious leaders and educational associations from the beginning, tensions soon arose over the control of educational institutions and the transition toward black faculty. AMA agents were not free of the paternalism and racial prejudice that marked the entire white society of the age. Whereas the AMA remained one of the more staunch defenders of education, moral reform, and political rights for African Americans, by the end of the century the realities of the “Reconstructed” South had greatly tempered the passion of the early years. However, the AMA continued to serve the black community of the South, and for over a century, AMA colleges and universities provided the best quality education available to southern blacks. The modern CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT sprung directly from the faculties and graduates of those institutions.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the AMA had relinquished its international mission work to the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS and redirected much of its traditional missionary activity back toward NATIVE AMERICANS. In the twentieth century, the AMA was merged into the home mission department of the Congregational Christian Churches and in 1957 merged into the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST.

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JAMES D.CHANCELLOR

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

The American Society of Church History (ASCH) was founded in March of 1888 through the efforts of PHILIP SCHAFF (1819–1893), a Swiss-American scholar whose energy and example greatly improved the level of critical historical scholarship in this

country. Schaff, by then Washburn professor of church history at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, hosted seventeen academics at his mid-Manhattan home for the inaugural session. The small group there determined to form an association for personal interaction and mutual support, affirming their interest in pursuing “church history as a science in an unsectarian, catholic spirit.” In December of that same year ASCH convened for its first annual meeting. Schaff was named first president, and he served in that capacity for six years until his death in 1893. Meetings and membership were small, although annual fees were only \$3. In its early years ASCH was largely an elite club for seminary professors who lived along the eastern seaboard.

The Society’s first secretary was Samuel M. Jackson, bibliographer and lecturer at Columbia University, who corresponded at length with managers of the American Historical Association, a much larger professional organization founded four years earlier. Although relations between the two groups were cordial, they remained separate entities. Even though its resources were meager, the ASCH printed bound volumes of scholarly essays and papers, subsidizing as well the publication of a thirteen-volume collection known as *The American Church History Series*. During Schaff’s presidency members apparently kept faith that their enterprises would succeed, but collapse seemed imminent between 1893 and 1895 when John F. Hurst was president. The following year George P. Fisher presided over a meeting that nullified ASCH independence and placed it within the AHA’s larger aegis.

The existence of ASCH was rather vague and shadowy for the next ten years. Church historians continued to meet as a subsection of the larger group. Samuel Jackson sparred continuously with AHA administrators over the difficulty of publishing papers on ecclesiastical topics, although a modicum of Schaff’s followers persisted in sharing their interest despite such problems. Finally, after nine years of indeterminate status, they reconstituted the society in 1906, and it has maintained vigorous activities ever since. Most of the administrative framework copied previous patterns, but one change in the renewed constitution, taking a lesson from either Schaff’s longevity or Hurst’s ineptitude, stipulated that no president could serve for more than one year or succeed himself. With that revised constitution and new bylaws ASCH was incorporated by the State of New York in March of 1916. Adding to Schaff’s simple encouragement for students to pursue their work, the charter’s statement of purpose mentioned support for publishing “papers, books, writings, reports, articles, and data.” It also declared an intention to collect and preserve historical documents, create a depository library, and raise funds to facilitate scholarly endeavor.

Membership grew slowly during the first half of the twentieth century. There were approximately sixty adherents in the reorganized ASCH, and an average of one hundred more were added in ensuing decades. However, membership began to increase dramatically after World War II. In 1945 there were 444 people on the rolls, including a professor in JAPAN whose dues had been paid annually by an American friend. The list had grown to 618 in 1955; to 983 in 1965; and to 1,468 in 1975. Thereafter membership figures have fluctuated around an average of fourteen hundred people each year. Most of them reside in the UNITED STATES, but there are members in over twenty other countries as well, notably CANADA, ENGLAND, Japan, and the NETHERLANDS, even including one each in Cuba, Iran, and RUSSIA. Early in the twentieth century meetings were always held in New York, confirming an established profile of eastern

parochialism. However, by 1925 Shirley J. Case, a church historian at the University of Chicago, prevailed in arguing for expansion. Thereafter a second annual meeting convened each springtime, mostly in midwestern cities at first to give ASCH more geographical balance. These patterns and this criterion have continued until the present.

One more structural evolution is worth noting. Early administrations were cliquish and self-perpetuating. They slowly expanded to include committees to supervise membership, research, and finances. By 1970, however, ASCH constituency had so increased in numbers, gender, geographical distribution, denominational variegation, and ethnic identity that control could no longer remain in the hands of a few. In that year restructuring allowed for more democratic participation. The new arrangement created a council, in addition to the usual president, president-elect, and secretary, the better to secure a wider range of advice and to distribute responsibility in formulating policy. A total of fifteen members now constitute three classes, each class serving for three years in a consultative body, and then adding a fourth year as members of a committee on nominations, which chooses succeeding personnel to the council.

Despite economic uncertainties and low membership, the Society inaugurated in 1932 what has turned out to be its most outstanding feature. That year it launched a journal, entitled simply *Church History*, with a circulation of 285. There had been previous attempts to support scholarly publication through ventures variously named “monographs” and “studies,” but those efforts never exhibited much strength or elicited much support. By contrast the journal, which featured essays, book reviews, and roundtable discussions, proved a better outlet for professional expression. Original editorial offices were at the University of Chicago and, with rare and temporary exceptions, remained there until 1997. These continually vigorous editorial activities are now housed at Duke University, with the change of scene demarked symbolically by the addition of a subtitle to the masthead: *Studies in Christianity and Culture*. The new office functions with five editors, six associates, a board of fourteen advisors, and hundreds of willing consultants residing across the continent. Over the years the journal has become the touchstone and template of ASCH identity. With a current circulation of approximately three thousand in more than fifty countries, this crowning achievement demonstrates what church history stands for in this country. As an expression of the interests and activities of those who constitute ASCH, *Church History* embodies and exhibits the standards that define the state of the discipline in American thought and practice.

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HENRY W. BOWDEN

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

Until 1961 the American Unitarian Association (AUA) was the primary organizing body for Unitarianism in the UNITED STATES, an influential liberal Protestant denomination, which emerged from within Massachusetts CONGREGATIONALISM after the American Revolution. Unitarians have tended to stress inclusiveness and intellectual freedom throughout their history. This, at times, has produced a resistance to statements of principles, tests of membership, or denominational institutionalization. The history of the AUA reflects this tension, and can be told in terms of the internal debates and external challenges that forced Unitarians to assess their shared beliefs and perception of themselves as a group. Unitarians have not been mere reactionaries, however. They have also articulated a positive and coherent religious vision, one deeply committed to social responsibility, personal morality, intellectual freedom, and a good and just God.

Foundations

The American Unitarian Association arose in the context of debates between Arminian and Calvinist Congregationalists in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New England. ARMINIANISM denies the doctrines of PREDESTINATION, vicarious ATONEMENT, and human depravity central to Puritan CALVINISM. Instead, Arminian liberals embrace the goodness and mercy of God and the possibility of universal SALVATION through Christ and human will. During the first Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS), Arminian ministers Charles Chauncy (1705–1787) and JONATHAN MAYHEW (1733–1804) pushed liberal, rationalistic Protestantism into the mainstream of New England religious discourse. Chauncy championed a “supernatural rationalism,” maintaining the centrality of revelation and Scripture while claiming that the truths contained therein are open to analysis by “unassisted reason” (Wright 1975: xiv). He strenuously opposed what he considered to be the excessive emotionalism of the REVIVALS sweeping through New England mid-century because they neglected the role of the human intellect and will in religious life. Chauncy and fellow liberals did not completely deny the role of the affections in religion, but Chauncy’s staid, literary PREACHING style reflected his rationalistic position and contributed considerably to liberal Protestantism’s appeal to the educated, urban elite of New England.

Anti-Trinitarian theology is less important to understanding the founding of the American Unitarian Association than Arminianism, but it deserves to be mentioned. Most early Unitarians identified themselves as Arians, that is, they shared the views of the fourth-century theologian Arius who claimed that Christ was divine yet subordinate to God. Others, such as James Freeman (1759–1835), the minister of the first Unitarian church in America, subscribed to SOCINIANISM, based on the thought of radical REFORMATION theologian FAUSTO SOZZINI (SOCINUS) (1539–1604). Socinianism proclaimed Christ’s humanity and special purpose as God’s instrument and, by denying Christ’s divine nature, was viewed by many Trinitarians as a greater

HERESY than Arianism. Socinian movements took hold in POLAND, Transylvania, and ENGLAND before JOSEPH PRIESTLY popularized Socinian Unitarianism in Pennsylvania in 1794.

Unitarian Controversy and Unitarian Christianity

Despite their differences, liberal Arminians and orthodox Calvinists coexisted passably within the “Standing-Order” of Congregationalist churches until the nineteenth century. Then, in 1804, internal tensions turned to schism with the appointment of a liberal, Henry Ware (1764–1845), to replace popular, moderate Calvinist David Tappan (1752–1803) as the Hollis professor of divinity at Harvard College. The opposition to Ware from orthodox Calvinists was fierce and public, especially from Jedidiah Morse (1761–1826), a minister and an overseer for the college. Morse failed to block Ware’s appointment in 1805, the 1806 election of liberal president Samuel Webber (1759–1810), or the appointments of three liberal faculty members over the next decade.

Morse retaliated by taking actions calculated to deepen the rift. One was to establish institutional separation by founding the Andover Theological Seminary in 1808 as a bastion of orthodox Calvinism. Second, in an 1812 pamphlet entitled “American Unitarianism,” Morse insinuated that New England liberals such as James Freeman shared radical views with English Unitarian Theophilus Lindsey. A subsequent review by Jeremiah Evarts (1781–1831) in Morse’s journal, the *Panoplist*, further alleged that liberals were in secret sympathy with Lindsey, a fact that they concealed deliberately and for which they should be denied Christian fellowship. Orthodox minister John Codman (1782–1847) quickly agreed and announced he would not exchange pulpits with liberal ministers. Codman’s declaration was viewed by all as a serious rebuke to the Arminian clergy.

Deeply troubled, WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING (1780–1842) responded for the liberals in 1815. He initiated an exchange of open letters with orthodox ministers refuting the charges made by Morse and Evarts and protesting their evident attempt to divide the Congregationalist Standing-Order. SECTARIANISM, not Unitarianism, was the real danger to Christianity. In 1819 Channing expanded on his arguments, delivering the first manifesto of American Unitarianism at the ordination of Jared Sparks (1789–1866) in Baltimore. In his address, “Unitarian Christianity,” he articulated a positive statement of Unitarian beliefs, distinct from orthodox doctrine on the issues of God’s unity and perfect moral nature, the lack of scriptural evidence for the Trinity, and the subordinate divinity of Jesus Christ. Channing went beyond supernatural rationalism to argue that the BIBLE could be analyzed like any other book using the techniques of HIGHER CRITICISM, and asserted that scriptural truth must always be harmonized with NATURAL LAW and the will of God.

“Unitarian Christianity” sparked what has been called “the Unitarian controversy,” a period of around twenty years of public theological debate waged between such worthy opponents as Andover’s Moses Stuart (1780–1852) and Leonard Woods (1774–1854) and Harvard’s Henry Ware and Andrews Norton (1786–1853). Many Unitarian Christians rethought their resistance to denominational organization at this time and founded informal societies, such as the Anonymous Association and Channing’s Berry

Street Conference. Others published journals to facilitate communication between liberal congregations, a few of which would play prominent roles in the flourishing literary culture of the nineteenth century.

The American Unitarian Association

As part of this organizational trend, the American Unitarian Association was formed on May 26, 1825. AUA founders were interested in addressing some of the structural needs of Unitarian Christians and in diffusing knowledge “of pure Christianity” throughout America. To this end the AUA published tracts and pamphlets, and sponsored missionary efforts in America for the purpose of organizing new churches (although a few missionaries also would go to INDIA in the antebellum period). Despite meager support from its members and little real power within Unitarian churches, the Association grew steadily over the next ten years, its membership made up of mostly well-educated, well-heeled, and urban parishioners from New England’s oldest churches. By 1850 more than 90 percent of all Unitarian churches would be found in the northeast, while almost all of the Congregationalist churches within thirty-five miles of Boston would be Unitarian.

After debates with the orthodox Andover crowd abated in the early 1830s, Unitarians entered into a period of prolific creativity in literature, education, and social reform. Belief in progress and human perfectibility manifested in the promotion of “moral philosophy,” education, and literature as important sources of moral influence and intellectual stimulation. Unitarian poets and authors include many of the literary lights of the age, including Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882), and Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864). Education reformer Horace Mann (1796–1859) established the nation’s first public school system and teaching college. Unitarian social reformers crusaded for the abolition of SLAVERY, prison reform, TEMPERANCE, women’s rights, and ministry to the poor. Channing, Dorothea Dix (1802–1887), and ELIZABETH CADY STANTON (1815–1902) provided some of the most eloquent and impassioned defenses of human dignity and HUMAN RIGHTS during the nineteenth century.

The Challenge from Transcendentalism

Meanwhile, a new and bitter debate was fomenting that would force further denominational self-definition, this time from within the Unitarian fold. The Transcendentalist controversy, as it has come to be called, was a rebellion led by RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803–1882), THEODORE PARKER (1810–1860), and MARGARET FULLER (1810–1850), among others, against the rationalism and Biblicism of the previous generation. “New School” Transcendentalists took the Unitarian principles of personal freedom, an ordered creation, and God’s infinite moral goodness to new extremes, fusing them with European ROMANTICISM and Hindu mysticism. The result was a diverse constellation of beliefs shared by many Transcendentalists, including that of an immanent, depersonalized God present in all of NATURE, a harmonious natural world, and the role of intuition in communing with God

through nature. Some Transcendentalists declared the Bible, history, and much of Christian THEOLOGY irrelevant to religion and rejected revelation and the miracles of Christ. Emphasis on intuition and nature opened up access to religious truth for the unlettered masses, working against Unitarian elitism.

These views scandalized many Unitarians. From Emerson's "Divinity School Address" on July 15, 1838 until the CIVIL WAR, debates between Unitarians and Transcendentalists were frequent and acrimonious. Defenders of Unitarian Christianity Andrews Norton (1786–1853) and Francis Bowen (1811–1890) drew on their wide knowledge of higher criticism and philosophy to counter Transcendentalist pantheism and emphasis on intuition. Theodore Parker's sermons, "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity" and "The Relation of Jesus to His Age and the Ages," caused such furor among less-radical Unitarians that the Boston Association of Ministers took the unprecedented step of asking him to resign his ministry. Suddenly, Unitarians had to decide where the limits of their tolerance and inclusiveness lay. Parker refused to resign and continued to draw thousands to his antislavery lectures and sermons. His popularity with young Unitarian ministers prompted the American Unitarian Association to issue their first "declaration of opinion" in 1853, reaffirming their commitment to the authority of Christian Scripture, revelation, and personal freedom.

Transcendentalists were not only interested in provoking Unitarian wrath, however. Their contributions to literature, social reform, and education had farreaching influence, disproportionate to their small numbers. A prime example of this was Thomas Starr King (1824–1864), minister to San Francisco's First Unitarian Church in the 1860s. A powerful orator and abolitionist like his mentor Parker, King is credited with persuading Californians to support the Union during the Civil War. King combined Transcendentalist love of nature with the so-called divine mandate of Manifest Destiny to produce a particularly Californian Unitarianism, as mystical as it was confident in California's special role in America's divine destiny.

Revitalization and Consensus

Many moderate Unitarians worked to keep the dispute from turning to a permanent rift. After the Civil War Henry W. Bellows (1814–1882) stepped forward to advocate a more unified Unitarianism with improved organization. Noticing the detrimental effect that the Transcendentalist controversy had on membership and morale, Bellows called for a national conference to bring churches together and revitalize the denomination. When the first national conference convened in 1865, Bellows was pleased to find that a "broad Church" group of moderate Unitarians made up the majority and were eager to work out a way for both conservative and radical Unitarians to be included in the new organization. Some Transcendentalists also expressed a conciliatory desire, notably Frederic Henry Hedge (1805–1890), whose understanding of Transcendentalist intuition contributed to his high valuation of Christianity rather than detracted from it, as 'was often the case. Bellows and many moderates saw Christianity as a "universal religion" that should not be so narrowly defined as to alienate free thinkers. He hoped to avoid doctrinal disputes and convince conference delegates to organize around common work rather than a common creed.

The first National Conference of Unitarian Churches was deemed a success, although dissent among radicals persisted. The next year at the National Conference, radical Francis Ellingwood Abbot (1836–1903) proposed a revision to the preamble of the conference’s constitution that eliminated reference to the “Lordship of Jesus Christ” and gave a broader definition of Christianity as “Love, Righteousness, and Truth” (Wright 1975:79). When Abbot’s proposal was rebuffed, several frustrated radicals formed the Free Religion Association (FRA), a small, diverse group of thinkers interested in “scientific religion,” social reform, and humanism. Although the FRA never posed an institutional threat to Unitarianism, free religionists such as Octavius Brooks Frothingham (1822–1895) and Abbot exerted considerable influence on Unitarianism for years to come. Abbot was instrumental in bringing contemporary scientific concepts to bear on Unitarian thought, including the progressive evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin (see DARWINISM).

Under Bellow’s influence Unitarians grappled with the issues of collective identity, consensus, and institutionalization for the next twenty-five years. In 1867 the NCUC adopted a clause to its constitution that made acceptance of its principles noncompulsory. Individuals drafted their own distillations of Unitarian belief, such as James Freeman Clarke’s (1810–1888) *Ten Great Religions* and his 1886 answer to Calvin, “Five Points of New Theology.” In 1887 the Western Unitarian Conference adopted William Channing Gannett’s (1840–1923) statement of Unitarian principles, “Ten Things Most Commonly Believed To-Day Among Us,” ending a long dispute between radical “Unity Men” and conservative Christian Unitarians that imperiled Western missionary efforts.

The Twentieth Century and the Universalist Renaissance

The twentieth century saw more organizational changes for the AUA and a general drift away from Christianity toward ethical humanism among Unitarians. The AUA was consolidated with the National Conference in 1884, and AUA president Samuel A. Eliot (1862–1950) did much to centralize and provide financial stability to the organization during his tenure (1900–1927). The Beacon Press was founded in 1902 to improve publishing efforts. Support for secular colleges and international service and missionary efforts expanded after World War I, whereas outreach to other liberal Christians was encouraged. “Logical theism” characterized early twentieth-century Unitarianism, a blend of natural theology, progressive evolution, and belief in experience as the key to knowledge. During the Depression this shifted toward a religious humanism, in which theism was downplayed for an ethics of human perfectibility, scientific reason, and service to humanity. These tendencies coalesced in the Humanist Manifesto of 1933, signed by several Unitarians, which defined religion as outmoded “doctrines and methods” and based morality on freedom and the “common good” rather than on supernatural sources.

The presidency of Frederick May Eliot (1889–1958), known as the “Unitarian Renaissance,” was an optimistic period of community building with other liberal Protestants, a decentralization of AUA control, and increased lay involvement in AUA affairs. Unitarians of this period (1937–1958), both humanist and theist, debated the limits of freedom and organizational control, and participated on a large scale in national

affairs and international service programs. Eliot's interest in promoting a universal liberal religion led him to begin the process of AUA merger with the Universalist Church of America, which his successor Dana McLean (1908–1986) completed in 1961.

See also Antitrinitarianism; Awakenings; Human Rights; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Puritanism; Slavery, Abolition of; Transcendentalism; Universalism; Unitarian Universalist Association

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ERIKA W. DYSON

AMERICANS UNITED FOR THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Founded in 1947 in Washington, D.C. as Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (POAU), later changed to Americans United (AU), the organization represents a coalition of strict separationists. Support for religious freedom and separation of church and state as declared in the founding documents was favored originally by both rationalists and pietistic revivalists. However, the spectrum of interpretation of these two founding principles has ranged widely from "separationist" to "accommodationist," and the history of interaction among religious groups on these issues has been complex. For religious bodies to be separate from and yet enjoy interplay with the state and to act as a moral force on it has presented serious problems.

Wide-ranging anti-Catholicism has existed in the United States since the nineteenth century NATIVISM movement and the Know-Nothing Party. The founders of POAU denied that their organization was anti-Catholic, but it was definitely born in such a context. Fanned by Catholic agitation on behalf of public funding for parochial schools

and President Franklin Roosevelt's (1882–1945) appointment of Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican in 1939, a number of Protestant leaders sensed a threat to the separation of church and state. An initial meeting held in September 1946 in Washington and others like it led to the organization of POAU on November 20, 1947. Among the leaders were such prominent figures as Edwin McNeill Poteat (Colgate-Rochester Divinity School president), Charles Clayton Morrison (*Christian Century* editor), John A. MacKay (Princeton Theological Seminary president), Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, and Louise D. Newton (Southern Baptist Convention president). They issued a manifesto of eight points stating the objectives of the new organization.

Another immediate motivation for the founding of the group was the 1947 Supreme Court decision in the *Everson* bus case, which allowed the use of public transportation to take students to parochial schools (*Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 US 1). The manifesto called on “patriotic” citizens to “resist every attempt by law or the administration of law further to widen the breach in the wall of separation of church and state.” In addition, it demanded the “immediate discontinuance of the ambassadorship to the papal head of the Roman Catholic Church.” Denying any anti-Catholicism whatsoever, the manifesto correctly affirmed in its conclusion: “Profound differences separate us in the area of religious faith, but these differences have no relevancy in the pursuit of our objectives as clearly defined in this manifesto. The issue of separation of church and state has arisen in the political area and we propose to meet it there” (Pfeiffer, 1967).

Although AU in its beginnings appeared to be anti-Catholic, the initial anti-Catholic denial was certainly weakened by the publication of AU's early “bible,” Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power* in 1949. However, the AU experienced pilgrimage and change, and its separationist stance was far broader than matters involving the Catholic Church. AU established its headquarters in Washington, D.C., and local chapters in large cities across the nation. Already in 1948 the organization was publishing a single-sheet monthly newsletter, *Church and State Newsletter*. Expanding to sixteen and then twenty-four pages, the name was changed to *Church and State: A Monthly Review* (1952–1961) and finally to *Church and State*. The news organ called for “complete functional and financial separation.” It provided reports and news analyses having to do with tax support for sectarian institutions and preferment for certain denominations, as well as profiling leaders and citizens who stood up in some way to defend separation of church and state. Reviewing literature in the field as well, the newsletter referred to itself as being “interfaith” and never accepted any commercial advertising, to avoid even the appearance of external pressure on the group's positions. Eventually AU also established the Americans United Research Foundation and the Americans United Fund.

In 1951 President Truman hoped to appoint Mark Clark as an Ambassador to the Vatican. AU, the National Council of Churches, and the National Association of Evangelicals combined forces in opposing the appointment and Truman was forced to withdraw the nomination. By 1984 times had changed; although opposed by AU and other strict separationists, President Ronald Reagan (1911–) appointed William Wilson as ambassador to the Vatican, and full diplomatic ties with the Vatican were established.

In 1960 religious fundamentalists campaigned against the presidential candidacy of Catholic John F. Kennedy. One of the ringleaders of the opposition, Southern Baptist

W.A.Criswell, feared the “death of a free church and a free state.” Because Kennedy repudiated aid to parochial schools as well as official ties with the Vatican, his presidential bid was actually supported by AU, which was more sensitive to the changing times. The liberal positions of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) also helped moderate anti-Catholic feelings in AU.

Since 1960 AU has given support to a wide range of issues. In 1962 it supported the *Engel v. Vitale* case and stated that the removal of school-sponsored prayer actually increased religious freedom (*Engel v. Vitale*, 370 US 421). In 1973 AU threw its support to *Roe v. Wade* in favor of women’s freedom of choice. By the 1980s AU was opposing the political activities of the Moral Majority and Religious Right as being violations of separation. Many pamphlets were published by AU pointing out the mythical nature of views held by the Religious Right on the separation issue. More recently AU has opposed the use of tuition tax credits to assist any private schools. Its Research Foundation has also produced many materials, including videos, as aids to public school teachers in relation to teaching *about* religion. AU has also used its funds in support of lawsuits defending religious liberty. Its spokespersons have also given widespread testimony before Congress and state legislatures on separation issues.

See also Bill of Rights; Catholic Reactions to Protestants; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Christian Right; Church and State, Overview; Ecumenism

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GEORGE H. SHRIVER

AMES, WILLIAM (1576–1633)

English Congregationalist and Calvinist theologian. Ames was born at Ipswich and educated at Christ’s College, Cambridge. His tutor there was WILLIAM PERKINS, by whose preaching he was converted and whose Calvinist theology he adopted and developed (see CALVINISM). In 1601 he became a fellow of the college, but lost this position in 1610 for objecting, as many Puritans did, to wearing the surplice and for

denouncing games of chance (see PURITANISM). He was briefly city lecturer in Colchester before departing for the NETHERLANDS, where conversations at Leiden with Henry Jacob and John Robinson led him to CONGREGATIONALISM, although he later wrote against Robinson's separatist tendencies, that is, the notion to separate from the established church. From 1611 to 1619 he served as chaplain to the English troops stationed at The Hague. In 1622 he became professor of theology at the Dutch University of Franeker, to which he drew pupils from all over Europe. In 1633 Ames left Franeker to become copastor with Hugh Peter of an English congregation at Rotterdam, but died soon after his arrival.

As a theologian, Ames developed a COVENANT THEOLOGY, held the supralapsarian version of PREDESTINATION, and refuted the Roman Catholic controversialist Robert Bellarmine. He wrote four books against the Dutch Arminian Nicholas Grevinchoven, and served as an official advisor to the Anti-Arminian majority at the Synod of Dort in 1618–1619 (see ARMINIANISM). Following Perkins, Ames described the goal of theology as the devout life, and was famed for skill in the analysis of moral and spiritual difficulties. Both as theologian and casuist he adopted the logical method of the anti-Aristotelian HUGUENOT martyr Petrus Ramus. Ames' best-known books, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* and *Cases of Conscience*, published in their original Latin versions in 1627 and 1630, respectively, were widely used and influential throughout Protestant Europe and in colonial New England.

Ames identified himself with the Puritan cause and name in *Puritanus Anglicanus* (1610), his Latin translation of an earlier Puritan work by William Bradshaw, to which he added a long introduction. In treatises of 1622, 1623, and 1633 he attacked the liturgy and episcopacy of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Congregationalist but not Separatist, Ames favored independent congregations formed by covenants that chose their own pastors. Thus he is considered a progenitor of the "congregational way" that was established temporarily in Cromwellian England and more lastingly in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Indeed, the leaders of the Bay Colony had some hope that he might join them there, but this was prevented by his untimely death.

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DEWEY D. WALLACE, JR.

AMISH

Overview

The Amish reside in more than 200 settlements in twenty-six of the United States, mostly east of the Mississippi. The three most populous states are Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana. New settlements form yearly, whereas others flounder and die. The largest settlement in Holmes County, Ohio, claims nearly 200 Amish congregations, also known as church districts. The Amish have more than 1,400 local church districts across the United States and about two dozen church districts in the Canadian province of Ontario. There are no church districts in other countries since the last Amish congregation in Europe became extinct in 1936.

The Amish population doubles about every twenty years. Counting adults and children, they number nearly 200,000 people. Typically, about eighty-five percent of their youth join the church, although in some communities more than ninety-five percent join. Although the Amish do not seek converts, outsiders, known as “English,” may join if they comply with Amish guidelines. Four groups carry the Amish name: Beachy Amish, Amish Mennonites, New Order Amish, and Old Order Amish. The Beachy Amish and Amish Mennonites own automobiles and use public utility electricity. This essay focuses on the horse and buggy-driving Old Order and New Order Amish. New Order groups make up less than ten percent of the Amish of North America. Compared to Old Order groups, New Order churches permit greater use of technology, encourage more personal BIBLE STUDY, and have stricter guidelines for their youth.

All Old and New Order Amish churches share several things in common wherever they live. They speak a German (Pennsylvania German) or Swiss dialect, end formal education at the eighth grade, wear distinctive clothing, reject the use of electricity from public utility lines, selectively adapt technology, and use horse and buggy transportation. At first glance, the Amish look alike, but there are more than a dozen different subgroups, each with its own practices. Some have black top buggies whereas other groups sport yellow, gray, or white tops. Even within subgroups, diversity abounds. Some districts permit the use of cell phones, but others do not. The farmers in one church district may milk their cows by hand whereas those in a neighboring district use automatic milkers. Some communities are wealthy and others are rather poor. Despite their differences, however, the Amish share a common history.

Protestant Origins and Beliefs

The Amish trace their history to the Anabaptist movement that emerged during the Protestant REFORMATION in Europe in the 1500s. Beginning in Switzerland in 1525 and spreading to other regions of Europe, the Anabaptists refused to baptize their babies. They argued that only adults who had made voluntary decisions to follow Christ should be baptized. Their defiant acts were a capital crime in a world that expected infant BAPTISM. The young radicals were soon nicknamed “Anabaptists,” meaning rebaptizers, because they had previously been baptized as infants. The Anabaptists sought

to practice the teachings of Jesus in daily life and gave greater allegiance to the Bible than to civil government. They were, in fact, some of the earliest proponents of the separation of church and state. The Anabaptist Movement is sometimes called the Radical Reformation because it sought to extend and expand aspects of the larger Protestant Reformation.

The Anabaptists outraged both civil and religious authorities who accepted the integration of church and state as a single social fabric. Anabaptists were considered heretics and many were executed. They were burned at the stake, drowned in lakes, tortured in public spectacles, and starved in dungeons. A 1,200-page book, the *Martyrs Mirror: The Bloody Theatre of the Defenseless Christians*, records many stories of their torture. Amish ministers often retell stories from the *Martyrs Mirror* in their sermons today.

The Amish emerged in 1693 as a distinctive group among the Anabaptists living in Switzerland and in the Alsace region of France. An Anabaptist leader named Jakob Ammann sought to renew church life by proposing certain changes. Ammann called for shunning wayward members of the church to maintain its purity. The differences led to a division in 1693, and Ammann's followers were soon called Amish. Many other Anabaptists eventually took the name Mennonite from a Dutch Anabaptist leader, MENNO SIMONS.

The Amish migrated to the Americas in several waves in the mid-1700s and again in the 1800s. They formed communities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana and eventually spread to other states. They often settled near their spiritual cousins, the MENNONITES. Today some Old Order Mennonite groups use horse and buggy transportation, but the majority of Mennonites drive cars, wear contemporary clothing, support higher education, and use modern technology. The Amish and Mennonites are separate groups even though they share Anabaptist roots.

Religious Beliefs

The Amish subscribe to basic Christian and Protestant beliefs. However, they emphasize proper practice over doctrinal beliefs. They highlight the importance of community over INDIVIDUALISM. Although they have private property, they stress the importance of obedience to the authority of the church community. In addition to community, the Amish stress the importance of mutual aid, separation from the world, humility, PACIFISM, and the value of TRADITION.

Amish youth typically are baptized between the ages of sixteen and twenty two. Candidates are instructed in the *Dordrecht Confession of Faith*, an old Anabaptist confession written in 1632. At baptism, youth renounce the DEVIL and the world, confess their belief in Christ, and promise to submit to the church for the rest of their lives. Its lifelong consequences make baptism a pivotal turning point. A few youth elect not to join, but the vast majority pledge their lives to the church forever. Youth who have dabbled with cars, television, popular music, and in some cases alcohol and drugs, abruptly turn their backs on these worldly things at baptism.

The core value of Amish society involves self-denial and yielding to the church. The Amish speak of "giving themselves up" to the church. They emphasize self-surrender,

submission, yielding to the will of God and to others, contentment, and a calm spirit. They detest individualism that promotes self-interest at every turn.

The Amish abhor pride and teach the importance of humility. Pride refers to attitudes and actions that clamor for personal attention and recognition. Showy clothing, wristwatches, fancy drapes, or ornaments on a harness, signal pride in Amish life. The prohibitions against cosmetics, jewelry, and personal photographs are designed to prevent pride.

Members are taught to obey those with authority over them: children their parents, students their teachers, wives their husbands, members their leaders, and younger ministers their bishop. Everyone is expected to obey the will of God as taught by the community. Despite the strong emphasis on humility and obedience, the Amish express great respect for the dignity of each person.

Rather than emphasizing emotional experiences and the assurance of SALVATION, Amish leaders speak of a “living hope,” an abiding belief that God will grant faithful followers eternal life. They refrain from the individualistic, evangelical language of “personal” experience and “born again” CONVERSION. In a spirit of humility, they trust in God’s providence for their salvation, believing that it flows from obedient living in the community of faith.

Finally, the Amish emphasize social separation from the world not only in belief, but also in their practices. The use of horse and buggy transportation, rejecting television and computers, wearing of distinctive clothing, refraining from membership in public organizations, and rejecting political offices all reflect their belief that the church should be a counterculture separate from the larger society.

Rules of Conduct

Amish values are translated into guidelines for daily living called the *Ordnung*, a German word that means rules and order. The *Ordnung* is a set of expectations for daily living. Usually unwritten, the rules are passed on by practice and oral tradition. They are updated as new issues arise. Members of each congregation affirm the *Ordnung* twice a year before the spring and fall communion service. The details of the *Ordnung* vary by subgroup, as well as by local congregation.

The *Ordnung* defines expectations and taboos for conduct ranging from personal dress to the use of technology. All Amish groups expect men and women to wear distinctive clothing. Married men are expected to grow a beard and wear an Amish-style hat and vest. Women wear a head covering and usually a three-piece dress that includes a cape and an apron. The details of color and style vary from group to group. Unlike American culture, where dress is a tool of individual adornment, among the Amish it signals submission to the collective order and serves as a public symbol of group identity.

As part of their *Ordnung* most Amish groups forbid owning automobiles, tapping electricity from public utility lines, using self-propelled farm machinery, owning a television, radio, and computer, attending high school and college, joining the military, and initiating divorce.

Religious Services and Rituals

Twenty to thirty-five families who live near each other form a local congregation called a church district. Each district has geographical boundaries. The church district is the social and religious hub of Amish life. Members of each district meet for WORSHIP every other Sunday in one of their homes. The services, which rotate from home to home, often involve 150 or more children and adults. Following a three-hour worship service, members enjoy a light fellowship lunch followed by visiting. As districts grow, they divide.

Each district has three types of leaders: a bishop, two ministers, and a deacon. The leaders are selected by drawing lots among nominees in the congregation. Leaders serve for life without formal training or pay. The bishop is the spiritual head of the congregation. He officiates at baptisms, weddings, communions, confessions, funerals, and members' meetings. He also interprets and enforces the Ordnung. In addition to PREACHING, the ministers assist with other leadership responsibilities. The deacon helps the bishop and cares for special medical or economic needs of members.

The church district serves as church, club, precinct, and neighborhood all bundled together. Districts in fellowship with each other exchange ministers, support similar Ordnungs, and permit their members to intermarry. The Amish do not have church buildings, mission agencies, national religious conferences, or a central church office. Members are linked together through loose bonds of fellowship rather than by bureaucratic structures.

Their worship services have no altars, candles, organs, stained glass windows, choirs, or pulpits. Slow, unison singing in German, without rhythm or instruments, unites the community in worship. The ancient tunes are sung by memory. The words, many written by Anabaptist prisoners, are printed in a hymnbook called the *Ausbund*.

Fall and spring communion (see LORD'S SUPPER) services rejuvenate both personal faith and the bonds of community. In a self-examination service two weeks before communion, members confess their sins publicly and reaffirm their commitment to the Ordnung. If all is well, the congregation celebrates their renewed faith in a six-hour-long communion service that includes washing of feet as taught by Jesus. Unlike many Protestant services that focus on individual experience, Amish communion celebrates the unity of community. In fact, if dissension invades the church, communion may be delayed.

Like other humans, members sometime stray into sin and deviance. Those who violate a major teaching of the Ordnung—flying in an airplane, filing a lawsuit, plowing with a tractor—will be asked to make a public CONFESSION at a members' meeting. Those who defy the authority of the church may face excommunication.

Shunning typically follows excommunication. Based on Biblical teaching, shunning involves rituals that remind the wayward of their sin and seek to bring them back to fellowship. Expulsion is a heavy matter because it can lead to a lifetime of estrangement from family and friends. However, those who do fall from grace can always return to the fold if they are willing to confess their wrongs and mend their ways. Unbaptized persons who leave the community are not shunned. Although shunning may sound harsh to modern ears, the Amish faith has two key points of integrity: adult baptism by free choice and an open back door for wayward members who want to return with a contrite heart.

Youth and Education

Before 1950 the Amish youth attended small rural public schools. However, when small schools consolidated into large districts some Amish parents protested their loss of local control. Moreover, they considered “book learning” and study beyond the eighth grade unnecessary for farming. Some parents sat in prison for refusing to send their children to large public schools. Finally, in 1972, the United States Supreme Court, in *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, ruled that Amish children could end formal schooling after eighth grade.

A few Amish children still attend rural public schools, but the vast majority go to one- or two-room schools operated by Amish parents. Indeed, about 35,000 Amish youth attend some 1,300 private schools that end with eighth grade. Instruction is in English. The teachers are typically Amish women who have not gone to high school but are graduates of Amish schools themselves. A religious song and a Scripture reading may open the school day, but religion is not taught in a formal way. Reading, spelling, writing, and mathematics are the basic subjects. Science is not taught.

The quality of instruction varies considerably by group and region. The schools play an important role in passing on Amish values, developing friendships, and limiting exposure to the outside world. The schools contribute to the vigor and vitality of Amish life. After formal schooling Amish youth work in vocational apprenticeship programs on the farm or in small shops. Here they learn vocational skills that will serve them in adult life.

Youth eagerly await their sixteenth birthday, the traditional age when they begin *rumspringa*, a time of “running around.” During this time, they spend more time with their peers on weekends and often begin dating. Rumspringa is a moment of freedom when youth are suspended between two worlds: the control of their parents and the supervision of the church. Because they have not been baptized, they technically are not under the *Ordnung*. Many youth adhere to traditional Amish behavior. However, others may experiment with worldly things—buying a car, going to movies, using alcohol, wearing English clothes, and buying a television or a DVD player.

Rumspringa gives Amish youth the impression that they have a choice regarding church membership, and indeed they do. However, all the forces of Amish life funnel them toward joining the church. Knowing they have a choice likely strengthens their willingness to obey church standards after they join.

Marriage and Family

Church and extended family are the primary social units of Amish society. Young people usually marry by the age of twenty-one. Daylong weddings are festive moments of celebration in Amish society. The ceremony follows a lengthy church service, held on a weekday at the home of the bride or a close relative. Several hundred guests join the festivities that often include a lunch and an evening meal. Once married, Amish couples on the average have six or seven children, but in some cases, twelve or more. Most families do not use artificial birth control unless advised by a physician for health reasons; however, some use natural methods of family planning. Some babies are born in local hospitals, but most greet the world at home or in a local birthing clinic.

Amish families reflect traditional gender roles in which the man serves as the spiritual head of the home. He is responsible for its religious welfare and matters related to the church and the outside world. As in most families, gender roles vary by personality. When husbands work at home, there is often considerable cross-sharing of roles—women assisting in the barn or shop, and men in the garden or around the house. Wives rarely hold full-time jobs outside the family when their children are young. The elderly typically live in an apartment or in a small house adjacent to the home of one of their children. Esteemed for their wisdom, the elderly pass on the wisdom, joys, and secrets of Amish life to typically dozens of grandchildren.

Occupations

Ever since religious persecution pushed them into rural areas in Europe, the Amish have been tillers of the soil—and good ones. Their ties to the land have served as a cradle for the nurture of their children. Church leaders have resisted large-scale mechanized farming for fear it would steal work from children and erode family solidarity. Using horse drawn equipment is one way of resisting large-scale, corporate style farming. With a few exceptions, most farms are small family operations that use horse-drawn machinery. For many years Amish farms were small, diversified operations with a dozen cows, some chickens, and a few beef cattle. Although many continue this tradition, other farms specialize in dairy, and in some cases, chickens or hogs. Some specialize in vegetables, herbs, greenhouse plants, and flowers. Despite popular myths, most Amish use insecticides, herbicides, and chemical fertilizers.

Economic pressures have encouraged many families to seek nonfarm employment. In some of the larger communities, the number of farmers dips below fifteen percent. More isolated areas still claim over seventy-five percent on the farm. The shift to nonfarm work is the biggest change in Amish society since 1975. Despite their growing involvement in business and commerce, the Amish remain a distinctly rural people, living along country roads and on the margins of small villages. Three types of nonfarm work flourish: small shops, construction work, and employment in English factories. Hundreds of small Amish-owned industries have sprung up in many communities. Most of these are small family businesses with less than ten employees. The bulk of them produce wood products—household and outdoor furniture, gazebos, small barns, lawn ornaments, doghouses, and mailboxes—to name but a few of the hundreds of products. Other shops specialize in fabricating metal. Annual sales in the larger businesses exceed five million dollars.

Many Amish do construction work—building homes and industrial structures for non-Amish people. In some communities the majority of Amish men work in English-owned factories located in rural areas. In Northern Indiana many Amish work in factories that build recreational vehicles. The growth of nonfarm employment has brought new wealth to many Amish communities.

Technology, Government, and Community

The Amish use technology selectively. Televisions, radios, and computers are rejected outright, but many other types of technology are used selectively or modified to fit Amish purposes. Amish mechanics often create new machines to fit their cultural needs. Moreover, much state-of-the-art technology, like gas grills, shop tools, camping equipment, and some farm equipment, is readily bought from non-Amish vendors. If left untamed, Amish worry that technology will harm their community by disrupting social traditions, family solidarity, and bringing foreign values through mass media. Technology is not considered evil in itself; “It’s what it will do to the next generation,” said one bishop. A car is not seen as immoral, but as a harmful tool that would pull the community apart. The Amish seek to master technology rather than becoming its slave. They try to tame technology—hoping to prevent it from harming family and community life.

The Amish pay state and federal income taxes, sales, real estate, and public school taxes. They also support their own private schools. They are exempt from Social Security taxes because they consider Social Security a form of insurance. The Amish believe that the Bible instructs them to care for the elderly and assist members who have special needs. To rely on commercial or government insurance would mock their faith that God cares for them through the church.

The Amish are taught to respect and pray for governing authorities according to Biblical admonitions. However, when caught in a conflict between their conscience and civic law, they recite the Scripture that they should “obey God rather than man.” The intense persecution in Europe solidified their strong belief in the separation of church and state. The Amish are pacifists and refuse to enter the armed forces. They generally avoid politics, holding public office, and political activism. They are, however, permitted to vote in public elections. The Amish generally do not join public organizations or service clubs in the local community, but some of them do serve as members of local volunteer fire companies and emergency medical units. Although they do not develop intimate relationships with outsiders or marry them, they are typically good neighbors who enjoy many friendships with their English neighbors.

A strong sense of community regulates the rhythms of Amish life. Face to face conversation in homes, lawns, shops, and barns provides the social glue of Amish society. Without big organizations, Amish life thrives in a thicket of personal relationships that mix neighborhood, family, church, work, and leisure together. Despite many communal regulations, each individual is afforded respect and dignity.

See also Anabaptism; Baptism; Bible Study; Church and State; Confession; Conversion; Devil; Heresy; Individualism; Lord’s Supper; Martyrs and Martyrologies; Pacifism; Preaching; Reformation; Salvation; Simons, Menno; Tradition; Worship

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DONALD B. KRAYBILL

AMISSAH, SAMUEL HANSON (1907–1989)

African church leader. Amissah was one of the early Christian leaders in post-independence and post-missionary Africa. He was the first African and lay principal of Wesley College, Kumasi (1952–1963); the first general secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) in Zambia and later Kenya (1964–1971); and the first vice president of the Methodist Church, Ghana (1977–1979).

Born January 6, 1907, in Ghana, he enrolled in Wesley College in 1925. After graduation, he remained for twenty-eight years, first as a tutor, then vice principal, and finally as principal. He therefore spent more than half his career training teachers for Ghana's schools.

Because of his work in the Church Union Committee of Ghana, he became the first general secretary when the AACC began in Kampala, Uganda, in April 1963. Under his leadership AACC moved from Kitwe, Zambia to its new head office in Nairobi, Kenya. He made the AACC representative of the diversity of African men and women, young and old. He was involved in negotiations between the Muslim government of Sudan and their Christian neighbors, and the negotiations between Nigeria and Biafra.

In Ghana, Amissah chaired a commission in the Methodist Church that arbitrated between rival factions to ensure EVANGELISM would continue among the immigrant Fante community in Accra. He was also chair of the Songor Lagoon Committee of Inquiry.

In his final years he tried to prevent a Methodist leader from perpetuating himself in office. He died September 18, 1989 just before the final resolution of that crisis. Amissah's career exemplified the fact that Africans were able to take over positions of church leadership harmoniously in the post-colonial period.

See also Africa; Methodism, African Theology

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CASELY B.ESSAMUAH

AMSDORF, NIKOLAUS VON (1483–1565)

Protestant reformer. Born in Torgau on December 3, 1483, Amsdorf was educated at Leipzig and Wittenberg and became bishop of Naumburg-Weitz. He was one of MARTIN LUTHER'S earliest supporters and closest friends. Amsdorf, along with PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, helped lead Luther's movement when Luther was being hidden in the Wartburg Castle. Amsdorf is most remembered for his zealous defense of a conservative reading of Luther's teachings on the role of good works and the human will in SALVATION.

Involved in a number of heated polemical debates among the early Lutherans over the proper interpretation and application of Luther's reform, he helped initiate the GNESIO-LUTHERAN movement in the 1540s. Taking a radical interpretation of Luther's assertion that "good works are harmful to salvation," Amsdorf argued against Melanchthon in 1536 and George Major and Justus Menius in the 1550s over the role of good works in salvation. He also disagreed with Melanchthon over the matters of the role of the will in CONVERSION (rejecting Melanchthon's view that the will is a third factor in conversion), the relationship of the Lutheran churches to Rome, and the interpretation of the "real presence" of Christ in the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER). Similarly, Amsdorf rejected the synergism of Johann Pfeffinger and Viktorin Strigel and wrote harsh critiques of the Leipzig and AUGSBURG INTERIMS, especially attacking the principle of concession in ADIAPHORA. Almost all of Amsdorf's writings are polemical treatises responding to immediate issues and debates of his day in an attempt to uphold and protect confessional purity.

See also Lutheranism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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G.SUJIN PAK

ANABAPTISM

Historical Sketch of Anabaptism until 1600

Anabaptism formally began in SWITZERLAND in January 1525. It had been anticipated by the turbulence of the early REFORMATION, many critics of the state of the church, anticlericalism, and by those who felt that MARTIN LUTHER and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI did not consistently carry out the reforms called for by their own Bible study.

From 1525 to 1530 Anabaptism spread throughout Switzerland, South Germany, Moravia, and Austrian areas. Fearless evangelists and brilliant scholars, many of them touched by ANDREAS KARLSTADT, THOMAS MUNTZER, and Jakob Strauss and more than likely influenced by revolutionaries such as Michael Gaismair, led the movement. Three main streams emerged: Moravian/Hutterite, South/Central German Swiss, and finally the Northern German and Dutch. All had their peaceful branches and most also their revolutionaries.

The scholars, together with some Jewish scholars, produced a German translation of the Old Testament prophets (twelve editions) from Hebrew to German (1527) before Luther did. Luther said "my German followed (it) very closely" ["daran...meinem deustchen fast (sehr) nachgangn ist" (WA *Deutsche Bibel* II:2)].

These years brought publications, disputations, confessions of faith (Schleitheim, 1527), and repression. Intellectual foundations were laid in extensive disputations with Reformation leaders.

There also was bloody suppression because rebaptism (the charge by the rulers and the church) was punishable by death. During the years 1527 and 1535 in south and central GERMANY the increase in martyrs rose from 56 in 1527, to 200 in 1528; in 1529 the number declined to 152; and in 1530, to 89, making a total of 488. For the century from 1525 to 1618, of all the Anabaptist executions, 80 percent took place from 1527 to 1533 and 40 percent in 1527 and 1528. One result was the rise of APOCALYPTICISM, leading to MELCHIOR HOFMANN'S commentary on the Apocalypse (1530) and his commentary on Romans (1533). He was a gifted evangelist and bible expositor, although a furrier, and became the founder of Anabaptism in the NETHERLANDS. He exercised his leadership from prison from 1533 until his death in 1543. Obbe and Dirk Philips joined the movement in part through him. Others were attracted to the febrile

apocalypticism, which led to the debacle of Münster, the bloody defeat of Anabaptists in that city.

During the decade of the 1530s the magisterial Reformation published booklets justifying the persecution of Anabaptists by Christian princes. That was partly in reply to eloquent pleas by PILGRAM MARPECK and Leupold Scharnschlager to Strasbourg authorities for tolerance. The Münsterite fiasco (1534) did little to support their claim that Anabaptists had no desire to force their views on others. This decade also brought the establishment of the Hutterite community by JACOB HUTTER in 1533 in Moravia that, after a complex geographic pilgrimage from Moravia to Transylvania to the Ukraine to North America, survives to this day.

Because of the spiritual and intellectual leadership of Scharnschlager and Marpeck, there was also an almost complete separation from SPIRITUALISM in its many forms. In Holland the movement was saved after the Münster debacle, by MENNO SIMONS who dedicated his considerable courage and skills to building communities in which nonviolent love was practiced within as well as to the outsider.

Menno Simons was actively sought to undo the damage of the Münster debacle and, although a fugitive, ministered effectively to his bruised flock. Some of his time had to be devoted to defending his CHRISTOLOGY and his severe church discipline. Notwithstanding, his leadership assured him the honor in later years of having the movement called Mennonites.

The last half of the sixteenth century saw a changed scene. Marpeck died in 1556 of natural causes; Menno followed five years later in 1561. Most important for the Anabaptists, in 1564 King Ferdinand died. None had been more persistent and effective in killing Anabaptists. He was proud that he had been able to keep Austria free of the Protestant and Anabaptist plague.

Although publications were the lifeline of the movement in the latter half of the century, the focus was on history, as exemplified by the *Martyrs Mirror*, although it was not published until 1660; the *Hutterian Chronicle* also began in the 1530s, circulating only in manuscript form until modern times. The oral tradition kept the community alive, and, once King Ferdinand died, even the Netherlands where he also reigned was free to develop culturally and institutionally.

Anabaptism has become a normative designation for the community of people who wished to go beyond the measures of reform taken by Luther, Zwingli, MARTIN BUCER, and JOHN CALVIN. Termed a child (though an “unsubmissive one”) of the Protestant Reformation (Fritz Blanke), Anabaptism has been referred to by historians of the last century as “The Left Wing of the Reformation” (Roland Bainton), “The Radical Reformation” (George Huntston Williams), “the Free Church” (E. Payne, followed by most Baptists), and the “believers’ church” (John Howard Yoder et al.).

The flood of new sources (court records but also Anabaptist writings, either recently discovered or newly identified and translated) has been a strong incentive to review the question of their faithfulness to New Testament teaching and their place within the Protestant Reformation and Western civilization. For those who wish to follow the early Anabaptists and test the contemporary relevance of their teaching for the postmodern age, the term “Anabaptism” has considerable meaning, always under review.

The Anabaptist Agenda

Modern Mennonites have been propelled forward in their quest for the abiding nature of the Anabaptist witness by energetic and gifted teachers and scholars. Historians such as Harold Bender, Robert Friedman, John Howard Yoder, Hans Hillerbrand, Walter Klaassen, Arnold Snyder, Werner Packull, James Stayer, Heinold Fast, and Hans Jürgen Goertz, and systematic theologians and ethicists such as Gordon Kaufman and Lawrence Burkholder have cheered these teachers and researchers on. Kaufman's contribution to the debate on the ethics of nuclear armament, his concern for the application of human imagination and reason to issues of Christology, put him in the best traditions of Anabaptism.

In trying to explain a new appreciation of their historic legacy to fellow church historians, Harold S. Bender in 1942 used the phrase "Anabaptist Vision." In spite of robust criticism, the phrase has remained in vogue (in particular as revised by Gordon Kaufman) and continues to put the Anabaptist position succinctly and accurately, even though the "Anabaptist Vision" betrayed a much greater debt to DIETRICH BONHOEFFER and Johannes Kühn than it did to Anabaptist sources. It inspired twentieth-century Mennonites to believe that their predecessors had lived and died for a cause still worthwhile.

Bender's portrait of the Anabaptist vision involved three central teachings or new conceptions:

1. The essence of Christianity as discipleship.
2. The church as a brotherhood [henceforth community].
3. A new ethic of love and nonresistance, or biblical pacifism.

Bender saw two foci in this vision: The essential nature of Christianity and of the CHURCH. He saw a community of love in which the fullness of the ideal of the Christian life is to be expressed. He distinguished between the Anabaptists and their contemporaries both in theory and practice. MARRIAGE was held in honor because it was normally a union of two believers who treated each other as brothers and sisters in Christ. The use of coercion or pressure in that relationship was considered a result of Adam's fall, which Christ had also undone. Stephen Boyd (1999) has suggested that whereas Luther saw emancipation from the fall's consequences for marriage as being in the future, the Anabaptists treated it as something already accomplished.

In modern times Anabaptist scholars gave critical attention to the way in which the first Anabaptists saw the state. How does one draw the limits of obedience to its demands? From the beginning this was a central issue in Anabaptist discussion of biblical categories. Because Jesus taught his disciples to love their enemies, members of this group renounced violence (see PACIFISM) and abjured the use of the sword, calling for holy living, justice, peace, and joy in accordance with the constitution of the church (= kingdom of God as defined by Paul, Romans 14:17). According to their interpretation of the New Testament, they upheld the separation of church and worldly government (see CHURCH AND STATE OVERVIEW), BAPTISM based on the faith of the recipient, and discipline within the fellowship of the believers. "Nonresistance" became an active search for justice and nonviolent reconciliation.

In recent decades victim-offender reconciliation programs have blossomed alongside disaster-relief programs. In Mennonite mental hospitals health professionals both developed their skills and applied the lessons they had learned in alternative service during World War II. They also answered the question: What do you do when a mad man threatens you or your loved ones? Like the sixteenth-century Anabaptists, modern Mennonites have tried to provide a haven of love for the mentally ill and the specially challenged, including the offenders against society.

The Response of the Reformers

The relation of Anabaptism to the Reformation is complicated. Although Anabaptists generally spoke with respect and appreciation of the work of Luther and reformers like Bucer, and acknowledged their debt to Erasmus and Zwingli, they were called “Schwärmer” (“fanatics” or “enthusiasts”) because they placed religious values and spiritual obedience as vetted by their community of believers ahead of the social norms of their society. Generally speaking it is difficult for societies to treat dissenters with civility, especially when changes are rapid; during the Reformation much was in the process of change.

Leupold Scharnschlager, expelled from Strasbourg, in his farewell statement (1534) spoke appreciatively of the leadership of Martin Luther; he also voiced his disappointment that Luther did not carry through consistently with his earlier affirmations to finish the reformation. Seven times Scharnschlager appealed to Luther and affirmed at least two of Luther’s early writings. Earlier he had appealed to Luther several times in a 1531 booklet on the limits of the state, lamenting the absence of “the obedience of faith” among the followers of the reformers.

The response of the reformers was swift and brutal. Both Urbanus Rhegius and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, with the debacle of Münster in vivid memory, wrote booklets in 1536 urging Christian princes to suppress Anabaptists for being a threat to society. Anabaptists argued that among the reformers no baptismal vows were made (because infants were incapable of making such vows), lives were not being transformed, and true communities were not being built, all of which caused them to leave the state church. Repression only hardened their resolve to seek community wherever it could be found (Mattern 1998).

Modern Response

Some social historians have dismissed the Anabaptists’ approach to community living and their social behavior as irresponsible and naive, charging that the peaceful brethren became a “threat to civilization” or were bent on “destroying civilization” (Claus Peter Clasen). Clasen breathes a sigh of relief that the Anabaptists had no “discernible impact” on the political, economic, or social institutions of their age. Therefore they cannot be called more than a “minor episode in the history of sixteenth century German society.” After all, several “pious old women or journey-men” refusing to attend church can hardly be called a Reformation movement. Clasen’s interest is whether, during the sixteenth

century or even today, their political doctrines “could be considered a workable basis for the functioning of society.” This question, he says, makes Anabaptism “appear in a new light.” Two issues remain unaddressed. What constitutes a “workable basis”? How does one define the “functioning of society”?

Identity and Name Calling

It took some centuries for the epithets of the earliest critics [“Wiedertäufer” (“anabaptists,” rebaptizers)] to become respectable. Anabaptists rejected this term as one of self-designation, claiming they were baptizing for the first time. The theology of baptism developed by BALTHASAR HUBMAIER and especially Christoph Freisleben, with its specific appeal to Romans 6 and the new life in Christ, was a formidable basis on which to build a religious reform movement. Zwingli was hard-pressed in his debate with Hubmaier to explain Romans 6 as a ground for infant baptism.

Because of the opprobrium attached to the term and its connotation of HERESY, condemnation, and execration, early Anabaptists preferred the term “Täufer” (“baptizers”) or simply “Brüder und Schwestern” (“brothers and sisters”). In Holland and North Germany, as early as 1545, they were mostly called “Doopsgezinde” (“baptismally minded”) and as “Mennisten” in a mandate by countess Anna of East Friesland. By the end of the sixteenth century, the term Mennisten was standard, based on Menno Simons, an ex-priest whose untiring work helped that community to purge itself of the tendency toward violence and thus to survive. Outsiders were likely responsible for the name. Menno carried out the mammoth task of drawing the disparate groups together after the peasant revolt involving Thomas Müntzer in 1525, and seeking to distance it from the Münsterites in 1535.

The Current Picture and Historical Models

Alongside its critics Anabaptism has had its admirers and followers, including the small group of Mennonites (less than one million worldwide) who with varying degrees of pride claim to be heirs of this legacy. With surprising diligence, ethnic groups are prone to cull praise from the larger world as if their legitimacy depends on it. Thus it is noted that ADOLF HARNACK, although denying the Anabaptists a place in the history of dogma (because they are “fundamentally untheological”), praised their place in ETHICS and their way of life, against the “heroic Luther and the iron Calvin.” FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER called for cancelling “the sentence of condemnation passed on the Anabaptists.”

Faith and practice, which the Anabaptists tended to equate, involved the voluntary acceptance of baptism on confession of faith. The first baptisms they practiced brought with them a strong affirmation of reliance on God and a bonding between believers heightened by persecution—for soon their action was condemned as a capital crime. Only Strasbourg apparently was able to avoid killing people for being adherents to this “abhorrent sect.” Under the reign of King Ferdinand, especially, there was a constant

struggle to have princes and local rulers enforce the king's harsh decrees, which in turn brought continuing resistance and new converts.

In Tirol a decree ordered that the edict against the Anabaptists be enforced, especially against their leaders. Because there were an exceptional number of female leaders, a disproportionate number of women were executed. As Linda Huebert Hecht has shown, a number of women—even those of the nobility—were exiled, publicly humiliated, or forced to recant, an observation that has eluded countless male historians writing on Tirolian Anabaptism.

In some parts of Germany female Anabaptists were “chained” in their own homes, remanded to the custody of their husbands until they gave up their Anabaptist views and returned to the Reformed or Catholic church. By taking on the profession of midwifery, some Anabaptist women were able to circumvent infant baptism by claiming that the child had seemed sickly, then lying that it had been hastily baptized. They justified this act of civil disobedience by the precedent set by the Hebrew midwives of ancient Egypt (Exodus 1:15–22).

What was at stake was not only the practice of infant baptism but the issue of the authority of the state. Anabaptists agreed that the state was indeed ordained of God, but believed it could not coerce in matters of faith, or it would become the “whore of Babylon.” This issue became a source of tension, especially for those who were employed by the state or other public bodies.

Many social factors played a role in their decisions, but in the last analysis, Anabaptism was sparked and continues to be inspired by a strong religious, spiritual drive. Without the continuing spiritual nurture provided by a community that practices binding and loosing, forgiveness and accountability, Anabaptism would not have survived.

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WILLIAM KLASSEN

ANDERSON, RUFUS (1796–1880)

Congregational minister and foreign mission official. Anderson was born August 17, 1796, in North Yarmouth, Maine, the son of Rufus Anderson, a Congregational minister, and Hannah Parsons. Educated at Bowdoin College (1818) and Andover Theological Seminary (1822), he was ordained a Congregational minister in 1826. He started with the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM) as assistant secretary (1823–1832) and ended as a Prudential Committee member (1866–1875). While serving as foreign corresponding secretary (1832–1866) he supervised the Board's several hundred missionaries overseas and shaped, articulated, and implemented its policies. Afterward he published histories of the ABCFM missions in Hawaii, the Mediterranean, and India, and presented his understanding of missions in *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (1869). He died in Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Anderson and Henry Venn of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY articulated the "three-self" formulation of missions: the goal of missions was to create self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating indigenous churches. Anderson insisted that missionaries should take the gospel, not American culture, overseas. He warned against dependency on education as an evangelistic method. Despite some controversy, Board policies during his lifetime reflected his views.

EVANGELICALISM and CONGREGATIONALISM shaped Anderson's ideas. PREACHING and the CONVERSION of individuals were central. Independent mission churches would evolve in form but be Protestant in theology and polity. Anderson provided a theological rationale for the global expansion of American Protestantism and has widely influenced its mission thought.

See also Missions; Missionary Organizations; Missions, North American

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ROBERT A.SCHNEIDER

ANDREWES, LANCELOT (1555–1626)

English theologian. Andrewes was born in London in 1555 and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge (B.A. 1571, M.A.1578, appointed Master 1589). He was appointed to various ecclesiastical positions, serving successively as vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate (1589), Bishop of Chichester (1605), Bishop of Ely (1609), and Bishop of Winchester (1618). At the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604, Andrewes was commissioned as a translator of the BIBLE. He died one year after James I, on September 26, 1626 in Winchester House, Southwark and was buried in Southwark Cathedral.

Andrewes was a diligent scholar, usually spending five hours a day in study and fluent in fifteen languages, and a skillful homilist. His well-known *Preces Privatae* (a collection of private devotions), for example, is entirely in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. It was in the pulpit, however, that Andrewes gained most renown. He preached regularly to both ELIZABETH I and James, especially on the greater Church feasts and seasons (Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Pentecost). His 96 surviving sermons are stylistically elaborate [and admired by the poet and critic T.S.ELIOT (1888–1965)] and characterized by both wit and theological clarity.

In the company of fellow theologian RICHARD HOOKER (1554–1600) and divine and poet GEORGE HERBERT (1593–1633), Andrewes was a significant influence on the development of ANGLICAN theology. He wrote two long works of controversy against Robert Bellarmine, but was also a well-known opponent of PURITANISM. He argued, for example, for the centrality of the SACRAMENTS, without seeking specificity as to how grace is mediated through them. In all, he sought a middle ground, choosing to focus on central themes of Christian DOCTRINE: the Trinity and the Incarnation.

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GARY R.BROWER

ANDREWS, CHARLES FREER (1871–1940)

English missionary in India and friend of Mahatma Gandhi. Andrews was born in England in 1871. Brought up in the Catholic Apostolic Church, he joined the CHURCH OF ENGLAND as a young man and was ordained priest. After starting an academic career at Cambridge University, he went to India in 1904 with the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. He spent the rest of his life in India, initially teaching at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. During this period, he promoted the Indianization of the church, its leadership, mission, liturgy, and theology. He considered the disunity of the churches damaging to the mission, and, claiming to be a "High Church" Anglican, supported cooperation with Baptists and Presbyterians. His gift for friendship brought him close relationships with Hindus and Muslims. He increasingly identified with the Indian independence movement and its leaders, in particular forming deep friendships with the nationalist leader Gandhi (1869–1948) and poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). In 1914 he left formal missionary work, making his home at Tagore's ashram until his death in Calcutta in 1940. His principal work for Indian freedom included his dialogical relationship with Gandhi, promotion of nationalist thought through books and extensive journalism, and his successful campaign throughout the British empire for the abolition of the system of slavery known as indenture, for which he earned the title "Deenabandhu" (Friend of the Poor). Except for a brief period, his Christian motivation was strongly evident. He was most characteristically Protestant in his constant references in his speech and many writings to the scriptures, and in particular to the teaching and person of Christ.

See also Slavery, Abolition of

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DANIEL O'CONNOR

ANGLICAN CHANT

Anglican chant developed as a means of singing the Psalms and biblical canticles that is neither specifically Anglican in origin nor restricted to Anglican in usage, but remains a distinctive element of Anglican worship. Its origin is found in the *faburden* technique, common throughout late medieval Europe, in which the traditional monophonic Psalm tones were sung in an improvised four-part harmony, with the basic tone in the tenor. The technique was not specifically English but widespread throughout Europe. For example, such *faburdened* Psalm tones appear in a number of sixteenth-century printed sources intended for German Lutheran use. In England *faburden* settings of the Psalm tones continued to be sung with the vernacular Psalms of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER in the Elizabethan period, as is witnessed in Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597). By the early seventeenth century the connection with traditional Psalm tones disappeared and the four-part settings were through-composed, with the melody usually in the soprano.

The common types of Anglican chant are Single and Double, that is, chants that encompass either one or two verses of a psalm or canticle, respectively, although there are also Triple and Quadruple chants. Virtually every notable composer of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, in every generation, has composed such chants, thus contributing to a significant element of Anglican choral evensong. Until the late eighteenth century such chanting was generally restricted to cathedrals and collegiate chapels, but under the influence of some Evangelicals, then later by Tractarians, Anglican chant took on a congregational aspect in parish churches. In the nineteenth century Anglican Chant spread to other denominations in the English-speaking world.

See also Book of Common Prayer; Church of England

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ROBIN LEAVER

ANGLICANISM

Introduction

Anglicanism is a major strand of historical Christianity, deriving from the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. It currently exists in thirty-eight national or regional churches in more than 160 countries throughout the world. Together these churches (or provinces) constitute the Anglican Communion, a body of about seventy million Christians (about the same size as the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION Or the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES). Many of these churches are found in former colonies or dominions of the British Empire.

Anglicans are bound together by ties of history, THEOLOGY, a common POLITY, and a shared liturgical and spiritual tradition, although membership of the Anglican Communion is ultimately defined by being in communion with the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of the founding see of the Church of England. The archbishop of Canterbury exercises significant theological and pastoral leadership in the Communion, but he has little formal authority to intervene in the affairs of the autonomous provinces.

The term Anglicanism did not emerge until the 1830s. It is anachronistic when applied to the English REFORMATION, but it begins to be meaningful toward the end of the seventeenth century. Before the Reformation there was “the English Church” or “the Church in England” and after it “the Church of England.” For several centuries “Anglican” was synonymous with the Church of England, but the description “Anglican” is now the prerogative of the whole Communion.

Authority in Anglicanism

It is arguable that the key to Anglican identity is its theory and practice of AUTHORITY in the church. Historically it has been open (though not without initial resistance) to fresh movements of ideas. At the Reformation it embraced (as did the continental reformers) the new learning derived from the rediscovered texts of the Greek New Testament and of the early Fathers. Anglican scholars responded to the critical impetus of the ENLIGHTENMENT and claimed that Christianity was eminently reasonable. Anglicans embraced the historicist movement and the historical (rather than the dogmatic) approach to disputed questions. This has been a feature of Anglicanism. Anglicans gradually came to terms with the scientific revolution and the theory of evolution (see DARWINISM) in the late nineteenth century. They also gradually responded to the emergence of the social sciences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wrestling, for example, with the implications of social relativism and gender issues for Christian belief and practice. Within Anglicanism sound scholarship has the power eventually to call in question traditional positions.

As a result of a series of celebrated test cases in nineteenth-century England, Anglicanism is now characterized by comparatively unconstrained discussion and debate of theological issues, even among the CLERGY, and a relatively weak central teaching authority. In practice, no theological question is closed, although if a member of the clergy openly repudiated the doctrine of the Trinity or of the deity of Christ he or she could expect censure or discipline. At the same time Anglican liturgies affirm the ancient ecumenical creeds and the clergy are required to assent in fairly general terms to these and to the historic formularies, such as the sixteenth-century THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of Religion, the Book OF COMMON PRAYER or its modern derivatives, and the forms for the ordination of the clergy. It could be said that Anglicanism combines official adherence to orthodox tradition with considerable latitude in practice.

Anglicanism upholds the unique authority of Holy Scripture (see BIBLE) as teaching the way of SALVATION. In dispute with Rome, the English reformers argued that nothing that was not expressly taught by Scripture or an evident inference from Scripture could be required as necessary for salvation. However, Anglican formularies do not give the same authority to Scripture in deciding the outward form of the church, its worship and structure. For this the guidance of the early church is needed, provided nothing is enforced that is “repugnant” to Scripture or oppressive to the Christian conscience. There is also recognition of the criterion of appropriateness to the circumstances. On the basis of primitive tradition, Anglicanism embraces the Canon of Scripture itself, the Creeds, the threefold ministry, and the structure of the Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER).

Anglicanism is both episcopal (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY) and synodical (see SYNOD) in its polity. It preserves the threefold ministry of deacons, priests, and bishops in historical continuity of ordinations. Many provinces of the Communion have women deacons and priests (see DEACONESSES, DEACONS); a few have women bishops. At every level of the church’s life, bishops, other clergy, and lay people share in the government of the church. The episcopate has a special but not exclusive responsibility in matters of DOCTRINE, liturgy, and ministry. Bishops exercise oversight in their dioceses, in collegiality with clergy and lay people (see LAITY). As an episcopal college (or part of the universal episcopal college) they have corporate responsibility for leadership in their churches. The most visible expression of their communion is the ten-yearly LAMBETH CONFERENCE of Anglican bishops, which has significant moral and pastoral authority but no juridical power.

Although Anglicans are familiar with various expressions of primacy (particularly that of the archbishop of Canterbury), they do not accept the universal jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, the pope. The repudiation of the Roman jurisdiction was a defining element in the English Reformation. The English reformers tended to see the Church of Rome as one “particular” or national church among others, moreover one that was singularly corrupt and in need of radical reform. Like several of the Protestant reformers, however, some Anglicans have been open to the idea of a reformed universal primacy, by human not divine right, without jurisdiction over particular churches and without potential infallibility, but nevertheless presiding among the churches in the cause of unity and charity.

Anglicans stand, therefore, with the Protestant churches in rejecting papal primacy in its current form, but deviate from them in not espousing equality of ministries. There is a certain ineradicable hierarchy in the Anglican understanding of holy order. Anglicanism

has affinities to Eastern Orthodoxy (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN) in its concept of national churches, especially where there is a special relationship to the state (most clearly as in England) and in its view of General or Ecumenical Councils as the highest authority in the church (rather than the pope).

It is seldom recognized that, in its view of authority, Anglicanism has inherited several aspects of the pre-Reformation Conciliar Movement. In the early fifteenth century this movement shaped several major Western councils. It attempted (and ultimately failed) to reform and control the papacy. The English reformers discuss the role of councils at length. Like MARTIN LUTHER, archbishop of Canterbury THOMAS CRANMER appealed to a free General Council. The conciliar principles of representation, constitutionality, and consent were reflected in the partnership between church and state in post-Reformation England. They are clearly embodied in modern Anglican synodical polity, without undermining the proper oversight of the episcopate.

However, unlike the conciliarists, Anglican formularies do not ascribe infallibility to General Councils. They teach that General Councils can err and have in fact erred. They also deny that it is the sole prerogative of the pope to call, preside at, and ratify the decisions of General Councils. Anglicans promote a conciliar way of working at various levels, from the very local to the provincial and beyond. They tend not to lose sleep over the hypothetical issue of a truly Ecumenical Council for today.

Anglican Spirituality

The spiritual and theological ethos of Anglicanism has been shaped by two theologians more than by any others: THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556) and RICHARD HOOKER (1554–1600). The first was an archbishop of Canterbury and the compiler of the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP) and of the first doctrinal formularies of the Church of England. The second was an obscure parish priest, but the author of the most seminal of all works of Anglican theology. The poems of GEORGE HERBERT (1593–1633) and the hymns of CHARLES WESLEY (1707–1788) are also among the peaks of Anglican spirituality.

Anglican LITURGY derives particularly from the BCP, which was drawn up by Cranmer in 1549 (revised by him in 1552) and reached its definitive form when the monarchy and the church's hierarchy were restored following the English CIVIL WAR and the Commonwealth period under OLIVER CROMWELL in 1662. In its central provision of Morning and Evening Prayer, the BCP combined a radical simplification of the monastic hours to suit lay piety with extensive use of ancient prayers. The medieval mass was reformed to eradicate the cult of the SAINTS, TRANSUBSTANTIATION, and the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the departed. The emphasis was on the believing communicant's reception of the benefits of Christ's redemption in Holy Communion. Any hint of a human meritorious work in offering the Eucharist was avoided.

Cranmer's 1552 BCP represents the furthest point of revision of the Anglican liturgy in a Protestant direction. Since then there have been several attempts to recover the Anglican liturgical balance: first in 1662 with the triumph of High Church Anglicanism; then among the Nonjurors (who withdrew from the Established Church at the end of the seventeenth century); and again by the Tractarians of the OXFORD MOVEMENT in the

mid-nineteenth century. Modern Anglican liturgy has been shaped by all these and by the liturgical renewal of the twentieth century. Eucharistic sacrifice (though not in a propitiatory sense) and the real presence (though not transubstantiation) are features of current Anglican liturgies worldwide.

Hooker is generally regarded as the greatest exponent of Anglicanism. Unlike JOHN JEWEL (1522–1571), the author of the *Apology of the Church of England*, Hooker's target was not Roman Catholic opposition to the English Reformation, but the contention of the Puritans within the Church of England (see PURITANISM) that the Reformation had not gone far enough. They demanded simplification of the liturgy in a less sacramental direction, abolition of such “popish” residues as the surplice, the sign of the cross in BAPTISM, and the ring in MARRIAGE. Above all, they called for the abolition of episcopacy and the setting up of church government by lay elders (see PRESBYTERIANISM). In his work *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (in eight books, not all of which were published in his lifetime), Hooker charted a different course from the polemical and *ad hominem* writings of archbishop JOHN WHITGIFT (1532–1604). Hooker reduced the issues at stake to the first principles of theology and law. He drew on the fathers, medieval schoolmen, lawyers, and the continental reformers themselves to mount a devastating counterattack on the Puritan platform. Hooker showed the scope and limits of the authority of Scripture, the role of reason, and the sovereignty of law in formulating the outward ordering of the church in worship and government. The profound incarnational and sacramental theology that is embedded in this work, ostensibly devoted to ecclesiastical polity, gives Hooker his importance in the Anglican theological tradition.

Anglicanism and Protestantism

The churches of the Anglican Communion regard themselves as both catholic and reformed and have sometimes spoken of themselves as a bridge communion between Protestantism on the one hand and Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy on the other. The relationship between Anglicanism and Protestantism is not a simple one. There is a built-in tension and elements within Anglicanism pull both ways.

On the one hand, Anglicanism was decisively shaped by the Reformation and the Anglican reformers were strongly influenced (though not uncritically) by the Continental reformers, who generally were more creative than they were. From the mid-sixteenth century Anglicanism has been marked by the key features of the Protestant Reformation: JUSTIFICATION by GRACE, received through FAITH; an open BIBLE and the ministry of the word; liturgy in the vernacular with the participation of the laity; a married, pastoral ministry rooted in the community; communion in both kinds (the wine as well as the bread); the involvement of the laity in church government, whether in the form of the sovereign, parliament, local lay officers, or (for the past century) various forms of representative or synodical government; the abolition of religious orders (see MONASTICISM).

Until recently Anglicans were proud to style themselves Protestants (some, of course, still are). CALVINISM (its doctrines of grace, not its Presbyterian polity) was the prevailing theology during the reigns of ELIZABETH I and James I (the second half of

the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries). After the Civil War and Commonwealth periods in the mid-seventeenth century LUTHERANISM became the most favored Protestant communion for the next 150 years. Historically Anglicans saw the Church of England as a sister church of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the Continent.

On the other hand, Anglicans have always insisted on the catholicity of their church. The Anglican reformers were clear that they were not setting up a new church in Britain, but reforming the one church that went back to the Apostles, the fathers, the early martyrs, and the Celtic missionaries. Roman soldiers were probably the first Christians in Britain. It was known that the British church was represented at early councils. Anglicans become highly indignant at any suggestion that Anglicanism was founded in the sixteenth century by King HENRY VIII. The ancient structures of Catholicism survived the upheavals of the Reformation: the threefold ministry was maintained, with episcopal succession in the ancient sees; several medieval practices were reformed, not abolished; and traditional symbols including some vestments, the sign of the cross, and the ring in marriage were retained.

The High Church tradition within Anglicanism kept alive a sense of catholic continuity, although not—until the Oxford Movement—at the expense of a sense of affinity with the Reformation inheritance (see ANGLO-CATHOLICISM). A series of abortive private initiatives attempted to build bridges with the Roman Catholic Church abroad. Religious orders were restored in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although in very modern times Anglicans have become coy about the word Protestant, they have unequivocally affirmed that Anglicanism is not only catholic but also reformed.

It has sometimes been suggested (e.g., by the historian T.B. Macaulay) that the Church of England combines Calvinist Articles of Religion with a “popish” liturgy. This antithesis is highly questionable. The Thirty-nine Articles cover a wide range of contentious issues that are not specific to Calvinism and actually take a moderate position on the doctrine of PREDESTINATION. Their clearest echo of a Reformation formulary is of the Lutheran AUGSBURG CONFESSIO (on the marks of the visible church). On the other hand, as we have noted, the BCP is not untouched by Protestant sensitivities.

Unlike Lutheranism, Anglicanism does not have a strong sense of confessional identity (see CONFESSIONALIZATION). There is no comparable sense of it having been raised up by God to bear witness to vital truths. Anglicans, especially in England, tend to take their church for granted. For them it is just the ordinary way of being Christian. No one figure, not even Cranmer or Hooker, has the place in Anglicanism that Luther has in Lutheranism or JOHN CALVIN has in the Reformed tradition. However, in recent decades Anglicans have become more aware of their inheritance. ECUMENISM and cultural pluralism have prompted a modest revival of Anglican theology, and a critical reappropriation of the tradition.

Anglican Ecumenism

As a global communion, Anglicans have been engaged in ecumenical dialogue with other traditions. The Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) has

produced a series of concise reports on ministry, the Eucharist, authority, justification, and ethics. The *Final Report* (1982) of ARCIC's first phase was endorsed in general terms by the Anglican Communion but received a cool response from the Vatican. Anglican-Orthodox dialogue continues to make significant advances.

The international Anglican-Reformed dialogue produced a notable report, *God's Reign and our Unity* (1984), which has not so far been properly received in the two communions. International dialogue between Anglicans and Lutherans produced the creative *Niagara Report* that majored on missiology and apostolicity and prepared the ground for regional agreements. A series of regional discussions between Anglicans and BAPTISTS will eventually feed into theological reflection on a global basis. Anglican-Methodist (see METHODISM, GLOBAL) international dialogue resulted in *Sharing in the Apostolic Communion* (1996).

In North America the EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE USA and the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA have entered into an agreement (*Called to Common Mission*, 2001) for "full communion," involving mutual recognition of ministries and Lutheran acceptance of the historic episcopate. A similar agreement (*The Waterloo Declaration*, 2001) was reached between Anglicans and Lutherans in Canada. The British and Irish Anglican churches have entered into communion (in the Porvoo Agreement, 1996) with most of the episcopal Lutheran churches of Scandinavia and the Baltic. A lower level of agreement, not involving interchangeability of ministries, has been achieved between the Church of England and the Evangelical Church in GERMANY (EKD) in the Meissen Agreement (1991) and between the British and Irish Anglican churches and the French Lutheran and Reformed churches in the Reuilly Agreement (2000). Anglicans and Lutherans are moving closer together in several parts of the world, including AUSTRALIA, SOUTH AFRICA, and central southern Africa.

The Church of England and the (nonepiscopal) Methodist Church of Great Britain (see METHODISM, ENGLAND) are moving forward together on the basis of *An Anglican-Methodist Covenant* (2001).

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PAUL AVIS

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM

Anglo-Catholicism has been a major variety of Anglican churchmanship for almost two centuries. It began with the Oxford or Tractarian Movement of 1833, when some Oxford University dons, notably John Keble (1792–1866), John Henry Newman (1801–1890), and Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–1882) proclaimed that the CHURCH OF ENGLAND was not merely a state-established faith, but an apostolic church bearing divine authority (see OXFORD MOVEMENT). They located its institutional and theological sources in the church of the first four Christian centuries, not in the sixteenth-century Protestant REFORMATION. They stressed the importance of the priesthood, corporate worship, and the SACRAMENTS as divinely ordained means of grace. Most startling was their assertion that ANGLICANISM is a variety of Catholicism, not of Protestantism. Their ideas gained national attention through the *Tracts for the Times* (1833–1841).

The movement reached beyond academia in the 1840s, as some parish priests expressed Tractarian theology by means of elaborate ritual. By the 1860s Ritualist priests staffed parishes in ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, and the movement had spread to the British settler colonies and the United States of America. Despite persecution, Anglo-Catholicism survived into the twentieth century, becoming the most vigorous and creative force within the Anglican Communion after 1918. It recovered the history of Christian liturgy, restored the Eucharist as the principal Sunday service, and popularized ceremonial and congregational singing. However, the 1960s saw a decline that left it fragmented, uncertain, and weak at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Origins

Anglo-Catholicism's origins lie in both the early Evangelical movement and eighteenth-century High Churchmanship. Because many of its leaders grew up in Evangelical homes, they were transforming their own background rather than reacting against an outside threat. EVANGELICALISM, which stressed the necessity of a CONVERSION experience, is crucial to understanding their conversions to Anglo-Catholicism and (for some) to Roman Catholicism because those who convert once may convert again. Moreover, their doctrines were rooted in a vigorous High Church tradition that was more than mere Jacobite romanticism or anti-Jacobin reaction. Constitutional issues, especially Dissenters' rights, Roman Catholic Emancipation, and parliamentary reform, which undermined the British state's Anglican identity, were the movement's immediate spark. Cultural and pastoral issues, especially Victorian romantic medievalism and concerns over how industrialization and urbanization were changing the social order, shaped Anglo-Catholicism's development throughout the nineteenth century. Newman, a towering intellectual figure, is sometimes considered to have been Anglo-Catholicism's prime leader and most interesting man of ideas. His essay on "The Development of Doctrine," which argued that Christian beliefs were not immutable, but rather changed over time, and the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864), his spiritual autobiography, remain edifying reading. *Tract 90* (1841), which he wrote, interpreted the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES to be congruent with nineteenth-century Roman Catholic teaching. Many

bishops and most Oxford University authorities condemned the tract as dishonest and disloyal without giving Newman a chance to defend himself.

Some writers contend that Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845 ended the Oxford Movement, or at least that it was a turning point in the movement's development. Before 1845, they argue, Tractarians had seen Evangelicalism as their main enemy, but for a decade thereafter their battle was with Roman Catholicism. However, other scholars argue that Newman's Anglican career illustrates AngloCatholicism's intellectual debts to the eighteenth century. His Evangelical background prepared him for Tractarianism and smoothed his way to Roman Catholicism. Although discarding distinctive Evangelical teachings, he remained intensely interested in prophecy and in the quest for personal holiness of life. Newman's activities show that much of the estrangement between Tractarians and their non-Tractarian Oxford colleagues was his own doing and that he left the Church of England because he chose to do so and not because Anglican leaders drove him out.

Ritualism and Anglo-Catholic Culture

Those historians who situate Newman as Tractarianism's central figure commonly argue that Anglo-Catholicism did not appear until the 1860s and 1870s, and that its emphasis on ritual marks it as a new development having little continuity with the Oxford Movement. They point to the fact that some Tractarian leaders opposed the introduction of elaborate ceremonial. They also stress the role of the Cambridge Camden Society, founded independently of the Oxford Movement, in uncovering the history of ritual and in contributing to the popularity of Victorian medievalism. They attribute the spread of ritual to a younger generation of parochial clergy, freed from the restraint of university-based leaders.

However, Tractarianism's Romantic, poetic, and aesthetic spirit certainly was consistent with the advance of ritual in public worship. Clergy, including High Churchmen and Anglo-Catholics, dominated the membership of the ecclesiological, antiquarian, and archaeological societies that proliferated in the nineteenth century. Evangelicals charged that the Cambridge Camden Society taught through art what Tractarianism taught through tracts. Some Tractarian leaders, notably Pusey, favored ceremonial advance. Pusey founded a church in Leeds, which introduced Ritualism to that Yorkshire industrial town. Hence, late twentieth-century historians argued that the development of ornate, Catholic ceremonial followed logically from Tractarian theology. Furthermore, Ritualism, including emphasis on the Eucharist rather than Matins as the principal Sunday service, surpliced choirs, altar crosses, lit candles, and wafer bread, can be found in the early 1840s in a few parishes throughout England. Their numbers grew as parishes in London's West End, southern English seaside resorts, and elsewhere adopted such customs. By the 1860s some priests wore eucharistic vestments, burnt incense, and chanted the service.

The Anglo-Catholic Movement's understanding of ceremonial changed over time. Men who were "advanced" in their own day found themselves old-fashioned twenty years later. A continuity of personalities, ideas, and practices can be traced from the Tractarians through the "ultrarubricians" (who wanted strict enforcement of the

Ornaments Rubric) to the ultraceremonialists of the century's last quarter. Finally, some ritualizers used the third- and fourth-century church as their model, others called for a return to medieval practices, and a few imitated the practice of the nineteenth-century Roman Church.

Anglo-Catholicism was a countercultural movement that challenged Victorian society's dominant cultural values, that posed the challenge as much by creating an alternative lifestyle as through writing and preaching, and that appealed to groups disaffected from those values. Some women resisted the private, domestic role assigned them by patriarchal authority. Some men found "muscular Christianity" to be unfulfilling or even repelling. Some priests feared the decline in status of what they considered to be their sacred calling. Some laity and clergy doubted that the heterosexual, married state was the highest Christian ideal. Anglo-Catholicism attracted many of these people because it seemed to reject those values in favor of ones that answered their needs and desires.

The movement forged a subculture with its own language, dress, hairstyles, clothing, and mannerisms, all of which infuriated the traditional authority figures of bishops, politicians, parents, and husbands. Anglo-Catholics addressed clergy as "Father," not "Mister." They "heard Mass" as opposed to "going to Church." Their clergy were called "parish priests," not "vicars" or "rectors," lived in "presbyteries," not "rectories" or "vicarages," and wore cassock and clerical collar outdoors, not black suit and white stock. Most were clean-shaven, whereas Protestants favored side-whiskers or beards without moustaches. Their humor was especially childish in its sensibilities.

Anglo-Catholicism and Social Reform

Pusey kept the movement going after 1845, despite the spate of conversions that followed Newman's and attacks from Evangelicals and conventional churchmen. His published works demarcated Tractarian theology from that of Rome. His counsel helped maintain morale. Social reform was a major component of his theology, given that Tractarianism was an attempt to grapple with the problems of modern, industrial society, not to escape from those problems into Romantic medievalism. Pusey believed that corporate worship alone could bridge the gap between social classes. When he put his social theology into action, he chose the industrial north of England as his sphere of action and he expressed his theology by means of Ritualism.

Other Anglo-Catholic clergy followed Pusey's lead, serving slum parishes in London's East End and in industrial towns. They devised revival services with rousing songs to convert the poor (see REVIVALS). They believed that ritual appealed to working-class sensibilities and that Anglo-Catholic theology challenged Victorian economic, political, and social values. Anglo-Catholic clergy were more likely than Evangelicals to favor the separation of church and state and to support trade unions and socialism (see CHURCH AND STATE OVERVIEW). By the end of the nineteenth century, it was customary for Anglo-Catholic clergy to serve a curacy in a slum parish as part of their training.

The Victorian working classes avoided church-going on the grounds that it was for the middle classes, and some also found middle-class values alien and repellent. However,

Anglo-Catholic evangelism in slum parishes was no more successful than evangelism by other religious traditions. What mattered to working-class parishioners were priests who treated them with respect and sincere interest, not churchmanship or doctrine.

The Spread of Anglo-Catholicism around the Globe

Anglo-Catholicism, like Evangelicalism, had a global dimension. Early on in the movement's history, sympathizers appeared in Scotland and the United States. The Episcopal churches of both countries had an indigenous High Church tradition that facilitated the spread of Anglo-Catholicism. In Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, however, the small Anglo-Catholic presence was attributable exclusively to English influence.

Anglo-Catholics also engaged in the massive nineteenth-century Christian missionary project. Tractarians influenced the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL. Several religious orders, most notably the Society of the Sacred Mission, were founded specifically for overseas work. In the Pacific, the Anglo-Catholic bishops George Selwyn and John Patteson shaped New Zealand and Melanesian missions. The most unmistakably Anglo-Catholic endeavor was the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (1857), which sent missionaries to Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and SOUTH AFRICA (see AFRICA). In the twentieth century, Anglo-Catholics, most notably TREVOR HUDDLESTON and DESMOND TUTU, were in the forefront of opposition to South African apartheid. By and large, Anglo-Catholicism encountered much less opposition in the non-Western missionary field than it did in Great Britain, the United States, and the White Dominions.

Survival

The movement survived systematic attempts to put down Ritualism during the last third of the century. These attempts took the forms of cultural ostracism, popular intimidation, and political repression.

Cultural repression began in the 1830s. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School, skewered the Tractarians in a widely read article in the *Edinburgh Review* entitled "The Oxford Malignants" (1836). *Punch* caricatured Ritualists as either simpering bumboys or sinister seducers of young women. Throughout the nineteenth century, Anglo-Catholics were depicted unsympathetically in novels (e.g., Margaret Oliphant's *The Perpetual Curate*), poetry (e.g., Martin Tupper's *The Ritualist Plan of Campaign*), and art (e.g., Holman Hunt's *The Hiring Shepherd*). Puseyite clergy were excoriated in the press, passed over for promotion, and insulted in the streets. The popular culture of the day thus branded Anglo-Catholics as dishonest, effeminate narcissists.

Violence began with the Exeter Surplice Riots in the mid-1840s, and continued throughout the century. Crowds disrupted Anglo-Catholic church services, barracked street missionaries, smashed stained-glass windows, and burned books. Evangelical anti-Catholic voluntary societies, common in the period, sponsored, covertly or overtly, most of these popular disturbances. Notorious were the Manchester Protestant Operative

Society in the 1840s and 1850s; the Church Association (1865), which intimidated clergy and worshippers with litigation and force; and the Protestant Truth Society (1890), which sold quasi-pornographic tracts and desecrated Ritualist churches.

Political repression began at mid-century, when prime minister Lord John Russell denounced Anglo-Catholics as “traitors within the gates” who aped Romish superstition. The movement was a target in parliamentary debates. The Church Association prosecuted Ritualist clergy for alleged violations of the statute law that enacted the Prayer Book rubrics. Hoping to bring order to the church by defining what was legal practice, Archbishop of Canterbury ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT persuaded Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli to sponsor the Public Worship Regulation Act (1874). The law banned most Anglo-Catholic ceremonial and created special courts to hear cases. However, most Anglo-Catholic clergy refused to recognize the authority of secular courts to regulate religious worship, some refused to attend their trials, and several were imprisoned.

Whether prosecuted by law or persecuted by riot, Ritualist priests garnered the public sympathy accorded to martyrs and the support of conservative ceremonialists and traditional High Churchmen. Anglo-Catholics themselves organized the English Church Union (1860) to defend and spread their ideals. Finally, apologists shifted the defense for ceremonial from doctrinal uniformity to freedom of conscience. Thus, Anglo-Catholicism, which had begun as a movement to transform the Church of England, was a church party by 1914, enjoying respectability, but acknowledging the right of other church parties to exist.

The Twentieth Century

The First World War’s most immediate effect on British religion was to legitimate the Anglo-Catholic practice of praying for the souls of the departed. Three quarters of a million men had died in combat, and their surviving mates and relations wanted comfort. War memorials were erected throughout Britain, Remembrance Day services commemorated the dead, and cathedrals enshrined books listing their names. A practice once condemned as popish offered survivors the comfort of doing something positive for the dead.

The interwar years also saw Anglo-Catholicism become triumphal. Five Anglo-Catholic congresses were held in London, beginning in 1923 with 13,000 delegates and culminating in celebrations of the movement’s centenary in 1933 with 70,000 in attendance. Addresses by prominent clergy and colonial bishops (no English bishops participated) proclaimed Anglo-Catholic ideology and called for further ceremonial advance, especially for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. These congresses boosted Anglo-Catholic morale by displaying worship in all its splendor and projecting a sense of strength in numbers.

The movement’s leadership decided to hold the sixth congress in 1940, but Hitler, appeasement, and the Second World War intervened. With few exceptions, Anglo-Catholics were silent about these tumultuous events, as was the church in general. Foreign secretary Lord Halifax was both a leading Anglo-Catholic layman and an Appeaser. The High Church Archbishop of Canterbury Cosmo Lang declared that “no praise could be too great” to give the government. During the conflict itself, Anglo-

Catholics appeared more upset at proposals for church union in south India than at the devastation of war. Postwar congresses went into rapid decline. That of 1948 attracted 11,000 participants. Thereafter, attendance dropped (1,700 in 1958; 1,000 in 1978; 500 in 1988), the conferences grew shorter, and public attention to their doings waned.

Anglo-Catholic intellectual life also waned. Not a few distinguished figures wrote during the interwar years—among them J.V.Langmead Casserley, Gregory Dix, T.S.ELIOT, Austin Farrer, C.S.LEWIS, Eric Mascall, and Dorothy Sayers—and remained active after 1945. However, they were dead by the end of the 1960s, and no one of equal stature took their place.

It was at this point that the Second Vatican Council and the profound cultural changes in Western society associated with the decade of the 1960s transformed the religious world, including Anglo-Catholicism. Vatican II's modernizing spirit undercut Anglo-Catholicism by "Protestantizing" the Mass; liberalizing theological positions on Jews, "separated brethren," and non-Western religions; freeing secular clergy and religious orders from Counter-Reformation discipline; and encouraging (albeit unintentionally) theological speculation, liturgical innovation, and the charismatic movement. The cultural changes of the 1960s popularized practices (e.g., abortion, homosexuality, premarital sex, drug-taking) and beliefs (e.g., Eastern mysticism, feminism, human potentiality) that challenged traditional moral teaching and institutional authority. Anglo-Catholicism, once a counterculture, now seemed a fossil.

Anglo-Catholicism splintered over the issues of the Alternative Service Book (and the 1979 Prayer Book in the United States), the ordination of women, and the church's response to homosexuality. These issues cut across the traditional Catholic-Protestant divide, as conservative Anglo-Catholics now found that they had more in common with Evangelicalism than with liberal Anglo-Catholicism. The results were the movement's fragmentation and a revived, triumphalist Evangelicalism at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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ANTICHRIST

The powerful image of an evil figure known as Antichrist has shadowed the Western imagination for two millennia. With the REFORMATION, Antichrist belief entered Protestant thought, where it proved remarkably tenacious. Whether "Antichrist" is identified as an individual, a demonic world system, or a propensity for wrongdoing embedded in the human heart, Antichrist belief has provided a means by which Christians, Protestants included, have thought about the nature of evil, sought to pinpoint hidden conspiracies, and visualized the end of history. To understand the role of Antichrist belief in Protestantism, one must trace its background in biblical literature and preReformation Christianity. This historical perspective is particularly important because many twentieth-century notions about Antichrist were in fact simply variants of ancient ideas.

Origins of Antichrist Belief and Its Development to the Reformation

The belief in a supernatural being intent on fomenting chaos, corruption, and evil, in opposition to the principles of order, purity, and righteousness, emerged in the earliest cosmological writings of the Middle East. This being is personified in the Hebrew scriptures as "Satan," a fallen angel in rebellion against God. In Genesis, this evil figure, in the form of a serpent, tempts Eve, leading to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden. In the Book of Job, Satan instigates a series of trials designed to test Job's faith. In I Chronicles 21:1, Satan provokes David to defy God's wishes. In Daniel 7, the Evil One takes the form of four monstrous beasts from the sea.

Passing into Christian thought, this demonic enemy of God, variously called "Satan," "the DEVIL," "the adversary," "Beelzebub," and the "old serpent," frequently appears in the New Testament. During the first century A.D., there also appeared in Christian writings an evil figure who acts as Satan's surrogate, and does Satan's bidding, but is distinct from Satan. This is Antichrist. The word itself occurs only three times in the New Testament, in I and II John. These passages contain ambiguities that helped give rise to different understandings of the term. In I John 2:18, the word appears in the plural, referring to individuals alive at the time: "Little children, it is the last time; and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." I John 4:3 speaks of the "spirit of antichrist," rather than of

a specific individual. Other New Testament terms, presumed to refer to the same figure, include “the man of sin”; “the son of perdition” (II Thessalonians 2:3); and “the Beast,” the destroyer who hovers over the apocalyptic portion of the Book of Revelation until his own destruction at Armageddon. In II Thessalonians 2:8, this being is described as one “whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders.”

Some of these authors probably had identifiable historic personages in mind. The fourth beast’s “little horn” in Daniel 7:8 likely refers to Antiochus IV of Syria, who brutally oppressed the Jews in the second century B.C., when Daniel was written. The Beast of Revelation is widely seen as a cryptic allusion to Nero, the persecutor of Christians who committed suicide in A.D. 68. Although Revelation was written after Nero’s death, a belief widespread among the Christians of Asia Minor (to whom Revelation is addressed) held that Nero would be resurrected and resume his persecutions. Using the system of assigning numbers to letters that was prevalent in the ancient world, some scholars argue, the Beast’s number, 666 (Revelation 13:18), points decisively to Nero. This association of specific individuals with Antichrist imagery would long influence Christian thought.

The Patristic writers offered differing interpretations of Antichrist. Origen (185–254) argued that the term did not refer to a present or future individual, but rather symbolized all forces opposed to the true faith. St. Augustine (354–430) similarly rejected literalist readings of the prophecies. The opposition of Christ and Antichrist, he argued, represents the ongoing struggle between righteousness and evil. Righteousness will ultimately triumph, Augustine believed, but the details of that victory remain hidden.

Although this view became orthodox Catholic doctrine, popular belief in Antichrist pervaded medieval Europe. Hildegard of Bingen, the twelfth-century German abbess and visionary, left vivid images of the Beast as a loathsome, demonic creature. The *Play of Antichrist*, a German religious drama dating from around 1160, enjoyed enduring popularity. The Calabrian monk Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202), the best-known medieval prophecy interpreter, elaborated his system in his *Exposition on Revelation*, and in intricate drawings collected in *The Book of Figures*. Joachim saw the Antichrist as a demonic figure who will arise in the last days and then be defeated by Christ, ushering in a third and final stage of human history, the Age of the Spirit. Joachim, in short, unlike Origen and Augustine, viewed Antichrist as a person, not merely a metaphor for evil.

With the rise of Islam in the seventh century and its spread through the Middle East, North Africa, and Spain, Antichrist was often identified with this new religion, its founder Muhammed, or specific Islamic rulers. In 1190, when Richard Coeur de Lion camped at Messina en route to the Third Crusade, he took the opportunity to confer with Joachim, who identified the Islamic emperor Saladin as the Antichrist and offered assurances that Richard would defeat Saladin and recover Jerusalem for Christ’s millennial kingdom—a prophecy that failed.

In popular and scholarly Antichrist belief, Judaism and Islam were often linked as dual enemies of Christianity and the most likely spawning ground of Anti-christ. Indeed, the belief that Antichrist would be a Jew (a conviction that survived into the late twentieth century among some American Fundamentalists) helped fuel medieval ANTI-SEMITISM and murderous assaults on the Jews, sometimes as the prelude to a Crusade (see FUNDAMENTALISM).

Antichrist Belief in Protestantism: From the Reformation to the Twentieth Century

As the Protestant Reformation convulsed Europe in the early sixteenth century, the leaders had to come to terms with Antichrist belief, which did, after all, have scriptural as well as folkloric roots. In practice, the leading reformers displayed considerable ambivalence about this belief, and indeed about millennialism itself, as presented in Revelation.

This ambivalence deepened with the rise of the Anabaptists and peasant radicalism in reformed regions of Germany. THOMAS MÜNTZER, the Protestant pastor who in 1525 attached himself to an ongoing peasants' uprising, was steeped in APOCALYPTICISM. Muntzer assured the peasants that the forces opposing them represented Antichrist, but that Christ would bring them victory. Müntzer was captured and beheaded in May 1525, after some 5,000 rebellious peasants had been slaughtered in a final battle near Frankenhausen. The Anabaptists who took over the city of Muenster in 1534 similarly interpreted their cause in apocalyptic terms and denounced their foes as agents of Antichrist. The Muenster rebels, too, were killed by besieging armies when they tried to surrender in June 1535. All early Anabaptists, writes historian Walter Klaassen, "were united in their conviction that...Christ and Antichrist were locked in the final struggle."

Faced with these alarming developments, MARTIN LUTHER as early as 1522 lashed out at the Anabaptists and the turbulent peasantry, and dismissed the Book of Revelation, which seemed to be fueling their rebellion, as "neither apostolic nor prophetic." In preparing his German New Testament, Luther relegated Revelation to an appendix. The AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530) denounced millennialism as "Jewish doctrine." The Geneva reformer JOHN CALVIN, although not explicitly rejecting Revelation, kept it at a distance, never including it in his Bible commentaries. In his commentary on Daniel, Calvin offered a historical rather than an eschatological interpretation. The beasts from the sea, for example, represent successive Roman rulers, not a demonic figure who will arise in the last days. A third leading reformer, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI of Zurich, went furthest in rejecting Revelation, which provided so much ammunition for millennialism and Antichrist belief. It was, he flatly proclaimed, "not a book of the Bible." Both the Lutheran and Reformed traditions, in short, began with a strong antimillennialist basis (which they still retain), and thus had little sympathy, at the doctrinal level, with Antichrist speculation.

At the same time, however, the potent Antichrist image proved highly attractive to the reformers in their polemical battles with Rome. Some medieval reformers had identified the Pope as the Beast, and this belief burgeoned after the Reformation. Luther in *Adversus execrabilem Antichristi bullam* (1520) insisted that Pope Leo X's bull denouncing Luther's views must emanate from Antichrist. In his 1530 German Bible, and often thereafter, Luther explicitly identified the Pope as Antichrist. Calvin's INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION (1559) made the Pope/ Antichrist connection, as did the 1560 Geneva Bible, prepared for English Protestant exiles in Geneva. Protestant woodcuts, including a particularly loathsome one by Melchior Lorch, portrayed the Pope as Antichrist. Taking root in Protestant thought, the Pope/ Antichrist nexus would long endure.

The Reformation era also saw the expansion of the Ottoman Turks into Eastern Europe, and this, too, shaped the Reformers' ESCHATOLOGY. Luther's Bible links the Ottoman Empire with the mysterious kingdom of "Gog" mentioned in Ezekiel 38, widely believed in prophecy circles to be another foretelling of Antichrist. This connection, too, would survive into the early twentieth century, when the Ottoman era finally ended.

English Protestants readily embraced the Pope/ Antichrist connection, and during the Puritan Revolution (c. 1560–1660), many dissenters denounced not only Rome, but also the established CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as Antichrist. One pamphleteer called unreformed Anglican priests "the excrement of Antichrist." New England Puritans carried this outlook to America, where it struck deep roots.

Antichrist belief figured in the pamphlet wars of the American Revolution. Some patriots identified the hated excise stamps required by the Stamp Act (1765) as the Mark of the Beast; others identified George III's minister Lord Bute, born on a Scottish island, as the "Beast from the Sea" foretold in Daniel. One pamphleteer demonstrated mathematically that the phrase "Royal Supremacy in Great Britain" added up to 666.

Early nineteenth-century prophecy expositors continued to identify Antichrist with contemporary figures. Although the pope remained a perennial favorite, some fingered Napoleon as a likely candidate. During the Crimean War (1853–1856), British prophecy writer John Cummings, in the best-selling work *The End* (1855), suggested that Russia was "Gog," the prophesied Antichrist power—an identification that would prove highly popular in Cold War America a century later.

Antichrist belief took a new turn in the midnineteenth century when the British churchman JOHN NELSON DARBY devised a system of prophecy interpretation called DISPENSATIONALISM. Assembling prophetic passages from various parts of the Bible, Darby offered a detailed end-time scenario. After a series of prophetic fulfillments closing out the present dispensation (the Church Age), Darby taught, will come the Rapture, when all true believers will join Christ in the air, followed by the Great Tribulation (Matthew 24:21), a terrible seven-year period of war and suffering. As the Tribulation ends, Christ will return with the raptured saints, defeat his foes at Armageddon (Revelation 16:16), and establish his thousand-year earthly reign—the Millennium—in Jerusalem. After the Millennium, Darby concluded, will come the Last Judgment and the new heaven and new earth foretold in Revelation. Dispensationalism won followers in England and America, where it was spread by Darby's preaching tours and writings, and by U.S. converts such as Cyrus Scofield, whose popular 1909 SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE offered dispensationalist readings of Scripture.

Antichrist was central to Darby's system. According to this scheme, Antichrist will arise after the Rapture and win allegiance by posing as a man of peace. Midway through the Tribulation, however, Antichrist reveals his demonic nature, and unleashes a horrendous persecution of Jews—God's wayward but chosen people—and "Tribulation saints" who have accepted Christ after the Rapture. As the seven years end, Antichrist assembles his followers at Armageddon to meet a vast army approaching from the East (Revelation 9:16, 16:12). Defeated by Christ, who returns as the warrior king with his hosts, Antichrist is cast into a lake of fire during the Millennium. After mounting a final rebellion, he is once again defeated, this time to be tormented for all eternity with his followers.

As dispensationalism attracted increasing support among American evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM) and fundamentalists, Antichrist belief flourished. As in the past, some sought to pinpoint his identity among contemporary figures. Benito Mussolini, the Italian fascist leader, was a particular favorite, especially because many dispensationalists held that the ten-toed statue in King Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Daniel 2:31–35) foretold Antichrist's rule over a ten-nation revived Roman Empire. Mussolini's 1929 Concordat with the Vatican further convinced many Protestants that he would soon reveal himself as Antichrist. Others, however, viewed Adolph Hitler as the Evil One. The death of both men in 1945 ended this line of speculation, but not interest in Antichrist, which not only survived but reached new heights, especially in America.

Antichrist Belief in Late Twentieth-Century American Protestantism

As the twentieth century wore on, Antichrist belief persisted. Echoing Luther, the Northern Ireland Protestant firebrand Ian Paisley, confronting Pope John Paul II in Strasbourg in 1988, denounced him as Antichrist. During the Communist rule of Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania, some suspected him of Antichrist tendencies. In the 1980s many Greeks viewed the European Common Market as a forerunner of Antichrist.

It was among North American fundamentalist and charismatic Protestants (and in parts of Latin America and Africa proselytized by missionaries from these groups), however, that late twentieth-century interest in Bible prophecy, and Antichrist belief specifically, flourished most vigorously. These beliefs were promulgated not only by the traditional methods—sermons, touring evangelists, prophecy conferences—but increasingly by Televangelists (see TELEVANGELISM), mass-market paperbacks, movies such as *The Rapture* (1991) and *The Omega Code* (1999), and even Internet websites and chat rooms. Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970), a popularization of dispensationalism, was the U.S. nonfiction bestseller of the 1970s, selling millions of copies worldwide. While refraining from naming Antichrist, Lindsey insisted that world conditions were ripe for his emergence. In a 1996 survey of U.S. and Canadian religious attitudes, 42 percent of the U.S. respondents agreed with the statement: "The world will end in a battle in Armageddon between Jesus and the Antichrist." (The comparable figure for Canada was 30 percent.)

As in the past, late twentieth-century Antichrist speculation reflected the political and social concerns of the day. With the postwar rise of the European Common Market and the move toward European unity, many popularizers revitalized the old belief that Antichrist would initially control a federation of European nations replicating the Roman Empire, before establishing a worldwide dictatorship. In *The Omega Code* film, the head of the European Union is unmasked as Antichrist.

With the rise of multinational corporations, world-wide communications satellites, myriad international organizations, and computer-based information systems and financial transfers, many prophecy popularizers focused not on the specific identity of Antichrist, but rather on the emerging political, economic, and technological systems that will enable Antichrist, when he does arise, to establish the global dictatorship foretold in Revelation. In his 1991 bestseller *The New World Order*, televangelist PAT ROBERTSON traced the history of an international money conspiracy beginning with

the Bavarian Illuminati in the 1770s and pushed forward by the Rothschilds, Cecil Rhodes, the Federal Reserve Board, the Council of Foreign Relations, the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations, and others in a closely connected web of internationalist individuals and organizations. All this, Robertson insisted, echoing Lindsey, was preparing the way for Antichrist, “a man totally energized by the power of Satan, raging in blasphemy against God and His angels, filled with hatred against the people who are made in God’s image.” Continued Robertson: “This world leader, who has come to be known as the Antichrist, will be more terrible than any human leader in history.... Despite his evil, the world will be so caught up in satanic deception and delusion that it will worship the Antichrist as a god.”

The Persian Gulf War, the hostility of some Islamic nations to the United States, and violent incidents linked to Islamic terrorist groups also focused fresh attention on the ancient link between Islam and Antichrist. Iraqi ruler Saddam Hussein’s rebuilding of ancient Babylon (whose destruction is foretold in Revelation 18) led some to focus on him as a possible candidate for the Antichrist role.

Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins, the authors of a popular series of dispensationalist novels beginning with *Left Behind* (1995), wove together the internationalist and Islamic themes in popular Antichrist belief. As their story progresses, the Secretary General of the United Nations emerges as Antichrist, and moves the organization from New York to a rebuilt Babylon. By 2000 the LaHaye and Jenkins series had sold some 11 million copies, and scores of prophecy popularizers including Pat Robertson, James Hagee, Jack Van Impe, and the indefatigable Hal Lindsey were overseeing global television ministries and producing paperback books sold through Christian bookstores and mass-market outlets, all of which helped keep Antichrist speculation at a high pitch.

As the twentieth century ended, Antichrist belief, constantly evolving and adapting to current events as it had for centuries, retained a powerful grip on the imagination of many in the United States and other parts of the world. As a new century dawned, considerable evidence suggested that the continuing fascination with Antichrist was likely to remain an important factor in at least certain quarters of the Protestant world.

See also Mass Media; Millenarians and Millennialism; Publishing, Media

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PAUL BOYER

ANTINOMIANISM

Antinomianism may be defined as the theological position that the Old Testament law is not binding on Christians. The Antinomian approach is so fundamental to Protestant theology, defining it and representing its edgy boundaries, that understanding it is critical to good theology. It has constantly been used as a term of abuse, sometimes without great precision. It was anticipated to some extent in the theology of the medieval Family of Love. Within MARTIN LUTHER'S solafideist theology there was a certain antinomian potential. Luther did not merely assert that the Christian is forgiven, he asserted the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone so that the sinner stood before God without claiming any works. Luther held the position of being a sinner (see SIN) and justified in a dialectical relationship. On occasion he argued that the law was not necessary for true Christians, but was necessary since even the justified remained sinners. Later in his life in the face of controversy he placed a greater emphasis on the role of the moral law.

Other REFORMATION theologians found his position uncomfortable. The issue exploded in a debate between Luther and Johannes Agricola at Wittenberg in 1537. The so-called antinomian controversy between the two grew out of Agricola's emphasis on the importance of denying the power of works-righteousness. Agricola retracted his views, but others maintained the position, among them NIKOLAUS VON AMSDORF. Luther accused many of the Anabaptists of antinomianism (see ANABAPTISM). The evidence of this was supposedly seen in the doctrines of the Anabaptist radicals at Muenster, although in fact eschatological interpretations of the BIBLE were critical in this case. JOHN CALVIN was careful to avoid any hint of antinomian views; he emphasized the need to maintain the moral aspect of the law because only the ceremonial law was abrogated by Christ's coming. He insisted that faith was confirmed by outward signs of conformity to the moral law.

Antinomianism remained during the next two centuries a tension within Protestant thought, and in the seventeenth century there was a revival of antinomian sentiment. It particularly flourished among the fringes of extremist Puritan and dissenting opinion (see DIS-SENT). ANNE HUTCHINSON, who arrived in Boston in 1634, privately taught that Puritan teaching was enforcing a covenant of works. A controversy erupted in the Massachusetts Bay settlement, and in 1638 she was exiled to Rhode Island, although her claim to direct revelation from God was a significant factor in her rejection.

In ENGLAND, too, antinomian views circulated among the sectarian groups that flourished with the introduction of religious liberty from 1647, occasioning a sharp denunciation by the formalist Calvinist theology of the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION. The Antinomians have been widely seen as a symbol of the radical edge of Protestantism, although recent scholarship has tended to challenge this emphasis. John Eaton was the founding father with his tract *The Honeycomb of Free Justification by Christ Alone* (1642); another favorite author was Tobias Crisp, and others included Walter Marshall, Samuel Richardson, and John Saltmarsh. All in various ways encouraged an intense spirituality that rose above “mere legality.” Often interpreted in a Calvinist framework, they need to be seen as actually espousing a Lutheran theology, although they added to it a belief in eternal justification, a special kind of PREDESTINATION. For this and for alleged libertinism they were attacked by Calvinist Puritans like Samuel Rutherford and RICHARD BAXTER, who had moved to a more voluntarist understanding of faith. The ferocious debate was a reflection of how much Puritans wanted respectability.

Antinomian views survived in Particular Baptist groups in the eighteenth century. The sudden growth of the Moravian movement spread a Lutheran view of solafideism in England and America, and for some its implicit antinomianism became explicit in a libertine lifestyle (see MORAVIAN CHURCH). Some early Methodists rose up against the legalism of the law, but more typically Calvinist and Moravian Methodists were somewhat harshly tarred with the brush of antinomianism for their emphasis that the basis of assurance of salvation was an inner sense, not any outward evidence in life. Thus James Hervey’s *Thereon and Aspasio*, a popular evangelical classic, was attacked as being antinomian. Such views were ferociously and insensitively attacked by JOHN WESLEY’S associate, John Fletcher in his *Checks to Antinomianism*. A number of small but popular groups advocated the doctrine, including those associated with William Cudworth, James Rely, and William Huntingdon. Antinomian opinion fed into the origins of groups like the Universalists through James Rely, and the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN in their interpretation of Pauline theology.

Some scholars have suggested that antinomianism became a commonplace of popular religiosity, traced through a radical, albeit a shadowy, history of the Muggletonians, through to the antinomianism of WILLIAM BLAKE’S poetry, although even here the antinomianism is conditioned by other exotic beliefs.

It should be emphasized that denial of the authority of the Old Testament law did not necessarily mean libertine lifestyles, despite the allegations of Burns’s “Holy Willy’s Prayer.” The accusation of antinomianism seemed to carry with it an implication that blackened the reputation of a number of sectarian groups, often unjustifiably; they saw themselves as bound in Christ under a new ethical basis.

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ANTI-SEMITISM

The term "Anti-Semitism," first formulated in the late nineteenth century by the journalist Wilhelm Maar, refers to hostility toward Jews and the Jewish people on the basis of their race and ethnicity. Strictly speaking, therefore, the term points to a fairly recent phenomenon, one that made race the defining characteristic of Jews. The parallel term "anti-Judaism" has been used to designate and describe the lengthy historical phenomenon of hostility toward Jews because of their religion or of traits that are not racial.

Christianity has been severely implicated in the phenomenon of anti-Judaism for its longstanding—at times intense—expressions of support for such antagonism and hostility. There is disagreement in scholarship as to whether Christianity, given this history, is the essential ingredient in anti-Judaism. The Christian stance finds its explanation in the Christian conviction that Christianity—personified in Jesus of Nazareth—is the final and definitive revelation of God, a revelation that supersedes that of the Old Testament. Inasmuch as Christian reflection has derived essential insights from its interpretation of the Old Testament, it has argued that the Jewish interpretation of that text is erroneous. The inherent antagonism between the religions, each claiming to be the final revelation of God, becomes understandable.

The historical record of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism has been burdened by the reality that, ever since the fourth century and emperor Constantine, Christianity was—as the state religion—the formative societal force in Latin Europe. Christian society applied such terms as idolatry and blasphemy to other religions, notably Judaism, and derived from those terms the moral and theological justification for expulsion, suppression, and persecution of the Jewish people.

An argument can be made, however, that Christianity alone does not suffice as the full explanation for such anti-Judaic sentiment. Economic, social, psychological, and political forces were also operative in the repression and persecution of Jews. Often, Christian voices merely echoed, rather than caused, secular voices and action.

In many ways the Protestant tradition has been a reflection of this larger picture, and it is difficult to argue either that there has been a distinctly Protestant form of Anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism or that Protestantism has been more, or less, irenic than Catholicism. The Protestant emphasis on GRACE and the concomitant repudiation of the

Law and what is called “works righteousness” has frequently deprived the Protestant tradition of the ability to understand the Old Testament-Jewish commitment to the Law and its mandate of righteous living. Indeed in REFORMATION polemic a parallel was often drawn between Catholics and Jews and their insistence on good works. The Protestant emphasis on grace harmoniously echoed the severe strictures the Apostle Paul made against the Law and those who observed it.

The Lutheran tradition in turn has been particularly burdened by the fact that MARTIN LUTHER took to the pen several times to publish about and against the Jews. Although his early writings were characterized by a great deal of sympathy—and in fact denounced the severe hostility toward Jews in the Middle Ages—a treatise of 1543, entitled *Von den Juden und Ihren Lügen* (Concerning the Jews and their Lies), was an emotional juxtaposition of traditional theological and social economic denunciations. This treatise gave Luther not only the reputation of being intensely anti-Semitic but also of being one of the very few Christian theologians of distinction who explicitly addressed the topic of the Christian relationship not only to the Jewish religion but also to the Jewish people.

A distinctive Protestant contribution to the phenomenon may be said to have been made in the late eighteenth century when—and under the impact of the ENLIGHTENMENT—traditional CHRISTOLOGY, which theologically had been the major stumbling block in Christian-Jewish relations, was abandoned by Christian theologians. This reversal of Christian self-understanding might well have heralded a new and more positive relationship with the Jews and the Jewish religion, although this was not the case. Thinkers such as GEORG WILHELM FREIDRICH HEGEL delineated a new understanding of religion that did not so much focus on doctrine, such as Christology, as on the “spirit” of a religion. This new scheme of interpretation saw the Jewish religion as marked by a servile spirit of obedience and subservience to the Law, inferior in all respects to Christianity, which particularly in its Protestant form heralded freedom. Traditional Christian sentiment about Jews was thereby allowed to continue despite a dramatically changed theological situation. In the early twentieth century German Protestants combined political conservatism and religion, prompting them to echo the increasingly intense Anti-Semitism of the time from a Protestant perspective.

The Nazi persecution of Jews and the HOLOCAUST saw both Catholics and Protestants largely silent. In the aftermath of that dreadful happening, however, Protestant churches both in GERMANY and elsewhere in Europe confessed their complicity in the crime by accepting—and enhancing—societal prejudices. More recently, Protestant church bodies of both Europe and North America have issued statements of theological reflection that have sought to put the Christian understanding of Judaism on a more positive basis. The foremost theological questions have been the continuation of the divine COVENANT with the Jews and thus the legitimacy of Christians proselytizing Jews.

See also Confessing Church

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ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

See Slavery, Abolition of

ANTITRINITARIANISM

The term “Antitrinitarianism” includes doctrines and conceptions formulated against the Trinitarian dogma as presented by the councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381). During the REFORMATION, Antitrinitarianism was sharply attacked both by Catholics—a constitution was issued by Pope Paul IV (August 7, 1555) and reaffirmed by Pius V (October 1, 1568)—and by Protestants (Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Anglicans). Antitrinitarians were called by their opponents Zwinglians, Sabellians, and such after the names of ancient heretics including Arius, Paul of Samosata, Photinus, and Sabellius.

Beginnings of the Movement

In the first phase of the Reformation, Antitrinitarianism found adherents mainly in the circles close to ANABAPTISM. Oriented toward the realization of practical goals (the imitating of Christ in one’s daily walk), Anabaptism rejected the ruminations as

contradictory with the simplicity of the Scriptures. It had the tendency to attack the “philosophical”—not the “scriptural”—character of the trinitarian dogma.

Ludwig Haetzer (1529), a Swiss Anabaptist theologian who called into question the trinitarian dogma, claiming that Christ is not equal with the Father, belonged to the first Antitrinitarians in Anabaptist circles. Christian Entfelder (1536), who was active in Moravia, Strasbourg, and Königsberg, formulated his teaching about God as a threefold power under the influence of the German mysticism. The essence representing the foundations of the creation is the power of the Father; activism, as part of the world’s creation is the power of the Son; the spirit of love present in all beings is the power of the Holy Spirit. Adam Pastor (1510–1552), active in the Mennonite Church but expelled in 1547, held that Christ had been created by the Father, who provided him with power, wisdom, and will, the Holy Spirit being only a “holy breath” inspiring virtuous life. Pastor’s conceptions influenced German Antitrinitarianism at the end of the 1560s and at the beginning of the 1770s.

Antitrinitarianism found disciples among adherents of spiritualism. An important place was occupied by Johannes Campanus (1574), author of a popular work *Göttlicher und heiliger Schrift...* (“Restitution of Godly and Holy Scripture”), 1531, whose ideas were popular among revolutionary Anabaptists. In his work he argued that God the Father and Christ have the same essence and nature and represent two beings in one body similar to a man and his wife. The Son is subordinated to the Father as born from the Father before the world’s creation. The Holy Spirit is not a being but a link between the Father and the Son.

The Apennine Peninsula and Switzerland

The Antitrinitarian sentiment in the Apennine Peninsula emerged at the end of the 1540s. Among the roots three catalysts deserve to be mentioned: the philological criticism of the Renaissance (Lorenzo Valla, Erasmus of Rotterdam); the religious thinking of the Spanish thinker Juan de Valdes, who was probably an Antitrinitarian himself but did not attach much importance to dogma and emphasized the ethical underpinnings of Christianity; and finally the social doctrine of German Anabaptism mainly through Anabaptist communities (HUTTERITES) in Moravia.

The first Italian Antitrinitarians were active in Naples and Padova. Girolamo Busale was the spiritual leader. Together with his followers he joined the Anabaptists in northern Italy toward the end of the 1540s. He managed to persuade many of them to accept his notions, even though they triggered protests among some Anabaptists. Busale rejected the trinitarian dogma and the eternity of Christ whom he defined as a human being—son of Mary and Joseph—although filled with divine power. He also claimed that immortality applied exclusively to moral persons, the souls of nonbelievers being annihilated. The division of the Italian Anabaptist conventicles during the Inquisition at the beginning of the 1550s accounts for the fact that SWITZERLAND became the new center of Italian Antitrinitarians’ activities.

Discussions related to the problematic of the Trinity took place in Switzerland, mainly in territories occupied by Italians immigrants in the 1550s. They triggered irritation among orthodox Calvinists.

Notwithstanding internal theological conflict and tactical issues, Italian Antitrinitarians represented a dynamic and well-organized group. Among their outstanding members was Giorgio Biandrata (1515–1588), a physician with numerous contacts across central Europe where he practiced for a few years; Matteo Gribaldi Mofa (d. 1564), a famous lawyer who often resided in Switzerland where his family lived and professor at the University of Padova and later Tü-bingen; Giovanni Valentino Gentile (d. 1566), philologist and theologian; finally Lelio Sozzini (1525–1562), probably the outstanding theologian among them, born to a family of lawyers from Siena. He enjoyed warm relations with European intellectual elites.

The trinitarian dogma, criticized for its contradictions with the Holy Scripture and lack of rational justification, stood in the center of their meditation, inspired by others, the work of MICHAEL SERVETUS, *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem* (“Seven Books about the Errors of the Trinity”), 1531. Servetus argued the positive notion of three distinguishable holy instances, linked through their unique nature and their holy origins from the same God and Father, a God begotten from Godself. Christ is eternal but not coexistent with God the Father; the Holy Spirit is treated as eternal divine power, even though its status is not fully explained. This theory, labeled by Calvinist and Catholic opponents as Tritheism, was to play an important role in the first phase of Antitrinitarianism in POLAND and Transylvania.

In his commentary to the prologue of the *Brevis explicatio in primum Iohannis caput* (“Short Explanation of the First Chapter of the St John’s Gospel”) of the early 1560s, Lelio Sozzini presented a radical reinterpretation of the traditional Christian doctrine. According to this interpretation Christ is not eternal God but a human elevated to divine dignity thanks to his merits; he is holy language (*sermo*) and the teacher of Holy Truth, who created a world of new spiritual values. The *Short Explanation*, first in manuscript, then printed and published in 1568 (along with commentary of an analogous subject by Lelio’s cousin, FAUSTO SOZZINI), influenced the evolution of European Antitrinitarianism toward Unitarianism.

Doctrinal propositions of Italian Antitrinitarians faced an intense orthodox Calvinist reaction. Matteo Gribaldi was forced to retract his beliefs in Bern (1557); a similar fate struck Giovanni Gentile (1558) after his unsuccessful return in 1556. Giorgio Biandrata, who refused to sign an orthodox profession of faith, escaped in autumn 1558 to Poland.

All these repressions limited the scope of action of Italian Antitrinitarians and caused their emigration from Switzerland to central-eastern Europe (Moravia, Poland, Transylvania).

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The activities of Piotr from Goniadz constitute the prehistory of Polish and Lithuanian Antitrinitarianism. This student of Matteo Gribaldi, enthusiastic for Moravian Anabaptist doctrine, pursued underground activities after 1556 in the Polish-Lithuanian Calvinist Church. Those discussions were triggered by the thesis of Francesco Stancaró (1501–1574) who claimed that Christ was the mediator with the Father exclusively in his human nature. The opponents of the Trinity made use of the conflict around this idea to spread their theories.

Giorgio Biandrata was an important authority in the Polish Calvinist Church during this period despite Calvin's criticism of this thinker. Exploiting the fact that Stancaro was an admirer of his scholastic theory, Biandrata imposed his opinion against Stancaro's by rejecting all terms that were not in Holy Scripture, including "Trinity." Trinity was replaced by "the Three," which designated God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the two separate and subordinated to the Father. The adoption of the Tritheistic confession during the synod in Pinczow (April 2, 1562) led to a split within the Polish Lithuanian Calvinist church. The supporters of Reformed ORTHODOXY among Polish Calvinists founded a separate church (*ecclesia maior*) in 1563, distinct from the Antitrinitarian Church (*ecclesia minor*). These Calvinists tried to fight against Antitrinitarians with the help of secular authority. In 1564 King Sigmund August issued a decree against Antitrinitarians, which led to the temporary emigration of the minority. The Catholic COUNTER-REFORMATION efficiently paralyzed the actions of the Calvinists. As Cardinal Stanislaw Hosius pointed out "war between heretics means peace for the church," the persecution of one group was equal to the legalization of other groups.

The Antitrinitarian Church in Poland and Lithuania was a loose federation, formed by the adherents of three different doctrinal options. The first one—Tritheism—was the confession of a minority in the 1560s. In the aftermath of the discussions triggered by the "Prologue of Saint John's Gospel" by Lelio and Fausto Sozzini and Biandrata's letter to the Poles, the eternity of Christ was rejected. This was accepted by a majority of Antitrinitarians, later called Unitarians. The third movement regrouped supporters of the notion of Christ's eternity. Because of their unclear position regarding the Holy Spirit, they were called Ditheists. Piotr from Goniadz led the Lithuanian Ditheists. Polish Ditheists created a separate group under the leadership of the well-educated Stanislaw Farnkowski (1615/1617).

During the synods of early Antitrinitarianism, dogmatic problems were not the only topics to be discussed. The campaign against infant BAPTISM, inaugurated by Piotr from Goniadz led to a debate over rebaptism of adults in the mid-1560s, which eventually carried over into the field of Anabaptist sociopolitical doctrine. The latter became the subject of fierce discussions. The first to interpret the Anabaptist sociopolitical notions was Piotr from Goniadz in his *De primatutu ecclesiae Christianae* (1562–1564); later came two outstanding leaders and writers Grzegorz Pawel from Brzeziny (1526–1591) and Marcin Czechowicz (1532–1613). Consequently adult baptism by immersion was accepted in some communities, although widespread immersion practice in Antitrinitarian churches began only in the 1570s.

Most of the adherents of Antitrinitarianism enthusiastically greeted Anabaptist postulates of egalitarianism and social justice. During the synod of Pesznica (1568) ideas to make members of the gentry sell their property and distribute to the poor were proposed.

A Protestant religious community was founded in the town of Rakow, and Polish and Lithuanian Antitrinitarians joined it. The attempt to create a "New Jerusalem" did not succeed because of the lack of agreement with the Moravian Anabaptists. The spiritual orientation to oppose any organizational changes in Rakow prevailed until 1572 when Lublin became the dynamic center of the movement led by Marcin Czechowicz and his

patron Jan Niemojewski (1598). The Unitarian communities of Jerzy Szoman (1591) and Szymon Ronemberg (1598–1604) also collaborated with Lublin.

This organizational recovery of Unitarianism is reflected in the publication of two catechisms. Jerzy Szoman wrote the first one in Latin (*Catechesis...*) in 1574. Marcin Czechowicz wrote the second, more extensive, one in Polish (*The Christian Talks*).

The religious doctrines of the Polish Unitarians after the Rakow episode retained many Calvinist elements, notably the conception of apology, predestination, and the LORD'S SUPPER. Unitarians rejected the entire clerical tradition on the basis of the primacy of the Scriptures, in particular, the New Testament as opposed to the Old Testament.

The scriptural approach led to the rejection of the trinitarian dogma and Christ's eternity, which sees Christ as designated to fulfill his mission by God the Father. Jesus sits on the right hand of the Father after his fulfilled mission. Unitarian CHRISTOLOGY is highly related to ETHICS and the moral imitation of Jesus Christ. It takes the path of peaceful Anabaptism as it claims the nonuse of violence and absolute PACIFISM. It advises neutrality toward the state and its institutions. A believer should neither hold any office of the "sword" nor any other position that would lead to the effusion of blood.

The social and political radicalism of Polish Unitarians raised concerns and protests not only in Catholic and Protestant circles but also within the movement itself. The center of the opposition was in Lithuania and Szymon Budny (c. 1530–1593). This philologist and biblical scholar rejected the Polish Brethren dogmatic conceptions and treated their radical social and political concepts with overt irritation and disregard. The Polish Brethren did not agree with Budny's conception that Joseph was the natural Father of Christ and had to be invoked in prayers. In his famous treatise *On the Magistrate using the Sword* (1583) Budny criticized the social and political concepts of the Polish Brethren. At the same time he supported the participation of gentry in wars and public life and defended its right to own property and have subjects. Budny was excommunicated in 1584, although his battle against sectarian tendencies was taken over by FAUSTO SOZZINI (SOCINUS) (1539–1604), an Italian religious immigrant.

Sozzini arrived in Poland in 1579 to join the Unitarian Church but was refused because his religious positions shaped in Switzerland (1575–1578) diverged from the official confession of Polish Unitarians on many issues. In his work *De Iesu Christo Salvatore* ("Concerning Jesus Christ the Savior") written in Switzerland and published in 1594, Sozzini revised traditional soteriology. According to Sozzini Christ's redemption did not occur on the cross but lay in the way Christ showed authentic living throughout his life. His resurrection confirmed the truth of his teaching. In *De Satu primi hominis ante lapsum* ("On the State of the First Human Before the Fall"), written in Switzerland and published in 1610, Sozzini rejected the concept of original sin. According to him Adam's descendants have not inherited original sin. Therefore any human is capable of moral excellence and deserves resurrection. Sozzini also rejected baptism of Christian families' descendants and treated the Lord's Supper as a purely symbolic rite.

Sozzini rapidly became an authority, despite his conflicts with the older generation of Polish Unitarians who treated him as a dangerous revisionist, largely because of his numerous works in which he defended his followers from the attacks of dogmatic radicals [*Ad Iacobi Paleologi liberum responsio* ("Response of Jacob Paleolog"), 1581], Jesuits [*Refutatio libelli, quem Iacobus Wujekus edidit* ("Refutation of the Work

Published by Jacob Wujek”), 1594], and Calvinists [*De Jesu Christi Filiin Dei natur...* (“On the Nature of Jesus Christ, Son of God”), 1588].

Sozzini also fought against dogmatic radicalism in his own ranks. He had a dispute with the German ex-Jesuit Christian Franckener (1584) and Szymon Budny (1588). After this discussion Budny abjured his beliefs and rejoined the Unitarian Church a few years later.

Sozzini led discussions with Marcin Czechowicz and especially Jan Niemojewski, the leaders of the Unitarian Church in Lublin, who had both criticized his teaching. Sozzini did not manage to persuade them. Only in 1593 and with the help of his students he imposed his own notions regarding apology, redemption, and the Lord’s Supper. During the next five years, Sozzini tempered his Anabaptist ethical rigor, allowing the gentry to hold governmental offices, participate in trials, and have serfs.

The bill passed by the synod of Lublin in 1598 enabled the gentry to carry weapons and dismissed Marcin Czechowicz from his position as minister of the city.

Transylvania and Hungary

Antitrinitarianism enjoyed better conditions to develop in Transylvania rather than in Poland and Lithuania, which remained Catholic. Transylvania turned Protestant in the second half of the seventeenth century. Only at the end of the century did real Catholic offensive take place.

The beginnings of Antitrinitarianism in Transylvania were related to doctrinal discussions in the Calvinist Church. Giorgio Biandrata played a key role in those discussions, similarly to what had happened in Poland. He knew the country well and had influence in King Jan Sigismund Zapolyi’s (1540–1571) entourage. Together with FERENC DAVID (1510–1579), the superintendent of the Calvinist Church, Biandrata led the rejection of the scholastic terminology of the Trinity and the adoption of a confession drawing on the Gospels and early Christian traditions. This Subordinationist Tritheism represented a temporary phase in the Transylvania Antitrinitarianism, the young Antitrinitarian Church accepting the christological doctrine of Lelio and Faust Sozzini and rejecting the eternity of Christ a few years later.

The beginnings of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania can be dated after the dispute in Gyulafehervar (Alba Julia) in 1568, which was won by the opponents of the Trinity concept. With the support of the Jan Sigismund Zapolyi, Unitarianism was officially recognized, along with Catholicism, Protestantism, and CALVINISM. It had many adherents in Turkishdominated Southern Hungary.

As a sociopolitical doctrine and a ritual thesis (baptism of adults) anabaptism did not prompt great interest in Transylvania. The so-called Golden Age of Unitarianism in Transylvania (1540–1571) resulted in a rich production of works both in Hungarian and Latin. *De falsa et verus unius Dei...cognitione* (“About the False and Right Cognition of the Only God”), written by Biandrata and Dávid, published in 1568, is certainly the most notable work, which enjoyed important resonance in other European countries.

After the death of Jan Sigismund Zapolyi (d. 1571), Stefan Batory—a fervent but tolerant Catholic—became Transylvanian palatine. Under his rule Unitarianism lost its

privileged position. Batory introduced censorship, which limited the publication of Unitarian works.

The 1570s represent the most interesting and creative period of Unitarian theology in Transylvania, the latter going largely beyond the scope of strictly confessional issues. Johann Sommer (1574) rector of the Unitarian Collegium in Kolozsvár and Jacobus Palaeologus (1520–1585), an original Greco-Italian thinker and theologian, are among the most outstanding representatives of Transylvanian Unitarianism. Jacobus Palaeologus's manuscripts highly influenced the radical Unitarianism in Siebenbergen and Poland.

According to Palaeologus Christianity derived from JUDAISM and therefore there is harmony between the Old and the New Testaments, although there is no doubt about the primacy of the first. Christ—perceived as a human who had the gift of the divine power similar to that of other prophets—wanted Jews to do penance and accept him as King of Israel. Because this did not succeed, Christ commended his students to spread the Gospel to all people.

Palaeologus intended to prove that the disgrace of the Jews after Christ's death could be removed by an act of faith, Jesus being the Christ or the Lord's Anointed. Jews should respect the Old Testament rituals, however, even after their conversion.

Reducing the truths of salvation to faith in one God and Christ and rejecting traditional trinitarian theology, christology, and sacramentology, Palaeologus tried to build the foundations for a future union of the three monotheistic religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. He believed that Muslims are Christian ancestors and also "sons of god." They also possess a holy law, the Koran being its imperfect form [*De tribus gentibus* ("About the Three People"), 1572]. In *Catechesis Christiana* ("Christian Catechism"), however, Palaeologus does not mention Islam, this subject being too controversial.

Ferenc Dávid was the champion of the new theology and spread it at synods. He also led numerous discussions, during which the issue of Christ's adoration and invocation in prayers had been raised. Dávid claimed that Christ is fully subordinated to his Father after his mission on Earth. Therefore Christ's adoration and invocation threaten monotheism because it makes Christ appear as equal to his Father. This issue triggered a conflict between Dávid and Biandrata, the latter accusing Dávid of doctrinal innovations forbidden by a resolution of the Sejm of 1572. In 1579 Dávid was sentenced to prison, where he died. Biandrata acknowledged the authority of the Unitarian Church. Demeter Hunyady (1592), a conservative theologian, became superintendent and the baptism of infants was restored.

Despite official prohibition and repression, radical Unitarian streams survived, for example, Unitarian communities in Southern Hungary, an area occupied by the Turks.

SABBATARIANISM lay on the edge of official Unitarianism. Matthias Vehe-Gliorius (d. 1590), a German Hebraist and biblical researcher, played an important role in its development. Eastern Transylvania was the center of the movement and Andras Essi (d. 1599), a rich landlord, was its patron. The Sabbatarian doctrine had elements of Unitarianism (negation of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ) and legalism of the Old Testament (respect of the Mosaic law, such as circumcision and the Sabbath). Sabbatarians, often accused of being Jewish and persecuted, were excluded from the Unitarian Church in 1616. In the 1920s and 1930s they turned into a Jewish sect. The Nazis killed its last members.

Relations between Unitarians from Transylvania and Polish Unitarians were resumed toward the end of the sixteenth century. *Explications locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti ex quibus Trinitatis dogma stabiliri solet* (“Explanations Regarding the Trinitarian Dogma in the Old and New Testament”), 1598, by Gyorgy Enyedy (1554–1597) is a good example. Sozzini’s influence is visible in this work.

Rhineland Palatinate

Antitrinitarianism in the Palatinate was not strong. It was muffled by both state and clerical authorities. This event had a large echo in Europe (not proportional to its intrinsic importance), which led to conflict in the relations between the Lutheran and the Calvinist churches.

At the end of the sixteenth century in Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate, sharp conflicts arose after Thomas Erastus’s intervention regarding the superiority of the secular rule over the Reformed Church. Four members of the clergy—Johann Sylvan (1572), superintendent in Landenberg; Adam Neuser (1576), pastor in Heidelberg; Matthias Vehe-Glirius (1590), deacon in Kaiserslautern; and Jacob Suter, pastor in Feudenheim—were among Erastus’s friends.

The origins of their Antitrinitarian interests have not been fully explained. Probably the reading of the works of Adam Pastor, but more likely, the works of Polish and Transylvanian Antitrinitarians, provided by Polish Calvinists, must have played a role.

The popularity of Antitrinitarian works, biblical studies, and the disillusion of the Reformed Church drew Sylvan, Neuser, Vehe-Glirius, and Suter to attend a session of the diet Parliament in Speyer and give to the Transylvanian deputy K.Bekes a letter addressed to Giorgio Biandrata. The letter expressed the wish to settle in Transylvania to start an activity in the local Unitarian Church. It was given to emperor Maximilian II who in turn gave it to Friedrich III, elector of the Rhineland Palatinate. Sylvan and VeheGlirius were immediately arrested (July 15, 1570). Neuser managed to escape but returned voluntarily to Germany in 1570 and was imprisoned. There was a great commotion related to the fact that compromising documents had been found in the homes of Neuser and Sylvan, in particular a letter in which Neuser declared sympathy toward Mohammedanism. He also underlined the support Antitrinitarians would give to a Muslim conquest of Germany (doubts about the authenticity of this letter exist). Johann Sylvan was executed, although Neuser and Vehe-Girius worked in Poland and Siebenbergen among radical Antitrinitarians after numerous vicissitudes.

See also Socinianism; Unitarian Universalist Association

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APOCALYPTICISM

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, this Greek term, referring to an unveiling of hidden truths, relates to beliefs rooted in ancient texts recounting cosmic struggles between good and evil, or revealing events that will unfold in the last days. In this latter sense, apocalypticism is closely related to ESCHATOLOGY, theological study concerned with final events in world history, such as the Second Coming and Last Judgment.

The Reformation Era

The intellectual world of the Protestant REFORMATION included canonical apocalyptic texts and long-standing traditions of apocalyptic speculation. As a literary genre, the apocalyptic form arose in ancient JUDAISM and passed into early Christian thought and

writings. Of many Jewish and Christian apocalypses, some made their way into the BIBLE, including the Book of Daniel, the “Little Apocalypse” of Mark 13, and Revelation, the Apocalypse of John. Apocalyptic anticipations of Jesus’ imminent return pervaded early Christianity.

As Christianity gained secular power, church fathers, including St. Augustine, discouraged end-time speculation and instead historicized the apocalyptic texts as allegories of the continuing struggle between the church and the world. In this struggle, righteousness will ultimately triumph, but the details of this final eschatological outcome remain unknowable. Apocalypticism continued to flourish in medieval Christianity, however, as evidenced in surviving cathedral sculptures, stained glass, tapestries, plays, accounts of wandering prophets, and the works of such mystics as Hildegard of Bingen and Joachim of Fiore. Apocalyptic desires to recapture Jerusalem from the Muslims helped fuel the Crusades.

The early Protestant reformers shared Rome’s aversion to apocalypticism, even arguing for excluding Revelation from the canon or according it a lower status. JOHN CALVIN did not include this work in his Bible commentaries. This suspicion of apocalypticism deepened into horror during the Peasants’ Revolt of the 1520s, when THOMAS MUNTZER inflamed his followers with tragically misguided apocalyptic assurances of their ultimate triumph over the armies marshaled against them. The early Anabaptists offered further alarming evidence of the dangers of unbridled apocalypticism (see ANABAPTISM). In 1534, proclaiming the advent of God’s prophesied end-time kingdom, Anabaptists seized the Westphalian city of Munster and expelled the city’s leaders. The inhabitants soon fell under the brutal and licentious rule of young Jan Bockelson (“John of Leyden”), endured starvation as armies rallied by the local bishop besieged the city, and faced indiscriminate slaughter in June 1535 when they tried to surrender. The bodies of Bockelson and his top lieutenants were suspended in a cage from a Munster church tower as a cautionary example.

For all their fear of apocalyptic excesses, however, the early Reformation leaders readily used apocalyptic themes when it suited their purposes. The GENEVA BIBLE (1560) identified the Pope as the Beast of Revelation, confirming a 1545 woodcut by Melchior Lorch portraying the Pope as a loathsome, fire-breathing beast with a long tail. The “Pope=Antichrist” link deeply infected Protestant thought, surfacing in the UNITED STATES, for example, during periods of heavy Catholic immigration and surviving for much longer in fundamentalist circles (see FUNDAMENTALISM).

Overall, however, the major Protestant bodies that emerged from the Reformation rejected apocalypticism. The Lutheran and Reformed churches were generally amillennial, rejecting the idea of a literal thousand-year millennial kingdom on Earth (Revelation 20:6), treating the apocalyptic scriptures as metaphorical expressions of the ongoing conflict between good and evil and avoiding undue speculation about the details of Christ’s final triumph. Even the Anabaptists, repudiating the frenzies of the 1530s, turned decisively against apocalypticism.

Apocalyptic Movements in England and America

Protestant dissenters, however, often under the sway of self-taught laypersons, proved receptive to apocalypticism and to interpretations treating the prophecies as road maps to future events likely to unfold soon. Such interpretations have especially flourished at times of political or social upheaval, as in mid-seventeenth century ENGLAND, when Puritan reformers sought to purge English Protestantism of its papist remnants (see PURITANISM). As the purifying impulse spread, many observers eagerly concluded that biblical end-time prophecies were being fulfilled before their very eyes, and that Anglican leaders such as Archbishop WILLIAM LAUD fit descriptions of the Antichrist. So-called “Fifth Monarchy Men,” interpreting apocalyptic imagery from the Book of Daniel as a prophecy that Christ’s kingdom would emerge after four earthly empires had risen and fallen, proclaimed that the millennium would soon begin.

The Puritan clergy of New England shared this apocalyptic mindset. Some even viewed America as the chosen land where Christ’s kingdom would arise. The enduring dream of American exceptionalism, viewing the United States as divinely favored and exempt from the fate of other nations, is rooted in this tradition. As religious revivals, the so-called “Great Awakening,” swept America in the 1740s (see AWAKENINGS), some concluded that the millennium was at hand. REVIVALS, prayer circles, and transatlantic religious effort, JONATHAN EDWARDS speculated, could usher in the glorious age foretold in Revelation. Edwards was thus a postmillennialist, teaching that Christ’s Kingdom can be attained in the present age. He and his followers were not shallow optimists, however. Espousing what historian James Davidson has called an “afflictive model” of spiritual progress, they also foresaw periodic setbacks and recrudescences of satanic influence. Nevertheless, their confidence that Christian effort could transform the present social order profoundly influenced the American worldview, inspiring periodic waves of revivalism and, in somewhat secularized form, reformist efforts to eradicate suffering, exploitation, and injustice.

Apocalypticism served political purposes during the American Revolution, as patriot preachers identified Great Britain, George III, and British officials with the ANTICHRIST. One imaginative writer, for example, fingered Lord Bute, born on a Scottish island, as the “beast from the sea” mentioned in Revelation. After the Revolution, Americans sought to create a society worthy of the struggle for independence, and the antebellum era was awash in reform efforts, including TEMPERANCE and antislavery campaigns (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), crusades for more humane treatment of the insane and the rehabilitation of prisoners, and even cooperative utopian communities that arose as alternatives to the competitive market economy.

In such a climate, apocalypticism flourished with renewed intensity. Millennial expectations suffused the Campbellite (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST) church and other sects spawned by the frontier revivals of the Second Great Awakening, as well as early MORMONISM as preached by JOSEPH SMITH and his followers. In 1831, WILLIAM MILLER (1782–1849), a self-taught Bible scholar in upstate New York, after long study of chronological prophecies in the Book of Daniel, began to preach that Christ would

return around 1843. Other Millerites, seeking greater specificity, finally settled on October 22, 1843. Despite criticism by established Protestant leaders, Millerite revivals attracted thousands, colorful charts elucidated Miller's calculations, and tracts and periodicals spread the word. When the 1843 date passed uneventfully, the leaders discovered their error (they had neglected to count 1 B.C. and 1 A.D. as two years) and announced a new date, October 22, 1844, laying the groundwork for a second and final "Great Disappointment." From the wreckage of Millerism, however, arose a new Protestant denomination, the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST church. Although this denomination, which has more than 10 million members worldwide, avoids setting dates, it remains intensely interested in Bible prophecy.

Meanwhile, in early nineteenth-century Great Britain, apocalypticism stirred afresh on the margins of the established church. The Scottish minister EDWARD IRVING (1792–1834) drew crowds in London in the 1820s and 1830s with his predictions of Christ's Second Coming. He taught that the Battle of Armageddon would occur in 1868, and his emotional services featured glossolalia (speaking in TONGUES), which his followers viewed as one of the "signs and wonders" foretold by Jesus as a sign of the last days. In the same years, HENRY DRUMMOND, a member of Parliament with a layman's interest in apocalypticism, organized a series of annual prophecy conferences on his estate. Somewhat later, in *Signs of the Times* and *The End* (both 1855), both of which became bestsellers in England and America, the Scotsman John Cumming (1807–1881), following the lead of the German Hebraicist Wilhelm Gesenius, identified RUSSIA as the mysterious kingdom of Gog, whose destruction is foretold in Ezekiel 38.

The Rise of Premillennial Dispensationalism

Apocalypticism pervaded the PLYMOUTH BRETHERN, an English dissenting sect that arose in the 1830s. The movement's leader, JOHN DARBY (1800–1882), is best known for a system of prophetic interpretation, premillennial DISPENSATIONALISM, that proved remarkably long-lived and influential. Assembling prophetic texts from throughout the Bible, Darby constructed his system much as one assembles a picture puzzle until the full picture emerges. A premillennialist, he held that humanity will grow increasingly wicked, not gradually more righteous, as the end approaches.

Darby divided history into a series of epochs, or dispensations, each with its distinct means of salvation for the Jews (God's chosen people) and for the Gentiles. The present dispensation, the Church Age, he taught, represents a "great parenthesis" in the grand prophetic scheme. But it will soon end, as one can see from the fulfillment of the signs of the last days revealed by Christ to his disciples before his crucifixion: notably wars, wickedness, natural catastrophes, and the Jews' return to the Promised Land. (Dispensationalists after Darby found the rise of Zionism profoundly significant.)

Next on the prophetic calendar, according to Darby, will be the Rapture (I Thessalonians 4:16–17, and other texts), when all true believers will join Christ in the air. Then will come the Great Tribulation (Matthew 24:21), when the Antichrist will establish his global dictatorship, forcing all to accept his rule and be branded with his name or his number, the dread 666 (Revelation 13:16–18). After seven years, the Antichrist's armies gather at Armageddon, an ancient battle site in Israel (Revelation 16:16), to battle a vast

army marching from the East. At this moment, however, Christ returns, destroys the Antichrist and all earthly armies, and, from a rebuilt temple in Jerusalem, rules the Earth for a thousand years of peace and justice: the Millennium. All will now worship Christ as the promised Messiah, including a remnant of Jews who have survived the Antichrist's murderous persecution. After a final, unsuccessful uprising by the Antichrist comes the Last Judgment and the New Heaven and New Earth foretold in the soaring finale of Revelation.

While dispensationalism won some followers in Great Britain and elsewhere in Protestant Europe, its natural habitat proved to be North America and, ultimately, parts of LATIN AMERICA and AFRICA proselytized by U.S. missionaries preaching this doctrine. Darby made several evangelistic trips to America, and his teaching spread rapidly through his own writings and those of his followers. As historian Ernest Sandeen has argued, dispensationalism was crucial to the rise of the Fundamentalist movement, and Fundamentalists in turn helped spread dispensationalism. Highly important was the popular SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE (1909), annotated by Cyrus Scofield (1843–1921), a Darbyite who wove dispensationalist doctrine throughout his notes. Prophecy magazines, annual prophecy conferences, and Darbyite institutions such as Chicago's MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE (1886) and Dallas Theological Seminary (1924) spread the word as well.

Also contributing to the upsurge of apocalypticism in America was the rise of the JEHOVAH'S WITNESS and Pentecostal movements. The Jehovah's Witnesses, arising in the 1880s and growing to 14 million followers worldwide by 2000, espoused a particular version of apocalyptic belief based on the teachings of founder CHARLES TAZE RUSSELL (1852–1916). Modern PENTECOSTALISM is often dated from a 1906 revival in Los Angeles. Featuring ecstatic worship services, and appealing especially to poor whites and blacks, Pentecostalist denominations such as the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD and the CHURCH OF GOD (in many variant forms), supplemented by independent evangelistic and radio ministries, spread rapidly. Like the Irvingites before them, Pentecostals preached that God's outpouring of supernatural gifts, such as glossolalia and divine healing, meant that the last days were at hand.

Not all U.S. Protestants embraced premillennialism. Lutheran, Reformed, and Anabaptist groups, such as the MENNONITES, remained amillennialist in their credal statements (despite defections to dispensationalism by the laity). Within late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century liberal Protestantism, a lingering postmillennialism, most fully developed in the SOCIAL GOSPEL theology of WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH (1861–1918), found expression not only in church-building and missionary activity, but also in reform efforts to combat the evils of the urban-industrial age through legislation, housing codes, support for labor unions, crusades against alcohol and PROSTITUTION, and even CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. President Woodrow Wilson's exalted vision of America's world role as he led the nation into war in 1917 had a distinctly postmillennialist tinge. This partially secularized postmillennialism would later influence liberal Protestantism's commitment to peace, nuclear disarmament, and civil rights. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S celebrated "I Have a Dream" sermon of 1963, with its vision of righteousness flowing down like a river as Americans at last eradicated the sin of racism, is rich in apocalyptic imagery.

Apocalypticism in the Contemporary Age

Premillennial dispensationalism continued to pervade large tracts of U.S. Protestantism after World War II, as popularizers added the United Nations, the atomic bomb, the founding of Israel in 1948, and Israel's 1967 recapture of Jerusalem's Old City to the catalog of end-time signs. Exploiting new communications technologies, they now spread their message via massmarket paperback books, audio cassettes, videotapes, television, global communication satellites, gospel music, comic books, Internet websites, and even automobile bumper stickers. (One warned: "If the Rapture Occurs, This Car Will Be Driverless.") According to a 1998 Gallup Poll, 39 percent of Americans believed it "very likely" or "somewhat likely" that the world would end by 2100 "because of Judgment Day or another religious event." Respected evangelical scholars criticized dispensationalism as a HERESY (see, e.g., Noll 1994), but its influence seemed if anything to be increasing as the twentieth century ended.

The pervasiveness of apocalypticism, and of dispensationalism in particular, in late twentieth-century global mass culture is illustrated by the phenomenal popularity of Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970), the nonfiction bestseller of the 1970s, and the *Left Behind* novels of Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins beginning in 1995. In *The Late Great Planet Earth*, a slangy popularization of dispensationalism, Lindsey found nuclear war, the Soviet Union, Communist China, the United Nations, the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, computers, drug addiction, and much else foretold in prophecy.

In the *Left Behind* series, a fictionalized treatment of dispensationalism adapted to post-Cold War realities, the United Nations (UN) secretary-general emerges as the Antichrist. Controlling the global media, he wins over a gullible U.S. president and, in collaboration with Iraqi leaders, moves his headquarters to a rebuilt Babylon. In these novels, which sold multiple millions of copies and spawned a host of spin-off products including T-shirts, videocassettes, a juvenile version, and a popular movie, all secular institutions—the federal government, international agencies, multinational corporations, global media conglomerates—are preparing the way for the Antichrist. PAT ROBERTSON (1930-), head of the Christian Broadcasting Network and founder of the conservative political-action group the Christian Coalition, offered a similarly conspiratorial view of modern history as a prelude to the final satanic world system in his 1991 bestseller *The New World Order*. The prolific Hal Lindsey, in the 1996 prophecy novel *Blood Moon*, nimbly shifted from the Soviet threat to the menace of Islam and post-Cold War internationalism. In this novel, after a foiled nuclear assault on Israel by Muslim terrorists abetted by the Antichrist (once again, the UN secretary-general), Israel retaliates with an all-out nuclear attack that utterly annihilates the Islamic world.

As apocalyptic writers had done for centuries, these late twentieth-century prophecy popularizers won a large following by weaving into their scenarios contemporary trends that many people found deeply unsettling, and treating them as portents of the approaching end. As the twenty-first century dawned, apocalypticism—a central if sometimes muted theme in Protestantism from the beginning—remained very much alive.

See also Best Sellers in America, Religious; Christian Right; Lutheranism; Millenarians and Millennialism; Publishing, Media; Televangelism

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PAUL S. BOYER

ARCHITECTURE, CHURCH

Church architecture has been the most visible manifestation of the presence of Protestantism around the globe. In so being, it has also testified to the variety of forms of WORSHIP found in the various Protestant traditions as well as changing concepts about the functions of public worship. Protestant churches, in common with all Christian church architecture, are the reflection of what the community believes and practices in its life together in worship.

For the first century of the REFORMATION, the chief problem was adaptation of existing late medieval churches that dotted western Europe. Changing concepts of worship had made many of these buildings functionally obsolete for both Protestants and Catholics. The usual late medieval parish church was divided into two quite distinct spaces, a chancel for the worship of the clerical community and a nave for the laity. Both spaces were usually separated by a substantial roodscreen that obscured visibility of the high ALTAR. In Catholicism new concepts of space began to promote the visibility of the altar and the theater provided a model of such unobstructed space. New liturgical

centers developed: the tabernacle on the high altar, communion rails, and confessionals. ICONOCLASM removed images no longer deemed appropriate such as those of the Trinity as three old men.

Changing concepts and practices of worship among Protestants also required alteration of existing buildings. Not until the second century of the Reformation were many new buildings for worship built. From this point on, as new traditions of worship evolved, new building types developed and the process continues today.

Basically most Protestant worship can be classified under nine traditions. We shall trace these in chronological order of development. It should be obvious that there has been much cross-fertilization over the past five centuries as various traditions borrowed from one another. Still, it is still possible to walk down a main street and guess the tradition of most church buildings before seeing the sign boards. So there is considerable consistency within traditions.

Lutheran

The Lutheran tradition turned out to be the most conservative. Many items remained in medieval churches in Germany and the Scandinavian countries that disappeared in other Protestant lands. MARTIN LUTHER had a high view of much of the existing culture but sought reform in frequent communion (see LORD'S SUPPER), an increase in PREACHING, and congregational song. None of these required wholesale iconoclasm and images were tolerated if not encouraged. Much medieval ceremonial remained. Luther was conservative in advocating BAPTISM of infants by immersion, which was currently disappearing in much of western Europe.

In October 1544 Luther presided over the dedication of the first building built deliberately for Protestant worship, the Castle Chapel in Torgau. It remains remarkably intact today with an impressive pulpit in the middle of one side of the nave and an altar at the end. As churches began to be built, especially after the massive destruction of the Thirty Years' War, Lutherans welcomed the baroque style emanating from Italy. Many of these buildings could be mistaken on the outside for Catholic churches. On the interior, a fondness developed for placing the principal liturgical centers together: pulpit, altar, and baptismal font. Both visibility and audibility became central, often calling for encircling balconies. A magnificent example was the Frauenkirche in Dresden (1726–1738), which, with multiple balconies, resembled an opera house. Theologian PAUL TILLICH once called it the ideal Protestant church.

The nineteenth century saw many romantic revivals of previous styles, exemplified in Germany by the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841). Leaders in the first half of the twentieth century promoted a revival of gothic but this was superseded beginning in mid-century with the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD in the United States becoming the leading champion of modern architecture. Indeed, the leading Protestant form maker in late twentieth century was Lutheran Edward Sövik (1918–).

Reformed

The Reformed tradition took much more radical steps in the sixteenth century. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI led a purge of the churches in Zurich in 1524, eliminating all images and (eventually) organs. The fear of idolatry loomed large in this iconoclasm. The focus of buildings shifted from altar to pulpit, from which the whole service was conducted. In JOHN CALVIN'S Geneva, communion was served to people seated on movable benches placed around temporary tables in the aisles. This became the favorite practice for the Reformed churches in the NETHERLANDS and for Presbyterians in Scotland and America until about 1825.

Focus on the pulpit as the dominant liturgical center led to efforts to shape the building for maximum visibility and audibility. When building became common in the seventeenth century, this led to experimentation with a wide variety of shapes, most of them central in plan: Greek cross, square, circle, "T" or "L" shaped. Balconies became a standard hallmark of Reformed churches. A number of large churches were erected in France by the HUGUENOTS. All were destroyed in 1685 and a period of "wilderness," worshipping in barns with portable pulpits, ensued until the French Revolution.

America provided an opportunity for much experimentation. The Dutch built some octagons; all have now disappeared. The nineteenth century brought many changes (see below) expressed in current architectural styles. Communion in the pews prevailed among Presbyterians. Large central pulpits, high enough to allow eye contact with those seated in the balcony, dominated the interior. Currently, there seems to be an effort to restore a balance between word and sacrament, which is reflected in more prominent altar tables and fonts. The most spectacular Reformed church is the Crystal Cathedral (1977–1980) in Garden Grove, California, which is conceived of as largely a preaching space.

Anabaptist

The Anabaptist tradition has a quite different history. Here there were no buildings to inherit because these people were never an established church. Indeed, to this day, the AMISH prefer to worship in private homes with benches carted to each week's location. When buildings for worship became possible, MENNONITES and HUTTERITES turned to modest structures usually of wood. In more conservative groups these are distinguished by separate seating by sex, usually indicated on the exterior by twin entrances. The interiors often contain a long pulpit, capable of accommodating several people who will preside or preach. Most of these buildings have no pipe organs or other musical instruments. Usually towers and steeples are lacking and the buildings often have a domestic appearance even though used entirely for worship.

Anglican

Buildings in the Anglican tradition have gone through a long series of changes as Anglican worship itself has evolved. Medieval churches were adapted during the long Elizabethan era by the expedient of turning the chancels into eucharistic rooms where communicants gathered for increasingly infrequent celebrations of the eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER). Altars became tables set parallel to the long sides and tablets of the Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer plus the royal arms were placed at the east end. Considerable iconoclasm had occurred under Edward VI. The seventeenth century saw a gradual return of the table to the east end, guarded now by communion rails.

The onset of extensive building of new churches came in the late seventeenth century after the destruction of eighty-seven churches in the great fire in the City of London. The dominating figure was Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN (1632–1723) who designed fifty-one city churches plus St. Paul's Cathedral (1675–1710), perhaps the most important Protestant church. Wren built mostly in classical styles, often with a staged tower. His "auditory" church was specifically designed for the Anglican liturgy with priority given to enabling "all to hear the Service...and see the Preacher." This often entailed a triple-decker pulpit and no chancel. Wren's work shaped much of Protestant church architecture in England and America for nearly two centuries. James Gibbs (1682–1754) married Wren's staged towers to a classical portico, creating a pattern still being imitated.

A major reversal came in the nineteenth century, however, largely attributed to the impetus of the CAMBRIDGE MOVEMENT with its efforts to return to the fourteenth-century English village parish church as the ideal. These buildings were built around the world as the Empire expanded and became the favored pattern for EPISCOPAL CHURCHES in America. These were altar-centered buildings with deep chancels now filled with surpliced choirs. A second gothic revival in the twentieth century, presided over by architect Ralph Adams Cram (1863–1942), continued this pattern until mid-twentieth century. Since then the liturgical movement has led to placing the altar closer to the people and to erecting new churches designed to enable maximum participation.

Puritan

The more radical groups within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND finally came to power in 1642 and started a fresh spate of iconoclasm and decoration of churches with scriptural passages. Only a few buildings were built by Puritans before 1689. The case in America was the opposite because new buildings were needed in each settlement. The typical seventeenth-century American Puritan building was square in plan with a pyramidal roof. Old Ship Church, Hingham, Massachusetts, 1681, is the sole surviving example. Eighteenth-century churches were oriented with pulpit in the midst of a long side opposite the main door. Pulpits, sounding boards, and pulpit windows were embellished with all the skills of the community's carpenters. In the nineteenth century, the orientation shifted to a short end with elegant pulpits, horseshoe balconies, beautiful entrance porticoes, and staged towers (clock, belfry, lantern, and spire). A major shift

occurred with the burgeoning SUNDAY SCHOOL movement. Often the space for classes was created by raising the entire building or by flooring over the worship space at the balcony level. The rest of the nineteenth century saw a series of stylistic revivals and often assimilation of the Frontier tradition (see below).

Quaker (Society of Friends)

It is no surprise that Quaker worship, the most radical Protestant tradition, also demanded the most radical form of church architecture. These are buildings with no liturgical centers but with virtually all space devoted to congregational seating. Thus the Quaker meetinghouse puts everyone present, as it were, on stage with no distinctions among members. Because Quakers agreed that women should speak in worship but felt that their concerns were usually different from those of men, movable partitions might divide the space. By the nineteenth century these partitions were usually nailed permanently open and not replicated in new buildings. Twin entrances on the exterior denoted the division of sexes; otherwise these were plain simple buildings. If the community was large enough, balconies might be present; otherwise they are one-story buildings.

Even more radical was the small number of SHAKER buildings that made all space movement space to allow for dance as worship. The earliest of these were gambrel roofed and a standard color code of white and blue embellished the interiors.

Methodist

METHODISM has many of its origins in open-air preaching. The earliest chapels were intended as auxiliaries to the parish church so that preaching and special services could be held indoors. JOHN WESLEY early on decreed octagonal buildings with the intent of obtaining the largest accommodation as close to the pulpit as possible. The usual building eventually came to have a two-story facade with the interior balcony dictating the window locations. Double- or triple-decker pulpits were common, and the altar table was invariably surrounded by communion rails.

Nineteenth-century buildings went through a morass of styles from regency to romanesque. Late in the century the so-called Akron plan became a favorite with the interior oriented to a corner in which were wedged, in descending order, organ pipes, choir in concert stage arrangement, presiders' chairs, pulpit, altar table, and communion rail. In the mid-twentieth century Elbert E. Conover (1885–1952) led a campaign to persuade Methodists to build gothic or Georgian churches with a divided chancel similar to what Anglicans were then building. Until recently most Methodist churches were small town and rural; now most are suburban and modern architecture has been generally accepted.

Frontier

The Frontier tradition in worship, now the most widespread in America, is a product of the Second Great AWAKENING. Worship is planned for those on the frontier between faith and unfaith with the hope of producing new converts and solidifying the faith of those already converted. Like Methodism it owed much to outdoor camp meetings. More than anyone else, CHARLES G. FINNEY (1792–1875) brought the style indoors. In 1832 he leased the Chatham Garden Play-house in New York City for purposes of worship and EVANGELISM. The stage freed him from the confines of the usual wineglass or tub pulpit. The pulpit became a desk from which the preacher could make fervent sorties in pleading for CONVERSIONS. In 1836 Finney built the Broadway Tabernacle, which provided an amphitheater for 2,500 and room for a choir, organ, and pulpit platform.

Many of the Frontier-tradition worship patterns became endemic in American Protestantism, drawing into itself Methodist, Reformed, Puritan, and even some Lutheran and Quaker congregations. It is not surprising that the pulpit platform arrangement with desk pulpit and chairs for preacher, visiting evangelist, and song leader became the dominant liturgical arrangement and probably still is in terms of the number of existing churches and those being built. The usual difference in Baptist churches is the presence of a baptismal pool.

The most recent development in the late twentieth century is the MEGA-CHURCH. Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Illinois is the best known but they are legion in the Midwest United States. An effort is made to make these buildings as neutral as possible with no religious images and a platform occupied only by a tiny pulpit, actors, and musicians. At Community Church of Joy (nominally Lutheran) in Phoenix, Arizona an altar disappears after the old folks' "traditional" service. Worship and entertainment are treated as interchangeable commodities, and the building obliges by not making any faith statements.

Pentecostal

The twentieth century saw the rapid growth of the Pentecostal tradition with a premium on spontaneity and the present activity of the Holy Spirit. This tradition has not yet developed a distinct architectural style, although buildings of the Frontier type seem most congenial. In recent decades praise and worship services have used screens on which lyrics for congregational song can be projected. There are no inhibitions about using the latest electronic techniques or musical styles and space is often provided for small bands. Many of these groups began in humble storefront churches in big cities, but they are increasingly moving to architect-designed buildings in the suburbs.

Thus there is not a single Protestant architectural form or style but rather a vast variety, reflecting the infinite varieties of worshipping God within Protestantism.

See also Altar; Amish; Anabaptism; Anglicanism; Awakenings; Baptism; Calvin, John; Cambridge Movement; Church of England; Conversion; Dutch Reformed Church;

Episcopal Church; Evangelism; Finney, Charles Grandison; Friends, Society of; Huguenots; Hutterites; Hymns and Hymnals; Iconoclasm; Lord's Supper; Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; Lutheranism; Luther, Martin; Mega-Church; Mennonites; Methodism; Netherlands; Pentecostalism; Preaching; Presbyterianism; Puritanism; Reformation; Shakers; Sunday School; Tillich, Paul; Wesley, John; Worship; Wren, Christopher; Zwingli, Huldrych

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ARMINIANISM

Used precisely, the term Arminianism applies to the Christian doctrine of ELECTION and PREDESTINATION developed by JACOBUS ARMINIUS (c. 1559–1609), Reformed pastor in Amsterdam and professor of theology at the University of Leiden. Used somewhat less precisely, the term refers to soteriologies, theological anthropologies, hamartiologies, and eccesiologies that are either implied by Arminius's thought or were developed more or less systematically by him. It also refers to those that, by their inner logic, connect coherently either with Arminius's doctrine of election/predestination or with others of his writings.

Arminius's Formal Education

Arminius was born in Oudewater, NETHERLANDS to a large immediate family of "middle-rank." Noteworthy in Arminius's education and career is the importance of the logic, rhetoric, and theological and philosophical method of Peter Ramus (1515–1572). Ramus's method was a product of the older Reformed theology and fit it well. In Dutch and English Reformed circles Ramus's logical method for a time rivaled that of Aristotle. As with Aristotle's method, one must first determine the category to which the idea to be investigated belongs. Ramus believed that every idea belonged to one or another of the

liberal arts; each of the liberal arts had its proper sphere of ideas. Having properly identified the place of the idea, the investigator could proceed with a sharp division of each investigated idea into two parts (dichotomies), and then continue division of the resulting parts until one reached the investigated idea's most basic components. Ramus and his adherents believed this method of drawing dichotomies to be not only a way to truth, but also a way to determine the practical implications of an idea. It rests on two theological notions: all valid knowledge comes from the Trinitarian God and therefore must be related to God, and true knowledge has practical application or consequences. These postulates imply that all knowledge has a moral/ethical dimension.

Arminius's Earlier Theological Context

Even more deeply than by his superb theological education, the theological thought of Arminius, and of his Reformed opponents, was shaped by various reforming ideas that moved through the lower Rhine delta and valley and through the cities of the Hanse, especially from about the 1370s. Especially important was the spirituality of such persons as the Rhenish mystics and such movements as the Brethren of the Common Life. These called for renewed personal piety and social ethics defined in terms of fidelity to Scripture and the traditions of Augustinian and Benedictine spirituality and theology. They did not call for rebellion against the institutional church—only that its faith find personal and social expression beyond rituals and public pieties.

Except for his years at Geneva, Arminius's immediate theological context had been that of the first generation of the Reformed movement—the generation of which JOHN CALVIN was a younger member and a leader, but not the force that he was to become—even though, chronologically, Arminius and his peers belonged to the second or third generation of the movement.

The theological boundaries of that early Reformed generation in the Netherlands were not the boundaries developed in Geneva. Rather, they had been set by the Lutheran voice of PHILIPP MELANCHTHON and earlier Reformed voices, such as HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, HEINRICH BULLINGER, Zacharias Ursinus, Myconius, and Grynaeus. Their creedal bases were the BELGIC CONFESSION (Walloon edition, 1561; Dutch edition, 1562) and the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563)—the earlier, not the later, editions.

Guy de Brès (de Bray) (d. 1567), a native of Bergen in Hainault, a southern province, had produced the *Belgic Confession* in 1561, precisely for the Protestant congregations in the Netherlands. Based on Calvin's GALLICAN CONFESSION (1559), the original *Belgic Confession* is nonetheless obviously of an independent spirit. Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583) wrote the *Heidelberg Catechism* at the behest of elector Frederic III who wanted peace between Lutherans and Reformed in his territory. Ursinus, a student and disciple of Melanchthon and then a student of John Calvin, responded by developing a christocentric document, strictly Reformed only in several specific doctrines: the sacraments (especially regarding the issue of “real presence”), the authority of Scripture, the place of good works, and the CHURCH as the source of Christian discipline. Its doctrines of election and predestination say nothing of reprobation or of limited

atonement, which gives them something of a Lutheran cast; but as a whole, the document is broadly Reformed.

The synods of Emden (1571) and Dordrecht (1574) declared these documents normative. Conceptually, both synods envisioned a national church, essentially and deliberately Reformed in theology and polity; but a church clearly aligned with historic Western Christianity and with broader Protestantism. Arguments concerning the authority of these synods did not arise until the late 1580s. Thus the theological context of Arminius's youth was indeed Reformed, but not bound to the thought of any one leader, although Calvin and Geneva did hold certain preeminence.

By the time Arminius had begun studies in the academy in Geneva, THEODORE BEZA, Calvin's son-in-law, had become the lodestar of the Genevan Reformed movement—not by self-appointment but by circumstance and consensus. He was faithful to Calvin but his emphases were far more affected by philosophy and more speculative than Calvin's, and he ventured into metaphysics, a territory little treated by Calvin (although Calvin certainly worked from metaphysical presuppositions). Beza's *Confession of the Christian Faith* and *On Predestination*, especially, reflect a much more scholastic, dialectic approach to theology than Calvin's. This approach, grounded in Aristotelian logic, tends to make one point methodologically as important as another to the validity of his theological system—not, perhaps, in terms of pastoral care and pastoral theology, but in terms of both the outer and inner logic of the system as a whole. So it was that ecclesiastical polity was believed to be logically and theologically as significant as, say, eschatology. The foundation and center of Beza's system was divine sovereignty; the doctrine of election/predestination, its linchpin.

Arminius began to sense the inelasticity of Bezan theology (which many took to be Calvin's theology) during his student days at Leiden. The theology faculty, with one exception, had developed positions that were certainly Reformed, but not as narrow as those in Geneva. Midway through his studies at Leiden, however, Arminius began to hear sharp reaction to that older, broader form of Reformed thinking, and demands for more meticulously stated doctrine.

Initially the debate focused on the relationship between the ecclesiastical and civil institutions. At the center of the debate, as Arminius experienced it, was Caspar Coolhaes (c. 1534–1609), Reformed pastor and sometime lecturer in theology in the University in Leiden from 1574 to 1578. He had come as pastor at the invitation of Leiden's burgomasters just as the "Erastian" polity that had been typical from the 1540s in the Reformed churches in the Netherlands had come under severe questioning. It continued to be typical, but decreasingly so, even after the Synod of Dordrecht (1574) had sought to impose the Genevan institutional pattern on all Reformed congregations in the northern provinces. "Erastian" polity and the broad theology of the early Reformed movement in the Netherlands had fit together with some success, but Geneva had now become the capital of Reformed theological thinking. Coolhaes, tolerant of views different from his, found little tolerance among the Genevans. For them, an erroneous ecclesiology was as serious a theological flaw as erroneous christology.

Further, to make his point, Coolhaes appealed to Scripture, the theologians of the early church, and then Protestant Reformation theology, beginning with its creeds and catechisms, although this practice, too, became an issue, given that Coolhaes was more

likely to turn to the works of Zwingli, Melancthon, Bullinger, and Ursinus than to those of Calvin, Luther, or Beza.

Although Coolhaes's original accuser was another Leiden pastor, it was not long before one of the five members of the University's theological faculty had taken up the cudgel. Lambertus Danaeus, who was in Leiden for only a year (1581–1582), became a powerful voice for the Genevan polity over against Coolhaes and the burgomasters of Leiden. Educated in law at Orleans, Paris, and Bourges (where he received a doctorate), Danaeus had converted to Protestantism under the influence of the martyrdom of Anne of Bourges in 1559. In 1560 he went to Geneva to study under Calvin. He returned to France in 1561 to serve as a Reformed pastor near Orleans until he was forced to flee at the time of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572. He went back to the environs of Geneva, where he was assigned a pastorate. Here he formed a close friendship with Beza. In 1574 he was reassigned to a pastorate in Geneva and appointed to the faculty of the Academy. Beza, who probably knew exactly what he was doing, successfully urged and enabled Danaeus to receive a pastor call to Leiden and an appointment to the university faculty. We do not know Danaeus's views on predestination, but we do know that he viewed the ecclesiastical polity advocated by Coolhaes as theologically erroneous, even heretical.

Especially in questions of polity, the Netherlanders had generally feared more the ICONOCLASM of Reformed zealots than the authority of the burgomasters over the church. Now the Bezans were insisting that CONSISTORY must be a law unto itself. Arminius, following Ramus's method, and also drawing on earlier Reformed practice in the Netherlands, argued—as Coolhaes and his supporters did—that the burgomasters had the right to pass on Consistory's nominations to the offices of elder and deacon, although he was soon off to further studies in Geneva.

The growing influence of the Bezan point of view in the university and across the United Provinces prompted Coolhaes's exit from Leiden and his subsequent condemnation by a clergy-dominated national synod at Middelburg in 1581, and his deposition from the ministry and excommunication in 1582, by a clergy-dominated regional synod at Haarlem. These synods ignored his strong support from the burgomasters of Leiden. Dutch Calvinism was setting out on a new trail; but not all of the Reformed were to follow it.

Arminius went to Geneva to study just as Coolhaes was being ejected from Leiden and the Bezan point of view was coming to dominance in the United Provinces. He studied under Beza in Geneva intermittently between 1582 and 1586. In the interstices, he studied under Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus (1540–1617), who taught Scripture and was dean of the theological faculty at Basel. Grynaeus, a Lutheran except for his openness to a more nearly Calvinist, perhaps Zwinglian, understanding of the LORD'S SUPPER, apparently helped Arminius to a more critical appreciation of the logic of Peter Ramus (Arminius's earlier enthusiasm for Ramus had irritated Beza, among others) and to a refocusing on the christological character of earlier Reformed theology.

Arminius's attraction to Ramus's logic and theological method was probably taken very seriously by Beza. The fresh logic of Ramus's system seemed to Beza a source of theological error. In 1570 Ramus had applied for a professorial post under Beza. Beza turned him down, primarily because of this commitment. Somewhat later Ramus had sharply criticized the tendency of Beza's ecclesiology toward clerical control. He had

also questioned Beza's persistence in using the term "substance" with reference to the Lord's Supper when it was precisely this term, however technically useful, that had been the focus of so much and such bitter debate within and between Christian traditions. Ramus's critiques and Beza's responses had built an obvious wall between them. Arminius's presence reminded Beza of these things.

Then, to make things worse, Arminius, back in Geneva in 1584, apparently studied considerably with Charles Perrot, a theologian shown by the evidence to have been an advocate of theological tolerance and a critic of Beza's emphasis on GRACE at the expense of "works." Arminius also seems to have cemented friendship with his fellow countrymen studying there, among whom there were some very significant dissenters from Beza's predestination-centered, Aristotelian approach. In fact, Dutch theologians who accounted themselves Reformed had fallen into trouble with Beza early on in Beza's career. Among them was Adrianus Saravia (1531–1613), who had helped Guy de Brès write the *Belgic Confession*, which was produced expressly for Reformed churches in Flanders and the Netherlands, and had taken it to Geneva for approval in 1561, only to have it rejected. Geneva did not really endorse it until 1581, when Beza included it, in edited form (Franciscus Junius, Arminius's predecessor on the Leiden faculty (1593–1602), had rewritten its article on civil magistracy), in his *Harmony of Confessions*. In the 1570s Saravia advocated Christian evangelization as a basic purpose in voyages of discovery and colonizing and ran afoul of Beza's insistence that the original Apostles had fulfilled Christ's command to evangelize and make disciples and the command therefore did not apply past the Apostolic Age. (Saravia joined the Leiden faculty in 1584. It is an irony that he served with Junius there.)

The data clearly indicate that, although he deeply appreciated the Christian character, the learning, the intellectual capacity, and the articulateness of Beza, Arminius had consistently appealed and adhered to pre-Bezan Reformed thought even in his studies in Geneva. The evidence shows that Beza knew of Arminius's DISSENT and that he believed it to be serious, but the evidence also shows that Beza actually supported Arminius's call to be a Reformed minister in the important town of Amsterdam. Later accusations that Arminius had betrayed both his friendship with Beza and his loyalty to Beza's theology simply are not true. He had not been personally very close to Beza, and he had never bought into Beza's theology—either its basic and central doctrine of election/predestination or its method, which was Aristotelian.

In October 1587 the Classis of Amsterdam, ministers and laity delegated from each of the parishes in and around the city, having read his letters of recommendation, including one from Beza, admitted Arminius to the ministry pending a call to be a Reformed pastor in Amsterdam and the passing of a theological exam. The Consistory of Amsterdam, the clergy of the city, met with Arminius and approved the action of the Classis. By February 1588 Arminius was conducting evening services—preaching and leading prayers—at the Old Church, although various complications delayed full ordination and pastoral assignment until August 1588.

However, the theological tangles arising out of the decisions at the synods at Emden (1571), Dordrecht (1574), and The Hague (under the direction of the Earl of Leicester), in 1586, had come to produce strong accusations and recriminations, especially on the matter of church-state relations. The synod at The Hague had ordered the Reformed churches in the United Provinces to follow the Genevan model. Then, just as Arminius

took up his pastoral duties in 1587–1588, Leicester was forced out of office and the magistrates reversed the ruling of the earlier synod.

Arminius's marriage in 1590 to Lijsbet, the daughter of Laurens Reael, complicated the issues for both Arminius and those who would oppose him. Reael was a wealthy, well-connected grain merchant and polymath who, as his immediate forbears had done, played an important role in developing Dutch nationalism and the earlier form of Reformed tradition and in tying the two together. For Reael, as for many in the United Provinces' middle and upper classes, the Genevan model was theologically questionable and politically untenable.

Arminius's theological troubles began in 1591. Early in the year he represented Amsterdam on a commission charged by the States of Holland with drawing up a new church order. The commission recommended consistency in the practice developed earlier in the northern provinces—that the civil authorities take an active role in the nomination of pastors and in church discipline. Since the mid-1550s, Geneva, led by Calvin and Beza, had execrated such a position. In 1570 the Heidelberg Calvinists had excommunicated Thomas Erastus, accusing him of surrendering the authority of the church to the civil authority. Now Arminius found himself facing the same issue.

Arminius had until now faced increasing harassment from critics of his "Erastianism" where formerly he had enjoyed the support of the merchants and burgomasters. Now in the 1590s his theological opponents, who had generally responded to his critiques of the theology of the Reformed faith spreading from Geneva as source for intra-Reformed thought and debate, were now treating them as schismatic or worse. These reversals did not develop suddenly. An important cause lay in changes in the lifestyle and the loyalties of the merchants and burghers. Thinning were the ranks of merchants and burgomasters whose education had included the deep reading in theology and philosophy, not to mention the interest that capacitated them for subtle theological discussion. The new "breed" were not ignorant nor unintelligent nor indifferent to theological issues, although thanks to territorial discoveries, new maps, the political fluidity of the early modern political arrangements, and the increasing tendency of merchants, burghers, and burgomasters to think in terms of commercial law, profit, and loss, and vocational specialization, the theology and theological method of Beza and his adherents gained ascendancy. Helping this process along immensely was Petrus Plancius, a pastor in Amsterdam who, along with FRANZ GOMAR, took the lead among Arminius's theological opponents in 1592. They managed to have Arminius hauled before the consistory more than once. He was cleared of heresy, but the direction of the arguments brought up all of the unresolved questions about the appropriate relationship between the ecclesiastical and civil institutions and authorities. Also important was Plancius's production of a world map that was of great help to the merchants. The States General published it, and Plancius and several merchants laid the groundwork for the Dutch East India Company—all in 1592. Plancius's geographical work and business acumen helped him to weaken the strong feelings among some of the burghers that because he wanted the church to be independent of the state Plancius somehow would set church over against state.

In 1604 Arminius, now on the faculty of the University of Leiden, presented his customary public disputation, this time taking up the subject of predestination. He had already offended Franz Gomar (1563–1641), professor of New Testament in the

university, by taking on some public duties in which he responded as a biblical scholar. Gomar officially objected that Arminius had crossed disciplinary lines, without sufficient expertise to do so. Gomar then held a public disputation of his own in which he took a very Bezan approach to the question of predestination. So Arminius had to fend off the attacks of both Plancius and Gomar, who soon decided to collaborate. For the remainder of his professorial career, he worked with the two issues: church-state relationships and predestination.

Arminius seems to have considered himself a faithful follower of the Reformed perspective on the Christian faith, and it would seem that he diligently sought to do his work as a theologian within its intellectual and ecclesial boundaries. What the evidence makes clear, however, is a sharp shift in what it meant to be Reformed that began to occur in the mid- to late-1550s as Calvin gained political control of Geneva, and accelerated as Theodore Beza began to assume Calvin's mantle.

Arminius's Theology

Arminius did not write a systematic theology. Rather, he left a collection of occasional works from which a systematic theology may be distilled, or at least inferred. These works include orations, lectures, poems, dissertations, disputations, exegetical pieces, and letters. Probably the most important of his works is his *Examination of Perkins' Pamphlet*, written in 1602, while he was still pastor in Amsterdam, but not published until 1612 after he died. Arminius admired WILLIAM PERKINS, a Cambridge scholar, and wrote what may be called a "review letter," of Perkins's *Concerning predestination...* (1598) as a base from which to discuss the doctrine of predestination. However, Perkins died in 1602 and the review letter, probably unfinished and unedited, went unsent. It was published after Arminius's own death, but it is probably the fundamental statement of Arminius's theology and of Arminianism, although in Arminius's later works some of its statements would find more nearly complete explication or be made more precise and would be better supported by Scripture and corroborated by citations of other literature.

Among those later works, the most important is probably Arminius's *Declaration of Sentiments*, which he read at The Hague in 1608, before the convened assembly of the States of Holland and West Friesland. Acrimony that threatened political unity as well as the peace of the Reformed churches had set in and the Synod of South Holland had demanded a written declaration from both Arminius and his nemesis and sometime colleague at Leiden, Franz Gomar.

In the *Declaration of Sentiments* Arminius presents his understanding of the DOCTRINE of election/predestination, making it clear that, although it clearly looms large in history and in the thinking of Dutch Protestantism, it is not systematically the foundational doctrine of the Christian faith (as the Bezans believe that it is). The doctrine, he says, must be discussed and understood within several constants set by primarily Scripture and confirmed by the historic teaching of the Christian Church: (1) it must be understood under the rubric of christology; (2) it must be evangelical; (3) it must not make God the author of sin; (4) it must not make the human being the author of salvation; (5) it must be scriptural, not speculative; and (6) it must not depart from the historic

teaching of the Christian Church, especially the *consensus quinquagesaecularis* and the confessions of the Protestant Reformation, particularly the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism*.

Arminius then developed his doctrine of election/ predestination in terms of four “decrees,” retaining thereby the Reformed glossary.

The first absolute decree of God concerning [i.e., for effecting] the salvation of sinful man, is that by which he decreed to appoint his Son, Jesus Christ, for a Mediator, Redeemer, Savior, Priest, and King, who might destroy sin by his own death, might by his obedience obtain the salvation which had been lost, and might communicate it by his own virtue.

The second precise and absolute decree of God is that in which he decreed to receive into favor those who repent and believe, and, in Christ, for his sake and through him, to effect the salvation of such penitents and believers as persevered to the end; but to leave in sin and under wrath, all impenitent persons and unbelievers, and to damn them as aliens from Christ.

The third divine decree is that by which God decreed to administer in a sufficient and efficacious manner the means which were necessary for repentance and faith; and to have such administration instituted (1). according to the Divine wisdom, by which God knows what is proper and becoming both to his mercy and his severity, and (2). according to Divine justice, by which He is prepared to adopt whatever his wisdom may prescribe and put in execution.

To these succeeds the fourth decree, by which God decreed to save and damn certain particular persons. This decree has its foundation in the foreknowledge of God, by which he knew from all eternity those individuals who would, through his preventing [i.e., prevenient] grace, believe, and, through his subsequent grace would persevere, according to the before described administration of those means which are suitable and proper for conversion and faith; and by which foreknowledge, he likewise knew those who would not believe and persevere. (Nichols tr. 1:247–248)

Here, then, was a doctrine of absolute predestination, but one in which Jesus Christ is the object, and through him, the church—that is, those who are “in Christ.” The person and work of Christ are not simply means to an end. All election is in and into Christ. Repentance and faith are required of those who would be in Christ; and these, far from being meritorious works, are gifts of divine grace enabled by the prior gift of prevenient grace. Prevenient grace is given to all and is a gift of divine grace, not an aspect of human nature. It enables choice in the matter of repentance and faith, and thus we may speak of “free will,” but, says Arminius, it is better that we speak of free grace.

Arminius produced these four decrees in full confidence that they aligned well with Scripture and the soteriological intention of Scripture, with all “Christian teachers who held correct and orthodox sentiments,” with Beza’s *Harmonia confessionum* (Geneva, 1581) and with the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* (in fact, clarifying

them). He also claims that they are in accord with the nature of God, with human nature (whether before the Fall, after the Fall, or in the state of restoration), with the act of creation (understood theologically), with the nature of eternal life, with the nature of eternal death, and with the nature of grace. Further, it “states sin to be a real disobedience, and the meritorious cause of condemnation; and, on this account it is in the most perfect agreement with [the Reformed doctrines of] the fall and sin” (*Ibid.*, 251). It leads us to glorify God in his justice and mercy, and as the cause of all good and of our salvation; and the human being as the cause of SIN and “his own” damnation. It honors Jesus Christ by placing him for the foundation of predestination and the meritorious and communicative cause of SALVATION. It promotes salvation and is the power and means that lead to salvation because it creates within the human mind sorrow on account of sin, solicitude about CONVERSION, faith in Jesus Christ, a studious desire to do good works, and zeal in PRAYER. It confirms and establishes the order in which the gospel is to be preached: first, the requirement of repentance and faith, and then the promise of remission of sins, the grace of the Spirit, and life eternal. It strengthens the ministry of the gospel and makes it profitable in its proclamation, its sacraments, and its public prayers. It unites the twofold love of God—it reconciles God’s love of righteousness and justice, and his love of human beings.

Early Arminianism

Arminius’s death in 1609, probably before he had reached age fifty, removed the most learned and skilled of the advocates of the type of Reformed theology that was typical from Zwingli’s day until Calvin’s point of view and the belief that Geneva was the model for Christian society gained hegemony in the Netherlands in the late 1550s. From the late 1550s the older type began to give way, but it could still be found in those areas in which it had originally flourished, and it was in those areas that Arminianism arose.

Arminius had not intended to initiate a theological tradition. He died believing himself to be a faithful adherent to the Reformed faith. His followers, too, believed themselves to be genuinely Reformed. The States of Holland had, the year before Arminius’s death, invited him and the ministers who believed as he did to meet with the States (parliament) and to present their understanding of the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism*. The meeting finally took place the year after Arminius’s death. Forty-six of his supporters, several of them very close and longtime friends of his, presented what came to be called the Remonstrance of 1610.

The five articles of the Remonstrance declare:

1. That God, by an eternal, unchangeable purpose in Jesus Christ his Son, before the foundation of the world, has determined, out of the fallen, sinful race of men, to save in Christ, for Christ’s sake, and through Christ, those who, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, shall believe on this his Son Jesus, and shall persevere in this faith and obedience of faith, through this grace, even to the end; and, on the other hand, to leave the incorrigible and unbelieving in sin and under wrath, and to condemn them as alienate from Christ, according to the word of the gospel in John iii.36....
2. That, agreeably thereto, Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world, died for all men and for every man, so that he has obtained for them all, by his death on the cross, redemption

and the forgiveness of sins; yet that no one actually enjoys this forgiveness of sins except the believer, according to the word of the Gospel of John iii.16....

3. That man has not saving grace of himself, nor of the energy of his free will, inasmuch as he, in the state of apostasy and sin, can of and by himself neither think, will, nor do any thing that is truly good (such as saving Faith eminently is); but that it is needful that he be born again of God in Christ, through his Holy Spirit, and renewed in understanding, inclination, or will, and all his powers, in order that he may rightly understand, think, will, and effect what is truly good, according to the Word of Christ, John xv.5....
4. That this grace of God is the beginning, continuance, and accomplishment of all good, even to this extent, that the regenerate man himself, without prevenient or assisting, awakening, following and co-operative grace, can neither think, will, nor do good, nor withstand any temptations to do evil; so that all good deeds or movements, that can be conceived, must be ascribed to the grace of God in Christ. But as respects the mode of the operation of this grace, it is not irresistible, inasmuch as it is written concerning many, that they have resisted the Holy Ghost. Acts vii., and elsewhere in many places.
5. That those who are incorporated into Christ by a true faith, and have thereby become partakers of his life-giving Spirit, have thereby full power to strive against Satan, sin, the world, and their own flesh, and to win the victory; it being well understood that it is ever through the assisting grace of the Holy Ghost; and that Jesus Christ assists them through his Spirit in all temptations, extends to them his hand, and if only they are ready for the conflict, and desire his help, and are not inactive, keeps them from falling, so that they, by no craft or power of Satan, can be misled or plucked out of Christ's hands, according to the Word of Christ, John x.28....

These Articles, thus set forth and taught, the Remonstrants deem agreeable to the Word of God, tending to edification, and as regards this argument, sufficient for salvation, so that it is not necessary or edifying to rise higher or to descend deeper.

This document's five articles generally satisfied the States General of Holland that its adherents were staying within the boundaries set by the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* regarding election/predestination and its corollaries. However, they only aroused Gomar and others to greater effort in destroying the Arminians (who were now coming to be called "Remonstrants") and Arminianism. Gomar's most effective move was to enlist the active support of the *Stadtholder*, Maurice of Nassau, William the Silent's son and successor. Maurice, impatient with theological debate, yearning for the peace necessary for prosperity, and wanting a national church, saw that the REMONSTRANTS stood in his way because they held political and commercial power in many of the towns in the United Provinces and were theologically and pastorally astute—and they did not hesitate to fight back. Finally, in 1618, he sent armed forces to keep order in the troubled towns and he forcibly removed Remonstrant magistrates from office, replacing them with Contra-Remonstrants. When that task neared completion, he called for the national synod to meet at Dort (Dordrecht) in 1618–1619. Eleven of the leading Remonstrant ministers were there—in chains, as the accused.

On the basis of its revision of the *Belgic Confession* and its revision of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, the Synod of Dort condemned all Arminian doctrines, especially as they had

been stated in the Remonstrance of 1610. Guided by Gomar, it adopted a Bezan interpretation of Calvin, of the confession and the catechism, and of the character of the Reformed movement. Remonstrants were prohibited from preaching, from worshipping together, and from printing or disseminating any of their literature—on pain of confiscation of goods and exile.

The Synod's own confession of faith, deliberately set in contradiction to the Remonstrance of 1610, is remembered in English by the acronym TULIP: T, total depravity; U, unconditional election/predestination; L, limited atonement; I, irresistible grace; P, perseverance of the saints. Only on the theological fact of total depravity did Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants agree; the Remonstrants also would agree that as long as one is a believer, that one cannot be lost, but the Counter-Remonstrants saw that as a simple tautology. It was not what they meant by perseverance.

In the backwash of the meeting of the Synod, many of the Remonstrant ministers fled the Republic. A strong contingent settled in Antwerp and there formed a congregation. Three of Arminius's closest friends—Johannes Uitenbogaert, Simon Episcopius, and Nicolas Grevinchovius—were among these. By 1625, however, many of the Arminians were back in what was now the Dutch Republic. Prince Maurice had died in 1625, and his brother Frederic Heinrich, who favored the Remonstrants, had followed him.

The Remonstrants now began to reorganize themselves in the Republic, and soon there were two Remonstrant “denominations.” Through most of the seventeenth century the larger of the two drifted only very slowly away from the Protestant orthodoxy of its first generation. The smaller rather quickly translated Arminius's concern for toleration and freedom into LATITUDINARIANISM, and by the end of the century was deeply influenced by Unitarianism. Both tended to attract the more highly educated and well-to-do.

Early Arminianism outside The Netherlands

Arminianism, as an accepted theological stream within the Reformed movement, seems to have found its way to ENGLAND even before the Synod of Dort, but it seems to have come there and been received in bits and pieces. The only noteworthy representatives of a consistent Arminianism in England were Peter Baro and William Barrett. They were officially reprimanded, but were neither fined, jailed, nor silenced. It was a book by Baro that had irked William Perkins into writing his book on predestination, which in turn brought Arminius to write against Perkins (although Arminius's work was published posthumously). The CHURCH OF ENGLAND sent official observers to the Synod of Dort and these generally agreed with the Counter-Remonstrants. However, they had no authority to act either in the Republic or in England. Probably the earliest Christian group in England to align with Arminianism was the GENERAL BAPTISTS, who had connections with ANABAPTISM in Holland even before the Synod of Dort.

By the 1630s and 1640s Arminianism had gained an influential following in England, the most important Arminian being archbishop WILLIAM LAUD. RICHARD BAXTER, who titled one of his well-read books, *The Reformed Pastor*, deliberately sought to avoid partisanship and had some Arminian leanings.

In the eighteenth century JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY and their preachers promoted Arminianism in their preaching, teaching, and liturgy. Especially important was Arminius's concern that God's sovereignty and the workings of divine grace be understood christocentrically. John Wesley also published "The Arminian Magazine" to provide edifying reading for his Methodists and other interested persons. The Wesleyan movement has sometimes been called "Arminianism on fire." Some twenty million Christians would now account themselves classical Arminians. This would include several kinds of Methodists, including many United Methodists and the historic African American Methodist denominations; the theologically conservative WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT, which includes the SALVATION ARMY, the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, the CHURCH OF GOD (ANDERSON, INDIANA), and the WESLEYAN CHURCH; and Pentecostals with Wesleyan ties, such as the CHURCH OF GOD (Cleveland, Tennessee) and the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

Nineteenth-Century Arminianism

By the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the UNITED STATES and Great Britain, and in Britain's colonies, Arminianism appeared to have conquered all before it. Wesley's Methodists self-consciously presented themselves as Arminians. By the end of the century Wesleyans were claiming that even much of the Reformed tradition had become Arminian. Evidence abounded to substantiate the claim. Arminianism had early in the century found a home in revivalism, where "decision" loomed very large. Moderate Calvinists, especially those affected by the New School Theology and by such evangelists as CHARLES FINNEY, no longer testified to "having a hope of salvation." They now exclaimed, "Jesus saves me now." The Methodists, ever evangelistic, urged people to "decide now"—"The choice is yours." Formally the Methodists, and certainly even the New School Calvinists, warned against Pelagianism; and formally they retained Arminianism. The Methodist press, especially, was vigilant. In fact it fought a two-front battle: against the Calvinists and against flimsy notions of free will. In the local settings, however, theological precision was not usually a concern—at least not on the question of human freedom.

At the close of the century revivalism lay at the heart of the rise of the Wesleyan Holiness Movement and the later formation of new holiness denominations, and the still later Pentecostal revival and the formation of Pentecostal denominations. Here, too, "decision" was critical. To see it from another angle, the Arminianism preached among the poor was an antidote to the increasing mechanization and regimentation of life. It opened the door to hope.

Basic Ideas in Contemporary Arminianism

As the twentieth century has given way to the twentyfirst, many have found in Arminianism at least a partial antidote to the omnipresence of practical applications of the social sciences, which are basically materialistic and deterministic, although what has

been lost in the meantime is the inclination to think theologically. This has created some severe distortions in contemporary Arminianism.

As did classical Protestantism generally, Arminius and the classical Arminians committed themselves to the doctrines of salvation by unmerited grace alone, through faith, which had no merit, alone; Scripture alone as the authority for faith (doctrine) and practice; and the priesthood of all believers. They also committed themselves to confess that fallen humanity can exercise saving faith only through the operations of prevenient grace, and not through anything in human nature.

Arminius had developed a distinct kind of Protestant theology, however, and the Arminians were to develop it even more deeply and broadly. Most notably, Arminianism rejected (and rejects) the supralapsarian doctrine of unconditional predestination—the view held by Beza and Gomar and others that before Adam and Eve’s fall, even before their creation, God had determined whether each of them would be saved or damned. It also rejected the sublapsarian (or infralapsarian) doctrine of unconditional predestination—the view held by Augustine and Luther and others that Adam and Eve freely chose sin; but ever since, all have been sinful from birth and that salvation comes only as a gracious gift from an absolutely sovereign God who predetermines that he will save some (although none merit anything but damnation). There were variations on both of these, and Arminians reject the variations, too.

Arminians are often said to hold a doctrine of conditional predestination. This is only partly true. Arminians hold that Christ is the object of predestination. He is the Predestined One. In Christ predestination is absolute—that is to say, one cannot be in Christ and be damned. This doctrine is rooted in the belief that God’s sovereign will, expressed everywhere in Scripture, and made manifest in the person and work of Christ, is to save all who will receive God’s way of saving. Predestination here is conditional in that the human being must make a choice for or against receiving and living out of God’s way of saving (i.e., receive Christ and live “in Christ”), although the human being cannot make this choice out of its own resources. Rather, God provides to all prevenient grace, which enables them to repent and believe the gospel, the good news of Jesus Christ. In this sense, and in this sense alone, are we morally free. Otherwise we are always and ever “slaves to sin.” Obviously some do not utilize that grace to believe, but abuse it. These will be damned so long as they continue their abuse of that grace.

Close to this doctrine is that of original sin. Here, Arminius and classical Arminians agree entirely with the long Christian tradition, including the Lutherans and the Reformed, that the human will is absolutely fallen and unable to do anything good out of its own resources. It is not simply tainted or partially disabled. Its horrid condition is not a consequence of creatureliness, of being “merely human.” It is totally corrupt; it is actively evil. Nonetheless God gives to everyone that prevenient grace by means of which the will may turn to God and to God’s saving grace in Jesus Christ. Arminians developed here a strong doctrine of human freedom, often called “free will,” and this has led some of them into Pelagianism. As with Arminius, classical Arminians have been very careful to guard against any movement in the direction of Pelagianism. Contemporary classical Arminians have been reviving Arminius’s understanding and avoiding Pelagianism by working in terms of “free grace” rather than “free will.”

Probably the most contention between contemporary CALVINISM and Arminianism arises over the Arminian belief that believers may cease to believe, thereby losing their

saving relationship to God and running the risk of being eternally lost. Many Calvinists hold to “eternal security” or “once saved, always saved.” To Calvinists, Arminians finally have a fickle God—a blasphemy. To Arminians, Calvinists sound as if human moral behavior is finally of no account.

In his *Declaration of Sentiments* Arminius gave twenty arguments against both supralapsarianism and sublapsarianism and concluded that all twenty basically arrive at one point—they make God the author of sin. A corollary is that they make Jesus Christ simply a means to an end and not himself the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end. Arminius pointed out that this is “highly dishonorable to Jesus Christ” and “hurtful to [the proclamation of] salvation.” Classical Arminians have retained these critiques of “Calvinism,” often as accusations rather than as reasoned conclusions. Nonetheless they have usually preferred to resort to either a doctrine of divine “permissive” will or a reverent agnosticism about the origins of evil. Currently some Arminians have worked with the idea of the “openness” of God, but, to this point, that idea has proven to be too closely related to process theologies, with their (as classical Arminians see it) limited God, to offer “salvation to the uttermost,” or salvation to all.

Arminius and Arminians reject Calvin and Beza’s idea that the ATONEMENT is limited. Certainly not all avail themselves of its benefits, but Arminianism insists that must not be seen as a limitation on Christ’s redeeming work in itself. Here, Arminius and his to-be-famous-student, Hugo Grotius, developed the governmental theory of atonement. What Christ did, he did for each and every person. That means that Christ’s atonement, said Arminius, is not the payment of a penalty. If it were, all would be saved. Rather, Christ suffered for all in order that those who repent and believe could be forgiven. He suffered and died that awful public death so that everyone will see the sinfulness of sin and the costliness of forgiveness and will exercise the grace proffered them to turn to him and forsake the selfishness, the egocentricity, which keeps the world that God governs in such a roil.

Where it has been influenced by revivalism or by Reformed EVANGELICALISM, Arminianism has sometimes favorably responded to the so-called ransom theory of the atonement, or the penal satisfaction theory, but these are generally incompatible with Arminianism’s understanding of the workings of divine grace. Arminius’s way of putting it was to say that we begin by understanding that God is kindly affectioned toward us and graciously moves us toward Godself by showing us our sinfulness and offering forgiveness.

A severe contemporary problem has arisen over the meaning of the term “evangelical” in the North American context. Are the Arminians evangelical? Conservative Reformed persons are inclined to see their tradition(s) as defining evangelicalism; consequently they deny that the Arminians are thoroughgoing evangelicals, although they do hold some beliefs in common with evangelicalism. Classical Arminians and Reformed would accept the *consensus quinquaesecularis*: would agree that Jesus Christ was virginborn; would agree on the realities of miracles and bodily resurrection, and that Christ died in our place for our sin; would agree that the Bible is divinely inspired and the sole infallible rule for faith and practice; and would agree that those who are in Christ will be saved and will dwell with him in heaven, and that those who are finally impenitent are lost and will suffer everlasting death in hell. Neither the Reformed nor the Arminian will press his/her definition of heaven or hell as an article of faith.

What's in a Name?

Across the four hundred years since the death of Arminius and the convening of the Synod of Dort, the term “Arminianism” has often been equivocated. Among many who would be Arminians, Pelagianism has run rampant and taken the name “Arminian.” Many have come to believe that Arminianism is primarily disbelief in election/predestination. Others believe that it is about free will and not much else, and by free will, they mean something that is natural to us. This has only given good reason where there was no good reason for some, especially some more or less within the Reformed tradition, to label as “Arminianism” anything that seems out of plumb with their commitments to at least some of the petals of TULIP.

“Arminianism” here has been confined to the thought of James Arminius and to that which may be shown to be an evangelical development of that thought. This then has given the doctrine of election/ predestination large place. In fact Arminianism, as Arminius and classical Arminians such as John Wesley would have it, is an expression of the consensus of the first five centuries as that consensus was then interpreted and tempered in the atmosphere of the reformations of the sixteenth century, especially the Reformed reformation. This means that Arminianism is well within the boundaries of Christian orthodoxy.

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PAUL MERRITT BASSETT

ARMINIUS, JACOBUS (JACOB HARMENSZ) (1559–1609)

Dutch reformed theologian. Arminius is known for his formulation of a version of the doctrine of PREDESTINATION that Calvinists found unacceptably loose. His thought

provided the theological basis for the REMONSTRANTS' movement in the NETHERLANDS and for ARMINIANISM.

Born in the Dutch town of Oudewater, Arminius lost his father at a very early age and was taken under the wing of the local pastor, Theodorus Aemilius. Suspected of Protestantism, Aemilius fled to Utrecht, taking his protégé with him to study at the Latin school there. After Aemilius's death in 1574 or early 1575, a new patron, the philosopher and mathematician Rudolph Snellius, took Arminius to study at the University of Marburg. There Snellius introduced him to the logic of Peter Ramus. Arminius returned to Holland soon after the death of his mother and siblings in the 1575 massacre of Oudewater's inhabitants by Spanish troops. In 1576 he matriculated at the newly founded University of Leiden, where he studied theology.

The Amsterdam merchants' guild provided him with a stipend to continue his studies at the University of Geneva under THEODORE BEZA, Charles Perrot, and other Calvinist luminaries in 1581. There he met Johannes Wtenbogaert, who would be his best friend for life and leader of the Remonstrants after his death. Arminius had to leave Geneva for a year (1583–1584) after his Ramism angered one professor. He returned, though, to complete his studies and received a very positive letter of recommendation from Beza. Before returning to the Netherlands, Arminius also spent a year at the University of Padua where he studied under the scholastic philosopher Jacobo Zabarella. In 1588 Arminius was appointed minister of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam, and in 1590 he married the daughter of a city council member. A favorite of the city's merchant oligarchs, Arminius served in Amsterdam for fifteen years, leaving his ministry with some reluctance in 1603 to become professor of theology at Leiden. The only native Hollander on the theological faculty, he filled this post until his death.

It was once thought that Arminius must have held a Calvinist view of predestination while a student in Geneva and later changed his view drastically. Carl Bangs, Arminius's foremost modern biographer, argues to the contrary, and his argument agrees with modern interpretations of the history of Reformed Protestantism. These emphasize the fluidity of the movement in its early years and the variety of views initially deemed acceptable, even in Geneva. Contrasting positions on such issues as the order of God's decrees were not even staked out until Reformed theologians began to apply the methods of scholastic philosophy to their subject. As Richard Muller emphasizes, Arminius himself played a crucial role in this development. In the debates over predestination that ensued, a narrower and more precise definition of Reformed orthodoxy—one that excluded Arminius's views—emerged. This definition was then encapsulated in the CANONS OF DORT and declared binding by the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

Article 16 of the BELGIC CONFSSION OF 1561 declares that God delivers and preserves "all whom he, in his eternal and unchangeable council, of mere goodness hath elected in Jesus Christ our Lord." Arminius sometimes suggested that a national synod might do well to revise those words, but he always maintained that he taught nothing contrary to them. Controversy over his teachings first arose in 1591 after Arminius delivered a sermon on Romans 7:14 in which he held that the sinful man whom Paul describes was not the regenerate man justified by faith. Arminius's fellow minister Petrus Plancius accused him of Pelagianism and Socinianism. Amsterdam's burgomasters enjoined the ministers to "allow this whole matter to rest." In 1593 Plancius lodged accusations against Arminius after his interpretation of Romans 9 caused offense, and

again Amsterdam's consistory ruled that Arminius's interpretation was acceptable. Although some continued to suspect Arminius's orthodoxy (an ambiguity facilitated by his lack of publications), no new controversy erupted until 1604, when Arminius laid out his views on predestination for his Leiden students. He explicitly rejected both supralapsarian and infralapsarian versions of the doctrine. FRANZ GOMAR, one of his colleagues, responded by publicly refuting his views, and the university was soon divided between Arminians and Gomarists. At issue was not only predestination but the status of confession and catechism as rules of faith and the authority of magistrates in religious affairs: Arminius and his supporters wished to minimize the first and enlarge the second. By 1608 the dispute was causing unrest in political as well as church circles. In May of that year the States of Holland summoned Arminius and Gomar to hold a disputation before it; later in the year the two appeared separately. On the latter occasion Arminius delivered his "Declaration of Sentiments," which Wtenbogaert drew on when drafting the Remonstrance of 1610 after the death of Arminius.

In brief, Arminius held that God first decreed to appoint his Son, Jesus Christ, as "Mediator, Redeemer, [and] Savior." God then "decreed to receive into favor [*those who repent and believe*]" in Christ, and to damn those who do not. God then "decreed to administer...the *means* which were necessary for repentance and faith." Finally God decreed to save certain individuals and damn others based on his "foreknowledge, by which he knew from all eternity those individuals who [*would,*] through his preventing grace, [*believe,*] and, through his subsequent grace [*would persevere,*]" and those individuals who would not (Arminius, *Writings*, 1:247–248). The crux of the difference between this formulation of predestination and Calvinist ones lies in the role of divine foreknowledge. Arminius's formulation of predestination is in fact only one part of a theology that also differed from Calvinist orthodoxy with respect to their doctrines of God, creation, and providence.

See also Calvinism

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BENJAMIN J. KAPLAN

ARNDT, JOHANN (1556–1621)

Lutheran divine and author. After initially intending to study the natural sciences and medicine, Arndt turned to the study of theology, which he pursued in Helmstedt, Wittenberg, Strasbourg, and Basel. He served various parishes, first in SWITZERLAND, then in north Central GERMANY, where he was involved in various controversies on account of his adamant Lutheran position. In 1611, Duke Christian von BraunschweigLüneburg appointed him General Superintendent, head of the church in his territory. This proved to be the most pleasant and productive time of Arndt's life.

Arndt's lasting reputation rests in his book *The Four Books of True Christianity* (Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum) completed in 1606. Calling for personal piety and devotional life, Arndt's book came at a time when ORTHODOXY had incessantly emphasized THEOLOGY and DOCTRINE. Thus, *The Four Books* received both criticism and appropriation and has been seen as a seminal forerunner of PIETISM.

In the last year of his life, he described the purpose of the book:

Firstly, I wanted to draw the feelings of students and preachers back from the far too disputatious and polemical theology which has almost turned into a new Scholastic Theology. Secondly, my plan was to lead believers in Christ out of dead belief to fruitful faith. [In the original, "belief" and "faith" are the same word, *glauben*.] Thirdly, to bring them from mere knowledge and theory to the real practice of faith and blessedness in God, to show what genuine Christian life is, which is consistent with true faith, and what the Apostle means when he says, 'I live—but now it is not I, but Christ who lives in me'.

Arndt made generous use of medieval mystical authors, and based his counsel on humanity's essential, although still creaturely, kinship with God, on Christ as Savior and Healer and, therefore, model. The believer experiences all creation as encounter with God.

See also Spener, Philipp Jakob

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DAVID TRIPP

ARNOLD, EBERHARD (1883–1935)

German church reformer. Arnold was born near Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad), East Prussia, on July 26, 1883. Before beginning his study of theology, philosophy, and education at the University of Breslau, Arnold experienced a religious conversion. Doubts about the legitimacy of infant baptism as well as the intimate connection between CHURCH AND STATE IN GERMANY prompted Arnold's decision not to seek ordination in the Lutheran church and to abandon his study of theology. He changed his studies to philosophy and received the doctorate from the University of Erlangen in 1909. During the next several years—also marked by severe illness—Arnold worked primarily as a journalist and writer until he became editor of the newsletter of the German Christian Student Association (with the German acronym DCSV) and the editorial director of a new publishing house, Furche Verlag, in 1915.

The years of World War I brought a shift from an earlier affirmation of the war to a rigorous PACIFISM. Later, Arnold began to focus on the meaning of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount and developed the notion of a radical discipleship. Subsequently Arnold was influenced by the German-Jewish philosopher Gustav Landauer's vision of a utopian socialism, which, together with what Arnold took to be the New Testament precedent, led to his establishment of a communitarian settlement in 1920. In 1926 the community, called Bruderhof by Arnold after the HUTTERITES in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, moved to a decrepit estate near Fulda in central Germany. In 1930 Arnold traveled to North America to establish contacts with the Hutterite communities there. In December 1930 he was ordained as a Hutterite minister and the Bruderhof near Fulda was recognized as a Hutterite congregation.

The coming of Nazi rule in Germany in January 1933 brought various tensions between Arnold and the new regime. A second Bruderhof was established in Liechtenstein to provide a home for the children of the Fulda Bruderhof, whom Arnold did not want to be exposed to Nazi indoctrination. Arnold died on November 21, 1935 from surgery. Two years later, when the Nazi government shut down the Fulda operation, all the members of that community migrated to England and were warmly received because Arnold's travels had prepared the ground.

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HANS J. HILLERBRAND

ARNOLD, THOMAS (1795–1842)

English educator. The son of a customs collector, Arnold was born at Cowes on the Isle of Wight on June 13, 1795. He received his M.A. degree in 1817 from Oxford University and was ordained as a CHURCH OF ENGLAND deacon the following year. He was awarded a doctor of divinity in 1828 and just before he died was elected Regius professor of modern history at Oxford University. As headmaster of Rugby School (1828–1842), Thomas Arnold was known as an outstanding Christian educator in early nineteenth-century ENGLAND.

From 1819 to 1827 Arnold was a private tutor before assuming the post of headmaster of Rugby School, to which he added the duties of chaplain after 1831. Rugby, although fallen on difficult times in the 1820s, was an elite English public school for adolescent boys. Termed “public” in English terminology, these schools were private institutions of secondary education for the middle and upper classes.

Two aspects of his career are noteworthy: his headship at Rugby and his role as a public figure on religious issues. At Rugby in Warwickshire Arnold started out with a free hand from the school’s trustees to make changes, improve staff conditions, and expel the most incorrigible of students. Using senior boys as prefects he instilled a more disciplined, moral regime to produce “Christian gentlemen” without excessive use of corporal punishments. His efforts restored confidence in Rugby in particular and “public” boarding schools in general, especially as two of his graduates later became archbishops of Canterbury, and others went on to distinguished university careers. His school was also memorialized in a famous novel *Tom Brown’s School Days* (1857) by Thomas Hughes.

Arnold was not a strong educational innovator, although he did introduce some modern history and mathematics into an otherwise largely classical studies curriculum at Rugby. His charges did not study the physical sciences, and both distinctive school uniforms and organized sports were later developments to the public school ethos for which Arnold cannot be credited.

In public life Arnold was sometimes a controversial figure who wrote on social and religious questions. Typically he argued for a true national Christian Church in England, one that would encompass all who accepted the divinity of Jesus Christ, including Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics. These views often collided with Protestant evangelical tendencies and also with English Catholic revivalism.

Less well remembered is Arnold’s success at arguing for a separation between his roles as public controversialist and educator. He died one day before his forty-second

birthday in 1842, a much admired role model for the Victorian era. His influence is attributed more to the sincerity of his Christian beliefs than his oratory, his scholarship, or his educational initiatives.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Dissent; Nonconformity

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MICHAEL McCURUM

ART

Protestant art has been both a villain and a hero in the history of Christianity. From the beginning the reformers displayed a great deal of discomfort with imaginative representations, and their posture toward images and relics shaped Protestant perspectives on art. ICONOCLASM in the early stages of the REFORMATION was poised to eliminate art from religion, and empty walls and ceilings of Protestant churches seemed to suggest that Protestant art was an oxymoron. Protestants other than Puritans and a few other extreme iconoclasts, however, were not opposed to art itself. Many Protestant traditions welcomed art as a means of illustration of their theological position. A tradition of religious art developed over centuries within Protestantism in its own right, and in doing so art found space in which visual expressions could be pursued apart from the shackles of the doctrinal control of the church in ways that had not been possible during the Middle Ages.

Art before the Reformation

Before the measures of reform set about deconstructing symbolic representations sponsored by church authorities, images of Jesus, Mary, and other saints, along with illustrations of religious experience of faith, had enjoyed widespread support throughout Western Christianity. These artistic forms of presentation had helped the believers to

maintain their relationship with the sacred realm, and had served an important role in communicating the faith at a time when literacy was limited to a small group of people. The long tradition of spirituality that had developed around images and relics in the medieval times was an eloquent sign of the importance visual art had enjoyed for many centuries of church history.

The reformers of the sixteenth century took issue with what they perceived to be the practices of turning these images and relics into objects of worship and veneration under the aegis of the church, and condemned the religious use of art as idolatry. From the viewpoint of the reformers the symbolic forms of piety in the Roman Catholic tradition ceased to be a tool of facilitating the knowledge of the divine, but assumed a divine status of their own. Instead of bearing testimony to the holy and the sacred, the Reformers charged, art of the medieval times became religion. The disagreement over the meaning of religious art in the Reformation period signified the major fissure in the symbolic universe in Western Christianity, and the Reformers voiced the need to reassess the role of art in the life of the church.

Art in Service of the Word

After the Reformation art found itself in a world that privileged the written biblical text over symbolic representations of religion. Before the Reformation the BIBLE was regarded as part of the ecclesiastical tradition, and the AUTHORITY of the church had nearly absolute control over biblical interpretation. The Reformers objected that the Bible was the ultimate authority. MARTIN LUTHER first raised the banner of *sola scriptura* in defiance to the authority of papacy and councils, and gave the Bible the primary role in Christian life. In an effort to make the Bible accessible to people in its renewed role, Luther translated it into the German language. JOHN CALVIN, who led the Protestant movement in FRANCE and SWITZERLAND, focused on the exposition of the biblical text as well.

One could observe the transition from art to word in the works of the German Renaissance artist Albrecht Dürer. Although his earlier works of the woodcuts of the Apocalypse series of 1498 display Gothic emphatic emotions, Dürer's last painting commonly known as "The Four Apostles" (1526) foregrounds John who is reading the first part of his gospel, which introduces the incarnate word. Peter is standing next to him with a key that unlocks the gate of heaven, and the juxtaposition of the two apostles insinuates that the Bible is the key. In the adjacent panel Mark is holding a scroll, and Paul a copy of the Bible. The two biblical figures underscore the importance of the word, and along with the book Paul holds a sword that symbolizes his martyrdom. Paul dies for the sake of the word of God. An inscription attached to the paintings contains Revelation 22:18ff. in Luther's translation—the passage that warns against adding anything to or omitting anything from the word of God.

As the word took up the central place in Protestant religious life, art was given subsidiary function as a tool of illustrations of the biblical text. Luther's German Bible that opened a new era in the Reformation included illustrations of woodcuts for the biblical passages. The first translation of the New Testament in 1522 had twenty-one woodcuts, and the complete Bible in 1534 contained 118 of them. By the time of Luther's

death in 1546 more than 500 drawings appeared in various versions of his translation. These woodcuts had only a secondary function as a visual aid, and any meaning they could generate was supposed to be already understood or spelled out in the text of the written word.

In the case of the New Testament, the majority of the drawings in Luther's Bible were about the book of Revelation, which contained graphic images amenable to visualization. New Testament books featured typical images of evangelists and apostles, whereas the Old Testament drawings were given more embellishments than those in the New Testament. Often, images from the Old Testament included scenes from the New Testament, particularly in the case of the prophetic books, so that one could look for the connection between the Hebrew prophets and the life and work of Jesus Christ and his apostles. Drawings appeared in Luther's prayer book, sermons, and hymns, as well. Because their setting was nonbiblical, these visual presentations were somewhat free in their approach in comparison with the other drawings featured in the Bible editions.

The emphasis on the word over art in the Reformation era determined the main contours of Protestant art for years to come, although visual symbolization in service of the word managed to find its way into the heart of Protestantism. Most remarkably, the open Bible on the pulpit in an empty liturgical space of the Protestant sanctuary was to make a lasting artistic impression. With the invention of movable type, the printed Bibles that facilitated PREACHING and teaching in Protestant churches offered a new artistic way of highlighting the central role of the word of God in the Protestant beliefs and practices.

Art That Survived the Reformation

Art succeeded in proving its usefulness as a means of illustration in the world of Protestantism; however, the catalog of arguments the Reformation raised against art was a long one. ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT called for the abolishment of art because he feared that people were considering artistic symbols equal to God. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI was adamantly opposed to the use of art in the church, even though he was willing to permit stained glass for private devotion. One could own any portraits, as long as they were not brought into the church for reverence. In later branches of Protestantism, art was banned altogether as a form of earthly pleasure that had no place in religion.

Artistic pursuits survived and eventually flourished with Protestant hues mainly because Luther saw the possibility of art as an effective, if not ideal, means of communicating the gospel. Unlike many other leaders of the Reformation including radical Reformers, Luther recognized that the weak-minded believers could benefit by religious objects, and welcomed the use of art in the making of a visual church designed to win over the Christians of the medieval iconic piety at a time of difficult transition of the Reformation.

Luther had an artist friend named Lucas Cranach the Elder, the court painter of the Saxony whose elector Frederick the Wise was friendly to the Reformer. Through Cranach's art, which included oil paintings, relief sculptures, and altarpieces, the theology of Luther enjoyed the benefit of visual expressions that widely disseminated

Luther's teachings. Cranach's choice of the themes he chose to work on clearly showed the influence of his friend Reformer: "Allegory of Law and the Gospel," "The Law and the Gospel," "Christ and the Adulteress," and "Christ Blessing the Children." The work of Cranach and his shop in Wittenberg made the Saxony the seedbed of Protestant art from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century.

Cranach's approach to painting over the years presented a telltale sign of the impact of the Reformation. An emotional piece of "Crucifixion" (c. 1500) would be representative of his earlier works, but after the Reformation was well under way, his paintings began portraying beautiful men and women and grand nature with exquisite, somewhat fanciful, details in contrast with the previous Gothic solemnity.

Cranach's later art was in consonance with the Protestant desire for realism, which was partially in reaction against the abstract representations of spiritual matters in Roman Catholicism. In the narrative presentation of the gospel account, Cranach sought the verisimilitude in the events he portrayed. His effort stood in contrast to the method of the earlier Catholic artists who included a series of events simultaneously in a single frame.

Other artists of the Reformation also sought realism and continued the artistic techniques of drawing that started with the Renaissance artists, who portrayed their conception of humanity as they were, sometimes all muscles and arms with no indication of emotion or thirst for spiritual liberation. Dürer, who studied the perspectival art of realistic rendering, sought to draw the world with a high degree of realism, as he gave every feather of a bird and every leaf of a wild flower a detailed treatment. In the next century the quest for realism sent Rembrandt van Rijn to search for his model of Christ in the Jewish community in Amsterdam.

In addition to realistic portrayals of biblical themes Cranach left a few portraits of Luther, which became the prototype for later artists, along with drawings of other Reformers and Protestant princes. Cranach's presentations undoubtedly helped the Reformers' message to be received favorably by many in the tumultuous times of the sixteenth century. The portraits of Luther presented him as a pious monk, even a saint, who honored the Bible, in contrast to the satirical caricature of the monks of the late medieval time that couched the Catholic Church leaders in images of beasts and even demons. Cranach's portrayals of the Reformers endowed them with the spiritual authority that pointed to the necessity of the breakup with Rome.

JOHN CALVIN of the second generation of the Reformation did not see much benefit in artistic endeavors. He instituted a word-oriented service, which left little room for the need of art in worship. Calvin acknowledged the work of paintings and sculptures as God's gifts—as long as they were not venerated. In general, art received a particularly cold shoulder in the areas governed by CALVINISM. More often than not, Calvinists, who cared particularly for an open Bible in a bare sanctuary, made more ardent iconoclasts than other Protestant traditions. Presbyterian churches have refrained from placing any religious objects in the church, and have preserved the structure of brightly lit, undecorated low ceilings of the sanctuary. The only religious object Calvin was prepared to allow was a plain cross. Accordingly, the historic Lafayette Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, New York did not even have a cross in the sanctuary, and the renowned Tiffany glass outside the sanctuary portrayed the creation of the world.

Calvin's theory of art was governed by ASCETICISM, following the Augustinian disdain of pleasures. The kind of pleasure Calvin delighted in discussing was God's

pleasure, and any pleasure a human being may receive had to be through God's gift, whether it was music or art. Calvin added another limit to the artistic pursuits. Under all circumstances, the objects of visual representation were limited to the things that did not exist in the physical world. Making images of an animal or a stone was banned as an activity that could easily slip into idolatry.

From time to time the Reformers' suspicion toward art triggered violence. The absolute dependency on grace made the relics and the intercession of saints superfluous, and the Protestant aesthetic pursuit was from time to time overtaken by iconoclasm. The fate of art in the period of the Reformation was made precarious by the iconoclastic writing of Karlstadt and the call of Zwingli for the destruction of idols. Riots and destruction of images erupted in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and religious images were being destroyed, and the interiors of church buildings whitewashed. Luther, whose excommunication forced him into hiding, was reportedly compelled to come out to stop the smashing of stained glass windows. The second half of the sixteenth century displayed the decline of religious art, and in an interesting contrast the court art gained the ascendancy.

Art managed to survive Protestantism because it proved to be of use for the cause of the Reformation, even though it never recovered the privileged place it had enjoyed before. Because art illustrated the notions close to the heart of the Reformation, and because the church buildings were designed and decorated in the light of the austere spirit of Protestantism, traditional themes were rendered in ways that showed the drastic change in theological thinking. For a remarkable example, whereas the medieval arts portrayed Christ as a man of sorrow marred and mutilated in the traditional type of the dead man in Pietà, Cranach's "Man of Sorrow" in the altarpiece in Meissen Cathedral presented Jesus on the cross as a figure who was up and alive with a hint of wound and with little blood showing.

Art as a Language of Theological Discourses

In Protestantism art was not always appreciated in its own right, as it was always a suspect for turning into something else the Protestant leaders dreaded. In the sixteenth century when the clarity of reality was being sought in the Word, art seemed to have too much ambiguity for comfort. Protestant art, however, proved itself as a keen observer of the teachings and practices of the Reformation.

While Protestant leaders were engaged in writing documents that would voice their new, or renewed, theology, Protestant art entered the foray by participating in theological discourses of the time through symbolic images. When the leaders of the Reformation underscored the SALVATION by God's grace alone—*sola gratia*—Protestant art offered a visual representation of God's grace. When the pulpit took up the central place in the house of worship, the paintings of the pulpit gave expression to the emerging identity of the *sola scriptura* of Protestantism. When Luther and Calvin retained BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER as SACRAMENTS, because they are endorsed by the biblical text, the paintings of these liturgical events illustrated their importance in Protestant traditions.

The Reformers who called for the return to the Bible noted that the biblical literature recognized the sinful nature of humanity, while at the same time observing the

persistence in God's gratuitous grace, which alone could redeem the sinful humanity from the hopeless fate of damnation. When the Reformers preached the teaching of the efficacy of God's grace alone to bring salvation to humanity, the Protestant paintings of the biblical themes on forgiveness drove home the point of God's gratuitous grace. It was the Reformation theology of forgiveness that permeated Cranach's "Christ and the Adulteress." The painting featured a gathering of religious leaders, who offered nothing but condemnation, and Cranach's brush added the tint of a demonic side to those who gathered to bring charge against the woman caught in the act of adultery in John 8. Cranach showcased Luther's theology of salvation by Christ's forgiving grace alone, without which there was no possibility of deliverance. In the subsequent seventeenth century the Protestant theology of *sola gratia* found its expression in the epic of JOHN MILTON'S *Paradise Lost* and the paintings of Rembrandt. In "The Risen Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene" the Dutch artist juxtaposed light and darkness in an effort to portray the grace that saved the world out of the shadow of death.

PURITANISM in New England did not show a penchant for art, and Puritans had only bare necessities for survival. They, too, demonstrated their theological stance with what they had to create for their religious life. Puritans designed meeting houses that had far too simple a structure to be called churches, and built them to look nearly identical from any direction because it was the place where worshippers gathered from all directions. Often the building had many windows so that it would have ample light inside because it was the beacon of the gospel.

When Protestant ORTHODOXY arose in the seventeenth century, the formulation of orthodox doctrine had its corollary with the emergence of the Baroque art, which appealed to senses and flourished among Catholics. Baroque art was partially in response to the Protestant lack of emphasis on art, as well as to the court art style that arose in the wake of the Renaissance and the Reformation and was not suitable for church art. In the silent debate with the emotional Baroque art, the Protestant-minded Dutch artists of the seventeenth century drew the daily life of serene homes. Johannes Vermeer's famous paintings of domestic life captured the moments of God's grace in the commonality of daily activities. The receding light in his paintings reproduced artistically the combination of the revelatory power of the transcendence with the immanent response of the human mind. His approach described the world as it was, rather than prescribing the world as it ought to be.

Protestant aesthetics surged in the sermons of JONATHAN EDWARDS of eighteenth-century America. Edwards underscored that one could experience the world by sense in all its wonder and horror, and elaborated his conviction passionately in "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." Whereas humans invited God's anger, God responded to the corrupt situations of humanity with benevolence. Edwards's writings created literary space that could provoke profound emotions, but Calvinism offered little provision for artistic rendering of the renewed religious feeling.

The Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS), however, contributed to the opening of a window of imagination toward feeling and revelation that found their inroad into nineteenth-century ROMANTICISM. The Romantic artists believed that, as FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER expounded, a human being had the capacity of "feeling" God's presence and work. The Romanticist passion found its earlier expression in the works of PRERAPHAELITES who came together in 1848 to form the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood

(PRB). The group included William Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. They rejected artificial academicism under the banner of truth to nature, and expressed religious feeling and ethical sincerity in a straightforward manner, rendering the pictures with detailed exactitude and bright colors.

Protestant art in the era of Romanticism found a moment of private visions rich in emotion in the paintings of Henry Fuseli and WILLIAM BLAKE. Although their paintings showed some distance from established religion, Blake's "Illustrations of the Book of Job" and "Ancient of Days" have been rated as a honest exploration for a profoundly individual experience of the divine being. In the twenty-two engravings for the book of Job he began with the portrayal of the satanic side of the deity and proceeded to declare the artistic triumph of redemption in Christ.

Blake, who preferred to deal with imaginative objects rather than with natural ones, believed that imagination was a means to perceive God. He drew rather than painted because he considered line drawing capable of giving expression to the infinite. He gave art a role in which it could redeem the world from arrogant rationalism and acquisitive materialism.

In America the Romantic quest for religious moments in art was palpable in the paintings of the Hudson River School of nineteenth-century America, which included Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand, Jasper Cropsey, and Frederic Church. Whereas the textbook approach to drawing regarded the horizon or the vanishing point on the canvas as the place to start the work of imagination, the Hudson River School used the ending point to begin its referential posture to a world beyond. Light was shown to emanate from the point where it was presumed to disappear, and created ample bright space on the canvas. The light represented God's grace. As the light shone, salvation was offered as God's free gift.

Thomas Cole regarded art as an imitation of the Creator who brought into being peace out of chaos. In his "View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm" (The Oxbow), Cole drew a picture of a wilderness after a storm. As a world of conflict was moving out after the storm, the artist on the border of the wilderness could see the mountain with a piece of writing in Hebrew, *Shaddai*, the oldest name of God in the Hebrew Bible, commonly, if erroneously, translated as the Almighty.

Durand's work was marked by its Calvinistic tone of *solī deo Gloria*. He refused to give the central role to humans because the sovereignty of God was the key. His exclusion of humans was so extensive that critics found him lacking social sensitivity.

In his painting of Cotopaxi, Church portrayed a mountain with a volcanic activity, which unmistakably pointed to Mount Sinai. He rendered a vision of a God whom one could sense in his paintings of "The Heart of the Andes" or "Above the Clouds at Sunrise." Church's pastor was HORACE BUSHNELL, who believed that human existence was filled with the mystery of the divine and the possibility of experiencing God. Undoubtedly, it was Bushnell's theology that showed up in Church's paintings.

The artworks of the Hudson River School contained a narrative, especially an allegorical narrative. Little wonder that the Hudson River artists took to the images in JOHN BUNYAN'S *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Their approach to the striking beauty of nature in its glory was seen in Robin Williams's movie *What Dreams May Come*, which portrayed the devastation of tragedy along with the hope of the colorful celestial realm. The motion picture included credit to Church, Durand, and Cole.

Most of the Hudson River artists painted the American wilderness. The American icon of wilderness in their paintings represented both the harsh reality and the serene world. It was a place where human beings could be left to wander around, or a place where transcendence and immanence could come together. Sometimes the American wilderness in these paintings was called American Eden. The Hudson River artists indulged in the loss of paradise. At the same time they reached for the world of illumination, which could be found only as one abandoned the postures of selfreliance of human pride. In a profound way, if unwittingly, the paintings operated with the dynamics of a sermon in the Protestant churches, as they moved from despair to hope. They re-created the dreary reality, which made the need of salvation clear. They welcomed the gift of God's grace and drew it on the canvas.

Protestant art as a medium of theological formation continued to seek its authentic place in a world that emphasized literary clarity. Where beautiful words were valued, literature flourished, as one could observe in the world of Elizabethan and subsequent English literature. Emphasis on literature might offer partial explanation for the relative paucity of art in the English-speaking world, whereas Protestant art bloomed in the Dutch-speaking world, with an exception of the Hudson River School of nineteenth-century New York. Even there, interestingly enough, the area that witnessed the flowering of art had a historical connection with the Dutch culture.

Painting by Faith Alone

In Protestant theology, because salvation was through God's grace alone, the only proper response was FAITH. Typically Protestantism cited Romans 3:28 in support of this doctrine: "For we hold that a person is justified by faith apart from works prescribed by the law" (NRSV). In his translation Luther added the word "alone" to make it by faith *alone*; hence, *sola fide*. This theological posture of *sola fide* constituted the core of the Reformation faith along with *sola scriptura* and *sola gratia*.

From the very start the Reformation theology of *sola fide* made its appearance in art. As early as the sixteenth century, Cranach and his shop focused on the theme of Jesus welcoming children. Cranach's portrayal of "Christ Blessing the Children" featured little ones who offered nothing but trust and warmth toward Christ and other fellow children. Most of the young ones in the painting displayed curious intensity to Christ holding one baby in his arms and tending another on a cushion, while other little ones were busy either playing with one another or adoring their mother. A response that required work on the pain of damnation was nowhere in sight on the painting. The theme based on Mark 10:14 had not received the attention Cranach gave to it. The theme was also in support of the infant baptism that Luther continued in contrast with the Anabaptists.

As Protestantism refused to grant any significance to works of faith for salvation, art lost a patron that used to turn to it for penance and devotion, although the freedom of grace also opened a new pathway for art, which now could pursue beauty apart from any ecclesiastical use. One could cite John Ruskin's intense pursuit of truth in the paintings. For Ruskin, a Calvinist, art had no independent value other than pointing to the spiritual meaning of nature. He was always skeptical of attempts to draw a face of Christ because he believed that the divine attributes could not be captured by a painting. Ruskin did not

believe that the main function of religious art was to serve piety, but to point to the beauty of the world. God was in the beauty of the artistic form. His renderings of biblical stories did not agree with the text in the Bible, which did not seem to trouble him.

Art of Protest in Protestantism

In spite of the ambiguous relationship between THEOLOGY and aesthetics, art struck its root in Protestantism, given that it served as a persuasive means of illustration of the Scriptures and the theology of reform movement. Because the word “Protestant” originally meant those who stood for a cause, Protestant art also participated in the voicing of protesting spirit in church and society. The undecorated walls of the church buildings were not meant to be a sign of lack of artistic sensitivity, either; it was supposed to make a point that could not be made with traditional religious images that in the Reformers’ estimation turned into objects of worship. Once the point of protest was made, Protestant art did not necessarily feel compelled to maintain the bare walls. Later in the nineteenth century, Protestant churches began reclaiming the decorative interiors in places of worship, sometimes borrowing motifs from Catholic churches. One could find such a trace in the Lutheran Basilica in Berlin and St. John the Divine in New York, whose structure, left unfinished, displayed combination of Byzantine and Gothic elements. In a comparable fashion the churches in England saw the increased use of rituals and art in worship during the OXFORD MOVEMENT that brought the renewal of Catholic faith and practice in the nineteenth century.

The spirit of protest made its appearance in other works that represented social spirituality. These included the avant-garde expressionism of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe, the abolitionist drawings of nineteenth-century America, and the artworks that called for economic justice and global peace in the twentieth century. Although not limited to the Protestant camps, feminist artworks contributed to raising consciousness concerning the traditional role of genders, and transferring women to the foreground in art and society.

Protestant art, however, was not always critical of society. In the arena of popular culture in America, Protestant art reflected the ethos of INDIVIDUALISM and materialism as well. In the best-known example of Protestant art, Warner Sallman’s portrayals of Christ—often referred to as icons of American Protestantism—communicated the intimacy of individual salvation and had a wide appeal to Evangelical taste, as well a type of marketable Christianity with a material Christ. His portrayal of Christ sought some distance from either Christ the mother of the medieval times or Christ the ruler of other times including the great nineteenth century of mission. For modern times Sallman’s paintings of Christ offered fascination at a time when religious sensitivity was hungry for images of Christ away from the extremes of the emasculated feeble Christ and the sentimental superman Messiah, even though the multivalent religious sensitivity of the multicultural world might not so easily find peace with the icon of American Protestantism.

Art of Alternative Imagination

PAUL TILLICH argued that artistic symbols could open up a world in which the ultimate concern of human existence could be raised and pursued. He posited four levels in which art and religion could relate to each other: (1) art that did not deal with religion, but with general human existence: for example, impressionistic artists including Monet and Renoir; (2) art that did deal with ultimate concern, but stopped at showing human *unheimlich* finitude: for example, Van Gogh, Picasso, and Chagall; (3) religious art that posed no existential challenge, and therefore ended up being irreligious: for example, Sallman; (4) art religious both in style and in content that provided the correlation between existence and theology: for example, Grünewald's "Crucifixion," which Tillich called the greatest German picture ever painted. Art on the fourth level could communicate the ultimate to the churches—only if they knew what to look for.

In retrospect the Protestant religion may not have been a most welcoming home for art. Even where art was permitted, it was marginalized as a cultural activity that would never occupy the essential place in the life of the church. Nevertheless, Protestant art thrived in its own unique ways. Where the theological orientation of salvation by grace alone and by faith alone created suspicion toward art, Protestantism enabled artists to work on different objects of imagination and to identify alternative approaches to aesthetic representations. In the area of popular religious art Protestantism provided artistic space in which renderings of biblical and religious themes could be experimented within the light of cultural amalgamation, as one could observe in the *mestizaje* of religious art in Latin America and the portrayals of black Christ in African American communities.

In the final analysis Protestantism did not so much block artistic developments as it redirected the focus and the course of artistic pursuits in history. One could observe the impact of the release of the demands of doctrine in the paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger of sixteenth-century Basel. His paintings showed ambivalence toward the ideas of the Reformation. Like other artists of his era, he experimented with observation of physical reality, and drew a rotting body in "Dead Christ in the Tomb" (1521). Around 1530 he decided to abandon religious painting altogether.

GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL has commonly been credited for defining the vocation of art as an expression of the spirit of its time (*Zeitgeisi*). Protestant art has not only reflected the philosophical and aesthetic spirits of its historical times, but also facilitated the formation of the *Zeitgeist*. Art in Protestantism gave expression to the spirit of Protestantism, as it illustrated the biblical text on grace and faith, as it portrayed the pulpit and the table of communion at the center of the life of the church, and as it pursued the beauty of the world unhampered by the doctrines of the church.

See also Architecture, Church; Nature

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JIN HEE HAN

ASBURY, FRANCIS (1745–1816)

Methodist bishop. Francis Asbury was born to Joseph and Elizabeth Asbury on August 19 or 20 of 1745, about four miles north of Birmingham, England. Although both Elizabeth and Joseph were affectionately caring parents, providing a deeply religious home life for young Franky, it was Elizabeth who seemed to have taken the greatest care and time in nurturing him on Scripture and the deeper matters of God. At the age of six he was fluently reading the Scriptures. Later, Asbury would recall in his *Journal*, "I learned from my parents a certain form of words for prayer, and I well remember my mother strongly urged my father to family reading and prayer; the singing of psalms was much practiced by them both" (*Journal*, 1:720).

Many of Asbury's biographers have deemed that the earlier formative years, while he was at home, would prove to offer some of the most important education he would

receive. Just exactly when Francis was sent to school is unknown, but it is known that his formal education abruptly ended before the age of ten. Excessive beating by his tutor Arthur Taylor was not the kind of motivation to learning that would keep the young lad in school. Again, in his *Journal*, Asbury would recall his early childhood struggles at school:

My foible was the ordinary foible of children—fondness for play; but I abhorred mischief and wickedness, although my mates were amongst the vilest of the vile for lying, swearing, fighting, and whatever else boys of their age and evil habits were likely to be guilty of: from such society I very often returned home uneasy and melancholy; and although driven away by my better principles, still I would return hoping to find happiness where I never found it. Sometimes I was much ridiculed, and called Methodist Parson, because my mother invited any people who had the appearance of religion to her house. (*Journal*, 1:720)

Asbury's last traveling companion, John Wesley Bond, conveyed what may be one of the earliest known occurrences of God's indelible providence, on young Francis:

The Bishop's Father being a gardener by trade, used to put up his gardening tools, consisting of long shears, pruning saws, hoes, rakes, etc. in this place (a room attached to the house). One day Francis (the only son) was left in this upper room; nor was his danger thought of until his Father, called to his Mother said, "Where is the Lad; I heard him cry." His mother ran into the room and found he had crawled into a hole in the floor and fallen through. But by the kind providence of God the gardening tools had been recently removed, and a larger boiler nearly filled with ashes put in their place, into which he fell; this broke his fall, or the world most probably would have been forever deprived of the labours of Bishop Asbury. (Bull 1965:10)

The constant sense of God's providence in young Asbury's life would grow stronger with the years. After all, young Franky would grow up in a home where devotional meetings, Bible studies and prayer meetings were more the norm than the exception. Asbury's first recollection of religious awakening began around the age of seven, whereby he began to regularly read the Scripture. At the age of thirteen, a "traveling shoe maker who called himself a Baptist" (Bull 1965:25) was influential in another religious awakening. Bond records Asbury's recollections:

He held prayer meetings in our neighborhood, and my Mother who was a praying woman, and ready to encourage any one who appeared to wish to do good; invited him to hold a prayer-meeting at My Father's house. At that meeting I was convinced there was some thing more in religion than I had ever been acquainted with. And at one of these meetings, held by this man, I obtained that comfort I had been seeking. (Bull 1965:25)

Gradually, along with the influence of Alexander Mather, Asbury would find greater assurance in his spiritual awakening and full devotion to God.

I was then about fifteen; [says Asbury] and, young as I was, the word of God soon made deep impressions on my heart, which brought me to Jesus Christ, who graciously justified my guilty soul through faith in his precious blood; and soon showed me the excellency and necessity of holiness. About sixteen I experienced a marvelous display of the grace of God, which some might think was full sanctification, and was indeed very happy,...At about seventeen I began to hold some public meetings; and between seventeen and eighteen began to exhort and preach. (*Journal*, 1:124–125)

Between the ages of seventeen and twenty, Asbury began his preaching venture at his mother's devotional meetings and in and around Birmingham, England. Eventually, after three or four years of routine preaching, Asbury traveled to London (August 1767) for admission, on a trial basis, to the Methodist Conference. The following summer, he was admitted into "full connection" of the Methodist Conference in Bristol. From this conference, he would be stationed at Colchester as a "circuit rider." Four years later, after having expressed a strong desire to visit America, the Methodist Conference, in Bristol, on Tuesday, August 6, 1771, granted that desire and appointed Asbury to America.

On Wednesday, September 4, 1771 Francis Asbury and Richard Wright, the two appointees of the Methodist Conference, set sail from the port of Pill near Bristol for America and landed on the shores of Philadelphia on Sunday, October 27, 1771. Upon arrival with a heart full of hope and vision, Asbury reflected on his first thoughts: "When I came near the American shore, my very heart melted within me, to think from whence I came, where I was going, and what I was going about" (*Journal*, 1:7). The very next day Asbury preached his first sermon in America.

At the end of Asbury's first full year on the circuit in America, he would be confronted to the core of his identity as an itinerant preacher with the very problems and issues that would eventually become the very making of his genius and legacy. The lack of adherence to the *General Rules*, poor organization, and lack of method for how to plant METHODISM in the colonies, as well as the omission of ordinances in the Methodist Societies, were just a few of the kinds of problems and issues that would show how capable Asbury was in bringing cohesion to the Methodist Societies.

Some of those problems would be resolved in 1784, when JOHN WESLEY appointed Asbury and THOMAS COKE as joint superintendents. Asbury, however, would insist that the Conference of Methodist preachers ratify his appointment. Against Wesley's wishes, Asbury assumed the title of bishop.

Asbury was indefatigable in his itinerancy and preaching. Despite his numerous ailments and ill health throughout a good portion of his life, Asbury relentlessly pushed on in his preaching and disciplined use of time for the spread of the Gospel through preaching. Undoubtedly Asbury more than Coke was the dominant shaping force in American Methodism.

Confidence in America's bishop should come as no surprise when one understands that of all Wesley's appointees, Asbury chose to remain in America during the

Revolutionary War whereas most of the English itinerants returned home. After a long process of internal soul searching Asbury had begun to identify with the emerging birth of the American nation, although that would not mean that Asbury would always stand in agreement with the ethos of America, especially when it came to the issue of SLAVERY. Initially Asbury openly condemned slavery, but when confronted with the harshness of slavery in the deep South, and with what an inflexible stand against slavery might do to the conference, he acquiesced and made a distinction between saving souls and liberating bodies.

We are defrauded of great numbers by the pains that are taken to keep the blacks from us; their masters are afraid of the influence of our principles. Would not an amelioration in the condition and treatment of slaves have produced more practical good to the poor Africans, than any attempt at their emancipation? (*Journal*, 2:591)

Francis Asbury died at George Arnold's farm in Spotsylvania (near Fredericksburg), Virginia on March 31, 1816 (Bull 1965:7). On October 15, 1924, president Calvin Coolidge, who considered Asbury as "one of the builders of our nation," unveiled an equestrian statue of Francis Asbury. The inscription on the statue reads: "His courageous journeying through each village and settlement from 1771 to 1816 greatly promoted patriotism, education, morality and religion in the American Republic."

See also Circuit Rider; Itineracy; Methodism, North America

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ASCETICISM

When applied to religion, asceticism may be broadly defined as acts and attitudes of world-renunciation and self-discipline taken up for the sake of religious goals. The sociologist MAX WEBER famously argued for the existence of a particularly Protestant form of “innerworldly” asceticism. Weber claimed that where most forms of asceticism involved flight from the world, the Protestant idea of the calling placed the worldrenouncing impulse of asceticism within the roles and structures of ordinary life. Weber argued further that SECULARIZATION transformed Protestant asceticism into the driving spirit of modern capitalism. Subsequent arguments for and against Weber’s theory highlight the importance of understanding varieties of ascetic behavior in their diverse historical contexts.

Origins and Definitions

Although any definition of asceticism will likely be controversial, the term when applied to religion has come to suggest a range of acts and attitudes of world-renunciation and self-discipline through which religious practitioners seek to approach certain transcendent goals. World-renunciation and self-discipline generally involve some degree of rejection of the world or worldly things and chastisement of the body or of the self more broadly understood. At the same time, the world and the body are the vehicles for the performance of asceticism.

The term *asceticism* is derived from the Greek *askesis*, a word that originally signified rigorous athletic or military “training.” In ancient Greek philosophical discourse, the meaning of *askesis* broadened over time to indicate a training of mind and soul as well as body, with moral or spiritual goals. The origins of a particularly Christian ascetic theory and practice have been hotly contested. One strand of Protestant interpretation has denied the presence of asceticism in the BIBLE, especially the New Testament, arguing that ascetic currents entered the Christian tradition at a later date, perhaps through the influence of Greek culture. Some biblical scholars have questioned this assertion, however, arguing that both ascetic and antiascetic currents may be found in the earliest Christian literature.

By late antiquity ascetic ideas and practices such as fasting and CELIBACY were clearly visible within early Christianity, and the role of asceticism in the holy life was much debated. The development of MONASTICISM provided an institutional setting for the practice of Christian asceticism that flourished throughout the medieval period. At the same time, some Christian ascetics followed alternate paths, from the solitary anchorite to the wandering mendicant friar. Even though some forms of asceticism were condemned as heresy by Christian authorities, nevertheless a diversity of ascetic theories and practices remained.

A Reformation Debate

In the second decade of the sixteenth century, MARTIN LUTHER inaugurated what would become the Protestant rejection of certain ascetic traditions, arguing that Catholic ascetic theory and practice flew in the face of both human nature and divine will. Luther claimed that the Catholic theory that merit might be acquired through acts of ascetic renunciation wrongly credited human works, rather than God's GRACE, for bringing about the SALVATION of believers. Luther insisted further that traditional ascetic practices, most prominently celibacy and monastic vows, interposed human inventions in place of institutions ordained by God, such as MARRIAGE and the calling or VOCATION. Subsequent reformers, particularly JOHN CALVIN, expanded this conception of the calling and placed it at the center of the Christian life lived in fulfillment of God's will. Most Protestant theologians, however, still advocated world-renunciation and self-discipline as crucial parts of the Christian life. Luther and Calvin both promoted redefinitions of celibacy, chastity, self-mortification, and other fundamentals of the ascetic tradition even as they denounced asceticism's Catholic forms.

Protestant Asceticism

The concept of the vocation or calling, particularly its Calvinist variant, was crucial to Max Weber's account of ascetic Protestantism and its relation to modern capitalism. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, first published in 1904–1905, Weber argued that the Calvinist conception of the calling demanded both rigor of work and austerity of life in fulfillment of God's will. An unintended consequence of this combination of rigor and austerity, which Weber called the "Protestant ethic," was the accumulation of capital. Gradually, Weber asserted, the Protestant ethic came unmoored from its religious goals, but the habits it had inculcated continued to be passed on in cultures formed by the Calvinist tradition. This secularized Protestant ethic became the "spirit" of modern capitalism, now promoting the accumulation of capital as a good in its own right rather than as a sign of God's approval, as Weber argued it had been for the later Calvinists.

Historians of Protestantism have offered diverse responses to Weber, arguing over whether and why it may be useful to speak of aspects of the Protestant tradition as ascetic. Proponents of the concept of Protestant asceticism suggest that it illumines continuities between Protestant ideology and practice and the medieval Christian tradition from which it grew. Opponents emphasize the sixteenth-century Protestant rejection of medieval Catholic ascetic theory and practice to argue that the foundations of Protestantism are profoundly antiascetic. The theological diversity of Protestantism (LUTHERANISM, CALVINISM, ANGLICANISM, Radical Reformation) also raises the question of the need for greater specificity. The concept of Protestant asceticism has provided a useful window into continuities with medieval Catholicism that polemic on both sides has tended to obscure. At the same time the ascetic theory and practice of the Protestant tradition did not originate apart from the sixteenth-century Protestant rejection

of certain aspects of the Catholic tradition. Any theory of Protestant asceticism must therefore take this aspect of its origins into account.

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ASIAN THEOLOGY

Christianity in Asia has a history as long as the history of Christianity that began in the land of Jesus' s birth in the first century. It is, however, in the second half of the twentieth century that theology in Asia came to develop, first dutifully paying respect to Western church traditions and schools of theological thought, then boldly striking out on its own to manifest its originality and creativeness.

For Christian theology in Asia as well as for the world of Asia 1945 was a decisive year. In that year the World War II that devastated the Western civilization that had been shaped by Christianity came to an end. In the same year the Pacific War that rendered countless homes in ruins and millions of people dead in Asia came to a grinding halt. As the Western domination of Asia and the colonization of Asian peoples began to retreat, nation-building began in earnest in many Asian nations that had gained political independence. Women and men of Asia regained the sense of their own history. Their creative power for arts and literature was released from its captivity. Moreover, the resurgence of their centuries-old cultures and religions revitalized their cultural and religious activities; it also reclaimed the allegiance of the great majority of the people of Asia for their traditional faiths and morals.

While all this was happening, most Christians in Asia and their leaders watched as bystanders, aloof and bewildered. On the whole they were defensive, separating themselves from what was happening around them. Most of them, regardless of their Christian affiliations and backgrounds, drew a clear line between the church and the world around the church. They were taught to believe that the church had no business beyond its four walls. In what they believed and how they practiced their faith, they were very much a part of the Christian traditions they had inherited from the West, from

church ARCHITECTURE to WORSHIP and of course to THEOLOGY. Christian theology in particular did not grow and develop beyond what had been imported from the West. It was uncritical adherence to the Western theological tenets only with varied emphases and nuances. In the process the Spirit was internalized and domesticated as the power bringing about personal SALVATION.

Since the year 1945 Christian theology has entered a new day. It has started a process of growth and development. It is a process bound not only to affect what Christians in Asia believe and how they practice Christian faith, but to reshape their experience of what God is doing in Asia. With different degrees of success Christian theology has crossed the line drawn between the church and the world of Asia in which Christianity came to stay. It has begun to cast its eyes on vast resources available in Asia—historical, social, cultural, and religious—resources that are not related to the Christianity that had come from beyond Asian shores. Christian theology has awakened from its innocence and begun to grapple with what Christian faith means and what it stands for in its adopted lands. In this process of exploration and reorientation Christian theology will have to come face to face with Jesus, the very origin and heart of their faith, and wrestle with the meaning of his message and ministry in the world of Asia with many cultures and religions different from the culture and religion represented by Christianity in the West.

Just as the history of development in other fields of human activity and endeavor, Christian theology in Asia as a process of growth and development has had several stages. It has gone through the stages of adoption and imitation, accommodation and adaptation, contextualization and indigenization, deconstruction and reconstruction, culminating in the Christian theology grown out of the interactions between the stories of women and men in the BIBLE and the stories of women and men in Asia. It does not mean that these stages follow a chronological order, with one stage coming to an end to be succeeded by the next one. These stages in the process of growth and development often overlap one with the other, with the seed of the subsequent stage sown in the previous stage. A particular orientation can, however, be discerned in each stage in the process, the orientation that proves to be inadequate and thus gives way to the orientation in the next stage.

Adoption and Imitation

When children begin at an early age to practice Chinese calligraphy, they are instructed to copy Chinese characters written by master calligraphers over and over again until the characters they reproduce bear some resemblance to those of master calligraphers. With this painstaking ground work, some of the children will grow up to become master calligraphers themselves. Christian theology attempted in the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century was largely similar to the practice of Chinese calligraphy.

Christianity in those days was a foreign religion, a religion from the West. Very few original efforts were made to express Christian faith in a different way. As a matter of fact, deviation from the traditional formulations of faith, ways of worship, and HYMNS sung at the worship service was considered to be deviation from the Christian truth. What was taught at theological schools was the wholesale adoption of Christian-ity and

adherence to it was considered to be a matter of primary importance. What dominated the theological discussion was different schools of Western theological thoughts and different theological emphases of diverse confessions and DENOMINATIONS. Christian mission, understood almost totally as efforts to evangelize people of Asia, had priority over theology. What concerned Christian theology in Asia in this adoption and imitation stage was not so much exploration of God's saving activity among people of Asia as the increase of the number of Christians and churches in Asia. Christian mission was the overriding preoccupation over and above all other interests.

Christian theology in Asia at this stage was an imitation theology. This was not only true of the fundamentalist Christianity that still exerts influence on many Christians and churches today, but also true of its more "liberal" counterparts. Names of prominent Western theologians were invoked, and their writings occupied bookshelves of the library and adorned the study of theological teachers. Theological debates at this stage were debates of Western theologians by proxy. It was very easy to identify theological centers in the West where most Asian theologians had done their advanced theological studies.

Accommodation and Adaptation

It became clear, however, that the "soil and water" of Asia proved to be not entirely hospitable to the Christianity that grew and developed in other "soil and water." It was discovered that unless Christianity acclimatized itself to the vastly different natural environments, it would remain a foreign religion in its adopted land: to this day Christianity in Asia still largely remains a foreign religion in the eyes of most people outside the Christian church. It was a matter of necessity that Christian theology had to set in motion the process of accommodation and adaptation.

Accommodation and adaptation were taking place almost unaware even to the firm believers in the "purity" of the Christian faith as the Bible was being rendered into the vernacular. Some Bible translators knew better. They knew that language is a universe of meaning rooted in the cultural tradition and religious faith of the people who speak it. When the Bible was rendered into the local language, the message it contains reached its hearers and readers not always the way it was intended by its translators. The message of the Bible heard was already adapted and accommodated to the world of meaning that had shaped the local community for ages. Theology, diverting from Western expressions of faith, was subtly in the making among Christian converts at the grass roots level, largely unnoticed by many of those engaged in theological efforts in Asia.

Not so subtle were some theological efforts made, for example, in INDIA and CHINA, to express Christian faith in relation to local realities and idioms. Both India and China, among many Asian countries, have developed most sophisticated philosophical systems, elaborate religious traditions, and complex ethical codes. There was no lack of concepts, ideas, and idioms for Christian usage, and some theological efforts were made to express what Christianity believed and taught in those concepts and idioms. The concept of "heaven" in China, for instance, was adapted to Christian use as a personal God involved in human affairs. "Filial piety," the backbone of Confucian ethics, was stressed as essential for Christianity to gain the hearts of Chinese people. In India Hinduism was thought to be compatible with Christianity and terms such as *dharma*

(cosmic law), *satyagraha* (truth force), or *bhakti* (devotion) found their way into Christianity. As Christian theology ventured out into the world outside Christianity in this way, it had to make it clear that even though form and language might change, the substance of the Christian truth would not change. It proved wrong, however. How it was wrong became the hotly debated issue in the ensuing years. The issue continues to be debated passionately in the churches and in theological schools in Asia today. Christian theology in Asia at this stage of accommodation and adaptation succeeded only in a kind of hybrid theology that did little justice either to Christian theology or to the other religions.

Contextualization and Indigenization

In retrospect there was a positive side to the attempts at accommodation and adaptation. These attempts taught many Christian theologians in Asia to take their Asian contexts seriously, and not just to use them as means and instruments of communicating the Christian faith. Unfortunately, this instrumental approach to cultures and religions still prevails among many Christian churches and theological circles in Asia today. Its chief concern is not to explore theological meanings embedded in those cultures and religions unrelated to Christianity, but to familiarize themselves with the religious idioms and cultural forms so that they can better communicate the Christian gospel they hold to be unique and absolute.

However, cracks were already made in the theological dams constructed by Christian theology in the previous times. With new awareness of the historical, cultural, and religious situations fundamentally different from those from which Christianity came, Christian theology in Asia began to take a course of its own, moving to another stage in the process of growth and development, even though it was still at an embryonic stage.

What dawned on Christian theological efforts in Asia at this stage is as follows: if the message of the Bible allowed itself to be planted in Western soil to give birth to what is known as Western theology, there is no reason why the same message of the Bible would not allow itself to be planted in Asian soil to give birth to Christian theology in Asia. In the midst of such theological effort, however, it was still assumed that the message of the Bible remained unchanged, even though the social-political and cultural-religious situations the gospel had entered were different from those of the Bible and of the West.

Christian theology developed in this way was thought to be indigenous to Asia. Because Asia consists of a great diversity of situations, Christian theology was bound to take diverse shapes, sizes, and colors, although the message was believed to remain unchanged—the message that Jesus was the only savior of the world and for the people of Asia. The awareness of Asia being different from the West paved the way for the growth and development of Christian theology in the next stage. Even though the central assertion of Christian faith was believed to remain the same, Christian theology in Asia came to have more and more local flavors and tastes, making itself more appealing to the theological appetite of Christians and more accessible to the local people unfamiliar with the history of Christianity in the West. What happened at this stage is that Christian theology came to be more contextualized and indigenized at least in form, although not always in contents.

Deconstruction and Reconstruction

It is to be expected, however, that when the form changes, the contents expressed through the changed and changing form cannot remain unchanged for ever. Christian theology in Asia thus entered the stage of deconstruction and reconstruction. It was the stage in which Christian theology finally began to grow and develop in the terms not dictated by others but informed by the historical realities people of Asia have to face in their daily lives. It has to learn to speak out of the world of Asia as well as out of the world of the Bible. What proved to be a matter of crucial importance was the fact that Christian theology in Asia found the key to unlock the barrier used to separate the two worlds—the world of the Bible and the world of Asia. That key was people both in the Bible and in Asia, both people in search of God and God in search of people. It was a theology grown out of interactions between God and people in the quest of the meaning of life and history. The story of God looking for the first ancestors in the garden of Eden told in the third chapter of Genesis in Hebrew Scripture gained a deeper meaning in relation to the engagement of people and God within the spiritual universe of the people of Asia. Obviously the theological effort of deconstruction and reconstruction is an ongoing effort, constantly engaging Christian theology in its attempt to decipher how God is working out God's purpose in Asia.

Christian theology in Asia had to question timehonored theological concepts and find new ways to express theological realities it encountered. It was not as hard as it had been believed to be. What was required of it was simply to ask, for example, whether Asia had already been part of God's creation before its contact with Christianity, whether God's saving love included the great majority of the people of Asia who have remained outside Christianity, whether God acted in Asia only by way of Christianity from the West.

Questions such as these were of crucial importance because they challenged the theological assumption that Christians alone could claim birthright in God. This was a theological breakthrough. Once the breakthrough was made, Christian theology is now ready to develop and grow beyond the boundaries of the Christian church, believing that God is at work both outside the Christian church as well as inside it, in some cases more outside it than inside it.

In recent years Christian theology in Asia has learned to grow with people, both Christians and others, as they struggle for human rights and democracy, as they seek to be part of the spiritual forces in Asia to renew people and change society, as they work hand in hand with those who are exploited by the complicity of domestic and global economy and subjected to discrimination against women in male-dominated society. It is a theology inspired by Jesus's declaration when he first launched his mission and ministry of God's reign saying: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. The Lord has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor" (Luke 4:18–19). This "Mission Manifesto" of Jesus has come to be recognized not only as social activism but also revealing the spiritual depths of Jesus's engagement with people in the ministry of God's reign in the world.

Stories of God and Stories of People

Christian theology in Asia, varied in forms and idioms, has now developed into the story theology that gives account of how stories of God get embodied in stories of people of Asia and how stories of people of Asia respond to God's story embodied in their lives and histories. It has broken the boundaries set by the Christian theology constructed in the past. Its task is not to make systems of beliefs but to tell stories, not to come to people with a set of presuppositions of faith it learned by rote but to give accounts of God in the company of women and men in their daily lives, not to dictate what people should believe and confess but to learn to get closer to the heart of God by telling their stories.

Asia with its colossal land mass and exploding population, Asia abundant both in joys and sorrows, and Asia with inexhaustible sources of people's stories has to be the arena of Christian theology in Asia today. Engaging God and people in the rich soil and water of Asia, Christian theology has endless stories to tell. It has just begun its first chapter to be followed by many, many more chapters.

Christian theology in Asia has at last found what its main task should be. It has to find its way into the heart of millions upon millions of people in Asia, learning to tell their stories and fathom theological meanings hidden in the depths of these stories. This is a new start for Christian theology in Asia. In telling people's stories, Christian theology should be able to tell quite different stories about creation and its Creator, about God's love manifested in Jesus, about the Spirit as the power of God creating and recreating Asia through tribulations and celebrations of the life of the people of Asia. Out of such theological engagement with people and their stories, Christian theology will be able to help Christians and churches nurture self-understanding not derived from elsewhere outside Asia, but from God's saving activity in Asia. It will also enable Christians and churches in Asia to forge new relationships with their Asian neighbors and the world of Asia. A new stage for Christian theology is thus already set, and time will tell how Christian theology in Asia will play with a whole variety of actors on the stage, acting out a whole variety of scenarios in response to God's engagement with the people of Asia since the beginning of creation. It has found its theological home in Asia and in the teeming humanity who inhabit Asia.

See also Architecture; Church; Bible; China; Denominations; Fundamentalism; Hymns and Hymnals; India; Japan; Liberal Protestantism; Missions; Philippines; Salvation; Theology; Worship

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CHOAN-SENG SONG

ASIAN-AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM

The terms “Asian American” and/or “Asian and Pacific Islander American” have been convenient (and contested) means of classifying the nearly 13 million persons residing in the UNITED STATES who trace their roots to Asia and Oceania. But the Asian-American racial category belies the extraordinary ethnic and socioeconomic diversity of this population. The practice of lumping together Central Asians (Pakistani, Afghan, Burmese), South Asians (Indians), Southeast Asians (Thai, Vietnamese, Hmong, Filipinos, Malay), East Asians (Chinese, Japanese, Korean), and Pacific Islanders (Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian) is a disservice to each group’s unique history and culture. It also does not alter the common perception that identifies Asian Americans with East Asians. The limitations of the term “Asian American” notwithstanding, this article attempts a historical overview of Asian-American Protestants.

According to the American Religious Identification Survey conducted by the City University of New York in 2001, 28% of the Asian-American population identified themselves as practitioners of “Asian” religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, etc), and 43% profess to be Christians. The majority of the Christians appear to be Protestants, although more precise figures are difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that Protestants represent a very significant presence among Asian Americans, past and present.

History of Asian-American Immigration

The patterns of Asian migration to the United States and the Americas are products of the increasing global socioeconomic and political strength of the United States since the mid-nineteenth century. American commercial ventures in CHINA and JAPAN, as well as its colonial experiment in the PHILIPPINES, created opportunities for persons from these

countries to immigrate to the Americas. In the mid- to late nineteenth century, internal unrest and dramatic social changes in China and Japan, coupled with a high demand for cheap labor in the American West, created global “pushpull” factors for Chinese and Japanese immigration. After Chinese and Japanese immigration was banned, Filipinos were recruited to fill the labor demand in the 1920s and 30s. Before World War II, the Japanese and Chinese populations in the United States reached 150,000 and 107,000, respectively. Before World War II, the Filipino population reached 40,000. The Protestant presence among these three groups was rather small, but more is known about Chinese and Japanese Protestants than about Filipino Protestants.

Despite the factors that drew Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants to Hawaii and the United States, American public opinion grew increasingly hostile toward Asians and eventually led to the discriminatory Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the proscription of Japanese and Indian Asian immigration in 1924, and the banning of Filipinos (despite their status as American nationals) in 1934. Although the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, racially discriminatory restrictions were not ended until 1965. By then, the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino population had become a small, but significant, presence in the United States (particularly in the Western states). Historians have often labeled this population the “first wave” of Asian immigrants.

After 1965, a large influx of immigrants from KoREA, INDIA, Southeast Asia, and other Asian and Pacific areas added to the Asian-American population. The Asian population in the United States has nearly doubled each decade since 1965. The Chinese and Filipino populations also experienced tremendous growth, making them the two largest Asian ethnic groups in the United States today. Only the Japanese population experienced decline, because of the near cessation of immigration from Japan. A significant presence of indigenous Protestants among this “second wave” of Asian immigration has recently drawn some attention among sociologists of religion, although much of this scholarship has focused on nonChristian Asian immigrants.

First Wave of Chinese and Japanese Protestants in America

Although the origins of Asian-American Protestantism can be traced to the American Protestant missionary enterprise in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is important to underscore the “indigenous” character of Asian conversions. Asian-American relationships with white Protestants and missionaries were complex, requiring sensitivity to the historical contexts in Asia as well as in the United States. Thus, the Diasporic Chinese subculture in Southeast Asia, the socioeconomic situation in Kwangtung Province from where the overwhelming majority of first-wave Chinese immigrants came, and a rapidly modernizing Meiji Japan provides a rich and necessary context for understanding Chinese and Japanese Protestantism in the United States during this period.

The first Asian-American Protestant congregation, Presbyterian Church in Chinatown, was organized in San Francisco in 1852 by a small group of Chinese Christian immigrants who had studied at the Morrison School in Macao. By the 1870s, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist missions were formed in the San Francisco Bay area, Sacramento, and other urban centers with a significant Chinese presence. In these

missions, the presence of white missionaries was vital to Chinese Christians' survival and ability to negotiate the increasingly hostile social climate.

Until the mid-twentieth century, the Chinese missions served an overwhelmingly male Chinese population. Immigration restrictions and cultural practices sharply limited the population of Chinese women. Because the Chinese American community was a "bachelor" society, the Chinese missions did not place a strong emphasis on family life. Family-oriented Chinese congregations would not appear until the 1940s, when the women and American-born children became a significant presence in the Chinese American community. The presence of missionary women in the congregations, schools, and rescue missions provided role models for Chinese Protestant women. Many of the American-born women would eventually assume public leadership roles,

Because male Japanese migrants were able to bring wives ("picture brides") from overseas until 1924, the Japanese congregations were composed of more stable and traditional families than the Chinese missions. Consequently, Japanese congregations were less dependent on Protestant denominations during this time. First-wave Chinese and Japanese American Protestant leaders exhibited strong nationalistic tendencies. As much, if not more, attention was given to developments in China and Japan than to American affairs. Furthermore, these leaders were as interested in Asian politics as they were in Asian evangelization. Indeed, nationalism was one of the strongest motives for Chinese and Japanese identification with Protestantism during this period. Many believed that Protestantism provided an effective critique of premodern Chinese and Japanese societies and had the potential to rebuild these nations into powerful, modern Christian democracies.

The pivotal turning points for the first-wave Japanese and Chinese Protestants were the Japanese American internment camp experience during World War II and the Communist victory in China in 1949. These events spurred a period of mainline Protestant emphasis on integration and assimilation. Ministry programs for Asian Americans were dismantled in the 1950s (e.g., the discontinuation of the Methodist Oriental Conference).

The relocation camps uprooted many Japanese families and resulted in a tremendous loss of monies and property. Afterward, some churches reorganized on the west coast, but the cessation of Japanese immigration and denominational pressures on the Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) to assimilate into mainstream American society challenged the viability of many congregations (although many became self-supporting). Nevertheless, some ecumenical organizations, such as the Japanese Christian Church Federation, survived.

As Communist China was drawn into the Korean conflict and the Cold War in the 1950s, pressures on Chinese Americans to demonstrate loyalty and assimilability, along with the loss of mainline engagement in missionary work in China, left many Chinese American Protestants relatively neglected. Despite an increasing Chinese immigration population and the call from Chinese American leaders for the support of ethnic ministries, mainline Protestants were in large part nonresponsive. The formation of the National Conference on Chinese Christians in America in 1955 in part represented an attempt to justify the necessity of ethnic-specific congregations.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Japanese and Chinese Protestants inspired by the CIVIL RIGHTS and ethnic consciousness movements began to advocate for greater

Asian-American representation and ministry in their denominations. Repudiating the assimilationist policies of mainline denominations, caucuses were formed amidst a growing sense of Asian-American consciousness. Even as they noted the impact of a rapidly growing second-wave Asian immigration population, neither the caucus leaders nor the mainline Protestant denominations were prepared for the explosion of ethnic and theological diversity that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s.

Second-Wave Asian-American Immigrants

While Filipino, Korean, and other Asian Pacific American Protestants established missions and congregations before 1965, these entities became much more visible during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Although Roman Catholic affiliation was higher among Filipino and Vietnamese Americans, there was a growing Protestant (specifically, evangelical and Pentecostal-charismatic) presence in these communities. In fact, the 3,000 Korean, 1,000 Chinese, and hundreds of other second-wave Asian and Pacific American congregations today are predominantly evangelical and Pentecostal-charismatic in orientation. Unlike the first-wave Asian Americans, who preferred to maintain close ties to mainline Protestant denominations, the second-wave Asian-American Protestants exhibit stronger “separatist” tendencies. Although most Korean and many other Asian congregations are affiliated with a mainline denomination, their level of engagement and interest in these denominations is rather low compared to that of first-wave Asian-American Protestants.

The “separatist” evangelical-Pentecostal characteristics of most second-wave Asian-American Protestants can be traced to a number of sources. The continuing presence of fundamentalist and evangelical missionary work that continued throughout the midtwentieth century influenced at least one generation of immigrants. Also, the “separatist” evangelical and Pentecostal identity provided stronger popular religious resources to weather the dramatic transformation of twentieth-century Asia. Finally, many secondwave Asian immigrants easily incorporated their indigenous expressions of faith with the evangelical revivalism to which they were exposed. In Asia, and subsequently, Asian America, a “separatist” evangelical-Pentecostal religious identity helped immigrants adjust to the trans-Pacific transposition of Asian societies in the twentieth century.

Some second-wave Asian-American Protestants, however, are offspring of the first wave. For example, the Japanese Evangelical Missionary Society (JEMS), the Chinese Bible Church movement, and other organizations were founded in the 1950s by English-speaking, American-born Asian-American fundamentalists and evangelicals. But most second-wave congregations and parachurch organizations were planted by post1965 immigrants. For instance, such parachurch ministries as Ambassadors for Christ and the Chinese Christian Mission were created by recent Chinese immigrants.

The impact of the large group of second-wave Asian-American Protestants is inestimable. Congregations with traditional ties to mainline denominations have been pressured to adjust to the spirituality and ethos of the new immigrants. The divide between ecumenically oriented and evangelical Asian-American networks has increased.

On the other hand, secondwave Asian-American Protestants are gaining ground within mainstream American EVANGELICALISM.

Contemporary Issues

Today, Asian-American Protestants face a number of critical issues. How they respond will determine their future directions.

1. *Asian-American consciousness.* Racial discrimination and Asian-American cooperation and empowerment have been significant concerns for first-wave Asian-American Protestants, but for second-wave Asian-American Protestant leaders these have not been perceived to be vital issues. Today, Asian-American diversity and religious and political climates combine to discourage race consciousness. Many second- or third-generation Asian Americans have abandoned racial identification in their congregational focus in favor of multiethnicity. Such decisions often come at the expense of relating to immigrant congregations that continue to speak their native languages.
2. *Intergenerational conflict and cooperation.* Related to the question of Asian-American consciousness is the issue of intergenerational conflict and cooperation. Will immigrants and their offspring maintain their congregations and ministries despite the diversity of age and cultural perspectives?
3. *Historic memory.* Will the second-wave Asian-American Protestants benefit from the experiences of first-wave Asian-American Protestants? Can a bridge be built between mainline and evangelical Asian-American Protestants? What can be retrieved from Asian-American history and Asian culture to form distinctively indigenous expressions of Asian-American Protestantism?

Asian-American Protestantism is a vibrant and growing presence within the Asian-American community today. Despite the challenges that it faces, it shall play an important role in an increasingly global Christianity of the future.

See also Asian Theology; Denomination; Pentecostalism

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TIMOTHY TSENG

ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

The General Council of the Assemblies of God (USA) is the largest white and Hispanic Pentecostal denomination in the UNITED STATES. Organized to achieve the evangelization of the world, the loose-knit association of churches and ministers eventually became a fullfledged denomination, sponsoring various programs, a large overseas mission endeavor, and numerous institutions of higher education. The Assemblies of God (AG) became a founding member of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS (NAE) to cooperate with other evangelical denominations, and later established the World Assemblies of God Fellowship to enhance its relationship to fraternally related church bodies around the world.

Origins

The roots of the Assemblies of God can be found largely in the nineteenth-century HIGHER LIFE MOVEMENT with its emphasis on Holy Spirit baptism as a work of GRACE subsequent to CONVERSION. They combined this experience of “full consecration” or empowerment for Christian witness with belief in the availability of physical healing through the atoning work of Jesus Christ and expectancy of the imminent premillennial return of Jesus Christ. Along with other radical evangelicals frustrated by the slow pace of conversions in the mission lands, they sought for the restoration of the spiritual power and dynamics of the New Testament church to speedily accomplish the evangelization of the world. Hence, they anticipated that a supernatural outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the “last days,” as predicted by the Old Testament prophet Joel (2:28–29), would bring about a great end-times harvest of souls (Matthew 24:14; Acts 1:8).

Believing that God would miraculously bestow unlearned languages on “Spirit-filled” believers to preach to non-Christians as happened on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:4), Kansas holiness preacher Charles F. Parham considered speaking in TONGUES to be the “Bible evidence” of Holy Spirit baptism (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT). When Parham and the students at his Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas prayed to receive this experience on January 1, 1901, a revival followed with the participants professing to have received many languages. This event forged the chief distinctive of Classical Pentecostal theology and spirituality, that is, the belief that speaking in tongues (later viewed as

functioning in prayer rather than for preaching) always accompanies Holy Spirit baptism. Later revivals followed in the wake of Topeka, notably in Houston, Texas; Zion, Illinois; Los Angeles, California; Indianapolis, Indiana; Memphis, Tennessee; Dunn, North Carolina; Nyack, New York; and elsewhere in North America and abroad.

Formation of the Assemblies of God

The founding fathers and mothers of the AG met at Hot Springs, Arkansas on April 2–12, 1914 to increase unity among themselves, encourage doctrinal stability, establish legal standing, bring order to the mission enterprise, and establish a ministerial training school. Like other early Pentecostals, they came from the ranks of the working classes and were ostracized from their former churches because of their newfound Pentecostal spirituality. The delegates represented a variety of independent churches and networks including the Association of Christian Assemblies in Indiana and, more important, the Churches of God in Christ (white) from Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas. Leaders among the latter had secured permission from bishop Charles Harrison Mason in 1911 to come under the umbrella of the largely African American CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST. This arrangement permitted them to issue credentials under the name “Church of God in Christ and in unity with the Apostolic Faith Movement.” Whatever the circumstances, the relationship (never organic in nature) proved to be unsatisfactory. Acting for this group, Eudorus N.Bell, Archibald P.Collins, Howard Goss, Daniel C.O.Opperman, and Mack M.Pinson called for the meeting at Hot Springs to found a new organization; the predominantly white membership reflected the general racial divide of American Protestantism.

The delegates incorporated the General Council with a hybrid congregational and Presbyterian polity, offered limited ministerial privileges to women, and ruled that credentials would not be granted to divorced and remarried persons with a living former spouse. The first two officers elected were Bell as chairman (title later changed to general superintendent) and J. Roswell Flower as secretary. Fears of becoming a DENOMINATION, however, kept the Council in its early years from creating a statement of faith and a constitution and bylaws. After the inaugural meeting districts arose around the country, usually based on geographical areas, but also according to language and culture (e.g., Hispanic, German, Ukrainian).

Doctrine

The General Council has maintained fidelity to the historic doctrines of the Christian church, important teachings stemming from the Protestant and Radical Reformations of the sixteenth century, and later revivalist movements; these include belief in the Trinity, JUSTIFICATION by FAITH, the substitutionary ATONEMENT of Jesus Christ, believer’s BAPTISM, progressive SANCTIFICATION, premillennial ESCHATOLOGY, and Christian PACIFISM (at the outset). The first doctrinal dispute, known as the “New Issue,” centered on a proposed modal Monarchian view of the Godhead (God in one person with the redemptive Name of Jesus Christ) and led to a major schism. In response

delegates to the council meeting at St. Louis, Missouri in 1916 approved the “Statement of Fundamental Truths” to preserve a Trinitarian and evangelical doctrinal witness. When questions arose in 1918 about the indispensability of tongues for Holy Spirit baptism, it declared the teaching of tongues as “initial physical evidence” to be its “Distinctive Testimony.”

Early doctrinal manuals included *Bible Doctrines* (1934) by P.C. Nelson, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible* (1937) by Myer Pearlman, and a specialized discussion on Holy Spirit baptism, *What Meaneth This? A Pentecostal Answer to a Pentecostal Question* (1947) by Carl Brumback. Later publications included *Bible Doctrines: A Pentecostal Perspective* (1993) by William W. Menzies and Stanley M. Horton and the more extensive *Systematic Theology* (1994) edited by Horton. The General Council began to publish white papers known as “position papers” in 1970 to address doctrinal and practical issues troubling the churches; they were collectively published in *Where We Stand* (2001).

Organizational Development

The General Council located its headquarters and publishing wing, Gospel Publishing House, in Findlay, Ohio in 1914, and then moved them to St. Louis, Missouri in 1915, and permanently to Springfield, Missouri in 1918. To handle the increasingly complex responsibilities of its home and overseas mission efforts, it established the Missionary Department in 1919 and later the Home Missions and Education Department in 1937; other departments followed (e.g., youth, Sunday school, Missionettes, Royal Rangers). Two periodicals spoke for the new organization: the monthly *Word and Witness* and the weekly *Christian Evangel*. After their consolidation and with further name changes, the weekly *Pentecostal Evangel* became the official voice in 1919.

The final authority for DOCTRINE and practice resides in the General Council, a biennial gathering of all ordained ministers and lay representatives from the churches. Designated responsibilities have been given to two smaller bodies: The Executive Presbytery includes the General Council Board of Administration (General Superintendent, Assistant General Superintendent, General Secretary, and General Treasurer), Executive Directors of Home and World Missions, and Non-Resident Executive Presbyters from eight geographical regions, the language districts (e.g., Hispanic), and an ethnic fellowship (e.g., African American); it meets bimonthly. Made up of representatives from each of the districts, the General Presbytery constitutes the final court of appeal and handles business between the biennial meetings of the General Council.

Educational Institutions

Several small Bible institutes provided training in the early years. Often with little financial backing, some survived to become enduring institutions; others merged with these or ceased to operate altogether. Permanent institutions have included Glad Tidings Bible Institute (1919), later Bethany College of the Assemblies of God in Santa Cruz, California; Southern California Bible and Missionary Training Institute (1920), later

Vanguard University of Southern California in Costa Mesa; Central Bible Institute (1922), later Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri; Latin American Bible Institute (1926) in San Antonio, Texas; and Latin American Bible Institute (1926), now in La Puente, California. The General Council chartered Evangel University as the first national Pentecostal school of arts and sciences in 1955 and established the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary in 1973, with both institutions located in Springfield, Missouri. In the same city Global University provides distance education programs for those seeking training for various forms of Christian ministry. Nineteen endorsed schools of higher education, ranging from Bible institutes to colleges and universities, could be found across the United States by 2003. Hundreds of locally sponsored church-based Bible institutes also exist to serve congregations (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES).

Missions

Within the first year of its existence approximately thirty missionaries gained membership in the General Council. Largely independent in their operation, they worked mainly in the traditional sites of Christian mission: Africa, India, China, Japan, and the Middle East; more would later serve in Europe, Latin America, and Oceania. In the early years the Missionary Department largely served to channel funds to missionaries. Beginning in 1943 it began to aggressively direct the strategy of the mission enterprise. Although committed to establishing self-governing, self-supporting, and self-sustaining churches in the mission lands, missionaries generally followed the paternalistic practices of their Protestant counterparts. Beginning in the 1950s they focused more emphasis on training indigenous leaders for the churches; the change from paternalism to partnership led to dramatic church growth in many places. Through the efforts of key leaders like Alice E. Luce, Ralph D. Williams, J. Philip Hogan, and Melvin L. Hodges, the General Council promoted the development of hundreds of ministerial training institutions around the world.

At the Council on Evangelism in St. Louis, Missouri in 1968, the General Council reaffirmed its mission as an agency for the evangelization of the world, a corporate body in which humanity may worship God, and a means for the discipleship of Christians. Despite the failure to address issues related to holistic mission (e.g., poverty, hunger), AG missions, already holistic in many quarters, increasingly moved in that direction without diminishing gospel proclamation. Such ministries include the Lillian Trasher Memorial Orphanage in Assiout, Egypt, the Assembly of God Hospital and Research Centre in Calcutta, India, HealthCare Ministries, and the AG-related Convoy of Hope.

Women in Ministry

As they had in the Holiness Movement, women played important roles in early PENTECOSTALISM and the Assemblies of God as evangelists, missionaries, and pastors. Originally offering them ordination only as evangelists and missionaries, the General Council belatedly began ordaining women as pastors in 1935. Before 1950 more

than one thousand women evangelists traveled the country evangelizing and planting churches. Influential women included Marie Burgess Brown, Alice Reynolds Flower, Carrie Judd Montgomery, AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON (in the AG from 1919 to 1922), Alice E.Luce, Chonita Howard, Hattie Hammond, and Florence Steidel. Nevertheless by midcentury, the number of women credential holders fell into a sharp decline. Early in the twenty-first century, church executives began to reemphasize the value of women serving in ministry positions.

Identification with Evangelicals

Conservative evangelicals laid plans for the NAE in 1942 and invited the participation of the AG and several other Pentecostal denominations to join in establishing a national evangelical voice, evangelizing the world, and working toward a Christian America. NAE membership subsequently identified Pentecostals as evangelicals and removed the cult status with which some observers had labeled them. The General Council also benefited from the cooperative programs that it offered such as National Religious Broadcasters, Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, and Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies. More than any other Pentecostal, Thomas F.Zimmerman, AG general superintendent (1959–1985), worked to build the alliance of evangelicals and Pentecostals. Along with the NAE, the General Council has worked with the Lausanne Committee on Evangelism, World Evangelical Alliance, and the PENTECOSTAL WORLD CONFERENCE. Because of these associations, it has refrained from involvement in conciliar bodies such as the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

The acceptance by evangelicals, calls for collegiatelevel training for ministers, increasing denominational structures at the national and district levels, fear that the zeal and power of Pentecostal spirituality had declined, and growing affluence of Pentecostals triggered a reaction known as the “New Order of the Latter Rain.” Beginning at the Sharon Schools and Orphanage in North Battleford, Saskatchewan, Canada in 1948, leaders claimed that a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit had begun. They sharply criticized organized Pentecostalism and called for the impartation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands in prayer, among other teachings. Although the General Council and its sister denomination, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, condemned the movement, its influence continued in some quarters.

Progress and Challenges

The General Council showed strong signs of progress in certain areas as the twentieth century closed. When leaders of the exclusively white Pentecostal Fellowship of North America met with African American Pentecostal leaders at Memphis, Tennessee in 1994, AG representatives joined with others to dissolve that organization and form the racially inclusive PENTECOSTAL/CHARISMATIC CHURCHES of North America.

New revival movements, such as the “Pensacola Outpouring” at the Brownsville (Florida) Assembly of God that attracted more than 2.5 million visitors after it began in 1995, spiritually invigorated many AG people. However, the Pensacola Outpouring also

brought division over certain revival phenomena that occurred, which had also characterized earlier Pentecostal spirituality.

A planned “Decade of Harvest” program to accelerate growth in the 1990s brought limited results, signaling new challenges for the future of the council: an aging clergy, misgivings about traditional church structures, and fears about the continued Pentecostal identity of the denomination. These have prompted leaders to explore the effectiveness of present church structures and programs. Statistics for 2002 show a church constituency in the United States of 2,627,029; 12,082 churches; and 32,374 ministers. The Council supported 1,841 foreign missionaries, working with fraternally related constituencies whose members and adherents numbered more than thirty-eight million people. Giving by the American churches totaled more than \$346 million. To encourage the study of the Pentecostal Movement and the Assemblies of God in particular, the Council established the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center in Springfield, Missouri; it publishes the archival quarterly *Assemblies of God Heritage*.

See also Conversion; Missions; Pentecostalism; Revivals

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ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES

See African Instituted Churches

ATONEMENT

The atonement refers to the divine act of reconciliation whereby God and the sinner are made to be “at one.” Whatever its etymology, the word has gained a number of connotations that shape the way in which it has been understood, often containing the notion of recompense, as when it is said that someone seeks to atone for his offenses by some act of reparation. Central to the way the theology of atonement has developed is the notion of exchange, which derives from imagery that is at once monetary (the price or ransom for sin), judicial (the one punished in place of the many), and, above all, sacrificial (the perfect gift on the altar standing in for or being the vehicle of the offering of those otherwise unqualified to come before a holy God).

In taking its orientation largely from Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury’s (1093–1109) *Why the GodMan*, Protestant theology aligned itself with a particular tradition of Western theology. Anselm rejected the mainstream Western view, which had itself derived from Augustine’s adaptation of an Eastern conception. According to Augustine, Adam’s sin brought him and the whole human race within the legal power of the devil by conquering Christ, who on the cross won freedom for the human race. Rejecting this on the grounds of its irrationality and theological unacceptability—for God is not obliged to negotiate with his creature, the devil—Anselm spoke of sin in terms of an unpayable debt owed to God’s honor and of Christ’s saving act as his free offering of his life to God the Father, a gift of infinite worth—not, however, as a punishment, but as an alternative to it. The atonement was thus an act of satisfaction that fulfilled the need for universal justice and the remission of sins without trivializing the moral law.

The Reformers

According to the mainstream of medieval piety, the means of appropriating the benefits of the atonement were the church’s penitential system and sacraments. The Reformers’ objections to this centered on the church’s claim to control the means of salvation, by virtue of its possession of the “treasury of merits” won by Christ and the saints, and what they saw as the Pelagianism of the teaching that made salvation dependent on the efforts of the believer. Their objections were prepared for in the voluntarist theologies of Scotus and Ockham, which located the action of grace more in God’s free action than in ecclesial processes. In the later Middle Ages, Wyclif and Hus prepared the way for the

Reformation by a return to Anselmian themes, the former stressing the priority of the satisfaction won by Christ over human effort.

Two late medieval developments triggered the protests of MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546): the offer of indulgences—by whose hearing or purchase a period in purgatory could be avoided—and the notion that salvation in Christ built upon the human agent's own preparatory achievement. Luther's twofold response was that salvation was won on the cross by Christ and was, therefore, absolutely free and unmerited; and that because of human sinfulness, which represents a bondage of the will (here he remained true to Augustine's position), salvation could be appropriated only by faith through divine grace. Luther was more concerned with the human appropriation of atonement than in a systematic account of its achievement on the cross, but like many theologians he drew on a range of biblical imagery in expressing its reality. He employed both the victory imagery of the tradition before Anselm and also insisted so strongly on the sole agency of Christ in bearing the sins of the world that he used language that some commentators have judged to be excessively punitive, in anticipation of the penal substitution theologies of some later Protestantism. His junior contemporary PHILLIP MELANCTHON (1497–1560) more systematically linked justification with the atoning act of the cross, while still concentrating attention on the sinner's appropriation of salvation. Against the REFORMATION view of the complete forgiveness of sin through the atonement, the Roman Catholic Church at Trent combined a theology of the saving death of Christ with the teaching that sinners must continue to atone for their sins in this world and after death in purgatory; until recent times the two traditions have largely been in radical opposition to one another.

Later Protestant controversy on the atonement centered largely on JOHN CALVIN'S (1509–1564) work, which was many-sided and provided the basis for later developments. Like Augustine and Anselm, he based the atonement on God's gracious response to human need, which takes shape in the death of his incarnate Son. Unlike some later theologians, Calvin never isolated the cross from the whole of Jesus' life and its outcome in resurrection and ascension. He was concerned with holding in tension the twofold claim that atonement is a divine act that is realized by the human action of his Son, both of them motivated by love. The interpretation of Calvin's thought is controversial in two respects. First, there is disagreement about the prominence and meaning of the punitive aspects of the cross. It is arguable that Calvin's prior concern was to show the atonement as a sacrifice, a gift of God's love, producing a generous picture of God as an "indulgent Father," but he does not evade the substitutionary aspects of the situation, that evil has been done and must be atoned for if it and its effects—death—are to be removed. For him, the death of Christ is essentially a sacrifice that expiates, appeases God, creates satisfaction, and pays the price for our redemption. As with Anselm, it is not a substitutionary punishment so much as a saving exchange, by God the Son before God the Father. Second, there is disagreement about whether Calvin taught the universality of the atonement, as appeared to be Anselm's position, or whether Christ died only for the elect, who were for him undoubtedly limited in number.

Orthodoxy and Its Aftermath

The relatively unsystematic thought of Melancthon and Calvin was succeeded by Protestant ORTHODOXY, which represents a movement to systematically treat the doctrines of the Reformation, and tends to be rationalistic, often adopting Aristotelian logic and methodology. Sometimes traced to Melancthon (Lutheran) and Theodore Beza (1519–1605) (Reformed), this tendency deeply marks the thought of later Reformed theologies in particular. The chief difference between Lutheran and Reformed is that the former concentrates on justification and the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, while the latter develops Calvin's teaching of the work of Christ especially in relation to predestination. There is, in LUTHERANISM, a tendency to narrow the theology of the cross to an Anselmian satisfaction, in a form stated by Melancthon and later claimed by J.W.Baier to be one of the "fundamental articles" on the confession of which salvation depends.

For Reformed orthodoxy, Christ is the mediator who achieves reconciliation by bearing the enmity between man and God deriving from sin. Even in early Reformed confessions, however, a punitive note creeps in, leading eventually to doctrines of "penal substitution," which appear to suggest that God punishes the man Jesus in place of the elect. The origin of this penal emphasis is in the transformation of Calvin's doctrine of the old and new covenants, united in a single economy, to a contrast between the prelapsarian covenant of works, for whose breach by Adam Christ bears the punishment, and the covenant of grace he thus inaugurates. This "federal theology" has its roots in Ursinus, and spread throughout Europe and America, in Britain largely through WILLIAM PERKINS (1558–1602). His combination of a penal note with a rigid doctrine of limited atonement on the basis of double predestination was continued by John Owen, and, definitively for SCOTLAND, in the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION of 1647. Owen's apparently commercial and quantitative construction of satisfaction is often given as the reason for its later rejection.

Opposed to limited atonement were representatives of a more universal interpretation, influenced by the hypothetical UNIVERSALISM of French theologian Moise Amyraut (1596–1664), who taught that there were three covenants that were conditional in being contingent upon human response. The Synod of Dort ruled, against what it took to be the Pelagianism of this position, that Christ's death is sufficient for all, but efficient only for the elect. Those who tended to universalism were often also Arminian in tendency, stressing the efficacy of the free human will over divine determination, and included Baxter and Wesley. They were also influenced by Grotius, whose "rectorial" theory represented the cross as the expression of God's exemplary displeasure over sin. However, they had room for a broader interpretation of the cross than the governmental, Baxter stressing the qualitative sufficiency of Christ's satisfaction and Wesley freely using the language of juridical and sacrificial exchange. America's original contribution is best represented by American minister Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), whose teaching is directed against the Arminian denial of justification by faith. In content, however, he later anticipated more liberal doctrines by assimilating atonement to Calvin's

doctrine of Christ's intercession for sinners. The sacrifice is *God's* in coming into union in Christ with us, because of love.

Liberalism and Beyond

More radical reactions to penal theory are found in theologian FAUSTUS SOZZINI (SOCINUS) (1539–1604), who rejected traditional atonement theology on three main grounds. First, individualism generated the notion that because the penalty for sin was not transferable, Christ's death cannot be the cause of divine forgiveness. Second, libertarianism—that sin does not deprive one of freedom to do good unaided—led to an exemplarist theory of atonement, that Christ's selfgiving to death is an example rather than a substitution. Third, a voluntarist theology claimed that God can, if he wishes, simply remit sin without requiring satisfaction for it. SOCINIANISM, along with DEISM and the ENLIGHTENMENT, conquered much modern Protestant thought, so that nineteenth-century Protestantism was dominated by exemplarist conceptions of the atonement. Philosopher IMMANUEL KANT'S (1724–1804) rejection of heteronomy (any salvation deriving “from without”) and any determination by history, specifically by Jesus of Nazareth, is also influential. The critique was so radical that theologian ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822–1889) spoke of the “disintegration” of traditional conceptions during this period (Ritschl 1872: ch. 7).

In GERMANY, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) took up the tradition of French theologian Peter Abelard (c. 1079–1142), who taught that Christ's death is more an example than an exchange. His was a complex theology according to which the religious experience of Jesus, mediated through history, shaped that of the believer by removing the impediment to God-consciousness caused by sin. The cross, on which Jesus suffered but did not die, served as a demonstration of divine love rather than a sacrificial or substitutionary atonement. Ritschl took a more directly Kantian line, concentrating on a moral rather than experiential response to the Jesus of history, but again within a broadly Abelardian perspective. The period is also marked by a process of revulsion even among those more sympathetic to the tradition against soteriology shaped by dual predestination and a punitively or commercially conceived satisfaction.

G.W.F. HEGEL'S (1770–1831) concern to conceive reconciliation in terms of the relation between finite and infinite, within a broadly immanentist perspective, enabled later mediating theology to give more weight to the historical particularity. Dörner combined a development of the theology of the threefold office with a notion of the divine Christ's substitutionary bearing of the consequences of human sin. The Erlangen theology developed a theology of Jesus's active obedience, with Thomasius conceiving the cross, in the context of the incarnation, as expiation rather than satisfaction. It is where God's inner-trinitarian love and holiness are reconciled, a note similar to that later sounded in Britain by P.T. FORSYTH (1848–1921).

In Britain, SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (1772–1834) responded to Kant by developing a doctrine of the bondage of the will that required a more traditional Christian scheme of redemption, though largely in terms of divine regeneration of the will. The influence of Coleridge, along with the traditionalism and nationalism of the Tractarian movement, paved the way for a broad stream of Anglican theologies of the atonement,

which made much of the doctrine of sacrifice. Scottish theology was marked by a strong reaction against quantitative notions of substitution—the notion that Christ’s death was mathematically equal in value to the totality of human sins—by Irving and against limited atonement by McLeod Campbell. The latter’s theology of Christ’s vicarious sacrifice, stressing a filial rather than legal relation with God, shaped later notions of Jesus’ vicarious penitence as the heart of the matter.

In America, as the influence of Edwards’s Calvinism declined, so that of UNITARIANISM and exemplarism grew, with HORACE BUSHNELL (1802–1876) influential in rejecting substitutionary theology. The movement, however, generated powerful reactions, especially in Princeton theologies, best represented by Charles Hodge (1797–1878). His is a philosophically sophisticated restatement of a federal, substitutionary, and expiatory scheme of salvation. Similarly, the English Congregationalist Dale defended a substitutionary scheme against Bushnell. P.T.Forsyth, a Scottish pupil of Ritschl, appears to have experienced an evangelical awakening that transformed him from being a “lover of love”—his characterization of the Abelardian, liberal tradition, which effectively denied the need for atonement—to “an object of grace.” His theology centered on the cross, where human sin is both judged and atoned by the holy love of God, the combination of the two motifs indicating that atonement is both required by God’s holiness and given by his love.

Twentieth Century

Forsyth continued to write during the first two decades of the twentieth century and represents, in his return to traditional forms, a leading strand of that century’s highly various theologies. In Scotland, the influential James Denney stressed the vicarious and substitutionary nature of the cross of Christ. In continental Europe this strand is represented by EMIL BRUNNER (1889–1966), stressing objective human guilt and divine wrath on the one hand, and their reconciliation through the love of God on the other. Like Forsyth, Brunner is sometimes likened to KARL BARTH (1886–1968), whose substitutionary doctrine of election, however, he rejected as containing too many penal overtones. Barth’s mature doctrine, developed after the last war, is centered on a doctrine of reconciliation somewhat more broadly based than Forsyth’s, giving a larger place to the doctrines of the incarnation and resurrection, and approaching universalism. A substitutionary theology of the cross combines with a liberalized doctrine of God—“the Judge judged in our place”—inverting, in the process, many of the categories of Protestant orthodoxy and stressing the representative suffering of the divine rather than the human Christ.

Abelardian critiques of all such doctrines have also flourished, in Britain taking their direction from the Anglican Rashdall (1919), with his strong rejection of substitutionary atonement. Such influences led to the neglect of the doctrine, although recent times have seen a revival of interest. In Scotland, the influence of McLeod Campbell is shown in the work of T.F. and James Torrance, who stress the love of God and the vicarious humanity, rather than substitutionary suffering, of Christ. Similar attempts to mediate traditional views while taking account of criticism are found in a replacement of substitution by representation, although on analysis, either the differences between the two conceptions

disappear or the latter collapses into exemplarism. Exposition of atonement through metaphor is also prominent, stressing either its literary form and tending to exemplarism, or its capacity for realistic reference through appeal to traditional biblical imagery, as in Colin Gunton (1988).

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ATTOH AHUMA, SAMUEL RICHARD BREW (1864–1922)

African reformer. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh Ahuma was a Wesleyan Methodist minister, journalist, nationalist campaigner, educator, and author. He was a son of the Rev. James Solomon, trained in Richmond College, England (1886–1888). He dropped his English names shortly after his return to Ghana in 1888 and was subsequently known as Attoh Ahuma. He became the principal of the grammar school in Accra and had a keen interest in local histories of his people as well as the development and use of his vernacular, Fante. He was a member of a nationalist group, the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS).

In 1896 he became the editor of the newly formed local newspaper, *The Gold Coast Methodist Times*, which became the ecclesiastical mouthpiece of nationalist aspirations. The Colonial authorities in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) introduced a controversial land bill that the local people saw as an infringement on their right of ownership. The *Methodist Times* was the only forum that served as a vanguard of opposition, thus earning Attoh Ahuma the honor of being among the best journalists Ghana has produced. Attoh Ahuma was chided by European missionaries for the increasing political content of the *Methodist Times*. As a result he resigned as editor on January 1, 1898, the same day he became editor of the *Gold Coast Aborigines*, the new organ of the ARPS, which could no longer use the *Methodist Times* as its mouthpiece. He subsequently resigned from the Methodist ministry.

Attah Ahuma set the pace for nationalist aspiration in Ghana in the 1890s because a number of Methodist ministers who were in line with the tradition that he set felt that there should be no dichotomy between religion and politics or between Christianity and nationalism. He was in the company of the earliest African nationalist leaders, trained in the Protestant tradition, who brought their education to bear on the struggle for political and cultural independence from colonial domination and also sought to combine African culture and forms with Christian content.

See also Africa; Methodism, Global; Nationalism

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AUGSBURG CONFESSION

The confession of Faith of the Lutheran estates submitted at the diet at Augsburg. The Augsburg Confession (1530) remains in many respects an accidental necessity that, in company with further historical accidents, became normative for Lutherans not only in Northern Europe but also around the world. The *volte face* came at Speyer in 1529 by the Catholic estates, which heretofore had agreed with their evangelical counterparts that individual temporal rulers owned the decision of whether to prosecute MARTIN LUTHER and his followers. Now the same clear majority—all faithful to Rome—declared that the temporal ban against Luther at the DIET OF WORMS (1521) must be executed by all.

The Evangelicals protested and became therewith (at least in England and North America) “Protestants.” At about the same time, with the Battle of Pavia, the *Sacco da Roma*, and one more temporary peace with Francis I of France, emperor Charles V had acquired a relatively free hand within the Empire. Under the partial pretext of making joint preparations to defend the Empire against the advance of the Ottoman Turks up the

Danube and to the gates of Vienna itself, he called the Diet of Augsburg to establish religious peace for consolidating these gains and meeting the new challenge.

At the same time Rome's opponents were in fact distancing themselves from the distinct majority in the Empire. Beginning in 1527 or 1528, those who were called "Lutheran" enacted and spread the *Saxon Visitation Articles* of 1527–1528, by which they took up diocesan visitations on their own to the extent that they began to examine and replace parish priests who taught contrary to the norms of Wittenberg. This sea change in the times was perhaps best encapsulated in the virtually simultaneous appearance of both the political reversal at Speyer and the publication of Luther's *Catechisms* (1529), by which even common people would be taught the new faith.

The politicians also stepped forward by sponsoring the abortive MARBURG COLLOQUY between the Swiss and the Wittenbergers (July 1529), the Marburg and Schwabach Articles (October 1529), and the Torgau Articles (March 1530). Thus, months before the Diet of Augsburg convened, there was an identifiable evangelical party that consisted not just of dissident theologians but also the likes of Elector John of Saxony, Margrave Georg of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Landgrave PHILIP OF HESSE, and the city of Nuremberg. By default they became the core group around which the "Protestants" gathered, once PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, with the counsel of others, had completed the Augsburg Confession.

The final document has three parts: an introduction and a conclusion, each written probably by the Saxon Chancellor Brück, with the Confession itself sandwiched between them. It in turn is divided into two sections: (1) "what is preached and taught among us" in which "there is nothing here that departs from the Scriptures or the catholic church, or from the Roman church," and (2) "Disputed articles, listing the abuses that have been corrected." Johannes Eck's quickly composed *Confutation of the Augsburg Confession* reveals in some detail how theologians of the old church perceived Melanchthon's work and even sheds light on its deeper meaning.

At first glance the product appears to have been of theological import almost solely. Its first twenty-one articles began by endorsing the three ecumenical creeds and continued his exposition with frequent appeals both to the Scriptures and the fathers, while, here and there, rejecting the teachings of the more radical groups that had sprung up in the evangelicals' wake. If, however, the *Augustana* is allowed to speak for itself, it appears not as a laundry list of doctrines but a systematically organized and theological whole that treated both practice and teaching and required adoption or rejection *in toto*.

Melanchthon did dress confessional reality in pleasing, inoffensive garb. The first article endorsed the broadest, the most fundamental, and most widely agreed on three ecumenical creeds, as confessed by both Lutherans and Catholics to this day. The second article moved easily from the Trinity to the fallen condition of humanity, according to which "from birth [humans] are full of evil lust and inclination." The third then introduced the solution to this tragic condition, namely "God the Son," who through the Holy Spirit "may make holy, purify, strengthen, and comfort all who believe in him...." Of these three articles, even the eagle-eyed Eck could object only to the absence of any mention of the "spark of goodness" that much traditional Catholic teaching found as a remainder in humans after the Fall. What immediately followed these unobjectionable statements came in time to be the most hotly disputed article to this day, that is, number four on JUSTIFICATION by GRACE alone, although it did not do so immediately.

Melanchthon presented it as little more than a smooth restatement of what he had written in the previous article, which in turn restated the confessional contents of article two. In his *Confutation* Eck did point to what he called “Manicheean” tendencies on the grounds that it had no place for distinctly human merit in the divine economy of salvation. Hence, the contentious issue did not go unnoticed, but even the ardent author of the *Confutation* scarcely gave it high prominence. In fact Melanchthon built the entire remainder of the confession on article four.

From this point the *Augustana* moved to more practical and down-to-earth matters that impinged directly on the life of a Christian. His underlying intent showed through the smooth rhetorical character of how he ordered the materials. Thus, he began with points that were genuinely not subject to disagreement or were so central (e.g., article four on justification) and plausible that they could not be deferred, and then proceeded to allegedly ever more ancillary matters that made it appear as if the evangelicals had for the most part little new to propose. Moreover, he stated these teachings almost solely in positive terms, while ignoring any negative consequences that may have been lurking behind them, at least from Rome’s point of view.

Article five may serve as an illustration. It confessed that the office of preacher/priest/pastor (Melanchthon left it vague) was instituted by God to provide Word and sacrament as “means” through which God “gives the Holy Spirit who produces faith, where and when he wills, in those who hear the Gospel.” The author took an additional step when he condemned the Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) on the commonplace grounds that they taught “that we obtain the Gospel without the external Word.” The only room remaining to opponents such as Eck was to caution that faith should have “love” added to it, as in the *phrase fides caritate formata*. Article six, “On the New Obedience,” followed the same pattern. The *Augustana* affirmed that genuinely good works were the products of genuine faith, to which Eck could only reply that good works did not flow from faith so much as they formed it and made it acceptable to God.

Indeed the *Augustana*’s treatment of more general issues, such as the nature of the church, civic affairs, or even the SACRAMENTS, strongly suggested that the issues at least appeared to be discussible. In like manner Eck declared of the LORD’S SUPPER that the confession contained nothing “that could cause offense.” For the most part, when he did object, it was only to aspects of subjects that a given article did not treat, such as the necessity that confession and absolution contained three elements, among which “satisfaction” was essential. Similarly, with respect to article fourteen that “those rightly called” referred only to “those called according to the laws and ecclesiastical ordinances that have been observed throughout Christendom.” Eck even accepted the article on free will (eighteen) but roundly condemned the one (twenty) on FAITH and good works. He also strongly countered Melanchthon’s rejection of the cult of the SAINTS (twenty-one) on the grounds that both of these articles condemned practices that the Church of Rome officially sanctioned and encouraged. At least on the surface it would appear that the Augsburg Confession became ever more contentious and divisive the farther it moved away from abstract doctrinal matters and the closer it came to common, recommended, and even mandated Roman practices.

A thoroughly misleading conclusion might well follow, that the evangelical-Catholic controversy had mostly to do with practice and little with theological substance. This misses the depth of the division between the two sides as it existed in 1530. The

Augustana hinted at it with some frequency even in these articles about which there was supposedly nothing in dispute. Article seven may well amount to the lynchpin of Melanchthon's entire demonstration in these particular circumstances. The simple words appear to be—and have been so interpreted—open, inviting, and even accommodating: “It is enough for the true unity of the church that there be agreement on the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments in accord with it. It is not necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by human beings be alike everywhere.” In reality, an entirely revolutionary understanding of “the church” lay beneath these words, and Eck saw it the moment Melanchthon, in the later articles, turned to the details of the issues between Rome and the evangelicals.

Once it is seen the point of the exercise is simplicity itself. Spelling it out in detail awaited the Formula of Concord (1577), but it was in the Augsburg Confession as well. When Melanchthon referred to ceremonies, procedures, modes of governance, and the like as ADIAPHORA or “things indifferent,” he was not implying that they were of no account. Quite the contrary. Precisely because they were indifferent by their nature, no authority or tradition, not even that of Rome, had the right to draw up rules regarding how they should be observed. No “church” had that right. The only right that adhered to the true church was instead the obligation to proclaim the Word truthfully and to administer the sacraments faithfully in accord with it.

The *Confutation's* specific objections to articles twenty-two to twenty-eight—the ones “under dispute”—help reveal the story of what was truly at stake. Clearly, Eck had already tipped his and Rome's hand with respect to article twenty-one. Taken together, they present something of a surprise, at least on the surface. In order, these articles treated receiving both the bread and the wine in the Lord's Supper or Mass, priestly marriage, the Mass as such, confession, proscriptions of certain foods at certain (before the Mass, during Lent) times, monastic vows, and episcopal authority. This is to say, every one of the articles “under dispute” had on the surface primarily to do with practices rather than teachings.

Nonetheless even while defending their use, the author of the *Confutation* virtually bypassed the practices themselves. Instead, for Eck, the nature and AUTHORITY of the church as such was at stake in any discussion of the right of churches to command and forbid. Here was the real issue that the *Augustana* posed. Thus Eck repeatedly defended these practices not only on the basis of their longevity and widely spread existence but also by reference to specifically Roman adoption of them, consensus regarding them, or (what is most telling) their conciliar and/or papal approval. Whenever even remotely possible he did seek biblical sanction. On the other hand a reasonably typical statement (here in defense of “The Cult of the Saints”) declared that “we have not only the authority of the entire church but also the agreement of the holy church fathers, such as Augustine, Bernard, Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostom, and the other doctors of the church.” Thus the many particular “proofs” all defended one, central position, “the authority of the entire church.”

Article twenty-eight on the authority of bishops illustrates the collision most vividly. At base, and with a digression into Roman episcopal behavior with respect to the evangelicals notwithstanding, Melanchthon was willing to grant a certain extended spiritual authority to bishops that was in reality identical to that held by any pastor, although he gave them no authority to coerce behavior or belief and, above all,

disallowed any use of the weapons of whatever civil authority they might and did possess. This result made them little different from ordinary pastors, in that they were responsible for preaching and teaching the Word, administering the sacraments, and exercising modest oversight with respect to matters related to these duties. (Episcopal succession as such was not even an idea at this time; he would have nothing to do with episcopal succession.) Eck replied with the simple declaration that “everything that is asserted in this article against ecclesiastical and priestly immunity is without foundation.” Luther’s *Address to the Christian Nobility* conveyed that the Word of God created the church. For Eck and Rome, the church validated the Word.

Upon the public presentation of John Eck’s *Confutation*, the emperor had declared Melancthon’s Confession to have been refuted. Melancthon thereupon wrote a lengthy elaboration of the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, partially from notes he had made during the public reading of the *Confutation*. It was printed the following year.

Despite the public character of the Augsburg Confession, Melancthon considered the Confession to be his own document and accordingly made minor changes in the 1530s, when new imprints were published. In preparation for religious colloquies of 1539 and 1540 Melancthon prepared a new edition, published in 1540, later labeled the *Confession Augustana Variata*, the “altered” Augsburg Confession. At first generally accepted as yet another imprint of the original 1530 version, it was discovered to entail substantial changes in both article four (on justification) and article ten (on the Lord’s Supper), the latter article embodying substantial changes in the direction of the Zwinglian-South German view of the sacrament.

As presented, received, and rebutted in 1530, the *Augustana* was therefore a theological confession with far-reaching practical consequences. After the events that led to the Peace of Augsburg (1555) it became ever more a theological document to be consulted as if it stood on its own and without practical context. To be sure, it became a part of the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and adherence to it served thereby as a basis for a certain religious TOLERATION. Yet, even here, the document itself fell ever more securely into the hands of its theologians. At the meeting of the princes in Naumburg (1559), for example, the new, Reformed Elector Frederick of The Palatinate struggled mightily to include the wording of the *Variata* as an explanation of the unaltered confession, to find room under its politically protective umbrella. The theologians resisted, however, and their princes henceforth described themselves as being adherents to “the Augsburg Confession as it was presented to His Imperial Majesty at Augsburg in the Year 1530.” They granted the *Variata* unspecified service as a further elaboration, but not necessarily with respect to a Reformed understanding of the Lord’s Supper.

The meeting at Naumburg and ones that followed were discussions among the committed. In spite of theologians’ penchant for doing so, the Confession should not, however, be studied as if it were a laundry list of doctrines and religious grievances. Instead proceeding from the foundation of article four on justification, its general subject was the extent and manner of ecclesiastical purview over daily religious life. To be sure, this unifying theme was not obvious to many—including Eck at first glance—nor did it become so in the subsequent *Formula of Concord*. Indeed this central question, at stake as Latin Christianity was breaking apart, has resurfaced only in the course of the twentieth century’s ecumenical movement. The irony is that at the very heart of their

ecumenical labors, many Protestants have in fact adopted the assumptions of Rome: they existed as “the church” even when Word and sacrament were nowhere in evidence.

See also Augsburg Confession, Apology of; Augsburg Interim

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AUGSBURG CONFESSION, APOLOGY OF THE

Included in the BOOK OF CONCORD, PHILLIPP MELANCHTHON’S *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* defends the central written statement of the EVANGELICAL FAITH AND REFORMS PREPARED FOR THE IMPERIAL DIET OF AUGSBURG IN 1530 at the time when the future of the Evangelicals was at stake: The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire seemed inclined to enforce the 1521 EDICT OF WORMS and outlaw Evangelicals in German lands. Lack of conciliation could lead to war between the Catholics and Evangelicals, as did happen in 1547. Upon hearing the AUGSBURG CONFESSION on June 25, 1530, Emperor Charles sanctioned the Catholics’ response, the *Confutatio Confessionis Augustanae*. The urgent task to craft an *apologia* of the document originally presented fell to MARTIN LUTHER’S collaborator.

Melanchthon had a first draft of the *Apology* ready to be submitted to the Emperor on September 22. Because the emperor refused to accept the document and sided with the Catholics, the Diet ended. Melanchthon continued to revise the text, since October with a copy of the Confutation, and published the *quarto* version (named after its printing format) of the *Apology* in April/May 1531 with the first official print of the Augsburg Confession. The revised *quarto* version of September 1531 (augmented with feedback from Luther, MARTIN BUCER, JOHANNES BRENZ, and Johann Agricola) was signed by Lutheran theologians in the 1537 meeting of the SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE and was translated “freely” into German by Justus Jonas. The primary status of the *octavo* became unclear after the 1580 *Book of Concord* chose the *quarto* edition over the *octavo* that had been included in an unauthorized edition of the book.

The theological treatise, which extensively quoted the church fathers and the Scriptures, follows the structure of the Augsburg Confession, elaborating most on article 4 on JUSTIFICATION by faith. It explains the relation between forensic and effective righteousness, of being both declared and made righteous. The primacy of faith in one's salvation and holiness, upon which good works would necessarily follow (article 4, para. 72), is argued further in article 12 on repentance, the second longest article. The dynamics of law and gospel in Christian life and the nature of sanctified life of repentance are explained further with articles stressing the significance of institutional church, church offices, and SACRAMENTS as the external means of grace.

Despite efforts to preserve religious unity, the Emperor's Edict of April 15, 1531, ordered the Evangelicals to return to obedience to Rome. The Lutheran princes, ready to defend their faith in war, signed the *Apology* in 1537 with the Augsburg Confession. These two documents would shape Lutheran identity by becoming the norm for the forms of Protestantism approved in Germany in the Augsburg Peace of 1555.

See also Diet of Speyer; Evangelicalism; Lutheranism

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AUGSBURG INTERIM

In about the mid-sixteenth century Emperor Charles V attempted to resolve the disunity brought about by the Reformation controversy. After defeat of the SMALKALDIC LEAGUE in 1547, Charles V called an ecclesiastical commission at the Diet of Augsburg to draft a temporary document of imperial law—the Augsburg Interim. Adopted by the diet of the Empire on June 30, 1548, it provided a transitional religious agreement until the Council of Trent, which had convened in 1545, could include Protestant representatives in church reform discussions.

The Interim's twenty-six articles affirmed basic teachings and positions of the Roman church. Articles one through eight focused on the human condition, redemption, justification, faith and works, embracing the twofold justification—*duplex justificatio*—rejected after the 1541 REGENSBURG COLLOQUY. Such justification requires both the righteousness of Christ's merit and that infused by the Spirit. Other articles addressed SACRAMENTS and church practice. In concession to Protestants the Interim allowed LAITY to receive both bread and wine in the LORD'S SUPPER and permitted clerical marriage, both subject to papal dispensation (see CLERGY, MARRIAGE OF).

The Augsburg Interim was not to apply to Saxony, where the Lutheran ruler, Maurice, had sided with the emperor in the War of Smalkald. Accordingly the emperor promulgated a second document, the Leipzig Interim, which was slightly more irenic toward the Lutheran views.

The Pope denounced the Interim, preferring that discussions at Trent move more quickly. Charles V nevertheless enforced the Interim throughout most of his German empire until the 1552 Passau Treaty and the 1555 Peace of Augsburg superseded the Interim.

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AUGUSTANA EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

Also known as the Augustana Synod, this group was the primary Lutheran denomination founded by immigrants to the UNITED STATES from SWEDEN. With the beginning of immigration in the 1840s and 1850s, pastors such as Lars Paul Esbjorn and T.N. Hasselquist formed ethnic Lutheran congregations in the Midwest. These congregations initially affiliated with an existing American Lutheran denomination, but withdrew and formed the Augustana Synod in June 1860, at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin. The Synod originally consisted of both Swedes and Norwegians, but the latter withdrew from Augustana in 1870. Synodical founders, influenced by PIETISM and critical of State Church Lutheranism in Sweden, did not replicate the Swedish Episcopal structure in America. Strongly Lutheran in theology (the term "Augustana" refers to the AUGSBURG CONFESSION), synodical polity was essentially Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM), and its spirit reflected the moral and religious aspects of Scandinavian piety, and later, American Protestantism.

From 1860 to 1920, during the peak of Swedish immigration to the United States, the Synod grew and developed rapidly. Although it reached only a fraction of the immigrants, it was the largest single organization within Swedish America and founded numerous schools, colleges, social service agencies, and hospitals to serve immigrant needs. Besides congregations in thirty-five states and five Canadian provinces, the

Augustana Synod had an active foreign MISSIONS program, especially in Tanzania, INDIA, CHINA, and JAPAN. As immigration ceased early in the twentieth century, the Synod made the difficult transition to the use of English and to being an American denomination. During the 1940s and 1950s, Augustana leaders were active in work to unite the various American Lutheran denominations, and in 1962 Augustana merged together with three other groups to form the LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (1962–1988). By 1962 the Augustana Synod had grown to 625,000 members in more than 1,250 congregations in North America.

See also Lutheranism, Scandinavia; Lutheranism, United States

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AUSTRALIA

Beginnings

Protestant Christianity in Australia was shaped by its origins in the British Isles; by the presence since the beginning of European settlement of a large minority of Roman Catholics, mainly of Irish background; and by the size and physical environment of the continent. In 1788 the British government established a penal colony in New South Wales on the eastern coast of Australia, from which grew the city of Sydney. A second settlement was made in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1803. Although there were no apparent religious motives in the founding of these colonies, the British government appointed clergymen of the established CHURCH OF ENGLAND (Anglican Church) as chaplains, charged with the duty of providing a pastoral ministry to the whole population and inculcating order and morality. A third British colony was planted in isolated Western Australia in 1829. English Dissenters were prominent among the founders of South Australia in 1836 (see DISSENT; NONCONFORMITY). The flow of European settlement along the eastern seaboard led to the separation from New South Wales of the colonies of Victoria in 1851 and Queensland in 1859.

The dominant stream in Protestant Christianity in colonial Australia was shaped by the English evangelical movement of the eighteenth century (see EVANGELICALISM). The majority of the early Anglican clergy were evangelicals. Because of their close connection with the government they found it hard to minister effectively to the convicts, many of whom had long been estranged from organized religion. The clergy had more success with free settlers and the first generation of native-born Australians. From the

early nineteenth century New South Wales became a center of missionary activity, both within Australia and in the islands of the South Pacific. The early attempts at missionary work among the Aboriginal people gained few converts, although some missionaries gained valuable knowledge of indigenous languages. From Sydney, missions were founded among the Maori of NEW ZEALAND by the (Anglican) CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY in 1814 and the Wesleyan Methodists in 1822.

For the first thirty years, the Church of England was the only officially recognized religious body in the penal colonies and was therefore given land for churches and schools. Its hegemony was gradually eroded. From 1820 the government authorized the entry of Roman Catholic priests. Non-Anglican branches of Protestant Christianity established a separate existence, with their members often gathering to hold services and build chapels before the arrival of clergy. Their first ministers arrived: Wesleyan Methodist (1815), CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (1823), Congregational (1830), and Baptist (1834). During the following years almost every branch of British Protestantism was planted in the Australian colonies. Religious movements from the United States, such as Mormons (see MORMONISM) and SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS, also started work. The only major religious body with a non-British background was the Lutherans, who first migrated from Germany to South Australia in 1838 and later spread elsewhere (see LUTHERANISM). The Australian colonies produced no new religious movements of significance.

A religiously mixed society, in which almost 30 percent of the population were Roman Catholics, produced a strong feeling in favor of religious equality that led to a new relationship between CHURCH AND STATE. In 1836–1837 the Church Acts in New South Wales and Tasmania introduced a system of financial aid to religion, for the building of churches and the payment of clergy, in which Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Wesleyan Methodists stood on an equal footing. State aid to religion was opposed by liberals and by those Protestants who were committed to the voluntary principle, and between 1851 and 1895 it was abolished in all colonies.

Colonial Religion

During the mid-nineteenth century, each Protestant denomination established structures of self-government that were adapted to colonial conditions. In 1836 the Anglican Church founded a diocese of Australia, which was subdivided as settlement spread. Each diocese was governed democratically by a synod composed of a bishop, clergy, and lay representatives. The Wesleyan Methodists formed an autonomous Australasian Conference (embracing New Zealand and the Pacific Island missions) in 1854. Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists (see PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH), and Bible Christians united nationally in 1902. The Presbyterians, who had imported a series of divisions from Scotland, achieved union in each colony in the second half of the century and formed a national church on a federal basis in 1901 (see PRESBYTERIANISM). The BAPTISTS, Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), and Churches of Christ created unions or conferences of churches in each colony.

The religious demography of Australia that emerged during the nineteenth century was unlike any particular part of the British Isles, because in almost every region the

population embraced significant proportions of Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Methodists. The level of nominal adherence was high: until the 1950s at least six in every ten Australians identified themselves with one of the three main Protestant denominations. Reflecting the influence of the Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic movements (see *ANGLO-CATHOLICISM*; *OXFORD MOVEMENT*), high church Anglican clergy disavowed the label “Protestant” and kept a distance from nonepiscopal churches. The Protestant denominations were most successful in large towns and middle-class suburbs, where they built many handsome churches. These were important centers of social life, surrounded by clusters of organizations and clubs that embraced every age group. On the other hand, Protestants had a smaller active following among the working class. They also found it hard to sustain a pastoral ministry in the outback, where European settlement was scattered over an immense area. New forms of ministry were devised, such as the (Anglican) bush brotherhoods and the (Presbyterian) Australian Inland Mission.

Between Protestants and Roman Catholics there were deep divisions, with occasional eruptions of sectarian strife. Religious separatism was reinforced by ethnic, class, and political differences. From the beginning of the twentieth century Irish-Australian Catholics, predominantly working class, tended to support the Australian Labor Party, whereas the majority of church-going Protestants identified themselves with conservative parties and doubted whether Catholics were truly loyal to the British Empire.

The colonial churches did not seek to be original, but sought to reproduce the patterns of church life they had known at “home.” Developments in theology, church architecture, and styles of worship followed the British churches, usually a decade or so later. The debates over science and biblical criticism that began in the colonies in the 1870s largely echoed those in the British churches. It was also recognized, however, that Australian society was different, and that the churches needed to adjust overseas ideas and practices to meet local needs. Lay people assumed a more prominent role in church government than they had held in Britain. In every community, competition between denominations often stimulated activity and encouraged church building. In isolated and sparsely settled districts (“the bush”), denominational divisions counted for less, church buildings were shared, and clergy were expected to minister to all. To provide a ministry to the expanding population, all denominations relied heavily on recruits from Britain. Local candidates for the ministry were trained initially under the supervision of senior clergy and, from the second half of the nineteenth century, in denominational theological colleges. The colonial universities excluded the teaching of theology. By the beginning of the twentieth century, locally born clergy were becoming a majority.

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, the Protestant churches withdrew from the area of popular education. Initially they operated their own denominational schools and opposed a general system of schools when this was first proposed in the 1830s. However, from the 1870s, reflecting a shift in public opinion, Protestants generally accepted the introduction of a comprehensive system of state “secular” (nonsectarian) education in every colony. There were no further government grants to denominational schools until the 1960s. Whereas Roman Catholics developed a separate network of schools staffed by teaching orders, the Protestant churches relied on *SUNDAY SCHOOLS* and the family to impart Christian instruction to the young. They also maintained a small number of fee-paying secondary schools for boys and girls.

These schools, modeled on the English public schools, were intended to educate the children of the upper middle classes. Through them the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches established close connections with a large section of the political, business, and community leadership.

Australian Protestants in the nineteenth century were active in political and civic life. Protestant leaders sought to create a "Christian country." They regarded personal CONVERSION as primary, but they also gave a role to the government, to pass laws that would promote moral reform as the basis for prosperity and social stability. In the latter decades of the century the churches lobbied governments, with some success, for legislation to restrict the liquor trade and gambling and to preserve the sanctity of Sunday. Many of these laws survived until the 1960s. The Protestant moral reformers were given the locally coined epithet "wowser," meaning censorious and hypocritical in popular speech. During the 1890s, when depression and labor strikes brought an end to colonial prosperity, there was a shift in thinking within the churches toward "social Christianity" and the need for nonrevolutionary social reform. The Methodists, following a British model, founded the first Central Missions to reach the unresponsive urban working classes. All Protestant denominations began to establish their own welfare agencies and institutions to meet specific social needs.

Protestantism in Twentieth-Century Australia

Protestant Christians shared a dual patriotism toward Australia and the British Empire. Influential clergy wrote and spoke in support of the federation of the six colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, and the churches campaigned successfully for the recognition of God in the preamble to the federal constitution. Because of their loyalty to Britain, Protestant leaders strongly supported World War I and conscription, although in each denomination there were some dissenting voices.

From the second half of the nineteenth century, non-Anglican Protestants worked together in Sunday School unions, charitable work, evangelistic missions, and councils of churches that were founded in each colony. A newly united nation in 1901 encouraged the idea of a national Protestant church. After federation, negotiations began for reunion of the main Protestant denominations. The Anglican and Baptist churches soon dropped out, but a scheme of union involving Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, given up in the 1920s and revived in the 1950s, led to the formation of the UNITING CHURCH in Australia in 1977. However, a large minority of Presbyterians voted against union and remained as Presbyterians. Through their involvement in the Australian Student Christian Movement in universities, some prominent clergy became active in the ecumenical movement. An Australian council for the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, founded in 1946, later became the Australian Council of Churches and, in 1994, the National Council of Churches in Australia. Relations with Roman Catholics were transformed during the 1960s largely as a result of the Second Vatican Council (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). Since the 1970s, all major denominations have cooperated to some extent in theological education, chaplaincies, the compilation of new hymn books, and joint statements on public issues. They have been

influential in shaping public opinion in opposition to racism and in support of Aboriginal land rights.

Every Protestant denomination in Australia initiated and supported missionary work overseas. Their principal mission fields were in the adjacent region of the Pacific Islands and New Guinea, China, Korea, India, and East Africa. Missionary work among the Aboriginal people of Australia was given a lower priority. For a long period the Aborigines were widely seen as culturally inferior and doomed to extinction. Mission settlements tended to be separate from traditional life. From the 1960s, reflecting a greater understanding of Aboriginal culture and a change in government policy from assimilation to self-determination, the established mission institutions were handed over to local communities. An Aboriginal church with its own leadership began to emerge.

Since the colonial period, WOMEN outnumbered men in the congregations of Protestant churches. They played an important role in charitable work and fundraising, although they had few opportunities for public ministry. From the end of the nineteenth century, women were able to train for full-time church work as DEACONESSES and, in some places, represented local congregations in denominational assemblies and synods. In overseas mission fields, women of all denominations found an outlet for ministry and religious leadership that at home were open only to men. The first woman minister was ordained in a Congregational church in South Australia in 1927.

In the major denominations, after the spread of a moderate liberal theology through the theological colleges, the influence of evangelicalism waned (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). From the 1920s evangelicals, on the defensive, began to form a network of institutions and organizations, outside denominational structures, that were committed to a distinctly evangelical identity. These included Bible colleges, conventions, and nondenominational missionary societies. The Anglican diocese of Sydney remained a stronghold of conservative evangelicalism; its influence extended both nationally and beyond Australia.

During the interwar years the active membership of the Protestant churches diminished. The depression of the 1930s and World War II led to a heightened interest in social issues. In the 1950s there was a modest upsurge in church attendance and Sunday School enrollments as well as a wave of church building, comparable to the postwar religious boom in North America. Then, largely as a result of the cultural changes of the late 1960s and 1970s, the pace of growth slackened and the major denominations experienced a fall in both adherence and attendance. The influence of the Protestant churches on governments and in the wider society declined. At the same time, the immigration from Britain and northern Europe that once reinforced Protestant numbers fell away, so that during the 1980s Roman Catholics supplanted Anglicans as the largest religious denomination in the nation.

Since the 1970s there has been a shift in Australian religion toward secularization and religious pluralism, and also an expansion of evangelical and sectarian expressions of Christianity that make more stringent demands on their followers than did the old-established denominational traditions. The charismatic movement penetrated many Protestant congregations, and the various branches of PENTECOSTALISM grew in both numbers and influence, especially in Queensland. The largest of these bodies is the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD. By 2001 Pentecostals, although only one percent of the

Australian population, constituted the largest group of weekly churchgoers outside the Roman Catholic Church.

Another significant movement in Australian Protestantism has been the growing visibility of women in religious leadership and the rising number of women engaged in the study and teaching of theology. Women were first admitted to the Methodist ministry in the 1960s and to the Presbyterian ministry in the 1970s. Since its formation in 1977, the Uniting Church has promoted gender equality. Among Anglicans, a long and divisive debate preceded the ordination of the first women priests in 1992, and some dioceses remained opposed.

Australian Protestantism—although the term Protestant is rarely used—is more diverse in its expressions than ever before. Every denomination embraces a range of opinion on many theological and social issues, and since the 1970s a discernible rift has emerged between liberals and conservatives. As the churches become more self-consciously Australian, there is a growing interest in the creation of an indigenous Christian spirituality that is related to the physical landscape and Aboriginal religious traditions.

See also Anglicanism; Congregationalism; Methodism; Presbyterianism

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AUTHORITY

The concept of authority denotes the power and right to act with decisive effect in relation to particular circumstances and persons. The question of the reality and legitimacy of authority—the question of who or what may rightfully claim allegiance and enjoin obedience—is always a question raised with reference to particular configurations of human community.

This is evident in the varied traditions of Protestant thought concerning authority. From the time of the REFORMATION Protestant reflection on the nature and exercise of authority has focused on three mutually implicated relations: first, on the relation between Scripture and the proclamation, DOCTRINE, and discipline of the Christian community; second, on the relation between the congregation of Christian believers and those who lead in its ministry; and, third, on the relation between Christians—both individually and corporately—and the structures of civil governance. A fourth and fundamental relation cuts across all of these, that is, the relation between Jesus Christ and his gathered community. For this reason Protestant theology recognizes that the way in which the divine and salutary authority ascribed to Jesus by the Gospels is understood is basic to all other discussions of authority. This fact accounts for the intensity, promise, and peril that mark the varied treatments of scriptural, ecclesial, and civil authority in the history of Protestantism.

Authority in the Reformation Era

ADOLF VON HARNACK famously described the European Reformation of the sixteenth century as a reform of belief, but a *revolution* with regard to the authority of the CHURCH, its officers, and its traditions. MARTIN LUTHER'S burning of the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* that condemned him in 1520, and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI'S somewhat less dramatic act of defending the consumption of sausage in Zurich during the Lenten fast of 1522 can be taken to announce the breach as regards ecclesiastical authority that was opened up by Protestants in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Yet, any claim that, from its formative moment, Protestantism represents a repudiation of all authority would be profoundly misconceived. For the Protestant reformers discerned not only that authority was ingredient to the church's disease, but also that it was essential to its cure.

The reformers protested what they took to be improper dislocations and arrogations of authority within the corporate life and self-understanding of the Christian churches. Chief among these was a mitigation of the authority of Scripture in relation to the church, its cumulative traditions, and contemporary pastoral oversight, particularly as instantiated by the papacy. The divine authority of Christ, it was argued, was associated with and conferred on the reality and function of the Scriptures in an unparalleled way such that no church government could claim to enjoy comparable relation to Christ's own authority.

The reformers thus sought to curb pastoral abuses and to purify Christian proclamation and doctrine by ranging the entire life of the church clearly under the authority of Scripture. Sharp distinctions were drawn here: Zwingli opposed the manifold and contradictory “doctrines of men” to the “clear and certain doctrine of God” set forth in Scripture; Luther’s earliest theses and tracts railed against claims to binding divine authority made on behalf of “merely human teachings.” Protestants accounted for Scripture’s authority by asserting its essential clarity or perspicacity, the sufficiency of its witness in matters of SALVATION, and its divine origin in the salutary activity of God. Clear, sufficient, and divine in origin, Scripture manifests, in JOHN CALVIN’S words, “as clear evidence of its own truth as white and black things do of their colour, or sweet and bitter things do of their taste” (*Institutes*, I.vii.2). Scripture, in short, was the unsubstitutable and effective means by which the Word of God addressed the church. Yet this “self-authenticating” (*autopistos*) character of Scripture needed to be adjoined, finally, by confession of the ever contemporary work of the Spirit of God. Scripture was therefore conceived in formative Protestantism as a living authority because peculiarly implicated in the activity of the living God. Recognition and trust in Scripture’s authority flowed from its reception as inspired testimony to God’s salutary coming to the world, now read and studied in a community of similarly inspired hearers.

It followed that the validity of any Christian doctrine rested solely on its conformity to the witness of the Scriptures in their grammatical, historical sense. This holds true for everything that has come down in the tradition, including the teachings of the fathers and councils of the early centuries. Scripture is logically antecedent to the church, being the womb from which the latter is born. As its source and basis, Scripture is also the ultimate standard and norm of the church’s teaching, the “touchstone,” “plumb line,” and “master” of all its practice. Disputes are not decisively settled by appeals to the church teaching, ancient or modern—the authority of which, though not disregarded, is always secondary and subordinate—but solely and simply by appeal to Scripture. In dispute, a Protestant was one who desired to be and had to be defeated by Scripture, and not by appeal to the teaching and example of later generations of women and men, regardless of their personal sanctity or ecclesiastical standing.

Protestant confessional standards from this time ascribe a secondary functional authority to persons who exercise leadership in the church. In a manner formally similar to that of the tradition of Christian doctrine and practice, ministerial leaders exercise legitimate authority within the Christian community only insofar as their proclamation, teaching, and judgments evidence both dependency on and agreement with the scriptural testimony. Claims made for ministerial authority, far from being self-evident in the manner of Scripture, must be evidenced. Such authority derives its warrant from the scriptural record itself, that is, by the ordinances of Christ and the practice of the first apostles. Thus, despite drawing differing conclusions, Protestant advocates of episcopal, presbyterial, and congregationalist forms of church governance alike all concurred in principle that the POLITY of the church must comport with the biblical testimony. Similarly, moral and doctrinal discipline within and over the Christian community—for example, the practice of “the ban” in ANABAPTISM, or the exercise of presbyterial discipline in Reformed communities, and the exercise of the so-called power of the keys ascribed to Christian ministers to remit sin—have their positive and constraining warrants here.

The Challenge to Authority in Modern Protestant Thought

The magisterial reformers reserved some of their sharpest polemic for other Protestant “enthusiasts” and “spiritualists,” for whom ecstatic experiences of the Spirit subordinated or even dissolved the binding authority of Scripture. Such emphasis on the authority of the inner testimony of the Spirit to the believer’s spirit achieved enduring forms in later pietist and spiritualist movements during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see PIETISM, SPIRITUALISM). So, for example, in his *Theses Theologicae* of 1675 the Quaker divine Robert Barclay confessed the personal inward experience of the Spirit to be the prime foundation of faith and life, in relation to which the Scriptures constitute a secondary and subordinate rule, they themselves being construed as but an archival record of the history of such inward testimony. Just over a century later FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER would echo these sentiments when, advocating for vibrant inward piety, he remarked that “every holy writing is merely a mausoleum of religion, a monument that a great spirit was there that no longer exists; for if it still lived and were active, why would it attach such great importance to the dead letter that can only be a weak reproduction of it?” (Schleiermacher 1988:134). On such views, the authority of inward spiritual experience is rooted in the proximate and present activity of the Spirit of God, showing how authority in Christian faith and practice is closely related to how the occurrence and reality of divine authority is grasped.

During the span of these same years the horrors of Europe’s protracted “wars of religion” gave birth to widespread moral repugnance at the seeming impossibility of achieving stable social and political arrangements on the basis of an authoritative religious establishment. In this situation the idea of tolerance was embraced in wide swathes of Protestant thought as an important limiting concept to religious authority, especially when coordinated with civil power (see TOLERATION).

Further, these centuries also saw the emergence of rationalist and empiricist currents of thought in the European ENLIGHTENMENT, which challenged the validity and cogency of all traditional knowledges, including—indeed, first and foremost—that rooted in the Christian Scriptures. Taking the deductive surety of mathematics as the standard for all human knowing, rationalism repudiated the validity of authoritative teaching in the pursuit of knowledge. Rooted in observation and experiment, empiricism opened questions concerning the clarity, accuracy, and certainty of the scriptural record in unsettling ways. In both cases what was newly demanded was that traditional authorities must themselves be authorized by purportedly universal rational modes of inquiry: critical reason asks traditional ecclesial and biblical authority for their credentials and only those credentials deemed reasonable are admissible. In short, heteronomous authority and credulity were set against personal rational autonomy and criticism as the enemies of the pursuit of moral, religious, and political responsibility and maturity. In the name of the authority of the enlightened and autonomous subject, Protestant accounts of doctrinal and ecclesial authority then extant were subjected to relentless criticism.

Protestantism grappled with these challenges variously. Among those who acceded to modernity’s terms of engagement was DEISM, which permitted only such beliefs as could be independently authorized by the arguments of “natural theoretical reason.” In a more affective mode, NEOLOGY would exchange the authority of Scripture for the warrant provided by subjective certainty and inner peace, a view summarized under the

slogan: “my experience is my proof.” Translation of Protestant faith into the austere categories of autonomous moral reason represented another route of response, this one exemplified by IMMANUEL KANT, the “philosopher of Protestantism,” particularly in his *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*. Schleiermacher’s subsequent epoch-making program to ground religion beyond the reach of rational and historical criticism in the universally demonstrable “feeling of absolute dependence” encouraged much subsequent Protestant thought to look to the deepest sentiments and pious conscience of the Christian as sites of authority.

HIGHER CRITICISM of the biblical materials participated in this contention with and for authority in modern Protestantism. Historical critics applied modernity’s twin canons of universal rationality and empirical verifiability to the texts of Scripture in an effort to secure their clarity and sufficiency—that is, their truth—and in this way either to contest or to underwrite their authority. Thus, whether such readings aimed to vindicate or to repudiate the authority of the biblical record for the Christian community, they signaled a crisis of biblical authority and shared a common desire to warrant claims made for and from the authority of Scripture on other, independent grounds. Faced with this, certain streams of Protestantism made trenchant defense of the authority of Scripture by way of increasingly rigorous and thoroughgoing doctrines of its divine origin, inspiration, and infallibility. These doctrines frequently shared the cardinal assumption of the critics, that is, identification of a history “behind the text” as the decisive locus of the question of truth or falsity.

By the late nineteenth century there emerged attempts to revise the idea of authority by focusing on its perennial social and educational necessity. AuGUSTE SABATIER is representative here, acknowledging that the autonomy of conscience and action desired by moderns always “rests upon the authority of tradition and is its fruit.” The authority of Bible and church are understood to be utterly transformed by rational criticism, yet they still properly persist, although now only as pedagogical and social “potencies of fact” (Sabatier 1904: preface). Such views at once echo and thoroughly revise the earlier reformers’ concept of the living character of authority in the Christian community. Sabatier’s contemporary ERNST TROELTSCH considered that contemporary Protestants fed on the biblical witness, but that this tradition was inert—even dead—apart from the productivity of those who tapped it. This, he argued, was what the doctrine of the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit was about. Notwithstanding the distance that separates Troeltsch’s view from earlier versions of this doctrine, the question of authority in the church shows itself once more to be intimately related to convictions concerning the occurrence and locus of divine authority.

Recent decades have seen all received notions of authority in Protestant thought subjected to new challenges from a variety of quarters. The globalization of Protestant Christianity, together with the explosion of the discipline of critical hermeneutics has led to an awareness among many Protestants of the substantial difference the social and cultural location of the reader makes in the interpretation of Scripture. Claims regarding the authority of Scripture now must account for themselves in relation to other claims—not as previously, claims made by universal critical human reason, but now claims made by particular socially and culturally located forms of reasoning and experiences. These claims charge that what has hitherto represented itself as the “clear and sufficient witness of Scripture” has in fact been but one socially and culturally invested reading of these

texts—largely Western, white, and male. On such views the reformers' contention that "scripture interprets itself," as well as modernity's desire to authorize only that reading of Scripture that survives disinterested rational scrutiny, have effectively, if unwittingly, handed Scripture over to all-too parochial interpreters and authorities. The hypertrophy of such views construes authority as an irredeemably ideological concept in Christian discourse that obscures the way in which all discourse and practice in the church is ultimately the self-interested application of power by its various members.

Conclusion

In its positive aspect the question of authority in Protestant theology concerns the warrants for Christian faith and life, what it is that gives rise to and permits the practices and discourses in which the Christian congregation enacts its freedom in ever changing circumstances: What authorizes such witness, such patterns of worship, such forms of service? In short, at issue is acknowledgment of the gospel's gracious provision of a definite orientation in the midst of life, God's authoring a concrete space—moral, social, and ontological—in which to speak and act.

Appreciation of this positive aspect is decisive for grasping its negative aspect. Only because the Christian community is concerned gratefully to acknowledge the divine provision of a hospitable sphere decisive for its life and witness does it concern itself with discerning the boundaries and limits of this sphere. In this sense the exercise of community discipline, doctrinal criticism, and social and political critique are in the first instance descriptive undertakings: clarification of instances when Christian practice or speech has abandoned that sphere wherein it may faithfully thrive, instances when it no longer comports with the gracious and salutary character of the power that has authored and continues to authorize it.

Thus variant understandings of authority within Protestantism can be seen to be rooted in variant convictions regarding the occurrence and reality of divine authority, convictions commonly articulated by doctrines of the Holy Spirit. A great deal trades on what is identified, for instance, as the chief site of the Spirit's work: the text of Scripture, the reading community, the conscience of the believer, the exercise of intellect on the order of things, or the unfolding of socio-historical processes. However, if attention to the loci of divine authority is an essential component, then all the more so is inquiry into the character of divine authority itself. The specific identity of the God of the gospel, and especially the enactment of this identity in the existence of Jesus Christ, will be a matter of decisive importance for a theological account of authority. For this reason, authority will not function as a strictly formal category, one whose meaning passes unchanged between Christian and other discourses. On the contrary, it is a concept whose substance will make manifest the difference made to speech and action by the effective advent of the gospel of God. This insight is expressed well at the outset of P.T. Forsyth's important study of authority when he observes: "All questions run up into moral questions; and all moral questions centre in the religious, in man's attitude to the supreme ethic, which is the action of the Holy One" (Forsyth 1952:3).

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Modernism; Postmodernity

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AWAKENINGS

Awakenings are complex religious movements of intense revivalism, ritual innovation, doctrinal controversy, denominational growth and conflict, and heightened public concern about the nature of true religion that have punctuated Protestant history since the eighteenth century, especially in the UNITED STATES and Britain. They are a prominent aspect of EVANGELICALISM and may be regarded as a defining feature of American religious history.

In America two such nationwide REVIVALS have been called "Great Awakenings," the first during the 1730s and 1740s and the second from the turn of the nineteenth century to 1844. Later periods of revivalism and charismatic religion have been identified that might qualify as awakenings, but none of them has yet gained that terminology. A related pattern of awakenings occurred in Britain, where they are known as Evangelical Revivals. The first of these also took place during the 1730s and 1740s in ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and WALES. A second and briefer Evangelical Revival appeared between 1859 and 1860 especially in Wales and Ulster. Awakenings have been controversial when they occur and they have remained so in contemporary historical and cultural interpretation.

The Great Awakening and the Evangelical Revival

The Great Awakening in America and the Evangelical Revival in Britain were a concurrent trans-Atlantic religious movement that emerged during the 1720s and 1730s out of a context of increasing popular concern with personal religion associated with

PIETISM. On the European Continent, Pietism swept through GERMANY, the NETHERLANDS, and FRANCE during the late seventeenth century in reaction to the rationalistic doctrinal formulations of Protestant orthodoxy and the emerging secular philosophies of the ENLIGHTENMENT. Classically articulated by Lutheran pastor PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER in his 1674 book *Pia Desideria: or, Heartfeld Desires for a God-pleasing Improvement of the true Protestant Church*, Pietism promoted lay study of the BIBLE and community discussion of religious life. The movement also advocated educational and health reform, charitable institutions, and missions, exemplified by AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE'S orphanage and infirmary at HALLE, Germany and Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF'S communal group called the Moravian Brethren. Through the writings of JAKOB BOEHME, JOHANN ARNDT, Gottfried Arnold, and Gerhardt Tersteegen, Pietism also encouraged contemplation and mystical experience. Above all Pietism demanded a personal experience of spiritual regeneration and SANCTIFICATION, cultivating an intense emotional identification with the sacrificial sufferings of Christ and a childlike sense of spiritual dependency on the Risen Lord.

Pietism reached England in the early eighteenth century, where it resisted the ascendancy of ENLIGHTENMENT rationalism exemplified in JOHN LOCKE'S 1695 treatise *The Reasonableness of Christianity*. The most important early English Pietists were the Congregationalist ISAAC WATTS and the Anglican WILLIAM LAW. Watts's two great poetical collections, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707) and *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (1719), provided Dissenters with a new Pietistic hymnody that stressed the personal experience of regeneration and sanctification (see DISSENT; HYMNS AND HYMNALS). These emphases resonated with the Calvinist spirituality of seventeenth-century PURITANISM and PRESBYTERIANISM, thereby gaining adherents for Pietism among Congregationalists, BAPTISTS, and Presbyterians. The greatest early Anglican advocate for Pietism was William Law, whose widely read books, including *A Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728), emphasized the sanctified renovation of Christian life after regeneration rather than the New Birth itself.

By 1720 Pietism had crossed the Atlantic, influencing Lutheran, German Reformed, and Anabaptist churches in Pennsylvania and Dutch Reformed congregations in New York and New Jersey (see LUTHERANISM; ANABAPTISM; DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH; DUTCH PROTESTANTS IN AMERICA). In 1726 a young Dutch Reformed pastor named Theodore Frelinghuysen began preaching a conversionistic form of Pietism to his congregations in the Raritan Valley of New Jersey. Many received the New Birth, marking the first appearance of what would soon become the characteristic religious experience of the Great Awakening.

British Pietism gained a foothold during this period among Presbyterians in the Middle Colonies and New England Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM). In 1720 William Tennent, a Scots-Irish Presbyterian Pietist, took a pastorate at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania where he began training candidates for the ministry, among them his four sons. Six years later GILBERT TENNENT, one of those sons, accepted a call to a church in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The younger Tennent thus became a neighbor of Theodore Frelinghuysen and soon joined his Dutch Reformed colleague in preaching the necessity of the New Birth. As this interdenominational Pietist movement

grew in the Middle Colonies, William Tennent expanded his educational efforts. In 1735 he opened the Log College in Neshaminy as a free-standing seminary for Presbyterian ministerial candidates of Pietist views.

In New England, meanwhile, a number of Congregationalist ministers had also absorbed Pietism. Among them was Solomon Stoddard, pastor at Northampton, Massachusetts from 1670 to 1730. Stoddard promoted Puritan/Pietist spirituality and presided over five different periods of intensified congregational concern for SALVATION during his sixty-year pastorate from 1660 to 1730. Stoddard's grandson JONATHAN EDWARDS joined the Northampton ministry in 1727 and in 1734, not long after Stoddard had died, the congregation experienced a massive "revival of religion" under the preaching of its young pastor. Edwards wrote a compelling account of the events in Northampton called *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, first published in 1736 by Watts in England. In *A Faithful Narrative* Edwards announced his hope that the Northampton revival pre-saged a much larger "season of grace" in which God would bring multitudes to true faith through the New Birth. The Northampton revival and Edwards's account of it marked another point of the Great Awakening's onset.

Back in England the writings of Law and the German Pietists inspired a group of students at Oxford to organize a religious society in 1729 that was derisively called "the Holy Club" and "the Methodists" for its ordered discipline of study, prayer, fasting, daily worship, almsgiving, and prison visitation. Led first by CHARLES WESLEY and then by JOHN WESLEY, his older brother and a fellow of Lincoln College, the Holy Club recruited a number of followers including GEORGE WHITEFIELD. In 1736 the Wesleys were ordained Anglican priests and immediately set off on a mission to America and the new British colony of Georgia, arriving there on March 9, 1736. Aboard ship was a group of Moravian missionaries who deeply impressed the Wesleys with their piety, dedication, and hymn singing. In Georgia, John created controversy by enforcing strict moral standards for admission to the LORD'S SUPPER, and the brothers returned to England early in 1738. Whitefield meanwhile had experienced the New Birth in 1737 after an extended period of fasting and ascetic discipline and embarked on February 1, 1738 for America, where he received a cordial but reserved reception in Savannah and Charleston before returning to England in the fall of that year. While Whitefield was in America the Wesleys gravitated to Peter Böhler's Aldersgate Street MORAVIAN CHURCH, where in the spring of 1738 Böhler helped guide both brothers to experiences of spiritual regeneration, famously described by John Wesley as having his heart "strangely warmed" by the infusion of the Holy Spirit.

Whitefield was ordained in late 1738 and immediately began to preach the necessity of the New Birth wherever he could find an invitation. When Anglican bishops refused to admit him to their dioceses, however, he took to the open air, preaching in cemeteries, commons, and town centers, a practice soon labeled "field preaching." Whitefield delivered his first field sermon to a crowd of coal miners at Hanham Mount in Bristol on February 17, 1739. His stentorian voice, powerful dramatization of the gospel, and charismatic emotional appeal to sinners to seek salvation converted many at Hanham, and Whitefield's vocation as "the Grand Itinerant" of the eighteenth century was sealed. The Wesleys soon joined Whitefield in field preaching and by the fall of 1739 the three young evangelists were itinerating in Bristol, London, and the Midlands with vast success,

organizing converts into Methodist societies modeled on Pietist practice and their Oxford Holy Club. The Evangelical Revival had begun.

While the Wesleys presided over the explosion of the Evangelical Revival in England, Whitefield returned to America where revivals had been gradually increasing since the publication of Edwards's *Faithful Narrative* in 1736. His controversial fifteen-month preaching tour brought the Great Awakening to its zenith. Landing at Cape Henlopen, Delaware, on October 30, he spent a month in the Middle Colonies, drawing crowds of ten thousand in Philadelphia while forging an interdenominational Evangelical alliance with Anglicans, German Pietists, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterians including Gilbert Tennent. Whitefield also began publishing a series of inflammatory *Journals*, in which he praised his clerical allies and criticized his opponents by name. He moved south in December through Annapolis, Williamsburg, New Bern, Charleston, and Beaufort to Savannah where he founded Bethesda, an orphan house on the model of August Hermann Francke's charitable institutions at HALLE. In the South, Whitefield's message included a moral witness against SLAVERY, for which Alexander Garden, Anglican Commissary at Charleston, banned him from preaching in Anglican parishes in the Carolinas. Undeterred, Whitefield spoke in Charleston's Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist meeting houses before sailing back to Philadelphia in April 1740.

Another tumultuous tour of the Middle Colonies ensued, featuring an entourage of up to forty ministers riding with Whitefield, most of them young Presbyterians from William Tennent's Log College. Then, after spending the summer of 1740 in Charleston and Savannah, Whitefield landed at Newport on September 14 to begin a New England tour that would mark the climax of the Great Awakening. Crowds of nearly twenty thousand people, the largest gatherings ever assembled in New England, greeted him on Boston Common as the city's Congregationalist ministers hailed his ministry. Whitefield traveled as far north as York, Maine, returned to Boston, then crossed Massachusetts to meet Jonathan Edwards at Northampton before sweeping south again through New Haven, New York, and Philadelphia. After celebrating Christmas at Bethesda, Whitefield sailed for England on January 16, 1741. In little more than a year he had traveled thousands of miles, preached hundreds of times, brought a charismatic experience of the New Birth to countless converts, and polarized the colonial churches around the beliefs and practices of a transAtlantic Evangelical movement he now led. He had just turned twenty-six years old.

The consummation of the trans-Atlantic awakenings between 1740 and 1741 did not produce much immediate conflict. In England John Wesley gathered converts into small Pietist "class meetings" bound together in local Methodist societies and served by resident elders and itinerant evangelists. Beginning in 1742 these leaders, many of them laymen, met at an annual conference presided over by Wesley himself, where the business of the Methodist "connexion" was conducted, to the consternation of Anglican authorities to whom it was technically subject. Whitefield, by contrast, relied on others to organize the Evangelical Revival beyond England. In Wales Howell Harris took the lead in assembling a cadre of Whitefieldian evangelists who drove the revival there to unprecedented heights. In Scotland local ministers like William McCulloch at Cambuslang organized the huge crowds that gathered there and elsewhere to hear Whitefield's revival preaching at massive Presbyterian public communions or "holy fairs." In America Whitefield's revival efforts were carried on by Anglican Devereux

Jarratt and Presbyterian SAMUEL DAVIES in the South, Gilbert Tennent in the Middle Colonies, and Congregationalists Eleazar Wheelock and James Davenport in New England.

In both theaters of awakening, however, it was only a matter of time before the revival evoked more extreme forms of charismatic religion and schismatic conflict. In England the Wesleys' teachings produced a series of Methodist controversies during the early 1740s over the importance of "stillness" or mystical enlightenment, the extent of "Christian perfection" or freedom for consciously committed sin, and the ordination of lay preachers without university training. The most divisive dispute, however, concerned CALVINISM. In 1741 Whitefield openly embraced the Calvinist doctrines of original sin, PREDESTINATION, and ELECTION. The Wesleys answered with an Arminian position for free will, universal redemption, and the mutability of salvation. This fundamental disagreement among the Methodist leaders also divided their movement into rival institutional camps, with Whitefield's preachers, societies, and chapels withdrawing under the patronage of LADY SELINA SHIRLEY HASTINGS, countess of Huntington, while the Wesleys continued to perfect their own organization of classes, societies, circuits, and conferences.

These doctrinal and institutional tensions pervaded British METHODISM for the rest of the eighteenth century, and the Evangelical Revival also spread them to the Dissenters. Congregationalists, led by Philip Doddridge, took a moderate Calvinist view whereas Particular Baptists argued the merits of High Calvinism as propounded by London's John Gill. GENERAL BAPTISTS eventually embraced Unitarianism, forcing the sectarian separation of the New Connexion of General Baptists in 1770, who advocated ARMINIANISM. Yet out of this contested religious situation emerged a powerful interdenominational Evangelical movement, perhaps best gauged by the immense outpouring of hymns that flowed from the pens of Charles Wesley, William Cowper, Philip Doddridge, John Newton, Anne Steele, Samuel Stennett, Robert Robinson, and Edward Peronnet. The great *Selection of Hymns*, published by the Baptist John Rippon in 1787, included contributions from virtually every major Revival constituency and established a canon of Evangelical sacred song that articulated the movement's spiritual consensus.

In America the Great Awakening's theological disputations and denominational conflicts primarily involved the major Reformed communions, the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. American Anglicans for the most part rejected all forms of Methodism, but their Reformed brethren gradually grew deeply divided over the Awakening and its implications. During the early 1740s the theological and institutional dimensions of the crisis grew increasingly intertwined. No matter how compelling the doctrine of the New Birth was to converts and revivalists, it stood in obvious tension with the Calvinist tenets of predestination and election and the American Puritan traditions of spiritual humility and perseverance. The New Birth also implied a grave challenge to church institutions. If true religion required a conscious experience of spiritual rebirth, then only the born-again should be members, and ministers, of the church.

Both of these issues exploded into the Awakening after Whitefield returned to England in 1741, fueled by the revival's continuing episodes of charismatic excess and schism. The most celebrated of these was the incendiary separatist ministry of James Davenport, Congregationalist minister at Southold on Long Island. Davenport itinerated

in Connecticut after Whitefield had departed, haranguing his hearers for hours on end and obtaining from them extreme charismatic episodes of trance, glossolalia, and hysteria that he identified as signs of the New Birth. Davenport also denounced the Congregationalist establishment of Connecticut for resisting the Awakening and led his followers singing through the streets of New Haven in violation of the public peace. In response the Connecticut General Assembly exiled Davenport from the colony in May 1742 and passed “An Act for Regulating Abuses and Correcting Disorders in Ecclesiastical Affairs” that banned all unauthorized itinerancy. Davenport eventually recanted and published his *Confessions and Retractations* in 1744, but he had helped to unleash the separatist energies that attended the Awakening’s advocacy of charismatic religion.

Elsewhere in New England some pro-revival ministers and lay exhorters joined Davenport’s call for the regenerate to separate from a Congregationalist establishment that continued to admit members without requiring an account of their spiritual rebirth. Nearly one hundred such separations occurred during the 1740s and 1750s, afflicting one third of New England’s parishes and bringing a new denomination, the Separate or Strict Congregationalists, into existence. By the mid-1740s some Separates in turn began to embrace believer’s baptism as a sign of regeneration and formed yet another Great Awakening sect, the Separate Baptists, among whose early leaders were ISAAC BACKUS and Shubael Stearns. A similar schismatic pattern appeared in the Middle Colonies where Gilbert Tennent, leader of the pro-revival New Side Presbyterians, called for a born-again clergy in a combative 1741 sermon titled *The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry*. The stark alternative, he proclaimed, was for the saved to “come out and be ye separate.” Antirevival Old Side ministers, centered around Philadelphia, resisted Tennent’s demand and forced the New Side to organize a schismatic Presbytery of New York and Philadelphia, which thrived from 1741 until reunion in 1757.

The Awakening brought theological controversy everywhere revivals occurred, but the most important and protracted debate took place in New England between two of the leading religious thinkers of their generation, Jonathan Edwards of Northampton and Charles Chauncy of Boston. Edwards had already emerged as the Awakening’s prime defender by publishing *A Faithful Narrative* and preaching terrifying revival sermons during 1741 such as “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.” Now he disclaimed the excesses of Davenport and the Separates while still defending the revival in a 1741 pamphlet *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God*. Edwards carefully differentiated phenomena that were not necessarily evidence of regeneration, including trance, speaking in tongues, and visions, from what he claimed was its true sign: a love of the excellency and beauty of God’s plan of salvation through Christ. By refusing to condemn Separate extremism outright, however, he left the Awakening open to criticism as psychological or emotional delusion, an attack mounted vigorously by Chauncy in his 1742 sermon *Enthusiasm Described and Cautioned Against*. Arguing that the Awakening’s internal and external effects were essentially mental illness, Chauncy asserted that the Bible, DOCTRINE, and reason were the best guides to true religion, not spiritual experience.

Edwards answered Chauncy’s attack with *Thoughts Concerning the Revival of Religion in New England* (1742), to which the Boston minister replied with his massive *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (1743), launching an eighty-year contest for the soul of New England Congregationalism. The two great

combatants continued the controversy over the next fifteen years until Edwards's death in 1758. Their argument gradually evolved into a fullscale disputation between Calvinism and ARMINIANISM, with Edwards performing the crucial task of reconciling the Evangelical doctrine of the New Birth with Calvinism in treatises on the *Religious Affections* (1746), *Freedom of the Will* (1754), and *Original Sin* (1758). In response Chauncy elaborated an Enlightenment critique of the biblical narrative and Reformed doctrine that resulted in his embrace of Universalism in a treatise which, for the sake of church unity, he did not permit to be published until after his death as *Mystery Hid From the Ages* (1787). The New Light/ Old Light controversy continued to be agitated by Edwardsean New Divinity ministers and Chauncyite Arminians through the beginning of the nineteenth century, eventually producing an Old Light separation in the Unitarian schism in 1824.

The Awakening continued to rage after 1741, but Whitefield's return in 1744 marked the reversal of its fortunes. Although vast crowds continued to attend his preaching everywhere, Old Side Presbyterians and Old Light Congregationalists actively opposed him both on the ground and in print. Whitefield returned their fire with characteristic vigor and recovered much credibility with his support for the successful 1745 American military campaign against the French stronghold at Louisbourg, Quebec, but the tide had turned. Despite important later revivals in Virginia and North Carolina among Presbyterians under Samuel Davies after 1748 and Separate Baptists under Shubael Stearns after 1755, the Great Awakening as an intercolonial religious movement was largely spent by the time Whitefield departed again for England in 1747. Although Whitefield would tour British North America four more times before his death in 1770 at Newburyport, Massachusetts, and regional revivals would flourish continually from 1750 through the mid-1790s, the extraordinary religious excitement of the Awakening's halcyon days did not stir American culture again during the eighteenth century.

The Second Great Awakening

One of the fundamental differentiations in modern Anglo-American Protestantism is the fact that massive awakenings of eighteenth-century scale continued to occur in America whereas they did not in the United Kingdom. Important Evangelical revivals happened in Wales and Ulster in 1859 and 1860 and in England and Scotland in 1870 through 1872, but they were regional movements largely limited to particular denominations, and they lacked the shaping power that the Second Great Awakening exercised in creating the religious culture of independent America.

The Second Awakening began in 1798 and 1799 at two different sites. One of these was Yale College, where TIMOTHY DWIGHT, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, assumed the presidency in 1798. Rejecting the scholastic theological formulations and cautious evangelism of Edwards's students SAMUEL HOPKINS and Joseph Bellamy, Dwight began preaching a revival in 1799 to his students in New Haven. Among his converts were LYMAN BEECHER and Asahel Nettleton, who quickly spread the revival to Congregationalists in rural Connecticut and beyond. Their evangelism bore an unmistakably Edwardsean stamp as they urged their hearers to heed the danger of eternal damnation and contemplate the glory of God but to wait on the Spirit for an inward sign

of regenerating grace and not trust in charismatic manifestations. The Second Awakening flourished in Connecticut from 1799 to about 1806 with a more contemplative and less demonstrative cast than the First, and it produced no major separations or schisms in “the land of steady habits.”

Elsewhere in New England, however, Methodists and Baptists quickly capitalized on the nascent revival, bringing their unbridled evangelism to rapidly developing settlements on the northern and eastern frontiers. Methodism, which did not arrive in the region until 1789, exploded in the Upper Connecticut Valley of New Hampshire and Vermont and the Kennebec Valley of Maine. The Separate Baptists, however, benefited most from the Second Awakening in the region, expanding their already substantial base across the northern hill country from Blue Hill, Maine to Albany, New York. It was also among the Baptists that the only major schismatic movement of the early Second Awakening in New England occurred. Around 1800 two Vermont Baptist elders, Elias Smith and Abner Jones, began to oppose the denominational competition and doctrinal strife that grew especially intense in the Upper Connecticut Valley. Proclaiming a “restored gospel” based on the Bible alone and rejecting all creeds and church constitutions as profane human works, they gathered many converts into their Christian Connection.

The second site of the Second Great Awakening was the Cumberland region of central Kentucky and Tennessee on the trans-Appalachian frontier. Recently settled by Virginians and North Carolinians, the area possessed few towns or cultural institutions. Into this situation stepped James McGready, a veteran New Side Presbyterian minister who had led a revival in Guilford County, North Carolina in 1791 before moving to Logan County, Kentucky in late 1796. McGready immediately began preaching revival. In July 1798 the first conversions occurred at his Gaspar River congregation, and a year later trance and other charismatic manifestations began to appear. In June 1800 McGready’s congregations gathered together at Red River for a sacramental meeting or public communion. When a woman began shouting and singing at the Monday revival sermon, John rushed through the meeting house exhorting. Soon the floor was littered with converts—men, women, and children—fallen in trance while others shouted, sang, and shook with physical manifestations of spirit possession. News of these events spread quickly, and next month at the Gaspar River sacrament meeting thousands encamped in the woods around McGready’s meeting house to hear revival preaching. Baptist elders joined Methodist circuit riders and host Presbyterian ministers for an outdoor interdenominational season of charismatic revival, the first of what soon came to be called “CAMP MEETINGS.”

Camp-meeting revivals spread like wild fire from Logan County through Kentucky and adjacent Tennessee. The largest and most famous of these was convened by BARTON W.STONE, another of McGready’s students, at Cane Ridge in Bourbon County, Kentucky near Lexington in August 1801. A crowd estimated at between twelve and twenty-five thousand gathered on the gentle wooded slopes surrounding the meeting house, along with eighteen Presbyterian ministers and more than that number of Baptist and Methodist preachers. Religious pandemonium ensued, as preaching continued at multiple stations around the clock. An extraordinary range of charismatic “exercises” occurred in addition to the familiar trance, shouting, and speaking in tongues, including rolling, jerking of the head or limbs, dancing, laughing, singing, and barking. Sometimes these possessions continued for several hours before exhausting the converts. Cane Ridge

became the symbol of the Second Awakening in the South and its general characteristics, if not its vast size and enormous spiritual intensity, were repeated countless times as the revival swept across the Appalachian Mountains first to the Carolinas and Georgia, then to Virginia and Pennsylvania.

By 1805 the primal phase of the Second Awakening in the South was over. Although revivals continued with real intensity, the Second Awakening, like the First, subsequently fell into doctrinal dispute and schism. Not surprisingly, Presbyterians in the most heated revival areas of Kentucky proved the most vulnerable to such conflict. Soon after the Cane Ridge camp meeting, Stone began preaching that the Scriptures themselves provided sufficient grace to trigger a regenerating conviction and efficacious faith in rational humans. His Presbyterian colleague Richard Mc-Nemar, stationed nearby in southern Ohio, adopted similar teachings and added a powerful strand of millennial expectation that viewed the Awakening as a sign of Christ's imminent return. In 1803 they and three other ministers withdrew from the Synod of Kentucky to form the independent Presbytery of Springfield. A year later they dissolved that institution in favor of pursuing a Restorationist faith based in the Bible alone, much as Elias Smith and Abner Jones were doing in New England at the same moment. McNemar joined the SHAKERS, a New England sect also from the Revolutionary period, whose missionaries arrived in the Ohio Valley in early 1805 and converted many erstwhile Springfield Presbyterians to their celibate, communal, and millennial gospel. Stone, on the other hand, gathered his followers into a Restorationist church they simply called "Christian." RESTORATIONISM also flourished elsewhere in the South, where it was embraced in 1808 by Presbyterian schismatic Thomas Campbell's Christian Association in western Virginia and Pennsylvania. Campbell's son Alexander extended the vision of a nondenominational apostolic community, organizing the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, the largest Restorationist sect of the Second Awakening, in 1827. East of the Appalachians the Restorationist movement also flourished, with James O'Kelly's Republican Methodists, an egalitarian sect from the Upper South, merging with Elias Smith's Christian Connection in 1809.

Meanwhile in the Cumberland region the Old Side Presbyterians had protested against what they regarded as the Arminian teachings of New Side revivalists and contested their authorization of lay exhorters to preach in the revival. In 1810 their agitation finally provoked Finis Ewing and Samuel McAdow to lead a group of New Side churches to form the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. In German-speaking areas of the Upper South and Pennsylvania two new Pietist sects appeared in 1800 and flourished in the Second Awakening, the BROTHERS IN CHRIST gathered by German Reformed pastor William Otterbein and the Evangelical Association founded by Lutheran Jacob Albright and Mennonite Martin Boehm.

Whereas the early Second Awakening thus produced a significant amount of sectarian dispute and schism, it also united vast regions of the new nation in a common evangelical religious culture. In just a few years scattered Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist enclaves expanded across the length and breadth of the land. Just as important, they created an evangelical religious style of born-again spirituality and moral discipline, lived out in gathered congregations of the regenerate and punctuated by the rituals of the camp meeting, that penetrated all levels of American society. In denominational terms the Methodists emerged from the Second Awakening as the largest religious body in the new

nation. Much of the credit for this success belonged to their indefatigable leader bishop FRANCIS ASBURY, whose tight administrative control of the far-flung network of Methodist circuit riders honed it into the most effective medium of religious change in American history. The Baptists, more divided and less well organized than the Methodists, nonetheless made great strides behind their farmer-preachers to stand just behind their principal rival. Ironically, the Presbyterians, who played such a major role in the Awakening's onset, were handicapped by a shortage of trained ministers and deeply divided by Restorationism and other dissenting movements, and despite regional gains in New England and a Plan of Union they signed with the Presbyterians in 1801, the Congregationalists continued to fall behind their evangelical competitors.

The War of 1812 brought the residual revivals of the early Awakening to a halt, but the remarkable vitality of popular EVANGELICALISM quickly reasserted itself by the end of the decade. The center of this second wave of revivalism was Upstate New York, a region originally settled mainly by New England Evangelicals from the Upper Connecticut Valley, then opened to intensely rapid development by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825. The leading evangelist of this later phase of the Second Awakening was CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, a country lawyer from Adams, New York who was converted at the age of twenty-nine and ordained a Presbyterian minister three years later.

Finney developed a unique and powerful style of preaching that brought revivals between 1825 and 1827 to the booming Mohawk Valley towns of Rome, Utica, and Troy. Finney's theology was decidedly Arminian—he argued that sinners were “bound to change their own hearts”—his wrenching sermons often provoked emotional outbursts from his listeners, and he encouraged women to pray publicly at prayer meetings. Despite protests against these practices from Lyman Beecher and Asahel Nettleton, Finney brought the revival to northeastern cities including Philadelphia, New York, and Boston before enjoying his greatest success in the 1830–1831 revival at Rochester, New York. Over the next few years Finney developed a set of controversial “new measures” that professionalized urban revivalism. They including week-long “protracted meetings” in hired halls as well as churches, employment of a minister of music to prepare worship music appropriate to revivals, and “the anxious seat,” a front-row bench designated solely for those who publicly expressed their need of salvation. Finney defended these “new measures” to great acclaim in his 1835 *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, the Second Awakening's most important book about revivalism. At the end of the Awakening Finney embraced perfectionism and abolitionism (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), two causes he continued to advocate later as professor of theology and president of Oberlin College.

If Finney proclaimed an irenic and centrist vision of Evangelicalism, his colleagues in Upstate New York did not follow it. During the 1820s and 1830s the region experienced revivals of such intensity and rancorous competition that it became known as “the BURNED-OVER DISTRICT.” Out of this epicenter of discord came radical new restorationist, perfectionist, and eschatological sects, the most important of which were JOSEPH SMITH'S Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (see MORMONISM), John Humphrey Noyes's Oneida Community, and WILLIAM MILLER'S Adventist movement (see SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS). In 1826 Smith experienced an angelic vision describing ancient engraved records buried near his home in Palmyra, New York. He claimed to have found and translated these records, which told the epic story of an

extinct Israelite tribe that had fled the Babylonian Captivity, sailed to America, built a civilization, received the gospel directly from the risen Christ, and was destroyed in a fratricidal war. Published in 1830 as *The Book of Mormon*, Smith's text was embraced by thousands as a new Scripture that solved the roiling doctrinal disputes of the day and provided a blueprint for rebuilding Zion in America. Smith, hailed as the true prophet of God by his followers, organized the Mormons according to the patriarchal and communal model of *The Book of Mormon*, eventually including polygamy, and led them on a much-persecuted pilgrimage that ended with his murder by a mob in Carthage, Illinois in 1844. His successor BRIGHAM YOUNG shortly thereafter led the Mormons to Salt Lake City, Utah where they finally built their communal religious regime.

John Humphrey Noyes, a theology student at Yale and Andover Seminary during the 1830s, formed communal societies at Putney, Vermont in 1840 and Oneida, New York in 1848. Like Smith, Noyes proclaimed a set of radical restorationist and eschatological beliefs and exercised absolute authority over his community. He announced that Christ had returned at the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and had appointed Noyes to rule the millennial kingdom on earth in the Last Days. Although never large, the Oneida Community gained fame and no little scandal from its eccentric sexual practices including the sharing of partners, initiation of virgins by Noyes and other leaders, and selective breeding of community children.

Perhaps the most radical of all the Second Awakening's sectarian movements, however, were the Millerites or Adventists. New York Baptist William Miller's 1835 book *Evidences from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ about the Year 1843* tapped a deep reservoir of eschatological expectation and speculation that had attended the Awakenings since Jonathan Edwards. Miller offered proofs for Christ's imminent return based on complex calculations from biblical prophecies, especially the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation. These apparent demonstrations from an unassailable text convinced many that the end was nigh. Early convert Joshua Hines publicized Miller's predictions and organized the Adventists as a religious movement. When the promised Second Coming did not occur, Miller recalculated the date for October 22, 1844. His movement survived "the Great Disappointment," however, when two younger leaders, Hiram Edson and ELLEN WHITE, reported seeing in vision Christ entering God's temple in heaven on that date to begin preparations for the Last Judgment.

Events like Joseph Smith's murder and "the Great Disappointment" marked the exhaustion of the Second Great Awakening, but an even more fundamental source of evangelical disarray was its internecine dispute over slavery. Ever since Whitefield, moral and social reform had been part of the evangelical cultural agenda. During the Second Awakening Lyman Beecher took the lead in organizing voluntary associations to introduce greater moral discipline in American public life, including the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance (1826). By the 1830s an "Evangelical empire" of interlocking moral reform societies addressed public issues from education and literacy to international peace. The most intractable social problem Evangelicals faced, however, was slavery. After independence most evangelical denominations condemned slavery and threatened to excommunicate slaveholding members. In the South, however, this public religious imperative gradually privatized, with slaveholding becoming a matter of individual conscience and masters urged to make the gospel available to their slaves as a Christian duty. At the same time many Evangelicals supported the

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY (1816), an effort to relocate free blacks and manumitted slaves in Africa. By 1820, however, the resurgence of the cotton economy induced southern Evangelicals to mount a biblical defense of slavery based on Israelite precedent in the Old Testament.

Among African Americans the Second Awakening had an enormous impact. In the North, free blacks formed their first independent denominations under Methodist influence: RICHARD ALLEN'S AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1816) and James Varrick's AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH (1822). In the South many Evangelical masters had indeed supported Christianization of their slaves, albeit with a version of the gospel heavily skewed toward obedience on earth and joy in heaven. Although slaves attended formal services provided by their masters, they also created their own religious culture that blended together evangelical elements of charismatic experience and biblical imagery with surviving West African religious practices including spirit possession and an extended ritual dance called the ring shout. Slave religion also produced its own Afro-Evangelical mode of preaching, called the chanted sermon, that along with the ring shout centered worship in furtive "brush arbor" meetings away from the eyes of masters and overseers. The revolutionary potential of evangelical teachings was not lost on the slave community as the leaders of the three major slave rebellions of the period, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner, were all Methodists who received the call to rebel through religious visions.

With Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831 and the South Carolina Nullification Crisis in 1833, the slavery issue became increasingly agitated by evangelical abolitionists in the North who gravitated to the American Anti-Slavery Society (1832). In 1837 the Presbyterians divided in the New School/Old School schism, which broke along regional lines without specifically raising the slavery problem, whereas the Disciples of Christ maintained neutrality, arguing that it was a strictly political matter. The ecclesiastical crisis came to a climax, however, between 1843 and 1844 when both the Methodists and the Baptists divided North and South explicitly over the question of whether a Christian minister could own slaves. These denominational fractures extinguished what remained of the Second Awakening and fatefully engaged Evangelicals as rival partisans in the conflict that would eventually lead to civil war.

Interpretive Issues

Awakenings are complex and controversial events, and it should come as no surprise that they continue to raise difficult and hotly debated definitional and interpretive questions today. The term "Great Awakening" first appeared as a historical concept in 1841 in Joseph Tracy's book of the same name. In an 1880 study John Henry Overton coined the term "the Evangelical Revival" for its British counterpart. By the 1940s historians had begun writing about a "Second Great Awakening" in early nineteenth-century America and a "Second Evangelical Revival" in mid-nineteenth century Wales and Ulster. Are there other such episodes that should also be regarded as "great awakenings?" To answer that question in turn requires a definition of such movements, their causes, qualities, and consequences. Scholars have not closely addressed the problem of additional awakenings, but the definitional and interpretive issues surrounding the First and Second Great

Awakenings and the Evangelical Revival have generated some of the most important recent critical discourse about modern Protestantism.

There are many candidates for “great awakening” designation in British and American history since 1844. Some of these later revivals even took place concurrently in both nations, as the Great Awakening and Evangelical Revival had. In Britain intense revival episodes occurred in Wales and Ulster in 1859 and 1860, in Scotland during the 1870s by the evangelism of American revivalists DWIGHT L. MOODY and IRA B. SANKEY, and in Wales during 1905 and 1906, although these revivals were of limited regional and denominational extent and they did not make a transformational impact on British religious culture, where Evangelicals remain a limited minority. In America, however, awakening-like movements have continued to appear regularly since the Second Great Awakening. The Businessmen’s Revival of 1858–1859 was cut short by the CIVIL WAR, but the case could be made that it resumed with the Moody-Sankey urban revivals of the 1870s in northern cities. Those powerful evangelistic crusades, combined with the resurgence of southern Evangelicalism after Reconstruction and the Holiness Revival in the Midwest, could readily be construed as a nationwide postbellum great awakening, complete with a new doctrinal emphasis on SANCTIFICATION, new schismatic movements, and a new style of revival song called the gospel hymn.

An even stronger argument can be mounted that the Fundamentalist-Pentecostal revivals of 1901 through 1914 and 1919 through 1925 were a great awakening. The decades before and after World War I witnessed powerful revivals across the United States from which emerged FUNDAMENTALISM and PENTECOSTALISM, the two most important shaping forces in twentiethcentury American Protestantism. As in the certified Great Awakenings, controversies over religious experience and doctrine raged among Evangelicals during this period, especially claims about speaking in tongues and the inerrancy of Scripture, bringing schismatic divisions in almost every denominational family.

Two more great awakenings might be claimed since World War II. The first of these is the immediate post-War renewal of Fundamentalism and Pentecostalism led by the evangelism of BILLY GRAHAM and ORAL ROBERTS and consolidated by the organization of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS in 1943. Although not as extensive as other episodes, the postWar revival marked the renewal of these movements and their outfitting for further success in the third Fundamentalist-Pentecostal revival of 1974 through 1990, sometimes called the Bicentennial Revival. For size, extent, intensity, and impact, this most recent nationwide revival measures up well against either of the first two Great Awakenings. It also produced new mass-media evangelistic techniques, a distinctive form of worship music called the praise song, powerful new religiopolitical movements like JERRY FALWELL’S MORAL MAJORITY and Ralph Reed’s Christian Coalition, and a seismic shift in denominational fortunes toward the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, the CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. From this evidence it seems clear that great awakenings have continued since the Civil War as a distinguishing aspect of American Protestantism and that at least two or three have fair claim to that appellation.

Critical interpretation has focused on the two canonical Great Awakenings in America. The problems are legion, and of the most basic kind: Why did they begin? How

are they to be defined? When and why did they end? The interpretive debate began in the 1950s with the fundamental problem of the Great Awakening's origins. European historians and social scientists had been arguing the relationship of the English Evangelical Revival to the Industrial Revolution since Elie Halevy's *The Birth of Methodism* (1903). At midcentury the Marxist view prevailed that it was a class response to economic alienation, a case presented most persuasively in E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). In America the Second Awakening offered a promising case for such social causation interpretations. A number of studies, led by Whitney R. Cross's 1950 book *The Burnedover District; the Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850*, argued that the Second Awakening arose from the impact of rapid socioeconomic change on the individualistic American character classically described in Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American History* (1920). This view found its most sophisticated expression in Donald G. Mathews's influential 1969 essay "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780–1830: An Hypothesis," which focused on the social control created by revivalist networks and denominational institutions.

There appeared to be no comparable origin for the First Awakening, however. Occurring in a stable agrarian colonial society, the Great Awakening did not seem to be a response to social or political crisis. What, then, could explain it? In a series of essays and books including a biography of Jonathan Edwards, literary critic and historian Perry Miller answered by locating the sources of the Awakening in the rhetoric of the JEREMIAD, a genre of seventeenth-century New England Puritan sermons. The jeremiad depicted events such as famine, earthquake, and military defeat as divine judgments brought on the people by their sinfulness and lack of faith, the only remedy for which is repentance and renewal of true religion. According to Miller, this literary strategy was based on myth rather than historical reality. There was no real decline in religiousness, nor of course was it a cause of divine punishment. The jeremiad did serve, Miller concluded, as an ideal vehicle to renew religious commitment, which function it performed again during the Great Awakening when revivalists precipitated a cultural crisis by turning its focus from public religion to private belief and assurance of salvation.

This literary interpretation, with its emphasis on religious rhetoric and Calvinist doctrinal formulation, held sway into the mid-1960s, when a new generation of feminist and liberationist historians began to interpret both Awakenings through the social categories of race, class, and gender. Eugene G. Genovese and Albert Raboteau highlighted the role of the evangelical movement in transforming southern plantation culture and slave religion, whereas Mary Beth Norton and Nancy F. Cott emphasized the Awakenings' valorization of women and children as its ideal converts and sanctified Christians. Ann Douglas pressed the gender case so far as to read "the feminization of American culture" in the Second Awakening's cultivation of a female audience and women's sensibilities. Rhys Isaac's influential 1982 book *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* outlined a "dramatistic anthropology" in which the First Awakening provided marginal Baptists and Presbyterians with new ideological and ritual resources that they deployed to improve their social status.

Although these sociocultural investigations yielded rich new evidence and crucial interpretive insights, none of them fully addressed the problem of causation. In 1982,

however, an influential essay by Jon Butler introduced a new Postmodern view of the First Awakening by returning to Miller's emphasis on religious rhetoric. Moving far beyond Miller's claims, Butler insisted not only that the Awakening was expressed in rhetorical forms but that it was itself a fictional construction of what he called "interpretive literature." Applying Postmodern literary criticism to newspaper accounts and controversial literature written by revivalists and their opponents, Butler argued that the Great Awakening was more a dramatic cultural image than a religious reality.

Subsequent studies of both Awakenings have followed this line of literary analysis. In 1986 Harry S. Stout provided a detailed reader response interpretation of the Great Awakening's revival sermons in *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England*. Three years later Nathan O. Hatch's book, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, extended this perspective to the Second Awakening, arguing that its crucial feature was the emergence of a "sovereign audience" for popular religion through the Evangelicals' creation of democratic public media including camp meetings and Finneyite urban revivalism, religious magazines, printed sermon collections, and spiritual autobiographies, and hymnody. In the 1990s Stout and Frank Lambert both published biographies of George Whitefield that emphasized the First Awakening's ideological agenda, entertainment value, and media presentation. The title of Lambert's 1999 book, *Inventing the "Great Awakening,"* neatly summarizes the current claim of this interpretive view that in America's primal religious movement, the medium was the message.

The Awakenings have thus become a centerpiece of Postmodern American historical interpretation. Butler, Stout, Lambert, and Hatch have made an undeniably important contribution to the understanding of American Evangelical Protestantism. Their central claim that the Awakenings were media-driven, however, leaves questions of religious experience, belief, and institutions in suspension. If conversion experiences and sanctified lifestyles were essentially induced by an evangelical media barrage, what exactly is their status as religious phenomena? What is to be made of changing denominational fortunes among competing evangelical communions, beyond the differential popular appeal of their various media outlets? What accounts for termination of Awakenings—did they stop simply because religious media lost their appeal, or did they actually continue on below the surface of public culture after the media spotlight turned off? Most important, in what sense can the "sovereign audience" of the Awakenings be said to have been religious at all, if the classical confessions and denominational institutions of American Protestantism were relativized and subsumed under the more fundamental agency of media consumerism? These are weighty questions about the past, and the future, of American Protestantism and indeed of American culture at large. Their salience, and the continuing debate about them, is tribute to the fundamental importance of the Awakenings in understanding the history and cultural legacy of Evangelical Protestantism.

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STEPHEN MARINI

AZARIAH, VEDAYAGAM SAMUEL (1874–1945)

Indian church leader. Azariah was born near Tinnevely (Tirunelveli), South India on August 17, 1874, and died at Dornakal, South India on January 19, 1945. He was the son of a Tamil Nadar convert who became an Anglican pastor, and who died during his son's infancy. Azariah attended Madras Christian College, although without graduating, and in 1895 was appointed traveling secretary for South India of the YMCA.

Impressed by the evangelistic zeal of Christians in Ceylon he developed a vision that Indian Christians should take responsibility for their church and for spreading Christian faith. In 1903 he and some friends founded the Indian Missionary Society (IMS) for the Tinnevely area; in 1905, with K.T.Paul and others, he founded a more broadly based National Missionary Society. Azariah joined the earliest IMS mission, working from a disused brewery in the neglected Telugu-speaking area of Dornakal in Madras diocese. Ordained (although without seminary training) in 1909, he attended the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in Edinburgh the following year. His speech on the relations of Western missionaries and national Christian workers made a deep impression.

In 1912 he became the first Indian Anglican bishop, with Dornakal as his diocese and (at first) an entirely Indian clergy. His period of office saw rapid church growth; thousands from the depressed Mala and Madiga communities became Christians. Although a supporter of the Indian national movement, Azariah clashed with Gandhi, who believed the mass movements to the church were politically damaging. Azariah urged Indian Christians to show initiative, selfsupport, and generosity. Newly baptized converts pledged themselves to evangelism, and the magnificent Dornakal Cathedral was built entirely with local resources. Azariah also incorporated aspects of Indian cultures into church worship. He lamented the effects of Western denominationalism on India, and he was one of the leaders of the movement that resulted in the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA, although he died before its inauguration.

See also Anglicanism; Denomination; India; Mass Movements, India; Missions; Missions, British; South India, Church of; YMCA, YWCA

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ANDREW F. WALLS

AZUSA STREET REVIVAL

Although, like most Protestants, modern Pentecostals trace their origins to beliefs and practices from the New Testament church, they also recognize more recent precursors. Among the most important of these was the series of events known as the Azusa Street Revival, whose principal instigator was William Seymour, an African-American preacher who had attended Charles Parham's Bible school in Houston, Texas. Following the teachings of his mentor, founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement, Seymour held that glossolalia (see TONGUES, SPEAKING IN) was the necessary sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the third stage in Christian maturation, following CONVERSION and SANCTIFICATION. Although already so regarded by some in the HOLINESS MOVEMENT, Parham's (and Seymour's) innovation was insistence on the necessity of glossolalic evidence for this third level of experience.

Seymour introduced Parham's ideas when he became pastor of a Nazarene church in Los Angeles. But his belief that only those who had spoken in tongues had actually received the baptism of the Holy Spirit offended church members who had claimed the experience for much of their lives without glossolalic evidence. Seymour argued that they had only experienced sanctification and that another stage in Christian maturity awaited them. Expelled from his pastorate, he began to hold meetings in the homes of sympathetic supporters. A breakthrough occurred on April 9, 1906, when an 8-year-old boy became probably the first of Seymour's followers to experience the baptism of the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in tongues. Seymour rented an abandoned Methodist church at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles and began three years of meetings characterized by such charismatic gifts as speaking and singing in tongues.

Crowds flocked to Azusa Street. By late summer, some twelve hundred people attended a prayer meeting there. The San Francisco earthquake of April 1906 contributed to the Revival's success; supportive evangelists argued that the disaster signaled the imminence of doomsday and urged people to join the Revival while time allowed.

By year's end, nine Pentecostal congregations were meeting in Los Angeles. Although Seymour was affiliated with the Apostolic Faith Movement, William Parham did not capitalize on his protegee's successes. Parham was disturbed by the interracial character of the Azusa Street Revival, fearing that some of the glossolalia going on there was illegitimate. Parham held that after the glossolalia signaling the baptism of the Holy Spirit, believers would use their spiritual gift to spread the gospel using earthly languages spoken through divine grace. By dismissing some of the Azusa Street glossolalia as babbling and attempting to assert his influence, Parham created openings for Pentecostal groups to rival his own movement. Seymour's meetings led directly to the development of AfricanAmerican Pentecostal denominations, such as the CHURCH OF GOD IN

CHRIST, and influenced the emergence of primarily white groups, including the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD and the United Pentecostal Church.

See also Pentecostalism

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WILLIAM M.CLEMENTS

B

BACH, JOHANN SEBASTIAN (1685– 1750)

German organist and composer. Chronologically, the music of Bach coincides with a peak point in European humanism, in that he was born in 1685 and died in 1750, just as the “modern world” was taking shape. He is less decisively, or at least less straightforwardly, representative of the era than his contemporary Handel who, born in the same year as Bach, died nine years later: for Handel’s favorite métier was heroic opera, the most patent and potent manifestation of the High Baroque’s self-glorification, so that most of his music was directed toward human gratification, rather than to the worship of God. Handel, born in staunchly Teutonic HALLE, spent his apprentice years in Italy, where in his early twenties he produced dazzling ceremonial works as well as heroic operas; and was then established in ENGLAND, to become an icon of the rising middle class, with its ethical rather than religious morality. Handel was thus a European figure, if not yet fully international, whereas Bach was content to remain parochially a servant of the Lutheran church, fulfilling a series of ecclesiastical appointments. True, he made two arduous pilgrimages, on foot, to visit the ancient organist Reinken and the brilliant Scandinavian organist DIETRICH BUXTEHUDE—but that was in the interests of music, and of God, not of self-advancement.

It is often said that Bach was born “out of his time,” a statement that conflicts with the view that genius always knows the right time and place to be born. In fact there was no such conflict, and the rightness of time and place was, if in a sense negative, positive in that the Bach family, the longest and most distinguished musical dynasty known to European history, came from the province of Thuringia, where the countryside was of considerably physical beauty, whereas the human community was small, self-subsistent, and culturally energetic. The Thuringians were sturdy, devout folk, dedicated to music both for worship and pastime; yet they could not afford to be cozily self-indulgent. GERMANY was a network of petty principedoms, distracted throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by religious and political dissension that attained a horrifying climax when, in the seventeenth century, Catholic emperors strove ruthlessly to extirpate the Lutheran HERESY. The Thirty Years’ War was possibly more appalling in devastation than any European war before the presumptively enlightened twentieth century. Catholics and Protestants (the latter originally Lutherans and Calvinists) both called themselves Christians yet were driven to extravagancies of cruelty and hatred in their pursuit of what they deemed to be truth. J.S.Bach became the greatest—the most profound, but also the

most exalting—of Christian composers; and his preeminence depended on the degree to which his music was bifurcated between Catholic and Protestant values, in a way that suggests that a *conjunctio oppositorum* (in the Jungian sense) was fundamental to Christianity's triumph.

The life and work of Bach's greatest German predecessor, HEINRICH SCHÜTZ (1585–1642), who survived through the Thirty Years' War, to a degree anticipated this. It would seem that if a man is strong enough, belief may batten on distress—he may even feel the psychic realities of his nature the more deeply when the world seems to be passing him by. Certainly for Schütz the bifurcations entailed by the war were not all loss; it was to its enrichment that Schütz's music could fuse the Italian flamboyance of the Catholic and autocratic south with the Teutonic abnegatory flavor of the Protestant incipiently proletarian north. In musical terms, the Italiante elements brought operatic lyricism and figurative opulence, whereas the Germanic elements fused old-fashioned contrapuntal "science" with a harmonic acerbity learned from the Italians, but rendered darker and gloomier. Schütz himself went to Italy to study with "the sagacious Monteverdi," whose sun-baked brilliance irradiated his early works, and through them the chapels of German princelings. Yet Schütz's music preserved, and progressively intensified, a mystical quality that concentrates on Christ as a Man who became God, equating his suffering with ours; and "our" anguish was in Schütz's day undeniable because after the war Teutonic oases of humanism precariously prospered over an abyss. This was sometimes literally true. Esterházy, later the home of Haydn's benevolent patron, was a fairy-tale Versailles built by woefully oppressed serfs over a marshy morass, with the intent to prove that whatever a *Roi Soleil* could do a German princeling could do, if not better, at least in the teeth of more inimical circumstances.

By Bach's day the vainglory of a decadent humanism was to some degree in abeyance. The decline of central government and the warring multiplicity of petty tyrannies led to an idealistic if unfulfilled desire for order, reflected in the attempt of Karl Ludwig's Peace Church to reconcile Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists—a task then not feasible, and apparently still beyond our capabilities 300 years later. Of course these dissensions were never merely doctrinal: they also involved tensions between the old-fashioned medieval Chain of Being and the Harmonic Cosmology of seventeenth-century mathematician-philosophers such as GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ and Spinoza, who may even be said to anticipate aspects of the ENLIGHTENMENT, and of whose work Bach had some knowledge. This affected religious teaching itself—for instance in CHRISTIAN WOLFF'S attempt at a compromise between Lutheran JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone and Leibnizian rational comprehension. Throughout his career Bach came intermittently into conflict with church dignitaries who were more theologically "progressive" than he; we are apt to forget that ISAAC NEWTON died a year before Bach's St. Matthew Passion was completed, and that Enlightened Voltaire was Bach's contemporary.

Eisenbach, where several generations of Bachs lived and worked, epitomizes the cultural ambivalence into which Bach was born. It was a small walled town guarded by watchtowers, with a few thousand working-class Protestants of almost medieval outlook serving an elaborately bureaucratic court. This court nurtured art, architecture, and culture that were French and Italian rather than German, and in part aristocratic and Catholic, in part intellectually Enlightened and Deist (see DEISM). Given these

conditions, it is not surprising that the Lutheran Church cultivated a conservatism born of desperation. At the same time it had the courage of passionate conviction, especially in educational matters. Centuries earlier, MARTIN LUTHER himself had maintained that “if theology is not the beginning, middle, and end of life we cease being men and return to the animal state.” The basis of Lutheran education, to which Bach still adhered, remained theology, supported by the medieval trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. They were considered exemplars of divine law. Everything was taught in the universal tongue of Latin. Greek was fostered as the language of the New Testament, and later in the curriculum Hebrew was studied, as the Old Testament’s tongue. However, for Lutherans in the sixteenth century, as for Bach in the eighteenth, the chief succor to theology was music, in that “those who have mastered this art are made of good stuff.” Luther pointed out that St. Paul had encouraged the use of music in preaching Christian doctrine—“the whole purpose of harmony is the Glory of God; all other use is but idle juggling of Satan.”

Because Bach was orphaned when he was ten, it was fortunate that his musical precocity was such that he was able to embark on some kind of career at the age of fifteen, when he sang professionally in the Mettenchor at the Ritterakademie, a boarding school for the sons of the nobility at St. Michael’s convent in Lüneberg. From this modest start he proceeded through a series of church appointments in townships such as Arnstadt, Ohrdruf, and Mülhausen—the last named especially important because there he met his first wife Barbara, “settling down” with her, hoping to be a cantor whose duties embraced not only singing, but also organ and violin playing, and choir training and the composition of music for use over the church year. Gradually he took on his first real job as household musician to Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Weimar. Bach was twenty-three, and we think of his years at Weimar as the first “period” of his creative maturity. He made music for a band of talented musicians, covering every phase of church ceremonial, and borrowing conventions of recitative, arioso, and aria from Italian *opera seria*, now directed not toward Very Important Persons of the social world, but toward a presumptively historical man who had the inestimable advantage of also being God! Bach stayed at Weimar for nine years, during which he created some of his greatest music, mostly for soloists, chorus, and the small baroque opera orchestra.

Equally important, however, was his music for solo organ; at this time he was more renowned as a keyboard player than as a composer. During the Weimar years Bach’s organ music was often cast in fairly large forms such as a Prelude (or Fantasia, or Toccata), which tended to be free and sometimes improvisational in structure, linked to a fully developed Fugue; there is a latent “program” in the form in that the prelude section seems to be associated, in its relative freedom, with mankind’s “ongoing” state, whereas the unity and “many-in-oneness” of the fugue aspires toward the completion, and perfection, of God. Alternatively, and more modestly, Bach composed chorale preludes for organ that were “settings” of Lutheran popular hymns, with the tune played on a solo stop, garlanded by other parts that might be derived from fragments of the tune, or might independently weave a tapestry that illustrated, or commented on, the meaning of the hymn’s words that, although not audibly uttered, would have been familiar to Bach’s congregation. This was an essentially Lutheran form to which Bach remained constant throughout his life.

When he left Weimar, Bach was thirty-two. It has sometimes been considered odd that so devout a Lutheran should have moved to the court of prince Leopold of Coethen. His duties at Weimar, involving oppressive and sometimes stupid clerics and a gaggle of recalcitrant and rascally schoolboys, were not all a bed of roses; and that Leopold offered Bach twice the salary he received at Weimar must have been an inducement to a young man with a wife and a quarter of small children. The demands of music, as well as economics, may also have encouraged Bach to spread his wings; despite his conservative approach to religion, he was fascinated by the burgeoning technical possibilities of music, especially in the area of tonality, and must have welcomed the opportunity his new appointment offered to explore composition for welltempered keyboards, for solo violin and solo cello, and for melody instruments with keyboard continuo. The Twenty Four Preludes and Fugues in all keys of the chromatic scale, written in 1722, were innovative works so enthusiastically received that Bach added a second set in 1740; and of course these works are now a basic bible of instrumental music. Although Bach seems to have written surprisingly little concerted “entertainment” music for the prince’s delectation he did, during these years, visit Carlsbad with Leopold. There he met Christian Ludwig of Brandenburg, who commissioned the set of six concertos that are now among Bach’s most frequently performed works.

The few cantatas that Bach wrote at Coethen are dedicated to aristocrats among Leopold’s friends rather than to God, although their idiom is barely distinguishable from that of Bach’s church cantatas—perhaps unsurprisingly because monarchs were supposed to be God’s emissaries on earth. It is also significant that among the instrumental virtuoso pieces, the most famous—the *Chaconne* for solo violin of 1720—has recently been proven to be laden with “secret” Christian symbolism. For Bach sacred and profane were never far separated—which is why he could courageously face catastrophes before which most of us would quail. When he returned to Coethen after the Carlsbad expedition, he was appalled to discover that his beloved wife had, in his absence, sickened and died, leaving him with four children to care for. Could this Act of God (as Bach must have considered it) have generated in him a need to return to the Christian fold? Bach soon remarried. His new wife was the devoted and deeply musical Anna Magdalena who, in between giving birth to more children, proved an even more loving mate than Barbara, and one who was, moreover, helpful as copyist in Bach’s professional career.

Perhaps seeking a new start with his new wife Bach applied for the vacant post of cantor at St. Thomas’s, Leipzig. The city burghers tended to favor the proficient and fashionable GEORG PHILIPP TELEMANN (1687–1767) at the expense of Bach, and have been roundly if unfairly abused for their impercipience. Bach got the job because Telemann rejected it; and the inhabitants of Leipzig have complacently purred ever since. Bach stayed there for the rest of his life, during which, returning to the liturgical cycle of the church year, he produced his greatest works, not only in the shape of church cantatas, but also in the form of (at least two) Passion settings, according to the Gospels of St. John and St. Matthew.

These supreme works tell Christ’s story in narrative, quasi-operatic terms, in the process demonstrating why Bach, the greatest of Christian composers, had to be a protesting Protestant who stressed the miracle of a specific Man who was also God, rather than the complementary miracle of a God who assumed human identity.

At this point we must inquire more deeply into what Lutheranism meant to Bach in the full flowering of his musical glory. Let us consider the sublime passage in the *St. John Passion* of 1724 that opens with the crowd's murderously homophonic yelling for the blood of Christ—here the *turba* are unredeemed and, as crowds tend to be, more bestial than human. The Evangelist then depicts the scourging of Christ in *arioso* that rhythmically enacts the gestures, and even the sounds, of lashing, and in sharp dissonance makes manifest Christ's (and vicariously our) pain. With scarcely a pause the music sinks, with magically assuaging effect, from "tragic" G minor to its flat submediant, E flat major—a key later to be associated (especially by Mozart and Beethoven) with human and humane compassion. Solo bass chants an *arioso* harmonically "earthed" on long pedal points and slowly dropping chromatics, yet generating from upward-arching arpeggios a radiant release. Despite fierce incidental dissonances the lines, floated across the beat of Time, dispense balm as the words tell of the redemptive import of Christ's pain. For this movement only, Bach introduces an *obligato* lute, revering to the medieval identification of Christ Man-God with lute- or lyre-playing Orpheus, who hoped to conquer sin and death through the power of music. Christ being Very God as well as Man succeeds where Orpheus failed. His triumph is aurally incarnate in the aria into which the *arioso* leads.

During his last years at Leipzig Bach seems to have wearied somewhat of the rigor of ecclesiastical duties, perhaps because of the disparity between God's presumed perfection and humanity's inevitable imperfection. However this may be, the major religious work of these years is not Lutheran but a Roman High Mass made up of pieces he had written over the past twentyfive years, compiled, recomposed (with different texts), and added to over the years 1747 to 1748. Bach copied out the score in his noble calligraphy, with help from Anna Magdalena, and the work stands as an "ideal" *demonstratio* of the heart of the Christian mystery that Bach can hardly have expected to be performed, in Germany, as a totality. Certainly he did not hear it so performed. It stands as an "absolute" statement of faith parallel to the dramatic testaments of his Passions; they tell a story in operatic terms, revealing that that history is transhistorical, whereas the Mass enacts in the ceremonial terms of the High Baroque, a rite that incorporates—gives body to—a human tale that is also divine.

The sublime work uses all the then-basic techniques of European music, ranging from five-part counterpoint (five being traditionally a holy number), to operatic *arioso* and aria, to the court dances of mundane lords and masters who for a moment are allowed to deputize for God (it may be a typically wry Bachian joke that in these vaingloriously "mundane" sections the number of parts is briefly increased to six or even eight!). At the end, after the ultimately tragic G minor *Agnus Dei*, in which the melodic line is tense with "difficult" intervals like diminished fourths and diminished sevenths, has achieved peace for the individual spirit by way of an extremity of suffering, the Mass concludes with a return to its public function, with a *Dona nobis pacem* that reduplicates the music employed for the "*Gratias agimus.*" This has occasioned surprise, even dismay, as though Bach were skimping of effort. The idea of a giving that is also a receiving is ratified by Bach's use of the same music, given that the two different texts symbolize the hypostatic union of Christ with his church. Because Jesus gave thanks when he broke bread, Christians call it the Holy Eucharist and believe, or are supposed to believe, that in the act of communion God becomes incarnate in his communicants, effecting a (momentary)

identity between God and Man. The idea that the “Dona nobis pacem” is a prayer for peace negates this efficacy; rather it may be considered a laudation of the peace(ful union) that passes understanding, not because sacrifice consists of praise and thanksgiving, but because it is offered with those ends in view. The use of the same music for the “Gratias agimus” and the “Dona nobis pacem” thus rounds off the Mass both musically and theologically. After those tragically purgatorial arias, the Benedictus and the Agnus Dei, there could be no further process, let alone progress; we leave the church to resume our lives, renewed certainly in spiritual, possibly also in physical, strength. In this Bach’s Lutheran muse becomes one with the Voice of God that speaks in his High and Solemn Roman Mass because to compose for the good of the (ideal) work is to compose—to put together—his work, well done, *perfectum ex perfecto*, to make people “better.” And it does.

Bach’s High Mass was an idealized act of devotion that is now, so many years on, a practiced act over much of the world. The three major works that he composed subsequent to the mass were abstract testaments that did not call for communal “realization” but sought the perfection of mathematics, especially in the mystical union of canon. These works were the Goldberg Variations for harpsichord (1741), the Musical Offering presented to Frederick the Great in 1747, and the unfinished Art of Fugue, composed between 1745 and 1750, when death intervened. Each of these works retreated deeper into the musical magic of Number, and into “pure” forms that are independent of “material” media: indeed the *Art of Fugue* specifies no definitive medium, although it can mostly be performed on a keyboard, which is probably how it was played, to himself, by the blind and ailing Bach.

Even so, it is significant that Bach’s final composition seems to have been not an abstract work like *The Art of Fugue* but a return to the basic Lutheran concept of a chorale prelude setting of a popular hymn tune, the unheard words of which refer autobiographically to the composer’s impending death: *Vor deinem Thron tret ’ich*. Yet if this prelude—said to have been dictated by Bach from his sickbed, if not at death’s door—reflects a return to a “people’s music” and the wellsprings of Lutheran tradition, it is at the same time of extraordinary contrapuntal and mathematical ingenuity, thereby betraying its “late” provenance.

Musically, the hymn tune, fragmented into its clauses, is in the top line, on a solo stop. It is introduced by a prelude in diminished note values, incorporates interludes, and is rounded off by a postlude. Throughout, all the melodic lines are totally thematic, appearing both *rectus* and *inversus*, and in diminution and augmentation. There is not space here to chart the mathematical dovetailing of the lines, but we must comment on the last interlude and subsequent coda, in which the tenor part is *rectus* in crotchets, answered by the alto, *inversus* in quavers, and then by the bass part (pedal), initially in crotchets, then in quavers. In the coda a chain of ornamentally resolving suspensions modulates from benedictory G major through the “suffering” key of E minor toward an aspirational A major; but the end is in surrender and resignation when the pedal has the theme in inversion, answered by the *cantus firmus* (the hymn) *rectus* in the soprano, with the two inner parts in canon at the diminished speed. Undulating six-three chords, with the F sharp and E natural both flattened, remain strictly thematic, although melodic identity and metrical definition dissolve, in the counterpoint’s hierarchy of speeds, into a seemingly endless, modally plagal AMEN. The music runs down—like a clock, or a

failing heart—as the pulse flags, beneath the immobile, sustained inverted pedal on which the hymn tune itself comes to rest. There could be no more precise musical synonym for the acceptance of death, identified with the will of God.

In this last choral prelude we do not need the gloss of the unspoken text to tell us that the Intellectual Love of God transcends, but does not efface, human suffering as well as joy. Dictating this music, Bach was dying into beatitude, as is inherent in the purely musical events that tell us, in Spinoza's words, that "death becomes less hurtful in proportion as the mind's clear and distinct knowledge is greater and, consequently, in proportion as the mind loves God more." The parts of us that "perish with the body are of little importance when compared with the part that endures." Even if one thinks that only oblivion succeeds death, one has to admit that miraculous "perfection" of this last chorale prelude seems to defeat time (and death?) in being "beyond" it. The music *persists*, at once an epiphany and an epitome of Bach's lifework. In listening to this piece—even more than in listening to the mathematically abstract words referred to above—it is "as though" we are entering the state called Paradise: a condition that is independent of the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, or any other church.

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WILFRID MELLERS

BACKUS, ISAAC (1724–1806)

Baptist minister and historian noted for his advocacy of the separation of church and state. Backus was born in January 1724 near Norwich, Connecticut, and the fervor of the Great Awakening resulted in his experience of conversion in 1741. Backus joined the Congregational church in Norwich but, unhappy with its opposition to a religion of experience, he withdrew in 1746 to help form a New Light/Separatist congregation and became an itinerant lay preacher.

In 1748 Backus was ordained as the pastor of a New Light/Separatist congregation in Titicut, Massachusetts. There he began to struggle over the issue of infant baptism, finally affirming believer's baptism in 1751 and refusing to baptize infants. He himself was baptized by immersion in August 1751. Backus left the Titicut church in 1756 to become pastor of a congregation in nearby Middleboro, Massachusetts that restricted communion to those who had been baptized as believers. Backus's congregation ultimately united with nearby Baptist churches, among which he was to make his most lasting contributions.

Without formal education, Backus was a selftaught apologist and historian who helped transform the status of New England Baptists from a sectarian denomination to a respectable part of the religious community. In his *History of New England*, first published in 1777, Backus cites John Robinson and other Puritan theologians to demonstrate that Baptists, rather than the established Congregationalist Church of New England, are the logical heirs to the Puritan tradition, seen in its purest form in the Plymouth colony.

Backus was influential in the formation in 1767 of the Warren Baptist Association, a cooperative organization of New England Baptists that played a significant role in the struggle for religious liberty in New England as well as in the newly formed United States of America. In 1772 Backus became an agent of the Warren Association in the cause of religious liberty, even representing Baptists before the Massachusetts delegation to the Continental Congress, where he argued (unsuccessfully) that the same principles that supported political freedom also supported religious freedom.

Most of all, therefore, Backus is remembered for his efforts toward separation of church and state in New England. He opposed any submission to state control of religion, including the obtaining of licenses to exempt individuals from paying church taxes. Even using the system to one's advantage, he said, is still granting the state the right to rule in matters of faith. Backus died in 1806. Although he did not live to witness the end of CONGREGATIONALISM as the state church of New England, he did see his crusade enshrined in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

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T.FURMAN HEWITT

BACON, FRANCIS (1561–1626)

English philosopher. Bacon was born in London on January 22, 1561, to Sir Nicholas Bacon, a distinguished lawyer, and his wife. Bacon followed his father's footsteps into the legal profession and was knighted after the accession of James I. He progressed in office and became Lord High Chancellor in 1618. Bacon entered the peerage as Baron Verulam in 1618 and three years later became Viscount St. Albans. His career was ended ignominiously in 1621 by a charge of bribery and corruption, which he admitted, imprisonment for a few days in the Tower of London, and deprivation of Parliamentary rights. He died on April 9, 1626. Bacon's public career was paralleled by a quite separate activity as an essayist. Of greatest influence were his *Advancement of Learning* (1605), the *New Atlantis* (1618), and the *Novum Organum* (1620). In these he argued for a comprehensive scheme of human knowledge, called his "grand instauration," in which scientific knowledge was derived by a method of induction from facts to theories. This "Baconian" method had a great influence on the subsequent philosophy of science. His vision of a new institution for scientific discourse culminated in the founding of the Royal Society in 1660.

Bacon's philosophy of science was a clear reflection of his Protestant faith. The priority of facts and the experimental method, the revolt against established tradition, and the desirability of cooperating with nature for the good of man and the glory of God were all expressions of a thoroughly biblical perspective, in contrast to the heritage of scholasticism and Greek science. For Bacon "conflict" between science and religion was not possible because God had given us "two books," the book of Scripture and the book of nature, each of which was necessary for our wellbeing and neither of which could contradict the other. The laws of science and the moral law came from the same Creator.

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COLIN A. RUSSELL

BAËTA, CHRISTIAN GONCALVES KWAME (1908–1994)

Ghanaian church leader. Baëta was a committed Protestant churchman, ecumenist, academic, and statesman. He was born at Keta in Gold Coast (Ghana) into a Presbyterian family. He studied at the Scottish Mission Teacher Training College in Akropong, Ghana at the Evangelische Missionsseminar in Basel, SWITZERLAND and at King's College, London. He was ordained into the ministry of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in 1936 and later became the Synod clerk (chief executive) of his church (1945–1949) and a Presbyterian chaplain at the University of Ghana. He chaired both the Christian Council of Ghana (the main ecumenical Protestant organization in Ghana) and the Ghana

Baëta was present at the ecumenical gathering at Tambaram, INDIA, which discussed the mission of the church. Later, he became the vice-chair and chair of the International Missionary Council (IMC) and superintended the process of integration of the IMC into the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) in 1961. He served on the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs and the Central and Executive Committees of the World Council of Churches.

As a scholar and a first-generation African theologian he served the University College of Gold Coast (now University of Ghana) from 1949 to 1971, rising from senior lecturer to professor and head of the department of theology, which he helped to transform into an inclusive department for the study of religions. He held several visiting professorships, including Union Theological Seminary in New York, Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, UK, and the Ruhr-Universität in Bochum, Germany. He was a fellow of the Ghana Academy of Sciences from 1961 until his death and was its president for two consecutive terms. He was awarded five honorary doctorate degrees in JAPAN, the UNITED STATES, GERMANY, Hungary, and Ghana. He was committed to BIBLE TRANSLATION particularly into Ewe, his mother tongue.

Baëta was a member of the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, 1946–1950, member of the Coussey Committee on Constitutional Reform for the Gold Coast, and later served on the Constitutional Assembly of Ghana in 1969. As early as the 1940s Baëta saw that THEOLOGY and politics are inseparable.

See also Africa; African Theology; Ecumenism

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CEPHAS N. OMENYO

BAILLIE, JOHN (1886–1960)

Scottish Theologian. A Free Church minister's son from the remote Highlands of Scotland, John Baillie was born in 1886. After studying philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and theology at New College, he spent two years as an assistant minister and four (1915–1919) with the YMCA in FRANCE. Between 1919 and 1934 he taught in North America, latterly at Union Seminary, New York. From 1934 until his retirement in 1956, Baillie occupied the Chair of Divinity at Edinburgh, exerting considerable influence as moderator of the general assembly of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (1943), convener of the Kirk's special commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis (1942–1946), one of the presidents of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1952), dean of the university's faculty of divinity and Principal of New College (1950–1956), and participant in the Anglican-Presbyterian conversations that produced the "Bishop's Report" in 1957. He was awarded several honorary degrees and made Companion of Honour by the queen.

Despite early indebtedness to IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804) and ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822–1889), for most of his life Baillie could not be identified with any philosophical or theological school. As a schoolboy, he learned to reconcile the insights of Highland Calvinism with the humanism of the Renaissance and ENLIGHTENMENT. As a student he rejected the extremes of fashionable Hegelianism. As a young professor, he was neither a fundamentalist nor a modernist. In later years, while welcoming the Barthian movement as a salutary corrective to contemporary theology, he always—and increasingly—kept his distance from it. Though uneasy with some of the traditional formulations of historic Christianity, he demonstrated his essential fidelity to their substance in the eloquent apologetics of *Invitation to Pilgrimage* (1942) and the disciplined piety of *A Diary of Private Prayer* (1936), a devotional classic subsequently translated into many languages. His sermons, lectures, and numerous publications, all marked by exceptional lucidity and grace of style, gained him recognition as one of the foremost theologians of his generation.

He died at Edinburgh in 1960, and his portrait hangs in the New College Senate Room.

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ALEXANDER C.CHEYNE

BALTIMORE CONFERENCE

The Baltimore Conference, also known as the Christmas Conference, marked the formation of the first independent Wesleyan Methodist church and the official beginning of the Methodist Church in America. Meeting from December 24, 1784 through January 2, 1785 at Lovely Lane Chapel in Baltimore, Maryland, the approximately sixty Methodist preachers in attendance created a church and set the precedent for future Methodist polity in America.

The Methodist movement originated as a reform movement within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND; however, in America after the Revolution a lack of Anglican clergy left the Methodists without access to the sacraments. Demands for ordination grew over the final years of Revolution as American Methodists pled with JOHN WESLEY for action.

In 1784 the demands had become strident enough for Wesley to act. He ordained Thomas Vasey and Richard Whatcoat and then set THOMAS COKE apart as a superintendent for the Methodists in America. Wesley provided Coke with a book of worship called *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in America*, an abridged version of the Church of England's Articles of Religion, and a letter of instruction for the American Methodists.

The group arrived in America in November and met FRANCIS ASBURY in Delaware. Asbury refused Wesley's plan without a vote of the preachers in America, and Freeborn Garrettson was sent out to gather all of the preachers for a conference in Baltimore.

The Baltimore Conference commenced on Friday, December 24 and met continuously for the next ten days. Garrettson was successful in his effort to alert the itinerating Methodist preachers about the conference. Sixty of eighty-three American Methodist preachers attended at least some part of the conference. Although the Methodist movement in America was primarily a lay movement, only the licensed traveling

preachers were invited to the conference. The omitting of the LAITY from the conference set a precedent for Methodist conferences that would last for most of the next century.

At the conference opening Coke read Wesley's letter of instructions to the gathered preachers. Then, in an important change from Wesley's wishes, Asbury requested to be elected superintendent, not appointed by Wesley. The assembled preachers elected Asbury unanimously. Through the election Asbury altered the authority relationships between himself, Coke, and Wesley. The move also created an important precedent for American Methodism because, unlike British Methodism under Wesley, the final power now rested with the preachers voting in conference. By taking this step the Conference declared itself competent to make ecclesiastical decisions. Methodist conferences would henceforth involve themselves in all matters regarding the care and regulation of the ministry, a pattern that still exists today. A Methodist bishop (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY) ordains individuals, but the conference of the clergy decides who receives ordination. Drawing from this antecedent, elections would decide all issues in the future of Methodism. The democratization of the decision-making process marked an important step in Americanizing the Methodist system.

After the decision by the Conference, Asbury accepted the vicarious ordination from Wesley, and the actual ordination was carried out by Coke, Whatcoat, Vasey, and William Otterbein, a German Presbyterian minister. Asbury was ordained deacon, elder, and then set apart as superintendent on three consecutive days. Asbury took his place as the acknowledged elected leader of American Methodism along with Coke who was an appointed superintendent.

Most of the nine days of the Conference were spent creating the *Doctrines and Disciplines of the Methodist Church in America*, the basic rule book of American Methodism. The conference defined Methodist faith by adopting the Articles of Religion as amended by Wesley and by taking several stands on social issues. One of the more significant issues addressed by the Conference was the relationship between the American Methodist Church and Wesley. The conference resolved this issue with the adoption, over the opposition of Asbury, of the Binding Minute, which committed the American Methodists to Wesley's commands and pledged themselves to be his sons in the Gospel. Although the Conference had declared itself competent to make its own decisions, the membership of the Conference did not want to sever all ties with Wesley. The Binding Minute was mostly symbolic and would be rescinded during a controversy a few years later only to be readopted when Wesley was on his death bed. The Conference also took several strong ethical stands against SLAVERY and alcohol (see TEMPERANCE), setting a precedent for strong social stands by the Methodist movement in America.

Attendees at the Conference also took it on themselves to create programs for the new church. The Conference created a new college, Cokesbury College, and authorized MISSIONS to the Indians (see also MISSIONS, NORTH AMERICAN). As a final act the Conference named the new church the Methodist Episcopal Church, reflecting both its Wesleyan heritage and its Episcopal polity.

The Baltimore Conference set several important precedents for future conferences: the conference spent most of its time on matters of polity and theology, writing the discipline, regulating the ministry, and defining the faith; the conference followed its

Wesleyan heritage and took strong ethical stands; the conference selected the Episcopal leadership; and finally created programs for the church.

The Baltimore Conference was also a time for PREACHING and REVIVAL, a feature of Conferences that would blossom over the next few decades into the CAMP MEETING movement. Although the Conference served as a time of fellowship among the preachers, by prohibiting the attendance of laity it excluded nonwhites, women, and local preachers from the decision-making process.

Although the Conference yielded a new church, the actual participants displayed little sense of the historical importance of their actions. No minutes were kept and no attendance records survive from the Conference. Asbury himself devoted only a short description of the conference in his journal. This Conference was not the first General Conference; it was an irregularly called Constitutional Conference. It made no provision for its own continuity or succession and gave itself no place in Methodist POLITY. Nevertheless this conference did set a pattern for the general work to be done at annual conferences to come.

See also Slavery, Abolition of; Methodism; Methodism, North America; Methodist Episcopal Church Conference

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ADAM ZELE

BAPTISM

Broadly speaking, magisterial Protestantism—Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican—maintained, and still continues to practice, the central ritual act of baptism grounded in Holy Scripture, that is, the application of water to the candidate in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Marked by the common desire to correct what they viewed as distortions in the DOCTRINE and subsidiary rites surrounding baptism in the existing Western church, the varying baptismal theologies of these three Protestant families came to expression in the prayers and exhortations accompanying the water rite in their new liturgical books. Once they had reached a stable form by the middle of the sixteenth century, the orders for baptism went without further fundamental change until well into the twentieth century. Such changes as took place in Protestant THEOLOGY in this area

during the intervening period were reflected rather in the understanding and practice of confirmation (or lack thereof), which cast a retrospective light on what was believed to happen at baptism. In the twentieth century, the classic Protestant churches participated, together with Roman Catholicism, in an ecumenical Liturgical Movement that recaptured, in a new situation, many of the ritual patterns and doctrinal views of the early centuries of Christianity. Throughout their history, these Protestant churches—all of which retained the baptism of infants as indeed the predominant practice—have also been challenged by the more drastic “reforms” of the “radicals” in the sixteenth century and the continuing “anabaptist” bodies, whereby baptism is administered only to those able personally to profess their faith in Christ. At stake in baptism, of course, are entire soteriologies and ecclesiologies.

Accordingly, most of this article is devoted to the theology and rites of baptism in sixteenth-century Protestantism. Then some attention is given to confirmation. After a description of the liturgical revisions that affected “Christian initiation” in the latter half of the twentieth century, an attempt will be made to characterize the current situation in its trends and desiderata.

Baptism in the Protestant Reformation

Luther

In his attack on the prevalent sacramental system, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), MARTIN LUTHER fundamentally exempted baptism: “Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of his rich mercy has preserved at least this one sacrament in his church unspoiled and unspotted by man-made ordinances, and made it free to all races and classes of men; nor has he allowed it to be suppressed by foul money-grubbing and ungodly monsters of superstition” [*Weimarer Ausgabe* (the Weimar edition of Luther’s Works; hereafter WA) 6:526f.]. Luther’s insistence on the continuity of baptism indicates that his desire was to reform the church, not to create a new one. Nor, clearly, was he too concerned about the subsidiary ceremonies, although by stages, in the two German *Taufbüchlein* of 1523 and 1526, he cut from the ritual most of the secondary items that he had earlier, for all their unimportance, retained: breathing under the eyes of the baptizand, placing salt in the mouth, touching the ears and nose with spittle [the *effeta*; cf. Mark 7:33], anointing the breast and between the shoulders before baptism, signing the top of the head with chrism after baptism, giving a lighted candle into the hand. The order of 1526 kept an initial consignation of the forehead and breast, a much simplified exorcism, and the vesting in a white robe after the water. Luther’s most significant ritual innovation was the composition of the “Flood Prayer (*Sintflutgebef*)” to be said over the water, a theologically rich text using biblical typology in a patristic manner (cf. I Peter 3:20f.; I Corinthians 10:1–4; Romans 5:12–21). After recalling the justice and mercy of God displayed at the Deluge and at the Red Sea, the text declares that the baptism of Jesus “sanctified and set apart the Jordan and all water for a saving flood, and an ample washing away of sins” and goes on to pray that

through thy same fathomless mercy thou wouldst look graciously upon this [*Name*], and bless him with a right faith in the spirit, so that through this healing flood all that was born in him from Adam and all that he himself has added thereto may be drowned and submerged; and that he may be separated from the unfaithful, and preserved in the holy ark of Christendom dry and safe, and ever fervent in spirit and joyful in hope serve thy name, so that he with all the faithful may be worthy to inherit thy promise of eternal life, through Christ our Lord. (WA 12:43f.; 19:539f.)

This prayer, with various adaptations, made its way into several Protestant orders for baptism, especially those that also show otherwise a strong sense of the sacramental efficacy of the water rite.

It may be wondered how Luther squared the continuing baptism of infants with his doctrine of JUSTIFICATION: how was the *sola fide* (“by faith alone”) to avoid sinking into a *sine fide* (“without faith”)? In the first place, in both *Taufbüchlein* the minister’s questions about the renunciation of Satan, belief in the Triune God, and the desire for baptism continue to be addressed to the infant, who responds “through the godparents.” Here Luther may be drawing on the notion of “vicarious faith (*fides aliend*)” known at least since St. Augustine, whereby the sponsors, the congregation, and even the whole church may supply what is lacking in the infant. In the second place, however, Luther can combine the notion of vicarious faith with the idea that an infant may actually have, or be given, faith:

Infants are helped by vicarious faith: the faith of those who present them for baptism. For as the word of God, whenever uttered, is powerful enough to change the heart even of the ungodly, and these are not less deaf or incapable than any infant, so all things are possible through the prayers of a believing church when it presents the infant, and he is changed, cleansed, and renewed by the faith infused. (WA 6:538)

Luther could cite the leaping of John in Elizabeth’s womb at the presence of Jesus in Mary’s as an embryonic instance of faith at the encounter with the Word (*On Rebaptism*, 1528; WA 26:156, 169). Third, however, Luther could also, in the *Large Catechism*, so emphasize the priority of God’s grace and command as to deny any constitutive role at all to faith on the part of the subject of baptism:

We do not set the greatest store by whether the baptizand believes or not, for baptism will not thereby become wrong, but rather everything depends on the Word and commandment of God.... My faith does not make baptism but receives it.... We bring the child with the purpose and hope that he may believe, and we pray God to grant him faith, but we do not baptize him on that account, but solely because God has commanded it. [*Bekennnisschriften der EvangelischLutherischen Kirche (BSELK)*, p. 701 f.]

How deeply this latter sense is written into the Lutheran tradition is shown by the disquiet in the responses of Lutheran churches to the statement in the ecumenical Lima text, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, that “Baptism is both God’s gift and our human response to that gift.”

Where faith upon personal responsibility makes a comeback in Luther is precisely in his provision of two CATECHISMS for household and parochial use—presaged, of course, by the very translation of the baptismal rite into the vernacular in the *Taufbüchlein*. Those who had been baptized in infancy needed instruction later in faith, morals, PRAYER, and the rites of the church, including baptism, CONFESSION, and the LORD’S SUPPER. As a literary and pedagogical genre, the catechism spread throughout magisterial Protestantism and even into Roman Catholicism.

The Swiss

After Leo Jud had in August 1523 introduced at Zurich a simplified form of the medieval baptismal rite in the vernacular, along the lines of Luther’s first *Taufbüchlein*, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI in May 1525 produced a much more drastic revision that excised all the secondary ceremonies except the vesting with the white robe. It omitted the traditional interrogations about renouncing Satan and professing the faith and, in a very significant move, addressed to the godparents the question “Do you wish this child to be baptized into the baptism of our Lord Jesus Christ?” Luther’s Flood-Prayer was included in reduced form, omitting reference to the sanctification of water and changing the petition so as to read

that thou wouldst look graciously upon this thy servant, [*Name*], and kindle the light of faith in his heart whereby he may be incorporated into thy Son, and with him be buried in death, and in him be raised to newness of life; that so, following him daily, he may joyfully bear his cross, and hold fast to him with true faith, firm hope, and fervent love; and that for thy sake he may so manfully quit this life, which is nothing but a death, that at the last day he may appear fearless at the general judgment of thy Son. [*Corpus Reformatorum* (hereafter CR) 91:334f.]

According to his treatise *On Baptism, Rebaptism and Infant Baptism* of May 1525, Zwingli was reluctant to affirm the spiritual efficacy of “an external ceremony” but viewed baptism as “an initiatory sign” by which we are “pledged” to God, “an outward sign that we are introduced and engrafted into the Lord Jesus Christ and pledged to live to him and to follow him” (CR 91:238, 252). For a couple of years Zwingli had had doubts—expressed in 1523 and 1524 to local Anabaptists—about the baptism of infants, but he returned to defend it on covenantal terms, by analogy with circumcision of the Old Testament.

For JOHN CALVIN in Geneva also, the baptism of infants is a mark, in the wake of circumcision in the Old Testament, of the inclusion of the offspring of Christian parents into the now extended COVENANT of salvation, although his language in the question of sacramental efficacy oscillates between “conferral” and “testimony.” By far the greater part of his independently composed French baptismal order in *The Form of*

Prayers...According to the Custom of the Ancient Church (1542) consists in a baptismal instruction addressed to the parents and the congregation, who are both to witness the present act and also to be reminded of the use and fruit of their own baptism. After a description of the wretchedness of humankind in its fallen condition, Calvin recalls the divine promise of regeneration by the Holy Spirit through participation in the death and resurrection of Christ, beginning with the pardon of all our faults. Moreover

all these graces are conferred on us, when it pleases God to incorporate us into his church by baptism. For in his sacrament he testifies to us the remission of our sins. And for this cause he has appointed the sign of water, to show us that, as by this element the body is cleansed of dirt, so he wishes to wash and purify our souls, so that no stain may any more appear in them. Then also he there represents to us our renewal, which consists in the mortification of our flesh, and the spiritual life which he excites and engenders in us.... As he imparts to us his riches and blessings by his word, so he distributes them to us by his sacraments. (CR 34:186f.)

The prayer for the baptizand then runs thus:

Lord God, Father eternal and almighty, since it has pleased thee by thine infinite mercy to promise us that thou wilt be our God and the God of our children, we pray thee that it may please thee to confirm this grace in this present infant, born of a father and mother whom thou hast called into thy church, and, as he is offered and consecrated to thee by us, that thou wouldst receive him into thy holy protection, declaring thyself to be his God and Saviour, remitting to him the original sin of which the whole lineage of Adam is guilty, and then afterwards sanctifying him by thy Spirit, so that when he comes to the age of understanding, he may know and adore thee as his only God, glorifying thee all through his life, so as to obtain evermore from thee remission of his sins. And so that he may obtain such graces, may it please thee to incorporate him into the communion of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that as a member of his body he may share in all his benefits. Hear us, Father of mercy, that the baptism which we administer to him according to thine ordinance may bring forth its fruit and virtue, such as has been declared to us by thy gospel. (CR 34:188f.)

The parents must promise that when the child reaches “the age of discretion” they will instruct him in the doctrine of the creed and in the Scriptures (Calvin will provide *Le catéchisme de l’église de Genève*) and exhort him to obey the divine law of love toward God and neighbor for God’s glory and the neighbors’ edification. Only then does the minister baptize the child.

England

A chief channel of liturgical influence between continental Protestantism and the English reformation was MARTIN BUCER, who not only shaped the baptismal rites of

Strasbourg (with rationale in the *Grund und Ursach* of Christmas 1524) but also wrote the sacramental parts of the *Einfaltigs Bedencken* or *Pia Deliberatio* for Archbishop Hermann of Cologne (1543), on which THOMAS CRANMER and his men drew for the first *Prayer Book* of 1549, and then by his criticisms of that book, the *Censura*, affected the second *Prayer Book* of 1552. Bucer's characteristic view of baptism was both instrumental and pneumatological, as seen in the Strasbourg rite: "Let us pray that the Lord will baptize [this infant] with water and the Holy Spirit, so that the outward washing which he will perform through me may be inwardly fulfilled in deed and in truth by the Holy Spirit; for that second birth which is signified by baptism takes place in water and in the Holy Spirit, as the Lord says in John 3"(cf. Fisher, 34–37).

The baptismal rite in the first English BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER began with an appeal to John 3, followed by an adaptation of Luther's Flood-Prayer, which Bucer had included in his text for Hermann. From the medieval rite the book retained a prebaptismal signing with the cross on forehead and breast, a single exorcism, the postbaptismal vesting in white, and an anointing of the head, with the sense now specified thus: "Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins, he vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of his Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life." The prebaptismal renunciation of Satan and profession of the creed are made by the godparents who, having been reminded of the saving promises of Christ, are told that "these infants must also faithfully for their part promise by you that be their sureties, that they will forsake the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word and obediently keep his commandments." After the baptism, the godparents are charged in their

duty to see that these infants be taught, so soon as they are able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise and profession they have made by you. And that they may know these things the better, ye shall call upon them to hear sermons, and chiefly you shall provide that they may learn the creed, the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments in the English tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health, and that these children may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and Christian life, remembering always that baptism doth represent unto us our profession which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him, that as he died and rose again for us, so should we which are baptized die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all godliness of living.

A catechism was provided to aid ministers and parents in their instruction of the children.

In line with Bucer's *Censura* concerning several "dramatic signs" that, for all their antiquity, did not come from Scripture and were indeed subject to misunderstanding as "profane sport," the second English *Prayer Book* dropped the exorcism, the white robe, and the postbaptismal chrismation of the head. The prebaptismal consignation, by which the infant was associated with "Christ crucified," was shifted to a place immediately after the water rite and was now administered to the forehead without oil. In one highly

significant matter, Bucer's advice was rejected: he had wanted to transform the postbaptismal exhortation of the godparents into questions concerning their willingness to raise the child in the Christian faith in such a way as to replace the interrogations by which they renounced Satan and professed the faith "on behalf of the infants" and "in their place." On the contrary, the sponsors' speaking for the child was retained. The *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662 included the precision that the child's promises were made "by you that are his sureties, until he come of age to take it upon himself."

The Anabaptists

It may be debated whether ANABAPTISM is better viewed as a radicalization of the magisterial Reformation or rather as principally indebted to the Millenarians and mystics of the middle ages (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISTS). Some scholars have argued that there may in fact be a greater affinity between Luther and the *Schwärmer*, as outcomes of medieval movements, than either party was willing to recognize.

In the case of THOMAS MÜNTZER, the concern of the Zwickau prophets for social change was joined with a concern for the spiritual renewal of the individual. In his "Protestation" concerning "real Christian faith and baptism" (1524), he attacked the practice of infant baptism, and the associated loss of a preparatory catechumenate, for encouraging a "fictive faith (*gedichteter Glaube*)". "by the making of infants into Christians, Christians became infants." Real faith and baptism consist in an "imitation of Christ," bearing the cross through the troubled waters of trial and suffering. In Zürich a group of revolutionaries, impatient with Zwingli's plans for a constitutional reform of the church, took up Müntzer's views, and, in a later letter to Müntzer of September 5, 1524, CONRAD GREBEL set forth his own understanding of believer's baptism: "As Scripture describes it for us, baptism signifies that, by faith and the blood of Christ, sins have been washed away for him who has been baptized, having repented and believed, and continuing to believe; it signifies that a man is dead and ought to be dead to sin and to walk in newness of life and spirit, and that he shall certainly attain salvation if by inner baptism he lives the faith here signified" (see L. von Muralt and W. Schmidt, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz*, vol. 1 [Zurich: Hirzel, 1952], p. 17f.). Meanwhile Grebel had, on January 21, 1523, acceded to George Blaurock's request to baptize him, and with further (re)baptisms at Zollikon the new church of the Zürich BRETHREN IN CHRIST had been founded. What for them was baptism appeared to other eyes as rebaptism, and so the epithet "Anabaptist" came into use.

The most learned and competent Anabaptist theologian was BALTHASAR HUBMAIER, who had been a student of the scholastic John Eck. In reply to Zwingli's *On Baptism, Rebaptism and Infant Baptism* Hubmaier wrote a treatise *On the Christian Baptism of Believers* (1525). From his clear reading of simple Scripture he saw a constant baptismal pattern of hearing the preached word, repentance, faith in Christ, baptism, and following Christ in good works [*Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* (hereafter *QGT*) 9, 146–151]. In *A Form for Baptism* (1526–1527) Hubmaier set forth the order used "at Nicolsburg and elsewhere." The candidate was first to be tested on faith and morals by the bishop/elder, who would then present him to the congregation and ask for prayer that God would "graciously grant to the candidate the grace and power of his Holy Spirit and

complete what he had, by his Holy Spirit and divine word, begun in him.” The candidate professed faith in reply to questions substantially close to the Apostles’ Creed, renounced the DEVIL, declared his willingness to accept the fraternal discipline of the church (“the keys”), and voiced his desire “to be baptized in water according to the institution of Christ, and thus to be incorporated and enrolled into the external Christian church for the forgiveness of sins.” After the baptism of the candidate in water in an unspecified mode, the congregation were to pray, on his behalf and their own, for increase in faith and for perseverance. Finally the bishop laid his hand on the head of the newly baptized, declaring his right henceforth “to be reckoned among the Christian community, sharing as a member in its keys, and in the breaking of bread and prayers with the other Christian sisters and brothers” (*QGT* 9, 349f.). In addition to the baptism “of the Spirit, given internally in faith,” and that “of water, given externally through the oral confession of faith before the church,” Hubmaier characteristically spoke of a third baptism, that “of blood in martyrdom or on the deathbed,” whereby the latter could be understood as “a daily mortification of the flesh until death” (*QGT* 9, 275; 313f.).

Pedobaptist critics have constantly charged BAPTISTS with “voluntarism,” but although it is true that the exercise of the will excludes infants from baptism, it by no means excludes, as the critics often assume, the prevenience of grace. In the twentieth century the most astounding advocate of believer’s baptism was in fact KARL BARTH, whose first unease with pedobaptism related to its inappropriateness even within the Calvinist tradition of baptism as divine testimony—“cognitive” not “causative”—because the infant was not capable of receiving that “visible word” (*Die kirchliche Lehre von der Taufe*, 1943). In a section of the fragmentary part IV/4 of his *Church Dogmatics* (“Baptism as the Foundation of the Christian Life,” 1967), Barth put forward the positive view of the believing reception of baptism as the first act of obedience following upon the divine baptism with the Holy Spirit.

Confirmation

The test of the completeness of baptism as entrance into the church is whether the baptized receive the holy communion (communion being the instance of continuing participation in the body of Christ). In the Eastern churches, following what was apparently patristic practice, all the baptized, including infants, are admitted to communion immediately after the baptism in water and the chrismation that is viewed as the pneumatological focus of the total rite. This has not been regularly the case in Western Christianity for almost a millennium, where an interval of years typically ensues between baptism in infancy and the reception of holy communion. What J.D.C.Fisher called the “disintegration” of Christian initiation in the West came about gradually in the second half of the first millennium as baptisms were administered soon after birth by the parish priest, whereas “confirmation”—the postbaptismal imposition of hands and anointing of the brow with chrism—was reserved to the bishop, who might not become available until much later; baptized but unconfirmed children at first continued to receive communion, but then a time came when children were no longer seen as fit subjects of communion because of the dangers their clumsy ingestion posed to the sacramental body and blood. This double delay allowed confirmation and communion to become

reassociated, at least in a loose way, by virtue of their common postponement until a child's having reached the years of reason or age of discretion, when also the first sacramental confession took place. On the Roman Catholic side, the council of Trent deduced from the temporal gap—though with some embarrassment—that neither confirmation nor communion, unlike baptism, was necessary to SALVATION.

With some medieval and renaissance precedents for the instruction of children in the creed, the commandments and the virtues, and prayer, the magisterial reformers developed the question-and-answer catechism as a means for inculcating faith, morals, and ecclesial practices. Provided the actions were not considered a sacrament or “observed as the bishops desire it,” Luther in a sermon for Laetare Sunday 1523 found no fault “if every pastor examines the faith of the children to see whether it is good and sincere, lays hands on them, and confirms them” (WA 11:66); but although providing the two Catechisms (1529), Luther composed no German order for “confirmation.” The want was supplied in some places by such as JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, and “confirmation”—with varying emphases and under various names—became in LUTHERANISM an established way of concluding catechesis and admitting to communion for the first time. Thus an instructed faith, personally professed, was seen as appropriate, and perhaps requisite, to participation in the Lord's Supper, even while it was characteristically insisted that regenerative faith had in some sense been given in infant baptism.

Calvin expressed a visceral dislike of papist confirmation and its “filthy oil” whereby the baptismal “water sanctified by the word of God” was robbed of half its efficacy, as though baptism were only for the forgiveness of sins whereas the gift of the Spirit for newness of life depended on the anointing in confirmation. Like Zwingli before him (CR 89:122f.) Calvin mistakenly imagined an “ancient custom” whereby “the children of Christians,” having been brought to baptism in infancy, were then, “at the close of childhood or the start of adolescence, again presented by their parents and examined by the bishop according to the form of the catechism then in common use” and, on “having their faith approved,” were “dismissed with a solemn blessing” (*Institutes* IV. 19.4). Calvin himself provided the Genevan church with a catechism but no rite for confirmation. Although the children of Christian parents belonged to the church by virtue of the covenant promise signified in their baptism as infants, they were not admitted to the Lord's table before being able to deliver a catechetical account of their faith in the presence of the church. As a rationale for the delay in communion, some later Reformed theology has distinguished between an appropriately passive reception of baptism and the capacity for action entailed in the eucharistic command to “do this” (I Corinthians 11:24f.).

In Reformation ENGLAND children were required to be able to say in the mother tongue the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as well as to answer questions from the provided Catechism, before being brought by a godparent to the bishop for “confirmation.” Having reached “the years of discretion” and “learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in baptism,” the children might now “themselves with their own mouth, and with their own consent, openly before the church ratify and confess the same, and also promise that by the grace of God they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe and keep such things as they by their own mouth and confession have assented unto.” The confirmation service in the *Prayer Book*

of 1549, recognizing that in baptism the candidates had been regenerated and had received forgiveness of sin, now asked God to “send down from heaven...upon them thy Holy Ghost” with his sevenfold gifts and, in a second prayer, to “confirm and strengthen them with the inward unction of thy Holy Ghost...unto everlasting life,” the bishop laying his hand on their heads and signing their forehead with the cross. By the book of 1552 the punctual epiclesis of the first prayer (“Send down”) was softened to a prayer for “strengthening” with the Holy Spirit and a “daily increase” in his gifts; the consignation disappeared, and the prayer at the simple imposition of the episcopal hand was reformulated as one for the “defense” afforded by “heavenly grace.” It had been recognized from the start that confirmation is “most meet to be ministered when children come to that age, that partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sin.” A concluding rubric declared that none shall “be admitted to the holy communion, until such time as he [can say the catechism and] be confirmed.”

In German PIETISM of the seventeenth century, catechesis became for PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER (1635–1705) an opportunity to “bring the head into the heart,” and confirmation the occasion for the catechumen to ratify or “renew” his baptismal covenant, testify to his experienced “conversion,” and vow to lead a Christian life (see Repp, 68–71). For FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) confirmation was “the offering and acceptance of a personal confession of faith,” the “supplying of what was lacking in infant baptism” and thereby its “true and worthy completion” (*Der christliche Glaube*, §138, 2). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, confirmation—by now as widespread among the Reformed as among the Lutherans—became seen as specification of membership in a particular congregation or DENOMINATION (where baptism had simply been into “the Christian church”), but it also acquired an independent weight through associations with the end of schooling, a “great festival of youth,” and entry upon civic and economic privileges. Among humanistically inclined pastoral theologians of the twentieth century, under the influence of psychology and sociology, confirmation became a “rite de passage,” the sacrament of puberty, following upon baptism understood as the sacrament of infancy.

The Ecumenical and Liturgical Movements

The Liturgical and Ecumenical Movements of the twentieth century, whose currents often flowed together, looked to the early church as a source for both the renewal of WORSHIP and the reconciliation of divided Christianity. Baptism became an important feature in both. Revisions of service books, both in the Roman Catholic Church and in magisterial Protestantism, found models for the practice of “Christian initiation” in the rites described and expounded in the extant catechetical lectures of some of the great bishops of the fourth and fifth centuries. This inevitably privileged the process as undergone by adult converts. In the work of revision and in the printing of the new books, pride of place was frequently given to orders for baptism on personal profession of faith, with a preceding catechumenate, an immediately succeeding “Spirit” gesture (often), and the expectation of first communion (always). In relation to this adult pattern the procedures for baptizing infants were “adaptations,” although many resisted seeing

“believer baptism” as the “theological norm.” From the responses made by the churches to its “convergence document” on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (1982), the Faith and Order Commission of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES was able to discern “an increasing awareness that originally there was one complex rite of Christian initiation” and to conclude that “all are agreed that the first sign in the process of initiation into the body of Christ is the rite of water baptism. Whichever emphasis is made in the understanding of confirmation [whether as ‘the special sign of the gift of the Spirit’ or as ‘the occasion for a personal profession of faith by those baptized at an earlier age’], each is related to baptism and to holy communion. This may be taken as a hopeful sign that the churches are coming to an understanding of initiation as a unitary and comprehensive process, even if its different elements are spread over a period of time. The total process vividly embodies the coherence of God’s gracious initiative in eliciting our faith” [*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry 1982–1990 (BEM)*, Geneva: WCC, 1990, p. 112].

This convergence, however, did not yet fully settle the ecumenical question of reconciliation among the existing churches. Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Anglicans, and to a lesser degree the Reformed, have considered a presumed “common baptism” as the very basis of ECUMENISM; but, as the churches’ responses to *BEM* showed, the matter is more complicated, both from the Baptist side, where the inclusion by other churches of infants in baptism offends against the Baptist judgment that such are not proper subjects of the rite, and also from the Orthodox side, where some question the authority and capacity of non-Orthodox bodies to administer baptism at all (see further Best and Heller).

Baptismal Policies in the Current Situation

In “overseas missions” Protestants have historically known both a “blood and soil” approach, rather like the early CONVERSION of the Germanic nations, in which entire tribes or peoples have adopted Christianity (and received baptism) at a swoop, as in parts of AFRICA and the Pacific, but also a slower advancement by hard-won individual conversions and baptisms, as in parts of Asia. In the historic Protestant heartlands, amid social and cultural changes, public Christianity has declined more sharply than in some other parts of Europe. Opinions have varied between a generous policy of infant baptism, seeking to fan the embers of a residual faith among the folk, and a stricter baptismal discipline, attempting to give the church a sharper profile amid an increasingly secular or religiously plural populace. In any case the CHURCH OF ENGLAND’S statistics are striking: between 1950 and 2000, the rate of infant baptisms for every thousand live births in the nation fell steadily and steeply from 670 to 210, whereas the absolute number of baptisms of “other persons” rose from about 10,000 to about 50,000 a year (of whom some 40,000 were children aged between one and twelve years, and some 10,000 were by that standard “adults”).

Even in the United States, where the public practice of Christianity among Protestants remains much more prominent than in Europe (and where Baptist denominations also find their strongest representation), proposals for the creation or restoration of an “adult catechumenate,” whether initiatory or remedial, find favor among “mainline” churches. There are ecumenical calls for a “baptismal spirituality,” whereby the whole of the

Christian life would be treated as living from, or into, one's baptism in the midst of a baptismally aware community, sustained by the preached word and the Lord's meal.

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

BAPTIST BIBLE UNION

As the twentieth century began, Northern Baptists in the UNITED STATES were optimistic about the future and eager to expand their denominational structure. Yet the historic conviction of congregational independence caused many to be suspicious about growing centralization and ECUMENISM. More disturbing was the fear that theological liberalism, biblical criticism, evolutionary science, empirical psychology, and the SOCIAL GOSPEL were becoming accepted in Baptist schools and churches. Noted

liberals like William Newton Clarke, George Burman Foster, SHAILER MATHEWS, WALTER RAUSCHENBUSH, and HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK drew increasing attention and criticism from conservatives in the denomination. To good old-fashioned Baptists MODERNISM seemed to compromise the reliability of the Scriptures, the possibility of supernatural intervention, the deity of Christ, the validity of evangelical CONVERSION, and the expectancy of Christ's imminent return.

The leader of the conservative critics was William Bell Riley, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis, Minnesota. An ardent defender of premillennialism and an arch opponent of evolution, Riley was the principal organizer of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association. Beginning in May of 1919 the WCFA sponsored a series of BIBLE conferences throughout the country warning that "the Great Apostasy" foretold in Scripture "was spreading like a plague throughout Christendom." Over 6,000 people reportedly attended the Philadelphia meeting. Sensing an opportunity to capitalize on the antimodernist sentiment among Baptists, Riley and a group of concerned conservatives called for a "General Conference on the Fundamentals" to precede the meeting of the 1920 Northern Baptist Convention (NBC). Amid a chorus of "Amens," J.C.Massee compared modernist teachers to Philistines who use their Delilah-like seductions to weaken and blind God's people. He pronounced any Baptist institution that harbored liberalism to be unsafe until it had been purged of the source of "pernicious percolating poison."

The well-attended event lasted for two days. Curtis Lee Laws, the editor of the Baptist periodical the *Watchman Examiner*, described the participants as followers of Christ "who still cling to the great fundamentals and who mean to do battle royal" for "the faith once delivered to the saints." When the official convention meeting began, fundamentalists were organized and ready. They passed votes forcing the denomination to pull out of the Interchurch Movement and approved an investigation to determine the ORTHODOXY of Baptist schools. The aim of the "fundamentalist fellowship" was to cleanse the DENOMINATION of liberalism. Before the 1922 meeting of the NBC, Massee challenged fundamentalists to "keep the fight going," but this time denominational loyalists were not surprised. Riley offered a motion that recommended the New Hampshire Confession be adopted by congregations. Prominent liberal pastor Cornelius Woelfkin of the Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York City countered with a substitute proposal that affirmed the New Testament as a sufficient basis of faith and practice. Woelfkin's alternative passed by a margin of two to one.

The fundamentalists were divided into two groups: moderates who wanted to remain as a "loyal opposition" within the NBC, and militants who pushed for "strict separation." A meeting was called in 1923 and the Baptist Bible Union (BBU) was formed. T.T. Shields, pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto, was elected president, a position he held until 1930. The BBU adopted The New Hampshire Confession with a premillennial gloss as its faith statement, although Shields was an amillennialist. Shields stated that the aim of the BBU was to be broader than just the NBC. He vowed "to mobilize the conservative Baptist forces of the continent, for the express purpose of declaring and waging relentless and uncompromising war on modernism on all fronts." One of the fronts on which the fundamentalist BBU waged its war was against evolution, attacking it as "unscientific, unscriptural, anti-Christian, atheistic, and man-degrading." They appealed to professors in Baptist schools "who have been inoculated with this virus,

not to spread the unholy contagion among students committed by godly parents to their care” and appealed to governing boards to discover those that adopt “this anti-Christian philosophy and remove every such professor from his chair.”

The BBU’s most infamous fundamentalist crusader among Southern Baptists was J.Frank Norris, also known as the “Texas Tornado.” For forty-three years he held forth as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Fort Worth, Texas. Norris was the master of outrageous and acrimonious agitation. He attacked Baptist leaders as “lick-the-skillet, two-by-four, aping, asinine preachers” and charged denominational schools with being full of “simian-headed, sawdust-brained” professors teaching “evolution and infidelity.” He referred to one prominent pastor as “the Infallible Baptist Pope” and “the Holy Father.” In a 1926 sermon series entitled “Rum and Romanism,” Norris accused the mayor of Fort Worth of misappropriating city funds for Catholic causes. One of the mayor’s associates came to see Norris at his office. The two exchanged heated words. When it was over the complainant lay dead on the floor, the victim of Norris’s gun, earning him a reputation as the “pistol packin’ preacher.” The trial was media circus, and Norris was acquitted on the grounds of self-defense.

In 1927 the BBU acquired the title to Des Moines University, which proved to be the undoing of both the school and the union. Conflict quickly emerged between BBU president Shields and school president H.C.Wayman. The result was chaos. Trustees fired the faculty and administration. Students rioted. The school went bankrupt. Shields returned to CANADA under the cloud of scandal, and participation in the BBU fell off sharply. In response to calls for a more strictly separated association the BBU met one last time in 1932. The thirty-four delegates voted to disband and reorganize as the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTISTS. Led by their chief controversialist, Robert T. “Fighting Bob” Ketcham, the GARB continued to wage a publicity campaign against Northern Baptist liberalism. Riley and other moderate fundamentalists remained in the NBC until 1947 (the year of his death) when they formed the CONSERVATIVE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION of America. Norris founded the Premillennial Baptist Missionary Fellowship in 1931 that later became the World Fundamental Baptist Missionary Fellowship and again split in 1950 giving rise to the Baptist Bible Fellowship.

The lifespan of the BBU was brief but potent. Most fundamentalist Baptist groups in America trace their origins either directly or indirectly to it, and prominent Baptists from John Birch, to BILLY GRAHAM, to JERRY FALWELL have historical connections in it. The fundamentalist triumvirate of Riley, Shields, and Norris did much to shape the public image of FUNDAMENTALISM as fussy and fissiparous, prompting E.J.Carnell to describe old-style fundamentalism as “orthodoxy gone cultic” (Carnell 1959:113). Yet given that reformed fundamentalism has become the new orthodoxy of the largest Baptist group in the world suggests its legacy may be far greater than the founders of the BBU ever imagined.

See also Baptists, United States; Darwinism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Southern Baptist Convention

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CURTIS W.FREEMAN

BAPTIST FAMILY OF CHURCHES

The growth of the Baptist "family" of churches began in the early seventeenth century with a few individuals prepared to state their beliefs: JUSTIFICATION by FAITH; the Lordship of Jesus Christ; the autonomy of the local church; the AUTHORITY of Scripture; the separation of CHURCH AND STATE; the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS; soul liberty; regenerate church membership; and the ordinances of BAPTISM and communion (LORD'S SUPPER) as symbols of spiritual realities. Since that time the BAPTISTS have grown into a worldwide DENOMINATION and are now recognized as the largest evangelical affiliation of churches in the world.

Origins

In 1608 JOHN SMYTH, a graduate from Cambridge, England and pastor of a Separatist congregation in the town of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire sought freedom from continuing persecution by James I, the ruler of ENGLAND. Smyth and his congregation, along with his associate Thomas Helwys, fled to Amsterdam, where they reestablished their church. Rejecting infant BAPTISM in favor of adult baptism, John Smyth baptized himself and then members of his congregation. Modeled scripturally after the New Testament church, the church consisted of autonomous congregations of believers. Adult baptism in the church was carried out by the washing of water, the baptism of the Spirit, and a confession of faith as the scriptural basis for a Christian CONVERSION. In 1612 Helwys

left with a portion of the Amsterdam congregation to move back to the British Isles and as a result a number of Baptist churches were founded in England.

Baptist Churches in Britain

Two groups of Baptist churches in England had separate origins. The GENERAL BAPTISTS (Arminians) believe in a *general* ATONEMENT and taught that Christ's death applies to the freedom of the individual who would believe and accept it (see ARMINIANISM). General Baptists separated themselves from the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and followed the Puritan belief that the church should consist of men and women who confess their faith in Christ as Savior (see PURTTANISM). Baptism was limited to those old enough to make a confession of faith.

Particular Baptists (Calvinists) hold to *particular* atonement. Their theological convictions are based on ELECTION: those who have been predestined to salvation by God (see CALVINISM; PREDESTINATION). They hold similar views to those of the General Baptists with regard to baptism and a confession of faith. The earliest Particular Baptist church was established in London, England in the year 1638, moving to a more radical position of baptism by immersion.

Helwys promoted the Christian principle of religious liberty, advocating separation between church and state. The royal government of England imprisoned Helwys, where he died as a martyr for his cause of freedom. It was this vision of freedom that inspired many Baptists to migrate to North America on September 6, 1620 on the legendary ship Mayflower. Despite differences between the General and Particular Baptists, their churches merged to form a united denomination in 1891, as the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

John Howard Shakespeare, general secretary of the Baptist Union from 1898 to 1924, contributed to the structure and shape of the Baptist denomination in England: he organized major fund drives; initiated ecumenical dialogue with other denominations; assisted in the organization of the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE in 1905; planned the construction of the Baptist Church House; and restructured the Baptist denomination under the leadership of superintendents. Ecclesiastical unity and efficiency were predominant characteristics of the Baptist Union as they encouraged superintendents to keep close ties on local churches and pastors, dividing England and Wales into ten districts under the Ministerial Settlement and Sustentation Scheme. English Baptist colleges are conducted as independent centers of study: Bristol College founded in 1679; Regent's Park in Oxford (1810); Spurgeon's College in London (1856); and Manchester (1866).

Baptist Beginnings in Colonial America

During the colonization of America many immigrants from England and WALES adopted Baptist views after their arrival in the New World. ROGER WILLIAMS, an English Puritan clergyman, immigrated to America, arriving at Boston in 1631. Separatist tendencies were contrary to prevalent views held by the established Congregational

Church of early New England (also known as the Church of Standing Order). Legal action was taken against those people who disagreed with their self-governing policy. Sentiments of opposition toward the government expressed by Williams included endorsement of: separation of church and state, Indian land claims, and religious tolerance (see TOLERATION). Roger Williams was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for preaching such new and dangerous opinions, and established the first official Baptist church in America at Providence, Rhode Island around 1638 (Brackney 1988:129). Williams remained a Baptist for only a few months but his influence was significant in political and religious history as he promoted religious liberty for all. He also served as missionary to American Indians, and wrote *The Bloody Tenent*, published in England while seeking a charter for the Providence colony.

Dr. John Clarke established the first congregation with Baptist convictions at Newport, Rhode Island in 1648. Because of bitter persecution Baptist churches grew slowly during the seventeenth century. In 1670 the first regional -association of churches was established in New England named the General Six Principle Baptists. In Rhode Island Sabbatarians established their first church by 1671 (see SABBATARIANISM). These Seventh-Day Baptists continued to fellowship with other Baptists only when numbers were insufficient to establish their own churches. In 1707 five churches in New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania formed the first association in America, enabling missionary efforts to begin. By 1760 the Philadelphia Association extended from Connecticut in the north to Virginia in the south. The Charleston Association was formed in 1751 and soon others were initiated as a revival (called the Great Awakening) spread the Christian faith (see REVIVALS, AWAKENINGS). The results of revival made a deep impact on Baptist growth in North America.

The New Light Congregationalists, emphasizing a *new light* experience through the Holy Spirit, joined the Baptist churches and became known as Separate Baptists. They held theological views similar to General Baptists, stressing the individual's freedom to choose salvation, a general atonement, and the Christian state of apostasy (the possibility of falling from GRACE). The Regular or Particular Baptists placed an emphasis on Calvinist views such as Predestination, God's sovereignty, and irresistible grace given to those people chosen by God for salvation.

Under the leadership of Benjamin Randall in New Hampshire, FREE WILL BAPTISTS challenged the Calvinist views of this time period. As a result, the Free Will position nudged Separate Baptists toward a Regular Position, softening the extremes of Calvinism among Regular Baptists. By 1790 there was a total of 979 Baptist churches with a membership of 67,490, representing a sudden increase of Baptists in the country since the initial report of sixty churches in 1740. Congregations were predominantly Separate Baptists who maintained a distance from Regular Baptists, criticizing them for negligence in principles of church membership.

Toward the end of the colonial period Separate and Regular Baptists joined together in missionary endeavors to the South and in CANADA. A notable element of Baptist history during the colonial period in America was the missionary work of WILLIAM CAREY (1761–1834) in Bengal, INDIA, which began in 1792 and left a lasting legacy of established Baptist Missions and churches in that country. Carey, a cobbler from Moulton, England, was the first missionary appointed by the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) of England, and he baptized his first convert at Serampore, Bengal in 1800. Carey

first promoted the idea of ecumenical dialogue among the diversity of denominations found on the mission field in India. As VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES were organized for foreign missions, Baptists both in England and America were spurred onward to evangelistic efforts at home and in overseas missions. American missionaries ADONIRAM JUDSON and Luther Rice were instrumental in the mission work of Burma (now Myanmar), arriving at Rangoon (now Yangon) on July 13, 1813. Judson served as a missionary in India and Rice returned to America to enlist support for missions among American Baptists.

Baptist Churches in North America

From the 1800s onward American Baptist churches continued to escalate numerically as they perfected their organizational structures, promoted missionary endeavors in other countries, and entered into divisive controversies, which contributed to their formation as a major evangelical Christian denomination in North America. The four largest Baptist denominations in the United States are the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES, the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION U.S.A., and the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA.

Division between North and South

In 1795 ISAAC BACKUS estimated that Baptist churches numbered 1,152 and were in a strong position to make major contributions to American life. In 1802 Baptists in New England started to initiate benevolent societies to advance the interests of the denomination, leading to the organization of congregations in the North and West. The principle of organization is based on voluntary individual membership within independent charters. This is in contrast to the more centralized method used by Baptists in the southern states.

On May 18, 1814 the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination was formed, also known as the Triennial Convention. In 1826 disagreements between the North and South over methods of organization led to the formation of *societies* unconnected to churches in the North, whereas in the South the formation of an *association* or *convention* plan was based on adopted churches. An influential Baptist from Boston, Massachusetts named Francis Wayland convinced the Convention to limit its operation to an independent society for foreign missions. The Triennial Convention moved its headquarters from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to Boston, Massachusetts, cutting back further participation by Southern Baptists. In 1844 Francis Wayland engaged in literary debates with Richard Fuller of Charleston, South Carolina over the moral imperative of the North against SLAVERY in the South.

Between 1826 and 1845 relations between Northern and Southern Baptists continued to deteriorate. Factors related to this division include (1) the slavery controversy between proslavery and antislavery parties; (2) the antimissionary movement promoted by the South in opposition to those in the North who devised programs to encourage conversions; (3) the Campbellism controversy: a rational faith employing an ecumenical view to move beyond denominationalism, known as "Christians only"; and (4)

disagreement over methods of organization pushing Southern Baptists to a more unified convention method rather than the many society meetings held by the North.

Two factors led to schism in 1845: (1) the Home Mission Society declined approval of the nomination of Rev. James E. Reeve, a slave owner from Georgia, to serve as a home missionary; (2) an inquiry from the Baptist State Convention of Alabama to the Board of the Triennial Convention, requesting whether slave-holders could act as foreign missionaries, was turned down by the Home Mission Society. These events, known as the *Georgia Test Case* and the *Alabama Resolutions*, hastened the schism between North and South leading to the Augusta, Georgia meeting of Southern Baptists on May 8, 1845 to form the Southern Baptist Convention. Francis Wayland was a support to the Southern states during this dilemma, but held that the division represented just one more formulation of a mission society in the Baptist denomination. Southerners regarded the split as an opportunity to develop their own denominational views separate from the North.

American Baptist Churches in the USA

Known at first as the Northern Baptist Convention, it was organized in 1907 and created for the purpose of coordinating the many Baptist mission agencies that were in existence at that time. In 1950 the name changed to the American Baptist Convention, and then again in 1973 to its present name of American Baptist Churches in the USA. The headquarters is at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, also the site of a publishing branch called the *Judson Press*. Membership is about 1.5 million in 4,800 congregations distributed among thirty-four regional jurisdictions.

In 1911 the Convention became a charter member of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ and the International Faith and Order Movement. The first president was Charles Evans Hughes, governor of New York, who was an advocate of social activism. During the year 1911 a merger occurred between the Northern Baptist Convention and the Free Will Baptist General Conference, becoming the Freewill Baptists in America. With the rapid development of boards, educational programs, commissions for stewardship, missions, and social service, the Northern Baptists ultimately became embroiled in what is known as the modernist/fundamentalist controversy, a bitter conflict between internal liberalism and conservative elements in the early 1920s. The main body of Northern Baptists assumed a mediating position in 1922, centering on the sufficiency of scripture as foundation of faith and practice.

In 1950, with the change in name to the American Baptist Convention, an open invitation was given to other Conventions to unite together and form a national body of Baptists.

Congregations from the Baptist African American traditions achieved a dual-alignment status with the Convention and attitudes of religious tolerance became a predominant factor in the future shaping of Baptist affiliations. With the second name revision to the American Baptist Churches in the USA, more authority was given to the regional bodies and local churches.

Theologically, American Baptist beliefs include conservative, neoorthodox, liberal, and charismatic renewal traditions. With an emphasis on the autonomy of each church, some congregations have joined the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists,

an association formed during the 1991 biennial meeting of the denomination at Charleston, West Virginia. Their purpose is to support those who are needy, weak, and oppressed; to promote justice for all people; to express unity in diversity and diversity in unity; and to embrace pluralism while respecting individual theological differences.

Fundamentalist Baptist Churches

The Northern Baptist Convention met in Denver, Colorado in 1919 and made four decisions that ultimately alienated conservatives in their ranks: (1) authorizing funding projects to raise money; (2) organizing denominational boards to oversee Northern Baptist Convention work; (3) initiating a denomination newspaper called *The Baptist*; and (4) voting to join the INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT. In response to what were considered moves to entrench liberal leadership in the denomination, conservatives moved to organize a group called the Fundamentalist Fellowship. They met annually before the Convention to plan strategic moves in the voting process, so those influenced by liberalism might be purged out of the denomination. When this process failed, the BAPTIST BIBLE UNION was formed in 1923 at Kansas City, Missouri consisting of two groups: moderate conservatives who wanted to remain in the convention and militant separatists who wanted to split off. As an outgrowth of this organization the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTIST CHURCHES was formed in 1932. Major leaders include W.B.Riley, A.C.Dixon, J.Frank Norris, and T.T.Shields of Canada. Moderate Fundamentalists remained in the Northern Convention for another twenty years with influential leaders such as Frank M.Goodchild, J.C.Massee, and Curtis Lee Laws.

In 1943 the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society was formed and the general body of the CONSERVATIVE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION of America in 1947. The World Baptist Fellowship (WBF) led by John Franklyn Norris (1877–1952), a militant fundamentalist known as the *Texas Cyclone*, was founded in 1950. Norris was a notorious leader, having been indicted and tried for murder, perjury, and arson during his ministry. The WBF suffered two splits as a consequence of the personality and methods of Norris: the Baptist Bible Fellowship of Springfield, Missouri in 1952 and the Baptist Bible Fellowship (BBF) in 1950. The Southwide Baptist Fellowship (SBF) consisted of independents and numerous disgruntled Baptists who were avid evangelists from the Northern Baptist Convention, known for their fundamentalist beliefs and behaviors. Fundamentalist churches in America number around 10,000 and are gathered into a number of separate general bodies.

Free Will Baptists

There are two streams of Free Will Baptists: Paul Palmer formed the General Baptist churches in North Carolina in the 1720s and Benjamin Randall led another group in 1780 in New England. In 1911 many Free Wills joined the Northern Baptist Convention and in 1935 the Palmer and Randall lines merged to form the National Association of Free Will Baptists (NAFWB). Free Wills are known for their intense conservatism, central organizational structure, and the practice of foot washing.

The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) is the largest conservative, evangelical Baptist organization in the United States, consisting of 17.4 million baptized believers. Approximately one half of all Baptists in the United States belong to the Southern Baptist Convention. There are around 47,000 churches spread throughout all fifty states in the United States, making it the largest Protestant denomination. The Southern Baptist Convention, organized on May 8, 1845 in Augusta, Georgia, separated from the General Missionary Conference of the Baptist Denomination (Triennial Convention) and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The Home Mission Board (HMB) and the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) were formed in 1845 and the Sunday School Board in 1891. Women like Charlotte “Lottie” Diggs Moon (1840–1912), a famous missionary to CHINA, and Annie Armstrong of Baltimore, a leader in home missions, encouraged women to become involved in missionary work in Asia and AFRICA.

The SBC experienced remarkable growth as membership increased 250% between 1940 and 1980. Reasons for dynamic growth include a fervent evangelistic and missionary emphasis; a strong denominational consciousness; resistance to prevalent liberalism in the modernity of the twentieth century; unified leadership in boards and state conventions in relationship to local congregations; an emphasis upon theological education in SEMINARIES; and the publication of SUNDAY SCHOOL materials for churches. Southern Baptists have refused involvement with the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, although their agencies cooperate with a diversity of programs offered by the National Council of Churches.

Theologically most Southern Baptists are conservative evangelicals and adhere to the scriptural authority of the BIBLE in the determination of their ecclesiology and social action in the community. Southern Baptists baptize by immersion accompanied by a public confession of faith; do not believe in the conveyance of sacramental grace in baptism or communion; and hold to both Calvinist and Arminian viewpoints. Although they do not adhere to a universal confessional creed, they use a faith statement called *The Baptist Faith and Message* (BFM), first adopted in 1925 and revised in 1963, that is based on the *New Hampshire Confession*.

The Southern Baptist Convention leadership has become increasingly conservative; a revision of the BFM in 2000 insists that women submit to their husbands and be banned from ordination as church pastors. In a decision to strengthen the traditional Baptist position and in reaction to liberal attempts to modernize the denomination, the SBC requested that more than 5,400 appointed missionaries from the Southern Baptist International Mission Board sign the amended faith statement by May, 2003 or face termination in their positions. As a result missionaries faced the doctrinal dilemma of agreeing to the terms of the faith statement or leaving their ministries in the countries they served. A number of congregations have left the SBC and joined the moderate Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) formed in 1991, with headquarters situated in Atlanta, Georgia.

American Baptist Association (Landmarkers)

In the early 1900s Landmark groups located primarily in Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas protested the *convention* system used by the Southern Baptist Convention. Led by James R. Graves of Tennessee, a preacher in the Southern Baptist Convention, they opposed the

use of *executive boards* implemented by Baptist churches from the North. The United States General Association drew the Landmark groups together in March, 1905 to support the *Old Landmarks* teaching of the church as local and visible. Landmark teachings require: a properly authorized administrator to validate Ordinances; belief in a direct succession of Baptist churches from the time of Christ; rejection of baptism in other churches; no pulpit affiliation with other denominations; exclusive observance of the Lord's Supper in the local church; and missionary work carried out by the local church rather than through a Convention.

Named the American Baptist Association (ABA) in 1924, the groups membership grew to 200,000 by 1950. Ben M. Bogard, a leader and defender of the faith and work of the ABA, wrote a well-known book called the *Baptist Way-Book* advocating views held by J.R. Graves. Landmark Baptists in the U.S.A. number about 500,000 and are primarily located in the states of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and California. On May 25–26, 1950 a number of churches from the American Baptist Association met in Lakehead, Florida and voted to split in protest over the issue of accepting messengers who were not members of the churches they represented. From this schism the North American Baptist Association formed a new denomination, which later changed its name to the Baptist Missionary Association of America in 1969. The ABA claims about 250,000 members in 1,700 churches predominantly found in the southern states.

National Baptist Conventions

There are currently four predominantly African American Baptist denominations in the United States: the National Baptist Convention of the United States of America, Inc.; the National Baptist Convention of America; the National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul-Saving Assembly of the USA; and the PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, Incorporated.

During the middle of the nineteenth century an emergence of black Baptist churches and organizations took place. Despite laws preventing the organization of black churches, many came into existence as early as 1778 in Georgia, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The first black association of eight churches occurred in Ohio in 1834. In 1886 the first national Black Convention was organized, composed of 600 church delegates from seventeen states. On September 28, 1895 the National Baptist Convention, the largest African American denomination in America and the world, was established in Atlanta, Georgia.

In 1915 the Convention separated into two distinct organizations in a dispute over the ownership of the National Baptist Publishing Board. In an attempt to claim rights to the publishing house, the Convention adopted a new charter and was incorporated under the title National Baptist Convention of the United States of America, Incorporated. This new charter was rejected by others, however, and the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc. was established under the leadership of the Rev. R.H. Boyd, claiming over 2.5 million members and over 11,000 congregations by 1956. Both denominations adhere to similar theological positions on: scriptural authority; the Lordship of Jesus; baptism of believers; separation of church and state; autonomy of the local church; and state associations.

The National Baptist Evangelical Life and SoulSaving Assembly was founded in 1920 in Kansas City, Missouri under the auspices of the National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated. In 1936 they declared independence from the Convention, dedicating their work to evangelism, relief work, and the support of charities. In 1951 the Assembly consisted of 264 churches and 58,000 members.

The Progressive National Baptist Convention emerged in 1961 after a schism within the National Baptist Convention of the United States of America, Incorporated. Factors leading to division include: dissatisfaction with the leadership of J.H.Jackson; the structure of convention and controversy concerning the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1960s; and methods used by MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. in opposition to racism. The PNBC headquarters are found in Washington, D.C. and are in formal alignment with the American Baptist Churches. By 1984 they had approximately one million members.

Baptist Churches in Canada

British Empire Loyalists emigrated to what is now known as Atlantic Canada, that is, the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, as well as to Quebec and Ontario in the late eighteenth century. This movement of emigrants opened a gateway to Baptist growth in the Maritimes and spread westward to the rest of Canada over the next century. Ebenezer Moulton, the first Baptist minister in Canada, established a church in the Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia in 1760. Factors leading to the growth of the Baptist organization in Canada include the Revivals of the Great Awakening; missionary endeavors by HENRY ALLINE, who was a Congregationalist, a fervent evangelist, and preacher; and the emergence of Freewill Baptist churches in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Pioneer leaders include Ebenezer Moulton, Nathan Mason, Shubael and Daniel Dimock, Benjamin Randall, and Avery Moulton. Baptists from the Arminian (Free Baptists) and Calvinistic (Regular Baptists) branches united to form the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces in 1905.

Missionary work was a prevalent feature of Canadian Baptists. Reverend Samuel S. Day, a native of Ontario, was the first Baptist missionary in the country of Telugus, in India, and founder of the American Baptist Telugu Mission. As American citizens he and his wife sailed from Boston on September 22, 1835, arriving at Calcutta on February 5, 1836. Richard E. Burpee and his wife Laleah were the first Canadian Baptist missionaries who left from Nova Scotia and arrived in Burma on April 20, 1845. Support for the Burpees came from two Maritime associations as they worked under the auspices of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

On August 26, 1849 the Grande Ligne Mission of Quebec became a driving force in missions and merged with the Canada Baptist Missionary Society to become the Baptist Evangelical Church of Grande Ligne. In 1888 the Regular Baptist Missionary Convention of Ontario merged with the Canada Baptist Missionary Convention East and the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Ontario and Quebec. The combined mergers of the Church Edifice Society for Ontario and Quebec and the Superannuated Ministers' Society culminated in the formation of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.

The Baptist Union of Western Canada (for two years called a Convention) developed in 1907 from Baptist associations in the British Columbia Convention, the Convention of

Manitoba and the Convention of the North-West. Their first meeting as the Baptist Convention of Western Canada was held in November 1907. Obstacles hindering the unity of Baptists across Canada included the fundamentalist/modernist controversy of the 1920s, which produced schisms from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec and the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Because of antimodernism sentiments T.T.Shields founded the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec in 1927. This second indigenous Baptist denomination of Canada is presently known as the Canada-wide Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches.

The Baptist Federation of Canada was organized in 1944 (later renamed the Canadian Baptist Federation), which merged with the Canadian Baptist International Ministries to form the Canadian Baptist Ministries in 1995, as a national agency consisting of four autonomous Baptist Conventions: The Convention of Atlantic Baptist Churches (538 churches, 62,000 members); the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (372 churches and 43,000 members); the Baptist Union of Western Canada (167 churches, 22,000 members); and the Union d'Eglises baptistes francaises au Canada (the Union of French Baptist Churches in Canada) (32 churches, 1,733 members). There are four seminaries: McMaster Divinity College in Ontario, Acadia University in Nova Scotia, Carey Hall linked with Regent College in British Columbia, Faculte Theologie Evangelique in Quebec, and one lay training institute named Atlantic Baptist University in New Brunswick. The headquarters of the Canadian Baptist Ministries is in Mississauga, Ontario from which is published the *Canadian Baptist Magazine* on a quarterly basis.

Baptist World Alliance

The Southern Baptists, Northern Baptists, and British Baptists were instrumental in gathering Baptist unions and conventions together into the Baptist World Alliance. The BWA was first established in London in 1905 as an international organization and serves as a beacon light to the nations of the world. BWA conferences are held every three years with representatives of over 125 countries in attendance. Its purpose is to promote world peace and religious liberty, provide relief funds in emergency situations, and provide a neutral environment for Baptists to discuss cultural and theological issues.

Worldwide Family of Baptists

Baptists have grown to encompass a worldwide fellowship of churches consisting of almost forty-six million baptized believers in 206 Baptist conventions and unions. This includes ethnic Baptist groups in North America that primarily come from European, Hispanic, Asian, and other cultural backgrounds as well as in countries where missionaries from representative mission boards in North America and Europe have established Baptist churches. Albert W. Wardin has compiled a helpful book called *Baptists around the World: A Comprehensive Handbook*, designed to classify Baptists worldwide, emphasizing the history of Baptists in each particular area or country. The Baptist World Alliance continues to list up-to-date statistics in an annual directory,

providing information on recent changes in memberships and churches, as well as on the additions of any new Baptist conventions.

See also Baptist Missions; Baptists, Europe; Baptists, Global; Baptists, United States; Biblical Inerrancy; Congregationalism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Women Clergy

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DONNA J.KERFOOT

BAPTIST GENERAL CONFERENCE

With a growing dissatisfaction in the cold formality of the Swedish established Lutheran Church, a Pietistic revival spread throughout SWEDEN in the early nineteenth century. Small groups called *läsare* (or “Bible” readers) met in homes for study, prayer, and mutual support. From these groups came the Swedish Baptists, founded when seaman Fredrick O. Nilsson (b. 1809) arranged the first believer’s baptism in 1848, having been baptized himself the year before.

Nilsson’s act was seen as a public DISSENT from the state, and after being tried, he was banished from the country in 1850. Eventually coming to the UNITED STATES in 1853, Nilsson founded several congregations in Minnesota. During this time a number of Swedish Baptist congregations were also being established in Illinois by a former

Lutheran lay-preacher and school teacher, Gustaf Palmquist (1812–1867). Palmquist, impressed by the *läsare* and the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES, was baptized and ordained in August 1852, establishing the first American-Swedish Baptist congregation a month later. Nilsson and Palmquist, who had met in Sweden, worked together to organize Swedish Baptist congregations into what later became the Swedish Baptist General Conference of America in 1879.

Although slow in the beginning, the last two decades of the nineteenth century saw a relative explosion in growth. Large numbers of Swedish immigrants, some Baptists already, founded numerous new congregations in the Midwest, increasing membership from 3,000 in 1879 to 22,000 in 1902. After the turn of the century, however, immigration slowed and church ministry became more English centered, culminating with the drop of “Swedish” from the name in 1945.

With this sluggish growth came the impetus for stronger organization. Previously aided by other American Baptists, and despite the financial crisis it created, the Baptist General Conference (BGC) separated from other Baptist groups and became self-supporting. This included moving their seminary from Chicago to St. Paul, Minnesota in 1914 and renaming it Bethel Seminary; forming a denominational periodical, a merging of preexisting Swedish and English Baptist periodicals; developing social services, particularly orphanages, homes for the aging, and hospitals; and forming their own Baptist Missions board in 1944.

Conservative in THEOLOGY, and with a strong Baptist TRADITION, the denomination is congregational in government, where independent congregations form a fellowship of like-minded churches. The Baptist General Conference once again experienced an increase in membership in the last half of the twentieth century. As missionary programs expanded, the ethnicity of the denomination also diversified. Although still predominantly in the Midwestern, Northern, and Pacific United States, with the International Ministry Center in Arlington Heights, Illinois, housing the executive ministry team and the national ministries, the denomination includes more than seventeen ethnic groups from nineteen nations (notably in Asia, AFRICA, and LATIN AMERICA). Membership numbers now are close to 200,000 found in more than 950 congregations worldwide.

See also Baptist Family; Baptists; Baptists, United States; Lutheranism, Scandinavia

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H.CHAD HILLIER

BAPTIST MISSIONS

Baptists have been a missionary people. First they sought to win their neighbors to the faith, although Calvinistic tendencies among the English Baptists hindered the process of missionary work, whereas Baptists in America were more outreach oriented. The major Baptist denominations in America had their roots in world MISSIONS, and today several Baptist bodies elsewhere sponsor missionary agencies. Missions are the integrating center of their corporate life.

The first Baptist congregations formed in ENGLAND at the beginning of the seventeenth century bore the imprint of continental ANABAPTISM, as seen in an emphasis on believers' BAPTISM and the CHURCH as a voluntary fellowship of the regenerate. As dissenting separatists they suffered persecution, and discrimination continued after the passage of the Toleration Act in 1689. In the face of eighteenth-century DEISM, skepticism, and rationalism, those in the "Particular" or Calvinistic wing of the movement took a defensive position (see CALVINISM; PREDESTINATION). Not wishing to usurp God's prerogative to save those whom he elected, they saw themselves as ministers to the chosen few rather than evangelists to the many. In America the Baptists were more missionary minded, and the Philadelphia Baptist Association (founded 1707) sent evangelists as far south as Charleston to form new churches. Similar outreach efforts occurred among Massachusetts and Virginia Baptists, and by the early nineteenth century organized work occurred among blacks in Maryland, white settlers on the frontier (Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, 1802), and the native population (New York [City] Baptist Missionary Society, 1800).

The Work of the British Baptists

An evangelical stream entered into English Particular Baptist circles through continental PIETISM, METHODISM, and Anglican EVANGELICALISM. JONATHAN EDWARDS'S 1747 tract, *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer*, which the Baptists began reading in 1784, also had an impact. Edwards argued that the Great Awakening in New England signified the last days of history were about to begin (see AWAKENINGS). The spread of the gospel throughout the world would occur, but this expansion of the church required united prayer. Andrew Fuller of Kettering used Edwards's emphasis on the balance between divine sovereignty and human responsibility to counter the hyper-Calvinist belief in total depravity that precluded unconverted sinners from repenting and believing the gospel. This attitudinal shift along with the knowledge of other missionary efforts paved the way for WILLIAM CAREY (1761–1834), a young bivocational pastor in Moulton, Northamptonshire, to develop his missionary vision. He raised the idea of missionary outreach in 1789 and soon won the backing of Fuller and other prominent figures. At his installation into a regular pastorate at Leicester in 1791, Carey read a manifesto for the new venture, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, and it was published a year later. At the Northamptonshire Association meeting on May 30, 1792 Carey appealed for action with

the memorable line, “Expect great things; attempt great things.” Four months later the group voted to form “The Particular-Baptist Society, for propagating the gospel amongst the heathen.” It soon was renamed the Baptist Missionary Society.

On June 13, 1793 the BMS sent its first missionaries to INDIA, Carey and John Thomas, a medical doctor. Arriving in Bengal in November Carey chose to be self-supporting and found a job as manager of an indigo plantation. He quickly learned the language, established a church, engaged in agricultural research, set up a school, and fought against social injustices like *sati*, the immolation of a widow on her husband’s funeral pyre. In 1799 he was joined by the printer William Ward (1769–1823) and educator Joshua Marshman (1768–1837), and they settled in the Danish enclave of Serampore. Functioning as a team (the “Serampore Trio”), they carried out educational, translation, and publication work. Among their achievements were publishing the BIBLE in Bengali and other languages, establishing the first newspaper in India, founding Serampore College (1818), engaging in dialogue with Hindu intellectuals, and opening new stations in Bengal, Orissa, North India, and Ceylon as additional missionaries from Britain arrived.

An important BMS endeavor was in Jamaica, where two former American slaves, George Liele and Moses Baker, had launched an indigenous Baptist work in 1783. They asked for assistance from the BMS when the planters opposed evangelizing the slave population, and the first workers arrived in 1814. The trio of Thomas Burchell (1799–1846), James Philippo (1798–1879), and William Knibb (1803–1845) founded churches among the blacks and plunged wholeheartedly into the struggle against SLAVERY. The Baptists contributed significantly to passage in 1834 of the Emancipation Act abolishing slavery throughout the Empire, and securing an end to the apprenticeship system that kept the former slaves in de facto bondage (see SLAVERY ABOLITION OF). Missionary work also took place in Trinidad and other West Indian islands.

In 1842 the Jamaican Baptist Association obtained independence, founded Calabar College to train clergy, and formed the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society that worked in AFRICA with the BMS mission on Fernando Po island and in Cameroon. Founded in 1841 by John Clarke (1802–1879), the mission drew heavily on Jamaicans such as Joseph Merrick (1818–1849) who did important work in BIBLE TRANSLATION. Although deeply motivated by missionary zeal and welcomed by whites who wrongly assumed that the “repatriated” Jamaicans would thrive in the difficult African climate, the mission lacked sufficient support and ended by 1853. However, the main BMS work in Cameroon, led by Joseph Jackson Fuller (1825–1908), born in slavery in Jamaica, and Alfred Saker (1814–1880) from England, was more successful. They translated the Bible and developed a Christian community among the Douala people.

When the Germans placed Cameroon under colonial rule, the BMS left and in 1891 German Baptists began working there. They formed a board in 1898 and operated it as their major field. When the Allies in World War I expelled the German missionaries, Carl Bender (1869–1935), an American citizen, was allowed to stay and preserved the work from complete destruction. German missionaries eventually returned, and with their ethnic counterparts in the North American Baptist Conference, labored in British West Cameroon. The Paris Evangelical Mission administered the Baptist field in French-ruled Cameroon. By the end of colonial rule in 1961 three separate Baptist denominations had emerged.

In 1877 a wealthy Baptist businessman, Robert Arthington (1823–1900), who had the vision of a chain of mission stations across Africa, gave the BMS committee funds for a reconnaissance of the Congo basin. He also supported the efforts of the BMS and other societies in Africa and India that engaged in pioneer work, and was the leading missionary philanthropist in the nineteenth century. Two missionaries who had served in Cameroon, Thomas Comber (1852–1887) and George Grenfell (1849–1906), in the early 1880s transported a steamer overland to the navigable stretch of the river and established a new mission there. The missionaries soon were drawn into the international controversy over the brutal atrocities perpetrated in King Leopold's Congo Free State and only belatedly embraced the cause of reform. In the twentieth century the Belgian Congo was a major BMS field and continued so after independence.

BMS activity in CHINA began in 1859–1860. Its most noted missionary was the Welshman Timothy Richard (1845–1919), a landmark figure in Chinese Christian history, who began work at the Shandong mission in 1870. Convinced of the need for the church to be self-supporting, he urged that itinerant EVANGELISM should be left to Chinese Christians and missionaries should focus on reaching the leaders of society with a message that linked Christianity with the benefits of Western civilization. He was prominent in relief work during the famines of 1876–1879 in north China and argued that Western scientific expertise was needed to avert similar disasters. Because of differences with colleagues over THEOLOGY and strategy, the BMS allowed him to work independently in literacy and educational ministry and he played an important role in the Chinese national reform movement. A dozen BMS missionaries were killed in the Boxer Uprising of 1900 and the mission came close to extinction, but after the revolution in 1911–1912 its educational and medical programs prospered. A decline set in during the 1930s and World War II, and two years after the Communist victory in 1949 the BMS mission was closed.

The New Connexion General Baptists also had a missionary society that began a work in Orissa, India in 1821. It merged with the BMS in 1891. The Ladies' Association for the Support of Zenana Work and Bible Women in India, formed in 1867, was linked with the BMS. In the twentieth century the BMS opened fields in Brazil and several other countries.

Missions of North American Baptists

Baptists in the UNITED STATES followed Carey's work with interest. Various pastors corresponded with him, denominational papers published his letters, local groups prayed and gave money to the Serampore mission, and BMS workers often visited New England on their travels. However, the first body to appoint missionaries was the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, founded by Congregationalists in 1810. In the first group that sailed to India in 1812 were Adoniram (1788–1850) and Ann Hasseltine (1789–1826) Judson (see JUDSON FAMILY) and Luther Rice (1783–1836). On the outward journey they intensely studied the New Testament to prepare for expected controversies with the Baptists and instead became convinced of the correctness of believer's BAPTISM. After arriving in Calcutta, they declared themselves Baptists, were rebaptized, and resigned from the American Board.

The Judsons were forced to leave and go to Rangoon, Burma in 1813 while Rice returned home to raise support for their work.

His efforts resulted in the creation in May 1814 of “The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions,” popularly known as the Triennial Convention because it met every three years, or simply the General Convention. Based on the already existing state conventions and organized on the society model, it was the first national association of Baptists in the country. It appointed Judson as its first overseas missionary and for a brief time sponsored mission activity among settlers and Indians on the frontier with the appointment of John Mason Peck (1789–1857) and Isaac McCoy (1784–1846). Peck’s efforts led to the formation of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1832, which took responsibility for efforts in the West, later in MEXICO and the CARIBBEAN, and after the CIVIL WAR, among the former slaves in the South. Joanna P. Moore (1832–1916) was renowned for her educational work among the freedmen.

Rather than return to India, Rice served as the agent of the Triennial Convention and became engrossed in a futile effort to found a missionary training school, Columbian College, in Washington, D.C. (now George Washington University). Judson, on the other hand, preached and did translation work, founded a church, was imprisoned during a local war in 1824–1826, and suffered his wife’s death soon after. He was joined by George Dana Boardman (1801–1831), who began working among the Karen people, the most successful of the Burmese mission operations. After Boardman’s death, Judson married his widow Sarah (1803–1845) who had played a major role in the Karen mission. He finished the Burmese Bible translation in 1834 and a large Burmese dictionary in 1849. He intended to take his invalid wife home in 1845 but she died on the journey. While on his only furlough, where he was feted as a hero throughout the Protestant community, he married a noted author, Emily Chubbock (1817–1854). He died in Burma four years later, and Emily took the surviving children back to America and helped popularize his labors.

The General Convention opened new works in India—the Telegu mission in 1835 (known as the “Lone State Mission” because the only station for many years was at Nellore) and in 1836 the one in Assam—and entered Thailand in 1833 and China in 1842. In the 1830s it sent missionaries to FRANCE, DENMARK, and Greece, and also supported the indigenous German Baptist work led by Johann G. Oncken (1800–1884). Also noteworthy was the LIBERIA mission initiated under the leadership of LOTT CARY (c. 1780–1828) and Collin Teague (c. 1780–1839), African Americans from Virginia. The FREE WILL BAPTISTS in New England founded a mission society in 1832, and under the direction of Jeremiah Phillips (1812–1879) they inaugurated a work among the Santal people in Orissa, India. In 1847 the Seventh Day Baptists launched a mission in China.

However, abolitionist sentiments in the General Convention and Home Mission Society and a decision not to appoint missionaries who were slave owners led the southern members in May 1845 to break with the national society and form a separate SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. This was a centralized denominational body that represented churches and functioned through boards. The northerners continued the society approach, that is, bodies composed of individual members that linked the efforts

of the individual Baptist associations and statewide organizations. The foreign mission society was renamed the American Baptist Union.

After the Civil War both the northern ABMU and the SBC Foreign Mission Board expanded their operations. The ABMU's Karen mission flourished and was extended to the Kachins and other Burmese hill peoples, while in Assam a mass movement occurred among the tribal (non-Hindu) Garo and Naga, the various enterprises in China rapidly grew, struggling Baptist works in Europe were assisted, the acquisition of the Livingstone Inland Mission's stations in the Congo basin in 1884 added a major new field, a work was initiated in Japan in 1873, and the Philippine Islands were entered in 1901. The Southern board began with a mission in China led by Lewis Shuck (1814–1863) who transferred from the ABMU, and a Yoruba work in Africa. The "Landmark" movement (which stressed missions supported only by local churches) and the trauma of the Civil War almost ruined the SBC, although the Foreign Mission Board revived in the 1870s and soon had thriving undertakings in BRAZIL, JAPAN, NIGERIA, and China. The most noteworthy manifestation of Landmarkism was the Gospel Mission of T.P. Crawford (1821–1902) in China.

A vital aspect of Baptist missions was the women's societies. In 1871 the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (East) was formed in Boston and the WBFMS (West) in Chicago. These boards, which merged in 1914, recruited young women for service under the ABMU and provided their support. Their leading lights were Lucy W. Peabody (1861–1949) and Helen Barrett Montgomery (1861–1934). The SBC counterpart was the Woman's Missionary Union, founded in 1888. It engaged in fund-raising and educational work for missions, but did not administer funds or appoint missionaries. Its major effort was the annual Christmas offering, named for Charlotte "Lottie" Moon (1840–1912), a teacher and evangelist who served in China. Over time it brought in 2.5 billion dollars for SBC missions. The Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society (1873–1916) raised funds and supported female Free Will Baptist workers.

Canadians first became involved under the American Baptists. Samuel S. Day (1808–1871) of Ontario pioneered the Telugu Mission in 1835, others served after him, and a Canadian auxiliary to the ABMU was formed in 1866. The Maritime Baptists formed a mission board in 1865 and began sending workers to ABMU fields in Burma and Thailand. Then in 1873 the Baptists in Ontario-Quebec established a board and opened a field of their own in the Telugu area, and also sent workers to Bolivia. Under pressure from those in the western provinces, a nationwide Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board in 1911 was formed (now the "overseas" board), which was also supported by women's societies. In the twentieth century it extended its work to Africa.

American Baptist Missions in the Twentieth Century

When the Northern Baptist Convention was formed in 1907 the ABMU remained an autonomous agency but in 1910 changed its name to American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. In 1911 it absorbed the Free Will Baptist Society when the parent merged with the NBC. World War I had a devastating impact on missionary enthusiasm, although the ABFMS still had 833 missionaries in 1921. The New World Movement fund-raising effort in the early 1920s to support denominational activities achieved only half of its

hundred million dollar goal, thus forcing retrenchment. Allegations of “modernism” in the missionary force resulted in incessant controversy, and separatist fundamentalists founded independent “faith” missions—Baptist Mid-Missions (1920) and the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism (1927) (see MODERNISM, FUNDAMENTALISM). Many NBC fundamentalists left in 1932 to form the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTIST CHURCHES (GARBC), and this new body embraced the independent societies.

The Depression, unhappiness with the Laymen’s Missionary Inquiry report redefining mission work, and threat of a new World War led to further declines in funding, while long-smoldering dissatisfaction with the so-called “inclusive” policy of the ABFMS and growing denominational connectionalism led to a further schism. In 1943 the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society was formed (Now CBInternational), which the NBC refused to recognize and by 1947 another denomination had formed. Both the GARBC and CONSERVATIVE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION soon had many more missionaries than the parent NBC serving in dozens of countries around the world. The Swedish immigrant BAPTIST GENERAL CONFERENCE placed most of its missionaries with the ABFMS, but grew dissatisfied with the inclusive policy and in 1944 set up its own board. In 1950 the NBC was renamed the American Baptist Convention and in 1972 the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES USA, and the mission society, which by then had taken over the woman’s board, became the Board of International Ministries. By 1982 the number of missionaries had fallen to 203.

The SBC-FMB also suffered economic difficulties, and the Seventy-five Million Campaign in 1920–1925 fell short of its goal. The Cooperative Program (1925) put mission funding on a firmer basis, but the steep drop in receipts during the depression seriously threatened the enterprise. From separatist fundamentalism in the 1930s emerged the World Baptist Fellowship and later the Baptist Bible Fellowship and other groups, all of which supported foreign missionaries. The FMB launched an aggressive program of evangelism in Europe, and after World War II founded the International Baptist Theological Seminary in ZurichRüschlikon, Switzerland to train indigenous workers. While the mainline Northern Baptist mission fragmented and sharply declined, the Southern Baptist effort in the postwar years experienced spectacular growth. Its force of 711 career missionaries in 1950 rose to nearly 4,000 by 1995, with works in over 100 countries, thus making it the largest Protestant missionary agency in the world. Although the American Baptist missions participated actively in ecumenical activities, the Southern Baptists generally remained aloof from these.

Quite important was the work of African American Baptist groups. In 1879 black churches sent missionaries to Nigeria and Liberia, and in 1880 William W. Colley (1847–1909), who had served with the FMB in Liberia, brought about the formation of the Baptist Foreign Missionary Convention of the USA, and returned to Africa under its auspices. This marked the beginning of cooperative work by black Baptists. In 1895 several groups united to form the main denominational body, the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA, and it became its mission board. Its long-time corresponding secretary, Lewis G. Jordan (1854–1939), recruited several outstanding missionaries for its fields in Malawi and Liberia like Emma B. Delany (1871–1922) and Landon N. Cheek (1871–1964). An independent society, the Lott Cary Baptist Foreign Missions Convention, solicited support from the black denominations for its mission enterprises.

A Global Advance

Other national churches sent out missionaries under the British or American board or formed missionary societies of their own—for example, NEW ZEALAND (1885), AUSTRALIA (1913), SOUTH AFRICA (1892), SWEDEN (1889), GERMANY (1898), and NORWAY (1915)—and sent workers to many countries. Missions sponsored by the smaller Baptist bodies in the United States also expanded, so that at the end of the twentieth century, at least twenty-nine denominational boards were in existence. The British BMS ministries flourished as well. At the same time, more and more mission churches gained independence from the Western boards, and now a majority of the unions and conventions that belong to the Baptist World Alliance are in Africa, Asia, and LATIN AMERICA. Several of these younger churches engage in “foreign” missions themselves, the most notable being the ones in Brazil and South Korea.

Baptist advance continues in spite of wars, political crises, denial of visas to expatriate missionaries, and strong opposition from rival religions like Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. The one uncertain element in this otherwise optimistic picture is the theological controversy that rocked the Southern Baptist Convention in the 1980s and 1990s. Those dissatisfied with the new direction of the SBC formed the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, which began sending missionaries itself when the FMB refused to appoint candidates or accept money from churches identified with the CBF. It also cut off all support to the International Baptist Seminary in Rüschtikon, forcing the European Baptist Federation to assume control. It was moved to Prague in 1995, where it now provides advanced training to European and Third World theological students. In a denominational restructuring, the FMB became the International Mission Board and missionaries were directed to shift their emphasis from institutional ministry to that of evangelism and church planting. All personnel were also required to sign the Baptist Faith and Message creedal statement, which included controversial clauses restricting the ordained ministry only to males and requiring wives to submit to their husbands. Whether these changes will have a negative effect on the mission effort remains to be seen.

See also Methodism; Missions; Slavery; Slavery, Abolition of

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BAPTISTS

Baptists, sharply divided between Calvinists and Arminians, originated among early seventeenth-century English separatists and soon spread to America. After 1660 they were persecuted by the English authorities, but emerged into the safety of toleration in 1689. Their numbers were hugely augmented by revivalism from the eighteenth century, and the majority began to support overseas missions. In the nineteenth century they spread to continental Europe, but their main impact was as part of the Evangelical consensus of Britain and America. Divisions over theological liberalism generated the Fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s. Although the Baptists had by then become a global community, their strength still lay overwhelmingly in North America.

Origins

The Baptists were Protestants who, like the Congregationalists, believed that the church consists of a gathered community of believers, but who also held that baptism should be administered only to those making a personal profession of faith. The first Baptist, JOHN SMYTH (1554–1612), led his separatist church from Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, to Amsterdam in 1608. There, probably in the following year, he baptized first himself and then the others “out of a bason” (and therefore not by immersion, later the almost universal Baptist practice). Whether he had been influenced by the Anabaptists of the NETHERLANDS is uncertain, but he was definitely swayed by its Arminian theology to accept the doctrine of general redemption, so that his followers subsequently became known as General Baptists. The lay leader of the party, Thomas Helwys (1550–1616), returned in 1612 to found the first Baptist church in England at Spitalfields. His book, *The Mystery of Iniquity* (1615), was a plea for full liberty of conscience, thus inaugurating an enduring Baptist concern. By 1626 there were at least five General Baptist churches in England.

The other main strand of Baptist church life consisted of those who accepted the Calvinist doctrine of particular redemption and so were called Particular Baptists. The conviction that baptism should be administered only to believers emerged among the

separatists of London during the 1630s, and by 1644 representatives of seven churches signed a confession of faith designed to distinguish its adherents from General Baptists. Already, in 1639, ROGER WILLIAMS (1603–1683) had established the first Baptist church in America at Providence, Rhode Island. Although within a year Williams had rejected all forms of baptism, there were soon other Baptists in America. In 1654 the first president of Harvard College, Henry Dunster (1612–1659), was forced to resign after he had reached Baptist convictions. Meanwhile, in the convulsions of the CIVIL WAR and interregnum, Baptist views spread, especially in the Cromwellian army, which carried them to SCOTLAND and IRELAND. John Miles founded the first congregation in Wales, at Ilston near Swansea, in 1649. Although the Particulars were careful to guard the independence of each local church, the churches of ENGLAND and WALES began to group themselves in regional associations for mutual advice, financial support, and evangelistic outreach. By 1660 there were about 130 Particular Baptist and roughly 110 General Baptist churches. Two smaller groups existed independently: the Seventh-Day Baptists (first attested in 1653), holding that Saturday was to be observed as the sabbath; and the open membership churches, such as the one in Bedford in which John Bunyan (1628–1688) served as elder, where the question of baptism was not regarded as a barrier to church fellowship.

Persecution and Toleration

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 heralded a period of persecution for religious dissent. Excluded from public office, Dissenters were prohibited in 1664 from meeting in groups of more than five. At Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol, the preacher would speak from behind a curtain to avoid identification by informers. Thomas Hardcastle, its pastor, was imprisoned seven times. Some Baptists were given a measure of protection because one of their leaders, William Kiffin, was also a prosperous London merchant whom the king valued as a source of loans. In a period when the pressure slackened, both main Baptist groups issued a confession of faith. The Particular Baptist version, issued in 1677 (reissued in 1689), was modeled on the Savoy Declaration of the Independents (1658) and ultimately on the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, revealing the closeness of the denomination to other Calvinistic Dissenters. The Orthodox Creed of the General Baptists (1679) includes their distinctive ecclesiology. Apart from the elders (or ministers) and deacons (responsible for finances) of the individual churches that they possessed in common with the Particulars, the General Baptists maintained “bishops or messengers” who enjoyed translocal authority and ordained elders. Furthermore they invested a general assembly with the power to superintend local churches.

From 1689, with the passing of the Toleration Act, all Dissenters could worship without fear. Baptists settled into a quieter life and began to build permanent meeting houses. They were, nevertheless, racked by controversy in the 1690s over whether it was proper to sing only Psalms or also, as Benjamin Keach successfully urged, hymns of human composition. There were to be several Baptist hymnwriters in the eighteenth century, perhaps the most distinguished being Anne Steele. In 1719, at a meeting of dissenting ministers at Salters’ Hall in London, a majority of Particular Baptists reaffirmed their Trinitarian convictions, but a majority of General Baptists, preferring to

express their faith in only biblical language, declined to do so. Thereafter, most General Baptists moved steadily toward an Arian theology and eventually, in the nineteenth century, converged with the Unitarians. The Particular Baptists maintained their orthodoxy, often adopting a high version of Calvinism, as in John Gill's major work *The Cause of God and Truth* (1735–1738).

Revival

In 1707 five Particular, or Regular, Baptist churches in America formed the Philadelphia Association, which gradually gathered support from the whole of the English colonies. In 1742 it issued the Philadelphia Confession, identical to the English 1689 confession except that it added a vindication of hymn singing and the laying on of hands after baptism. There were also a number of General Baptists, often called Six-Principle Baptists because of their appeal to the six principles of Hebrews 6:1, 2, which included the laying on of hands. The Great Awakening gave rise from the 1740s to another stream, the Separates, who began as revival converts wishing to worship outside the established CONGREGATIONALISM of New England and then embraced believer's baptism. Their outstanding leader, ISAAC BACKUS (1724–1806), guided them toward merger with the Regular Baptists. Together with John Leland (1754–1841), Backus also championed religious freedom and ultimately helped secure the First Amendment of the federal constitution. Commitment to the separation of church and state became normal among Baptists. By 1795 Backus estimated that there were 1,152 Baptist churches in the United States. African Americans were already beginning to organize separate churches in 1758. In Nova Scotia an indigenous revival led by Henry Alline (1748–1784) turned, after his death in 1784, into a strong Baptist movement, and American Baptists carried their convictions into Ontario.

In Britain the teaching of the Bristol Baptist Academy, reinforced from the 1770s by the thought of the American Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), encouraged a combination of evangelistic enthusiasm with firm but moderate Calvinism. The Evangelical theology of Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) inspired an upsurge of home missionary activity and the foundation, in 1792, of the Baptist Missionary Society, which began its work by sponsoring WILLIAM CAREY (1761–1834) at Serampore in India. Meanwhile, Dan Taylor established (1770) a New Connexion of General Baptists, devoted to expansion and less punctilious than earlier General Baptists about questions of church order. The small Scotch Baptist denomination, upholding the views of Archibald McLean, who insisted that churches must have a plurality of elders, spread from Scotland, where the brothers James and Robert Haldane led a vigorous evangelistic thrust. In Wales revivalism spilled over into Baptist life, producing able preachers, among whom Christmas Evans was the most celebrated.

The Nineteenth Century

The earliest American missionaries supported by the denomination were Adoniram (1788–1850) and Ann JUDSON (1789–1826), who reached Baptist convictions in 1812

while sailing to the east. Their example led to the creation, in 1814, of a triennial convention to promote the cause of missions and coordinate the work of the various Baptist associations. Anti-mission Baptists, who upheld high Calvinism and often clung to traditional customs such as foot washing, refused to cooperate and gradually organized separate associations. Likewise in England, the Strict and Particular Baptists formed their own associations from the 1830s in order to preserve their high Calvinism and to maintain the traditional Baptist practice of close communion, that is the restriction of the Lord's Supper to baptized believers. Most Baptists in England, however, were persuaded by the arguments of Robert Hall that communion should be open to all believers, and that principle became a hallmark, in Canada for example, of English as opposed to American influence. The Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, formed as a ministers' gathering in 1812 but more formally organized from 1833, increasingly became a nationally representative body, eventually absorbing the New Connexion in 1891. That was a sign of the supersession during the nineteenth century of the old Calvinist/Arminian divide by awareness of common Evangelical convictions. In America the widely used New Hampshire Confession (1833) likewise ignored the points of difference between the two traditional doctrinal positions. Growing sectionalism in the United States encouraged the establishment of a SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION in 1845, the dividing point being a Southern refusal to support non-Baptist agencies. In its ranks from the 1850s there developed a Landmark movement that insisted, initially against the Churches of Christ, that baptism must always be administered by an officer of a properly organized Baptist church.

Baptist work in continental Europe began with the formation of a church in Hamburg in 1834. Its leader, J.G.Oncken, seized every opportunity for the planting of Baptist churches in other countries, especially among German speakers. In Sweden a similar organizing genius was Anders Wiberg, a former Lutheran minister. In the Russian Empire, indigenous movements of spiritual reform laid foundations for Baptist life, a Russian Baptist Union being formed in 1884. Transylvania, at first Hungarian but later Romanian, became the other strongest area of Baptist work in Europe. In all these countries opposition from state churches was perennial. Meanwhile missions were establishing particularly successful Baptist communities in INDIA, Burma, the Congo, and CHINA, where the American Lottie Moon (1840–1912) and the Welsh Timothy Richard earned fame as pioneers.

Baptists played a full part in the permeation of British and American society by Evangelical religion during the nineteenth century. They produced influential academic writings such as Francis Wayland's (1796–1865) *Elements of Moral Science* (1835) and John L.Dagg's *Manual of Theology* (1857); they supported educational efforts and campaigns of moral reform, especially the temperance cause; and in Britain they pressed politically for full civil equality and disestablishment. CHARLES SPURGEON (1834–1892) was undoubtedly the century's greatest preacher in the English-speaking world. Theology, however, began to be a divisive force in the Baptist mainstream. In 1879 C.H.Toy resigned from the Southern Baptist Seminary because he had accepted German biblical criticism. Eight years later, in the Down Grade Controversy, Spurgeon retired from the Baptist Union because it harbored those who had embraced liberal doctrinal views. The social gospel, championed in England by John Clifford and in America by WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH (1861–1918), added another bone of contention. Despite

the efforts of mediating theologians such as Augustus H.Strong and Edgar Y.Mullins, polarization grew ominously.

The Twentieth Century

The century opened with the creation of the Northern Baptist Convention (1907; from 1950 the American Baptist Convention; from 1972 the American Baptist Churches in the United States) and the steady consolidation of the British Baptist Union by J.H.Shakespeare. Splits, however, were imminent in North America. The denomination representing African Americans in the United States, the National Baptist Convention (1895), divided in 1915 into two, the original body adding "Inc." to its title. The culmination of the earlier theological polarization came in a crisis after the First World War, when Fundamentalists led by W.B. Riley in the North, J.Frank Norris (1877–1952) in the South, and T.T.Shields in Canada denounced the views of Modernists such as SHAILER MATHEWS (1863–1941) of Chicago and HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK (1878–1969) of New York. Although in Britain the controversy was much more muted, its ultimate result was the establishment in America of the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches (1932) and the Conservative Baptist Association of America (1947), and in Canada of the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches (1953; a merger of two earlier organizations). The bodies representing German and Swedish immigrants, the North American Baptist Conference (1865) and the Baptist General Conference (1879), did not unite with other Baptists despite gradually dropping German and Swedish as their language of worship. The fragmentation of Baptist life in the United States meant that by 1984, apart from innumerable independent congregations, there were supposed to be at least fifty-two distinct denominations in the country.

In the twentieth century Baptists were, for the first time, a global movement, a development symbolized by the establishment in 1905 of the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE. Russian Baptists suffered persecution under the Soviet state, but nevertheless continued to grow. The denomination mushroomed in several lands of sub-Saharan AFRICA such as Nigeria. Parts of northeastern India, such as Nagaland, became almost solidly Baptist. Unusually, the Church of North India (1970) incorporated Baptists in a reunion scheme. Despite the involvement of a few figures, such as the English historian E.A.Payne, many Baptists feared that the ecumenical movement would lead to heresy or Rome. Women rose to greater prominence in Baptist affairs, with influential figures such as Helen Barrett Montgomery (1861–1934) of the Northern Baptists chairing their denominations and women becoming ministers in most Baptist groupings. Their role was one of the lesser issues debated among Southern Baptists, at over 15 million members by far the largest Baptist body in the world, in their fierce and sustained controversy over biblical inerrancy from 1979 onward. Two outstanding Baptists were BILLY GRAHAM (1918–) the leading evangelist of his day, and MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. (1929–1968), the assassinated civil rights leader. By 1995 both India and Brazil had more than one million Baptist church members, but it was nevertheless predicted that in 2010, 63 percent of the world's Baptists would still live in North America.

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BAPTISTS, EUROPE

Baptists are a denomination of Protestant Christians whose origins lie in post-Reformation ENGLAND. They are dissenters on the landscape of English Christianity and hold to the authority of Scripture, the centrality of Christ in their doctrines, a commitment to share the gospel in faithfulness to the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19–20), and the practice of believer's BAPTISM to signify a professing believer's church. In most countries Baptists are considered part of the Free Church Tradition, also called the "believer's churches." Theologically Baptists in Europe are confessional, following a CONFESSION of faith that Julius Koebner wrote in 1848, which contains mildly Calvinist articles (see CONFSSIONALIZATION). Most of the Baptist conventions/unions have adopted unique modern confessions similar in theological tone. Baptist POLITY is rigorously congregational, and their organizational and institutional life beyond their congregations is entirely voluntary. Baptists are found in every nation in Europe, stretching from IRELAND to RUSSIA and Turkey.

There are two principal theories of Baptist origins in Europe. First there are those who hold to an Anabaptist evolution toward modern Baptist principles (see ANABAPTISM). If validated, this would mean that Anabaptist ideas or groups, likely from the Dutch Mennonite community, led to the appearance of Baptists in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century England. This view was widely advanced in the nineteenth century by historians in England and the UNITED STATES who believed that there was at least

an ideological connection. Much research went into this and other theories, eventually producing a more plausible second hypothesis that Baptists are direct descendents of English Puritan Separatists (see PURITANISM). In due course there were contacts between early Baptists and MENNONITES in Amsterdam and Rhynsburg, but Baptists pursued their own separate identity in returning to England in 1612. The first congregation was established that year at Spitalfields near London. Thus it can be said with historical certainty that the people called Baptists emerged in seventeenth-century Britain and the European history of Baptists begins at that point. It should be noted that a minority of Eastern European Baptists hold that they are related to Anabaptist groups of the sixteenth century, largely because of their espousal of religious liberty that they hold in common with Anabaptists.

In the native soils of England, WALES, SCOTLAND, and Ireland the Baptist family of Europe began to grow in the seventeenth century. During that period English Puritan Separatists evolved to Baptist principles of believers' congregations signified by believer's baptism and religious liberty. An informal association among English General Baptists in London may be seen as early as 1626. By the 1660s in England three major branches of Baptists had clearly emerged: General Baptists holding to a general understanding of Christ's atonement, Particular Baptists believing that Christ died for the Elect, and Seventh Day Baptists who continued to recognize the Sabbath. Baptist principles and practices, especially in the Calvinistic branch, spread into Wales and Scotland, and created church associations and national unions by the nineteenth century. Similarly in Ireland, beginning in 1813, English Baptists working as the "Baptist Irish Society" sent missionary pastors to establish a Baptist presence there. The first church dates from the 1650s in Dublin and a union was formed in 1895. Baptists in Britain grew to a major category of NONCONFORMITY and started theological colleges, a missionary society for overseas (1792) and domestic (1797) work, and various benevolent organizations. The Baptist Union of Great Britain, started in earnest in 1831, was greatly enhanced in 1891 with the merger of the General and Particular branches of historic Baptist development. There has been a modest amount of schism among Baptists in Britain, producing in 1829 the Strict Baptists who are High Calvinists, and in Scotland the Scotch Baptists (1766) who held a primitivist understanding of the church, and the Haldanites (1808), a revivalistic movement. Irish Baptists, whose Union dates from 1895, have declined participation in the Baptist Union of Great Britain and followed a theologically conservative path under the influence of disciples of CHARLES H. SPURGEON. In Wales, where Baptist preaching began in the Olchon Valley in 1633, the Baptist Union has a separate identity from the British Union but supports missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society. A similar cooperation exists between the Baptist Union in Scotland (oldest church at Leith, 1652) and the British Union. Representatives of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and that of Scotland are active in the work of the European Baptist Federation (EBF) and in the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE.

Baptist origins on the continent of Europe can be dated with certainty from 1815 when baptisms occurred at Nomain in Flanders, after which the first congregation was started in FRANCE by Haldanite Baptists from Scotland. American Baptist missionaries began a work at Douai and Paris from which the French Baptist Federation eventually sprang in 1919. French Baptists, although small in number, sent missionaries to Belgium and

SWITZERLAND, as well as to AFRICA and the CARIBBEAN. The first Belgian church was started at Ougree and the Union of Baptists in Belgium was founded in 1922.

European Baptist expansion in significant numbers traces from 1834. That year Johann G. Oncken (1800–1884) was traveling as a colporteur for the British Continental Society, and upon meeting the Rev. Barnas Sears, a professor from Hamilton, New York, he received believer's baptism from Sears. Shortly thereafter Sears personally ordained Oncken (an unusual circumstance) and the German Baptist pioneer gathered a church in Hamburg. From his base in Hamburg, Oncken was the driving force behind the establishment of a theological school, a Union, and a publishing house, Oncken Verlag. For many years Oncken and his disciples (particularly Julius Koebner and G.W. Lehmann, together with Oncken known as the "Kleeblatt") conducted missionary tours of northern, eastern, and central Europe, starting congregations and advocating religious liberty before civil authorities. This gave the German Baptist community a premier role in the development of Baptists in Europe. Oncken's response to a magistrate in Oldenburg—"Every Baptist a missionary"—became a motto for Baptists in Europe.

Typically Baptist growth in various nations of Europe has followed a pattern of planting individual congregations, then establishing near-regional associations or clusters of churches, and finally forming a union or convention of the affiliated churches in a given country. In Western Europe the epicenter of Baptist life is in GERMANY. Ministerial students have been trained at Hamburg Seminary (now Elstal) for work in Austria, HUNGARY, POLAND, and the Balkan states and Baltic republics. Baptist churches and organizations in this area with German origins date from the mid to later nineteenth century: Lithuania (1841); Romania and Bulgaria (1845); Austria and Switzerland (1847); Poland (1858); Russia (1864); Ukraine (1869); Hungary (1874). Baptists in the heart of Europe surrounding German borders have grown steadily over a century and a half. In Switzerland, for instance, from a church in Zurich in 1849 came congregations in most cantons and in 1923 the Swiss Union. In 1845 Julius Koebner, Oncken's colleague, baptized the first Dutch convert and started a church at Gasselternijveen. A Dutch Union was formed in 1881. Polish Baptist work began at Adamow near Warsaw in 1858 under German auspices and later a Slavic mission emerged there. The Polish Union came together in 1942, involving both groups. In Bohemia the first Baptist congregation appeared in 1885 at Hledsebe among the Czechs. German missionaries founded a church at Brandys in Slovakia in 1877. From these roots came connections with Hungarian and German unions, and eventually the Czechoslovak Baptist Union in 1919. Since dissolution of that nation into two republics in 1992, separate organizations of Baptists exist in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Among the Iberian peoples a Baptist church was gathered at Madrid in 1870 by American Baptists; later Swedish and Southern Baptists established missions in Spain. In Portugal the first church was at Oporto in 1888 with a union developed by 1946. Numerous Baptist mission organizations have opened missions in Portugal since 1950.

In Scandinavia the strongest Baptist family is in SWEDEN, followed by smaller unions in NORWAY and DENMARK. The Swedish work dates from 1864, with a major schism in 1892 over Pentecostal influences in the Union that led to a separate association founded at Orebro, which continues. In 1860 the first congregations were founded in Norway at Porsgrunn and Larvik and a union in 1877. Danish Baptists reckon their development from 1839 in Copenhagen with a union since 1865. Swedish Baptists

conducted missionary work in FINLAND beginning in 1854 at Fogo Island, leading to a Swedish-speaking union in 1883 and a separate Finnish Union in 1903.

Eastern European Baptists have evolved against stiff odds inherent in “established church” Christianity, and in the twentieth century Marxist opposition to Christian expansion. There are large numbers of Baptists in Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia, with a strong Baptist presence in the Baltic republics. Baptist life in Russia commenced with Oncken’s visit in 1864, with the first baptism in 1867 among the Molokans. In the 1870s Baptist congregations were formed in the Caucasus and near Moscow. The first Russian Baptist Union was formed at Novo Vasil’evka in 1884, eventually becoming under Marxist government the ALL UNION COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN BAPTISTS (AUCEB) that included Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM) and Mennonite Brethren congregations from the 1940s and 1960s, respectively. In Ukraine Oncken was again the initial catalyst, a church being planted at Kosiakovko in 1875. Baptist development in the region was stunning, reaching 2,000 congregations by 1920. A Ukrainian Union was formed in 1918, becoming part of the Russian Union in 1925 and the AUCEB in 1944. Separate organized Baptist life in Ukraine reemerged in 1993, with a second group of formerly underground Baptist congregations also surfacing in a second national organization. Baptisms occurred in Belarus beginning in the 1880s, with a church formed at Kha’ch in 1907. Under freedom in the early Communist era, a union formed at Minsk in 1927, later assimilated into the AUCEB. In 1993 again a separate Baptist organization appeared in Belarus. Among the Baltic republics, Baptist missionary work commenced in Latvia in 1861 near Libau and this grew to a union of churches in 1885. German missions started a congregation in Lithuania at Memel in 1841 and a separate union was formed in 1933. Likewise evangelical work sponsored by Germans began a congregation in Estonia in 1884. Strong Baptist unions in the southeast date from 1908 in Bulgaria and Romania (1919).

Baptist development in southeastern Europe is small but tenacious in several difficult historical contexts. Hungarian, German, and Romanian Baptists all evangelized Serbia in the period 1875–1925. These ethnic groups combined to create in 1926 the Baptist Union of Yugoslavia. Serbian Baptists in turn started congregations in Macedonia in 1936; from this beginning a union took shape in 1991. A similar history may be written for Baptists in Bosnia. The first churches there were gathered separately by Serbian, Romanian, and German missionaries. In 1992 with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Bosnian Baptists built an association of churches unique to the nation. In Croatia missions commenced from Hungarian work in 1883 at Zagreb and a Croatian conference was organized in 1921. American Baptists attempted church planting in Albania as early as 1840 but efforts were forbidden in the country. The civil wars in the former Yugoslavia created a new opportunity for Protestant missions in Albania in the 1990s and church development moves ahead under the separate auspices of Southern Baptists, Canadian Baptists, and smaller U.S. Baptist organizations. A similar circumstance ensued in Slovenia, where Baptist churches were part of the Baptist Union of Yugoslavia until 1993 when a separate Baptist Union for Slovenia was formed with several hundred members.

American Baptist missions in Greece date from 1836, followed by subsequent attempts to plant churches in 1851 and 1871, with American support withdrawn in 1886. Southern Baptists attempted another mission in the 1960s with only a handful of congregations designated “The Evangelical Church of Greece” as a result. Similarly in

neighboring Islamic Turkey there are a few congregations sponsored by Southern Baptists and Canadian Baptists, with no associational union. Perhaps the sturdiest Baptist work in the region is in Romania and Bulgaria. Romanian Baptist life stems from Germans in 1845 at Bucharest and Ukrainian missionary efforts in 1862 at Cataloi. A Hungarian Baptist church opened in the Transylvanian region in 1871, providing a third beginning. All Romanian Baptists came together in the union of 1940. In Bulgaria the first church was formed at Kazanlik in 1876 by Germans, with a second start at Ruse in 1888 by Romanians. A Bulgarian union was begun in 1908.

After World War I, and with encouragement from the Baptist World Alliance, Baptist leaders from the Northern Baptist and Southern Baptist Conventions in the United States, plus the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1920 met in London to discuss refugee issues and development of Baptist missions. Southern Baptists assumed sponsorship of missions in Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Ukraine, and Romania. Northern Baptists likewise were responsible for supporting work in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Poland, Norway, Denmark, and Russia. The British agreed to assist France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Finland, and the Baltic states. Finally German Baptists, including German Baptists from the United States and CANADA, were given oversight of Bulgaria, Poland, and Austria. As a codicil to the London Conference, Portugal took responsibility for missionary work in Brazil. This arrangement had a profound impact on Baptist development in Europe from 1925 to the 1960s. Respective unions took the shape and polity of the sponsoring bodies: thus, Italy had a definite Southern Baptist connection, Germany was close to American Baptists and the BMS gradually withdrew its influence, except as a participant in the European Baptist Federation as a partner. Following maturing unions in western Europe, the removal of the domination of the USSR, and theological changes in the Southern Baptist Convention in the United States, most of the Baptist unions have charted independent courses, training their own leaders and cooperating in the European Baptist Federation (EBF). All of the Baptist unions maintain offices in central cities and publish a magazine or newspaper to inform their constituencies.

The European Baptist Federation has its roots in the London Conference of 1920 and is an outgrowth directly of the work of the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE (BWA) in Europe. In 1949 the Baptist World Alliance formed regional fellowships around the world to coordinate its work and the result in Europe was the European Baptist Federation. The European Federation is the most highly organized of the six regional fellowships of the BWA and is manifested in congresses held every five years, and in mission and education projects. Its divisions include Theology and Education, Mission and Evangelism, Communications, and External Relations. There is a Lay Academy operated in Budapest, Hungary, an overseas mission that sponsors workers in Africa, the European Baptist Press Service (EBPS), and a Baptist Women's Union administered from a central office in Bad-Hamburg, Germany. There are about fifty conventions/unions in forty-six countries affiliated with the EBF.

Mention must also be made of the European Baptist Convention. As the Foreign Mission Board of the U.S. Southern Baptist Convention increased its efforts in Europe and the Middle East after World War II, Southern Baptists moved to unite the churches and associations they supported under a single administration. The result was the founding in 1958 of the Association of Baptists in Continental Europe and later in 1964

this became the European Baptist Convention (EBC). Over fifty congregations across Europe are members of this English-speaking body that has also been geographically identified with the presence of United States Armed Forces in Europe under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Institutional life among Baptists in Europe has been slow but steady since the late nineteenth century. In 1949 the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board instituted a theological school in Rueschlikon, Switzerland largely to train pastoral leadership for churches and unions in postwar Europe. In 1993 the Southern Baptists withdrew their support for the school and it was relocated the following year to Prague, Czech Republic where it continues under European Baptist auspices. Similar theological schools exist in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Poland, Spain, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Serbia under auspices of individual Baptist unions. Theological schools abound in the east as well, in Latvia, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. Missionary activity also continues from external Baptist sources, notably from the United States. The principal smaller mission organizations that have personnel or institutions in Europe are the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism, Baptist Mid-Missions, Conservative Baptists, Evangelical Baptists, and the Baptist Bible Fellowship.

European Baptists have influenced Baptists in many regions beyond Europe. German Baptists started churches in the northeastern United States beginning in the 1830s and this led to the formation of a German Baptist Conference in America (later the North American Baptist Conference). In the 1850s Swedish Baptists planted churches in the upper Midwestern United States and this evolved to the BAPTIST GENERAL CONFERENCE. Similarly, Danish, Norwegian, Italian, Polish, Slavic, and Hispanic missions in the United States, supported by European counterparts, became the beginnings of ethnic Baptist associations across North America. Through missionary efforts, British Baptists have fostered work in INDIA, Bangladesh, Africa, the Caribbean, LATIN AMERICA, AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND, CHINA, and Southeast Asia.

At present, European Baptists are a multiethnic, multiracial, multilingual Protestant minority scattered across the continent. They number in excess of 800,000 members in 12,000 congregations. The largest Baptist organizations within a given nation number 150,000 in Great Britain and 120,000 in Ukraine.

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WILLIAM H. BRACKNEY

BAPTISTS, GLOBAL

According to the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE (BWA), Baptists today number over forty million baptized believers found in more than 200 countries under the leadership of 206 different organizations identified as Baptist. BWA is organized into six regional fellowships in North America, Asia, AFRICA, CARIBBEAN, LATIN AMERICA, and Europe, which give evidence of the worldwide presence of Baptists. In addition there are Baptist organizations throughout the world that are not members of BWA. Baptists may have begun in the Northern hemisphere, but today the largest growth is in the Southern hemisphere as Baptists increasingly become multiethnic and multinational.

This global presence is a recent phenomenon in Baptist history. Baptists began in isolated communities in ENGLAND and the English colonies that would be known as the United States of America. Their global identity did not emerge until the nineteenth century when Baptists developed missionary organizations seeking to reach the world. In modernity, Baptists' global understanding was of the world as the MISSIONS field "ripe unto harvest" and they organized themselves accordingly. Part of the postmodern challenge for Baptists today is that in many places once known as the mission fields there now exist developed Baptist organizations demanding recognition as partners in the task of presenting the Christian gospel. These leaders are contesting both the decision-making process and the identity of the decision makers of established mission organizations. The Baptist global identity founded on missionaries is now being challenged by the global perspective of a BAPTIST FAMILY seeking to provide resources to meet needs around the world.

Such a widespread presence around the globe was not a feature in Baptist beginnings where Baptists were concerned with organizing what they believed would be the "true" church on the basis of believer's BAPTISM. Neither the seventeenth-century beginnings in England nor those in America included a worldwide focus for Baptists. Baptists reacted against the corruption they perceived in established churches both in England and the colonies. In the earliest confessions of faith from seventeenth-century England, Baptists focused their identity on being the church gathered voluntarily by God, with Christ as the head, composed of believers who had been baptized upon their profession of faith. In their occasional references to PREACHING the gospel to others, the reference was to the area in which the signers of the confession were located. Early Baptists believed in sharing their faith, but they did not have a global perspective.

Diversity was a hallmark of Baptist identity from the beginning. The diversity of small groups struggling to survive contributed to the lack of a global perspective among Baptists. Once Baptists became visible enough in the English Independent/Separatists milieu to be identified, there were two groups, General and Particular, so called for their

different understandings of ATONEMENT. The General Baptists believed salvation was for everyone who responded to God's call through Christ. The Particular Baptists believed salvation was only for the elect (see CALVINISM; PREDESTINATION). Even in beginning the practice of believer's baptism by immersion there was diversity. One group believed the practice could be done on the basis of the New Testament whereas the other group believed that there needed to be some succession so they sent a representative to Holland who then returned and baptized the other believers by immersion.

As the Baptist movement grew, the desire for a common identity led to conflict. The theological view that eventually dominated, sometimes called hyperCalvinism, emphasized that God had already decided from the beginning of time who was saved and who was damned. The consequence of this theology was Baptists turning in on themselves and not reaching out even to those around them because they believed God had already made the eternal decision. This theological understanding also contributed to the lack of development of a global identity.

The modern vision that launched Baptists on their first understanding of a global perspective was articulated at the end of the eighteenth century. The earliest record of a Baptist leaving one country to minister in another was of George Lisle (Leile), freed slave and preacher in the Silver Bluff Church in Georgia, who went to Jamaica in 1782 where he established a church and vibrant ministry. Lisle was not sponsored by any mission organization and apparently never succeeded in his attempts to solicit help from British Baptists, but in his correspondence with them he did articulate a vision of Baptists in one country being concerned about the souls of people in another country.

British Baptists began to glimpse this new vision about a decade later. In 1787 the English shoe cobbler and pastor WILLIAM CAREY proposed that his local ministerial association should discuss whether the command of Jesus to "teach all nations" was binding on all ministers for all time. Those who believed God had already decided SALVATION for all people and needed no human assistance defeated his proposal. Supposedly Carey reached a different understanding from this dominant theological view through his study of languages, geography, and scripture. It took five years, one book, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, and one sermon on Isaiah 54:2 in which Carey urged his fellow ministers to expect great things from God and attempt great things for God, before Carey could get a hearing. In 1792 the organization that would be known as the British Missionary Society was formed, and Carey was sent to INDIA as their first missionary. These humble beginnings opened Baptists to a different understanding of the world and their place in it.

Baptists in the United States did not organize for mission until 1814. In 1812 Ann and Adoniram Judson sailed to India as Congregationalist missionaries from Massachusetts, but through study sought believer's baptism and became Baptists (see JUDSON FAMILY). They were not allowed to stay in India and found the place to begin their mission service in Burma. Their colleague, Luther Rice, reached the same conclusion about baptism and returned to the United States to raise money for the new Baptist missionaries who were already on the field with no visible means of support. Baptists in the United States were already inspired by William Carey and seized the opportunity offered by the Judsons to organize in May of 1814 in Philadelphia what would be known as the Triennial Convention to support mission endeavors in the United States and around the world. Many Baptist missionary organizations would come from this humble

beginning, sending missionaries throughout the world. Again, it was a revolution for Baptists to begin to identify themselves globally instead of only locally or nationally.

Under the leadership of Johann Gerhard Oncken, who founded a Baptist church in Hamburg, GERMANY in 1834, and his fellow evangelists, Julius Wilhelm Köbner and Gottfried Wilhelm Lehmann, German Baptists were mission oriented from the beginning. Oncken's motto, every Baptist a missionary, reflected the significance of mission to Baptist identity by the middle of the nineteenth century. Although influenced by British and American Baptists, Oncken had reached his views through his own study and was an independent leader and organizer of Baptists in Europe. Oncken, his colleagues, and German settlers in other countries contributed to the spread of Baptists throughout Europe, including Russia and Ukraine.

Of the 400 years of Baptist history, only in the last 200 years has global mission work been a significant factor in Baptist identity. Although supporting mission work is the dominant view, it still is not characteristic of all groups called Baptist as can be seen in the groups called PRIMITIVE BAPTISTS or Old Baptists who do not engage in missionary work. Nevertheless the practice of sending missionaries from Baptists in the Northern hemisphere appeared to explode after World War II, with peace and prosperity increasing the Baptist ability to organize and fund mission enterprises. However, by the end of the twentieth century challenges to mission sending being the whole of Baptist global perspective appeared. Many Baptist bodies formed in the nineteenth century in Latin America, Asia, and Europe were over 100 years old. They no longer saw themselves as "mission fields" but as viable, developed religious organizations with national leaders. Conflicts emerged around the world between missionary-sending organizations and indigenous leadership over theology, leadership, organizational structure, and financial control.

A new global perspective of partnership between worldwide Baptist bodies is emerging. Partnership is a relationship involving close cooperation between parties having specified and joint rights and responsibilities (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1973). For Baptists this would mean sharing the responsibility and redistributing the resources to meet specific needs. Leadership would be exercised by those in the area where ministry would occur rather than by an organization somewhere else. This perspective is not fully formed and Baptists can still become conflicted over the issues of THEOLOGY, leadership, organization, and control of the resources. The conflicts arise when it appears the partners are unequally yoked, that one partner has more leverage than the other, and that they are not partners in the enterprise of sharing the Gospel, but still operating under a command-control operational model.

The shift in perspective from the Baptist world being divided between givers who dominated the leadership, theology, and control of resources for supplicant receivers to a worldwide Baptist family in partnership sharing resources to meet needs is exhibited in a variety of ways. This shift can be seen in the Baptist World Alliance that defines itself as a fellowship of believers around the world. Through its Congresses, research, its advocacy for justice, HUMAN RIGHTS and religious liberty, and its work to redistribute resources from the countries that have to those that are in need, BWA brings Baptists together in partnership. BWA still struggles with domination by those Baptists with the greatest resources, but it is one reflection of the shift in global perspective.

Another arena of evidence of Baptist groups insisting on being viewed as equal partners can be found in the European Baptist Federation (EBF) since the collapse of communism. For decades Baptists in the West prayed for and sought to provide political and financial aid for Baptists under communist control. Now freed from that control, Baptists in the former communist countries view themselves as equal partners in the European Baptist Federation.

Granted, Baptist unions in former communist countries are not financially independent because of the economic upheaval in their countries. Many of these unions are defining their identity anew, now that they are no longer forced into union with other groups who are not Baptist as they were under communism. Another aspect of emerging identity for Baptist unions in these countries is the conflict over who collaborated with the communists and whether the collaboration was necessary for the survival of the Christians or for personal power. Nevertheless these Baptists remind other Baptists that they kept the Baptist expression of Christianity alive under conditions Christians in the West have not faced. Because of the differences in their experience European Baptists do not always understand or appreciate each other. However, as early as 1981 Dean Kirkwood noted that Baptists in the communist countries had much to teach their fellow believers in the West—that they were not only recipients of aid, but authoritative leaders in their own right. A relationship between Baptists in Europe characterized by mutual respect and sharing of resources instead of control by Western Europeans is still emerging. Partnership between European Baptists and Baptists in North America is also emerging and includes struggles over the same issues.

Albert W. Wardin in *Baptists Around the World: A Comprehensive Handbook* (1995:8) illustrates the multinational and multiracial composition of Baptists. For example, his data demonstrated that 42 percent of Baptists are from the southern hemisphere and 58 percent from the northern hemisphere. He also showed how Baptists outside of Britain and North America had increased from 4.5 percent in 1852 to 25 percent today. Wardin's data are necessary to understand the identity issues within the Baptist family between former imperial powers and their former colonies or territories.

In Africa, for example, Baptist mission-sending agencies had a history of cooperating with the colonial powers in whatever country they operated, and perpetuating the social stratification of the colonial system. The association of Baptists with COLONIALISM has led to many conflicts over theology, leadership, organizational structure, and the control of economic resources. African leaders argue that the financial power of the foreign mission agencies has hampered the development of African leaders, theology, and organizations that are authentically African (see AFRICANINSTITUTED CHURCHES; AFRICAN THEOLOGY). Instead what has developed mirrors the groups that fund them and weakens the impact of Baptists in Africa.

Statistics from the All Africa Baptist Fellowship indicate that in Africa there are over three million baptized believers in more than 17,000 Baptist churches composing forty-four Baptist conventions and unions in twenty-five countries. Each of these countries has its own socioeconomic, political context in which Baptists are seeking to minister. Such diversity means there is no one African perspective, but rather many perspectives as Africans minister to their own situation and develop theologies for communicating the Gospel. Partnership with wealthier Baptists that would contribute to redistribution of

economic resources under the leadership of African Baptists could make a momentous difference not only for the Baptists, but also for the circumstances in which they minister.

Even in Asia and Latin America the issues of developing authentic leadership, theology, organizational structure, and economic resources exist. The struggle in these areas is not so much tied to colonialism as the need to be free from foreign influence. In Latin America, for example, the church tied to colonial power was the Catholic Church, not the Baptists or any other expression of evangelical Christianity. However, Baptist unwillingness to get involved in political or economic issues has hindered Baptist influence throughout Latin America as it has in Africa. Baptists are perceived as supporting the status quo and indigenous leaders are emerging who clearly see this behavior as inappropriate and ineffective in their contexts.

In both Asian and Latin American countries Baptists have developed to the point that there are conflicts between the national leaders and missionsending agencies. The issues of developing national leadership, theology that communicates in the ministry context rather than mirroring the theology of the missionary from another context, and control of economic resources provided by partnership agencies are being worked out. In Asia and Latin America, as in Africa, there is tremendous national diversity and the need is critical for Baptists to develop leadership and theology in those distinct situations instead of imposing this structure from outside.

Further evidence of the shift in global perspective is found in the view of historians that Baptist history needs a different focus. Historical surveys of the entire Baptist family need to be written from the perspectives of those to whom the missionaries were sent. Through the twentieth century Baptist historical surveys generally were written from the perspective of British and North American Baptists and the missionaries they sent around the world. Telling the Baptist story in a more inclusive way that recognizes the contributions of all Baptist groups could broaden our understanding of what it means to be Baptist in vastly diverse contexts. Such a retelling could also point out why churches in some areas are growing whereas others appear to be stagnant or dying as Baptists around the world seek to shape a global identity.

Baptists have not always had a global identity. Through a shift in understanding of themselves as local churches to an identity as cooperating missionsending people, Baptists emerged around the world. Once again Baptists are in a time of identity transition. The ideal of partnership is one aspect of the emerging global Baptist identity. The ideal is not yet made concrete globally, although there are different groups seeking to practice this ideal. Later historians will be able to look back and analyze the identity that emerged from this shift. At this time Baptists know they are participating in a shift of identity from dividing the world into mission senders and mission receivers to a partnership of worldwide Baptist organizations working together to minister in diverse contexts.

See also Africa; Baptism; Baptists; Baptists, Europe; Baptist Missions; Baptists, United States

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Websites Offering Examples of Baptist Partnership:

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 American Baptist Churches USA. <http://www.abc-usa.org/>
 Baptist World Alliance. <http://www.bwanet.org/>
 Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. <http://www.cbfonline.org/>
 Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention. <http://www.lottcarey.org/>
 Virginia Baptists. <http://www.vbmb.org/>

PHYLLIS RODGERSON PLEASANTS

BAPTISTS, UNITED STATES

Baptists are the second largest religious denomination in the UNITED STATES. In Revolutionary-era America Baptists were a scattered and insignificant sect numbering less than 70,000. By the CIVIL WAR they had grown twelve times that large, and after World War I their rolls swelled to over seven million. By some estimates there are as many as 35 million Baptists currently in the United States, which accounts for three-quarters of all Baptists worldwide. There are more than fifty distinct Baptist bodies in the United States, but over 90 percent of them belong to congregations associated with the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION (16 million), NATIONAL BAPTIST

CONVENTION USA (5 million), NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA (3.5 million), National Missionary Baptist Convention of America (2.5 million), PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION (2.5 million), AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES USA (1.4 million), or Baptist Bible Fellowship International (1.2 million). Although Baptists are known to be contentious and fissiparous, they nevertheless share an amazing consensus around a set of convictions and practices that includes simple biblicism, conversional faith, believer's BAPTISM, regenerate membership, gathered ECCLESIOLOGY, congregational POLITY, evangelical MISSIONS, soul liberty, and separation of CHURCH AND STATE.

English Puritanism

Baptist roots in America grew in the soil of colonial separatism. The "Pilgrim Church" that migrated from ENGLAND to Holland and eventually to America in 1620 was one prominent example. Before immigrating to Amsterdam they were part of the congregation led by JOHN SMYTH, the original Baptist, before his "re-baptism." Transplanted PURITANISM provided a favorable theological climate for Baptist growth in the new world. Some that joined the movement came as convinced Baptists to America. These English Baptists were of two sorts: Particular Baptists who were oriented more toward Westminster CALVINISM and General Baptists who were somewhat inclined toward free-will ARMINIANISM.

One of the early Puritan immigrants was ROGER WILLIAMS who arrived in 1631. Williams refused to officiate to "an unseparated people" who thought that they could walk a middle path not entirely in or out of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. He consequently left Boston, Massachusetts and served as a minister for the more independent congregations in Salem and Plymouth. His radical views soon caught the attention of the Massachusetts authorities. Williams was brought to trial before the General Court where he contended that their congregations were impure, their claim to the land was unclear, and their civil enforcement of religion was unfounded. He declared that civil magistrates have no business meddling "in matters of conscience and religion." When Williams was banished from Massachusetts in 1635 he fled "in the bitter winter season" to Narragansett Bay where he purchased land from the Indians. He organized and secured a charter for the colony of Rhode Island that guaranteed religious liberty for all people, including "Papists, Turks, Jews, and Atheists," and that established a "wall of separation between the garden of the church and the wilderness of the world."

In 1639 Williams became converted to the Baptist persuasion and was believer-baptized by Ezekiel Holliman who had been a member of the congregation in Salem. Williams helped to found the First Baptist Church at Providence, but within a few months he lost confidence in his new community and became a Seeker. Nevertheless his conviction of soul liberty became prototypical, not only of Baptist identity, but of American spirituality, and the colonial experiment of Rhode Island gestured in the direction that was followed by American DEMOCRACY.

Early Baptists met with much opposition from the established churches of New England because anyone that opposed infant baptism was regarded as an incendiary of the commonwealth. In 1651 John Clarke, the pastor of the Baptist congregation of

Newport, Rhode Island, and two associates were arrested for preaching at the home of a fellow Baptist in Massachusetts. Clarke and another paid fines, but their companion Obadiah Holmes refused and was given thirty lashes on Market Street in Boston. Holmes accepted his unishment as identification with Jesus, declaring: “[I] am not ashamed of His sufferings, for by His stripes am I healed.” Likewise, Henry Dunster was forced to resign as president of Harvard in 1654 because of his open declaration that infant baptism was without biblical warrant. Still Baptist growth continued in New England. The First Baptist Church of Boston was established in 1665, although Baptist services were not legally permitted in Boston until 1682. The Boston Church spread the message and provided visionary leadership for fellow strugglers throughout the region.

The center of Baptist strength during the colonial period was in the mid-Atlantic region where, unlike New England, there was no established church, attributed largely to the peaceable influence of the Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) who settled there. In 1688 a Baptist congregation was planted in Pennepek, just outside Philadelphia. Its pastor was Elias Keach, son of the English Baptist leader, Benjamin Keach. Baptist congregations soon began to spring up throughout Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1707 five churches joined together to form the Philadelphia Baptist Association, and in 1742 the Association adopted as its statement of faith the Second London Confession of Particular Baptists. The addition of two articles that described the practices of hymn singing and the laying on of hands after baptism as ordinances of Christ brought General and Particular Baptists closer together.

Baptists first appeared in the South in 1696, when a church from Kittery, Maine relocated to Charleston, South Carolina. By 1736 four new congregations were established in the colony. General Baptists came from England to southern Virginia by 1700, but the congregations that survived were the result of missionary work in northern Virginia by Particular Baptists from Maryland between 1743 and 1756. Baptists spread to North Carolina through the preaching of Paul Palmer, a General Baptist, who between 1727 and 1735 constituted three churches in Chowan, Camden, and Onslow counties. Although Particulars were more prominent in the New England and mid-Atlantic regions and Generals tended to be concentrated in the frontier of the South, colonial Baptists gradually became theological hybrids as congregations accommodated both types.

American Evangelicalism

The evangelical REVIVALS known as the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) swept through the American colonies, bringing new life and increased membership to Baptists. In 1700 there were less than twenty-five churches with fewer than 1,000 members. By 1740 the number increased to sixty churches with a membership of just over 3,000, and before the turn of the century that grew to almost 1,000 churches with just under 70,000 members. Baptists in New England were the initial beneficiaries of the revivals, although the evangelical movement eventually spread to the middle and southern colonies (see EVANGELICALISM). Congregationalists who were receptive to CONVERSION theology were called “New Lights.” These churches were fertile soil for Baptist growth because many of them broke with the Congregationalists and became known as “Separate Baptists.” Yet not all Baptists were enthusiastic about the revivals.

Regular Baptists were cautiously suspicious about evangelical emotionalism, whereas Separate Baptists embraced revival as “the surprising work of God.”

One of the key leaders of Separate Baptists in New England was ISAAC BACKUS, who began his ministry in 1748 as pastor of a New Light Congregational church in Middleborough, Massachusetts. In 1756 Backus and the Middleborough congregation reached the conviction “that truth limits church communion to believers, baptized upon profession of their own faith.” They reorganized as a Baptist congregation, and Backus continued as the minister for fifty more years. Another important Separate Baptist leader was Hezekiah Smith, who like Backus led a group of New Light Congregationalists in Haverhill, Massachusetts to become Baptists. Although Smith continued as pastor of the church in Haverhill for over forty years, he spent much of his time in itinerate preaching, founding over thirteen congregations and earning himself the title of “the Baptist [GEORGE] WHITEFIELD.” Smith was one of only a few educated Baptist pastors in America. As New England Baptists grew in number and status, they recognized that their churches would not be well served by “a common illiterate minister” and founded Rhode Island College (later Brown University) in 1764 with the hope of providing “a new succession of scholar ministers.”

The evangelical revivals had less of an effect on Baptists in the mid-Atlantic colonies, in part because of the influence of the preexisting evangelical Calvinism of the Philadelphia Association and the insusceptibility of New Light Presbyterians to the Baptist vision. Yet Baptists in the region enjoyed gradual growth. A well-educated and esteemed leader of the period was Morgan Edwards who served briefly as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia but spent most of his ministry organizing Baptists for education and home mission work. Edwards became the first historian of American Baptists, compiling a comprehensive collection of Baptist sources. One of the most influential Baptist leaders of the region was John Gano whose twenty-six-year pastorate built the first Regular Baptist Church of New York City into a thriving congregation of over 200 members. Gano’s theological moderation and denominational cooperation made it possible for General, Six Principle, Regular, and Separate Baptists to work together.

George Whitefield made three tours through South Carolina in 1740, preaching on seventy-nine occasions, yet his reception among the Regular Baptists in the Charleston area was mixed. Isaac Chanler, pastor of the strict Calvinistic congregation at Ashley River, welcomed Whitefield to his pulpit as did other area Baptists, but Thomas Simmons, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, was cool to revival dramatics. Simmons’s young successor, Oliver Hart, led the Charleston church and three others to form the Charleston Association in 1751 after the pattern of the Philadelphia Association. The Charleston Association provided organizational stability and educational support for Baptists in the South. Hart’s thirty-year pastorate ended with the British occupation of 1780, beginning a period of decline for Charleston-area Baptists.

The most significant increases for Baptists in the South resulted from the work of the Separate Baptists led by Shubal Stearns and Daniel Marshall, who in the wake of the Whitefield revivals came from Connecticut to North Carolina in 1755. Stearns and Marshall settled in the fast-growing area of Sandy Creek, which was located at the convergence of three busy southern trade routes. The meetings of the Sandy Creek Baptists were “noisy,” characterized by emotionally charged preaching and worship. They represented the conversionoriented theology that was typical of the evangelical revivals.

Separate Baptists popularized the practice of the “evangelistic invitation,” which occurred at the end of the sermon and called on sinners that “were anxiously inquiring the way of salvation, to come forward and kneel.” Although earlier Baptists observed “two ordinances” (baptism and LORD’S SUPPER) or followed “six principles” (repentance, FAITH, baptism, laying on of hands, resurrection, and eternal judgment), Separates practiced “nine rites” (baptism, Lord’s Supper, love feast, laying on of hands, foot washing, anointing the sick, the right hand of fellowship, the kiss of charity, and dedicating children).

The evangelical zeal of the Sandy Creek Church led to an increase in membership that rose to over 600. This rapid growth was attributed in no small measure to an Arminianized Calvinism, which stressed that saving GRACE depended as much on “preaching it up” as on “praying it down.” Although some Baptists were “like mules that can’t reproduce,” the Sandy Creek Church was prolific. In just forty-two years they started seventeen congregations and called out 125 ministers. Because the call of God did not depend on—or even need to wait for—education, Separate preachers were quick to enter the fields that were “white unto harvest.” Unlike the Regulars, Separate Baptists allowed WOMEN to participate in leadership roles including PREACHING and exhorting, serving as deaconesses and eldersses (see DEACONESSES AND DEACONS), as well as assisting in baptizing and administering the Lord’s Supper. The Sandy Creek Association was established in 1758, but friction soon led to fraction as it split into three bodies for North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina, thus demonstrating the Baptist principle of church growth: “divide and multiply.” By the end of the eighteenth century tensions gradually subsided as Regulars and Separates moved toward reconciliation. The result was the formation of what in some places came to be called the “United Baptists” and anticipated the denominational unity that was to come.

African Diaspora

The slave trade brought those who had been believers “in the black gods of an old land” and “in the white gods of a new land” to a place where they became believers “in the new Jerusalem” (Walker 1989). Black Baptist identity is not rooted in a European consciousness but in an African one. It would be a mistake to explain the development of African American Baptists simply as an extension of Anglo Puritanism and American Evangelicalism. The African diaspora provided a context for what can only be described as a transformation of slave religion into a distinctively Africanized Christianity. European slave traders and colonial American slave owners initially resisted the conversion of Africans to Christianity. Only a few names of black members appear in the records of Baptist churches before 1750. As slaves were allowed by their masters to attend revival meetings, many embraced the faith among the Baptists. In the second half of the eighteenth century black converts were regularly received into predominantly white congregations. By some estimates in 1790 enslaved Africans may have constituted as much as 40 percent of the membership among Baptist churches in the South. In colonial South Carolina where slaves were a majority of the general population, blacks outnumbered whites in some churches. The First Baptist Church of Charleston, for example, reported in 1796 that most of its 248 members were black.

Before 1800 there were at least ten independent black Baptist congregations in the South. The earliest of these “chattel churches” was organized near Savannah, Georgia between 1773 and 1778. The pastor was George Leile, a slave who was converted in the predominately white Buckhead Creek Baptist Church in Burke County, Georgia and ordained for missionary work on the surrounding plantations. After the British withdrew from Savannah in 1782, the church disbanded. Leile and a few of the freed slaves decided to go to Jamaica. Some of the congregation followed DAVID GEORGE, another leader, first to Nova Scotia and then to SIERRA LEONE. A third group went with Jesse Galphin to Augusta, Georgia, where they established an independent Baptist congregation. The remnant formed the First African Church of Savannah in 1788 led by one of Liele’s converts, Andrew Bryan. In 1802 when the membership had grown to over 700, the Second African Baptist Church of Savannah was formed. During the same time independent black Baptist congregations were established throughout Virginia, in Williamsburg, Petersburg, Norfolk, and Charles City. The first independent black Baptist congregation in the North was Joy Baptist Church in Boston, Massachusetts, organized in 1805, and was soon followed by churches in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois.

That blacks and whites came to share a social and spiritual ethos united by a common evangelical faith and practice is clear, as are the reasons African slaves were attracted to the Baptist movement. Conversion theology conveyed the welcome theme of equality for each and all. The liberating news of salvation tapped into the deep longing for freedom. Congregational polity afforded black churches self-determination in a white culture that controlled all other social institutions. Evangelical theology was accessible to educated and uneducated alike. The lack of formal requirements for ordination allowed congregations to meet leadership needs by calling and ordaining their own ministers. Yet the appeal was more existential than doctrinal. For many the gospel became a revolutionary manifesto. Enslaved Africans living as wayfaring strangers resonated with the biblical story of redemption and deliverance. Their suffering and oppression were transformed by the apocalyptic vision of God’s inexorable justice, calling into question the enlistment of Scripture to underwrite the institutions of SLAVERY and oppression. Not all followed the example of the militant Baptist preacher Nat Turner who led the slave revolt of 1831 “with the words of the prophets ringing in his ears,” but for black preachers the gospel was as a subversive story. Judgment day was coming when the world would be turned upside down and everyone would answer for his or her deeds (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

Slave religion among black Baptists resulted in a transformation of the Christian story in light of the history and experience of enslaved Africans in America. What is more, it became the means for a transmigration of the spirituality that African slaves brought with them to America. The emotional enthusiasm fostered in the praise gatherings allowed for a fragmentary expression of their ancestral faith. Worship for black Baptists was a free and spontaneous celebration involving the whole person—body and soul. This distinctive spirituality found expression in the music of the black church: spirituals, gospel, and soul. Preaching depended not only on a simple biblicism but on a prophetic imagination. As promised, in the last days God was pouring out the Spirit, inspiring the young to see visions and the old to dream. The confluence of these streams coming from American

evangelicalism and the African diaspora gave birth to a Baptist identity that is uniquely African American.

Democratic Populism

It has been suggested that if historians were to ask who was responsible for religious liberty in America, their answer would be “JAMES MADISON,” but if the question could be put to Madison he might very likely reply “John Leland and the Baptists.” It is widely recognized that from their beginnings Baptists were tireless advocates of soul liberty and a disestablished church. What is less well known is how these Baptist convictions became instantiated in the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and the separation of church and state. New England Baptists resisted the taxation system that supported the Congregational churches, by forming a “grievance committee” chaired by Isaac Backus to voice their protest. They even lobbied delegates to the First Continental Congress in 1774, calling for the separation of church and state. The Massachusetts delegation agreed to look into the matter more fully; however, John Adams remarked that it would be more realistic to expect a change in the solar system than for Massachusetts to give up an established church. The planets continued to run their courses, but Massachusetts disestablished its church in 1833.

Baptists in Virginia began a petition campaign in 1770 to the House of Burgesses (the colonial legislature of Virginia), calling for relief from harassment and restrictions on Baptists and other dissenters. It was not uncommon for their ministers to be imprisoned, fined, or beaten with legal sanction as purveyors of “vile, pernicious, abhorrible, detestable, abominable, diabolical doctrines.” By 1775 Baptists were demanding complete religious liberty. Their efforts gained a positive hearing from governor THOMAS JEFFERSON, who in 1777 wrote and proposed a bill to the Virginia legislature that would have disestablished the Protestant Episcopal Church and provided religious freedom for all. The legislation was viewed as too radical and failed to gain approval, but it paved the way for future gains. The leader in the Baptist battle for religious freedom in Virginia was John Leland, a fierce advocate for the disestablishment of the church from the state. Leland fused the conviction of religious liberty with the theory of natural rights thus enabling Baptists and deists (see DEISM) to join forces in abolishing the vestiges of an established church and instituting the guarantees of religious liberty. With Baptist backing, Jefferson’s bill for religious freedom became Virginia law in 1786.

When a new federal constitution was drafted by Congress and sent to the states for approval, Virginia Baptists under Leland’s leadership voiced their apprehension that the document failed to sufficiently secure the liberty of conscience. They planned to work against its ratification and to support Madison’s opponent for election to the Virginia constitutional convention of 1788. Concerned that the new constitution was in jeopardy and that he might not be elected, Madison sought out a conversation with “the Baptist preacher.” The meeting according to one account took place under “the swinging limbs of a lonely oak” in Orange County, Virginia. After some time, reassured that further protections of religious liberty would be forthcoming, Leland reportedly declared, “Mr. Madison, I will vote for you.” With the support of the Baptists firmly behind him

Madison was elected, and the constitution was ratified in Virginia by a narrow margin of only ten votes. In 1789 Madison introduced the BILL OF RIGHTS, which contained the promised provision that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

After fourteen years in Virginia, Leland returned in 1791 to his native Massachusetts where he continued to preach and for two terms served in the state legislature. He gained national notoriety when on New Year’s Day in 1802 he presented a 1,235-pound “Mammoth Cheese” to President Jefferson as a gift from the citizens of Cheshire, Massachusetts. That same day Jefferson sent a letter to the Danbury Baptist Association of Connecticut in which he described the first amendment as “building a wall of separation between church and state.” Two days later Leland preached a sermon with overtones of political messianism at the Sunday service in Congress. His text was “Behold, a greater than Solomon is here,” which Leland applied to Jefferson, who sat in the congregation, rather than to Jesus. Leland was not one to withhold extravagant rhetoric, describing the presidency as America’s “greatest orb” occupied by Jefferson who is its “brightest orb.”

With the passing of the eighteenth century a milieu of homogeneous ecclesiastical authority was replaced by a context of pluralistic popular religion, but the democratization of Christianity in America was less a matter of religion exercising influence over politics and more about the church becoming the embodiment of popular culture. America was on the verge of becoming “a Christian nation.” No group epitomized this newly democratized Christianity better than the Baptists, who opposed government establishment of religion but enjoyed the privileges of grassroots support, and populist religion had no greater champion than “the cheesemonger” preacher John Leland.

Denominational Unification

Baptists first organized at a national level on May 18, 1814. Thirty-three delegates assembled at the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia to form the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions. The vision of Baptists united in missions began with Luther Rice who pledged to Ann and Adoniram Judson that he would enlist support for their mission work in Burma (see JUDSON FAMILY). The Triennial Convention (as it came to be called) adopted foreign missions as their cause. By the second meeting in 1817 the convention expanded its commitment to include home missions for the growing American West (see MISSIONS, NORTH AMERICAN) and theological education with the founding of Columbian College (later George Washington University).

The vision in the early years favored a convention pattern in which membership would consist of churches that sent contributions and delegates to a central organization that in turn carried out the ministries of the convention. Francis Wayland, however, the president of Brown University and a key Baptist leader, changed his mind and began to advocate for a society organization in which membership would be based on the voluntary financial contribution of individuals. At the 1826 meeting of the Triennial Convention delegates voted to return to a society method with foreign missions as the single

benevolence. By so doing, Wayland argued, they were preserving “the absolute independence of the churches” and “the inviolability of the individual conscience.”

As Wayland exemplifies, some of the resistance to denominational unity had its source in American INDIVIDUALISM. Others branded these “new fangled” ideas as unbiblical and called for the reliance on God’s sovereignty in communicating the gospel. “Jonah wasn’t sent to Nineveh by a society,” argued Daniel Parker. Still others questioned the motives of missionaries. John Taylor called Luther Rice “a modern Tetzels” and said that missionaries “love money like a horse leech loves blood.” In the end missionary theology prevailed, and the antimissionary movement that became known as the PRIMITIVE BAPTISTS diminished. The Baptist General Tract Society (later the American Baptist Publication Society) was formed in 1824, and the American Baptist Home Mission Society was established in 1832, thus providing support for Baptist work in foreign missions, home missions, and Christian education.

In the beginning the Triennial Convention managed to avoid the issue of slavery, even electing Richard Furman, an ardent proslavery advocate from South Carolina, as the first president. Many southerners agreed with Furman that “the right of holding slaves is clearly established in the Holy Scriptures,” although there was a strong antislavery movement in Kentucky led by David Barrow. Among Baptists in the North abolitionist sentiments grew as the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention gained support. In an effort to avert a conflict the Triennial Convention adopted a neutrality statement at the 1841 meeting, but in 1844, when it became clear that no slaveholders would be appointed as missionaries, a call was issued for “a consultative gathering” of Baptists in the South. The Southern Baptist Convention was formed the next year in Augusta, Georgia as a multipurpose convention that initially included Foreign and Home Mission Boards with the addition of a Sunday School Board in 1891. Long after the CIVIL WAR was over, Southern Baptists remained deeply committed to its “noble cause,” clinging to the belief that what the Confederacy had failed to establish with its armies would ultimately triumph through the Christianized culture of the South.

African American Baptists were frustrated by the racism that excluded them from the two predominantly white denominations. The racism of Southern Baptists was overt. The racism of Northern Baptists was more subtle. Yet neither fellowship welcomed them as equals. Numerous state and regional black Baptist bodies were formed after the Civil War, but three anticipated the dream of a national denomination. W.W.Colley, who for a time served as a missionary in Africa, prepared the way by forming the Foreign Mission Baptist Convention in 1880. The American National Baptist Convention was organized six years later for the purpose of home missions, and in 1893 the Baptist National Education Convention was established. With the consolidation of these three groups in 1895 and the formation of the National Baptist Convention in Atlanta, Georgia the dream of denominational unity became a reality.

Contentious Fragmentation

In 1850 there were fewer than one million Baptists in the United States. By 1922 Baptists grew to over eight million. Denominationalism provided structure for that growth. Yet at the same time Baptists became increasingly fragmented. In the mid-nineteenth century

the shrill voices of Landmarkism began asserting that Baptist churches were the only true churches and had existed in unbroken succession since the days of the Apostles. Landmarkers argued that only believer's baptism by immersion in a Baptist church was valid and that participation in the Lord's Supper was to be limited to members of the local congregation that administered it. Landmarkism had little effect on Northern Baptists, but it remained a divisive force and an irruptive threat to the unity of the Southern Baptist Convention even after the splintering off of several Landmark groups at the turn of the century. The most prominent of these offshoots are the American Baptist Association and the Baptist Missionary Association. The influence of Landmarkism among Southern Baptists is evident in their strong emphasis on local church autonomy (often to the exclusion of the church universal) and their ecumenical suspicion that kept them from joining either the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES or the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (unlike American and National Baptists who are participating members in the ecumenical movement).

The hard-won unity of National Baptists was short lived. The first split came in 1897 when a group expressing a desire to retain ties with white Baptists withdrew and organized the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention. Disagreements over the denominational publishing house and the adoption of a charter resulted in another schism that led to the formation of the National Baptist Convention of America in 1915. A third major division arose in the midst of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Those that favored social activism and denominational reform joined New York pastor Gardner C. Taylor in establishing the Progressive National Baptist Convention in 1961. The National Missionary Baptist Convention of America is the result of a separation in 1988 from the National Baptist Convention of America, ironically by those that supported the independence of the denominational publishing board.

Perhaps the most fractious and factious controversy is "the Battle for the Bible." Among Northern Baptists it lasted for three decades. Before the 1920 meeting of the Northern Baptists there was a large pre-convention rally. Curtis Lee Laws described the assembly as true believers "who still cling to the great fundamentals and mean to do battle royal" for the faith. The "fundamentalists" went on the attack against MODERNISM and liberalism in the SEMINARIES and on the mission field (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). A militant fundamentalist group separated in 1932 to form the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTISTS. A more moderate group remained in the Northern Baptist Convention until 1947 when they organized the Conservative Baptists of America.

The Battle over the BIBLE was more protracted among Southern Baptists. They averted schism in the 1920s by affirming a confession of faith. Under the leadership of J. Frank Norris, in 1932 frustrated fundamentalists organized what became the World Baptist Fellowship. In 1950 a breakaway group separated from Norris's autocratic control and founded the Baptist Bible Fellowship, which fifty years later counted over a million members. Controversy among Southern Baptists again erupted with the publication of *The Message of Genesis* in 1961 by Ralph Elliot, a professor at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. K. Owen White, a fundamentalist pastor from Houston, Texas pronounced biblical criticism to be poisonous and warned of "death in the pot" being cooked up in the seminaries. Elliot was dismissed from his teaching position, and the Convention revised *The Baptist Faith and Message* in 1963, but the controversy raged on.

It broke out again when G.Henton Davies suggested in the *Broadman Bible Commentary* that God might not have commanded Abraham to kill Isaac. The Convention voted in 1970 to have the Genesis commentary rewritten.

The final Battle for the Bible was fought in the 1980s when messengers elected a succession of presidents who reformed the Southern Baptist Convention according to the theology of BIBLICAL INERRANCY. Moderates were forced out or left. The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship was organized in 1991 as an alternative mission society and leadership network. With the issue of the Bible settled, more Baptist Battles loom on the horizon: GENDER roles, ministerial AuTHORITY, WORSHIP Styles, ABORTION, HOMOSEXUALITY, resurgent Calvinism, insurgent PENTECOSTALISM, and both ecumenical and intradenominational relations. As JOHN BUNYAN once observed, Baptists are “a turbulent, seditious, and factious people,” which suggests that when it comes to Baptist life, “the more things change, the more they seem to stay the same.”

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CURTIS W.FREEMAN

BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE

Formed in London in 1905, the Baptist World Alliance (BWA) is the world confessional body that links BAPTISTS from around the world. It is a fellowship of Baptist unions and conventions in over 200 countries with a membership of more than 44 million

baptized believers and a community of approximately 110 million people. Its main aims are to enable international fellowship between Baptists; to support their work and witness, especially in those parts of the world where they experience particular difficulties; and to represent their concerns, especially in the areas of mission, humanitarian aid, and human rights.

Baptist ecclesiology sees the local congregation as the primary manifestation of the church of Jesus Christ, with regional and national unions resulting from fellowship and joint action between such local churches. Similarly, the BWA provides an international means whereby national unions, and individuals and churches within them, are able to enjoy Christian fellowship, support and encourage one another in Baptist witness, and engage in strategic reflection and cooperation.

The work of the alliance is advanced through:

1. a quinquennial congress, which draws thousands of representatives and individual participants and meets for WORSHIP, fellowship, and the presentation of Baptist life and concerns from different continents and contexts.
2. the annual general council composed of representatives of the member unions and conventions, which conducts the regular business of the alliance.
3. a general secretary and a small executive staff based at the alliance's headquarters in the United States, together with the regional executive secretaries who support the work of the six regional (continental) Baptist bodies.
4. a president and a number of honorary vice presidents from the regions who represent the alliance both within its constituent churches and before other churches, secular agencies, and governments.
5. the many volunteer participants who participate in the work of the alliance and represent it.

Although three quarters of the membership of BWA is to be found in the UNITED STATES, the meetings and focus of the alliance have a clear international identity. Although expressing a considerable diversity of cultural and theological outlook, the alliance represents the core concerns of Baptists, especially in the areas of fellowship, EVANGELISM, and religious freedom.

See also Baptist Family; Baptists, United States; Baptists, Global

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See also the reports of the various congresses, councils and study commissions, the BWA website <http://www.bwabaptist-heritage.org> and a new history of the alliance to be published in 2005.

CHRISTOPHER J. ELLIS

THE BARMEN DECLARATION

In May of 1934, in Barmen, GERMANY, a new synod of evangelical (Protestant) churches was formed, uniting Lutheran, Reformed, and United Churches that, on the basis of the traditional confessions of Protestantism, were in opposition to the State (Reich) Church that supported and was supported by the Nazi regime. This Synod of the Confessing German Evangelical Churches adopted a Theological Declaration (*Erklärung*), which set forth theological notions that would be the basis of their unity and their opposition. It proved to be one of the most significant church documents of the twentieth century.

The Situation

After the rise to power of National Socialism in Germany, a struggle for the control of the evangelical church began and in July 1933 reached a critical juncture. As head of the Nazi party, Adolph Hitler (1889–1945) called for a nationwide church election to establish a new National (Reich) Evangelical Church, uniting all Evangelical churches under a single Reich bishop subject to state control. A movement within the church, “The Faith Movement of German Christians,” supported Hitler’s efforts, and with the help of the Nazi party won the election and gained control of the new church. The goal of the GERMAN CHRISTIANS was to effect a coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of the new church with the new Nazi state. Along with most Germans, the German Christians realized that the *Führer* was leading Germany out of the depths and despair of the postwar 1920s into a new world of promise and national fulfillment. They found in this present “German hour,” and especially in the leadership of the *Führer*, a providential blessing of the Creator, and a corresponding call to the church, in obedience to the command and law of God, to support and unite with the new Germany. According to the seventh guideline of the Faith Movement of German Christians, Christians should “see in race, in the people (*Volkstum*) and nation a divine ordering for our lives which, according to God’s law, the church must be concerned to uphold.” A leading theologian, Paul Althaus, wrote that “the church lives by the grace of Jesus Christ, but as a Christian community of its German people, it also lives by the grace of history, by virtue of which God calls his people, raises them up, and awakens its heroes to deliver them from their distress.”

The Barmen Synod

These events and this thinking led to the rise of a confessional movement in the Evangelical Church, which claimed that the Reich church was in fact both unconstitutional and heretical because it did not recognize the sole authority of the

Gospel of Christ as interpreted by the confessions of the churches. In October 1933 the government applied the infamous “Aryan paragraph” to the church, preventing Christian Jews from serving as pastors or holding any church office. This interference in church affairs led resisting pastors to form the “Pastors” Emergency Defense League,” under the leadership of Pastor MARTIN NIEMÖLLER, to defend and support pastors who were victims of this edict. In November 1933 the German Christians held a meeting in the huge Berlin Sport Palace to enlist open support for the Aryan clause by calling for the liberating of the church from all things Jewish, including the Old Testament and the “Rabbi Paul.” This action, along with the increasing co-option of the state church by the Nazis and the intensification of punitive measures against the pastors of the Defense League, made it necessary for resisting churches, which sought to be guided by their confessions rather than edicts of the state, to unite, to become a truly “confessing” church. Thus on May 29–31, in an exceptional show of unity that brought together Lutheran, Reformed, and United Protestant churches, a national synod, The Confessing Synod of the German Evangelical Church, was convened in Barmen. A Theological Commission composed of Lutherans Thomas Breit as moderator and Hans Asmussen as secretary, and the Reformed Bonn professor KARL BARTH, was formed to present to the synod a theological declaration that would address the issues the churches were facing and around which they could unite.

The Preparation and Presentation of the Declaration

The meeting concluded when Asmussen presented and the synod adopted a “Theological Declaration” (*Theologische Erklärung*), drafted chiefly by Barth. As a theological document it was intended to counter German Christian theology and to establish the CONFESSING CHURCH as the authentic Evangelical Church of Germany, not to bring about the dissolution of the Reich church but to restore it to its constitutional basis. The statement was received by the delegates “with thanks to God” and with certainty “in their belief that a common word had been put in their mouth.” However, before it was finally accepted, the declaration was seriously debated and went through a number of drafts. The result was a successful compromise between Lutheran and Reformed concerns. Lutherans, concerned to maintain their confessional integrity, insisted that the declaration not be received as a new confession establishing a new church. On the other hand, the declaration, or the Barmen “Confession” as it came to be known, did have the effect of establishing the Confessing Church as the authentic Evangelical Church of Germany vis-à-vis what was judged to be the unconstitutional and heretical Reich Church. In addition, Lutherans were committed to the two kingdoms doctrine, which had the effect of separating the word of God as revealed in the gospel of Christ from the law of the creator as manifest in the present-day political reality of Germany. This perspective was reflected especially in the fact that the declaration makes no reference to the Jewish question, which was judged to be a political matter of the law, and not an ecclesial issue of the gospel. On the other hand, the Reformed emphasis on the kingship of Christ over both church and state is reflected especially in the first thesis, which states that Jesus Christ is the only Word that the church must hear, as well as in the fifth thesis, which speaks of the “power of the Word by which God upholds all things.”

The first thesis, the key to the entire declaration, makes it evident that the controversy with the German Christians is primarily theological, and only indirectly political, when it states that Jesus Christ, not present-day powers, people, or ideologies, is the only Word that the Church has to hear. Subsequent theses set forth the important implications of this first thesis. The second concerns the Christian life, insisting that Christians must know themselves not only to be forgiven by Christ, but also as totally claimed by him for “free and grateful service.” The third and fourth theses, on the form and calling of the church, reject the proposition that its external form might be determined by something or someone other than its head, Jesus Christ. In particular, the fourth thesis rejects the notion that leadership in the church could be determined by the prevailing political model, that is, the “leadership principle” (*Führerprinzip*). To the contrary, in the last analysis leadership in the church belongs to the congregation.

The fifth thesis has to do with the relationship of the church to the political order, recognizing the particular calling of both church and state, rejecting any confusion of the two realms, but also insisting that the church is called by God to remind the state of its responsibility to God’s kingdom and justice.

The sixth thesis provoked little discussion. Summarizing the message of the declaration as a call to the church “to deliver to all people the message of the free grace of God through sermon and sacrament,” it claims to be nothing more or less than a faithful exposition of the confessions on which the churches stand, particularly the Lutheran.

For Lutherans the purpose of the declaration was to help the churches maintain their confessional integrity and freedom from state control; for Barth and many in the Reformed tradition, its purpose was to facilitate a reformation of the church by bringing it back to that one Word it has to hear. Consequently, with the end of the war and the reestablishment of the church, Lutherans had no more need for the Barmen Declaration, whereas primarily for churches in the Reformed tradition in Germany and throughout the world it continues to function as a new confession. In 1967 it was added to the Book of Confessions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States; it also served as a “Symbol of Contemporary Liberation” in the South African struggle against apartheid. For some, notably the Lutheran church, it belongs to history; for others it is a living document, on the one hand calling the church to be its orthodox self, or on the other hand, calling the church to promising and prophetic service of the world.

The Text of the Barmen Declaration

In view of the “German Christians” and of the present Reich Church Administration, which are ravaging the Church and at the same time also shattering the unity of the German Evangelical Church, we confess the following evangelical truths:

1. Jesus Christ, as he is attested to us in Holy Scripture, is the one Word of God whom we have to hear, and whom we have to trust and obey in life and in death.

We reject the false doctrine that the Church could and should recognize as a source of its proclamation, beyond and besides this one Word of God, yet other events, powers, historic figures and truths as God’s revelation.

2. As Jesus Christ is God's comforting pronouncement of the forgiveness of all our sins, so, with equal seriousness, he is also God's vigorous announcement of his claim upon our whole life. Through him there comes to us joyful liberation from the godless ties of this world for free, grateful service to his creatures.

We reject the false doctrine that there could be areas of our life in which we would not belong to Jesus Christ but to other lords, areas in which we would not need justification and sanctification through him.

3. The Christian Church is the community of brethren in which, in Word and sacrament, through the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ acts in the present as Lord. With both its faith and its obedience, with both its message and its order, it has to testify in the midst of the sinful world, as the Church of pardoned sinners, that it belongs to him alone and lives and may live by his comfort and under his direction alone, in expectation of his appearing.

We reject the false doctrine that the Church could have permission to hand over the form of its message and of its order to whatever it itself might wish or to the vicissitudes of the prevailing ideological and political convictions of the day.

4. The various offices in the Church do not provide a basis for some to exercise authority over others but for the ministry [lit., "service"] with which the whole community has been entrusted and charged to be carried out.

We reject the false doctrine that, apart from this ministry, the Church could, and could have permission to, give itself or allow itself to be given special leaders [*Führer*] vested with ruling authority.

5. Scripture tells us that by divine appointment the State, in this still unredeemed world in which also the Church is situated, has the task of maintaining justice and peace, as far as human discernment and human ability make this possible, by means of the threat and use of force. The Church acknowledges with gratitude and reverence toward God the benefit of this, his appointment. It calls to mind the Dominion [*Reich*] of God, God's commandment and justice, and thereby the responsibility of those who rule and those who are ruled. It trusts and obeys the power of the Word, by which God upholds all things.

We reject the false doctrine that beyond its special commission the State should and could become the sole and total order of human life and so fulfill the vocation of the Church as well.

We reject the false doctrine that beyond its special commission the Church should and could take on the nature, tasks and dignity which belong to the State and thus become itself an organ of the State.

6. The Church's commission, which is the foundation of its freedom, consists in this: in Christ's stead, and so in the service of his own word and work, to deliver all people, through preaching and sacrament, the message of the free grace of God.

We reject the false doctrine that with human vainglory the Church could place the word and work of the Lord in the service of self-chosen desires, purposes and plans.

The Confessing Synod of the German Evangelical Church declares that it sees in the acknowledgment of these truths and in the rejection of these errors the indispensable theological basis of the German Evangelical Church as a

confederation of Confessing Churches. It calls upon all who can stand in solidarity with its Declaration to be mindful of these theological findings in all their decisions concerning Church and State. It appeals to all concerned to return to unity in faith, hope, and love.

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ROBERT T. OSBORN

BARNES, ROBERT (c. 1495–1540)

English theologian. Barnes was born at Lynne, and studied at the Austin Friars, Cambridge, and the University of Louvain, receiving his D.D. from Cambridge. Named prior of his house, he was converted by Thomas Bilney to reformed German beliefs. Barnes discussed German THEOLOGY at the White Horse Inn, and on Christmas Eve 1525 he preached against ecclesiastical abuses in a heterodox sermon mixing gospel reverence with criticism of episcopal worldliness. Charged by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and four bishops with twenty-five heresies, Barnes refused recantation initially, but finally abjured on the advice of Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, to avoid being burned. Imprisoned for six months, he was caught distributing a copy of WILLIAM TYNDALE'S Bible while under house arrest. Wolsey ordered him burned. Forewarned, Barnes staged his "suicide" before fleeing ENGLAND.

Befriended at Wittenberg, he published a summary of the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, *Sententiae* (1530), and a *Supplication to King Henry VIII* (1531), an antiepiscopal work urging a national CHURCH in which FAITH alone justified. He later accommodated the importance of works in a covenanted society, a Bucerian principle (see MARTIN BUCER) reflected in English PURITANISM.

In 1531 Barnes carried MARTIN LUTHER'S disapproving letter on HENRY VIII'S divorce to England. Henry, contemplating an alliance with the League of Schmalkald (see SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE), let THOMAS CROMWELL appoint Barnes a representative to Lutheran courts. He matriculated at Wittenberg (June 1533). Appointed royal chaplain (summer 1535), Barnes promoted Lutheran theology, hoping to

accommodate royal policy where possible. After 1538, when religious negotiations between GERMANY and England failed, Barnes's influence at court crumbled. Cromwell's fall, Henry VIII's divorce from Anne of Cleves, and a new non-German foreign policy led to his attainder by Parliament and burning at Smithfield in the summer of 1540.

Barnes helped prepare England for the adoption of a LITURGY and DOCTRINE under archbishop THOMAS CRANMER, still reflected in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (1549), that had many Lutheran elements.

See also Bible; Bible Translation; Lutheranism; Tyndale, William

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BARBARA SHER TINSLEY

BARTH, HEINRICH (1890–1965)

Swiss philosopher and theologian. Barth was born on February 3, 1890 in Berne, younger brother of the Protestant theologian KARL BARTH. He obtained his Ph.D. in 1913 with a dissertation on Descartes, and from 1918 he taught at the *Höhere Töchterchule* (high school for girls) in Basel. In 1920 Barth qualified as a lecturer at the faculty of philosophy at the University of Basel with his study *Die Seele in der Philosophie Platons* (Tübingen 1921), from then working first as an outside lecturer and from 1928 as a professor in Basel. There he died on May 22, 1965.

The work of Heinrich Barth lent great momentum to the early "dialectic theology." Beginning with Marburg New Kantianism, Barth moved toward Christian existential philosophy and on this basis sought to mediate between the philosophies of Plato and IMMANUEL KANT. His studies "Gotteserkenntnis" ("Knowledge of God") (Basel 1919) and *Das Problem des Ursprungs in der platonischen Philosophie* (Munich 1921) are exemplary for this mediation attempt. It was from Marburg New Kantianism that Barth took the concept of "origin" (*Ursprung*). The meaning of "origin" is determined as the ability to think, in that thinking is declared the sole creative principle of being. Barth identifies this term "origin" with the highest Platonic concept, the concept of good. Because the origin of all existence cannot be located in the created world, this origin must be transcendental and separated from the visible world. Thus the New Kantian understanding of "origin" is identified in the works of Heinrich Barth with the Platonic concept as a creative principle. This mediation attempt had a significant influence on Karl Barth. The identification based on ideas of Heinrich Barth is apparent in Karl Barth's

interpretation of God as the “origin,” which in transcendence contrasts to the created world, in the second edition of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

The proximity of Heinrich Barth’s works to early dialectic theology in terms of content was lost over the years. However, throughout his life, Barth remained a critical observer of the theological works of his brother Karl and also extensively criticized existential philosophy and its influence.

See also Neo-Orthodoxy; Theology; Theology, Twentieth-Century

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ANDREAS MÜHLING

BARTH, KARL (1886–1968)

Swiss theologian. Barth came from a long line of clergy on both his mother’s and father’s sides; he seemed destined to be a theologian. His father Fritz was a Reformed pastor of a moderate, evangelical cast; his mother Anna was a pastor’s wife of some influence and descended from distinguished pastors. Karl Barth himself became one of the dominant Protestant theologians since the REFORMATION.

Personal Characteristics and Early Liberalism

Karl Barth was at heart a Basler. He was born in Basel, SWITZERLAND, the eldest of five children, and he relished his time there, free from the conventionalism and stuffiness he saw embedded in much Swiss society. This was something of a lifelong theme with Barth: although a deeply devout, orthodox theologian, Barth was no conventional churchman. He favored the playful, sometimes bohemian face of the Swiss character. He was the enemy of all pretension.

Barth was also a serious theologian and a serious and courageous pastor. A second theme of his life was the search for a calling worthy of the dedication of a whole life.

Beginning in his university days Barth longed to join the avant-garde movement of German theological faculties: academic Liberalism (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Later, in Berlin, Barth was captivated by the great historian of Christian DOCTRINE, ADOLF VON HARNACK. Barth soon moved to the theology faculty at Marburg and became a ready disciple of the leading theological liberal, Wilhelm Herrmann. From him he learned a Christian piety stripped of all metaphysics and utterly dependent on the miracle of faith. Although Barth's views shifted later in his life, his tutelage under Harnack and Herrmann remained a major influence.

Like many intellectuals in prewar GERMANY, Barth participated in the IMMANUEL KANT revival, which was especially vigorous at Marburg. Certain elements of Kant's critical philosophy would survive all revolutions in Barth's theology. So too, Barth would never lose his love of history, awakened by Harnack. The major work of Barth's maturity, the *Church Dogmatics* (four volumes in twelve parts, 1932–1968) is studded with historical examples, and the central ontological category of his anthropology is “the historical.” More important, Barth absorbed from Herrmann a serious devotion for FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, the architect of modern academic Protestant theology, and adopted an utterly single-minded CHRISTOLOGY, in which Christ was both the content of and the means to theology. Although both lessons would undergo radical transformations, neither would be left behind in Barth's maturity. This has led some students of Barth to claim that Barth's theological revolution was an internal correction, rather than a repudiation, of academic liberalism.

Finally Barth's appreciation of music, a lifelong pleasure, should not be overlooked. His love of Mozart was well known; it may be that Mozart combined these life themes of play and seriousness with an unrivaled artistry that Barth always admired.

Barth had a deep longing for intimacy and enjoyed a rich and vibrant circle of friends. So strong was this pull in his life that it became a theme in his *Dogmatics*. In volume 3.2, he argued that the creation narratives showed that the *Imago Dei* (image of God) in human beings was a relationship or COVENANT with one another: the *analogia relationis*. Because human beings were made for relation, hell and hellishness were isolation and loneliness. Barth dreaded such punishment all his life, and his intimacies were not untroubled.

Barth's professional friendships were stormy; his marriage seems not to have fared much better. Barth married Nelly Hoffmann in 1913, when Nelly was only nineteen and Barth was a well-established pastor of twenty-seven. They shared a love of music, and together they raised five children. They remained married their whole lives and had by many standards a successful marriage, yet their letters testify to the pain and seasons of estrangement in their life together.

One source of that conflict was the presence of Charlotte von Kirschbaum in Barth's life and household. From 1929 on Kirschbaum was Barth's live-in secretary, undertaking research for the *Church Dogmatics*, preparing manuscripts for publication, traveling with Barth to professional lectures, and welcoming guests to the Bergli, a mountain retreat, where the two spent their summers. Barth and Kirschbaum's friendship was a true intimacy—although probably not sexual—and appears to be the one unblemished, though costly, success amid Barth's troubled relationships.

The Break with Liberalism

Barth began his academic career as a graduate assistant to the Ritschlian theologian, MARTIN RADE, and his liberal journal *Christliche Welt* (*Christian World*). A few years later, at the cusp of INDUSTRIALIZATION, he became pastor of the small rural parish of Safenwil, Switzerland. Barth plunged into the “labor question” and became a democratic socialist. He visited the healing mission of CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH BLUMHARDT, Bad Boll, and came under the influence of Blumhardt’s eschatological realism: Christ is Victor! Yet Safenwil did not strike Barth as a success. He could not translate his academic liberalism into the pulpit and could not hold together or integrate his socialism, soteriological realism, and strict Kantian theological method. It appears Barth held all three at once, with equal seriousness, but without resolution. Barth was never a systematizer—he opposed that kind of Cartesianism all his life—but he *was* a thinker of rigorous consistency. The decades from World War I to the launching of the *Church Dogmatics* in the early 1930s were marked by a relentless, vigorous, and polemical quest to find just this consistency.

Indeed we may see Barth’s animus toward Schleiermacher, particularly vivid in the 1920s, as a counterweight, launched in desperation against the massive architectonic of the *Christian Faith*, a work Barth could only admire all his life. The first step away from Schleiermacher-inspired liberalism was the first edition of Barth’s *Epistle to the Romans*, but it was the explosive and expressionistic second edition in 1922 that marked Barth as a theological revolutionary, and the term “Dialectic Theology” was born. In Barth’s eyes dialectical theology cast a broad net: it repudiated a starting point in theology, championed by Schleiermacher, in which God and the world were given together in pious awareness; more positively, it replaced such “coinherence” by an external encounter of God and creature; and it signaled that theology must be in constant movement, resting in neither denial nor affirmation of theological claims.

Academic Theologian and Leader of the Confessing Church

Shortly after the first edition of the *Epistle to the Romans* was published Barth joined the faculty at the University of Göttingen, Germany. Although Barth continued to give lectures at a breathless pace—he had the productivity of a nineteenth-century novelist—Barth knew better than anyone how much he had to learn. It is a window into the influence and scope of theological liberalism to read what Barth, as a young professor, had not read: none of the “older Protestants,” little of JOHN CALVIN, even less of the medieval scholastics. He set to remedying his blind spots at a feverish pace. Through his publications of the 1920s, from the *Göttingen Dogmatics*, his first stab at systematic work, to his lectures on Anselm, *Fides quaerens Intellectum* (1931), we see Barth reading the past with a real air of discovery. One way to understand Barth’s revolution in theology is to see it as a movement from a Protestant margin to a Catholic center. By 1932, the year of the first volume of the *Church Dogmatics*, Barth stood squarely within the broad tradition of the Latin West, and his remarkable innovations in dogma were cast into high relief by the tradition that formed the backdrop.

Barth is often called the theologian of Basel, but in fact he had a mobile early career: Göttingen to 1925; Münster to 1930; and Bonn until his expulsion from Germany in 1935. By 1934 Barth was caught up in the thicket of Nazi bureaucracy and jurisprudence because he had refused to sign the Hitler loyalty oath or give the Nazi salute to begin his classes. His public reasons for refusal were rather tame—he claimed he would sign were he allowed to acknowledge God’s law as supreme—but Barth’s real views were already well known. In 1933 he had issued his condemnation of Nazism, “Theological Existence Today!” Some 37,000 copies were printed within the year. In 1935 Barth was removed from his professorship and exiled to Switzerland. Yet Barth remained a partisan of Germany and the German people, and after Germany’s defeat, he eagerly accepted an invitation to return to the rubble of Bonn to deliver lectures in theology: *Dogmatics in Outline*. Although lacking the technical depth of the *Church Dogmatics*, these lectures, with their wit, humanity, and quiet tenderness for the German people, may be the best introduction to Barth’s mature work.

During World War II Barth supported the churches’ resistance to Hitler through the CONFESSING CHURCH movement. The BARMEN DECLARATION, a confession of opposition to the Nazification of Christianity by the GERMAN CHRISTIANS, was forged largely by Barth and reflected his governing maxim in theology. The first commandment—Thou shalt have no other gods before me—demands complete loyalty to the God of Israel and forbids any effort to find the divine through “lesser gods,” the forces of history, NATURE, or ideology. The Barmen Declaration, like the Confessing Church it announced, was an ambiguous achievement. It clearly opposed the attempt to make the church an arm of the Nazi state, but, as Barth later regretted, it did not expose or repudiate directly the “Aryan paragraph” (a prohibition even of baptized Jews in church orders) or the Nuremberg racial laws. Barth continued to advise from exile and exhorted the Swiss to oppose Nazism openly; he joined the Swiss army and stood sentry on its borders. Above all, however, Barth worked on the *Church Dogmatics*, already a theology of some thousand pages in the late 1930s.

The Church Dogmatics

The *Church Dogmatics*, massive as it is, was never completed, although Barth worked on it until his death. By any measure it must be considered one of the masterworks of Protestantism, indeed of Latin Christianity. A measure of its greatness is its resistance to summary or redescription. We might compare the *Dogmatics*, in this respect, to Euclid’s *Elements*: the answers are not nearly as interesting or important as the work that leads one there. The first volume, *The Doctrine of the Word of God*, lays out a kind of post-Kantian theological method—the Word of God is the condition for the very possibility of theology. After that Barth settles down to a straightforward dogmatic work. Volume two, *The Doctrine of God*, embraces both the doctrine of Divine attributes or perfections and, like the Protestant scholastics, the doctrine of ELECTION. Perhaps surprising for one known for his opposition to all natural theology, Barth devotes volume three to the doctrine of creation. The *Dogmatics* breaks off with volume four, the *Doctrine of Reconciliation*, where Barth develops with magis terial completeness the doctrine of

Christ's person and work. The fifth volume, never begun, promised a doctrine of Redemption and Last Things.

Common to the whole work is the conviction that Christ alone is the center of theology. It is not enough to say that Christ is the founder or teacher or even savior of the religion; it is not even sufficient to affirm that he is the Incarnate Son of God. Rather, Barth asserts that Christ, as Incarnate Word, is the *only* point of indwelling of God with creature—there is no *analogia entis* (analogy of being) or point of contact—and that Christ as eternal Son of the Father is the only proper object of divine election and foreordination. As the “Judge, judged in our place” Christ is the only victor over evil, a force Barth called “nothingness.” Alternatively, we might express this Christological concentration under the category of covenant: In Reformed style Barth saw the divine pact with Israel—I shall be your God; you shall be my people—as the heart of God's work *ad extra* (toward the world), and all creation and providence constitute the stage setting for this pact, brought to its final and eternal fullness in Jesus Christ. In this way the people of Israel are the centerpiece of and key to all human history and the church is the “environment” or community of this one Jew, Jesus of Nazareth.

Barth's governing categories are thus historical and actualist in character: God is the triune event of Jesus Christ, whose person is the act of calling, judging, and saving. Barth made quiet use, throughout the *Dogmatics*, of current historical criticism of the BIBLE and modern philosophy and social sciences, although the explicit character of the *Dogmatics* is an unstudied openness to the Bible's narrative, figural, and dynamic unity. Although no inerrantist, Barth saw in Holy Scripture the unique revelation of God, whose AuTHORITY rested on its true center and content, Jesus Christ. Some of the most powerful and innovative exegeses in modern theology can be found in the *Church Dogmatics*, especially in volumes two and four.

Finally Barth exemplified his Reformed heritage in his conviction, expressed throughout the *Dogmatics*, that the CHURCH and its LITURGY and SACRAMENTS are not central to the Christian life, but are rather servants of its mission, to stand in solidarity with the world and announce its redemption. The church witnesses to Christ who is the only true means of GRACE. From beginning to end the *Church Dogmatics* is an unfolding of the Augustinian and Reformation themes: *sola Scriptura, sola gratia, sola Christus*. Although some have identified the hallmark of the *Church Dogmatics* in its leisurely pace, its innovative CALVINISM, or—for some critics—its “NEO-ORTHODOXY,” it may be better to find that hallmark in the work's joyful confidence. Barth described himself as the “joyful partisan of the good God,” and it is this exuberance that unites the great expanse of the *Church Dogmatics* and drives it on.

Conclusion

Karl Barth died in Basel in 1968. He did not found a theological school as such—indeed it would be hard to know how such a massive dogmatic work could be followed—but his legacy can be measured against two scales. First is the steady scholarship dedicated to assessing and developing themes in his dogmatic theology. Second and even more important is the widespread Protestant conviction, even by theological liberals, that

theology is a discipline that must be carried out, not in blind allegiance to the past, but rather in lively conversation with TRADITION, the past that is alive.

See also Theology; Theology, Twentieth Century

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KATHERINE SONDEREGGER

BASEL MISSION

The Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft Basel, otherwise known as the Basel Mission (BM), was founded in 1815 as an ecumenical and international Protestant mission to train candidates as missionaries to work overseas for various European missionary societies. The very early leaders were Rev. Nicolaus von Brunn and C.G.Blumhardt who served as president and inspector/director, respectively.

The Basel Mission had two major influences. First, a strong German Protestant Pietist influence (see PI-ETISM), particularly from the state of Württemberg, South Germany, spearheaded its founding at Basel, SWITZERLAND and provided the bulk of its leaders. Second, there was a strong trade influence, mainly because Basel was a strong trade center; the key sponsors of the mission were committed Christian businessmen.

The Basel Mission adopted the Pietistic theology with a strong biblical commitment; a strong emphasis on the importance of “personal CONVERSION” to Christ and individual piety; a strong Christian fellowship; a keen sense of PRAYER; and a deep commitment for mission and EVANGELISM. The Basel Mission avoided theological controversies and concentrated on the church’s task of expanding the Kingdom of God on earth. It consequently became a major Protestant institution in Europe that trained men for

organizations such as the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY of England and the Netherlands Missionary Society, that in turn sent these men overseas as missionaries.

After thirteen years of training missionaries the Basel Mission itself set out to send out missionaries. Its first attempt was in the Caucasus region of Southern RUSSIA, but the missionaries were expelled by the Russian dictatorship. The next attempt was in West AFRICA, first an unsuccessful one in LIBERIA in the 1820s and later a successful one in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1828. After suffering initial setbacks because of illness that resulted in the death of fourteen missionaries between 1828 and 1913, the Basel Mission's mission in Ghana gained roots in the 1840s. Their success is mainly attributed to the involvement of a group of black Christian ex-slaves who were recruited from the West Indies to Ghana. Therefore the church they planted, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, is the oldest Basel Mission partner church.

South INDIA was the second oldest and most concentrated field of the Basel Mission. They started work there in 1834. CHINA was the third Basel Mission field. Because China was neither a British nor a German colony, the Basel Mission faced a lot of opposition by the local people and authorities. Cameroon was added to the Basel Mission's fields when in 1886 the German colonial authorities invited the Mission to operate there. After the First World War, INDONESIA became part of Basel Mission's mission fields.

Generally the Basel Mission missionaries built a culture of Christian village life, developing agriculture, vernacular education, industry and trade, and providing social amenities in most of their mission fields. Altogether, by 1914, the Basel Mission had sent out more than 400 missionaries abroad. The two World Wars that brought in their trail economic poverty and the expulsion of the missionaries from most of their mission fields severely disrupted the work of the Basel Mission.

Today, the Basel Mission (now incorporated into Mission 21) continues to send short-term professionals known as fraternal workers who are invited by indigenous churches to collaborate with local agents of their respective fields. Mission 21 has a policy of promoting contextualization of the Gospel in the fields where they work. Mission 21 also joins other ecumenical institutions that promote missions including Pentecostals and Congregationalists (see PENTECOSTALISM; CONGREGATIONALISM) .

See also Missionary Organizations; Missions

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S.N.OMENYO

BATAK PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF INDONESIA

With a membership of about 3.5 million in nearly 3,000 congregations, the Batak Protestant Christian Church (Huria Kristen Batak Protestan, HKBP) is the largest Protestant Church in Southeast Asia. Christian MISSIONS to the Batak lands in Tapanuli, Northern Sumatra were begun by the Dutch in 1857; in 1861 the first BAPTISM took place; in the same year the German Rhenish Mission (RMG), of a mixed ReformedLutheran character, entered the field. Ludwig Ingwer Nommensen (1834–1918), one of the great missionaries of that era, integrated Batak social structures into the incipient church, and so created a strong “people’s church.” Until the present day the encounter of the Christian faith with Batak culture and religious beliefs (ancestor worship) constitutes a theological and practical challenge.

In 1930 the HKBP became an autonomous body, but until World War II the Rhenish missionaries still occupied the leading positions. Justinus Sihombing, *Ephorus* (presiding bishop) 1942–1962, led it into the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION (LWF) in 1952, although the HKBP church order and its confession of faith (1951; new confession 1996) contain Calvinist elements. This confession is also a splendid illustration of how a confession of faith reflects pertinent cultural issues (see CONFSSIONALIZATION). The church also joined the CCA and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1962 and was cofounder of the Council of Churches in Indonesia. The HKBP Nommensen University at Pematang Siantar and Medan was founded in 1954; in 1978 its theological faculty was transformed into a separate institute. The church produced Christian leaders at the national level, including Dr. T.S.G.Mulia (1896–1966); Amir Sjarifuddin (1907–1948), the only Christian who became prime minister of the Indonesian Republic; and the outstanding lay theologian General T.B. Simatupang (1920–1990).

Initially the HKBP included most ethnic subdivisions of the Batak people. In the course of time, however, these subdivisions formed independent church bodies. In the early twenty-first century the HKBP is mainly the church of the Toba Batak. Other separations were motivated by the opposition against foreign leadership (1927) or against alleged abuses (1964). Bataks also constitute the majority within the Indonesian Methodist Church. During the 1990s the church was deeply troubled by a long-term quarrel, fanned by the Soharito government; in the end the schism was healed.

Tapanuli is still the heartland of the HKBP, but as the Bataks migrated to other parts of INDONESIA, they took their churches along with them, even abroad. There are 170 congregations in Greater Jakarta alone, and four in the UNITED STATES.

See also Baptists; Dutch Reformed Church; Lutheranism; Methodism; Missionary Organizations; Missions

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THOMAS VAN DEN END

BAUMGARTEN, OTTO (1858–1934)

German theologian. Born January 29, 1858, in Munich, Baumgarten comes from the Protestant *Bildungsbürgertum*. His father was the liberal historian Hermann Baumgarten, and his cousin was MAX WEBER. After his university studies (Strasbourg, Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Zürich) and a brief pastorate, he received his doctorate in HALLE in 1887 and his university teaching license in 1889 in Berlin. Baumgarten was married in 1883, although his wife died in childbirth in the same year and he never remarried. From 1890 to 1894 he was a professor of practical theology at Jena, and from 1894 to 1926 he taught at Kiel. He died there on March 21, 1934.

The liberal Baumgarten influenced many areas of science, church, and politics. As a theologian Baumgarten, along with Paul Drews and Friedrich Niebergall, took part in a reorientation of the practical theology at the beginning of the twentieth century. Instead of a one-sided orientation on systematic theological questions, they successfully promoted the importance of other sciences (empirical sciences, social sciences, psychology, etc.). As a coeditor of the dictionary *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* as well as publisher of the *Monatsschrift für Kirchliche Praxis* (since 1907 *Evangelische Freiheit*) he participated actively in the academic discussions of his time. In the *Evangelische Freiheit* Baumgarten regularly published a chronicle (*Kirchliche Chronik*), which showed him as a critical observer of the church and political events of his time.

Baumgarten participated in the work of the *Evangelisch-sozialen Kongress*, from 1911 to 1921 and was its chairman as a successor to ADOLF VON HARNACK. Despite differences in specific questions, Baumgarten stood with MARTIN RADE, FRIEDRICH NAUMANN, Paul Goehre, and Weber as an important representative of Protestant social liberalism. Baumgarten opted early for a social and democratic constitutional state, and he supported the demands of the civil social reformers who wanted to overcome the class society of the Empire with social welfare programs. Like other liberal Protestants,

Baumgarten supported a separation of state and church. In 1896 he supported striking dock laborers in Hamburg; in 1911 and 1912 he defended the ministers Carl Jatho and Gottfried Traub, in so-called *Lehrbeanstandungsprozessen*, because of their religious opinions.

Politically Baumgarten was a follower of the national liberals. He supported a militarily strong position for GERMANY in Europe and was, for example, a member of the *Deutscher Flottenverein*. At the same time Baumgarten, who had close connections to English culture and politics, engaged in attempts to come to an agreement with Britain. In the First World War, Baumgarten fought against a politics of annexation. He represented the politics of reform and was for a democratization of Germany. Thus during the Weimar Republic he was among the most important supporters of democracy and republic within German Protestantism, and for several years he was a prominent member of the German Democratic Party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*). His public fight against anti-Semitism (among other things as a member of the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*) and his early argument against national socialism in the publication *Kreuz and Hakenkreuz* (1926) led to public conflicts with the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP) Nazi party in the last years of his life.

See also Anti-Semitism; Church and State Overview; Confessing Church; German Christians; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Socialism, Christian

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NORBERT FRIEDRICH

BAUMGARTEN, SIEGMUND JAKOB (1706–1757)

German theologian. Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten, praised by Voltaire as “the crown of German scholars,” was born in Saxony March 14, 1706 the son of Pietist minister Jakob Baumgarten. He studied at the Halle Orphan Asylum (where his father was inspector general) and then went on to the University of Halle. He became inspector of the Halle Latin School in 1726 where he preached with G.A.Franke and later went on to join the theology faculty. He was appointed to a professorship in 1743. Baumgarten produced a

vast body of work on a wide range of subjects before passing away July 4, 1757 in HALLE.

Baumgarten fused the Pietist tradition with the rigorous, logical, and systematic philosophy of his elder contemporary CHRISTIAN WOLFF (1679–1754), another famous citizen of Halle. In doing so, he sought to preserve the experiential and ethical PIETISM of PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER while embracing the scientific rationalism of his day. The result was an earnest ORTHODOXY that addressed almost every sphere of the Christian life, including history, dogmatics, exegesis, morals, and hermeneutics. It was Baumgarten’s hope that fusing Pietism with rationalism would establish the validity of Pietistic faith in the world by demonstrating the compatibility of profound Christian devotion with ascendant human reason. His success is questionable.

Baumgarten’s greatest student, admirer, and biographer, JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER, is sometimes referred to as “the father of rationalism,” and he came to propagate a theological rationalism that eventually, purposefully or not, displaced devout Pietism in nineteenth-century Prussia. For this reason Baumgarten is often viewed as a transitional figure from Pietism to rationalism, rather than a preserver of the former.

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JON PAUL SYDNOR

BAUR, FERDINAND CHRISTIAN (1792–1860)

German theologian. Baur was born in Schmiden near Stuttgart, Germany, on June 21, 1792, and died on February 12, 1860, in Tübingen. He was the founder of the new “Tübingen School” and was one of the most important Protestant theologians of the nineteenth century. Son of a pastor, he attended the Protestant schools of Blaubeuren and Maulbronn (1805–1809) and studied Protestant THEOLOGY at Tübingen (1809–1814). After successfully completing his university exam in 1814 at the head of his class, and then serving as a vicar, he started teaching as a “Repetent” (Tutor) in the renowned Evangelische Stift in Tübingen (also home to GEORG W.F. HEGEL in his student days). In 1817 Baur returned to the school of Blaubeuren as a professor, teaching classics and

history, where DAVID F.STRAUSS and Friedrich Th. Vischer were among his pupils. It was in Blaubeuren that Baur developed his major thoughts. In 1826 Baur returned to Tübingen University as professor of ecclesiastical history, where he remained until his death.

In his 1828/29 lecture on “Christliche Symbolik” Baur described Protestantism and Roman Catholicism as necessary historic phases in the development of the Christian faith. As much as Baur emphasized the differences between the two, he also stated that they both carry certain aspects of truth. Protest arose from Baur’s Roman Catholic colleague at Tübingen, JOHANN A.MÖHLER, who saw the subsuming of Protestantism back into the Roman Catholic church as the inevitable outcome of this dialectical approach. Baur responded with “Gegensatz des Katholizismus und Protestantismus nach den Prinzipien und Hauptdogmen der beiden Lehrbegriffe. [...]” (1833; in the second edition of 1836 he makes use of Hegelian concepts). Against Möhler, Baur emphasized the freedom of research and criticism against false, even Protestant, author-ities. The classic term “historic-critical” derives from the subtitle of Baur’s article “Über Zweck und Veranlassung des Römerbriefs [...]. Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung” (1836).

See also Neo-orthodoxy

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JOHANNES SCHWANKE

BAXTER, RICHARD (1615–1691)

Puritan divine. Baxter was a leading English Puritan (see PURITANISM) minister during the tumultuous decades of the seventeenth century. In his own mind a champion of church unity, Baxter nevertheless found himself embroiled in all of the religious and political controversies that beset ENGLAND from the onset of its CIVIL WAR through the Restoration of Charles II and the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION. He hoped for an inclusive national church that could embrace moderate Puritans like him but would also welcome a wide range of other Protestant believers into a body held together through common belief in what he called “mere Christianity.”

Born in Rowton, Shropshire, November 12, 1615, Baxter received a spotty education before being ordained a deacon in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in 1638. After brief stints in Dudley and Bridgnorth, he was called as curate to Kidderminster, Worcestershire

in 1641, shortly before the outbreak of civil war. By that point, Baxter was already at odds with the Church of England's episcopal hierarchy in principle and practice; he specifically refused to swear the so-called "et cetera" oath that gave approval to the national church's DOCTRINE and discipline. When fighting commenced, he sided with Parliament, believing it offered the best chance for change toward political and religious moderation. He soon fled to Coventry, ostensibly for safety reasons, where he remained until he accepted a chaplaincy in OLIVER CROMWELL'S army in 1645. To his dismay, he found that Parliament's cause had fallen into the hands of religious sectarians and political extremists, and that no amount of preaching or arguing on his part could change that.

Baxter returned to his Kidderminster parish in 1647 and began a successful ministry that continued until the Restoration. He poured his energies into being a preacher of "evangelical passion" and a pastor of gracious sensitivity to his flock of mostly weavers and other artisans. They responded favorably to his promotion of a Christian spirituality that celebrated humanity's rationality and physicality. He professed that the things of both the mind and the senses (perhaps especially natural beauty, music, and poetry) could aid in deepening one's devotion. Baxter communicated such sentiments to a wider audience in *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650), one of many devotional, pastoral, and theological works he wrote and published during the interregnum. Few if any of his writings generated more complaints than his first book, *Aphorisms of Justification* (1649), a controversial doctrinal treatise. Conversely, *The Reformed Pastor* (1656) garnered wide praise for the pastoral instruction it provided and the exemplary minister it showed Baxter to be. By that point, area clergy of various Protestant stripes had already welcomed Baxter's proposal to form a Worcestershire Association of Ministers, a sign of his growing prominence and a reflection of his broader concern for church unity on a national scale.

After Oliver Cromwell's death and his son Richard's short-lived rule (1658–1660), Baxter joined hosts of other Englishmen in endorsing and aiding the return of Charles II and the restoration of the monarchy. A believer in limited monarchy, Baxter wanted the English state to avoid any pro-Catholic or pro-French policy and to limit any further religious fragmentation among English Protestants. To that end, he resumed efforts to build a political consensus in favor of a comprehensive church settlement, one that would allow most of the country's Protestants to feel at home in the national church. The outlook seemed bright when Baxter was offered a royal chaplaincy, which he accepted, and the bishopric of Hereford, which he declined. The latter proved an omen of things to come. Baxter could not in good conscience embrace episcopal church governance, at least not in the form in which it existed before the Civil War. His efforts and those of his Puritan allies at the Savoy Conference of 1661, however, proved fruitless. Parliament's Act of Uniformity (1662) not only reestablished episcopacy, it demanded rigid compliance with the liturgical forms set out in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. In the face of this exclusive religious settlement, Baxter reluctantly left the established church and joined the ranks of nonconformists (see NONCONFORMITY).

During the last thirty years of his life, Baxter remained committed to the same causes that had animated him earlier. He emerged as the leader of the moderate or "presbyterian" branch of nonconformists (see PRESBYTERIANISM), and continued to work for sufficient concessions to allow them to rejoin a modified Church of England.

Although he had no parish or pulpit of his own, he managed to preach often and well, adding to his national reputation. With no pastoral duties, he devoted even more of his time to writing, publishing more than 100 additional works, including *Richard Baxter's Catholick Theologie* (1675), and maintaining a voluminous correspondence. He exchanged letters with English notables including JOHN TILLOTSON, ROBERT BOYLE, WILLIAM PENN, JOHN ELIOT, and INCREASE MATHER, but also with many ordinary folk. More often than not, his books or someone else's were the main topic of discussion. Baxter's views were eclectic enough to prompt attacks from all sides and dangerous enough in the minds of some state officials to warrant his arrest. He was tried for sedition in 1685 and imprisoned for 18 months. Baxter lived long enough to witness the Glorious Revolution (1688) and the Act of Toleration (1689), a measure that granted most Protestant nonconformists civil liberty and freedom of worship but did not re-create England's national church along the comprehensive lines Richard Baxter had always wanted. Baxter died December 8, 1691.

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RICHARD W. POINTER

BAYLE, PIERRE (1647–1706)

French philosopher. Born in Carla (Languedoc), FRANCE in 1647 Bayle was known as a skeptical philosopher and critic who advocated TOLERATION for atheists, Jews, and Muslims in *Miscellaneous Thoughts on the Comet* (1682–1683); *What A Wholly Catholic France Under Louis the Great is Like* (1685) and the *Philosophical Commentary* (1686–1687). He defended the right of conscience to err, without state interference, laying the foundation for separation of CHURCH AND STATE before and after the FRENCH REVOLUTION. Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697) influenced Diderot's *Encyclopedia* and Voltaire's critique of Roman Catholicism.

Bayle attended the College of Puy-Laurens, and for eighteen months, the Jesuit University of Toulouse, where he excelled at debate and converted to Rome. Relapsed, he fled to Geneva, returning to France to teach philosophy at the Protestant Academy of Sedan. When Louis XIV closed it (1681), Bayle took a similar position in Rotterdam.

As editor and main contributor to the monthly *News From the Republic of Letters* (1684–1687), Bayle influenced francophone Europe. His *General Criticism* (1685) of the Jesuit Louis Maimbourg's *History of Calvinism* put PIERRE JURIEU'S own in the shade. Their animosity manifested itself in controversies over Calvinist ORTHODOXY, repatriation, PACMSM, citizenship, and other political and confessional issues.

Although Bayle maintained membership in the Reformed Church of Rotterdam, where he was buried, and admired MARTIN LUTHER'S courage and JOHN CALVIN'S *Institutes*, he felt the REFORMATION had tyrannized over conscience. Influenced by Augustinian predestinarianism, Bayle denied that dogma or God's mysteries could ever be certainly understood. His writing, misjudged as irreligious until the later twentieth century, gradually cast doubt on dogmatism, but was consistent with the Hebraic notion of an inscrutable God.

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BARBARA SHER TINSLEY

BEECHER, HENRY WARD (1813–1887)

American clergy. Considered the greatest preacher of his era, Henry Ward Beecher was a charismatic orator whose powers of persuasion helped popularize and advance the cause of the abolition of slavery in mid nineteenth-century America and promoted a liberal social agenda from his pulpit late into the century. Beecher's advocacy for HUMAN RIGHTS and justice earned both him and his congregation, Plymouth Congregational Church of Brooklyn, a place in history. Plymouth came to be known as the "Grand Central Depot" of the Underground Railroad, Beecher "one of [its] most prominent Directors," and its congregation "large stockholders in that line."

Born on June 24, 1813 in Litchfield, Connecticut, he was the son of LYMAN BEECHER, a leader of the Congregational Church who was himself a gifted preacher, and Roxana Beecher. Henry was one of the couple's eleven children, who also included Catherine (b. 1800), Edward (b. 1803), HARRIET BEECHER STOWE (b. 1811), and Isabella Beecher Hooker (b. 1822). Henry Ward Beecher married Eunice Bullard in 1837 and the couple had ten children.

From 1826 to 1830 Beecher attended Mount Pleasant Classical Institute in Amherst, Massachusetts. In 1834 he graduated from Amherst College, and in 1837 received a divinity degree from Lane Theological Seminary. During his years in seminary Beecher first went public with his antislavery message, writing editorials supporting abolition in the *Cincinnati Journal*, a Presbyterian publication. Ordained in the “New School” Presbytery of Cincinnati, Ohio in 1838, he served first as a pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Lawrenceburg, Indiana in 1837, following which he served from 1839 to 1847 as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, Indiana.

For the rest of his career, from 1847 to 1887, he served as pastor of Plymouth Church (now Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims) in Brooklyn, New York, a parish gathered and built for him by five dedicated admirers. From this church he profoundly influenced public discourse on the issues of mid-nineteenth-century America. From his earliest days of preaching, Beecher stood in opposition to the prevailing Calvinist theology (which his father propounded) of humankind’s utter depravity, stressing instead God’s love in Jesus. Beecher shared with his siblings “the conviction that all human beings exhibited nothing intrinsically flawed that might prevent them from achieving their full potential through the exercise of their freedom” (Brauer).

His message was uplifting and strikingly different from what American parishioners were accustomed to hearing in the mid-nineteenth century—as he spread “the good news about salvation” for all believers instead of “the bad news about damnation” (Ryan). So popular was this message and the powerful delivery of his sermons that he regularly drew a crowd of 2,500 on Sundays. His Brooklyn church became a necessary stop for visitors to New York. Beecher’s preaching was a precursor by more than a century of a similarly affirmative good news about God and the gospel that was delivered from many mainstream Protestant pulpits in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Rather than emphasizing dogma or creeds in his sermons, Beecher addressed social issues from the pulpit—beginning by advocating for the abolition of slavery and continuing with leadership in other causes including WOMEN’S rights, TEMPERANCE, and the need to wipe out civil corruption. In 1854 Beecher led his congregation in strong opposition to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Through their successful efforts to raise funds to buy rifles for northern settlers who sought to move to Kansas and establish it as a free (rather than slaveholding) territory, his name entered the popular vernacular when these rifles became known as “Beecher (or Beecher’s) Bibles.” At the start of the CIVIL WAR, Beecher raised money to support a volunteer Union regiment. In 1863 he conducted a lecture tour of ENGLAND to popularize the Union cause to sometimes skeptical audiences, who were often won over thanks to Beecher’s oratorical gifts. After the end of the war Beecher characteristically advocated reconciliation, affirming his optimistic view of human potential. Beecher’s lifetime of active involvement in politics and direct advocacy allied him first with the Free Soil Party, which he joined in 1852, and then the Republican Party, to which he belonged from 1860 onward.

Despite his forward thinking on many issues of the day, Beecher was influenced by the values of the Victorian Era in which he came of age, a period that historian Carl E. Schorske has described as “morally secure, righteous, and repressive...intellectually committed to the rule of the mind over the body and to a latter-day Voltairism [of]...social progress through science, education, and hard work.” In this climate, Beecher promoted a THEOLOGY that drew heavily on the most forward-leading secular

thought of the time, “synthesizing prevalent ideas from outside the world of religion and articulating them in terms the common man could understand.” Beecher gave theological substance to the idealistic philosophy of the romantic poets and philosophers like WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, Thomas Carlyle, and SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, showing that God’s spirit was to be found not outside the world but within it—both in the beauty of the natural world and in the inherent goodness of humanity (Abbott:ixxi). In this way Beecher synthesized the elements of what has been described as a “new democratic faith” for midcentury America, incorporating “Emerson’s self-reliance, Webster’s constitutionalism, CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY’S pietistic-perfectionism, and Francis Wayland’s laissez-faire capitalism” (Abbott:xvi). As the century progressed Beecher also embraced DARWINISM. It can be argued that, even more than ABRAHAM LINCOLN or RALPH WALDO EMERSON, Beecher stands as the “preeminent spokesman for his age,” with his version of “romantic evangelical Christianity [that both] carried the nation into the [Civil] War and [subsequently] reunited it through liberal Protestant evolutionism after Lincoln’s death” (Abbott:xix).

Beecher extended his influence beyond the pulpit and lecture circuit through a lifetime of publication. From 1861 to 1863, he served as editor of *The Independent*, a Congregational publication, and from 1870 to 1881 was editor of his own journal, the *Christian Union*. He wrote and published extensively, including publishing his weekly sermons from Plymouth Church for several decades. In 1844 he wrote a popular pamphlet, *Seven Lectures to Young Men*. Among his many well-known and widely read books were *The Life of Jesus, the Christ* (1871) and *Evolution and Religion* (1885).

In 1874 Beecher’s life was marked by controversy and his reputation seriously damaged. He was sued for damages totaling one hundred thousand dollars by Theodore Tilton, a former coworker, friend, and member of Beecher’s Brooklyn congregation, for allegedly committing adultery with Tilton’s wife, Elizabeth M. Richards Tilton, four years earlier. This was considered one of the great scandals of the post-Civil War era. The trial in 1875 lasted six months and ended in a hung jury. Beecher later was cleared of all charges by a panel of his own Plymouth Church. Although the tarnish of scandal clung to Beecher, he remained in his pulpit and continued to be widely popular and influential for the rest of his life as a preacher, writer, and public speaker. Beecher died in Brooklyn of a cerebral hemorrhage in March 1887, and his funeral was attended by thousands.

See also Congregationalism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Slavery, Abolition of

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- PAUL WILLIAM BRADLEY

BEECHER, LYMAN (1775–1863)

American theologian. A Congregationalist and Pres byterian pastor, revivalist, reformer, and theological educator, Lyman Beecher was one of the best-known American clergymen of the first half of the nineteenth century. Born in New Haven, Connecticut, Beecher became a preacher of the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) under the influence of TIMOTHY DWIGHT, who became president of Yale College during

Beecher's student years there. As a revivalist Beecher preached a modified CALVINISM similar to that of his theologian friend, NATHANIEL WILLIAM TAYLOR, that also provided theological content for an ongoing battle with Unitarianism. He was also active in promoting social reforms, especially TEMPERANCE and SABBATARIANISM, which he understood as harbingers of a coming millennium.

After pastorates in East Hampton, New York; Litchfield, Connecticut; and Boston, Beecher in 1832 accepted the presidency of Lane Seminary in Cincinnati. There he became embroiled in controversies over abolitionism, in which his chief opponent was THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, over his anti-Catholicism, as evidenced in his 1835 *A Plea for the West*, and over his "New School" theology. Although acquitted of HERESY by the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1835, Beecher's views were nonetheless a precipitating cause of the Old School-New School schism of 1837.

Retired after 1850 Beecher died in Brooklyn, New York. Later generations have often forgotten his contemporary significance, perhaps in part because of the fame of his several children, especially HARRIET BEECHER STOWE and HENRY WARD BEECHER.

See also Millenarians and Millennialism; Slavery, Abolition of; Unitarian-Universalist Association

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DONALD L.HUBER

BELGIC CONFESSION OF 1561

The Belgic Confession is the first general formulation of Reformed faith for the NETHERLANDS. Its title, sometimes given in Latin as *Confessio Belgica*, refers to the whole of the Low Countries, both north and south, given that the confession was written before the division into what eventually became the Netherlands and Belgium. Guy de Brès, a Reformed pastor from the southern town of Mons, drafted the text, perhaps as early as 1559. A French version was published in 1561; a Dutch translation appeared the next year. Reformed leaders sent a copy to King Philip II of Spain, the Habsburg ruler of the Netherlands. They accompanied the text with a petition declaring obedience to the

civil magistrate, even as the supplicants offered what they regarded as a true declaration of Christian belief. The governing authorities firmly rejected this plea for acceptance and TOLERATION. Indeed, several years later, in 1567, de Brès himself suffered martyrdom.

The text contains thirty-seven articles that draw on JOHN CALVIN'S grand design and are closely modeled on the GALLICAN CONFESSION of 1559. The first eleven articles address knowledge of God, Holy Scripture, and the nature of the Trinity. Articles 12 through 15 concentrate on humanity and the fall. The next half dozen possess a Christological orientation with explanations of the Incarnation and Christ's dual nature. Human redemption through Jesus Christ, the next logical subject, is discussed in articles 22 through 26. A sequence of eight articles then touches upon the church, ecclesiastical polity, and the SACRAMENTS. Article 36 considers issues surrounding civil government, whereas the final article, appropriately enough, speaks to the Last Judgment.

See also Martyrs and Martyrologies

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RAYMOND A. MENTZER

BELL, GEORGE KENNEDY ALLEN (1883–1958)

Bishop of Chichester. After his studies at Oxford University, George Bell was ordained in 1907 to an assistant curacy at Leeds, in northeastern ENGLAND, where he gave special attention to the intellectual life of underprivileged young men. He taught at Oxford 1910–1914, and was then called to be chaplain (secretary) to Archbishop RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON of CANTERBURY. This gave him insight into the national and international responsibilities of his church, as well as its need for self-government. As Dean of Canterbury Cathedral from 1924 to 1929, Bell began his active support of the arts and artists, most conspicuously, the dramatists John Masefield, T.S. ELIOT, and Dorothy L. Sayers.

It was a government-sponsored cultural mission to SWEDEN in 1942 that brought Bell into contact with DIETRICH BONHOEFFER and allowed him to act as an intermediary between German church leaders in opposition to Hitler and the British government. As Bishop of Chichester (1929–1958), Bell led the Anglican church into the Life and Work Movement and into the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Bell supported the formation of the united Churches of South India and of North India and helped begin unity talks with METHODISM. He advocated for the unemployed and for refugees from Nazi oppression, as well as in support for the persecuted CONFESSING

CHURCH in Germany. During the Second World War, he protested publicly against bombing of civilians.

On his memorial plaque in Chichester Cathedral, Bell is described as “A True Pastor, Poet and Patron of the Arts, Champion of the Oppressed, and Tireless Worker for Christian Unity.”

See also North India, Church of; South India, Church of

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DAVID TRIPP

BENGEL, JOHANN ALBRECHT (1687–1752)

Lutheran theologian. Born June 24, 1687, near Stuttgart, GERMANY, Bengel studied THEOLOGY in Tübingen between 1703 and 1709. He was appointed tutor at the university there and became teacher at a monastery school in Denkendorf near Esslingen (Württemberg) in 1713. In preparation for assuming that office, Bengel was granted an extensive leave to visit other schools. This took him to HALLE, where AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE had established a number of institutions, most of which were educational in nature. The encounter with Francke and the PIETISM he represented left a lasting impression on Bengel, particularly the emphasis on CONVERSION, which he embraced. Back in Denkendorf, Bengel focused for many years on his teaching responsibilities, and it was not until the early 1740s that his career took a more public turn. Beginning in 1741 he was promoted to increasingly more prestigious ecclesiastical positions in Württemberg; in 1749 he was made a member of the Consistory.

Aware of the inaccessibility of useful and reliable editions of ancient Christian texts, Bengel began a prolific editing career, which eventually focused on preparing an edition of the Greek New Testament. This edition appeared in two versions in 1734, a large edition with a critical apparatus, which summarized the editorial principles and listed variant readings, and a “pocket edition” that essentially included only the Greek text with brief annotations.

Nine years later Bengel published a two-volume *Gnomen Novi Testamenti*, a thorough commentary on the New Testament. Alongside these textual efforts, Bengel also

published other works, such as a commentary on the Book of Revelation, which he saw as a handbook of church history. His studies suggested to him the date of June 18, 1836, as the date of the Second Coming.

Bengel died November 2, 1752, in Stuttgart.

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

BENNETT, JOHN COLEMAN (1902–1995)

American ethicist. Bennett is perhaps most known for his contributions to social ethics. A self-proclaimed liberal theologian, Bennett produced a vast literature of books and journal articles that dealt with ETHICS, ECUMENISM, international affairs, COMMUNISM, and church relations. He also was cofounder of the influential journal *Christianity and Crisis*. He was a social activist who participated in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and openly opposed U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. To help voice opposition to this war, Bennett cofounded, with Rabbi Abraham J.Heschel, the organization Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam.

Bennett was born in Kingston, Ontario, CANADA, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He was educated at Williams College, Oxford University, and Union Theological Seminary and was an ordained minister for the Congregational Church. Bennett began his career as a professor of Christian THEOLOGY and the philosophy of religion. His teaching positions included Auburn Seminary (1931–1938), the Pacific School of Religion (1938–1943), and Union Theological Seminary where he was dean (1955) and then president (1963).

Throughout his career Bennett was involved in a variety of ecumenical activities. He promoted ecumenism in the college classroom, he served on the Second Assembly of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1954), the World Council of Churches Department of Church and Society, and other ecumenical councils and conferences. His ethics focused on the social engagement of Christianity. John C. Bennett ended his career as president of Union Theological Seminary in 1970 and died in 1995 at the age of 92.

See also Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism

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JAY LAUGHLIN

BENTHAM, JEREMY (1748–1832)

English philosopher. Bentham was born in London on February 15, 1748 and began his studies at the Westminster School in 1755 at the age of seven. By fifteen Bentham completed his bachelor's degree at Queen's College Oxford. He left the legal profession soon after his admission to the Bar in 1769 and began a lifelong study of philosophy. In founding Utilitarianism, Bentham developed an influential ethical philosophy that sought to maximize pleasure in life and minimize pain. He died June 6, 1832, and an effigy of his body containing his bones and clothing resides at the University College, London.

In the preface of *A Fragment on Government* (1776), Bentham introduced the concise thesis of Utilitarianism: "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." In *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789), Bentham posited that good and evil could best be determined by calculating the amount of pleasure against the amount of pain. He applied this "principle of utility" to many practical topics such as prison reform, jurisprudence, and animal welfare. Bentham funded *The Westminster Review* (est. 1823), a journal devoted to circulating Utilitarian positions on social issues. He remained decidedly hostile toward religion. A strident atheist, Bentham considered the ideal society to be completely secular. In *Church of Englandism* (1818) he argued for disestablishment. The Anglican Church, Bentham said, encouraged rational laxity on the part of believers. Bentham's *Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion* (1822) faulted religiously based moral systems for their lack of scientific reasoning.

See also Anglicanism; Empirical Theology; Ethics

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ARTHUR J. REMILLARD

BENTLEY, RICHARD (1662–1742)

English theologian. Bentley was born in Oundle, Yorkshire, England, in 1662 and died in Cambridge in 1742. He was a noted CHURCH OF ENGLAND clergyman, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Regius professor of divinity, archdeacon of Ely, and classical and New Testament textual critic. After graduation in St. John's College, Oxford, and a short time as a schoolteacher, Bentley first became a private tutor and then librarian to the king. In 1691 he contributed an appendix to Dr. John Mill's edition of the history of John of Antioch, or "Malelas," in which his analysis of the text proved that this chronicle was written centuries later than it claimed to be. Bentley also made important critical observations on the fifth-century New Testament manuscript, the Codex Alexandrinus.

In 1692–1693 Bentley gave the first series of the Boyle Lectures, endowed to defend Christian belief against atheism and DEISM (effectively, against THOMAS HOBBS). This series, finally published as *A Confutation of Atheism*, leaned heavily on the findings of ISAAC NEWTON, with Newton's general approval. In 1700, after his crushing acumen had proved that the *Epistles of Phalaris* and other works were spurious, he was appointed Master of Trinity.

Next to the Boyle Lectures and his orthodox apology, *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free Thinking* (1713), his chief theological work was his *Proposals for Printing a New Edition of the Greek Testament and St. Hierom's Latin Version* (1721), pointing to the oldest Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate for recovering the text as it had been in the early fourth century. Although not carried out, his project helped to establish the need, possibility, and methods of such an edition.

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DAVID TRIPP

BERGGRAV, EIVIND (1884–1959)

Norwegian lutheran bishop. The son of a bishop, Berggrav studied at the University of Oslo with the intention of becoming a pastor, but a crisis of faith postponed his decision to seek ordination for many years. He pursued further study in GERMANY, edited a periodical called *Church and Culture*, and taught in high schools for ten years, before finally accepting a pastorate in 1919. From 1925 to 1929 he served as chaplain at a prison in Oslo, during which time he also wrote a doctoral dissertation in the psychology of religion.

In 1929 he was appointed bishop of Hålogaland, NORWAY'S most northern diocese, and in 1937 he was called to be bishop of Oslo and primate of the Church of Norway. Because of his reputation as a liberal thinker, this appointment was strongly opposed by Ole Hallesby, leader of the Pietists within the church. In time, however, Berggrav gained widespread support because of his efforts to improve relations between liberals and conservatives. After the German invasion of Norway in 1940 he created the Joint Christian Council to facilitate cooperation between all church factions in opposition to the Nazis. In 1942 Berggrav and the other Lutheran bishops all resigned in protest against government interference in the churches. After the Joint Christian Council issued "The Foundation of the Church," a confessional document stressing the Christian obligation to take a stand against tyrannical and unjust state authorities, Berggrav was arrested. As a leader of the Norwegian struggle against Nazism, he spent the duration of World War II imprisoned in a rural cottage.

After the liberation of Norway he was both admired and attacked for his efforts to restrain vengeance against Nazi collaborators. In the postwar period he was active in the formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES until his retirement in 1950.

See also Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Lutheranism, Germany; Lutheranism, Scandinavia; Pietism

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ERIC LUND

BERKELEY, GEORGE (1685–1753)

Anglo-Irish clergyman and philosopher. Berkeley was born in or near Kilkenny, Ireland, on March 12, 1685. After a preparatory education in Kilkenny, he entered Trinity College

in Dublin, receiving his B.A. in 1704 and his M.A. in 1707. Three years later he accepted ordination in the Church of Ireland, the Irish counterpart of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. At this point, only twenty-five years of age, Berkeley had also written two of the major philosophical treatises upon which his reputation as an original and provocative thinker depends (*A New Theory of Vision*, 1709, and *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, 1710). A third work, published in 1713, polished that reputation to an even greater brightness (*Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*).

Although Berkeley seemed destined to pursue an academic career of some distinction, probably at his alma mater, he left Ireland in 1713 for England, where he found much stimulation and intellectual excitement in the company of poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744), politician Joseph Addison (1672–1719), writer Richard Steele (1672–1729), and his own countryman, satirist JONATHAN SWIFT (1667–1745). He then completed two tours of the European continent, the second one lasting five years, from 1716 to 1720. When he returned to England and Ireland, he found what he perceived to be a society in serious moral decline. Speaking of England in particular, he wrote in 1721 that “other nations have been wicked, but we are the first who have been wicked on principle.”

Though Berkeley had been appointed senior lecturer (*in absentia*) at Trinity College in 1717, he saw greater financial security in obtaining a post in the Church of Ireland that carried with it a guaranteed annual income. This came in 1724 with his appointment as dean of Derry, a position that suggested his clerical side would now dominate the philosophical one. Even more surprising, perhaps, was Berkeley’s determination to become a missionary, with the stipend from Derry to serve as a kind of launching pad that would propel him all the way to the New World.

Berkeley believed that the old world was in decline and that the New World now offered the greatest promise for a resurgence of religion and virtue. Athens and Rome were no more, and soon Paris and London, too, would fall into ruin. Berkeley wrote:

Westward the Course of Empire takes it Way;
The first four Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day;
Time’s noblest Offspring is the last.

Berkeley traveled to the Island of Bermuda, with the dream of erecting a college that would attract both blacks and Indians, but more important, would be a kind of seminary to train ministers “for the better supplying of churches in our Foreign Plantations.” By 1725 Berkeley had published the details of his plan, won a royal charter for it, and even begun to gather donations from all over England and Ireland. Moreover, he obtained from Parliament a promise of major funding to come. Among other things, Berkeley saw this outpost of empire as a bulwark against Catholicism, and a valuable boost to “the protestant religion [that] hath of late years considerably lost ground.”

Berkeley as Missionary

In September 1728 Berkeley, now recognizing Bermuda as a poor choice, set sail for Rhode Island. Unlike Massachusetts and Connecticut, Rhode Island had no college and Berkeley believed it might be a fertile ground for his utopian dream. In his nearly three years in Rhode Island, he aided the Protestant cause by preaching in Newport's Anglican church, encouraging the missionaries sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and writing a powerful apologia (*Alciphron*, 1732) on behalf of traditioned Christianity and against the freethinkers then enjoying great popularity in England. He also waited for the promised grant from Parliament that never came. In September 1731 Berkeley returned to England, then to Ireland.

Back in England, Berkeley was welcomed into the membership of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In a sermon preached to that society, Berkeley made clear how much missions were still on his mind, though he acknowledged that "it is hardly to be expected, that so long as Infidelity prevails at home, the Christian religion should thrive and flourish in our Colonies abroad." With Queen Caroline in his corner, Berkeley won appointment as Bishop of Cloyne in southern Ireland. There he labored for nearly twenty years on behalf of his church, his country, and his people. In 1752 he retired from his bishopric, returning once more to England to be near his son at Oxford. In January of 1753 he died there and is buried in Christ Church Cathedral.

Long remembered in Ireland, England, and around the world, the philosopher-churchman also left an indelible mark in America: at Berkeley College of Yale University and at the University of California's site in Berkeley, named in his honor.

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EDWIN S.GAUSTAD

BERKHOF, HENDRIKUS (1914–1995)

Dutch reformed theologian of the Hervormde Kerke. Berkhof studied in Amsterdam, Leiden, and Berlin and served as a pastor and part-time teacher before becoming the first director of the Reformed Church seminary in Driebergen. In 1960 he became professor of dogmatics and biblical theology at the University of Leiden from which he retired in 1981.

Berkhof was active in ecumenical endeavors. He was chair of the Council of Churches in the NETHERLANDS (1974–1983) while also participating in the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES where he served on the Central Committee (1954–1975).

Berkhof wrote approximately twenty books, some of which were translated into other languages. His *Christian Faith* (1979; rev. ed. 1986) was a one-volume survey of the whole of THEOLOGY in fifty-nine chapters. This work is marked by the influence of KARL BARTH, although it moves away from Barth in some areas, particularly in CHRISTOLOGY. Berkhof begins Christology “from below,” to ascertain what Jesus looks like “in the light of a careful investigation of the sources and within the framework of his own time” (*Christian Faith* [1986]:271). Although he pursued the study of theology with academic rigor, Berkhof’s perspective was also that theology was “not something to learn so much as something to do and practice” (xii).

Berkhof attempted to “present a restatement of the gospel which is as up-to-date and lucid as possible” and to strike a path “between rigid traditionalism on the one side and rudderless modernism on the other” (xi).

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DONALD K.MCKIM

BEST-SELLERS IN AMERICA, RELIGIOUS

Considering the recent popularity of apocalyptic books such as the *Left Behind* series by Tim LaHaye and Jerry B.Jenkins, colonial America does not seem so long ago. Contemporary readers of this best-selling series get a multivolume dose of eschatological thrill, not unlike the experience colonists got from *The Day of Doom*, the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth’s 1662 poem about the final judgment. To be sure, colonists devoured other religious books—*The Practice of Piety* by Lewis Bayly (1665) and *The Pilgrim’s Progress* by JOHN BUNYAN (1681) were also popular—but *The Day of Doom* earned a place in the history of religious best-sellers for being the first to sell to at least one out of every one hundred Americans, and for summarizing Calvinistic doctrines so memorably that schoolchildren for a century were required to recite its rhymes:

They wring their hands, their caitiff-hands
and gnash their teeth for terrour:

They cry, they roar for anguish sore,
 and gnaw their tongues for horror.
 But get away without delay, Christ pitties not your cry:
 Depart to Hell, there may you yell, and roar Eternally.

Americans no longer snap up copies of doctrinal doggerel, but they buy tales of the apocalypse by the millions. Only the form has changed.

Because what Americans read is directly connected to what they think, scholars study religious bestsellers to help understand the character of American popular religion. Best-selling religious books articulate the ideas and values by which people live or imagine themselves living. Not only do religious bestsellers say what readers want to hear, but readers urge them on their friends and family because they say what readers want others to hear, too. Thus they provide clues to the character of popular religious belief. As former Simon & Schuster editor Michael Korda said, "Like stepping on the scales, [the bestseller list] tells us the truth, however unflattering, and is therefore, taken over the long haul, a pretty good way of assessing our culture and of judging how, if any, we have changed."

Constructing a definitive list of American religious best-sellers can be tricky. Although religious books have sold voluminously in America since the early colonial period, best-sellers were not tracked until 1895, when the literary magazine *The Bookman* instituted its monthly list of best-sellers. Lists have proliferated ever since, but none without limitations. Newspapers such as the *New York Times* survey secular bookstores, which carry only a fraction of the religious books sold in the United States. Similarly the Christian Marketplace Top 50 List names titles that are sold only by the constituents of CBA and the Evangelical Christian Publishers Association. Furthermore contemporary lists favor short-term sellers over long-term favorites because they are based on periodic rather than cumulative sales. Determining which religious books have sold in the greatest quantities relative to the era in which they were published requires careful use of both historical sources and diverse contemporary lists, a task that is rewarded with illuminating evidence of constancy and change in American popular religion.

Bible

The single best-selling book in the United States has always been the BIBLE. Until the middle of the twentieth century that meant the King James Version, introduced in 1611, four years after English settlers first arrived at Jamestown, Virginia. The King James Version monopolized sales until 1952, when the Revised Standard Version was issued to satisfy the groundswell for a more reader-friendly Bible. Other best-selling Bibles have followed. Zondervan published the New International Version in 1978 and Thomas Nelson published the New King James Version four years later. Despite the immense popularity of these twentieth-century translations, their sales were far outpaced by a paraphrase, *The Living Bible* (1971), which has sold by the tens of millions and inspired the production of *The Message*, the paraphrase NavPress published in 2002. Whatever the

version, nine out of ten households in America own at least one Bible, with the typical count being three copies per household.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In the first decade of the eighteenth century, all the books that met media historian Frank Luther Mott's criterion for best-sellers—sales equal to at least one percent of the U.S. population when the book was first published—were religious. There were three: Robert Russell's *Seven Sermons* (1701), a collection of the English minister's homilies on eternal damnation; John Williams's *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707), a grisly first-person account of a Puritan minister who returned from a forced march from Massachusetts to CANADA after witnessing the slaughter of family and neighbors by Native Americans and enduring relentless proselytizing from Jesuits; and John Flavel's *Husbandry Spiritualized* (1709), meditations from another English minister using farmwork to illustrate Christian DOCTRINE. Besides being religious, all the best-sellers from this decade were nonfiction and all were written by ministers, two out of three of whom were English, not American.

The situation was much different a century later. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the books that sold to one percent of Americans were not expressly religious. Americans instead were buying biography (Mason L. Weems's *Life of Washington*), historic social criticism (Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Spectator*), romance (Jane Porter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw*), poetry (Lord Byron's *Poems*), and history (Washington Irving's *History of New York*). No doubt they were also buying religious titles, just not in blockbuster quantities. Best-sellers at the beginning of the nineteenth century were not only more secular than their predecessors, but they also included an increasing presence of fiction as well as domestic authors, sometimes women. These attributes would also become true for religious best-sellers.

Religion may have less and less been the primary subject of nineteenth-century best-sellers, but it was hardly absent from them. Mott found that about a third of all best-sellers published before 1915 had "a strong religious element." The perspective was predominantly Protestant, sometimes blatantly anti-Catholic as in *The Wandering Jew* by Eugene Sue (1845). Practical guides to Christian living were popular, as evidenced in the sales of *The Young Christian* by Jacob Abbott (1832), *The Mother at Home* by John S.C. Abbott (1833), and *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* by HANNAH WHITALL SMITH (1883). Novels became a mainstay, including *Barriers Burned Away* (1872) and *Opening a Chestnut Burr* (1874) by E.P. Roe, stories that ended with a religious CONVERSION after a calamity such as a fire or a shipwreck. Biblical novels by J.H. Ingraham (*The Prince of the House of David*, 1855) and Lew Wallace (*Ben-Hur*, 1870) captured the imaginations of the nation's readers. So did novels by women. Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (1850) told the story of the Christian perseverance of Little Eva, who is sent away from home at the age of ten; Augusta J. Evans's *Beulah* (1859) chronicled a woman struggling with religious doubt; and Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere* (1888) explored the work of a minister who rejects biblical supernaturalism in favor of the SOCIAL GOSPEL. Although an increasing proportion of American religious best-sellers were written by Americans, many still were imports,

including *L'Abbé Constantin* by Ludovic Halévy (1882), a story of devout Americans who move to a French estate and become local benefactors, and *Quo Vadis* by Henryk Sienkiewicz (1896), a novel about the life and suffering of the Christians during the decadent reign of Nero.

Twentieth Century

Five kinds of religious best-sellers predominated in the twentieth century. The first was biblical and inspirational fiction. Far and away the biggest phenomenon in this category is *In His Steps* by CHARLES SHELDON, a novel originally serially read in vespers services and published to great fanfare in 1897. *In His Steps* has never gone out of print, and its message that discipleship can be reduced to one question, "What would Jesus do?" had so much appeal that it spawned WWJD clothing and jewelry in the 1990s as well as the twenty-first century's ecofriendly critique of American consumption, "What Would Jesus Drive?" Other twentieth-century inspirational best-sellers include *The Shepherd of the Hills* (1907) and *The Calling of Dan Matthews* (1909) by Harold Bell Wright, novels that championed rural Christian INDIVIDUALISM against the encroachment of faithless urbanism; *The Nazarene* (1939) by Sholem Asch, the story of Jesus told from three different perspectives; *The Robe* (1942), by Lloyd C. Douglas, a novel about the crucifixion of Jesus; *The Silver Chalice* (1948) by Thomas B. Costain, a novel about a Greek artisan who makes the chalice used in the Last Supper; and *The Day Christ Died* (1957) by Jim Bishop, a journalistic account of Jesus's last day, beginning at Gethsemane and ending on Golgotha. Most of these novels became feature films.

Devotional and inspirational nonfiction together constitute another category of twentieth-century religious best-sellers. Some are contemplative. *The Song of Our Syrian Guest* (1903) by William Allen Knight put Psalm 23 in the context of ancient shepherds to give a mystical rendering of this favorite biblical passage, and *Streams in the Desert* (1925) by Mrs. Charles E. Cowman is a daily devotional that uses poetry, scripture passages, anecdotes, and meditations to consider the will of God. In *Peace with God* (1954), evangelist BILLY GRAHAM used passages from the Bible to explain that four simple steps led to certainty of SALVATION. Other books in this category are autobiographical. *The Cross and the Switchblade* (1963) by David Wilkerson tells about his early ministry to gangs in New York City, culminating in the conversion of gang leader Nicky Cruz. *Joni* (1976) is the inspirational story of Joni Earekson's struggles to adjust after a diving accident left her paralyzed below the neck.

Scripture supplements comprise a third category of religious best-sellers in the twentieth century. This category includes Bible story books for children. *The Story of the Bible* (1904) by Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, a Methodist Episcopal minister who was active in the Sunday School Union and Tract Society, has been in print for a century. Another children's best-seller, *Egermeier's Bible Story Book* (1922) by Elsie E. Egermeier, is likewise still in print. A third scripture supplement, this one for adults, has sold nearly as long. It is *Halley's Bible Handbook* (1927), which the Rev. Henry H. Halley published two years after the Scopes trial. The purpose of this book was to show the inerrancy of the Bible as well as its contemporary relevance. Using history, geography, and archaeology, Halley proceeded to defend creationism and attack historical criticism of the

Bible. He also claimed that Catholicism and Islam were curses foretold in the Book of Revelation and that white Christians were meant to rule over blacks and Jews.

A fourth type of religious best-sellers of the twentieth century is apocalyptic literature. The nonfiction book that championed this theme was Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970). Lindsey popularized premillennial ESCHATOLOGY, claiming that contemporary events were fulfillments of prophecies from the books of Daniel, Matthew, and Revelation, and that true believers would soon be "raptured," leaving the world in hellish tribulation that would end only when Jesus returns for the final judgment. This perspective inspired the bestselling *Left Behind* series, which deals with the lives of persons converted to Christian faith after the RAPTURE who must endure the Tribulation. The apocalyptic vision of Lindsey and LaHaye perceives Satan and his vast assembly of demons doing battle with angels for the hearts and minds of human beings. Lindsey's second best-seller, *Satan is Alive and Well on Planet Earth* (1972), advanced this belief, as did *Angels: God's Secret Agents* (1975) by Billy Graham. This view was politicized in the best-selling novel by Frank Peretti, *This Present Darkness* (1986), a thriller that portrayed demonic forces at work in churches that preach unity and universities that question TRADITION.

In contrast to the beleaguered suspiciousness of apocalyptic best-sellers are books that promote positive thinking, the final category of religious bestsellers in the twentieth century. In these books God is the ultimate friend in a high place, someone who can be called on to help believers reach their goals. The first positive thinking best-seller was Lloyd Douglas's 1929 novel, *The Magnificent Obsession*, in which the protagonist discovers the biblical formula that guarantees success. In *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952), NORMAN VINCENT PEALE assured millions of readers that they would never be defeated if they followed his ten rules for success. In *Prison to Praise* (1970) and *Power in Praise* (1972), Merlin Carothers explained that thanking God for everything, including adversity, was the key to the happy life. More recently, *The Prayer of Jabez: Breaking Through to the Blessed Life* (2000) by Bruce Wilkinson claimed that God will give a storehouse of material and spiritual blessings to everybody who asks, so we should ask and ask often for health and wealth, praying the New King James Version of I Chronicles 4:10: "Oh, that You would bless me indeed, and enlarge my territory, that Your hand would be with me, and that You would keep me from evil, that I may not cause pain."

Significance

Just as Christianity is one of the religions of the book, the UNITED STATES can be called a nation of the religious best-seller—meaning, of course, the Bible and other books that readers believe put biblical truths into plain language and a contemporary context. There is both constancy and change in these best-sellers. *The Day of Doom* of the seventeenth-century is stylistically and theologically distant from *The Late Great Planet Earth* of the twentieth century, but both use terrifying visions of the final judgment to prompt readers to choose the side of the elect (see ELECTION). Similarly *The Practice of Piety* bears little resemblance to *The Power of Positive Thinking*, but both offer practical advice to acting the way God would have us act. The similarities show the

religious concerns that have preoccupied Americans through the centuries; the differences show what has characterized Americans at particular historical times. More generally the history of religious best-sellers shows the longstanding preoccupation in America with Christian faith in terms of both belief and behavior. The Christianity of American religious best-sellers has been more individual than social, more pragmatic than mystical, more concrete than abstract, and mostly but not exclusively Protestant. America is, of course, far more diverse than the religion of its best-sellers; nevertheless the faith that Americans by the million want to read is a significant indication not only that America is religious but also how America is religious.

See also Apocalypticism; Bible and Literature; Bible Translation; Biblical Inerrancy; Bunyan, John; Culture; Eschatology; Mass Media; Publishing, Media; Tribulationism

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BEZA, THEODORE (1519–1605)

Calvinist reformer. Beza was a French humanist, reformed theologian, and the handpicked successor of JOHN CALVIN in Geneva. For nearly four decades after Calvin's death in 1564, Beza served as chief minister of the Genevan church, taught theology at the Academy of Geneva, and was a recognized leader in exile of the reformed churches in FRANCE. Beza played a crucial role in preserving Calvin's theological legacy and promoting international CALVINISM.

Theodore Beza was born at Vézelay in Burgundy on June 24, 1519 to parents of France's lower nobility. At age nine Beza was placed under the tutelage of the renowned Hellenist (and secret Lutheran) Melchior Wolmar, who over the next five years imparted to his pupil a love for classical philology and literature. Beza received his license in law from the University of Orleans in 1539, but his passion for humanistic studies overshadowed any legal ambitions. For the next decade he participated in a sodality of gifted French humanists in Paris, studying Greek and Latin classics and writing poetry. Beza's *Poemata* (1548), a collection of witty and sometimes erotic poems, situates him as a Christian humanist critical of the Catholic hierarchy.

In October 1548, as he recovered from serious illness, Beza converted to Protestantism and together with his (clandestine) wife Claudine Denosse fled to Geneva. At the recommendation of Calvin and Pierre Viret, Beza was installed as professor of Greek at the Academy of Lausanne in November 1549. Beza's pen was active during his ten-year sojourn in Lausanne. His humanistic training is evident in the play *Abraham sacrificiant* (1550), in his exegetical notes and Latin translation of the New Testament (*Annotationes*, 1556; revised until 1598), and in his contribution to the French *Psalter* (begun by Clement Marot; completed by Beza in 1562). Beza's polemical writings in this period reveal a maturing theologian, committed to Calvin's reform program. In *De haereticis* (1554), he attacked SEBASTIAN CASTELLIO and his defense of religious TOLERATION, justifying instead the right of magistrates to punish heretics (see HERESY). The *Tabula praedestinationes* (1555) offered a schematized defense of Calvin's doctrine of double PREDESTINATION (with Beza's own supralapsarian accent). A more comprehensive statement of Beza's theology appeared in the *Confession de la foi chrétienne* (1559), written for his aged Catholic father.

Theodore Beza's tenure in Lausanne ended in October 1558, hastened when the magistrates proscribed sermons on predestination. At the invitation of Geneva's ministers Beza was elected city preacher in Geneva in December and, the following spring, was named rector of the newly established Genevan Academy. The growing religious crisis in France, however, soon captured Beza's attention. In 1560 the Genevan clergy sent him to Nérac to "teach the Word of God" to the noble house of Bourbon. The following year the reformer led the Protestant delegation at the COLLOQUY OF POISSY in September 1561, where Beza defended the Protestant religion and the legitimacy of the French reformed churches in the presence of the Catholic royal family. Poissy proved to be a final, failed attempt to procure religious concord. When the First War of Religion began in April 1562, Beza marched with the Huguenot armies as chaplain to Louis de Condé (see HUGENOTS).

Beza provided strategic leadership for the reformed churches of France during the decades of civil war and confessional violence preceding the EDICT OF NANTES (1598). He secretly raised money and mercenaries for the Huguenot war effort; he provided theological and political counsel to the beleaguered churches; he served as confidant and advisor to Protestant notables such as GASPARD COLIGNY, Jeanne d'Albret, and her son Henry of Navarre (the future Henry IV); and he presided over the National Synod of La Rochelle (1571). In the aftermath of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (August 24, 1572), Beza defended the right of Protestant magistrates in France to revolt against the Valois monarchy. His *Du droit des magistrats* (1574) remains a classic in the history of resistance literature. Likewise, historians now recognize Beza as the chief editor and compiler of the massive history of the reformed churches in France, the *Histoire ecclésiastique* (1580).

Beza remained to the end of his life a prominent minister and professor in Geneva. He preached more than three thousand sermons from the pulpit of St. Pierre's (only eighty-seven sermons are extant). As a member of the Genevan CONSISTORY, he defended the practice of CHURCH DISCIPLINE to reprove sinners and preserve the purity of the Christian CHURCH. (Beza went further than Calvin in regarding discipline the "third mark" of a true church.) As professor of theology Beza taught many future leaders of the reformed movement (among them Kasper Olevianus, Antoine de La Faye, Franciscus

Junius, ANDREW MELVILLE, and JACOBUS ARMINIUS) and wrote several dozen treatises against Catholic and GNESIO-LUTHERAN opponents. Scholars continue to debate Beza's fidelity to Calvin's theology and his role in emerging Protestant ORTHODOXY. His theological writings, collected in the threevolume *Tractationes theologicae* (1570–1582), evince a theological system more formal in definition and more scholastic in method than that employed by Calvin. Beza was also more explicit than his predecessor in affirming the doctrine of limited ATONEMENT and fiercer in his opposition to episcopal government (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY), although these discontinuities appear to be more a matter of method than substance. Theodore Beza died on October 13, 1605, still committed to the theological legacy and pastoral priorities of his "spiritual father" John Calvin.

See also Confessionalization; Conversion; Puritanism; Reformation

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BIBLE

The Bible is the centerpiece of the Protestant faith. Since Martin Luther, Protestants have called the Bible the Word of God and have reserved a central place in their worship services for PREACHING from this Word and the hearing of the Word. The Bible provides Protestants with their primary AUTHORITY for faith and practice, and many look to it to provide guidance on matters of daily living. Although important translations of the Bible existed long before the birth Protestantism, Protestantism gave rise to several of the most enduring examples, most notably the King James translation of the Bible, known in Britain as the Authorized Version. These translations altered the course of religious history in many ways. Because they were in the languages of the people, rather than in the official church language of Latin, individuals had greater access to them.

Because of the advent of printing, people could own their own copies of the Bible and read the translations for themselves. Moreover, this accessibility encouraged individuals to interpret the Bible for themselves.

Translation

The Bible is the most translated book in history. The process of translation requires decisions on the part of the translators about vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and style, both in the original language and in the receptor language. Translation often turns into interpretation. Sometimes translators have slanted the meanings of passages to support their own theological doctrines, and at other times they have transmitted the words of Scripture without change but supplied notes in the margins to indicate their differences with the text. From the beginning of BIBLE TRANSLATION, translators have faced the challenge of maintaining faithfulness to the language and style of the original languages while rendering those languages in a manner that is understandable and meaningful to their contemporaries.

Written originally in Hebrew, Greek, and probably some Aramaic, the books of the Bible underwent a long history of translation before their Protestant translations into German, English, and other (North) European languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even before the New Testament was canonized, Jews living in Greek cities who no longer spoke or read Hebrew needed a Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, or Old Testament. Thus, Ptolemy Philadelphus commissioned a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures that has become known as the Septuagint, or LXX. The legend surrounding this text is that seventy-two translators labored for seventy-two days to produce this translation. The Septuagint arranges the books of the Hebrew Bible differently, and the LXX contains some books that are not in the Hebrew Bible. These books would later be called Apocrypha; they are included in most Catholic translations of the Bible but are absent from Protestant translations—with the exceptions of modern study Bibles.

The earliest church considered the Septuagint as its Bible, and many New Testament writers quoted from it rather than from the Hebrew version of the Old Testament. Many early Latin versions depend on the Septuagint, but in the fourth century Jerome (342–420) produced the Vulgate, the most important Bible translation before the Protestant translations of WILLIAM TYNDALE (1494–1536) and MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546). In 382 Pope Damasus commissioned Jerome to produce a new translation based on the Old Latin versions and the available Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments. Although he worked from the Septuagint initially, he soon began to work directly from the Hebrew text in his translation of the Old Testament. Jerome's Vulgate appeared in installments, issuing the complete text in 405. Although the Vulgate's early reception was unfavorable, it eventually replaced the Old Latin versions of the Bible, and it influenced greatly the early Protestant versions of the Bible. It served as the basis for the first English Bible translation, which John Wycliffe produced in 1382.

The Vulgate served as the major Bible translation of the church through the Middle Ages because Latin was the official language of the church. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, tremendous changes were taking place across Europe that would challenge the church's authority and would require new Bible translations. The rise of the

nation and the division of Europe into various discrete political regions, each operating politically and economically in its own languages, provided the first blow to the predominance of Latin as the official language of a unified political sphere—Christendom—over which the Roman Church claimed ultimate rule. Another factor in the move away from Latin as an official language was the breakup of the social hierarchy of the Middle Ages, which meant that individuals increasingly used their vernacular language rather than Latin to communicate in their everyday affairs. In addition the rise of literacy and the invention of the printing press meant that for the first time people could read the Bible, and other publications, themselves in their own houses rather than having the Bible read to them in church by a priest. Finally the flowering of the Renaissance across Europe renewed a significant interest in ancient languages, and scholars offered new translations of Homer's *Odyssey*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and other major works of antiquity. These factors all contributed to the rise of new translations of the Bible.

The Protestant REFORMATION introduced many important changes to the religious landscape of Europe, chief among them new translations of the Bible. In GERMANY Luther challenged the Catholic Church in many ways regarding doctrine and practice, but one of his most enduring contributions to the Protestant faith was his translation of the Bible into German. Rather than basing his translation on the Vulgate, he returned to the original languages of Greek and Hebrew and produced a German vernacular Bible that incorporated many of Germany's regional dialects. Luther's translation was the first vernacular translation of the Bible in Protestantism, and it became the model for English translations.

Although Wycliffe's pre-Reformation version was the first English translation, it was overtaken in the sixteenth century by the translation of William Tyndale. A linguist and scholar, Tyndale translated the New Testament from the Greek and the Old Testament from the Hebrew. When his bishop refused to support the translation he moved to Germany where he produced the first printed New Testament in 1525 and the Old Testament in 1534. Tyndale used his Bible as a means of protest, questioning in marginal notes many of the liturgical practices of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. His elegant translations captured not only the meaning and style of the original languages but also provided a base from which a vernacular version of the English Bible could be produced.

In 1611 the most famous and most enduring English translation of the Bible appeared. When James I took the throne in England in 1603, he found himself embroiled in a religious controversy over the nature of church authority and the nature of church organization. Groups of reformers, calling themselves Puritans, challenged the episcopal structure of the Church of England as too like the Catholic Church (see BISHOPS AND EPISOPACY). James convened the Hampton Court Conference (1604) between the Anglicans and the Puritans to settle some of their differences. Thinking that James would be sympathetic to their cause because of his support of Scottish Protestant groups, the Puritans hoped that the new king would favor their reforms. Instead James sided with the Anglicans, but as a means of placating the Puritans, he commissioned a new translation of the Bible. Several translation teams, consisting of fifty-four scholars from several British universities, completed this translation of the Bible. Their translation was based on the original Greek and Hebrew rather than on the Vulgate, although they used many of Tyndale's translations as the basis of their own. The King James Version influenced

numerous writers from William Shakespeare and JOHN MILTON to contemporary novelists such as Reynolds Price and John Updike. Its language and ornate style remain unsurpassed, and it continues to be one of the world's best-selling Bibles (see BIBLE, KING JAMES VERSION).

Protestants, however, are by nature reformers, and the language and style of the King James Bible were eventually found in need of reform and revision. In the twentieth century a flood of translations inundated Protestant Christians as scholars and translation committees updated the Bible for new generations. From 1946 to 1952, an American group of translators produced the Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the Bible. This translation took into account new manuscript discoveries and was the most faithful to the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of the New and Old Testaments. Not everyone approved of the translation, however, and some churches held Bible burnings of this new translation for what they believed to be its challenge to the authority of the King James Version. The RSV did provide modern English-speaking Protestants with a faithful translation in a meaningful and understandable language.

In the late twentieth century a number of translations appeared, each trying to improve on the previous translation and each touting its faithfulness to the original languages. The most popular of these was the New International Version (NIV), which a group of conservative biblical scholars produced. It was produced between 1973 and 1978, and its goal was to provide the beauty of the King James Version while offering a new generation of readers a Bible in accessible language. Of all the modern translations, the NIV became the best-selling Bible.

The significance of Bible translation has been a crucial part of the Protestant use and understanding of the Bible. Since Luther all translators or translation committees have tried to produce a version of the Bible that can be read and interpreted by individual believers and that is faithful to the original languages. Because Protestants have encouraged the reading authority of the individual believer, Bible versions have been challenged and the work of translators has been questioned. At stake for such readers is the Bible's inspiration and its infallibility (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY). Does translation tamper with the inspiration of the Bible? Do translations tamper with the Bible's infallibility? Is the Bible infallible if it can be translated in so many different ways? Can translations be trusted if one uses the word "virgin" to describe Mary, the mother of Jesus, and another uses the word "young woman"?

Inspiration and Infallibility

Although various translations seek to transmit the Bible to new generations of readers, Protestants often raise questions about whether these translations are inspired by God. In the view of most Protestants, the Bible is God-inspired; that is, the Bible's words are breathed forth by God. Difficulties arise, however, when the mechanics of such inspiration are discussed. Did God breathe forth all the words of Scripture so that the human writers of the biblical books had no control over their writing tasks? Were the human authors of Scripture simply receiving God's dictation with an angel sitting on their shoulders to guide their pens? Were the translators of the Bible inspired by God? Since Luther there have been a variety of Protestant views of biblical inspiration.

Luther himself believed that biblical writings must “preach and bear Christ.” Because of his view, he called the book of James a “right strawy epistle.” His questions about James, Jude, Hebrews, and Revelation led him to question their inspiration and to give them apocryphal status in his canon.

JOHN CALVIN believed that God dictated the Scriptures. If God dictated the Scriptures, God must have had some role in selecting the writers of the biblical texts. Calvin believed that the diverse styles of the writers of Scripture could be attributed to the work of the Holy Spirit.

In the twentieth century a number of different views of inspiration have been developed. Most prominent among conservative Protestants is the theory of verbal inspiration. Adherents of this theory hold that God breathed every verse of Scripture, even though they admit that human writers played a significant role in the transmission of the Scriptures. According to the proponents of verbal inspiration, the biblical writers possessed their own personalities and were products of their own times. However, God prepared them to be God’s instruments in writing Scripture. Such early twentieth-century verbal inspirationists as A.A. Hodge and B.B. Warfield contended that the Scriptures had not been dictated, but the biblical books appeared as if they had been dictated. Some verbal inspirationists, notably Charles Augustus Briggs (1841–1913), argued that verbal inspiration could be restricted to matters of faith and morals.

A more liberal theory of inspiration argued that not the words but the religious experiences that the Bible records are inspired. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK (1878–1969), pastor of Riverside Church in New York City, believed that these experiences provide glimpses of God’s progressive revelation. English New Testament scholar C.H. Dodd (1884–1973) contended that the Bible’s inspiration is to be found in the quality of the “religious genius” that its writers brought to it. Nineteenth-century theologian FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) asserted that the “Spirit of the Christian community” inspired the Bible.

A third group of theologians and Protestant scholars, who have become known as neoorthodox theologians, returned to Luther’s view of inspiration. KARL BARTH (1886–1968) believed that the Bible contains the Word of God and that it becomes the word of God as it is preached to individuals and congregations in their own existential settings.

Out of this doctrine of inspiration has developed the notion of the Bible’s infallibility. This doctrine, which is peculiar to Protestants, teaches that the Bible contains no mistakes or errors in its teachings of revealed truths. Most Protestants, especially in the formal declarations of their denominations, uphold the idea that the Bible is infallible. However, Protestants tend to divide along the lines laid down by their doctrine of inspiration. For the verbal inspirationists, the Bible contains no errors because words dictated by God cannot contain error. For the liberals like Schleiermacher, the message of the Bible is infallible but the words are not. Thus, historical criticism of the Bible may have convinced believers that Moses did not cross the Red Sea, but the infallible message of God’s power and providential love remains the same. For the neoorthodox, the words are less important than the message preached from the Word of God. The truth of the Bible is infallible, but it addresses hearers in their own situations and has the power to change them.

These various views of inspiration and infallibility govern the ways in which Protestants reserve a special place for the Bible in their faith and practice. For some a view of the Bible's infallibility has verged on bibliolatry, that is, the Bible becomes an idol that is worshipped in and of itself for its inerrant truth. For others, the infallibility of the Bible's message has helped them use the Bible to enhance their public worship and guide their private religious life.

Biblical Criticism and Interpretation

Although Luther and other reformers tended to read the Bible literally in the sense that readers should focus on the word of Scripture itself and not its historical setting or allegorical quality, the Protestant Reformation's emphasis on the individual interpreter contributed to a revolution in biblical studies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During that time, the Bible, like any other literary text, became the subject of intense philological, textual, historical, and literary scrutiny. Biblical scholars applied the tools of reason and science to their readings of the Bible to establish the historical contexts of certain units of Scripture or to determine the best manuscript evidence for certain readings of particular texts. Such critical readings of the Biblical texts paved the way for numerous new interpretations of Scripture, thereby providing believers with various methods with which they could read the Bible on their own.

Textual criticism seeks to establish the most reliable text of any part of Scripture. Because no extant copies of the original manuscripts for the Old or New Testament exist, textual critics perform a crucial service. They aim to establish or restore the original wording of the biblical texts where such words have been lost in the process of copying or recopying the texts. New Testament textual critics compare existing manuscripts to determine which reading of a particular passage is the best one. Although the practice of textual criticism is far beyond the expertise of most individual readers, textual critics provide translators with tools they need to do their work. In their never-ending work, textual critics lay the groundwork for translators, who must choose which of the many alternative readings of various passages they should translate. Textual critics work in the background to make the study of the Bible more fruitful and accurate.

Historical criticism aims to provide a picture of the historical setting of the biblical events as accurately as possible. Historical critics provide information about the political, social, economic, and cultural settings of the biblical stories and often use archaeology to achieve its purposes. These critics have questioned whether a certain event could have happened at a particular time and place. For example, the Bible describes Joshua's conquest of the city of Jericho, but historical critics have found through archaeological evidence that Jericho was not a city of great magnitude at the time of Joshua's conquest. Such evidence offers individual readers choices about the way in which they read the Joshua story.

Even more far-reaching than historical criticism is literary criticism. Literary criticism, in its oldest meaning for biblical studies, examines literary sources and literary forms as ways of exploring the meaning and understanding of the texts. Perhaps the most famous source theory has been applied to the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Bible. Luther and other precritical thinkers believed that Moses wrote these books, and that they were a

single unit. By the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, a number of scholars had noticed that many of the books in the Pentateuch contained more than one account of the same event. Thus, in the Joseph story in Genesis 38–50 there are two sets of names for the brothers and father and two accounts of Joseph's capture. Would one author have written these different accounts? Literary source critics theorized that at least four sources lay behind this story, and others like it, and that the sources were all written at different times in Israel's history to reflect religious concerns of that time. The Jahwist (J) source was the earliest and the Priestly (P) account was the latest. According to this theory, these sources were pulled together by a later editor into a form close to their present one. Literary source criticism of the Old Testament has evolved over the past two hundred years so that various versions of this theory have come to dominate various readings of the Old Testament narratives.

New Testament literary source critics tend to focus primarily on the Synoptic Gospels—Matthew, Mark, and Luke. These critics argue that these Gospels hold several sources partially in common, from which they draw their stories. Not all New Testament source critics can agree on the number or the nature of the sources. The most common theory holds that a hypothetical sayings source, Q, and Mark provide the sources for Matthew and Luke.

Form criticism is another kind of literary criticism of the Bible. Form critics examine the ways that certain literary forms function in expressing meaning. These critics analyze the forms that arise out of certain settings and the ways that those forms are used in those settings. Form critics—beginning with the Old Testament—originally focused their attention on oral forms and the ways that a community passed those along in particular settings, like the use of the psalm of lament at mourning services for the individual or the community. New Testament form critics have tended to focus on literary rather than oral forms, so that many examine the ways that pronouncement stories or miracle stories function in a community's setting.

Another form of literary criticism is redaction criticism. These critics examine the ways in which various editors (redactors) have reworked the traditions or sources. In the late twentieth century, a number of other literary critical methods focused on the audience, the readers, the literary structure of the text, the social setting of the stories, the political meaning of the story's context, and the rhetorical devices used by the biblical culture.

Biblical criticism plays an important role in defining the function of the Bible in modern CULTURE. These critics elevate the Bible to a place of respect in the canon of Western literature. Using these various tools, the critics open the books of the Bible to critical examination in the ways that they would examine Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*, or Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*. Protestants have reacted to biblical criticism in mixed ways over the years, with some embracing the freedom it provides to explore the biblical texts and others rejecting it for its challenges to the truths of the Bible.

Out of this encounter with biblical criticism, Protestants have established three methods of interpreting the Bible. Although each method is discrete, elements of one method are carried over into other methods. These methods do not represent a hierarchy, and Protestants often move between one or the other. The first method is the literal. Protestants who interpret the Bible literally usually believe that the Bible contains no

errors, the Bible is verbally inspired, and that truth resides within the text itself. From this perspective, any passage to which an individual reader turns already contains truth that will speak to him or her. Because the truth already resides in the text, no critical tools are necessary to bring that truth to the surface.

Another interpretive method is the devotional, and it sometimes involves a literal approach to the text but allows the text to have a broader meaning. This method involves two components: the private and the public. On a private devotional level, individuals read and interpret the text as a guide to their personal lives and faith. They may use devotional handbooks to lead them in their study of the Bible, but this private devotional approach involves a close daily reading of a selected passage. This method often involves PRAYER as a tool for guidance in the selection and application of the biblical passage. This private devotional method epitomizes the Protestant tendency to individual understanding and judgment.

The second component of the devotional method is the public reading of Scripture. This occurs in the context of a Christian community where a pastor or worship leader reads a selected passage of Scripture—sometimes regulated by a lectionary—and leads the congregation to reflect on it. The Scripture passage may have little to do with an individual reader's spiritual life but more with the life of the individual as it relates to the larger community. The passage may also lead to reflection on the responsibilities of the community to the world at large. Often the public and private forms of devotional interpretation intersect so that a private devotional reading leads to greater understanding of the public devotional reading. The devotional method is closest to the neoorthodox idea that the Bible addresses people in their existential situations (see NEO-ORTHODOXY).

The third form of Protestant biblical interpretation is the critical. The readers who practice this method of interpretation embrace the fruits of biblical criticism and apply them to their readings of Scripture. Practitioners of this method might compare different versions of the same story as it appears in the same biblical book or in a different biblical book. Critical readers are alert to parallels between stories in the Old and New Testaments. They often seek out books on history, literary criticism, or archaeology that supplement their readings of the Bible. Critical readers of the Bible have difficulty reading the Bible literally, but they can often read the Bible devotionally, incorporating their critical insights into their devotional readings. Individuals who practice the critical method embrace the freedom that the Protestant notion of the Bible's accessibility gives them, and they assert along with the liberal view of biblical inspiration that the truth of the Bible rather than its structure is the most significant aspect of studying and understanding the Bible.

See also Bible, King James Version

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BIBLE AND LITERATURE

It would hardly be too much to say that literary culture in much of the world is inseparable from the culturally transformative power of Christianity. In particular, since the REFORMATION and the wide dissemination of printed vernacular BIBLES that resulted, Protestant Christianity has been the predominant channel for scriptural influence upon literature in Europe, AFRICA, Asia, and throughout the English-speaking world. It must be acknowledged that this influence has often been more by way of achieved biblical literacy than by theological persuasion; much of the most evident obligation is among writers avowedly secularist, even anti-Christian, whatever their religious roots. Moreover, explicitly Christian novelists, poets, and playwrights in the modern period are at least as likely to be Catholics—though it might be argued that for many of them, at least implicitly, the Reformation tradition has shaped the process and occasionally the content of their relationship to the Bible as a foundational text. All of this means that the story of the relationship of the Bible to literature remains, as it was through late antiquity and the Middle Ages, inextricably connected to the history of biblical translation and vernacular literacy.

Introduction

Two thousand years ago, textually preserved literacy and literature were substantially unknown beyond certain Mediterranean and Oriental cultures. Chinese textual culture of the first century B.C. was largely devoted to matters of bureaucracy and the strategic use of ancestral legend. Only a tiny elite, the *chu-tzu*, mastered and recapitulated fragments of pertinent oral tradition in textual form. In the Mediterranean and contiguous Middle East this pattern was varied and enriched by the appearance of epic narrative (Homer), philosophical reflection (Plato, Aristotle), and religious drama (e.g., Euripedes,

Aeschylus, Sophocles) of the Greeks. The Romans were scions of the Greek stock, but under the administrative demands of empire, literacy more directly served political purposes.

What marks the emergence of Christian influence in literature is the appearance and remarkably swift dissemination of the Gospels themselves—not as an elite but as a popular and vernacular body of texts. In the eventful *koiné* reportage of the Gospels, the nearly breathless countercultural story in Acts and the multicultural apostolic letters of the New Testament there emerges a contraliterature—neither elite nor ethnocentric, concerned neither with statecraft nor the provisions of aristocratic entertainment.

It is thus to the Great Commission itself that we owe the myriad cultural transformations affected by the Bible. As in Africa, SOUTH AMERICA, and many other parts of the world, so in most of Europe the birth of literacy and literature was essentially, not accidentally, coincident with the arrival of Christian missionaries. In these cultures there had not been, before their arrival, effective means of writing. Literature, as we think of it, was the province of oral culture only. Biblical translation and paraphrase were typically undertaken in the first or second missionary generation, providing for hundreds of languages in the first instance of their written form. The second generation of texts, as in Anglo-Saxon ENGLAND, are usually creative works of Christian reflection and scriptural formation. King Alfred the Great (d. 851), alone called “great” among the kings of England, earned his reputation not by his military exploits but by translating and introducing Christian classics to his people. Subsequently, in a barbarous Germanic culture where all power came from the spilling of blood, it became increasingly possible to say, as later Lord Lytton would, that “the pen is mightier than the sword.”

Reformation and Renaissance in English Literature

The profusion of English translations in the sixteenth century (Tyndale, Coverdale, Rogers and Taverner, Geneva Bible, Bishops Bible), culminating in the King James Version (KJV) of 1611, allowed the Bible itself to be read, often with freshness and power, as a rich anthology of primary literature. It is not insignificant that sixteenth-century poets such as Sir Philip Sydney and his cousin the Countess of Pembroke attempted their own poetic translations of Scripture. The Psalms in particular had many early Protestant translators who engaged their work as much in pursuit of poetry as piety (e.g., Thomas Wyatt [1503–1542], Henry Howard [1517–1574], Earl of Surrey). This intimate relationship of English texts with the Psalms continued on through to the twentieth century, engaging on the way such eminent poets as Sandys, Poet Thomas Carew (1595–1640), Herbert, John Milton (1608–1674), Vaughan, Addison, Watts, Preacher Charles Wesley (1707–1788), Smart, Robert Burns (1759–1796), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882), Hardy, Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), and Ezra Pound (1885–1972).

Of the seventeenth-century “Golden Age” in English literature it may be said that in no other period has the effect of the Bible upon literary English been so pervasive. When William Shakespeare (1564–1616), in *Measure for Measure*, could critique Puritan theology by setting his own title text (from Matthew 7:2) in a rich context of the Puritans’ favorite quotations from Romans—precisely so as to undermine their doctrinal

emphasis—more was in evidence than a vigorous hermeneutical dispute among differing branches of Protestantism. Clearly, Shakespeare could depend upon an impressive degree of biblical literacy among theatergoers as well as their informed interest in divergent views on the matter of grace.

One of the most evident literary effects of the Reformation in sixteenth-century English literature is the emergence into prominence of biblical narratives that had not had a significant literary presence because they were not previously part of the Catholic liturgical cycle or canonical lectionary (i.e., not directly connected to the established *historia salvationis humanae*). Calvinist covenant theology, Protestant typology, and sheer dramatic narrative interest all contribute to the rise of poems and plays on figures from the book of Judges (e.g., Jephthah and his daughter, Deborah; Samson) and the book of Ruth.

Between 1480 and 1660 more than half of all books printed in England were devoted to theological or religious subjects; nearly all of these were part of a flourishing Protestant debate and pedagogy and, accordingly, copiously indebted to biblical proof-text and discourse. No other period in any European culture has witnessed such a pervasive influence of the Bible on all other types of literature. Only in America, and then for a briefer period during the colonial years, was this intensity of biblically indebted publication even remotely approached.

Shakespeare's own scriptural text was most often the Geneva Bible, with its extensive annotations so strongly reflective of Reformed doctrine. Yet his views seem often at variance with these doctrines, inclining to a more Catholic position. English clergyman John Bunyan's (1628–1688) Bible was almost certainly the KJV, though his own prose reflects this far less than we might expect. John Milton was fond of the KJV, but was so learned a Bible reader and lay-theologian that his sophistication in matters both textual and doctrinal go far beyond the simple freechurchman's evangelical homilizing that made Bunyan the favorite author of the masses well into the nineteenth century. If Bunyan's allegories *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, 1684) and *The Holy War* (1682) are dependent upon a thoroughgoing biblical literacy in simple readers, Milton's overtly biblical poems *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* are as much dependent upon a high degree of literacy in classical literature and biblical commentary. It is also clear that the success of works as diverse as *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Paradise Lost* helped ensure a self-perpetuating character for biblical influence, even as they shaped and in distinctive ways characterized that influence. The "gospel according to Milton," so to speak, became in itself a dominant influence upon subsequent English literature (even among writers like William Blake, who abhorred Milton's theology), and Bunyan continued to be an "interpreter" to biblical literature for writers through the nineteenth century (e.g., Charlotte Bronte [1816–1855]), so compelling a voice as occasionally to displace in authority the texts he interpreted.

In many instances it has been the free-church or evangelical tradition that, in England, has proven to be the strongest conveyance for biblical formation among writers. Even an ex-Puritan such as John Locke (1792–1856) became a legitimating conduit for biblical undersanding of self-consciousness and the imagination among poets like Blake and William Wordsworth (1770–1850) (Brantley 1984), and their evangelical past, though rejected in principle, did not prevent Percy Shelley (1792–1822) and his wife Mary Wollstonecroft Shelley (1797–1851) from reading the Bible to each other as after-dinner

entertainment. In many such cases, however—writers such as Thomas Hardy (1840–1928), Somerset Maugham (1874–1965), Joyce Cary (1888–1957), and the laureate poet John Betjeman (1906–1984) all come to mind—the vital influence of the KJV text read in their youth long outlived their participation in any active form of Christian worship. Thus, however counterintuitively, even the prose of D.H. Lawrence (1885–1930) is heavily salted with KJV phrases (e.g., *The Man Who Died*, *Apocalypse*, *The Rainbow*), and he was highly self-aware in his employment of biblical parallelism (*The Boy in the Bush*) in his attacks upon Christianity.

North American Literature

In its earliest chapters, American literature was a literature of religious polemic and spiritual exhortation. This is not surprising: it branched off from English literature just at that point in the seventeenth century when the power of the Bible as a literary source was at its zenith. The Puritans who settled in America were, moreover, some of the most biblically literate of Englishmen. Yet there were differences. Early American literature is not typically characterized by Miltonic or quasi-medieval retellings of biblical narrative. Rather, given the established typological hermeneutics of Puritan theology, the American tendency was to draw the stuff of literary narrative from frontier experience and then to shape and structure its claim to enduring, even eternal, significance by encoding recorded events with explicit reference to biblical typology. From the early triumphalist chronicles and journals of the settlers [e.g., Thomas Shepherd's *The Covenant of Grace* (1651); COTTON MATHER'S (1663–1728) *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), on to modern American mythography in such texts as Walker Percy's (1916–1990) *Love in the Ruins* (1971)], there is a tendency to privilege for purposes of plot the “here and now,” even while charging its elements with a transvaluing typology drawn on biblical prototypes. In the early period, as Sacvan Bercovitch and others have shown, biblical typology provided a means whereby wilderness life in the colonies could become the literal realization of central scriptural metaphors: fall, exile, exodus, pilgrim history, promised land, and even millennial kingdom are woven almost seamlessly into the narratives of William Bradford, John Winthrop, Roger Williams, poet Michael Wigglesworth (1631–1705; *The Day of Doom*, 1662), Cotton Mather, Jurist Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), and Jonathan Edwards. Writers like Edward Johnson, in his *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour* (1654) see America as the literal Promised Land, and American experience as a biblically foreshadowed “text” about God's unfolding plan for human redemption. Indeed, both the APOCALYPTICISM and MILLENNIALISM characteristic of much American literature can seem to assume, as writer Giles Gunn (1938–) puts it, that “the Bible was proleptically American” (Gunn 1983:XX).

By the 1700s this style of writing had begun to grow wearisome: clergyman Timothy Dwight's (1752–1817) Miltonic allegorical epic, *The Conquest of Canaan* (1775), populated with eighteenth-century Americans bearing Hebrew names, was unsuccessfully “biblical,” a relic of his grandfather Jonathan Edwards's day. This echoing of Puritan style was to persevere for the time being only in emergent black American literature, such as poet Phyllis Wheatley's (1753–1784) “Thoughts on the Works of Providence” (1770). Yet it reemerged in mainstream American literature of the nineteenth century as a

subversive use of biblical codes, typology, and language to call Puritan theology itself into question. Herman Melville's (1819–1891) *Moby-Dick* (1851), *Pierre* (1852), *The Confidence Man* (1857), and *Billy Budd* exhibit a fierce resistance to Calvinist readings of Scripture, even as they display in their antagonism a rich synthesis of biblical narrative and typology that few European writers could match. Nathaniel Hawthorne's (1804–1864) use of biblical allusion is likewise parodic and antagonistic, and Ralph Waldo Emerson's (1803–1882) triumphant self-actualism and antinomian pursuit of the “God within” simply inverts or redefines the biblical material it borrows. These writers came to discover, as Emerson puts it, that “out from the heart of nature rolled/The burdens of the Bible old” (“The Problem”), whether they chose to have it so or not. As with Melville, Poe, Hawthorne, and others, Emerson is obliged in his own jeremiad essay “On Self-Reliance” (1841) to use biblical rhetoric to oppose biblical values, anticipating in this way unintentionally ironic notes in poet Walt Whitman's (1819–1892) famous “Song of Myself.” The latter poem, the thirty-third second of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855), is a protest of the triumphant self or “old Adam”—curiously grounded, Whitman later admits, in the language of both testaments (“A Backward Glance O'er Travelled Road”).

Subsequently, the “American jeremiad,” a political sermon in which social criticism is joined to calls for a spiritual renewal, has come to be recognized as a foundational and mythopoeic American literary genre indebted to biblical modeling. Frontier outpost sermons such as those of Peter Bulkeley (1583–1659) in the seventeenth century take their place on a continuum with those of apocalyptic televangelists and the speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968) in tending to read contemporary events as though they were written down in an unfolding text to which the Bible is the master code. Characterized not only by biblical rhetoric and diction, but formed upon biblical narrative and dependent for its wide appeal on extensive popular knowledge of the Bible, the jeremiad has in turn had a powerful influence on other American literary genres. Included here must be the novel of protest, of which not only nominally Christian writers such as Sinclair Lewis (1885–1951; *Elmer Gantry* [1927]) but also Jewish writers have written many in the United States. *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969) by Philip Roth (1933–), *Herzog* (1964) by Saul Bellow (1915–), *Joshua Then and Now* (1980) by Canadian novelist Mordecai Richler (1931–2001), and, though less paradigmatically, *My Name is Asher Lev* and *The Chosen* by Chaim Potok (1929–) all share elements of the Protestant jeremiad tradition in America, taking their place alongside novels such as John Steinbeck's (1902–1968) *The Grapes of Wrath* (1934), James Baldwin's (1924–1987) *The Fire Next Time* (1963), and William Faulkner's (1897–1962) *Go Down, Moses* (1942) as well as plays like Archibald MacLeish's (1892–1982) *J.B.* (1958), a modernization of the Job story, and Robinson Jeffers's (1887–1962) dramatic poem *Dear Judas* (1929). But the force of biblical influence has, in these works, largely shifted away from biblical narrative and diction to vestigial religious or cultural tradition in which the Bible itself is an archaism, and where the biblical narrative more directly informs plot and action, as in Gore Vidal's (1925–) *Messiah* (1954) or John Barth's (1930–) *Giles Goat Boy* (1966), it can well be in a form that Theodore Ziolkowski calls a “demonic parody of the life of Christ” (Ziolkowski 1972:XX).

By the end of the twentieth century, American and Canadian fiction within a recognizably biblical tradition, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Walker Percy's [1916–1990] *The Second Coming* [1980], Rudy Wiebe's *The Blue Mountains of China*

[1970]), typically treats its scriptural heritage in an overtly antagonistic fashion. Sometimes there is a double-edged character to the antagonism, such as in Margaret Atwood's (1939–) *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), a horrific dystopia in which American arch-conservatives have erected a society based on a rigid implementation of perverted but recognizably Puritan “Old Testament” laws and social customs. Atwood's is an antijeremiad expressing fears of a right-wing and “biblicist” America declaring itself the only “chosen” nation, but it carries a clear recognition that the religious tyranny is a perversion of biblical and specifically Protestant values, not an outworking of them. In North American literature generally, the age of “soft” allusion to the Bible—so comfortable for genteel nineteenth-century writers like Longfellow, Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–1892), Stephen Leacock (1869–1944), or Robert Frost (1874–1963)—is apparently over. As in Barbara Kingsolver's (1955–) *The Poisonwood Bible* (1999), engaging the Bible as a foundational text now more clearly than ever addresses the question of its authority—not merely in its literary but in its religious sense.

Postenlightenment European Literature

The period of the Great Evangelical Revival in England produced a flurry of biblically influenced lyricism (e.g., Elizabeth Rowe, Hannah More, Charles Wesley, William Cowper, Christopher Smart). The novels of Henry Fielding (e.g., *Joseph Andrews* [1742], *Tom Jones* [1749]) offer, however, an atypical measure of residual biblical influence in this increasingly popular romance/epic genre. By the time of William Blake (1757–1827; *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* [1793], *Jerusalem* [1820]) and the Romantic poets of Germany and England, the Bible was still of great literary and philosophical interest (e.g., JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE [1749–1832], SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE [1772–1834]) but it was being subjected to a process of often radical reconstitution by the poets who used it (see Leo Damrosch, *Symbol and Truth in Blakes's Myth*, and Stephen Prickett, *Words and the Word*). This period witnessed, effectively, the commencement of modernist hermeneutics in both biblical and literary criticism (see Prickett, *Words and the Word*; and Hans Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*).

In France the influence of Calvinist tradition is evident more in the breach than in the observance, as the literary careers of the two most prominent French ex-Calvinist writers, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712–1778) and André Gide (1869–1951), may serve to illustrate. The direct influence of the Bible upon French literature is by far more evident in twentieth-century Catholic writers such as François Mauriac (1885–1970; *La Pharisienne*; *L'Agneau*) and Raymond Abellio (*La Fosse Babel*; *Les Yeux d'Ezechiel sont ouverts*), just as in the nineteenth century it infused most visibly the poetry of Alfred de Vigny (1797–1863; *La Colère de Samson*; *Le Mont des Oliviers*).

In Germany, the nineteenth-century lyric poetry of Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866), drawing heavily on biblical wisdom literature and Lutheran New Testament typology, is complemented by the poetry of J.C. Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805). Both writers are indebted to the “mystical” biblicism of seventeenth-century Silesian lyricist Johannes Scheffler (1624–1677). This vein of Germanic biblical lyricism, drawing heavily on the Passion narratives and their themes of atonement and resurrection, flows powerfully into

the modern period, for example, in the poetry of Austrian Georg Trakl (1887–1914). Goethe's extensive familiarity with both the Bible and its traditions of commentary are evident in both his *Faust* (1790; 1808; 1832) and his romantic hymns (e.g., "Christ ist erstanden"). Eminent nineteenth-century poets living in Germany also made significant contributions that depart from the mystical and romantic coloration of their countrymen: Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) in "Belshazzar" and "Die Passion Blume" shows biblical influence vigorously contesting with Hellenic tradition and holding its own. Heine's work may be seen as heralding a revival of biblical character and subject, which was to parallel historical interest in biblical narrative among German theologians in the early twentieth century. Mennonite Herman Suderman's novel *Das hohe Lied* (1908) and play *Sodoms Ende* (1891) were later to enjoy considerable popularity, though as his play *Magda* suggests, Suderman's emphasis is often upon rebellion against the authority of biblical mores. A teenage James Joyce (1882–1941) accompanied his parents to see a Dublin performance of *Magda*; to their consternation, they found the Protestant play an apologue for the author's rejection of both family and faith.

Russian fiction likewise exhibits a strong thread of biblical influence, though the stitching is not of Protestant but of Russian Orthodox making. There are, however, points of close contact. Fyodor Dostoyevsky's (1821–1881) *Idiot* is a type of fictional transfiguration of Jesus, and the catalyst for transformation of his protagonist Raskolnikov in *Crime and Punishment* comes when the murderer reads from the New Testament of one of his victims about the resurrection of Lazarus. Biblical language and biblical worldview are everywhere in the religiously eclectic Tolstoy (1828–1910). In Mikhail Solokhov's novel of protest *The Master and Margarita* it is the devil himself who confirms to a distraught protagonist (by historical flashback) that Jesus really was tried before Pontius Pilate, Soviet propaganda notwithstanding. And the Siberian Gulag prisoner protagonist in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's (1918–) *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* is brought to hope through the biblical witness of a fellow prisoner, a Baptist.

The success of Solokhov's type of historical fictionalizing of biblical narrative is seen in the wide number of examples that have appeared in northern Europe especially. Selma Lagerlofs (1858–1940) *Kristuslegender*, offering legendary adaptations of apocryphal gospel narrative, and her fellow Swede Par Lagerkvist's (1891–1974) novel *Barrabas* (1953), a look at the Passion of Christ from the perspective of the released brigand, are part of a rich genre of modern biblical fiction. Included are works such as Thomas Mann's (1875–1955) landmark four-part novelization *Joseph und seine Bruder* (1930–1943) and his novella on the giving of the law, *Das Gesetz* (1944), Polish novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz's (1846–1916) *Quo Vadis?* (1896) concerning the life and ministry of St. Peter, Oscar Wilde's (1854–1900) provocative fictionalization of the life and death of John the Baptist in his play *Salomé* (1893), and, more recently, Polishborn Yiddish novelist Scholem Asch's (1880–1957) *The Nazarene* (1939) and *The Apostle* (1943). *The Last Temptation of Christ* by Greek novelist Nikos Kazantzakis (1885–1957) is a revisionist presentation of Jesus in the tradition of Lagerkvist.

The power of biblical mythos to generate the patterns of personal and community life is persistent in all Western literatures. The Bible's central tropes, themes, and symbols continue to provide, as Northrop Frye has suggested (following Blake), the "great code" of Western art and literature. In the modern period this is perhaps most especially true in regional literatures. Norwegian expatriate O.E. Rolvag offers a powerful American

example in *Giants in the Earth* (1927), aspects of which are mirrored in Icelandic novelist Gunnar Gunnarson's *Kirken paa Bjerget* (1924–1928) and Mennonite Canadian Rudy Wiebe's *A Peace Shall Destroy Many* (1962). In this genre one would also want to place Moravian Gerhart Hauptman's *Der Narr in Christo, Emmanuel Quint* (1910). But biblical encoding as an aspect of ethnic identity has become a major theme in African literature in the later twentieth century, not only among European Africans such as South African Alan Payton (*Cry, the Beloved Country* [1949]) but in postcolonial African writing as well. For Chinua Achebe (1930–, *The Arrow of God* [1964]), the Bible was instrumental to an education in English; this point of purchase allows him to rewrite European novels of Africa (e.g., Graham Greene's [1904–1991] *Heart of the Matter*) from an African point of view, a viewpoint often more biblically acute in its articulation than European counterparts.

It would be difficult to find a contribution of Christianity to world civilization more foundational than this, that Bible translation and paraphrase should have become midwife to so many great vernacular literatures. But there is more: traditions of textual commentary and exposition, as well as of theological reflection, have had an effect almost as prodigious. Communities formed by a common text quickly develop cadres of trained readers. The relationship of biblical hermeneutics, exegesis, and theological reflection to literary theory and practical literary criticism in Western culture, for example, is essentially parental. This parenting is evident in both Jewish and Christian traditions: highly visible proponents of agnosticism such as Harold Bloom (1930–) and Jacques Derrida (1930–) represent a mere secularization of the talmudic and midrashic commentary on which they were raised; so also the American new critics, in their antimetaphysical austerity, represent a stringent secularizing of Protestant textual method and, in their goal of the intelligently independent reader, the ideal Bible reader of their own more frankly Reformation roots is clearly visible. Matthew Arnold's notion of the literary critic as a kind of secular priest (*God and the Bible*) or Northrop Frye's sense that what we now think of as "literature" is effectively a "secular Scripture" (*The Secular Scripture; The Great Code*) likewise bear consistent witness to an enormous and, as George Steiner has properly observed, largely unrepaid cultural debt to the Bible and biblical tradition.

See also Biblical Translation.

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DAVID LYLE JEFFREY

BIBLE CAMPS AND CONFERENCE CENTERS

During the twentieth century, Bible camps and conferences became extremely popular among Englishspeaking Protestants worldwide. Although no unified organization or single pattern emerged, camps and conferences typically offered programs of lectures, music, and recreational activities during summer months and sometimes during the off-season. *Camps* were oriented toward children or adolescents; *conference centers* or *retreat centers* toward families or groups of adults. Many were located in scenic spots in the mountains or near oceans or lakes. Christian Camping International/USA, one umbrella association, claimed 1,000 member organizations that hosted 5.5 million guests annually in the late 1990s. Outside the United States, another 1,000 organizations are affiliated with various national chapters of Christian Camping International, but many camps and conferences did not join this or any association. Thus their total number, in the United States and worldwide, is uncertain.

Camps for youth had a significant influence on twentieth-century Protestantism. Most mainline Protestant churches organized camps along denominational lines, and they tended to see such camps as the continuation of church-based religious education. Evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal churches established their own camps, but even more widespread and influential were independent camps founded by influential religious leaders like evangelist Jack Wyrzten (1913–1966), who established Word of Life Camp in Schroon Lake, New York, in 1947. Conservative leaders like Wyrzten usually saw camp as a place for young people to seek conversion, to reconsecrate themselves, and to receive callings to missionary service and ordained ministry. As women entered the workforce in increasing numbers in the 1980s and 1990s, two-income families relied on camps to serve as caretakers for school-age children during the summer months and camp attendance boomed. As a result, specialty youth camps emerged that focused, for example, on wilderness experiences, weight loss, honing special skills such as music, or aiding children with various handicaps.

Bible conference centers for adults generally emphasized education, inspiration, wholesome fellowship, and social recreation. Some scheduled their own summer or year-round programs anchored by notable preachers, musicians, or entertainers. This type of

conference generally hired a large staff to serve as program directors, waiters, and housekeepers. On the other hand, retreat centers did not generally provide recreation or conference speakers, but they often did offer pastoral counseling or spiritual direction as well as simple meals to small groups and individuals.

Scholars generally trace the origins of Bible camps and conference centers to camp meetings, which institutionalized revivalism during the nineteenth century. Camp meetings began in the late eighteenth century among southern Methodists in the United States; after the 1800 camp meeting revival at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, their popularity increased dramatically and spread to the Baptists, Presbyterians, and others. By the end of the nineteenth century, many camp meetings had established grounds with permanent structures; some, such as the Methodist assemblies on Martha's Vineyard (established 1835) and at Ocean Grove, New Jersey (1869), and Chautauqua, New York (1870), had transformed themselves into summer resorts for middle-class and wealthy families. At these upscale sites, camp meeting sermons gradually became inspirational or educational lectures; hymn-sings were transformed into concerts by choral societies and professional musicians; rude family tents were replaced with charming wood cottages; and the original emphasis on conversion was forsaken in favor of a genteel desire for moral uplift and wholesome recreation. Chautauqua especially became a popular center for adult education after the Chautauqua Institution was established in 1874, and by 1876 the first of scores of copycat associations had been established at Wellesley Island, New York; Petosky, Michigan; and Clear Lake, Iowa. Later, dozens of traveling chautauquas circulated throughout small-town America offering lectures and concerts under large tents. In 1921 the nearly one hundred traveling chautauquas visited 9,597 American towns.

Another precursor to Bible camps and conferences was the annual convention begun in 1875 in Keswick, a village in the English Lake District. American and British participants in the Holiness movement began the conference, which stressed practical Bible teaching that helped believers to live the "higher life in the fullness of the Spirit." In the 1880s evangelist Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899) organized a similar annual conference in Northfield, Massachusetts. Like the Keswick meetings, to which they were often compared, the Northfield conferences featured speakers from various denominations who focused their lectures on Bible exposition and practical Christian living rather than on systematic theology or denominational distinctives.

Of the other conferences held during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the best known was the Niagara Bible Conference. Known at first as the Believers' Meeting for Bible Study, the conference met annually from 1876 until 1900, most often at a resort hotel in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. Though ostensibly an occasion for simple study of Scripture, the conference became the foremost vehicle for the dissemination of premillennialist teaching in North America. The meetings were marked by an interdenominational flavor, and conference organizers welcomed anyone who would subscribe to the fourteenpoint Niagara creed, which espoused biblical inerrancy and other conservative doctrines that were later embraced by fundamentalists.

In the twentieth century new conferences combined various elements from camp meetings, Chautauqua, Keswick, Northfield, and Niagara. The best known of these was the Winona Lake Bible Conference, founded in 1895 near Warsaw, Indiana, which included a six-week chautauqua program with local and national secular talent—

musicians, magicians, actors, and even silent movies—followed by a one- or two-week Bible conference program of speakers who addressed Keswickian higher life, Northfield-style preparation for Christian service, and Niagara-inspired prophecy teaching. The conference was held adjacent to a large lake on a spacious and beautiful campus, and many recreation opportunities were available, such as swimming, boating, golf, and roller-skating. Winona Lake, like other camp and conference grounds, became a tourist destination for Protestant families who wanted to enjoy a respectable summer vacation.

Winona Lake's secular chautauqua program declined after World War I even as the Bible conference continued to prosper. Not surprisingly, other conferences founded in the twentieth century generally rejected professional secular entertainment but otherwise embraced the Winona model, interspersing wholesome outdoor recreation with preaching and lectures on a variety of religious topics. Some of these included Montreat near Black Mountain, North Carolina (established 1897); Mount Hermon near Santa Cruz, California (1906); and Camp-of-the-Woods in Speculator, New York (1916).

Nondenominational Bible conferences typically drew participants from many Protestant traditions by avoiding points of doctrinal disagreement—especially about BAPTISM, PREDESTINATION, and church POLITY. Indeed, the conferences generally claimed to wish to avoid all controversial topics, but nevertheless most organizers and attendees operated with important presuppositions—that the Bible was entirely reliable, that Christians should seek ways to apply its teachings to their own daily lives, and that each person should experience a personal conversion to vibrant faith, followed by noticeable spiritual growth. Some conferences also assumed certain doctrinal points such as dispensational premillennialism; only in rare cases might leaders permit a speaker to disagree publicly with a cardinal doctrine of a conference.

Youth camping began in the second half of the nineteenth century as part of the Muscular Christian movement; it grew dramatically after the establishment of the Boy Scouts in England (1908) and the United States (1910). In the early twentieth century, denominational and nondenominational conferences began to schedule youth events. At first most ran concurrently with adult offerings so that families could continue to stay together in family tents or cottages; later many conferences also offered separate youth camps. For example, Ridgecrest Baptist Assembly near Black Mountain, North Carolina, was established in 1909, but a separate camp for boys was started in 1929 adjacent to the assembly, and a camp for girls began in 1955.

By the middle of the century a more vigorous outdoors ethos began to emphasize remoteness, resulting in the establishment of such youth camps as Hume Lake (1946), near King's Canyon National Park in California, and Honey Rock (1951) in northern Wisconsin, owned by Wheaton College. In 1966 Honey Rock established an Outward Bound-style program for college students, becoming the first Christian camp to adopt a wilderness/adventure curriculum. Young Life, an interdenominational outreach to high school students active in 550 U.S. communities, operated a network of seventeen camps by the end of the century; three of them emphasized wilderness camping.

At the outset of the twenty-first century, the vitality of Bible camps and conferences was evident not only in the number of sites around the world, but in the variety of conference types. Primitive camp meeting grounds, used once per year, still dotted the rural United States. Virtually all denominations operated their own campgrounds or conference centers—some with extensive programming, others available for rental by

individual congregations. Prophecy seminars and Bible exposition were still available at many independently owned conference sites. Youth camping was popular among all groups from fundamentalist to liberal. Indeed, camps and conference centers had become a part of the Protestant mainstream both in North America and, increasingly, around the world.

See also Moody, Dwight Lyman.

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JAY BLOSSOM

BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES

The Bible College or Institute is an essential element in the training of ministers for many Evangelical/ Fundamentalist denominations and independent churches. Tracing their origin to certain European schools formed in the 1800s to train church workers and missionaries who lacked high school or college training, Bible institutes began in America in 1882 with the founding of A.B.Simpson's Missionary Training Institute in New York City. Other prominent pastors and evangelists followed suit, and over time the Bible Institute became the preferred means of preparing pastors for many churches. These early institutions were dedicated to the integration of English Bible instruction, spiritual formation, and practical ministry participation and training, usually in urban settings. Their purpose, in the words of DWIGHT L. MOODY, was to train "gap men [and women], who are trained to fill the gap between the common people and the ministers" (Witmer 1962:36).

The original stated purpose of Bible institutes in America was not to replace colleges and SEMINARIES. Rather, as traditional seminaries and colleges adopted theological positions that were unacceptable to conservatives, they began to form their own institutions that would represent their conservative perspective. This tendency intensified in the 1920s with the theological struggle known as the Fundamentalist/Modernist Controversy. Consequently, Bible institute curricula represented a particular conservative theological position, usually tied to DISPENSATIONALISM. As Bible institutes began to replace colleges and seminaries as the preferred form of pastoral training, the majority of them entered a path of educational upward mobility that transformed them into Bible colleges, liberal arts colleges, and even universities and graduate-level seminaries. In the process the original emphasis on a high degree of integration between BIBLE instruction and practical ministry training has almost always suffered.

The mission drift that has historically turned Bible institutes gradually into colleges and, in some cases, universities should not be seen as detrimental to the Bible institute movement. The original need for practical church workers that gave rise to the Bible institutes is perennial in Christianity, and as Bible institutes have become primarily dedicated to postsecondary training, new institutes (usually church-based, but often virtually identical to the earliest examples) spring up by the hundreds to replace them. Furthermore American missionaries trained in the Bible schools have founded thousands of schools in other countries that are virtually identical to the schools their founders graduated from in the UNITED STATES.

Historical Development

The earliest schools for the training of ministers in America were the colonial-era colleges such as Harvard (1636), Yale (1701), and Princeton (1754). Whereas Harvard and Yale were founded from the beginning as colleges on the model of British colleges, Princeton is usually seen to trace its origin to the Log College, founded in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania in 1746. This school, with perhaps some thirty other "log colleges" that were patterned after it, gave instruction at a level somewhere between grammar school and college. (There were no high schools at the time.) Their purpose was to train ministers as quickly as possible for the expanding Western frontier of the American colonies. Because of this similarity of instructional level and purpose, Bible colleges often claim to have descended from the Log College.

The direct line of descent, however, is traced from European religious training schools such as the Pastor's College founded by CHARLES HADDON SPURGEON in the 1850s and the Kaiserswerth school founded in 1836 by German Lutherans (which was founded to train DEACONESSES). Other important European schools were the Mildmay schools and the East London Bible Institute in London. Evangelical leaders such as Simpson, Moody, and A.J.Gordon visited these and other schools on their European tours and admired them in subsequent writings. Within a short time of visiting such European schools all three of these leaders were to found American Bible institutes modeled after them.

What impressed the American evangelists about the schools was the fact that they drew their students from working-class backgrounds, trained them in very practical skills for immediate ministry, gave women the opportunity to be trained for Christian service, and quickly produced thousands of religious workers (from pastors to deacons to SUNDAY SCHOOL teachers to missionaries and street evangelists). The missionary enthusiasm of the time to reach the teeming masses both overseas and in the newly burgeoning American urban centers created a great sense of urgency for training workers in much larger numbers and social diversity than traditional colleges and seminaries could produce.

The most influential of the early American Bible institutes was MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE, founded in Chicago in 1886. Moody, a shoe salesman with no higher education, had become a renowned evangelist after his highly successful campaign in Great Britain in 1873 and gained a position of leadership among American Evangelicals through a series of mass evangelistic meetings in the United States. During the 1880s,

however, the enthusiasm for mass meetings in America began to wane, and Moody began to explore other means of evangelistic outreach. Earlier he had adopted the pattern of the Mildmay schools he had visited in England, appointing a normal school principal, Emma Dryer, to begin a “Bible Work” to train women as Bible teachers and Christian workers in short classes (Brereton 1990:53). In 1886 Moody launched an effort to raise \$250,000 from the citizens of Chicago to expand that work into what became, in 1889, a “Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions.” Moody’s aggressive promotion of the school soon turned the Moody Bible Institute into the largest, wealthiest, and most prestigious of the American Bible schools and made it a popular model for many other schools in terms of organization, curriculum, and even doctrine.

The newly founded Bible schools were successful in training large numbers of men and women for practical Christian work, and thus became very popular among fundamentalist Christians who were deeply concerned about evangelizing the American working class, with its millions of recent immigrants, as well as reaching the millions of people overseas who had not heard the Gospel. Mainline Protestants of the time were also concerned about the same people, and they also founded training schools to train church workers and missionaries, especially through such agencies as the YMCA. They were often more focused on social and physical needs than were the conservatives, but because all such schools were concerned with practical work among the poorer classes, the distinction between mainline missionary training schools and the conservative Bible schools was slight for many years. Nevertheless the theological rift between the two emphases would increase over time.

As the divide between conservative and liberal Protestants widened because of the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy of the 1920s, fundamentalist churches abandoned the mainline Protestant denominations and their colleges and seminaries and either founded new denominations or remained independent. As a result they began to lean more on Bible institutes and colleges for the training of pastors. This tendency was strong especially in Reformed revivalist and WESLEYAN HOLINESS churches, as well as the new Pentecostal churches, which were popular among the working classes and strongly rejected LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM. Although it is clear that the original Bible school founders were very serious about training a massive army of lay workers, the Bible schools had been producing pastors from the beginning. It is likely that some of the earliest founders intended this result, given the fact that Moody lacked formal theological training himself and Spurgeon’s college in ENGLAND had always had the intention of training pastors who lacked higher levels of previous formal education. Many founders would have shared Spurgeon’s opinion that “the fervor of the generality of the [universitytrained] students...lagged far behind their literary training” (Ringenberg 1984:160).

In addition to training ministers, the Bible schools served a larger role for many independent churches. Because they often developed periodicals, radio programming, and broadcast networks, and hosted national conferences, the Bible schools provided many of the functions of a DENOMINATION. Some of them, especially Moody and the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (Biola), became de facto interdenominational headquarters for many independent churches. Denominational schools were usually tied intimately to their denominational headquarters, serving as the educational arm of the denomination and as an invaluable tool for socializing ministers into the denominational culture.

Curricular Structure

The curriculum of the early Bible schools was focused on the training of relatively uneducated lay people to serve as pastor's helpers, Sunday school officers, Bible teachers, door-to-door evangelists, missionaries, gospel musicians, urban mission workers, YMCA and youth club workers, and visitors for jails, hospitals, and senior citizen facilities (Brereton 1990:viii). Consequently the Bible schools focused on practical training rather than the classical learning favored by colleges and universities. The Bible was seen to be the primary textbook for every class. Rather than teaching Hebrew and Greek, which in some schools were offered as electives, the schools focused on studying the English Bible and using it for particular tasks of Christian work.

By the 1920s the Bible was usually studied in Bible schools by what was called the "inductive" method. Rather than leaning on commentaries or exegesis of the original languages, students would read the biblical text several times, and then go to it with questions that they would either formulate for themselves or receive from their professors in lists. The 1922 catalog from Biola described its approach to Bible study as being that which is "pursued in all other branches of scientific study, the INDUCTIVE METHOD. Every passage of scripture bearing upon [a] doctrine is examined and its exact meaning in the light of the context determined..." (Brereton 1990:89). It is very important to note that they sought to establish a *scientific* rationale for their method of scripture study. Although conservatives of the time often scorned their opponents as "Modernists," they were themselves thoroughgoing modernists in their approach to knowledge. Science, which they perceived in the Baconian sense to be a body of proven facts established through the scientific method, had been hijacked by theorists, they maintained, who based their science on unproven hypotheses such as Darwinian evolution in biology or the Graf-Wellhausen Documentary Hypothesis in biblical studies. Conservatives saw the Bible as a book of facts guaranteed by divine verbal revelation and discoverable through observation. By basing their biblical studies methods on what they perceived to be the scientific method rather than theories, they sought to maintain an intellectual high ground vis-à-vis their opponents.

Bible study often involved reading through the entire Bible multiple times to get a sense of the whole. The unity of Old and New Testaments was stressed, and a "scarlet thread of redemption" was seen as the unifying theme of biblical revelation. In many schools, dispensational THEOLOGY was an important organizing theme for understanding the Bible. After getting a sense of the whole, students took courses in Old or New Testament survey, getting a panoramic view of the testaments as well as sections within them such as Pentateuch, Historical Books, Poetic Books, Major Prophets, the Gospels, Pauline Epistles, and the like.

A very popular method of biblical study was the "synthetic method," which was used by James Gray, dean at Moody for many years beginning in the 1890s. Gray required students to read a particular book of the Bible through in one sitting several times to get a sense of the sweep of the book's content. Afterward students made and memorized content outlines for the book. Often students were required to do this for each book of the Bible. Gray included definitions of biblical terms, cross-references from other books and from both Testaments, and typology to increase the students' appreciation for the unity of the Bible's message. In addition to study of each book of the Bible, curricula usually

included courses in Bible Geography, Bible Introduction (usually with an apologetic function), and courses on how to teach the Bible, such as “Blackboard Drawing.”

The Bible was not just examined to learn facts. Rather, students sought out practical questions related to ministry and the spiritual life. The Pentecostal movement was born in 1901 when students at Charles Parham’s Bethel Bible School were left with an assignment to answer the question, “What is the biblical evidence for the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.” Inductive study of the book of Acts led students to the conclusion that the only consistently mentioned evidence was speaking in tongues. Upon reaching this conclusion the students moved immediately to practice and prayed to receive the same evidence for themselves. Because PENTECOSTALISM went on to become what was perhaps the most successful religious and social movement of the twentieth century, the role of this method of Bible study in Bible colleges should not be underestimated (Jenkins 2003:8).

In addition to courses aimed directly at the study of the Bible, the Bible schools stressed preparation for “personal work.” Each student was expected to be able to engage in personal EVANGELISM or “soulwinning” during and after his or her Bible school training. At Moody students learned over the course of four terms of study how to deal with “the uninterested, the interested but ignorant...the interested with difficulties, the self-righteous, the backslider, the fearful and despairing...those with erroneous views of the truth (such as Catholics, Jews, and Christian Scientists)...the procrastinator, the obstinate, and the skeptic” (Brereton 1990:101). A classic text used in personal evangelism classes was REUBEN ARCHER TORREY’S *How to Bring Men to Christ*.

Schools often referred to this work as a “clinic” or “laboratory” component that would give a practical outlet to the “how to” knowledge gained in the classroom. Not only did this allow students to “learn by doing” but it also helped them retain the “fire for souls” that usually motivated them to study in the first place. Activities included personal evangelism on urban streets and from house-to-house, but also evangelism and manual labor in institutions such as jails, poorhouses, rescue missions, hospitals, and convalescent homes. Many students engaged in such activities as leading church choirs and teaching Sunday school or Bible classes. They also organized impromptu street services, served in large evangelistic campaigns, passed out tracts, and engaged in other such activities that often resulted in the founding of new churches.

Beyond the courses on the Bible itself and personal evangelism, students usually took a few courses on nonbiblical subjects. Those with little previous education could take courses such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. English literature and history made their way into Bible school curricula from early times. Whereas liberal arts courses were generally minimized to make more room for studying the Bible, courses in the social sciences (psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science) were sometimes taught, usually having the Bible as a primary textbook. Such subjects were seen as adding nothing to biblical revelation, and were approached for whatever practical content they might have that would be useful for ministry. At some schools students were able to choose specialties in areas such as foreign MISSIONS, church music, Christian education, and pastoral ministry.

Although time brought changes in the Bible school curriculum, including stronger general education requirements and usually lessened practical ministry requirements, the

basic philosophy and structure of the Bible school curriculum generally persisted for at least a hundred years.

Accreditation and Upward Mobility

The emphasis on practical training for lay workers meant that the first programs of study in the Bible institutes were usually one or two years in length and not limited to those who had a high school education. When the first were established, high school graduates were few in number, and less than 5 percent of Americans attended college. Nevertheless there was pressure on Bible schools to copy the prestigious methods and standards of traditional colleges. There was considerable determination among the first and even second generation of leaders to resist what was seen as a worldly temptation, but by the 1920s and 1930s many programs expanded to a third and even fourth year. Many schools changed the name from Bible Institute to Bible College when they began to offer a four-year degree.

Rising educational standards in the United States, especially after World War II, dramatically increased the number of high school graduates in the country, even as the G.I. Bill was increasing the percentage of Americans attending college. The opportunity to enroll students at the government's expense was a powerful inducement to higher standards and accreditation. The rise of the Neo-Evangelical movement and the decline of FUNDAMENTALISM created significant inducement to higher academic levels as well. In 1947 the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges (AABC) was founded under the auspices of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS to help Bible colleges and institutes upgrade their offerings. This move was a self-conscious effort to counter the tendency for Bible Colleges to convert themselves into liberal arts colleges to gain regional accreditation.

The establishment of an accrediting agency for Bible Colleges helped stem the tide of Bible colleges turning into liberal arts colleges, but by 1960 approximately half of all Bible Institutes had followed the upward path to becoming Bible Colleges, and in the 1980s and 1990s a new wave of upward mobility broke out. As regional accrediting agencies began to look more favorably on single-purpose institutions, Bible Colleges began to seek dual accreditation by both the AABC and their appropriate regional accrediting association. Many Bible colleges continued to turn into liberal arts colleges and even universities offering graduate programs. Examples of such upward mobility include the first American Bible Institute, A.B. Simpson's Missionary Training Institute (1882), which became Nyack College; the Boston Missionary Training School (1889), which quickly became Gordon College; the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (1913), which became Biola University (1981); the Training School for Christian Workers in Los Angeles (1899), which became Azusa Pacific University (1981); Philadelphia School of the Bible (1914) and the Bible Institute of Pennsylvania (1913), which merged to become a Bible college before it became Philadelphia Biblical University (2001); Southern California Bible School (1920), which became Vanguard University (1997); and Southwestern Bible School (1927), which became Southwestern Assemblies of God University (1994).

Renewal Movements

This path of upward mobility that converts Bible schools into colleges and universities is tied closely to the sociological tendency of betterment among Evangelical churches that has been exhaustively documented by social scientists such as H.RICHARD NIEBUHR, Liston Pope, Milton Yinger, and others. As young churches and religious movements mature and prosper, they often tend to join the middle classes enthusiastically, leaving ministry to the poor and working classes behind. As they do so, their colleges seek the same upward mobility that their members are experiencing. In the process new churches tend to rise up to fill the gap at the lower end of the social spectrum. In response to the need to train workers quickly these churches usually repeat the process of institutional formation that gave rise to the first Bible Colleges.

During the 1980s and 1990s hundreds of new Bible institutes sprang up in the United States to fill the churches' needs for lay workers with practical ministry training. Some of them became accredited Bible Colleges. Many of these schools were extensions and distance education efforts of accredited Bible Colleges, although many were freestanding as well. Schools related to popular television or radio evangelists were also founded, along with some related to revival movements such as the Brownsville School of Revival in Pensacola, Florida. Additionally, programs like Master's Commission rose up to give young people a chance to spend a year or more of their life in Christian service training. During the same period a number of unrecognized accrediting agencies also sprang up to give the new schools an appearance of credibility.

As long as churches exist among the urban poor, there will likely be a need for the kind of "gap" ministers that Moody envisioned, and Bible institutes and colleges will continue to rise up to meet their needs.

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JOSEPH L. CASTLEBERRY

BIBLE CONFERENCES

From the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, the Bible conference was a prominent institution among conservative evangelical Protestants in the UNITED STATES. Large interdenominational conferences served as both centers for spreading evangelical and fundamentalist teaching and as venues for “safe” and “spiritual” vacations.

Several British conferences were the forerunners of the BIBLE conference movement in North America. The Keswick conventions begun in 1875 in ENGLAND became popular centers for Bible teaching with a stress on Christian holiness expressed in surrender of one’s will to God to achieve victory over conscious sin. Also influential was the Mildmay Conference founded by Anglican clergyman William Pennefather in 1864, one of the first conferences to display prominently the vacation element.

The most important American Bible conference, the Niagara Bible Conference, held annual meetings in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, CANADA, from 1883 to 1897. Under the leadership of Presbyterian clergyman James H. Brookes of St. Louis, Missouri, Niagara became a major center of teaching the premillennial return of Christ to earth, one of the major doctrinal emphases of the conferences.

Arising about the same time as Niagara was the Northfield Bible Conference begun by American evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY in Massachusetts. Moody followed the pattern of the Mildmay Conference of Pennefather, whom he had met in Britain. Holding his first meetings in 1880 and 1881 and then continuously from 1885, Moody established his Northfield Conference as a center for conservative Bible teaching.

The THEOLOGY expounded at the Bible conferences was generally evangelical Protestant, with three characteristic emphases. In addition to premillennialism, Bible conference speakers usually avowed an unswerving commitment to the inerrancy of the Bible and many advocated Keswick Holiness piety. These three emphases later played a large role in the development of fundamentalist theology.

The first half of the twentieth century saw a remarkable growth in Bible conferences. After the demise of Niagara, A. C. Gaebelein founded the Sea Cliff Bible Conference in New York, one of the fruits of which was C. I. Scofield’s influential SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE. Typical of these conferences, and perhaps the most influential, was the Winona Lake Bible Conference in northern Indiana, founded in 1895. Patterned on Northfield, Winona also stressed cultural elements, including the establishment of a successful chautauqua program. Winona attracted some of the leading lights of conservative EVANGELICALISM, such as WILLIAM JENMINGS BRYAN, who served as the organization’s president, and renowned evangelist BILLY SUNDAY, who made his summer home in Winona Lake.

After the middle of the twentieth century, Bible conferences declined in popularity. Aging facilities, theological dissension, and changing tastes in both leisure and worship among evangelicals combined to end the heyday of the conference movement. The patterns of the Bible conferences, however, remain evident in the youth camps, seminars, and retreats still popular among fundamentalist and evangelical audiences, as shown by the continued popularity of youth camps such as Word of Life in New York and the Wilds in North Carolina.

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Fundamentalism; Holiness Movement; Keswick Movement

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MARK SIDWELL

BIBLE, KING JAMES VERSION

The translation of the Bible into English, authorized by King James I of ENGLAND, or, as the official title page of the translation rendered the matter, “translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by his majesty’s command.” The translators of the “authorized” version drew heavily on the translations of WILLIAM TYNDALE (c. 1494–1536) as well as on other existing translations, such as the Bishops’ Bible, used mainly in churches, and the Geneva Bible, with its heavy Puritan notes (see PURITANISM).

James authorized this translation at the beginning of his rule. He appointed some fifty-four divines who worked in six committees, with a final review by a committee of twelve members. The scholars began their work in 1607; the new version was published in 1611 and proved more of a revision of existing earlier translations than a new work. The term “authorized” must be understood as meaning (given that no record of a formal authorization of the translation exists) that King James “authorized” the work of translation by appointing a committee to undertake the task.

The King James Version has had a dramatic impact not only on the English language but also on English religion. This influence continues to the present, especially among conservative Protestant circles. Corrected versions of the Authorized (King James) Version were published in 1762 and in 1769. A major revision occurred in 1881 and 1885, the revision of the Old Testament and the New Testament, respectively. The foremost challenge to the traditional prominence of the King James Version was the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, published in 1952.

See also Bible and Literature; Bible Translations

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BIBLE SOCIETIES

Pandenominational Protestant institutions dedicated to publishing and distributing the scriptures without doctrinal note or commentary began forming and coalescing into a coherent movement during the early nineteenth century. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (BFBS) and the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY (ABS) quickly emerged as the most influential, wellfunded, and broadly based national organizations. From the outset, denominational, political, and territorial tensions proved difficult for these organizations to overcome, and a series of schisms developed within the bible movement. Still, the bible societies proved remarkably successful at publishing and circulating unprecedented numbers of inexpensive scriptures. They incorporated cutting-edge technological innovations in their printing and binding operations, experimented with new forms of corporate organization to advance their mission, and initiated a broad range of bible translation programs. Bible society work aggressively supported and undergirded Protestant missionary activity throughout the world during the nineteenth century (see MISSIONS, MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). National rivalries and doctrinal disagreements persisted, however, and increasingly fragmented the movement during the early twentieth century. Eventually, the established organizations attempted to pursue a more cooperative course, and they created an international fellowship known as the United Bible Societies in 1946. This federation soon underwrote its own extensive translation program. It also encouraged indigenous bible societies in historically non-Protestant countries, thus signaling a marked shift away from the movement's AngloAmerican roots. Since the Second Vatican Council in the early 1960s, bible societies have enjoyed a more cordial relationship with the Roman Catholic Church and participated in numerous interconfessional translation projects. By the late twentieth century, bible society publications often emphasized common language versions, incorporated helps for new readers, featured thematic selections and scripture portions, and experimented with multimedia translations.

Basic Principles and Early History

Organized scripture distribution efforts were occasional and sporadic before the nineteenth century with a few exceptions. The Canstein Bible Institution (1710), established at HALLE, Germany, produced low-cost editions of German, Polish, Bohemian, and Ancient and Modern Greek bibles, and remained active at the turn of the twenty-first century. The French Bible Society (1792) proved more typical, achieving only marginal status and dissolving within a decade of its creation. Others pursued very limited aims, such as one London-based bible society that confined its efforts to naval

and military personnel. Some denomination-based organizations, including the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE (1698) and the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS (1701), incorporated scripture distribution within their larger missionary purposes. For the most part, however, bible production and dissemination remained largely a haphazard and generally commercial affair until the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. Shortly thereafter, the bible movement exploded as the BFBS fostered the formation of independent bible societies throughout the European continent and North America. The following active, long-lived, and influential societies began operations in the early nineteenth century, largely modeling their constitutions on the BFBS: Hibernian Bible Society (1806), Finnish Bible Society (1812), Danish Bible Society (1814), Netherlands Bible Society (1814), Icelandic Bible Society (1815), Swedish Bible Society (1815), Norwegian Bible Society (1816), and American Bible Society (1816). By 1816 scripture distribution organizations dotted the globe and carried out their activities from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to St. Petersburg, RUSSIA.

Several historical impulses and early nineteenth-century trends contributed to the founding of the BFBS and its contemporary institutional partners. Considered together, these factors illuminate the bible movement's fundamentally radical and transformative qualities. First, bible societies reflected complex social and economic changes that appeared to be altering life and work within European and North American cultures. The BFBS, for example, grew from a committee of the Religious Tract Society, which had been established in 1799 to produce attractive and morally acceptable literature for an increasingly literate and urbane British working class. An evolving technological revolution in the print trades made all sorts of popular pamphlets and newspapers broadly accessible across the social spectrum, and religious folk strove to include their perspectives in the rapidly expanding literary marketplace. Bible society founders and early nineteenth-century managers constituted a newly emerging, articulate, socially prominent, and prosperous urban middle class with a finely honed humanitarian sensibility. Philanthropic and charitable work provided them with a means of personal salvation, as well as a method for bridging the growing class gulf that accompanied industrialization.

Second, bible societies attempted to negotiate the theological and social divisions that seemed to be fragmenting Christianity. The BFBS defined its core mission in deceptively simple terms as encouraging "the wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment," thereby hoping to avoid doctrinal disputes and interpretive disagreements. Indeed, "without note or comment" soon became the movement's definitive phrase and oft-repeated mantra, etched in the constitution of bible societies throughout the world. Organizations hoped to unite their frequently contentious constituencies behind the notion that scriptural truth transcended denominational bickering. Separating the biblical text from prefatory material, explanatory notes, and interpretive marginalia seemed to hold out the elusive promise of Christian, or at least Protestant, consensus.

All societies strove for wide-ranging denominational cooperation, although the specific composition of boards and supporters varied according to national and local circumstances. The BFBS's constitution explicitly mandated that the thirty-six member governing committee must include fifteen Anglicans, fifteen Dissenters, and six foreigners resident in or near London. Methodists, Quakers, and CHURCH OF

ENGLAND adherents (see METHODISM; FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) mingled at board meetings, lending a remarkably unsectarian quality to the proceedings. Denominational composition differed considerably in the more heterogeneous American environment. Congregationalists and Presbyterians initially dominated the ABS governing board (see CONGREGATIONALISM, PRESBYTERIANISM), reflecting their prestige and status within the national Protestant polity, but Methodists occupied an increasingly prominent position in the movement by the 1830s, underscoring their remarkable growth. Pandenominationalism proved definitive, regardless of national context.

Third, the movement articulated a global missionary outlook that characterized nineteenth-century Anglo-American Protestant endeavors. "Foreign" remained a key word in the BFBS's lexicon, given that the second article of its constitution pledged the organization to "according to its ability, extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan." Concerns over a scripture shortage in WALES initially convinced the founders to split their organization off from the Religious Tract Society. Within two years the BFBS produced thousands of Welsh New Testaments, shipped substantial numbers of Gaelic scriptures to SCOTLAND, encouraged the formation of a Hibernian Bible Society in IRELAND, published a Gospel of John in Mohawk for distribution in Upper CANADA, and began funding William Carey's translations efforts in Serampore in INDIA. English language scriptures soon reached ports ranging from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, translation work began in CHINA and western AFRICA, and consignments of Spanish New Testaments arrived at Buenos Aires. The ABS entered the foreign field in the mid-1830s, placing a bible agent in the Near East and supporting missionary translators throughout the world. Such commitments would increase significantly as the nineteenth century wore on.

Finally, the bible movement reflected the symbiotic relationship and uneasy tensions between nationalizing forces and particularistic local cultures that often collided in the nineteenth century. On the surface, the ABS, the BFBS, and such other large organizations as the Netherlands Bible Society appeared highly centralized, capitalized, and institutionalized by the mid-nineteenth century (see NETHERLANDS). By the time the American Bible Society opened its landmark Bible House building in New York City in 1853, for example, it had emerged as one of the largest and most technologically sophisticated publishing houses in the United States with its own state-of-the-art printing department, bindery, manufacturing division, and workforce that numbered in the hundreds. Further, thirty-seven paid bible agents, each responsible for a specific geographical territory and each employing a network of distributors and colporteurs (salesmen), coordinated distribution and fund-raising activities throughout the nation and reported to the home office in New York. Philanthropic religious institutions like the bible societies operated on a scale virtually unknown to most early nineteenth-century businesses. Their boards of directors, drawn from the ranks of railroads, insurance companies, and other corporate concerns, played a very influential role in systematizing and bureaucratizing nineteenth-century organizational culture.

Yet, bible societies also remained oriented toward towns, localities, and small communities in important ways. Both the BFBS and the ABS initially relied almost exclusively on local auxiliaries and associations, usually coincident with small geographical territories, to carry out fund-raising and distribution. These county, town, and borough-based organizations could affiliate with the national bodies by drafting

acceptable constitutions that embraced the principle of “without note or comment,” and by pledging to contribute all funds not needed for local purposes to the national organizations. Auxiliaries received discounts on scripture purchases from the national institutions, organized their own annual meetings that brought together local Protestant religious leaders, and voluntarily canvassed their neighborhoods door-to-door in an effort to determine scripture needs. Middle-class women played an especially critical role at the local level. They often assumed major responsibility for managing these benevolent organizations by keeping accounts, coordinating scripture supply and demand, soliciting subscriptions from poor and working-class Christians, and participating in broader networks of female philanthropy. Although excluded from the governing boards and management of the national organizations, they carved out new social roles for themselves on the local level and stretched the permeable boundaries of acceptable women’s activities in Victorian Christian culture (see WOMEN). Centralization and lingering localism thus reinforced and mutually influenced each other in the bible movement, creating a dynamic and subtly changing relationship.

Controversial Aspects

Christian unity proved difficult to achieve in practice. Beginning in the 1820s, a series of denominational and territorial schisms fragmented the bible movement and posed serious problems for the national bible societies. Competitors emerged, tensions simmered, and political controversies remained remarkably long lived. The national societies attempted to minimize conflict and stress their catholicity, but questions surrounding the biblical text itself, the boundaries of “without note or comment,” and rivalries on the mission field strained relationships. As a result, the movement never fully avoided the controversy nor achieved the Christian unity that its supporters coveted.

The Apocrypha affair generated the most intense difficulties for the BFBS during the 1820s. Roman Catholics considered the Apocryphal books part of the Old Testament, and Lutherans wanted them included within their versions (see LUTHERANISM). Initially, the BFBS hoped to pursue a flexible policy by incorporating the books as requested, thus underscoring its international and broadly inclusive ambitions. Dissenting churches, especially the very vocal Scottish Presbyterians, vehemently disagreed and insisted that these books did not belong within the inspired canon (see DISSENT). After several years of debate, the BFBS in 1826 forbade any monetary allocations for printing books that contained the Apocrypha, and also agreed that its own publications should be issued fully bound so that distributors could not insert the Apocryphal books before binding. These strictures did not fully satisfy dissenters because the BFBS also chose to remain in fellowship with other European bible societies that circulated the Apocryphal books. The two largest Scottish auxiliaries in Glasgow and Edinburgh quickly seceded from the BFBS, along with thirty-eight of the forty-eight remaining societies in Scotland and several in England. Subscriptions and donations dropped substantially and relations between the British and Scottish bible societies worsened throughout the century, even as the society’s stance also alienated supporters in the more liturgical traditions.

The American Bible Society followed the BFBS’s lead in the Apocrypha affair, but another denominational controversy involving Baptists proved even more damaging to

Christian unity within the United States. Beginning in the early 1830s, the ABS's board of managers contributed monetary support to missionaries in an effort to encourage translations that conformed in substance and style to the authorized King James Version. Baptist missionaries in Calcutta petitioned the ABS board in 1835 to publish a second edition of a revised Bengali New Testament. The BFBS previously rejected this same remonstrance, primarily because the missionaries insisted on translating *baptizo* as *immersion*. The British society believed that the Baptists had sacrificed basic translation principles in an effort to promote their own denominational agenda, and that the bible society could not place its imprimatur on a version that many Christians could not support. The ABS agonized long and hard over this issue, given that Baptists constituted the fastest-growing denomination in the United States and formed an influential minority voice on the board. Ultimately, the American society took the same position as its British partner, rejecting the missionaries' request and stipulating that all future versions must prove acceptable to all denominations within the ABS family. Baptists viewed this position as a retreat from nonsectarianism, withdrew from the ABS fellowship, and established a rival organization called the American and Foreign Bible Society in 1837. This schism essentially severed relations between the ABS and Baptists for the remainder of the nineteenth century, and positioned the American Bible Society as an unflinching supporter of the King James Version. A subsequent translation controversy within the American and Foreign Bible Society resulted in the formation of the Baptist-based AMERICAN BIBLE UNION in 1850, which began circulating its own English language immersion version of the scriptures.

Denominational tensions often challenged the bible movement's efforts to forge a broad Christian coalition, but political and territorial conflicts also threatened comity throughout the nineteenth century. Within the American context, SLAVERY proved an especially intractable issue. Christian abolitionists began petitioning the ABS in the 1830s to distribute scriptures to slaves, a position that slaveholders and many southern supporters considered anathema (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). The organization elected to take a conservative position in the interest of perpetuating institutional harmony, leaving the question of bibles for slaves in the hands of local southern auxiliaries, where it usually remained dormant. The ABS even hoped to remain friendly with its powerful southern friends after the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, although hostilities caused the secession of rebel auxiliaries and resulted in the founding of a short-lived Confederate States Bible Society in 1861. After the resumption of peace in 1865, the ABS quickly moved to reconstruct its southern auxiliaries and hire a new corps of southern-based bible agents, although scripture distribution to the newly freed slaves languished for some time thereafter.

Territorial disputes reflected other tensions within the movement as well. The Philadelphia Bible Society (1808) refused to participate in the founding of the ABS because of an unwillingness to surrender its own autonomy, an intense urban rivalry with New York City, and a suspicion of vast national combinations. It did not formally affiliate with the national society until 1840. The Connecticut Bible Society, alleging institutional mismanagement and questionable fundraising practices, terminated its affiliation with the ABS in 1900. The most significant, troublesome, and long-lived controversy of this sort within the ABS, however, occurred within New York City. The New York Bible Society had been founded in 1807 and reorganized numerous times over

the course of the next century. It proved especially active in distributing scriptures at humane and criminal institutions, naval and military stations, hotels, and to immigrants arriving at Ellis Island. Acrimonious conflict emerged with the ABS, also based in New York, over fund-raising practices, distribution boundaries, and the auxiliary's own increasingly evangelical focus (see EVANGELICALISM). The local organization initially declared its independence from the ABS in 1913, and continuing tension resulted in a final rupture in 1971. The New York Bible Society supported the English translation known as the New International Version (1978), which solidified its standing among evangelicals, and eventually reincorporated as the International Bible Society (IBS) (1983) and relocated to Colorado Springs (1989). For many years, the IBS prevented the American Bible Society from carrying the New International Version as part of its product line, thus damaging the latter society's standing with the increasingly significant evangelical constituency within American Protestantism. Deep-rooted historical tensions within the movement thus continued to influence bible society affairs well into the twentieth century.

Competitive pressures and nationalistic urges also fostered international disagreements between the societies. The BFBS, ABS, and National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS) all moved more aggressively into the mission field during the late nineteenth century. They established large agencies in which several provinces or countries were grouped together under the supervision of an agent directly responsible to one of the national societies. Public relations material and fund-raising appeals especially emphasized the global nature of bible work and the foreign mission component of bible society activities. Each society found it increasingly critical to maintain its own institutional presence throughout the world to satisfy the expectations of donors and supporters. Duplication of effort and bureaucratic wrangling often resulted as several society offices functioned within individual countries. Conflict between the societies usually focused on such issues as distribution practices and principles, competing translations that often varied in quality and content, relations with denomination-based missionaries in the field, and differing interpretations of the "without note or comment" clause in bible society constitutions. Tensions proved most severe in the Near East, China, JAPAN, KOREA, and Central America, where the ABS and BFBS both maintained strong agencies. Less competition occurred in Africa and India, which remained dominated by the BFBS and where American missionaries constituted a much smaller presence.

International Cooperation

Efforts to overcome divisiveness within the movement produced a variety of compromises and solutions. In some instances, the societies agreed to carve up territory according to mutually agreed upon boundaries. BRAZIL was divided between the ABS and BFBS in 1903, and the societies agreed to split Japan that same year. In other instances, voluntary withdrawal resolved the issue: the ABS withdrew from Persia and the BFBS agreed to abandon Central America, excepting British Honduras, in 1913. Five years later, the ABS ceased working in Korea and the BFBS closed its agency in the PHILIPPINES. Agreements proved difficult to negotiate, however, until a new generation of bible society administrators more committed to international cooperation

and interested in streamlining institutional resources began influencing the movement in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Developments in China became the immediate catalyst for the competing societies to articulate a new approach to bible work. The BFBS, ABS, and NBSS maintained a long and significant presence there, each agency primarily serving its own national missionaries and employing its own colporteurs. The growth of indigenous churches with strong local leadership forced the societies to recognize that they needed to play a more circumscribed role in China, and caused them to question the nature of missionary enterprises. At a joint meeting held in London in 1932 the BFBS, ABS, and NBSS agreed to encourage the formation of a self-governing and locally administered China Bible Society, and to step back into a joint advisory role. This important departure proved to be the new model for encouraging bible work in areas formerly considered the "mission field." The conferees at the 1932 meeting also attempted to resolve other points of conflict by agreeing to jointly administer agencies where they worked in common territories, to codify a common body of translation principles, to respect national boundaries, and to encourage cooperative planning.

Over the course of the next fifteen years, these collaborative efforts began to bear fruit. Jointly administered agencies, usually established by the ABS and BFBS but also including some NBSS participation, became the norm throughout South America and the Near East. Christians established independent bible societies in Japan (1938), India (1944), and Brazil (1948). Although war with Japan prevented the establishment of a full-fledged China Bible Society, Chinese Christians gradually assumed control over the China Bible House, which operated out of Hong Kong and coordinated scripture distribution work after the Communist takeover. In 1939 the Netherlands Bible Society hosted an international conclave at Woudschoten, attended by representatives from the United States, Britain, Scotland, NORWAY, and FRANCE, as well as the host country. Delegates supported a resolution to form a federation known as the "Council of Bible Societies," with the goal of coordinating international scripture distribution and encouraging the formation of indigenous bible societies throughout the world. World War II soon intervened and this specific plan never achieved fruition, but the growing emphasis on cooperation laid the groundwork for a more successful and long-lasting endeavor after the conclusion of hostilities.

Bible society representatives from twelve European countries and the ABS met at the Elfinward Conference Center in Haywards Heath, England, in May 1946 to assess the status of the movement and attempt to fashion a cooperative global effort to address the spiritual needs of churches, refugees, and believers throughout the world. They agreed on the need for a new international organization, the United Bible Societies (UBS), to serve as a central clearinghouse, coordinator, and support mechanism for the bible movement. Membership remained open to national bible societies and committees that agreed on the core principle of circulating the scriptures without doctrinal note or commentary. A requisite six societies quickly agreed on the need for the new organization, and within one year sixteen national institutions joined the fellowship. New bible society federations, often formed through the merger of long-established local organizations, were established in GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, and Austria. The founders encouraged national movements in historically non-Christian countries as well, and by the end of the 1940s welcomed national representatives from

India and Ceylon, Japan, Korea, China, and Brazil into the fellowship. The UBS also cultivated close ties with the newly formed WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, and soon emerged as the ecumenical voice of the bible movement in international affairs.

The creation of the UBS did not, of course, resolve all tensions within the world bible movement. Disagreements persisted over the extent to which bible societies should promote biblical understanding as well as merely distribute scripture. More venerable institutions such as the BFBS often proved reluctant to abandon their agency operations and turn bible work over to relatively small and, in their view, inexperienced Christian communities. Large national organizations such as the ABS often felt that international concerns distracted from real needs within their own countries and that a disproportionate share of institutional funds and resources was absorbed by the UBS through its burgeoning world service budget. Disputes arose over allocations within the UBS budget, and smaller societies sometimes resented the degree of oversight and the controls over expenditures demanded by the international agency. Translation policies also proved controversial on occasion because a developing body of international standards and techniques could conflict with the work of missionaries and linguists at the grassroots level.

Clearly, however, the establishment and rapid growth of the UBS fundamentally altered the bible society movement. International issues now assumed a much more prominent posture within each individual society. The UBS stimulated the founding of dozens of national organizations in Asia, Africa, South America, and the Middle East. Support for new translations skyrocketed, and a much more scholarly and sophisticated program developed for training translators, disseminating scholarly texts, and producing printed helps and aids. The historical dynamics that defined relations between the older European and North American societies had been irrevocably altered. Perhaps most significantly, UBS meetings provided an important ecumenical venue that gave participating Christians and church leaders a much more complex view of postwar global realities.

Late Twentieth-Century Trends

The United Bible Societies stimulated all participating organizations to move in new directions during the latter half of the twentieth century. Broader social developments, rapid technological changes, and extraordinary political events also exerted a tremendous impact on the bible movement during this period. Less obvious shifts within global Christianity further affected the societies in unanticipated ways. Perhaps most surprisingly and least predictable in some respects, bible societies no longer functioned as purely Protestant affairs.

A biblical revival movement occurred within the Roman Catholic Church during the late 1940s and 1950s, stimulated at least in part by Pope Pius XII's desire to encourage daily bible reading and scripture distribution among all Catholics, as well as his efforts to support serious scholarly work in the seminaries. The Second Vatican Council's *Dei Verbum* document, promulgated in 1965, opened up new possibilities for ecumenical cooperation by encouraging widespread access to the scriptures and acknowledging that translation work might satisfactorily be carried out with non-Catholic individuals and

institutions. Liturgical changes within Catholicism further emphasized the importance of greater biblical literacy among lay people. United Bible Societies leaders quickly opened negotiations with the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. Before long Roman Catholic priests began attending UBS Council meetings, bible society translators met regularly with Roman Catholic biblical scholars, and the ABS reserved a place for Roman Catholic representatives on its denominational advisory council. In 1968 the UBS and the Roman Catholic Church adopted a series of guiding principles for interconfessional translations that endured for nearly two decades. The UBS cautiously encouraged member societies to consider translating and publishing the Apocrypha when requested by the churches, and many complied. Dozens of interconfessional translation projects that involved collaboration between Roman Catholic, Protestant, and occasionally Orthodox scholars began almost immediately after the signing of the 1967 agreement. The ABS, for example, published a special edition of its English-language *Good News Bible*, including the Apocrypha and bearing the imprimatur of a Roman Catholic bishop, thereby breaking with the precedent established during the Apocrypha controversy in the 1820s. By 1987 fully 161 Interconfessional Bibles and New Testaments had been published as a result of joint initiatives between bible societies and the Vatican.

As bible societies found other new audiences throughout the world, pressures built to expand their product line and redefine the boundaries of "without note or comment." Newly literate readers required contextual helps, illustrations, and background information to understand biblical text, and translators struggled with the problem of providing adequate marginal notes while avoiding doctrinal interpretation and theological advocacy. During the 1950s and 1960s, bible societies increasingly experimented with thematic selections, aids for readers developed in cooperation with local churches, and special imprints with customized covers that promoted specific ministries. Major societies altered their charters to reflect the new realities. The BFBS's bylaws noted in 1968 that authorized publications could include aids to readers, and the ABS inserted the word "doctrinal" before "note and comment" in a 1971 constitutional revision. By the 1990s the UBS moved even further along in this direction by approving comprehensive guidelines for full-fledged study bibles. Individual societies now considered producing publications that included reflective questions, thematic indices, articles on the nature of the bible, and suggested readings.

Similarly, societies in the late twentieth century increasingly sought to produce and distribute common language scripture versions, directed both at new readers and at individuals who found traditional translations frustrating and baffling. A major effort to produce a completely new Spanish bible, which began in 1950 and ultimately became known as the *Version Popular*, proved extraordinarily successful as an evangelization tool in Latin America and provided particular inspiration for this movement. Bible society translators soon began producing readable modern versions in indigenous languages throughout Latin America. A common language version of Mark in Aymara, initially published as a diglot with Spanish by the Bible Society of Bolivia, constituted the initial endeavor in 1966. The ABS took perhaps the boldest step in this direction by publishing the *Good News for Modern Man* English New Testament in 1966. This radical departure from more literal approaches to translation rested on the principle of dynamic equivalence, whereby translators sought to capture the meaning and sense of biblical

concepts by using contemporary language and imagery. The translation featured attractively simple line drawings by the Swiss artist Annie Valloton, a memorable cover composed of mastheads from English-language newspapers throughout the world, and an appealing prose that infuriated some traditionalists but brought many readers to a newer understanding of the biblical message. It also underscored the distance that the ABS had traveled from its early embrace of the King James Version as a basis for all translation work. Indeed, by the 1990s societies even began experimenting with the concept of multimedia translations that blended sound, visuals, and text for new generations of Christians who absorbed the gospel message in fundamentally distinct ways.

Ultimately, these changes in bible society policies reflected radical shifts within Protestant Christianity during the late twentieth century. Older societies such as the ABS and BFBS remained influential and major financial supporters of the global bible movement, but the emphasis had shifted toward reaching new readers, cultivating diverse audiences, and empowering indigenous national societies throughout the world. UBS scripture distribution statistics in the 1990s illustrate a dramatic expansion of new reader portions and selections produced for South Americas, Asians, and Pacific Islanders. Over one hundred member societies composed the UBS fellowship by the end of the twentieth century, as the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 stimulated the formation of numerous revitalized organizations throughout Eastern Europe. Bible societies themselves also constituted a smaller voice within the world bible cause. The remarkable expansion of evangelicalism meant that such organizations as Wycliffe Bible Translators, the International Bible Society, Open Doors, and many similar agencies carried out very successful scripture distribution and translation programs with a more overt doctrinal focus, and necessarily remained outside the bible society movement. Finally, societies found themselves questioning their commitment to print as new communication technologies offered important opportunities and challenges for bringing God's word to a new age in the twenty-first century.

See also Bible, Bible Translation

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BIBLE TRANSLATION

Translation of the BIBLE flows from Christian belief in Jesus as the incarnate Word of God, as well as from Jewish precedent in the production of the Septuagint (a Greek translation of Hebrew language Jewish Scripture) in the second and third centuries BCE. For the early Christian community the imperative of Jesus to take the gospel to all nations (Matthew 28), alongside the experience of Pentecost, made translation fundamental to Christian identity. All people were to hear the good news and praise of God in their own language. Throughout Christian history the translation of the Bible has been associated with MISSIONS to people of different languages and cultures, the determination of authoritative Scriptures, and the challenge of reform.

Early Translations

By the end of the second century, translations of the different portions and versions of the New Testament appeared in Latin and Syriac. In the next century it was translated into Sahidic (Coptic), and in the fourth century into Ethiopic and Georgian. Ulfilas translated the Bible into Gothic in the fourth century, inventing for this purpose the Gothic alphabet. Cyril and Methodius invented the Glagolitic alphabet (which evolved into modern Cyrillic) in the ninth century to translate the Bible into Slavic. These translations set in motion a process in which literacy went hand in hand with Christianization. Translations in the fifth through seventh centuries into Nubian, Armenian, and Arabic made the Bible available to the peoples on the southern and eastern fringes of Christian lands. Translations in the eighth and ninth centuries marked the spread of Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons, Germans, and Franks. In the twelfth to fourteenth centuries translations into Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Icelandic, middle-English, Persian, Bohemian, and Danish continued the process of preparing vernacular Bibles for groups in which Christianity was being established.

These translations, the first virtually in tandem with the formation of the New Testament canon and motivated by a similar need for an authoritative source of Christian teaching and WORSHIP, drew new peoples and languages into the sphere of influence and authority of an increasingly institutionalized church. In the West this institution also spread a universal religious culture through the use of Latin. During the last decades of the fourth century, at the instigation of Pope Damasus, Jerome (345–420) completed a translation of the Bible into Latin from original Hebrew and Greek sources. This translation, known as the *Vulgate Bible*, became the standard authorized text for Latin

Christendom. Along with the formation of standard creeds and definitions (Nicean in 325 and Chalcedonian in 451), and liturgies (fifth century onward), it gradually became a symbol of universal ORTHODOXY with the power of the Roman church to enforce it. By the fourteenth century the universality of the Latin Bible rather than the universal availability of the Scripture in indigenous languages had become the basis of scriptural authority in the Catholic Church, and the supremacy of the *Vulgate* was affirmed by the Council of Trent in 1546 as a direct answer to the creation of vernacular Bibles by Protestant reformers.

Reformation Turn to The Vernacular

John Wycliffe (1329–1384) first challenged the hegemony of the *Vulgate Bible*, and the ecclesial power it represented, by preparing a translation into vernacular English and stressing its accessibility to laypersons. The reformer MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) translated the New Testament into German in 1522. With this the Protestant movement became defined in part by its assertion that the Bible should be available to all Christians in the vernacular, given that the AUTHORITY of the Bible was manifest in the Christian tradition, the believing community, and the inspired reading of individual Christians. In 1534 Luther's complete translation of the Bible was published, and its final revision in 1545 before his death helped shape German prose style for centuries to come. SWEDEN and DENMARK also adopted standard translations of the scriptures in the mid-fifteenth century. The *Uppsala Bible* was printed in 1541 and the *Christian III Bible* was printed in Copenhagen in 1550, and revised in 1589 and again in 1633. The first widely accepted Dutch Bible was printed in 1558 and called the *Mennonite Bible*. Later it was more widely known as the *Biestkens Bible* after the printer of its 1560 edition. Dutch Calvinists used a translation based on Luther's Bible and first printed in 1561–1562. The 1637 *Staten-vertling* produced by the governments of the Netherlands became the standard Dutch version for both Calvinists and MENNONITES until the twentieth century. These state-sponsored translations are reminders of the link between Biblical authority, uniformity, and the interests of Christian governments in both.

The Bible was translated from the *Vulgate* into vernacular French by the reformer Jacques Lefèvre, with a New Testament published in 1523 and the Old Testament and Apocrypha in 1528. In 1530 they were published together as the *Antwerp Bible*. The *Neuchâ-tel Bible* published in 1535 by Robert Olivetan drew on Lefèvre's work, as did subsequent revisions culminating in the French GENEVA BIBLE of 1588. In both Italy and Spain the ecclesial climate was unfriendly to Protestant translations. Antonio Brucioli began a translation into Italian in the 1530s, but the first full translation was published in Geneva in 1562. Giovanni Diodati produced a translation in 1607. The revised version of 1641 remained in use until modern times. A complete Spanish Bible was published in Basel in 1569, the work of Cassiodoro de Reyna. New Testaments were published earlier by Francisco de Enzina in Antwerp in 1543 and Juan Pérez de Pineda in Geneva in 1556. In addition to these widely read translations, portions of the Bible were translated in a number of minor European languages and dialects in the seventeenth century, including Irish, Latvian, Saami, Estonian, and Nogay. This process of translation into the languages of groups on the periphery of Europe, usually as part of Protestant missions to these

cultures, has continued into the twentieth century, even as some of these languages have become extinct.

The Renaissance fascination with the original language texts of classical literature and philosophy led scholars in Italy and then across Europe to seek out and examine Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of the Biblical texts. Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457) published a comparison of the *Vulgate* with a Greek text in 1444. This first critical examination of a work of assumed authority (Valla also showed the *Donation of Constantine* to be a fake) would both spur the reformers and lead to a revised edition of the *Vulgate* in 1590 and again in 1592.

The *Complutensian Polyglot Bible*, with the Greek and Hebrew Old Testament, Greek New Testament, and Latin *Vulgate* was printed in Alcalá, Spain between 1514 and 1517. A delay in papal authorization allowed the Basle printer Froben to publish a hastily prepared Greek New Testament and new Latin translation by Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1536) before the *Polyglot* could be widely circulated. Simon Collines printed a critical edition of the Greek New Testament in 1534. Revision of this edition continued under Robert Estienne (who fled to Geneva because of his Protestant leanings), and finally THEODORE BEZA in Geneva. Beza's 1565 edition of the Greek New Testament eventually became known as the *Textus Receptus* and became the basis of the King James' New Testament. From 1488, when Jews in Soncino, Italy published a Hebrew Old Testament through the middle of the sixteenth century, Hebrew Old Testaments of increasing critical value were printed. The *Textus Receptus* was not so daring as Erasmus's first edition in attempting to reconstruct the original text, but alongside the use of Hebrew Old Testaments its advent marked a period in which the norm for biblical scholarship, and Bible translation, would be the use of original language texts critically examined.

WILLIAM TYNDALE pioneered translation of the Bible into English from Greek and Hebrew. It earned him the enmity of the English bishops and forced him to flee to Protestant territories on the continent. His New Testament was published in 1525, but his Old Testament was not completed because he was arrested near Brussels in 1535 and martyred in 1536 (see MARTYRS AND MARTYROLOGY). MILES COVERDALE'S complete English Bible appeared in 1535, followed by the *Matthew Bible* in 1537. Coverdale's revision of the latter was the 1539 *Great Bible*. English reformers living in exile in Geneva produced the English *Geneva Bible* in 1560. The first period of English-language Bible translation would culminate in the translation sponsored by King James I, published in 1611. Its New Testament was based largely on Tyndale's translation work. Like the Luther Bible it set not only theological but literary standards for centuries. Its basis in the widely published Greek *Textus Receptus* and its ubiquitous force in English-speaking Protestant circles eventually gave it an authority independent of the beauty of its prose or its scholarly merit.

Despite some scholarly efforts Catholics responded in a limited way to the vernacular translations of Protestants. The French *Rheims-Douai Bible* was published from 1582 to 1610, and a Dutch Catholic Bible was printed in 1548. However, both were based on a *Vulgate* text already shown to be flawed. After the council of Trent, authority was seen by the Catholic church to rest more in the traditional dogma realized through the church hierarchy than in publicly accessible Scripture. By the opening of the seventeenth century

authority in the Catholic Church had lost the initiative in producing either critical editions of Biblical texts or new translations.

The significance of new Bibles, in translation or in the original languages, was greatly enhanced by the development of the movable type press by Johannes Gutenberg from 1445 onward. His Bible (1456) was the first complete book printed in the Christian world, and signified a new era in which identical copies of the same book would be available both to the masses and scholars. By the time of the REFORMATION, presses could be found across Europe. Their output, whether in the form of vernacular Bibles, critical editions of original language texts, or reformation manifestos and theologies, spurred the breakdown in the authority of the Catholic church, and the variegated development of Christian churches from the sixteenth century onward.

Missions and Translation

The Renaissance and the Reformation continued to spur vernacular and critical translations of the Bible in Europe. In the same period the spread of Christianity beyond Europe inaugurated an era in which Bible translation was closely associated with the missionary enterprise, and the European “discovery” of non-Christian languages, religions, and cultures. Roman Catholic missionaries were working in both the New World and Asia in the sixteenth century, and at least for liturgical purposes were translating portions of Scriptures and the Psalms into indigenous languages. It was the arrival of the Dutch in the Indonesian archipelago, however, that marked the first systematic effort to translate the Bible into a non-European language. Corneius Ruyl completed a translation of Matthew’s Gospel into Malay in 1612, and it was printed in diglot form with Dutch in 1629. An entire Bible, largely completed by Melchior Leydekker before his death in 1701, was published in 1733. Rivalries and disagreements between translators working with different dialects of Malay led to the delay, as did questions about whether to use the special language of the royal courts and proper terminology for God in a Muslim environment. The early Dutch translations went hand in hand with the development of linguistic and cultural studies that refined the Dutch understanding of the languages of the Malay Archipelago and their relationship to its various cultures. The problems of defining the vernacular when translators worked in isolation with unfamiliar languages, deciding when translations in each of several dialects were necessary, and fixing religious terminology in a non-Christian religious environment have become central problems for the modern era of missionary translation of the Bible. Missionary efforts to overcome these problems helped spur the scholarly study of non-European languages and cultures, as well as the preservation of both their literary and oral traditions.

JOHN ELIOT was a pioneer of missions among NATIVE AMERICANS, and his translation of the Bible into the language of the Pequot tribe of Massachusetts in 1663 was the first in North America. In the nineteenth century missionaries would add translations in dozens of languages, developing unique alphabets in the process and preserving cultures under threat from Anglo-European settlement. In INDIA the translation work was pioneered by Henry Martyn (1781–1812) and WILLIAM CAREY (1761–1834). Martyn translated the New Testament into Urdu, as well as Persian, Arabic,

and Hindustani. Carey translated the Bible into Bengali, as well as a number of related dialects. Both Martyn and Carey also pioneered the study and translation of indigenous literature. Portions of the New Testament had been translated into Chinese by Roman Catholics before 1800; however, it was Robert Morrison who first completed a translation of the Bible in 1819. With the opening of CHINA to greater foreign influence after the Anglo-Chinese war, both revisions of Morrison's Bible and translations and transliterations into the many different Chinese dialects were written. A controversy over the appropriate term for God ("Shang Ti" vs. "Shen") divided the missionary community. Up to the present Chinese Bibles using either term are available. Translations into the languages of sub-Saharan Africa began in 1816 with a translation into Bullom (SIERRA LEONE), translations into Swahili, the dominant language of East Africa, and various South African dialects followed in the nineteenth century (see SOUTH AFRICA).

The process of Bible translation, which Protestant missionaries initially related to the reformed mandate to make God's authoritative word available to all, gradually influenced missionary assessments of non-European culture. Each controversy over terminology brought more sharply into focus the issue of how non-Christian cultures, and even religions, could be a medium through which God's Word was revealed.

The question of whether a religion could prepare people to hear the Gospel was inextricably linked to the question of whether a language and culture had been prepared by God to receive God's Word. Just as vernacular Bibles in an increasingly literate culture had helped spur the Reformation by creating an independent source of authority, so missionary translations and growing literacy undermined a missionary monopoly on authority in newly emerging Christian communities. Since the middle of the twentieth century independent churches and church leaders have sprung up across the Christian world. Idiosyncratic interpretations of vernacular Bibles have been combined with indigenous worldviews and religious practices in a logical extension of the principle that all languages, and hence cultures, can be bearers of the good news.

Bible Societies

The rapid expansion of Bible translation and publication was facilitated by the formation of the BIBLE SOCIETIES. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (BFBS) was founded in 1804 with an ecumenical leadership and a mandate to produce and distribute Bible translations without notes or commentary. The model quickly spread through British territories, as well as in RUSSIA (1810) and most of Protestant Europe. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Bible Societies played a key role in directly or indirectly funding and distributing new translations of the Bible. At its centenary the BFBS reported having published more than 200 million Bibles or portions of the Bible.

In 1946 the United Bible Societies was formed to foster cooperation among the thousands of independent Bible Societies. Earlier in 1934 the WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS was founded by Cameron Townsend. Its translators focus on languages of small, often isolated, groups whose languages have not been studied or reduced to written form. In the 1990s Wycliffe Translators had worked on over 1,200 languages. They are closely associated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, whose

anthropological and linguistic work often provides the basis for translation efforts. By the year 2002, largely through the Bible Societies and Wycliffe, complete Bibles had been translated into more than 400 languages, and portions into over 2,300 languages. In addition to the Wycliffe Translators and the work of UBS consultants there are a number of smaller Bible translation organizations, many formed out of dissatisfaction with the methodologies of the dominant translation agencies.

Up until the twentieth century most Bible translations aimed at literal translations based on either the original languages of the Bible or a standard translation into English or another European language. The translations were undertaken by Europeans or Americans who learned indigenous languages from local informants or available literature. Since World War II both the Bible Societies and the Wycliffe translators have focused on using native language speakers as the primary translators, assisted by linguists and scholars with expertise in Biblical languages. Translations are team efforts with translators, exegetes, editors, and experts on style working together to create accurate and readable translations. This work is based on a theory of translation called the “functional” or “dynamic equivalence” method. It was pioneered by Eugene Nida. Early translations were of the “formal equivalence” type, trying to establish a one-to-one correspondence between terms in the source and receptor languages. The dynamic equivalence model assumes that meaning is found in larger language structures, and that the closest natural equivalent to the source language in the receptor language may not have a word-for-word, or even sentence-for-sentence, correspondence. Bible Societies have sponsored dynamic equivalence translations in both European and other major languages, with the *Today’s English Version (Good News for Modern Man)* being the best known in English.

Scholarly Commentary

Controversy over both the method and basis for new Bible translations has arisen since the nineteenth-century development of Biblical criticism and the discovery of dozens, then hundreds, of Bible manuscripts earlier than those used for the major European translations. By the late nineteenth century critical editions of the New Testament varied from the *Textus Receptus* in numerous details, as did the best Hebrew texts of the Old Testament. Translations based on these editions were caught up in larger conflicts over the authority of Scripture and its basis in a literal reading of the text. The result was a profusion of twentieth-century translations, particularly in English, that seek in differing ways to provide Christians with an authoritative basis for their own belief and practice.

A succession of scholarly formal translations *Revised Version* (1885), *American Standard Version* (1901), *Revised Standard Version* (1952), *New English Bible* (1971), *New International Bible* (1978), and *New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)* (1989) sought to keep up with the discovery of more ancient manuscripts and advances in textual criticism. Underlying their authority is the assumption that critical, scientific analysis of both text and literary content carried out by an ecumenical team of scholars yields a universally authoritative translation. The *NRSV* also recognizes the changing influence of cultural norms on language by making a consistent effort to use inclusive language. The *Today’s English Version* (1976), using the dynamic equivalence method underpinned by extensive critical commentaries on the original language texts, makes the Bible accessible

to the growing number of English speakers unfamiliar with religious terminology. Paraphrases by J.B. Philips and Kenneth Taylor (*The Living Bible*, 1971) have enjoyed popularity, and the latter has been so widely distributed under so many different titles to Christians unfamiliar with formal translations that it has a wide degree of influence despite its scholarly shortcomings.

The *New American Standard Bible* (1971) was published as a strictly literal translation for those whose concept of Biblical authority is rooted in formal correspondence with the original texts. The *New King James Version* (1982) was produced to meet the needs of Christians committed to the *Textus Receptus* and style of the *King James Bible*, but who can no longer fathom the meaning of sixteenth-century English. Its authority lies less in text or scholarship than in its impeccable Protestant pedigree, long association with fundamentalist dogma (see FUNDAMENTALISM), and the extent to which its language permeates traditional English language worship in many traditions. The *New Jerusalem Bible* (1966) is based on a French Catholic translation (*La Bible de Jérusalem*, 1956). It is distinctive in following the sequence of the most recently discovered Old Testament texts in distinction from the common Hebrew Bible, retaining *yhwh* instead of the conventional translation “Lord,” and its early use of inclusive language.

The diversity of translations of the Bible is more than matched by the diversity of special editions of all translations with notes from different theological perspectives, addressed to different age groups, genders, social classes, and even focused on particular uses of the Bible in daily Christian life. Particularly in the UNITED STATES, exploitation of specialized markets has been influential in motivating new translations and new editions of older translations. The JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES have produced their own *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures* in English and over 100 other languages—making significant changes from other versions to bolster their particular doctrines. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (see MORMONISM) has supplemented the Bible with translations of its own unique Scripture, *The Book of Mormon*.

Although few Christian cultures can match the resources of the English-speaking world, a similar range of translations is appearing wherever the Christian community is varied enough to support them. Just as the first Christians translated their Scriptures to address the varied cultures of the ancient world, modern Christians appear to be determined to make translations available that meet the needs of a diverse society and its variety of linguistic subcultures. It remains to be seen whether the enormous diversity of translations, and their diffusion throughout society, will serve as a unifying force in Christianity or reflect its process of fragmentation into competing sectarian groups.

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ROBERT HUNT

BIBLICAL INERRANCY

Inerrancy is a theory about the authority of the Christian BIBLE. It holds that the original writings—the “autographs”—are free of error in all about which they speak: matters scientific and historical as well as theological and moral. Their errorless status is based on the work of the Holy Spirit who superintended the words used as well as the events described and the teachings entailed.

The language of “inerrancy” regarding scriptural AUTHORITY emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, given prominence by orthodox Protestant theologians. Its concern for exactitude and the treatment of the Bible as a reliable source of information about all aspects of the world reflected the growing influence of science. Inerrantists sought to counter the incursion of the ENLIGHTENMENT with its own form of empirical and rational argument.

The concept of inerrancy today is regularly confused with the view of oracularity. The latter asserts that the words of the original Scripture were dictated by the Holy Spirit, becoming the literal oracles of God. The former takes account of the human factor in the process of inspiration. Adducing the varying vocabulary pools and styles of authorship in the books of the Bible, God protected the authors for erroneous use of their words. While allowing for authorial creativity in the writing process, therefore, inerrantists assert that such takes place under a pneumatological supervision that precludes mistakes on any and every topic considered.

While sharing the common conviction of Scripture’s plenary inspiration, inerrantists divide into conservative, moderate, and liberal parties. Conservative inerrantists trust the transmissive power of the Holy Spirit to ensure that certain received translations carry the authority of the inaccessible autographs themselves. This perspective is noted for its practice of harmonizing apparently conflicting reports of events, arguing for the historical veracity of accounts of the world’s beginnings and endings, and attacking critical scholarship as the tool of “secular humanism.” Moderate inerrantists allow for a more influential role of human factors in the creation of the originals, noting individual differences in authorial style and substance, and the impact of culture. Historical and literary criticism that discloses oriental hyperbole in reportage of events, the function of other genres such as narrative in biblical writing, and the limitations in ancient cosmology are not rejected, although a sharp eye is kept out for the intrusion of an antisupernaturalist bias in biblical scholarship. Textual criticism that seeks for the closest approximation to the yet inaccessible originals is actively pursued. Although the autographs are sacrosanct in all respects, subsequent editions and translations bear the marks of the human hand that make possible small errors in historical and scientific

details. The salvific heart of Scripture in matters of faith and morals, however, is secured, for the trajectory of the Spirit's power that produced the originals ensures the absolute trustworthiness of today's approved texts.

Liberal inerrantists acknowledge a greater role for the human factor in the creation of the errorless autographs, as well in the transmission process, granting a larger place for the legitimacy of historical, literary, and textual criticism. Its most notable feature is the insistence on the recognition of varying genres in biblical writings. It looks for authorial intention, reading, for example, accounts of the world's creation and consummation as theological in genre and housed in primitive cosmology, and therefore not to be treated as "informational," that is, accurate history in the modern sense.

Inerrancy, particularly in its "conservative" form, has often been used as a litmus test for ORTHODOXY among some evangelical circles within Protestantism.

See also Bible Interpretation; Evangelicalism; Fundamentalism; Pentecostalism

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GABRIEL FACKRE

BILL OF RIGHTS

The term "bill of rights" commonly refers to a written enumeration of the fundamental rights and liberties of citizens protected from infringement by civil government and a specification of the limitations on the arbitrary or capricious exercise of government powers. The phrase "bill of rights" is not found in the U.S. Constitution; however, it is a common designation for the first ten amendments adopted in 1791.

British statutory and common law sources, along with natural rights theory, influenced colonial and early states bills of rights. The Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776) was also a model for not only the first amendments to the U.S. Constitution but also the bills of rights in other states and around the world.

The U.S. Constitution drafted in 1787 did not contain a bill of rights. George Mason's proposal that the Constitution be "prefaced. with a Bill of Rights" was rejected unanimously by the state delegations. Few delegates opposed a bill of rights in principle; rather, they believed that one was unnecessary given the limited, enumerated powers of the proposed national government. Some of the most influential states, however, ratified the Constitution with a strong recommendation that it be amended to safeguard liberties. James Madison took the initiative in the First Federal Congress, convened in 1789, to

propose provisions that were shaped into the amendments sent to the states for ratification.

These amendments, known as the American Bill of Rights, set forth fundamental freedoms and procedural safeguards that the civil government may not deny individuals. The first amendment protects the freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. Its provisions respecting the nonestablishment and free exercise of religion are among the most innovative features of the Bill of Rights. The fourth amendment prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures by the state. The fifth amendment disallows compelled self-incrimination; the deprivation of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; and the taking of private property without fair compensation. The sixth amendment affords criminal defendants the rights to a speedy and public trial, to an impartial jury, to confront accusers, and to a lawyer. The eighth amendment prohibits cruel and unusual punishments. The Bill of Rights originally restricted the national government only. The fourteenth amendment (1868), however, has been interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court to apply selected portions of the Bill of Rights against state governments.

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DANIEL DREISBACH

BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY

The term “bishop” derives, by way of Anglo-Saxon usage, from the Greek *episcopos*, for overseer, referring to one who oversees the life of the ecclesial community as its chief pastor, usually in a region referred to as a diocese. In the New Testament the office is not certainly identifiable as a distinct order of ministry, but in the second century the role of bishop emerged as a separate office, distinguished from the ministries of presbyters and deacons (see DEACONESS, DEACON) with which it developed, over time, into a threefold pattern of ministry. During this period the bishop’s oversight was tied closely to liturgical presidency, although the office eventually developed sacramental significance in itself and the succession by which AUTHORITY was passed from one bishop to the next became an important symbol of the church’s unity, of the connection between the local community to the wider CHURCH, and of continuity in the apostolic faith.

After Constantine’s legitimation of Christianity, the responsibilities of bishops increased, as did their political significance, as they became responsible for wider regions

of a growing church. By the eve of the REFORMATION bishops were the highest order in a hierarchy of some seven orders of ministry, often exercising considerable secular as well as ecclesial influence, despite the general distinction between the church's spiritual authority and the temporal authority of monarchs. The sixteenth-century reformers held various opinions about the value and legitimacy of the episcopal office: some retained the office; some retained it but eliminated the historic succession that attached to it; others eliminated the office altogether, believing that the importance of bishops could not be substantiated by a reading of the plain sense of the New Testament. Nevertheless the ministry of oversight has continued in some form in all the churches of the Reformation regardless of whether they distinguish the office or use the title. The ECUMENISM of the last half-century has seen a return of appreciation for the symbolic significance of the office within the threefold pattern of ordained ministry and discussions of the role of bishops have yielded fruitful insights into ecclesiology, apostolicity, and the question of church order.

The Bishop in the New Testament

Although the New Testament contains a varied ecclesiology, two ideas arguably predominate. One is the notion of the church as a royal priesthood whose identity is rooted in Christ, the great high priest. Alternatively, the church is the body whose head is Christ and whose members are given a variety of gifts for the work of Christ in the world. Along the lines of the second model, leadership in this body was first focused in those appointed directly by Christ (apostles), but others who had the gift of leadership emerged within this period. These leaders were not seen strictly as successors to the apostles at this time and the difference between those designated elders and those designated overseers is not entirely clear. A representative example of this indistinctness is found in Acts 20, when Paul sends for the elders (*presbuteros*) of the Church in Ephesus and charges them to be overseers (*episcopous*) of the flock. A similar lack of clarity pertains in Acts 6 to the appointment of seven to the service (*diakonid*) of the word in care of the widows: whether this task amounts to an office is not certain, although the formality of the laying on of hands by the apostles certainly suggests a trajectory toward a more formal pattern of ordination. Hints of such a pattern can be found in the Pastoral Epistles, although the distinction between bishops and presbyters is, even there, not yet clear. By the close of the first century, however, the first letter of Clement of Rome identifies bishops and deacons as distinct roles appointed by the Apostles to lead "the future believers" and implies that presbyters were assisting in the work of the bishops in their local communities (*I Clement* 42, 43). Some scholars now see possible parallels of this first-century pattern to the orders of ministry at Qumran, although the precise status of the relationships between Qumran and the early Christian communities has not been established.

The Development of the Monarchical Episcopate

The turn of the second century brought increasing concern about schism and so-called gnostic heresies that threatened the church. In this context, the monarchical, or single bishop, distinguished from presbyters or elders, became the norm: the bishop was the symbol of the church's unity in the apostolic faith. Ignatius of Antioch, writing probably early in the second century, grounded the unifying power of the bishop not in his lineage in a historic succession—an idea whose time was yet to come—but in a symbolic pattern in which the bishop is the “type” of God, the divine father. In turn the presbyters, a kind of college of ministers around the bishop, are “types” of the apostles, and the deacon a “type” of Christ. The semiplatonian connection here, particularly between the ministerial organization of bishops and deacons and the divine reality, can be seen as an indication, if not the source, of the sacramental interpretation of ministerial orders. Under the continuing pressure to distinguish the apostolic faith from “gnostic” HERESY, the notion arose of a line of succession from one bishop to the next, particularly near the end of the second century in Irenaeus's writing, but the point of succession was not so much the maintenance of a historic line of persons as it was the continuity of the apostolic faith.

Throughout this period, the bishop was the chief presider at the Eucharist and in this capacity, the bishop's role was thought of as “priestly.” Thus the emerging pattern of episcopacy rejoined the biblical ecclesiology of the church as a royal priesthood, mentioned above: the bishop, prayerfully chosen by the people, is a symbol of Christ, and is therefore the high priest of a priestly people and shares in the “princely spirit” of Christ. This THEOLOGY of episcopacy, as well as the bishop's prerogative to ordain other ministers, is reflected in the prayer for the ordination of a bishop found in Hippolytus's *Apostolic Tradition*, customarily dated to the third century.

Episcopacy after Constantine

Upon the occasion of the CONVERSION of the Roman emperor Constantine in the fourth century, the churches in the West grew rapidly and the bishops began to expand their responsibilities over wider regions of the church. As a result, presbyters began to carry more responsibility for local ecclesial communities and to preside at their eucharists in the absence of the bishop. As a result of this development, presbyters were increasingly referred to as priests because they now extended the liturgical presidency of the bishop. Deacons continued to be associated with service to those in need and, ritually, with the service of the eucharistic table. This core pattern continued unchanged into the Middle Ages, but with some development in three main areas: structure, ritual practice, and theology. Structurally the three orders—bishops, priests, and deacons—became by the high middle ages the crown of a scheme of “minor orders” with various responsibilities for the administration of the church's mission and LITURGY. Ritually bishops were distinguished especially by their power to confer orders and to administer CONFIRMATION. (The latter originated as a postbaptismal rite over which, until the fourth century, the bishop normally presided, but which became separated from the

baptismal rite as the bishop's presence to the local community was not always possible.) Theologically the bishop's power to ordain was increasingly seen as the result of a substantial change in the ontological character of the bishop (a change that pertains, in forms appropriate to their offices, to priests and deacons as well). This is reflected in the ordination rites of the time in which, by contrast to earlier ritual patterns, the bishop ordained priests and deacons not by laying on hands within the context of the community's prayer, but with a verbal formula that conferred ordination by the power resident in the bishop.

Episcopacy in the Reformation Traditions

Consistent with their wider theological concerns, the reformers were generally troubled by two aspects of the medieval episcopacy: its hierarchical ascendancy over what they interpreted as a sacrificial priesthood, and the notion of a power inherent in the person of the bishop. Both of these militated, in their view, against the sufficiency of Christ and the direct communion of the whole church with him. Nevertheless the reformers and the churches that followed them took these concerns in many different directions.

MARTIN LUTHER himself did not see evidence in the New Testament for an episcopal office distinct from the work of presbyters and emphasized the priestly character of the whole church, over which certain members functioned as presiders and pastors. Although the German Lutheran churches ultimately eliminated the position of bishop, Swedish Lutherans retained the office and its historic succession but downplayed an emphasis on powers peculiar to the office. Danish Lutherans took a middle position, retaining the office but eliminating the element of historic succession in its ordination process. Other reformers identified pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons as the orders of ministry that could be found in the New Testament, and saw no evidence for an indelible change in the character of the bishop or other ordinands as a function of their ordination.

Concern to avoid any intimation of such power in the bishop led JOHN CALVIN, JOHN KNOX, and others to eliminate the office and replace the laying on of hands in ordination to the extension of the "right hand of fellowship" by the ordaining ministers. Knox used the term "superintendent" for a time to refer to an episcopal role that was not a permanent office but that was responsible for organizing ordinations and seeing to the care of vacant cures. The CHURCH OF ENGLAND adapted the Sarum usage of the medieval church in ways strongly influenced by MARTIN BUCER, retaining the office of bishop and the notion of historic succession, but challenging the excessive hierarchical emphasis of the episcopacy. JOHN WESLEY initially adapted the Anglican position, but eventually ordained leaders for the churches in the UNITED STATES, SCOTLAND, and ENGLAND, substituting as Knox did the term "superintendent" for "bishop" (and "elder" for "presbyter"). Wesley felt empowered to perform such ordinations because he understood the biblical evidence to suggest the difference between bishops and presbyters to be a difference of degree, not of kind, and understood himself to be exercising episcopal oversight of the Methodist societies. Other reformed traditions that descend from the Reformation, particularly churches of congregational POLITY and those that are independent, sometimes retain the use of "bishop" as the title of their chief local pastor and a few of these bishops occupy an earned preeminence in a network with other local

congregations of similar lineage. The MORAVIAN CHURCH retains the bishop and a claim to succession in the apostolic tradition, yet self-governs on a presbyterian model.

What is important to underline, amid the various directions in which the episcopacy was taken by churches of the Reformation, is the *de facto* reality of the ministry of oversight in many different forms that is exercised in all churches as a matter of institutional necessity and, except in the most insistently congregationalist communities, of the symbolic expression of connection between local congregations and the wider church.

Modern Developments in the Theology of Episcopacy

The persistence of a ministry of *episcopus* in all churches, whatever its form, has made possible a degree of theological convergence on orders in the modern period. Multilateral dialogue through the Faith and Order Commission of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES led ultimately in 1982 to the issuance of *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (BEM)*, which represents this convergence not only on orders but on the outlines of shared Theology of the SACRAMENTS. Although noting the ambivalence of the New Testament evidence for the early Christian communities' patterns of ministry, *BEM* acknowledges the historic usefulness of the threefold pattern of ministry (bishops, presbyters, deacons) while recognizing that its practice has sometimes been diminished or corrupted. *BEM* also acknowledges the need for orders to serve the permanent, collegial, and communal aspects of the whole church's ministry, whatever form those orders take, and in relation makes distinctions between apostolic succession, apostolic tradition, and the historic episcopate. Apostolic succession is the manifestation in ordered ministry of the whole church's commitment to the apostolic tradition, defined by *BEM* as "continuity in the permanent characteristics of the church of the apostles." The historic episcopate is one important way of preserving an orderly transition in ministry that serves the apostolic tradition of the church. Churches that have no historic succession of bishops are urged to consider whether this traditional symbol might better serve their grounding in the apostolic tradition; at the same time churches that do maintain a historic succession of bishops are urged to recognize the ministry of oversight that exists in churches without bishops and to measure the adequacy of their own episcopal practice by the apostolic tradition to which the whole church is called. The bishop in succession is, in sum, acknowledged as an important "sign, though not a guarantee, of the continuity and unity of the church."

Since the publication of *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* bilateral dialogues among churches descending from the Reformation have focused from time to time on the place of episcopacy in the life of the church. A productive example is that between the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA and the EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States. Their INTERCONFESSIONAL DIALOGUE has produced a "Concordat of Agreement" signaling a mutual recognition of ordained ministries. This agreement hinges in important ways on some of the distinctions that appeared in *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* as applied to episcopacy: among other things, Lutherans agree to the joint ordinations of all bishops in the future for the sake of the mission and in recognition of the importance of the sign of historic succession;

Episcopalians, on their part, acknowledge in Lutheran orders the apostolicity that must characterize the church in faithful execution of its mission and submit the efficacy of the historic episcopate under the judgment of that apostolicity. The legitimacy of the liturgical and canonical provisions required for this agreement to be enacted remains a subject of some debate in both churches, yet the agreement signals the enduring importance of the episcopal ministry in contemporary discussion among Reformation churches.

See also Congregationalism; Lutheranism; Methodism; Presbyterianism

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JAMES W.FARWELL

BLACK METHODISTS

Black Methodism first emerged in America as Wesleyan Methodist itinerants reached out to enslaved populations with a message that resonated with them. Soon separate denominations arose as blacks wanted political and economic independence from the segregationist patriarchal structures of white METHODISM. Black Methodism offered members of the black community leadership opportunities to speak out on social and political issues. Issues of education and MISSIONS to AFRICA dominated black Methodism in the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century Methodism continued as a central force in the black community as it asserted itself toward the achievement of Civil Rights.

Early Black Methodism

Blacks occupied a prominent position in the Methodist movement from the very earliest days in America. Methodists were among the first churches to begin the widespread Christianization of blacks in America. At the first Methodist class meeting in America one of the five attendees was a young black servant named Betty. JOHN WESLEY'S emissaries commented on the large numbers of blacks who responded to the Methodist message.

Blacks were attracted to Methodism for two reasons. The Methodist message appealed to an enslaved population and the messengers were appealing to the hearers. The key attraction for blacks to Methodism was the Arminian theology. Unlike GEORGE WHITEFIELD and the Calvinist Methodists who supported SLAVERY and made a strong distinction between the body and soul, Wesleyan Methodists had a holistic understanding of the body and soul. A person needed to be bodily free to exercise the freedom of will granted by God. If someone was under the yoke of another, she or he was not free to respond to the call of God as God intended.

The Methodists brought a message that condemned slavery and racism in uncompromising terms and they lived out that message. Wesley spoke out vehemently against slavery. A newly converted slave owner's first act was frequently to free his slaves and thereafter preach abolition. The Methodist faith was also accessible. The Methodist class meeting allowed blacks to experience Christianity in an emotional manner that emphasized hymn singing and testifying. Methodists preached in the vernacular, not in highly theological language.

Possibly the most important aspect for black acceptance of the Methodist message was the messengers themselves. Because the Methodist movement was a lay movement, preachers did not need ordinations or educational credentials. Methodism offered opportunities for blacks to participate in the movement as class leaders, exhorters, and preachers. One early black preacher was Harry Hosier (1750–1806). He was a small man who preached with such fervor that all who heard him remarked on his power. He traveled and preached with FRANCIS ASBURY and THOMAS COKE throughout the 1780s and 1790s. Although uneducated, he was immensely popular and drew mixed audiences that outnumbered the audiences that gathered to hear the white preachers accompanying him. Coke claimed Hosier was one of the best preachers in the world.

Although Methodism in America began with egalitarian ideals, the reality quickly began to change. The initially strong antislavery platform was suspended after only six months, setting off a rapid process of capitulation to slavery interests. The changes forced blacks into secondary and subservient roles, leading to schism and the creation of separate black Methodist denominations.

Creation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church

The first black Methodist denomination was the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (AME) CHURCH. RICHARD ALLEN founded the AME Church in Philadelphia,

Pennsylvania in 1816. Born a slave, Allen converted to Methodism after hearing the preaching of a Methodist itinerant. His owner, at the urging of a Methodist itinerant, agreed to sell Allen his freedom. Five years later Allen had raised \$2,000 and purchased his freedom. Allen, like Hoosier, attended the CHRISTMAS CONFERENCE and traveled with Asbury, who was impressed with Allen and ordained him deacon in 1799.

In 1787 Allen moved to Philadelphia and joined St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC). One Sunday in late 1787 an overzealous sexton requested that Allen and several others move to make room for whites to sit. The men requested that the sexton allow them to finish their prayers and then they would move. The sexton demanded that they leave immediately and pulled Absalom Jones out of his seat. Allen, Jones, and several others then walked out. The walkout led to a realization by the black membership that they needed to act to ensure their freedoms.

In 1794 Allen raised money to build Bethel Church. Bethel functioned as a meeting and worship space for blacks. The leadership of St. George's MEC wanted to control Bethel or have it turned over to the Pennsylvania Annual Conference of the MEC. The presiding elder of the Philadelphia District demanded that Bethel's founders turn the church over to the conference, but Allen and his supporters refused. Eventually they were forced to place the church under the supervision of the conference, once again returning the membership of Bethel under the authority of whites. Black ministers could be ordained only as deacons, not elders. Thus, the membership of Bethel remained dependent on the whites of St. George's for the SACRAMENTS.

James Smith White, an elder at St. George's, in 1805 examined Bethel's charter and decided to demand payment for ministerial services to Bethel. This sparked a desire on the part of the Bethel membership to change their charter. They added the Black Supplement giving Bethel unique status among MEC churches. The supplement along with a refusal to pay for ministerial services resulted in the withdrawal of white minister services in 1807.

The situation came to a head in 1816 when Robert Burch of St. George's attempted to preach at Bethel Church. Burch went to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to force Bethel to open its pulpit. Bethel won the court fight, but decided that more decisive action was needed to prevent further problems. To get out from under the social political control of the MEC, on April 9, 1816 Allen called a meeting in Philadelphia with delegates from several disaffected black Methodist churches in Baltimore and Philadelphia. The meeting created the African Methodist Episcopal Church with a polity and theology based on the MEC. Richard Allen was elected as the first bishop of the new church. Initially the AME church was made up of five churches with 1,067 members.

Creation of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

The second major black Methodist denomination was the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION (AMEZ) CHURCH. Peter Williams, the child of slaves, became a Methodist in the 1760s. After the Revolutionary War Williams was sold to a trustee of Wesley Chapel in New York who allowed him to purchase his freedom. After purchasing his freedom Williams joined John Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York.

During the late 1790s the black members of John Street decided to hold their own meetings and in 1796 built the African Chapel. The new church grew well, but suffered from constant financial problems because of the poor economic condition of the congregates. Eventually the church grew and split into two churches, Asbury and Zion.

Richard Allen, after separating from the MEC and forming the AME Church, attempted to reach out to Williams and the black Methodists of New York, but they accused Allen of encroachment, stealing members from their churches, and of taking advantage of their financial problems. They refused to join the AMEs. In 1820 the future AMEZ churches began to move toward separation. Initially they were not interested in separation, only in protecting black Methodist property during the Stillwell Property controversy of 1820. Separation came in three steps, beginning in 1820 when the future members of the AMEZ Church separated from the New York Conference and appointed James Varrick as Superintendent. The following year Williams and his supporters claimed that they were still within the MEC, but were a separate, special conference. Then in 1822 they effectively broke with the MEC over ordination, although they continued to profess loyalty to the MEC despite operating as a separate church. The group appealed to the 1824 General Conference for recognition as a special conference. After being rebuffed at the General Conference Williams and his supporters founded the Black Methodist Episcopal Zion Church based on the same POLITY and THEOLOGY as the MEC and named James Varrick as its first bishop.

Black Methodism in the Nineteenth Century

Nineteenth-century black Methodist churches were similar to white Methodist churches except they tended to emphasize lay involvement, a strong lay stand against slavery, and autonomy over church affairs (particularly property). Black Methodist churches were organized around a series of conferences: General, Annual, and Quarterly. The General Conference was the main legislative body, the Annual Conferences handled annual matters such as placing and ordaining clergy, and the Quarterly Conferences dealt with the running of a local church. Black Methodism operated in a top-down structure with strong bishops. Illiteracy was a problem in the early black church, forcing bishops into authoritarian roles.

Black Methodism focused on education as a means to lift the social status of the black race. SUNDAY SCHOOLS occupied a prominent place in the structure of most individual churches. Daniel Payne, an AME bishop, fought in the 1840s to establish a ministerial reading course and higher educational standards for clergy. In 1866 Bishop Payne served as the first president of Wilberforce University. He was the first black man to serve as the president of an American university. The AME denomination went on to found two more colleges, Allen College in South Carolina and Morris Brown College in Georgia. The AMEZ Church founded its only college, Livingstone College in North Carolina, in 1885. The smallest of the three major black Methodist denominations, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church founded four schools, the first of which was Paine College in Georgia.

Within black Methodist churches during the nineteenth century there was an emphasis on lay involvement attributed partly to Methodism's background as a lay movement.

Black churches tended to form out of laity-led black classes or choirs. A lack of ordained clergy also forced the LAITY to assume greater roles. Black Methodist churches, because of the larger lay involvement, retained the love feast as a central rite far longer than did the white churches; many black Methodist churches still celebrate a regular love feast.

Among the laity, women made up the majority of the churches' membership. However, women rarely held official leadership positions outside of the Sunday School program. Two notable exceptions were Jarena Lee and Amanda Berry Smith. Lee attended Bethel Church in Philadelphia in the 1810s when she first received the call to preach. She approached Richard Allen, but he discouraged her. Several years later when she could no longer resist the call, she preached an impromptu sermon in front of Allen and received his blessing to continue preaching. In 1836 she published her autobiography, a remarkable glimpse into a black woman's spiritual journey as she confronted racism and sexism. Several women followed in Lee's steps, preaching in AME churches until a motion at the 1852 General Conference to allow licensing of female preachers was resoundingly defeated. The other black Methodist denominations all had similar rules. Several years later Amanda Berry Smith received the call to preach. Smith preached primarily to holiness groups and traveled to Britain, Africa, and INDIA before returning to the UNITED STATES to work for the TEMPERANCE movement.

Although the laity of the major black Methodist churches were strongly against slavery, the leadership of both the AME and AMEZ churches did not take a strong abolition stand until just before the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR. Richard Allen favored gradual emancipation over more radical approaches. Not until 1856 when the AME church discovered some members were purchasing slaves and then owning them while they purchased their freedom did the issue become a central debate in a General Conference. In 1856 the AME Church came out publicly as strongly against all forms of slavery. The AMEZ church issued a similar resolution later that same year. Individuals, however, took a strong stand much earlier: in 1810 Daniel Coker published the first antislavery pamphlet written by a black individual.

After the Civil War both the AME and AMEZ churches focused their missionary efforts on the Southern states. Black churches had been banned throughout most of the South, so it proved a fertile mission field. The AME and AMEZ made inroads among freed slaves in the South, creating fear among white southerners. The white leadership of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE decided the best way to counter the Northerners was to create a new denomination for Southern blacks. In December of 1870 a conference of the black members of the MEC was held in Jackson, Tennessee and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was created. The first two elected bishops were Henry Miles and Richard Vanderherst. The CME Church changed its name in 1954 to the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

After Reconstruction black Methodist Churches turned their attention to Africa. Although Daniel Coker of the AME church went to Africa in 1820, the three major black Methodist churches did not launch official missions to Africa until the 1890s. The AME church went into West Africa in 1891 and SOUTH AFRICA in 1896. The AMEZ Church went into Ghana and LIBERIA in the twentieth century.

Black Methodism in the Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century the three major black Methodist denominations repeatedly tried and failed at an organic union. The initial attempts resulted in the formation of the Tri-Federation Council. The Council led to the closer working relationship the three denominations enjoy today.

When American black Methodists began to evangelize Africa, they found that Africa already had a form of Methodism. British Methodism was active in Africa for over seventy-five years before the American denominations arrived. Today most African countries have national Methodist Churches as a result of the British Methodist Missionary Society. Although theologically they resemble Black Methodism in America, they differ in several significant factors. Most national churches have term bishops who return to the local parish when their term is over. Most African Methodist churches adapted local customs into a participatory form of worship. Like Black Methodism in America, education has tended to be the major focus of the African Churches. The largest of the African Churches are in ZIMBABWE, Kenya, Ghana, Ivory Coast, and South Africa. Each of these churches, founded by British Methodism, became independent churches in the 1960s, and today their combined membership is almost 1.5 million.

Black Methodist theology in the twentieth century has drawn heavily from Latin American LIBERATION THEOLOGY. JAMES HAL CONE, an AME minister and a professor of systematic theology at Union Theological Seminary in New York, is the most important theologian in twentieth-century black Methodism. Cone draws from liberation theology to relate Christian theology to the black experience (see BLACK THEOLOGY). For Cone, God is a dynamic deity involved in human affairs with liberating power battling oppressors and standing in unity with the oppressed.

Black Methodist churches in the twentieth century retained their tradition of strong episcopal leadership. In 1928 the AME church attempted to check the ecclesial autocracy by passing a rule that required bishops to be moved after two quadrennia. That same General Conference began to allow lay delegates to attend General Conference. The other major black Methodist denominations also passed legislation limiting episcopal stays in an annual conference and allowing lay delegates to attend their General Conferences. One of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was an AMEZ bishop, Alexander Walters. In 1984 Leontine Kelly became the first black woman bishop in a Methodist church, the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.

When compared to white Methodist WORSHIP, modern black Methodism features an emotional style that draws the congregation into the worship experience; however, compared to black Holiness or Baptist worship practices, Methodist worship seems sedate. Flowing from their CHURCH OF ENGLAND roots the Methodists have a more liturgical worship style. Singing is prominent and the preached word is the center of the service. Music has been an important carrier of the Methodist theology and black experience ever since Richard Allen published the first volume of black hymnody in 1801, *A Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns*. At the beginning of the twenty-first

century, black Methodism is alive and well. In 2002 the AME church was the fastest growing church in North America.

See also Arminianism; Baltimore Conference; Bishop and Episcopacy; Calvinism; Civil Rights Movement; Hymns and Hymnals; Itinerancy; Methodism, England; Methodism, North America; Slavery, Abolition of; Wesleyanism; Women Clergy

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ADAM ZELE

BLACK THEOLOGY

Black theology was launched with JAMES HAL CONE'S landmark volume, *Black Theology and Black Power* (1968). However, several other works were foundational to the beginning of black theology as an option in constructive THEOLOGY, including Joseph Washington's *Black Religion*; Albert Cleage, Jr.'s *Black Messiah*; Gayraud S. Wilmore's *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*; and James Deotis Roberts's (with co-editor Fr. James Gardiner) *Questfor a Black Theology*.

Black theology did not spring up as a totally new phenomenon. The CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, the nonviolent movement of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., the black nationalism of Malcolm X and others, and the black power and black consciousness movements were among the forces that gave birth to black theology.

The most direct and immediate basis for black theology was found in the rise of black power. However, to understand the movement that erupted in the late 1960s, one needs to revisit black history for at least 200 years. The religious roots were manifested in the ministry of RICHARD ALLEN in the late seventeenth century. Wilmore's volume,

mentioned above, is an invaluable resource in revisiting the history that gave birth to black theology.

In both youth and temperament, Cone was the proper person to develop a black theology. Cone was in his late twenties when he completed his doctoral studies in theology. He belonged to the same generation as members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who were moving away from Dr. King's nonviolent program to embrace black power as an option. The message of a nationalist leader, Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam, was also being heard. Cone adopted much of the spirit and language of this youthful, more militant group of leaders, of which Stokely Carmichael was a leader. Cone had studied KARL BARTH well. He captured the anger of the Black Power advocates and the dogmatic theological temperament of Barth. This combination radiated in his passion for racial justice. This led him as a black church theologian to reread the BIBLE and reconceive the Christian faith as a basis for black liberation from oppression. Cone's temperament, genius, and commitment to freedom for his people laid the groundwork for a new departure in theological discourse.

The Black Church and Black Theology

Black theology would have been stillborn if it had not been for the readiness of black church leaders, clergy, and lay to receive and act on its message. As early as 1966, black church leaders had begun to consider "black power" as a clear option to King's nonviolently approach to black freedom. A statement published in the *New York Times*, July 31, 1966 set the stage for a new outlook for the witness of the black church in the area of race relations. Leading church persons represented by the National Committee of Negro Churchmen declared: "Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars. We are faced with a situation where conscienceless power meets powerless conscience, threatening the very foundations of our nation."

This statement, drafted by a group of black scholars in religion and church leaders, goes on to relate a positive view of "power" to freedom, love, justice, and truth. This initiative by church leaders set the stage for the flowering of a theology of Black Power that surfaced later. The tragic and untimely death of King left a void, which needed a new ideological shift to be filled. Black power was already being considered as a way to move forward. This period of black church history was characterized by an outburst of ECUMENISM. All Protestant denominations were involved, and black Catholics were represented. There were caucus units in all white denominations with black members. This strong ecumenical consensus was in support of racial justice. It was the National Committee of Black Christians that summoned black theologians to draft statements on black theology for mission and ministry.

The Development of Black Theology through Dialogue

Along with Cone's *Black Theology and Black Power*, there was the powerful influence of Cleage's *Black Messiah*, as well as his Detroit ministry at the Shrine of the Black Madonna. These two volumes, together with the changing climate in the black churches

and communities, set off a tide of publications among black theologians and religious scholars.

Roberts's *Liberation and Reconciliation* (1971) was not a direct response to Cone's liberation-only emphasis, although it was perceived by some to be just that. However, Roberts's career as a theologian preceded Cone by at least a decade. Based at Howard University's Divinity School, Roberts was moved to get involved. As a contemporary of King, Roberts brought his mediating message forward and blended it with the new liberation motif. Other colleagues helped broaden and deepen the black Theology conversation. Major Jones took up the theme of the "black awareness" in his *Black Awareness: A Theology of Hope* (1971), focusing on this dimension of the new movements. The new awareness expressed in the phrase "black is beautiful" had a vital message for theological reflection. It had much to say about self-respect and appreciation of heritage. Jones was also influenced by the emergence of the "theology of hope," and attempted to bring theology and ETHICS together in his writings.

An unusual challenge to James Cone's theology came from an unlikely source. His brother, Cecil Wayne, a theologian and pastor, questioned the undue emphasis on "black power" by all black theologians. His book *The Identity Crisis in Black Theology* (1975) devotes a chapter to the critique of Washington, Cone, and Roberts. Cecil observes a lack of attention to African traditional religion, the CONVERSION experience of African slaves, and black people's belief in an Almighty Sovereign God.

During the first decade of black theology, there was little criticism by black WOMEN religious scholars. However, a woman theologian, Jacquelyn Grant, a doctoral student of James H. Cone, wrote an important book titled *The White Woman's Christ and the Black Woman's Jesus* (1989). In this work she states clearly the different Christological concerns of black women and white women. She also describes the differences between the concerns of black male theologians and those of black women theologians. Her work is very important, because she was a somewhat isolated voice at that time. She lays the groundwork for a more powerful critique of black women theologians in womanish theology. The work of black women theologians has expanded the horizon of the black theology enterprise.

Along the way, we must consider the input of religious philosopher Cornel West. West, who earned a doctoral degree with emphasis on Marxist ideology and religion, insists that all black theologians have omitted social analysis in their interpretation of theology. Later womanist theologians adopted a multidimensional attack against oppression, including GENDER, race, and class, and thus have embraced West's critique.

It is obvious that James H. Cone's vision has broadened and deepened through the years. He has reached out to the black church. This is evident in his book *For My People: Black Theology and the Black Church* (1984). Roberts's writings reveal a similar outreach. This is true of his *Roots of a Black Future: Family and Church* (1980) and *The Prophethood of Black Believers: A Theology for Ministers* (1994). There has been an increasing awareness that vital black theology is church theology with a focus on witness and ministry. The important book by James Evans, *We Have Been Believers*, illustrates this point.

Black theologians were in conversation with African and Afro-Caribbean theologians almost from the beginning of the movement. These discussions appeared to be an attractive and mutually rewarding exchange; however, they had to be encouraged by

some theologians within black theology circles. This was especially true of Gayraud S. Wilmore and Charles Long. When the theological discussion became interdisciplinary, this dialogue intensified. The founding of the Society for the Study of Black Religion, which included female and male religious scholars from several fields, greatly enhanced this African/ African American conversation.

Latin American and black theologians found common ground around the theme of liberation from oppression. Asian theologians engaged the religiocultural and sociopolitical outlook of theology. Thus black theologians, under the leadership of Cone, held conversations on several continents through the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians. In this way, the provincial early approach of black theology was given a universal vision. In these same conversations, the importance of social analysis, as refined by Latin American liberation theologians, was expressed in the doing of theology. At the same time, the struggles of women were beginning to be noted and addressed.

The Future of Black Theology

In surveying the essentials of the black theology movement, we have closely followed the career of James H. Cone, who more than anyone else has personified the spirit of this vital movement. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the growth, development, and outreach of black theology have become universal. The liberating and reconciling aspects of black theology have influenced the mission and ministry of black churches. We now have not only a second and third generation of black theologians and religious scholars, but also evidence that church leaders are being influenced by their research, teaching, and publications. In this process, the vital legacy of black theology is secure.

See also African Theology; Asian Theology; Christology; Liberation Theology; Womanist Theology

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JAMES DEOTIS ROBERTS

BLAIR, JAMES (1656–1743)

Scottish-American churchman. Blair was born in SCOTLAND in 1656 and died at Williamsburg, Virginia, April 18, 1743. He was ordained to the ministry of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND in 1679 and placed in charge of the Presbytery of Dalkeith. He was dismissed from this parish when he refused to sign a test oath to the heir apparent to the British throne, James II, and he moved to London. In 1685 he went to Virginia to be the rector of the parish at Varina, later called Henrico.

On December 15, 1689, the bishop of London named Blair the first commissary to Virginia. A commissary represented the bishop of London in a colony, but could not ordain or confirm. He then served the parish at Jamestown until 1710, when he became the rector of Bruton parish in Williamsburg, where he remained until his death. One of Blair's major accomplishments was the founding of the College of William and Mary. The charter for the college was granted on February 8, 1693, and Blair served as president from then until his death. For a brief period in 1740–1741, Blair was acting governor of Virginia. As commissary, he called meetings of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND clergy, disciplined clergy, and sat in the Council of the Colonial Government.

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DONALD S. ARMENTROUT

BLAKE, EUGENE CARSON (1906–1985)

American presbyterian minister and ecumenical leader. Born of Presbyterian parents in Missouri, Eugene Blake was theologically educated at the University of Edinburgh and Princeton Theological Seminary, where, dissatisfied with the prevailing liberal and fundamentalist theologies of the 1920s, he chose NEO-ORTHODOXY instead. Ordained by the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, Blake pastored large congregations in New York and California for 20 years, building a reputation for

prophetic PREACHING, skilled administration, and social justice activism. In 1951, Blake became Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church. During his tenure, he spurred the denomination to take open stands on social issues. A supporter of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, Blake attended the 1963 March on Washington, where he apologized for white Protestants, stating, “We come, and late we come, but we come.”

More notable was Blake’s active role in ECUMENISM. From 1954 to 1957, Blake served as president of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, augmenting the activism and influence of that body. In his denomination, he supervised the 1958 merger with the United Presbyterian Church of North America. In 1960, Blake preached, “A Proposal Toward the Reunion of Christ’s Churches,” which outlined his plan for organic union of mainline Protestants on a basis, “both catholic and reformed.” Subsequently, representatives of several Protestant denominations participated in the ongoing CONSULTATION ON CHURCH UNION (COCU) seeking to enact unification. He furthered his ecumenical consensus theology as General Secretary of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1966–1972). Increased involvement of Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox clergy characterized his administration, as did greater leadership from Third World and nonwestern Christians, particularly at the 1968 Uppsala Assembly.

See also Orthodoxy, Eastern; Presbyterianism

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STEPHEN R.BERRY

BLAKE, WILLIAM (1757–1827)

English poet. Little appreciated in his own lifetime, William Blake is now seen as a visionary and one of the greatest poets in English literature. He enjoyed little commercial success, his brilliant works were often misunderstood, and, indeed, some contemporaries thought him mad.

Born November 28, 1757, the son of a London hosier, Blake spent almost his entire life in the British capital city. Apprenticed to an engraver, Blake grew up in a vibrant urban artisan culture influenced by traditions of religious DISSENT and political radicalism. He studied art at the Royal Academy Schools and around 1787 devised a method of illuminated printing in which writing and illustrations appeared on the same

page to be later colored in brilliant shades. Through this highly original artistic medium Blake set out his vision of the universe.

His work ranges over historical, classical, and literary themes, but latterly turned more to biblical ones. Blake was an English enthusiast for the French Revolution and a critic of his own country's "dark Satanic Mills" or the harshness of early industrialization. Likewise he opposed the rational, Newtonian philosophies and sciences of his day in favor of a more mystical vision of man and creation.

His later illuminated books give the impression of conventional Christian images and themes, dealing as they do with such topics as creation, the death of Abel, Christ, and so on. Blake's visionary interpretation of such subjects is both highly original and religiously unorthodox, even heretical. His images juxtapose an old, tyrannical father-god against a young, liberating son-god. His view of the creation, for example, indicates that evil is present in the nature of man from the beginning, contrary to the conventional Christian view.

Blake's artistic output was both vast and difficult to interpret, as he devised his own mythology by a reinterpretation of biblical themes. To appreciate the work of this most unusual genius requires considerable effort on the part of the student as well as the help of his many subsequent interpreters.

William Blake died August 12, 1827, and was buried without a headstone in the Protestant dissenters' burial ground in London. Today he is a much commemorated literary giant, the object of a large number of critical studies, and seen as a prophet whose alternative visions of both humanity and deity command great respect.

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FRED DONNELLY

BLISS, PHILIP PAUL (1838–1876)

American hymnwriter. Bliss was born in 1838 and grew up in a Methodist home. He made his profession of faith in a Baptist revival service, was baptized by a minister of the Christian Church, joined the Presbyterian community of his spouse, served as a choir director and SUNDAY SCHOOL superintendent with the Congregationalists, and led music for evangelical meetings of all types. He began his career as a music teacher, and in 1864 he and his wife relocated to Chicago where he worked with the music publishers Root and Cady.

Bliss was a friend of the evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY and was arguably the most popular gospel singer-songwriter of the nineteenth century. In many respects his

contemporary IRA SANKEY, who outlived him by over thirty years, overshadowed Bliss. Yet in a brief span of twelve years between 1864 and 1876 Bliss wrote words and music that have endured for generations. Along with W.B. Bradbury's "Just as I Am," his hymn "Almost Persuaded" was a standard invitation in evangelical REVIVALS. "Hold the Fort" became a theme song for the prohibition, suffrage, and labor movements. His hymns "Jesus Loves Even Me," "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning," "I Will Sing of My Redeemer," "Hallelujah, What a Saviour!," and "Wonderful Words of Life" are classics of gospel hymnody. His music gave voice to the romantic EVANGELICALISM and evangelical ethos of the popular democratized Christianity in America. Bliss compiled his first book of hymns entitled *The Charm* in 1871 and continued to produce one book a year until his death. With Sankey, Bliss published the popular hymnal *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* in 1875, which contained many of his songs and increased his influence. In all he composed over 400 hymns and sacred pieces, giving rise to his reputation as "the Charles Wesley of the nineteenth century."

Moody invited Bliss to accompany him in 1873 as the music director for a series of revival meetings throughout ENGLAND that were to bring Moody to international attention. When Bliss declined, Sankey accepted. A year later Bliss entered full-time into the ministry as a music evangelist, joining the popular evangelical preacher D.W. Whittle in twenty-five revival meetings. Bliss and his wife died in a train wreck on December 29, 1876 while traveling to meet Whittle for a singing engagement at Moody's Tabernacle in Chicago.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Music, American

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CURTIS W. FREEMAN

BLOMFIELD, CHARLES (1786–1857)

Bishop of London. Bloomfield was born at Bury St. Edmund, ENGLAND, where his father was a schoolmaster. He was educated at the grammar school of Bury and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he excelled as a student. He took his B.A. in 1808 with high honors, and was elected fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge shortly thereafter. Ordained in 1810, he was appointed to a number of benefices in rapid succession, and in 1820 was appointed to the benefice of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate.

Early in his career he demonstrated an aptitude for classical scholarship and published several works, including editions of the *Prometheus Vincetus* (1810), Callimachus (1815), and Euripides (1821). He also wrote several pieces of classical scholarship for the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* reviews. In 1822 he was made archdeacon of Colchester and in 1824 he was appointed to the see of Chester. Four years on, in 1828, he was made bishop of London.

As bishop of London he dedicated a considerable amount of energy to performing his duties, and proved himself to be something of a reformer. He successfully rallied for a significant amount of money, providing much needed aid to churches and schools and to clergymen, and managed to build many churches in the London area. He also did much to eliminate abuses of plurality and nonresidence (holding several parishes concurrently and, therefore, being generally “non-resident” in several) still extant among clergy in the early nineteenth century. He resisted the tractarian OXFORD MOVEMENT, although he did express sympathy with some of the calls for reform in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and resisted Catholic emancipation as well. He was forced to resign in 1856 because of ill health and died a year later in 1857.

See also Anglicanism

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ALEC JARVIS

BLOUNT, CHARLES (1654–1693)

English philosopher. Blount was born on April 27, 1654 in London and died of suicide in August 1693. Educated by his free-thinking father, Sir Henry Blount, he embraced Stoicism and the ideas of EDWARD LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY; Benedict

Spinoza; and THOMAS HOBBS, whose ideas and works he borrowed from, translated, and publicized. He adapted and translated Herbert's *De religione laici*; Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, which appeared in his *Miracles no violations of the laws of nature* (1683); and popularized Hobbes in his *Last Sayings and Dying Testimony of Thomas Hobbes* (1680). A free thinker and radical Whig, Blount was a persistent critic of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

In *Anima Mundi* (1679) he defended the primacy of a rational natural religion. In works such as *Great is Diana* (1680) and *Two First Books of Philostratus* (1680) he offered veiled attacks on the clericalism of the Church of England in critiques of pagan idolatry and Islam. In a series of manuscripts, including "A Summary Account of the Deist's Religion," which appeared in his collection *Oracles of Reason* (1693), he attacked ecclesiastical corruption and orthodox Protestant understandings of miracles and divine revelation, while championing the primacy of human reason, religious TOLERATION, and freedom of the press. As a radical Whig accused of being a Deist and an atheist himself, Blount's works helped stimulate the development of anticlericalism and DEISM in ENGLAND. By passing on and popularizing the ideas of earlier free thinkers such as Herbert, Spinoza, and Hobbes and through his own critiques of Christian ORTHODOXY, he influenced later Deist writers such as JOHN TOLAND and MATTHEW TINDAL.

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ROBERT D. CORNWALL

BLUMHARDT, CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH (1842–1919)

German theologian. The younger Blumhardt (son of Johann Christoph Blumhardt, 1805–1880) was the successor of his father as pastor in Bad Boll-Württemberg. He anticipated what came to be known as “Religious Socialism” (*Religioeser Sozialismus*) and had influence on dialectical theology. Blumhardt joined the Social Democratic Party and became its parliamentarian. This was incomprehensible for his church, and brought him into conflict with many of his contemporaries.

He was born in Möttlingen near Calw-Württemberg. He studied theology in Tübingen, and was vicar in several parishes before he became the assistant to his father in Bad Boll in 1869 and his successor in 1880. In 1894 he withdrew from the parish, criticizing the official church of his time. In 1899 he joined the Social Democratic Party out of a sense of solidarity and social responsibility, and between 1901 and 1906 he was a member of Württemberg parliament. During World War I he was one of the few who avoided a national pathos and who saw the war as the judgment of God. In his last years he withdrew from politics but remained the spiritual head of Bad Boll, supporting the worker’s movement, the peace movement, and the emancipation of people in mission countries.

Blumhardt represents a down-to-earth and secular Christianity: the kingdom of God develops its healing and serving power already in this world because Jesus is victor and is changing the world in this age. The Christian lives within the political and social situations. The Christian’s walk through life becomes the visible gospel, which is expressed not only in preaching but also in living. The socialist vision of a coming society without classes—and without class struggle—means the temporal salvation by God. The kingdom of God, however, means the eternal liberation, which is awaited in hope.

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GERHARD SCHWINGE

BODELSCHWINGH, FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN CARL VON (1831–1910)

Lutheran church leader. Pastor and leading representative of the deaconry in GERMANY in the second half of the nineteenth century, Bodelschwingh was born on March 6, 1831 in Haus Mark near Tecklenburg, a descendant of the ancient nobility in Westphalia. His father Ernst was the president of the Prussian Province on the Rhine, and later, for a short time, served as finance secretary and secretary of the interior in Berlin. In 1848, in the aftermath of the Revolution, he lost his position and returned with his family to Westphalia. For his son Friedrich the years in Berlin brought connections to the court and to the Hohenzollerns as well as the acquaintance with high-ranking representatives of revivalism, a movement that also proved to be of importance for his parents.

After graduation from grammar school in 1849, Bodelschwingh finished an apprenticeship in Lower Pomerania and worked as the manager of an estate, although his occupation did not satisfy him. The question of a goal to his studies was constantly on his mind, and he decided to study THEOLOGY. He began his studies in 1854 in Basle. Here he was influenced especially by the revivalist BIBLE lectures of Carl August Auberlen, and by the spirit of the Basle Missionary House. He made connections with theologians in SWITZERLAND and in Württemberg, and he became acquainted with leading characters of the deaconry. After a few semesters in Erlangen and in Berlin, Bodelschwingh passed the first theological exam in 1858 and went as an assistant preacher to Paris. The German congregation there encompassed mostly common and poor people.

Bodelschwingh was in charge of the education of children, built a school, and collected money in Germany for the construction of a small church. Because of health problems, he had to leave Paris and, in 1864, took over the second pastorate in Dellwig in Westphalia. There he concentrated on the Christian design of the farmers' lives. To that end and toward the formation of a congregation in general, starting in 1865 he put out the Sunday "Westphalian *Haufreund*." What was important for Bodelschwingh was outlined in the preamble to the second volume: "Against the storm of the times, to hold on to the sanctuaries of faith, to preserve on that basis the Christian German customs and discipline, Christian German faithfulness and innocence, the heritage of tradition-bound ancestry, to preserve and to conserve, and, where such virtues have been eradicated, to plant the seeds for them again." With this attitude in mind Bodelschwingh became a voluntary chaplain in the Prussian war against Austria (1866) and against FRANCE (1870/71).

The sudden death of the Bodelschwings' four children, within a period of fourteen days, triggered a deep and long-lasting crisis in the parents. Bodelschwing tried to make a new beginning. In 1871 he took charge of Bethel near Bielefeld, a small shelter for young epileptics. Founded in 1867, a small deaconess training center named "Sarepta" was added in 1869. Systematically and piece by piece, Bodelschwing began to expand the institution. New houses were added, where, consistent with the Wichern teachings on family life, the parents lived alongside the sick and the handicapped. Hence, Bethel became a whole community for the sick.

In addition to the expansion, new plans were made. In 1877 "Nazareth," the training post for young deacons, was founded. Increasingly Bodelschwing concentrated on the problem of the "wandering poor,"—migrant workers, the unemployed, or those without a home—people who were literally on the street. To keep them in place, in 1882 Bodelschwing built the worker's colony "Wilhelmsdorf," and in 1899 the upland colony "Freistatt." For the homeless in Berlin "Hoffnungstal" outside the city was founded. In all of these institutions, there was not only a strict prohibition of alcohol, but the daily routine in general revolved around decidedly Christian rules. The motto that Bodelschwing outlined was: "Work instead of pittance."

To finance all of these activities, Bodelschwing used his personal and family connections. However, the expansion of the work opportunities required public financing as well as political measures and legal regulation. Bodelschwing was elected to the Prussian Assembly in 1903, and there he fought hard and successfully for a law that mandated the building of workplaces for migrant workers. He also sought public support for the construction for housing for workers. Because he saw the growing influence of political and especially theological liberalism as a primary danger, he set up the "Bethel Theological School" for the "positive" education of future pastors. In addition to the Theological Week, held throughout the year by conservative revivalist professors from different German universities, there was also an educational track for education of missionaries, an interest since the days of his studies in Basle. At the end of his life Bethel was not only the largest institution of the Internal Mission, but also a symbol for evangelical deaconry in Germany. Bodelschwing died in Bethel on April 2, 1910.

After his death in 1910 his son, Friedrich Jr. (1877–1946), nicknamed "Pastor Fritz," took over the leadership of the institution. He was driven by the same conservative revivalist mentality as his father. Yet, he was more reclusive. Bethel was expanded further, but young Bodelschwing was conscious of a more medical and sociopedagogic professionalism. In May of 1933, because of his integrity and capacity to mediate, Bodelschwing Jr. was nominated to the position of presiding bishop in Germany. However, worn down by the infighting of the GERMAN CHRISTIANS as well as by the attitudes of the Confessional Lutheran bishops, he stepped down a few weeks later. In the following years, in letters and in dialogue, he was an intermediary in the best sense between the diverse groups of the Confessional Churches. After tough negotiations, he succeeded for the most part in saving the majority of "his" patients from the "euthanasia" murders of the Nazi years. He also strongly supported the "Church Unity Project" of Bishop Wurm in Württemberg, and, in 1945, he was a significant figure in the rebuilding of the Evangelical Church in Germany.

See also Confessing Church; Evangelicals, Germany; Lutheranism, Germany

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

BOEHME, JAKOB (ALSO BOEHM, BÖHM, BEHME, BEHMEN) (1575–1624)

German mystic. Boehme's THEOLOGY drew upon Christian, Hermetic, astrological, alchemical, and Kabalistic traditions combined with the notion of a passionate God seeking expression in material form. His influence on subsequent theologians and philosophers was considerable. Born in the village of Altseidenberg, near Görlitz, Silesia (now Zgorzelec, Poland), Boehme was apprenticed as a shoemaker, married, and established himself in this trade in Gör-litz, then a Lutheran community coming under the indirect influence of Calvinist ideas (see CALVINISM). At the age of twenty-five he underwent a mystical experience when a ray of sunlight reflected in a pewter dish revealed to him the nature of a Godhead that penetrates and suffuses all existence, including suffering and pain. This epiphany, elaborated and articulated in numerous publications during the next two decades, forms the core of Boehme's spiritual legacy.

Boehme's development as a religious writer was gradual, retarded perhaps in part by his continuing employment as a shoemaker and later as a merchant for several years after his revelation. His first important treatise, an obscure work filled with baroque allusions and entitled *Die Morgenröte im Aufgang (Red Rays of the Dawn's Light)* (1612), attracted a small circle of followers, while also prompting both religious and civil authorities to censor him. Boehme agreed to cease writing, a promise he kept for five years. Secretly resuming his writing, Boehme produced tracts and longer works that circulated privately. When in 1623 a friend published a portion of Boehme's *Weg zu Christo (The Way to Christ)* the mystic once again experienced persecution and had to leave Görlitz for Dresden, where he survived on the largesse of wealthy friends and continued to gather followers about himself. In 1624 he returned to Gör-litz where he died later that year.

Boehme, an autodidact, cannot be considered to have approached his topic in a rigorous fashion, and his works reveal both the limits and the strong points (e.g., Paracelsian alchemy) of his own learning. Yet some of the ideas he put forth were startlingly innovative, and presented a direct challenge to the biblical literalists and systematic theologians of his day. Boehme conceived of God as infinite and indescribable, but also as an entity that seeks to become “thing” and to be able to know itself. It is God’s creation that makes God whole, and vice versa. God emerges, by choice, out of pure Oneness and Completeness into what might be called a differentiated actuality that can be perceived and loved. Boehme combined this idea with ones more in agreement with orthodox LUTHERANISM, such as the assertion that the SACRAMENTS do not take away sin.

Boehme writes of the Godhead (Gottheit) possessing a “will, that is also called God, which is also called the one God, who wants nothing more than except to find and grasp himself....” Taken in isolation, Boehme’s description of God’s desire to manifest himself was not necessarily in conflict with the Lutheranism of his day, although Boehme’s emphasis on the “longing” or “hunger” for self-knowledge of God’s undifferentiated nonbeing (das Nichts) placed the writer outside the pale of ORTHODOXY, as did his insistence that matter—and its corollary, Evil—were absolutely necessary for the continued existence of the Divine Spirit. Finally Boehme asserted that God’s longing could never be entirely satisfied, thus turning into a bitter and self-destructive fire that caused great pain to the Godhead itself. This claim placed him far outside any acceptable seventeenth-century Protestant theology, and yet has been one of the elements of Boehme’s theology, along with his interweaving of Kabbalistic ideas, that has most intrigued later readers. Likewise, Boehme’s claim that God could not have foreseen the rebellion of Lucifer put the mystic in opposition to Calvinists and any others who stressed PREDESTINATION and the omniscience of God.

Boehme conceived of reality as multifaceted, at times described in Trinitarian terms, elsewhere as a sevenfold unity. His revelation unveiled the “Being of Beings,” the Byss (roughly, reason), and the Abyss (absurdity). The Abyss possesses the hunger for selfknowledge, but exists only as an ideal in a sense close to Plato’s meaning, until it can manifest itself in a living being. Before this manifestation, God has “no tendency towards anything,” but the vacuum of the Abyss is not total because it has the potential to become something real. Evil is the rebellion of selfcentered, spiritually blind activity that rejects the undifferentiated power of God; yet this God does not desire to remain in this state, and the struggles and suffering of God to escape nothingness bear some resemblance to human suffering brought on by evil. At the same time Boehme advocated the “sinking of the mind into the mercy of God.” Critics such as the Danish Lutheran bishop Hans Martensen have argued that Boehme poses an impossibility when he describes God emerging from nothingness, yet able to radiate good and love.

Boehme regarded himself as a Christian and frequently protested his own orthodoxy, yet he reserved some of his most severe attacks for the narrow and “crude” interpretations of God and heaven put forth by many Protestant churches, the institutional manifestations of which Boehme regarded as the “whore of Babylon.” For him, the divine order with its ineffable truth and the fatherhood of God over all human beings stood far above the achievements of any ecclesiastical institutions. Living as he did in a time of combative confessional politics (the first years of the Thirty Years’ War coincide with Boehme’s

last period of productivity), where loyalty and conformity to an established church were among the most prized virtues, it is little wonder that his works were widely condemned in his own lifetime. At the same time his conception of the passion and longing of God undoubtedly spoke to many whose own experience of the Protestant REFORMATION was intensely subjective and emotional.

Boehme left no organized school of theological thought, but his works remained part of the intellectual landscape of the Baroque era and beyond. PAUL TILLICH saw Boehme influencing at least indirectly GEORG W.F.HEGEL, Arthur Schopenhauer, FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, Henri Bergson, and Martin Heidegger. Boehme's dialectic, although limited in scope and expressed in a frequently difficult style, unquestionably provided Hegel with a model, and had an even greater influence on FRIEDRICH SCHELLING. More recently Carl G.Jung cited Boehme in the development of the former's theory of alchemical individuation process (see JUNGIANISM). Boehme's interest in the will and in intuition has obvious echoes in Schopenhauer, although one must be careful not to equate Boehme's understanding of the will of the as yet undifferentiated Godhead with the term as used in debates over human free will. Both Boehme's metaphor of light and his exploration of the mystical nature of the encounter with the personal God influenced the writings of GEORGE Fox. The Rosicrucians claim inspiration from Boehme, and the mystic had a considerable following in ENGLAND as well. Boehme's greatest contribution may be in his attempts to show the relations among the seemingly contradictory elements present in the "Being of Beings": dispassionate passivity and passionate longing, matter and nothingness, balance and opposition, love and anger.

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PAUL SHORE

BOESAK, ALAN AUBREY (1945–)

South african leader. Boesak was a key South African Reformed antiapartheid activist during the 1980s, president of the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES from 1982 to 1991, president of the South African Council of Churches in 1984, and South African ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva, SWITZERLAND in 1995.

Alan Boesak grew up in the Dutch Reformed Mission Church (Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk or NGSK), the main Reformed church within the South African mixed-race “Colored” community. He attended Bellville Theological School, the NGSK training college associated with the University of the Western Cape.

In 1964, as a second-year student at Bellville, Boesak met BEYERS NAUDE, an antiapartheid white Reformed minister who had been forced out of his office as moderator of the (white) Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) for his views. Naudé encouraged Boesak’s activism and political interests, and persuaded him to seek ordination in the NGSK as an effective platform from which to work for the ending of apartheid in SOUTH AFRICA.

Boesak was ordained in 1968. For two and a half years he pastored a local congregation, which lost its church building when the neighborhood in which it was located was declared “whites-only.” He left the parish ministry to pursue a doctoral degree at the Reformed Theological Seminary at Kampen in the NETHERLANDS, where he was introduced to the inter national Reformed community. At Kampen he published a number of books and articles on BLACK THEOLOGY, collaborating with the American black theologians JAMES HAL CONE, James A. Joseph, and J. Deotis Roberts, Sr. He also published his doctoral dissertation, *Farewell to Innocence, a Social-ethical Study on Black Theology and Black Power*, in which he argued that “liberation is not only ‘part of’ the gospel, or ‘consistent with’ the gospel. It is the content and framework of the gospel of Jesus Christ” (p. 14).

Upon his return to South Africa in 1976, Boesak joined the “Broederkring” (“Brothers’ Circle”) of South African Reformed Clergy dedicated to opposing apartheid, becoming its chair in 1977. He was also appointed the “student minister” for NGSK students and faculty who study or lecture at the University of the Western Cape, the Peninsula Technikon, or Bellville Training College.

He spent the academic year 1980–1981 teaching at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Returning to South Africa, he was elected the first president of the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians, a group of political activists within the South African Reformed Churches in 1981. The following year he was sent as a delegate to the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, where he was elected its president. At the WARC meeting in Ottawa, CANADA, he led the delegates to condemn the theological defense of apartheid as HERESY. This led the WARC to expel the two white Reformed South African Churches from membership.

In 1983 Boesak formed the United Democratic Front, a legal umbrella organization, which united more than 700, many otherwise illegal, organizations to become the focus

of opposition to apartheid at a time when the South African government banned all political organizations. In his opening address Boesak argued that “apartheid is a cancer in the body politic of the world, a scourge on our society, and an everlasting shame to the church of Jesus Christ in the world and in this country. It exists only because of economic greed, cultural chauvinism, and political oppression, attained by both systemic and physical violence and a false sense of racial superiority. And...therefore we must resist it” (*If This Is Treason, I Am Guilty*, pp. 39–40).

Boesak’s rise in stature and influence in South Africa was recognized in 1984 when he was elected president of the South African Council of Churches. Two years later he was selected moderator of the NGSK church. Boesak used these offices as a platform from which he traveled the world, garnering support for the antiapartheid crusade.

In 1988 the UDF was banned by the South African government, which led in 1989 to a massive campaign of defiance against the government. Boesak’s campaign against apartheid, however, was overtaken by political events. In 1989 F.W.De Klerk was elected president of South Africa and, to everyone’s shock and surprise, unbanned the African National Congress and other radical political groups. The following year he released Nelson Mandela from prison and within a few years, legally dismantled apartheid. The elections of 1994 led to the election of Nelson Mandela as president. Boesak led the ANC efforts in the Western Cape in the election of 1994, and was appointed South Africa’s ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva Switzerland in 1995.

Boesak’s meteoric rise did not survive South Africa’s stunning reversal of political fortunes. In 1990, just after DeKlerk was elected, Boesak’s extramarital affair with Elena Botha, a prominent white television producer and niece of Stoffel Botha, a hard-line proapartheid cabinet officer, became public. He resigned all his church positions, divorced his wife, briefly married Elena, and turned his attention entirely to politics.

A second and greater scandal swirled around Boesak while he was ambassador to the United Nations, forcing him to resign within the year. This time he was accused of misappropriating international development funds. He was tried in 1999, convicted, and sentenced to a six-year jail term. Boesak has maintained that he was innocent of intentional wrongdoing, although he has admitted his failure to exercise appropriate control over his financial managers.

See also Dutch Reformed Church in Africa

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CORNELIS H. LETTINGA

BONHOEFFER, DIETRICH (1906–1945)

German theologian. Bonhoeffer was born in Breslau, GERMANY (present-day Wrocław, POLAND), on February 4, 1906. He studied Protestant THEOLOGY in Berlin under ADOLF VON HARNACK, KARL HOLL, and Reinhold Seeberg. He became a pastor and then a lecturer (*Privatdozent*) in theology and served as one of the leading figures in the CONFESSING CHURCH. He published several important theological works, joined in the resistance movement against Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime, and suffered imprisonment followed by execution on April 9, 1945, just weeks before Hitler's suicide and the end of World War II. Bonhoeffer is famous for books such as *The Cost of Discipleship*, *Life Together*, *Ethics*, and *Letters and Papers from Prison*, the latter two published posthumously. Many other editions of his writings appeared, especially in the postwar era, culminating in a sixteen-volume edition of his complete works available in both German and English.

Bonhoeffer may be the most important Protestant pastor and theologian to have lived and worked within the crucible of Adolf Hitler's Germany. His importance derives from theological writings developed in response to the Nazi state, writings that have made a significant impact on theology since the middle of the twentieth century. He is also known for his political role and his martyrdom in opposition to the Hitler regime. Bonhoeffer sparred with the regime from the beginning, first within the German Church Struggle, in which he helped lead Confessing Church forces in their opposition to the enthusiastically Nazi *Deutsche Christen* ("GERMAN CHRISTIANS"), and then in political opposition to the regime itself. Imprisoned in April 1943 for his involvement in the resistance, Bonhoeffer suffered execution as one of a handful of specific enemies of the regime sought out for punishment in the chaos of the war's closing days. Other German theologians of his era made significant contributions to Protestant thought, and other Christians suffered and died because of their opposition to Nazi rule. No one, however, combined theological impact with clarity of political response and subsequent martyrdom as did Bonhoeffer. Thus his life as well as his theological writings must be considered to measure his impact as a Christian and a theologian.

Bonhoeffer's Life

Dietrich and his twin sister Sabine were the sixth and seventh of eight children born between 1899 and 1909 to Karl and Paula (von Hase) Bonhoeffer. The father, a prominent professor of psychiatry and neurology, moved in 1912 from Breslau to the University of Berlin, which meant that the Bonhoeffer children grew up near the center of German intellectual and political life. They benefited from this association, but also suffered mightily in the turbulence of that German era. The second son, Walter, died on the western front in 1918. Klaus and Dietrich were executed in 1945 for their opposition to the Nazi state, as were two sons-in-law, Hans von Dohnanyi (married to Christine) and Rüdiger Schleicher (married to Ursula). A third son-in-law, Gerhard Leibholz, fled with Sabine to England because of his Jewish mother, so that five of the eight children suffered death, the death of a spouse, or emigration during the Third Reich.

As Dietrich grew up in this fated but high-achieving family, he decided early that he would study theology, a surprising choice, given that the family was not particularly active in its church attendance or piety. He excelled, however, earning his doctorate at the young age of twenty-one. He served as a curate for one year in a German congregation in Barcelona, before completing his *Habilitation* (a second dissertation that grants one the right to teach at a German university) by the age of twenty-four. Bonhoeffer then spent 1930–1931 as a Sloane fellow at Union Theological Seminary in New York, making the acquaintance of REINHOLD NIEBUHR, among other theologians. He also met and worked with Frank Fisher, a black student at Union who gave him access to Harlem, its religious practice and its music. Bonhoeffer returned to Germany in 1931 to begin offering lectures in theology at Berlin. Active in ECUMENISM, he was appointed that year to the position of youth secretary at the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches conference in Cambridge.

When Hitler came to power in January 1933, Bonhoeffer was among that minority of Protestant pastors and church leaders who felt no trace of temptation to endorse the new regime. This decision may have grown out of his theology, but other aspects also contributed: his extensive experience abroad, which counteracted the insular nationalism of many colleagues; his friendship with Christians of Jewish descent, including his brother-in-law Gerhard Leibholz; and the politics of the Bonhoeffer family. His family did not indulge in that combination of enthusiastic nationalism and rigid conservatism that prompted Protestant theologians such as Paul Althaus and Emanuel Hirsch to greet Hitler as a gift from God. Conservative antisemitic and nationalist views among Protestants led to the formation of a group, the *Deutsche Christen*, or German Christians (DC), who wanted an Aryan Christianity and thus had no problem merging their commitment to Nazi ideology with Christianity. They joined the Nazi Party, often becoming Stormtroopers as well; they wore their brown uniforms to church; they displayed the swastika alongside the flag of MARTIN LUTHER in their sanctuaries; and they expected in 1933 to fall heir quite naturally to church leadership in Hitler's new Germany.

Bonhoeffer opposed the German Christians from the beginning, although with great frustration. In 1933 their candidate for national bishop, Ludwig Müller, prevailed and his

program dominated Protestant church affairs for the rest of the Nazi era. Already in September 1933 the “Brown Synod” (so called for the preponderance of “brown” shirts, i.e. Nazis, at the synod) in Berlin voted in favor of imposing the “Aryan Paragraph” on clergy and other employees of the church, an unsolicited act of solidarity with Hitler’s state. This paragraph, part of a new Nazi law dealing with the German civil service, allowed only “Aryans” to be in the civil service. MARTIN NIEMOLLER and Bonhoeffer led those who saw this both as an unwarranted interference in church affairs and a denial of the efficacy of BAPTISM. German Christians then celebrated the REFORMATION that fall by calling for the removal of the Old Testament from the Bible. In response to these outrages, Niemöller’s Pastors’ Emergency League (*Pfarrernothbund*) grew into an organization representing more than a third of all Protestant clergy.

In the midst of this fray Bonhoeffer chose to remove himself by accepting an October appointment to serve two German-speaking parishes in London. He followed events closely, however, participating in preparation for and noting with approval the creation of the BARMEN DECLARATION in May 1934. This document, composed primarily by Swiss theologian KARL BARTH, formed the basis for the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*), and Bonhoeffer spent the balance of the decade as a leading figure in that group, always pushing it toward a more radical stance. He also continued working in the ecumenical movement, cultivating his friendship with GEORGE BELL, bishop of Chichester in England. In 1935, in opposition to Deutsche Christen control of theological education in universities, the Confessing Church asked Bonhoeffer to lead an alternative preachers’ seminary, first at Zingst and then at Finkenwalde. By September 1937 this activity was closed by the Gestapo, and Bonhoeffer began suffering a series of travel and speaking restrictions. He sailed to New York in June 1939 at the invitation of American friends, although he decided almost immediately that the impulse to take safe haven abroad had been wrong, as he explained to Niebuhr:

I have made a mistake in coming to America. I must live through this difficult period of our national history with the Christian people of Germany. I will have no right to participate in the reconstruction of Christian life in Germany after the war if I do not share the trials of this time with my people...[ellipses in Bethge]. Christians in Germany will face the terrible alternative of either willing the defeat of their nation in order that Christian civilization may survive, or willing the victory of their nation and thereby destroying our civilization. I know which of these alternatives I must choose; but I cannot make that choice in security. (Bethge 1970:559)

Bonhoeffer returned to Berlin in July and the next month accepted an invitation from his brother-in-law Dohnanyi to become an agent for the Abwehr, Germany’s military organization for counterintelligence.

Dohnanyi served as advisor to Colonel Hans Oster, second in command of the Abwehr, and also to Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. This made him a major figure in the so-called Canaris conspiracy in which Canaris tried to use this spy apparatus as a cover for the resistance movement. Bonhoeffer’s primary role in the Abwehr was to act as a link to

the outside world, taking advantage of his international contacts. For example, he met with Bishop Bell in SWEDEN in 1942, giving him names and details about the conspiracy. The conspirators hoped for explicit Allied support and even the promise of a negotiated settlement, rather than the demand for unconditional surrender, in the event the conspiracy proved successful in removing Hitler. Bell brought this message to the British government, but could not overcome its suspicions. Bonhoeffer was speaking for the German Abwehr after all, the spy service, and might be involved in some sort of double game. Work as a spy and a conspirator also posed a problem for Bonhoeffer himself. Much of the fruitfulness of his wartime writing stems from the hard questions of Christian ETHICS in the face of tyranny. As a Christian could he be traitor to his own government? Could he oppose the AUTHORITY of his state? Could he even participate in a plot to assassinate the head of state? Bonhoeffer took his faith as a Christian and his responsibility as a pastor very seriously. He decided, however, that Christian ethics required him to act boldly in contradiction to the traditional norms.

Bonhoeffer and Dohnanyi were both arrested in April 1943. For many months they were interrogated, separately, as the Gestapo unsuccessfully tried to ferret out information to incriminate them and their Abwehr colleagues. Gestapo efforts redoubled after the assassination attempt on Hitler on July 20, 1944, and in September they found incriminating documents. This led to Bonhoeffer's transfer in October from Tegel prison to a Gestapo cell on Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse, and then to the Buchenwald concentration camp in February 1945. Two months later Bonhoeffer and a handful of others were transferred by a circuitous route to Flossenbürg, the camp where he was executed on April 9.

Bonhoeffer's Theology

Bonhoeffer began his theological studies in 1923 in Tübingen, where he came under the influence of Adolf Schlatter. This exposed him to the theological emphasis on history and reason as advocated by the giant among liberal theologians, von Harnack, who also happened to be a neighbor and family friend (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Back in Berlin in 1924 Bonhoeffer also found the "Luther Renaissance" of the church historian Karl Holl and Reinhold Seeberg. He remained marked by the intellectual rigor encouraged by Harnack and the focus on Luther found in Holl and Seeberg, but these emphases did not encompass his thought. Although Berlin in the 1920s may have represented the best of the past in the German theological tradition, the future had begun to take shape to the west of Berlin in Göttingen and then Bonn.

There Barth attracted attention in the 1920s by his vigorous "no" to the ENLIGHTENMENT idea that theological inquiry meant studying history and studying Christianity as one religion among many. Emphasizing the otherness of God, the inadequacy of religion to reach God, and the inability of human reason to find God's truth through historical study, Barth developed a dialectical method that insisted on the gap between God and humankind. He coupled this with a neoorthodox insistence that the basic truths of Christian doctrine should be taken at face value, not given up in the face of historical and rational uncertainties. Bonhoeffer did not meet Barth until 1931 and he never was a student of Barth as such, but he tempered the rigor of his theological training

in Berlin and his strong commitment to Martin Luther with the methods and the Christocentric focus insisted on by Barth. For both of them the primary goal of theology was to seek out God's message to humans as revealed in Jesus Christ.

Bonhoeffer first came to widespread postwar attention with two books that emphasized his spiritual intensity. In *The Cost of Discipleship* he criticized the state of contemporary Protestant Christianity:

Cheap grace is the mortal enemy of our church.... Cheap grace means grace as bargain-basement goods, cut-rate forgiveness, cut-rate comfort, cut-rate sacrament; grace as the church's inexhaustible pantry, from which it is doled out by careless hands without hesitation or limit. It is grace without a price, without costs. (DBW/English, vol. 4:43)

Protestants had always emphasized SALVATION as a free gift from God, not to be earned by good works. Bonhoeffer, whose Christian faith had proved very costly indeed, insists that such a casual acceptance of grace is too easy, too readily allows a life completely uninfluenced by real discipleship to Christ, a discipleship that costs one's entire life. Bonhoeffer also became known through *Life Together*, a book describing the virtually monastic regimen practiced by Bonhoeffer and a small group of seminarians at Finkenwalde in the mid-1930s. His goal was to create a group of brothers living together in Christian community, following a path of discipline, BIBLE reading, and PRAYER.

In both of these books Bonhoeffer seemed to call Christians to a religious intensity consistent with his own biography, ultimately including a willingness to die for Christ. However, postwar readers also got to know Bonhoeffer through *Letters and Papers from Prison*, a very different book representing documents he had written and smuggled out of Tegel prison in 1943 and 1944. Here Bonhoeffer seemed to emphasize not religious intensity but a less traditionally religious life, a church ready for a "world come of age." As he wrote on July 16, 1944 to Eberhard Bethge, "God would have us know that we live as men who manage our lives without him. The God who is with us is the God who forsakes us (Mark 15:34). The God who lets us live in the world without the working hypothesis of God is the God before whom we stand continually" (Bonhoeffer 1972:360). Bishop JOHNA. T.ROBINSON accentuated this radical side of Bonhoeffer with his *Honest to God*, published in 1963. The idea of a "world come of age" led to concepts such as "religionless Christianity," the complete acceptance by Christians of secularization, and even enthusiasm for the theology that says "God is dead."

Theologians still argue about the extent to which Bonhoeffer's experience of political conspiracy, arrest, and imprisonment changed his theology. There also remain students of Bonhoeffer who range from traditionalists to revolutionaries in their understanding of his message. However, increasing exposure to the full range of his writings—from his doctoral dissertation in 1927 to his theological letters, love letters, poems, and scraps of fiction written in prison—suggests important threads of continuity. Bonhoeffer recognized from the beginning that the modern age places a challenge before the church (see MODERNISM). Enlightenment theology had tried to find a respectable place for Christian ideas within the university, along side history, philosophy, and the physical sciences. This was a diminished place, carrying the risk that Christianity could be discarded entirely. Modern society had tried to find a niche for the CHURCH, a place

where religion would be tolerated in the busy secular life of nation states and corporations, but without the natural dominant place of the church experienced in earlier times. Bonhoeffer recognized these tendencies and struggled to find and defend a place for the church. This can be found in his doctoral dissertation, *Sanctorum Communio*, and his *Habilitation, Act and Being*, as well as in *The Cost of Discipleship* and *Life Together*. Along with Barth, Bonhoeffer rejected “religion” as an attempt by humans to reach up to God, and he struggled to understand Christian faith as the response of individuals to God’s call through Jesus Christ.

Bonhoeffer expected his *Ethics* to be his *magnum opus*. He began this work in 1939, in the crucible of his intense response to the Hitler state, and he left it unfinished on his desk at the time of his arrest in 1943. This work has drawn increasing attention. Viewed together with his biography, it has appealed to individuals struggling to find Christian responses to a difficult world, whether in the opposition to apartheid in SOUTH AFRICA or in the safe material comfort of the postmodern West. Bonhoeffer’s legacy has not diminished, but it is increasingly nurtured by an active International Bonhoeffer Society and by the major effort in the last years of the twentieth century to make available in both German and English virtually every word he ever wrote.

Bonhoeffer and the Jews

Among the crimes of the Nazi regime, the brutal ideology of ANTI-SEMITISM and the systematic murder of six million Jews have elicited the most thorough condemnation and may represent the most troubling question for Christians. Without doubt, Hitler’s hatred of Jews followed upon a long Christian tradition. It also included a specifically German component in Martin Luther’s vitriolic *On the Jews and their Lies* (1543). In contrast to most Christians in Germany, Bonhoeffer showed a great deal of public sympathy for and defense of Jews, beginning with a bold lecture and article in April 1933, “The Church and the Jewish Question.” Here he advised not only questioning the state and giving aid to victims, but he wrote these famous words, “The third possibility is not just to bandage the victims under the wheel, but to put a spoke in the wheel itself” (*No Rusty Swords*, 221). Bonhoeffer also helped lead the fight against application of the Aryan Paragraph within the church, as noted above, and he gave comfort to Christians of Jewish descent in his own circle. Finally, he participated in Operation 7, an effort by the Abwehr to bring a small number of individuals designated Jewish by Nazi law to safety in Switzerland.

To the surprise of his friends, these philosemitic credentials did not entirely withstand scrutiny. Friendship toward “Jews” often had meant friendship toward Christians of Jewish descent. Furthermore, even in his supportive lecture in April 1933, Bonhoeffer suggested that Jews had brought suffering on themselves by their failure to please God, and he recommended CONVERSION as the best solution to the problem. Eberhard Bethge responded in the 1970s and 1980s to critics of Bonhoeffer. As part of his extraordinary role in Bonhoeffer studies—student at Finkenwalde, closest friend, recipient of most of the letters from prison, relative by marriage, editor of all the major works, and author of the definitive biography—Bethge acknowledged Bonhoeffer’s early willingness to denigrate Jews, but he argued that Bonhoeffer became increasingly sympathetic to Jews as fellow human beings and to their special relationship with God.

Bethge also became a leader in the development of postwar Jewish-Christian dialogue and the increasing willingness of Christians to respect the Jewish faith. As the person closest to Bonhoeffer's life and career, both before and after 1945, Bethge arguably represents the truest expression of Bonhoeffer's legacy on the relationship between Christians and Jews.

See also Neo-orthodoxy; Theology, Twentieth Century

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ROBERT P.ERICKSEN

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

Preparation of the service book for the Anglican Church, known as the Book of Common Prayer, was the work of THOMAS CRANMER, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by HENRY VIII in 1533. Cranmer exploited the widest range of strictly liturgical material to achieve, by translation and composition, the English rites first used in Tudor churches on Whitsunday 1549.

The great crisis in Christendom that constituted the Protestant Reformation was primarily a pastoral undertaking. Once Henry VIII had repudiated papal headship of two provinces of the medieval Western Church, it was not long before the royal whim wished "general rogations and processions to be made," if only to petition divine intervention for a good harvest and successful campaigning in France. Always anxious to serve his "godly prince," the archbishop produced the English Litany in the spring of 1544, and although

showing the first fruits of real liturgical genius, it cannot compare with the early vernacular Services of MARTIN LUTHER and other continental divines. Nevertheless, it does afford the earliest evidence of work from Cranmer's liturgical library. Intercessory prayers giving clear priority to the persons of the "holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity" would have surprised many who were accustomed to venerating a full range of the church's saints. At the same time, in the context of rites recognized by, and used in the worship of, the late medieval Western Church, much would have to change before real liturgical reform was a remote possibility. [If the second Tudor was happy enough to be depicted in his Psalter as the penitent David, his subjects might well regard him as a Catholic King David who, despite repudiation of the "bishop of Rome," went regularly to Mass because he prized traditional rites and observances.] Accordingly, Cranmer used those lingering years of Henry's reign to best advantage, researching a remarkable range of service books in a study that fast became a workshop for worship.

The best introduction to the stunning achievement of the English Prayer Book is thus a realization of the complex range of liturgical forms used by a hierarchy of medieval priests and prelates. In the *Missal* they treasured the ordinary and Canon of the Mass; in the *Breviary* they found eight Offices for use by day and night, together with the Kalendar and Psalter. For priests the *Manual* or *Sacerdotal* (paralleled by the *Pontifical* for bishops) set out the six remaining sacraments; and a weighty tome of a *Processional* carried musical settings for the choreography of many a major festival and holy day. To extract enduring excellence from such traditional diversity, and to do so in one service book, itself convenient and affordable, is an attainment way beyond creative evolution in liturgical language and a sure measure of Cranmer's success.

The Order of the Communion, 1548

With the death of Henry in 1547, the uncertainties of a new reign obliged a man of Cranmer's temperament to take no risks lest he fail to carry his clergy with him and offend conservative parishioners content with traditional religious observance. Despite undoubted vision and a genuine determination to transform what was essentially the priest's Mass into a communion of all the people, Cranmer's initial progress was in a way rapid. The first Prayer Book was far from complete, and the coup that enabled Edward Seymour to dominate the Council as Lord Protector of the nine-year-old Edward VI (1537–1553) hardly made for stability in the early days of the reign. Even so, by proclamation in March 1548, Edward praised God that he knew "what by his word is meet to be redressed" as his uncle's Council enacted an "Order" for the use of the "holy Sacrament and most blessed Communion."

What followed was an English form for communion of the people, which followed the Latin Mass but was opposed to notions of sacrifice. All "unseemly and ungodly diversity" was eschewed and a promise extended "further to travail for the reformation."

The interim rite presented a "general Confession" after which the priest, who at that moment had to be "turning him to the people" to pronounce absolution, was to offer scriptural words of reassurance (the origin of the so-called "Comfortable Words"), a prayer for worthy reception (to be known as the "Prayer of Humble Access"), and words of administration for both bread and wine that emphasized those elements as gifts of

Christ. The theme was forgiveness, not offering. Protestant sources drafted by MARTIN BUCER for a *Church Order* proposed for Köln by Archbishop Herman von Wied in 1543 were adapted by Thomas Cranmer from a later Latin translation. The English archbishop also seemed to value the way Services used in Zürich and Strasburg were focused on simple scriptural sentences in the Lord's Supper. Although caution remained a measured ingredient of his "Order," **Cranmer's success in providing the Council with a stopgap but acceptable vernacular for the distributing of both bread and wine to worshippers at Communion signaled real progress to observers of the English situation. The royal proclamation clearly favored moderation and a commitment to advance step by step until the "setting forth of such Godly orders...to God's glory" would be achieved as the ultimate goal.**

The Book of Common Prayer, 1549

Its composition was largely complete in a draft in September 1548 that was debated in the House of Lords in mid-December. The symbolism of the publication of the Prayer Book in time for compulsory use by Whitsunday (June 9, 1549) provided unique imagery. A truly enduring achievement, Cranmer's work and subsequent 1552 revision compressed to the convenient compass of a single service book the full spectrum of liturgy used by bishops and priests conducting the worship of the medieval Western Church. In the *Missal* the ordinary and Canon of the Mass were contained, whereas the *Breviary* set out the Divine Offices, Kalendar, and Psalter. The *Sacerdotal* (or *Manual*) set out sacraments (the eucharist excepted) ministered by priests, just as the *Pontifical* served bishops; and musical settings for major festivals were to be found in the *Processional*. Even then, as Cranmer's Preface was at pains to explain, such complexity was further confounded by "great diversity in saying and singing" as regional use often abused what little system existed. Some followed "Salisbury use, some Hereford...some Bangor, some of York and some...Lincoln." No wonder a cost-effective bonus was claimed when "henceforth, all the realm shall have but one use."

If, at first sight, the Book of Common Prayer's most radical departure concerned its use of the vernacular or "such language as [the people] might understand" instead of "Latin...which they understand not," close scrutiny soon called in question various traditionalist claims. For however hallowed prose might dignify Prayer Book worship, new doctrinal emphases had begun to reject Rome's teaching on the Mass and on Penance, likewise removing references to purgatory, the cult of the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints. In short, and in marked contrast to the liturgies this service book replaced, a principled "Preface" placed the sharpest focus on the need for scriptural worship. Cranmer was determined to reestablish his grasp of a valued patristic emphasis—namely, that "all the whole Bible...be read over once in the year," to ensure that parish clergy "be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine." The Primate certainly made much of "The Table and Kalendar" to explain with due care and clarity how "the very pure word of God, the holy scriptures" were set out to provide the core of the new liturgy, his clergy thus needing "none other books for their public service, but this book and the Bible." Accordingly, in 1549 the Book of Common Prayer retained the principal Services of the medieval English Church and also rejected

collects, prayers, and rites that Cranmer and his colleagues believed to be in conflict with the new stress on the supremacy of scripture all Protestant reformers revered.

With lay folk particularly in mind, the eight canonical “Hours” were reduced to two truly congregational Services—“Matins” and “Evensong”—Orders largely given over to the saying and chanting of canticles, an advancing cycle and selection of psalms, and collects and lections from both the Old and New Testaments as directed by the Kalendar. Concerning the sacraments, the Book of Common Prayer scrupulously reworked divine Service with regard to both baptism and the eucharist. “The Supper of the Lord” and “Holy Communion,” if still “commonly called the Mass” (in this respect the title followed Luther’s liturgy of 1523), were given priority. Yet it was also denied the traditional sacrificial emphasis that had long made it the sacred climax of liturgy. Instead, Cranmer focused his Communion full-square on Christ—the “Pascal lamb offered up...once for all,” on the “sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,” and on members of the congregation offering their own “souls and bodies” as “a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice.” Even so, in these early days of reformation Cranmerian caution saw fit to preserve traditional structures that, language and the distribution of wine as well as wafer apart, the English Mass retained a recognizable profile. In the “Administration of Public Baptism,” the priest “looking upon the children” still had a form of exorcism to command “unclean” and “cursed” spirits not “to exercise any tyranny toward...infants...called to be of [Christ’s] flock.” If the salt and spittle of Sarum no longer obtained, once baptized, the candidates were still to be clothed with the “white vesture, commonly called the Chrisom,” and duly anointed.

The Book of Common Prayer, 1552

Invited to “assess the contents of the book of sacred rites” and indicate whether he considered “anything” in Cranmer’s first liturgy “which might be more fully explained, in a manner consistent with the word of God and suitable for edification in faith,” Martin Bucer’s *Censura* raised “a few small points which if ...not fairly interpreted might seem...insufficiently consistent” with holy writ. Such urbanity contrasted favorably with the offense felt by JOHN HOOPER, who wrote to inform HEINRICH BULLINGER of a service book so “manifestly impious” and “doubtful” in construction that, “if it be not corrected,” he could not bring himself to “communicate with the church in the administration of the Supper.” Long accustomed to their medieval heritage, both clergy and people might be expected to criticize any change in a timeless and valued round of divine worship. As evangelicals committed to advance their cause little by little, Cranmer and his colleagues had clearly retained in the 1549 Services many conservative features to veil radical reformation. However, West Country folk were not so easily deceived, and although the protest embraced a far wider range of discontent, the so-called “Prayer Book riots” registered their opposition. In no way deterred by such “ignorant men,” Cranmer’s revised liturgy went ahead to unveil many obscurities and at last afforded English worship the language of unambiguous Protestant commitment. Somerset had fallen; and when Warwick warmed to the quickening pace of reformation, the updated Prayer Book was duly authorized by the Act of Uniformity in April 1552. The Book of Common Prayer now consisted of evangelical Services to treat of sin, repentance, faith, and

Christ's forgiveness. Although all forms and Orders were couched in biblical terms, the emphasis was especially pronounced in sacramental matters. Accordingly, infant baptism was meaningful only in a context of repentance and faith. With the old *Canon missae* dismantled, a communion service prefaced by challenge in the Ten Commandments so laid down the law that the unfolding message of the Lord's Supper powerfully upheld the forgiveness achieved by Christ and made available by faith. In a clever redistribution of the various components of the late medieval Latin Mass, Cranmer had successfully removed all sacrificial emphases. His "Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" mentioned Christ's offering only as a past event, whether explained in the quaint language of the Exhortation how "the Son of God did vouchsafe to yield up his soul by death upon the Cross for your health," or in the better known and unmistakable institution narrative itself, the memorable proclamation that Christ suffered death upon the cross and "made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world...."

A startling reference to the new Communion found its way into the *Greyfriars' Chronicle*—namely, that "on Allhallow day beganne the boke of the new servis of bred and wyne in Powlles" (St Paul's Cathedral), so dramatic was the contrast with the "Mass" of 1549. The Decalogue, and no longer the *Gloria*, provided the prelude to set readings of scripture in Epistle and Gospel. After the Nicene creed and sermon (the rubric requiring a sermon is itself significant for the evangelical emphasis that Word and Sacrament properly stand in parallel), the Prayer for the Church, Confession, and Absolution all precede the *Sursum Corda* (ancient introit to the Canon). The so-called "Prayer of Humble Access" followed, its new position, with that of the Prayer for the Church, evidently opposed to all notion of either propitiatory sacrifice or adoration of the elements of bread and wine. Moreover, the old "consecration prayer" became a straightforward rehearsal of Christ's own institution of the Supper recited from the gospel narrative. Another rubric then instructed "the minister" to communicate himself "in both kinds" and, after he had given the sacrament to his assistants, to "deliver it...after to the people in their hands kneeling." After Communion, all were to recite the Lord's Prayer aloud. The Prayer of Oblation (now made an alternative to a prayer of thanksgiving) followed to afford a sacred opportunity of congregational self-offering and what Cranmer made a moment of spiritual oblation to Almighty God. Recited in such a heightened context, too, the *Gloria* was superbly placed to afford a liturgical climax of real insight to the whole Service. In short, and to his evident satisfaction, the Tudor Primate had transformed the old priestly Mass into a Communion of all the people.

No overall review of Cranmer's liturgy can omit reference to the remarkable way his service books reset gems of ancient worship to perfect them for posterity. A true man of common prayer, Cranmer had the ability and understanding to couple a translator's sensitivity with genuine feeling for primitive petitions that as often as not themselves respected both scripture and the best patristic tradition. Where they did not, Cranmer worked conscientiously to transform collects from earlier sources by addition and substitution. Precisely defined, a collect is a short prayer peculiar to the worship of the Western Church that preceded the reading of the Epistle at the Eucharist. Such collects aimed to invoke the Almighty, make a specific petition, and conclude with an ascription honoring the Christ by whose merits the faithful can expect an answer to prayer. Used in

worship since the fifth and sixth centuries, many collects were the more familiar by hallowed placing in the *Sarum Missal*, a presence Cranmer so revered that he translated them directly or skillfully paraphrased and augmented the originals when crude medieval Latin cramped his style. Likewise, when his reforming purpose was thwarted by any hint of lingering superstition in worship, Cranmer penned new collects as outstanding for succinct theological argument, for directing devotion, and for literary expression. Most of these compositions related to pastoral planning and the fundamental teaching of the church in seasons such as Advent, Christmas, and Lent. The “Collect for Ash Wednesday” thus gave repentance priority over fasting, just as the collect for Advent II lauded the supremacy of scripture, a biblical theology nowhere better conceived than in Cranmer’s “Collect for Christmas Day.” With clarity, the Primate’s “Preface” explained what he intended the Prayer Book to achieve in the worship of the Tudor Church, just as in the matter “Of Ceremonies” an attempt was made to reason “why some be abolished, and some retained.”

The Elizabethan Prayer Book

Catholic succession in the person of Mary (1516–1558), daughter of Catherine of Aragon, followed the early demise of the evangelical Edward VI. But for that queen’s lack of progeny, the Book of Common Prayer might never have resurfaced. As it was, with the accession of ELIZABETH I (1533–1603) to the Tudor throne in 1558, the church secured a “supreme Governor” of protestant conviction whose Council and High Court of Parliament reintroduced the Prayer Book. An Act of Uniformity (January 1559) made clear that this was still “religion by law established,” a tricky diplomatic situation for the shrewd woman who had declined the hand of Spain’s Philip II, dictating careful qualification of reformation faith and practice to parry risks of papal displeasure and, in consequence, the risk of renewed Catholic threats from the European mainland. Although a virtual reissue of Cranmer’s 1552 liturgy, the Elizabethan Prayer Book differed in a number of subtle details. Principally, in the matter of the Lord’s Supper, the “ornaments rubric” of 1549 reappeared with at least a permissive allowance that enabled priests to wear vestments. It was a notion sustained by the removal of a lengthy “black rubric,” which, in 1552, had disputed any idea that kneeling to take communion implied “any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ’s natural flesh and blood.” When taken together with words of administration that now prescribed both the old 1549 formula and a new memorialist emphasis for the new 1552 rite [“Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee.... Drink this in remembrance that Christ’s blood was shed for thee...”], the holy supper seemed to offer the faithful a choice between “real” and “spiritual” presence. Finally, the inclusion of the Articles of Religion provided a dramatic appendix to the Book of Common Prayer. Yet here too various omissions and qualifications made that formulary less forthright in its Protestantism to frustrate and displease a growing opposition soon to be called “Puritan” (see PURITANISM).

It should be stressed that the Bible was the most discussed book of Elizabethan times, just as the celebrated “Authorized” or “King James’ Version” became the most influential

volume published in Stuart England. Because Cranmer had founded his liturgy firmly in holy scripture, it was hardly surprising to find in William Shakespeare's plays, whether comedy or tragedy, numerous allusions audiences at the Globe would have recognized. The Bard made at least fortytwo references to the work of Cranmer and his use of the Bible in the Book of Common Prayer—eighteen relate to the Old Testament, a further eighteen to the New Testament, and six to the Apocrypha. In short, granted the fact that Shakespeare belonged to only the second generation of English people able to hear and read scripture in their own tongue, the impact of the Bible refracted through the Elizabethan Prayer Book is profound by any standards.

The Book of Common Prayer, 1662

In Book Five *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1597), RICHARD HOOKER'S well-chosen words waxed eloquent on "the form of Common Prayer." However, prolonged his defense of the liturgy observed by the establishment, critics of reformed conviction—Baptist, Independent, Presbyterian, Separatist, members of the Society of Friends, with others of a general "Puritan" persuasion—increased their opposition to set forms of worship. When the Puritan cause triumphed in the English CIVIL WAR and Archbishop WILLIAM LAUD was beheaded in January 1645, the abolition of episcopacy itself (October 1646) and the withdrawal of the Book of Common Prayer inevitably followed. By 1650 a man's compulsory attendance at his parish church was no longer required, always provided that he worshipped elsewhere. So if the English liturgy certainly lived on, it was because truly memorable language resonated in many a mind, and did so until the Prayer Book itself was brought back shortly after the Restoration of Charles II (1630–1685) in 1660.

Although the king himself showed a readiness to embrace a degree of comprehension within any restored national church (his Declaration at Breda had, after all, promised "liberty to tender consciences"), Presbyterian failure to keep the Convention Parliament in session after agreement on the immediate political settlement allowed old-style Anglicans to steal a march and gain an initiative ultimately used against those who longed for toleration. The so-called "Cavalier Parliament" accordingly took charge, and even if the erstwhile assumption that English people were by definition members of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND no longer applied, a Book of Common Prayer was once again restored by the Act of Uniformity (May 1662), and ordered to be in use by the middle of August (St. Bartholomew's Day). In March the bish-ops in Convocation had made the archbishop responsible for printing and publishing the new Book. This was a liturgy based on the 1559 and Jacobean texts, albeit one revised (between December 13 and 18) by a committee dominated by Bishop Matthew Wren of Ely, and served as secretary by William Sancroft, at that time canon chaplain to Bishop John Cosin of Durham, himself of no mean influence in the deliberations. Widely respected for his grasp of liturgy, Wren argued that "whatsoever is not very perfect and right, be it never so small, should now be set right, to prevent all after quarrels." He was also convinced that every care had to be taken to ensure that "in setting it right, it be done with as little alteration as well may be." A new "Preface" explained the revision in succinct terms: rubrics for "the better direction" of officiating clergy; clarification by removal of archaisms, ambiguities,

together with positive “more perfect rendring [*sic*] of...holy scripture” (namely, the use of the 1611 A.V. for Epistles, Gospels, and Scripture Lessons); and the insertion of some “convenient” additions.

By any standards, the inclusion of the Psalter constituted the principal addition to a service book that also contained a number of new Collects (F.E.Brightman noted them to be “admirable of their kind”) and occasional prayers. A political climate of deference to the faithful North of the Border arguably prompted parallels with the Scottish Liturgy. At Communion, for example, a rubric of 1662 referred to the scriptural narrative as “The Prayer of Consecration”; and at “Morning” and “Evening Prayer,” after the Anthem (“In Quires and Places where they sing...”) prayers for the reigning monarch, the royal family, for “Clergy and People,” with “A Prayer of Saint Chrysostom” and Pauline text (II Corinthians 13) were offered to conclude both Orders “daily throughout the year.” Of particular moment, too, in the prayer for “the whole state of Christ’s Church *militant here in earth*” was a sentence praising the Almighty for those “servants departed...in...faith and fear” and seeking “grace so to follow their good examples.” Likewise, the Litany, which had hitherto provided formal liturgical scope for intercession beyond the daily “Orders” (the title given by the Reformers to the contracted medieval “Offices”), was no longer isolated. From 1662 new sections of “Prayers” and “Thanksgivings” for use before the two concluding prayers (those of St. Chrysostom and the Pauline “grace”) were introduced to prove of real value to the worship of pastoral ministry. A “General Thanksgiving” provided a fitting place in the liturgy “to those who desire...to offer up...praises and thanksgivings for...mercies vouchsafed.” From this time, the prayer (perhaps a composition of Bishop Reynolds of Norwich) proved a popular addition, and one widely used not only in the Church of England but in the eighteenth century by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States and throughout what later became the worldwide Anglican Communion. Overall, however, the revision was limited in the extreme, and advocates of real liturgical change—whether High Church Laudians or long-suffering Presbyterians—were frustrated by a service book little different from that of 1552.

Revisions and Controversies

From the start, and with each and every subsequent revision, those who proved best able to read the religious pulse of the nation enabled compromise to succeed. At the Restoration, that was the invidious role of Gilbert Sheldon. Any attempt to understand the many controversies surrounding the Book of Common Prayer must take account of the way successive administrations have invariably used the myth of “uniformity” as a tool of polity in both church and state. Granted such a checkered history, its conspicuous triumph as an inspirational service book fashioning the humanity of all sorts and conditions in meaningful worship is no mean achievement. That it has served so many for so long can also be attributed to the fundamental principles of Cranmer, whose compositions compared and contrasted the liturgical heritage of the Western Church with scriptural and patristic standards. By reason of its timeless appeal to Holy Scripture, the Prayer Book has thus ensured a biblical quality that has molded not only the literature but also the very fabric of the nation. That the 1662 revision has been perceived as the Book

of Common Prayer in classic form can readily be appreciated from the vociferous clamor of Prayer Book Societies in both England and America to resist its replacement. The 1928 book—arguably a “High Church” attempt to qualify Protestantism some four hundred years on!—was thwarted by Parliament’s refusal to grant it uniformity before the law. After fifty years (in which time the church establishment maneuvered to change a system that embarrassed free-thinking Members of Parliament as much as committed prelates), a muchvaunted *Alternative Service Book* (ASB, 1980), itself approached by over a decade punctuated with numerous trial ventures known to church historians as *The Series*, was intended to provide new lamps for old. That it failed had much to do with a banality of language unable to sustain for contemporaries Coleridge’s “willing suspension of disbelief for a season”—words surely as applicable to religious as to poetic faith. Whether further advance in the “one good new service-book” promised for *Common Worship* (2000) will prove any more acceptable than the ASB is a moot point. That liturgy, subtitled “Services and Prayers for the Church of England,” was duly authorized for new millennium use on Advent Sunday (December 3, 2000). Clear that “forms of worship...express...faith and help to create...identity,” the “Preface” sets out the Church’s “responsibility to proclaim the faith ‘afresh in each generation.’” Yet the most cursory survey will perplex those truly concerned (in the words of that selfsame “Preface”) to “affirm their loyalty to the Church of England’s inheritance of faith.” For even the fascination of diversity in an age of ECUMENISM must balk at a calendar of “Holy Days” affording “commemoration” to those, such as “Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Society of Jesus, 1556” (July 31) and “John Henry Newman, Priest, Tractarian, 1890” (August 11), in their lifetime good Christian men, but both of them decidedly opposed to that tradition.

Protestant worthies are well enough represented—“John Calvin, Reformer, 1564” (May 26); “Richard Baxter, Puritan Divine, 1691” (June 14); “William Tyndale, Translator of the Scriptures, Reformation Martyr, 1536” (who like Thomas Cranmer is given bold print); and “Martin Luther, Reformer, 1546” (October 31). However, if “Jerome, Translator of the Scriptures, Teacher of the Faith, 420” (September 30) is included, where is ERASMUS, without whose urbane genius and philological expertise the Bible of the REFORMATION and the reformation of the Bible would have been long delayed? In the matter of the sacrament, too, it seems unlikely that so vast and varied an “Order for the Celebration of Holy Communion also called The Eucharist and The Lord’s Supper”—no fewer than eight “Eucharistic Prayers” are offered, or four more than the overindicted ASB—can either confirm or create Anglican identity. Moreover, if “Traditional Language” is to be found, an alphabetical arrangement of consecration prayers (“Prayer A” up to “Prayer H”) provides no inspiration and little acceptable advance from the late 1960s and the so-called “Series” days. Baptism, “the beginning of a journey with God” when the “wider community of the local church and friends welcome the new Christian” is made to paint “many vivid pictures.” This is done in a mere twenty-five pages, itself an interesting contrast to Communion that, when “Supplementary Texts” are taken into account, runs to well over three hundred. As for the key occasional Services of 1662—“The Order of Confirmation”; “The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony”; “The Order for the Visitation of the Sick”; and “The Order for the Burial of the Dead”—they have no place in *Common Worship*. In short, for such, and Services for the “Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons,” the Book of Common Prayer lives on.

And so it surely must if words from the “Preface” of *Common Worship* are to make any sense of its claim that “when the framework ”...is clear and familiar and the texts are known by heart...the poetry of praise and the passion of prayer can transcend the printed word.” The very idea that such “worship can take wing and become the living sacrifice of ourselves to the God whose majesty is beyond compare and whose truth is everlasting” demands searching theological analysis. In days of delusion and dwindling congregations, it prompts a full measure of speculation. New rites set out in language unsympathetic to their traditional beliefs rarely reassure congregations. Choice, flexibility, and novelty have never been Anglican criteria. In Book of Common Prayer terms, to be sure, quite the reverse has long been the case. For the historic faith of England’s Protestants came into being because of a principled opposition to innovation, and the long-sustained classic revisions of Cranmer’s essentially biblical liturgy owe their staying power to gradual, but never the dramatic, change so foreign to true Anglican identity.

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PETER NEWMAN BROOKS

THE BOOK OF CONCORD

The collection of ten documents that constitutes the formal definition of public teaching for many Lutheran churches, published in 1580 for a majority of Lutheran churches in Germany (from 1580), Sweden, and Finland (from 1663), and subsequently for Lutheran churches founded throughout the world by European immigrants or by missionaries.

This collection of the three ancient ecumenical creeds of Western Christendom and seven documents defining doctrine in the midst of the controversies of the sixteenth century became the secondary authority (under and subject to Scripture) because of specific conditions within the development of MARTIN LUTHER’S (1483–1546) reform

movement. The concept of defining public teaching in a “confession of faith” as a document emanated from the decision of Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), Luther’s Wittenberg colleague, to answer the demand of Emperor Charles V for an explanation of reform measures taken by princely and municipal governments to reform their churches according to Luther’s model with a “confession.” Melanchthon’s AUGSBURG CONFESSION (*Confessio Augustana*) included not only a defense of reforms but also a definition of public teaching, which established that the Lutherans adhered to the teaching of the Catholic tradition. His orientation as a biblical humanist led Melanchthon to believe that effective communication was a critical part of public teaching; Luther’s view of the divine power of the spoken delivery of the biblical message (“the living voice of the Gospel”) convinced him that such a public confession conveyed God’s Word effectively to its hearers and readers.

The Ecumenical Creeds

The Book of Concord contains the Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds because the Lutheran churches wished to anchor their teaching firmly in the universal tradition of the church, particularly in its understanding of the Trinity and the person and work of Christ.

The Augsburg Confession and the Apology of the Augsburg Confession

Melanchthon composed the Augsburg Confession in 1530 as an explanation of how Lutheran teaching corresponded to that ancient tradition on a series of twenty-one doctrinal topics, presented in the humanist form of commonplaces (*loci communes*), called in the case of a confessional document “articles of faith” from the ancient understanding of individual doctrines as “articulations” (members) of the “body of doctrine” (the analogy of faith). This section of the confession was a reaction to Roman Catholic charges that the Wittenberg Reformation departed from the church’s tradition. It affirmed fundamental points of that tradition and condemned ancient heresies opposed by the church (especially antitrinitarian and anabaptist errors). The twenty-one doctrinal articles affirmed Lutheran belief in the Trinity and Christ as one person, truly God and truly human. It explained the Lutheran understanding of original sin (since Adam all people “cannot by nature possess true fear of God and true trust in God”; Augsburg Confession II), and the justification of the sinner (“we cannot obtain forgiveness of sin and righteousness before God by our merit, work, or satisfaction, but...receive forgiveness of sin and become righteous before God out of grace, for Christ’s sake, through faith when we believe that Christ suffered for us and that for his sake our sin is forgiven...”; Augsburg Confession IV). From this central affirmation, the confession describes the delivery of that righteousness through proclamation of the Gospel and use of the sacraments, which, as forms of God’s Word, convey this forgiveness. In two articles the confession taught that good works of new obedience flow from faith in Christ. It also treats the church (“the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and the sacraments are administered according to the Gospel”;

Augsburg Confession VII), the sacraments of baptism, confession and absolution, and the Lord's Supper, order and human traditions in the church, the Christian calling to serve in and to obey secular government, the Last Day, freedom of the will, the cause of evil, and the invocation of the saints.

In addition, the Augsburg Confession addresses seven issues of reform (communion in both kinds, clerical marriage, the mass, penance, rules for fasting and other practices, monasticism, episcopal power). Some scholars suggest that the confession above all aimed at a proper definition of episcopal power that would permit integration of the preaching and practice of Luther's theology into the medieval system of church governance. It is clear from Melancthon's adaptation of the material contained in the confession for use in FRANCE (1534) and ENGLAND (1536), and from the extent of his treatment of the doctrine of justification in his *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, that he regarded this doctrine as the hermeneutical center of the biblical message and the heart of its proper proclamation.

Melancthon developed the confession's doctrinal articles from Luther's summary of his theology in his *Confession on Christ's Supper* (1528), the "Schwabach Articles" prepared in 1529 as Lutheran princes organized a defensive league, and the "Marburg Articles" (1529) formulated in a dialog between Swiss theologians under Huldrich Zwingli's (1484–1531) leadership and a group around Luther. In addition, Melancthon employed drafts prepared by Wittenberg theologians for the explanation of their reform measures (called, since the eighteenth century, the Torgau Articles, although which drafts actually were used is unclear).

After the formal presentation of the Augsburg Confession to the imperial diet on June 25, 1530 by the princely and municipal governments for whom Melancthon had composed it, Emperor Charles appointed a commission of Roman Catholic theologians to prepare a refutation. Their "confutation" was sub-mitted to the diet on August 3. Although Charles refused to give the Lutheran estates a copy of the "confutation," Melancthon prepared a defense of his position from notes taken during its reading. Charles spurned Melancthon's defense (September 3), so he continued to revise it, publishing it with the first printing of the confession itself in April 1531.

This *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, revised in September at Luther's suggestion, met the objections of the confutation, particularly in its extensive explanation of the Lutheran teaching of the justification of the sinner before God. The apology develops its argument with extensive biblical and patristic materials and with impressive rhetorical skill. Its treatment of justification was based upon Luther's and Melancthon's understanding of the power of God's Word to effect the forgiveness of sins and a new life for believers. Melancthon contrasted God's word of "law," which "always accuses" the sinner, with his word of "promise," the gospel, which is God's power to save the fallen. Only faith in Christ as mediator and propitiator can accept the promise, and therefore salvation comes through faith alone. The apology also emphasizes that this faith produces good works.

Luther's Schmalkald Articles and Melancthon's Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope

From the early 1540s, many Lutherans also regarded three documents by Luther as key definitions of their faith. His Schmalkald Articles, composed with the help of colleagues in late 1536 at the request of Elector John Frederick of Saxony (1370–1428), were designed to provide an agenda for presentation of the faith at the papally called Council of Mantua, although scholars also view them as the reformer's response to John Frederick's request for a clear assertion of his belief, as a doctrinal "last will and testament." The articles are divided into three sections. The first confesses the doctrines of the Trinity and the person of Christ, on which, Luther stated, both sides publicly agreed. The second section treats the "teaching of Christ and faith," with a few positive statements from Scripture (Romans 4:25, John 1:29, Isaiah 53:5–6, Romans 3:23–8, Acts 4:12) and an extensive critique of those elements of late medieval theology and piety the reformer believed obscured and contradicted biblical teaching regarding salvation through Christ: the mass, monasticism, papal authority, and a long list of abuses—indulgences, devotions to relics and the saints, pilgrimages, and so forth. The third section briefly affirmed Luther's teaching regarding critical topics on which he thought it possible to reach agreement with Roman Catholic theologians of good will: sin, the law, repentance, the means of grace, and a series of topics regarding order in the church, as well as justification and good works. In these articles Luther sharply demarcated his teaching from that of Rome in order to make clear discussion possible at the papal council. At a meeting of princes and theologians of the Schmalkald League (of Evangelical princes and cities) in February 1537, it was decided to use the Augsburg Confession instead of Luther's articles for the agenda of discussion at the council. Though the council was delayed and Lutherans appeared only once in the three sessions of the subsequent Council of Trent, without successfully engaging Catholic opponents in dialogue, the Schmalkald Articles came into use in the 1540s and 1550s as a confessional standard for some Lutheran churches.

At this meeting the princes requested a supplement for the Augsburg Confession on the topic of the papacy. Melancthon composed a "Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope." It employed biblical and patristic arguments to reject the pope's claim that by divine right he is the superior of all bishops and pastors, that by divine right he has the authority to bestow and transfer political power, and that all who wish to be saved must obey him as the Vicar of Christ on earth.

Luther's Catechisms

Luther's Large and Small Catechisms were also included among the "confessions" of the Lutheran churches, for they quickly had become a kind of "bible of the laity" in congregation and family use, and Lutheran leaders regarded a clear understanding and confession of the faith a necessity for all Christians. Luther himself undertook the task he had first urged upon colleagues, the preparation of an instruction handbook for basic

Christian instruction, in 1529. This enchiridion followed a general plan for such instruction current in the Middle Ages, dropping the Ave Maria but anchoring teaching of the young in the Decalog, the Apostles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. By changing the order of these three parts, Luther followed his conviction that the crushing of the sinner through the law (Decalog) must precede the apprehension of the gospel (Creed), which produces the life of faith (expressed first of all in the Lord's Prayer). To these three parts Luther added instruction on baptism and the Lord's Supper and later private confession and absolution, along with sections on the believer's daily devotional life of morning, mealtime, and evening meditation and prayer, and on Christian service in the world, developed in a household chart as a delineation of Christian callings in daily life. Through citation of relevant Bible verses, this chart sketched Luther's concept of God's calling believers to serve the neighbor in the family circle (including economic life), the political community, and the church. Luther's brief explanations of the parts of this handbook for Christian living employed biblical material extensively. It centered on his belief that Christ "my lord,...has redeemed me, a lost and condemned human being, purchased and freed me from all sins, death, and the power of the devil,...with his holy precious blood and his innocent suffering and death,...in order that I may belong to him, live under him in his kingdom, and serve him..." (explanation of the second article of the Creed).

At the same time Luther issued his small handbook for daily life, he published a digest of sermons he had preached in 1528 and 1529 on the Decalog, Creed, Lord's Prayer, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, along with instructions for receiving private absolution. This Large Catechism (1529) provided help for pastors and parents in understanding the teachings they were to convey to parishioners, children, and servants.

The Formula of Concord

The Formula of Concord (1577) was composed to resolve a quarter century of controversy over the proper interpretation of Luther's and Melancthon's theologies. Occasioned by disagreement over the best way to defend Lutheranism against the military and ideological assault threatened by Charles V after his victory over Lutheran princes in the Schmalkald War (1547), several of these disputes began when Melancthon and his Wittenberg colleagues were involved in working out concessions to the emperor for the new elector of Saxony, Moritz, who had sided with Charles in the war and thus won the electorate of Saxony and lands, including the University of Wittenberg, from his cousin, John Frederick. The emperor demanded that all Protestants in Germany submit to a new religious policy his advisors formulated "the Augsburg Interim" (1548), which essentially returned Protestants to the Roman obedience and medieval dogma, expressed in the manner of Erasmian reformers. It elicited a compromise policy from Moritz's government, labeled by its foes "the Leipzig Interim." Though never officially adopted by the electoral Saxon estates, partial introduction of its program and the willingness of its authors to seek peace by public compromise disturbed some of Melancthon's students. Sensitive to nonverbal (i.e., ritual) elements of communication, they insisted that the Leipzig Interim approach of concession in "adiaphora" (neutral matters neither commanded nor forbidden by Scripture) would convince the laity that

Lutheran leaders had abandoned their confession of faith embodied in changes previously made in medieval practices.

These radical defenders of the Wittenberg heritage, later called “GNESIO-LUTHERANS” by scholars, differed from their Philippist opponents—relatively more conservative from a medieval perspective—in four ways. The Gnesio-Lutherans were more decisive in public confession, the Philippists more prepared to paper over differences for the sake of public peace. The former rejected governmental interference in the spiritual life of the church; the latter were more willing to accept governmental dictates in ecclesiastical practices. Gnesio-Lutherans were more eager than their opponents to separate themselves from medieval church polity and liturgical practices, and their expression of Luther’s views on justification, good works, and sin tended to emphasize more sharply the reformer’s departure from scholastic doctrines.

A series of controversies developed from the dispute over adiaphora, particularly over good works, the role of the law in Christian life, and the bondage or freedom of the will. In a separate dispute, the reformer of Nuremberg, ANDREAS OSIANDER (1498–1552), was criticized by Gnesio-Lutherans and Philippists alike for departing from Luther’s understanding of justification. Osiander attempted to place Luther’s understanding of grace and faith within the Platonic conceptual framework he learned in his study of the Kabbala; he taught that the indwelling divine righteousness of Christ saves the believer.

Parallel to contention over these issues, the dispute between Luther and Zwingli over the presence of Christ’s body and blood in the Lord’s Supper was revived through Lutheran criticism of John Calvin (1509–1564) and Johann Bullinger (1504–1575) (after 1552). In the 1560s some of Melancthon’s disciples, chiefly at the University of Wittenberg, fell under increasing censure from others among Luther’s and Melancthon’s students, who believed that these Wittenbergers were “crypto-Calvinists,” teaching Calvin’s spiritualizing views of the Lord’s Supper while pretending to be Lutheran. In fact, they were less influenced by Calvin than by certain elements in Melancthon’s thought, which they developed in a different direction than did, for instance, one of their leading critics, Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), superintendent of the church in the city of Braunschweig, a disciple of Melancthon who had distanced himself from Melancthon’s successors in Wittenberg, particularly on the Lord’s Supper and Christology. Their attempt to propagate their views out of the public eye justifies their being labeled secretive, but they may best be called “crypto-Philippist.”

Repeated attempts to resolve this range of controversies failed between 1552 and 1569, when a colloquy at Altenburg produced yet more distance between Gnesio-Lutheran and Philippist theologians. As a result, the Philippists added their own charges of heresy against their opponents to those the Gnesio-Lutherans had lodged against them, enlarging the agenda of controversy for German LUTHERANISM. The campaign for Lutheran concord began again in the efforts to address the agenda of controversy by a leading churchman from Württemberg, Jakob Andreae (1528–1590). His original approach in 1569 and 1570, based upon his “Five Articles,” brief statements on five controverted issues, followed Philippist proposals for ending concord. After a definitive break with the Wittenberg theological faculty (1570), however, he issued another call for unity in his *Six Christian Sermons* (1573), which dealt with the controversies in a manner designed to win broad adherence through support for the main group of Gnesio-Lutherans without alienating moderate Philippists (1573). He revised his argument into the

“Swabian Concord” (1574). Refined in its theological argumentation to take Philippist concerns into consideration by two leading north German theologians, Chemnitz and David Chytraeus (1530–1600) of Rostock, (the “Swabian-Saxon Concord” [1575]) and supplemented by another south German attempt at formulating concord, the Maulbronn Formula (1576) Andreae’s proposal was reworked into the Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord, which contains also an epitome of this longer statement of settlement. A preliminary draft of the Solid Declaration, the Torgau Book, was circulated among Evangelical ministeria throughout Germany in 1576, and their criticisms were incorporated into the final version. Rejected by the crypto-Philippists because of its teaching on the Lord’s Supper and the person of Christ and by radical Gnesio-Lutheran followers of Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575), a leading Gnesio-Lutheran thinker, because of its doctrine of original sin, the Formula of Concord nonetheless won wide acceptance among German Lutherans after its appearance in the Book of Concord.

The Formula of Concord was intended to reiterate the teaching of the Augsburg Confession in regard to the controverted issues of the quarter century after Luther’s death. It rejected Flacius’s definition of original sin (in Aristotelian categories) as the essence of the sinner and designated it instead as a deep corruption of the spiritual powers of the sinner, resulting in a total breach in the relationship with God. Sinners have no freedom of will to turn themselves to God but must depend on the power of the Holy Spirit. In response to Philippist concerns, however, the formula teaches that the Holy Spirit does move the hearts and minds of sinners to trust in God and, with all Gnesio-Lutheran thinkers of the period as well, repudiates the idea that the “purely passive” situation of the fallen human creature in conversion excludes such a Spirit-caused turning of the will and the mind. The will has a passive capacity to be moved to faith.

The formula repeats the Evangelical rejection of Roman Catholic concepts of human merit in the creation of human righteousness in God’s sight, providing a summary of Chemnitz’s critique of Tridentine teaching on that topic. It also rejects the ideas of Osiander, insisting with Luther that the Word of God in the means of grace creates a new reality in the new creature and does so because of the obedience of Christ to the Father in sacrificing himself for human sins and in his resurrection from death.

From God’s gift of righteousness in his sight flows the practice of good works, which the formula defines as necessary, not for salvation but for the Christian life. It emphasizes the proper distinction of law and gospel as “an especially glorious light,” required for proper interpretation of Scripture. Following Melancthon and meeting Philippist concerns about ANTINOMIANISM, it affirms a third use of the law, in addition to its use for the ordering of society and for the accusation of sinners and the crushing of their pretensions. This third use repeats the first two in the lives of Christians, calling them to repentance, but also provides guidance for ethical decisions to those motivated by the Gospel.

The Formula of Concord affirmed Luther’s teaching that Christ’s body and blood are truly present in the bread and wine of the Lord’s Supper, received through the mouth, also by unbelievers, and that they convey comfort and strength to believers, especially to those weak in faith. This teaching was based upon the presupposition that God’s almighty Word establishes reality and should be interpreted literally in the words of the institution of the Lord’s Supper. It was supported in the formula through Chemnitz’s adaptation of Luther’s teaching regarding the sharing of the characteristics of Christ’s divine and

human natures (*communicatio idiomatum*, or communication of attributes). Chemnitz argued that Christ's human nature, because it is united with the divine nature in the one person of Jesus Christ, can be present wherever and in whatever form God wills. The formula insists that the two natures never possess the characteristics of the other nature but share them within the unity of Christ's person. The characteristics of the divine nature are specifically communicated to the human nature, according to the argument of the formula. In a supplemental article implicitly aimed against Calvinist teaching, the unity of Christ's person is indirectly affirmed by the confession that he descended into hell.

The Formula of Concord addresses the adiaphoristic controversy by positing the freedom of churches in external and neutral matters and the necessity of a clear confession of faith, also through the maintenance of liturgical and other ecclesiastical customs, when the clarity of public teaching is under threat. The document also places Luther's understanding of the election of the children of God, predestination, clearly within the proper distinction of law and gospel, affirming God's unconditional choice of those who are saved and human responsibility for the rejection of God and faith in him. It insists that the knowledge of election to God's kingdom can be known only through the means of grace. The formula concludes with a rejection of anabaptistic, spiritualistic, and antitrinitarian doctrines.

The Book of Concord has exercised varying roles in the public life of Lutheran churches through the past four centuries. It remains the official definition of doctrine for the majority of Lutheran churches.

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ROBERT KOLB

BOOK OF MARTYRS

See Acts and Monuments

BOOTH, CATHERINE (1829–1890)

“Mother of the Salvation Army,” preacher, and writer. Catherine Booth was called the “the most famous and influential Christian woman of the generation” by the *Bible Christian Magazine* at the time of her death. Her theological writing proclaimed “women’s right” to preach the gospel and her own career as an independent preacher and the cofounder of the SALVATION ARMY made her a prominent and influential public figure.

Early Years

Catherine Mumford was born on January 17, 1829 at Ashbourne, Derbyshire. Her parents were Methodists and her father was a wheelwright and coach builder. The Mumfords moved in 1845 to London, where Catherine met WILLIAM BOOTH (1829–1912), a pawnbroker’s assistant and lay preacher, who was later ordained by the Methodist New Connexion. On June 16, 1855, Catherine and William Booth were married. They had eight children: Bramwell (b. 1856), who succeeded his father as General of the Salvation Army; Ballington (b. 1857); Catherine (b. 1858); Emma (b. 1860); Herbert (b. 1862); Marion (b. 1864); Evangeline (b. 1865), General of the Salvation Army from 1934 to 1939; and Lucy (b. 1868).

The three major influences on Catherine Booth’s preaching and theology were METHODISM, revivalism, and holiness. The writing and examples of Americans James Caughey, CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY (1792–1875), and PHOEBE WORRALL PALMER (1807–1874) were particularly important. These mid-century revivalists encouraged individuals to seek salvation actively and preachers to devise means to encourage them. Their work was widely criticized in Britain because many believed this theology overemphasized the role of individual will at the expense of the Holy Spirit, and others deplored the dramatic, emotional revivalist services. The Booths believed these techniques could win souls and adopted a revivalist style that included the penitent form, a seat set aside for those seeking conversion, and vivid, energetic preaching.

John Wesley (1703–1791) and other early Methodists taught that holiness, or entire sanctification, was possible but not required of Christians. By mid-century, holiness theologians insisted that all believers renounce sin and when infused with the Holy Spirit, their hearts, minds, and wills would become the very likeness of God. It was, Mrs. Booth wrote in her pamphlet *Holiness*, “an inward transformation into the very likeness of Christ.” This theology was particularly important to Mrs. Booth because it allowed for a

new approach to female ministry. Christians had long claimed that Eve's sin disqualified women from religious authority, but when women and men could equally attain holiness, it lessened the weight of Eve's sin and diminished the significance of other differences between men and women. Holiness theology also emphasized that the presence of the Holy Spirit in a convert's heart could justify unconventional behavior if the Spirit prompted it.

Many American holiness advocates supported female ministry, including Phoebe Palmer, whose 1859 speaking tour of England occasioned Mrs. Booth's first public writing on the subject of female preaching. During Palmer's tour, the Reverend A.A.Rees, minister of the Bethesda Free Church in Sunderland, wrote a pamphlet called *Reasons for Not Cooperating in the Alleged 'Sunderland Revivals,'* to encourage others to shun Palmer's meetings. Mrs. Booth's response, *Female Teaching: or the Rev. A.A.Rees versus Mrs. Palmer, Being a Reply to the Above Gentleman on the Sunderland Revival,* was published in December 1859. Her pamphlet demonstrated her familiarity with Scripture and the writing of a number of prominent theologians. Her argument rested on what she termed a common sense reading of Scripture. Passages were considered in light of the particular verse as well as within the context of the chapter and the whole Bible. The historical context was also considered. She argued, for example, that Paul's command "let your women keep silence in the church" was a charge to the women of Corinth, not to women in all times and places. It should be read with an earlier passage in which Paul directed women to cover their heads when they prayed or prophesied. She also pointed to the women preachers and prophets in the Old and New Testaments and the passage in Joel, "your sons and daughters shall prophecy."

Her pamphlet drew heavily on the writing of other Methodists and holiness advocates. Her work was nevertheless distinctive. She argued that any woman called to preach had the "right to preach" without any "man-made restrictions." She did not believe women's preaching heralded the last days, like nineteenth-century prophetic figures, nor did she claim women to be the weak, the foolish, or the low, like many female preachers before her. Rather, she asserted that the church must be committed to vigorous soul-saving, and women were essential to that mission. This argument distinguished her even from those contemporaries who thought women might preach but only with an extraordinary call and when their authority did not extend to other areas of church life. Her pamphlet was widely read and a second edition was printed in 1861. It was substantially revised and reprinted in 1870 for the Christian Mission, later the Salvation Army.

In 1857 Mrs. Booth began to speak in public, addressing women and children's temperance audiences. In 1860 she took her husband's place in the pulpit when he was ill. The local and Methodist press expressed surprise at this unusual arrangement and one newspaper claimed she wore her husband's clothes when she preached. But the Methodist New Connexion approved her work and she continued to preach with her husband. For the next thirty years she continued to preach by invitation, alone, with her husband, and with other preachers, male and female.

In 1861 the Booths left the Methodist New Connexion when they were not permitted to work as itinerant evangelists but were instead obliged to accept a regular circuit. The Booths commenced a series of independent revivals in England and Wales over the following four years. Their work met with resistance from Methodists and other Nonconformists because of prohibitions on female ministry and revivalism. In 1865 the

Booths settled in London. She continued to work as an independent revivalist, speaking in chapels and halls in London and elsewhere. Mr. Booth established the East London Christian Mission, a mission based in London's most populated working-class district.

The mission adopted a structure of class meetings, circuits, and annual conferences loosely based on the Methodists. Mrs. Booth served on several committees, attended the annual conferences, and preached frequently at mission meetings. In 1879 the Christian Mission adopted a military-style structure and a new name, the Salvation Army. Catherine Booth never held an official title but came to be known as the Army Mother. Her influence was felt in the army's theology and practice, particularly in relation to women. The Salvation Army institutionalized women's right to preach the gospel, and thousands of women were local corps officers, divisional officers, and leaders in the Salvation Army's social services. Mrs. Booth was the most important force in establishing women's position in the army and a powerful example to the army's new converts.

In addition to preaching, Mrs. Booth was the author of many books including *Practical Religion* (1878), *Aggressive Christianity* (1880), *Holiness* (1881), *Mrs. Booth on Recent Criticisms of the Salvation Army* (1882), *The Salvation Army in Relation to Church and State* (1883), and *Popular Christianity* (1887), all published by the Salvation Army. She was active in the social purity campaigns of the 1880s. Along with other leading salvationists, she was involved in W.T. Stead's 1885 crusade to raise the age of consent for girls.

Mrs. Booth was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1888 and in that year she ceased all public activity. She died October 4, 1890 in Clacton. She was buried in Abney Park Cemetery, London.

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PAMELA J. WALKER

BOOTH, JOSEPH (1851–1932)

English missionary to Malawi. Joseph Booth was born on February 26, 1851 in Derby, ENGLAND. He later emigrated to AUSTRALIA, where in 1891 he was called to missionary service. Arriving in MALAWI in 1892 as a proponent of the self-supporting industrial mission, he established the Zambezi Industrial Mission (1892) and the Nyassa Industrial Mission (1893).

A restless spirit, Booth changed his ecclesiastical allegiance several times and was responsible for the establishment of seven separate churches in Malawi, notably the Churches of Christ, the Seventh-Day Baptists, and the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS. He was often regarded as a maverick, and the radicalism of his evangelical faith drove him to adopt such causes as the seventh day, PACIFISM, and anti-COLONIALISM. Opposing colonial rule on principle, he held out a vision of “Africa for the African” that led him, in his petition to Queen Victoria of 1899, to demand independence for Malawi by 1920.

Booth’s legacy is found in the ministry of such Malawians as John Chilembwe, Elliot Kenan Kamwana, and Charles Domingo, the forerunners both of an African expression of Christian faith and of political independence. The Nyasaland (Malawi) government declared Booth a prohibited immigrant in 1907, and, when he was mistakenly implicated in the Chilembwe Uprising of 1915, he was deported from SOUTH AFRICA to Britain, where he died on November 4, 1932. Although frustrated by frequent failures, Booth proved to be a catalyst in the making of modern Malawi.

See also Africa; African Theology; Missionary Organizations; Missions

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KENNETH R. ROSS

BOOTH, WILLIAM (1829–1912)

Founder and first general of the SALVATION ARMY, innovative preacher, evangelist, and organizer. Booth founded a small home mission in 1865 to save the souls of London’s working class. In 1879, he reorganized the mission into the Salvation Army, which quickly grew into a dynamic organization with members across Great Britain, North America, Europe, and the British Empire. In 1890 the Salvation Army began an extensive social service program. Booth was deeply influenced by mid-century revivalism, holiness theology, and Methodism, and these theologies shaped both his preaching style and his conviction that countless numbers of people were lost in sin and

must be saved. His achievements, in turn, convinced many Protestants to borrow the army's dramatic techniques and to develop social service programs that would offer a new way to reach the destitute.

Booth was born April 10, 1829 at Snenton, a suburb of Nottingham. His father, Samuel Booth, was a laborer who worked at a variety of trades. His mother, Mary Moss Booth, was a domestic servant before her marriage. Little is known about his family's religious background. Booth joined a Wesleyan chapel at age fifteen and began to preach in the streets of Nottingham soon after. In 1843 he was apprenticed to a pawnbroker in Nottingham, moving to London in 1849, where he worked for a pawnbroker and continued as a lay preacher with the Wesleyans.

In 1849 a controversy divided the Wesleyan Methodists. Several ministers published a series of anonymous pamphlets denouncing the connexion's lack of democracy, excessive centralization, and indifference to EVANGELISM. One example they cited was the response to James Caughey (1810–1891), an American revivalist much admired by Booth, who was touring England as an itinerant evangelist. The Wesleyans' governing body disliked his irregular methods and barred him from their pulpits despite his acclaimed ability to win souls. Some clergy believed this decision meant that the desire for rules and order had surpassed the hunger for souls. Clergy and laypeople associated with the dispute were expelled from the Wesleyan Methodists. They formed the Wesleyan Reform Union. William Booth, already noticed for his preaching skills, was engaged as a full-time preacher by the Reformers. He met Catherine Mumford (1829–1890) at a Reform meeting and they were married in June 1855. The couple had eight children, all of whom served in the Salvation Army: Bramwell (b. 1856), who succeeded his father as General of the Salvation Army; Ballington (b. 1857); Catherine (b. 1858); Emma (b. 1860); Herbert (b. 1862); Marion (b. 1864); Evangeline (b. 1865), General of the Salvation Army from 1934 to 1939; and Lucy (b. 1868).

From the beginning of his career, William Booth had little interest in following a conventional path to ministry. He wanted to prepare for ordination but he was convinced he also ought to work as an itinerant evangelist, saving lost souls and restoring those who had fallen away from their faith. From 1852 through 1855, he sought a way to achieve these two goals. He took several positions as a circuit preacher with the Reformers and studied briefly with an independent minister, but these proved unsatisfactory. In 1854 he began to study for ordination in the Methodist New Connexion under the Reverend Dr. Cooke. He was also permitted by the connexional authorities to accept invitations to preach in London and elsewhere. During these years his reputation as an effective, energetic revivalist was established.

Some leaders in the connexion, however, did not sanction the itinerant REVIVALS Booth wished to pursue, and the governing body insisted that he work as a regular circuit preacher from 1857 to 1861. Revivalism was regarded by some Methodists as an effective way to save souls, but others deplored the sensational preaching and emotional conversions associated with revivals. This debate divided Methodists for decades. Impatient with the restrictions placed on him, Booth quit his position with the Methodist New Connexion in 1861 and spent the following three years as an itinerant revivalist in Cornwall, Wales, the midlands, and the north. During these years, he further developed his reputation as a revivalist and met many evangelicals whose support would be important to the Salvation Army.

His wife, Catherine, preached with him. In 1859 she published a pamphlet in support of women's preaching that proclaimed "women's right to preach the gospel." In 1860, when he was too ill to preach, she took his place in the pulpit and preached for the first time. Although Methodists did not sanction female ministry, this unusual arrangement was permitted and the local and Methodist press commented favorably on her sermons. Still, her preaching violated rules and conventions accepted by most mid-nineteenth-century Christians. As a result, many churches and chapels barred the Booths during their evangelistic tours, and some clergy discouraged their congregations from attending. The Booths' revivalist style was also viewed with grave suspicion. They were believed by many of their contemporaries to rely too heavily on dramatic preaching, dire warnings, and the heightened emotional state of the listeners. Revivals disrupted the orderly conduct expected of congregations.

Founding the Christian Mission

In 1865, William and Catherine Booth both received invitations from evangelical organizations to preach in London. The potential scope for evangelical work in ENGLAND'S largest city convinced them to settle there permanently. Since mid-century, Anglicans and Nonconformists had sought innovative means to reach the urban working class, the social group least likely to attend religious worship services. London's working class was considered particularly challenging because the population had grown so rapidly and lived in densely packed neighborhoods filled with Irish and Jewish immigrants and English-born people seeking work in the burgeoning industries located there. It seemed to require special means because it was so vast and uniformly poor.

William Booth was an important innovator and organizer of methods designed to reach this population. He began the East London Christian Mission, soon renamed the Christian Mission, in 1865 with funds from several evangelical organizations and individual philanthropists. He began preaching in rented halls and in the streets. By 1868, a London newspaper reported that the mission's 140 services drew 14,000 people weekly. By 1872 it had established twelve London mission stations and eight outside London. William Booth, a small group of salaried workers, and many lay evangelists preached at open air services followed by indoor services at rented halls, did houseto-house visitations, organized mother's meetings and tea meetings, and carried out administrative duties. The Christian Mission was modeled on the Methodist system of governance with mission stations, circuits, committees, and annual conferences. William Booth served as the general superintendent and was responsible for the establishment of new stations, hiring preachers, and policy decisions. In 1868 he began a monthly magazine devoted to the mission's work, *The East London Evangelist*, renamed *The Christian Mission Magazine* in 1870.

Theology

The doctrines adopted at the first annual conference in 1870 were essentially Methodist but the emphasis on holiness, or entire sanctification, was unusual. JOHN WESLEY

(1763–1791) argued that holiness might be attained in this life but was not required for salvation. In the 1820s and 1830s, American theologians reinterpreted this doctrine, asserting that it was the duty and privilege of all Christians to attain holiness. They taught that all believers must renounce sin and when infused with the Holy Spirit, their hearts, minds, and wills would become the very likeness of God. Their ideas reached England through the published work and preaching tours of evangelists James Caughey (1810–1891), CHARLES FINNEY (1792–1875), Phoebe Palmer (1807–1874), and others. William Booth was deeply influenced by all these evangelists, both in his theology and enthusiasm for revivalism. He wrote in 1889 that seeing Caughey preach had a “powerful effect on my young heart...filling me with confidence in the power and willingness of God to save all those who come unto Him but with an assurance of the absolute certainty with which soul-saving results can be calculated upon when proper means are used for their accomplishment.” William Booth believed that holiness was an absolute necessity for Christian life and the only assurance of heaven. His preaching was calculated to bring sinners, even those who attended religious services regularly, to understand that holiness was required of them. In 1865 the evangelical weekly the *Revival* reported that “searching questions, loud warnings, hearty exhortations, Jesus the Saviour from all guilt, the penalty and power of sin, Mr. Booth is this sort of preacher.” This combination of revivalist preaching and holiness theology shaped all aspects of William’s Booth work and set him apart from many other evangelists and home missionaries.

To his critics, Booth’s theology overemphasized individual will and allowed anyone, even someone with no religious education and a previously wicked life, to be the judge of his or her own spiritual state. It resulted in men and women without the usual clerical education or theological training assuming positions of spiritual authority. This offended the established denominations and Booth was widely criticized.

In 1872 William Booth wrote *How to Reach the Masses with the Gospel* to detail how he proposed to “bring in the thousands who at present seem to be outside the pale of all religious influence and operation.” This was to be achieved, first and foremost, by working-class people. Booth was convinced that working-class evangelists could succeed where others could not because they knew and appreciated their own communities. Christian Mission converts addressed their own workmates and friends when they preached on street corners and their language and style were familiar to their audiences. Booth argued that working-class preachers could achieve greater results in their own communities than the educated, middleclass clergy had done.

The Christian Mission, and later the Salvation Army, allowed women to preach and assume the same religious and practical authority as men. The unusual authority allowed women distinguished it from its contemporaries, earning it considerable criticism from clergy, the national press, and religious publications. William Booth argued that not only was female preaching justified in Scripture, but an absolute necessity if all the lost souls were to be saved.

The Salvation Army

In 1879 William Booth reorganized the Christian Mission into the Salvation Army with a strict hierarchical chain of command, military titles and uniforms, and strict discipline.

William Booth was the Salvation Army's general. This new position gave him extensive powers, including control over all the army's property and the right to name his successor. The army's newspaper reported that Booth told those assembled at the annual conference, "Now this is a war. We are sent to war. We are not sent to minister to a congregation and be content if we keep things going. We are sent to make war against the bulk of people, against any number, and stop short of nothing but the subjugation of the world to the sway of the Lord Jesus." These changes caused some to quit the army but the organization continued to grow. By 1884, 1,644 officers ran 637 corps across Great Britain, and another 688 officers ran 273 corps in North America, Europe, and in the British empire.

The Salvation Army was regulated by rules and a clear chain of command put into place by William Booth. In 1878 he published the *Orders and Regulations* followed by *Doctrines and Disciplines* in 1881. These books were regularly updated and modified as the army grew. Booth also began a weekly newspaper chronicling the Salvation Army's activities, *The War Cry* (1879-). The newspaper borrowed its style from the new mass circulation dailies and, particularly when compared to other religious publications, it was an innovative newspaper that attracted readers with the latest techniques.

William Booth was a revivalist. He used emotional appeals, stirring music, and drama to induce his audience to seek conversion. Booth encouraged his soldiers and officers to create spectacles to attract audiences. They wrote new words to popular music hall tunes, marched through the streets with brass bands, and borrowed techniques from the theaters and circuses. They drew thousands into the London halls and received extensive coverage in the press. By the early 1880s, William Booth was a stock figure of fun. The famed music hall performer Marie Lloyd sang about him, and *Punch* cartoons ridiculed his uniform and title.

William Booth's enhanced power and the growth of the Salvation Army caused many clergy, journalists, and social critics to comment on the organization. Some critics claimed his power over the Salvation Army exceeded even that of the pope's power over the church. Others accused Booth of using the army's money for his own benefit. A number of clergy, both Anglican and Nonconformist, published pamphlets expressing horror that the army permitted uneducated men and women to preach and many noted that William Booth's humble background did not merit his power over such a large, growing organization.

In Darkest England and the Way Out

In 1890 William Booth published *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Booth proposed a solution to the problem of poverty and misery in England. He would establish a city colony where the destitute would meet their immediate need for food and shelter and begin the process of spiritual rejuvenation. They would proceed to a farm colony, where their health would be recovered and their character reformed. They would then be ready to find employment at home or in an overseas colony. Booth's book was not original. It borrowed ideas from the social-imperialist and social gospel movements and used information gathered by a number of Victorian social investigators. The book was widely and favorably reviewed. William Booth was an excellent fund raiser and within a year, he

had raised over ten thousand pounds through donations and book sales. The publication of the book marked the beginning of a social service wing of the Salvation Army. It offered a range of programs, including industrial training for the unemployed, shelters for the homeless, and homes for unmarried mothers. This wing of the army became increasingly prominent and earned considerable respect. This newfound respect also gained William Booth the admiration of many who had once criticized him and the army. In 1904 he was received by the king and was granted an honorary doctorate from Oxford University in 1907.

During the last decade of his life, much of the actual administration of the Salvation Army passed to Booth's eldest son and a small group of senior officers, although William Booth continued as general. He traveled across Great Britain, Europe, North America, Australia, and Palestine. He preached at Salvation Army meetings and at large, public gatherings and was received by leaders including President Roosevelt. He died October 20, 1912 and was buried at Abney Park in London.

See also Salvation Army; Booth, Catherine; methodism; Palmer, Phoebe Worrall; Finney, Charles' Grandson.

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PAMELA J. WALKER

BOSCH, DAVID JACOBUS (1929–1992)

African theologian. Bosch was born near Kuruman, SOUTH AFRICA, December 13, 1929. He was educated at the universities of Pretoria and Basel. In his dissertation from Basel, Bosch addressed the link between the mission of Jesus and ESCHATOLOGY. Bosch worked as a missionary among the Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa from 1957 to 1966. The Theological School of Decoligny, of the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, appointed

Bosch to be senior lecturer of church history and MISSIOLOGY in 1967. While at the school, he helped found the ecumenical Transkei Council of Churches, later known as the Eastern Cape Provincial Council of Churches.

David Bosch's missiological writings included twelve books, more than 160 journal articles, seven pamphlets, and four University of South Africa study guides. His most significant writing was *Transforming Mission* (1982), in which Bosch detailed missiological paradigm shifts throughout church history. Bosch served as the general

secretary of the multiracial and ecumenical Southern African Missiological Society (1968–992), editing its journal, the *Missionalia*.

In 1972 Bosch was appointed to chair of the Department of Missiology at the University of South Africa. There he edited the journal *Theologia Evangelica*. His missiological contributions were marked by their biblical foundation and evangelistic emphasis.

Bosch participated in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the LAUSANNE COMMITTEE ON WORLD EVANGELIZATION in Manila, and the World Evangelical Fellowship. He died April 15, 1992.

See also Africa; African Theology; Ecumenism; Missions

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CHRISTOPHER M.COOK

BOUCHER, JONATHAN (1738–1804)

English clergyman. Clergyman, scholar, and philologist, Boucher was born in Blencogo, Cumberland (now Cumbria), ENGLAND on March 12, 1738, and was educated at the nearby Wigton grammar school. When he was sixteen Boucher traveled to Virginia to offer private tutoring to families of Virginian planters. Among his students was George Washington's stepson, John Parke Custis, with whom he began a long friendship.

In March 1762 Boucher returned to England where he was ordained by the bishop of London. Soon after ordination Boucher returned to America to assume the role of rector in parishes throughout Virginia and in Annapolis, Maryland. During his residence in Maryland he became an outspoken opponent of the "vestry act," which sought to diminish pastoral authority. Despite his reputation for eloquence, Boucher's Royalist sympathies and denunciation of colonial resistance to the Stamp Act at the outset of revolutionary hostilities alienated him from his parish. Boucher perceived the climate had become so menacing that he would eventually preach from his pulpit only with the security of a loaded pistol in easy reach.

Forced ultimately to vacate his office, Boucher returned to England where his loyalism was finally repaid by the offer of a government pension. In 1784 he was appointed vicar of Epsom in Surrey, where, until his death in 1804, he continued to develop a reputation as a compelling orator. Throughout his life Boucher maintained scholarly interests. He made important contributions to William Hutchinson's two-volume *History of the County of Cumberland* (1794), and in 1797 published *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution*, consisting of thirteen sermons he had delivered in America between 1763 and 1775. As evidence of his continued fondness for the friends he had made in America, irrespective of their political disagreements, he dedicated his work to George Washington, a gesture for which he received a cordial response. In later life Boucher cultivated his passion for philological study, devoting fourteen years to compiling "A Glossary of Provincial and Archaic Words," which he envisioned as a supplement to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary. Only extracts of Boucher's Glossary were ever published, although it eventually helped form the basis of Noah Webster's Dictionary after 1831.

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KELLY GROVIER

BOUDINOT, ELIAS (c. 1740–1821)

American Christian activist. Boudinot was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on May 2, and died in Burlington, New Jersey, October 24, 1821. He was a notable lawyer, statesman, and lay Christian activist in colonial and Revolutionary America. During the War for Independence, he served as George Washington's commissary of prisoners and in 1783 presided over the Continental Congress. In the United States Congress under the new Constitution, he represented New Jersey for three terms, after which he directed the National Mint. While filling these public positions, Boudinot also pursued a wide array of philanthropic efforts. He opposed SLAVERY in principle and, as a lawyer, defended free African Americans from threats of reenslavement (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). He was also eager to assist projects aimed at the betterment of NATIVE AMERICANS, a cause he supported by publishing in 1816 *A Star in the West*, which argued that Native Americans were descended from the Jewish Diaspora. As a Presbyterian, Boudinot also

offered considerable service to his church. He was a long-time trustee of the Presbyterian General Assembly and served as an influential trustee at the largely Presbyterian College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) from 1772 until his death. His selection in 1816 as the first president of the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY testified to the esteem in which he was held as one of the nation's leading lay activists.

In his religious as well as political activities, Boudinot was firmly evangelical, solidly Federalist, and determinedly Whig. His concern for education, at the College of New Jersey and elsewhere, was part of an extensive effort to stem the tide of DEISM and solidify the place of orthodox Christianity. In his eyes, deistic tracts like Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* (1794) threatened readers with eternal perdition and society with immoral dissolution. After Thomas Jefferson's election as president in 1800, Boudinot became increasingly alarmed about the state of religion in the United States, where he saw dueling, Sabbath breaking, excessive drinking, and the frantic scramble for wealth as sure signs of social decay. In response to these crises, Boudinot published two works, *The Age of Revelation* (1801), which provided a mass of argument against the "irreligion" of Paine, and *The Second Advent of Christ* (1815), which presented a traditional Christian view of the End as a check to the uncertainties of the age.

After a destructive rebellion at Princeton in 1807 his fellow trustees chose Boudinot to address the students on their duties and privileges. As an antidote to what the college authorities considered unprincipled resistance to discipline, Boudinot delivered a memorable prescription of republican, deferential virtue as a cure for the disorder, the immorality, and the impertinence he perceived in Jeffersonian America. In this effort, as in most of his lengthier writings, Boudinot drew on principles of Newtonian science and Scottish moral philosophy, as well as traditional PRESBYTERIANISM. At the end of his life he continued the quest for a truly Christian America by donating most of his considerable estate to religious organizations, including the American Bible Society, the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, and the new seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Princeton.

See also Enlightenment

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MARK A. NOLL

BOURNE, HUGH (1772–1852)

British theologian. Born April 3, 1772 at Ford Heys Farm, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England, he was cofounder with William Clowes of the PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH, the second largest Methodist group after the Wesleyans. A carpenter, he was converted in 1799 as a result of reading the works of JOHN WESLEY and Fletcher of Maddeley and the preaching of a Methodist local preacher. Attendance at a love feast led to the decision to join the Methodist society.

He was persuaded, despite his shyness, to become a preacher and became involved in the revivalism that swept the northwest of England in the early 1800s. Through the influence of “crazy” Lorenzo Dow the evangelist and his CAMP MEETINGS in 1808, his neglect of Wesleyan Methodist class meetings led to his expulsion. He and Clowesites joined together to form a society called the Primitive Methodists. Bourne gave administrative shape to the growing movement, acting as its general superintendent and secretary of conference at various times and editor of its *Primitive Methodist Magazine* until late in his life.

Bourne was also historian and hymnologist to the movement, publishing from its Bemersley headquarters and assisted by his brother James its history in 1823 (based mainly on his journals), subsequently revised in 1835. He also compiled its hymnbooks in 1809, 1821, and 1824 (which drew from his own writings and much revivalist hymnody from the States).

He traveled widely, acting as superintendent for circuits in the Trent valley. The success of Primitive Methodism owed much to his administrative abilities and creative writing skills as well as his insistence on strict discipline, stemming from his teetotalism. Bourne went on a mission to British North America (Canada) and spent some time in the United States in the years 1844 to 1846. He continued to preach until the year of his death in 1852. He died at his home in Bemersley on October 11 and was buried at his request at the Englesea Brook chapel where there is a Museum of Primitive Methodism.

See also Evangelism; Hymns and Hymnals; Methodism; Revivals

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TIM MACQUIBAN

BOYLE, ROBERT (1627–1691)

English theologian and scientist. Boyle was born January 25, 1627, at Lismore Castle, IRELAND, the penultimate of fifteen children of the Earl of Cork and his second wife.

His father was a powerful but pious man who counted James Ussher among his closest friends. After three years at Eton College, Boyle spent nearly five years on the Continent under the tutelage of a Huguenot living in Geneva, Isaac Marcombes, related by marriage to Jean Diodati, whose church Boyle attended. While in Geneva, Boyle read daily from JOHN CALVIN'S INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. On one memorable occasion, he was terrified by a violent thunderstorm; his prayer for deliverance having been answered, he later dated his CONVERSION and his vow to live piously from this experience.

After returning to ENGLAND in 1644, Boyle lived briefly with his elder sister, Katherine Lady Ranelagh, a brilliant and pious woman whose social circle included poet JOHN MILTON, Samuel Hartlib, and leading Parliamentarians. Soon afterward Boyle took up residence at the Dorset estate he had inherited upon his father's death, Stalbridge Manor. In that bucolic environment, largely apart from the English CIVIL WAR, Boyle began writing the intensely religious works, none published until many years later, that mark his origins as a writer. His interest in science actually came shortly after this and grew out of his desire to use the new science to advance what he often called "the Empire of Man over the Creatures." Indeed, throughout his life Boyle maintained parallel research programs in natural philosophy and THEOLOGY, often using insights from one to inform the other. The English tradition of natural theology derives substantially from his works, which were frequently reprinted, translated into Latin and various European languages, and epitomized. At his death he endowed a lectureship "proving the Christian Religion against notorious Infidels," including not only "atheists" but also adherents of Judaism and Islam, both of which Boyle had studied more extensively than most of his fellow Christians. A highly interesting unpublished treatise on the diversity of religions survives in Latin translation among the Boyle Papers. He died December 31, 1691.

See also Huguenots

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EDWARD B.DAVIS

BRADSTREET, ANNE

(c. 1612–1672)

English-American poet. Born in 1612 or 1613 in Northamptonshire, England, Anne Dudley was related to Sir Philip Sidney, married Simon Bradstreet (c. 1628), immigrated to Massachusetts Bay (1630), raised eight children, and authored the first book of published colonial poetry, *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America* (1650). After her death on September 16, 1672, in Andover, Massachusetts, Bradstreet's more personal verse, together with her revision of her published work, appeared in *Several Poems* (1678). Her poetry, influenced by an informal education and PURITANISM, is especially notable for its record of personal feelings sometimes at odds with the social and religious conventions of her colonial milieu.

In "The Prologue" Bradstreet objects to standard claims that women are unable to write creatively, and asks for a modest acknowledgment of female literary capability. Queen ELIZABETH I is celebrated in a long poem as a model of wisdom whose Protestant reign confutes notions of female ineptitude. Still more personal is the poet's muted anger in "Upon the Burning of Our House," which abruptly retreats into formulaic cant to contain her irritation with God for depriving her of cherished possessions. A similar threat of insubordination is evaded in a short poem on the pending transatlantic trip of her son Samuel. On such occasions Bradstreet typically reminds herself of the sinful pride that informs such rebellious sentiments.

Bradstreet's best poem is "Contemplations," in which the memory of paradise lost and the experience of time becomes every Christian's cross. This theme informs the poem's structural division into several crosslike fragments, a Protestant design indicative of the poet's humble disavowal of constructing vain earthly monuments to herself.

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WILLIAM J.SCHEICK

BRAGHT, TIELEMAN JANSZ VAN (1625–1664)

Mennonite martyrologist. Van Braght was born in Dordrecht on January 29, 1625 into a Mennonite cloth merchant family, which trade he also pursued. He was ordained to the ministry in 1648 in Dordrecht. Toward the end of his life he became embroiled in the intraMennonite controversy about how much MENNONITES should accommodate themselves to their surrounding culture. Staunchly on the conservative side, which argued for as much separation from society as possible, van Braght published in 1657 his *School of Moral Virtue (School der zedelijke deugd)*, which had some 18 editions.

Van Braght's historical legacy lies in his publication of *The Bloody Theatre or the Martyrs' Mirror of the Defenseless Christians...who suffered and died for the Testimony of Jesus their Savior (Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaerspiegel der Doopsgeinde, of weereeloose Christenen)*, which first appeared in 1660, with a second edition published in 1680. It was a collection of the stories of Anabaptist martyrs from the sixteenth century, written for the purpose, expressed in the illustration of the title page, of depicting a suffering Jesus and his followers as they were crucified, beheaded, or drowned. Van Braght's purpose was stated in his foreword, which pointed to the worldly involvements of his fellow Mennonites in Holland who in his judgment had become affluent and complacent.

Van Braght used several sources on which he drew extensively, such as Adriaen Cornelis van Haemstede (1525–1562), a Reformed pastor who collected martyr stories from the days of the early Christian church to the sixteenth century, including some Anabaptist martyrs.

See also Anabaptism; Martyrs and Martyrologies

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HANS J. HILLERBRAND

BRAINERD, DAVID (1718–1747)

New England missionary. Brainerd was born in Haddam, Connecticut, on April 20, 1718. Orphaned at the age of 14 and tubercular, he experienced periods of morbid depression while still in his early years. By 1739, when entering Yale College, he had a conversion experience and thereafter supported REVIVALS known collectively as the First Great AWAKENING. While at Yale he continued attending such services, although college officials frowned on them. In 1742 he compared campus clergy unfavorably with the more spiritually alive preachers of the Awakening. Thomas Clap, president of Yale, demanded an apology, but Brainerd refused and was expelled as a consequence. A year later he offered to apologize, but by then it was too late. Yale never granted him a degree.

After studying theology for several months with Jedediah Mills of Ripton, Connecticut, Brainerd was licensed to preach on July 20, 1742, by the Congregationalist Association of Ministers, then meeting at Danbury. Later that same year he received a commission from the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, one of the few corporations established to subsidize Protestant missionary efforts in the American colonies. Brainerd's first native American charges were Housatonics, an Algonquin group residing at Kaunaumeeek, midway between Albany, New York, and Stockbridge, Massachusetts. His work there from April 1743 to November 1744 was not a marked success. Brainerd then moved to another mission field, whereas the natives relocated to Stockbridge under the tutelage of John Sergeant.

Subsequent work along the Delaware River continued to be sporadic and ineffective. With principal sites at Crossweeksung and Cranberry in New Jersey, Brainerd made several futile expeditions into Pennsylvania's Susquehanna Valley as well. He never stayed at one place long enough to learn a native language or to become familiar with local customs. He filled a gloomy journal with musings about sinfulness and failures, but his records point to approximately 100 baptisms and a promising future. Always dogged by poor health, Brainerd died on October 9, 1747, at the home of his fiancée, Jerusha Edwards. Her father, the renowned preacher JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758), was impressed with the young man's diary and published it as an example of Puritan virtue. It became a classic devotional handbook, and many later volunteers for missions invoked Brainerd's work as a determinative factor in their decision.

See also Missions, North America; Puritanism

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HENRY W.BOWDEN

BRANCH DAVIDIANS

The vast majority of Americans had never heard of the Branch Davidians before 1993, when the phrase entered the American public lexicon to describe a sinister “doomsday cult” founded by a “charlatan” named Vernon Howell. In fact, however, although press accounts routinely characterized Howell (a.k.a. David Koresh) and his followers as renegades or upstarts, the Davidian sect had been in existence since the 1920s as an offshoot of the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS. Indeed, the apocalyptic worldview that united the community at Mount Carmel, Koresh’s role in that community, and the content of his preaching are all incomprehensible without some understanding of Adventist theology. The failure of federal law enforcement authorities to gain such understanding was, arguably, the primary cause of the trail of events that left a total of ninety people dead outside of Waco, Texas, by April 19, 1993.

Davidian Adventism began with Victor Houteff (1886–1955), an immigrant to the UNITED STATES from Bulgaria. Adventist founder Ellen White had identified the church itself with Revelation’s 144,000 “servants of God,” but by the time Houteff converted to Adventism, its ranks had swelled to nearly a halfmillion. Reasoning that this indicated a falling away from the original message, Houteff declared in 1929 that God had appointed him the “angel from the east” and set him the prophetic task of purifying the community. Reading Scripture far more literally than White and her successors had, Houteff further declared that the KINGDOM OF GOD would be an earthly place in Palestine, to which he would, upon Christ’s Second Coming, take the 144,000 purified Adventists. Houteff dubbed his group “Davidian,” in reference to their intention of reestablishing the “Davidic” messianic kingdom. In 1935, awaiting Judgment Day, he and his small group of followers settled on land outside of Waco. Houteff named the place Mount Carmel.

Houteff’s Davidians tirelessly engaged in efforts to convey their message to the entire membership of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, dispatching missionaries nationwide and internationally, and mailing tens of thousands of tracts. Houteff’s death in 1955 was a cruel blow to his, by then, roughly 1,500 followers. His widow, Florence, assuming leadership of the community, declared that the end was indeed near and would occur during Passover 1959. She summoned all Davidians to gather at New Mount Carmel (a second settlement, which Koresh and his followers would later occupy), and approximately 900 faithful answered her call. When nothing of an apocalyptic nature happened, the group dispersed, and a disillusioned Florence Houteff moved to California.

Subsequent years saw a series of court battles among the Davidian diaspora over who controlled the Mount Carmel property. In the early 1960s Ben and Lois Roden and a small band of followers won access to the property. Under the leadership of Ben Roden, who saw himself as one among many “Branches” of the Rod of Jesse, this new “Branch Davidian” community thrived through the 1970s. To such Adventist practices as the Saturday Sabbath and a very fluid style of scriptural interpretation, the Rodens added the celebration of such festivals as Passover and the feast of Tabernacles. They also continued Houteff’s prophecy of the literal kingdom. Moreover Lois Roden claimed a prophetic vision of the Holy Spirit as female.

In 1981 Vernon Howell (1959–1993) arrived at Mount Carmel under Lois Roden’s leadership, Ben having died in 1978. A recent convert to Adventism, Howell had a remarkable facility for scriptural interpretation and was a spellbinding preacher. He quickly bonded with Lois Roden, antagonizing her son George, who saw himself as the heir apparent of Mount Carmel’s leadership. Whether or not allegations of a sexual liaison between Howell and Roden were true, she favored him over her son, and by 1983 Howell was claiming to be a new “angel of the east.” When Howell traveled to Israel in 1985 George Roden took control of Mount Carmel, renamed it Rodenville, and ousted Howell’s followers. Returning from Israel, Howell, who had now taken the name David Koresh (pointing to his prophetic role as a “Cyrus” figure), settled with forty followers in Palestine, Texas.

The next three years saw a period of rapid expansion among the ranks of Branch Davidians, following Koresh whom they recognized as a Messiah (a Son of God, though not divine). During this period Koresh also revealed that his messianic role would entail taking several wives, for the purpose of bringing into the world the generation of elders who would rule in the Kingdom. In 1988, after a bizarre challenge from George Roden over who had the power to raise a woman from the dead ended in a gun fight, Koresh and his followers regained possession of Mount Carmel.

In accord with Adventist tradition dating back to the Millerites, Koresh’s branch Davidians believed they were living in the end times, and they believed the Second Coming would involve pitched battle against the forces of darkness and depravity. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms unwittingly stepped into that latter apocalyptic role on February 28, 1993, with an ill-conceived and never fully justified attack against Mount Carmel that left four federal agents and six Davidians dead, and many more—including Koresh—wounded. During the fiftyday siege that ensued, FBI agents, treating the standoff as a “hostage situation,” refused to acknowledge that Koresh’s theological discourse regarding the Seven Seals of Revelation was anything other than “Bible babble.” They also refused to heed the advice of religious studies scholars who urged restraint, opting instead for the analyses of anticultists who diagnosed Koresh as psychotic and his followers as brainwashed. On April 19, eighty Davidians, sixteen of them under five years old, died in a fire following the violent insertion of CS gas into the buildings.

A chapel now occupies the Mount Carmel site, along with eighty-six trees memorializing Mount Carmel’s dead.

See also Apocalypticism; Millenarians and Millennialism

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MARY ZEISS STANGE

BRAY, THOMAS (1656–1730)

English clergyman. Thomas Bray was born at Marton, Shropshire, ENGLAND in 1656 and died in London on February 15, 1730. In 1696, to assist clergy in teaching the catechism effectively, he published the first volume of his *Catechetical Lectures*, which became very popular and made him rather famous. In the *Lectures*, Bray presented his COVENANT theology, which stressed that apostolic succession was a necessary part of the covenant. This meant that God authorized only ministers ordained in apostolic succession to preach the covenant and administer the SACRAMENTS. Also in 1696, the Bishop of London named Bray the first commissary to the colony of Maryland. As commissary, Bray represented the Bishop of London but could not ordain or confirm. He soon learned that CHURCH OF ENGLAND clergy in the colonies had no books, so he decided to help establish parochial libraries in the American colonies. This led to the establishment of the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE in 1699. Bray arrived in Maryland on March 12, 1700, but returned to England early in 1701, where he participated in the founding of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, which was chartered in 1701. In 1723 an organization was established to convert and educate Negroes, and it was made official in 1730 with the title “Doctor Bray’s Associates.”

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DONALD S. ARMENTROUT

BRAZIL

Brazil is often known as the largest Catholic country in the world and as the main center of spiritism, although now it also probably has the second largest community of practicing Protestants in the world. In the 2000 census 15.5 percent (26 million people)

proclaimed themselves to be Protestant, of whom over three quarters claim weekly practice. Implanted in the nineteenth century, Protestantism grew slowly until the 1950s. Growth rates spiraled in the 1990s and continued in the early twenty-first century. All Protestants are usually known as *evangélicos*, and the vast majority would be evangelical in the Anglophone sense.

Protestantism was officially excluded by the Portuguese from colonial Brazil, but there were two attempts to introduce it linked to foreign interests. French HUGUENOTS with assistance from JOHN CALVIN'S Geneva had a colony in Guanabara Bay near Rio de Janeiro from 1555 to 1567. They organized a reformed church and a confession of faith, but were weakened by the actions of their own Catholic governor and eventually wiped out by the Portuguese. The Dutch held parts of the sugar-growing area of north-eastern Brazil between 1624 and 1654; two reformed presbyteries were founded and mission work was carried out among the Indians in indigenous languages. After the Dutch were driven out, however, no traces remained of Protestantism.

Soon after independence in 1822, the first lasting Protestant presence was established, through German Lutheran immigrants who came not for religious but for economic reasons (see LUTHERANISM). This resulted eventually in the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil, the major form of what is usually referred to as "immigrant Protestantism." Using the German language, it did not attempt to convert native-born Brazilians. Even today, over ninety percent of members have German surnames. Strong identification with pan-Germanic sentiment in the 1930s worried the Brazilian government, which closed the network of German-language parochial schools.

After the Second World War faith and Germanness gradually separated and the church identified more with its Brazilian context. In the 1970s it was the only Protestant denomination officially to criticize the military regime, even though a nonpracticing Lutheran (Ernesto Geisel) was one of the military presidents. LIBERATION THEOLOGY became influential in the church and attempts were made at Lutheran Base Communities in the rural south. In recent decades the church has lost members through migration, urbanization, and secularization, leading to the rise of evangelical and charismatic currents that seek to make it more competitive.

The second major type of Protestantism in Brazil is represented by the historical mission churches. Congregationalists from 1855, Presbyterians from 1859, Methodists from 1867, and Baptists from 1882 all sought to convert Brazilians using Portuguese. Most missionaries were American, with some Europeans. (The first Portuguese-language church, Congregationalist, was opened by Robert Reid Kalley, a Scottish doctor who cultivated his relationship with the emperor.) The uncertain legal status of such churches was slowly clarified, and was definitively resolved with the separation of state and the Catholic Church in 1890 (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). Early Protestants were aided in this battle for legal acceptance by liberals and freemasons.

Although historical Protestantism provided autonomy and advancement for some sections of the middle class, it came with the ethos of the expanding capitalist countries and failed to touch most of the illiterate masses. Foreign denominations were transplanted. By the early twentieth century most were under Brazilian leadership but the style remained equally remote from the masses and the elites. Despite heavy investment in schools to reach the elite, the result in conversions was negligible and historical Protestantism struggled to produce an intelligentsia, a difficulty compounded by the

tendency for democratic denominations to become more authoritarian, in line with Brazilian political culture.

Nevertheless the historical churches (led by the Brazilian Baptist Convention and the Presbyterian Church of Brazil) remained dominant within Protestantism until the 1970s. By 2000 they represented less than a third of Protestants, but still enjoyed some intellectual and transdenominational leadership and moderate numerical growth, largely through their more charismatic sectors. In 2002 a career politician converted to PRESBYTERIANISM came a close third in the presidential election. The Brazilian Baptist Convention, meanwhile, is still probably the second largest denomination, especially strong in Rio de Janeiro.

The third major type of Protestantism in Brazil is PENTECOSTALISM, which has grown so much it now represents two-thirds of the Protestant field (some eighteen million people), making Brazil the world center of Pentecostalism. Brazilian Pentecostalism has had three waves of institutional creation. The first occurred in the 1910s with the arrival of the Christian Congregation (1910) and the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD (AG, 1911). The former was introduced among Italian immigrants in São Paulo by an Italian who had become Pentecostal in Chicago; and the latter began in the north with two Swedish Baptists who had also become Pentecostal in Chicago. The AG is now the major Protestant denomination, but initial fortunes were modest. Faster growth dates only from the 1950s, coinciding with rapid urbanization and the beginnings of other important denominations: the Four-Square (brought by Americans in 1951); Brazil for Christ (1955, founded by Manoel de Mello, a working-class man); and God is Love (1962, founded by David Miranda). The third wave started in the late 1970s and gained strength in the 1980s; its main representatives are the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG, founded in 1977 by Edir Macedo) and the International Church of the Grace of God (1980, R.R. Soares). By 2000 the UCKG was an immensely powerful and controversial organization, owning a major television network (TV Record) and electing a large caucus to congress. With its prosperity, teaching, and strong hierarchical leadership, it was very wealthy and was building major cathedrals.

Of the seven major Pentecostal denominations mentioned, one (the Four-Square) was founded by Americans, one was founded by an Italian, one by Swedes (Swedish missionaries were important in the AG until the 1950s), and four (the most recent ones) by Brazilians from the lower or lower-middle classes. Each “wave” of new churches has updated Pentecostalism’s relationship to Brazilian society, innovating in methods, THEOLOGY, and ETHICS, although all these are basically lower-class churches. The middle class has been increasingly reached from the 1960s by charismatic breakaways from the historical churches, and from the 1980s by independent communities with innovative and sometimes controversial methods (such as Reborn in Christ, and Heal Our Land). These have placed Pentecostal phenomena in less tabooed formats and mirror “postmodern” cultural trends. The founders are often upper-middle-class people with entrepreneurial experience.

In 2000 the largest denomination was the Assemblies of God, divided into two main branches that function separately (the General Convention and Madureira). Between them, they represent a community of about eight million. BAPTISTS come next, mainly in the Brazilian Baptist Convention. After that come two Pentecostal groups with very different characteristics. The Christian Congregation, the first Pentecostal church in

Brazil, rejects contact with all other churches and scorns the mass media, public preaching, and politics. It spreads through family and neighborhood networks, and is very strong in the interior of the state of São Paulo. The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is a church of the big cities and has grown rapidly through heavy investment in the media.

By 2000 the social characteristics of the Brazilian Protestant community gave it an importance beyond its percentage in the population. In Greater Rio de Janeiro by the early 1990s a new Protestant church was being opened per day. Of the fifty-two largest denominations, thirty-seven were of Brazilian origin. Protestantism (and especially Pentecostalism) is disproportionately of the poor, the less-educated, and darker-skinned. It is thus a national, popular, and fast-growing phenomenon. The more traditional northeast region lags far behind all other regions in percentage of Protestants. Nationally, *evangélicos* are stronger in the cities than in the countryside and the Catholic Church is disproportionately rural, and women are heavily overrepresented. However, recent decades have also been marked by an expansion of Protestantism into social sectors where it was previously almost unrepresented: entrepreneurs and executives; the military and the police; showbusiness people and sportsmen (seven of the twenty-two players in the Brazilian soccer squad that won the 1994 World Cup were *evangélicos*). In the Rio shanties, where the state is absent, Protestant churches are often the only organizations apart from organized crime. Their role as a vibrant part of civil society is increasingly spoken of.

Unlike some parts of Latin America in Brazil, Protestantism has long enjoyed total freedom of religion and legal equality. Socially, discrimination and even persecution persisted until the second half of the twentieth century in some parts of the northeast. By the end of the century there was virtually no social ceiling on Protestantism, although increasing fusion of Pentecostalism with elements of Brazilian popular religiosity was contributing to negative media representations. As the percentage of declared adherents to Catholicism declined sharply in the late twentieth century, post-Vatican II ecumenical initiatives sometimes gave way to denunciations of “sects” by Catholic hierarchs. There is very little ecumenical dialogue between Catholics and Pentecostals, and the latter also have tense relations with the Afro-Brazilian religions, which they generally characterize as demonic.

Even within the Protestant world, representative transdenominational bodies have struggled. The National Council of Christian Churches (which includes the Catholic Church) has only a very limited number of historical Protestant churches. An influential Brazilian Evangelical Confederation, consisting of most historical churches, existed from the 1930s, but was effectively allowed to die after the 1964 military coup. It was resurrected by some Pentecostal congressmen after redemocratization in the 1980s and used for dubious financial purposes, leading to its closure. A Brazilian Evangelical Association was then founded in 1991 and for a time was fairly broad, although by the end of the century there was no truly representative organ of Brazilian Protestantism, a lack that diminished its political clout in key moments of national life.

Nevertheless Protestantism achieved great political visibility in the last fifteen years of the twentieth century. The first Protestant in congress was a Methodist minister elected in 1933, immediately after the secret ballot was introduced. From the 1950s until the end of the military regime in 1985, there were always about a dozen Protestant congressmen,

distributed across many parties, with a discreet presence and no official support from their denominations. They were nearly all from the historical churches. Pentecostals became politically involved in large numbers only with the 1986 election for a constituent assembly. Since then several major Pentecostal denominations (AG, UCKG, Four-Square) have organized official candidacies and won congressional seats. In 2002 sixty Protestants were elected to congress, two-thirds being members of Pentecostal churches, most of them official church candidates. Although Protestant politicians have gained a reputation for conservatism, timeserving, and even corruption, there is also a growing Protestant left wing (including Pentecostals). In 2003 the left-wing Lula government contained two Protestant cabinet ministers and several parliamentarians. The expansion of Protestantism to new social spheres has included the CONVERSION of career politicians and political militants from all points on the ideological spectrum, who then continue their political activity as *evangélicos*.

Protestant political involvement has been especially great in the state of Rio de Janeiro, where four out of five state governors between 1994 and 2003 were Protestants. It was there that the UCKG also elected its first senator, a bishop of the church who was well known for being a singer and director of a large social project. Social work is an area in which the historical churches were heavily involved from the late nineteenth century, especially with schools and hospitals. Advanced institutions at the time, they often later declined or became more secularized; fastgrowing Pentecostalism concentrated on EVANGELISM. However, from the 1980s the social thrust of Protestantism was renewed, especially by the newer Pentecostal and charismatic churches. The Brazilian branches of foreign Protestant social agencies such as WORLD VISION have also been important. In 2002 a national network of Protestant social institutions was established.

About half of all Protestant politicians have had links with the religious media. In fact, with the exception of the United States, Brazil produces the largest number of Protestant television programs in the world, and most are Pentecostal. Protestant radio programs in Brazil date from the 1940s and became very common in the 1950s. Today hundreds of radio stations are owned by churches. Television programs began timidly in the 1970s, and there was some importing of American material for a short time, but by the early 1990s scores of Protestant programs were all nationally produced. Media evangelism may be somewhat more efficacious evangelistically than in the United States, but its main importance is in fortifying the self-image of an expanding minority.

Brazilian Protestantism has been exported heavily since the 1980s. This has happened first through the emigration of Brazilians and the creation of Brazilian churches in the diaspora. The United States and Japan have been the main destinations, but in 2000 there were also thirty Brazilian churches in London. Second, Brazilian Protestantism has been exported through missionaries, making it one of the “emerging countries” of Protestant mission. Although there are still about two thousand foreign missionaries in Brazil (mostly in smaller denominations and in work with the few indigenous Indians, making their presence almost invisible), the country also has more than two thousand missionaries abroad. Baptists and Presbyterians have sent missionaries since 1911, but it was only in the 1970s that mission sending really took off. In 1982 the Association of Brazilian Transcultural Missions was formed. Comibam (Congresso Missionário IberoAmericano) took place in 1987, followed by a great expansion in the number of autochthonous Brazilian mission agencies and number of missionaries. By 2000 ninety

percent of all Brazilian missionaries abroad were working under the auspices of Brazilian agencies. The countries with the largest contingents were Paraguay, Bolivia, and the United States, followed by Portugal, Spain, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Uruguay, and Argentina. Four-fifths were working amongst Portuguese- or Spanish-speaking people. However, there were also missionaries in countries such as Albania, Mongolia, and India. From the 1990s there was an effort to direct more missionaries to North Africa and Asia. In 2000 there were some one hundred Brazilian missionaries in the United Kingdom, a significant inversion of historic flows.

Many sending agencies are transdenominational, although the major denominations also have their own agencies. The Pentecostal churches usually follow the traditional model of denominational transplant. Thus the UCKG, founded in a poor suburb of Rio de Janeiro in 1977, began work abroad in 1985 and by 2000 had branches in over seventy countries covering all continents. God is Love and the Christian Congregation also invest heavily in international expansion, although currency devaluation after 1999 slowed the Brazilian missionary effort.

By the end of the twentieth century many Brazilian Protestants were convinced they would soon be a majority in their country. While Catholicism was losing members, however, by no means were all turning to Protestantism. The religious future of Brazil is likely to include a revitalized Catholicism retaining a large percentage of the population, with a vast and extremely fragmented Protestant field, and a considerable sector of non-Christian religions and nonbelievers.

See also Congregationalism; Conversion; Ecumenism; Evangelicalism; Methodism; Missions; Televangelism

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PAUL FRESTON

BREECHES BIBLE

The term “Breeches Bible” was a popular reference to the GENEVA BIBLE of 1560 because of the use of the word “breeches” instead of “aprons” or “loincloths” in Genesis 3:7. In this translation Adam and Eve “sewed fig leaves together and made themselves breeches.”

During the reestablishment of Catholicism in ENGLAND and the religious persecution of Queen Mary’s reign (1553–1558), many English Protestants sought exile in Geneva, SWITZERLAND. Living in a city under the religious influence of JOHN CALVIN and THEODORE BEZA, and bustling with biblical scholarship and translation activity, the English exiles desired a new version of the BIBLE. In 1557 the New Testament and the Psalms resulted largely from the work of William Wittingham, who relied on WILLIAM TYNDALE’S translation but included revisions from the Greek and Hebrew texts and Beza’s Latin version. Wittingham, aided by Anthony Gilby and Thomas Sampson, then proceeded to translate the entire Old Testament using MILES COVERDALE’S Great Bible along with various Hebrew and Latin texts. With further revision of the New Testament, the complete text of the Geneva Bible was published in 1560.

With the ascension of Queen ELIZABETH I in 1559, and the reestablishment of Protestantism in England, the Great Bible was restored to every parish church as King HENRY VIII had earlier decreed, but the Geneva Bible became the family Bible of England and SCOTLAND and the Bible of the early Puritans in America (see PURITANISM). Its popularity was attributed in part to its innovations of using Roman type, verse divisions that made the use of concordances possible, the manageable quarto size, and textual notes that promoted a Protestant, and to a lesser degree Calvinist, interpretation of scripture (see CALVINISM). The Geneva Bible went through more than 140 editions until it was eclipsed by the Authorized Version (King James) Bible a generation after the latter appeared in 1611.

See also Bible Translation; Bible, King James Version

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TIMOTHY E.FULOP

BRENT, CHARLES HENRY (1862–1929)

American Episcopal bishop. Born in 1862 in Toronto, CANADA and raised there, Brent was ordained to the Episcopal priesthood in Buffalo, New York in 1887. The next year he went to work in Boston, Massachusetts with the Cowley Fathers, becoming deeply immersed in the Anglo-Catholic movement of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH. In 1901 he was elected bishop of the PHILIPPINES, a position he held until 1917 when he became senior chaplain of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe.

In the Philippines he oversaw the mission work of the Episcopal Church, attended to the needs of Americans in Manila, and energetically combated the opium trade in the Far East. After the War he took up his position as bishop of Western New York, and from 1926 to 1928 was in charge of the Episcopal churches in Europe. He was a major figure in the Ecumenical Movement, attending the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in Edinburgh 1910, participating in the Life and Work movement, and spearheading the Faith and Order movement, presiding at its first meeting in Lausanne, SWITZERLAND in 1927.

Brent's many interests grew out of a coherent THEOLOGY, one that was rooted in the AngloCatholic movement of his time. This theology fused the SOCIAL GOSPEL with an "establishmentarian ideal" in which the CHURCH was responsible for all of society, and society would be regenerated by its participation in the life of the church. "It is God's will that the Church should be coterminous with society, and that the unity of life thus produced should make the 'communion of saints' a reality on earth and not a mere theory," he wrote in *With God in the World*. The purpose of Christian mission was to regenerate the spiritual, social, and economic life of a people. There were two corollaries to this view. One was that mission would be ineffective if the church were not united in its basic approach to the world, and thus Brent worked hard in the ecumenical movement to bring the branches of Christianity together in thought and action. A second was that the church needed to be indigenous, living out its mission differently among various nations and peoples. The shape of the church universal was cruciform: it was both catholic and indigenous, and the purpose of this cruciform church was to regenerate the totality of society according to the will of God.

See also Anglo-Catholicism; Ecumenism

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ARUN W. JONES

BRENZ, JOHANNES (1499–1570)

Lutheran theologian and church organizer. Brenz was influential in the development of orthodox Lutheran THEOLOGY. Born in Weil, Brenz began his studies in Heidelberg in 1514 where he subsequently met JoHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS, MARTIN BUCER, and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, and where he witnessed MARTIN LUTHER'S participation in the Heidelberg disputation of the German Augustinians in 1518. Converted to the new REFORMATION Theology, Brenz became a city pastor in Schwäbisch-Hall in 1522 and gradually introduced ecclesiastical reforms.

In the mid-1520s he defended Luther's doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the LORD'S SUPPER against Oecolampadius and was a driving force in the establishment of LUTHERANISM throughout northern Swabia. In 1527 and 1528 Brenz wrote an early Lutheran CATECHISM, in 1529 he supported Luther against HULDRYCH ZWINGLI at Marburg, and in 1530 he was present at the Diet of Augsburg. At the request of Duke Ulrich, Brenz participated in the writing of a church order for the duchy of Württemberg and was instrumental in the reorganization of the University of Tübingen. After the Catholic victory in the War of Schmalkald had forced Brenz to flee from Schwäbisch-Hall in 1548, he took refuge in Basel before finally going to Stuttgart where he became provost of the collegiate church in 1553. He died in Stuttgart in 1570.

Developing a theme in Luther's CHRISTOLOGY Brenz argued in his 1561 *De personali unione duarum naturarum in Christo* that omnipotence and omnipresence are properties properly communicated to the human nature of Christ while on earth, and that it is by way of this power of ubiquity that Christ is present in the sacrament. (This account differs from Chemnitz's *multivolipresence* view that claims Christ's body is present only where He so wills.) Brenz's staunch defense of central Lutheran teachings helped to preserve the distinctiveness of Lutheranism.

See also Sacraments

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DENNIS BIELFELDT

BRETHREN IN CHRIST

The Brethren in Christ originated in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, around 1780. Throughout their history, they have been characterized by a synthesis of evangelical PIETISM and ANABAPTISM. The late nineteenth century brought numerous changes to the church, including the introduction of WESLEYANISM. Since 1950, the denomination has shed various aspects of its sectarian past, including plain dress. At the twentieth century's close, the Brethren in Christ Church consisted of over 80,000 members in twentythree countries.

Origins

The beginnings of the Brethren in Christ can be traced to Revolutionary-era Pennsylvania. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, a significant number of Pennsylvania's German-speaking residents embraced the teaching of ministers who advocated heartfelt CONVERSION (the "new birth") and a pietistic approach to the Christian faith. One of these ministers, Martin Boehm (1725–1812), was particularly influential among Lancaster County's MENNONITES. Boehm ultimately left the Mennonites for more ecumenical pursuits, but his preaching resonated with a small group of Mennonites who sought to meld his Pietism with their Anabaptist convictions. This group, which emerged around 1780, soon took the name River Brethren, most likely because of its proximity to the Susquehanna River. For reasons unknown, this same group changed its name to Brethren in Christ at the time of the CIVIL WAR.

The most prominent early leader of the River Brethren was Jacob Engel, the son of Swiss Mennonite immigrants. When and how Engel and his fellow founders broke from their Mennonite churches is not clear. Most scholars posit a gradual emergence of the movement, beginning as occasional prayer meetings before becoming a more distinct

church body around 1780. In 1788 two River Brethren families migrated to CANADA, where the brethren became known as “Tunkers” (a reference to the church’s mode of BAPTISM, which was trine immersion). Until 1870 southern Ontario and southeastern Pennsylvania constituted the movement’s geographical centers.

A confession of faith, written near the eighteenth century’s close, outlines the River Brethren’s early theological convictions. In addition to emphasizing the new birth, the confession reveals distinct Anabaptist-Mennonite emphases, including believers’ baptism, renunciation of the world, CHURCH DISCIPLINE according to Matthew 18, footwashing, and the rejection of the sword (see PACIFISM). As a whole, the confession indicates that the early River Brethren remained committed to Anabaptist-Mennonite ecclesiology, ethics, and practices even as they embraced a more ecumenical, pietistic spirituality.

Expansion, Conflict, and Transitions

Despite relatively slow numerical growth during their first century, the River Brethren extended their geographical reach, starting churches in Maryland, New York, several midwestern states, and eventually California. Two schisms in the 1850s reduced the church’s membership by spawning two new church bodies: the “Yorkers,” now known as the Old Order River Brethren, and the “Brinsers,” who became the United Zion Church. Both schisms can be traced to a dispute over the use of meetinghouses. When the Brinsers constructed a meetinghouse, thus challenging the traditional River Brethren practice of worshiping in homes, they were excommunicated. Shortly thereafter, the conservative Yorkers broke ties, dissatisfied that the Brinsers had not been disciplined severely enough. Meetinghouses would soon become common among the remaining River Brethren.

Further progressive steps reshaped the late nineteenth-century Brethren in Christ. With the initiation of protracted revival meetings, SUNDAY SCHOOLS, and TEMPERANCE advocacy, the church mirrored other late nineteenth-century American Protestant movements. Gospel songs and choruses replaced slow, metered hymnody, the conversion experience was made more immediate, and child conversions became commonplace. To some church members, these developments represented a creeping worldliness that threatened the church’s traditional values. Most, however, embraced them as strategies that would help the church in the work Of EVANGELISM.

In addition to adopting new outreach strategies, some Brethren in Christ churches embraced the holiness doctrine of entire sanctification. Drawing on the work of JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791) (see Wesleyanism), holiness advocates urged Christians to seek a “second work of grace” that would eradicate the sinful nature. The Brethren in Christ in Kansas became the church’s strongest holiness advocates, and by 1910 the Brethren in Christ General Conference had officially adopted this theological perspective, incorporating the phrase “grace of cleansing completed” into its doctrinal statements. Although some Brethren in Christ churches rejected this view of sanctification, it remained the denomination’s official position, promulgated by emotional preaching at the church’s holiness-oriented CAMP MEETINGS.

Twentieth-Century Developments

Energized by the Protestant call to evangelize the world, the Brethren in Christ commissioned its first overseas missionaries in 1897. Beginning with MISSION outposts in AFRICA and INDIA, the Brethren in Christ established churches in over twenty countries during the twentieth century. By the century's end, only thirty percent of the denomination's 80,000 members lived in North America.

In the meantime, two world wars challenged the historic Brethren in Christ commitment to nonresistance. During World War I, some church members, including future Canadian bishop E.J.Swalm, were imprisoned for their refusal to perform military service. Even as these imprisonments strengthened some members' nonresistant resolve, others abandoned the church's pacifist stand. During World War II, only fifty percent of Brethren in Christ young men in the United States became conscientious objectors (see CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION). The church's effort to discipline those who joined the military was largely unsuccessful. Some military participants simply left the church; in other cases, local churches refused to enact disciplinary measures.

Between the two wars, the denomination wrestled with dress-related issues. As some members challenged the church's long-standing practice of plain dress (a practice rooted in its Anabaptist past and reinvigorated by holiness teaching), the church adopted a formal dress code. These prescriptions, adopted in 1937, remained on the books until 1952. Denominational historians would later recall these years as a regrettable era of legalism.

By 1950 most Brethren in Christ leaders had determined to move their church toward the evangelical Protestant mainstream. In 1949 the church joined the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS, a decision that epitomized its desire to associate more fully with other evangelical denominations. The history of Messiah College, founded by the Brethren in Christ in 1909, paralleled this trajectory, increasingly drawing students and faculty from an array of mostly evangelical Protestant churches. Even so, the Brethren in Christ Church continued its association with the Mennonite World Conference and the Mennonite Central Committee, and its late twentieth-century doctrinal statements continued to espouse Anabaptist principles, including pacifism. While some church leaders found this continuing connection to Anabaptism burdensome (especially in the area of church growth), others found the dialectic between evangelical piety and Anabaptist obedience both true to the church's past and meaningful for the church's future (Wittlinger 1978:ix).

See also Conscientious Objection; Mennonites; Pacifism; Wesleyanism.

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DAVID L.WEAVER-ZERCHER

BRETHREN, CHURCH OF THE

Three women and five men started the movement later known as Brethren or Dunkers on an early August morning in 1708. One of them immersed their leader, Alexander Mack Sr., in the Eder River at Schwarzenau, in Wittgenstein, three times in the names of the Trinity upon his confession of faith in Jesus Christ. Having received this “threefold” BAPTISM, Mack then baptized the rest. Their movement sought to renew Christianity through a close reading and practice of the New Testament and the pattern of ancient Christianity, primarily as portrayed by the seventeenth-century historian, Gottfried Arnold. Intentionally choosing no name for themselves, they wished to be known only as sisters and brothers in Christ. In midnineteenth century in America the group adopted the name German Baptist Brethren, which they changed to Church of the Brethren in 1908. In Germany their opponents called them *Neu-Täufer* (New Anabaptists). Other nicknames included Tunkers, or in English, Dunkers or Dunkards (in Dutch, Dompelaars), all referring to the baptismal practice of immersion.

The eight originators of the Dunker, or Brethren movement (using the archaic English word “Brethren” to refer to women and men) were religious separatists mostly of poor artisan economic background who fled to Schwarzenau. Alexander and Anna Maragretha (Kling) Mack came from wealthy, prominent families near Heidelberg. Radical Pietism, the more separatist wing of the renewal movement known as PIETISM, and Anabaptist literature and contacts (see ANABAPTISM) influenced the Brethren, who organized around immersion baptism upon adult confession of faith and the practice of mutual church discipline. They adopted a fuller Eucharistic ritual called the love feast, consisting of feetwashing, a simple meal (the agape of ancient Christianity), and the bread and cup of the Eucharist, all preceded by a lengthy period of self-examination and repentance (see LORD’S SUPPER). At the love feast and other times, the Dunkers greeted each other with a holy kiss exchanged among men, or among women, but never across gender lines. The kiss and the address of “sister” and “brother” intended to show spiritual love. They also practiced anointing for healing (not to the exclusion of medical arts, however). They refused to swear oaths and fight in war (see PACMSM), and avoided the use of courts. They lived austere to share material resources with the needy, often themselves.

Their evangelistic, eschatological preaching gathered a second congregation in Marienborn (IsenburgBüdingen). They were expelled in 1715 and moved to Krefeld. The Schwarzenau congregation migrated to Surhuisterveen, Friesland (Netherlands) in 1720. A group from Krefeld, led by Peter Becker, emigrated to Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1719, perhaps in part over dissension about church discipline in Krefeld. They worshiped together for the first time in America on Christmas Day 1723, when Becker baptized new converts and held a love feast. Mack’s group immigrated in 1729, and by 1735, most of the European Brethren had come to America, numbering a few hundred. The few members in Europe assimilated into other groups or remained separatists.

The Brethren suffered a division in 1728, led by Conrad Beissel, minister of the third Brethren congregation (Conestoga), who taught speculative concepts from JACOB BOEHME. Beissel upheld CELIBACY above marriage, and worship on the seventh day of the week. His community, eventually named Ephrata, built several large monastic houses and chapels. Slowly the Brethren recovered and spread. By 1770 they had reached

New Jersey, Maryland, southern Virginia, the Carolinas, and perhaps formed a congregation in Georgia, with the largest concentration in Pennsylvania. According to Morgan Edwards, they numbered more than 1,500 members, with many more participants because of large families. The Revolutionary War brought some repressive consequences, most notably the arrest of the Germantown printer, Christopher Sauer II, whose press and wealth were seized because of his objection to war. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, some Brethren spread into eastern Tennessee, Kentucky, southwestern Ohio, and into southern Missouri near Cape Girardeau.

In the 1790s the Brethren suffered a doctrinal dispute when a minister in North Carolina, John H. (probably John Hendricks from Pennsylvania), preached UNIVERSALISM, meaning no punishment for sinners and no heaven or hell. The Annual Meeting, a yearly gathering that slowly emerged after 1742 to resolve difficulties, sent ministers to counsel with John H. When he refused to abandon universalism, the Annual Meeting expelled him and his supporters from membership in 1798. The few Brethren in eastern Tennessee were not “disfellowshipped,” probably because of closer ties to the ministers in southern Virginia. Most of the Brethren in the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Missouri were lost in this decision, perhaps a thousand people. Many of them remained affiliated together, and were known as the Far Western Brethren. Some of them moved north and joined Brethren congregations, as Brethren from Virginia and the Carolinas moved into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The first half of the nineteenth century brought both standardization and new tensions. Revivalism (see REVIVALS) swept through Kentucky. Some of the Far Western Brethren in Kentucky and some Brethren in southern Indiana followed ministers Peter Hon (Hahn) and Adam Hostetler into the Restoration movement of Alexander Campbell (see CAMPBELL FAMILY) and BARTON STONE in the 1820s. Meanwhile, one of the Far Western Brethren ministers, George Wolfe II of Illinois, continued to promote Brethren teachings and the importance of Annual Meeting. Wolfe led the remaining Far Western Brethren to reconciliation with the rest of the Brethren between 1840 and 1860. However, Peter Eyman led a small division in Indiana, forming in 1848 the New Dunkards, or CHURCH of GOD (not the CHURCH of GOD, ANDERSON, INDIANA).

Annual Meeting increasingly took on a standardizing role, establishing wording for the anointing ritual (1827) and baptism (1848). By this time Brethren prohibited WOMEN from speaking in worship. Sarah Righter Major, from the Philadelphia congregation, felt divinely called to preach, and did so upon invitation (see WOMEN CLERGY). Annual Meeting sent a committee to investigate in 1834, but the men declined to silence a woman who could preach better than they. As Brethren spread, shared patterns of daily worship in homes, congregational worship held in homes or plain meetinghouses, and the Annual Meeting held them together. Congregations often had multiple meeting points and a team of several self-supporting ministers without formal education. The yearly love feast, typically attended by all local members and many from nearby, allowed for communication and circulation of members and ministers that promoted consensus of faith and practice. In 1851 Henry Kurtz started a paper, *The Gospel Visitor*, to aid communication.

Around the mid-nineteenth century, Brethren founded their first congregation in Iowa (Libertyville, 1844, the oldest one continuing west of the Mississippi), in Oregon

(Lebanon, in Willamette Valley, 1854), and in California (near Monterey, 1856). All had a core of Far Western Brethren associated in some way with George Wolfe II. The Oregon group struggled with internal controversies over universalism. The California group gradually drifted toward congregational polity, eventually joining the Progressive branch in the division of the 1880s.

Brethren stayed united in their opposition to SLAVERY and war as the nation divided (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Rarely active in abolition, some Brethren helped freed slaves reach safety in the North. One of them, Samuel Weir, was freed in 1843 when the family that held him joined the Brethren in Botetourt County, Virginia. Elder B.F.Moomaw helped Weir move to Ohio. There, Sarah Righter Major and her husband, Thomas, who had moved to Ohio, encouraged him to preach. Late in life Weir became the first African American minister and elder among the Brethren.

During the CIVIL WAR, Brethren in the South suffered more from conscription laws and war than Brethren in the North. Elder John Kline, from Virginia, labored extensively on both sides to promote unity in the church. He was killed by local irregulars near his home in 1864. Elder Peter Wrightsman from Tennessee negotiated exemptions from military service. The few Brethren in Missouri and Kansas suffered losses of property and sometimes life from guerilla raids.

Although war did not divide the church, tensions with modernism did. By the 1870s a young generation of ministers challenged some of the marks of distinction from the world upheld by the elders who had led during the Civil War. Interest in foreign MISSIONS led congregations in northern Illinois to send Christian and Mary Hope to DENMARK as the first Brethren foreign missionaries, despite opposition from older ministers at Annual Meeting. Meanwhile, various Brethren entrepreneurs attempted to start Brethren schools (high schools and normal schools). A firebrand for progress from central Pennsylvania, Henry Holsinger, agitated throughout the 1870s for a formally educated, salaried ministry along with allowing church colleges, Revivals, and SUNDAY SCHOOLS. He insulted the older ministers for their lack of education and what he saw as excessive reliance on TRADITION rather than scripture. The conflicts culminated in a three-way division in the early 1880s. Several older ministers in southern Ohio withdrew in 1880, creating the Old German Baptist Brethren, when Annual Meeting refused their petition to halt creeping innovations such as higher education; revivals; paid, educated ministry; and Sunday Schools. In 1882 Annual Meeting disfellowshipped Henry Holsinger for his disregard of Annual Meeting's authority and abrasive comments. Holsinger's supporters organized the Brethren Church (known informally as Progressive Brethren) in 1883. A key factor in the divisions was the role and power of Annual Meeting to interpret scripture and to set standards for the whole church.

The most numerous group, the German Baptist Brethren, attempted to be both conservative and progressive, seeking primarily to avoid further division. The lack of a specific agenda bestowed a mixed legacy for this group's future. Within a generation, they adopted much of the progressives' agenda. In 1895 they launched an aggressive, funded foreign mission program, sending Wilbur and Mary Stover and Bertha Ryan to INDIA, also precipitating an institutional denominational structure. In 1908, when the church's name changed to Church of the Brethren, they launched a mission to CHINA. Numerous Brethren colleges were founded in the second half of the nineteenth century, of which survive six related to the Church of the Brethren, and one to the Brethren

Church. Both denominations have theological seminaries, started in the twentieth century.

In the early twentieth century, the Church of the Brethren cautiously adopted progressive currents, gradually relaxing symbolic patterns of separation from the general culture. Two issues illustrate this change. In 1911, after years of debate, Annual Meeting made the required plain dress, which became fixed in the mid-nineteenth century, no longer grounds for disfellowshipping. When the United States entered World War I, the Church of the Brethren convened a special national conference in Goshen, Indiana, in January 1919. The conference counseled Brethren men not to train for war or wear the uniform. Upon government threats of prosecution for treason, church officials retracted the statement and recalled printed copies of it. With the church uncertain, many Brethren men fought as soldiers or served as noncombatants in uniform, whereas some maintained the peace teaching. These changes weakened the role of the church as interpreter of scripture and guide in faith and practice, endorsing new appeals to individual conscience as the arbiter of faithful life.

American optimism about progress in the early twentieth century combined with Brethren interests in holy living and mission to give birth to new urban congregations, homes for orphans and the elderly, and church camps for youth. Women's participation in foreign and home missions raised questions about women in ministry. In 1911 Martha Cunningham Dolby, an African American Brethren woman, became the first woman to be listed officially as a licensed minister, although full ordination for women was not accepted until 1958. Ironically, the Ohio congregation she attended told her to join an African American denomination around 1924, two years after the Brethren launched their last major foreign mission, in NIGERIA.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Brethren followed newly opened railroad routes in agricultural colonization. New congregations, some short-lived, emerged in the Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, and CANADA'S prairie provinces, where an Annual Conference was held in 1923, the only time outside the United States. Other areas of migration included Washington, Oregon, and California, Michigan, Alabama, and Louisiana, as well as Oklahoma, Texas, and Arizona.

After World War I, leaders such as M.R.Ziegler and Dan West sought to reinforce the church's peace teaching. However, during World War II only about ten percent of eligible Brethren men served as conscientious objectors in Civilian Public Service (CPS), newly created by the MENNONITES, Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), and Brethren. In China, thirteen Chinese Brethren and three missionaries were killed during the Japanese invasion. After World War II, Brethren launched a massive relief ministry in Europe, creating several service organizations, including the Heifer Project. Immensely popular, the Brethren service programs blended Christian values with postwar American idealism, and replaced the church's missionary emphasis. The focus on service and peace shaped Brethren leaders such as Andrew Cordier, who served in the United Nations, and Gladdys Muir, who started the first college-level peace studies major at Manchester College in 1948.

Many Church of the Brethren leaders accepted new theological currents after World War I, especially Protestant liberalism, diminishing the emphasis on the church's distinctive New Testament teachings and practices. Some resisted, such as the Dunkard Brethren, who withdrew in 1926 over the loss of plain dress. In the Brethren Church

(Progressives), controversy over fundamentalism led to a division in 1937–1939, creating the more fundamentalist Fellowship of Grace Brethren Churches, with college and seminary in Winona Lake, Indiana. In the 1990s the Grace Brethren divided when a group insisted on requiring threefold immersion baptism for those transferring membership. The new group is the Conservative Grace Brethren Church.

The Church of the Brethren Annual Conference in 1958 allowed for the first time the transfer of membership from other denominations without requiring threefold immersion baptism, and bread and cup communion without the full love feast. In reaction, several conservative Brethren formed the Brethren Revival Fellowship (BRF), to promote the distinctive teachings and practices of the church. Social changes in the United States since the 1960s have affected the Church of the Brethren. Despite continued peace teaching, a small percentage of Brethren men were conscientious objectors to the wars in KOREA and Vietnam (see CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION). During the Vietnam war, two Brethren alternative service workers in Vietnam were killed. In 1973 the Women's Caucus was formed to advance equality for women in the church.

The Brethren in the early twenty-first century reflect many results of the acculturation to mainline Protestantism. Attendance at love feast is much smaller and those holding the peace witness are a minority, even though it is still the church's teaching. Congregations with strong BRF ties maintain high rates of observing distinctive Brethren teachings and practices. Brethren in Nigeria outnumber the membership of the Church of the Brethren, which has declined significantly since 1963 to about 135,000 in 2000. In 2002 the Michigan district ordained an openly homosexual person one month before Annual Conference voted to prohibit such ordinations. Renewed interest in the heritage of the Brethren in the late twentieth century culminated in the *Brethren Encyclopedia* in 1983, a cooperative production of all the Brethren bodies. James McClendon completed a systematic theology from an Anabaptist perspective in 2001. The future of the Brethren remains open.

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JEFF BACH

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY

The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) began as a cross-denominational (though predominantly Evangelical) society in 1804 in London, with the aim of translating and distributing the BIBLE in as many languages as possible. It established numerous overseas territories and agencies, and increased the number of languages in which the Bible is available from 67 in 1804 to more than 2000 by 2000. It quickly became a model for other national BIBLE SOCIETIES to follow. BFBS overcame many difficulties of crosscultural translation and project viability, but its exclusion of the Apocrypha from translations led to secessions of European and Scottish Societies in the 1820s. With the proliferation of national Bible societies, the 1946 formation of the United Bible Societies (UBS) saw the BFBS reduce its overseas operations, to operate more as one national society among many. While the BFBS's primary objective has been the production and distribution of printed Bibles, its impact has gone further, with contributions to education and literacy, expansion into other media of Bible production, and the development of a research facility in its library at Cambridge University.

Foundation and Purpose

Late eighteenth-century British EVANGELICALISM produced many benevolent societies for the advancement of Christianity. When the Religious Tract Society decided not to distribute Bibles in Welsh, a new society was formed for that purpose. On March 7, 1804, The British and Foreign Bible Society was established in London. It immediately attracted a wide range of cross-denominational support, especially from the Evangelical wing of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and Nonconformist Churches (see NONCONFORMITY). Its patron was WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, and its foundation membership included such luminaries as GRANVILLE SHARP, Zachary Macauley, and the bishops of London and Salisbury. The Society's aim was to encourage and promote a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, on a world-wide basis. The 300 people at its first meeting raised a subscription to begin the Society's work of providing Bibles in any language for which there was a readership. This has remained its objective, although the statement of aim has been expanded to embrace more modern situations as "to provide Bibles and Bible-related resources using print and other media; to offer training, information, and advice; to link congregations and individual Christians into the world-wide Church; and to supply specialist back-up services wherever appropriate."

Development

The BFBS organized itself on a committee basis with auxiliaries and agencies throughout the world. The territorial agencies established permanent depots and traveling sales agents, called “colporteurs.” By the time of its centenary in 1904, the BFBS employed more than 1,000 overseas staff members and had some 2,000 affiliated societies in the British Dominions. In cooperation with local churches and missionary societies, its main activity has been the translation, printing, and distribution of Bibles or Scripture portions in as many languages as possible. Problems arose regarding cross-cultural communication in translations (including the vexed issue of whether to include explanatory notes) and the practical viability of small readership in many languages. However, the first 20 years of the Society’s work progressed smoothly, and its organization and methods became a model for many similar societies in other countries, many of which were supported actively and financially by the BFBS. In 1825–1826, the first significant problem arose, when the German Bible Societies withdrew from the London Committee because the BFBS refused to include the Apocrypha in its translations. Dissatisfaction with the BFBS’s treatment of this issue also saw the secession of the Scottish Societies. The proliferation of Bible societies generated both by the BFBS’s auxiliary system and the inevitable tensions within such a broadly based group, as well as independent developments in other countries, led to the formation in 1946 of the United Bible Societies (UBS), a coordinating body set up to achieve greater efficiency in the task of Bible production. Since then, the BFBS has effectively scaled down its overseas role, seeing itself as one among many national Bible societies. It maintains an active role in the UBS, exemplified by the 2002 appointment of BFBS Chief Executive Neil Crosbie to the office of General Secretary of the UBS.

Scope and Influence

The BFBS’s work expanded quickly and continuously. This is clearest in the large numbers of translations and distributions of Bibles throughout the world, its formative influence on many national Bible Societies, and its continuing involvement in the UBS. However, the BFBS’s influence has exceeded this. It has also contributed to the growth of education and nationalism, as its provision of cheap texts in the vernacular has promoted literacy in developing countries as a byproduct of its primary objective. To embrace the needs of the modern world, the BFBS has branched into various media of biblical production, including audio cassettes, television series, and academic teaching materials. The BFBS has also developed a research culture, particularly with its establishment of a library to acquire and preserve copies of the Bible in all standard editions. Since 1804, it has systematically added all its own editions and acquired numerous private collections of printed Bibles and manuscripts. In 1985, the library was relocated to Cambridge University. The collection of more than 35,000 volumes in more than 2500 languages represented contains all of the historical documents of the BFBS as well as various secondary works and catalogues of biblical production, and as such it constitutes a significant research facility.

See also American Bible Society; Bible Translation; Wycliff Bible Translators

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LES J.BALL

BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The British Council of Churches (BCC) was formed in 1942 by the merger of the Council on the Christian Faith and the Common Life, the Commission of the Churches for International Friendship, and the British Section of the World Conference on Faith and Order. Its objects were common action in EVANGELISM, youth work, social responsibility, and the promotion of international friendship. It also became the main link between the British churches and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Sixteen churches and interdenominational agencies such as the YMCA, YWCA, and SCM (Student Christian Movement) became members. The first President was Archbishop WILLIAM TEMPLE.

The BCC's response to the postwar world was shown in two early reports, *The Era of Atomic Power* and *Christian Witness in the Post-War World* (1946). A new department for interchurch aid and refugees illustrated its practical concerns. In 1957 Christian Aid week in May was initiated to support this; local Christian Aid committees were often the nuclei of support for local councils of churches, which numbered 300 by 1960.

In September 1964 the BCC held a British Faith and Order Conference at Nottingham. The proposal that the churches should covenant together "in appropriate groupings such as nations" to work and pray for unity by an agreed date (suggested as Easter Day 1980) led to different developments in ENGLAND, WALES, and SCOTLAND. More significant was the idea of Areas of Ecumenical Experiment, subsequently termed Local Ecumenical Projects (more recently Partnerships), in which congregations of different traditions could come together. The Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969) facilitated this process, which rapidly became the main way of establishing churches in new housing areas.

After the Second Vatican Council the Roman Catholic Church was invited to appoint consultants (1968) and Roman Catholics joined many local councils of churches, the number of which doubled in the 1960s. Pope John Paul II's visit to Great Britain in 1983 encouraged Roman Catholics to consider membership in the Council. A major conference in 1987, "Not Strangers but Pilgrims," led to the dissolution of the BCC in 1990 and its replacement by a Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland, with the Roman Catholic

Churches in England, Wales, and Scotland as full members. A new council (Churches Together in England) was set up, and the Welsh, Scottish, and Irish Councils were reshaped. The separate departments were abolished; and Christian Aid, whose annual turnover and staff were much larger than any other part of the Council, became a separate agency.

See also Ecumenism; Evangelism;

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DAVID M. THOMPSON

BRITTEN, EDWARD BENJAMIN (1913–1976)

British composer. Britten, born at Lowestoft, England, on November 22, 1913, was demonstrably the most influential English composer of the mid-twentieth century. Culturally a member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, his attitude toward the established church was ambivalent. Instead, his musical life was dominated by his public PACIFISM, his concern with musical education, and his private, complex, and intentionally hidden love for men and boys. Britten wrote few pieces specifically for the liturgy: for Anglican Morning Prayer, two settings of Psalm 100 (1934 and 1961), and two settings of the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus* (1935 and 1943); for Roman Catholic use, a setting of Psalm 95 (1961) and a *Missa Brevis* (1959); and for occasional use, six short anthems. However, he wrote sacred music (often for church performance) throughout his career, notably five cantatas (*A Ceremony of Carols*, 1942; *Hymn to St. Cecilia*, 1942; *Rejoice in the Lamb*, 1943; *St. Nicholas*, 1948; and *Cantata misericordium*, 1964); a church opera (*Noye's Fludde*, 1958); and three "church parables" (*Curlew River*, 1964; *The Burning Fiery Furnace*, 1966; and *The Prodigal Son*, 1968). Furthermore, his music for solo voices includes settings of religious poetry of JOHN DONNE, T.S. ELIOT, and W.H. AUDEN, among others. Britten's best-known sacred work (*A War Requiem*, written in 1962 for the newly rebuilt Coventry Cathedral) juxtaposes the traditional *missa pro defunctis* with Wilfred Owen's bitter poems condemning the follies of war. Like Britten's operas (especially *Peter Grimes*, 1945; *Billy Budd*, 1954; *The Turn of the Screw*, 1954; *Owen Wingrave*, 1970; and *Death in Venice*, 1973), his larger sacred works display his incisive social and political critique (often of the church), which is characterized by a passionate appeal for justice for victimized adults and innocent victims.

Britten died December 4, 1976, at Aldeburgh, England.

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WILLIAM FLYNN

BROAD CHURCH

The term "Broad Church" was used to describe those members of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND (and to a lesser extent other parts of the Anglican world) who emphasize the broad, liberal, and inclusive nature of ANGLICANISM. The term has tended to function within the Church of England in a way similar to the use of the term "Liberal" among other religious bodies. The Broad Church position stands against the "High Church" emphasis on the Catholic and sacramental nature of the Anglican system with its elevated view of episcopal and priestly ministry, and the "Low Church" emphasis on the Protestant nature of the Anglican system.

Although there have been individuals throughout the history of ANGLICANISM who have emphasized the rational and inclusive nature of their tradition, the term Broad Church came in vogue in the middle of the nineteenth century during the height of the High Church/Low Church conflicts stirred by the Catholic revival of the OXFORD MOVEMENT. The Broad Church agenda was twofold. The first was to argue that the church should be comprehensive and tolerant concerning points of theological and doctrinal controversies and to admit varieties of opinion. They opposed any idea of subscription to specific statements of belief. The second (often only implicit) was that this broadness and inclusivity should be used to help address the new intellectual challenges to inherited belief, by rethinking traditional formularies in light of modern intellectual advances. Broad Church spokespersons argued in particular for an openness to the new science represented by Charles Darwin (see DARWINISM) and the new historical approach to the study of the BIBLE. *Essays and Reviews* (1860), the first work in English to incorporate elements of the new biblical criticism, is considered one of the most noteworthy of the Broad Church productions. Although the impulse has continued to mark an important strain of Anglicanism, by the twentieth century the term began to be less used, being replaced by the category Modernist.

See also Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Modernism

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ROBERT BRUCE MULLIN

BROOKS, PHILLIPS (1835–1893)

Popular American preacher and briefly Episcopal bishop of Massachusetts. Brooks was born in Boston on December 13, 1835, into an old, well-established New England family. He attended Boston Latin School and Harvard College, graduating from the latter in 1855. At Harvard and thereafter, Brooks read widely in Romantic literature, which would prove to have a significant influence on him. Brooks chose to pursue seminary training for the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church and enrolled in Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria. The seminary had spearheaded evangelical renewal within the Episcopal Church, although Brooks found it disappointing academically. Upon graduation in 1859, he served two Episcopal churches in Philadelphia. During and immediately after the CIVIL WAR, Brooks, who was an outspoken supporter of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, won a reputation for pulpit eloquence. In 1869 he accepted a call to pastor Trinity Church in Boston, and it was here that his fame as a powerful preacher blossomed. He died January 23, 1893.

Although Brooks had moved in evangelical circles since his boyhood at St. Paul's, by the 1870s he had identified himself with the emerging liberal BROAD CHURCH party. Among his more important theological influences were SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, and HORACE BUSHNELL. Brooks's *Lectures on Preaching* (1877), delivered at Yale Divinity School and later published, also proved to be popular among a wide spectrum of Protestants, both conservatives and theological liberals. Brooks's revealing definition of preaching as "the bringing of truth through personality" appealed to Romantic sensibilities and fed the pulpit celebrity of his day. Brooks continues to be known for the words of the popular Christmas carol "O Little Town of Bethlehem."

Brooks was elected bishop of Massachusetts in 1891 over the opposition of conservative High Church clergy; he served as bishop until his untimely death in 1893. Several volumes of Brooks's sermons were published in his lifetime.

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GILLIS J.HARP

BROWNE, ROBERT (1550–1633)

English separatist. Born in 1550 at Tolethorpe, in Lincolnshire, Robert Browne is considered by many to have been the founder of the English Puritan Separatist tradition. Browne's pilgrimage into radical religion began in the early 1570s during student days at Cambridge University. There he fell under the influence of THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, a university lecturer who denounced episcopacy in favor of PRESBYTERIANISM. While preaching in and around Cambridge without episcopal authorization, Browne clashed with authorities about his views that only congregations—not a bishop—had the right to appoint pastors. Convinced that a true church could not exist within the unreformed English parish system, Browne formed a congregationally oriented church of his own at Norwich in the spring of 1581.

Browne expressed his ecclesial vision in his best known publication, *A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any*, in 1582. He said that a true CHURCH was composed of visible believers, separated from the world and voluntarily joined together by a covenant made with God and one another. Imprisoned at Norwich for his Separatist activities, Browne was freed through the intervention of an influential relative, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Along with his coreligionist, Robert Harrison, and members of the Norwich congregation, Browne then fled to Middelburg in the NETHERLANDS. Once there Browne and Harrison quarreled over several issues, including whether the children of congregants should be regarded as members. Disillusioned and embittered by controversy, Browne moved in 1583 to SCOTLAND, then back to ENGLAND. After further trouble and another imprisonment, Browne recanted Separatism in 1586 and made peace with the church he had rejected five years earlier.

In 1591 he received Episcopal ordination and became rector of Thorpe Achurch, where he remained until his death in 1633. Browne's writings formed the mainstream of future Separatist ecclesiology, out of which would come both Baptist and Congregational forms of Protestantism in seventeenth-century England and New England.

See also Baptists; Bishop and Episcopacy; Congregationalism; Dissent; Puritanism

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STEPHEN BRACHLOW

BROWNING, ROBERT (1812–1889)

English poet. Browning's life did not merely span the transformation of Britain from an aristocratic and agrarian into a modern industrial society but also saw the displacement of poetry as the dominant art form. When we think of ROMANTICISM, we think of poetry; when we think of Victorian literature, we think primarily of its prose. In this changing aesthetic climate Browning's creation of the dramatic monologue (beginning with the chillingly psychopathic *Porphyria's Lover* [1836]) was to give a new psychological and interpretative role to poetry, opening the way to the modernistic experiments of Thomas Hardy and T.S.ELIOT.

Although his robust Protestantism is obvious in its skeptical mockery of Renaissance Italian Catholicism (*The Bishop Orders his Tomb*) and even more so of its modern counterpart (*Bishop Blougram's Apology*), at a much more profound level his originality of poetic form is matched by originality of theological thought. The interior space and interpretative freedom of the individual begun by the REFORMATION had created in the Romantics a new kind of interiority. For Browning, who openly declared that a poet's business was with man's soul, that was to lead directly to a new psychological interest in both the characters of his own society, and of past figures whose roles had hitherto been symbolic and typological. With people like Karshish—an imaginary doctor investigating the raising of Lazarus—or St. John, in *A Death in the Desert*—he attempted to understand the states of mind of those who had actually witnessed the events of the New Testament. Opposed equally to evangelicals who stressed God's punishments over his love, and evolutionists who stressed protoplasmic origins over what he saw as humanity's divine destiny, Browning sometimes preaches too much, and sometimes misreads current debates, although his humor and realism rarely permitted facile optimism, and never allowed despair.

See also Darwinism; Evangelicalism; Individualism; Modernism

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STEPHEN PRICKETT

BROWNSON, ORESTES AUGUSTUS (1803–1876)

Brownson was a Universalist, Unitarian, and Transcendentalist minister, religious thinker, and editor until 1844, when he converted to Roman Catholicism. He was born in Stockbridge, Vermont on September 16, 1803.

Brownson was a restless religious pilgrim whose life and thought for the first half of his career reflected the plasticity of American religious identification during the early nineteenth century. He identified himself first with the Presbyterian tradition (see PRESBYTERIANISM), and then he moved in turn to Universalism, to social radicalism, to Unitarianism, and to Transcendentalism. As a young Universalist minister, Brownson fostered through the pulpit and the press three fundamental affirmations of the emerging liberal Protestant tradition in America: the dignity of humanity, religious liberty, and free religious inquiry. He struggled, however, to reconcile these affirmations with the conceptions of the sovereignty and benevolent fatherhood of God that he had also received from his Reformed religious heritage. By his early thirties, under the influence of the French social and Romantic-idealist philosophical tradition, he reacted against the excessive rationalism of his early years and began to emphasize the religious humanism of clergyman WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING (1780–1842) and the Transcendentalism of essayist and poet RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803–1882). By his early forties, under the influence of the French St. Simonian Pierre Leroux, he moved away from the liberal Christian tradition and the Romantic individualism of Transcendentalism, emphasizing instead ecclesial communion and tradition, and the necessity of the church in the process of SALVATION, SANCTIFICATION, and reform. This theological change led him into the Catholic Church in 1844. He died in Detroit, Michigan on April 17, 1876.

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PATRICK W. CAREY

BRUDERHOF

See Society of Brothers

BRUNNER, EMIL (1889–1966)

Swiss theologian. Emil Brunner was born in Winterthur, SWITZERLAND, on December 23, 1889. He was educated in Zurich, Berlin, and New York (Union Theological Seminary), before becoming professor of theology in Zurich (1924–1966). His career included periods as visiting professor at Princeton Theological Seminary (1938–1939) and the Christian University of Japan (1953–1955). Brunner died in Zurich on April 6, 1966.

Brunner was one of the central thinkers of modern European Protestantism, and a key figure in the emergence of dialectical theology (see NEO-ORTHODOXY) in the 1920s and 1930s. During that period of significant change and development Brunner's work made an important contribution to the rejection of theological liberalism and the reassertion of God's essential Otherness. Unlike his near-contemporaries KARL BARTH (1886–1968) and RUDOLF BULTMANN (1884–1976), however, Brunner did not remain at the forefront of theological inquiry. The advent of political theologies in the 1960s was inimitable to Brunner's more abstract work, and his books are now little studied. The reasons for this situation, and the cause of Brunner's initial impact, are contained within the basic structures of his philosophical theology.

Central to any understanding of Brunner's thought is *Wahrheit als Begegnung* (1938), published in English in 1943 as *The Divine-Human Encounter*. In this study in theological epistemology Brunner asked the question, "How do we know God?" and answered that knowledge of God arises from an encounter between the individual and the Risen Lord, in the power of the Holy Spirit. This encounter is conditioned by Christianity's eschatological character, by which the experience of today's believer is qualitatively the same as that of the first Christians. Christian truth therefore confronts the individual with the moment of decision, in which God encounters them and they are saved.

From this methodological insight Brunner recognized two substantive questions: "Who is the Risen Lord?" and "Who is the individual?" Brunner's Reformed Protestant upbringing had conditioned him to give a straightforward answer to the first question. The Risen Lord is the crucified Jesus of Nazareth, the Word of God. The Word is entirely

other than the world, yet comes to the world (John 1:14) to save those who believe. This dialectical event is good news, the Gospel of redemption in which Christ is revealed as the medium by which God and humanity are joined, thereby paradoxically binding together and yet separating God and humanity. In doing so, this same Gospel both fulfills and annuls the Law, bringing to the world the possibility of new creation in Christ (II Corinthians 5:17).

A significant corollary of Brunner's understanding of revelation is that humanity needs reason to understand the possibility of SALVATION, which is why Brunner argued that although human reason can never reach God, it can approach Him (an argument that provoked Barth's infamous "Nein!" in 1934). Brunner's use of reason at this point in his theological system is entirely plausible, an acknowledgment that God's order remains inherent to creation and that although he rejects any notion of natural theology, nevertheless it is possible to perceive that creation is knowable because it is ordered. Brunner reasons that if one does not hold that this is the case, then one has no basis on which to argue that people can recognize the Word as the Word of salvation.

This conviction about the relationship of revelation to reason underpins Brunner's theological anthropology, in which his work was heavily influenced by such religious thinkers as JOHANN HAMANN, SØREN KIERKEGAARD, Johann J. Griesbach, Ferdinand Ebner, and Martin Buber. Much has been made of Brunner's apparent religious EXISTENTIALISM, yet it can be reduced to a conviction that the personal God encounters human persons as another person, Jesus of Nazareth. This is possible, argues Brunner, because humanity's essence is God-relatedness, a quality that one must understand existentially and therefore historically (not theoretically). Brunner finds this religious personalism in the BIBLE, most explicitly in the Pauline epistles, where he also finds an understanding of FAITH as a particular form of human existence in which the individual acknowledges that he/ she does not belong to him/herself, but belongs to the Risen Lord. This biblical personalism emphasizes both the transforming GRACE of encountering Jesus Christ and the need to understand humanity's fallen nature as the immediate context for that encounter, and lies at the heart of Brunner's theology.

Although Brunner was a key figure in the development of dialectical theology, his well-known arguments with Barth cast light on any evaluation of Brunner's abiding significance. Like Barth, Brunner wanted to address the kerygmatic necessity of encountering God the Other, and he shared Barth's belief that this was the only way in which the individual could be saved. Unlike Barth, however, Brunner was also convinced that the task of THEOLOGY was to service the church with the deepest possible understanding of human nature, particularly its existential predicament and its yearning for salvation, so that the church might help people to understand, and thereby turn back toward God. Barth condemned this endeavor, although that condemnation should not influence judgment of Brunner's motivation.

The more significant intellectual weakness of Brunner's position is that it presents too reified an understanding of human existence: what appeared in the 1930s and 1940s to be a bold appreciation of the central characteristics of life now appears naïve and obsolete. In this respect Brunner, to some extent like Bultmann, was himself an important mediation between the theological and philosophical concerns of his era. If his program no longer finds favor, it is as much for the now deeply unfashionable philosophical questions that Brunner asked as for the theological answers he gave.

See also Eschatology; Individualism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Theology, Twentieth Century

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GARETH JONES

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS (1860–1925)

American statesman and lay theologian. A vigorous exponent of both the SOCIAL GOSPEL and biblical FUNDAMENTALISM, William Jennings Bryan was a unique figure in the Progressive Era of the United States. He ran three times unsuccessfully as the Democratic candidate for president (1896, 1900, and 1908). His stirring oratory and massive following made him the leading figure in his party until the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, and he did much to transform the Democrats into advocates of modern liberalism (using the power of the state to aid farmers, small businessmen, and wage earners). He also served as Secretary of State from 1913 to 1915, resigning his post to protest the Wilson administration's tilt against GERMANY after the sinking of the Lusitania.

Bryan, one of the most popular speakers of his day, alternated speeches defending Christianity with ones boosting such reforms as corporate regulation and the popular election of senators. During the final decade of his life, the "Great Commoner" campaigned energetically in the service of moralist causes, particularly for prohibition and against the growing influence of DARWINISM. He died on July 26, 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee, several days after leading the prosecution in the Scopes trial.

Politics and Beliefs

Bryan was born in Salem, Illinois on March 19, 1860, heir to the populist tradition of the Democratic Party and to evangelical piety. His parents attended separate churches, his father Baptist and his mother Methodist, but the family prayed together three times a day, and each child was expected to hew to spiritual discipline. At the age of fourteen, William attended a Presbyterian revival with some friends and then helped form a congregation within that church. He would remain a Presbyterian for the rest of his life. In the 1920s he battled against “modernists” in the church who sought to revise the stern dicta of the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION, but he always refused to engage in interdenominational conflicts. He often attended other Protestant churches and sternly denounced anti-Catholic prejudice.

More than any other politician of his day, Bryan routinely drew on Scripture to underline the righteousness of his own views. “If my party has given me the basis of my political beliefs,” he concluded in 1924, speaking at his last Democratic convention, “my Bible has given me the foundations of a faith that has enabled me to stand for the right as I saw it.”

Bryan brought this vision of democracy as expressed in the Good Book to bear on every major issue he cared about. In 1899, to press the case that employers should pay higher wages, he declared, “God made all men, and he did not make some to crawl on hands and knees and others to ride upon their backs.” A year later, while opposing, on anticolonialist grounds, the U.S. war against Filipinos fighting for their independence, he asked, “If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives the teachings of Christ, who will say that we are commanded to civilize with dynamite and proselyte [sic] with the sword?” In 1908, to underline the urgency of breaking up trusts, he told a Carnegie Hall audience, “I insist that the commandment, Thou shalt not steal’ applies as much to the monopolist as to the highwayman.”

Bryan’s Theology

Although Bryan’s theology was fundamentalist, he endorsed the practical remedies to society’s ills proposed by such liberal Social Gospelers as WASHINGTON GLADDEN (1836–1918) and WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH (1861–1918). He also cooperated with the Federal Council of Churches, the bastion of Protestant reform activism founded in 1908.

Neither did Bryan take a stand in the clash between premillennial and postmillennial visions of the Second Coming. He once quipped “that there were too many people who didn’t believe in the first coming of Christ to worry about those who didn’t believe in the second.” An optimistic Democrat, he was convinced that ordinary people could steadily improve the social and the spiritual condition of the world, yet he also believed that evil forces would suffer retribution and grew alarmed, after the cataclysm of World War I, about what he perceived as the growing influence of amoral secularism in American culture.

In the 1920s Bryan became involved in a series of clashes with Protestant modernists like HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK (1878–1969). Bryan insisted that the fundamentalist

creed of the majority ought to prevail in the public sphere. His positions generated the scorn of H.L.Mencken (1880–1956) and numerous other secular and liberal critics. Bryan was firmly convinced that any nation that allowed destructive, unchristian practices to flourish was a nation on the road to ruin. Few theistic modernists objected when he applied this view to attacks on the liquor “trust.” The demand for prohibition enjoyed support from nearly every Protestant denomination. Far more controversial was Bryan’s decision to throw his declining energies into the crusade against Darwinism.

Bryan objected to evolutionary theory on the grounds of what might be called sentimental democracy as well as on his faith in the literal truth of the Bible. He feared that agnostic intellectuals were seeking to substitute a cruel belief in “the struggle of the fittest” for faith in a loving God—the only basis for moral and altruistic conduct for most ordinary people. Bryan, like many other Americans at the time, collapsed Darwinism into social Darwinism, particularly the variety articulated by influential scientists in the early twentieth century who, for example, promoted eugenics as the surest way to improve the human race. The consequence, the evangelical populist predicted, in a speech he did not live to deliver, would be “a system under which a few supposedly superior intellects, self-appointed, would direct the mating and the movements of the mass of mankind—an impossible system!” Hitler’s grisly embrace of eugenics, both in theory and practice, suggests that Bryan’s fear was not entirely misplaced.

Bryan’s lasting historical significance is as a prophetic layman who eloquently and tirelessly warned of threats to the interests and beliefs of white Christians from the working and middle classes. His sincerity, warmth, and messianic ardor won him the hearts of many Americans who cared deeply for no other politician in the 1890s and first quarter of the twentieth century.

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MICHAEL KAZIN

BUCER, MARTIN (1491–1551)

(Original surname Butzer. Pseudonyms: Aretius Felinus, Conrad Trew von Fridesleven, Waremund Luithold)

German reformer. Bucer, the reformer, shaper of ecclesiastical policy, and irenic theologian, was born on November 11, 1491, in Sélestat, a city in the Alsace he did attend the reputable Latin School in his homeregion of GERMANY. He grew up in a modest home, but town. He entered the Dominican order in 1507, which committed him to an academic career, and he was sent to Heidelberg in 1517 to complete his general studies. There, in April 1518 he met MARTIN LUTHER, who had come to attend a meeting of the Augustinian order. The disputation, which Luther conducted, won Bucer over to Luther's theology. This did not mean, however, that he abandoned his own theological views. Indeed ideas from Thomas Aquinas, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Luther merged in Bucer's THEOLOGY. These sources formed his understanding of JUSTIFICATION according to which the sinner was justified on the basis of FAITH in Jesus Christ. The justified individual became a new person whose faith in the Holy Spirit enabled him/her to live not for him/herself but to serve all humankind. By emphasizing the social-ethical dimension of REFORMATION teachings, Bucer sought to initiate a comprehensive transformation of society.

Bucer's embracing Luther's ideas placed him into a difficult situation. After some effort he obtained a dispensation from his monastic vows and served for a while as a secular priest in the service of the imperial knight Franz von Sickingen. In the summer of 1522 Bucer married Elisabeth Silbereisen, a former nun, and in November he attempted to bring the city of Weissenburg (Wissembourg) over to the side of the Reformation. He was, however, unsuccessful. In May 1523 he fled with his wife as an excommunicated priest to Strasbourg.

In this Alsatian metropolis he placed himself in the service of Luther's followers, including Matthäus Zell, WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO, and Kaspar Hedio. He worked with enormous energy as a minister, BIBLE interpreter, translator of the writings of other reformers, especially Luther, and versatile popular writer on theology. When the city council prohibited the celebration of Mass in 1529, Strasbourg moved officially to the side of the Reformation. At this time Bucer was also vigorously engaged with HULDRYCH ZWINGLI'S notion that questioned the bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the LORD'S SUPPER.

After 1529 Bucer saw the necessity of changing the theological and political position taken by him and the city of Strasbourg, particularly when the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 made clear the city's theological and political isolation. The Lutheran princes and theologians refused to allow Strasbourg to sign on to the AUGSBURG CONFESSION (Confessio Augustana). Zwingli's death in 1531 worsened Strasbourg's difficulties. Bucer tried every way to reconcile with Luther and Wittenberg without giving up his own point of view and his connection to the Swiss position held by Zwingli. For Bucer, Luther's concept of the unity of the Sacrament (*unio sacramentalis*) seemed best suited to formulate the question of how Christ is present at the LORD'S SUPPER—a mystery that one can approach from various sides and a question one can formulate in various ways. Bucer never tired of proposing new methods, and his reputation unmistakably suffered. Not all adversaries were prepared to see him as an honest broker who wanted to unify the position of reform. However, in May 1536 Bucer succeeded in unifying the Protestants' position on the LORD'S SUPPER. Most German cities in the south agreed to the concord, but the Swiss did not.

In his effort to secure a unified position, Bucer greatly broadened his theological views, and his reputation grew in Strasbourg and southern Germany. He was enlisted by the cities of Ulm (1531), Frankfurt (1533), and Augsburg (1534/1537) to serve as counsel and organizer of ecclesiastical policy. Bucer established good relations with foreign rulers such as HENRY VIII OF ENGLAND (1531) and the King of FRANCE (1534–1535). He also developed a close relationship with PHILIPP OF HESSE. Bucer reorganized ecclesiastical life in Hesse, introduced CONFIRMATION as a part of the CHURCH, and succeeded in returning a considerable number of Anabaptists to the Hessian church.

In 1533, while he was working to consolidate the Reformation in Strasbourg, an agreement was reached concerning a confession of faith. In 1534 an ecclesiastical order was established and Bucer published his first CATECHISM. In 1538 the Latin grammar schools in the city were reorganized, and the humanist Johannes Sturm became their director. Other important figures taught there, most notably JOHN CALVIN.

After 1539 Bucer's activities in theological and ecclesiastical matters widened and changed in emphasis. All of his skills had been employed to reconcile the people to shared theological positions. He now came into conflict with orthodox believers, and this caused renewed criticism and mistrust among his own ranks. However, so long as the preaching of the Gospel was allowed, Bucer was convinced that the crucial elements for implementing the Reformation were in place. With great vigor he attempted to establish a national council not led by the pope. As spokesperson for this new understanding, he wrote reports, pamphlets, and (anonymous) dialogues. In 1540 during the Colloquy of Worms, at the bidding of the emperor, he secretly worked on a document with the Catholic theologian Johannes Gropper. This was to provide the basis for comprehensive unification of the church. Early in 1541 an agreement was reached in Regensburg on the DOCTRINE of justification, but the question of ecclesiastical offices and the celebration of the Mass prevented full agreement. Bucer was not demoralized, however, and sought, together with the archbishop of Cologne, Hermann of Wied, to effect a program of church reform in his jurisdiction. Military pressure from the emperor, however, destroyed the political agreements required for such wide-ranging plans to succeed. The decisions made at the Council of Trent regarding the doctrine of justification (1545) concluded the era of theological colloquies.

The defeat of the Protestants in the Smalkaldic War (1546–1547) resulted in a call for self-criticism and penitence in Strasbourg. Bucer supported the "Christian community" that arose in this setting in certain church parishes. People agreed to live virtuous lives. At the same time Bucer was passionately fighting against accepting the Interim of the victorious emperor. When Strasbourg surrendered, Bucer fled to England in April 1549. He was received with great honors and was appointed a professor at Cambridge University. Bucer died during the night between February 28 and March 1, 1551, in Cambridge.

Bucer dedicated his final energies to composing *De regno Christi*, a massive theological and political treatise on reform. Again he outlined the objective that had defined his life: that devout Christians in vigorous communities will comprehensively transform both the church and the world.

Bucer's theology was principally a theology of dialogue. The full life requires the individual and the community to hear the demands and receive the support of others. This

made Bucer an advocate of religious and political tolerance. His sensibility for both the powerful and the possible worked toward the same goal. Bucer belongs among the reformers who included all of Europe in their vision of reform, not just the church and political policies within the German empire. Accordingly his impact on other theologians, among them Calvin, was wide-ranging.

See also Anabaptism; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Lutheranism; Orthodoxy; Toleration

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

BUGENHAGEN, JOHANNES (1485–1558)

Protestant theologian and reformer. Born in 1485 at Wollin in the Dukedom of Pomerania, and hence called *Pomeranus* (“the Pomerian”), Bugenhagen was one of the founding fathers of the Lutheran church and influenced large parts of Protestantism (see LUTHERANISM). His endeavors came into effect predominantly in northern GERMANY, Scandinavia, and the Baltic States; he even influenced the south of Germany and southern Europe with his numerous biblical commentaries and tracts. As a teacher at the city school at Treptow on the Rega from 1505 (and a vicar at St. Mary’s Church from 1517), and a lecturer at the monastery of Belbuck, he came to embrace humanist ideas, which called for a sound knowledge of philology as the basic means for the interpretation of the BIBLE. Additionally he embraced the Erasmian notion of the *Philosophia Christi*. This is how he found his way to the REFORMATION.

Influenced by MARTIN LUTHER’S and PHILLIPP MELANCHTHON’S teachings, he started shaping the structures of the Protestant church in 1523 as the first protestant rector at Wittenberg in accordance with the ministry of an evangelical bishop. His organizational gifts were made obvious in the church orders he composed, which in the sixteenth century had an enormous impact on the cities of Braunschweig, Hamburg, and Lübeck (in 1528, 1529, and 1531, respectively) and the territories of Pomerania, DENMARK, Schleswig-Holstein, and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (in 1535, 1537–1539, 1542, and 1544, respectively).

His academically based religious attitude had been demonstrated in his *Harmony of the Accounts of the Four Gospels of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, which was printed several times after 1524 to 1526 and was widely accepted as a popular book of devotion until the seventeenth century. In his instructions for sermons he offered substantial help concerning theological clarity to the new protestant preachers. As his exegesis was oriented toward pastoral practice, his early commentaries on Psalms, St. Paul's letters, and the books of the Old Testament (1524–1527) met with widespread response. Bugenhagen not only was a philologist and pastor, but he also proved to be a skillful administrator in the Reformation reorganization of church and society after 1528. He mediated the conflict between the Duke of Pomerania and the Elector of Saxony. Mayors and princes often asked him for advice; in particular, he was on cordial terms with the King of Denmark, Christian III, who was interested in theology. His fundamental opponents were the papacy and Roman Catholicism. All in all, he contributed to the formation of a protestant identity.

Bugenhagen was a professor of biblical exegesis at the University of Wittenberg until his death in 1558.

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WOLF-DIETER HAUSCHILD

BULLINGER, HEINRICH (1504–1575)

Swiss reformer. The chief pastor (*Antistes*) of the Reformed church of Zurich from 1531 to 1575, Heinrich Bullinger's influence on the Reformed tradition was ensured by his many publications, his voluminous correspondence, his ministrations to refugees from many parts of Europe and ENGLAND, and his Second HELVETIC CONFESSION.

Early Life

Born on July 18, 1504 in Bremgarten, about ten miles west of Zurich, Bullinger was the youngest of the five sons of his father Heinrich, the parish priest, and his mother Anna, who were not formally married until 1529. While at the University of Cologne, where he

became Bachelor of Arts in 1520 and Master in 1522, Bullinger became interested in reform through a study of the church fathers and the New Testament. When he returned home Bullinger already had embraced an evangelical position. From 1523 until 1529 Bullinger lectured on the BIBLE to the monks at the nearby Cistercian monastery at Kappel. In 1527 he spent several months in Zurich attending lectures by HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and studying Greek and Hebrew, and in January 1528 he, along with Zwingli, attended the disputation that brought Bern into the Reformed fold. In 1529 he replaced his father as pastor of the church in Bremgarten, which had just embraced the Reformed teaching. In December 1531, after Zwingli's death in the battle of Kappel, Bullinger was invited to Zurich.

The Covenant and the Anabaptists

Throughout his career Bullinger condemned the teachings of ANABAPTISM. He was present at the three dis-putations with Anabaptists at Zurich in 1525, and he wrote two books against them, one in 1531 and the other in 1561. However, Bullinger's opposition to the radicals is best understood within the context of his COVENANT thought, which he developed between 1525 and 1527 along with Zwingli. In 1534 Bullinger published *The One and Eternal Testament or Covenant of God*, his definitive work on the topic, at a time when he thought that the Anabaptists were an especially dangerous threat. Bullinger taught that the Jews before Christ and Christians in New Testament times lived under the single covenant that God first made with Adam and renewed with Abraham and Moses (see JUDAISM). When Christ fulfilled the covenant, the SACRAMENTS of circumcision and the Passover were replaced by BAPTISM and the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER), but the conditions of the covenant—FAITH and love of the neighbor—were never altered. Just as circumcision brought the Jews into the covenant, so does baptism enroll the individual into the covenant and into the single Christian community that is ruled by the civil magistrate, whose laws enforce the conditions of the covenant. The source of the errors of the Anabaptists was their rejection of the AUTHORITY of the Old Testament, where Bullinger found both the origins of the covenant and the norms for the Christian community. The Anabaptists rejected not only infant baptism, but also Bullinger's concept of the single sphere, a united covenanted community ruled by the Christian magistrate.

Bullinger and Calvin

Although Bullinger and JOHN CALVIN were two of the architects of the early Reformed tradition, they disagreed on three important issues. First, they were never able to agree on the matter of CHURCH DISCIPLINE. Bullinger's doctrine of the single sphere, where the civil magistrate controlled all discipline, clashed with Calvin's system, where the civil magistrate punished crime whereas the separate ecclesiastical tribunal, the CONSISTORY, dealt with discipline. Nor did they ever concur on PREDESTINATION; Bullinger clung to his carefully stated doctrine of single predestination and never accepted Calvin's concept of a double decree. They were, however, finally able to agree

on the Eucharist in the *Consensus Tigurinus* (Zurich Consensus) of 1549, in which Calvin muted his concept of the Eucharist as an instrument of GRACE and Bullinger abandoned Zwingli's strict separation between the internal and external, accepting the idea that the Lord's Supper is more than a remembrance, that it also functions as the external seal of an inner work.

The Second Helvetic Confession

In 1536 Bullinger was a principal contributor to the earliest common creed of the Reformed churches, the First Helvetic Confession. Then, in 1561, he crafted a personal CONFESSION of faith, which became the widely accepted Second Helvetic Confession (1562), a comprehensive declaration of the Reformed faith. Perhaps his most important bequest to the Reformed churches, it had a pervasive influence, not only in SWITZERLAND but also elsewhere in western and eastern Europe as well as in England and SCOTLAND.

Conclusion

Bullinger greatly influenced the Reformed churches during the sixteenth century. He published 119 works in Latin and German—including commentaries on all the books of the New Testament and his *Decades*, a summary of his theology—which, translated into several other languages, found their way into every part of Europe. He was a prolific correspondent; his extant letters, to and from individuals all over Europe, number over twelve thousand pieces. In the 1540s and 1550s he ministered to exiles from Italy, GERMANY, and England. He wrote the first treatise dedicated to the covenant (a topic that also permeates his other works) and his Second Helvetic Confession was widely accepted. Along with Zwingli and Calvin, Bullinger was a principal architect of Reformed Protestantism.

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J.WAYNE BAKER

BULTMANN, RUDOLF KARL (1884– 1976)

German biblical scholar. Bultmann was born into a clergy family in Wiefelstede, near Oldenburg in Protestant North GERMANY, on August 20, 1884. From 1903 to 1907 he studied theology in Tübingen, Berlin, and Marburg, and from 1908 pursued his academic specialty in Marburg as assistant to Wilhelm Heitmüller. In 1910 he published in the Göttingen history of religion school monograph series, FRLANT, his Ph.D. equivalent, the *Liceutiat in theology*, a monograph on rhetorical criticism of the New Testament. His advisor was Johannes Weiss, and he compared it to “the style of Paul’s preaching and the cynic-stoic diatribe.” His qualification for university teaching, on the exegesis of Theodore of Mopsuestia, was submitted in 1912 (and published in 1984). A physical disability prevented military service, and after World War I Bultmann was the new generation’s leading continuator of his biblical teachers’ history of religion(s) school. In addition to J.Weiss this group included H.Gunkel (who taught Bultmann in Berlin), W.Wrede (whose work on the messianic secret Bultmann extended in 1920), W.Bousset (who with Reitzenstein looked for parallels in non-Jewish religions and was followed along this track by Bultmann), and W.Heitmüller (who had also contributed to the “school’s” work on hellenistic parallels to the New Testament). After brief stops in Breslau (beginning in 1916) and Giessen (1920) Bultmann succeeded Heitmüller to his Marburg chair in 1921. He retired in 1951 and died in Marburg on July 30, 1976.

Bultmann’s biblical scholarship is rooted in the more radical wing of LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM, but his theology was shaped by the more conservative Ritschlian Wilhelm Herrmann (1846–1922). Unlike KARL BARTH he did not repudiate his liberal Protestant past, but as a New Testament theologian aimed to preserve its critical heritage and relate it to the new THEOLOGY required by the dramatically changed cultural situation after the War. His generally positive review article in the Ritschlian journal *Die Christliche Welt* (1922) on the second edition of Barth’s *Epistle to the Romans* associated him with the so-called dialectical theology of 1921–1933, and he published six of his important hermeneutical articles in its journal *Zwischen den Zeiten* [Eng. tr. *The Beginnings of Dialectic Theology* (1968)] and *Faith and Understanding* (1969). Despite this shift it is striking how closely his theology still reflected the existential emphasis of Herrmann and remained in the mold of the anthropologically oriented theology of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, now translated into the neo-Reformation idiom of

revelation, Word, and faith, avoiding Herrmann's terms "religion" and "experience." His existential understanding of "history" (Geschichte) was learned from Herrmann and clarified with the help of Wilhelm Dilthey and (from 1926) Martin Heidegger.

The work that established Bultmann's professional reputation was *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (1921, second edition 1931; Eng. tr. 1963, revised 1968). This classic contribution to the form criticism pioneered by Gunkel for the Old Testament and J. Weiss among others for the New, classified the literary forms to be found in the synoptic gospels. Bultmann's own interest in *Formgeschichte*, expressed in the title of his book, lay in understanding the *history* of the transmission of the traditions contained in the synoptic gospels. This continuation of historical-critical scholarship was only indirectly theological, and Protestant only in the sense that radical biblical criticism was then still a mainly Protestant preserve. However, focusing attention on the activity of the early CHURCH between Jesus and the gospels contributed to the Protestant rediscovery of "the church" much heralded in that period between the wars. Even though Bultmann did not emphasize the early church's activity of proclamation, as Dibelius did, the history of traditions approach to the gospels dovetailed with the kerygmatic theology that he developed in the 1920s and did not much modify over the following fifty years. Relatedly, there is no reason to suppose that his skepticism about how much could be known about Jesus was theologically motivated, but it fit this Pauline and Reformation theology of the Word, especially the Word proclaimed, and caused him no discomfort.

Liberal Protestant life-of-Jesus research had already been criticized from a Lutheran perspective by Martin Kähler in *The so-called historical Jesus and the historic biblical Christ* (1892, second edition 1896; Eng. tr. 1964). Kähler's subsidiary argument that the gospels do not provide the kind of biographical information that the liberals found in them gained further support in the history-of-traditions analysis of the gospels pioneered by William Wrede and Julius Wellhausen and developed in Bultmann's form criticism. However, Bultmann was not helped by Kähler's "biblical Christ" and the "picture" of Jesus derived from the gospel narratives. His own reaction against the quest of the historical Jesus moved away from the narrative quality of the gospels (and of human experience and identity) to a Pauline-Lutheran Kierkegaardian-dialectical theology (see NEO-ORTHODOXY) emphasis on God's Word of judgment and grace, and the decision and obedience of faith. This postwar re-sponse to the destruction of liberal idealism had some of its roots in a dissatisfaction with his teacher Herrmann's appeal to the "inner life of Jesus." Bultmann denied that knowledge of Jesus's "personality" was available, or that it could ever lead to a knowledge of God, and it was this problem of how to speak of God in the modern world that attracted him in 1921 to the Reformers' Pauline interpretations of God and faith being debated in the "Luther renaissance" and advocated by Barth and FRIEDRICH GOGARTEN. In 1929 he disputed "the significance of the historical Jesus for the theology of Paul," and *Existence and Faith* (Eng. tr. 1930) contained his own sketch of the apostle's theology.

Bultmann's skepticism about liberal life-of-Jesus research did not mean that nothing could be known about Jesus as a historical figure. His book on *Jesus* (1926, Eng. tr. *Jesus and the Word*, 1934) claimed only to present the earliest (Palestinian) strata of the synoptic tradition, but he was confident that the Jesus found here was the historical figure who stood behind early Christianity as its founder. He later summarized his conclusions about Jesus's proclamation at the outset (as a presupposition) of his *Theology of the New*

Testament (Vol. 1, 1948; Eng. tr. 1951) and in the section on Judaism in his *Primitive Christianity* (1949, Eng. tr. 1956), arguing that Christianity emerges only after the cross and resurrection.

The account of historical work provided in the introduction to *Jesus and the Word* illustrates Bultmann's consistent concern to speak of God through his New Testament scholarship. He claims to be aiming at an "encounter with history," and says his book provides information about *his* dialogue with history in the hope it might lead its readers to make their own highly personal encounter with history (p. 13). He did not deny that historians establish historical facts, but with Dilthey claimed far more for history as a humanistic discipline than that. It should provide self-knowledge, and in this self-knowledge Bultmann (following MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN) found knowledge of God. He later explained this account of history and self-understanding at greater length and in debate also with R.G. Collingwood in his 1955 Gifford Lectures, *History and Eschatology: the Presence of Eternity* (1957). In contrast to a positivistic historiography concerned only to get the record straight, Bultmann was interested in the effect of this work on the historian as a human being.

Bultmann's "encounter with history" was mediated through the interpretation of texts, the historical records handed down from the past, and this required the "theological exegesis" and New Testament theology for which he is justly most renowned. Whereas nineteenth-century idealist historiography reckoned to "view" the past, and perceive God's Spirit moving in the events behind the texts, Bultmann's focus was on the texts themselves, and this brought him back to the Reformers' (and Barth's) attention to scripture. Unlike Protestant scholasticism their concern was not to extract doctrinal information from infallible texts but to hear their witness to the revelation of God in Christ and respond to it. History for Bultmann therefore involved hermeneutics, the theory of the interpretation of texts pioneered in the modern period by Schleiermacher and Dilthey. Before 1921 Bultmann had studied the "religion" of the New Testament and had looked for a theory of religion that would enable him to interpret it theologically now that German idealism was fading. Although recognizing the MODERNISM of Barth's *Romans* (2nd edition) he also saw it standing in line with Schleiermacher's *Speeches* (1799) and Rudolph Otto's *Idea of the Holy* (1917). Its most important term for Bultmann was "faith," a word that implied theological "understanding" and was (as in the New Testament) defined by reference to its object. He appreciated Barth's emphasis on the Christ preached in the present but was disconcerted that Barth also insisted on the historical life of Jesus as "a time of revelation." He was also critical of the trace of biblicism present in Barth's theory of revelation, although not (he argued) in his exegetical practice. Against any hint of "objectifying" the revelation of God in Christ in the historical life of Jesus or the written text of scripture, the neo-Kantian Bultmann restricted it to the "event" of contemporary proclamation, responded to in faith.

Although agreeing with Barth's call for *Sachexegese* (theological exegesis) Bultmann insisted also on the necessity of *Sachkritik*, that is, theological criticism of the text of scripture in the light of its *Sache*, content, or essential (theological) subject matter, the gospel. A biblical author, even Paul, might not always live up to his own best insights. What was "said" must be clarified and if necessary corrected in the light of what was "meant"—that is, what the modern interpreter thinks he meant. This immanent criticism of a text (e.g., I Corinthians 15) could be supported by what the author said elsewhere,

but is inevitably a risky subjective judgment based on the interpreter's own understanding of the gospel, as in Luther's 1523 criticism of the canon. Bultmann's later program of "demythologizing" the New Testament exposed the dangers of *Sachkritik*, which had led to Barth's protest back in 1922.

The theological aims and orientation of Bultmann's critical scholarship are visible in his essay on "The Problem of a Theological Exegesis of the New Testament" (1925, Eng. tr. *The Beginnings of Dialectic Theology*, 1968). He argues that textual interpretation involves self-interpretation, and that this occurs in the interpretation of history. Systematic theology and historical theology or exegesis fundamentally coincide, the former engaging in conceptual explication of human existence as determined by God, the latter in the interpretation of human being found in the texts—which it must articulate in the concepts of the modern interpreter's own day. Around this time he discovered in his colleague Heidegger's phenomenological analysis of human existence (*Being and Time* was published in 1927), a formal description of the structure of human existence that itself owed much to Christian theology (especially St. Paul, Augustine, Luther, and SØREN KIERKEGAARD). It did not anticipate theology by explicating faith's understanding of itself—that is, the human being confronted by God—but its account of human being provided theology, and so theological interpretation of the New Testament, with the conceptuality it needed.

More important than the use of Heidegger's terms to articulate Paul's theology was Bultmann's prior conviction that all theological statements must be understood to refer to human existence in relation to God. Paul had used a variety of anthropological and soteriological terms and Bultmann mapped out the apostle's theology in 1930 and 1948 by analyzing these, describing first "man prior to the revelation of faith" and second "man under faith." Cosmological, salvation-historical, ecclesiological, and futuristic aspects of Paul's thought received inadequate attention, but this powerful individualistic interpretation made sense of Paul's talk of God without recourse to the kind of objectifying metaphysics that Bultmann thought was finished. It remained a theology of the word, not a philosophical anthropology because what it explicated was the self-understanding of faith that occurred in obedient response to the kerygma or "word of the cross" (I Corinthians 1:18). Like Paul in Romans and Galatians, and like Luther, this theology centered on the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH, which Bultmann insisted was Paul's real CHRISTOLOGY.

The second volume of Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament* (1951, Eng. tr. 1955) summarized his interpretation of John, which had been adumbrated in earlier essays and in several word studies prepared for Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (1933-), and had received its full expression in the magisterial Meyer commentary (1941, Eng. tr. 1971), perhaps the greatest theological biblical commentary of the century. This gospel lent itself to Bultmann's existential interpretation more readily than Paul on account of antecedent similarities between John's INDIVIDUALISM, moral dualism, present ESCHATOLOGY, focus on revelation and faith, and Bultmann's own existentialist Lutheran theology. It is also arguable that Bultmann's view of New Testament theology as theological interpretation of New Testament texts is better articulated in a commentary or account of each literary text separately, than by all seven epistles of Paul being homogenized into a theology of the historical Paul behind the texts. Other New Testament writings were not regarded by Bultmann as truly theological. His

classic *Theology of the New Testament* is therefore defective in its failure to interpret these other writings (especially the Synoptic Gospels) theologically. They receive some consideration within the work's historical framework, which describes the development of early Christian thought, including both precanonical stages and some noncanonical writings (Apostolic Fathers). This landmark "New Testament theology" thus remains a combination of the historical paradigm that still dominates New Testament scholarship and the more literary-theological paradigm (always informed by historical exegesis and context) suggested by his focus on the interpretation of key texts.

In 1941 Bultmann also published a provocative article on "The New Testament and Mythology," which unleashed the "demythologizing" controversy of the 1940s and 1950s (see *Kerygma and Myth*, vols. 1 and 2, edited by H.-W. Bartsch, 1953, 1962). Motivated by an evangelistic concern to communicate the gospel, it nevertheless disturbed conservative church authorities and earned a shameful synodical condemnation. It was a matter of critical theological interpretation that Bultmann claimed had already been undertaken by the Johannine evangelist in rejecting the tradition's mythological pictures of the future and interpreting early Christian eschatology existentially as "present eschatology." He also thought he was applying in the epistemological realm the Reformers' principle of justification by faith alone. To demand a belief in the incredible was to make faith into a "work." Critics argued that important dimensions of the gospel, notably the cosmological, went away without leave in this reductionist interpretation, overdetermined by a contemporary scientific worldview. The new religious studies of the 1960s were more positive about "myth" than a member of the CONFESSING CHURCH resisting Nazi ideology under the banner of a theology of the cross had been. A new generation of critical New Testament scholarship took up again the tasks of the history of religion school in which Bultmann was educated, but showed less interest in the theological and philosophical problems that made the 1920s such an important period for German Protestant thought. Since his death Bultmann's hermeneutical heritage has accordingly been taken up by a more conservative theological scholarship and by Roman Catholic scholars who have also recognized in him the towering theological figure in twentieth-century New Testament studies.

See also Jesus, Lives of; Neo-Orthodoxy

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ROBERT MORGAN

BUNYAN, JOHN (1628–1688)

English writer and preacher. The author of *Pilgrims' Progress* (1678, 1684), Bunyan was born in the parish of Elstow in Bedfordshire in November 1628, educated locally, and served in the civil war Parliamentary army between 1644 and 1647. Following a deep spiritual crisis in the early 1650s, Bunyan was converted to an *evangelical* Christian faith and emerged as a leading preacher within the Particular Baptist church based in Bedford. He was imprisoned for his beliefs in 1660 and remained a prisoner for most of the time until his release in 1672, when he became a pastor in his church. Bunyan's intense activity as an author continued in the 1670s through the production of the first part of *Pilgrim's Progress* in 1678, and he developed as a nationally known Nonconformist leader. There is some evidence that toward the end of his life, Bunyan supported collusion with the Catholic King James II in his attempts to secure religious toleration for England's non-Anglican Nonconformist and Catholic minorities. Bunyan died in London on August 31, 1688.

Bunyan's Development

Bunyan was the son of a tinker or brazier, Thomas Bunyan (1603–1676) and his wife Margaret, née Bentley (1603–1644). Young Bunyan may have attended a school at Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire, an establishment closely connected with the University of Cambridge and its strong Puritan influences. From the time he came to the age of military service (at sixteen; November 1644 until July 1647), Bunyan served in the Parliamentary army fighting in the English civil war, his service being centered on the garrison at Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamshire. This period undoubtedly exposed Bunyan to the strongly Protestant currents circulating in the Parliamentary forces. Following his discharge, Bunyan returned to Elstow, took up work as a tinker, and married in either 1648 or 1649. His wife brought to their marriage the influences of a "godly" Puritan home background, along with Protestant devotional books that strongly influenced John Bunyan's spiritual development, including Arthur Dent's *The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven* (1601) and Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* (pre1613). The couple had four children. His wife died in 1658 and Bunyan married again in 1659. With his second wife Elizabeth (d. 1692) he had three children.

In the course of his first marriage, Bunyan underwent a protracted spiritual crisis and depression, the details of which he recounted with unflinching candor in his autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666). This traumatic state was engendered by his failure to pursue righteousness. He underwent extreme despair and came to see himself, as he recalled in *Grace Abounding*, as one among those "poor creatures...that though not much guilt attended the Soul, yet they continually have a secret conclusion within them, that there is no hopes for them." Bunyan was gradually rescued from his agonized spiritual and psychological condition by a separate or "gathered" church that met in Bedford under the ministry of John Gifford, which was a Particular Baptist Church. Bunyan also studied MARTIN LUTHER'S (1483–1546) *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, where he found the comforting

Protestant doctrine of the Reformation, that men and women were solely made acceptable—“justified”—in God’s eyes, not through their own efforts, good works, or obedience to God’s law, but by faith in Christ’s redeeming action. Bunyan felt he could be the sinner he recognized himself to be and yet not be condemned, because Christ had died for him. Therefore, Bunyan derived from Luther the notion of personal salvation grounded in Christ, which was also conveyed to him in the religious discourse he heard among the members of the Bedford church: “...they talked how God had visited their souls with his love in the Lord Jesus.” Bunyan joined that church in about 1655, when he and his family moved from Elstow into Bedford, and he rapidly emerged as one of its leading preachers, evangelizing in Bedford and the villages of Bedfordshire. His undoubted effectiveness as a preacher came from the authenticity of his testimony grounded in personal experience: he recalled that he “carried that fire in my own conscience that I perswaded them to [his hearers] to beware of....”

The central core of his preaching iterated the essentials of the Protestant Reformation doctrine of salvation, “the Doctrine of Life by Christ, without Works.” However, Bunyan came to believe this vital doctrine was under threat from the new Quaker movement, which, he believed, stood for justification by means of good works and deeds of the law. In his first book, *Some Gospel-Truths Opened* (1656), he insisted that men and women were “not profited by the works of the law...salvation was...fully, and completely wrought out for poor sinners by the man Christ Jesus.” He continued to publish in defense of classic Protestant doctrines of salvation in works such as *The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded* (1659).

By this time Bunyan had become known as the prominent religious radical who, in *A Few Sighs from Hell* (1658), excoriated the abuses of the wealthy and promised an apocalyptic revenge against them. In 1660, the year of the restoration of the monarchy and of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, he was targeted for prosecution for refusing to abandon his worship in Bedford’s separate congregation and to conform to the national church. Bunyan provided an account of his arrest (at the hands of the restored Bedfordshire royalist authorities, in October 1660), investigation, indictment, and incarceration (and attempts to circumvent it) in the manuscript *A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan*, first published in 1765. He was specifically charged under an act of Parliament of 1593 forbidding attendance at worshiping meetings outside the established church, and was sentenced in 1661 despite a passionate appeal by his wife. However, his subsequent twelve-year imprisonment in Bedford was a far less severe penalty than those provided for in the 1593 statute—banishment and execution. Perhaps because of reluctance on the part of the Bedfordshire authorities to make a martyr out of a popular preacher, Bunyan, jailed rather than exiled or hanged, was treated more kindly than the law required.

That is not to say that his spell in prison was a pleasant prospect. He was agonizingly concerned about his family’s welfare during his imprisonment, especially that of his blind daughter, Mary. There was, clearly, a need to justify his refusal to conform to the church that had resulted in his detention. Having already resumed in prison the writing career he had begun before his arrest, Bunyan published in 1662, from prison, *I Will Pray with the Spirit*, a defense of his Protestantism and his rejection of the Book of Common Prayer, which he described as “taken out of the Papisticall Mass-Book; being the Scraps and Fragments of the devices of some Popes, some Friby King Charles II in May of that year,

Bunyan took up the pastorate of the church in Bedfordshire openly and... “Released from prison under a pardon issued and threw himself into the missionary and administrative work of his church. He also delivered an authoritative rendition of Protestant doctrine, *A Confession of My Faith, and a Reason of My Practice in Worship* (1672), in which he set out the Reformation teaching that the righteousness of Christ was credited to the sinner as an outer garment, but was received by the faith implanted by the Almighty in the elect.

Bunyan’s Later Career

In the 1670s Bunyan dealt with issues of particular concern to his church. In 1673 his *Differences in Judgment About Water-Baptism, No Bar to Communion* argued that believer’s baptism should not be a source of discord in the church. While in the 1673 work *A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification, by Faith in Jesus Christ*, Bunyan again upheld fundamental Protestant doctrines of salvation, in the 1674 book *Peaceable Principles and True*, he focused on the more internal issue of baptism that divided the Baptist churches. He returned to Protestant dogmatics, on an elementary explanatory level, in his 1675 *Instruction for the Ignorant*, which contains classic Reformation formulations. This work can be seen, alongside *Saved by Grace* and *The Strait Gate*, as preceding Bunyan’s best-known work, *Pilgrim’s Progress* (in two parts, 1678, 1684), as a literary popularization of Protestantism.

Indeed, working through allegory, *Pilgrim’s Progress* was a supreme achievement in providing a popular understanding of Protestant doctrine. This is rendered negatively and satirically as well as positively, for among the allegorical types in the *Pilgrim’s Progress*, part I, is the derisory figure of the giant pope, “grown...crazy and stiff in his joynts.” Here, in the year 1678, when Protestant England was terrified with allegations of a popish plot against the nation’s religion, freedom, and laws, Bunyan delivered a comic version of a Reformation overview of history according to which the demise of the papacy was, literally, only a matter of time. *Pilgrim’s Progress* also provided Bunyan with a further avenue for proclaiming the central doctrines of the Protestant Reformation concerning the means of salvation.

During the decade of the 1670s, when Bunyan’s volume of published work and leadership in his church expanded, he also faced serious personal problems. First, he was the target of allegations of impropriety with a young woman, Agnes Beaumont. Then the Bedfordshire magistrates arrested him in 1675 under an Anglican clerical initiative, and he spent six months in jail. The Popish Plot of 1678 fed demands, mounted by the newly formed pro-Nonconformist and anti-Catholic Whig party, for the exclusion from the succession to Charles II, of the king’s Catholic brother, James, Duke of York (later King James II). In that political crisis Bunyan almost certainly sympathized with Whig politics, living, as he did, in a Whig-dominated borough and county. Nevertheless, Bunyan’s politics were far from extreme, for he preserved a strong English Protestant sense of the importance of the crown for the realization of an apocalyptic anti-papal vision. In a work of the early 1680s, *Of Antichrist, and His Ruine*, Bunyan urged his readers to “let the King have verily a place in your Hearts, and with Heart and Mouth give God Thanks for him....”

This same period of the early 1680s was one of phenomenal authorial productivity for Bunyan. In *The Life and Death of Mr Badman* (1680) he presented a vivid extended sermon, in protonovel form, on the implications for an archetypal moral reprobate of the Protestant doctrines of predestination, arising from the datum of justification by faith. In *The Holy War*, Bunyan provided a complex extended metaphor of Protestantism's insistence on God's free grace and pardon. The second part of *Pilgrim's Progress* (1684) reiterated the theme, set out in the first installment, of the Christian's journey into eternal life, though with a stronger appreciation of feminine themes. Bunyan was now at the height of his powers and fame as an author. Sixteen of his works were published during the 1680s. In *Seasonable Counsel* (1684) he advised his fellow Nonconformists to adopt a patient stance during a renewed period of persecution. He reaffirmed the Protestant doctrine of Christ's all-sufficing work as redeemer in *The Advocateship of Jesus Christ* (1688) and, in the same year, dealt further with Christ's redeeming work in *Good News for the Vilest of Men*. In 1687 he was reported to be at one with those Protestant Nonconformists who supported the attempts of the Catholic King James II to give civil rights to that community and to the English Catholics by repealing discriminatory laws. Bunyan was an active minister of his church and died of a sudden illness he contracted in the course of his pastoral work. His wife Elizabeth survived him along with five of his children; he is buried in London's major Nonconformist cemetery, Bunhill Fields. John Bunyan stands out as the most effective popularizer of Protestant dogmatics in the English language.

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MICHAEL A.MULLETT

BURIAL TRADITIONS

See Funerary Rites

BURNED-OVER DISTRICT

The term “Burned-Over District” has been used to characterize the religious practices of western New York State from 1800 to 1850. Successive waves of REVIVALS, religious “ultraism,” and new religious movements have been likened to the wildfires that periodically swept portions of the primeval forests surrounding early settlers. The religious uniqueness of the area is said to be demonstrated by the frequency of its revivals, by the number of religious innovators who were natives of, or resident in, the area (especially CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY and JOSEPH SMITH), by the unusually high level of support enjoyed by social reform movements (including TEMPERANCE and antislavery), and by the fact that several new religious movements (such as MORMONISM, Oneida perfectionism, and the adventism of WILLIAM MILLER) either originated or found a congenial home there.

The intensity of religious expression in western New York in the first half of the nineteenth century is indisputable. What is less certain is that such expression was unique. Recent scholarship has suggested that there was a band of “burned-over districts” stretching from western New England through western New York and northern Ohio to Michigan and beyond—even as far as Utah. Yankee origins and latter-day variations of PURITANISM connected these far-flung regions. Further study of the Yankee/Puritan culture of these places should continue to yield valuable insights into the history of American Protestantism.

See also Slavery, Abolition of

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DONALD L. HUBER

BUSHNELL, HORACE (1802–1876)

American theologian. Born in Bantam, Connecticut, in 1802, Bushnell was minister of North Congregational Church, Hartford, Connecticut, from 1833 to 1859. He continued to preach, lecture, and write until his death in 1876. From 1849 to 1854, Bushnell's critics among Congregational clergy in Connecticut sought to try him for HERESY, largely because of two books: *God in Christ* (1849) and *Christ in Theology* (1851). His views expressed in these books and others marked an abrupt change from the CALVINISM of JONATHAN EDWARDS and his successors that had dominated Trinitarian New England for a century.

Bushnell opposed the literalistic interpretations of and prosaic reasonings from biblical texts practiced by his peers and emphasized the pervasive presence of symbol, image, analogy, parable, and story in the Bible. He developed a theory of language in which the role of metaphor was given a fundamental place and used this theory as a theological method. Bushnell's most famous book, *Christian Nurture*, appeared in its final form in 1861. Here he countered the view, prevalent in his time, that every true Christian must experience a sudden radical CONVERSION experience. He argued that conversion could take place over a long period of nurture by and within the Christian community.

Bushnell was influenced by such European thinkers as SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (an interpreter of IMMANUEL KANT) and FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER. He contributed powerfully to the emergence of a new liberalism among Protestant theologians in the United States.

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DONALD A.CROSBY

BUTLER, JOSEPH (1692–1752)

English bishop and apologist. Butler was born on May 18, 1692 in Wantage, Berkshire, ENGLAND. His father, a local linen-draper and devout Presbyterian, expected Joseph to

pursue a ministry in that church. Butler was educated under Rev. Philip Barton, master of the grammar school at Wantage, before being sent to dissenting academies in Gloucester and then Tewkesbury. At the academy in Tewkesbury Butler formed a profound and lasting friendship with Thomas Seeker (eventually archbishop of Canterbury), and began questioning his allegiance to the precepts of PRESBYTERIANISM. After considerable anguish, Butler joined the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By this time he had begun reading widely and was especially captivated by Samuel Clarke's treatise, *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*. At the age of twenty-two, Butler initiated a correspondence with Clarke concerning proofs of God's unity. Clarke regarded his exchange with the precocious Butler as significant enough to append to subsequent editions of his work.

After taking his degree from Oriel College, Oxford in 1718 Butler was ordained deacon and priest and was appointed preacher at the Chapel of the Rolls, where he remained until he was thirty-four. In this office Butler delivered his influential *Fifteen Sermons* (1726), including a celebrated discourse on human nature—emphasizing practical aspects of Christian life. Butler subsequently served nearly ten years in virtual seclusion as a parish priest in Stanhope before being appointed in 1736 as head chaplain to Queen Caroline, wife of King George II. In the same year he also published his most important philosophical work, *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Nature*. After the queen's death in 1737 Butler accepted the position of bishop of Bristol. After a short return to royal service in 1746, and his subsequent refusal to accept appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury, Butler finally accepted the bishopric of Durham in 1750, where he died two years later.

Butler is esteemed as among the foremost British moral philosophers. His characteristically melancholic temperament was shaped in part by what he believed was the irredeemably irreligious condition of his age. Resolutely distrustful of "enthusiasm," Butler was singularly unmoved by the methods of Evangelical Revivalism as a means of addressing contemporary complacency, so much so that he implored JOHN WESLEY to desist from preaching in his diocese. Butler's most important theological treatise, *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed*, can be understood only within the context of the crucial theological debate then raging between adherents to Natural religion, on the one hand, and to Revealed religion on the other. His work constitutes a robust defence of Revealed Religion against Deist attack, which argued that God can be known only through the rational study of NATURE rather than through supernatural conviction.

Beginning with the contention that nothing can be known completely through experience, Butler sought to demonstrate that the seemingly separate spheres of analyzing Nature and analyzing Religion were in fact analogous, and that the inexplicabilities and obscurities that one meets with in examining Nature one may reasonably expect to find likewise in the scheme of Religion. If difficulties are thus admitted by Deists in the course of their contemplation of the constitution of Nature—whose author they accept to be God—then, Butler argued, the existence of comparable difficulties and conundrums in the sphere of religion cannot constitute a fair objection against its truth and divine origin. In the light of the inherent limitations on what human beings can know, Butler insisted that adherence either to Natural or to Revealed religion relies not on evidence, but only on "probability" because, as he put it, "we cannot have a thorough knowledge of any part without knowing the whole," and "to us probability is the very guide of life"—a line of argument that had a tremendous impact on DAVID HUME. Having situated probability

at the center of both reason and belief, Butler endeavors to justify an acceptance of such doctrines as a future state and the immortality of the soul. Although the Scottish philosopher James Mill would later allege that Butler's argument "furnished...one of the most terrible persuasives to atheism ever produced," it is also said that so formidable was Butler's rebuke to Deist refutations of Revealed Religion that no compelling answer to his Analogy has ever been offered.

Although Butler's contribution to the Deist controversy was crucial, his greatest legacy is his enduring influence on Christian ethics. Although he is at pains throughout his treatise to explain why, philosophically, it is illogical to dismiss as incredible the supernatural over the natural, his real interest is in practical, not speculative, observance. Butler believed that the moral nature of man, his conduct throughout life, is that on account of which alone an inquiry into religion is meaningful. The fullest surviving account of his ETHICS is to be found in the fifteen sermons delivered at the Chapel of the Rolls culminating in 1726. Like other eighteenth-century thinkers, Butler sought to answer THOMAS HOBBS'S contention that human nature was motivated primarily by self-interestedness. Aligning himself with the moral position of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Butler rejected such basic human egotism, and like Ralph Cudworth before him, sought more dignified footing for human ethics. He conceived of human nature as composed of aspects, with appetites, affections, and passions constituting one group, and the principles of self-love, benevolence, and conscience constituting another. Butler's ethical speculation consists in analyzing the interrelation of these parts, and concludes that "our nature, i.e. constitution, is adapted to virtue, as from the idea of a watch it appears that its nature, i.e. constitution or system, is adapted to measure time." Butler's writings had a formative influence on Cardinal JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S thought and it has been said that nothing superior in value to Butler's sermons has been added to ethical science during the interval between Aristotle and IMMANUEL KANT.

See also Deism; Evangelicalism; Revivals

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KELLY GROVIER

BUTLER, JOSEPHINE ELIZABETH (1828–1906)

British feminist and campaigner for the civil rights of prostitutes. Life-long member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, Josephine Butler was of such devout Evangelical piety that her name appears in the Anglican Calendar of Saints on December 30, the anniversary of her death. Born on April 13, 1828, in Millfield, Northumberland, Josephine was the seventh of nine surviving children of John Grey and his wife Hannah Annett. The Greys were members of the Church of England, almost certainly of the Evangelical wing (see EVANGELICALISM), and strong supporters of the antislavery campaign (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Their children learned early about the horrors of slavery and were familiar with contemporary social issues, although in other respects Josephine's education was sporadic. Her childhood home in Dilston, Northumberland, was extremely happy and the siblings remained close, even when marriage took them abroad.

In 1852 Josephine married George Butler and moved to Oxford, where he held the post of public examiner. While living in Oxford, the Butlers "rescued" the first of many prostitutes to be housed and individually cared for by them (see PROSTITUTION). Three sons were born and then a daughter, Eva, who was tragically killed in 1864, at the age of five, in a fall from the first floor landing of their Cheltenham home. In 1866, while still grieving, they moved to Liverpool, where Josephine began a ministry among the imprisoned women of the "Bridewell" in Liverpool Workhouse to "find some pain keener than my own."

In 1866 she became President of the North of England Council for the Higher Education of Women, but in 1869 her commitment to this cause was displaced by the demands of the campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts. These Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869 allowed the police to detain any woman suspected of prostitution in fourteen naval and military towns, to examine her for venereal disease on pain of imprisonment if she refused, and to detain her in a certified hospital if found to be diseased. This infringement of the civil rights of women (any woman might legally be detained under the Act) was regarded by Josephine Butler as a shocking example of the double standard. She agreed to become the Secretary of the Ladies National Association for repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, even though she anticipated the cost to her family life, her health, and even to her social status because convention decreed that it was unacceptable for a respectable woman to speak publicly on such a taboo subject. She began a courageous campaign of pamphlet and letter-writing, Parliamentary lobbying, petition gathering, and nationwide speaking, which lasted until 1886. Although she had a devoted group of followers, notably among radical Nonconformists (see NONCONFORMITY), the campaign aroused hostility to the extent of putting her in physical danger at times. She spoke to audiences of working men, exhorting them to reject the Acts, and was the only woman to give evidence before a Royal Commission in 1871. Members of Parliament were exceptionally slow to commit themselves in support of her arguments, even Prime Minister William E. Gladstone proving equivocal, but in 1886 the Acts were finally repealed, attributed particularly to the Parliamentary efforts of

James Stansfeld MP. *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade* (1896) is Josephine Butler's account of the campaign.

The treatment of poor women and prostitutes on the European continent, especially in Paris, Geneva, and Brussels, became an abiding concern from 1874 onward, and she traveled there regularly, demanding to inspect state brothels and challenging the activities of the police charged with regulatory authority. The British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution was formed in 1875, with Butler as joint secretary. This campaign had some success, including the exposure of the traffic in young girls from England to Belgium (1880).

In 1885 Butler became involved in W.T. Stead's hard-hitting campaign against child prostitution in London, conducted through his newspaper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Sensational headlines in the course of this campaign ensured that the facts of child prostitution became public knowledge, as Butler and Stead had intended.

Her campaigns for "purity" began in the early 1870s and included speeches to audiences of young men about the dangers and disadvantages of uncontrolled sexuality. In 1886 she joined the newly formed National Vigilance Association for the Repression of Criminal Vice and Immorality, but soon found that its methods, repressive action against "immoral" individuals, clashed with her own favored approach of inculcating personal morality. She spoke of "the necessity of purity of life in all who would join us" (*Sursum Corda*, 1871).

Josephine Butler's religion has been inadequately defined until the recent discovery of a spiritual diary that, according to Helen Mathers, contains convincing evidence of Evangelical conviction. David Bebbington, in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: a History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989), identifies four defining characteristics: Biblicism, Crucicentrism, Activism, and Conversionism. All are readily apparent in her writings, both published and unpublished, and the Spiritual Diary provides evidence of a deep commitment to personal prayer and Bible study. No man or woman, she argued, could move her from truths learned directly from God. Her conviction of her right as a woman to stand up for her beliefs made her theology explicitly feminist (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY). It is most clearly stated in her Introduction to *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture* (1869), which contains a radical account of the attitudes of both Jesus and St. Paul toward women and highlights the role of Mary Magdalene, a witness of the Resurrection.

She sought models of the Christian woman she hoped to be and found her greatest example in a fourteenth-century Italian Catholic saint, Catharine of Siena. Her 1878 biography of Catharine depicts a woman who was, like herself, both a practical reformer and a contemplative mystic, called by God to be a leader of both men and women.

Butler believed herself to be called to undertake a mission to destroy the sin of regulated prostitution and even the institution of prostitution itself. She proclaimed her right, as a woman, to preach and teach her beliefs openly, quoting the prophet Joel "your sons and your daughters will prophesy." In these respects she was a radical, anticipating the Christian feminism of the twentieth century; in others she was a true Victorian, campaigning with the zeal of a Wilberforce against the sin of "white slavery" (see WILLIAM WILBERFORCE). Butler died on December 30, 1906, at the home of her son George in Northumberland and is buried at Kirknewton.

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HELEN MATHERS

BUTTERFIELD, HERBERT (1900–1979)

English historian and religious thinker. Born October 7, 1900, at Oxenhope, Yorkshire, Butterfield was a lifelong Methodist and sometime lay preacher. For sixty years he was a member of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and served in Cambridge University as a lecturer (1929), then professor of modern history (1944), and finally Regius professor of modern history (1963) until he retired (1968). He died at Sawston, Cambridgeshire July 20, 1979.

Butterfield was, arguably, the most influential Protestant historian in the English language in the twentieth century. His influence derived not from any particular work of Protestant church history, but from the historical and religious ideas he developed within his general historical studies and that others adopted for their own studies in many fields. It gradually became clear that his insights were dependent on his Methodist spirituality and his practice of DISSENT from the reigning powers and orthodoxies in any field.

His fame rested on a modest book, *Whig Interpretation of History* (1931), in which he exposed the fallacy of reading history backwards from something desirable in the present to something desirable in the past, and then drawing a straight line of causation forward again from the earlier to the later. The products of such thinking came to be called "Whig history." Among his examples of the fallacy was the tradition of crediting the REFORMATION and PROTESTANT WHIGS for religious liberty in England. By contrast he explained the relative liberty experienced in contemporary England as an

unintended consequence of continuously complex and changing interactions among people, including Catholics, Anglicans, and Nonconformists, involving economic, political, social, and religious factors over a long period of time.

His writings dealt with a wide range of topics, including the history of historiography; British, French, and German history; the history of Christianity; diplomatic history; the history of science; general European history; theological reflection; and biography. His book *Christianity and History* (1949) reached a wide public with his reading of a Christian view of history shaped by his Methodist convictions. In *Origins of Modern Science, 1300–1800* (1949) he helped define the history of science as a field of study while showing the significance of Protestant and Catholic beliefs about God and the world for the new science that emerged in the early modern period.

See also Anglicanism; Nonconformity; Orthodoxy

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C.T.MCINTIRE

BUXTEHUDE, DIETRICH (c. 1637–1707)

Lutheran musician. The specifics of Buxtehude's birth are unknown; apparently he considered himself a native of DENMARK. Probably trained musically by his father Johannes (c. 1601–1674), Buxtehude became organist at his father's former post in Helsingborg's St. Maria Kyrka in 1657–1658, and then in 1660 took a position with the German-speaking Marienkirche in Helsingør (both cities were under Danish control). In April 1668 he succeeded Franz Tunder as organist for the Marienkirche at Lübeck in northern GERMANY, a position, along with that of Werkmeister, he held until his death. While at Lübeck Buxtehude was visited by other musicians, most notably GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL and JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH. Buxtehude died May 9, 1707.

As required for Lübeck's Lutheran LITURGY, Buxtehude accompanied the choir and provided preludes, solo verses, and interludes for congregational hymn singing at Saturday and Sunday Vespers and at the principal morning service (Haupt-Predigt) on Sundays and festal days. Among his surviving keyboard works are numerous settings of Lutheran chorales that show his distinct employment of rhetorical device and counterpoint. Buxtehude set music for other parts of the service using liturgical and nonliturgical texts in Latin or German, and engaging musical instruments in addition to or in lieu of the organ. Other compositions exist for weddings and funerals and for extraliturgical occasions. Among the latter are the Abendmusiken (evening concerts),

dramatic sacred “oratorios” performed on the last two Sundays of Trinity and the last three Sundays of Advent.

With his innovative use of soloists, ensembles, and instrumentalists, Buxtehude redefined the prose-text concerto and poetry-text aria. He occasionally combined the two in a new composite form later labeled the “cantata.” Besides the Vulgate and MARTIN LUTHER’S Bible, Buxtehude drew for texts upon Latin mystical prose and German strophic poetry. Although he borrowed substantially from the devotional poetry of Lutheran PIETISM, his Italianate style and settings of Latin texts placed him at odds with Pietism’s liturgical reform.

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KAREN B. WESTERFIELD TUCKER

C

CADBURY, GEORGE (1839–1922)

English businessman. George Cadbury was born on September 19, 1839, to a family whose ancestors had belonged to the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS for several generations. These Friends, or Quakers, prized hard work, self-discipline, social egalitarianism, and CHARITY, and Cadbury assiduously applied these values to his business.

In 1861, George and his brother Richard inherited a struggling family coffee and tea business that they would, by the turn of the century, transform into a paragon of Christian welfare capitalism. First, they abandoned coffee and tea for cocoa and chocolate, products considered socially useful because they could be partaken in lieu of alcohol. Then, in 1878, they decided to move their factory from the family's hometown of Birmingham, ENGLAND, to a bucolic site four miles outside the city. These decisions enabled the company and its workers to thrive, despite a depressed business climate, and reflected the Cadbury family's religious values.

The company offered generous pay and benefits. Cadbury promoted clean living by building an idyllic town around the factory, complete with cottages, gardens, and parks—but no pub. He extended decisionmaking power to his employees through a series of committees. When a female employee married, he sent her off with a BIBLE, a flower, and a small sum. (He did not believe that married women should work.) In his spare time, Cadbury taught reading and religion in the slums of Birmingham.

Cadbury received occasional criticism for his PACIFISM, his paternalistic treatment of employees, and for buying cocoa from countries where workers suffered abuse. Overall, though, he enjoyed great respect. After his death on October 24, 1922, more than 16,000 people attended his memorial service.

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ELESHA COFFMAN

CALIXT, GEORG (ORIGINAL SURNAME CALLISEN) (1587–1656)

German theologian. This embattled scholar of controversial THEOLOGY was born on December 14, 1587, in Medelby, GERMANY, near Flensburg, and died on March 19, 1656, in Helmstedt. His initial schooling came from his father, who had been a student of PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. Calixt's further studies in Helmstedt (after 1603), the center of late German Humanism, as well as his travels to the NETHERLANDS, ENGLAND, and Paris, profoundly influenced his moderate Lutheran humanism.

In 1614 Calixt became professor of controversial theology in Helmstedt. He emphasized the notion in no way new at the time, that the proclamation of DOCTRINE during the first five centuries of the Christian church could serve as the measure for the church of his time and could be turned polemically against Roman Catholicism. However, the horrors of the Thirty Years War, with its psychological devastation and physical destruction, prompted Calixt to reinterpret this notion with irony. He came to believe that despite many theological differences, all Christian churches recognized some essential truths, and that these were expressed in the first five centuries of Christianity in interpretations to which all Christians are bound. In this way of thinking (*consensus quinquesaecularis*), a concept not coined by Calixt, but one he adopted in 1648 from Johann Georg Dorsche, his opponent in Strasbourg, both reason and love were to compel a consensus within the CHURCH.

Catholics did not react when Calixt vigorously advocated this position, which did, however, provoke growing distrust from the strict Lutheran ORTHODOXY. He was attacked as a "rationalist," because he emphasized reason by downplaying the verbal inspiration of the BIBLE and by rejecting both the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity and the distinction between theology and FAITH. In addition, Orthodox Lutherans objected that limiting oneself to the teachings of the apostles dismissed the central importance of the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION and with it Martin Luther's confessional writings.

Attacks against Calixt became even more severe with the efforts of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, the most powerful of the German electoral princes, who wanted Lutherans and Reformed within his territory to reconcile on the basis of the distinction between fundamental and nonfundamental articles of faith. At the colloquy of Turin in 1645, Lutherans distanced themselves from Calixt. When Calixt offered counsel to the Reformed a full controversy broke out. Calixt was considered a "syncretist" and "adulterator of religion." During the syncretist dispute that erupted in 1648, all German Lutherans opposed Calixt and Helmstedt theology. What resulted was a narrow, particularist understanding of the Lutheran church.

See also Lutheranism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

CALVERT FAMILY

The Calvert Family was a prominent Catholic household of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ENGLAND and Maryland. George Calvert (1580–1632), the first baron of Baltimore, served as a knight in the court of King James I until he converted from ANGLICANISM to Roman Catholicism in 1625. James I, amid controversy over the CONVERSION, continued to support George by granting him a charter to start a colony in North America. When George died in 1632, the charter transferred to his son Cecil Calvert (1605–1675), the second Lord Baltimore. Cecil stayed in England to secure the prosperity of colonization, whereas his younger brother Leonard Calvert (1606–1647) led the Protestant and Catholic colonists to Maryland in 1634. Maryland was the first English colony founded by Catholics in the New World. However, because the number of Protestant colonists outnumbered Catholics, Governor Leonard Calvert signed into law the “Act Concerning Religion” (1649) to guarantee the religious TOLERATION of all Christian churches subscribing to a belief in the Trinity.

Leonard ruled under the “Maryland Model” of religious toleration until a group of Protestant Virginians invaded the capital St. Mary’s City in 1645. Charles Calvert (1637–1715), the third Lord Baltimore, tried to prevent the ascendancy of Protestant politicians, only to be overthrown by supporters of the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in 1689. Afterward the Crown withdrew the proprietorship from the Calvert Family until Benedict Leonard Calvert (1679–1715) converted to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in 1713. Charles Calvert (1699–1751) and Frederick Calvert (1731–1771), the last two lords of Baltimore, saw their proprietary influence gradually diminish in the face of a strengthening Protestant legislature.

See also Roman Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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MICHAEL PASQUIER

CALVIN, JOHN (1509–1564)

Protestant reformer and theologian. John Calvin was the most prominent spokesperson for the Reformed variety of sixteenth-century Protestantism, as distinguished from the variety led by MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546).

Background

Calvin was born in Noyon, France, July 10, 1509, the son of a notary who worked for the local bishop. As a boy he was awarded a benefice to make possible his education for the priesthood. He went to Paris in 1523, where he studied first at the College de la Marche and then at the College Montaigu, famous for the rigor of its training in the classical humanities. When he finished that relatively elementary course, however, his father directed him to go on to study law, and he dutifully moved on to Orleans, where he completed requirements for a degree in law, with a brief period of legal study in Bourges as well. He then returned to Paris and began advanced study in the classical humanities, primarily with French scholar Guillaume Budé (1467–1540; an adviser and librarian to King Francis I; 1494–1547), who was a great authority on the Greek versions of Roman law. Calvin soon published a commentary on Seneca's *De clementia*, which was a typical exercise in Renaissance humanistic scholarship, closely examining the text of this classical essay, lingering over details in Seneca's use of rhetoric and pointing out details in its composition that had been overlooked by the great Erasmus.

During these years Calvin became interested in Protestantism and became active in a circle of Frenchmen who shared this interest, including Nicolas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, who created a sensation with his inaugural address in 1533 endorsing a Protestant approach to Christianity. That was followed in 1534 by the "affair of the placards," in which posters attacking the Roman Catholic Mass, with considerable virulence, were distributed all over France, provoking a major crackdown by the government on all Protestants. This led Calvin to abandon his benefice and leave the country, moving to the Protestant city of Basel and plunging into the systematic study of theology, apparently for the first time. There he voraciously read the writings of Protestant Reformers, most notably Luther, and the writings of the church fathers, most notably Augustine. The end result was the publication, in 1536, of a first Latin edition of the *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*, a general summary of the entire Protestant theological position, basically an expansion of Luther's catechisms. Calvin spent much of the rest of his career enlarging and revising this book, translating it back and forth into French and Latin. It became one of the most important single summaries of Protestant theology.

Calvin then made quick trips to Italy, where he visited the court of the Duchess of Ferrara, Renée de France (daughter of a former king of France), who had a great interest in Protestantism, and to France, where he helped settle his parents' estate. On his way back toward GERMANY, Calvin stopped in Geneva, a city that had just revolted against the rule of its princebishop and his ally, the Duke of Savoy, and had declared its independence and its adoption of the Reformation. Geneva had been assisted in this revolution by the Swiss Protestant republic of Bern, then committed to Zwinglian Protestantism. Bern had sent William Farel to Geneva to lead the campaign to make that city Protestant. Farel visited Calvin in his lodgings and insisted that Calvin remain help in the work of reforming the local church. Calvin hesitated but finally agreed and was appointed a public lecturer in religion September 5, 1536. For the next two years Calvin assisted Farel in the work of creating a truly Reformed Church. Their efforts irritated the bourgeois ruling the city, however, and both were thrown out on short notice in 1538. Farel moved to Neuchatel, where he spent the rest of his life superintending its Reformed

Church. Calvin moved to Strasbourg, where he became minister of the Church of French Protestant refugees. There he became well acquainted with MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551) and other local religious leaders. He had a chance to see how Strasbourg had organized its Reformed Church and to experiment in ways of organizing the community of Frenchmen there. He also attended a number of interconfessional conferences in various parts of Germany and met other Protestant leaders, most notably PHILIPPE MELANCHTHON (1497–1560).

Geneva

Meanwhile Geneva had been drifting without wellqualified clerical leadership, subjected to pressures to return to Catholicism. Most notably Jacopo Sadoleto, the reforming Catholic bishop of Carpentras, had written a public letter to the Genevans begging them to return to the bosom of the Holy Mother Church. Genevan political leaders asked Calvin to publish a considered reply to Sadoleto’s letter, and it became one of the best early summaries of his entire doctrinal position. These leaders then asked Calvin, alone, to return to Geneva and take over responsibility for creation of a truly Reformed Church in their city. In 1541 Calvin did return to Geneva, now accompanied by a new wife (who soon died), and remained in that city for the rest of his life.

One of Calvin’s first responsibilities was to write sets of laws for the new republic. He first drafted the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, which created a kind of constitution for the Reformed Church. These were adopted by the city government, with only a few minor amendments, late in 1541. Calvin also helped draft, as a member of a small committee, a set of ordinances on offices and officers, which created a kind of constitution for the state. They were also adopted by the city government, with some more substantial amendments, in 1543. Both “constitutions” committed Geneva to collective leadership, resisting the notion common at that time that the most efficient government was the type that vested supreme power in one individual.

Calvin’s Ecclesiastical Ordinances created four orders of ministry for the Reformed Church. The first order was of pastors, whose job it was to proclaim the Word of God by preaching and to administer the two remaining sacraments of communion and baptism. The second order was of doctors, who studied the Holy Scriptures and who instructed others in their content and meaning. Both pastors and doctors were full-time employees of the city of Geneva. The third order was of elders, who helped the pastors in maintaining Christian discipline. The fourth order was of deacons, who administered charity. Most of the elders and deacons were laymen who worked in these capacities on only a part-time basis. One deacon, however, did become a full-time city employee. He became the director of the General Hospital, the main center for charitable activity in Geneva, and lived with his wife in its building. In later years, when the city became flooded with refugees with their own special needs, additional deacons were selected from among refugees of wealth and prominence, who then helped take care of their less fortunate fellows.

The pastors and doctors met once a week in a body called the Company. Calvin became its moderator, presiding over its meetings and presenting its recommendations to the councils that actually ruled the city. The elders and pastors met once a week in a body

called the Consistory, charged with examining local residents suspected of misbelief or misbehavior. Its presiding officer was one of the four syndics chosen every year as supreme magistrates of the republic. Calvin attended its meetings regularly, and was often called to administer the “remonstrances” or public scoldings that ended most of its cases.

The deacons also met once a week to act on requests for assistance and to regulate the General Hospital. Calvin did not take an active role in their activities, but he did take an active role later in the group of deacons created from among French refugees to supervise the granting of welfare to their indigent countrymen.

Calvin served as both a pastor and a doctor. He gave formal talks almost every day on the Holy Scriptures, either sermons in French intended for the general population or lectures in Latin intended primarily for students. He used the method of *lectio continuo* in his speaking, choosing one book of the Bible and going through it verse by verse, pericope by pericope, often taking the better part of a year to complete the analysis of it. He spoke on books of the New Testament and the Psalms on Sundays, interrupting his *lectio continuo* method on special feast days such as Christmas and Easter, with sermons based on biblical texts of relevance to the events in the life of Christ those days commemorate. He spoke on books of the Old Testament on weekdays and delivered his talks from memory without prepared texts. The city soon hired secretaries to copy them down verbatim; many of these copies survive, although a few of them have disappeared. Some of them were prepared for publication during Calvin’s own lifetime, but others were never published and were not edited until the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Over the course of his career, Calvin prepared commentaries on almost every book of the Bible. The one most obvious omission was the book of Revelations in the New Testament. Calvin found it obscure and deliberately decided not to comment on it.

Calvin also helped institute and regularly attended public “congregations,” or adult Bible classes. One or another of the pastors would present a commentary on a pericope drawn from Holy Scripture, and laymen would be invited to ask questions and present their own views of the passage. It was at one of these congregations in 1551 that Jerome Bolsec attacked Calvin’s view of predestination, provoking an enormous uproar and a trial ending in Bolsec’s expulsion from the city.

Through much of his career, Calvin was the only public lecturer charged with instructing Genevans (and a growing number of religious refugees) on the meaning of their faith. From the beginning, however, he had hoped that an institution of higher education could be created to take on this task on a more concerted basis. Finally in 1559, the College of Geneva was duly created, with THEODORE BEZA as its rector, and chairs of Hebrew and Greek as well as other relevant disciplines added. Calvin’s lectures then became a part of its curriculum. This college eventually evolved into the present University of Geneva.

Calvin’s success in Geneva was made possible by great numbers of religious refugees who came flooding into the city, most whom were from France, Italy, and other countries. Some of the local residents resented the influence and the power of these refugees and tried to restrict them. They were led by a sometime captian-general of Geneva’s armed forces named Ami Perrin (?-1561). The issue between the followers of Calvin and Perrin centered around the powers of the Consistory and its right to excommunicate unrepentant sinners. The Perrinists wanted this right limited and subject

to reversal on appeal by the city government. The Calvinists insisted that only the Consistory had the power to levy and to lift sentences of excommunication. A showdown occurred in 1555 and the Perrinists were decisively defeated; some of them were put to death, but most escaped into exile. From then on, Calvin's power in Geneva was without any effective challenge.

This made it possible for Geneva to provide international leadership to a new branch of Protestantism. Men trained to be Protestant ministers fanned out from Geneva into many other countries in Europe to spread the message of the new faith. Most of them went to France, but significant numbers went to Britain, including JOHN KNOX, the reformer of Scotland; to Germany, including Caspar Olevianus, the reformer of the palatinate; and the Marnix brothers, lay leaders of the Reformation in the Netherlands. In all of these countries, Calvin's followers adopted, often in consultation with Calvin himself, confessions of faith and books of discipline designed to replicate those used in Reformed Churches of the type favored by Calvin.

Geneva also became a major center of printing during Calvin's ministry, attracting a couple dozen printers, including Robert Estienne, who had been royal printer to the king of France. Calvin became the best-selling author of the works these printers published, including further editions of Calvin's *Institutes*, Bible editions and commentaries in which he had a role, liturgical guides and catechisms he had drafted, and a significant number of religious polemics aimed at Catholics, religious radicals, and, increasingly, Lutheran extremists.

Calvin also served during these triumphant years as an adviser to political leaders, particularly those representing the Protestant party in France. In these diplomatic initiatives he coordinated his activities closely with those of Henri Bullinger, Swiss religious reformer Huldrych Zwingli's (1484–1531) successor as leader of the Reformed Church in Zurich. Indeed a Geneva-Zurich understanding became crucial to the survival and spread of Calvinist Protestantism. It made it possible for Geneva to maintain the formal alliance with Zwinglian Bern that was necessary to guarantee its survival against Savoy. It also made it possible for the ideas and examples of Calvin and Bullinger to spread throughout Europe, creating the new form of Protestantism called Reformed Protestantism.

When Calvin died on May 27, 1564, his form of Protestantism was on the ascendant throughout Europe. Ironically, it was not to be very successful in the long run in his French homeland. It rather won its greatest success in other areas like Britain, including the British colonies of North America, in the NETHERLANDS, in parts of GERMANY, and in HUNGARY. In all of these areas, Calvinist movements survive to the present.

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ROBERT M. KINGDON

CALVINISM

The historical and theological movement associated with the teachings of JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564). Calvinism spread through Europe in the sixteenth century and into the new world. It became international in scope, exerting many influences on a variety of life-forms, both theological and cultural. Its importance as a social force as well as a theological understanding for Christian belief and living continues in many places through a multiplicity of churches, theologians, institutions, publishers, and activists. Calvinism as a living tradition still takes shape in communities whose realities are shaped by the ways their forebears in the Calvinistic stream have understood and appropriated the Christian faith in lives of dedicated service to the God they worship and know in Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Historical Developments

Calvinism derives its name from John Calvin, and its spread can be traced historically through Europe from Geneva, where Calvin spent most of his career. Calvinism is often also designated as the "Reformed tradition." This term indicates the broad stream of theological thought that emerged from the reform movement associated with HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) in Zurich, which Calvin appropriated and shaped in his work in Geneva and, for a brief period, in Strassbourg. The "Reformed tradition" was a reformation movement in contrast to the Lutheran tradition (LUTHERANISM) and the Anabaptist tradition (ANABAPTISM), and with them in common opposition against ROMAN CATHOLICISM. Calvin was the major systematizer and leading theologian of the Reformed tradition and thus the equivalence with the term "Calvinism" is often made.

Yet other important theologians were also part of the Reformed tradition and were both influential on Calvin and influenced by him. These include JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS (1482–1531), MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551), Peter Martyr Vermigli (1500–1562), JOHN KNOX (c. 1513–1572), JOHANN HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575), Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590), and Calvin’s immediate successor as leader of the Genevan reformation, THEODORE BEZA (1519–1605). These reformers shaped the theology of the movement and contributed to its organizational life in churches and by their impact on their surrounding cultures.

Switzerland

Zwingli’s reforms of the Zurich church helped spark reforms in Basel and Bern. He emphasized reform according to the word of God in Scripture, and began the practice of PREACHING on successive texts through a biblical book (LECTIO CONTINUA). Theologically, he came into conflict with MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546), particularly on the issue of the presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper. The two split at the MARBURG COLLOQUY (1529). Zwingli argued that sacraments “represent” Christ rather than “present” Christ through any mode of special presence. Jesus’s words at the Lord’s Supper: “This is my body” (Matthew 26:26) were interpreted by Zwingli as “This signifies my body.” Zwingli initiated WORSHIP reforms, destroying images in churches, and declared that the mass was not a sacrifice but a remembrance of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Zwingli’s successor Bullinger, and Oecolampadius in Basel, continued his reforming tradition.

Calvin came to Geneva as a young humanist scholar who published the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1536. The French reformer Guillaume Farel (1489–1565), who introduced Reformation thought to the city, persuaded Calvin to join him in the work of reform. In the next two years they sought such thorough reforms of the church—both in belief and practice—that they were asked to leave. In 1538 Calvin journeyed to Strasbourg, where for the next two years he was pastor of a French refugee congregation and imbibed much from Bucer, whose influence can be detected in Calvin’s later writings, especially on the DOCTRINES of election and the sacraments.

When Cardinal Sadoleto tried to persuade Geneva to return to Roman Catholicism, the city council asked Calvin to respond to the cardinal and also to return to give leadership to the church and the city. Calvin did so in 1541 and remained there until his death. His activities and writing output were prodigious as he lectured on the Bible, preached, wrote theological treatises, met with the Consistory and the Company of Pastors, wrote numerous letters, and was active in virtually every aspect of the city’s life. In addition, he revised the *Institutes* until its final Latin edition (1559). Calvin’s active life, including his way of understanding Scripture, theological perceptions, and leadership in church organization and educational establishments, notably the Genevan Academy (1559), made him, along with Luther, the most significant church reformer of the Protestant movement.

Geneva was described by Calvin’s disciple, John Knox, as “the most perfect school of Christ on earth since the days of the apostles.” It had become a center of refugee traffic and sought diligently to integrate these new residents into city life. The establishment of DEACONS as an office in the church brought with it a commitment to the social welfare

and care of the poor. Calvin's reform of the church meant reform in society as well. He emphasized CHURCH DISCIPLINE and an ordered church life that was "presbyterian" in focus, establishing authority in the church through pastors and elected lay leaders from a number of local churches, which constituted a "presbytery" (or "colloquy"). Decision making was thus corporate rather than individual. These aspects of Calvin's work were also features of later "Calvinism."

Calvin's substantial influence meant that the growing number of Swiss Reformed churches looked more to Geneva than to Zurich for leadership. When Calvin died (1564) he was succeeded by his colleague Beza, who was also influential on Reformed churches throughout Europe. Areas of theological conflict had arisen, such as predestination and the Lord's Supper, with variations of thought found among leading Reformed theologians.

Those who looked to Calvin as the seminal influence for their theologies also went on to build methods and ways of understanding that developed Calvin's thought in more systematic and detailed ways. This seventeenth-century movement is sometimes called "Calvinist scholasticism" or "Reformed orthodoxy." Contemporary scholars have argued the legitimacy of these developments and whether later Calvinist theologians made shifts that would not have been approved by Calvin himself. Yet these later theologians wrote in their own historical contexts—warding off particularly the attacks of Roman Catholic theologians—and that new forms of Calvin's views were needed to provide viable theological positions.

A prominent example of a scholastic Calvinist theologian was FRANCIS TURRETINI (1623–1687), who became professor of theology at the Geneva Academy in 1648. His three-volume *Institutio theologiae elencticae* (1679–1685) became the most important work of systematic theology produced in Geneva in the seventeenth century. The Helvetic Consensus Formula (1675), adopted by four Swiss cantons and some individual cities, also reflected the developed, scholasticizing tendency and is most notable for its view that the words of Scripture (including the Hebrew vowel points) were directly inspired by God.

Turretin's son, Jean-Alphonse Turretin (1671–1737), succeeded his father but did not continue strict Calvinism. Later theological developments in Geneva and throughout Switzerland moved toward the rationalistic tendencies of the ENLIGHTENMENT. Yet as the birthplace of Calvinism and for its many contributions to developments of Calvinism, Switzerland holds a prime place in the story of Calvinism's historical and theological emergence.

France

Calvin's works became known in FRANCE from the early 1540s. Calvin continually produced French editions of the successive volumes of his *Institutes*, and nine of Calvin's writings appeared on the first comprehensive Index of Forbidden Books issued by the Roman Catholic Church. Geneva was tagged as a center of heresy by King Henry II's Edict of Châ-teaubriand (1551) and all contact with the city was forbidden.

In the following decade, however, groups of French evangelicals that emerged as Christians nourished by Calvin's writings became more formalized through the planting of Calvinist churches. By 1559 the French Calvinist church developed a basic

organization with its first national synod meeting in Paris, where eleven churches were represented. This synod adopted a church discipline and common Confession of Faith (French confession) that laid the foundation for the national church to increase its strength. This national polity featured a local church consistory (session), a colloquy (presbytery), provisional synod, and a national synod. Here was a Presbyterian form of government enacted on a national level (see PRESBYTERIANISM). In 1571 the French Confession was revised in minor ways and adopted by the synod of La Rochelle. It became one of the premier expressions of the Reformed faith.

The Wars of Religion in France (from 1562) hampered the spread and growth of Calvinism. French Reformed Christians, called Huguenots, were persecuted. Most notorious was the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572) in which Roman Catholics killed some 3,000 Huguenots in Paris and thousands more in the provinces. This violence was initiated through an assassination attempt on Gaspard II de Colligny (1519–1572), a Huguenot leader and admiral who was the political leader of the Reformed churches. Catherine de Médicis, mother of the French King Charles IX, had secretly ordered the assassination at a time when many leaders were in Paris for the marriage of Henry of Navarre (Henry IV); during the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715), some 250,000 Huguenots fled to Holland, England, Germany, Switzerland, and North America. Through their efforts the Calvinist faith was spread throughout Europe and into the new world.

In 1594 Henry of Navarre (Henry IV) was crowned king. Henry was a Protestant who gave up his religion with the famous expression, "Paris is worth a Mass!" to become ruler. However, Calvinist communities under his reign gained freedoms—with restrictions—through the EDICT OF NANTES (1598). This edict granted them the status of a "state within a state" with civil rights and freedom of worship. It was later revoked (1687) and persecutions of Calvinist believers resumed until the French Revolution (1789) brought religious toleration to the nation. In the following century, French Calvinism began to erode.

Netherlands and the Low Countries

The penetration of Calvinism into the Netherlands has been more pervasive than in any other country. Dutch Calvinism has been a leading force in contributing to the society in a wide variety of ways. In the struggle for independence from Spain, Dutch Calvinists were exemplary models of courage and faithful conviction. The SYNOD of Dort (1618–1619) was a significant turning point, providing a definitive theological statement of Calvinist belief over the ARMINIANISM of James Arminius (1560–1609) and his followers. Later, important Calvinist leaders such as ABRAHAM KUYPER (1837–1920), Herman Bavinck (1854–1921), and G.C.Berkouwer (1903–1996) provided significant theological and cultural contributions that permeated Dutch society.

European refugees brought Calvinism to the Netherlands. In Geneva, Calvin met a number of leaders of the Dutch reform. He sent his successor as pastor of the French refugee church at Strassbourg, Pierre Brully, to preach in the Netherlands. After three months, Brully was burned to death for expressing his faith, but his work led to a steady growth of Reformed churches into the southern Netherlands and the Low Countries.

Calvin's writings became known and his 1559 *Institutes* was translated into Dutch (1560). This work and Bullinger's *Decades* were the key theological texts for Dutch Reformed Christians. Calvin also wrote treatises for his followers there. Three of them (1543; 1544; 1562) indicated how they should live in the midst of papists and persecutions. Two others analyzed the threats to the Reformed movement posed by Anabaptism and spiritualism.

This spreading Calvinism was marked by steadfastness in the face of persecution as well as by variations within theology. Some believed Calvin's injunctions to practice faith openly were too rigorous. Others sought a more Erasmian theology, while still others preferred the high Augustinianism Calvin represented. The church's first national synod met in Emden in East Friesland (1571). This synod endorsed the BELGIAN CONFESSION (1559; revised 1561), which was modeled after the French Confession (1559), and sought to instruct the faithful within the church while summarizing the Reformed faith for those outside. The HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563), written in the palatinate, was also important in providing a strong, personalized appropriation of Calvinist perspectives. Preaching and teaching from the catechism on a regular basis, especially to the young, were important ingredients in strengthening the Reformed faith in the Netherlands.

Calvinist communities joined in the long fight against Spain. By 1608 the United Provinces gained independence and the Reformed church came to dominate the nation's life, though for a long period Calvinist Christians did not constitute a majority of the population. The Synod of Dort established Calvinist doctrine with the famous "Five Points of Calvinism": Total Depravity, Unconditional Election, Limited Atonement, Irresistible Grace, and the Perseverance of the Saints (TULIP). It clarified the church's POLITY and provided for a new translation of the Scriptures into Dutch. After Dort, the Reformed church became the privileged church of the Dutch republic.

The "Further Reformation" (*Nadere Reformatie*) of the seventeenth century emerged through a mixture of Reformed scholasticism and PIETISM. Prominent Dutch theologians such as Willem Teellinck (1579–1629) and William Brakel (1635–1711), influenced by English PURITANISM, sought a revival of piety within the church and a stronger emphasis on experiential religion in the face of precise doctrinalism. The theologian Gisbert Voetius (1589–1676) became a champion of Calvinist orthodoxy while also being deeply influenced by the pietist movement.

The Enlightenment and its movement toward a "rational faith" affected the Netherlands in the eighteenth century. Yet the Dutch emphasis on missions and piety continued, and the nineteenth-century revival (*Réveil*) in Europe strongly affected the Dutch church in its reaction against the French Revolution and Enlightenment tendencies. Many Dutch Calvinists emphasized repentance, conversion, and practical Christian living as well as faithfulness to theological standards of the church. A secession from the established church of those affected by the revival occurred (1834), followed by another (1886) led by theologian and statesman Abraham Kuyper. The two seceder groups formed the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands (1892). This group emphasized confessional fidelity and church discipline as well as mission outreach. Church leaders founded the Free University of Amsterdam.

Germany

Reformed congregations in the Rhineland in Germany were active beginning in the time of John Laski (a Lasco; 1499–1560), who became pastor in Emden (1543) and introduced worship that was structured like that of Strasbourg and Geneva. Reformed churches expanded in Lower Saxony after Elector Frederick III of the palatinate was converted to Reformed Protestantism (1563), and later, congregations were begun in the Rhineland. These congregations endured through the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) and were influenced by theologians such as Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583) and Caspar Olevianus (1536–1587) and nourished by the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), which became the backbone of German Calvinism. This catechism, commissioned by Frederick III and written by Ursinus and Olevianus, was to be a standard of doctrine to bring peace and unite the regional churches.

Calvinist theologians who were active in the University of Heidelberg included Ursinus, Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590), and THOMAS ERASTUS (1524–1583). Zanchi was a key figure in the development of Reformed scholasticism. Erastus, a theologian and physician, was influenced by Zwingli, and advocated the view that the civil state has final earthly authority over the expression and practice of religious beliefs as well as over ecclesiastical organizations.

Lutheranism became the primary faith of Protestant Christians in Germany, where the Formula of Concord (1577; see BOOK OF CONCORD) forced all theologians to choose sides between Luther and Calvin. It was not until the nineteenth century that “Union churches,” which blended Reformed and Lutheran congregations, were established in the Prussian territories. The Reformed theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) taught at the University of Berlin and was co-pastor of Trinity Church with a Lutheran colleague, Philipp Marheinecke, for twenty-six years. Schleiermacher’s *The Christian Faith* (1821–1822; 2nd ed. 1831–1832) earned him the title “the father of modern theology.”

Hungary

Calvinism in HUNGARY has been a powerful force. The Reformed interpretation of the Reformation spread rapidly among the agricultural towns in the eastern and southern parts of Hungary from the 1550s. The primary theological influence was from Bullinger in Zurich, who sent the *Consensus Tigurinus* (“Agreement of Zurich” [1551]), composed jointly with Calvin, to Hungary for approval. Hungarian churches accepted Bullinger’s Second Helvetic Confession (1566; see HELVETIC CONFESSION[S]) and the Confession at Debrecen (1567) as doctrinal standards. A Reformed theological academy was established at Debrecen and the first Hungarian Bible was published (1590). During the “dark decade” (1671–1681), Hungarian churches were severely repressed and occupied under the Hapsburgs. The Edict of Toleration (1781) led to more normal activity, but persecution followed again in the mid-1800s. The United Synod (1881) established a presbyterian system of church government and helped to revive spiritual life.

England

The English Reformation, ignited by King HENRY VIII's (1491–1547) renunciation of papal authority and his establishment of the Church of England (1534), led to a process of church reform. The BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (1549) reformed worship, and the Forty-Two Articles (1553; later the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, 1571) reformed doctrine. The established Anglican Church maintains elements of both Catholicism and Protestantism.

ELIZABETH I (1533–1603; queen from 1558) instituted a “middle way” called the “Elizabethan Settlement” (1559) as a means of reestablishing the Protestant directions provided under the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553). A “Puritan party” emerged that wanted fuller church reforms along Calvinistic lines. Many “Puritans” later became Presbyterians or Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM). They were influenced by Calvinist theology, with Calvin's authority as primary. During the period of Mary Tudor's Catholic rule (1553–1555), a number of “Marian Exiles” had fled to the European continent and imbibed theology in such places of Reformed influence as Geneva and were influenced by the teachings of Calvin. When they returned under Elizabeth, they came to places of power within the established church, bringing with them to various degrees a “Calvinism” that permeated both their theological and ecclesiastical outlooks.

Those Puritans who wished to “purify” the church along lines of Presbyterianism were unsuccessful in establishing this polity as the national norm. During the 1640s, however, in the midst of the English Civil War, they controlled the English Parliament and participated in the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY (1643–1649), which adopted the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION of Faith and Catechisms. When Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) became the “Lord Protector,” Presbyterian members of Parliament were purged and Congregationalists were favored. But the reign of Charles II (1660–1685) led to a return to an episcopal form of church government where “nonconformists” (Presbyterians and Congregationalists) were deprived of legal status. The Toleration Act (1689) legalized the position of dissenters to the established church. Both the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were Calvinist in theology, with differing amounts of influence from later Calvinist scholastics also being apparent.

Scotland

The Scottish Reformation was led by John Knox, who studied in Geneva under Calvin and was the primary author of the Scots Confession (1560). Knox returned to Scotland to establish Calvin's theology and a system of church reform based on the pattern of Calvin's Geneva. A Book of Common Order and Book of Discipline were enacted. In the act of 1592 the king and Parliament recognized the Scottish church system. In 1689 Presbyterianism was permanently established.

Calvinism in Scotland remained vital as a theological and cultural force through the following centuries. Notable theologians reflected Calvinism in various shades. These include Donald (1887–1954) and JOHN (1886–1960) BAILLIE, JOHN McLEOD CAMPBELL (1800–1872), P.T.FORSYTH (1848–1921), James McCosh (1811–1894), Hugh R. Mackintosh (1870–1936), and James Orr (1844–1913).

North America

Calvinism spread to North America through a variety of influences, most prominently the Puritans of England and the Netherlands who emigrated to the new world and the Scotch-Irish settlers. These forms of Calvinism were expressed in Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches and polities. One estimate indicates that by the time of the American Revolution (1776), three fourths of the people in the future United States were directly influenced by the Reformed tradition. Other eighteenth-century immigrant groups to America, such as the Dutch and German Reformed, were also important in establishing churches.

The Reformed tradition of Calvinism was brought to CANADA by Presbyterians who had come from the British Isles and the American colonies, Congregationalists who emigrated from New England, and by Congregationalist “independents” who arrived from Great Britain. Each continued to maintain the Calvinist traditions of their homelands until gradually, Calvinist churches that are distinctively Canadian emerged.

The theological heritage of North American Calvinism owes much to Calvin and the other continental Calvinists who followed him. The confessional tradition that includes the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, the Scots Confession, the Second Helvetic Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism has also been significant. Later followers of Calvin whose theological works convey a more fully developed Calvinism also played key roles in the development of North American Calvinism. These include theologians such as WILLIAM PERKINS (1558–1602), WILLIAM AMES (1576–1633), John Owen (1616–1683), and Francis Turretin.

Calvinism in the United States also became a leading cultural force in the colonial period. Emphases on learning and the importance of higher education led to the establishment of numerous colleges. Cultural transformation has been sought through a variety of means including evangelical, social, political action. Calvinists have been particularly involved in POLITICS with the American JOHN WITHERSPOON (1723–1794; born in Scotland), President of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), being the only clergyperson to sign the Declaration of Independence.

The first permanent Calvinist settlements in the United States were by separatist Puritans in Plymouth (1620) and conforming Puritans in what became Massachusetts (1628). New England PURITANISM with its Calvinistic expressions was guided by the Cambridge Synod and CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM (1646–1648). A congregational church polity was adopted and modifications made in the Westminster Confession. Thus the prevailing ethos of New England Calvinism has been Congregationalist.

Significant New England Puritans include JOHN COTTON (1585–1652), INCREASE MATHER (1639–1723), COTTON MATHER (1663–1728), TIMOTHY DWIGHT (1752–1817), HORACE BUSHNELL (1802–1876), and JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758), whom many consider America’s greatest theologian. Edward’s modifications to New England Calvinism laid the groundwork for the “New England Theology” and its exponents Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790) and SAMUEL HOPKINS (1721–1803).

American Presbyterianism in the United States was dominated by the “Princeton Theology,” associated with three dominant professors of Princeton Theological Seminary (1812). Archibald Alexander (1772–1851), CHARLES HODGE (1797–1878), and Benjamin B. Warfield (1851–1921) taught a scholastic Calvinism that was the dominant

tradition in the United States throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hodge taught more theological students than any other professor in the period, while his three-volume *Systematic Theology* (1872–1873) became the major theological textbook for generations of Calvinist adherents.

The **MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY** from the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church in Mercersburg (later Lancaster), Pennsylvania was a more moderate form of Calvinism. Its leaders were John W. Nevin (1803–1886) and **PHILIP SCHAFF** (1819–1893). This movement stressed the centrality of Christ, his presence in the Lord's Supper, and an irenic stance toward non-Reformed Christians.

International Calvinism

During its first 300 years, Calvinism was primarily centered in Europe and North America. The missionary movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, and especially post-World War II efforts, have led to the establishment of new churches in **AFRICA** and Asia. The fastest current growth of churches with Calvinist roots are in areas such as **KOREA**, South America, and Africa. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), a worldwide organization of churches that claim a Reformed or Calvinist heritage, now embraces 215 member churches in 106 countries, representing over 75 million Christians. The largest numbers of member churches are in Asia and Africa.

Theological Understandings

The theology of Calvinism has been defined and explicated in many ways. First-generation theologians of the Reformed tradition each made significant contributions and promulgated certain theological understandings and emphases. The development of Calvinism through the centuries has meant a further proliferation of theological systems, themes, and particular doctrines to be stressed. Calvinism has produced a number of highly important theologians who have attempted to practice theology in obedience to God's revelation in Scripture and in a way that is intelligible to their contemporaries in many cultural settings.

In addition to the numerous systematic theologies and theological books, there are also many Reformed confessions and creedal statements from churches throughout the world from the sixteenth century until the present day. Each of these was written to expound an understanding of what Scripture teaches and to witness or confess Christian faith at a particular time and place in history. It has been a particular Calvinistic conviction that Christian faith needs to be confessed anew in the cultural contexts in which Christians find themselves.

Calvinism has produced theologies that have held firmly to the orthodoxies of the early Christian centuries on such key Christian doctrines as the Trinity and **CHRISTOLOGY**. Early Reformed theologians in the sixteenth century and their followers constantly stressed their allegiance to the views of God and Jesus Christ expressed in the ancient church councils.

The distinctive marks of Calvinist theology come with the ways in which the implications of the Trinity and Christology are expressed under the authority of the Holy Scriptures, which Calvinism has continually affirmed as God’s divine revelation and the place where the Word of God is written and heard. Some Calvinist theologians have held to a view of the verbal inspiration of Scripture. Because “all Scripture is inspired by God” (2 Timothy 3:16) it must also share in God’s attributes of perfection and truthfulness. This has led some to support a view of “biblical inerrancy” in which the original autographs of Scripture are held to be without error in what they teach and affirm. Other Calvinist theologians have spoken of the “infallibility” of Scripture in that the Bible is infallible in its theological purpose—to be God’s revelation of how SALVATION may be found. Yet for these theologians, the infallibility of Scripture does not necessarily imply its inerrancy or factual accuracy at every point because Scripture’s purpose is primarily theological. Still other theologians of the Reformed tradition, notably KARL BARTH (1886–1968), spoke of Scripture as the “witness” to the Word of God—who is ultimately Jesus Christ. Scripture becomes “Word of God” when, by the Holy Spirit, it points beyond itself to God’s divine revelation in Jesus Christ. Thus the Bible itself does not need to be infallible or inerrant to accomplish this purpose.

One of Calvinism’s central convictions is that God is the initiator of all things and that humans respond. Calvinism’s impulse through all Christian doctrines is God’s gracious initiative and humanity’s grateful response. This is seen, for example, in the doctrine of election or predestination with which Calvinism has been strongly associated. Calvinism affirms that in salvation, it is God who does for humanity what humans cannot do for themselves: saves them. Humans are captive to the power of sin, which has been with us since the origins of the human race (thus “origin-al sin”). Sin is so pervasive that the totality of life—thought and will—are affected (“total depravity”). Sinful humans themselves are not capable of responding to God’s love and gracious desire to live in a relationship of trust and obedience. Without this response, life has no ultimate meaning and death and judgment follow. Yet God takes a gracious initiative and saves those whom God has “elected” to receive salvation. Through the work of the Holy Spirit, the gift of faith is given and humans become a “new creation” with a new will and desire to love and serve God. This is possible through the death of Jesus Christ on the cross, who achieved reconciliation between God and sinful humanity. Calvinism has understood the Scriptures to teach that this election has taken place “before the foundation of the world” (Eph. 1:4) and is thus a totally free gift of God’s grace with no human achievement involved at all. Humans receive the gift of faith through the Holy Spirit and respond in gratitude, trust, and love to God’s gracious initiative. Thus, election or predestination means that salvation occurs purely by God’s grace (“Unconditional Election”).

Calvinism’s understandings of other doctrines also emphasize this divine priority. The church is the body or fellowship of all those who have realized their election and is drawn together by the power of God’s Spirit, not by human volition. The sacraments—BAPTISM and the Lord’s Supper—are God’s gracious ways of strengthening and nourishing faith, given as gifts to the church. Christians are sustained in their lives of faith and discipleship by the power of the Holy Spirit at work within them and among them in the church. They persevere to ultimate salvation by God’s power constantly exercised in their lives (“Perseverance of the Saints”). Thus, the instinct of Calvinism through all doctrines is to move in the direction of stressing God’s prior initiative and our

grateful response. God is sovereign; God is the Lord; humans receive God's gifts gratefully and live in joyful obedience to God in Jesus Christ. Thus, Calvin affirms Paul's injunction: "Do everything for the glory of God" (1 Corinthians 10:31).

See also Calvin, John; *Book of Concord*, Congregationalism; Helvetic Confession; Presbyterianism.

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CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM

In 1648 Puritan leaders from Connecticut and Massachusetts set forth their understanding of the CHURCH and its faith in the document called the Cambridge Platform. It remained the basis of New England church order until about 1760, by which time religious pluralism and political rumblings clearly had changed the social context. Drafted at the time of the Puritan Commonwealth in ENGLAND, the document aligned the beliefs and practices of New England Puritans with those of Reformed churches across the Atlantic.

Adopting the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, the Platform placed primary AUTHORITY in the local church, but allowed for oversight on matters of faith by representative synods. Encouraged by the General Court of Massachusetts, the Platform also encouraged an integration of CHURCH AND STATE in New England. Ecclesiastical and civil authorities were to occupy their own, separate spheres of influence. No theocracy was intended; however, the work of both state and church was to be grounded in biblical law, and each was expected to honor the authority of the other in its sphere.

In particular the Platform envisioned that magistrates would uphold biblical precedent in administering civil law. Thus, “Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresie, venting corruption and pernicious Opinions, that destroy the Foundation, open contempt of the Word preached, Profanation of the Lords Day, disturbing the peaceable Administration and the Exercise of the Worship and holy things of God, and the like, are to be restrained and punished by Civil Authority.”

See also Pilgrim Fathers; Puritanism

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WILLIAM SACHS

CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS

The seventeenth century was a time of strident theological controversy, but in England a group of men called the Cambridge Platonists attempted to take a moderate view. They were linked by friendship and residence at the same university in the middle of the seventeenth century. They were a part of the English Platonic movement and were rational supranaturalists. Their foundational biblical text was Proverbs 20:27, “The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord.” Among the Cambridge Platonists were Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, HENRY MORE, Ralph Cudworth, Nathaneal Culverwel, John Norris, Joseph Glanvill, Peter Sterry, Richard Cumberland, George Rust, Theophilus Gale, and John Worthington.

All the Cambridge Platonists were university teachers and placed a heavy emphasis on classical antiquity and learning. They continued the humanism that came from the Renaissance and Erasmus and that permeated the English Reformation. They were all faculty at Emmanuel College, the most Puritan (see PURITANISM) and Calvinistic of the Cambridge colleges. Although critical of the CALVINISM that dominated the CHURCH OF ENGLAND before the Restoration in 1660, they were opposed to the

ARMINIANISM that triumphed with the Restoration and also critical of the High Church ANGLICANISM of the Caroline divines.

Although they were called Cambridge Platonists, they were really more influenced by Plotinus and were more accurately “Neo-Platonists.” They inherited from this tradition the immutable principles of morality, a sincere trust in man and human reason, the spiritual interpretation of reality, and the role of reason and ideas in human life.

The spirit of man is reason. Human reason is what it means to be made in the image of God. Reason is the voice of God and the presence of God in humanity. To go against reason is to go against God. Jesus Christ is the Logos of God or God’s reason become incarnate. This incarnate Logos enlightens human reason. Scripture confirms the natural truth that is discerned by reason. Scripture gives certainty to ideas anticipated in philosophy, such as the immortality of the soul, and HEAVEN AND HELL.

The Cambridge Platonists stressed that natural theology and revealed theology did not differ. They rejected the exclusive claims of revealed theology and Scripture and believed that human beings have a natural knowledge of God. Plato and Moses were inspired by the same God. This natural knowledge of God they called “the truths of first inscription.” In this regard the Cambridge Platonists were in the tradition of Clement, Origen, and the Greek Apologists. They granted theological primacy to the Greek fathers led by Origen, and they also were in the Johannine tradition of the New Testament.

The moral element in Scripture was supreme for the Cambridge Platonists. The heart of the gospel is its ethical content (see ETHICS). The most important element in Christianity is moral. Thus they stressed ethics, conduct, and morality. Conduct is more important than creeds. There is a moral law and humans can know it by reason. Humans can know the right and do it.

The Cambridge Platonists taught that faith and reason worked together. Christianity does not repudiate reason but uses it. True religious faith never contradicts reason, that is, faith and reason are consistent. The seat of AUTHORITY in religion is the individual conscience governed by reason and illuminated by revelation.

They rejected Calvinism and could not “swallow down that hard doctrine concerning fate.” They opposed that “Black doctrine of absolute reprobation,” that is, that God condemns some people to hell. They believed that Calvinism had too rigid a separation of the human and the divine, that it distrusted all human affections and faculties, and that it played down reason. They opposed the doctrine of the depravity of human beings and believed that Calvinistic dogmatism promoted contention and bitterness.

At the same time, the Cambridge Platonists accepted the established Church of England and its episcopacy. They accepted episcopacy, that is, the historic episcopate on rational and aesthetic grounds. For them church POLITY was secondary. They were against the Laudians (followers of archbishop of Canterbury WILLIAM LAUD) who seemed to make polity more important than morality. They also accepted the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. They were comfortable with a middle way in thought as well as in ritual and church order.

The Cambridge Platonists were reasonable but not rationalistic. They were opposed to the controversies of their age and had what could be called a “sweetness of temper.” They were convinced that argument does not promote the Christian life. As advocates for religious freedom and liberty of conscience, they stressed TOLERATION and had an

influence on philosopher JOHN LOCKE contributing to the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689.

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DONALD S. ARMENTROUT

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

For more than three hundred years, the University of Cambridge dominated English-speaking Protestant thought.

The English Reformation began in a Cambridge tavern in the 1520s known to insiders as "Little Germany." Thomas Bilney, HUGH LATIMER, WILLIAM TYNDALE, and MILES COVERDALE were all members of the University during the reign of HENRY VIII. THOMAS CRANMER, first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, was a Fellow of Jesus College and University Examiner in Divinity. The German reformer MARTIN BUCER was Regius professor of divinity from 1549 to his death in 1551. All but one of the thirteen compilers of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (1549) were Cambridge divines. During the reign of Mary (1554–1559) twentyfive Cambridge reformers were burned at the stake, including Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer at Oxford.

After the final breach with Rome in 1570, the University was home to an ultra-Protestant "Puritan" movement in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND that espoused strict CALVINISM and hatred of liturgical ornaments ("rags of popery"). Led by the Lady Margaret professor THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, the movement fomented in Christ's College where JOHN MILTON later studied, and in the two new foundations: Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex. Missionaries from these colleges to Virginia and New England exported PURITANISM to the New World. One of thirty-three from Emmanuel alone, John Harvard endowed a new Cambridge in Massachusetts, Harvard University.

The Puritan attempt to control the Church of England during the Great Rebellion (1642–1659) finally collapsed at the Restoration (1660). Puritans abandoned the Church and formed “Nonconformist” congregations (see NONCONFORMITY), many migrating to the American colonies. Meanwhile, Cambridge divinity continued to exert a powerful, but now quite different influence on Protestant thought. HENRY MORE (1614–1687), Ralph Cudworth (1617–1689), and the other CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS developed an anti-Calvinist, philosophical theology important for Shaftesbury, JOHN LOCKE, Reid and GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ among others. In the eighteenth century the modernizing, rationalist circle of Edmund Law (1703–1787) fostered works by Richard Watson (1737–1816), John Hey (1734–1815), and WILLIAM PALEY (1743–1805) that remained standard throughout the English-speaking world until the 1860s.

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M.C.WATERMAN

CAMP MEETING

A camp meeting is an outdoor WORSHIP meeting held over several days to evangelize the unconverted and to renew existing church members. The hallmark is camping on the grounds of the meetings. Camp meetings were the product of American EVANGELICALISM at the beginning of the nineteenth century, being one of the main ways in which the Second Great Awakening spread (see AWAKENINGS). Beyond this revival they became a staple of American church life in the nineteenth century, continually evolving throughout this period. Today the meetings no longer hold the same prominence in Evangelicalism generally, although some evangelical groups still hold camp meetings, sometimes in a much-adapted form.

Origins

The phenomenon of extended—“protracted” would have been the original term—evangelistic meetings antedates the name itself. By the late 1800s several churches were holding various kinds of protracted meetings that featured outdoor settings for some or all

of the worship. All such meetings had gained some level of standardization with respect to ritual routine and timing. Often they were heavily attended and were the highlight for Christians in an area. Two of these kinds of meetings, the Presbyterian and the Methodist versions, were especially important in the genesis of camp meetings (see PRESBYTERIANISM and METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA). The same was also probably true about large Baptist meetings (see BAPTISTS, UNITED STATES). The Presbyterian antecedents to camp meetings were the yearly sacramental occasions for a congregation, a gathering for celebration of the LORD'S SUPPER. Such occasions had been the setting for revival among Presbyterians since the seventeenth century in SCOTLAND. The Methodist version was the quarterly meeting. Since the American Revolution quarterly meetings had lasted several days, attracting large crowds to their multiple worship services, and were often the occasion for revival within any locale. Both Presbyterian and Methodist versions shared similar dynamics in that people purposely traveled to attend a meeting lasting several days and involving a variety of kinds of PREACHING, PRAYER, and sacramental services, often in an outdoor setting. Originally those traveling to the protracted meeting relied on the hospitality of host families.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, as the first hints came of a widespread revival across the nation, another dimension began to be added to these meetings: widespread camping in wagons or tents. Because the first camp meetings were simply other kinds of protracted meetings to which widespread camping had been added, it is impossible to say precisely when the first camp meeting was held despite several claimants for the title. Indeed, camp meetings occurred for several years before the precise term began to be used. These first camp meetings—including famous ones like the 1801 Cane Ridge Presbyterian sacramental occasion in Kentucky—were simply the older forms of protracted meetings with the innovation of widespread camping. Contemporaneous reports call these meetings by their older names, noting the new feature by referring to an “encampment” or to “camping.” Camping allowed the meetings to last longer and for more people to attend. Often ministers of multiple denominations participated in a single meeting.

The term “camp meeting” itself seems to have been a secondary development. At first the camping was spontaneous and unplanned. Then denominational officials began to invite people to camp at the next round of protracted meetings. Seeing great numerical success in these meetings, officials began to schedule specially designated “camp meetings” to intentionally replicate this phenomenon. The term appears to have first been used in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia in 1802, and the promotion of this kind of protracted meeting spread rapidly along the Eastern seaboard. By 1805 camp meetings by that name were held from CANADA to Mississippi. They occurred both in rural and near urban settings. In 1807 camp meetings were introduced to ENGLAND. By 1811 Methodist bishop FRANCIS ASBURY, a zealous promoter of camp meetings, estimated that Methodists alone were holding 400 to 500 camp meetings annually.

Many of the first prominent camp meetings were held in Kentucky and Tennessee. This fact has led some to closely identify camp meetings with a western frontier region. Such a connection can be overemphasized. Neither the meetings themselves nor their characteristic worship practices were distinct to the American West or to newly settled regions. The manner of worshiping, including the exuberance, had been part of

evangelical protracted meetings before camp meetings in the West, but the establishment of camp meetings by that name did create a greater degree of public ritualizing of these practices. Similarly, the music used in the earliest camp meetings was soon gathered and published as special collections of camp meeting hymns and spiritual songs.

The first decade of camp meetings saw several stages in their development: spontaneous emergence, naming, zealous promotion, and standardization. Naming was the critical stage in that it distinguished the particular phenomenon, thus allowing active promotion by that name. Beyond this initial decade, camp meetings entered an established phase, all the time undergoing further change, often as some practitioners became more genteel as the nineteenth century progressed. By this progression through stages, camp meetings are an excellent guide to the life cycle of other kinds of worship innovations in free-church Evangelicalism. They represent a threshold for a growing pragmatic approach in how American evangelicals view worship's purpose.

Early camp meetings usually lasted between four and seven days. Worshipers spent each day in a round of multiple worship services including family or "private" prayers in the tents, group prayer meetings, and preaching services. The large-scale services were held in a prepared space with preachers and exhorters occupying a stand. The goal was to acquire CONVERSION of the "unsaved" or, in the case of Methodist camp meetings, to lead Christians to a SANCTIFICATION experience. Preaching services often ended with a call for those responding to the preaching and exhorting to come to an area before the stand. The services could become quite loud and exuberant. Crying, weeping, and shouting were common, as were different kinds of stupors or bodily movements. The blowing of trumpets often marked the start of a new activity. From the earliest camp meetings, planners created sets of rules for regulating the camp because in effect they were creating a small community. Making tallies of each day's conversions and sanctifications was common. Communion or baptismal services often climaxed meetings, and some meetings ended with an elaborate ritual of parting.

Although primarily an American phenomenon, camp meetings have not been exclusively so. England's PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH, for instance, partly grew out of the introduction of camp meetings to that nation (see METHODISM, ENGLAND). Into the twentieth century this church's membership tickets gladly bore notice of its first camp meeting in 1807. Camp meetings have been held also in Canada, INDIA, and AFRICA.

Late Nineteenth-Century Developments

In the nineteenth century, some camp meetings declined as denominations or parts of denominations rejected them. Other Christians worked hard at preserving camp meetings, hoping to maintain their original revivalistic purpose as an important part of church life. An example of this tactic was the instructional handbook written by Barlow Weed Gorham, a Methodist minister, entitled *Camp Meeting Manual, A Practical Book for the Camp Ground* (1854). Not only a practical guide for holding the most effective camp meeting, Gorham's book was an appeal for the camp meeting's ongoing usefulness. In addition, churches splintering from denominations that began the camp meetings sometimes emphasized them.

Even strongly committed devotees of camp meetings continued to adapt them, however. One important example was the increased building of permanent shelters or “tabernacles” over the worship space, supplanting the use of constructed arbors or natural groves. Similarly, the mid-nineteenth century onward saw an increasing number of permanent cabins built to house the participants and tents were eliminated in many locales. After the American CIVIL WAR, the incorporation of scores of camp meeting associations whose purposes were to establish and maintain permanent outdoor meeting grounds facilitated this development.

The second half of the nineteenth century also saw even more radical adaptation of the basic camp meeting idea. One such adaptation was the creation of the camp meeting as resort or vacation. In effect, camp meeting became not only a type of extended worship setting but also a kind of planned community ideally situated in a restful, natural location. Indeed, many of these communities developed into incorporated cities. Martha’s Vineyard, Massachusetts, is perhaps one of the most famous. In these “resort” camp meetings, the set, multiple-day schedule of worship services was only part of the summer agenda. Some participants lived at the camp meeting site for the entire summer. Their cottages grew increasingly complex, often including interesting use of Victorian architecture.

Such camp grounds were begun to offer an alternative resort site for Christians. The idea was to offer an escape from the city by retreating into a natural, wholesome setting. As camp grounds became sites of summer-long residence, there was less concern for conversion of the lost and a greater emphasis on nurturing the already converted in the faith. Ministers introduced educational elements into the camp ministry, including some aimed at children. The typical day incorporated several kinds of meetings such as family devotion, plenary sessions in the tabernacle, and various instructional groups. The growing success of the Chautauqua movement in the late nineteenth century helped spark this educational interest. Starting on New York’s Chautauqua Lake, this parallel movement operated religious educational institutes in a rural retreat setting.

Often the tone for these meetings reflected the increased gentility of some branches of the churches that had originated camp meetings. The intense emotional exuberance and physical responses that had characterized these churches’ meetings in the early part of the century were gone.

Another adaptation of camp meetings in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the development of the purpose-oriented camp meeting. One example was the use of camp meetings for the specific goal of promoting TEMPERANCE. Another, more widespread example was the linking of camp meetings to promotion of particular doctrinal concerns like sanctification or holiness (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT). Camp meetings became occasions to preach these doctrines and, more important, lead people into experiencing their reality. For example, the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, also known as the National Camp Meeting Association, began holding camp meetings immediately after the Civil War at Vineland, New Jersey in 1867. The organization’s influence grew. By 1900 it had conducted more than one hundred holiness camp meetings with several million estimated in attendance. This association intentionally held such camp meetings as “national,” interdenominational meetings. Eventually this association ceased sponsoring camp meetings. However, some denominations, birthed in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries as

“Holiness” churches and often tracing their roots to the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, included camp meetings as a regular part of their life. The Christian Holiness Partnership, the organization descended from the National Camp Meeting Association, claims there are still two thousand holiness camp meetings in America.

There is some degree of overlap between those who developed the resort camps and those who promoted holiness camps. The founders of the Ocean Grove camp meeting, located on the Atlantic Ocean in New Jersey, for example, had interest in both concerns.

Twentieth-Century Developments

The history of camp meetings in the twentieth century has seen similar trends. In some circles the growth of theological liberalism caused a depreciation of camp meetings (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Such liberalism could see urban life not as a thing to be escaped but as a locus for finding the KINGDOM OF GOD. In addition, the loss of emphasis on crisis experiences in a typical liberal doctrine of SALVATION undercut the nature of classic camp meeting evangelism.

In other recent circles, specific nineteenth-century camp meeting formats have declined but not the basic idea that underlay them. In these circles the notion of meeting for religious purposes away from one’s normal setting for an extended time has spawned new versions of religious camping, although without the term “camp meeting.” Special summer youth camps, outdoor Christian music festivals, and denominational retreat centers are examples.

A more traditional approach to camp meetings has been preserved in some respect by the rise of PENTECOSTALISM in the twentieth century. That some Pentecostal groups would keep camp meetings as a regular fixture for evangelism and renewal is not surprising, given Pentecostal roots in the Holiness Movement and given the emphasis on crisis experiences in Pentecostal understandings of salvation. Sometimes the term seems used in a way only remotely connected to its origins. In such a case, camp meeting seems to refer to a multiple-day series of worship services regardless of actual camping or connection with an outdoor setting.

Some long-term camp meetings, often with roots in the early nineteenth century, continue to exist. Many are Methodist, and attendance at times can be quite large. The aim may be as much the renewal of church members as large-scale outward-oriented evangelism. If so, such meetings have shifted one of camp meetings’ original purposes.

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- LESTER RUTH

CAMPBELL FAMILY

Thomas and Alexander Campbell, father and son, were key leaders in an indigenous America religious movement to restore original Christianity, with three major wings in the twenty-first century: DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, Churches of Christ, and CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, CHURCHES OF CHRIST. The Campbells heralded the AUTHORITY of Scripture, promoted independent eldership congregations, noncreedalism, immersion of believers, weekly observation of the LORD'S SUPPER, and ministers appointed by local congregations.

Thomas Campbell was born in County Down, Ireland, February 1, 1763, and died in Bethany, West Virginia, January 4, 1854. He united with the AntiBurger branch of the Seceder Presbyterian Church (see PRESBYTERIANISM), attended the University of Glasgow, then completed a seminary course at Whitburn. He taught school as well as serving the Ahorey Seceder Church from 1798 to 1807. With others he helped form the ecumenical Evangelical Society of Ulster. In 1807, because of ill health, he visited America and decided to stay. He preached among Seceder Presbyterian Churches near Pittsburgh, but invited all to participate at the Lord's Table. He was soon accused of HERESY, brought to trial, and found guilty, resulting in his withdrawal. With other Presbyterians he formed the Christian Association of Washington so as to promote Christian unity, forbearance, and the preaching of the pure gospel. He authored a major statement in 1809, "The Declaration and Address," on behalf of the Society. The Society formed a church at Brush Run, Pennsylvania in 1811. With his family he lived in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Both Thomas and Alexander, having decided for BAPTISM by immersion, entered the Redstone Baptist Association, then the

Mahoning. By 1830 they departed from the BAPTISTS and started merging with Christian Churches throughout the Ohio Valley.

Alexander Campbell was born in County Antrim, Ireland, September 12, 1788, and died in Bethany, West Virginia, March 4, 1866. He attended the University of Glasgow for a year. Arriving in America in 1809 with his mother and siblings, Alexander Campbell preached among the churches, taught in schools, married, and was given a farm in West Virginia by his father-in-law. There he remained the rest of his life, and by 1830 became the leading proponent of the expanding movement. He founded *The Christian Baptist* in 1823. Upon realizing that relationships with the Baptists were coming to an end, he launched *The Millennial Harbinger* in 1830 and served as editor until his death in 1866. Campbell achieved notoriety through debating far and wide, holding six major debates, four with Presbyterian ministers, and more important, with Robert Owen and Roman Catholic Bishop John B. Purcell. He founded Bethany College in 1840 and continued as president until his death, by which time there were approximately 200,000 persons in the movement.

See also Stone, Barton W.

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CAMPBELL, JOHN MCLEOD (1800– 1872)

Scottish theologian. Campbell was born May 4, 1800 in Argyll, Scotland, where his father served as minister. He was educated at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and entered the ministry at Row in Dunbartonshire in 1825. Campbell was especially interested in the spirituality of his parishioners and by 1826 concluded that they needed to be first taught the assurance of divine love in Christ. He further decided that corollary with such love is universal ATONEMENT, that is, that Christ died for all. Both DOCTRINES as set forth by Campbell were perceived to be contradictory to the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION of faith. Opposition arose within his congregation and eventually the General Assembly of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND deposed him from ministry in 1831. A group of friends encouraged him to form an independent congregation at Blackfriars Street in Glasgow for which he ministered from 1833 to 1859, at which time he resigned because of poor health. His views later came to be widely accepted in the Church of Scotland and in 1868 the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the D.D.

Campbell was influenced by Thomas Erskine, EDWARD IRVING, and FREDERICK D. MAURICE and he in turn influenced them. His style was more directed to interior biblical truth and consciousness than to explicit conventional doctrines. The manner in which he expressed himself sometimes made it seem that Campbell was farther from classical THEOLOGY than was the case. He argued that Christ died for all people, not that all would eventually be saved. The atonement was not an appeasement of the wrath of God, but a genuine addressing of that wrath from the context of the love of God and the Son. He argued that those unsettled should “Believe in the forgiveness of...sins because they are forgiven.” He died at Dunbartonshire, Scotland, February 27, 1872.

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CANADA

The history of Protestantism in Canada is largely the history of but four traditions: the Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist. Whether the future of Canadian Protestantism rests on these traditions is, however, quite a different matter.

The Colonial Period to Confederation: 1610 to 1867

Protestant Christianity first came to Canada on the Atlantic coast between 1610 and 1630 under the sponsorship of private adventurers in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. A few clergy also accompanied explorers of Canada's northwest—the first Protestant communion in Canada might well have been that celebrated by the chaplain of explorer Martin Frobisher on Baffin Island in 1577. A continuous, rooted Protestant presence, however, would await the substantial settlement of immigrants from Britain and the future United States.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia became year-round homes for significant numbers of immigrants. The expulsion of Francophone Roman Catholic Acadians in 1755 invited migration from the American colonies. Soon the Maritimes were populated by Ulster Presbyterians, Highland Scots (both Catholic and Presbyterian), Yorkshire Methodists, and Irish Catholics, as well as Anglicans and Congregationalists (see PRESBYTERIANISM, METHODISM, ANGLICANISM, CONGREGATIONALISM). After the American Revolution in the 1770s and 1780s, Loyalists fled north and substantially increased the colonial populations—New Brunswick became a separate colony as a result in 1784.

This region experienced perhaps its most dramatic Protestant development during this period. New England expatriate HENRY ALLINE led a New Light revival that brought vital religion to many colonists (see REVIVALS). As this revival stabilized and merged with the growing numbers of BAPTISTS in the region, it joined with the smaller Methodist initiatives to stamp Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with evangelical contours (see EVANGELICALISM).

American immigration after the Revolution made an even greater difference in Upper Canada (presentday Ontario): as many as eight out of ten settlers came from America between 1750 and 1812. By the time of the War of 1812, Upper Canada included Anglicans, Methodists, Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM), Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, MENNONITES, Tunkers (see BRETHERN, CHURCH OF THE), Moravians (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), and Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), as well as Roman Catholics, making it by far the most religiously diverse region in British North America.

The war shaped not only Canadian culture in general, but its religious makeup as well. This conflict with the United States stemmed immigration from the south. With increased British immigration at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Anglophone Canadian loyalties tilted decisively back toward Britain. Canadian Protestant churches reflected this alignment in different ways. The continued predominance of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in Canada (later, the Anglican Church of Canada) was the most obvious

sign, but the British dominance of Methodism (in the case of Upper Canada, Methodism had been primarily an import largely from the south) and Baptist traditions showed it as well.

The precarious existence of the colonies encouraged cooperation among various Protestant groups and even occasionally between Protestants and Catholics—in the latter case, cooperation that would largely disappear in the second half of the century. Church buildings were erected and clergy recruited from Britain as the churches sought to enfold colonial populations indifferent to or remote from organized religion. By mid-century, this central task had been completed: the sketchy records available indicate that at least half of the population regularly attended services. The churches also had devoted themselves to an increasing program of civilizing the colonies: TEMPERANCE societies began in the 1820s, assistance for orphans and prostitutes (see PROSTITUTION) was available in some centers, and SUNDAY SCHOOLS were established to spread literacy, Christianity, and virtue in equal measure.

The bone of contention among Protestants during this period was the question of establishment. The Anglicans and, less successfully, the Presbyterians claimed certain privileges by right of being established churches in Britain, particularly in the crucial areas of clergy salaries and education. The young Methodist activist Egerton Ryerson, however, led a campaign against such privileges, and by 1854 all official supports had been removed in Upper Canada. The Maritimes also officially disestablished the Church of England by mid-century and experienced the rise of denominationalism (see DENOMINATION) as the characteristic Canadian pattern.

The Evangelical Century: 1867 to 1967

By the time of Confederation and new nationhood, Christianity deeply informed the culture of Canada's four founding provinces (Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick) and those that would soon join (Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta). Quebec, as the great Francophone Roman Catholic exception, was marked by a profound ultramontanist (support for a traditional Rome-centered church). Anglophone Canada, for its part, increasingly fell under the sway of a broad, moderate evangelical Protestantism that was more nationalistic in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Churches were built with considerable civic enthusiasm across the country, many of them large and impressive in Gothic or Romanesque architectures that proclaimed God's sovereignty over the "Dominion of Canada." Temperance societies, especially the Women's Christian Temperance Union, helped not only to stem the tide of alcohol abuse (various provinces supported Prohibition from 1910 into the 1930s), but also supported women's suffrage, literacy, care for unwed mothers, and many other causes (see WOMEN). Sabbatarian Legislation (see SABBATARIANISM) that limited business and entertainment on the Sabbath was in force for almost a century. The federal Lord's Day Act was instituted in 1906, and some jurisdictions finally lifted their own "blue laws" only in the 1980s and 1990s. Missionary work both to India and the Far East and, to a lesser extent, in Canada's own west and north, was undertaken with such enthusiasm that

Canada became, per capita, the largest missionary-sending country in the world (see MISSIONS-MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS).

Evangelicalism in Canada had its fiery episodes and institutions, its branches of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT and Pentecostal (see PENTECOSTALISM), and its own Fundamentalist (see FUNDAMENTALISM) schisms among the Baptists in Ontario and British Columbia in the first quarter of the twentieth century. However, evangelicalism formed the dominant culture of the major churches as well. Methodism, Presbyterianism (particularly influenced by the FREE CHURCH movement in Scotland), and Anglicanism were joined by the smaller Baptist groups to constitute a cultural hegemony of religious fervor, moral seriousness, and increasing missionary interest.

The period from 1867 to 1967 saw the erection of most of Canada's universities by Catholic and Protestant churches. Only a few (such as the University of Toronto) were secular in origin, although almost all became secularized under financial pressures by the centennial year of 1967. Bible schools (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES) sprang up across the country, and especially in the prairie provinces in the 1930s through 1950s, primarily to offer cheap Christian education to laypeople and to the clergy of smaller denominations unimpressed by university credentials. Elementary and secondary education was administered by each province but—even outside the separate schools enjoyed by Roman Catholics in some jurisdictions, notably Ontario—with distinct Christian elements. The Lord's Prayer was recited in opening exercises throughout this period, for example, and the Ten Commandments hung on many school walls.

Not all Protestants, to be sure, shared equally in this evangelical alliance. The OXFORD MOVEMENT gained converts among Anglicans, and Anglo-Catholicism became an influential tradition by the turn of the century. Some leaders of the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement arising out of World War I, originally a branch of the general evangelical social crusade, eventually despaired of the conservatism of their fellow church members and promoted causes that were more radical both politically and theologically. At the other end of the spectrum, sectarian movements arose, many of them ministering to the working classes outside the largely middle-class evangelical mainstream. Some of these only later joined in the national evangelical network, whether the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN (influential out of all proportion to their small size through their distinctive theology of DISPENSATIONALISM and their participation in transdenominational organizations, such as student groups and foreign missions), the SALVATION ARMY (which became a fixture among Canadian benevolent agencies from coast to coast), or the Pentecostals (vilified by many evangelicals themselves as personifying the "hot gospel" past they had left behind).

The most notable centripetal event in this era, however, was the founding of the UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA in 1925. The world's first interconfessional union, it joined most of Canada's Methodists and Congregationalists and a majority of its Presbyterians—groups that had already experienced considerable denominational consolidation in the late 1800s in Canada. It thus became the country's largest Protestant denomination, and took up alongside the Anglican Church a role of chaplain to the nation.

After the Second World War, Canada experienced a general increase in cultural confidence and immigration and an economic boom. The churches shared in this expansion as their numbers grew, church building increased substantially, and a wide

range of special interest groups proliferated. Weekly church attendance was over half the Protestant population, and it seemed by 1960 that a new era had dawned. Indeed it had, but it was not a new day of Protestant renewal.

From the Centennial to the New Millennium

Quebec underwent its Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, during which time it threw off the “ancien regime” of church and state (see CHURCH AND STATE OVERVIEW) and secularized with breathtaking swiftness. Outside Quebec, the changes were not so dramatic, but they were nonetheless quite similar.

Legislatures and courts increasingly articulated a vision of Canada that was no longer predominantly Christian, but multicultural, pluralistic, and liberal. The new Constitution of 1982 might have included the word “God” in its preamble, and the national anthem a similar reference, but theism had no privileged place in Canadian public life, much less the evangelical or Roman Catholic Christianity that had dominated the previous century.

Weekly church attendance declined sharply (to perhaps two or three out of ten by the 1990s), membership rolls and church finances followed suit, and by the 1980s it was clear that Canada was no longer a Christian country in any important sense of the word—even as Canadians continued to tell censustakers and pollsters that they were indeed mostly Christian. (More than eighty percent said so in 1991.) Sexual scandals involving clergy of all stripes brought general opprobrium on Christianity, with lawsuits over mistreatment of native peoples in residential schools threatening to bankrupt United, Anglican, Catholic, and Presbyterian churches at the turn of the millennium. Despite the checkered history of encounters with white Christians, however, native peoples identified with Christianity in the same proportion as the national population: over eighty percent in 1991.

Controversy was hardly new to the churches. The mainline denominations began to ordain women (see WOMEN CLERGY) in this period (the United Church had done so as early as the 1920s), and the United Church began to ordain homosexuals in 1992. In both cases, fierce acrimony weakened the communions. Liberal theology became the norm in most of their seminaries, sending hundreds of other theological students each year to join students from smaller evangelical denominations at transdenominational schools such as Tyndale Theological Seminary in Toronto and Regent College in Vancouver—the largest seminaries in the country by the 1980s. Conservative “ginger groups,” or agitators, formed within the United, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches tried to stem the leftward drift on theological and moral issues, but were increasingly frustrated as they failed.

Evangelicalism thus became the label for smaller, uniformly evangelical denominations (such as the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE) and for those of similar sympathies in the mainline denominations. By the 1980s, however, more active churchgoers were identified with this evangelical network than with any single Protestant denomination, including the United and Anglican. The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, founded in 1964, brought some cohesion and cooperation to this loose affiliation of churches and individuals as various as the Mennonite Brethren, Christian Reformed (see DUTCH PROTESTANTS IN AMERICA), Pentecostal (by 1991 a group almost as big as the Presbyterians or Baptists), and low-church Anglicans. The continued

expansion of independent special purpose groups, however, was at least as important a phenomenon among Protestant Christians. These included fellowships of Christian athletes, lawyers, or businesspeople; the wide range of youth ministries; groups concerned with political and social activism (such as Citizens for Public Justice and Focus on the Family); radio, television, and especially print media; and so on.

Education continued to be a contested zone as Canadian public schools shed the last vestiges of their Protestant past. Parents began to agitate for public funding of confessional Protestant schools, citing the support for Catholic schools in some regions originally mandated in Canada's Constitution. Others educated their children themselves as the leading edge of the society-wide increase in home-schooling. Still others founded independent Christian universities, with at least three earning full public recognition by the close of the century (Trinity Western, King's, and Redeemer).

By the beginning of the new millennium, then, the growing edge of Canadian Protestantism was no longer among the denominations that had dominated it for two centuries. It was now the smaller evangelical groups who ran the most popular schools, supported the most missionaries, attracted the most youth, spent the most money, and built the largest churches. Increasingly, too, it was their spokespersons who received media attention on public issues, and not only the representatives of the mainline denominations.

The general cultural picture, though, was simply one of increasing marginalization of Canadian Protestantism and of Christianity in general. At the turn of the millennium, the 2001 census was expected to show an increase in Canadians citing "no religious affiliation" from the thirteen percent of 1991 to over twenty percent, with a corresponding drop in Christian affiliation from eighty-three to about seventy percent—with about half of that being Protestants. The decline in national and regional church attendance figures showed no sign of bottoming out. Over ninety percent of Canadian congregations claimed less than 200 members. Even the relative success story of the evangelicals was tempered by the realization that they were barely holding their own as a proportion of the population. They might, that is, have been the immediate future of Canadian Protestantism, but it was a future as a minority in a thoroughly pluralistic culture.

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CANTERBURY

Ancient capital city of Kent in southeast England, Canterbury is the primal see of *all* England. In 597 Augustine arrived in England as a missionary, established a church at Canterbury, and became its first bishop. From 1070 to 1089, Lanfranc was bishop of Canterbury. He oversaw a dramatic administrative reform of the church in England and asserted Canterbury's primacy over the English church, an attempt resisted by the bishop of York. Finally, the Archbishop of York was deemed the Primate of England, whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury was deemed the Primate of All England. Canterbury remains the primal see in Great Britain and the titular head of the worldwide Anglican Communion. St. Anselm (author of *Cur Deus Homo*) was bishop from 1093 to 1109.

Canterbury's most famous bishop was Thomas Becket (1162–1170), assassinated by aides to King Henry II. Becket's martyrdom, Henry II's penance for the murder, and the shrine built to Becket would continue to play an important role in the conflict between the church and the state in England for centuries (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). Because of Becket, Canterbury also became a very important pilgrimage site (thus the *Canterbury Tales* by poet Geoffrey Chaucer [c. 1342–1400]). For example, in 1420 nearly 100,000 people visited Becket's shrine.

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, this level of visitation and adoration began to wane. Then, in the 1530s, Becket's antagonism to the crown became fodder in the battle over the church in England; to Roman Catholics Becket was a hero and model (for example, on July 5, 1535, statesman and author Thomas More [1478–1535] wrote his daughter Margaret a letter in which he wished to be executed the next day for it is “St. Thomas' eve”); to Protestants Becket was a traitor to crown and country.

In 1533 THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556), a proponent of HENRY VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon and hostile to the heroic interpretation of Becket, became archbishop. In May of 1533 he declared Henry's marriage to Catherine invalid, and proclaimed the secret marriage of Henry to Anne Boleyn valid. This act was in itself a usurpation of papal authority and over time, Cranmer took to himself more and more roles usually identified with the pope. In 1535 he oversaw the reform of the liturgy in England. In 1538 he oversaw the dismantlement and destruction of Becket's shrine, and the chapel house that supported it was dissolved. In 1547, with Henry VIII's death, Cranmer was able to continue his reformation agenda.

With Edward VI's death, Canterbury again became a battleground in the fight for the church in England. Mary Tudor reinstated many of the abandoned rites of the church, reestablished the chapel house, and persecuted many of the Protestant leaders in Canterbury. During her reign, forty-one Protestants were executed in Canterbury (second only to London). With Mary's death and the ascension of ELIZABETH I, the city and the cathedral returned to Protestantism. In 1570 Canterbury became a haven for Protestants fleeing religious persecution on the Continent. Most of the refugees earned a living by weaving wool, and by 1580 there were nearly 1,000 looms in operation. By 1620 there were more French-speaking inhabitants in Canterbury than English. At first, the refugees worshiped at St. Alphege's Church. Eventually they moved into a chapel in the cathedral. A French service continues to be held in that chapel to the present day.

In the 1630s Archbishop WILLIAM LAUD (1633–1645) led a reaction to the increasingly Calvinist bent to English Protestantism from Canterbury (see CALVINISM). In large measure, he resacramentalized the church by focusing on prayer, the SACRAMENTS, an increased reverence for sacred space, and the reinstatement of VESTMENTS. He also attempted to reinvigorate the authority of the church's hierarchy. In 1642 these attempts came to a stunning halt as forces loyal to Parliament occupied Canterbury as part of the Puritan Revolution (see PURITANISM CIVIL WAR). The cathedral was sacked and many of the altars and images installed or refurbished under Laud were destroyed. After a 1643 act of Parliament that declared that images were to be destroyed, the stained-glass windows of the cathedral were smashed. However, the Puritan cause did not completely dominate Canterbury during this time. In fact, in 1647 a violent riot against the recently passed prohibition of Christmas was so large that Parliamentary forces were required to suppress the insurrection. Like much of England, Canterbury seemed to welcome the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Upon his return to the throne, Charles II spent his first night in Canterbury and worshipped the next morning in the cathedral. In 1662 the 1552 *Prayer Book* was republished.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth Canterbury was embroiled in a series of controversies that struck the whole church. First, JOHN WESLEY and the "Evangelical Movement" challenged the church's staid conservatism (see EVANGELICALISM); later the Oxford "Tractarians" called for a restoration of High Church standards of the seventeenth century (see OXFORD MOVEMENT). Over time, a cohort of the Tractarians began to argue for a much closer (even subordinate) relationship with Rome. The archbishops of Canterbury were hostile to both movements.

Since 1867 the bishops and prelates of the Anglican Communion have met every ten years in a conference chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Since the middle of the twentieth century, the Archbishops of Canterbury have been firmly committed to a wider ecumenical vision that has included dialogues with Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant denominations. In 1982 Pope John Paul II visited Canterbury Cathedral and knelt together in prayer with Archbishop Robert Runcie.

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CANTERBURY AND YORK, CONVOCATIONS OF

These provincial synods dated in some form back to the establishment of the church in England. Originally only bishops participated, but in the thirteenth century, abbots, deans, archdeacons, and proctors (or representatives) of the CLERGY were also added. Eventually, the convocations divided into Upper (bishops and abbots) and Lower (all the rest) Houses. Until the REFORMATION the Convocations enacted canon laws, taxed the clergy on behalf of the state, and served as an ecclesiastical court of last resort. During this time, the Convocations had relative independence from the crown and could be called either at the behest of the king (when taxes were to be raised) or by the archbishop alone. All of this changed under King HENRY VIII.

In 1532 Henry secured from the Convocations the submission of the clergy to the crown. Formalized by Parliament in the Act of the Submission of the Clergy, (25 Henry VIII c. 19), the clergy were forbidden to assemble unless they had the “king’s most royal assent and licence.” Further, the Convocations could not enact canons that were contrary to Acts of Parliament or the king’s prerogative. Having achieved their submission, Henry used the Convocations to enact his ecclesiastical reforms. Under Edward the Convocations endorsed clerical marriage and communion in both kinds (both bread and wine). Under Henry’s Catholic daughter Mary, the Convocations revoked many of the earlier reforms and reasserted papal supremacy. Contrary to the wishes of ELIZABETH I, the Convocations continued to take a pro-Rome stance early in her reign. In 1563 a new Convocation supportive of Elizabeth oversaw the revision of the Articles of Religion and continued to serve as an integral part of the Elizabethan Settlement from that point forward.

The Convocations continued to meet each year at the same time as Parliament until 1640. Because of civil war and the Commonwealth, the Convocations did not meet from 1640 to 1661. In 1717 the king prorogued the Convocations over a controversy surrounding the bishop of Bangor. The Convocations did not again sit formally until the early twentieth century. In 1969 the Synodical Government Measure largely replaced the Convocations with a General Synod.

See also Clergy, Marriage of; Synod

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DAVID WHITFORD

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Capital punishment, the practice of imposing death as the penalty for serious lawbreaking, has been sanctioned in many cultures on religious grounds. Authorized in the law codes of the Hebrew Scriptures and reinforced by numerous prescriptions of Roman law, it was well known in the world of early Christians. Christians' most common involvement, however, was as its victims, condemned for witnessing to their faith in the unjustly executed Jesus as their Lord.

The basic Christian preference for life was expressed in the insistence that "the church abhors bloodshed," while the church, at the same time, recognized that the state as created by God to maintain social order had the right to use necessary force. The clergy were prohibited from taking any part in the administration of the death penalty, and the church provided sanctuary for persons fleeing from arrest, acting on the belief that "God desires not the death of the sinner but that he be converted and live." However, this ideal became more and more problematic once Emperor Constantine I in the fourth century made Christianity the preferred religion of the Roman Empire. The execution of Priscillian of Avila in 385 provided a troubling illustration of what was to come.

Medieval Church Acceptance of Lethal Coercion

With the emergence of the papal monarchy in the eleventh-century Gregorian reform, use of violence in the direct service of the church gradually became the uncontested norm. Christians were knighted in religious ceremonies and their swords were consecrated. The launching of Crusades against infidels and wars against heretics overwhelmed the earlier reservations about shedding blood. In 1177 Emperor Frederick Barbarossa promised the pope the full force of the secular arm to suppress heretics, and by 1231 Pope Gregory IX formally endorsed burning at the stake as the appropriate mode of dealing with any who refused to recant. The church courts conducted the "inquisition" and condemnation phase, but then handed the convicted over to the secular arm for execution. This convenient system reached its apex in 1252 when Pope Innocent IV declared such extirpation of heresy to be "the chief duty of the state." Thereafter, capital punishment was so completely entrenched as the indispensable instrument of divine justice in European Christendom that the practice was exempted from serious moral criticism for centuries.

Two Aspects of the Protestant Reformation

The major Protestant reformers were trained in this ethos of religiously sanctioned violence, and the heightened hostility between factions led to even firmer conviction of the necessity of the death penalty on all sides. As MARTIN LUTHER put it, “Let no one imagine that the world can be governed without the shedding of blood.... The world is wicked and bound to be so. Therefore, the sword is God’s rod and vengeance for it.” JOHN CALVIN’S action in having Michael Servetus executed (1553) was approved by PHILIPP MELANCHTHON with much the same reasoning, although he ranked Servetus as a blasphemer rather than a heretic and thus considered his death as fully warranted by Roman law.

During these centuries in which the institutional churches consistently affirmed the practice of capital punishment as God’s will, an important undercurrent of religious dissent periodically emerged. Some preReformation groups, especially the Waldensians in the thirteenth century, the Wycliffites in the fourteenth, and the Hussites in the fifteenth, questioned and even rejected capital punishment. Many lay people, upon hearing the nonviolent words and deeds of Jesus in the vernacular, had doubts about the use of capital punishment without absolutely rejecting it. A more powerful undercurrent appeared in the sixteenth-century REFORMATION, especially in Anabaptist (see ANABAPTISM) pockets of PACIFISM associated with the names of CONRAD GREBEL, MICHAEL SATTLER, JAKOB HUTTER, and MENNO SIMONS. By the end of the seventeenth century British Quaker John Bellers—who seems to have been the first who actually went so far—called for the “utter abolition of the death penalty” (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF).

This radical break with the entrenched tradition—building opposition to capital punishment on religious grounds despite Old Testament acceptance of it—preceded and prepared the ground for the secular utilitarian criticism of the ENLIGHTENMENT, begun by Cesare Beccaria (1764), and the anticlerical assault on the gallows by Voltaire (1766). This combined attack dislodged the death penalty from the privileged place it had enjoyed in European culture for over five centuries, but two factors soon stalled the movement toward abolition: (1) the excesses of the French Revolution, and (2) the staunch moral retributivism of IMMANUEL KANT.

Modern Protestant Disagreement

The impact of Kant on prominent nineteenth-century Protestant theologians like Richard Rothe was substantial. Kant’s philosophy was viewed as a providential reinforcement of “traditional” Christian support for capital punishment, although a very real change had nonetheless occurred. From this point forward, repudiation of capital punishment was a live option, not just a peripheral minority phenomenon. FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, before his death (1834), concluded in defiance of Kant that “the death penalty has absolutely no place in a Christian state,” and that “all Christians must constantly work for its abolition.”

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, widespread disagreement over capital punishment prevailed within Protestantism in both Europe and America. In 1947 West Germany provoked an unprecedented public debate, involving major Protestant theologians (including Paul Althaus, KARL BARTH, Werner Elert, and Walter Kuenneth) when it adopted Article 102 of its Basic Law, declaring that “the death penalty is abolished.” This disagreement, along with the United Nations’ adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), opened an era of growing abolitionism.

In the UNITED STATES the loss of church support for the death penalty in the 1960s was attributed in part to the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, which focused attention on the unfairness and racism of the penal system, especially in the South. In 1968 the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES of Christ endorsed (103–0) a statement offering ten reasons why member churches should favor abolition of the death penalty. The first reason was “belief in the worth of human life and the dignity of human personality as gifts of God,” and the last one was “our Christian commitment to seek the redemption and reconciliation of the wrong-doer, which are frustrated by his execution.”

This trend, however, was significantly countered in the 1970s with the rise of a newly politicized conservative EVANGELICALISM, which supported capital punishment on the basis of its reading of the BIBLE. After ten years without executions, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976) cleared the way for the resumption of state killings. The impact of this reversal was to some degree offset by the surprising turnaround of the Roman Catholic Church after Vatican II. Pope John Paul II not only spoke out against the death penalty but undertook an unprecedented campaign calling on modern states to stop using it. Many American Catholic bishops rejected it even more absolutely. This provided the basis for an unusual level of agreement and cooperation between many progressive Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Divided We Stand

As a result, evaluating capital punishment continues to be an area of disagreement. The European countries in which the Protestant Reformation began and flourished have all reversed their enthusiastic support of the death penalty and abolished it as incompatible with basic human rights. In contrast, American Protestantism is far more divided: those in favor of the death penalty usually appeal to a literal reading of the Bible and its affirmation of the death penalty. In contrast many who read the Bible more critically contend that “our use of the death penalty cannot be justified by the use of the Hebrew Scriptures” and is actually in conflict with “the basic tenet of Christian-ity—forgiveness is stronger than sin; love is stronger than death” (Hanks, 137; 233). Old Testament passages that specifically impose the death penalty for various offenses are seen as vestiges of the culture and morals of their own time rather than as expressions of God’s will and purpose. The impasse between these two approaches is virtually intractable, given the divergent premises and the highly politicized atmosphere in which the controversy continues.

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JAMES J.MEGIVERN

CAPITO, WOLFGANG (c. 1487–1521)

German theologian and reformer. Born Wolfgang Köpfel in the free imperial city of Hagenau in about 1487, Capito was educated at the universities of Freiburg in Breisgau and Basel. He received his doctorate in THEOLOGY in Freiburg and took a call as professor and cathedral preacher in Basel in 1515. He became a close acquaintance of the humanist Desiderius Erasmus after the publication of his own Hebrew grammars in Basel. With other young humanists, Capito joined the cause of the Wittenberg reformers at an early date.

While serving as cathedral preacher and ecclesiastical advisor to the archbishop of Mainz, Capito visited Wittenberg. As a result of his meetings with PHILIPP MELANCHTHON and MARTIN LUTHER, he came to disagree with Erasmus on the issues of the clarity of scripture and the freedom of the will.

Taking a post in Strasbourg in 1523 Capito openly joined the reform movement. His Strasbourg career shows both the REFORMATION'S connection to humanism and the way Luther's theology and reforms were implemented. His work in Strasbourg began with a lecture series, to which the city's leaders and clergy were invited (and because of which most were converted to the Reformation's cause). Capito's Strasbourg reforms included not only changes in teaching, ecclesiastical structures, and LITURGY, but also a renewal of public life with educational changes, public oversight over MARRIAGE and morality, and public welfare.

Capito was probably the author of the TETRAPOLITAN CONFESSION, submitted at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg. He worked with MARTIN BUCER and others to produce the Wittenberg Concord, under which cities subscribed to the AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

See also Lutheranism, Germany

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KEN SUNDET JONES

CAPPEL, LOUIS (1585–1658)

French Huguenot philologist, Bible exegete, and divine. Born in Saint Élier near Sedan in northeast FRANCE, Cappel was famous for contending that the vowel markings in the Hebrew Bible were subsequent to the earliest transcriptions of the BIBLE, inventions of the Masorete Jews of Tiberias, dating from the fifth century A.D. Modern scholars now date their invention from the seventh century.

Appointed at age twenty-eight to a chair of Hebrew at Saumur, he taught for twenty years before proceeding to teach THEOLOGY. He was not the first to suspect Masoretic markings, but by virtue of his knowledge of Aramaic, Chaldean, and Arabic, learned during two years at Oxford University, and also his understanding of noncanonical Jewish writings, Cappel concluded that the Hebrew Bible had been altered over time.

His discovery that the square characters (Aramaic) had replaced the earlier Hebrew ones was anathema to critics, especially to Johannes Buxtorf, Jr., whose father, Johannes Sr., learned rabbinic scholar at the University of Basle, had maintained otherwise. Cappel's insistence that clarity was more important than textual tradition shocked Protestant contemporaries. They believed his conclusions threw doubt on the verbal inspiration of Scripture.

His great work, *Critica Sacra* (1634), could not be published by any Protestant press in the Low Countries or at Geneva, but had to await the help of Catholic scholars (Petau, Morin, and Mersenne) who obtained the necessary permission to publish at Paris (1650). Cappel's view of Scripture as having been altered over time gradually gained acceptance and is now acknowledged by all reputable experts.

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Bible Translation

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BARBARA SHER TINSLEY

CAREY, WILLIAM (1761–1834)

English baptist missionary. Born in a humble setting on August 17, 1761, at Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, England, William Carey was destined for greatness as a Baptist missionary in INDIA and Serampore though baptized as an infant in the Anglican Church. His father, Edmund, directed a small free school, and so from the start William became sensitive to the values of education.

In his mid-teens he became a shoemaker's apprentice in Hackleton and was introduced to NONCONFORMITY by John Warr, a fellow apprentice. Converted to nonconformist beliefs around 1779, Carey became convinced of Baptist doctrine and was baptized by immersion on October 5, 1783 by Dr. John Ryland, Baptist pastor of Northampton (see BAPTISTS).

For many years he continued shoemaking but also began to preach as a layperson. In 1786 he became pastor of the Baptist church at Moulton and was formally ordained in 1787 with the dually famous Ryland and Andrew Fuller being members of the ordaining council. Cobbling, running a day school, and serving as a pastor, Carey also commenced his long history as an excellent linguist by teaching himself Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch.

Soon, breaking the strict antimissions stance of Calvinistic Particular Baptists, Carey became convinced that the great commission to evangelize the nations should be specifically implemented. In 1791 at the Northampton Association he presented his missions beliefs and a bit later completed his amazing-for-its-time *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* with its program of "pray, plan, pay." In 1792 at the Baptist Association meeting in Nottingham, this "hare-brained enthusiast" presented his position again and actually gave the motto to the modern MISSIONS movement: "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God." Because of the strong support of Andrew Fuller, on October 2, 1792, at a Baptist ministers' meeting in Kettering, the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation

of the Gospel Amongst the Heathen came into being. This “first of its kind” missionary society would become a model for hundreds of other future societies.

In 1793 Carey and John Thomas, a physician, were sent as missionaries to India by the society. Late in 1793 they arrived in Bengal but for economic reasons soon moved to Malda where Carey became the superintendent of an indigo factory. Carey was committed from the start to being self-supporting in his missionary endeavors. By 1795 he had founded a Baptist church there and preached in the vernacular language. During his years in Malda he traveled widely to several hundred villages and also translated the New Testament into Bengali. The factory closed in 1799 and Carey moved to Serampore, a Danish colony friendlier to missionaries. Carey joined other missionaries there and the “Serampore Trio” (Carey, William Ward, and Joshua Marshman) evolved into a genuine missionary team, stressing through the years the spread of the Christian gospel by means of PREACHING, teaching, and BIBLE TRANSLATION.

In 1801 Carey was appointed as Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi at Fort William College. He retained the appointment for some thirty years. Beginning with a mission chapel in Calcutta, by 1814 there were at least twenty-nine other mission stations in surrounding areas. The mission eventually also founded primary schools as well as Serampore College and a very productive printing press.

Carey made major contributions to numerous Bible translations as well as language grammars and dictionaries. He published grammars of Mahratta, Sanskrit, Punjabi, Telinga, and Bhotanta, and dictionaries of Mahratta, Bengali, and Bhotanta. Carey and Marshman translated three volumes of the *Ramayana* into English and Carey edited Roxburgh’s *Flora Medica*. Carey himself was an excellent botanist, having developed a five-acre botanical collection, presented scholarly papers in agriculture, and been involved in founding the Horticultural and Agricultural Society in Calcutta. At one time he was even elected president of the Agricultural Society of India.

Sometimes referred to as the “Wyclif of the East,” Carey made mammoth contributions to Bible translation. In addition to his early Bengali translation, Carey taught himself numerous other languages and dialects and then completed a variety of biblical translations, including Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi, and Oriya. He supervised numerous other translations such as Kashmiri and Teluga. It is estimated that because of his work, the entire Bible or parts of it were translated into thirty-four languages. He was truly a linguistic genius and used this unusual ability in Bible translations over many years in India. However flawed were his translations as judged by contemporary standards, “in the first three decades of the modern missionary movement forty-nine percent of the first translations into new languages anywhere in the world were published at Serampore, most of them translated by Carey or under his supervision” (Smalley 1991:47).

Although not the first foreign missionary, Carey was the first to be sent out by a missionary society. All of his income was funneled back into his mission projects; he was virtually self-supporting. He also believed that Indians could best be converted to Christianity by Indians. His teaching program and the founding of Serampore College was geared toward this end. Following his own early advice in his *Enquiry* of 1792, he mingled with the people and communicated in their own language. To his credit, he successfully agitated on behalf of the legal prohibition of suttee (the custom of putting widows to death at the husband’s funeral) in 1829.

At the time of his death on June 9, 1834, in Serampore, India, he was truly an internationally known man and destined to be named as one of the fathers of the modern missionary movement.

See also Baptist Bible Union; Bible Translation; Missionary Organizations

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GEORGE H.SHRIVER

CARIBBEAN

The spread of Protestantism to the Caribbean coincided with the settlement of territories in this region by European Protestants in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Although the Dutch had been in what would later become Guiana in 1611, the first settlement of Protestants in the Caribbean occurred in the 1620s with the English occupation of St. Christopher. The CHURCH OF ENGLAND had modest success converting Z slaves in the rest of the seventeenth century but, in the eighteenth, the Evangelicals—the Moravians, Methodists, and Baptists—flourished. Other Protestant groups arrived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries mainly from the UNITED STATES and a strong Protestant presence remains there today.

Definitions

Protestants and Protestantism, as used herein, refer primarily to the earliest groups of dissenters from the AUTHORITY of the Church of Rome and the belief systems they developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Protestant REFORMATION and its impact in GERMANY, ENGLAND, FRANCE, Scandinavia, and the

NETHERLANDS is primarily in view. The Caribbean is a modern designation for a group of islands and countries between North and South America, situated mostly within the Caribbean Sea, including some areas that technically could be grouped in other ways. Bermuda, though in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, is sometimes included in discussions of the Caribbean, as are Belize, Guyana, and Surinam though each of these is in Central/South America. The American (formerly Danish) Virgin islands have long been connected with the English-speaking Caribbean, as have the Bahama islands. Different names have been used for clusters of these islands over the centuries—the Greater and Lesser Antilles, the Leeward and Windward islands, the Cayman Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the Netherlands Antilles, and so on. The whole area was referred to as the West Indies for centuries, but in the postcolonial era, Caribbean, referring back to the precolonial inhabitants of the region, is preferred. In much of what follows, the British Caribbean is the primary focus.

Seventeenth-Century Developments

The story of Protestantism in the Caribbean begins with the occupation of this region by foreigners: first by Europeans—Spanish, English, Dutch, and French; later by Africans imported against their will, and later still, Asians brought as indentured servants after the abolition of SLAVERY in the nineteenth century. German religious leader MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) flourished a mere quarter century after Columbus landed on a Bahama island in 1492, renaming it San Salvador (Holy Savior) and claiming it for the Spanish crown. In the years thereafter, Spain held a virtual monopoly in the region with respect to resources, people, and religion; the Caribbean Sea was considered the Spanish lake. The story of Spanish contacts with indigenous peoples and the exploitation and extirpation of them is well known. Much of the sixteenth century in the Caribbean was dominated by conflicts between Spanish Catholics and other European nations that increasingly were represented by Protestants wishing to wrest some power from Spain. By the middle of the century, French Protestant corsairs, called Huguenots after 1559, challenged the monopoly of Spain, raiding Spanish ships for gold and even capturing cities in Cuba. Likewise, a strong Protestant faith was represented among English sailors to the region; Dutch seamen included many Calvinist Protestants. Indeed, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 prepared the way for Protestant colonization of the region in the following century.

Given Spain's control over the larger territories—Jamaica, Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Trinidad—in this early period, English and other Protestant settlers confined their exploratory efforts to the smaller islands and the Guyana coastlands. In the 1620s, the English occupied St. Christopher (later with the French), Barbados, and Nevis. In the 1630s Antigua and Montserrat were occupied by the English and Irish; Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Tortuga by the French; and St. Martin, St. Eustatius, Saba, Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire by the Dutch in the 1640s. The Danish were in the Virgin Islands as early as 1666, establishing the first Lutheran congregation in the Western world there. It was on one of these small islands, St. Christopher (later St. Kitts), that we hear of the first Protestant clergyman in any permanent English colony in the Caribbean, Master John Featley, a Calvinist Episcopalian who accompanied Thomas Warner to the island,

occupied by the English in 1622. In 1625 Barbados was occupied by opposing English settlers whose early memoirs include a reference to a certain Kentlane, a pious clergyman functioning as an intermediary between them. Yet another clergyman is mentioned as a passenger on a ship bound for Nevis from Barbados in 1629. By 1630, after the appointment of the first governor of Barbados, six parishes had been defined there, following the pattern of ecclesiastical organization of the English, and churches built shortly thereafter. A similar pattern was followed in many of the smaller islands in the following two decades. Parishes were demarcated in St. Kitts by 1655, in Nevis and Montserrat in the 1670s, and in Antigua by 1681.

In addition to the official English Church, other radical Protestant groups were present in the colonies at this time. HUGUENOTS are mentioned in St. Kitts, Puritans in the Bahamas, and Anabaptists, Quakers, and other dissenters are mentioned in official correspondence. English Quakers made a significant mark in the seventeenth century. As early as 1655 they arrived in Barbados to proclaim the new faith. Others followed and were initially quite successful so that later missionaries were sent to Nevis, Jamaica, Antigua, and Bermuda. Despite ill treatment by the planters, Quakers flourished for some time in the latter islands, but ceased to exist in the region by the next century.

Protestantism in the colonies was developed initially and practiced among English settlers and indentured white servants; everyone was nominally Christian whether Welsh, English, Scottish, or Irish. Its character changed with the introduction of African slaves in the middle of the seventeenth century. Planters exhibited little regard for, and a universal refusal to address, the spiritual needs of the slaves in the earliest years. The morality of slavery was unchallenged by the churches; accounts by visitors relate the particularly brutal treatment meted out to slaves in the Caribbean by Christian planters. However, the last two decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a shift in the attitude of the Church of England, a preoccupation with saving the souls of slaves, culminating with the formation in London of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS (SPG) in 1701 whose declared purpose was to Christianize slaves and Indians in the colonies.

Eighteenth-Century Developments

Soon thereafter, SPG missionaries spread to the colonies but, with the notable exception of Christopher Codrington's bequest to them of an estate in Barbados, their efforts in the Caribbean failed for a number of related reasons. Planters were generally uncooperative, believing that Christianity would make slaves proud and entertain notions of freedom; the missionaries themselves acted condescendingly toward potential converts, using terms like pagans, heathens, and barbarians to describe them. Refusing to believe that slaves could find them and their version of Christianity objectionable, missionaries maintained a consistent approach in the face of initial failure. It is not clear whether BAPTISM initially altered the status of slaves; slaves who were attracted to Christianity required a period of education before they could be baptized and, once admitted, were seated in separate sections of the meeting places. Traditional African religion was more appealing than Protestantism of the SPG variety; however, Protestantism's greatest strides among the masses of people in the Caribbean in the days of slavery were made by lay preachers

and missionaries from the Evangelical Movement—Moravians, Methodists, BAPTISTS, and Congregationalists—to whose story we now turn.

In general, three features common to evangelical Protestants contributed to their success in the Caribbean—emphasis on spiritual equality, emphasis on direct oral communication with the supernatural, and dramatic forms of worship and ritual. The first Protestant effort at evangelizing slaves in the Caribbean came about as a result of the fusion in HERRNHUT in Saxony of two streams of faith—the (Moravian) United Brethren and German Lutheranism (see LUTHERANISM, GERMANY)—into the MORAVIAN CHURCH. A female slave on the Danish Caribbean island of St. Thomas initiated a request, relayed through her brother, also a slave, to Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF, that missionaries be sent to the island's slave population. Two single Moravian missionaries, Johann Dober and David Nitschmann (1696–1772), having volunteered, left Herrnhut and arrived in St. Thomas in 1732. Moravian success in this region among slaves was remarkable, due in no small measure to their employment of novel techniques that were emulated by subsequent evangelical groups, especially the Methodists. Unlike SPG missionaries, Moravians welcomed slaves into multiracial communities, practiced early Christian forms of WORSHIP including the kiss of peace, the laying on of hands and foot washing, visited slaves in their cabins, shared food and clothing, offered warm handshakes, and used locals both as interpreters and helpers. Above all, Moravians taught reading skills to slaves. Such approaches led to expansion to other Virgin Islands—St. Croix and St. John—by the middle of the century; in the first fifty years, Moravians had baptized nearly 12,000 persons in the Danish territories.

Moravian missionary work in the British Caribbean began first in Jamaica in 1754, but unlike the situation in the Danish islands, fewer than 1,000 blacks were baptized after fifty years. Moravians were most effective in Antigua, where they had established a mission in 1756, and showed the largest pattern of growth, aided in part by the presence on that island of the first Methodist Society of the West Indies. The combined activities of these two evangelical groups produced remarkable results for Protestantism in Antigua and surrounding islands, so that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, black evangelical communities had been established in Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, and the Danish Virgin Islands.

The final decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the expansion of METHODISM and the establishment of the Baptist faith in the Caribbean. The story of Methodism begins, as mentioned above, in Antigua, where since the middle of the century, there had been a thriving Methodist Society comprised mostly of slaves originally organized by a planter, Nathaniel Gilbert, a convert to this new way of thinking as early as 1760. Gilbert, a lawyer and member of the Antigua legislature, became persuaded by reading some of the writings of evangelical preacher JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791) sent to him from England by his brother. He visited England in 1758 to hear Wesley for himself; two of his slaves, most probably women, were the first blacks ever to be baptized by Wesley during this visit. On Gilbert's death in 1773, the work was carried on by two women of color until the arrival from England of a local Methodist preacher, John Baxter, in 1778. Under his leadership, and with the support of these and other women, the society began to grow again; a chapel capable of holding 2,000 people was built in St. Johns by 1783. But on Christmas day 1786, the Reverend THOMAS COKE (1747–1814), who had

earlier been instrumental in establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, having been diverted because of bad weather from his original plan to sail from England to Nova Scotia, arrived instead in Antigua together with three other ministers. Coke's coming led to the rapid spread of Methodism in Antigua and throughout the region. In only a few years, Methodists had been established not only in St. Kitts, Barbados, and Jamaica, where they worked alongside the Moravians, but also in the ceded (from France) islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Grenada. In these latter three islands, Methodists were first to establish an evangelical presence. Work was also initiated on a variety of smaller islands—Nevis, Tortola, Montserrat, St. Bartholomew—by the beginning of the next century. In 1793, Methodists in the Caribbean numbered 6,570, more than three times what Coke had met in 1786; by 1804 there were 14,376 in the Caribbean, only 112 of whom were white.

Religious fervor in America prior to the revolution spread in time to the south, where evangelists preached both to slaves and to whites. This led to the conversion of many slaves and free blacks to the Baptist and Methodist faiths and, in time, to the formation of entirely black congregations. An early and famous Baptist church of this kind was founded between 1773 and 1775 at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, with whose congregation was associated a gifted slave named George Liele (1750–1820). Ordained in 1775, Liele was given his freedom by his master because of his religious work and, due to his sympathies with the British during the revolution, emigrated from the United States to Kingston, Jamaica, in 1782 where he, with four other émigrés from America, established the Baptist mission in 1784. Another black preacher and friend of Liele's, "Brother Amos," went to New Providence in the Bahamas in 1788. In time, these two men expanded the Baptist faith in each of these regions by organizing and nurturing individual congregations. Both were so successful that, by the end of the century, Baptist churches were flourishing in many parishes of Jamaica and also in the Bahamas, much to the alarm of planters.

Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Developments

By the first decade of the new century, the Jamaican Assembly attempted to silence the Methodist and Baptist missionaries, especially black ministers like Liele and his colleagues, who were considered "ill-disposed," "illiterate," or "ignorant enthusiasts." When, after a decade of repression, the Jamaican Assembly relaxed the legal restrictions on preaching by white missionaries in 1816, it explicitly retained those restrictions for black preachers. Although no black preacher was licensed in Jamaica before emancipation in 1833, a greater number of black Jamaicans heard of Protestant evangelical Christianity through self-proclaimed black preachers and exhorters than through missionaries. Alongside Liele's version of the Baptist faith there also emerged in Jamaica Native Baptists fusing elements of African traditional religions with Baptist beliefs.

The spread of Methodists and Baptists to the southern Caribbean—Trinidad and Guyana—took place in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Middle decades were marked by several events involving Protestants, only a few of which can be summarized here. Evangelical Protestant churches supported the push for abolition of slavery (see

SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), which occurred in 1834 and 1838 and, as a result, enjoyed a period of further growth. The Church of England joined the evangelical churches in supporting education for former slaves, with the result that its membership increased considerably. Presbyterians arrived in Jamaica as early as 1813 and later in other territories, conducting successful missions to Indian immigrants in Guyana and Trinidad, and the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST church was established. In the final decades of the nineteenth century a large number of Protestant denominations of various kinds made their way to the Caribbean. Among these were separatist groups from established traditions. The AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, the first independent black denomination in America, had very early set as its priority the evangelization of the Caribbean and AFRICA so that missionaries of that denomination along with its related organizations—the British Methodist Episcopal Church (from CANADA) and the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION (AMEZ) church, an early splinter group—arrived from the United States. Joining these was another divergent group from Methodism, the SALVATION ARMY, which, established in 1887 in Jamaica, spread thereafter to other islands. In addition, other newer denominations, mostly from the United States, took hold in the colonies. Notable among these were the Seventh-day Adventists, who were particularly successful in Jamaica and Trinidad, and holiness churches of various kinds including the CHURCH OF GOD, Pilgrim Holiness, CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, and Wesleyans (see WESLEYAN CHURCH, WESLEYANISM). Protestant missionaries spread to formerly French and Spanish Catholic territories like Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic in this period.

PENTECOSTALISM, developed in the United States in the early twentieth century, spread to the Caribbean region soon thereafter, augmenting the numbers and influence of holiness churches in several ways. Finally, in this period a number of indigenous religious movements fused various elements of Protestant beliefs with elements of African religion to constitute new belief systems. The patterns of the spread of Protestantism in the Caribbean in the rest of the twentieth century are too complex to summarize briefly, but a few general assertions are in order. Protestant bodies grew at a rapid rate in the first half of the century, while in the second half the most extensive growth was among Pentecostal-type groups. A Caribbean Conference of Churches, consisting mainly of mainline Protestants, was formed in 1973, and there have also been church unions consisting of smaller discrete groups. A United Theological College of the West Indies in Jamaica trains ministers for some eleven denominations. Studies of the history of particular Protestant groups are in the reference list and may be consulted further, but it should suffice to indicate that religion for most current residents of the Caribbean region consists of some form of Protestant belief.

See also Holiness Movement; Presbyterianism; Methodist Episcopal Church Conference; Evangelicalism

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MELVIN K.H.PETERS

CARNELL, EDWARD JOHN (1919–1967)

American theologian. Carnell was born in Antigo, Wisconsin on June 28, 1919. He earned degrees from Wheaton College and Westminster Theological Seminary; a Th.D. on REINHOLD NIEBUHR (Harvard, 1948), and a Ph.D. on SÖREN KIERKEGAARD (Boston University, 1949).

After teaching briefly at Gordon College and Divinity School (1945–1948), Carnell moved to Fuller Theological Seminary, where he became professor of ETHICS and philosophy of religion. He was also Fuller's president from 1954 to 1959. Carnell died suddenly on April 25, 1967 at age 47.

Carnell distanced himself from FUNDAMENTALISM and identified himself as Evangelical (see EVANGELICALISM). However, he regularly wrote for the theologically liberal *Christian Century* magazine (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM), and was the only evangelical theologian invited to pose questions to KARL BARTH during his 1962 University of Chicago lectures.

Carnell was a Christian apologist. Although he considered himself a “Christian rationalist,” scholars have characterized his apologetic method as “presuppositionalism” (Nash), “combinationalism” (Geisler), and the “verificational approach” (Lewis). However, these characterizations do not readily account for Carnell's interest in Kierkegaard. Whereas many evangelical apologists of Carnell's day sought to defend the reliability of Scripture (a concern he shared), Carnell also analyzed the existential situation of the human self. Thus, the apologetic defense of conservative orthodox Christianity, as a belief system, is proven both by its epistemological and existential consistency. As Carnell noted, “Systems are verified by the degree to which their major elements are consistent with one another and with the broad facts of history and nature. In short, a consistent system is a true system.” But ultimately, the truth of a theological hypothesis is verified “when it smoothly interprets life.”

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DAVID GURETZKI

CARTWRIGHT, PETER (1785–1872)

American Methodist. The most famous of the Methodist itinerants to emerge from the Second Great Awakening in the Ohio River Valley during the early 1800s, Peter Cartwright lived an active life that embraced not only the ministry, but also politics. Born in 1785 in Amherst County, Virginia, Cartwright experienced CONVERSION in 1801 and joined the Methodists. Within a year he received a license to exhort and soon organized a Methodist circuit in Livingston County, Kentucky. From 1803 until 1824, he served as a CIRCUIT RIDER, emphasizing “experimental” religion at CAMP MEETINGS and protracted meetings and setting himself against not only “sinners,” but also those preachers whose inspirations came from “book learning” rather than unmediated contact with the Holy Spirit.

Cartwright was a strong supporter of METHODISM and helped organize that Protestant denomination in Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, where he settled in 1824. An ardent abolitionist, Cartwright entered secular politics and became part of what was known as the “Methodist Militia” in the Illinois legislature, where he served for 16 years. He engaged in two political campaigns involving ABRAHAM LINCOLN, defeating the future president for a seat in the state legislature in 1832, but losing a place in the U.S. Congress to him in 1846.

Cartwright also had literary leanings. He founded the *Central Christian Advocate*, a newspaper edited by his son-in-law. His most important written work was *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*, published in 1856. This volume dramatically recounts many of the events in his early circuit-riding ministry that represented his emphasis on personal religious experience. He also compiled *Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder* in 1871 in celebration of his ministerial jubilee.

Cartwright died in 1872 in Pleasant Plains, Illinois, where a United Methodist Church bears his name.

See also Itinerancy; Slavery, Abolition of; Awakenings

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WILLIAM M. CLEMENTS

CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS (1535–1603)

English Puritan. Thomas Cartwright was born in Hertfordshire and began his education in 1547 at Clare Hall, Cambridge. In 1550 he was elected a scholar of St. John's College, which was known for its strong attachment to REFORMATION ideals. During the reign of the Catholic Mary, Cambridge was an inhospitable place for progressives, and Cartwright left the university to work for a time as a clerk to a lawyer. After the accession of ELIZABETH I, he returned to Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as a preacher and scholar. During the early 1560s he was a fellow at St. John's and later at Trinity College, and in 1564 he participated in a theological disputation staged for the queen's visit. A brief stint in IRELAND (1565–1567) as chaplain to Archbishop Loftus of Armagh allowed him to escape some of the disputes then raging in the university over the religious settlement of Elizabeth. However, shortly after his appointment as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in November 1569, controversy arose over a series of lectures Cartwright gave on the Book of Acts wherein he compared English church POLITY unfavorably with that of the apostolic church, which he understood as essentially Presbyterian in its organization. He was severely criticized and lost his chair. In 1571 Cartwright left ENGLAND for the safe haven of Geneva, SWITZERLAND, where he was welcomed warmly by JOHN CALVIN'S successor THEODORE BEZA. At the entreaty of his friends, Cartwright returned to Cambridge in 1572, only to become immediately embroiled in further controversy due to his defense of the *Admonition to the Parliament*, an anonymously published tract that forcefully advocated Presbyterian discipline. He was obliged to leave England once again at the end of 1573 to avoid arrest. During the next twelve years, Cartwright moved regularly, living and ministering in Heidelberg, Basel, Antwerp, and Middelburg. He returned to England in 1585 and was briefly imprisoned, but found a patron in Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, and soon became master of the Earl's hospital in Warwick. Cartwright maintained his support for Presbyterian reform during the latter 1580s, and in 1590 he was arrested, tried before the High Commission, and imprisoned. Through the intercession of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, he gained his freedom in 1592. From 1595 to 1601 he ministered in the Channel Islands, where he helped revise the Presbyterian discipline already in use there. Cartwright spent the last two years of his life in Warwick, where he died December 27, 1603.

In his promotion of Presbyterian polity, Cartwright's chief opponent was JOHN WHITGIFT, master of Trinity College (1567), vice-chancellor of Cambridge (1570), and archbishop of Canterbury (1583). Following the appearance of the *Admonition*, the two engaged in a written debate wherein Cartwright laid out the key Presbyterian arguments in three treatises: *Reply to an Answer Made of M. Doctor Whitgift* (1573), *Second Replie* (1575), and *The Rest of the Second Replie* (1577). Claiming that scripture allowed only for Presbyterian polity, Cartwright emphasized equality among ministers, the right of congregations to call ministers, a separation of the spiritual and temporal realms, and the familiar Puritan theme of the need to purge the church of all "popish" remnants in its worship practices and the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. In his defense of the established church, Whitgift argued that no one form of church government was

prescribed by scripture, and that a Christian prince had authority to direct the external form of the church and set policy on such indifferent matters.

Despite the intensity of their polemic, Cartwright and Whitgift did share some fundamental positions. Significantly, Cartwright held that the CHURCH OF ENGLAND was a true CHURCH, albeit in need of serious reform. In this, he may be distinguished from the separatists, who believed the church to be so riddled with errors that it was necessary to withdraw entirely. An extant letter records Cartwright's begrudging defense of the Church of England as he attempts to win his sister-in-law, Anne Stubbe, back from the separatist camp. Presbyterians and separatists shared many of the same complaints about the English church's ministry and worship, yet the threat of separatism backed Cartwright into the uncomfortable role of defending the very church he would reform. Cartwright also agreed with Whitgift and all English Protestants in holding the Roman Catholic Church to be a false church. In this context, the Puritans frequently cooperated with the established church by turning their pens to antipapal polemic. So it was that friends and patrons encouraged Cartwright to write against the translation of the New Testament completed by English Catholics living abroad. The result was his massive *Confutation of the Rhemists Translation* (1618), completed in the 1580s but not published until long after his death, apparently as a result of Whitgift's continuing displeasure and unwillingness to provide tacit endorsement to Cartwright's opinions.

A gifted scholar and rhetorician, Cartwright remained an influential leader of Elizabethan Puritans throughout his life. At the time of his death, he was scheduled to plead the Puritan cause to the newly enthroned James I at the Hampton Court Conference (January 1604).

See also Presbyterianism; Puritanism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Church Discipline

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SCOTT MCGINNIS

CARY, LOTT (c. 1780–1828)

Slave, freedman, preacher, and leader of African American settlers in Liberia in the 1820s. Born in rural Virginia, Cary was hired out in Richmond tobacco warehouses. After a conversion experience in 1807 inspired by John 3, Cary became a lay exhorter to blacks. Freed in 1815, he was ordained and accepted for missionary service by the Baptist General Convention. He emigrated in 1821 to the colony governed by the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY (ACS). He emerged as leader of the black settlers, becoming peer and confidant of the white ACS agent, Jehudi Ashmun (1794–1828). Cary undertook little missionary work. He committed his energies to commerce and the subjugation of indigenous Liberians, and died in an explosion as he was preparing munitions for use against them. He left little writing.

Cary's importance in Protestantism derives not from his writings or his missionary activity, which has sometimes been mistakenly praised, but from his partnership with Ashmun. With Cary as his exemplar, Ashmun announced that in Africa energetic, forceful Protestant men could rule and "civilize" native peoples as well as prosper through trade in African raw materials and American finished goods. Resisting his Calvinist background, Ashmun was drawn to Cary's free-will Christianity, which seemingly encouraged the drive and agency exercised in governing natives and trading. The Baptist Cary helped Ashmun overcome Calvinism. Cary's life and death elucidate the influence on missions of "civilizationist" and commercial tendencies and hostility toward native peoples. Cary's heirs were the black Protestant "civilizationists" MARTIN DELANY (1812–1885), ALEXANDER CRUMMELL (1819–1898), and Henry McNeal Turner (1834–1915).

See also American Colonization Society; Liberia.

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JOHN SAILLANT

CASTELLIO, SEBASTIAN (CASTELLION, CASTALIO, CHATILLON, OR CHATEILLON) (1515– 1563)

French Protestant theologian and humanist. Castellio was born in 1515 in Saint-Martin-du-Fresne in Savoyen and died in Basel in 1563. The son of a peasant, Castellio's scholarly aptitude brought him first to Lyon where he encountered JOHN CALVIN'S INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, and in 1540 to Strasbourg where he lived briefly with Calvin. After becoming rector of a Latin school in Geneva in 1541, Castellio published his *Dialogi sacri*, a widely circulated manual of Bible stories in dialogue form that was praised by Calvin. However, Castellio developed differences with Calvin on PREDESTINATION, the canonicity of the Old Testament book Song of Solomon, and the literality of Christ's descent into hell. As a result he resigned his position in 1544.

He moved in 1545, with his wife and eight children, to Basel where he worked as a proofreader, and completed two BIBLE TRANSLATIONS, a classical Latin one in 1551 containing a controversial excursus on the freedom of the will, and a popular French one published in 1555. He and his family lived in great poverty until his appointment as professor of Greek at the University of Basel in 1553. The burning of MICHAEL SERVETUS in Geneva later that year occasioned the publication of *De haereticis, an sint persequendi* (If Heretics Are to Be Persecuted?) in which Castellio, using the pseudonym of Martin Bellius, called for religious TOLERATION and freedom of conscience. The tract brought sharp replies from Geneva, particularly from the pens of Calvin and THEODORE BEZA. Castellio remained in Basel until his death, working in his final year on his unfinished *De arte dubitandi* (On the Art of Doubting). Because of Castellio's advocacy of religious tolerance and his criticisms of predestination and the bondage of the will, many Unitarians regard him as a spiritual ancestor (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION).

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DENNIS BIELFELDT

CATECHISM(S)

Catechism, a summary of religious doctrine, and catechetical instruction were hardly new, much less unique, to the Protestant REFORMATION of the sixteenth century. From its earliest history, the Christian church had provided oral instruction in the basics of the faith for those entering the church through baptism. This catechetical instruction eventually developed a specific syllabus that included the Decalogue (Ten Commandments), Apostle's Creed, and Lord's Prayer. Additional instruction was provided on BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER. Under the influence of MARTIN LUTHER and the power of the printing press, explanations of that catechetical syllabus became fixed in the form of a booklet—a catechism—and taken to a wide audience that extended beyond the clergy to the laity, adults, and children alike. As a result, catechisms emerged as some of the most powerful and popular vehicles for spreading the message of the Protestant Reformation.

Catechism in the Early Church and Middle Ages

Of the five components constituting catechetical instruction, the Creed and Lord's Prayer had been used since the third and fourth centuries for the prebaptismal instruction of adult converts. The Creed, which unfolded the baptismal formula, was part of the formal consignment of the Creed on Palm Sunday and its subsequent recitation by the baptismal candidate on Easter eve. The imparting of the Creed in Rome was accompanied with the Lord's Prayer, which provided access to common participation in the liturgical service. As the church moved into the Middle Ages and infant baptism became the norm, sponsors and parents acted in the infant's stead for the imparting and recitation of the Creed and Lord's Prayer. More in-depth instruction was later given to children as part of their examination in preparation for CONFESSION and communion, which had been mandated by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

The Decalogue emerged later within the church's tradition as the third component of the catechism. In the early church, the twofold command of love for God and for neighbor was the most common basis for ethical instruction. This gave way to an exposition of vices (e.g., seven deadly sins) and virtues (e.g., seven principal virtues) as catechetical teaching became linked with confession. Instruction often included lengthy catalogues of sins. It is also in connection with the confessional that the Decalogue is first introduced and consistently used after the Synod of Trier in 1227. The Ten

Commandments did not, however, become widespread as a replacement for the lists of vices and virtues until the fifteenth century, by which time nearly every confessional manual required the priest to examine the penitent on the Ten Commandments as well as the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

Early on in the church's history, the prebaptismal instruction was supplemented with a postbaptismal instruction on a fourth topic, that is, the SACRAMENTS, as was the case with the catechetical lectures of Cyril in Jerusalem, Ambrose, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. During the Middle Ages, however, instruction on the sacraments was not a featured part of catechetical instruction. In the manuals for priests, instruction might be given on how to perform the sacraments properly. In other manuals the sacraments would simply be listed for the people. It was enough to know which rites were sacraments. The topic of confession received the greatest amount of attention in connection with the sacrament of penance. As a whole, though, expositions of the nature and benefits of the sacraments were not common, as they would become in the Protestant reformation.

Before the invention of the printing press, oral instruction on the basic texts of the faith was conveyed in the form of sermons, some of which were subsequently written down to provide sermon resources for other priests (see PREACHING). Such was the case with Cyril's thirty-eight lectures as well as Augustine's. The best known catechetical sermons from the high Middle Ages were a series of short instructions preached by Thomas Aquinas in the vernacular in Naples during Lent of 1273. When the practice of oral confession was used as an opportunity for catechetical instruction, manuals called "mirrors" were written as aids for the self-examination required in confession, for example, *The Mirror of a Christian Man* (1470) by Dietrich Kolde. One of the first books of instruction to which the term "catechism" is applied was *The Lay Folks Catechism* in 1357, written at the direction of Archbishop John Thoresby of York.

Catechisms of the Protestant Reformation

With the dawn of the sixteenth century, catechisms emerged as important tools for spreading the message of Reformation when the printing press made them affordable and numerous. The term "catechism" begins to be used extensively for these instructional booklets in the mid- to late-1520s, when a flood of catechisms appeared on the market. In Germany alone there were over 170 produced by the end of the decade. In these booklets, the Reformers adopted the traditional catechetical syllabus but provided explanations of it that highlighted the Reformation teaching on JUSTIFICATION. Several of the more important catechisms include those of Luther, JOHN CALVIN, and the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM OF 1563.

Luther's catechisms trace their origins to three events. In 1523 Nicholas Hausmann, a pastor in Zwickau, requested the elector to assign someone the task of preparing a catechism for children. Eventually, *A Booklet for the Laity and Children* appeared in Wittenberg in 1525. Although not written by Luther, it included excerpts from several of his writings. Second, the collapse of the old church structures in the wake of the Reformation raised the need for a formal visitation of the churches to assess their condition. Luther's participation in the visitations during the fall of 1528 profoundly affected him as he discovered that the peasants had learned nothing, rarely prayed, and

did not go to confession or communion. Third, in connection with the visitations, a theological conflict erupted in Electoral Saxony over the place of the law in the Christian life. Johann Agricola argued that repentance was a consequence of the preaching of the Gospel and not the law, views that he expressed in the catechism, *One Hundred and Thirty Common Questions for the Girls School at Eisleben*.

Luther's catechism first appeared beginning in January 1529 on large sheets of paper, sold like newspapers and hung up in churches, schools, and homes. On May 16, 1529, the Wittenberg book edition appeared in the book stalls under the title, *The Small Catechism for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers*. It is characterized by its simplicity and elegance in the presentation of the faith. In a society where oral communication still predominated, Luther used a wide variety of rhetorical devices (alliteration, assonance, rhythm, etc.) to render it pleasing to the ear and easily imprinted upon the mind. *The Large [German] Catechism of Martin Luther* also appeared in May 1529. It is characterized by a theological depth and an earthiness of expression that remain remarkably relevant and true to the human experience.

Both catechisms are best known for their arrangement of the traditional catechetical syllabus. Rather than beginning with the Creed and proceeding to the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, Luther began with the Ten Commandments and proceeded to the Creed and Lord's Prayer. This reflected Luther's own Law-Gospel dialectic for preaching the Word of God. In addition, this pattern for Luther was rooted in human experience. As sin-sick people, human beings must first receive the diagnosis (Law) before they are given the cure (Gospel/Creed), and learn how to receive it (Prayer).

In 1536 John Calvin was given the task of reforming the church in Geneva. As part of that responsibility, he composed a catechism in the conviction that faith must be nourished by understanding or it will wither and die. Written in French for the youth of Geneva, it was translated into Latin a year later to reach a wider audience "in order that the sincerity of the faith may be manifest to other churches everywhere" (preface, Latin edition). "In this way other churches can become more certain of our union with them." The first catechism was published between the first and second editions of his *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION* (1536, 1539). It is a clear and concise introduction to his thought and a good condensation of his *Institutes*. Following a brief exile in Strasbourg, Calvin produced another catechism in French in 1540 and in Latin in 1545. He noted that his first catechism was a bit too difficult for children with its topical and paragraph format, and so he adopted the question and answer approach of other catechisms.

The structure of Calvin's first catechism follows the basic plan of Luther's in that it begins with the Law, and proceeds to the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and a discussion of two sacraments. It differs in that it begins with a treatment of the knowledge of God and concludes with a section on civil magistrates. It also discusses *ELECTION* and *PREDESTINATION*, topics not found in later Geneva catechisms. The catechism expresses the warm, personal faith of Calvin, who contends in the catechism that the chief concern and care of life ought to be "to seek God, to aspire to him with our whole heart, to rest nowhere else but in him."

The Heidelberg Catechism (1562) stands out as an attempt to bridge the gap between Luther and Calvin. Within a year of becoming Protestant, the city of Heidelberg experienced the harsh measures of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V as he reimposed

Catholic practices upon recently conquered German territories in 1548. After the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555, Heidelberg experienced further turmoil brought about by the struggle between Calvinists and Lutherans (see CALVINISM, LUTHERANISM). In frustration, elector Frederick III of the Palatinate commissioned his theologians in 1562 to prepare a catechism with the idea of providing an instrument that would establish the new Church of the Palatinate and put an end to the snarling partisanship of the various parties.

Although it is difficult to identify a single author of the catechism, Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583) can be cited as the major contributor. He had written a *Small Catechism* a few years earlier with 108 questions, 90 of which were carried over into the *Heidelberg Catechism*. Whereas Ursinus provided much of the content for the catechism, Caspar Olevianus (1536–1587) gave the catechism a warm and devotional form. Although the catechism attempted to straddle the divide between Lutherans and Calvinists, it found acceptance primarily in Reformed-leaning territories within Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, and the Netherlands.

In terms of structure the Heidelberg Catechism introduces the syllabus of Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, along with two questions that set the tone for the entire catechism: "What is your only comfort in life and death?" and "How many things must you know that you may live and die in the blessedness of this comfort?" The answer to the first question affirms the transcendent goodness of God's providence to comfort a persecuted people. The answer to the second question introduces the three parts of the catechism under the rubrics of human misery, deliverance of human beings, and gratitude of human beings for deliverance. In this way it attempted to hold together the distinctive emphases of Luther and Calvin.

Catechisms of the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation

Although slow to address the need for instruction in the rudiments of the faith being met by Protestant catechisms, the Roman Catholic church launched an effort in connection with the Council of Trent and produced several popular catechisms of its own. Some of these catechisms had a more polemical tone than that of their Protestant counterparts; others sought to present the Catholic faith in as winsome a manner as possible. Several of the more notable include those by Peter Canisius and the Roman Catechism.

Peter Canisius (1521–1597) wrote a catechism in three versions (Summa, Minor, and Minima). Just as Luther's catechism became one of the most potent instruments by which the Reformation took root, so Canisius's catechisms became the great documents of the COUNTER-REFORMATION. In fact, it would eventually become the most widely used catechism in the Catholic world. Like Luther's catechism, it was characterized by succinctness, clarity, and serenity. Unlike Luther's, however, it was more polemical in tone to the point that it was less a presentation of Catholic doctrine and more a refutation of Protestant teachings.

Canisius organized his catechism into two sections. Under the heading "Wisdom," he placed the traditional components of Creed, Prayer, Decalogue, and Sacraments. Under the heading "Justice," he placed a number of medieval formularies such as the capital sins, the cardinal virtues, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Beatitudes, and the works of

mercy. As to its theme, Canisius recognized that the doctrine of justification was the taproot of the Reformation and had to be disproved and dislodged. To that end he emphasized grace as an aid to the Christian life and the necessity of good works.

The origins of the Roman Catechism reach back to the earliest stages of the Council of Trent, when on January 22, 1546, the council set up a commission to assess the state of catechetical instruction. On April 5 it made its report and recommended that the council “should authorize the publication of a catechism by men noted for learning and piety, written in both Latin and the vernacular, and based on the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church.” It should serve the instruction of children and uneducated adults, “for whom milk and not solid food is in order.” The matter resurfaced during the final and decisive period of the council. In March 1563 two theologians were appointed to collaborate with Cardinal Seripando to produce a catechism that appeared on January 7, 1566, under the title “Catechism for Parish Priests as decreed by the Council of Trent and published by order of Pontiff Pius V.”

Like other catechisms, it contains four parts: Creed, Sacraments, Decalogue, and the Lord’s Prayer. It follows a sequence of knowledge of God’s past deeds (Creed), proceeds to a focus on the gift of grace-assisted love (Sacraments and Decalogue), and concludes with future hope (Lord’s Prayer). The preface explains that whatever needs to be known about God is found within the Creed. The sacraments are signs whereby divine grace is given and thus function as a center of gravity for the catechism in terms of the active presence of Christ. Whatever laws lead us to love are given in the Ten Commandments. The object of human hope is found in the Lord’s Prayer.

The catechisms produced as a result of the Protestant Reformation found widespread acceptance and use in the centuries that followed, and, in some cases, down to the present day. Although often supplemented with additional explanations, these catechisms served not only to instruct the baptized in the basics of the Christian faith, but also to instill a confessional identity in the laity with regard to the particular tradition into which they were being accepted.

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CHARLES P.ARAND

CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM

The 1996 address of Pope John Paul II to German Protestants affirms: "Luther's call for church reform in its original meaning was an appeal for repentance and renewal, which must begin in the life of every individual. Nevertheless, there are many reasons why division arose from the beginning. Among these is that failure in the Catholic Church for which Pope Adrian VI [1459–1523] had already grieved in moving words; the interference of political and economic interests; and also Luther's own passion, which led him well beyond his initial intention to a radical criticism of the Catholic Church, her structure and her doctrine. We are all guilty...." This reassessment of the Protestant REFORMATION is a dramatic shift from the sixteenth-century reactions.

Here we will assess (1) the sixteenth-century reactions to the Reformation, (2) developments through the intervening centuries, (3) the reevaluation at the second Vatican Council, subsequent Dialogue (see DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL), and (4) debates since the Council.

The Reformation

The Reformation is generally dated from MARTIN LUTHER'S posting the ninety-five theses on indulgences in 1517. However, "Protestant" came into usage only in 1529 with the protest of the evangelical princes at the DIET OF SPEYER against the curtailment of evangelical preaching. Dialogue between the protesting theologians and those representing Catholic authorities ceased only after the colloquy at Regensburg in 1541. Catholic positions were formalized at the Council of Trent (1546–1563). Although specific reformers or the emerging churches were not mentioned by name, many of their positions were implicitly condemned by this Council.

During this and subsequent centuries the Catholic Church evaluated the Reformation as a tragedy that separated many of her members into what were understood to be heretical communities (see HERESY). However, the Catholic Church never denied the validity of Protestant BAPTISM, and recognized elements of the Christian tradition continuing in these communities, including the scriptures, the core elements of the apostolic faith, and various elements of the sacramental life of the church.

Subsequent Developments

There were always voices within the Catholic Church that resonated with the reformer's calls for doctrinal and disciplinary renewal of the Church. Leaders like French Bishop Jacques-Benigne Bossuet (1627–1704) sought bridges in the faith of Protestants and Catholics. Johann Michael Sailer (1751–1832) encouraged Protestant and Catholic resistance to the ENLIGHTENMENT in Germany. However, much of Catholic theology, religious education, and preaching were devoted to resisting the theological positions and the development of the Protestant churches.

In the nineteenth century genuine seriousness was given to the study and evaluation of Protestant scholarship. JOHANN ADAM MÖHLER (1796–1838) contributed to both an irenic approach to Protestant thinkers and a reassessment of Catholic formulations of its own selfunderstanding as a church. With the emergence of the biblical, liturgical, and historical movements of this same century, a more positive appreciation emerged, opening the way to the first stirrings of dialogue.

Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873–1960) in Belgium launched several important initiatives, both toward Eastern Christianity and toward ANGLICANISM. The rise of the modern Ecumenical movement (see ECU-MENISM) after 1910, and the approach to the Catholic Church for participation in the Faith and Order movement, led Pope Pius XI to criticize the ecumenical movement in the 1928 encyclical *Mortalium animos*.

During this first half of the twentieth century, voices began to emerge calling for a theological and historical reassessment of Protestantism. Figures like Josef Lortz (1887–1985) and Yves Congar (1904–1995), by the depth of their scholarship and their reorientation of interpretive perspectives, created a new context for Catholic relations to Protestantism. The Second World War also created a situation in Europe where collaboration and common witness be-came imperative for Christians together. Already by the 1950s the Holy See was opening the possibilities of more Catholic ecumenical participation.

Second Vatican Council (1962–1965)

One of the express purposes of the Catholic ecumenical council was to open the way for ecumenical rapprochement among Christians. Protestants and others were invited to observe the council. During the course of the council, Catholics were authorized to participate as observers in WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' gatherings.

The 1965 *Decree on Ecumenism* and the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* moved away, definitively, from considering Protestants heretical Christians, to recognizing them as “separated brethren,” and acknowledging their communities as having ecclesial status: “There are many who honor sacred Scripture, taking it as a norm of belief and of action, and who show a true religious zeal. They lovingly believe in God the Father Almighty and in Christ, the Son of God and Savior. They are consecrated by baptism, through which they are united with Christ. They also recognize and receive other sacraments within their own churches or ecclesial communities” (Constitution on the Church no. 15).

A reformulation of the relationship between Scripture and TRADITION, an affirmation of religious liberty, support of the biblical and lay renewal, and dramatic

liturgical reforms all rested on common Protestant and Catholic scholarship. These developments also brought Catholicism more in line with some of the reforms advocated in the sixteenth century. In addition to these decisions, the Catholic Church also began to enter into dialogue with all of the historic Protestant traditions of the sixteenth century and several of the later Protestant communities. Since that time, Catholics have also moved into dialogue with Pentecostals and Evangelical churches (see PENTECOSTALISM, EVANGELICALISM).

These dialogues have produced remarkable results leading to resolution of issues intractable in the sixteenth century. The most dramatic of these is the 1999 signing of the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification*, between the Catholic Church and the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION. By 1995 Pope John Paul II was able to say, in his encyclical *Ut Unum Sint*, that Catholics no longer look upon Protestants as “separated brethren,” but rather as fellow Christians. Although the Catholic Church recognizes that not all of the differences between Catholics and the Reformation churches have been resolved, the official position of the Church is openness to dialogue, to internal renewal, and to the hope that, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, issues standing in the way of full communion might someday be resolved.

Continuing Debates

The official Catholic position toward Protestantism is an openness to dialogue, a recognition of elements of the one true church in these communities, while still claiming that the fullness of the church “subsists in” the Catholic Church. However, there is considerable debate about the expression “subsists in.” Those who drafted the language of the Vatican Council hold that this language was used in place of “is” to make clear that ecclesial reality is not exhausted by the Catholic Church as an institution.

Others will hold that “subsists in” is virtually equivalent to “is.” Although the fullness of the means of grace may be available in the Catholic Church, some of these means may be more effectively realized in one or another of the churches separated from the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church recognizes that it is itself “wounded” because of the lack of communion with other Christian communities.

A second debate, over the evaluation of Protestant communities, takes place over the appropriate language to use in their regard. Those who drafted the language of the council, speaking of “churches and ecclesial communities,” would hold that this is inductive language, not definitional in nature. That is, “ecclesial communities” was used of communities that do not use “church” of themselves. No definitive closure was given to whether any particular community was to be considered “church.” Such a determination was to be left to the process of dialogue and mutual understanding.

On the other hand, there are those who take the distinction “churches and ecclesial communities” to be definitive. “Churches” would refer to the Orthodox (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN) and those churches of the West, like the Old Catholic Church, which have the full range of sacramental reality, including priests ordained in the apostolic succession, and therefore the full Eucharist mystery, short only of full communion with the Bishop of Rome. “Ecclesial communities,” then, is taken to refer to

the Reformation churches, whose ecclesial status cannot be spoken of as “church in the proper sense.”

These debates over how the various Protestant churches are evaluated theologically by the Catholic Church, and the fact that Protestants would be even interested in this evaluation, demonstrates the dramatic history through which Protestant and Catholic relations have passed in the 500 years since the Reformation. The over thirty years since the second Vatican Council traverse as dramatic a history of recon-ciliation as a similar period of time after Luther’s posting of the ninety-five theses and the alienation it entailed.

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JEFFREY GROS

CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS

When the Catholic Church and the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION signed the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* in 1999, some Catholics asked whether it was appropriate to use “Protestant” of these churches any longer. Likewise, some conservative Protestant groups wondered whether these Lutheran churches had not betrayed the Reformation. Because the designation “Protestant” was used to characterize the evangelical princes at the DIET OF SPEYER in 1529, the very identity of this

movement and later churches has depended on their reaction to the Catholicism from which they emerged.

We will survey here (1) the variety of confessional Protestant positions on the Catholic Church, (2) developments toward an Ecumenical reassessment, (3) the progress of Protestant and Catholic Dialogue, and (4) the basis for continued rejection of Catholicism by some Protestants.

Reformation Reactions

Both MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN considered themselves reformers within the Catholic Church. They were very slow to allow their followers to set up alternate structures parallel to, and eventually outside of, the Catholic Church of their own era. The AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530) affirmed the episcopal structure of the church as a possibility and carried no criticism of the papacy. It was only after the REGENSBURG COLLOQUY (1541) that the new continental Reformation churches and the Catholic Church of the COUNTER-REFORMATION definitely went their separate ways.

Although the critiques of Catholicism were harsh in the Lutheran and Reformed movements, the ecclesial reality of Roman Catholicism was never wholly excluded. Catholic BAPTISM was recognized and ministers joining the REFORMATION were not reordained. The Scriptures, elements of the sacramental life, and the holiness of some members continued to be recognized. The traditional "ANTICHRIST" epithet of the Middle Ages was used of the papacy and institutions of Catholicism, recognizing that the perversion of what claims to be most holy is the most diabolical element in Christendom.

For the Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) and later gathered churches, like the eighteenth-century BAPTISTS, both magisterial Reformation churches and the Catholic Church were not seen as churches in the proper sense. They were not a gathered community of born-again believers, committed to a common discipline of life, incorporating adult believers through baptism.

The CHURCH OF ENGLAND emerged through struggles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries between its Puritan (see PURITANISM) and more Catholic elements. The Elizabethan Settlement of 1559, and the theological and canonical formulation of RICHARD HOOKER (1554–1600) charted a middle way, in which the claim was made that ANGLICANISM continued the Catholic Church of previous centuries as a branch of Christendom with its episcopal, canonical, and sacramental structures. This view was reinforced by the nineteenth-century OXFORD MOVEMENT. From the beginning of the modern ecumenical movement, Anglicans have been among the strongest advocates of rapprochement with the Roman Catholic "branch" of the church universal.

Reassessment

The nineteenth century brought not only the Anglican reassessment of the Oxford Movement, and attempts to find bridges between the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES and the Catholic Council of Trent (1546–1563). There was also a historical revival and liturgical

renewal that embraced both Protestant and Catholic scholars. Characteristic of this reassessment on the Protestant side was the work of PHILIP SCHAFF (1819–1893) and the Mercersburg Movement (see MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY).

By the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 (see WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE), the Protestant churches were ready to recognize that Latin America was not to be considered a “mission field” because of the presence of the Gospel brought there by the Catholic Church. American missionaries from the historical Protestant churches took a different, less positive view, and organized the 1916 Panama Congress. Pentecostal and evangelicals also saw the Catholic faithful, as well as members of the mainstream Protestant churches, as a fertile mission field (see PENTECOSTALISM, EVANGELICALISM).

However, by 1914 an approach was made to the Vatican on behalf of the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order. It would be a full half century before the Catholic Church would fully commit itself to this ecumenical initiative, although the bridge had been erected that was to create a new context for Protestant evaluations of Catholicism and its ecclesiological reality.

Ecumenical Dialogues

Well before the second Vatican Council (1962–1965), Protestants had begun to engage in dialogue with Catholic theology, collaborate in social ministry, and pursue the common liturgical tradition together. The council raised these relationships to an institutional, ecclesiastical level.

The WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES facilitated Catholic invitations to representatives of the Christian World Communions to be observers at the council. During and after the council, the Anglican Communion, Lutheran World Federation, WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL, and the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES initiated dialogues, all with the goal of full communion. These dialogues have gone through the phase of clarifying differences and proposing agreements, to suggesting stages toward visible unity, and, with some, making concrete decisions along this path.

The BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE, World Evangelical Alliance, Mennonite World Conference, and some Pentecostal churches and leaders have also sponsored dialogues. These dialogues have been devoted to mutual understanding, with no goal of visible unity.

Continued Negative Evaluations

These ecumenical dialogues have not resolved all the outstanding controversial issues, even with the ecumenically minded Protestant churches. Nineteenth-century NATIVISM in the United States, and the theological positions of DISPENSATIONALIST and FUNDAMENTALIST Christians have also provided a more negative view of Catholicism than even the sixteenth-century reformers (see DISPENSATIONALISM, FUNDAMENTALISM). For SOME EVANGELICALS and Pentecostals, Catholicism, like the

ecumenical movement, fits into Eschatological schemes (see ESCHATOLOGY) that make them the harbinger of Christ's second coming at the end of time.

Common concerns over issues like abortion, euthanasia, and family values have given some evangelicals and Catholics a new appreciation of one another's commitments and core elements of the Christian faith. In some parts of the world, cultural divides between Protestants and Catholics are as deep a source of division as are the theological differences.

Given the diversity of views of Catholicism and the hopes of reconciliation by many, "Protestant" becomes a rather fragile designation. Many heirs of the Reformation are as much in "protest" with one another as with the Catholicism from which they emerged.

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JEFFREY GROS

CELIBACY

Celibacy is the temporary or lifelong abstinence from sex, usually out of religious devotion, and many religions have practiced it. Christian celibacy derives from the New Testament in which the Apostle Paul urged celibacy upon all Christians who were able to practice it. Despite this, celibacy was initially not required of the clergy, although it was demanded of women who served the church. Monks and nuns were the first and most committed celibates from the third century. Popes required celibacy from priests and bishops from the fourth century, whereas the Orthodox Churches have continued to allow

priests to be married (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). Celibacy allowed monks, nuns, and the clergy to devote themselves exclusively to the service of God. It helped to achieve a well-ordered soul. Celibacy also prevented what was thought to be the “pollution” caused by sexual intercourse. Celibacy was considered a necessary qualification for sanctity in the Middle Ages. Lapses, especially for priests, were not rare, and the church undertook repeated reforms to enforce the requirement.

MARTIN LUTHER and the other Protestant reformers rejected clerical celibacy as both unbiblical and impossible. Protestants were always deeply suspicious of celibate clerics. In effect Protestants replaced the requirement of celibacy with a requirement of MARRIAGE for the clergy. Differing attitudes toward celibacy clearly demarcated the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Although celibacy is still required by the Catholic Church, the secularization of the modern world has robbed it of its cachet among many Catholics in the West and made it increasingly difficult to recruit men to the priesthood.

Celibacy is a common phenomenon among world-denying religions, for example, Christianity, Hinduism, Taoism, and Buddhism. In the ancient world the Vestal Virgins and Priests of the Great Mother were held to strict celibacy. Greek philosophy provided a rationale for celibacy. Most philosophical schools (e.g., Platonism, Stoicism, Aristotelianism) emphasized the need for the mind to control the body, the passions, and the emotions. As the strongest of desires, sex was viewed as especially problematic. The Pythagoreans favored celibacy, as did some Stoics. The philosophers were chary of matrimony because of the distractions that it involved. Xanthippe, the harridan wife of Socrates, became a symbol of what was to be avoided.

The New Testament

Although Greek philosophy would later inform the Christian celibate ideal, its origins are to be found in the Bible. Most influential was Paul’s advice that Christians abstain from marriage and sex, given the imminent second coming of Christ (I Corinthians 7:25–38). Paul was concerned about the many distractions that married life brings and was celibate (I Corinthians 7:7), although other apostles were not (I Corinthians 9:5).

Jesus instructed his disciples to give up family to follow him (Matthew 19:29). Although Jesus insisted on the inviolability of the marriage bond (Matthew 5:31, 32; 18:3–9; Mark 10:2–12), Jesus also treated the family as an obstacle to discipleship (see Mark 3:21, 31–35; Matthew 8:21,22; Luke 8:19–21). The angels have no marriages, nor will the resurrected (Matthew 22:30; Mark 12:25; Luke 20:35). Jesus also seems to have favored celibacy in this life for those capable of it (Matthew 19:10–12). The patriarchal family of antiquity limited the freedom of its members to join new movements such as Jesus inspired. Because the families of the first generation of followers were Jewish or pagan, freeing individuals from the grip of the family was crucial. Only when families themselves became Christian could they be viewed as pillars of the church.

In both Paul and Jesus there was no disapproval of sex as such, no sense that it was sinful or degrading in itself, but merely that it was a distraction from the commandment to love “God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength” (Mark 12:30; Matthew 22:37; Luke 10:27).

The Deutero-Pauline letters reversed that stance as the Christian community made accommodations to Greco-Roman society (I Timothy 2:2; 3:7; 6:1; Titus 2:9,10). Timothy requires that bishops and deacons be the husbands of one wife (I Timothy 3:1–13), and models the church on the patriarchal household (I Timothy 3:4,5; Titus 1:6–11). Women were to be subordinated to their husbands and would be saved by bearing children. I Timothy 2:11–15 may be directed against Paul’s advice to Corinthians, which assumes that the celibate, and presumably childless, were better prepared to meet the returning Christ. Moreover, if I Corinthians 14:33–35 is in fact not from Paul but rather from the author of Timothy, women were dependent on their husbands for religious guidance. The role of the Greco-Roman *Pater Familias* as priest in his own household was thus transferred to the new Christian community. Timothy did, however, make provision for older widows. These women, who had passed their childbearing years, were to serve the community in their celibate widowhood (I Timothy 5:9–16).

Early Christianity

Some early ascetic Christians (Encratites) did adhere to celibacy as part of their world-denying form of life. Montanism also combined an emphasis on celibacy with prophecy and an uncommon prominence of women, a combination that one sees in Paul. The association of celibacy and the possession of special spiritual powers is found in early MONASTICISM. Although St. Anthony is traditionally viewed as the first monk, the monastic drive embraced many in the third century. When Anthony left for the desert he could entrust his sister to an already existent community of virgins. Individual “virgins” also chose to remain in their family homes.

For those who chose celibacy, it was not a sacrifice, but a liberation. Society’s need to maintain its population and to combat the demographic decline experienced in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages created relentless pressure on each of its members, but particularly women, to reproduce. Sexual desire in the young was the instrument with which society drew them into matrimony and the familial responsibilities that resulted. Wives were expected to bear as many children as possible, while husbands struggled to provide for the family. Social expectations thus became a prison for many, escape from which was made possible by a celibate life. Because women’s lives were very severely constrained to fully exploit their reproductive capacity, celibacy allowed women to exercise some self-determination and to pursue activities that were denied to the married.

In the first three centuries there was no requirement or tradition of clerical celibacy, although some CLERGY assumed a celibate life after raising families and reaching what was considered an advanced age (CLERGY, MARRIAGE OF). At the end of the second century, Tertullian (c. 155 to after 220) praised the many clerics who had embraced a continent life. However, his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria (150 to between 211 and 215) made clear that “All the same, the Church fully receives the husband of one wife whether he be priest or deacon or layman, supposing always that he uses his marriage blamelessly, and such a one shall be saved in the begetting of children” (Stromateis, III, xiii). From at least the second century, the church sought to exclude men from the clergy who had married twice (*digamus*). The Spanish Church Council of Elvira issued the first legislation on celibacy (between 295 and 302). The council ordered the

deposition of any bishop, priest, or deacon who had children with his wife after ordination. An attempt at the first Council of Nicaea (325), however, to extend that requirement to the whole church was rejected. Nonetheless, in 384–386 Popes Damasus and Siricus imposed on all clergy in major orders (Bishop, Presbyter / Priest, Deacon) a vow of celibacy that forbade sex between clergy and their wives on pain of deposition. This papal requirement applied only to Western Christendom. The Orthodox Churches of the East wavered on the extent and rigor of clerical celibacy. The Council in Trullo (692) resolved the matter. It forbade any of the higher orders (bishop, priest, deacon, and subdeacon) to marry after ordination. Bishops were to separate from their wives, but the other orders were enjoined to continue their conjugal duties to their wives. This remains the practice today. Bishops are, in fact, normally chosen from the ranks of the celibate, that is, monks.

There have been many explanations of this requirement, for which the papacy did not claim scriptural warrant. An important consideration concerned the sacral purity of the clergy. In the Old Testament, sexual intercourse made one “impure” in the sense that one was forbidden to enter the Temple precincts. Sexual intercourse was not sinful. It was in fact enjoined elsewhere in the Old Testament. Like the restrictions on foods, these prescriptions arbitrarily established ritual boundaries. Temple priests, who were all married, were required to refrain from sex with their wives during the time that they served the altar. The priesthood was divided in two and each half took turns at the altar for weeklong periods. Christians would argue that because the New Testament and its sacrifice far outshone the Old Testament and its sacrifices, the Christian priesthood was held to a higher standard.

On a more mundane level, some have seen celibacy as a way to protect the property of the increasingly wealthy church from the desire of fathers to bequeath something to their children. Others have seen it as a way to separate and elevate the clergy above the laity. Of course, this would assume already a higher valuation of celibacy over marriage.

Leading figures in both the East (e.g., Chrysostom) and the West (e.g., Jerome, Augustine) had begun to impugn sex and to devalue marriage in comparison to celibacy at precisely this time under the growing influence of Platonism in the church. This had already led Origen (c. 185-c. 254) to take all too literally Christ’s claim that some “have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven” (Matthew 19:12) and to emasculate himself. Augustine (354–430), also a Platonist, argued that original sin was passed on to each human by the sexual act, which since the Fall was always in some way sinful. For Augustine the intensity of sexual pleasure robbed humans of reason and precluded both love of God and love of one’s partner. Only marriage could exonerate this sin, but sin it was nonetheless. Augustine’s combination of the biblical exhortation to exclusive love of God and the Platonic distaste for the carnal would remain powerfully attractive to Christians for more than a millennium.

The ascetic trajectory of the church in late antiquity was not unopposed. St. Jerome (c. 347–419/420), himself a priest and monk, wrote intemperate rejoinders to Helvetius and Jovinianus, both of whom de-nied virginity’s superiority to marriage. Jerome, however, went much further than even his supporters approved. He disparaged marriage rather than merely ranking it below celibacy as a good, but not the highest good. His work also betrays a disturbing misogyny. When these attitudes were combined with a moral interpretation of ritual impurity as sin, the result was a visceral distaste for all things

sexual that illaccorded with God's creation of the two sexes. Jerome's writings were very popular, especially among monks, throughout the Middle Ages.

Helvetius and Jovinianus had also denied the perpetual virginity of the VIRGIN MARY. The virginity of the Mother of God was used to validate the superior status of the celibate and to provide a model of purity for both men and women. As a result, despite at times considerable clerical resistance to the requirement, few questioned the assumption concerning sex. Most heresies, in fact, criticized the church's laxity in both theory and practice. Sexual abstinence and voluntary poverty were the hallmarks of sanctity.

The Middle Ages

Celibacy found its most enduring institutional setting in monasticism. Of the traditional three monastic vows—poverty, chastity, and obedience—celibacy/ chastity was the most constant. The Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia, the model for all later Western monastic rules, maintained the twin goals of self-abnegation and freedom from societal constraints. Benedict was especially concerned to break all the monk's family ties because more monasteries fell victim to the destructive effects of familial loyalty than to sexual impropriety. Both threats were particularly pressing at the end of the Middle Ages, given that the involuntary professions of those placed in monasteries as part of familial strategies produced a weak commitment to the monastic ideals, including celibacy. The resulting abuses contributed to the widespread anticlericalism that fueled the early Reformation.

Despite clear papal and conciliar legislation, clerical celibacy was unevenly practiced in the early Middle Ages. There were many practical difficulties, especially in the countryside. Clerics, and men generally, were not trained to run the household, a task that demanded many skills and ceaseless activity. In the disorders of the age, supervision of the clergy often lapsed, and the power of lay nobles to appoint priests and even bishops did not always produce the most committed incumbents. In the ninth and tenth centuries the collapse of the Carolingian Empire and invasions by Arabs, Magyars, and Norsemen brought a new low in the quality of the clergy. The Gregorian Reform of the eleventh and twelfth centuries targeted clerical marriage. The pervasiveness and widespread acceptance of clerical marriage initially forced the reformers to allow priests who were already married to retain their wives while forbidding any new priests from marrying. Despite clerical resistance, some of it from the learned elite, the papacy and its lay allies made celibacy once again the recognized standard, even if one that was often not met. The First Lateran Council (1123) marks their triumph. It made clerical marriage simply impossible. Clerics could not contract a marriage under any circumstances. Whereas the earlier tradition had punished married clergy with deposition, the new legislation refused to recognize these unions as marriages at all. They were reduced to "concubinage" and the children branded as illegitimate. Furthermore, "concubines" and their children were declared to be the slaves or serfs of the Church, although there is little or no evidence that this was ever enforced. Despite these draconian measures, clerical celibacy was never universal. The rigor of its application varied from region to region. In England celibacy seems to have been the norm, but in some parts of Germany in the fourteenth century approximately half of the parish priests seem to have been "married." Interestingly, an

association of South German priests called for the abolition of mandatory celibacy in the early nineteenth century, before being suppressed by the Papacy. Such resistance was exceedingly rare after the reformation, given that rejection of clerical celibacy was considered a peculiarly Protestant “error.”

The Protestant Reformation

The first real challenge to the ideal of celibacy, as opposed to the practice, came from Martin Luther and other Protestant Reformers. Luther began by impugning the power of the papacy, a human institution, to impose the burden of celibacy on the clergy when God had not done so. The Catholic Church admitted that there was no biblical injunction demanding clerical celibacy, but argued that the Church did have the power to impose on the clergy disciplinary regulations that reflected biblical norms and values. Thus, the real disagreement concerned the value and viability of celibacy itself. For Luther, celibacy constituted a rare exception, not the norm. Given the fallen state of humanity, the ability to restrain one’s sexual desires could result only from a special gift of God, something that Luther did not expect to be frequent. Catholic theology was more optimistic about human nature, especially after BAPTISM, and claimed that such self-control was not altogether rare. Furthermore, Catholics thought God more profligate with his grace. Both through ordination and the ongoing bestowal of grace, God gave each cleric the resources to bear his celibate state, if he so chose.

However, disagreement was even more fundamental since Luther and other Protestants established and praised marriage as the new norm. They appealed to the Deutero-Pauline epistles against Paul himself. Combining Timothy/Titus and Peter with the Old Testament, the Protestant reformers promoted a triumphant patriarchalism. They lent a new dignity and importance to the married woman and mother, but they also abolished any alternative to marriage and motherhood for respectable women. The usually Augustinian Luther even disagreed with Augustine by rehabilitating conjugal sex as a gift of God and a weapon against the DEVIL. Martin Luther’s openly expressed joy in family life and in marital sex was unprecedented and found few imitators. English Puritans (see PURITANISM), however, also warmly praised conjugal intercourse, something that may seem surprising considering their otherwise dour reputation. In any event, the Catholic requirement of clerical celibacy was replaced by a Protestant insistence on clerical marriage. Monastic houses, nonetheless, continued in some Protestant German regions to house supernumerary daughters of the upper classes. Protestant theologians also preached the virtues of virginity for the many women of all classes who through no fault of their own remained unmarried.

England remained an anomaly for much of the sixteenth century. Despite his break with Rome, HENRY VIII (1509–1547) remained Catholic in many ways, including the insistence of a celibate clergy. In the Six Articles (1539), he reaffirmed clerical celibacy and vows of chastity. The Forty-Two Articles (1552) under his Protestant successor Edward VI (1547–1553) specifically allowed priests and bishops to marry. However, popular resistance was such that the government felt it necessary to pass a bill that declared clerical marriage superior to celibacy and not just a necessary concession. After the Catholic Queen Mary (1553–1558), the triumph of Protestant Elizabeth I (1558–

1603) reaffirmed the legality of clerical marriages. However, Elizabeth herself disapproved of it and forbade clerical wives at court.

The Catholic Council of Trent pointedly reaffirmed the value and superiority of celibacy. An explosion of new religious orders shows that popular veneration for sexual renunciation had by no means diminished in large parts of Europe. Official models for sanctity were most often clergy, monks, friars, or nuns vowed to celibacy. Attitudes toward celibacy thus became some of the most important markers distinguishing Catholicism and Protestantism.

An interesting measure of the differences separating them concerned the virginity of Mary, the mother of Jesus. For the Catholic Church, Mary was “ever virgin,” physically intact both before and after the birth of Jesus. Increasingly, Protestant theologians contested that and argued that biblical references to the brothers and sisters of Jesus told another story. At the very least, Scripture never ascribed perpetual virginity to Mary.

Protestant antagonism toward Catholicism often took the form of scandalous “exposes” of the sexual abuse of women by supposedly celibate confessors, or of debauched nuns whose nunneries served as brothels for their monastic and clerical “brothers.” Catholics, in turn, retold stories of Protestant mockery of the Virgin Mary and the sexual abuse of defenseless nuns. Such Protestant and Catholic topoi survived well into the twentieth century.

The Modern World

Attitudes toward sex, marriage, and celibacy were not unchanging, however. Catholic theology and pastoral practice came to place greater weight on mutuality of love and pleasure that husband and wife owed to each other. This evolution seems to have begun with the Jesuit Order and may have contributed to their reputation as lax confessors, a charge often made by the Augustinian rigorist and ascetic Jansenists in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century St. Alfonsus Liguori, the most influential of Catholic pastoral theologians of the modern era, also laid great emphasis on love and mutuality in marriage and in marital sexual relations. Whether consciously or not, the Jesuit and Liguorian initiatives served as part of the Catholic Church’s campaign, after being robbed of its societal and legal hegemony by secularism and revolution in much of Europe, to reestablish its influence on society on the basis of the Catholic family. This shift is reflected in the prominence given Joseph and Mary as models for mothers and fathers.

Catholic developments dovetailed nicely with the romanticization of domestic life in Protestant societies in the nineteenth century. Interestingly, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Protestant sects like the SHAKERS and the Ephrata community embraced celibacy, often together with a strong emphasis on the workings of the spirit, a combination that was common in the ancient Church, as we have seen. Monastic orders also reappeared in England in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The twentieth century, however, saw further erosion of celibacy. More conservative Protestant denominations maintained their traditional devotion to the patriarchal family, the role of woman as wife and mother, and the glorification of what has come to be called “family values” toward the end of the century. Interestingly, in this they closely agreed with conservative Catholics and the papacy. More liberal Protestant denominations have

accepted a more permissive attitude toward sex, allowing more easily for divorce, and often according legitimacy to homosexuality and homosexual intercourse.

The Catholic retention of celibacy as an honored option suffered in the West from the pervasive secularism. Self-denial in any form, but especially sexual self-denial, seemed perverse, or at least anachronistic. The deliberations and decrees of the Second Vatican Council designed to open the Catholic Church to the modern world unintentionally undermined the prestige and appeal of the celibate life. Priests, monks, and nuns left the celibate life in great numbers to marry. Love and service to the neighbor took clear priority over love for God, or simply subsumed it. Catholic moral theology glorified the affective and sexual union of marriage as profoundly sacramental, that is, as a source of grace and as a “sign” of God’s love for human beings. In such a theological climate, it is not surprising that fewer in the West are willing to embrace the celibate life. Celibacy continues, however, to be revered in the Catholic Church outside the West, where most Catholics now live, although it does encounter some resistance in some cultures (e.g., in Africa). Not surprisingly, the number of vocations to the priesthood in the non-Western Church has not suffered the catastrophic decline that plagues the Western Church.

The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) made provision for married deacons and some hoped to see the requirement of clerical celibacy abolished. However, Pope Paul VI (1963–1978) reaffirmed clerical celibacy in 1967 and his successor John Paul II (1978–) is a fervent defender of the institution. It remains an important pillar of a Catholicism that also retains the traditional reverence for the priesthood, the sacraments, and the Virgin Mary.

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R.MMET MCLAUGHLIN

CHALMERS, THOMAS (1780–1847)

Scottish presbyterian minister, theologian, and political economist. Thomas Chalmers is best known for his pioneering efforts to revive the parish ministry in industrial society, and for his leading role in the Disruption of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND in 1843. He was born on March 17, 1780, in the small coastal burgh of Anstruther, in Fife, where his father was a merchant and his mother was active in charitable work. Here young Chalmers grew up amid the close communal culture of preindustrial SCOTLAND, in which a sense of mutual responsibility united the social orders. Educated at St. Andrews and Edinburgh Universities, he was ordained to the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1803. His early ministry of the rural parish of Kilmarnock in Fife was not a success. Influenced by the ethos of the ENLIGHTENMENT, he neglected his pastoral duties while he pursued, unsuccessfully, a university appointment in mathematics or natural science. Then in 1810–1811, after a prolonged illness, he experienced a conversion to an intense Evangelical piety (see EVANGELICALISM). He soon established a reputation as a fiery preacher, proclaiming the vanity of worldly ambition when set against the prospect of eternal life.

In 1815 Chalmers was appointed to the Tron parish in the industrializing city of Glasgow. Distressed by the poverty he encountered in Glasgow, he became convinced that the main cause of urban deprivation was the breakdown of community in the overcrowded urban parishes. His response was to work to revive the traditional parish system in the urban environment. His urban parish work included two main principles: first, what he termed “aggression,” or regular house-to-house visiting among the parishioners; and second, “territoriality,” or the subdivision of crowded urban parishes, many of which had populations of 10,000 or more, into small neighborhood districts of about 400 inhabitants, in which pastoral supervision would be more feasible. His aim was to re-create in the new industrial environment the communal culture that he had known in his youth in Anstruther. In 1819 he became minister of a newly formed working-class Glasgow parish, St. John’s, where the civic authorities gave him a free hand to pursue his parish plans. Subdividing the large parish into twenty-five districts, he recruited an activist parish agency of elders and deacons, and assigned an elder and deacon to visit regularly in each district. The elders were to promote moral and religious values, and encourage regular church and school attendance. The deacons were to oversee social welfare. In particular, deacons were to reduce dependency on legal poor relief among the

laboring orders by promoting thrift, delayed marriage, and communal sharing. Chalmers also established a system of Sunday and weekday schools (see **SECONDARY SCHOOLS**), for the education of the parish youth, and held Sunday evening services, which laboring people were encouraged to attend in their work clothes. His St. John's "experiment" in urban ministry had considerable success in promoting social responsibility, and it attracted widespread interest.

In 1823 Chalmers left the parish ministry for an academic career, becoming first professor of moral philosophy at St. Andrews University and then, after 1828, professor of divinity at Edinburgh University. In his lectures and voluminous writings in social theology, he sought to demonstrate the workings of providence in social and economic organization. From about 1831 he was the acknowledged leader of the Evangelical party, and under his leadership the Evangelicals in 1834 gained the ascendancy in the Church of Scotland. Chalmers now worked to revive the parish system on a national level, seeking to transform Scotland into a "godly commonwealth" of close-knit parish communities modeled on his St. John's experiment. Between 1834 and 1841 he led a national church extension campaign, which collected voluntary donations and erected over 220 new churches in Scotland, mainly in the new towns and cities. Chalmers combined this church-building campaign with petitions to Parliament to provide endowments to the new churches. Endowments, he insisted, would be necessary to enable the new churches to pursue a pastoral mission among the poorest inhabitants of the industrializing districts. However, in 1838 Parliament refused to provide the endowments, and his church extension campaign waned.

In the later 1830s his efforts to revive the established church were also overshadowed by a bitter dispute between church and state over lay patronage in the appointment of parish ministers (see **CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW**). According to the civil law of Scotland, patrons, mainly the monarch or large landowners, had the right to appoint ministers to vacant parish churches. In 1834 the Evangelical-dominated General Assembly had acted to give parishioners a voice in ministerial appointments, by permitting a majority of male heads of family in a parish to veto a patron's candidate, if they conscientiously believed that the candidate would not be acceptable as their minister. The civil courts, however, proclaimed this "veto" to be an illegal encroachment on the civil rights of patrons. The courts threatened the clergy of the Church of Scotland with fines and imprisonment unless they ignored the wishes of parishioners and participated in the ordination of patrons' candidates, whereas Parliament gave its support to the courts. Chalmers and the Evangelicals refused to back down, insisting that a Christian people must have a voice in the selection of their ministers.

The struggle of church and state culminated at the Disruption of 1843, when Chalmers led over a third of the clergy and perhaps half the lay membership out of the Church of Scotland to form the **FREE CHURCH**. They gave up the endowed incomes, churches, manses, and parish schools of the established church, and undertook to build a free national church through voluntary contributions. Chalmers played a leading role in the financial organization of the Free Church, which within five years of the Disruption had erected over 730 churches, 500 schools, and 400 manses. He also served as the principal and professor of divinity of New College, the Free Church seminary for the training of ministers, and continued his urban mission work in a deprived district of Edinburgh. Chalmers died on May 30, 1847. His Christian social vision, and above all his

conscientious stand in 1843 for the independence of the church from state control, have continued to influence Protestantism in the North Atlantic world.

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STEWART J. BROWN

CHANNING, WILLIAM ELLERY (1780–1842)

North American Unitarian. William Ellery Channing played an important role in developing New England Unitarianism during the early to mid-nineteenth century. He was born into a wealthy family in Newport, Rhode Island on April 7, 1780. After graduating from Harvard in 1798, he returned there in 1802 to prepare for the ministry. From his ordination in 1803 until his death on October 2, 1842, Channing held a pastorate at the Federal Street Church in Boston.

Channing's sermons and writings epitomized the controversial LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM of his era. In his 1819 ordination sermon, "Unitarian Christianity," Channing categorized human nature as essentially good; thus conflicting with orthodox Calvinists who saw humanity as helplessly flawed due to original sin. In "A Moral Argument against Calvinism" (1820), Channing argued against the traditional Trinitarian doctrine. He posited that Jesus was not God, but rather a spiritual and moral exemplar sent by God to those craving the Holy Spirit.

Channing's theological statements found support from many like-minded ministers. In 1820 he organized the Berry St. Conference of Ministers, which eventually gave birth to the AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION in 1825. Channing also assisted in developing the *Christian Register* (est. 1821), a Unitarian journal. Besides making some important theological contributions, Channing also addressed the arts. In "Remarks on National Literature" (1830), he declared that American writers needed to create a unique style. Channing's thoughts influenced the Transcendentalists, such as RALPH WALDO EMERSON and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. "Self-Culture" (1838) typified

Channing's later work, which focused keenly on social matters, such as abolition of slavery, labor reform, and public education.

See also Arminianism; Slavery, Abolition of; Calvinism; Orthodoxy; Sin

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ARTHUR J. REMILLARD

CHAO, T.C. (CHAO TZU-CHEN, ZHAO ZICHEN) (1898–1979)

Chinese theologian. T.C. Chao was China's outstanding Protestant theologian of the first half of the twentieth century, as well as a leading educator and church leader. He was also a prominent ecumenical figure and was elected one of the first presidents of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) at Amsterdam in 1948. T.C. Chao resigned that position in protest over the WCC's stance on the Korean War. In the mid-1950s, he came under political attack in China, and fell into obscurity until after the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Born in Deqing, China, in 1898, Chao received a classical education and graduated from Soochow (Dongwu) University in 1910. He studied at Vanderbilt University from 1914 to 1917, where he received both a B.D. and an M.A. On his return to China, he taught first at Soochow University and then moved to Yenching (Yanjing) University in Beijing, where he served as professor of theology and dean of the School of Religion from 1928 to 1952. He was ordained an Anglican deacon and priest in Hong Kong in 1941.

Chao was a pioneer in the contextualization of Chinese theology, and he challenged the church by continuing to question the relevance of Christian faith to society and CULTURE. His work moved from the liberalism of his earlier writings, such as *Life of Jesus* (1935), to the influence of NEOORTHODOXY in *An Interpretation of Christianity* (1947), to the personal or even mystical reflections in *My Experience in Prison* (1948). Chao's theological writings—a dozen books and hundreds of essays, speeches and poems—reveal his classical education and Buddhist upbringing, as well as a hopeful response to the political and social movements of his time.

In his last years, Chao distanced himself from his earlier Christian beliefs and wrote that he had failed as a theologian. But by the twenty-first century, he was again being

studied in China and the West, and a complete collection of his writings is being prepared in Beijing. Chao died in Beijing in 1979.

See also China; Theology, Twentieth Century Global; Anglicanism

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PHILIP L. WICKERI

CHAPLAINCY

Introduction

Chaplaincy has been variously defined, but for our present purpose it is Christian ministry that takes place primarily in or is related to an institution. It is a ministry therefore that does not take place within the normal parochial or congregational setting, but it is carried out largely, though not wholly, by ordained members of the church.

The word we use for CLERGY working in such settings, "chaplain," is derived from the Latin *capella* meaning cloak. Tradition holds that the fourth-century saint, Martin of Tours, divided his cloak to share with a beggar one cold night. After Martin's death his half of the cloak became a relic and the priests who guarded it became known as "capellani" or chaplains in English. What is especially interesting in this story for contemporary chaplains, is that etymologically the word comes from a situation of pastoral care, driven by religious devotion, directed toward one in need.

History of Chaplaincy

There is a long history of clergy working full-time, in a stipendiary capacity, outside the parochial or congregational systems. In the United States the parochial system owes much to the heritage of the church in ENGLAND and other European countries. The parochial system was first sketched out in England by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (died c. 690), drawing on patterns already established on the Continent. Theodore's plan was to establish that defined geographical areas should each have a parish church and a resident priest (*ibi ecclesia et presbyter*). Since the beginnings of the formation of the parish system, clergy have served outside parishes or regular congregations as cathedral staff, archdeacons, bishops' chaplains, domestic chaplains to

families, and as chantry priests amongst others. None of these clergy, however, could easily be described as “chaplains” in the sense used above. Nevertheless, their existence does remind us that parochial or congregational clergy have not been the only expression of the church’s ordained ministry.

In addition to these ordained ministers, other clergy for centuries have also ministered in three particular settings: the army and navy; hospitals; and prisons. The larger medieval households contained regular garrisons of soldiers and these often required the attention of a designated cleric to act as chaplain. Although there was a long history of bishops, priests, and other clergy engaging in wars as combatants, priests also accompanied armies into battle as noncombatant pastors as early as the Battle of Crecy (1346) and on ships of the English fleet at Cadiz (1597). Clergy, especially the monastic orders, were intimately involved in setting up medieval institutions that ministered to the sick and the dying. Many charitable foundations, such as almshouses or lazah houses (dedicated to caring for those with leprosy), had nonparochial clergy working in them. In all such places the boundaries between physical care and spiritual care were blurred. Chaplains were also appointed to the newly built British prisons of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries where they ministered to the condemned, administered the sacraments, and organized welfare and education programs. They also exercised a statutory function where they were required to meet all prisoners on their entry to and exit from jail.

The range and numbers of clergy working outside the parochial system was not insignificant. Nevertheless, for the most part people in Europe, and later in other places in the world, were ministered to by a member of the parish clergy who lived among them and whose own life was thus closely linked to theirs. This was the pattern of pastoral care that most people experienced most of the time. The parish system lasted without much alteration, despite the REFORMATION, until the onset of the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century. Until this time it was quite usual for a person to receive the occasional offices of the church: BAPTISM, MARRIAGE, and funeral (see FuNERARY RITES), in the church of the parish where they were born, lived, worked, and died. Although there was some degree of mobility, people lived fairly static lives. An examination of the marriage registers from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the effects of INDUSTRIALIZATION began to be felt, shows that marriage partners were drawn from a much wider area than had hitherto been the case. The urbanization and mechanization that the Industrial Revolution brought had obvious consequences for the church. As a significant part of the population shifted from small, intimate villages to the new, impersonal cities and towns the attachment of the people to the local parish church weakened. Links with a particular church building and with a particular member of the clergy were damaged. As the century progressed attachment to the church diminished still further. By the beginning of the twentieth century large swathes of the population had little or no contact with the church or its ordained representatives.

The experience of the First World War (1914–1918), however, profoundly affected the religious mood of North America, Europe, and elsewhere. Few chaplains were recruited at the start of the war, as the expectation was that the conflict would soon be over. Although many of the men thought that the “Godbotherers” had no place in the trenches, many others had fond affection for chaplains such as Philip “Tubby” Clayton and Geoffrey Studdart-Kennedy (known as “Woodbine Willie” because of his distribution of

cigarettes to the troops). Because of such experiences many of the armed forces around the world came to feel that there was a need for greater, permanent provision of chaplains to meet the needs of the military community. By the conclusion of the Second World War (1939–1945) such provision was regarded as commonplace, and when peace was declared many former service personnel and church leaders thought that the experience of having chaplains involved in every aspect of the life of an institution might be replicated in a civilian environment.

Expressions of Chaplaincy

In the last sixty years, in addition to the historic spheres of chaplaincy (armed forces, hospitals, prisons), new expressions of Christian ministry in and to particular institutions have emerged both within Protestantism (including ANGLICANISM), Roman Catholicism, and to a lesser extent Orthodoxy (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). Chaplains are now established in a wide variety of institutions and in various sectors of society. Chaplains are to be found in such areas as schools, universities, industry (either generally or in specific parts of it), agriculture, airports, the emergency services, railways, SPORTS, and the legal profession. Although this is by no means an exhaustive list of the current areas of activity it does at least give a flavor of the range of spheres in which chaplains carry out their Christian ministry. However, just as it might be regarded as a mistake to talk of parochial or congregationally based ministry as if it were a single, homogeneous whole, talking of “chaplaincy” generically is even more complex given the wide range of provision. Nevertheless, as thumbnail sketches the following points do warrant particular mention.

One important consideration when looking at chaplaincy is the differences between the work of full-time and part-time chaplains. Full-time chaplains work solely outside the parochial or congregational ministry. Chaplains who work in an institution or in a particular sector of society see their ministry as being both to the institution and to the individuals who work within it. Some chaplains may feel that it is easier for them to understand the structures and more fully appreciate the life of the institution if they work in the institution full-time. They may feel that this increases their identification with those who work there and gives greater opportunity for chaplains to be accepted as part of the institution. Other chaplains, however, may feel that being part-time brings its own merits, such as allowing the chaplain to make significant links with the wider community or ensuring that the chaplain does not get institutionalized and fail to relate primarily to the church. Some ministers who work full-time as chaplains may work part-time in more than one institution or work in a sector (such as industry) where they visit more than one place each week. They may therefore see themselves as full-time chaplains but be perceived by others as part-time.

The naming of chaplaincy has caused some difficulties. Some chaplains feel that the title of nonparochial or noncongregational ministry means that their work is defined by what it is not rather than by what it is. Some such chaplains have chosen therefore to call themselves “sector ministers” because they minister to a sector or segment of society. Other chaplains feel that such adoption limits the scope of this ministry and that chaplains can fall into the trap of seeing their ministry as restricted to only one part of the people of

God. Some chaplains and some church documents have called chaplaincy a “specialized” ministry; what is meant here is that chaplaincy often calls for a particular body of knowledge or skill if one is to minister adequately. It might be difficult, for instance, to be a good chaplain in a prison if one did not know enough of the workings of the penal system to be able to relate effectively to staff and inmates. Other clergy, who do not work as chaplains, naturally feel that the labeling “specialized” demeans their own work, given that it suggests that parish- or congregation-based ministry is not itself specialized or particular.

It is interesting to note that even chaplains’ labeling within their sphere of work may sometimes reveal something about how the chaplains perceive their work or how they are regarded by others. A chaplain described as chaplain *to* an institution might indicate that the position is funded by the church and the chaplain may thus be seen as a guest within the institution. A chaplain described as chaplain *of* an institution may well be paid by the institution itself and may thus be seen in the institution as “one of us.” Increasingly chaplains are choosing to adopt the more neutral term chaplain *at* an institution. Such labeling is widely used by others in institutions. It is more likely, for instance, that nurses at a hospital would describe themselves as nurses *at* the hospital, than nurses *of* the hospital.

Some Issues Arising from Chaplaincy

One major issue that chaplains have to face (or at least should face) is that of identification with the institution. The question of who pays the chaplain, although giving some indication as to the value the chaplain’s role is given, also raises the question of allegiance. Chaplains might, for instance, feel that “he who pays the piper calls the tune” and thus give primary allegiance to the institutions that pay them, be it the church or institution in which they work. Even if the acknowledgment is not as obvious as this, chaplains can succumb to what we might call creeping institutionalization. Here, over time chaplains may become so inculcated into the life and work of the institution that they fail to see its faults and become unable to offer an adequately Christian critique of the institution’s working practices.

The fine balance between identification with and unquestioning acceptance of an institution is related to the possible tensions that chaplains can experience in this role. Chaplains might feel that they should be whistle-blowers against individuals or the institution in certain situations and this will obviously have implications for the position of neutrality that some chaplains feel they should have. Indeed, neutrality itself has been questioned and there are some who believe that chaplains should ask, “Whose side are we on?” If a chaplain in a mental health hospital sees abuse taking place, for instance, or a military chaplain witnesses a potential war crime, what should the chaplain do? Is remaining quiet really an option? Related to this, some have argued that the holding of rank in military situations compromises the work of chaplains because there is immediately a stronger identification with the officer class than other ranks. Indeed, even the presence of chaplains, paid by the state, confuses the separation of church and state where this is constitutionally required. Similarly, chaplains in educational settings may feel that a teaching role, although adding to full participation in the life of an institution,

means that their pastoral effectiveness is compromised because they also are part of student assessment.

One certain benefit that many chaplains experience from their work is the greater intimacy ministers feel they have with those among whom they work. Because the numbers of people in many of the institutions are relatively small when compared to the numbers who live within areas that are defined in parochial or congregational settings, chaplains can become better known than might otherwise be the case. Chaplaincy can offer the prospect of daily contact with the same group of people and this may well have pastoral benefits.

ECUMENISM and interfaith relations are often more easily established and built on within chaplaincy than in other areas of the church's ministry. Many institutions that have a chaplaincy provision draw the chaplains from a range of denominational backgrounds and, increasingly, from other faith backgrounds too. Daily work with such colleagues helps foster a greater understanding of the other's faith and its expression. Those in a parochial or congregational setting may not be so fortunate as this. Dialogue with those of another denomination or faith opens up exciting possibilities for the chaplain, the institution, and the wider church and society.

Conclusion

Clergy working outside the normative structures of parochial or congregational ministry have a long and distinguished history in the life of the church. Although there have been chaplains in some spheres for centuries, much of contemporary chaplaincy is in part a response to the changing circumstances and increased SECULARIZATION of the modern world. The fragmentation of modern living (we live in one place, work in another, and take our leisure in others) has meant that attachment to the local church has weakened. At its best, however, the work of chaplaincy helps the church to more easily engage with the challenges of the society the church seeks to serve. Chaplaincy represents the church to the world and the world to the church and thus it helps ensure that the church is fully enmeshed in the complexities and intimacies of the modern society.

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GILES LEGOOD

CHARITY

Terminology and Origin

Definitions of “charity” include (1) older synonym for Christian love, (2) specific act of kindness, (3) organization devoted to assistance of the needy and amelioration of society, (4) ethical criterion of behavior, (5) major aspect of Christian character/theological virtue/sanctification, (6) characteristic of the Church, and (7) the divine nature. “Charity” is the early modern English translation of New Testament *agape* (see the precepts of charity in Mark 12:28–31, Matthew 22:36–40, Luke 10:25–28, I Corinthians 13), by way of the Latin Vulgate’s *caritas*. As distinct from other Greek terms (*philia*, *eros*, *storge*), the New Testament term avoided overtones of lust, mere comradeship, or familiarity, but in English the word “charity” came to have equally negative associations of institutional beneficence without humane personal respect; hence the proverbial expression, “as cold as charity,” or “I don’t want to depend on charity.” Nineteenth-century and later Bible versions, and devotional literature since at least the eighteenth century, prefer the expression “love.”

Works of Charity, Individual and Institutional

Even in English, “charity” has survived also in a more positive sense of works of individual kindness for the needy, and of organizations for the relief of need. The medieval Church’s commitment to care of the poor and enslaved continued through the Reformation into all churches, Roman Catholic and Protestant. The nineteenth century in particular saw a vast growth in Christian charitable organizations in most churches, to meet the needs of increasingly industrialized and urbanized society in Europe and America. Among Protestant churches, these organizations often took the form of new religious orders (Sisters of the People, Sisters of the Children, in British Methodism, for instance), on lines comparable with the vowed communities of Roman Catholicism, but with a different understanding of vows, and no suggestion that the vowed life is necessary to evangelical perfection. Combined with these moves went the rediscovery of diaconal ministry, and of the Order of Deacon as a vocation in its own right and not merely as an obligatory career stage preparatory to the presbyterate—this rediscovery was pioneered in the German Evangelical Churches (for example, by the Lutheran Wilhelm Löhe at Neuendettelsau in Hessen).

Charity as a Divinely Commanded Criterion of Behavior

The Commandments of Charity have already been mentioned. They feature both in the Hebrew Bible (Leviticus 19:18, 34), and next, as “the first and great commandment in the law, and the second...like to it,” in the New Testament, (Romans 13:9; Timothy 1:5, as well as the cited Gospel verses). Paul’s comment is that the second commandment covers all the prohibitions of wrong and hurtful behavior. Charity guides decisions by looking to the best results of our plans; by treating the neighbor as our equal or superior in need, and by pointing away from revenge or resentment to forgiveness.

Charity as a Hallmark of Christian Character, Theological Virtue, Essence of Sanctification

I Corinthians 13 describes charity not as a discrete act or series of acts, but as an enduring feature of personal character, together with faith and hope (some Protestant moral theology continues the medieval categorization of these as the three “theological” virtues, as distinct from the “cardinal” virtues of the Aristotelianbased scholastic theology). All Protestant moral teaching requires a vision of Christian maturation in which charity, springing from faith, is paramount (Luther’s *quellende Liebe*, “love springing up like a fountain”): this charity, like faith itself, is a grateful response to redeeming love, and; also like faith, is itself a divine gift, not a human achievement. Charity is a reflection in the redeemed creature of the character of the Creator-and-Redeemer, and is therefore an aspect of the divine image, intended by the Creator from the beginning, lost in the Fall, and restored in redemption. Lutheran and Reformed (and Methodist) views differ in emphasis at this point: Lutherans are careful to insist that the believer never passes the need for justification, while Methodists and Reformed traditionally assert that God works an inherent sanctifying change in the believer. Methodist and other Holiness theologies see the essence of this change as a gift of transforming love, and that it is possible even in this life for God so to transform a personality that no motive other than love may become dominant in that person—although the gift may be forfeited by loss or relinquishment of faith, and require renewal.

Charity: The Vocation and Nature of the Church

From New Testament times, the Christian Church has known itself to be called to be a community of mutual charity, an instrument of charity for society in general, for unbelievers as well as believers. In all traditions, ministry and local structures have been defined by purposes of charity: Protestant examples are churchwardens and care of the poor, Methodist Poor Stewards, prison visitors, and grief support groups. Charity is, in Protestant understanding, the overriding purpose of CHURCH LAW and the sole basis of ecumenism.

Charity: The Divine Nature

In individual and corporate sanctification, in the Church, and in all creation, charity is the response to divine redemptive mercy, which response is itself possible only as the gift and self-bestowing act of the Trinity, whose very nature is the mutual indwelling of love.

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DAVID H. TRIPP

CHERBURY, EDWARD LORD HERBERT OF (c. 1582–1648)

English philosopher. Recognized as the father of English DEISM, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury (born March 3, ca. 1582, at Eyton-on-Severn, Shropshire and died August 1648 in London) was in his lifetime far more noted—as a politician, diplomat, and author—than his younger brother GEORGE HERBERT, the poet and country priest. Despite the latter’s greater fame today, the influence of Edward’s Deist thought has remained considerable on religion and politics of the subsequent centuries.

Educated at Oxford in classics and languages, Herbert began his maturity as parliamentarian, then soldier, traveler, frequent dueler, and lover on the Continent. In 1619 he became ambassador to FRANCE, a post that embroiled him in religious conflicts between Protestants and Catholics. Although loyal to the Protestant cause throughout,

Herbert's motivations were political rather than religious. Nevertheless, his thought arose from his experience with these "wars of religion."

The main notions of Herbert's religious philosophy are stated in his *De Veritate* (*Concerning Truth*) of 1624, written with the inspiration of Hugo Grotius, who had just written a *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (*Concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion*), and published partly at his instance, partly by divine sanction, as Herbert himself claimed. Although Hugo's work was a plea for peace and tolerance among Christians—and in its nonsectarian THEOLOGY a forerunner of C.S. Lewis's *Mere Christianity*—Edward's book extended the common denominator to all religions. Instead of arguing for a universal Christianity, he advocated natural religion not only as preparation for revealed religion, but the whole of truth indeed. Herbert's work draws from ancient skepticism revived in sixteenth-century religious debates, but in an opposite direction from fideism, which replaces reason with FAITH: What cannot be agreed upon as certain truth, he argued, cannot be affirmed DOCTRINE. Herbert makes "common notions" the basis of religion. These are the fruit of "natural instinct," which is much more reliable and universally valid than "discursive reasoning"—the source of much gratuitous error. Only what is common to all is easily believed and should be taken as essential truth for all. For Herbert this truth constitutes five elements: (1) the existence of God, (2) the rightful worship thereof, (3) consisting principally of virtuous living, (4) the default of which requires repentance, (5) and the success of which determines the afterlife. As for special revelation, Herbert views it under the category of TRADITION and history—separate from truth—in the realm of probability. Only revelation to oneself, like individual reason, holds as valid.

In his later writings Herbert expands these fundamental views. In *De Religione Laici*, he blames priests for propagating religious errors and counsels their correction by reasonable lay thinking. Then in *De Religione Gentilium* he salvages from the pagan religions the five essential points of religion from his first book, whereas in the *Dialogue* he explicitly attacks revealed religion. In sum Herbert's thought was a secular development on earlier discussions of Nikolaus Cusanus, Guardano Bruno, and Hugo Grotius, and became foun-dational, through his follower CHARLES BLOUNT, in ENLIGHTENMENT Deism and beyond.

See also Collins, Anthony; Hobbes, Thomas; Kant, Immanuel; Jefferson, Thomas; Tindal, Matthew; Toland, John; Toleration

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DAVID LIU

CHILDHOOD

The study of children and childhood is a growing area of inquiry in a number of academic disciplines. It has developed well beyond those fields that have typically devoted attention to children, such as education and child development, to include history, political science, law, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, religious studies, and theology. Rising interdisciplinary interest in children and childhood was prompted in part by the influential study by Philippe Ariès, originally published in French in 1960 and translated two years later as *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. Ariès convincingly showed that conceptions of childhood and even the experience of being a child vary and change over time. Although historians have challenged many of his specific findings, his work has motivated scholars in several fields to reexamine the development and experiences of children and to explore conceptions of children and childhood in various periods of history and within diverse cultures.

Biblical Perspectives

Christian conceptions of childhood and attitudes and behaviors toward children are also complex and diverse, reflecting the particular historical, cultural, and theological contexts in which they develop. These varied attitudes and behaviors are also based in part on the diverse and sometimes paradoxical notions about children found in the Bible. Some biblical texts speak of children as gifts of God, signs of God's blessing, and sources of joy. Others depict children as ignorant and capricious and in need of instruction and discipline. Several biblical passages command parents to teach their children the faith. Other passages address obligations of the community to children, especially the poor and orphans. In New Testament epistles, children are commanded to obey their parents, and fathers are urged not to provoke their children to anger but to "bring them up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord" (Ephesians 6:1–4). In the Gospels, children are depicted in striking, even radical ways. At a time when children occupied a low position in society, Jesus receives children, blesses them, touches them, and heals them. He is indignant toward those who have contempt for them. He even equates welcoming a little child in his name to welcoming himself and the One who sent him. Furthermore, he depicts children as models for adults of entering the reign of God, as models of faith, and as vehicles of revelation. The ways in which Christians have wrestled with these diverse biblical texts and the particular texts that they eventually either incorporate into their

theology or neglect determine in part their particular perspectives on childhood and their understanding of their obligations to children themselves.

Historical Perspectives

In the history of Protestantism, childhood has been viewed both as a stage in life before adulthood as well as a metaphor for spiritual maturity. In regard to the former, almost all Protestant theologians have emphasized that children are sinful and in need of instruction. However, their particular conceptions and treatment of children vary. The notion that children are sinful is deeply tied to Protestant understandings of the fall and original SIN. Some scholars have assumed that regarding children as sinful inevitably leads to the punishment and even abuse of children. Yet this is not the case. Although some Protestants in the past and even today emphasize that because children are sinful they should be physically punished and their “wills must be broken,” and although there are dark chapters in the history of Christianity of the brutal treatment and abuse of children, other Protestants who have also viewed children as sinful have treated children with compassion and have created positive social and ecclesiastical reforms on their behalf. Thus, any view of children as sinful must be examined within the larger framework of any given theology and in relation to the actual treatment of children themselves.

For example, although the Protestant reformer JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) viewed children as affected by original sin, and although his views have been used at times to justify the harsh treatment of children, he did not recommend physically punishing children. He did emphasize the depth of human depravity and claims the nature of infants is a “seed of sin.” However, he did not dwell on evidences of corruption in children. Furthermore, building on biblical passages, he claimed that infants are gifts of God and can proclaim God’s goodness. He also underscored the duties of parents to teach their children godliness and the obligations of society to provide for the educational and physical needs of children. He himself wrote two CATECHISMS and supported school reforms in Geneva.

August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), a German Lutheran Pietist (see PIETISM), also believed that children are born with a fallen nature and even claimed that their “self-will” must be “broken.” However, his particular understanding of “breaking the self-will” within the context of his major theological convictions led him not only to treat children with respect and kindness but also to pay attention to the needs of poor children. In contrast to many contemporaries in his highly class-conscious period, Francke showed a concern for children that extended to orphans and children of the poor, and he built an extensive complex of charitable and educational institutions to address their needs. He even allowed gifted poor students and orphans to prepare for a university education alongside children of the upper and middle classes. His notion of original sin provided a kind of positive, egalitarian framework of thought that opened a door to responding to the needs of poor children, seeing them as individuals with gifts and talents to be cultivated, and positively influencing educational reforms in GERMANY.

Some Protestant theologians have devoted little attention to the sinful nature of children and have focused instead on elements within contemporary culture or family life that influence children. For example, HORACE BUSHNELL (1802–1876) and

FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) both stressed proper nurture for children in the home, the church, and the community. Bushnell claimed children “by nature” do not need to choose evil, but they often do because parental sins and unjust social structures negatively influence them. Thus, in his popular book, *Christian Nurture* (1861), he emphasized the importance of daily rituals and practices in the home for positively influencing children and nurturing their faith. Schleiermacher claimed that children are born with as much potential for salvation as for sin and that it is the duty of parents to nurture their children’s “higher self-consciousness,” which connects them to the transcendent and thereby opens their hearts to love of others. Influenced by Moravian Pietists (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), he understood the family to be the center of a child’s religious formation. Nevertheless, he also recognized that efforts within the home must be supported by the church. He thereby worked to strengthen religious education and preached a series of “Sermons on the Christian Household.” Finally, more than many other theologians, he emphasized the ways in which children are models for adults.

Throughout the history of Protestantism there has been an emphasis on the need to educate and to care for children. Protestants in the past and today have established schools, orphanages, and hospitals for children. They have also written catechisms and religious educational materials for the home and created educational programs in the church. In general, Protestants have provided education for their children not only to enable them to read the Bible but also to prepare them for service to church and society. They have also emphasized the role of parents in the religious formation of children, and they have outlined particular obligations of the church and state for education and child welfare.

For example, MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) wrote catechisms for use in the home and encouraged parents, especially fathers, to take responsibility for the moral and spiritual formation of their children. He also believed that well-educated citizens would serve both church and society. Thus, he urged both parents and civil authorities to provide children with a strong education so that they could read the BIBLE and gain the skills and knowledge necessary for them to use their gifts and talents to serve others. At a time when education was viewed as unnecessary for most children and educational opportunities were limited, Luther and his colleague PHILIPP MELANCTHON stressed the significance of education and training in the liberal arts. They also proposed several reforms that influenced German schools and universities, including public education for all children.

JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791), the founder of METHODISM, supported several educational and charitable institutions for children and established his own schools. The goal of education, for Wesley, was to join knowledge with piety and to help children to know and to love God and to serve others. Wesley was concerned for all children, including the poor. In his schools he therefore mixed students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. He also offered food, clothing, and medical and financial support to poor families. His attention to the poor inspired Methodists from that time to today to care for the poor and to establish a number of institutions and initiatives to serve them.

Wesley’s reforms follow a general trend in eighteenth century Europe and North America toward greater attention to children’s emotional, physical, and intellectual welfare. Although childhood was certainly not “discovered” in the eighteenth century, as

some have claimed, during this period several movements both inside and outside the church initiated social and educational reforms on behalf of children. Orphanages and schools were built. The Sunday School movement flourished. Publishers marketed a host of children's literature and Bibles. States adopted new child labor and welfare laws. More attention was given to the developmental importance of children's play, which was linked to a burgeoning toy industry. Aspects of this general shift in approaches to children were informed by the ideas of the French philosopher, JeanJacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who believed that children are naturally innocent and can learn through play and that negative social influences can spoil their natural goodness.

Despite many positive initiatives on behalf of children, the church throughout its history has not consistently cared for the needs of children or treated them with respect and dignity. For example, the history of boarding schools for NATIVE AMERICAN children in CANADA reveals disturbing accounts of child abuse and neglect by both Catholics and Protestants. In this case, the state also played a role in establishing the schools. Much more scholarly research needs to be pursued to provide an adequate account of conceptions of childhood and the treatment of children in the history of Christianity and in diverse communities of faith around the world today. This kind of research requires the exploration of a range of issues, including theological statements regarding children, the legal status of children, educational policies, family structures, literary and artistic representations of childhood, the material culture of childhood, and the treatment of children. Most difficult to uncover in any research regarding children are the experiences and ideas of children themselves.

Ethical and Theological Concerns

Children today continue to face numerous challenges in many countries, and Protestant communities of faith are working to address these concerns. Although one might argue about whether the overall situation of children is “better” or “worse” than in the past, most people agree that children today face real and serious problems that need to be addressed. Several studies and reports have outlined in detail the kinds of problems experienced by children and young people around the world, such as poverty, abuse, neglect, malnutrition, inadequate educational opportunities, teenage pregnancy, drug and alcohol abuse, suicide, and depression. Protestant communities of faith today are responding to the needs of children in a variety of ways. Many have established day care centers and after-school programs. Most traditions offer religious education programs for children. Churches have also tried to incorporate children more fully into the worship service. Furthermore, a number of churches are serving poor children and families and are working to change economic and social policies that negatively affect the lives of children.

Although communities of faith offer these and other kinds of services to children and their families, there is little serious theological and ethical reflection by either contemporary Protestant or Catholic theologians on childhood, children, and obligations to children. Although theologians have highly developed teachings on other issues, such as ABORTION, women's ordination (see WOMEN CLERGY), biblical AUTHORITY, and economic justice, they have not offered welldeveloped and historically and biblically

informed teachings about children. Certainly, issues regarding children have sometimes been addressed in theological reflection on the family. However, little is said beyond encouraging parents to teach children the faith and to help the poor. Contemporary systematic theologians and ethicists have generally viewed issues regarding children as “beneath” the serious theologian, and have left attention to children primarily to those in the areas of religious education and pastoral care. Perhaps as literature regarding children develops in a range of disciplines outside theology, children and childhood will play a more significant role in the way that systematic theologians and ethicists think about central theological themes, such as the human condition, the nature of faith, the task of the church, and the nature of religion. They will also perhaps devote more attention to a number of significant ethical issues affecting children, such as children’s rights, the moral and spiritual development of children, the responsibilities of parents, and the obligations of church and state to children.

See also Baptism; Confirmation; Education Overview; Family

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CHILIASM

Chiliasm refers to the belief in a literal one thousand year rule of the saints at the close of history, particularly where it inspires an altered approach to the present age. Based on the Greek word for 1,000, chiliasm thus bears close resemblance to the movements known as

millenarian or millennialist, based on the equivalent Latin word. The distinction between the usage of these terms is understood in different ways by different scholars, but loosely chiliasm is regarded as the belief in the millennium, widely held within general Christian opinion, whereas millennialism refers specifically to separatist sectarian movements.

That chiliast views were widely held in the early church is now generally acknowledged. Some scholars have suggested that first-century Christians expected Christ to return within their lifetime. Chiliast beliefs were suggested by the Book of Revelation, which implied that there would be a future period when Satan would be bound and the CHURCH would flourish. This led to the view that the initiation of the millennium would come only after the appearance of the ANTICHRIST. Augustine's *City of God* emphatically rejected this view. What was later called the postmillennial interpretation came to view the millennium as a description of the latter and triumphant part of church history, which would be followed by the return of Christ and the day of judgment.

Chiliast views seem to have been an important influence on early Protestant thought. Identifying the popes as the Antichrist, Protestant reformers expected a crisis before the appearance of the millennium. MARTIN LUTHER went partway along this path in his view that the Roman Catholic church was the harlot of the Book of Revelation and the pope of his day the Antichrist. JOHN FOXE'S immensely influential *Book of Martyrs* (see ACTS AND MONUMENTS) subscribed to a chiliast interpretation of the Marian martyrs who died under the reign of Queen Mary, and as a result identified Elizabethan England as the "elect nation," localizing the millennium in a manner not dissimilar to the nineteenth-century Mormons. The best-known advocates of this position were some of the Anabaptists in South Germany in the sixteenth century. Hans Hut and his HUTTERITES were one key group; MELCHIOR HOFMANN'S followers were another, making the "Melchiorites" an important chiliast strand within the German Reformation. Melchiorist views initially inspired the Anabaptists at Münster in the 1530s.

Such views reached their culmination with the appearance in ENGLAND during the Commonwealth period of the "Fifth Monarchy men" who proposed to launch a war against Rome to force the coming millennium. The Muggletonians and some of the early Quakers were some of those among the Fifth Monarchy men.

Yet the chiliast position never received widespread support. Calvinists in particular abominated chiliasm, dismissing it as a childish fantasy. Establishment Protestants in general were uneasy about the potential that such views would unsettle attitudes toward the state church. Yet the chiliast position was able to claim some scholarly support, notably in the writings of the Lutheran seventeenth-century scholar, J.H. Alsted in his *Diatrise de Mille Apocalypticis* (1627). This work staunchly advocated a future millennium in which the church will experience an unfamiliar epoch of blessing. This work, translated into English as *The Beloved City* in 1643, deeply influenced religious thinking during the Commonwealth. Joseph Mede was a reader of Alsted, and in his *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1642) he saw the Book of Revelation as explaining the crises of history up to the REFORMATION and beyond. He expected historical events that would complete the outpouring of the vials described in Revelation before the coming judgment. HENRY MORE, one of the CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS, was profoundly influenced by his reading of the last book of the Bible. In a different way Sir ISAAC NEWTON defended such a view, according to recent scholarship. Chiliasm was maintained even in

the untroubled circumstances of the eighteenth century by the English scholar, bishop Thomas Newton, in his *Dissertation on the Prophecies* (1754) and by the Pietist German expositor, JOHANN ALBRECHT BENGEL.

Such millennialism did not, of course, need to emphasize the preceding time of tribulation. Postmillennialists could be chiliasts too. Some of the early evangelicals, including JONATHAN EDWARDS, believed that revival would bring about the millennium. This was a key to the argument of his *Humble Attempt to promote Agreement...for Revival and the Advancement of the Kingdom of God* (1748). A similar approach was a factor in the development of the missionary movement in the late eighteenth century. WILLIAM CAREY interpreted scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to explain a great day of Christian domination coming to the world. Confident expectation of the blessings of the “latter days” inspired a fresh missionary vision.

A new form of chiliasm, known as premillennialism, developed in the nineteenth century through the advocacy of J. Hatley Frere, who in 1813 published his interpretation of Napoleon as the Antichrist who would shortly trigger the tribulation that preceded the millennium. Such views were taken up by a number of extremists, among them HENRY DRUMMOND, the Evangelical Anglican; EDWARD IRVING, the prominent Scottish minister in London and founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church; and JOHN NELSON DARBY who seceded from the Anglican Church of Ireland to form the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN. The premillennial position gained strong support within the conservative wings of the established churches. This was even more the case in North America, where the pre-millennial view was almost universally embraced by fundamentalist Protestants from the late 19th century onward. Evangelical Anglicans, notably Henry Venn, J.C. Ryle, and Lord Ashley, for this reason supported the evangelization of the Jews and the Jerusalem bishopric, which was shared with the Prussian Lutheran Church.

Study of this topic has often been distorted with fascination with millenarian sects. For all its rich and fascinating dimensions, Norman Cohn’s famous book, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, explores chiliasm with an assumption that believers were necessarily psychologically disordered. Anthropologists and sociologists have used the concept in a loose sense to explain religious adaptations to changing social conditions. However, chiliasm needs to be seen first as a theological position, albeit one with powerful social and cultural appeal in troubled times.

See also Anabaptism; Devil; Friends, Society of; Millenarians and Millennialism; Mormonism

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PETER LINEHAM

CHILLINGWORTH, WILLIAM (1602–1644)

English theologian. Chillingworth was the son of a mayor of Oxford, England and godson of WILLIAM LAUD (1573–1645), archbishop of Canterbury. In 1618 he became a scholar and in 1628 a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, where he had earned a reputation as a learned and tenacious debater. In 1630 he made a celebrated conversion to Roman Catholicism and spent some months in Douai, France, the town that was the center of English Catholics; he then returned to Oxford and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in 1631, eventually subscribing with reservations to the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES and receiving a living in the church. During the 1630s he stayed at the country estate of Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland, Great Tew near Oxford, where he became respected as the most important theologian of the Great Tew circle, and wrote his single major work, *The Religion of Protestants, A Safe Way to Salvation* (1638). A moderate royalist, he served as chaplain and military engineer during the early battles of the CIVIL WARS, was captured, and died at Chichester of disease contracted while a prisoner. He was badgered by his Presbyterian jailer/ chaplain for his Arminian theology (see ARMINIANISM) and was accused of Socinianism. During the restoration, his works were reprinted and respected by those who led the latitudinarian church (see LATITUDINARIANISM), and by thinkers such as JOHN LOCKE.

The Religion of Protestants is a work of controversy in response to the Jesuit, Edward Knott, and in defense of an Oxford colleague, Christopher Potter. Chillingworth attempted to chart a path between the Roman Catholic claim to infallibility, Laudian authority based on administration of the SACRAMENTS, and the constricting of Reformed doctrine at Dordt. To do this he appealed to the BIBLE as the religion of Protestants, as the source of teaching for the way of life of Christians, and as the source for doctrine that must be believed for salvation. He was concerned with the breakup of Christendom into multiple contending churches and polities, with multiple interpretations of scripture and doctrines, and the potential violence of prophetic and millenarian teaching (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM). Scripture requires interpretation that must rely on reason, he argued; some of its difficult, if not contradictory passages, must be interpreted through those that are simpler and plainer.

TRADITION only partly supplies a resource, given that the Church Fathers disagreed with each other, as did the Councils, and the reformers of the sixteenth century. He outlined only tentatively where those simple, clear statements of belief and a universal tradition might be found.

His conversion to the Roman Catholic church was in part motivated by a search for an infallible religious authority, although he was disappointed not to find within the intellectual circles of Catholicism tolerance and room for a reasoned and skeptical theology. He argued that desire for infallibility does not require that there exist such an AUTHORITY. The best one can hope for are probable arguments, and this requires tolerance and charity in religious belief and ongoing debate as the method of theological development. We might be required to believe in mysteries, in articles of faith beyond reason, but not against it. Religious commitments and assent must be freely given; this is a moral necessity that God allows for. To assume otherwise would be to believe in a God who is not good. There is no infallible authority, and when someone or an institution claims it, it becomes a tyranny that destroys a person's moral responsibility and sensibility. Sufficiency, not certainty, is provided by the Bible, our use of reason in interpreting it, and the witness of tradition and the church.

Chillingworth did not always reveal his sources, and he used them for his own purposes. He was in touch with the humanist tradition exemplified by Erasmus, though in the more Tacitean (skeptical and stoical) form of later Humanism, rather than the Ciceronian form of the earlier Renaissance. He quoted the theologian RICHARD HOOKER (1554–1600), although his argument does not have the breadth of Hooker's understanding of reason, scripture, and tradition. His use of reason was less constructive and more critical than that of Hooker, and than that of the Cambridge Platonists, who shared with him an appeal to reason and toleration. He was deeply influenced by skepticism and by Hugo Grotius, who was discussed at Great Tew, although there is debate about the extent of Grotian influence in Chillingworth's writings. He was part of the Arminian movement in the Church of England, with Falkland, LANCELOT ANDREWES, JEREMY TAYLOR, and Laud. In the seventeenth century, the accusation of Socinian sympathies might be directed at reliance on reason in religious understanding, or for an adoption of Arianism and Unitarianism. Regarding the former, the label is justified, although Chillingworth did not limit religion solely under the authority of reason. Regarding Arianism, he left the question open, which did not comfort his critics.

Chillingworth's writings were collected and reprinted during the restoration, and portraits of him and the Great Tew circle were written by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, in his *Life*. His work has been criticized for its repetitiveness, digressions, and organization, which follows the arguments of his opponents. However, the fullness of his quotation of them and his thoroughness in response provide a balanced and complete compendium of the issues he faced, and the method of controversy in his day. He reveals himself in these writings as a well-read, fair, and balanced controversialist. THOMAS HOBBS noted that sometimes he criticized his friends as well as his opponents. His theological construction was not, and could not be, final. It flowed from historical circumstances that were dangerous and eventually issued in bloodshed. He raised and formulated issues and responses that have remained with the Protestant tradition to the present. He is frequently discussed in histories and theologies of biblical interpretation

and ecclesiology today, and is sometimes noted as an example of the plain style in preaching.

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STEPHEN VARVIS

CHILUBA, FREDERICK (1943–)

Protestant president of Zambia. Born 1943 in Kitwe, Chiluba became chairman of the Zambian Congress of Trades Unions, leading it into opposition to Kaunda's one-party state. He was imprisoned in 1981. With redemocratization, he became the opposition presidential candidate. His victory seemed to symbolize a new democratic era for AFRICA.

Soon, however, Chiluba was perceived as reintroducing authoritarianism (persecution of opposition leaders, HUMAN RIGHTS abuses, alteration of the constitution to guarantee reelection in 1996), and practicing corruption. The economy declined. In 2001 he attempted an unconstitutional third term, but foundered on resistance from inside and outside Zambia.

In politics Chiluba gave visibility to his FAITH. Raised in the United Church of Zambia, he had a “born-again” experience in prison. Close to charismatic groups, he received prophecies that he would be president. After victory he had the State House “cleansed” of evil spirits, organized an “anointing” modeled on that of King David, and then declared Zambia “a Christian nation.” The declaration was included in the 1996

constitution, despite opposition from Catholic bishops and the Christian Council, and ambiguous reactions from evangelicals. Some pastors gained cabinet appointments, and churches that supported him received benefits, although some church leaders were disappointed that all government posts were not occupied by “born-again” and that other religious measures were not taken. However, other evangelical leaders were critical of the “Christian nation” declaration, on principle or because scorn for government extended to them. Eventually Chiluba lost much church support with his third-term bid.

See also Evangelicalism; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism

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CHINA

Whereas Chinese Catholicism dates continuously back to the late 1500s, Protestantism came to China less than 200 years ago. On the surface, the first century and a half of the Protestant scene was dominated by the foreign missionary presence, but in fact a Chinese church was growing strong roots at the same time. Since 1950, Chinese Christians have survived restrictions and persecution under COMMUNISM, and since the late 1970s, the Protestant community has grown at an exponential rate. Protestantism is also well established in Taiwan and in overseas Chinese communities around the world.

Protestant Beginnings, 1807–1860

From the arrival in 1807 of the first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison (1782–1834) of the London Missionary Society, the first generation of China missionaries labored under severe restrictions of residence and movement on the fringes of China, alternating their activities between Guangzhou (Canton), Macao, and the Chinese communities of Southeast Asia. Christianity was still prohibited in China, as it had been since the early 1700s, and Chinese converts to Protestantism were very few. The Manchu-ruled Chinese imperial state, as well as the native Chinese scholar-elite class, considered Christianity to be a dangerous and subversive sect.

The prospects for Protestant evangelism in China seemed to brighten considerably after China’s defeat by Britain in the Opium War of 1839–1842 and the resulting “unequal treaties” between China and the Western nations, led by the British. This new

framework of China's intercourse with the West, in addition to granting extraterritoriality and expanded residence in five coastal cities for foreigners, also lifted the prohibition on Christianity. At the same time it tied Christianity closely to the imperialist treaty system, establishing a linkage between Christianity and Western military and diplomatic rights in China that lasted until the mid-twentieth century. Through the 1840s and 1850s, Protestantism grew slowly in and around the five port cities permitted to foreign residence; the number of missionaries remained well under 100. In the meantime, after 1850, central China was convulsed by the throes of the Christian-inspired Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), one of the largest and most destructive civil wars in world history. There were many reasons for the emergence of the Taipings and their quixotic leader Hong Xiuquan, who on the basis of spotty exposure to Protestantism believed himself to be the younger brother of Jesus, and it is highly debatable whether the movement was truly Christian (foreign missionaries for the most part considered it rank heresy). But the Chinese government and the nation's elite class certainly viewed it as Christian, considering it to be confirmation of their suspicions that Christianity meant subversion and rebellion. The efforts and image of Protestant as well as Catholic missions for decades in the late nineteenth century were hampered by Chinese memories of the Taipings, although the foreign missionaries were only dimly aware of this liability.

In the two decades before 1860, we can detect theseeds of an indigenous Chinese Protestantism. Because foreign missionaries could not go beyond the five authorized port cities, Bibles and other literature were carried into the interior by colporteurs and Chinese evangelists, who often worked quite autonomously. Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff (1803–1851), a flamboyant and controversial independent Prussian missionary, organized the Chinese Union in the 1840s and sent many such Chinese agents into south China. The scheme collapsed with Gutzlaff's death, but many decades later the independent agency of Chinese Christians was revived.

Expansion and Institution Building, 1860–1905

Another round of wars with the West and new sets of treaties in 1858–1860 created the final elements of the system defining China's relations with the West until the 1940s. As in 1842, diplomatic terms dictated by the victors defined the nature of the Protestant presence in China. For Christian missions, including Protestants and Catholics alike, the key element of these treaties was the provision that missionaries could now travel anywhere in China and could buy property and erect buildings outside the designated coastal and riverine "treaty port" cities. This opened the floodgates to the spread of Christian evangelism and institutions throughout the entire Chinese empire, although the increases in Chinese Protestant converts remained modest.

The four decades after 1860 witnessed a remarkable spurt of Protestant missionary activism and institutional development. Mission outposts spread to every province and even to distant hinterlands. The number of Protestant missionaries soared from barely more than 100 in 1860 to almost 3,500 in 1905. They were products of increasingly professionalized mission societies at home in Europe and North America, motivated by the high confidence of the Victorian era that the gospel to be preached in fulfillment of the Great Commission included not only Christianity, but also the basics of Western

civilization. The number of Protestant mission societies represented in China grew to several dozen by 1900, and China became the major focus of many mission societies' endeavors, with extensive publicity and often romantic depictions of events and claimed successes. In 1905 the nondenominational CHINA INLAND MISSION (CIM), originally British but increasingly international, had more than 800 missionaries in China, almost three times the next largest group, the British Church Missionary Society. The only American group with more than 200 missionaries was the Methodists (see METHODISM, GLOBAL; PRESBYTERIANISM); the Presbyterians were the next-largest denomination. Single women, not permitted on the field in the early 1800s, came to constitute a significant portion of the Protestant missionary force.

This was a generation of high achievers and strong personalities among Protestant missionaries in China. Several served well over a half-century, including Hudson Taylor of the CIM, Griffith John of the London Missionary Society, U.S. Presbyterian Hunter Corbett, Chauncey Goodrich of the American Board, and others. Many were indefatigable institution builders. Under their direction, coordinated from mission headquarters in the coastal cities, mission compounds arose in hundreds of locations, usually complete with residences, a hospital or dispensary, and a school. Preaching chapels manned by Chinese evangelists were established in thousands more towns and villages. Protestant missionaries also threw themselves into the translation and publication of Christian literature, as well as secular works on science, geography, and other subjects. An imposing edifice of institutions, constituting a substantial investment of human and financial resources, was in place by the early 1900s. The missionary school system is representative. In 1906 there were 57,000 students in more than 2,500 Protestant schools, with the larger denominations having a hierarchy culminating in secondary schools and with fledgling "colleges" that later in the twentieth century would become important institutions of modern higher education in China. By the early 1900s, more and more missionaries were coming to the China field as professionals, to serve as educators in the mission schools or elsewhere in the institutional structures of the mission, not as evangelists.

Despite the growing size and complexity of the Protestant establishment by 1900, and differences of opinion among individuals and groups, the essential unity of the missionary "force" was clearly visible in the large nationwide conferences of 1877, 1890, and 1907, the records of which still make useful reading today. No mission society in China failed to attend these conferences.

In Protestant missionary reports and literature of the late 1800s, the foreign missionary took center stage. For example, the nationwide Shanghai conference of 1907, with 1,100 delegates, included fewer than 10 Chinese. But Chinese collaboration and assistance in the Protestant mission effort was absolutely crucial, even in these decades when the Chinese did not figure prominently in the formal record. Protestantism was a joint Sino-foreign partnership from the earliest stage. Chinese colleagues played key roles in religious activities as preachers and translators, and they staffed the thousands of mission stations with no resident missionaries. Chinese personnel also staffed the schools, hospitals, and publishing houses supervised by Protestant missionaries, and in many cases they shared top decision-making roles; all in all, they did most of the real work of the mission. This emergence of a cadre of Chinese institutional personnel points to the fact that by the turn of the century, a number of Chinese, especially in the coastal cities,

had found in Protestantism not only a religious faith, but also an avenue of upward mobility, from an education in the mission schools to careers in mission institutions. This group of educated urban converts would become even more important later in the twentieth century. Other groups of converts, typically in more rural areas, originally entered the church for reasons of social solidarity within an ethnic or clan community in a context of competition for local resources. Still other converts were attracted by clearly religious factors, finding a faith that to some resonated with traditional Chinese popular religion.

Protestant foundations were thus firmly laid by 1900, although the number of Chinese converts was still small; in 1905 there were about 250,000 Protestants. This indicates the continued resistance of Chinese society, especially the elite class, to Christianity in the last part of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the same years that saw the steady expansion of mission operations were consistently punctuated with acts of violent resistance to missionaries' arrival and continued presence in many communities. This resistance was often led by the local elite (or "gentry class"), to whose local cultural, social, and political hegemony the missionaries posed a profound threat by their privileged status and access to officialdom under the treaty system. Although some segments of the rural population were attracted to Protestantism, as noted earlier, the elite class and the most conservative elements of the imperial court in Beijing remained basically anti-Christian and more broadly anti-foreign. These sentiments erupted in the dramatic events of 1900 known as the Boxer Uprising, in which hundreds of foreigners, almost all of them missionaries, and perhaps 30,000 Chinese Christians were killed. This was a discouraging time for the Christian movement in China.

The Golden Age of Missions and the Sino-Foreign Protestant Establishment, 1905–1925

Ironically, the tragic events of the Boxer violence and the national humiliation that China suffered in the foreign military retribution that followed ushered in an age of rapid growth and respectability for Protestants. Obscurantist resistance to reform having proven disastrous, the Qing dynastic government embarked on an ambitious reform program during the decade after 1900. This included abolition of the old examination system and promotion of modern education, which put the mission schools temporarily in the vanguard of the quest for modernity and vastly increased their popularity. In education and other areas of institutional reform, including political constitutionalism, foreign missionaries and Chinese Protestants alike had a new status and reputation, which carried well into the 1920s.

On the surface, the Protestant movement went from one success to another during these two decades. When revolution toppled the Qing dynasty in 1911–1912, a Christian, Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), became the first president of the new Republic of China. The number of Protestant missionaries increased rapidly, reaching 8,000 in 1925, and the number of Protestant converts reached a half million by then as well. In North America, the Student Volunteer Movement directed a stream of idealistic college graduates to Protestant work in China, where they staffed the rapidly expanding network of YMCAs and YWCAs (see YMCA/YWCA) and taught in the growing number of Christian

colleges strategically placed in major cities. There were 13 such colleges, most of them union efforts of several Protestant denominations, with 3,500 students in 1925. They crowned a Protestant educational system, which by the mid-1920s had 250,000 students. During these decades, the Protestant school system and other church-related institutions remained the foremost area in Chinese society where Chinese girls and women could receive a modern education, including college-level work, and also develop their own careers (in, e.g., teaching, medicine, and social work) and personal autonomy. Protestantism seemed for a time both modern and progressive. Just before World War I, JOHN MOTT and Sherwood Eddy made remarkably successful evangelistic tours of China, speaking to packed houses of mainly young urban middle-class Chinese, many of whom responded favorably.

The worlds of both the missionaries and Chinese Protestants were changing early in the twentieth century. The impressive increase in foreign missionaries came largely from the proliferation of new, small, often nondenominational faith missions and many independents who differed from the established missionary pattern. Theologically, many of these were at the fringes of the traditional evangelical consensus that had characterized Protestants until the early 1900s. SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS, Holiness groups (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT), and Pentecostals all stretched the Protestant spectrum, and fast-growing established conservative missions, such as the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE and of course the CIM, weighted that spectrum much more toward the conservative/fundamentalist pole. Seemingly inevitably, in retrospect, the Chinese Protestant missionary community was sorely riven in the 1920s by the acrimonious fundamentalist-modernist controversy; indeed, protest against the perception of “MODERNISM” on the China mission field was one of the opening salvos of the great controversy.

These two decades were of crucial importance for the Chinese Protestant community, as it developed its own leaders and began to mark out its priorities more independently of (yet for the most part in continued cooperation with) foreign missionaries. The term “Sino-foreign Protestant establishment” is meant to convey this much more visible collaboration between missions and Chinese Protestant leaders. Its socioeconomic foundation was in the continued development of well-educated and moderately prosperous Chinese Protestant communities in several coastal cities. In Fuzhou on the southeast coast, for example, Chinese Protestant leaders not only emerged more as partners and less as subordinates of foreign missionaries in church affairs, but also responded to the national issues of the day by becoming active in politics and social reform issues quite independently of the church.

The new Sino-foreign partnership seemed apparent in the big 1922 National Christian Conference, the first since the Centennial Conference of 1907, which had had such a paltry representation of Chinese. In contrast, the 1922 conference had a majority of Chinese members, as did its institutional follow-up, the National Christian Council, which was formed in 1924 as an ecumenical coordinating body among Protestants. These representatives, and the ordained and lay Chinese leaders of many of the individual denominations, constituted a new generation of Chinese Protestant leaders. These leaders included pastors and theologians like Cheng Jingyi (1881–1939) and Zhao Zichen (1888–1979), professors at Christian colleges such as Liu Tingfang (1890–1947), respected YMCA leaders such as Yu Rizhang (David Yui, 1882–1936), and Protestant doctors,

lawyers, and businessmen. They were highly respected and were in many ways almost equal partners with the foreign missionaries. The latter, however, tended to retain practical control, mainly through their continuing control of the finances necessary for the large institutional operations of the Protestant world in China. In retrospect, this period from the early 1900s to the mid-1920s was a missed opportunity for foreign missions to devolve real power to their Chinese colleagues within the established Protestant structures.

An unprecedented new development in these years, one that pointed to important trends for the rest of the century, was the emergence of several Chinese Christian movements that were wholly independent of foreign missions. One of these movements was the formation after 1910 of two federations of economically self-sufficient former missionary-led denominational congregations, many of them Presbyterian, in the Shanghai and Beijing areas. Others were products of the radical sectarian currents new to the twentieth century, with talented and dynamic Chinese evangelists as leaders. These included the True Jesus Church and the Jesus Family, both shaped by PENTECOSTALISM as well as by native Chinese elements, and the “Little Flock” of WATCHMAN NEE (Ni Tuosheng, 1903–1972), with Brethren (see BRETHREN, CHURCH OF THE) and Holiness inputs. These movements were all still quite small in the 1920s.

The Multiple Crises of Chinese Protestantism, 1925–1950

If the first quarter of the twentieth century was basically an optimistic time for Protestantism in China, the second quarter was a time of trauma and uncertainty. As powerful new nationalistic political forces began to target Christianity as part of the imperialist presence in China that needed to be demolished, a beleaguered mood settled on Protestants, one which in many ways was not lifted until the late 1970s.

This reversal occurred with striking rapidity. After the patriotic May Fourth Movement of 1919, and the ensuing rise of the Guomindang (Nationalist) Party and the Chinese Communist Party, by the mid-1920s Christianity was on the defensive. The continuing foreign missionary domination of many aspects of the Protestant movement made it hard for Chinese participants in the Sino-foreign Protestant establishment to rebut the charge of cultural imperialism brought against Christianity. Indeed, it put Chinese Protestant leaders in an untenable position, caught between loyalty to their foreign colleagues and their own patriotic instincts. Much of the self-confidence of the missionaries was eroded by the violence of the nationalistic forces in the civil warfare of 1926–1927, when almost all of the foreign-missionaries fled interior China to the coast, or left China altogether. Never again would foreign missionary numbers ever approach the level of the mid-1920s. This did result in greater responsibility for Chinese Christians to take over local work, but it put the Sino-foreign sector of Protestantism even more on the defensive.

By the early 1930s, most missionaries had returned to their posts; the most virulently anti-Christian political element, the Communists, had been suppressed; and Chiang Kai-shek, paramount leader of the Guomindang and of the new Nationalist government at Nanjing, had married into a prominent Chinese Protestant family (the Sung family) and

had been baptized. But these positive trends were swamped by the double blow of the decimation of China mission budgets by the Great Depression and the issuance in 1933 of the *Laymen's Report on Foreign Missions* under William Ernest Hocking, which, by questioning many of the traditional assumptions of the whole foreign missions enterprise, further sapped the morale of many missionaries. To add further liabilities to the Protestant movement, civil war between Nationalists and Communists resumed in the early 1930s, and then rising tension between China and JAPAN overrode that civil conflict with full-scale war as Japan launched its devastating invasion of China in 1937, plunging China into eight years of desperate warfare that ended only with the conclusion of the Pacific War in 1945. The Chinese pillars of the denominational and Sino-foreign Protestant sectors tended to be liberal and pacifist in their stance, and, although quite patriotic, they were not in the forefront of any national political movement, including the movement to fight back against Japan, in the 1930s and wartime years.

Thus Protestants in effect retreated yet further from leadership on the central national issues that China seemed to be facing after the 1920s. Communists had the social revolution issue, the Nationalists had (until 1945) the card of patriotic resistance to Japan, and Chinese Protestants were figuratively out in the cold, with their ally, the foreign missionary establishment, both materially weakened and a political liability in the sense that a continuing large foreign role in the Chinese church was offensive to Chinese nationalism. This was true despite the fact that many foreign missionaries stood bravely with the Chinese people in the first stages of the war with Japan from 1937 to 1941, and some continued to make great sacrifices to serve in unoccupied areas throughout the wartime years, whereas others were interned by the Japanese under harsh conditions in civilian concentration camps from 1942 to 1945. Despite the foreign contribution, however, the age of foreign leadership, or even partnership, was gone.

Of course, some Chinese Protestant groups did not have the liability of foreign connections. Thus, those Protestant movements whose beginnings were barely noted earlier in this article grew steadily in these decades of national turmoil. These movements now included not only the organized networks of congregations in the True Jesus Church, the Jesus Family, and the "Little Flock," but also followers of several dynamic independent evangelists. All of their leaders were theological conservatives and effective revival speakers; examples include Wang Mingdao (1900–1991) and Song Shangjie (John Sung, 1901–1944). These groups avoided the burden of foreign connections, and they likewise were not bedeviled by the issue of patriotism because they avoided it, stressing repentance, personal SALVATION, miracles, and a millenarian doomsday conviction in the imminent end of this world. They attracted tens of thousands who were beset by war, political turmoil, and impossible conditions of daily life.

The story of Protestantism in the wartime years, 1937–1945, is not well known. It awaits its chronicler. What we do know is that the partial exodus of foreign missionaries after the war began in 1937, and then the total elimination of missionaries of the Allied nations after December 1941 in those parts of China occupied by the Japanese, resulted in an extended period of Chinese Christians being in charge of their own affairs in the difficult circumstances of wartime. After Japan's defeat, foreign missionaries began to return to China in 1946, but there were far fewer of them than in the prewar era. As Protestant missions and denominational Chinese leaders grappled with the task of rehabilitating and rebuilding Christian institutions, China beginning in 1946 was engulfed

in civil war between the Communists and Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. Although some Chinese Protestant leaders such as Wu Yaozong (Y.T.Wu, 1893–1979) and Jiang Wenhan (1908–1984) were inclined favorably toward the radical social programs of the Communists, most Protestants with political opinions, including almost all missionaries, were pro-Nationalist. Many of the indigenous Pentecostal or sectarian evangelical groups avoided politics altogether and occupied themselves with the repentance and salvation of the lost. As the civil war ended in 1949 with a Communist victory, Protestants, amidst uncertainty, hoped for the best: that the new government would finally bring stability and basic social equity, and that perhaps national unity and peace might even facilitate Christian growth.

Protestants Controlled and Suppressed, 1950–1978

Chinese Protestantism in 1950 was very different from what it had been in 1900. It was much more diverse, with a whole range of independent churches and evangelical sects having joined the traditional denominational churches derived from the missionary movement. It was also much more under Chinese leadership and much more dependent on its own resources. It was still not very large, however, with about 800,000 or at most 1 million adherents, and its staying power was uncertain.

In the successes and failures of the previous halfcentury, one factor that had not influenced the course of the Protestant movement was the existence of a strong Chinese central government in control of all of society. No such government existed in those decades. Such a government—a thoroughly secular, avowed Marxist one with a pronounced antireligious bias—came into existence after 1950, of course, and heavily impacted the churches. The status of the remaining foreign missionaries, already precarious because of the Communist Party's perception of them as anti-Communist and as imperialists, was determined decisively by the Korean War in late 1950. In the anti-Western mood that then prevailed, they were all expelled, except for a handful jailed as spies. Likewise, the Korean War brought heightened suspicion of Chinese Protestants, many of whom naturally had close foreign connections. There were no moves to abolish religion or the churches; however, the impetus of the new state apparatus and the organizational network of Communist Party control created pressure to unify the Protestant movement and put it under state supervision. Humiliating orchestrated public mass denunciations of a few Chinese Protestant leaders were examples of the fate that awaited any who failed to cooperate with the new regime.

Between 1950 and 1954, a series of governmentdirected measures, implemented through a group of Protestant leaders trusted by the Party (foremost among whom was Y.T.Wu), created the structures officially defining the arena within which Protestantism would be permitted to exist. First, all Protestants were urged to sign the "Christian Manifesto," which denounced foreign imperialism and capitalism, and pledged loyalty to the new regime; about 400,000 did so. Then, all nonreligious Protestant institutions, such as schools and medical/social service facilities, were taken over by the state. Finally, parallel to what occurred with other religions, a more politically dependable Protestant organization, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM; i.e., self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating) was created for the purpose of interfacing between the

political regime, in particular, the newly created state Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB), and all of the Protestant entities. The TSPM was “ratified” by delegates at the first National Christian Conference in 1954, at which the old National Christian Council and all of the individual denominational structures were abolished. It should be said that the abolition of old denominational distinctions was not a wholly unpopular policy. As early as 1927, the Church of Christ in China had been formed out of elements from the major mainline denominations, indicating a desire on the part of many Protestants to erase foreign-derived denominational lines. This was accomplished in the 1950s by coercion, however.

During the remainder of the 1950s, the TSPM attempted to bring all of the disparate elements of the Protestant scene under its aegis, with partial success. Some stubbornly uncooperative evangelical leaders, such as Wang Mingdao, resisted and were jailed. Other strong-willed small Protestant groups withdrew to private religious life. Remaining public churches were drastically amalgamated and reduced in number, as were SEMINARIES, and most pastors and religious personnel were put into the work force. Sermons were politicized, and church attendance steadily declined. By the 1960s, very few churches were open, and the only remaining seminary was in Nanjing, under Bishop K.H. TING (Ding Guangxun, 1915–). With the Cultural Revolution in 1966, all Protestant churches, along with all other places of religious worship or activity, were closed, and they would remain closed to Chinese believers until 1979. It was during this long period that the resilience of Chinese Protestants and the extent to which the Christian faith had become rooted in their hearts and spirits was tested. The faith survived surprisingly well in the small groups or “house churches,” where it was lodged during these years. Their decentralized pattern of local leadership served Protestants well in this situation, and actual growth occurred in some areas where the Cultural Revolution had paralyzed or destroyed the local authority structures that normally would have suppressed Christian activities.

Protestantism in Recent and Contemporary China

Protestantism returned to public visibility beginning in 1979, as part of the overall liberalization and regularization of many policy areas under the post-Mao national leadership group around Deng Xiaoping. Since then, it has achieved perhaps the most remarkable growth within the general pattern of resurgence of all religious groups and the establishment of several new ones in the past twenty years. In doing so, it has seemingly finally overcome the negative historical legacy of association with the Western presence in China and has become contextualized in Chinese society and culture.

In 1979 and 1980, the old TSPM structure was re-established to link Protestants to the RAB and the government as before, and it was complemented by a new organization, the China Christian Council (CCC), designed to deal with the internal religious affairs of the churches. Thus in many ways the system of the 1950s was rebuilt, with several of the same individuals from that era, including Bishop K.H.Ting, in the TSPM/CCC leadership. This, and continued wariness toward the authorities on the part of the autonomous Protestant groups (house churches) that were already well established by 1980, has resulted in two different tracks of Protestantism today, both growing rapidly.

There are more than 13,000 churches, tens of thousands of smaller “meeting points,” more than twenty seminaries and Bible schools, and at least 15 million believers in the government-sanctioned TSPM sector, which enjoys a certain amount of security from harassment. There are many more gatherings in the autonomous non-TSPM sector, especially in the countryside, and probably more believers as well, even though Protestants in this sector can have no formal public institutions and are vulnerable to persecution. Thus a good estimate of total Protestants in 2001 is 30–35 million, although some foreign observers think the figure is much higher. Although in some localities the lines between the two sectors are blurry, in many others they are very distinct and even antagonistic. Clearly, the government’s hope to be able to monitor all Protestant activity through the TSPM has not materialized, and it is uncertain how much longer the TSPM will retain its monopoly of officially representing the Protestant community.

Although the church is supposedly “post-denominational,” there is an immense variety of currents on the Protestant scene today. Vestiges of the old Western denominations are visible in many urban churches, and pre-1950 Chinese churches, such as the True Jesus Church and the Little Flock, still command followings. In the countryside, quasi-Christian sects that have incorporated elements of folk religion exist alongside orthodox Protestant groups. Several ethnic minority groups have undergone widespread conversion to Christianity, and a certain number of Chinese academics and intellectuals have been attracted to Protestant ideas of ETHICS and public morality, as well as (for some of them) to personal faith. All in all, although there is no organized public voice for Protestants, they constitute a dynamic force in society. Protestantism is malleable and adaptable, in localized forms appealing to many in the urban educated business-related classes as well as to the peasantry. Indeed, the size, resources, and virtually nationwide presence of the Protestant movement make it one of the most important nongovernmental entities in China today. It seems a permanent feature of the Chinese scene.

Protestantism in Greater China

There are active and firmly established Protestant movements in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, and also in the minority Chinese communities of Malaysia, INDONESIA, the PHILIPPINES, and North America. In fact, Chinese churches exist anywhere that communities of “overseas Chinese” can be found. Protestant congregational associations have proven important as a focus of Chinese identity and social networks in places where Chinese are a minority. Many collegeeducated businesspeople, entrepreneurs, and professionals in these Chinese communities, including places with a majority of Chinese (e.g., Singapore), are evangelical Protestants or Pentecostals. Chinese Protestantism, both inside and outside of China, thus seems to be taking the pattern of wider worldwide trends, stressing both salvation and pragmatic results, manifesting sectarian diversity within a context of disintegrating old denominational affiliations, showing indigenous cultural traits, and adapting well to a market economy. Insofar as it is part of that newly emerged majority of Protestants in the non-Western world, Chinese Protestantism in the twenty-first century and beyond will probably best be analyzed as part of this new center of gravity outside Europe and North America, as well as a part of the legacy of Western missions.

See also Asian Theology; Evangelicalism; Evangelism; Fundamentalism; Millenarians and Millennialism; Missions; Missionary Organizations Bible Translation; Bible Colleges and Institutions Communism

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DANIEL H.BAYS

CHINA INLAND MISSION

The China Inland Mission (CIM) was founded in 1865 by J.HUDSON TAYLOR (1832–1905). It rapidly became the largest of the Protestant missions in China, and was a prototype for later faith missions around the world. In the early twentieth century, the CIM became a multinational voluntary association. It continues today as one of the world's largest evangelical missions agencies under the name Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF).

The Early CIM

Born in Yorkshire, ENGLAND, Taylor was raised a Methodist, but as a young man he joined the BRETHREN Movement (see BRETHREN, CHURCH OF THE), which stressed lay leadership. He had an early fascination with CHINA and served a term as a missionary in southeast China from 1853 to 1860. Taylor was also married in China in 1858, to Maria Dyer (1837–1870), who had been born in Penang, Malaya, of London Missionary Society parents.

Taylor had to return to England in 1860 because of poor health, but he continued to plan for the evangelization of the vast interior of China beyond the coastal cities. His sense of urgency was acute, fuelled by a premillennialist focus on rapidly evangelizing

the world. He also believed that the best missionary method was the mobilization of laymen and women from various Protestant denominations as workers. In 1865 he articulated his ideas in *China's Spiritual Need and Claims*, and also founded the CIM. The first group of twenty-two CIM missionaries, including Hudson and Maria Taylor, went to China in 1866. From the first they were unique on the China field. Not only were they laypersons, but also they were guaranteed no salary. Thus the faith mission model was laid down.

Maria Taylor died in 1870, after bearing eight children in twelve years of marriage (all four who survived childhood became CIM missionaries). In 1871 Hudson Taylor married Jenny Faulding (1843–1904), a member of the first CIM group of 1866, who bore him three more children and played an important role in the organization both in China and back in England, including editorial work on the CIM's magazine, *China's Millions*.

Expansion of the CIM

Besides the use of laypersons and the faith principle in finances, the CIM was also innovative in its extensive use of single WOMEN and in requiring its members to wear Chinese dress (while at the same time after the late 1870s insulating mission children from Chinese society at its own boarding school). In the 1880s, as the CIM expanded rapidly and extended its recruitment to North America and AUSTRALIA as well as to continental European evangelical groups, an important strategic decision moved the administrative headquarters of the mission from London to China itself. The CIM was then operated for decades by its China Committee in Shanghai. The China Committee in turn was dominated by a strong leader; Taylor himself was general director of the CIM until 1901, when Dixon E. Hoste (1861–1946) succeeded him and served until the 1930s.

Hoste was one of the famed "Cambridge Seven" of 1885, emblematic of the extension of the recruiting attraction of the CIM beyond the British lower-middle class to higher levels of society. Much of the success in building an attractive public image for the CIM derived not only from Hudson Taylor's own charisma, but also from the organizational genius and extensive personal networking of Benjamin Broomhall (1829–1911), who directed CIM operations in London. Broomhall married Amelia Taylor, Hudson's sister, in 1859; of their ten children, five became CIM missionaries. He became general secretary of the CIM in 1878 and served until 1895. He also edited *China's Millions* and overall did much to make the CIM a respected and leading component of the British evangelical establishment. Broomhall's son Marshall (1866–1937) in turn edited *China's Millions*, and directed the very effective CIM editorial and publishing efforts for most of the first four decades of the twentieth century.

The Twentieth Century

At the time of Taylor's death in 1905, the CIM was by far the largest Protestant mission in China, with 825 missionaries in more than 300 mission stations. Meanwhile, from the 1880s onward, the CIM exploded in growth in CANADA and the UNITED STATES. In 1889 Taylor appointed Henry W. Frost (1858–1945) as secretary-general (later home

director) of the CIM for North America. Frost established a branch council in Toronto on equal footing with the London council, and in 1901 he moved the North American headquarters to Philadelphia. Frost built a sophisticated support network all through Canada and the United States and in effect engineered much of the internationalization of the CIM during the first three decades of the twentieth century. By the 1930s, North America provided one-third of the CIM missionary force of well over 1,000, as well as one-half of the total budget.

Despite its large size, however, the CIM had only a thin institutional apparatus. It had no colleges and only a few middle schools for Chinese, and only a small number of hospitals and clinics. It remained true to its primary calling of EVANGELISM. Accordingly, it attracted the great majority of its members from among conservative evangelicals and fundamentalists (see EVANGELICALISM, FUNDAMENTALISM). Thus many CIM missionaries were suspicious of social reform as a substitute for the Gospel, though some distinguished themselves in local humanitarian endeavors when faced with crises of famine or war.

The CIM still had several hundred missionaries in China in the late 1940s, despite the upheavals of the Pacific War after 1937 and the Chinese Civil War after 1945. But after the new Communist government was established in 1949, CIM missionaries, like others, were forced to leave China, and all were gone by 1953 (see COMMUNISM). In the early 1950s, the CIM adapted quickly and became the OMF, sending both its China veterans and new recruits to several other Asian countries. Today the OMF remains a leading international evangelical missions enterprise, organized in national offices in more than ten countries around the world.

See also Millenarians and Millennialists; Publishing, Media

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DANIEL H. BAYS

CHRISTADELPHIANS

The Christadelphians emerged in the mid-nineteenth century from the wing of the Restorationist movement associated with Alexander Campbell (see

RESTORATIONISM). John Thomas (1782–1871), an English physician, immigrated to the UNITED STATES in 1832 and quickly became associated with Campbellite Adventism, serving for a time as editor of Campbell's early paper, the *Apostolic Advocate*. Moving to Richmond, Virginia, in 1835, Thomas broke from Campbell two years later because Thomas argued that persons who were members of another Christian body before accepting Restorationist belief needed to be rebaptized. Thomas began to preach his own Adventist message to a small group of followers, and in 1846 he relocated to the New York City area, then a center of Adventist expectation. Except for several preaching tours among American followers and some lengthy stays in Britain, where he successfully planted his version of the Adventist gospel, Thomas remained based in the New York area until his death.

Basic to Christadelphian belief is a lively expectation that the Second Coming of Christ is imminent. Hence, Christadelphians evidence a keen interest in biblical prophecy and a conviction that current events, correctly interpreted, correlate with biblical prophecy to signal the nearness of the end. Christadelphians thus place great emphasis on having correct knowledge of biblical prophecy, simply called "the Truth," and baptize by immersion in running water only mature persons who testify to their knowledge of this Truth (see BAPTISM).

Because much of biblical apocalyptic prophecy is grounded in the Hebrew scriptures, and because they believe that those who possess biblical truth are adopted into Israel, Christadelphians identify strongly with the nation of Israel and the Jewish tradition (see JUDAISM; PHILO-SEMITISM), looking especially to events in the Middle East for clues indicating Christ's impending return. At the same time, Christadelphians link Roman Catholicism with the false teaching of the ANTICHRIST (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS).

Despite reading the import of current events as indicators of Christ's imminent return, Christadelphians have remained aloof from engagement in public affairs. Refusal to bear arms has long marked Christadelphian teaching; John Thomas actually adopted the name Christadelphian ("brothers of Christ") at the time of the U.S. CIVIL WAR to secure exemption from military service for his followers. Most Christadelphians do not vote, although they acknowledge the legitimacy of civil authority.

The Christadelphians have defied the expected pattern of gradually developing denominational structures, remaining more of a stable sect. There are no CLERGY or headquarters. Local fellowships that own their own buildings refer to them by the Greek term "ecclesia" rather than "church," to signal a rejection of institutionalization. Like some other Restorationist groups, the Christadelphians have nurtured bonds among believers through an array of periodicals, locally sponsored BIBLE conferences, and weekend gatherings where men regarded as adept at communicating biblical teaching lecture to those attending. Such occasions also offer opportunities for the faithful to reinforce a common identity and to meet potential spouses. Women do not lecture at such gatherings, because Christadelphians insist that the New Testament mandates the subordinate status of women. Baptized Christadelphians are strongly encouraged to marry fellow believers.

In their sense of continuity with the Jewish tradition, keen APOCALYPTICISM, eschewing of clergy and formal structures, and desire to remain separate from a corrupt

society, Christadelphians believe that they have captured the essence of New Testament Christianity of the apostolic era and replicated it in their own belief and practice.

Never attracting large numbers of Americans, Thomas had somewhat greater success gaining a following in his native ENGLAND, where the area around Birmingham has been the center of Christadelphian activity. Robert Roberts (1839–1898), an early convert to the Christadelphian message, became the unofficial leader of the movement there and also served as editor of the *Christadelphian*, a periodical that remains vital to the movement in Britain. In turn, Roberts also visited believers in the United States after Thomas's death. Roberts himself died in San Francisco while on a preaching tour of AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, and then North America.

Concern for the purity of the truth, however, has led to dissension in the Christadelphian ranks, with the most serious rifts emerging while Roberts was still alive. Debates arose over the nature of the resurrection and last judgment that would come after Christ's return, what Christadelphians called "resurrectional responsibility." Whereas virtually all believed that persons who died simply remained "asleep" rather than entering some eternal state at death, some argued that only those baptized into the Christadelphian truth would be resurrected for judgment, with not all being found worthy of everlasting life. Others insisted that all would be resurrected for judgment. So divisive were these debates that many local ecclesias refused to remain in fellowship with those whose perspective was different; consequently two historic statements of faith developed to reflect the differences. Over the years, additional differences have caused some ecclesias to sever fellowship with others, but none has caused as much ongoing controversy and sparked so many fruitless efforts at reunion as the debate over resurrectional responsibility.

Most American Christadelphians adhere to what is called the "Unamended Statement of Faith," which insists that only believers will be resurrected for judgment. Most British Christadelphians—and those in other English-speaking areas like Australia—accept an Amended Statement of Faith that proclaims that all humanity will face final judgment after a general resurrection.

In North America, ties among Christadelphians adhering to the Unamended Statement of Faith were cemented by Thomas Williams (1847–1913), a Welsh immigrant who traveled widely among the various local communities as an itinerant teacher and preacher (see ITINERANCY), wrote several treatises explaining Christadelphian belief and edited the *Christadelphian Advocate*, the primary periodical serving the Unamended community.

The lack of formal structure to the Christadelphian movement makes an accurate count of members impossible. Estimates suggest that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, probably not more than 6,000 identified with either the Amended or Unamended fellowships in North America, whereas the number in Britain was likely about three times as large. A few international missions have planted small clusters of Christadelphians in other countries, but the numbers are very small. In addition, a handful of other Adventist-oriented groups reflect the influence of Christadelphian teaching; among these are the Church of God of the Abrahamic Faith and the Megiddo Mission Church.

See also Campbell Family; Eschatology

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C.H.LIPPY

CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE

The Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) is a North American-based evangelical denomination, one of the few turn-of-the-century Holiness groups that did not follow Wesleyan thought. Initially two late-nineteenth-century parachurch organizations that merged in 1897 to create a DENOMINATION emphasizing personal SANCTIFICATION and world EVANGELISM, the Christian and Missionary Alliance reflected a number of intellectual streams within the larger evangelical movement. This “evangelical ecumenism” was largely the result of its founder, Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843–1919), a Presbyterian minister who was deeply affected by KESWICK MOVEMENT doctrines of holiness that accompanied his beliefs in divine healing, Christocentric THEOLOGY, premillennialism, and global evangelism.

This ability to synthesize different aspects of evangelical Christianity and cooperate with disparate groups made the Christian and Missionary Alliance far more influential in twentieth-century EVANGELICALISM than its numbers might indicate. Although hardly a major player on the American scene, with under 200,000 members and 400,000 total adherents in 2001, the missionary spirit it has maintained has produced nearly ten times that many members globally. Working with a variety of denominations and parachurch groups, the Christian and Missionary Alliance has established a reputation for commitment to its influential “fourfold gospel” (Christ as savior, sanctifier, healer, and coming king) and dedication to the task of world evangelism.

The spiritual journey and personality of A.B. Simpson shaped the denomination’s beliefs, practices, and organization. The product of a strict Presbyterian upbringing on Prince Edward Island, CANADA, Simpson prepared for the ministry at Knox College in Toronto. Renowned for his oratory, he landed the prestigious pulpit at Knox Church in Hamilton, Ontario immediately after graduation. During his eight years there the membership rolls doubled. In 1874 he took the challenging pulpit at the Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church in Louisville, Kentucky, whose divided congregation had undergone lawsuits for control of the church soon after the American CIVIL WAR. Simpson’s liberal spirit helped heal many of the wounds left by the conflict. Despite five flourishing

years there, Simpson felt called to a greater ministry, one that corresponded to what had been happening within.

Over the preceding decade Simpson had developed a growing interest in and dedication to many of the principles of the Evangelical Alliance, an English organization that sought to create a worldwide fellowship of evangelicals for cooperation. Having participated in the revivalist campaign of D.W. Whittle and PHILIP BLISS in Louisville (see REVIVALS), he saw firsthand how conversions could be affected through cooperative efforts at evangelism. Moreover Simpson had been influenced by the Reformed wing of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT, particularly its emphasis on the “deeper life” or the “higher life,” as compared to the more Wesleyan ideas of perfect sanctification. Simpson sought a place of ministry where he could live out these two inner drives—evangelism and a deeper spiritual life—and found it in New York City.

As the pastor of the prestigious Thirteenth Street Church, Simpson had the attention and support of New York City’s elite Presbyterians. He launched an illustrated missionary periodical, *The Gospel in All Lands*, soon after his arrival in 1880, editing the publication and writing all the major articles. He also began holding meetings for the unchurched in less-desirable areas of the city. On top of that he continued the strenuous pace of his duties to his parishioners. After only one year in New York, his health collapsed. Various treatments and sabbaticals from work failed to strengthen his weak heart, and soon he suffered from deep depression.

Simpson found relief in the message of Charles Cullis, a Boston physician who preached that the BIBLE promised physical healing to believers. Hearing Cullis at the convention grounds at Old Orchard Beach, Maine, Simpson studied the issue for himself and concluded that Cullis was correct. Tied to the idea of healing, in Simpson’s mind, was the promise of a deeper Christian life that came with the empowering of the Holy Spirit, virtually a second (although ongoing) religious experience available to Christians after their initial CONVERSION experience. Simpson claimed the newfound truth for himself and set off again on his busy schedule, only now convinced that the Holy Spirit empowered him not only for great preaching but also for physical exertion far beyond what doctors suggested.

This strand of the Holiness Movement differed from Wesleyan notions and came to characterize the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the organization that grew from Simpson’s activities over the next four decades. Rather than teaching a sanctification distinguished by the eradication of SIN, the Keswick Movement—the Reformed, non-Arminian brand of Holiness—taught the suppression of sinful desires and the empowerment for service that came from the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (see ARMINIANISM). Although Simpson cooperated generously with those of the Wesleyan persuasion, and even welcomed speaking in TONGUES in Christian and Missionary Alliance congregations when it occurred in the early-twentieth century, he remained committed to the “deeper life” wing of the larger Holiness Movement.

Feeling called and empowered by God to renew his efforts in New York, Simpson sensed his support slipping within the well-heeled congregation. His new emphasis on healing brought derision from the press, and his attempts to move beyond pew rents so outsiders might be brought into the church occasioned illfeelings among influential congregants. A crisis of conscience over the issue of infant BAPTISM, which concluded in Simpson’s immersion baptism in an Italian Baptist church, proved to be the last straw.

Clearly open to sanctions by the presbytery, Simpson chose to resign the prominent pulpit to begin a new work. His final sermon there in 1881 was based on Luke 4:18: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor.”

He started the Gospel Tabernacle, which he hoped would replicate the London churches of Newman Hall and CHARLES SPURGEON, “comprising thousands of members of no particular class, but of the rich and poor side by side.” Holding meetings every night and three on Sunday, Simpson and his band of workers built a dedicated congregation that kept moving to ever larger facilities. Armed with a constitution of only eight articles and five hundred words, the congregation purposefully eschewed doctrinal debates for the simple gospel of SALVATION they felt nonchurchgoers most needed.

The following decade saw an impressive array of activities as Simpson aligned himself with those who appreciated his “radical and aggressive measures.” In 1882 he started the Missionary Training Institute (now Nyack College) to prepare people for overseas evangelism. He started a new missionary magazine, *The Work, The Word, and the World* (later *The Alliance Witness*, now *The Alliance Life*), having sold the previous one. He created a “healing house” ministry called Berachah (Hebrew for “blessing”), where those in need of physical or spiritual healing could come for counseling during extended stays. The congregation created its own Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World, which effectively combined into one concern the education, publication, and healing emphases of Simpson. The Union supported missionaries trained at the Tabernacle’s Institute as well as other faith missionaries who sought their support.

All of Simpson’s far-flung efforts came to a head in 1887, when directing a deeper life and missionary convention at the Old Orchard Beach campgrounds. Having made so many strides outside the usual strictures of denominational polity, Simpson and his closest colleagues determined to create two parachurch organizations that could more effectively push American Christians of all denominational stripes toward a deeper Christian life and greater interest in global evangelism. There they constituted both the Christian Alliance (which emphasized holiness and evangelism, much like the English Evangelical Alliance) and the International Missionary Alliance (which emphasized greater understanding and support for missionary activity). Both of these organizations encouraged believers to remain in their own congregations, but to attend the respective Alliance branches to learn more about the deeper Christian life or world missions and then carry those messages back to their home churches.

By 1897 it was apparent that the two organizations needed to merge. Virtually the same individuals sat on both boards and both were presided over by Simpson. The newly constituted “Christian and Missionary Alliance” did not roll off the tongue easily, but it did reflect the cooperative efforts of many toward a higher Christian life and world evangelism. Its purpose remained to educate and inspire Christians in North America in matters of spirituality and missions through a system of “branches” in urban centers of population—some 300 by 1897—to help support over 200 missionaries in a dozen countries.

Disagreements with the fledgling Pentecostal movement in the early twentieth century moved the Christian and Missionary Alliance toward a denominational structure. Because of Simpson’s emphasis on the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit, many seeking sanctification trained in his Missionary Training Institute. When glossolalia (tongues speaking) came to characterize this second experience for many, Simpson and many of

his colleagues were open to the possibility. Many leaders of Alliance branches throughout the country spoke in tongues and taught, alongside other Pentecostal founders, that the experience was the sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Simpson, unable to experience the gift despite years of seeking it through PRAYER, concluded that, although glossolalia was of God in many instances, it did not constitute the sign Pentecostals claimed. Rather Simpson emphasized selections in the Pauline epistles that enumerate many “gifts of the Spirit,” tongues being but one of them.

This rift between Simpson and the New York leadership and many of the branches throughout the country resulted in the loss of many Alliance branches, many of which became leading Pentecostal congregations. Consequences of this episode were significant for both sides. Pentecostals borrowed many of the Christian and Missionary Alliance’s ideas and means, including the fourfold gospel, the three-year Bible institute as the primary tool for education, many of Simpson’s hymns, and the use of the title “Gospel Tabernacle” for local congregations. The Christian and Missionary Alliance, on the other hand, sought protection from further loss of branches by reorganizing itself beginning in 1912 to place more AUTHORITY in the annual Councils. By 1930 most local branches of the Christian and Missionary Alliance operated like churches—with pastors, boards, and bylaws—but they still rejected the term.

Not until 1974 did the Christian and Missionary Alliance officially vote itself as a Protestant DENOMINATION, after years of discussion between the home and foreign departments of the organization, each of which had operated rather freely until that time. This was preceded by an attempt to write an official statement of faith. Having for eighty years eschewed doctrinal debates that might divide Christians’ attention from the purpose of world evangelism, this was no easy task. They studied a Christian and Missionary Alliance 1928 doctrinal statement written at the height of the fundamentalist-modernist battles, but this document merely attached the fourfold gospel to the nine articles of the Christian Fundamentals Association. The 1965 statement, however, attempted to go beyond that by affirming beliefs long held by the organization. The product, hammered out by leaders and LAITY, adheres closely to the historic fundamentalist doctrines (divinity of Jesus, virgin birth, ATONEMENT through Christ’s death, inerrancy of scriptures) as well as Christian and Missionary Alliance distinctives, including sanctification as “both a crisis and progressive experience” marked by the indwelling Holy Spirit “for holy living and effective service,” “the healing of the mortal body...in this present age,” the Great Commission of the Church to “preach the gospel to all nations,” and the “imminent,...personal, visible, and premillennial” return of Christ.

Trendsetters in the area of world missions among evangelicals, the Christian and Missionary Alliance has held tightly since its founding to the “indigenous church” ideal. In 1927 the annual Council adopted a policy of self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. The expectation was that Christian and Missionary Alliance missionaries would enter a country to build the initial foundation for a self-sustaining national church. At times this caused difficulties for missionaries who believed they needed to keep tighter control on the developing churches; but tough sanctions against missionaries, beginning in the mid-1950s, kept the Christian and Missionary Alliance from the charge of COLONIALISM that other evangelical missions have suffered. The goal is always to found a series of churches and schools to train pastors so that, in time, the local converts would control their own national church. The Alliance World Fellowship, created in

1975, meets every four years to renew and sustain the bonds among the various national churches around the globe—with the UNITED STATES and Canada as but two of many.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century the Christian and Missionary Alliance was enjoying two decades of record growth. During the 1990s missionaries and national workers in AFRICA reported over 400,000 conversions. Christian and Missionary Alliance national churches could be found in seventy-five countries, fiftytwo of which employed nearly 1,100 North American missionaries in hospitals, seminaries, and church-planting ministries. However, most of the work being done was by the nearly 20,000 national workers (5,000 ordained), clearly marking the success of the “indigenous church” movement the Alliance propounded. Missionaries and national workers worldwide cooperated in numerous ventures of evangelization and Christian education, including 365 weekly radio broadcasts in forty languages and dialects, and 110 full-term theological schools with nearly 10,000 students. In 2001 the Christian and Missionary Alliance reported 2.73 million inclusive members worldwide. Proof of the Christian and Missionary Alliance’s commitment to MISSIONS, the denomination’s membership in the United States virtually tied for third worldwide: both Vietnam (540,000 baptized members) and Côte d’Ivoire (256,500 baptized members) surpassed the United States (191,318), with INDONESIA (188,072 baptized members) set to overtake the States.

That is not to say that the Christian and Missionary Alliance has seen slow growth in North America. Cutting against the grain of other historic Holiness denominations in the late twentieth century, which have seen precipitous declines in membership, the Alliance has continued nearly to double each decade since 1980. Some observers believe that this growth has not come without a price. Clearly today’s congregations, dominated by those new to the movement, are less familiar with the traditional beliefs and practices of the denomination. In many respects, local congregations appear no different from those of other evangelical denominations. Whether the Alliance’s distinctive Christocentric theology and emphases on personal sanctification, divine healing, and worldwide evangelism will be the casualty of such growth remains to be seen.

Clearly, though, one reason for the denomination’s recent success in North America is its familiarity with global cultures, many of which have made their way to the United States and Canada in recent decades. By concentrating on immigrant populations, even to the degree that national districts dedicated to ethnic groups were created to sit alongside the traditional regional districts, the denomination put to use its international experience at home in the United States. New districts include: Cambodian; Haitian North and South; Hmong; Korean; Laotian; Native American; Spanish Central, Eastern, and Western; and, of course, Vietnamese. Together these churches constituted more than one-fifth of the U.S. congregations by 2001.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance in the United States is served by its four historic colleges: Nyack College (New York), Toccoa Falls College (Georgia), Crown College (Minnesota), and Simpson College (California), with graduate programs at the New York, Minnesota, and California campuses (see HIGHER EDUCATION). The Alliance Theological Seminary is also in Nyack, New York, which was the Alliance’s headquarters for nearly 100 years (see SEMINARIES). The Christian and Missionary Alliance is presently headquartered in Colorado Springs, Colorado. The autonomous

Canadian Christian and Missionary Alliance is centered in Toronto and is served by Canadian Bible College and Canadian Theological Seminary in Regina.

See also Bible Colleges and Institutes; Faith Healing; Fundamentalism; Pentecostalism; Tongues, Speaking in; Biblical Inerrancy

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PHILIP GOFF

CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST)

See Disciples of Christ

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, CHURCHES OF CHRIST

Rooted historically in the Stone-Campbell reformation movement on the trans-Appalachian frontier in nineteenth-century America, the Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) gradually emerged as a distinctive body of congregations protesting the perceived liberal drift of the mainline DISCIPLES OF CHRIST in the early and mid-twentieth century. That separation was consummated amid the restructure of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in the 1960s and 1970s. Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) committed, by and large, to the pursuit of Christian unity through restoration of the “ordinances” of apostolic Christianity enshrined in the New Testament (baptism of believers by immersion; weekly observance of the Lord’s Supper; congregational polity; etc.), though there has arisen significant diversity among the churches over the interpretation and applicability of the restoration agenda. The churches remain networked by support of international missionary and educational endeavors, and participation in a

national (non-delegate) convention, but not by any permanent denominational infrastructure.

Overview

The reform movements of Barton Stone and Thomas and Alexander Campbell on the trans-Appalachian frontier merged in 1832, and the conglomerate Disciples of Christ rapidly expanded through the middle and latter decades of the nineteenth century, principally in North America, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Subsequent division among the Disciples resulted from divergent appropriations of the first-generation Stone-Campbell appeal for Christian unity, conservatives embracing a strict restoration of the ancient apostolic order, and liberals embracing a more ecumenical and accommodationist agenda. Longstanding hermeneutical and organizational differences induced the departure of the (acappella) Churches of Christ, a division that was virtually effective long before its formal recognition in the 1906 religious census. The second major division within the Disciples of Christ, with the emergence of the so-called independent Christian Churches (some of which have opted for the title Churches of Christ), was a long process of ideological alienation and institutional realignment beginning in the 1920s and consummated by the denominational restructure of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in the late 1960s.

Historical Perspective

Early on, a cluster of interrelated ecclesiological issues helped consolidate the conservative resistance that birthed the Christian Churches (Churches of Christ). Posturing toward the Ecumenical Movement was an early test. When certain Disciples progressives began actively participating in church federation endeavors as early as 1902, conservative leadership disputed the compatibility of cooperative or “federal” unity with restorationist principles. After the Federal Council of Churches was established in 1908, a gradually increasing number of Disciples congregations began practicing open membership, admitting persons who had been sprinkled as infants but not immersed as conscientious believers—clearly an overture toward mutual denominational recognition. Once the practice achieved approval of the Disciples’s premier agency, the United Christian Missionary Society, as well as their international convention, reaction was swift from conservatives insistent that believers’ immersion had been a nonnegotiable principle of apostolic Christianity and, for the founders of the Stone-Campbell movement, an indispensable rallying point for Christian unity. Institutional reconfiguration and consolidation of the Disciples, mainly the merger of six separate agencies to form the United Christian Missionary Society (est. 1919), further sparked the fears of conservatives that too much power was being concentrated in the hands of denominational executives of questionable loyalty to restoration principles, and that such a massive agency would enforce its theological positions and missiological policies in a

way that violated the free networking of individual local congregations. The transformation of the Disciples' General Convention into a delegate convention in 1914 had likewise provoked conservative suspicions of an increasing politicization and denominationalization of the Disciples of Christ.

Ideologically, conservatives decried the perceived modernist drift of the Disciples of Christ as manifested in the emergence of the Disciples Divinity House (est. 1894) at the University of Chicago, the liberal tilt of new journals like *The Christian Century*, and the commitment to biblical higher criticism in Disciples academic institutions such as the College of the Bible in Kentucky (now Lexington Theological Seminary). Yet it would be an oversimplification to identify the conservative dissent within the Disciples of Christ in this period purely as a "Fundamentalist" reaction. To be sure, there is evidence in the 1920s that various conservative Disciples leaders and journals, when faced with modernist enthusiasm for the monumental paradigm shift in the natural sciences and in biblical studies, sympathized with the Fundamentalist defense of biblical inerrancy and creationism. Numerous spokesmen defended the Virgin Birth, divinity of Christ, and verbal inspiration of the Scriptures as "restoration" principles. But Disciples conservatives at this time were theologically insulated from the Reformed theological tradition underlying FUNDAMENTALISM, and, even among themselves, admitted some significant diversity of perspective. For example, Frederick Kershner (1875–1953), for many years the dean of the Butler University School of Religion in Indianapolis and a key moderate conservative, repudiated the doctrine of plenary verbal inspiration of Scripture (as had American cleric Alexander Campbell [1788–1866]), and articulated an ecclesiology upholding the sacramental character of the church and repudiating "mechanical" restorationism as a means to Christian unity. Another moderate, Edwin Errett, editor of the conservative journal the *Christian Standard* from 1929 to 1944, opposed compromises of the restoration ideal of unity, yet, like Kershner, remained open to ecumenical involvements and even participated actively in the early Faith and Order Movement.

Institutional Realignment

The more strident conservatives, however, were largely responsible for the institutional realignment that paved the way for a separate body of independent Christian Churches. Two crucial activists were James DeForest Murch (1892–1973), first president of the Christian Restoration Association (est. 1925), and Robert Elmore (1878–1968), long-time editor of its journal *The Restoration Herald*. The Christian Restoration Association was both a conservative brain trust and a clearinghouse for mission agencies and other ministries operating independently of the United Christian Missionary Society. Elmore was the single most vocal critic of that society. Murch, meanwhile, became the architect of the free church ecclesiology, devoted to congregational integrity and the prerogatives of local congregations to work in voluntary cooperation to sponsor direct support missions and educational initiatives, which largely shaped a sense of corporate identity among disaffected churches in the period leading to the denominational reorganization of the Disciples of Christ. Murch championed the view that authentic "New Testament Christianity" was historically carried on through a lineage of steadfast restoration

movements that had survived the rise of Catholicism and centuries of ecclesiastical strife and persecution. Accordingly, faithful Disciples of Christ stood in that heritage. Murch fervently criticized mainline Protestant liberalism and encouraged conservative Disciples to find common cause with other evangelical bodies; he was himself a cofounder of the National Association of Evangelicals and one-time managing editor of *Christianity Today*.

Three other important developments in the institutional consolidation of independent Christian Churches stand out. One was the ever-increasing editorial reorientation of the *Christian Standard*, an influential journal originally founded in 1866 and published by the Standard Publishing Company in Cincinnati, as a mouthpiece of conservative Disciples causes. In 1919 the journal, obviously countering the inclinations of progressive Disciples publications like the *Christian-Evangelist* and *The Christian Century*, editorially committed itself to "The Rescue of the Restoration Movement," and by 1943 had conscientiously postured itself as an advocate for conservative churches opposing the leftward, denominationalizing drift of the Disciples of Christ. This policy would continue well into the 1950s. A second development was the burgeoning of conservative Bible colleges from the 1920s on. Though not the first of such schools, Cincinnati Bible Seminary, founded in 1924, led the way of restorationist fundamentalism and worked out a Bible-centered curriculum thoroughly resistant to modernist influences and biblical higher criticism. In subsequent decades, more than thirty such Bible colleges were founded in North America, some of which were financially burdened out of existence; these schools have been pivotal in the training of ministers and missionaries for the emerging independent Christian Churches (Churches of Christ). A third significant development was the organization of the North American Christian Convention in 1926 and 1927 by a committee of individuals frustrated by the policies of the Disciples's International Convention in concert with the United Christian Missionary Society. This new open (nondelegate) convention first met in Indianapolis in 1927, but only became a regular national assembly from 1950 on. Apologists for this convention argued that its purpose was principally to foster evangelism and promote fellowship among Disciples at a time of increasing institutional strife. Frederick Kershner, who had served as a president the Disciples's International Convention while still supporting the North American Christian Convention, insisted that the latter was not schismatic. Once the convention began gathering annually, however, Disciples critics viewed it as clear evidence of a developing separatist coalition.

Perhaps the last best hope for averting a second schism in the Disciples of Christ was the Commission on Restudy appointed by the Disciples's International Convention in 1934 to evaluate polarization in the denomination's ranks. In its fifteen-year duration, the commission ultimately boasted a broad ideological representation, including such committed liberals as Edward Scribner Ames (1870–1958; premier liberal theologian of the Disciples of Christ) and C.C. Morrison (first editor of *The Christian Century*), and such committed conservatives as P.H. Welshimer (minister of the Disciples's largest congregation in Canton, Ohio) and James DeForest Murch. Frederick Kershner served as chair of the commission for most of its duration. In its final report to the Disciples's International Convention in 1948, the Commission on Restudy, having identified the major differences alienating conservative and liberal Disciples, nevertheless by its own consensus recommended a course of action to maintain solidarity within the ranks. The

report was subsequently ignored by the convention and had little impact on the churches. The commission's failure to avert division foreshadowed further estrangement. By 1955 a national "Directory of the Ministry" for independent churches, Bible colleges, mission organizations, and other ministries, was published. Further impetus for separation appeared in the wake of the Disciples's inauguration of a plan for denominational restructuring in the 1960s. Efforts at reconciliation were few and far between. A Consultation on Internal Unity met from 1959 to 1966 and exchanged papers of concerned Disciples and "Independents," but to no ultimate avail. Most independent Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) had already declared independence, at least from supporting Disciples denominational agencies, by the time the restructuring was consummated, at which time as many as 3,000 congregations officially requested to be removed from the register of the Disciples of Christ *Yearbook*.

1970 to the Present

From 1970 to the present, the Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) have experienced continued institutional expansion and moderate growth in membership. Their heaviest geographical concentration is in the American Midwest, west coast, southwest, and southeast, and primarily in suburban and rural settings. Ethnic diversity within the United States is minimal (the vast majority of adherents are Caucasian and middle class); yet Christian Churches have made significant inroads of late among Hispanic, Filipino, and Portuguese communities on the east coast, and among Asians on the west coast. The increasing number of overseas mission-based churches in AFRICA and Asia has also broadened the ethnic base internationally. Statistics from the early 1990s suggest a total of around 5,200 Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) with upwards of 677,000 actual members and 1,200,000 adherents, making this body approximately the thirteenth largest religious communion in the United States. It has no centralized structure and continues in principle to repudiate a "denominational" status in favor of what some insiders have called a fraternal relationship or brotherhood, and others a "free church catholicism." The annual North American Christian Convention remains a nondelegate assembly aimed primarily at encouraging evangelism, missionary outreach, and congregational ministry. No formal intercongregational accountability structures exist among the Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) such as are found in the regional ministry system of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Individual congregations are self-ruling bodies normally under the pastoral supervision of a group of elected elders who do not report to synods or other structures beyond the local congregation. Ordination to pastoral ministry is itself congregationally based, and the screening process rests on institutions of ministerial education and on the congregations themselves.

International Activities

Christian Churches have continued to sponsor substantial international mission work, usually through minimally bureaucratic mission organizations supported by, and accountable to, congregational networks that often have a wide geographical distribution.

The largest mission agency of the Christian Churches, the Christian Missionary Fellowship (established in 1949 and headquartered in Indianapolis), operates extensive missions in Europe, Africa, and Asia, yet disclaims any political representation of the Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) as a whole. As of 1999 the Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) operated some thirty-one Bible colleges in North America, some of which developed liberal arts curricula either internally or in association with adjacent state universities. Milligan College in Tennessee remains the only fully accredited liberal arts college. The churches also support three major graduate seminaries within the United States. Overall, evangelistic, missionary, and educational initiatives of the independent Christian Churches have not been matched by commitment to ecumenical activities. There is no membership in the World Council of Churches, and no formal representative participation in Faith and Order. Concern for reconciliation with (acappella) Churches of Christ helped inaugurate annual restoration forums in 1984, and in 1989 a group of Christian Church leaders and scholars began cooperating in a bilateral open forum with representatives of the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), resulting in the publication of substantial studies of the ecclesiological and soteriological compatibilities and incompatibilities between the two traditions. The result was a nonbinding Consensus Statement of Faith, published in 1996. One other important initiative of late is the trilateral Stone-Campbell Dialogue, bringing together representatives of Churches of Christ, Christian Churches (Churches of Christ), and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Like the Commission on Restudy of the 1940s, this working group devotes itself to rethinking differences and common concerns of the Stone-Campbell churches with a view to more irenic relations.

Confessional Theology

Historically, the Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) have resisted developing a well-defined confessional theology. The ecumenical creeds are not, in most cases, used in worship or in catechesis, though in some limited quarters there is a renewed interest in using the creeds doxologically but not as tests of communion. The classic Stone-Campbell resistance to Reformed (Calvinist) orthodoxy has strongly shaped these churches. Divine grace is understood not as the actualization of eternal decrees but as a free personal and ecclesial relationship of believers to Christ enacted through faith, repentance, and baptism (Acts 2:38). Christian Churches hold up the Petrine Confession (Matthew 16:16) as the basic declaration of faith and expect penitent believers to submit to immersion for the remission of sins and for membership in the church. The highly sacramental view of baptism has typically not been paralleled by a sense of the LORD'S SUPPER as sacrament. Alexander Campbell himself resisted theories of the Real Presence and claims that the supper bestowed a unique grace. Christian Churches (Churches of Christ) have dwelt more on the "ordinance" of weekly observance of the Lord's Supper and on its memorialistic character, though again, in some quarters, there has been a marked renewal of emphasis on the sacramental dimension of the eucharist, in sympathy with classic Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican views. On the whole, the worship of the Christian Churches has been nonliturgical, centered on preaching and the

Lord's Supper, with differences of complexion between the poles of traditional Disciples worship and newer contemporary modes directed toward evangelistic outreach.

Diversification

Recent studies have demonstrated an increasing diversification of theological and ecclesiological orientation among Christian Churches (Churches of Christ). Three broad categories are observable: (1) quasi-evangelical churches tending to minimize indebtedness to the Stone-Campbell tradition and drawn toward the mainstream of American Evangelicalism or toward identification as "Bible churches" or independent fellowships; (2) restoration fundamentalists, strongly resistant to affiliations with other denominations and devoted wholeheartedly to the original Stone-Campbell plea to restore the ordinances of the apostolic church; and (3) moderates or progressives, sometimes calling themselves "classic Disciples," who seek a reinterpretation and reappropriation of the restoration agenda through constructive engagement with the church at large, and most immediately with the two other major branches of the Stone-Campbell tradition.

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PAUL M. BLOWERS

CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA

The Christian Reformed Church in North America (CRCNA) is a DENOMINATION in the Reformed tradition consisting of approximately 280,000 members in 1,000 congregations spread throughout the UNITED STATES and CANADA, with concentrations in Michigan, California, Iowa, and Ontario. Denominational headquarters are located in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The CRCNA began in 1857 when it separated from the REFORMED CHURCH OF AMERICA. However, the roots of the CRCNA lie in two nineteenth-century secession movements from the State Church of the NETHERLANDS. In the twentieth century, the CRCNA's identity has been shaped by three periods of struggle over the denomination's identity and its theology of GRACE, Scripture, and ecclesiastical office.

Early History

In 1834, a number of groups of Reformed Christians seceded from the State Church of the Netherlands. These groups sought to be free of government control; they returned to the Church Order of the Synod of Dort (1618–1619), to the singing of Psalms only (not hymns), and to the Word of God as interpreted by the three Reformed CONFESSIONS (the BELGIC CONFESSION, the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM, and the CANONS OF DORT). One of the secessionist pastors, Albertus Van Raalte, led his family and a few dozen followers to the United States in 1846. This group settled in and around what is now Holland, Michigan, and in 1850 it joined the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, later known as the Reformed Church of America. In 1857, four congregations seceded from this union and formed the CRCNA. Among the reasons cited for this move were a perceived lack of sound doctrinal teaching and piety among American pastors, the use of hymns by the Americans, and the perceived lack of solidarity on the part of the Americans with the secessionist cause in the Netherlands.

Between 1880 and 1915, the CRCNA's membership swelled dramatically due to immigration. The views of these new members were shaped largely by the Dutch statesman and theologian ABRAHAM KUYPER and his Doleantie movement, which separated from the State Church of the Netherlands in 1886. Kuyper's vision was to claim Christ's lordship over all of life. Believers were called to use Christian schools, institutions, and organizations to extend God's kingdom into all parts of society. Carrying this vision to America, Dutch immigrants spurred the infant CRCNA to engage its

CULTURE. Thus, at the turn of the century, the CRCNA slowly began the transition from the Dutch language to English, and its members became increasingly Americanized.

Theological Struggles

After World War I, the CRCNA had difficulty defining itself. It wanted to become American but also clung tenaciously to its Reformed beliefs and Dutch heritage. In the 1920s, this identity crisis was the background for theological disagreements about Scripture and grace. Ralph Janssen was deposed as Professor of Old Testament at Calvin Seminary in 1922 after undergoing numerous investigations for his alleged “history of religions” approach to Scripture. Janssen’s supporters charged pastors Herman Hoeksema and Henry Danhof with misconstruing Janssen’s views because they denied common grace and therefore violated the Reformed confessions. Hoeksema and Danhof were deposed from the CRCNA and, in 1926, were leaders in forming the Protestant Reformed Churches in America.

During the next two decades, the CRCNA was a fortress of Reformed distinctiveness. World War II further Americanized the CRCNA and caused its membership to swell as Dutch Calvinists emigrated from the Netherlands to Canada. By the 1960s, the denomination’s identity and relationship to its culture again formed the context of theological debates related to Scripture and grace. Missions-minded theologians sparked debates on limited ATONEMENT and double PREDESTINATION, two doctrines articulated in the Reformed confessions. After decades of conservative dominance, power in the CRCNA shifted to the progressives in the 1960s. This shift is clearly seen in a 1974 denominational report on biblical AuTHORITY, which argued that Scripture’s truthfulness lay in its redemptive message not in the accuracy of its statements in domains such as geology, biology, and history.

From the early 1970s to the mid-1990s, the CRCNA struggled over the role of WOMEN in ecclesiastical office. In the end, women’s ordination was permitted, but more than 40,000 members had left the denomination (see WOMEN CLERGY).

Denominational Characteristics

The CRCNA still holds to the three historic Reformed confessions, but it is no longer as distinctively Dutch as it has been through much of its history. Twelve different languages are used in worship. The CRCNA’s POLITY recognizes the offices of minister, elder, deacon, and evangelist (see CLERGY). Each congregation is governed by a council. Classes (36 in the United States, 11 in Canada) are composed of congregations in geographical proximity to each other, and they meet two or three times each year. A general SYNOD, made up of two ministers and two elders from each classis, meets annually.

The denomination has many agencies, including Calvin Theological Seminary, Calvin College, three MISSIONS agencies, a television and worldwide radio ministry (“The Back to God Hour), a publishing house, and denominational offices related to abuse prevention, chaplaincy ministries, disability concerns, pastor church relations, social

justice, and race relations. Six other colleges or universities are affiliated with the CRCNA.

See also Christian Colleges; Seminaries; Higher Education; Publishing Media

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DAVID RYLAARSDAM

CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Also referred to as the “Religious Right” or the “New Christian Right,” the Christian Right is a conglomeration of organizations and individuals that emerged in U.S. politics in the latter half of the 1970s. Drawing on the well-developed subculture of fundamentalist and evangelical churches, Christian academies and home-schooling organizations, BIBLE COLLEGES, and TELEVANGELISM media networks, the Christian Right overcame denominational divisions to ally with Pentecostals and charismatics, conservative Catholics, and some conservative Jews. Common to these groups was the argument that the U.S. in the 1960s had forsaken its roots in the BIBLE, losing its Christian identity and therefore its strength. These concerns often crystallized around children, whom many on the Christian Right believed to be the target of a secular humanist onslaught (enacted through multicultural education, sex education programs, and the MASS MEDIA) seeking to control the nation by reprogramming its children, particularly regarding SEXUALITY, MARRIAGE, and the FAMILY (see CHILDHOOD). Issues around which the Christian Right mobilized include opposition to ABORTION, feminism, HOMOSEXUALITY, pornography, affirmative action, and welfare. The Christian Right campaigned for mandatory school PRAYER,

schools supported Bible clubs, the teaching of CREATION sciENCE, and school vouchers. As these issues indicate, the Christian Right is often analyzed as protesting MODERNISM or modernity, not in the sense of eschewing modern technologies (its leaders have pioneered TV, video, and internet ministries), but rather in the sense of protesting concomitant cultural changes. Seen by the Christian Right as “permissiveness,” these changes are analyzed by sociologists under the term “SECULARIZATION.” In addition to cutting across denominational lines, the Christian Right cuts within religious identifications. Not all fundamentalists, evangelicals, or conservative Christians would identify with the Christian Right, either its politics or beliefs. Indeed, the main controversy surrounding the Christian Right concerns the degree to which its elites represent a grass-roots constituency.

History

Although evangelical religion has long been an important force in U.S. political life, the Christian Right’s emergence into politics in the mid-1970s reversed decades of withdrawal by conservative Protestants (who in the 1920s felt forced out of public life by Liberal Protestants). Yet unlike nineteenth-century EVANGELICALISM, which sought such progressive reforms as the abolition of SLAVERY and WOMEN’S suffrage, this “return” was marked by a more defensive and reactionary agenda, as evidenced by its catalyst (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

In 1976, Jimmy Carter, a Southern Baptist who proclaimed himself “born again,” was elected President. Many Bible-believing Protestants (particularly in the South) were at first encouraged by his leadership, only to feel betrayed later by Carter’s liberal Democratic party politics. For some, the turning point occurred when Carter’s administration announced plans to revoke the tax exemptions of private schools that practiced racial segregation. Although continuing practices begun before his presidency (particularly regarding Bob Jones University, a fundamentalist school in South Carolina), Carter was perceived as attacking fundamentalist values. In response, and aided by political conservatives like Paul Weyrich (a founder of the Heritage Foundation), JERRY FALWELL formed the “Moral Majority” in 1979, just in time for the 1980 presidential election. Falwell took credit for registering millions of new voters who helped elect President Ronald Reagan.

For others, the turning point was the White House Conference on the Family held by Carter’s administration in 1980. Conservatives like Connie Marshner and Beverly LaHaye saw the Conference as an attempt to broaden the accepted definition of the family beyond the white middle class heterosexual norm. Although the Moral Majority is the most well known, other Christian Right organizations include Concerned Women for America (founded by Beverly LaHaye in 1979), the Traditional Values Coalition (founded by Louis Sheldon in 1980), Focus on the Family (founded by James Dobson in 1977 and which developed a large international division), the Council for National Policy (founded by Tim LaHaye in 1981 as an invitation-only forum to network Christian Right leaders with funders like Richard DeVos of Amway and the Coors family), and the Christian Coalition.

The Christian Coalition was founded by PAT ROBERTSON in 1989, one year after Robertson's run in the Republican presidential primaries. With Ralph Reed as executive director, the Coalition became an influential force in Republican politics, thanks in part to its "voter guides." In 1992, both Robertson and Pat Buchanan spoke at the Republican National Convention. Throughout the decade, Christian Right issues influenced the Republican Party agenda, dismaying some Republican regulars, as well as, ultimately, some Christian Right activists (such as James Dobson), who accused Republicans of using the Christian Right to get elected only to neglect their issues afterward.

Reception

The increasingly high profile of the Christian Right did not go unchallenged. In the religious realm, in 1996 politically liberal evangelicals (including Jim Wallis and Tony Campolo) formed Call to Renewal to contest the Christian Right's claim to speak for all evangelicals. Politically, the Christian Right was opposed by organizations like AMERICANS UNITED FOR THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, as well as the Fight the Right Initiative of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

Controversy

Analysts seeking to understand the Christian Right are divided concerning the degree to which it represents a grass-roots constituency. Sociologist Christian Smith, for example, argues for a gap between the political agenda of Christian Right leaders and the actual (more tolerant) views of ordinary evangelicals. Although evangelicals seek to be engaged with the public sphere, their preferred method of engagement is not politics, but rather personal relationships. In contrast, it may be argued that the narratives disseminated by the media ministries of the Christian Right shape individuals at a level more profound than individual consciousness or will, because the conservative narrative evokes and builds on mainstream cultural memories.

See also Abortion; Darwinism; Fundamentalism; Liberal Protestantism & Liberalism; Pentecostalism; Publishing Media; Televangelism

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ANN BURLEIN

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Protestants were deeply divided over the relationship of religion and SCIENCE. Although fundamentalists were adamant that science is factual only insofar as it accommodates the BIBLE, modernists accepted scientific developments—such as evolutionary theory—and interpreted the Bible to accommodate their findings (see DARWINISM). In 1875 MARY BAKER EDDY (1821–1910) introduced a new variety of Protestantism with a radical rendition of the modernist position: not only can Christianity accommodate science, it *is* science.

The Early Years

In 1875 Eddy published the first edition of her principal work, *Science and Health*, in which she explained “Moral Science,” her metaphysical understanding of the Bible’s teachings as scientific—coherent, objective, verifiable, and containing the methodology for eradicating disease. Eddy had developed this understanding over a period of years, perhaps beginning with her poor health as a child in a Calvinist household (see CALVINISM). Eddy, whose ill health followed her into adulthood, experimented with many of the healing treatments in vogue in the mid-nineteenth century, but found the most relief when she visited Phineas Parkhurst Quimby (1802–1866) in 1862.

Quimby based his treatment on Anton Mesmer’s (1734–1815) work, which, building on EMANUEL SWEDENBORG’S (1688–1772) theory that an invisible substance connects all NATURE and spirit, demonstrated a way for one person to affect another by manipulating that substance. Quimby used Mesmer’s technique, mesmerism, to heal, but believed that it changed a person’s mind, not body: people are sick because they believe they are sick; correct their beliefs and the maladies disappear. Eddy became one of Quimby’s students after he treated her illness, and they remained correspondents until his death in 1866.

Shortly after Quimby’s death, Eddy took a serious fall on an icy sidewalk. Still bed-bound three days later, she read New Testament stories of Jesus’s healing and, particularly, of his raising Lazarus from the dead. She observed that he did not treat symptoms but demonstrated the unreality of sickness and death, and, at this discovery, rose from bed fully cured. She believed that the change in her thought and the accompanying healing demonstrated the science of Jesus’s teachings and began to study the rest of the Bible in this light.

By the end of 1868 Eddy had taken a small cadre of students under her wing, teaching them Moral Science through *The Science of Man*, a textbook she fashioned by adapting Quimby’s technique to her revelation. Practitioners of her Science corrected patients’ false beliefs in illness, but Eddy taught them that this health was restored through the power of the Divine Mind, as she called God, not the human mind as Quimby had believed. Eddy fleshed out her understanding of Moral Science over the next few years, incorporating it into an expanded treatment, *Science and Health*, in 1875. Beginning in 1883 Eddy included biblical exegesis according to Moral Science, republishing the text as *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. This work was Eddy’s explanation of

her revelation, and she continually fine-tuned it to ensure its clarity, producing over 200 editions by her death in 1910, while writing other books and numerous hymns, prayers, sermons, newspaper articles, and letters.

Eddy also continued to promote her Moral Science on several other fronts. In 1879 she founded a church based on its principles, the Church of Christ, Scientist. With this name, she depicted her religion as distinctly Christian and proclaimed Jesus as *the Scientist*—the one who fully understood Moral Science. Two years later, in 1881, she opened the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, where students could take courses and earn a degree, either Bachelor of Christian Science or Doctor of Christian Science. By the time Eddy closed the college in 1889 nearly 1,000 students had crossed its threshold. Eddy's students, at her behest, also formed the National Christian Science Association in 1886, which she disbanded in 1892. Eddy began the Christian Science Publishing Society in 1898, and the Publishing Society's trademark periodical, the *Christian Science Monitor*, in 1908.

Beliefs

Christian Science THEOLOGY derives from Mary Baker Eddy's conviction that God is good and, as such, would not have created anything that is not good. Hence, disease is not God's creation but human fallacy. As she explained in *Miscellaneous Writings, 1883–1896*, “good being real, evil, good's opposite, is unreal” (63). From this premise, Eddy derived what she called the “Triune Principle of all pure theology”: Life, Truth, and Love. Recognition of this triad's reality brings about realization of the unreality of its opposite—sickness, sin, and death—and remedies the latter's ills. Sin is error, creating the illusion of matter, and belief in this false world furthers that error.

Christian Science is more than a healing system, but disease provided Eddy with the most concrete examples of error—and of error compounding error—while its cure provided her with the most powerful demonstrations of her Truth. For instance, many might reject Eddy's contention that disease is illusion caused by false beliefs, but even her critics had to concede that there are times when one's belief in the immanence of disease, such as after forgetting to wear a hat in a snowstorm, produces the very symptoms one expects. Similarly, Eddy recognized the fashionable-ness that accompanied new diseases, blaming the press for providing information on illnesses because, as she wrote in *Science and Health*, “A new name for an ailment affects people like a Parisian name for a novel garment. Every one hastens to get it” (197). Likewise, medical students often see symptoms in themselves or those around them that resemble diseases about which they are studying; for Eddy this process is exactly how illness spreads, whether one reads about diseases in a medical journal or the daily newspaper, or hears about them in a medical consultation. Accordingly, not only do non-Christian Science practitioners treat patients incorrectly, but they produce the illness in the first place by examining symptoms, diagnosing illnesses, and treating patients accordingly. Better that the patient, practitioner, and family members not think about the illness, much less talk about it.

Eddy explained relapses as former patients falling back into SIN, and slow recoveries as patients needing time to “overcome” their faith in illness and medication. Eddy

recommended the use of surgeons when cases were clearly organic, as with broken bones. Such cases, and illnesses in seemingly good Christian Scientists, proved that no one in this lifetime has sufficiently advanced in Science to transcend mortal mind completely, an advance that remains for a future millennium, when Christian Science is realized universally and, therefore, illness, pain, and death are no more.

Stopping short of a doctrinal creed, Eddy encapsulated Christian Science into six tenets, listed in *Science and Health*:

1. As adherents of Truth, we take the inspired Word of the Bible as our sufficient guide to eternal Life.
2. We acknowledge and adore one supreme and infinite God. We acknowledge His Son, one Christ; the Holy Ghost or divine Comforter; and man in God's image and likeness.
3. We acknowledge God's forgiveness of sin in the destruction of sin and the spiritual understanding that casts out evil as unreal. But the belief in sin is punished so long as the belief lasts.
4. We acknowledge Jesus' atonements as the evidence of divine, efficacious Love, unfolding man's unity with God through Christ Jesus the Way-shower; and we acknowledge that man is saved through Christ, through Truth, Life, and Love as demonstrated by the Galilean Prophet in healing the sick and overcoming sin and death.
5. We acknowledge that the crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection served to uplift faith to understand eternal Life, even the allness of Soul, Spirit, and the nothingness of matter.
6. And we solemnly promise to watch, and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; and to be merciful, just, and pure. (497)

Although some of these tenets resemble those of other Protestant religions, their phrasings demonstrate distinctive beliefs. For instance, the first tenet positions the Bible as a *guide* to "Eternal Life," whereas the second emphasizes humanity's shared image and likeness with God. According to Eddy, God is a spiritual rather than a physical being who created humans in the divine image; therefore, they must be spiritual beings as well. Human error, or sin, creates the material world and its attending maladies, and therein lies the third tenet: this sin creates its own punishment, the illnesses and death humans believe exist; yet, God forgives this sin and provides the remedy—understanding of the unreality of sickness, sin, and death. The fourth and fifth tenets emphasize Jesus's role as Scientist, depicting human unity with God—the oneness of all that is real—as well as demonstrating the way out of the sin that creates matter, sickness, and death. In addition to affirming the Golden Rule, the sixth tenet vows effort to emulate Jesus, to destroy the sin that keeps people invested in the material world they create.

Controversies I: Animal Magnetism

Once she developed Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy fought to distance herself from Phineas Quimby's mesmerism. He was her most influential teacher and her theology is clearly indebted to his system. This led some critics to claim that Christian Science is

Quimby's work repackaged, overlooking the new direction in which she had taken his ideas. Her critics likely missed this because, although she believed that it was dangerously misguided, Eddy also believed that mesmerism worked.

Mesmerism, or animal magnetism as Eddy called it after discovering Christian Science, is human manipulation of another's mind. Used as a medical treatment it could change a person's belief of sickness into a belief of health; used another way it could change a person's belief of health into one of sickness. A practitioner of animal magnetism could even make a devout Christian Scientist sick by introducing doubts or thoughts of sickness into that person's mind. Eddy reviled even the well-intentioned, healthful uses of animal magnetism as invasions into another's mind, but she saved her greatest condemnations for malintended, or "malicious," animal magnetism. The line between mesmeric and Christian Science treatments was thin, but for Eddy and her followers it was vitally important. Once a practitioner began to correct beliefs of illness by manipulating the patient's mind rather than appealing to Divine Mind, that practitioner had violated the patient, and stepped on the slippery slope to malicious animal magnetism.

Eddy accused many former students of practicing animal magnetism, or "mental malpractice," and increased their ranks by accusing other students of stepping onto that slippery slope. When students exhibited doubts—whether vocally or through botched healings—Eddy was just as likely to attribute the doubts to a former student's malicious animal magnetism, working to undermine her in their minds, as she was to attribute them to the current students' false belief. She also blamed malicious animal magnetism for her continuing illnesses and the 1882 death of her third husband, Asa Gilbert Eddy.

Eddy believed that animal magnetism posed a public threat and fought to expose it. In 1878 her lawyer, a student named Edward Arens, filed suit against one of Eddy's former students, Daniel Spofford, for maliciously injuring another student, Lucretia Brown, through animal magnetism. Brown refused to appear in court, but gave Eddy power of attorney to appear on her behalf. Although the judge dismissed the suit, it made a sensation in the press, particularly because Arens had filed it in Salem, Massachusetts, historic site of the infamous witch trials. Eddy quickly revised *Science and Health* with an expanded section warning of animal magnetism's dangers.

Controversies II: Leadership

Questions of leadership arose in the church's early years and continued for a decade after Mary Baker Eddy's death. Students often chafed under Eddy's critical eye, particularly when Eddy blamed their failures on their wrong beliefs. A number of practitioners treated patients according to *Science and Health* without training—or sanction—from Eddy. Yet, of those who did study with her, many left, often becoming her most vocal critics, and others tried to undermine her AUTHORITY from within.

Most apostates maintained—or modified—what Eddy had taught them, either practicing on their own or creating new organizations. Perhaps the most notable of these apostates was Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925), whom Eddy excommunicated in 1885. With the assistance of Mary Plunkett, another former student, Hopkins founded the Emma Curtis Hopkins College of Christian Science in 1885 and the Hopkins

Metaphysical Association in 1886. Through these organizations, and an allied publication called *Christian Science*, founded by former student Ida Nichols, Hopkins expanded New Thought from a lay healing movement based on Quimby's work to a religious congregation with ordained clergy. Hopkins's background in Christian Science and her use of similar terminology led many to confuse New Thought and Christian Science, and with regard to both movements' indebtedness to Quimby. Yet, there are key differences between them: New Thought emphasizes the power of human mind, whereas Christian Science emphasizes the power of Divine Mind; New Thought advocates mind over matter, whereas Christian Science professes that there is *only* mind, no matter.

Hopkins's defection may have been the most influential with its resulting development of New Thought, but significant strife among Eddy's adherents first threatened her leadership in 1888, after Massachusetts authorities charged one of her students, Abby Corner, with manslaughter. Corner, who had taken classes with Eddy, attended to her daughter's premature labor with a non-Christian Science nurse-midwife's assistance. After several hours, at her daughter's request, Corner sent for a medical doctor. Mother and infant died before he arrived, however, and, believing that not having called for him sooner was criminal, the doctor alerted the authorities. The state agreed and charged Corner with her daughter's death. Local newspapers printed the story and the public was outraged. Eddy wrote an open letter to the *Boston Globe* and the *Boston Herald* denouncing Corner, and Christian Scientists were outraged. Eddy had blamed practitioners for failed healings before, but this public disavowal crossed the line for many who thought it disloyal. Enough Christian Scientists agreed with Eddy and blamed Corner—her use of a nonbelieving assistant posing an inherent danger to her daughter even if Corner's own beliefs were correct—that Eddy maintained control. Those Christian Scientists who could not accept Eddy's leadership left, including a group of thirty-six who took the church's records, holding them hostage until Eddy agreed to let the students leave without excommunication.

Eddy held onto her leadership, but made several changes. In 1889 she closed the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, although the church continued to award degrees under the college's charter. That year she also resigned as pastor of the Boston congregation—while dissolving it as a legal entity—and as president of the National Christian Scientist Association; the association's local Christian Scientist Association disbanded on her recommendation, and the national one followed in 1892, again on her recommendation. These changes led to more defections, but they also allowed Eddy to centralize the church, reorganizing it around the Mother Church in Boston, with a five-person board of directors she appointed to oversee church affairs.

Eddy further solidified her leadership in a series of bylaws she published in 1895's *Manual of the Mother Church*. Through this and succeeding editions of the *Manual*, Eddy standardized the Church of Christ, Scientist and its services. For instance, Eddy abolished the ordained CLERGY and named the BIBLE (KING JAMES VERSION) and *Science and Health* the pastor, limiting the clerical position to that of lay "reader." Each congregation has two of these readers, usually a woman and a man, who, instead of a sermon during Sunday services, read passages from the pastor—the Bible and *Science and Health*. The church administration in Boston chooses the passages, listing them in the *Christian Science Quarterly* since its publication in 1890. As per the bylaws, readers cannot comment on the passages, nor answer questions, allowing congregants to

concentrate on the pastor's words. The bylaws allow some interpretation outside of these services, however, particularly in a SUNDAY SCHOOL for the under-twenty crowd and in practitioner training. Traveling lecturers, appointed by Eddy until her death, then by the directors, visit each congregation and speak to its members, often in a public hall. Their lectures reinforce the link among local, or "branch," churches and between them and the Mother Church, and allow a representative of the Mother Church to address local concerns and, perhaps, attract converts. Eddy also continued the popular practice of Wednesday evening testimonial meetings, at which Christian Scientists, particularly those who have been healed, share their stories.

This meticulous centralization and standardization successfully staved off another leadership crisis until after Eddy's death. Christian Scientists minimize the importance of death, including Eddy's, stressing its unreality, but her passing in 1910 caused substantial problems for church administration. Eddy had vested the board of directors with administrative powers, but according to the *Manual*, the board needed her consent for any significant action it might take. In the years after her death the board substituted its judgment for hers in proxy, greatly increasing its powers.

Many Christian Scientists were displeased, but the board easily quashed each challenge until the "Great Litigation." When Eddy had established the Christian Science Publishing Society in 1898, she had done so under her own aegis. Yet, after her death, the board of directors tried to stand in for her there as well, replacing trustees and making policy decisions. The Publishing Society rebelled. From 1918 to 1921 the trustees and directors brought their differences to court. The long legal battles took their toll, and the membership split between the factions. The largest group, backing the directors, boycotted the Publishing Society and stopped enough subscriptions to endanger it. The trustees won the first battles, but the directors held out and eventually won in a Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts decision. Accepting this, the majority of Christian Scientists buried their differences, and the board's expanded powers—reaching across all church interests—minimized further power struggles. Dissension reemerged among the ranks in the 1990s when the church found itself in financial trouble, and when rumors circulated about financial mismanagement, but the controversies that have caused the most trouble for the church have been those surrounding failed healings of children.

Controversies III: Treatment of Children

There have been critics of Christian Science since its beginnings, but they are never as vocal as when a child dies in a Christian Science practitioner's care. Just as the 1880s public was outraged after Abby Corner's daughter and her infant died during childbirth, the 1980s public was outraged after Robyn Twitchell died of a bowel obstruction and Amy Hermanson died of juvenile diabetes. Rennie Schoepflin has identified thirty-two cases between 1887 and 1990 in which Christian Science practitioners were charged with crimes for their treatment of children, ranging from practicing medicine without a license to second-degree murder, yet among recent cases the Twitchell and Hermanson cases received the most media attention, and roused the most vocal backlash against the church (see MASS MEDIA).

Boston authorities arrested David and Ginger Twitchell for manslaughter after Robyn, aged two and a half, died in 1986; Sarasota County, Florida authorities arrested William and Christine Hermanson for felony child abuse and third-degree murder when Amy, aged seven, died the same year. Opponents such as Children's Healthcare is a Legal Duty, Inc. (CHILD) had long fought Christian Science parents' right to choose religious practitioners for their children's care, but the Twitchell and Hermanson cases visibly boosted their campaigns against the church. Although the parents lost their original cases, both state supreme courts overruled the verdicts—three years later for the Twitchells, in 1993, and five years later for the Hermansons, in 1992. The sensational media attention the cases received and the original guilty verdicts, however, revived old criticisms.

Christian Scientists' critics often accuse them of child abuse for their refusal to allow medical doctors to treat their children, but for many Christian Scientists the opposite is true: *submitting* their children to medical treatment would be abuse. Sickness is error, illusion—whether created by the child or a parent—and acknowledging it exacerbates that illusion, making the child worse, even to the point of death. To heal, patients must be surrounded by those who believe and can help them realize the disease's unreality. Doubts and thoughts about the symptoms affect patients and worsen their conditions. Yet, although most Christian Scientists uphold this position, others have interpreted their theology to allow medical treatment, at least for children, or have left the church.

Membership

The Mother Church, built to hold 1,000 in 1894, quickly became too small for its purposes, causing Mary Baker Eddy to order a 3,000-capacity annex built alongside it, allowing the use of both facilities after its completion in 1906. By 1907 there were 652 Christian Science branch churches in the United States and another fifty-eight abroad; today there are over 2,000 worldwide. Although Eddy prohibited publication of church statistics in 1908, some numbers are available. According to the 1890 U.S. Census, 8,724 Americans identified themselves as Christian Scientists, followed in 1906 with the U.S. Census of Religious Bodies' count of 40,011, although this number is somewhat exaggerated because of Christian Scientists' practice of joining both their local branch church and the Mother Church, as is required for those in leadership positions. Church authorities reported a membership of 268,915 in 1936, the last year for which they publicized the report. This number likely reached 500,000 by the 1950s, but has been on the decline since then.

The Church of Christ, Scientist controls its membership as well as its membership figures. Those over twelve years old who are interested in joining the church must apply for membership, attesting to belief in Christian Science as laid out in *Science and Health* and denying membership in another denomination. Applicants must submit a completed application to a Christian Scientist willing to sponsor them. Sponsors send the applications to a teacher for a signature, then to the clerk of the Mother Church for consideration. The church admits new members twice yearly, in early June and November.

Although Eddy's earliest students were primarily working-class, by 1910 the majority of her followers were middle-class, a trend that continues today. Her earliest students also

included a balance of men and WOMEN but, although Eddy tended to appoint men to positions of power, women quickly dominated the ranks of Christian Scientists, as they do today. Christian Science caught on most quickly in urban areas in the Northeast, Midwest, and California, with important centers in Boston, New York, and Chicago by the end of the nineteenth century, although it progressed more slowly in the South, taking root there only in the later years of the twentieth century.

Christian Science Today

Despite the controversies that have plagued the church, Christian Science remains a vital religion for many, and the Church of Christ, Scientist continues to reach out to non-Christian Scientists as well. The *Christian Science Monitor* has won a number of journalism awards, including seven Pulitzer prizes, and the church's reading rooms, where one can read the *Monitor* and other Christian Science Publishing Society materials, are regular fixtures in downtowns across the United States. The church also has a growing international population, and offers all of its publications in a number of languages. The Christian Science Plaza in Boston—Mother Church, Mother Church Sunday School, Christian Science Publishing Society, Church Administration Building, Mary Baker Eddy Library for the Betterment of Humanity, and a reflecting pool—remains a popular site for visitors touring downtown Boston, and many visitors take advantage of free tours of the Mother Church. Since its public opening on September 28, 2002, many also have explored the Mary Baker Eddy Library's exhibits and research room. The church's population is aging, but such outreach may well rejuvenate the Church of Christ, Scientist as it approaches the centennial of its founder's death. Christian Science has captured many imaginations over the years, and promises to continue that tradition for the foreseeable future.

See also Faith Healing

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AMY E.LORION

CHRISTOLOGY

Christology is the doctrine of the person of Christ: of who and what kind of being he is. Its basis is in the New Testament's attributing to Jesus of Nazareth both human and divine characteristics and actions, and as a central discipline of Christian theology it is concerned with elaborating and explaining the meaning of those claims. In all of its main

streams, early Protestant christology adopted the teaching of the orthodox Christian tradition, and Catholic accusations of heresy did not, for the most part, touch on this aspect of its teaching. The tradition taught that Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of God made flesh for human salvation—the doctrine of the incarnation—and that his historic person was a unity—“one Christ” made known in two natures. By “natures” was meant not separate entities but ways in which Christ was at once one in being (*homoousios*) with God the Father—as truly God as he—and one in being with human beings—as truly human, sin apart, as they. The Chalcedonian Definition of 451 set its face against two distortions of this, the “Nestorian,” which divided the person by separating the human and the divine, and the “monophysite,” which tended to submerge Christ’s humanity within the “one nature” of his divinity. All christology tends to one of those distortions, and it is said to be characteristic of Lutheran christology to tend to the monophysite, and of Reformed theology to tend to the Nestorian. This article will both illustrate and qualify that scholarly commonplace.

The Legacy of the Reformers

Differences between the leading Reformers took shape not in controversies about christology itself so much as about its bearing on the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. Luther’s concern was to maintain the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine and his views were developed particularly in controversy with HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531), whom he believed to deny it. His position involved a strong doctrine both of the divinity of Christ and of the communication of attributes, a doctrine holding that anything predicated of Christ’s divinity must also be predicable of his humanity, although the reverse was not at first taught. We shall see that this teaching has had an immense long-term effect. It enabled MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) to argue that because divinity implies omnipresence, the human body of Christ could be present in the eucharistic elements by virtue of its participation in the divine nature. The Formula of Concord (1577) attributed to Christ’s manhood the power of being present simultaneously in many places. Thereafter, Lutheran christology, while not denying the full humanity of Christ, has tended to experience some of the problems consequent in a monophysite position.

The view of JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) and the Reformed, in contrast, was that humanity implied spatial location and this was denied by Lutheran omnipresence. Christ’s body was therefore, by virtue of his ascension, in heaven, and worshippers were enabled to participate in his benefits by the work of the Spirit who brought them into union with him. Calvin also directed criticism against the christology of ANDREAS OSIANDER (1496?–1552) with its tendency to imply the transfusion of divine substance into the human being. Calvin’s christology was not Nestorian, and has recently been shown to owe much to that of Cyril of Alexandria, a primary influence on the Chalcedonian Definition. Reformed christology has, however, sometimes tended in a Nestorian direction because of lingering suggestions that the two natures should be treated almost as entities to be balanced rather than as principles of Christ’s being. Another aspect of Calvin’s christology, which has proved crucial for later developments, is his return to another patristic theme, that the Son remains outside the universe while

also becoming incarnate, the so-called Calvinist “extra.” This enabled later Reformed thought to maintain a distinction between God and the world, which is sometimes endangered in recent Lutheran thought. A further influential development was Calvin’s exposition of the relevance of christology by appeal to the three “offices” of Christ as prophet, priest, and king. The ascended Christ exercises his continuing saving activity in the present from the right hand of the Father in the three ways suggested by the offices.

It would be no exaggeration to say that all Protestant christology has thereafter been decisively shaped by the difference between Luther and Calvin. Much of the work of succeeding Protestant theologians, especially on the Reformed side, was dominated by the elaboration and defense of the dogmatic implications of this fundamental divide. The so-called Protestant scholastics were not, however, as that sometimes pejoratively intended description suggests, concerned with abstract elaborations of theological topics, for many of their central concerns arose from a need to respond to objections raised by early modern criticism. At the heart of christological controversy was a renewed concern for the humanity of Christ, supposedly neglected by earlier theology. Faustus Socinus (1539–1604) who could perhaps be called the first modernist Protestant, began the assault by questioning the doctrine of the Trinity and conceiving Jesus as a man endowed with divine powers who was, after his resurrection, endowed with a power equal to God’s (see SOCINIANISM). Later and more radical versions of this approach were to stress Jesus’s humanity at the expense of his divinity, moving toward an assertion of the incompatibility of the divine and human, so that to claim that someone was both divine and human amounted to a logical contradiction. Charges of the inconsistency were reiterated by the philosophers of the ENLIGHTENMENT, building on Benedict Spinoza’s (1632–1677) assault on the credibility of the historical narratives of scripture and the Deists’ denial of the credibility of divine interaction with a mechanistic universe (see DEISM).

Lutheran and Reformed Christology

The supposed failure of Lutheran christology to give space for a truly human Christ attracted criticism in two main forms. According to JOHANNES BRENZ (1499–1570), the incarnate Christ fully exercised divine powers, albeit in a hidden manner, so that his humanity is fully ubiquitous. The position of Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586) was that while Christ had the power to be present in many places at once, he suspended its exercise during his incarnation. To opponents this appeared to be so total an identification of the Word with the human flesh of Jesus that effectively he had no existence outside the flesh. This involved a strong doctrine of the communication of attributes, which was in this case taken to imply that the divine qualities of the Word were transferred to the man Jesus. This came into conflict with modern streams of thought that stressed the humanity of Jesus. Suggestions that qualities such as omnipotence and omniscience were to be attributed to the incarnate Word appeared to contradict the picture presented in the Gospels. This led, in the nineteenth century, to forms of kenotic theory (still largely within the Lutheran tradition) justified by appeal to “he emptied himself” of Philippians 2:7. Kenotic christology represents the development of a distinction sketched by PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560), the first to attempt to provide a handbook of

Lutheran teaching, between Christ's being and his state of humiliation, and especially suffering and death, when "his power is not in this moment manifested" (Melancthon 1982:35).

In later development, the idea that Christ suspended the use of the attributes was radicalized to teach that he renounced them at the incarnation. It was taught that in order to be truly human the eternal Son of God divested himself of those divine attributes that appeared to be inconsistent with humanity. It was sometimes held that God's immanent attributes, love for example, could not be altered (note here the line of CHARLES WESLEY'S well-known hymn: "emptied himself of all but love") while the relative attributes, those consequent upon God's relation to the world, could. Christian Thomasius spoke of the finitization rather than alienation of deity, in an act of will according to which the divine consciousness in Jesus became "latent." Notice that the reference to "consciousness" shifts the discussion into characteristically modern terms, for ancient conceptuality was concerned with ontological status rather than some internal characteristic. While Thomasius taught a divesting of the relative divine attributes in order that the immanent attributes—power, truth, holiness, love—might be revealed, more radical exponents rejected the distinction between different forms of attributes, and taught the complete depotentiation of the Word.

The mythological overtones of the teaching of the depotentiation of deity and the criticism that salvation requires the presence and action of one who is truly God, effectively ended the movement in GERMANY. In the twentieth century, the Scottish Congregationalist PETER TAYLOR FORSYTH (1848–1921) so revised the theory that it was scarcely kenosis at all. According to him, the attributes were not renounced but exercised in a new mode of their being. Christ is the Godhead, self-reduced but real, an expression rather than retraction of the infinite God whose infinity contains a capacity for the finite, and whose kenosis leads to a plerosis, a fulfillment. While versions of kenotic theory lingered into the twentieth century, they have suffered damaging criticism, particularly for their mythological form and for appearing to suggest that Christ can only become incarnate by being in some way less than fully divine.

The approach of some of the Reformed to the challenge of Socinianism was rather different. Rather than using kenosis as a theory to bring the human and divine into logical consistency, John Owen (1616–1683) sought a solution in a strong doctrine of the humanity of Christ understood with the help of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. His Son was indeed self-emptied into the flesh, but remained fully the Word. After the incarnation, however, which is indeed the act of the divine Word (that is to say, in the hypostatic union of divine and human in Jesus) it is the Spirit rather than the Word who is the motive force of Jesus' actions. We have Christ as God incarnate, and so fully both human and divine, but maintained in his human integrity by his relation to the Father through the Spirit. Similarly, mainstream Reformed christology on the continent of Europe, as summarized in Heinrich Heppes' compendium of 1861, was classically patristic in form. The divinity of Christ is not that of the divine nature, but of the Word, who did not take to himself a ready-made human being, but added human nature to his eternal and infinite being, a human nature subject in its servant form to all its attendant weaknesses, although in a sinless way. Like Owen, the Reformed dogmatists taught that the Holy Spirit was the agent of Christ's human formation and sanctification.

Enlightenment and Liberalism

In sum: at the center of the difference between the Lutheran and Reformed christology lay the treatment of the communication of attributes, according to which divine and human attributes are, so to speak, transferable. For Lutherans, what is at stake is the relation between the two natures, so that their monophysite tendency derives from a Nestorian question. The Reformed position, by contrast, takes the doctrine, after Cyril of Alexandria, to mean that both divine and human predicates are attributable to the *person* of Christ by virtue of the union of divine and human in the incarnation. Both christologies, however, were subjected to radical critique in the Enlightenment. Different aspects of the critique can be found in the work of HERMANN S. REIMARUS (1694–1768), GOTTLHOLD E. LESSING (1729–1781), and IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804). In a work published posthumously by Lessing, Reimarus contended that the resurrection of Jesus and the subsequent dogmatic teaching of his divinity was a deliberate invention to mask the failure of his ministry. Rejecting such a simplistic thesis on the grounds of the moral integrity of the writers and the conflicts to be expected in eyewitness accounts, Lessing’s challenge was essentially hermeneutic. For him, between the present and the past lay an “broad ugly ditch” separating modernity from the Jesus of history and epistemologically denying the capacity of historical events, even the Resurrection, to found the certainties of religious belief. Kant’s rationalist and more radical refusal to base christology on anything traditional or historical led him to an essentially moralistic interpretation. The significance Jesus had was as the teacher of a pure rational ethic, of which he accordingly served as an example of what might be discovered by reason, but no more.

Conceding Kant’s case against an objective christology derived from transcendent revelation, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834), influenced as he was also by both Moravian piety and Romantic reaction against rationalism (see MORAVIAN CHURCH, ROMANTICISM) sought to expand beyond Kant’s restrictive limits. His was a historical Jesus whose uniquely real experience of God represented the virtual existence of God within him, and so was constitutive and not merely exemplary for succeeding generations. This involved the rejection of two polar considerations that had been definitive for orthodox Protestant theology until that time. On the one hand, the concept of a transcendent redeemer who became incarnate is displaced by an immanent divine force welling up from within history; Jesus’ significance derives from his supreme and unclouded God-consciousness. On the other, the rejection of the Resurrection and ascension as definitive for christology meant the loss of a present Christ—“at the right hand of the Father”—mediated by the Spirit (Calvin’s position), in favor of a form of redemptive experience mediated historically from the past Jesus through the experience of the Christian community transmitted through time. Schleiermacher is one of the first to attempt to base his christology on a historical quest for Jesus, in an attempt to subvert the criticism of Reimarus, Lessing, and Kant. In the appeal to consciousness and to history he is definitive for Protestant christology thereafter. In his hesitancy to accept the full reality of Jesus’ temptation in favor of a concept of “unclouded blessedness,” there is evidence that his historical quest in practice subverted the full humanity of Christ. This is also represented by his marginalizing of the Jewishness of Jesus, something being increasingly corrected in christology after the Second World War.

The other main founder of nineteenth-century Protestant christology, G.W.F. HEGEL (1770–1831), sought to break free from the limits of Kantian rationalism, not by an appeal to experience but by an altered conception of rationality. At the root of his christology is an attempt to mediate between *Vorstellung* (representation), which referred to the historical and imaginative form in which biblical truth was expounded, and *Begriff* (concept), which he took to be its inner rational meaning. The essential modernity of Hegel's christology is shown in its tendency to theological immanence, conceiving christology as the realization of divine realities *within* general history and consequently giving an essentially subjective account of the unique incarnation of the Son of God at a particular time. Christianity is an absolute revelation as the realization of the consciousness of Godmanhood rather than its unique historical instantiation. Here the Lutheran communication of attributes is radicalized. Before this, despite the occasional rhetorical reference to God's death on the cross, the conception had not been reversed because the doctrine of the immutability of God prevented the attribution of human characteristics to God. Hegel, however, not only promotes a strong version of the identity of the divine and human (for him the divine nature is the human), but also develops a christology of the death of God that is of both cultural and theological significance. Earlier theologians had said that God was crucified but construed that in terms of the death of the incarnate Word. Hegel moves a step further, at least suggesting that God *simpliciter* so dies. Culturally this was later used to argue—for example in Nietzsche—that God has died in our history and is no longer significant for human life. Theologically, it suggests a revised christology according to which the locus of divine action is immanent rather than transcendent. Ultimately, in combination with the cultural trend, it founded an irreversible movement from *Vorstellung* to *Begriff* such that it is the human race that is now the only divine Christ. The Lutheran tendency to suggest that what can be attributed to one nature must also be attributable to the other thus leads inexorably to modern secular and “death of God” theologies.

That was not, however, Hegel's position, which was, rather, ambiguous: it remains unclear whether the historical Christ remains “elevated” to a higher philosophical level, or is “abolished” (the two meanings of Hegel's *Aufhebung*) in favor of a merely immanent cultural process. After Hegel there was a division between the “right” and “left” Hegelians, the former concentrating on the historical, the latter on the conceptual aspects, and this led ultimately to the atheism of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and others. An important transitional figure is DAVID F. STRAUSS (1808–1874), whose radical Hegelianism involved the rejection of all theological interpretation of Jesus on the grounds that it was myth, by which was meant the projection of primitive minds untutored in modern philosophical sophistication. This is another way in which an atheist “christology” became a paradoxical development of the monophysite Lutheran strain in Hegel, according to which the divinity of Jesus becomes the divinity of all.

SÖREN KIERKEGAARD (1813–1855) believed that such general divinizing of the human was but the logical development of Hegel's theory of *Begriff*, which transmuted the unique divinity of Jesus of Nazareth into something quite different. According to him, Christianity teaches that one man only is divine, while to transmute that into a general human divinity is to revert to paganism. In reaction against it, he returned to the orthodox tradition and proclaimed its essential paradox: the infinite and the finite being contraries, the intellectual and moral offense of christology could not be thought away but only

solved practically by living the faith. Only for those who appropriate the truth does its logic become intelligible. Kierkegaard actively welcomed Lessing's challenge because it demonstrated that the logic of christology is equally difficult for any age, including Christ's contemporaries who thus have no advantage over those facing the challenge of belief in the modern age. This was a relatively lone voice, but was to bear fruit in the twentieth century.

Christological immanence tended to rule the day in the nineteenth century, though there are exceptions, which we shall meet. Within a wide range of variations, the following tendencies were prominent. (1) A basis was sought in a more or less modified Hegelianism, according to which history is seen as the locus for divine action, centrally in Jesus. Notable here was the work of I.A.Dorner, who combined elements of Hegel, Schleiermacher, and the classical christological tradition. (2) A basis for christology was sought in historical research, oriented either to a (Kantian) moralism, as in ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822–1889), or a more experimental approach deriving from Schleiermacher (Rudolf Herrmann). Using a method now characterized as "christology from below," an attempt was made to ground Jesus' divinity in features of his historical career. As with Schleiermacher, however, this method often failed to produce the human Jesus that was so desperately sought, tending to a christology of a divinized man by so elevating the religious or moral qualities of the human being that a Hegelian divinization of the human was reproduced. Paradoxically, an attempt to emphasize the humanity of the savior led to its etherialization.

A Return to Transcendence

At the end of the century, the quest for the historical Jesus came under two-pronged attack. Biblical scholars, prominently Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer, indicated the bourgeois character of the figure presented, and argued that Jesus was a (failed) eschatological preacher rather than a moralist or conveyor of religious experience. Hermeneutical and dogmatic criticism was supplied by Martin Kähler (1835–1912), whose importance lies also in the fact that he influenced KARL BARTH (1886–1968), PAUL TILLICH (1886–1965), and RUDOLF BULTMANN (1884–1976). For him, the gospel writers portrayed the Christ of the gospel proclamation and were wrongly quarried for merely historical information. Unlike Bultmann, however, Kähler was not a historical sceptic, for he believed that the gospel portrayals presented an essentially credible picture. He rather sought a properly theological interpretation of the texts. In America, christology followed a similar course, but under rather different impulses. Defenses of the faith against Arianism and Socinianism in the generations after Jonathan Edwards's strongly trinitarian christology gave way before the influence of unitarianism. During the nineteenth century a rational defense of orthodox Calvinist christology was attempted by Charles Hodge (1797–1878), J.W.Nevin developed a christology with central orientation to the church and the eucharist, while HORACE BUSHNELL (1802–1876) based one on symbol and an appeal to feeling rather than to objective dogmatic truth.

Theological immanentism was not, however, the only direction of nineteenth-century christology, and the example of the Scottish Presbyterian, EDWARD IRVING (1792–1834), is significant for his seeking another route than historical research to establish an

adequate doctrine of the humanity of Christ. Apparently, for he does not reveal his sources, building upon Puritan theologians like Owen, Irving argued that the incarnation represented a complete self-emptying of the eternal Son into the human being, Jesus, not at the expense of but as the expression of his divinity. This identification involved his sharing what Irving rashly, for he was convicted of heresy by a church court, called his sinful humanity. His point was not that Christ was sinful, but that the Holy Spirit subdued the sinful tendencies of the flesh to enable the eternal Son to redeem it as truly man through the course of his life and the offering of his death. Like Owen, Irving builds upon Calvin's appeal to the importance for the believer of the human priesthood of Christ as it was expressed in the Letter to the Hebrews.

Another exception to the liberalizing tendency was provided late in the century by P.T.Forsyth, a Scottish pupil of Ritschl teaching in London, who experienced an evangelical conversion on the basis of which he returned to a dogmatic christology. Still influenced by Ritschl, however, he sought a "moralized" dogma from which metaphysics was excluded. Forsyth's Anglican contemporaries—and if some of them were more Catholic than Protestant in orientation, they were affected by and, in turn, helped to shape liberal Protestantism—were mostly exercised with another problem, that of evolution. Following Charles Darwin's (1809–1882) challenge to Christian belief (see DARWINISM), they (particularly J.R.Illingworth) sought to show that the incarnation represented a qualitatively new development of a universal immanence of the Logos in the world. More conservative Anglicans saw in this too much of an accommodation to the intellectual currents of the day, and much twentieth-century English christology did indeed move away from Illingworth's strong hold on the patristic tradition, via the kenoticism of Gore, into scepticism about the orthodox position.

The early Karl Barth changed the direction of much Protestant christology by (1) rejecting as inconsistent his teacher Rudolf Herrmann's combination of experience and historical christology; (2) accepting the eschatological christology of recent New Testament interpretation, which he took to be a virtue rather than a problem; and (3) adding a liberal dose of Kierkegaardian paradox. This was not, however, a dogmatic christology as much as one of event, according to which in Jesus Christ the unknown God breaks "vertically," and so, according to this conception, eschatologically, on to the horizontal plane of history. Dogma was held at bay by what Barth later believed was an excessive appeal to existentialist—and so subjectivist—conceptuality. Although he replaced this with a trinitarian theology of revelation to which God the Son's revelatory incarnation in space and time was central, his later dogmatic christology remains one of event, according to which Jesus Christ is God taking place in time in order to bring about his purposes of universal reconciliation. This was, however, by no means a straightforward return to classical christology, for Barth sought to transcend the static conceptuality of the tradition by weaving together, in a single multivolume development, both what dogmatics had distinguished as the person and work of Christ and the Reformed notion of Christ's three offices as priest, king, and prophet (notice the change of order). Jesus Christ is at once God's priestly condescension to the human condition, the "Royal Man" brought by God to authentic human action and the "Victor," the prophet who overturns evil by the revelation of divine reconciliation achieved in him. In its tendency to identify Jesus as God's self-giving in time, Barth's christology is, in many respects, more Lutheran than Calvinist in shape, with a heavy stress on the incarnation as

God's self-humiliation to the human condition. This was a successful way of overcoming the kenotic approach, for God's very divinity is not renounced but revealed and expressed in his capacity to become human. However, there is a price to pay in the fact that Barth is more successful in characterizing the humanity of God (as he later summed up his approach) than the humanity of Jesus, which tends to fade into the background.

Barth and Beyond

Widespread influence was also exercised by two of Barth's contemporaries, who maintained a more positive orientation to existentialism. Rudolf Bultmann eschewed all historical and dogmatic basis for christology, centering on the rise of the Resurrection faith in the church and the appeal of the proclaimed Christ. Where Kähler had said that the real Christ is the proclaimed Christ, Bultmann made it *only* the preached Christ. Tillich is more difficult to characterize. His christology in his *Systematic Theology 2* was widely greeted as a modern version of orthodox christology, but both rejected patristic conceptuality and marginalized the historical Jesus in an inverted kenotic christology according to which Jesus is conceived to empty himself of his particular humanity in order that the New Being might be realized through him.

Of Barth's pupils, the first to make a major impact was DIETRICH BONHOEFFER (1906–1945), to whose legacy there are two sides. His early lectures, published in English as *Christology*, focused on the question of who, rather than what, is Jesus, and were strongly oriented to the Chalcedonian tradition. Under the impact of his later criticism of Barth, his christology took on a more Lutheran character, strongly identifying God with the one who died on the cross in a suggestion that on the cross God allows himself to be driven out of the world for the sake of a "religionless" Christianity. Though clearly not intended by Bonhoeffer, this later helped to give rise, especially in America, to death of God christologies, with their Hegelian suggestion that God immolates himself in the death of Jesus on the cross.

More directly in line with Barth in the later twentieth century is T.F. Torrance (1913-) who, however, injected a more directly patristic note. For Torrance, Athanasius's concept of the *homoousios*—God the Son as "one in being" with God the Father—serves several purposes. It establishes a positive relation between God and the created realms of time and space and enables parallels to be drawn between patristic theology and the epistemology of modern science. At the same time, it provides the basis for a strong reassertion of the classical teaching of the divinity of God the Son and his unique, revelatory, and saving historical incarnation. While Torrance's strong objectivism and appeal to rationality represent developments beyond Barth, albeit within a similar framework, two of his German successors have proved more critical. Wolfhart Pannenberg (1928–) critical of Barth's subjectivism (his irrational appeal to revelation) sought to base christology not in credal assertions from above, but from below in the findings of historical research, where he sought also to undermine Bultmann's historical scepticism. Combining an argument for the historicity of the resurrection with a conception of history adapted from Hegel, he argued that Jesus is, by virtue of the Resurrection, retroactively confirmed in oneness with God. In his *Systematic Theology*, Pannenberg bases this on the trinitarian notion of the Son's self-distinction from the

Father, a self-distinction taking form in the incarnation and confirmed by the Resurrection to be such. In some contrast, while sharing an eschatological orientation, JÜRGEN MOLTMANN (1926–) developed a christology whose orientation was political and apologetic. Taking his starting point from the problem of Auschwitz, he developed a concept of Jesus as the “crucified God” redeeming the suffering of the world by sharing it. This was expanded into a “messianic” christology whose political implications are prominent.

The latter half of the twentieth century opened with the reassertion in the English-speaking world of christologies, some of them atheist, owing much to Bultmann and Strauss. More recently it has become common to encounter theologies of the incarnation that are undefensively articulated as intrinsic to any Christian theology. Most striking is the christology of the Lutheran Robert Jenson, who makes appeal to the christology of Brenz in developing a doctrine strongly oriented to church and Eucharist, and teaching that Jesus is raised from the dead into, almost as, the church. Jenson is relatively uninterested in the lineaments of the human life and sinlessness of Jesus, and thus his work is in marked contrast with recent developments in Reformed christology, which take up the appeal to the Spirit in Owen and Irving, and to the notion of recapitulation in Irenaeus of Lyons. According to this, Jesus of Nazareth is the eternal Son of God who does the work of God as one who is fully human, recapitulating the human story and offering to God the Father, through the Spirit, a truthful, free, and obedient gift of his whole life on behalf of others.

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COLIN GUNTON

CHUBB, THOMAS (1679–1747)

Radical Deist. Chubb was born September 29, 1679 in Salisbury, ENGLAND. He was self-taught, working as a glover and then a tallow-chandler. His reading of WILLIAM WHISTON'S *Primitive Christianity Revived* inspired his own writing, in an Arian frame, of the *Supremacy of the Father Asserted* (1711), the first of a long line of books, which appeared in the 1730s and 1740s, discussing the relationship of reason and revelation and the personhood of God. In this he had the financial support of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, and others. Chubb claimed to be a Christian and a believer.

His works were noted by Alexander Pope (who described him as “a wonderful phenomenon of Wiltshire”) and other admirers for the radical way in which they popularized Edward’s Deist views and challenged older theological and philosophical assumptions. He merited a direct challenge from JONATHAN EDWARDS in treatise “On the Freedom of the Will” (1754). Chubb proclaimed the supremacy of reason over scripture. The New Testament was called the “fountain of confusion and contradiction” that required verification and restoration to its primitive simplicity. In his book *The True Gospel of Jesus Christ Asserted...morality alone can make men acceptable to God* (1738), Chubb maintained that following the teaching of Jesus Christ, exemplified in Jesus’s life-words, was sufficient for SALVATION. He considered Jesus a unique person, fully human but subordinate to the Father.

He remained single and went regularly to his parish church in Salisbury. After his death on February 8, 1747 several of his writings appeared as *Posthumous Works*. His work continued to be read widely in the UNITED STATES.

See also Deism

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TIM MACQUIBAN

CHURCH

According to the Christian understanding the church is found in the Old Testament as well as in the New. In both Testaments, the church means the “gathered people of God” (literally, “the assembly”). A common thread—the verb “to call”—links the Hebrew and the Greek meanings. The church is the community called by the covenant-making and covenant-keeping God from among the nations to worship God and to be the instrument

of God's purpose in the world. In the New Testament, *ekklesia* (assembly=church) is used in three senses: of the local congregation, the community where spiritual gifts are exercised; of the church generically, wherever it is found; and of the mystical church, the body that has Christ as its head. The Latin equivalent *ecclesia* gives us the English words "ecclesiastical" and "ecclesiology." (The word "church" for a building comes from a different word, related to the Scots "kirk" and meaning "belonging to the Lord.")

Forms of the Church

All Christian traditions acknowledge at least two fundamental expressions or instantiations of church: the church in a parish or neighborhood and the universal church. The REFORMATION emphasized the idea of "particular" churches, which were coterminous with nations, countries, or cities (e.g., the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, the Church of Geneva), while also acknowledging the universal visible church, made up of particular churches. The reformers claimed that these churches had the AUTHORITY and duty to reform themselves, even when the universal church could not act as one. The notion of particular churches is important for the Reformation principle of diversity of traditions and practices (as opposed to centrally enforced global uniformity). In modern terms, it promotes the inculturation of the Gospel in diverse contexts.

The Roman Catholic Church is a globally organized church, with its symbolic and administrative center in Rome, made up of dioceses led by their bishops and referred to as "local churches." Episcopally ordered churches understand the diocese ecclesologically, not merely functionally or administratively, and see it as an authentic expression of church. There is an unresolved disagreement in Roman Catholic thought over the question of whether the local church or the universal church is primary. Does the diocese exist because there is already a universal church, or is the universal church possible because it is made up of dioceses? The question can be translated into congregational—universal terms for non-Episcopal churches.

In today's culture, the ecclesial center of gravity rests with the local church, and it is not easy to persuade Christians to invest ecclesial value in more remote structures. The notion of the "gathered church," which belongs to the Congregationalist strand of ecclesiology and is found among BAPTISTS and Pentecostals, is the image of church that is most congenial to postmodern CULTURE, which looks for an eclectic convergence of the like-minded. Christians today find it hard to see that they could be part of something on a regional, national, or global scale, or that they could be accountable to a "higher" level of oversight for what is done locally. The territorial understanding of church, based on the parochial and diocesan structure that remains important to the historic churches of Europe, is an opaque concept to many modern Christians. Its mission potential, involving the offer of pastoral ministry to all in the community, is seldom appreciated.

One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church

In the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, Christians confess that they believe in “one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church.” In its creedal context, this statement is clearly an affirmation of faith. Its reference is eschatological, looking to the fulfilment of the purposes of God, rather than empirical, looking at the church as we know it. Churches shaped substantially by the Reformation (the Protestant churches) or touched significantly by it (the Church of England and the other churches of the Anglican Communion) are careful not to identify their institutions with the “one church” of the creed, though they believe their churches to be expressions of the one church or to participate in it. The Roman Catholic Church articulates an ambiguous relation to the “one church”, holding that the latter “subsists in” the former, but not identifying the two without remainder. It is the Orthodox churches, however, that come closest to identifying themselves with the church of the creed in an exclusive sense. They do not recognize any other church—not even the Roman Catholic Church—as “the church.”

The four dimensions or attributes of the church that are affirmed in the creed are widely interpreted along the following lines. They are to be seen as both gift and task; they belong to the realm of GRACE, yet they entail a human responsibility to actualize them. Ordained ministers and especially bishops (in churches that have them) are particularly entrusted with this responsibility.

The *unity* of the church is grounded confessionally in the apostolic faith, to which the Scriptures testify and that the creeds articulate. It is grounded sacramentally in BAPTISM and comes to fuller expression in the Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER). The unity of ministry and oversight also belongs to the oneness of the church. Whereas Christian history contains a sorry tale of division and fragmentation, doctrinal disagreement, and formal schism, the ecumenical movement has begun to reverse this inveterate trend, and relations between churches have been transformed during the twentieth century. Church unity is not an all-or-nothing matter and should not be identified with some hypothetical future “crunch point.” It is inherent in the existence of the church and comes to expression in a graduated and progressive way.

The *holiness* of the church does not refer primarily to the actual purity of its members, for they remain imperfect and do not entirely avoid sin; rather, it refers to the sanctifying purpose of God. It is God who chooses, calls, justifies and sanctifies the church and will in the end glorify her and make her perfect in Christ. However, the church is progressively made holy in each generation by the ministry of the Word and of the SACRAMENTS, combined with pastoral care and oversight.

The *catholicity* of the church refers to its universal scope. (MARTIN LUTHER substituted “universal” for “catholic” in the Creed: he brought out the meaning but sacrificed a precious Christian term.) The church catholic is intended to meet the needs and embrace the aspirations of all humankind. As the mother of Christians, the church catholic embraces all God’s children. As with the other creedal attributes of the church, catholicity is often impaired and lacks credibility, especially when particular marginalized groups feel themselves excluded.

The *apostolicity* of the church refers to its foundation in the teaching and witness of the apostles as we find it in the New Testament, and to the imperative of continuing their mission. The marks of apostolicity consist of all of the permanent characteristics of the church of the apostles as these have been perpetuated in the church in visible continuity, especially the ministry of the Word, of the sacraments and of oversight. The reformers stressed that apostolicity resided in faithfulness to the apostles' DOCTRINE, not in a chain of ordinations. However, ecumenical dialogue has tended to recognize that episcopal succession can be a sign, though not a guarantee of the continuing apostolicity of the church, because bishops have a particular (but not exclusive) responsibility for teaching and defending the apostolic faith. As with unity, holiness, and catholicity, the church often fails to be completely faithful to its apostolic foundation and falters in its mission. This makes it all the more important that she should confess the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church as an act of faith and commitment.

The Reformation and the Church

The reformers may be said to have concentrated single-mindedly on the christological center of the church—on what makes the church the church—and to have been fairly unconcerned with the circumference of the visible church and with patrolling the boundary. Sixteenth-century Christians agonized over the question of the true church, the assumption being that one was true and others were false; in one, SALVATION was to be found; in the other, it was not. Luther and JOHN CALVIN found the marks of the true church in word and sacrament truly taught and practiced according to Christ's institution. But John Calvin, a second generation reformer added the mark of discipline (effective pastoral oversight that required the cooperation of the magistrate) to the word and sacrament. The Anabaptists insisted on forming the true church, composed of conscious beliefs, a church "without spots or wrinkles." Some on the radical wing of the Reformation took an intense interest in the doctrinal and liturgical (or rather nonliturgical) purity of the congregation and reveled in the power of excommunication.

The popular rhetoric of the Reformation condemned the Roman Catholic Church, in its incorrigibly unreformed state, as ANTICHRIST, but Luther, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, and Calvin were more judicious. The papacy was one thing—it persecuted the reform—but the community of the baptized faithful, with all its ignorance, was another. True Christians were to be found in every time and place. The Roman Church contained vestiges of the Church of Christ. Certain reforms that were resisted by the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century, such as the vernacular liturgy, communion in both kinds (the wine as well as the bread), and promoting the study of Scriptures throughout the church, were implemented four centuries later by the Second Vatican Council. Other issues were partly resolved or at least clarified by ecumenical dialogue, notably the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION and the ministry of the Bishop of Rome. Relations between the Protestant (and Anglican) churches on the one hand and the Roman Catholic Church on the other hand have been transformed by the ecumenical movement.

Anglican Developments

In Anglican ecclesiology at the turn of the sixteenth century, RICHARD HOOKER and Richard Field placed more emphasis than the continental reformers did on the universal visible church and on the profession of baptismal faith taken at face value. Hooker affirmed that pre-Reformation Christians had been saved. He rejected the term “the invisible church” and spoke instead of “the church mystical.” Field saw the Council of Trent as the watershed when the Roman Catholic Church decisively rejected the reform and canonised false doctrine.

For two centuries after the Reformation, the Church of England saw itself as a sister church of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Anglican divines, however High Church, recognized non-Episcopal Protestant ministries on the Continent, though they condemned nonconformists in England for schism (see NONCONFORMITY). After 1662, the Church of England required Episcopal ordination for all her clergy. The influence of the Nonjurors (from 1688) and then of the OXFORD MOVEMENT (from 1833) soured the Anglican view of non-Episcopal churches until Anglican ecclesiology came back into balance in the late twentieth century. Agreements such as MEISSEN, PORVOO, and Called to Common Mission made possible various degrees of communion between Anglican and Lutheran churches in Europe and North America.

Visible and Invisible

For Luther, the empirical church, even when reformed, was deceptive; it could never be revelatory of the real church, which was a mystery that was hidden and could be glimpsed only by the eyes of FAITH. Calvin also stressed the mystical dimension of the church and located it in the union of believers with Christ through the Holy Spirit, by means of the instrumentality of faith, BAPTISM, the Lord’s Supper, and the local fellowship. Calvin’s emphasis on the means of grace indicates that he had a stronger doctrine of the institutional fabric of the church than Luther did.

The relationship between the visible and the invisible (mystical) dimensions of the church is an index of Catholic and Protestant emphases (albeit dealing in simplifications and stereotypes). Precisely in this area, the Leuenberg Fellowship document *The Church of Jesus Christ* reveals both development and tension in modern Protestant ecclesiology. For all the gains of the ecumenical movement, including basic agreement on a range of disputed doctrines (not least justification), Roman Catholics, Orthodox, Protestants, and Anglicans have not succeeded in reaching solid agreement about the nature or being of the church.

See also Anglicanism; Bishop and Episcopacy; Ecclesiology; Ecumenism; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Lutheranism; Pentecostalism; Orthodox, Eastern

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PAUL AVIS

CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW

Protestants have adopted varying understandings on church-state issues, ranging from an advocacy of theocracy (the church controlling the state) to Erastianism (the state controlling the church). Many Protestants have favored an established church, where the church receives governmental support, but many Protestants have also advocated the separation of church and state. The disparity in Protestant church-state views arises from the multitude of theological, cultural, and historical factors that have influenced the development of differing church traditions.

Martin Luther and Lutheranism

Early in its history the Western church sought to delineate the roles played by church and state. In *The City of God* Augustine of Hippo argued that the City of God (roughly, the church) and the City of Man (roughly, the state) were two separate kingdoms with different loves and different organizing principles. MARTIN LUTHER sought to preserve the Augustinian distinction of the two kingdoms, but over time, he granted the state greater control over the life of the church. He eventually went so far as to declare that it was incumbent on the magistrate to root out HERESY and ensure proper church order. In 1528 Luther was instrumental in giving legitimacy to the visitations, a program

in which the rulers sent out visitors to inquire and correct errors in the Protestant churches. Luther also abandoned his early opposition to persecution of heretics, and by 1530 he consented to the imposition of the death penalty for Anabaptists.

The determinative role played by the state in Lutheran church affairs was codified in law as LUTHERANISM spread. The Danish Church Ordinance of 1539 declared that the Christian monarch should supervise the PREACHING of the word, the administration of the SACRAMENTS, and the Christian care and upbringing of children and the poor (see CHILDHOOD; CHARITY). Other Scandinavian countries that embraced the Lutheran REFORMATION passed similar ordinances. The Peace of Augsburg of 1555, a settlement between the territorial rulers of GERMANY and the emperor, stipulated that princes were to determine whether their territory would embrace Lutheranism or Catholicism, giving the ruler the supreme right to determine religious affairs within its borders.

John Calvin and the Reformed Churches

JOHN CALVIN'S social vision was of a holy commonwealth united under God wherein state and church remained institutionally separate but worked together to transform society. As with Luther, Calvin declared that only spiritual tools were available to the church's ministry. The state, on the other hand, was charged with maintaining order and enforcing outward conformity to the Ten Commandments and other biblical precepts. Calvin appealed to the biblical example of Old Testament kings who were "much praised in Scripture for restoring the worship of God when it had been corrupted and overturned."

Some commentators have labeled Calvin's churchstate program a theocracy, but this term is misleading. A theocracy is literally a governmental system in which God rules the nation, but the word is used loosely to describe a government in which clergy hold the reins of power. Calvin never advocated such a system and insisted that the church was not to be a territorial power. Calvin even declared that Jesus Christ himself "intended to debar the ministers of his word from civil domination and worldly powers."

An important church-state idea that emerged in Calvin's writing was the doctrine of interposition. Lesser magistrates had the right and Christian duty to restrain the wickedness of a tyrannical king, even to the point of deposing him. JOHN KNOX, a disciple of Calvin and a leader of early Scottish PRESBYTERIANISM, went beyond Calvin regarding the right to revolution. Whereas Calvin limited the right of interposition to lesser magistrates, Knox declared it the duty of all Christians to overthrow a tyrant. For Knox silence in the face of tyranny implied complicity with injustice.

Anglicanism and the English Reformation

The English Reformation of HENRY VIII was marked by the Erastian tendency in most forms of religious establishment, that is, the priority of the state over the church. Henry VIII severed his nation's ties to the papacy when the pope refused to annul Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Henry made himself the head of the English church,

and Parliament issued the Supremacy Act of 1534, which declared the monarch to be “the supreme head in earth of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND,” with “full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities,” within the church. He and his successors sought to establish a single, uniform religious policy for all of ENGLAND. Every aspect of church life—DOCTRINE, sacraments, vestments, education, and charity work—came under the purview of the crown. When Queen ELIZABETH I came to the throne, the Supremacy Act was reaffirmed in 1559 with only slight alteration, and all church officials were required to swear that the monarch was “the only supreme governor of this realm.”

English Puritanism

In doctrine and temperament Henry and most of his heirs were not truly interested in reforming their church along Protestant lines, but their break from Rome opened the door for more thoroughgoing Protestants to push for greater ecclesiastical reform. Calvinistic Puritans, the largest group of Protestant dissenters, wanted to do away with the trappings of Roman Catholicism that remained in the Anglican church (see CALVINISM; PURITANISM; ANGLICANISM). Their agitation for a more thoroughly Protestantized church threatened to undo the complex *via media*, or middle way, established by Queen Elizabeth to placate moderate Catholics and Protestants. When James I came to the English throne, he sought to stamp out the Puritan challenge and forced many of them to flee to relative safety in the New World. Later King Charles I appointed WILLIAM LAUD as archbishop of Canterbury, and Laud’s zealous pursuit of Puritan dissenters caused growing popular unrest. By 1642 Puritans in Parliament presented the king with their “Grand Remonstrance,” a statement of grievances and suggested solutions, but it was then too late. Puritan militants and other opponents of the crown rebelled, and in the wake of this CIVIL WAR, the king was executed and a Puritan commonwealth formed in 1649. Under the leadership of OLIVER CROMWELL, the commonwealth sought to advance Protestant interests, and Protestants of all stripes were given a fair degree of toleration. Cromwell urged Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Independents to learn how to coexist. When Cromwell died in 1658, however, the monarchy granted TOLERATION to both Puritans and Catholics, but such toleration came at the price of periodic persecution and the removal of certain rights. The Test Act of 1673, for example, excluded all nonconformists (i.e., non-Anglicans) from holding civil, ecclesiastical, or military posts.

Anabaptists and the Radical Reformation

Perhaps the most important Protestant reinterpretation of church-state relations was promoted by the Anabaptists. Unlike other Protestants, these “Radical Reformers” rejected any state-established church and sought to create a pure church made up of only sincere believers. Most Anabaptists embraced a dualistic theology that highlighted the disjunction between the church and the world. The SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION, an early Anabaptist statement of faith, declared that all people are “in but two classes, good

and bad, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, the world and those who have departed the world, God's temple and idols, Christ and Belial; and none can have part with the other." This dualism, when combined with a principle of nonresistance, led most Anabaptists to withdraw from all association with the government. Anabaptists neither sought nor accepted aid from the state. Whereas Luther and Calvin saw the two spheres of temporal and spiritual power as harmonious in the plan of God, the Anabaptists tended to see them at war with each other. MENNO SIMONS, a leader of Dutch ANABAPTISM, declared: "No, no, Christ Jesus and His powerful Word and the Spirit of God are the caretakers and defenders of the church, and not, forever not, the emperor, king, or any worldly power!"

Menno Simons became the spokesperson for the movement after Protestant and Catholic magistrates had martyred most of the early Anabaptist leaders. Menno recognized the state as an institution established by God, but he insisted that it lay outside the perfection of Christ. Most Anabaptists therefore disavowed that a Christian could serve in civil government and refused to pass judgment in civil disputes with unbelievers.

Contemporary Protestant Developments

Each of the church-state positions that developed during the Reformation continues to provide the foundation for current Protestant ideas on this subject. Most Protestants, especially in the UNITED STATES, have moved away from the exclusivist forms of religious establishment that emerged in the Reformation, although a few Protestant communities continue to advocate a closer union between church and state.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Lutheran establishment continued relatively unchanged in most countries. Although church and state were separated in Germany in 1919, many Protestants supported the "German Christian" movement, which favored a close alliance between the church and Hitler's Third Reich (see GERMAN CHRISTIANS). Those who opposed this attempt to establish a Nazified church formed the CONFESSING CHURCH movement, whose BARMEN DECLARATION proclaimed Jesus Christ alone as Lord of his church. After World War II most Lutheran nations in Europe retained some form of church establishment, although SWEDEN officially disestablished the Lutheran church in 2000. In America Lutherans have embraced the separation of church and state inherent in America's constitutional system.

The Anglican church-state model has also remained relatively unchanged, although this may change in the early years of the twenty-first century. The British state takes a less active role in church affairs, but Parliament must still give approval to important clerical decisions and appointments. At the end of the twentieth century, there have been repeated calls for full disestablishment of the Church of England. Already, the English government funds schools across religious lines, including Anglican, Jewish, Muslim, Catholic, Sikh, and Adventist schools. Prince Charles, the presumptive heir to the throne at the turn of the twenty-first century, indicated that he would prefer to be called the Defender of the Faiths, rather than the Defender of the Faith.

A diversity of views marks the contemporary state of Reformed Protestant understandings of church and state. Mainline Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the United States have been among the strongest supporters of church-state separation. Barry

Lynn, the executive director of AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, is an ordained minister in the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, a progressive denomination with Calvinistic roots. On the other hand, some conservative Presbyterians have become strong proponents of greater cooperation of church and state (see PRESBYTERIANISM). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Calvinistic Dutch theologian and prime minister ABRAHAM KUYPER helped formulate the doctrine of sphere sovereignty, which declared that society was made up of various institutions like church, state, and FAMILY that exercised authority in clearly defined social spheres. Because such structural pluralism is normative, each social sphere is able to safeguard society from lapsing into some form of authoritarianism. According to this doctrine, church and state support each other in an attempt to promote wholesome community life. KARL BARTH, a Reformed theologian and important advocate of NEO-ORTHODOXY in the middle part of the twentieth century, stressed that the state was not outside of Christ's dominion and that the church had an obligation to oversee and, when necessary, criticize the state whenever government sought to establish itself as an absolute power.

In America the Christian Reconstructionist movement has taken the emphasis on God's moral law found in the thought of John Calvin and turned it into a theological system advocating the reconstruction of civil society according to the dictates of Old Testament civil and moral law. Reconstructionists have gone so far as to advocate the reestablishment of the death penalty for such infractions as blasphemy or HOMOSEXUALITY. Christian Reconstructionism has had an impact outside of traditional Reformed circles, and a number of charismatic churches have adopted part of the Christian Reconstructionist theology under the rubric of "Dominion Theology."

Modern Anabaptists have remained true to their view of the disjuncture between church and state. Many conservative Anabaptists such as the AMISH in North America have adopted a "come-outer" mentality of withdrawing from all aspects of society, including participation in government. Other MENNONITES have sought to walk a finer line concerning the amount of participation they should have in the state. Anabaptist theologian John Howard Yoder argued quite persuasively in his book, *The Politics of Jesus*, that Anabaptist principles should play an important role in modern society. Although not confusing the kingdoms of this world with the KINGDOM OF GOD, Yoder and similar Anabaptists like Ronald Sider of Evangelicals for Social Action have sought to bring the ETHICS of the Sermon of the Mount into play in the political arena.

Although the churches of the Radical Reformation are relatively small today, Anabaptists' church-state views have had a great impact on the large and growing Baptist church movement. Most contemporary Baptist groups are not directly related to the Anabaptist movement of the Reformation, but they have historically embraced the Anabaptist emphasis on the separation of church and state. BAPTISTS of the eighteenth century like ISAAC BACKUS and John Leland were at the forefront for disestablishment in colonial America. Today, such organizations as the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE remain strong advocates of religious liberty worldwide. Nevertheless, with the rise of the CHRISTIAN RIGHT in the United States in the last quarter of the twentieth century, many conservative Baptists have moved to a more accommodationist perspective in church-state matters. Although still wishing to promote religious liberty for all, groups like the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

have sought to counter a perceived trend toward secularism in public life. Conservatives like Richard Land, the head of the Southern Baptist Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, see themselves as moderate separationists who remain vigorously opposed to religious coercion but are unwilling to accept perceived government hostility toward religion. Some independent, fundamentalist Baptists have gone beyond accommodation and embraced parts of the Christian Reconstructionist agenda developed by conservative Calvinist theologians (see FUNDAMENTALISM).

Liberal Protestantism, a term that covers the “Mainline” Protestant churches represented in the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, has adopted a position that embraces a transformational role for the church in society (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM & LIBERALISM). Emphasizing the prophetic need for social justice, the World Council of Churches has stated that the church must make common cause with oppressed people around the globe, even to the point of supporting mass political movements and revolution.

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ALBERT BECK

CHURCH DISCIPLINE

The term “church discipline” was used among sixteenth-century Protestants in a variety of interlocking ways. Its principal meanings include proper polity and moral and social control exercised by the CHURCH.

In one usage, church discipline denotes proper polity. This was particularly common in francophone areas, where *discipline* and *police* were used nearly interchangeably to

convey the notion of proper ordering of church government. "Discipline" in this sense is listed as the third mark of the true church (along with proper preaching and administration of the sacraments) in THEODORE BEZA'S *Confession*, where the Latin *disciplina* translates the French *police*; it also appears in this sense in the *Discipline ecclésiastique* (the church order for the French Reformed Churches), the *Police de l'Eglise Réformée de Bayeux* (1563), and the *Police et Discipline de l'Eglise de Saint-Lô* (1563), both local church orders, as well as in the Presbyterian Church's *Book of Discipline*.

The primary and better known meaning of church discipline, however, involves enforcement of Christian morality and behavior. Although church discipline in this sense is frequently considered a characteristic of Reformed Protestantism, communities across all the confessional divides in early modern Europe shared a concern about improving public and, in many areas, private morality. The late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw an increase in legislation intended to raise the moral standards of society. This could take a variety of forms, ranging from prohibitions of begging, to restrictions on WOMEN'S participation in public life, to shutting down brothels. Many scholars associate this development with the beginnings of ABSOLUTISM, noting that it coincides with the growing centralization of the state and its increasing reach into people's lives. In this context church discipline has been seen as the tool used by the state to claim moral authority and exert social control over their communities, particularly in Protestant regions where the church was itself a branch of the state. Yet some of the most extreme views of church discipline came not from state churches but from sectarian groups that self-consciously separated themselves from the state. A complete explanation of the rise of church discipline must therefore take into account elements unrelated to incipient absolutism; one particularly significant influence seems to have been economic uncertainty caused by the Price Revolution, which led to a growing anxiety about moral standards in society similar to the call to return to traditional values that arises in times of economic uncertainty in American history.

Church discipline has been part of Christianity from its earliest days. The early church insisted on its right to oversee and enforce standards of faith and practice within the community. Over time this developed into the penitential system of the medieval church. There were two basic approaches to discipline in this period, one for the LAITY and secular clergy, and the other for the regular CLERGY. The laity and secular clergy were subject to discipline by the episcopal hierarchy, administered by parish priests through the sacrament of penance, episcopal courts, and the papal court; bishops also ordered visitations to oversee the morals of the laity and clergy in their diocese. Sanctions included prohibition from participating in the SACRAMENTS (minor excommunication), complete exclusion from the Christian community (major excommunication), and eventually cutting off all sacraments from a region whose ruler was in rebellion against papal authority (interdict). For the regular clergy the rule of life under which they lived was ideally at the heart of their discipline: it both governed their external behavior and ordered their inward life, creating an interior discipline that was far different from what was expected of secular clergy and the laity.

Both secular and regular forms of discipline carried through in different ways into Protestantism. MARTIN LUTHER repudiated much of the monastic concept of discipline, arguing that one's inner life should be shaped by PREACHING and teaching,

whereas external discipline was a matter of rules and regulations rather than the Spirit. Luther himself tended to leave institutional matters to laymen and the civil government. Although some of his followers attempted to introduce disciplinary institutions, these were generally unsuccessful: ecclesiastical involvement in social control was seen as a return to “papal tyranny,” and thus regulation of morals was typically left in the hands of the government with limited involvement of pastors. For HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and the Reformed tradition, on the other hand, internal and external discipline were connected. The church had a responsibility to enforce Christian standards of behavior both for the sake of the sanctity of the community and for shaping the internal life of the believer. Thus Zwingli and the Zurich city council established a marriage court whose provenance included not simply betrothals, marriages, and the regulation of SEXUALITY, but other moral issues such as gambling, profligacy, drunkenness, gluttony, and sumptuary laws. The involvement of the civil government tended to overshadow the church’s role in discipline in Zurich and most other Zwinglian areas, however. Nonetheless, one particularly important contribution to the development of Reformed concepts of discipline came from JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS in Basel. He attempted to establish courts in each parish composed of a group of lay elders plus the pastor to enforce Christian standards of behavior. Although he met with only limited success, these courts would become the prototype for disciplinary institutions in much of the Reformed world in the coming decades.

Neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed approaches to social discipline were strict enough for some, notably many of the Anabaptists and other sectarian groups (see ANABAPTISM). These groups typically rejected the idea of a state church and condemned the lax moral and spiritual standards of the churches of their day. Instead, they saw themselves as an elite minority, the pure and spotless Bride of Christ, living in a sinful world. They insisted that the church be a voluntaristic organization, one in which the members chose to become a part. This led directly to their rejection of pedobaptism as an initiation rite into the church in favor of adult BAPTISM. Standards for entry into the community were strict, as were standards of conduct for the members. Discipline was maintained by severe sanctions against those who failed to live up to the group’s expectations. One Anabaptist practice that was particularly controversial was the ban, also called shunning. This was akin to the medieval concept of major excommunication and involved complete social exclusion from the community, including prohibiting family members from speaking to the banned individual.

Largely in response to Anabaptist criticisms of the church, MARTIN BUCER developed a view of church discipline drawn from the monastic union of internal and external discipline. Although Bucer agreed with the Anabaptists regarding the problem of laxity within the church, he and the other mainstream reformers viewed the Anabaptists’ use of the ban and other disciplinary practices as excessively harsh. Thus Bucer’s approach to discipline not only emphasized enforcement of proper behavior, but also included a comprehensive program of Christian formation as well: as in the monasteries, discipline was connected to discipleship. Because Christ commanded the church to make disciples, Bucer saw discipline as an essential mark of the true church (along with proper preaching and administration of the sacraments), and identified it with the power of the keys (Matthew 18:19–20). At its most basic level Bucer’s view of discipline involved religious education, both through teaching CATECHISM and in private confession,

which Bucer viewed as a form of counseling. In each of these there was a twofold emphasis on doctrinal formation and on learning how the believer should live in response to the Gospel.

The second aspect of discipline was a “public profession of faith and obedience to the church and its ministers” on the part of the catechized; he saw this as a reformed CONFIRMATION ceremony stripped of medieval Catholic superstitions and restored to the purity of the practice of the early church. The emphasis on the promise of obedience to the church leads into the third element of discipline: mutual, fraternal admonition on the part of all church members, together with oversight on the part of the pastors and elders of the church—the “ministers” to whom obedience was particularly promised. Only at this point did discipline in the sense of enforcement of morality enter the picture. The goal of mutual admonition, and indeed discipline in general, was to get sinners to repent. Whenever possible, admonition was to be done privately, then with a few supporting witnesses, and finally with the leadership of the church, following the outline in Matthew 18:15–18. Only if the sinner refused to repent were ecclesiastical penalties, up to and including excommunication, to be invoked. Even if the sinner did repent, it might be necessary to demand proof of that repentance by having the penitent perform some act of public penance, such as abstaining from the LORD’S SUPPER for a time, fasting, and so forth. If this was refused it was to be taken as a sign that the repentance was not genuine, and the process outlined in Matthew 18 was to continue. These ideas led Bucer to propose a number of disciplinary institutions in Strasbourg, although opposition from the magistrate prevented them from being implemented for the most part.

Despite the failure to fully implement them in Strasbourg, Bucer’s ideas on polity and the responsibilities of church officers had a profound effect on JOHN CALVIN’S ecclesiology. Although Calvin never listed discipline as a mark of the church, he clearly saw it as an essential element of the church’s ministry: his insistence on the church’s right to excommunicate the unrepentant resulted in his exile from Geneva in 1538. On his return to the city, he devoted quite a bit of time and attention to the CONSISTORY, the moral and religious court of Geneva. This was the most important institution Calvin created and became a model for disciplinary institutions wherever Calvinist churches were established. The Genevan consistory was headed by First Syndic of the city and was composed of the pastors plus a group of lay elders chosen from the city councils. Initially its work focused on religious belief and practice and was primarily aimed at teaching the people how to act as Protestants. This included not only the elimination of prayers for the dead, the *Ave Maria*, and other Catholic practices, but also condemned the use of magic and charms, failure to attend or participation in amusements during Sunday services, and other religious crimes and misdemeanors. The consistory also handled other sorts of cases that generally did not involve criminal charges. Particularly common were quarrels that had become public enough to cause a scandal, including wives nagging husbands (and occasionally vice versa), husbands beating their wives excessively (and occasionally vice versa), elder abuse, brawling, loud arguments among neighbors, and the like. Next came various types of marital or sexual irregularities. The most common of these cases involved determining whether a promise of marriage had been made and enforcement of such promises; the category also included less frequently fornication, adultery, and the like. The consistory also dealt with other moral issues, such as public drunkenness and gambling.

The principal goal of church discipline in Geneva as in the rest of the Reformed world was to encourage the sinner to repent and to sin no more. Because most problems of mistaken belief or religious practice could be solved by better religious education, the most common “sanction” in these cases was an admonition to hear more sermons. For moral and social lapses, penalties were aimed more at the person’s ego: a severe scolding in most cases, followed in more serious cases by a public confession of sin at the main church service on Sunday. Such public confessions not only shamed the sinner, thereby discouraging the person from repeating the behavior, but also provided a warning against those who might be tempted to similar sins. Particularly serious issues could be sent to the civil magistrate for further action. Finally those who refused to acknowledge their faults (or to recognize the authority of the consistory) could be excommunicated, that is, banned from participating in the sacraments, both the Lord’s Supper and baptism. This could have serious social consequences, given the importance of godparentage in establishing ties between families in the period.

The Genevan consistory was the first successful attempt to establish church discipline in the Protestant REFORMATION. It changed in profound ways the moral climate in Geneva, as evidenced by the vast reduction in the rate of illegitimacy as well as by the testimony of visitors to the city. Because of these results, the consistory had many imitators: wherever CALVINISM spread, the consistory generally followed. These consistories proved remarkably effective in promoting an austere lifestyle characterized by strict morality, rejection of superstition, and obedience to the civil magistrate within the boundaries of God’s Law and of conscience, all of which were typical elements of Calvinist piety. They were thus instrumental in promoting “puritanical” approaches to morality and social life and were critical to the propagation of Calvinist ideologies (see PURITANISM). At the same time, their success also made them very attractive to Protestant governments as an effective tool of social control. Consistories and governments worked closely together, and frequently the consistory would include local magistrates and members of town councils. In Roman Catholic territories with Calvinist minorities, however, consistories functioned independently of the government to whatever extent was necessary or possible. Where the magistrate supported the church, church discipline supported the magistrate; where the magistrate opposed the church, church discipline reinforced the boundaries of the elect community in opposition to the magistrate. Calvinist churches typically called for obedience to the powers that be whenever possible, but they insisted on obedience to God above all—even if this should mean civil disobedience or outright rebellion. In Calvinist churches ecclesiastical discipline thus not only served the religious functions of helping believers grow in godliness and restraining the wicked, but also had important political implications by defining the elect community and its relationship to the civil powers.

See also Church and State, Overview

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GLENN S.SUNSHINE

CHURCHES OF CHRIST, NONINSTRUMENTAL

The Churches of Christ, Noninstrumental are a group of churches within the Stone-Campbell Movement (CHURCHES OF CHRIST and DISCIPLES OF CHRIST). These churches emphasize a reliance on the New Testament for POLITY and practice. This effort to focus on the New Testament is often understood as a return to the original form of practice in the earliest church and thus implicitly is a rejection of practices that developed in the medieval and REFORMATION periods. Thus the churches embrace a "restorationist" ideology, and the movement is often called the "Restoration Movement." There is no central denominational structure for this fellowship; a strong emphasis on congregational autonomy is dominant, although certain standards of faith and practice are maintained through informal mechanisms.

History

The nineteenth-century movement for restoring the New Testament church, which had significant leadership from Alexander Campbell (see CAMPBELL FAMILY) and BARTON W. STONE, originated primarily as a reformation movement within Presbyterian churches (see PRESBYTERIANISM). This movement, often called the Disciples of Christ, generally named individual churches either a "church of Christ" or a "Christian church." These churches emphasized a rejection of creeds, a reliance on the New Testament alone for matters of faith and practice, and a call for Christian unity around a return to the original practices of the church.

After the American CIVIL WAR, the movement began to fracture over ecclesiology and sociologic issues. The specific ecclesiology issues involved cooperative societies (primarily missionary societies) and instrumental music in WORSHIP. Missionary societies, in which multiple congregations banded together to support missionary efforts, were viewed by some as an innovation that could not be supported by the New Testament

practice and furthermore that violated the priority of congregational autonomy. Instrumental music was seen as an innovation not supported by New Testament practice.

The concern about the introduction of “innovations” in the life of the church culminated in the Sand Creek Declaration in 1889, which stated that nothing be introduced into the practice of the church that was not based on a clear “thus saith the Lord” statement from Scripture. Thus the conservative wing of the movement increasingly adopted a restrictive hermeneutical approach to silence of the Scripture; silence on a matter is taken to be a ban on such practices.

In addition to the ecclesiology concerns, sociologic differences resulting from the Civil War aggravated a deepening schism in the movement. The churches in the South were often poor and developed a simple perspective to church life, one that viewed the introduction of organs and missionary societies as evidence of a departure from the original emphasis of the movement. The concerns of the conservative wing of the Disciples were originally voiced by Benjamin Franklin in his popular journal the *American Christian Review*, and by David Lipscomb in his journal the *Gospel Advocate*, which continues to this day. These views were countered by the *Christian Standard*, founded by Isaac Errett, which took a decidedly progressive stand. Thus these competing journals tended to develop significantly different perspectives on a number of theological and practical issues. By the end of the nineteenth century, the tensions between various factions in the movement had led to a *de facto* split. In 1906, those churches that rejected organs and missionary societies consented to be listed separately in the U.S. census, thus explicitly recognizing the split. Those churches that rejected instruments in worship and societies called themselves simply “Churches of Christ,” often with a small “c” in “churches” to indicate their rejection of denominational status.

The Churches of Christ (a cappella) grew rapidly during the first part of the twentieth century and rapidly established congregations not only in the South, but also in the West and Midwest. (The body tends to be weakly represented in the Northeast.) The Churches of Christ established a number of colleges, which have become centers of support for the movement. The Churches of Christ also began to develop strong African-American congregations, especially as a result of the evangelistic efforts of Marshall Keeble and G.P. Bowser. These black churches have developed their own strong subculture, often noted for their powerful evangelists.

The Churches of Christ have suffered internal divisions over certain issues that create tension within the body of churches. A minor division occurred in the early twentieth century over the issue of premillennialism. A popular preacher named Foy Wallace, Jr. actively opposed premillennial interpretations of the Scripture, and “mainstream” Churches of Christ today oppose such interpretations; however, a rather distinct subgroup of Churches of Christ were and remain “premillennial” Churches of Christ. There are other subgroups within the movement; some churches resist SUNDAY SCHOOLS, others resist any cooperation, others believe in single cups for communion. These subgroups tend to communicate among themselves and resist the main tendencies in the Churches of Christ.

The latter part of the twentieth century saw a new emphasis within the Churches of Christ that came to be called the “Crossroads movement.” This new group emphasized formal “discipleship” of members by elders, with strong control of individuals by the elders, and a very intrusive pattern of EVANGELISM. This unique group of churches

was dubbed the “Boston Church of Christ” because of the dominant role the church in Boston played, a controlling role that violated the central ethos of congregational autonomy of the movement. This new group, which now calls itself the “International Churches of Christ,” is shunned by the mainstream Churches of Christ and is not now considered part of the main movement.

Polity

Churches of Christ emphasize a strict pattern of congregational autonomy. There is no denominational structure, and there are no official conventions or formal conferences to coordinate activities. The local church’s leadership ideally rests with lay elders, of whom there is always a plurality, and deacons, who are also a plurality. Most churches have elders appointed permanently, although some have regular elections. Most congregations have paid ministers who are selected by the local congregations and are always subject to the oversight of the local eldership. In most cases the elders are responsible for the hiring of ministers and key financial matters, although some congregations delegate these issues to the deacons or to a vote of the entire congregation. The paid ministry is increasingly well-educated, many at graduate SEMINARIES, although formal ordination is not widely practiced and carries no special status. Increasingly, congregations have a variety of paid ministries; youth, education, and worship ministers are commonly found in addition to the senior or preaching minister. Churches of Christ never use the title “Reverend” and rarely call their ministers “Pastor,” reserving that title for their elders. Most paid ministers are called “Minister” or “Evangelist.” In most Churches of Christ, WOMEN cannot serve as ministers, elders, or deacons, although a few churches allow women to serve as deacons or on committees with significant ministerial responsibility.

The strict congregational polity generally means that missionary activity and other parachurch activities (such as retirement homes and sometimes preaching schools) are sponsored under the leadership of a single congregation and subject to oversight by elders of that congregation. Under that sponsorship, financial support might be solicited from members of other congregations, although rarely from other congregations as such.

Practices

Several distinctive practices are consistently found in Churches of Christ. All Churches of Christ practice adult immersion BAPTISM and do not accept sprinkling or infant baptism as valid. Baptism is available to anyone on a simple statement of repentance and a declaration of faith in Jesus. Rebaptism by immersion of those baptized as infants is common. Local membership in churches is open to all immersed believers, and membership is automatically accorded to a person who is immersed. Most churches have baptisteries in their church buildings, and frequently baptisms are done at the close of worship services following an open invitation to respond to the Gospel.

All Churches of Christ celebrate the LORD’S SUPPER each Sunday. The Lord’s Supper is usually open to any who want to participate without proof of membership or even baptism, although baptism is usually expected of participants. The Lord’s Supper is

usually administered by elders and deacons, although often any baptized believer can officiate. Most congregations use individual cups and wafers, although a few believe that only a single cup is authorized by Scripture.

Worship services in the Churches of Christ are a cappella, without any musical instruments. Congregational singing is usually a significant part of the worship services. The a cappella emphasis has resulted in extensive use of musical parts and harmonies in hymns and songs. Many congregations follow a fairly fixed pattern of worship, although this is not universal. In the vast majority of Churches of Christ, women do not participate in leadership or speaking roles, although this is changing in a few congregations.

Beliefs

In general, the Churches of Christ are organized around issues of practice, not THEOLOGY. The overriding concern is to replicate within the life of the church the worship, structure, and community as believed to have been practiced in the early church. As a result, the New Testament serves as a blueprint for practice and beliefs; in particular, the Book of Acts serves as an important model for church patterns and behavior. No creeds or confessions are accorded any value within the individual churches, these being seen as later developments of the church. Moreover, creeds and confessions are viewed as potentially divisive. Theoretically at least, members of the Churches of Christ are free to develop theological beliefs as long as these beliefs are supported by Scripture. Thus one can find persons within the individual churches who hold to significantly divergent beliefs, as long as these are opinions or conclusions derived from Scripture and do not violate an express statement found in Scripture. Historically, for instance, the Churches of Christ have used orthodox language to speak of the Trinity, but a minority has held reservations about this concept because it is not expressly addressed in the New Testament. Barton Stone, one of the earliest leaders of the movement, was skeptical of the concept of the Trinity because it was not used in Scripture. There is a strong undercurrent of rationalism within the belief structure of the churches and little interest in the effects of emotion on CONVERSION or practice.

One can say that the prevailing approach within the Churches of Christ is Arminian. In general, the churches believe that all people can respond to the Gospel by belief and baptism. There is broad skepticism about PREDESTINATION and of the role of the Holy Spirit in leading individuals to accept the Gospel. SALVATION in the Churches of Christ is inextricably tied to baptism, which is linked directly to the confession of Jesus as the Christ. The act of CONVERSION is thus defined as a process that includes belief in Jesus Christ, public confession of this belief, repentance, and baptism. All of these aspects are considered parts of a single act of conversion, and efforts to distinguish the point at which salvation occurs in this process are rejected. Few accept any idea of the impossibility of apostasy; just as an individual can come to believe, he or she can fall away from belief or from salvation. The role of the local church in sustaining an individual's belief is important. The importance of baptism and church involvement could be seen as emphasizing a form of "works" righteousness, but this is firmly rejected by the churches. Instead, salvation is viewed as a gift of GRACE, but it is received when

one believes and demonstrates that by confession, repentance, baptism, and subsequent involvement in the local church.

There is no official recognition of CLERGY in the Churches of Christ. In concept, every believer is a “priest” and has equal access to God through prayer and communion. This rejection of clergy as having a special status means that local churches often have significant involvement by members in the worship services. Members often lead singing, lead prayers, officiate and serve at the Lord’s Supper, and even preach and conduct baptisms. This broad participation in the congregational worship is usually restricted to male members, however; women generally do not have leadership roles in the worship service based on the passages in the New Testament stating that women should keep silent in the assembly. But there is usually a distinction between the formal worship assembly and other meetings of the church, where women are allowed significant, albeit informal, roles.

Connective Ties in the Fellowship

While the Churches of Christ have no formal denominational structure, a fairly well-established system of connections ties the local congregations together and provides a remarkable consistency across the movement. The formative mechanisms for these linkages were magazines and journals, and these still remain influential. However, the role of colleges supported by members of the Churches of Christ has superseded the importance of the journals and now provides the primary mechanism for connectivity.

In the early stages of the movement, journals such as the *Gospel Advocate* helped develop and accentuate the Churches of Christ’s attitudes and beliefs, often in distinction from other segments of the StoneCampbell Movement. In fact, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries could probably be seen as a period of competing journals that shaped emerging groups within the Restoration Movement. Other journals and magazines, including *The Firm Foundation*, were also very influential, especially in the early part of the twentieth century. Various smaller journals, often espousing divergent editorial stances within the movement, continue to be published, but these have less significance than previously. *The Christian Chronicle*, a newspaper published by Oklahoma Christian University, has a wide distribution and presents news about the Churches of Christ.

A number of directories of the Churches of Christ have been published, most notably *Churches of Christ in the United States*, compiled by Mac Lynn. These listings are often a way of determining whether a church is considered part of the Churches of Christ (a cappella) or lies outside this circle of churches (e.g., an instrumental Church of Christ). Many of these listings provide information about subgroupings within the churches (e.g., one cup or premillennial).

Colleges and universities in the Churches of Christ undoubtedly provide the major source of linkages between congregations today, both through their education of members and ministers and through lectureships. A high percentage of members of the Churches of Christ send their college students to colleges affiliated with the body. Most of these colleges strongly emphasize the practices and beliefs of the movement; many require that all faculty members belong to the Churches of Christ. The primary colleges

servicing the movement are Abilene Christian University, David Lipscomb University, Freed Hardemann University, Harding University, and Pepperdine University. There are, however, a number of additional colleges that are clearly affiliated with the Churches of Christ. Some of the colleges, such as Abilene Christian University and Pepperdine University, host lectureships wherein members from churches across the country come to listen to preachers, attend workshops, and worship, thus providing a strong sense of cohesiveness to the churches.

See also Arminianism; Higher Education; Restorationism; Music; Millenarians & Millennialists; Publishing, Media; Christian Colleges

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CHURCH LAW

Church law comprises the constitution, discipline, requirements, legislative, administrative and judicial structure and procedures, governing membership and officers, acquisition and administration of finance and property in, and the external as well as internal relationships of any Christian community. It varies in scope, form, and style according to each community's understanding of God and of human relations with God, and each community's size and self-definition.

Protestant church law generally differs from Roman Catholic Church law in the degree and character of AUTHORITY claimed for the church as an institution. The statutory style also differs from ancient Eastern and Latin legislation in most Protestant churches, although the form of canons survives in the Anglican Communion, which also traditionally appeals to patristic precedent in its legal thought. However, all churches are obliged by the realities of experience to legislate on the same issues, however much the respective laws may vary. These issues also overlap; for example, questions about

membership are distinct from, but inevitably overlap with, rules about church officials, and ecumenical policy affects and is affected by both of those areas.

The basic issue in all church law is the definition of DOCTRINE: What do we teach, and on what authority? (The second part of the question is also inherent in the first). At one extreme are the few communities that insist that they have no stated doctrine at all. Some Protestant churches (Lutheran, Anglican, some Reformed, some Methodist) agree that the creedal decisions of the early councils (Nicaea, Constantinople, Chalcedon) are still binding on the modern church, and that REFORMATION decisions (confessions, catechisms, articles) are similarly normative, whereas other Protestant denominations claim that only the BIBLE has claim to allegiance. (The confessional churches may observe that the definition of the Biblical canon is itself a tacit acceptance of the early church's informal process of decision, or an acceptance of Reformation decisions, or of a late Reformation reversion to the rabbinic decisions of 70 A.D.). Also diverse are the effective statuses given to the admitted standards: binding on all teaching programs and their contents, or normative of the character of those programs, or "articles of peace" (i.e., not to be disowned or opposed), or "landmark documents"; the last may mean that the past decrees mark vital and lasting decisions (like the admission of the Gentiles) or fascinating and venerable irrelevancies. Equally variable, among churches and in all churches through time, is the important legal distinction between what must be policed and enforced and ADIAPHORA, the things that can be tacitly tolerated.

Church law reflects differing Protestant ecclesiologies, that is, differing understandings of the church: if the church is the Body of Christ, and essentially one, may or must it have a single governmental system, or are the different gatherings of Christians to be autonomous (not, that, literally *self*-governing, but discerning and applying the will of Christ through more local instruments? In the Reformation period Protestant churches were national churches or separatist congregations, whose interdependency, even if adjudged to be divinely mandated, was voluntary and nonbinding. This range of ecclesiologies and structures survives to the present day (see ECCLESIOLOGY). Each church has its appropriate constitution, from the national establishment to the COVENANT of a Congregational or Baptist congregation. Protestant churches have developed international jurisdictions, although in most cases "third world" provinces, dioceses, presbyteries, or conferences have been granted autonomy. International denominational bodies have become consultative and not legislative. Ecumenical bodies, international, national, or regional, are likewise consultative—but the growth of ECUMENISM has obliged churches to examine their membership and ministerial criteria. If BAPTISM and ordination are valid in one church, on what terms may or must those baptisms and ordinations be acceptable in another?

Who is a member of a particular church, or of the Church Catholic (the Christian body as a whole)? Nearly every Protestant church prescribes BAPTISM (and its matter and form), its ministers, and its conditions: for children of families professing (practicing?) Christianity, or on personal profession. Most churches forbid rebaptism. Confirmation is more disputed, as to its necessity, ministers (bishops? episcopally ordained clergy?), its terms, and its nature and content (imposition of hands? public affirmation?), and repeatability. Churches also legislate on transfer of membership, on continuing duties of members and the resultant criteria for continued good standing, on discipline of members,

on the offenses and penalties, on excommunication or the ban (or the Amish *Meidung*, or shunning), and the conditions and procedures for restoration.

Churches legislate on WORSHIP, whether or not they admit it. Legislation may be informal (local preference, custom, historic tradition, recorded or remembered—these concepts are logically distinct, but in application readily confused), or by statute (especially in reference to SACRAMENTS), or by recommendation, especially through approved service books and hymnals. Hans Dombois has argued that the essence of worship (PREACHING, sacraments) creates a distinctively Christian concept of law as an instrument of the outworking of grace, so that the church grows as image of the Trinity.

Each church law system, in growing, must seek its priorities of purpose: the glory of God by means of the purity of the church, its apostolic effectiveness, the stewardship of the Gospel, the restraint of power, healing, and the CHARITY that may make the Church a means of SANCTIFICATION.

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CHURCH MISSION SOCIETY; CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The Church Mission Society, or Church Missionary Society (CMS), is a voluntary mission movement within the worldwide Anglican Communion. It consists of loosely networked sister organizations in ENGLAND, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND,

IRELAND, the Czech Republic, and the UNITED STATES. Other mission agencies closely affiliated with CMS, and whose origins are tied to the work of CMS missionaries, include the Mid-Africa Ministry, the Mar Thoma Evangelistic Association, and the Church of Nigeria Missionary Society.

CMS was founded in Britain in 1799 during the Evangelical revival that had arisen under the influence of early English PURITANISM and the Methodist movement of JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY. Among the key figures who started The Society for Missions to Africa and the East (the original name) were John Venn, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, CHARLES SIMEON, and Other members of an Evangelical group loyal to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND known as the CLAPHAM SECT. Societies outside England were founded as the missionary movement expanded: Australia (1825); New Zealand (1892); Ireland (1976); United States (1998); Czech Republic (2001).

The ministry of CMS missionaries contributed to the rapid expansion of the Anglican Communion into many parts of AFRICA and Asia, mostly in tandem with the growth of the British Empire throughout the 1800s. The first missionaries of CMS-Britain were German Lutherans sent to SIERRA LEONE in 1804. Henry and William Williams, CMS missionaries to New Zealand, were pioneers in bringing the gospel to the Maoris. Under the leadership of Henry Venn (clerical secretary, 1841–1872) CMS adopted the ThreeSelf Principle for church planting whereby missionaries sought to raise up self-promoting, self-governing, and self-supporting indigenous churches. The application of this principle resulted in the consecration of SAMUEL AJAYI CROWTHER as Africa's first Anglican bishop in 1864. The work of CMS greatly increased as a result of the East African Revival of the 1930s. CMS missionaries also played a supporting role alongside Bishop V.S.AZARIAH in the foundation of the united CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA in 1947.

In the modern era CMS affiliate organizations support more than 500 mission personnel in Africa, Asia, LATIN AMERICA, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe, as well as scores of non-Western missionaries located in Britain and North America.

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GEOFFREY A.LITTLE

CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST

See Christian Science

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Roots

The roots of the Church of England go back to the time of the first Christian presence during the Roman Empire. Reestablishment took place from 597 onward under Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, which gradually brought about an English Church under papal authority but often independent in mind. The break with Rome under HENRY VIII in 1534 and consolidated under his successors resulted in a church that kept much of the old diocesan structure and liturgical features but whose THEOLOGY combined elements of European Reformed thinking. By the following century it could no longer contain all Protestants within its wide bounds, but it remained “established” with the monarch as “Supreme Governor” (i.e., leading lay figure). Subsequent centuries brought the break with METHODISM, the Evangelical, and High Church movements. The twentieth century saw it gaining almost total self-government, with new liturgical texts and benefiting from ecumenical convergence, while at the same time retaining a position to challenge prime ministers on social issues in an age of increasing secularism.

British bishops attended the Synod of Arles, which the Emperor Constantine summoned in 314, and archaeological evidence points to the survival of a native British (Celtic) Christian presence as the pagan Anglo-Saxon invaders pressed westward in the following centuries. Knowledge of this situation prompted Pope Gregory the Great’s mission in 596 to rebuild the English Church, with an archiepiscopal seat at London, a task that he entrusted to Augustine, who was the prior of St. Andrew’s Abbey in Rome. On arrival a year later he could get no further than CANTERBURY, capital of the East Saxons, whose pagan King Ethelbert was married to a Frankish Christian princess, Bertha. The success of his mission can be shown in Ethelbert’s conversion to Christianity, and the way he established other episcopal sees, including at York, as well as slowly gaining the confidence of the bishops and leaders of the British Church, spread through the various kingdoms. However, there were significant differences that persisted, notably over how to calculate Easter, the cause of considerable confusion. A SYNOD was called at Whitby in 664 that, although not as immediately definitive as it has been represented by the Venerable Bede (ca. 673–735) in his *History of the English Church*, judged in favor of the Roman method, which eventually won the day. York was made into a separate archbishopric in 735, with Canterbury remaining the senior.

By the time Duke William of Normandy (“The Conqueror”) defeated King Harold at the Battle of Hastings in 1066, ENGLAND was a kingdom that had been united against the Viking invasions of the preceding centuries; and the archbishop of Canterbury William brought with him, Lanfranc, a learned Benedictine monk, had to take care with the native saints in the liturgical calendars. Church and state came into direct conflict when Henry II had his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, made archbishop of Canterbury, hoping to control a church that was showing marked signs of independence; Henry had him murdered in his cathedral on December 29, 1170. Bishops were taking on governmental roles in advising the monarch; this found expression in their presence in the House of Lords as “Lords Spiritual,” which continues to this day. Liturgical practice which although loyal to Rome included its own traditions, gave rise to the Sarum Use, which from the thirteenth century onward gradually made the Salisbury LITURGY more or less standard throughout England. However, the impressive edifice of the medieval church could not conceal real tensions under the surface. John Wycliffe, who died in 1384, is often seen as a harbinger of the REFORMATION. He wanted the BIBLE available in the English tongue; he questioned the theology of eucharistic transubstantiation proclaimed in Rome by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; and his writings influenced the Bohemian reformer Jan Hus. Perhaps the greatest reforming teacher on the eve of the Reformation was John Colet, who studied in Paris and Italy, and who gave a series of lectures on the Pauline Epistles about 1497 onward back in Oxford. He inveighed against the worldliness of the church, calling it back to the simplicity and discipline of the primitive church.

Reformation

When Henry VIII came to the English throne in 1509 he was already married by papal dispensation to Catherine of Aragon because she had previously been married to Henry’s older brother, who had died. Henry’s initial response to the ideas of the European Reformation coming to England was a show of loyalty to Rome, asserting the verity of the seven SACRAMENTS in a theological treatise drafted by others for which Pope Leo X gave him the title “Defender of the Faith.” Henry soon realized, however, that to ensure a male heir he would need to find another wife, and he was already in love with Anne Boleyn. There was little enthusiasm on the part of Pope Clement VII to grant a DIVORCE. Henry’s hand was strengthened when he was able to secure the appointment of THOMAS CRANMER as archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, and the following year he married Anne in secret. During this time Henry had been passing measures in Parliament undermining papal authority, so that when the Act of Supremacy was passed in 1534, declaring him head of the Church of England, the break was finally made with Rome, with the concurrence of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, representative bodies of the BISHOPS and CLERGY of the two Provinces that had met for synodical purposes since the thirteenth century.

Henry had considerable support for reforming the church beyond the administrative and financial. Convocation was now under the control of the king and the monasteries and religious houses had been dissolved, amply filling the coffers of the king, and his courtiers. He walked a careful tightrope, allowing the avowedly Protestant THOMAS

CROMWELL, adviser in ecclesiastical affairs and main link with Parliament, to advance the cause by issuing injunctions in 1536 and 1538 that in every parish church there should be a copy of the Great Bible, the translation by MILES COVERDALE. We have to wait, however, until the reign of Edward VI, Henry's only surviving son by Jane Seymour, his third wife, before the Church of England took a decisive theological and liturgical move away from the Catholicism in which Henry had left it. Edward, whose mother had died giving birth to him, came to the throne at the age of ten in 1547. He was surrounded by Protestant advisers, including a cooperative archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, who was wellread in European Reformed theology.

The first move came in 1548 with a form of corporate confession and distribution of communion—in both kinds—that was to be inserted into the Latin mass. This proved a preliminary to the *Book of Common Prayer* that appeared in the following year. A literary masterpiece reputed to be largely the work of Cranmer himself, it was by Reformed standards a conservative service-book. The eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER) is still celebrated with the priest facing east at the ALTAR and many liturgical VESTMENTS are retained; the shape of the liturgy remains that of the mass, although much of the language of sacrifice has been abolished, and the departed are commemorated but no longer explicitly prayed for; and where the priest once elaborately offered the bread and wine at the altar, the people are now expected to make their offering of money. MARTIN BUCER, the Strasbourg reformer who at Cranmer's invitation took refuge in England and became a professor at Cambridge, made a detailed critique of the 1549 Prayer Book, much of which was incorporated into the Second Prayer Book, in 1552. Where the 1549 texts are altered, they are simplified; only the surplice is to be worn, the table is to be set lengthwise in the chancel when it is required for Holy Communion, and the eucharistic prayer is now split up into different parts, the people receiving the elements immediately after the institution narrative, which, however, is still part of a prayer, unlike the liturgies of JOHN CALVIN and MARTIN LUTHER. Morning and Evening Prayer begin with a lengthy penitential rite, and the few remaining signings with the cross were reduced to one at BAPTISM. To accompany this still elaborate (by Reformation standards) liturgical project, forty-two "Articles of Religion," largely the work of Cranmer, were issued in the following year, which contain distinct signs of circumspection; for example, Article 28 on the eucharist condemns TRANSUBSTANTIATION but manages to come up with a formula that could embrace both a doctrine of the real presence and of a spiritual/memorial presence.

Cranmer's work in the short term was not to last. Edward died and Mary Tudor, Catherine of Aragon's daughter and a Catholic, came to the throne in 1553 and reigned until her death in 1558. During that time, England officially returned to the Catholic fold and the leading reformers were either burned (like Cranmer) or they fled (like JOHN JEWEL to Frankfurt, Strasbourg, and finally Zurich). On the accession of ELIZABETH I, Anne Boleyn's daughter, in 1558, the Reformation position was reasserted, but with slight nuances. No longer "Head" of the church, Elizabeth was "Supreme Governor," and although 1552 was the basis of the Elizabethan Prayer Book, there were small significant changes that indicated a less Reformed position, including the words of distribution of communion. The (now) THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, a moderate revision of the "Forty-Two," were issued in 1563. Theologians such as Jewel, bishop of Salisbury and author of the *Apology of the Church of England* (1562), and RICHARD HOOKER, parish priest

and author of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (in eight books, published in 1593, 1597, and the last three posthumously in 1648 and 1661) defended the Church of England against her critics. Jewel countered the claims of Roman Catholics, a continuing political threat for much of the reign, whereas Hooker answered the rising tide of PURITANISM, which wanted a Genevan form of service and Presbyterian form of church government, although there were Puritans, like the popular preacher and writer, WILLIAM PERKINS, who found ways of staying within the national church.

When Elizabeth died in 1603 she was succeeded by James VI of Scotland. Anxious to promote further the notion of the divine right of kings, episcopacy and monarchy were for him closely tied together, although his efforts to secure an episcopally ordered Scottish Church were unsuccessful. However, in the face of pressure from all sides, Presbyterian and Puritan included, he instigated a new translation of the Bible, which would replace both those of Coverdale and WILLIAM TYNDALE, as well as the versions of the GENEVA BIBLE in common use through Elizabeth's reign. Begun in 1607 it was completed in 1611; once again, careful nuancing can be detected, for example in the use of "Church" instead of "Congregation" and "Baptism" instead of "Washing." Among those who worked on the Old Testament was LANCELOT ANDREWES, who as dean of Westminster prepared James for his coronation, and who as bishop successively of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester was one of the foremost preachers and theologians of the reign. Among the other luminaries of this time were JOHN DONNE, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and GEORGE HERBERT, country parish priest, both of them famous poets.

James, once referred to as "the wisest fool in Christendom," was succeeded in 1626 by his son, Charles I. He tried to impose a Prayer Book on the Scottish Church in 1637, which led to riots and—aided and abetted by his dishonest handling of the English Parliament—CIVIL WAR; he was executed in 1649. Unlike his father, whose theological position was moderate Calvinist, Charles held a more Arminian position (see ARMINIANISM), not unlike that of Andrewes, but ag-gressively expressed, and imposed on the church by his archbishop of Canterbury, WILLIAM LAUD, who was executed as a result of calls from Parliament in 1645. That year saw the abolition of episcopacy in England, the imposition of the Westminster Directory (forms of worship) and Confession of Faith, with OLIVER CROMWELL eventually made "Lord Protector" in 1653. The Church of England was now officially an amalgam of PRESBYTERIANISM and CONGREGATIONALISM; clerics associated with the monarchy and the Prayer Book (e.g., John Cosin) lived in exile, mainly in FRANCE, or else they remained at home, in an internal exile (e.g., JEREMY TAYLOR) or survived in relative quiet (e.g., Simon Patrick).

Restoration

Charles II's return in 1660 heralded a new era. Many popular aspects of community life that had been outlawed under the Commonwealth were back, like HOLIDAYS and SPORTS, as well as joyful Music in church. The Prayer Book of 1662 included the introduction of such terms as "the prayer of consecration" in the eucharist and a stronger indication that episcopacy was a separate order from the presbyterate. There were

attempts to make the Restoration Church inclusive; some were successful, such as the appointment of the Presbyterian John Reynolds as bishop of Norwich, others less so; the Puritan leader RICHARD BAXTER was offered the bishopric of Worcester but instead refused to “conform” and spent the rest of his years as a freelance preacher and writer.

The Restoration brought with it a renewed enthusiasm for Prayer Book services. Cathedrals and collegiate churches started having choirs again and liturgical vesture returned. Taylor and Patrick wrote devotional manuals, with a strong theological and moral bent, on the importance of regular Communion. Samuel Crossman wrote poems among which numbered “My song is love unknown,” which was to become a popular hymn in the twentieth century. Among those who captured the mood of the era was JOHN TILLOTSON, like Reynolds an ex-Presbyterian, whose PREACHING combined the biblical basis of the Puritans with a practical application that took the heat out of recent unhappy religious controversies. Returning exiles from France such as John Cosin had to face the question of mutual eucharistic hospitality with the French Reformed Church; he brought with him two Channel Islanders, Jean Durel who as dean of Windsor translated the Prayer Book into French, and Daniel Brevint whose treatise on eucharistic theology (1673) was to have a profound effect on JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY when they produced their eucharistic hymns in 1745.

Charles II died in 1685 and was succeeded by his brother, James II, who was a Roman Catholic. His short reign ended in a confrontation with Parliament and the church in 1689, when William of Orange invaded the country in an almost bloodless revolution. The new joint monarchy of William and Mary pricked the consciences of many traditional monarchists, resulting in the resignation of a number of bishops, including Archbishop Sancroft, who refused to crown them. Although many of these “Non-Jurors” kept in touch with the Establishment it was nonetheless a loss, and they were joined by others in 1714, when George of Hanover became king rather than one of the Stuarts. King William was frostily received by the Scottish bishops, whose rejection of him ensured that the episcopalians in Scotland would long be identified with the Stuart cause and become a small minority in consequence; they made contact with the Non-Jurors in England. The overall effect of the Restoration and its aftermath was that the Church of England was no longer a “national” church; it could no longer contain within its confines every single Christian community, although it was still “established”; those who did not conform joined one or other of the Nonconformist churches, the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Baptist (see NONCONFORMITY). Roman Catholics were only slowly tolerated because of the stigma of being antipatriotic, which went back to the threat of invasion by Spain under Elizabeth I, and the “Gunpowder Plot” on November 5, 1605, when a group of Roman Catholics attempted to blow up the Houses of Parliament.

As part of overseas English interests and for the benefit of foreign merchants residing in London the Prayer Book was translated into several other languages including Spanish (1707) for use at Gibraltar, Portuguese (1695) for the East Indies, Dutch (1710) for New York City, as well as German (1704), this latter partly as an ecumenical gesture to Lutherans and Reformed in Prussia and also for the six Germanspeaking congregations in London during the early Hanoverians. Translations such as these formed the very first step in a development that was to see a worldwide Anglican Communion of independent provinces in communion with Canterbury. This era also saw a small number of WOMEN

writers, who had to publish their work anonymously: Mary Astell published her *Christian Religion as Profess'd by a Daughter of the Church of England* (1705).

Enlightenment

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were once seen as contrasting eras, with the first holding the Church of England in the spell of staid dullness, in which a God of order and beauty was preached, wait-ing to be awakened by the Evangelical and Catholic Revivals that were to come. That view has been shifted considerably. The eighteenth century began with signs of real hope, with a scholarly archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, in correspondence with the French Roman Catholic Church about prospects of reunion. On the other hand, theological controversy surrounding the liberal views of Benjamin Hoadly in 1717 led to the suspension by the bishops of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, which were dominated by High Church clergy. There was indeed an understandable reaction to the conflicts of the preceding century, but the spirit of the Restoration theologians lived on in writers like WILLIAM LAW, a layman whose *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728) was aimed at those whose religion was outwardly dry because it seemed to many to have no heart, no prayerful background.

By mid-century, however, the Evangelical Revival was coming to life. John Wesley, whose "heart was strangely warmed" on May, 24, 1738, when attending a MORAVIAN CHURCH service in London, set out to preach the gospel to those many people who had no opportunity to hear it. Wesley himself was a mixture of a strong sacramentalist (he believed in constant communion, several times a week, if possible) and a strong Puritan (he was ready to preach in the open air, and he did). Although his followers, soon nicknamed "Methodists" because of the methodical strictness of their way of life, were exhorted not to leave the Church of England, they became so great in number, both in England and in America, that a break became inevitable. His brother Charles, also a priest of the Church of England and collaborator with him in writing those many hymns that bear the Wesley name, was opposed to any such move (see HYMNS & HYMNALS). However, it finally took place in 1784 when John ordained THOMAS COKE as the first bishop or superintendent for the Methodists in North America, and in the same year, he compiled a simplified version of the Prayer Book for his American followers that was soon taken up in England as well; in that year also SAMUEL SEABURY, the first American bishop, was consecrated in Aberdeen by Scottish Bishops, England not being allowed to do so after American Independence. If blame is to be laid for the Wesleyan schism, however, part must be placed before the Church of England, which was unable to respond to the growing need for more churches, more social and educational work, as the Industrial Revolution gathered pace. There were those in the Established Church who tried to cooperate with Wesley, like Bishop George Horne of Norwich who allowed him to function as an itinerant preacher in his diocese, unlike some other of his episcopal colleagues. Moreover there were evangelicals in the Church of England, like Samuel Walker, a country parish priest in Cornwall, who corresponded with him, although they found Wesley's inclusive preaching insufficiently demanding and his increasingly anti-church stance unacceptable. Walker and others like William Cowper and John Newton remained firmly in the Church of England, where their fervor

and preaching helped to bring new life. They understood—like the Methodists—the potential of hymn-singing as a vehicle of EVANGELISM and popular piety, of which Augustus Toplady’s “Rock of Ages, cleft for me,” written in 1775, is an example. Nonetheless the gospel had to be applied as well as preached, and WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, a prominent evangelical and Member of Parliament, tirelessly campaigned against SLAVERY, persuading Parliament to outlaw the slave trade in 1807 and the practice of slavery altogether in 1833 (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

The nineteenth century in many ways opened with the continuation of the trends of the eighteenth. High Church bishops like Robert Horsley taught what could now be seen as a traditional ANGLICANISM that was open to new discoveries, and evangelicals like CHARLES SIMEON influenced generations of students at Cambridge with his biblical preaching. Questions about the identity of the Church of England, however, came to a head in the OXFORD MOVEMENT, which began in 1833 with a sermon by JOHN KEBLE, an Oxford theologian, on “National Apostasy.” For Keble and his colleagues, who included EDWARD PuSEY and JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, the Established Church was in danger of becoming no more than a vehicle of the government, which was at the time planning to suppress a number of Irish bishoprics, and which had recently abolished religious tests for state office. They set about writing a number of “Tracts for the Times,” hence their nickname “Tractarian,” holding a firmer line on TRADITION than many of the older High Churchmen of the previous centuries. A different generation of CLERGY who were suspicious of churchstate relations took this renewal of Catholic heritage into the parishes, which resulted in a higher standard of liturgical setting, ARCHITECTURE, and music, and placing a renewed stress on baptismal regeneration and the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Some of the Tractarians, including Newman, eventually joined the Roman Catholic Church, whose hierarchy was restored in 1850.

One of the many challenges of the time was the need for better education, and to that end the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church had been formed in 1811, which ensured that the Church of England was in the forefront of building schools in the new centers of population. This is a legacy that has per-sisted down to the present time. Another issue was the need for more churches and in this quest the church soon had to learn that the government was not going to provide the money; the nineteenth century saw an immense amount of church building, many by private patronage, together with the founding of new dioceses. Theological tensions, too, continued; “Essays and Reviews” (1860) brought together a number of liberal scholars who were keen to interpret such questions as biblical inspiration in the light of scientific knowledge, and another collection, “Lux Mundi” (1889), represented a more modest but trenchant attempt by a later generation of Tractarians in what came to be called the Liberal Catholic strand of ANGLICANISM. Indeed, the very word Anglicanism is a nineteenth-century term, first used in England by Newman in 1838 and since then projected back into the preceding centuries as a way of expressing what the Church of England’s theological tradition embodied. The first LAMBETH CONFERENCE of bishops in communion with Canterbury, which by now included SCOTLAND, the UNITED STATES, CANADA, and INDIA, was called together in 1867 and has met regularly since that time, usually every ten years. The Church of

England had responded—not always with great speed—to the demands of a changing world.

Ferment

In 1906 the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline reported the need for Prayer Book revision. It was certainly overdue because many clergy working in the new parishes were finding that the 1662 Book needed adaptation or enrichment (or both). The response of the Church of England to World War I was of a Christian community unable to cope with the questions of the men in the trenches who witnessed needless suffering on a scale hitherto unknown and who went back home to an economically wounded nation. To deal with this new situation the church needed to travel lighter, and part of that process involved a measure of self-government. Parliament had neither the time nor the interest to govern the church in detail, and the Church Assembly was set up in 1919, modeled on the old Convocations, but with lay representation. Unfortunately, when a new Prayer Book was proposed, Parliament threw it out twice—in 1927 and 1928. This action left a legacy of resentment that was only met by the formation of the General Synod in 1970, a legislative development of the Church Assembly, and the passing of the Worship and Doctrine Measure in 1974, which gave the church the power to authorize alternative forms of service, but without altering the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662.

Secularization proceeded throughout the twentieth century, with the numerical decline of most of the Christian Churches. This produced a theological ferment, in which the Church of England continued to feed not only on its own tradition but on other churches as well. Strangely, however, whereas European Protestantism was strongly influenced by the radical dialectical theology of KARL BARTH before and after World War II, in England the 1930s represented the apogee of the liberal “Modern Churchman’s Union” under an Oxford theologian, Henry Major, along with the Anglo-Catholic Movement, under the leadership of theologians such as Kenneth Kirk and the liturgical scholar, the Anglican Benedictine monk, Dom Gregory Dix, whose *Shape of the Liturgy* (1945) had an influence on postwar liturgical renewal and reconstruction far outside the confines of the Church of England. Indeed old controversies about eucharistic faith and practice were beginning to diminish in the wake of new discoveries about antiquity, ecumenical dialogue, and the growth of a single, mid-morning Sunday Holy Communion, which many saw as what the reformers had intended anyway. Influential women writers like EVELYN UNDERHILL, a convert from agnosticism, and Dorothy L. Sayers, a daughter of the vicarage, began to make their mark. Before and during World War II, however, the dominant figure was WILLIAM TEMPLE, archbishop of Canterbury, whose blend of philosophical idealism and social concern helped to give the Church of England a wider acceptability and prophetic edge. Bishop GEORGE BELL of Chichester, however, proved one of the most controversial leaders, making a speech in the House of Lords during the war condemning area bombing on GERMANY in a manner that was said to have made Prime Minister Winston Churchill refuse to have his name mentioned again in his presence. Archbishop MICHAEL RAMSEY, like Temple a keen ecumenist and a weighty theologian (see ECUMENISM), visited Pope Paul VI in 1966 and laid the groundwork for the first Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission; but he also

took an unpopular stand against apartheid in SOUTH AFRICA. The archiepiscopate of Robert Runcie coincided with the prime ministership of Margaret Thatcher, resulting in a number of controversies, including the “Faith in the City” Report of 1985, commissioned by Runcie himself, which unearthed a maze of issues about urban life. After its hostile reception, the report soon proved its worth and helped to pave the way for urban regeneration.

Many of the old theological tensions regarding the limits of ORTHODOXY began to shift in new directions. The revival of EVANGELICALISM brought a renewed stress on biblical preaching, together with a mixture of conservatism in DOCTRINE and a radical openness about ways of being the church, which walked uneasily with that part of mainstream Anglicanism that is more comprehensive in theology but at the same time more traditional on questions of liturgy and ECCLESIOLOGY. The *Alternative Service Book* (1980), the Church of England’s late twentieth-century response to liturgical revision, in company with many new service-books, placed considerable emphasis on font and altar. It was in turn superseded by *Common Worship* (2000), with its richer language and greater attention to structure. After some heartache, women were ordained priests in 1994 but not yet as bishops, in spite of pressure from elsewhere in the Anglican Communion. Ecumenical progress brought about the “Porvoo Common Declaration” of 1994 whereby the Anglican Churches of the British Isles entered into communion with Nordic and Baltic Lutherans. All in all the Church of England lives with the creative tensions of being both Catholic and Reformed; of being English in a multicultural nation (its first black bishop, Wilfrid Wood, was consecrated in 1985) yet part of the Anglican Communion; of being a responsible ecumenical partner with Roman Catholics as well as Methodists; and of responding to the spiritual paradoxes of a postmodern society. The death of the princess of Wales in 1997 demonstrated the durability of folk religion; a Royal Commission on the Reform of the House of Lords in 1999 recommended the retention of bishops in the nation’s Second Chamber of Parliament; and the Labour Government in 2001 produced an education policy that envisaged a substantial increase in the number of church schools. The journey that started with Augustine at the capital of the East Saxons has been long, rich, and at times tortuous. How the Church of England responds to these new opportunities, and the work of theological reconstruction involved, remains to be seen.

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CHURCH OF GOD (CLEVELAND, TN)

The Church of God (COG) is a Holiness-Pentecostal denomination that traces its roots to the formation of the Christian Union on August 19, 1886. Founded by Baptist ministers Richard and R.G. Spurling, who rejected the exclusivity of the Landmark Baptist movement, the DENOMINATION became part of the WESLEYAN HOLINESS mOVEMENT in 1896 and a participant in the PENTECOSTALISM movement by 1908. Early pastor and general overseer A.J. Tomlinson transformed the denomination to an Episcopal form of polity. In 2002, the COG had a total of 6.5 million members, with about 1 million of those in the UNITED STATES.

Call for Reformation

Richard Spurling (1810–1891) and his son Richard Green Spurling (1857–1935) were missionary Baptist clergymen in eastern Tennessee. After two years of prayer and study of the BIBLE and the history of Christianity, they came to believe that Protestant churches needed further reformation. The church had fallen after the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D. because it relied on creeds rather than the New Testament. According to the Spurlings, creeds were fallible human statements used to divide Christians and often used to justify violence against other Christians.

The Spurlings taught that a further reformation was needed to eliminate creeds and the divisions creeds caused. For R.G. Spurling, the Baptist churches in east Tennessee were an ongoing example of the need for reformation as their Landmark exclusive ecclesiology prohibited him from ministering in other denominations and eventually led to his being excluded from the Baptist Church. Thus, on August 19, 1886, the Spurlings arranged a meeting near their grist mill on Barney Creek in Monroe County, Tennessee, to further the reformation. R.G. Spurling called for the forsaking of creeds, taking the New Testament as the “only rule of faith and practice,” giving one another the right to interpret scripture according to individual conscience, and covenanting together as the church of God. The Spurlings named their movement the “Christian Union” because they believed that an emphasis on Christ’s command to love God and neighbor would bring about the union of all Christians.

A Holiness Revival

Over the next 10 years R.G.Spurling organized several congregations. But his greatest success came as pastor of a holiness congregation in nearby Camp Creek, North Carolina. Previously, in 1896, four holiness preachers had held a revival at the Shearer Schoolhouse in Camp Creek. They preached that after JUSTIFICATION, one should experience a second work of GRACE that sanctified the believer. This doctrine infuriated the BAPTISTS of the area, and many of the holiness converts were excluded from the Baptist churches. Meeting in homes and temporary structures for SUNDAY SCHOOL and WORSHIP, the persecuted holiness band also experienced an extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit. According to the earliest history, many people spoke in TONGUES and experienced divine healing (see FAITH HEALING). William F. Bryant, Jr. emerged as the leader of this holiness group and held an organizational meeting in his home on May 15, 1902. The organizing presbyters were R.G.Spurling and R.Frank Porter, who had previously been a ruling elder in the Fire-Baptized Holiness Association. The newly formed congregation named themselves the Holiness Church and called R.G. Spurling as their pastor.

The next year, Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson joined and was selected as pastor. Tomlinson was from the Quaker community of Westfield, Indiana (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). After his conversion, he began visiting the mountains of western North Carolina as a “missionary evangelist.” In 1899 he settled in Culberson, North Carolina, where he established a school and clothing distribution center. Following his call as pastor of the Holiness Church, he established congregations in Georgia and Tennessee. In 1904 Tomlinson moved to Cleveland, Tennessee, which became the home of the movement.

A Developing Movement

In 1906 the Holiness Churches held an Assembly to discuss developing practical and theological issues. The General Assembly became the primary means of government at the international level. The name “Church of God” was selected at the second Assembly in 1907 based on Paul’s letters to the “church of God” in Corinth.

Under Tomlinson’s leadership, the movement developed an Episcopal polity (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY). Tomlinson became general overseer in 1909; he appointed state overseers in 1911; and the Assembly approved an Elders Council in 1916 and an Executive Council (now Committee) in 1922. The denomination quickly developed a variety of ministries, including world MISSIONS (1909), publication of a periodical called the *Church of God Evangel* (1910), and the founding of a Bible school, now known as Lee University (1918).

Although perhaps 130 people experienced a Spiritbaptism, including speaking in tongues, in 1896, early members apparently had no doctrine of the Holy Spirit that could be considered Pentecostal until about 1907, when Tomlinson began to preach that the

sanctified Christian should seek a baptism of the Holy Spirit with the “Bible evidence” of speaking in tongues (see PENTECOSTALISM).

Differences between Tomlinson and some members of the Elders Council, questions about financial irregularities, and a growing diversity within the movement led to the exclusion of Tomlinson from office in 1923. Flavius J. Lee then served as the second general overseer until his death in 1928.

In 2002 the COG was in 163 countries worldwide. The general overseer is the presiding bishop; administrative bishops serve at state and national levels. The International General Assembly meets biennially; the International Executive Council meets between Assemblies. The COG is a participant in the Pentecostal/ Charismatic Church of North America, the Pentecostal World Fellowship, and the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS.

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DAVID G. ROEBUCK

CHURCH OF GOD, ANDERSON, INDIANA

Like most bodies bearing this name, The Church of God with headquarters in Anderson, Indiana, understands itself to be a reformation movement rather than a DENOMINATION. The church dates its existence to 1881, when its founder, Daniel S. Warner, was expelled from the Churches of God (General Eldership), a German pietist group, for teaching the Wesleyan doctrine of “entire sanctification” as a second definite work of GRACE in the life of a Christian believer. Through a weekly journal, *The Gospel Trumpet*, and his work as an independent evangelist, Warner quickly gathered a growing number of local congregations together in a loose association that was initially known as “The Evening Light Saints.”

Warner taught that the experience of entire SANCTIFICATION in the Christian believer led to an identification with the visible CHURCH, the concrete embodiment of the spiritual body of Christ. This body of believers should be known only as The Church of God. Because he believed that God alone knew who had truly been sanctified, no membership roll was taken. Indeed, in the early years, membership to a denomination

was considered sinful. Rejecting any formal creed, Warner taught that the Holy Spirit was the sole overseer of the church and that the BIBLE was its only statement of FAITH. He envisioned that the mission of the movement was to restore unity and holiness to the church universal. Promoting primary allegiance to Jesus Christ, he felt, was the way to transcend sectarian divisions created by denominationalism.

Although having no formal creed, adherents held to a theological consensus of the broader HOLINESS MOVEMENT that dominated North America in the nineteenth century. The leadership taught that the Bible was the inspired word of God; the orthodox view of the Trinity; the divinity of Christ; the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate believer; the universal fall of human kind through the SIN of the first parents, Adam and Eve; and the vicarious ATONEMENT in Christ through his death and resurrection. Breaking with the Holiness consensus, the leadership taught an amillennial view of ESCHATOLOGY. Equating the millennium with the church age, adherents believed that Christ would return to earth once the Church's divisions had been transcended and its DOCTRINE fully reformed. Adherents practiced three ordinances: BAPTISM by immersion, the LORD'S SUPPER, and foot washing. Although emphases have changed through the years, the early theology and practice have remained largely intact.

The church uses a congregation form of government, teaching that this is the only model that enables the AUTHORITY of God to function. As noted earlier, no membership is held in a formal way; there is no formal initiation rite for members, and membership lists are not kept. Local churches are organized in state and regional associations. Each year the representatives of the entire body meet in a General Assembly in connection with an International Convention.

In the absence of a governing body, The Gospel Trumpet Company and its editor assumed the body's leadership function during the early years of the church. The company issued ministerial credentials, functioned as the teaching magisterium, created a mission sending board, and established a Christian education agency to produce church school curricula. Publication offices of *The Gospel Trumpet*, which had moved several times during Warner's lifetime, permanently settled in Anderson, Indiana, in 1906 under the leadership of the second editor, Enoch E. Byrum. The third editor, F.G. Smith, established a Bible training school in 1917 that eventually became Anderson University. In that same year he created the General Ministerial Assembly mentioned earlier. Under the leadership of the fourth editor, Charles E. Brown, in the 1920s, the church instituted structures that are still largely intact. In response to growing criticism over the charismatic leadership of a single person, Brown sought to democratize the church, shifting much of the governance to the general, regional, and state assemblies.

With its origins rooted among the socially margin alized, the church moved quickly to reach out to several immigrant groups, including Germans, Greeks, Hispanics, Scandinavians, and Slovaks. Adherents were especially active within the African American community. As in other holiness churches, WOMEN were free to preach and exercise leadership; more than one-third of the ordained ministers were women until well into the twentieth century. Overseas MISSIONS were also an emphasis from the outset. By the end of the twentieth century, congregations were found in eighty-nine countries, including CHINA, DENMARK, ENGLAND, Egypt, GERMANY, Greece, INDIA, IRELAND, JAPAN, Kenya, KOREA, Lebanon, MEXICO, SWITZERLAND, and

nations throughout the CARIBBEAN and all of Central and South America. Although formal membership rolls are still not allowed, the church can make a fairly accurate estimate of its adherents. According to figures available for 1999, the membership was 234,311 in 2,353 congregations in North America, and 385,000 in 4,310 congregations throughout the rest of the world.

In addition to Anderson University and School of Theology, the church operates five other institutions of higher learning in North America: Bay Ridge Christian College (Kendleton, TX), Gardner College (Camrose, Alberta, Canada), Mid-America Bible College (Oklahoma City, OK), Warner Pacific College (Portland, OR), and Warner Southern College (Lake Wales, FL). Countless training centers are operating throughout the world.

Like other denominations that began as movements promoting the unity of the church, both exclusive and inclusive tendencies have been readily apparent in the membership over the years and have been the source of some divisions within the body. Overall, the inclusive tendency has prevailed, resulting in the church working closely with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. It is also a long-time member of the Christian Holiness Partnership, the association of WESLEYAN HOLINESS denominations.

See also Bible Colleges and Institutes; Christian Colleges; Feet, Washing of; Millenarians and Millennialism; Pietism

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D.WILLIAM FAUPEL

CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST

The largest African American Pentecostal denomination in the world and the second largest Pentecostal denomination in North America, the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) is rooted in the lines of a humble preacher and his fellow Holiness preachers in the mid-southern United States.

Founder and Origins

The name “Church of God in Christ,” as the story goes, was revealed to the young Holiness preacher Charles Harrison Mason (1866–1961) while he walked the streets of Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1897, the official incorporation year of COGIC. The son of Missionary Baptist parents, who also were former slaves, Mason was born just outside Memphis on September 8, 1866. Said to have an attraction to religion early in his life, Mason’s desire was to preserve the vibrant “slave religion” he saw in his community. From this passion Mason came to believe that God gave him unique spiritual characteristics, particularly dreams and visions. Soon after an experience of divine healing in 1880, in which he claimed to have been spontaneously cured of a severe illness, the charismatic Mason began to travel southern Arkansas as a lay preacher, planning to be ordained into the Missionary Baptist Church.

In November 1893 after a short, unsuccessful marriage, Mason entered Arkansas Baptist College, only to withdraw after three months. He found that the promotion of HIGHER CRITICISM in the college did little to preserve the slave religion he longed to safeguard. It is during this time that Mason came under the influence of the WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT, particularly the tenet that a believer can be completely sanctified through an act of divine GRACE, which he soon claimed to have experienced. It is also during this time that he came to befriend another Arkansas Baptist College alumnus, Charles Prince Jones, a Missionary Baptist minister in Selma, Alabama, who had also experienced entire SANCTIFICATION. The holiness preaching of these two ministers created church divisions and their eventual expulsion. After this expulsion Jones began an annual convention for fellow Holiness ministers in 1896, which led to the incorporation of the Church of God in Christ in 1897.

This new DENOMINATION, one of the first Americanborn African American denominations, expanded quickly. Mason nevertheless believed that his inability to heal the sick and exorcise demons hindered his ministry. Consequently, in early 1907 after Mason heard reports of the AZUSA STREET REVIVAL, the revival that sparked the American Pentecostal movement (see PENTECOSTALISM), he and two other COGIC ministers traveled to California, where they claimed to have experienced the Pentecostal teaching of Baptism in the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in TONGUES. After their five-week visit Mason and his companions returned eager to testify to this new teaching and found that another Azusa Street graduate, Glen A. Cook, had been laying the groundwork in their own church. With Cook’s help Mason began to transform COGIC into a Wesleyan-Holiness Pentecostal church. C.P.Jones, Mason’s cofounder, disagreed with this new teaching, and in the summer of 1907 left the denomination with the faction of ministers and congregations that supported him. [They later reorganized as the Churches of Christ (Holiness) U.S.A.] Mason regrouped what remained in 1907, keeping the name “Church of God in Christ,” and included a Pentecostal clause in the denomination’s statement of beliefs.

Mason led the denomination until his death in 1961, and under his leadership the denomination grew phenomenally. So influential was Mason that the FBI created a file on him, tracking his pacifist (see PACIFISM) and interracial activities. In 1945 Mason

dedicated Mason Temple, the denomination's new headquarters in Memphis, and the largest African American-owned auditorium at the time. Its pulpit has supported historic speeches by preachers and leaders, such as MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.'S final "Mountain Top" speech and President Bill Clinton's "Memphis Speech." COGIC has been, without debate, a dominant force in AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM. This influence can be seen in its pioneering work in Gospel music and its leadership in African American ECUMENISM. C.H.Mason Seminary is one of the seven-member consortium of African American sem-inaries that constitute the International Theological Center of Atlanta, Georgia.

Doctrine and Ordinances

Doctrine

The Church of God in Christ holds to a conservative evangelical Trinitarian DOCTRINE that includes belief in the inerrancy of Scripture, the original sin of humanity, the existence of angels and demons, the need for EVANGELISM, the need for a personal CONVERSION experience, and the second coming of Jesus. COGIC is also found within the Pentecostal family, particularly the Wesleyan-Holiness branch of this family. This meant that the church maintained, and somewhat still maintains, a number of distinct doctrines.

Historically the Church of God in Christ has promoted a holy life, maintaining conservative social values and modest dress. As a Wesleyan-Holiness church, however, COGIC has emphasized the doctrine of sanctification, where the Holy Spirit delivers the believer from the pollution of SIN. During Mason's tenure the denomination officially affirmed the Wesleyan-holiness doctrine of entire sanctification. Here, based on a doctrine established by JOHN WESLEY, the believer experiences an additional work of divine grace, besides JUSTIFICATION, where they are entirely and instantaneously delivered from the pollution of sin. Wesley taught that, although divine justification forgave the sinner of sins of commission, the stain of Adam's original sin remained. God thus provided as a second gift of grace that cleaned the person of sin. A believer then had some physical manifestation that testified to this experience. After Mason the denomination officially moved away from the doctrine of entire sanctification, although it is still widely held. Officially COGIC maintains that the Spirit's deliverance from sin is a continuous process.

As a Pentecostal denomination COGIC maintains that God is dynamically active in the world and within the believer's life. This can be seen, first, in the doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, understood as a third distinct crisis experience of divine grace in which the believer is given spiritual power for the purpose of doing supernatural service for the church. This gift is believed to be "evidenced" by speaking in unknown tongues (Acts 2), which is a consequence of Spirit baptism and a manifestation of the "fruit of the Spirit" (Galatians 5). Second, the Pentecostal aspect of COGIC is seen in the affirmations of spiritual warfare against Satan, divine healing (see FAITH HEALING), and miracles. According to official and popular teaching, Satan and demons (see DEVIL) can be subdued and conquered by believers, through the power given to believers by

Jesus (Mark 16:17). The acts of divine healing and miracles are believed to be visible acts of divine power that prove the authority of God's word and support the mission of the church.

Ordinances

For COGIC members, the only ordinances that are valid are those they believe originate in Christ himself. They are believed to be signs of divine grace that represent, seal, and apply the COVENANT made between God and believer biblically. The Church of God in Christ exercises three ordinances: water BAPTISM, the LORD'S SUPPER, and foot washing (see FEET, WASHING OF). Water baptism, for COGIC, is a full-immersion believer's baptism. In other words, although water baptism alone does not provide SALVATION, it is a step within a process where a person outwardly demonstrates his or her inward conversion. Because baptism symbolizes the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, COGIC asserts that water baptism must involve the full immersion of the believer in water. The Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, symbolizes Christ's death and suffering as seen in the last meal Jesus had before crucifixion. Furthermore it symbolizes the believer's identification and participation with the death of Christ and provides spiritual union with Christ and fellow believers. Foot washing, an ordinance not exclusive to COGIC, is believed to have been ordained by Jesus when he washed his disciples' feet (John 13:1–20). It is an act that characterizes the humility of service expected by those who are members of the Kingdom of God.

Early Racial Controversy

The Church of God in Christ held a unique position in 1907, being the only incorporated denomination to have become officially Pentecostal. Many of the early Pentecostal ministers, both black and white, were ordained into ministry under elder Charles H. Mason. The value in obtaining ordination for Pentecostal preachers was discounted railroad fees and the ability to perform marriages. For the period, then, between 1907 and 1914 COGIC was largely interracial. This position echoed the interracial characteristic of early Pentecostalism and the Azusa Street Revival, a value that ran counter to the culture of the southern United States where Pentecostalism was born. This did not mean that racial issues were absent, or that COGIC somehow transcended its time and culture. A number of white ministers who attended the Azusa Street Revival were appalled by the racial mixing in Christian worship. Additionally the Church of God in Christ did have a racial divide, in which white and black congregations and ministers largely operated independently, having denomination name alone in common.

The issue of entire sanctification, however, became a dividing line among the largely northern and white Pentecostals, who denied this Wesleyan-holiness doctrine and felt the need to organize with like-minded independent Pentecostal churches for the purpose of missions and ministerial education. Furthermore the southern white Pentecostals were feeling the pressure of cultural norms that expected segregation. In December 1913, therefore, William Durham and COGIC ministers E.N. Bell and H.A. Goss issued calls and invitations for a general assembly of "all Pentecostal saints and the Churches of God

in Christ,” to be held the following April in Hot Springs, Arkansas. The invitations went out to white Pentecostals only. During this General Assembly a new denomination was formed, called the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, and E.N.Bell was elected its first chairman. Elders William Seymour and Charles Mason were the only African Americans invited, Mason preaching a sermon on the Thursday evening to bless the new denomination. It is believed that Mason understood this move as something white Pentecostals needed in order to work in a racially segregated culture, and never spoke ill of the split. In October 1994, however, in an event know as the “Memphis Miracle,” a number of Pentecostal denominations gathered in Memphis to publicly reconcile the racial rift created between COGIC and other groups in 1914.

Expansion and Organization

Expansion

After the 1914 divide the Church of God in Christ reverted to its African American roots. Initially held together by Mason’s leadership, the annual General Convention, and a periodical (the *Whole Truth*), it rapidly grew to become one of the largest denominations in the world. In 1934 COGIC claimed 345 churches in twenty-one states, consisting of 25,000 members. By 1962, a year after Mason’s death, the denomination numbered 382,679 members. In 1991 the COGIC global membership was reported to be five and a half million members, with more than 15,000 churches and 30,000 clergy. Published statistics after the year 2000 have placed the global membership to be approximately eight million members.

Although still largely African American in the United States, the modern COGIC stands as a multinational and multicultural denomination, largely as a result of its missionary endeavors. During the 1920s COGIC moved out from the UNITED STATES into MEXICO, Panama, the CARIBBEAN (Jamaica, Turk Islands, Trinidad, Haiti), and CANADA. The denomination had its largest success within the Caribbean, particularly Haiti, where it has established more than 150 churches, schools, and an orphanage. Moreover, in the 1930s COGIC began its work in AFRICA through a former Assemblies of God missionary to LIBERIA, Elizabeth White, who remained in the country as a COGIC missionary. Liberia became COGIC’s main African mission until it entered SOUTH AFRICA in 1952 and then Ghana and Nigeria in the 1960s. COGIC is now found in eighteen African countries, with churches led primarily by African nationals. After World War II, COGIC moved into Europe and Asia, initially through establishing churches to serve American military personnel in JAPAN, the PHILIPPINES, GERMANY, and ITALY. Then, with freer movement of British Commonwealth citizens, the denomination established congregations in ENGLAND and INDIA. The large success of COGIC in African and Latino/a communities is attributed to the perception that this denomination does not spread the “white man’s religion,” but a Christianity that is free from past European imperialism.

Organization

Church governance and POLITY are important ongoing issues for the Church of God in Christ. Conflicts have arisen between the denominational leadership, local elders, bishops, and local congregations that have led, at times, to secular courts cases. Initially the organization and governance of the denomination were guided by Mason's charisma. During this time COGIC's ECCLESIOLOGY followed a congregational model of church governance, with independent congregations and state overseers who worked with Mason and the national government. Additionally a gender-separated leadership created particular offices for men and women, following a more traditional African American spirituality. (It is important to note that each male leadership office has a female counterpart.) Mason's death led to a difficult transitional time for the denomination concerning issues of leadership. During the 1960s, however, COGIC adopted a hybrid of congregational and Episcopal governing models, which has served the denomination better.

Ministry within the denomination follows a specific chain of leadership. The local congregation is the foundational element of the denomination. The ordained minister, or "elder," governs the local congregation. Although a trustee board is established, which primarily monitors finances, the church's power is entrusted to the largely autonomous elder. A group of churches, normally no less than three and no more than fifteen, constitute a "district." Each district is presided over by a district superintendent (male) and a district missionary (female). The district leaders are responsible for serving the needs of their ministers and churches in general. From there, a group of districts constitute a "jurisdiction," which historically encompassed one state, although jurisdictions now may overlap states or countries. Each jurisdiction, which also has gender-specific leadership, formally deals with the affairs of its districts, provides annual meetings, develops ministerial education opportunities, and ordains its CLERGY.

Policy decisions for the international body are made through a governing structure similar to that of the United States government. First, the "General Assembly," which represents the entire denomination, constitutes the legislative branch and has the ultimate political authority in the denomination. Meeting twice as year—most importantly during the annual "Holy Convocation" meeting in November—clergy and LAITY representatives from each jurisdiction monitor denominational affairs. Second, when not in session, the General Assembly is represented by an elected twelve-person executive branch, known as the "presidium." The presidium is headed by the "presiding bishop," the formal representative head of the denomination, although meetings of the General Assembly are managed by a chair and vice chair. Decisions made by the presidium are ratified by the legislative branch at its meetings. Third, the judiciary branch, which consists of members elected from the General Assembly for seven-year terms, is responsible for settling disputes between churches, members, and clergy.

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H.CHAD HILLIER

CHURCH OF GOD OF PROPHECY

The faith community that came to be known (in 1952) as the Church of God of Prophecy (CGP) has been captive to the spiritual journey of founder A.J.Tomlinson, an Indiana Quaker. Nowhere is this more evident than in the distinction that CGP is the only Pentecostal denomination in the United States that has always been racially integrated. This stands in stark contrast to the axiom that most Pentecostal groups failed at interracialism within a decade of the fabled 1906 AZUSA STREET REVIVAL.

The CGP often claims to share the history of the early years of the CHURCH OF GOD (Cleveland, Tennessee). As a result of sociological, theological, historical, and personal factors, the Church of God of Prophecy came into existence in 1923. The CGP has laid considerable emphasis on several CG events before 1923 when A.J.Tomlinson was general overseer. In fact the CGP counts among its binding politics those decisions of the general assemblies from 1906 onward, unless later clarified or reversed by the CGP. Also, the home that hosted the first general assembly of 1906 is owned by the CGP. An annual service is held by the CGP in this house to commemorate the first assembly and to honor its participants, activities, and resolutions.

A.J.Tomlinson served as general overseer of the CGP until his death (1943), at which time his youngest son, Milton A.Tomlinson, was chosen for the position. M.A.Tomlinson oversaw international departments that directed prayer groups, organized MISSIONS, worked with young people, utilized modern media, sought out military personnel, and encouraged BIBLE study and EVANGELISM. CGP still maintains the multi-million-dollar, 216-acre biblical theme park in western North Carolina known as the Fields of the Wood.

Under the Tomlinsons the term “theocracy” was employed to describe a POLITY that proclaimed the annual general assembly to be the highest tribunal, whereas the entire ecclesiastical structure collapsed on the office of the general overseer. All of the general assembly resolutions, which were projected to be unanimous decisions of all male members of the 20,000 attendees, were predicated on Holiness Pentecostal thought (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT, PENTECOSTALISM). Various ministries of evangelism, missions, and Christian education were prompted at these assemblies by the international departments, accompanied by much fervent PREACHING (some delivered in Spanish and everything translated into Spanish and French) and praying, whereas the doctrinal and business concerns were held to a minimum. The greatest attendance at each assembly was during the annual address by the general overseer. Much time was devoted to state and national marches (started in 1925), which were swept along by the Bahamas Brass Band until discontinued in 1988.

In terms of officially determined doctrinal propositions, at the center stands an Arminian version of the *ordo salutis* with an emphasis on SANCTIFICATION (see ARMINIANISM). It culminates with a doctrine of Spirit baptism that regards TONGUES-speaking as the initial evidence. Other prominent teachings from the onefixed list of twenty-nine include an imminenceoriented ESCHATOLOGY that involves a premillennial return of the risen Jesus; a call for the sanctity of the nuclear family, which includes denial of a multiple marriage of an adulterous person and fornication (as related to a person who can remarry) is defined as a single person marrying a person who has a living married companion; the practice of water BAPTISM by immersion and rebaptism after “reconversion”; the LORD’S SUPPER (with grape juice) and the washing of the saints’ feet (see FEET, WASHING OF); total abstinence from intoxicating beverages and tobacco; a concern for modesty in all dimensions of life; and an emphasis on nine Holy Spirit charisms with special attention given to divine healing (see FAITH HEALING). For the most part the formulas have positively influenced adherents’ lives, but there have been some aberrant results as well. Included in the failure column has been the refusal to purchase life insurance, opposition to formal education, opposition to medicine to the extent that pain and death were accepted rather than seek medical treatment, and dissolution of existing marriages.

The restorationist impulse was manifested, until recent years, in an exclusive body ECCLESIOLOGY (see RESTORATIONISM). The latter influenced the fact that the CGP has had a high percentage of female pastors and may be the Pentecostal church most consistent in working toward racial reconciliation. African Caribbeans, African Americans, and Latin Americans are charged with the leadership of states whose composition includes European Americans as the majority. Bible Training Camp opened in 1941 with an integrated student body. In some states the CGP may have been the first church to defy Jim Crow laws in their worship services and they have long opposed the Ku KLUX KLAN. WOMEN ministers may administer SACRAMENTS but are excluded from the elevated rank of presbyter (see WOMEN CLERGY). Yet the international headquarters has a long tradition of female executives.

Billy D.Murray was chosen to fill the position of general overseer when M.A.Tomlinson resigned in 1990. The church experienced rapid changes such as the closing of Tomlinson College, financial restructuring with an emphasis on local churches, plurality of office of general overseer, and relaxing of some previous taboos. Fred

S.Fisher followed Murray in 2000 and quickly embraced sister pentecostal bodies. CGP is active in the PENTECOSTAL CHARISMATIC CHURCHES OF NORTH AMERICA (PCCNA), the PENTECOSTAL WORLD CONFERENCE, and the International Charismatic Consultation on World Evangelization (ICCOWE). Starting with the Third Quinquennium (1985–1989) of the International Pentecostal—Roman Catholic Dialogue, CGP was among the first Pentecostal denominations to send an official representative. Various ministers attend functions organized by the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS (NAE), whereas a few have engaged with the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC).

The official mouthpiece remains the monthly periodical *White Wing Messenger*. The magazine is published in eight languages and has 6,500 subscribers. The CGP reported in 2002 a membership of 77,609 in the UNITED STATES with 1,876 churches, whereas 125 countries outside the United States had an aggregate membership of 514,000 with 5,590 churches. In the earlier decades the membership was almost exclusively from a low socioeconomic stratum. Yet the working poor have been increasingly replaced by the middle class in the industrialized West. Accompanying the social upward mobility of the membership has been a moderation of many of the sectarian idiosyncrasies and a concomitant lack of membership gains in the United States. The organization at large continues its anti-intellectual tradition, while the official doctrinal formulas fade in significance for the emerging middle-class constituency.

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HAROLD D.HUNTER

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS

See Mormonism

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

“The Kirk,” as it is known in SCOTLAND, is the national church of Scotland, but not a state church. It is Presbyterian in government and Reformed in doctrine. In 2001 the

church had 590,824 communicant members organized in forty-nine presbyteries and 1,543 congregations served by 1,090 ministers and 43,499 elders. In the 2001 national census, more than two million adults identified themselves with the Church of Scotland, suggesting that almost half the population would regard the Kirk as “their church.” It has exercised significant international influence.

History

Tracing its roots to the missionary work of Ninian and Columba in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Kirk adopted a Protestant and Reformed identity with the sixteenth-century Scottish REFORMATION. Through the leadership of JOHN KNOX the movement for reform in Scotland took the distinctively Calvinist form that is evident in the Scots Confession and the First Book of Discipline, both completed in 1560. Building on Knox’s work, ANDREW MELVILLE developed the presbyterian form of church government and the broad social vision that have been at the core of the Kirk’s identity. During the seventeenth century the Stuart kings attempted to impose an episcopal polity on the Kirk. Resistance found expression in the National Covenant of 1638 and in armed struggle against the Stuarts. In 1647 the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION of Faith was completed and became the principal subordinate standard of the church. Under the Revolution Settlement of 1690, the Kirk was established by law as presbyterian. When the Scottish and English Parliaments united in 1707 the Treaty of Union secured the presbyterian government of the Church of Scotland.

From the struggles of the seventeenth century there emerged in Scotland a passion to uphold the spiritual independence of the Kirk. The restoration of patronage, whereby the initiative in the appointment of ministers lay with civil rather than ecclesiastical authority, was seen by many as a breach of the Treaty of Union. This led to several secessions during the eighteenth century, most of the seceding bodies entering the United Presbyterian Church that was formed in 1847. Meanwhile the early nineteenth century had seen growing tension between the Evangelical Party that was determined to uphold the spiritual independence of the Kirk, and the civil courts, which asserted the rights of the patrons in ministerial appointments. This led to the Disruption of 1843 and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland. Almost half of the ministers and members of the Kirk, “came out” of the Established Church to form what they understood to be the true—that is, Free—Church of Scotland. Compelled to choose between state connection and spiritual independence they opted for the latter.

The Church of Scotland was therefore split into three streams for the remainder of the nineteenth century and a feature of many Scottish towns is three church buildings in close proximity. The Free Church and United Presbyterian Church united in 1900 to form the United Free Church. A conservative minority of the Free Church declined to enter the union and remained separate, seeking to be loyal to the doctrines and principles on which the church was founded in 1843. In 1929 the “Auld Kirk” and the United Free Church united as the Church of Scotland. A minority of the United Free Church declined to enter the union, fearing that it brought the church too close to the state without securing its spiritual independence. However, the great majority of Presbyterians were once again united in the national church.

An important part of the preparation for the 1929 union was the composition of the Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in Matters Spiritual. These were recognized by Parliament in 1921 and made clear that church government in spiritual matters is derived from the Lord Jesus Christ and is not subject to civil authority. Thus the Kirk resolved its long struggle to secure the spiritual independence of the church while maintaining its character as a national church. At its annual General Assembly a throne gallery is provided for the monarch (usually represented by a Lord High Commissioner) who is invited to address the Assembly but not entitled to intervene in its business. This symbolizes the mutual recognition of church and state while making clear the independence of the church in its own government. The General Assembly consists of ministers and elders in equal numbers, commissioned by presbyteries. In the absence of the Scottish Parliament between 1707 and 1999, the Assembly often functioned as a national debating chamber and a means of giving voice to concerns of the Scottish people.

Leading Features

Throughout its history the Church of Scotland has been inspired by the ideal of the “Godly Commonwealth”—the Calvinist vision that not only spirituality and personal morality but the whole life of society ought to be subject to the Lordship of Christ. It played a major role in the provision of education and social welfare until the state took over this responsibility in the late nineteenth century. Whereas the Kirk had once represented the faith of the people of Scotland, in the twentieth century it came to recognize that it was one voice in a pluralist society. Nevertheless it continued to engage prophetically with all aspects of national life, as well as offering a range of social services in partnership with the state. Eschewing the privileges of Establishment, the Kirk sees its national role in terms of service and witness to every part of Scottish life. Human and material resources are channeled to particularly needy and strategic areas.

Its national character finds expression in a commitment to bring the ordinances of religion to the people in every part of Scotland through a territorial ministry. An aspiration since the REFORMATION has been to place a church building and the services of an ordained minister within easy reach of every community in the country. The nineteenth century saw the realization of this ideal but twentieth century decline has led to many church buildings being closed and a sharp reduction in the number of ministers. This unprecedented slump presents a major challenge to the Kirk and, at the turn of the millennium, it was endeavoring to find ways to reconnect with the community.

Since the abolition of patronage in 1874 the appointment of ministers to parishes is by the free election by all the members and registered adherents of the vacant charge, subject to the call being sustained by Presbytery. Although elders play a prominent role, it is the minister who has been the face of the Kirk in Scottish society, leading public worship and often being a guiding influence in many aspects of community life. More team ministries and lay leadership suggest that a different pattern of church life may emerge in the twenty-first century.

The Kirk has aimed to maintain an educated ministry and an informed LAITY; in practice theological education has concentrated on the former. Ministers receive their

theological training at one of the four ancient universities: Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews. In terms of theological persuasion the church is characterized by diversity. From those who adhere strictly to Westminster CALVINISM the spectrum stretches across to those with very liberal views, with most ministers and members somewhere in the middle. The Declaratory Acts of 1879 (United Presbyterian) and 1892 (Free Church) allow liberty of opinion on such points of DOCTRINE as do not enter into “the substance of the faith.” What constitutes the substance and how great is the liberty permitted have never been defined. The Articles Declaratory, which were recognized as constitutive by the Church of Scotland Act of 1921, contain a brief statement of doctrine in the First Article, which is declared to be “essential to the continuity and corporate life” of the church and which may never be altered.

The Kirk’s theological tradition is predominantly Evangelical and Reformed, with a succession of thinkers who were prepared to work creatively within that tradition to meet the challenges of their times. John Knox and Andrew Melville laid foundations in the Reformation era. Samuel Rutherford, George Gillespie, and David Dickson were exponents of the high Calvinism of the Westminster Confession (see COVENANT THEOLOGY). Resisting any descent into legalism in the early eighteenth century, Thomas Boston and Ebenezer Erskine championed the priority of God’s GRACE. A century later JOHN McLEOD CAMPBELL controversially challenged the doctrine of limited ATONEMENT in favor of an emphasis on God’s universal fatherhood and grace, which has come to be widely accepted. The nineteenth century witnessed a galaxy of outstanding scholars, many associated with the Free Church, such as THOMAS CHALMERS, John “Rabbi” Duncan, William Cunningham, A.B. Davidson, HENRY DRUMMOND, James Denney, James Orr, George Adam Smith, and H.R. Mackintosh. None was more brilliant than WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH, who introduced HIGHER CRITICISM to the Free Church at the cost of his own chair. In the twentieth century JOHN BAILLIE and T.F. Torrance expounded the apostolic and Reformed faith in relation to the post-ENLIGHTENMENT world of thought, whereas the biblical commentaries of William Barclay enjoyed wide influence.

Worship in the Kirk has been distinguished by the central place accorded to the PREACHING of the Word. Typically erudite, evangelical, and delivered with quiet intensity, the sermon has had a unique place in shaping Scottish life and character. Traditionally Holy Communion, or LORD’S SUPPER, is celebrated infrequently but solemnly. The twentieth century saw greater frequency and less formality in the celebration of Communion. With the Reformation came metrical psalms, which were sung for centuries until, from the later nineteenth century, increasingly supplemented by hymns (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The simple, biblical worship of the Reformers precluded observance of the Christian Year but it has found increasing acceptance in modern times.

After the Scottish Reformation the national church was maintained by a system of tax. Landowners were required to construct and maintain a church and manse and to provide a stipend for a minister. The eighteenth-century Secession Churches introduced a “voluntary” system, the expenses of each congregation being met by the freewill offerings of its members. The nineteenth-century Free Church operated by the same method, although with a more centralized system. The work of the Kirk since the 1929 union has been financed almost entirely by the freely given offerings of its members. The

demands of an affluent society and the realities of a declining membership put pressure on the Kirk budget.

Commitment to a territorial ministry within a parish system has ensured that the presence and witness of the Kirk is spread fairly evenly across the country. Historically, Reformed worship began in urban and lowland areas of the south and east and it was not until the eighteenth century that it took root in the Gaelicspeaking communities of the Highlands to the north and west. Revival movements (see REVIVALS) brought a deep piety and Highland Christianity took on a distinctive character, perhaps drawing on the mystical tradition of its people. Highland churches have mostly remained conservative in doctrine and WORSHIP and, as a result, several Presbyterian denominations maintain separation from the Kirk.

Architecturally the Kirk is a major feature of Scottish life, with its church buildings among the most prominent and beautiful in both urban and rural areas. After the Reformation transepts were often added to the nave and chancel of medieval times, making the T-shape with pulpit and communion table at the center a common church design. The nineteenth century was a great period of church building with the Classical Revival creating churches of restrained elegance and the Gothic Revival producing more elaborate buildings, often with impressive spires.

Movements of renewal in modern times have drawn on a variety of sources. The Church Service Society has contributed to liturgical renewal within a broadly Reformed tradition, whereas the Scottish Church Society has aimed to influence worship from a "high church" perspective. The IONA COMMUNITY, founded by GEORGE MACLEOD in 1938, restored Iona Abbey as its base and promoted urban mission, which integrated innovative spirituality and radical social commitment. Meanwhile a Conservative Evangelical movement, drawing inspiration from the Aberdeen ministry of William Still after World War II, promoted systematic expository preaching and a return to the essentials of Christian FAITH. The membership of the Woman's Guild, founded in 1887, peaked at over 160,000 in the 1950s. Its nationwide network provided a fellowship for WOMEN to deepen and extend their Christian commitment.

The immigration of Irish Roman Catholics in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was greeted initially by suspicion and hostility from the Church of Scotland, a reaction that contributed to the formation of a sectarian environment in the west of Scotland. In the late twentieth century the Church of Scotland took the initiative in cultivating good relations with the Roman Catholic Church and played a leading role in the creation of Action of Churches Together in Scotland, an ecumenical instrument including the Catholic Church, in 1990 (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS).

Scots migrants founded Presbyterian Churches in IRELAND, the UNITED STATES, CANADA, SOUTH AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, and NEW ZEALAND. In the nineteenth century the Church of Scotland played a leading role in the missionary movement (see MISSIONS). JOHN R. MOTT declared that Scotland sent more missionaries overseas per head of population than any other country in the world. Alexander Duff of Calcutta, William Chalmers Burns of China, Robert Laws of Livingstonia, David Clement Scott of Blantyre, John Ross of Manchuria, MARY SLESSOR of Calabar, David Torrance of Tiberias, and J.E.LESSLIE NEWBIGIN of south India are among those who exercised great influence. Through the work of such missionaries many new churches were planted,

notably in Jamaica, INDIA, Pakistan, CHINA, NIGERIA, Ghana, MALAWI, Zambia, Kenya, and South Africa. Scots such as J.H.Oldham played a leading role in the development of mission theory, as seen at the epochal WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE OF 1910, held in Edinburgh. Thus a national church became part of a movement of faith that spans the continents. Through partnership links with churches overseas and its membership in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES, this international dimension remains integral to the life of the Church of Scotland at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

General Description

The Church of the Nazarene is a Wesleyan/Holiness denomination with a total constituency of 3.7 million and a membership of 1.35 million in about 13,000 congregations in 120 nations (see WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT). Just under half of the constituency live in the United States and CANADA. It is served by about 13,000 ordained elders, 400 ordained deacons, and 5,500 licensed ministers. From its beginnings, the denomination has received and ordained women into its ministry (see WOMEN CLERGY). Its headquarters are in Kansas City, Missouri.

From its earliest days the denomination has maintained both liberal arts colleges and schools for clergy preparation. Currently it operates fifty-one postsecondary educational institutions in thirty-two countries (see COLLEGES, PROTESTANT). These include two

postbaccalaureate theological seminaries, nine liberal arts institutions offering baccalaureate degrees (eight offer graduate degrees as well), and baccalaureate-level theological colleges in a dozen countries. It operates a number of Bible institutes at the primary and secondary levels (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTIONS).

It also runs two schools of nursing, a hospital, and a number of medical clinics. Its independently incorporated international relief agency may take its own initiatives and also works with a variety of humanitarian agencies.

The denomination also maintains Nazarene Publishing House (publishing under its own and Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City imprints) and a music publishing subsidiary (Lillenas Publishing Company imprint). Both of these institutions service all of the major language groups in the denomination and in the holiness movement at large (see PUBLISHING, MEDIA). The Nazarenes are attempting to remain one international denomination rather than to develop a federation or association or alliance.

Polity

The polity of the Church of the Nazarene mixes Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational forms.

Strictly speaking, the local congregation is the church. Congregations of twenty-five or more members have the right to make their own pastoral arrangements and to control the disbursement of their own funds. Each congregation annually elects an official board that oversees the finances, properties, personnel, and programs of the congregation. Most congregations also elect councils and principal officers for the major auxiliaries, such as religious education and youth work.

Each local congregation is incorporated into one of 350 districts. Most districts are geographically defined. Formally, the district's work is administrative and promotional, aimed at helping congregational growth and development, and at the establishment of new congregations. In addition, many districts hold annual camp meetings and youth camps, which are primarily evangelistic in purpose. The policy-making body of a district is the annual district assembly, to which each congregation elects delegates in proportion to its membership. This assembly elects the district's principal executive officer, the district superintendent, who may be reelected indefinitely. It also elects standing committees, other district officers, and trustees to the board of regents or trustees that serves that district's region. Local congregations are not legally bound by a district assembly's decisions, but generally understand themselves to be honor bound to meet them. Generally, title to all local church property is held by the district to which it belongs.

In addition to carrying out assembly directives and initiatives, the district superintendent works with congregations to maintain appropriate pastoral arrangements.

A still-developing level of organization is that of "region," each region consisting of a varying number of districts. Its principal executive officer is the regional director. This officer is appointed by and reports directly to the denominational Director of World Mission and is responsible for all phases of the denomination's work in all of the districts in a given geographical area. Current "regions" with directors are AFRICA, Asia-Pacific, Canada, CARIBBEAN, Eurasia, MEXICO and Central America, and South America.

The USA—Canada is an anomaly. It is divided into nine regions, each with its liberal arts college or university, but these regions do not have regional directors.

The supreme governing body of the Church of the Nazarene is the General Assembly, eighty percent of which is a district-elected, delegated body, half lay and half clergy. The additional twenty percent are ex officio: district superintendents, and regional- and general-level administrators. Between meetings of the General Assembly, the denomination's governing body is the General Board, a half lay—half clergy body elected by the entire assembly and answerable to it. This board meets annually.

General Assembly decisions concerning policy, polity, and doctrine are binding on the entire denomination. However, those that involve the basic Articles of Faith of the denomination and the denomination's Constitution require ratification by two-thirds of the 350 annual district assemblies before they are binding.

The principal executive officers of the General Assembly are the general superintendents (currently six), who are clergy individually elected to four-year, renewable terms by the General Assembly. The general superintendents constitute themselves as a board. Their principal tasks are to execute the decisions of the General Assembly, to oversee all denominational policies and programs, to ensure denominational fidelity to its written polity and doctrinal statements (contained in the Manual, the denomination's official written constitution and collection of rituals), to preside over district assemblies and to preside over the ordination of ministers at district assemblies (or to delegate persons to do so in their absence), and to approve or disapprove nominations from the appropriate entities for various denominational offices and institutions. They are also the ultimate interpreters of the Manual.

Doctrinal Description

The basic requirement for church membership is confession of faith in Jesus Christ as personal Lord and Savior, agreement with the sixteen "Articles of Faith," consent to abide by the "General Rules," and a vow to seek grace of entire SANCTIFICATION if one is not already in the experience. Confession of faith in Jesus Christ and entire sanctification are understood in terms developed by WESLEYANISM and revivalism (see REVIVALS). The sixteen articles of faith are directly related to the "Twenty-five Articles of Religion" of the United Methodist Church (USA) and the "THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of Religion" of the Anglican tradition. The "General Rules" also clearly relate to historic METHODISM: avoidance of the appearance of evil; doing good to all; and not inveighing against the polity and practices of the denomination.

In its "Historical Statement," the Church of the Nazarene

confesses as its own the history of the people of God recorded in the Old and New Testaments, and that same history as it has extended from the days of the apostles to our own. It embraces as its own the people of God through the ages, those redeemed through Jesus Christ in whatever expression of the one church they may be found. It receives the ecumenical creeds of the first five centuries as expressions of its own faith.

Recent rulings have allowed that the Nicene Creed may be said with or without the “filioque” in traditionally Orthodox areas, and that in those areas Easter may be celebrated according to the Orthodox calendar (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). Some congregations omit the “descensus.” The “Articles of Faith” are clearly Protestant, upholding the doctrines of SALVATION by grace alone through FAITH alone, Scripture (the sixty-six- book canon) as the sole rule for faith and practice, and the priesthood of all believers.

A significant minority of Nazarenes are fundamentalists regarding the Scripture. The Articles of Faith themselves speak of “plenary inspiration” and focus on the soteriological function of biblical inspiration and “inerrancy.” This allows for both Fundamentalist and non-Fundamentalist approaches to the Bible.

The Nazarenes retain two sacraments: Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. They celebrate them in compliance with the basic traditional requirements as to material used (in the Lord’s Supper, unfermented wine), the form of words, and sacramental intention. They practice both paedobaptism and believer’s baptism by any of the traditional modes. The rather common practice of rebaptism of those coming to them from paedobaptist traditions is increasingly discouraged. The Lord’s Supper is open to all who confess Christ as Savior, regardless of denominational affiliation, but must be presided over by a duly (but not necessarily Nazarene-) ordained clergy person. Congregations must celebrate quarterly. Many celebrate more frequently.

Anointing of the sick for healing is commonly practiced, and modern medical care is also fully encouraged.

Distinguishing Tenet

Theologically the Church of the Nazarene is rooted in JOHN WESLEY’S doctrine of Christian perfection; ideologically, it is rooted in nineteenth-century North American revivalism. Wesley (1703–1791) believed that Christ’s atoning work makes available to believers a grace-given unconditional love for God and neighbor in this life, which begins in the cleansing of the heart from all that is not love, hence the term “Christian perfection,” a perfection in love. In a strict sense, this experience is a second basic work of grace, justification being the first. Wesley insisted that although both works are receivable only by faith, both come *sola gratia*. The atonement provides for both and is continually necessary for maintaining both. Both are entire or complete or full in themselves and are instantaneously received, but these characteristics do not foreclose on spiritual growth or “growth in grace.” Rather, growth in grace is one of their most marked concomitants. In fact, refusal to grow in grace may ultimately frustrate the gifts of grace and in their loss. Assurance that either experience has been granted comes from the Holy Spirit in the Spirit’s own good time.

The distinguishing tenet of the Church of the Nazarene is almost precisely this Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection—also referred to as “entire sanctification,” “holiness,” “full salvation,” “the baptism of the Spirit,” “the second blessing,” “heart purity,” and “perfect love,” among other terms. Nazarenes diverge from Wesley at only one basic point. They tend to believe that assurance comes with the gift of entire sanctification itself. Many also diverge at two ancillary points: Wesley was not so sure as

they that the gift should be equated with “the baptism of the Holy Spirit,” and they place much greater emphasis on its instantaneousness than he did.

History

In nineteenth-century Methodist revivalism, emphasis fell on the instantaneousness of both justification and entire sanctification. (The terms “holiness” and “entire sanctification” had come to more prominent use than the term “Christian perfection.” Formally, nuances were recognized; practically, the terms were synonymous.) By the 1830s Methodists were debating the relationship between the instantaneousness of entire sanctification and the gift of assurance. All agreed that assurance was a gift of divine grace and had no specific or universally recognizable marks. All agreed that it was simply a matter of the Holy Spirit witnessing to the seeker’s spirit. However, did assurance, the “witness of the Spirit,” come with the work of entire sanctification, or might it come later?

Also in the 1830s perfectionist Methodists began to debate whether there was any necessary prerequisite to receiving the grace of entire sanctification aside from already having been justified and regenerated by grace through faith. Some argued that entire consecration must precede entire sanctification. It seemed to others that this put the doctrine of *sola gratia, sola fide* at risk, making consecration and faith over into good works.

By the 1860s most revivalist perfectionists, which now included many who were not Methodists, held that complete consecration must precede entire sanctification and that assurance comes with the work of entire sanctification, for assurance depends on one’s personal appropriation of the biblical promises concerning the work.

The principal figure in propagating this understanding throughout this period was PHOEBE WORRALL PALMER (1807–1874). She and her husband Walter Palmer, a physician, through publishing, writing, and speaking, led a large number of persons within and outside both British and American Methodism into the experience of entire sanctification and encouraged yet many others in “the way of holiness,” as she called it. These included a significant number of American bishops and bishops-to-be.

In 1867 a handful of prominent Methodist Episcopal (ME) pastors in the Middle Atlantic states (see METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH CONFERENCE), all of them deeply influenced by Phoebe Palmer, sponsored an ecumenical, but Methodist-run campmeeting for the “promotion of holiness” in Vineland, New Jersey. It was to respond to three issues: the coarsening of moral and ethical standards produced by the CIVIL WAR, the growing neglect of “holiness” in Methodist faith and practice, and the surrender of the campmeeting to emotionalism. The ME bishops unofficially approved it and at least one participated in it. So successful was the Vineland meeting that the sponsors formed themselves into the National Campmeeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness.

The “National,” as it was called, then held “holiness” camp meetings across the country for about two decades. It encouraged an ecumenical spirit but was itself punctiliously episcopal Methodist. It always carefully secured bona fide invitations and permissions from bishops in jurisdiction, presiding elders, and local Methodist pastors,

and local support. The success of these campmeetings led to the formation of large numbers of regional, state, and county holiness associations in the 1870s to 1890s, each with its (annual) campmeeting. The majority of their members were ME, but they also attracted and accepted significant numbers of Wesleyan and Free Methodists, a significant number of persons affected by CHARLES FINNEY'S preaching and Oberlin perfectionism (developed by Finney and Asa Mahan), a smaller proportion of Restorationists (see RESTORATIONISM), and scatterings of Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) and others. This more ecumenical base placed an ever-increasing proportion of the holiness movement beyond the reach of episcopal Methodist polity, policy, etiquette, and discipline. By the mid-1870s, deep tensions between the "National" (still mostly ME, but now including some Methodist Episcopal, South [MES], ministers) and several of the more regional associations became obvious, and intra-Methodist tensions in and between the ME and MES, in large part over "holiness," were also becoming obvious.

The aggressiveness of the holiness evangelists, Methodist and otherwise; their disregard for the "National's" model of etiquette and sensitivity to hierarchical concerns; and the revivalist enthusiasm and apparent behavioral phariseism of the holiness advocates made for often chilly receptions in their own local congregations. Moreover, it created a sort of homelessness for those who now sought congregational affiliation in consequence of having been converted or sanctified wholly in a holiness meeting. The "National" itself faced accusations of temporizing. It seemed to many holiness people, Methodist and otherwise, that episcopal Methodism had given itself over to the quest for social status and acceptability. Such were the makings of the "church question."

By the late 1870s the "church question" had taken firm root: should the holiness people create their own denomination(s)? Sociological factors, such as social location, did and do play some role in the way in which holiness people have formed responses to the "church question," although it may be argued that doctrine and piety have been a more basic element.

The Church of the Nazarene arose as one of several responses, a later one, to that question, and it was a more pervasively urban, middle-class response than some others. Its original leadership generally retained closer relationships to the "National," and to Methodism, than did the leadership of the various regional holiness associations. Some hoped (a few feared), in fact, that the Church of the Nazarene would serve to gather most of the holiness "forces" in the United States and become the principal expression of Wesleyan revivalist perfectionism.

Phineas F. Bresee (1838–1915), a distinguished ME pastor and presiding elder in Iowa and Southern California, and a member of the "National," along with Joseph P. Widney (1841–1938), prominent educator, ME lay preacher, and first president of the University of Southern California, established the First Church of the Nazarene, Los Angeles, California, in mid-October, 1895. Widney gave the congregation its name. (In 1898 he returned to Methodism and then moved into theosophy.)

From its beginnings this congregation sought to propagate holiness doctrine and experience and to relieve the socially distressed in central Los Angeles, but Bresee clearly envisioned a denomination from the very first. By 1905 there were twenty-six Nazarene congregations, among them ten in southern California, five in Washington and Idaho, and five in Illinois.

The denomination that emerged even by 1915 is the product of a long series of mergers and aggressive evangelism, with some of the merging partners having longer histories than that of Bresee's congregation, but it was Bresee's active commitment to his vision and his unique capacity for attracting and uniting people that were the principal forces facilitating those mergers. The retention of the name of the Los Angeles organization as the denominational name reflects the depth of Bresee's influence and the long-held prominence of that first Nazarene congregation.

The first merger occurred in 1907, creating the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. The Nazarenes' partner in this union was the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America, itself the project of mergers in New York state and New England (see PENTECOSTALISM). Its oldest congregation had formed in 1894, in Providence, Rhode Island. The Association's principal leader was H.F.Reynolds (1854–1938), an ME pastor; however, a number of others—predominantly, but not at all exclusively, disaffected Methodists, clerical and lay—played significant roles in the Association and in the merger.

In 1908, at Pilot Point, Texas, the Holiness Church of Christ, the product of earlier mergers in Oklahoma, Texas, and the old South, and influenced by restorationism and the holiness movements in both the ME and MES churches, united with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. This group had no central or galvanizing figure such as Bresee or Reynolds; and at the time of the merger, it still had not completely resolved some of its own major internal issues. Nonetheless, many consider the date of this merger, October 12, 1908, to be the founding date for the denomination. The occasion was actually the Second General Assembly of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.

With this merger the denomination became nationwide, with more than 10,000 members in 228 congregations. Several of the west coast congregations were predominantly Oriental; at least one on the east coast was Portuguese-speaking; as many as two dozen had African-American members.

J.O.McClurkan (1861–1914), a Cumberland Presbyterian clergyman, had founded the Pentecostal Alliance in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1898. By 1901 it had become the Pentecostal Mission. By 1915, when it merged with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, it had congregations in all of the larger cities of Tennessee, in Columbia, South Carolina, and in Atlanta, Georgia. This group brought with it strong Cumberland Presbyterian, Christian and Missionary Alliance, and MES influences. Perhaps more important, it brought to the merger strong social-work institutions and missionaries working abroad. Also in 1915 the Pentecostal Church of Scotland, formed in 1909 by four holiness congregations, merged with the Nazarenes. Its principal leader was George Sharpe (1865–1948), former pastor of the Parkhead (Congregational) Church in Glasgow. This body, too, carried on a strong program of social service and had sent missionaries to Africa before merger with the Nazarenes.

Each of the groups in this string of mergers brought to the union at least a school for the education of the ministry, if not a nascent liberal arts institution. Each merging group also brought missions enterprises. As early as 1908 the Nazarenes had congregations in Mexico, the Cape Verde Islands, INDIA, JAPAN, and southern Africa. They only slowly accepted the notion of indigenized administrative leadership, but from their earliest days, they had developed indigenous preachers and teachers. "National workers (or preachers)," as they were called, outnumbered missionaries five to one by the early 1930s.

Modern American Pentecostalism made an exponential leap into public awareness with the well-publicized Azusa Street (Los Angeles) Revival in 1901. Its roots lay in much the same soil that had produced the Holiness Movement three decades earlier. In fact, on into the 1910s, many thought the two movements to be but two styles of the Holiness Movement. Adherents of one freely mingled in revival services, if not in congregations, with adherents of the other. Their primary contention had to do with whether glossalalia (usually called “tongues”) was the necessary evidence of entire sanctification. By the mid-1910s, however, non- and anti-Wesleyan factions had arisen in Pentecostalism, and a strong antiglossalalic faction had arisen among the holiness people. In 1919 the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene dropped the adjective “Pentecostal” from its name and the names of a number of its academic institutions. It was now, simply, the Church of the Nazarene, and it generally opposed the idea that “tongues” was a contemporary gift of the Spirit.

Still, the process of merging continued. The Laymen’s Holiness Association in the Dakotas and Minnesota, led by J.G.Morrison (1871–1939), an ME clergyman, joined the Church of the Nazarene in 1922. The Association was predominantly ME, but it included significant numbers of adherents to the Evangelical Association, a group tracing its origins to the work of Jacob Albright (1759–1808), a Lutheran-become-Methodist in Pennsylvania.

The 1950s brought both gain and loss by way of merger and secession. Four small holiness denominations joined the Church of the Nazarene. In the early 1950s the Hepzibah Faith Missionary Association, founded in 1893 and centered in Tabor, Iowa, joined the Nazarenes, bringing with it missionary work in six countries. In 1952 the International Holiness Mission, founded as the Holiness Mission, in the Clapham area in London, in 1907, brought into the Church of the Nazarene a strong commitment to social work and a very active missionary presence in sub-Saharan Africa, and about two dozen congregations across England. Three years later, the Calvary Holiness Church, formed in 1934 by itinerant evangelists in the International Holiness Mission, joined the Nazarenes as well, nearly doubling the Nazarene constituency in ENGLAND and WALES. In 1958 the five congregations of the Gospel Workers Church of Canada, a denomination founded in 1918, with its work concentrated in Ontario, merged with the Nazarenes.

Other mergers have occurred since the 1950s, the largest being that of 1988, with a Wesleyan/Holiness group in NIGERIA already calling itself the Church of the Nazarene. This merger brought thirty-nine congregations and 6,500 members with it.

A secession in the mid-1910s, rooted in both doctrine and polity but also entangled in personalities, almost destroyed the denomination. The doctrine in question was premillennialism; the political issue was the authority of the district superintendency over a local congregation. Many of the dissidents eventually joined another holiness body. The Nazarenes continued to refuse official endorsement to any particular form of millennialism and to uphold a strong superintendency (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM).

The secessions of the 1950s and 1960s generally arose from the conviction that the denomination had lost much of its evangelistic fervor and was surrendering to American popular culture. The specific points of critique, which were akin to HOLINESS MOVEMENT critiques of episcopal Methodism eighty years earlier, were the failure of the Nazarene General Assemblies of 1952 and 1956 to condemn television and the

critics' perceptions that Nazarenes had become too ready to accept contemporary styles of dress, cosmetics, and jewelry; and had developed a tendency to rely on administrative structures and programs at the cost of spiritual dependency on God. None of the dissident groups departed with more than 500 members, although their exodus removed certain concerns for piety at a time when the denomination was indeed concerned with gaining social acceptability. Perhaps most significant was the formation of the Bible Missionary Union in 1956, which in 1957 became the Bible Missionary Church. The most recent of significant secessions was that of the Church of the Bible Covenant in 1967. Its rationale for secession paralleled that of the Bible Missionary Church.

From its beginning, whether 1908, 1907, or 1895, the Church of the Nazarene has understood its principal mission to be the propagation of the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification, or holiness, or Christian perfection. To engage in this mission, Nazarenes have generally developed a strong set of common mores and pieties, such as commitment to regular attendance at worship, tithing, teetotalism, and to their regional educational institutions; and heavy giving to world mission and compassionate causes. They have also usually avoided debates over the nature of biblical inspiration, baptism, millennialism, divine healing, and forms of worship, among other things. However, since the late 1970s, emphasis on following the sociological principles developed by the Church Growth Movement, coupled with a decreasing emphasis on the mores and pieties noted earlier, has tended to dull the sharp edge of holiness evangelism in favor of a socially more acceptable, less doctrinaire evangelicalism.

See also Evangelicalism; Wesley, Charles

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PAUL MERRITT BASSETT

CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

The Protestant, Orthodox, and Anglican traditions that compose the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES support ecumenical humanitarian relief through the Church World Service (CWS). In 1946 the Federal Council of Churches, Foreign Missions Conference, and American Committee of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES established CWS in response to the proliferation of church relief endeavors during the Second World War. The new organization represented ecumenical Protestant efforts to address issues of hunger, reconstruction, and displacement in postwar Europe and Asia.

In its early years CWS worked in the areas of food relief and refugee resettlement. A network of Christians from across the United States formed the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) to donate food and funds for CWS programs. CWS grew into a global organization, creating partnerships with local Christians in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and AFRICA to sponsor development projects. Throughout the 1960s CWS expanded its assistance to refugees through its work in Vietnam, Palestine, and Cuba. In the 1970s CWS created offices to respond to international and domestic disasters.

CWS's work with relief and development reflects a theology of compassionate response to all human need. In the 1970s its leaders added the emphases of global education and public advocacy to the agency's original goals of providing for physical necessity, assisting refugees, and supporting development projects. CWS has also added a focus on the root causes of poverty and powerlessness.

CWS includes thirty-six member denominations. Headquartered in New York City, CWS works with local partners in more than eighty countries. Two thousand local CROP events raise funds for CWS programs each year. In 2002 CWS operated on a budget of \$69,000,000.

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JENNIFER GRABER

CIRCUIT RIDER

Circuit riders were itinerant ministers who advanced the rapid growth of Wesleyan METHODISM in the UNITED STATES during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see ITINERANCY). A system of traveling Methodist preachers was first envisioned by JOHN WESLEY as a means of propagating and servicing Methodist Society class meetings in rural ENGLAND. After the founding of the American Methodist Episcopal Church at the BALTIMORE CONFERENCE, in 1784, FRANCIS ASBURY organized American Methodist societies or churches into circuits. Pastoral circuit riders were appointed to travel the circuits on horseback: their responsibilities included visiting each church at least once a year and reporting back to the conference, as well as preaching extemporaneously, holding CAMP MEETINGS, and organizing new Methodist churches along the way. This efficient and effective organizational system contributed to the populist appeal of Methodism and enabled the church to grow with the westward territorial expansion of the United States. Especially in the American South and West and among African Americans, circuit riders were instrumental in building Methodism from fewer than 1,000 adherents in 1770 to more than 250,000 by 1820.

Despite the hardships of wilderness travel and occasional anti-Methodist violence, Asbury himself was a devoted itinerant who traveled more than 270,000 miles during his career. Other well-known circuit riders include PETER CARTWRIGHT (1785–1872), Freeborn Garrettson (1752–1827), and the African American Harry Hosier (1750?–1806).

See also Evangelicalism; Methodism, North America; Methodist Episcopal Church Conference.

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JOANNA BROOKS

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The modern civil rights movement, usually placed in the middle of the twentieth century from the mid 1950s to the late 1960s, was a coalition of organizations and leaders with the primary goal of eradicating racial injustice from American society. This movement, however, had its roots in nineteenth-century slave rebellions, abolitionists, and a post-CIVIL WAR proactive congress that passed destiny-determining (for African Americans) amendments to our Constitution: the 13th Amendment (1865), which freed the slaves; the 14th Amendment (1868), which guaranteed equal protection, due process, and full citizenship for freed slaves; and the 15th Amendment (1870), which gave them the right to vote.

This modern movement also had significant twentiethcentury roots with the pre-World War I founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and The National Urban League; the Marcus Garvey “Back to Africa Movement” in the 1920s; President Franklin Roosevelt’s 1941 executive order to prohibit discrimination in federal employment (as a result of pressure by A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—the largest black labor union); the formation of **CORE** (Congress of Racial Equality) by James Farmer in 1943; President Harry Truman’s executive order to desegregate the armed services in 1948; and Thurgood Marshall’s successful argument of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* case (1954) before the U.S. Supreme Court to integrate public schools. This landmark case overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which had declared that separate facilities were equal, a judicial endorsement of Jim Crow laws. In reversing *Plessy*, Brown stated that “separate was not equal” and made a full circle back to the 14th Amendment on which Marshall’s argument heavily depended.

Combine this rich historical context with the immediate sense of horror in the black community over the murder of teenager Emmett Till in the summer of 1955 in Mississippi and one can see how Rosa Parks, often called the Mother of the Civil Rights Movement, was ready and willing to deny her seat to a white man on December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama. The courageous act of this black seamstress from Montgomery gave birth to the Montgomery Improvement Association that, in turn, sponsored the year-long Montgomery Bus Boycott (December 1955 to December 1956), which saw, as well, the emergence of a new black leader, Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. For all intents and purposes, that year ignited the new civil rights movement and became a turning point in American history.

Soon after the success of this boycott, in 1957, several civil rights leaders including King, Ralph Abernathy, Bayard Rustin, Ella Baker, Harris and Clare Wofford, and Stanley Levison formed the Southern Negro Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration with the primary purpose of integrating buses. The name was soon changed to Southern Negro Leaders Conference and, to be as clear as possible about its source and expanding mission, it received its final designation as Southern Christian Leadership Conference—the SCLC became the virtual center of the movement, and its first president, Dr. King, was the heart of that center. Upon King's death, the mantle of leadership was passed to Abernathy, King's close friend and associate. After a decade with Abernathy at the head, SCLC became a weaker organization and lost its effective voice. In 1977 Joseph Lowery, a Methodist, took the reins and for the next twenty years returned the SCLC to its original vibrant witness for civil rights. Nonetheless, every preceding civil rights group would join with SCLC in all the major campaigns (from Birmingham to Selma to Memphis to the Poor Peoples Campaign). Other groups and leaders spawned by SCLC would, in one form or another, take their cue from SCLC.

The modern civil rights movement, in its several manifestations, wanted social justice and equality for America—that is, political, social, and economic freedom. Each organization would contribute its unique emphasis to achieve these goals and each director would share his or her own gifts of leadership. Their protests were directed mainly at the deep South, but the consequences reverberated throughout the country.

One way to view the accomplishments of the civil rights movement is to survey the work done by the various organizations and their leaders and suggest how their specific gifts contributed to the overall success of what the movement achieved. These goals were achieved by different methods, but always nonviolently.

1. The *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP) was founded in 1909 by an interracial group, which included W.E.B. Dubois, to advance the struggle for civil and political liberty. It is the oldest, most enduring civil rights organization and is always there, directly or indirectly, when an advance is made for minorities. Its Legal Defense and Education Fund with lawyers trained in civil and constitutional law has served the African American constituency well for almost a century. The high water mark of their history of litigation on behalf of minorities was the Brown decision in 1954. The NAACP supported every campaign for social justice before, during, and after the 1950s and 1960s, with Roy Wilkins as president. Their members were critical to the success of the African American cause, including for example, Rosa Parks, Medgar Evers, and the college students who sat in at the Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960. It is active today

under the leadership of Kweisi Mfume (who became president in 1996), with many branches in small communities throughout the United States.

2. The *Congress of Racial Equality* (CORE) was founded in 1942 by James Farmer in Chicago. It was a nonviolent direct action group that organized demonstrations and educated volunteers in various forms of civil disobedience. This activist stance found them in the famous Freedom Rides that tested interstate commerce public transportation in the early 1960s, the March on Washington in 1963, in all the major campaigns, especially the one in Birmingham in 1963. When Farmer left the directorship in 1966, Floyd McKissick replaced him and turned CORE into a more segregated, militant advocacy group for black people with his championing of Black Power. When Roy Innis became head in 1988 he further moved CORE toward a conservative path, becoming critical of traditional civil rights groups and affirmative action.
3. *The National Urban League* was formed in 1911, dedicated to caring for the increasing number of blacks migrating to northern cities. The League was instrumental in helping new, often low-income city dwellers find employment in an industrial setting, rent and buy houses, and understand real estate terminology. The League provided financial aid and assistance with child care, and interpreted the rights and responsibilities of home ownership—in short, prepared the urban poor to live selfconfidently and with as much economic wellbeing as possible in cities. Edmund Haynes was the first director of this necessary community service agency; Whitney Young was its successful director during the civil rights era and worked closely with Martin King and SCLC campaigns.
4. *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee* (SNCC) grew out of the student sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Nashville, Tennessee, in February of 1960. Ella Baker, a Shaw University graduate, community organizer, trusted advisor, and a progressive in social and political affairs, was a key figure in initiating this student-operated arm of the movement. She wanted to create a network of communication for all students throughout the South to avoid duplication of their effort and to keep the students' esprit de corps alive.

By the end of February 1960 it was an active group with a membership from which would come some of the most well-known leaders the movement was to produce. They were “the children” made famous by David Halberstram in a well-known book by that name. The early leaders were James Lawson, a Vanderbilt seminary student and Gandhian pacifist (see PACIFISM), Diane Nash, a Fisk University student from Chicago who became a civil rights activist and educator; and John Lewis, an American Baptist seminary student who was involved in the Selma campaign and became a Georgia congressman. Membership in the early years of SNCC also included Bernard LaFayette, Marion Barry, Stokely Carmichael, Julian Bond, and Robert Moses, among others—all of whom have become national figures. SNCC saw itself as a second generation, a more impatient and aggressive organization than the traditional civil rights groups. It was difficult for them to wait for the Urban League's social service, SCLC's well-thought-out campaign strategy, and the NAACP's lengthy court battles. SNCC's voter registration drives (the trio of Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman were killed in Mississippi in 1964 working for SNCC), their continual sit-ins and other acts of civil disobedience kept the fire of the movement burning in between the

major and nationally televised campaigns. Nevertheless, SNCC supported those more publicized crusades as well.

In the mid-1960s, noticing that young black men were disproportionately drafted and subject to a higher percentage of casualties from the Vietnam war, SNCC issued an articulate and passionate antiwar position paper, asking, "Where is the draft for freedom fighters in the USA?" They combined the civil rights movement and the antiwar movement with much the same rationale King used later in his infamous 1967 antiwar sermon: "I've been around segregation too long now to segregate my moral concerns."

The impact of SNCC is largely overlooked, but the civil rights movement would never have been as successful without the energy and vision of the many youth who made their distinctive contribution to help blacks achieve self-determination.

5. The *Council of Federated Organizations* (COFO) was founded in 1962 as a coordinating agency for the several civil rights groups working in Mississippi. Its most significant leader, Robert Moses, had come to Mississippi soon after receiving a master's degree in philosophy to work with SNCC's voter registration drives. Its main contribution was the formation of the Freedom Summer of 1964 in Mississippi. That summer's achievements were many, despite overwhelming local odds. Some of the results were black voter registration drives, the organization of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party with Fannie Lou Hamer as its delegate to the 1964 convention, and the providing of places ("freedom schools") for black children to learn basic educational skills and to aid adult blacks with legal, medical, and work needs.

The most disturbing fissure in the movement came as a result of the growing impatience of young blacks with the civil rights' establishment and the perceived undue influence and co-opting of the movement by "privileged" black leaders and affluent white liberals. The turning point came in Greenwood, Mississippi, on June 16, 1966, when SNCC member Stokely Carmichael, standing on a flatbed truck, began to shout "We want black power!" This cry for dignity and respect in the name of black people's humanity and for black political and economic power made an indelible imprint on the movement, so much so that Martin King devoted a whole chapter to "black power" in his book *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* King's dialectical understanding of this new tone was instrumental in the eventual incorporation of its more positive aspects into the larger movement.

Jesse Jackson, one of the many young black clergy supporters of King, became the most nationally famous alumnus of the movement. He ran for president of the UNITED STATES in 1984 and 1988 and is the founder and president of Rainbow/Push, a Chicagobased organization currently active in advocating for minority contractors and business people.

The civil rights movement was an extension of the black, mostly Baptist, church. It could not have been sustained without its energy and leadership. The introduction of "Christian" in the final name of SCLC was an intentional reminder that it was anchored in the tradition of the black church. Oppressed people tend to see religion, as indeed Israel's prophets did, as a praxis—the unity of faith and action, prayer and politics. So it was natural for Martin King to call the work for justice of the civil rights coalition "a spiritual movement," or for Joseph Lowery to say "if the earth is the Lord's, it includes

economic and political aspects as well as spiritual aspects.” The roll call of movement leaders consists primarily of young black clergy or those whose primary influence was from the church, for example, James Lawson, Bernard LaFayette, Fred Shuttlesworth, Wyatt Tee Walker, John Lewis, Ralph Abernathy, Julian Bond, Floyd McKissick, and others.

The black church also produced a large and significant band of women who played a central, indispensable role in the movement. We have mentioned Rosa Parks, Diane Nash, Ella Baker, and Fannie Lou Hamer. There were many others. Dorothy Cotton was cofounder of SCLC and its education director for twelve years; Septima Clark was very involved in the network of Citizenship Schools and an activist who exposed the rather pervasive sexism in the movement. SNCC was heavily dependent on women’s leadership, especially in the aforementioned Citizenship Schools and voter registration drives. The most famous are Gloria Richardson Dandridge, Ruby Smith, Colia LaFayette, Ruth Howard Chambers, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Ruth Harris, Bernice Johnson Reagon, and Ethel Minor. Two SNCC workers, Casey Hayden and Mary King, following the lead of Septima Clark, wrote a revealing statement about gender discrimination in the movement that has been considered one of the founding documents of the feminist movement.

These leaders represent the best of what PAUL TILLICH called an essential religious impulse—the Protestant (Prophetic) Principle. This is the necessity to call into question, to say a Divine “no,” to all attempts at absolutizing historical, finite, relative authorities, for example, race, patriarchy, class, war, wealth, and other forms of entrenched power and privilege. Although the movement included Jewish, Roman Catholic, and other ecumenical support, those young clergy were embodying “pro-testare,” their unmediated Protestant vocation to speak truth to power on behalf of God, to testify for, to witness to justice and peace.

All these extraordinary and often very ordinary people succeeded in achieving the original goals of the movement and advancing the cause of minority populations. Their work in the movement helped realize a more politically just and economically equitable society. Some concrete examples include: federal legislation and Supreme Court decisions on behalf of civil rights, the large number of current elected black officials, a much larger black middle class, universal suffrage, and a more fully integrated society. However, in the interest of full intellectual disclosure and honesty, Martin Luther King Jr., the unifying, if not mythical, center of the movement would say, “We still have a long way to go.”

See also Ecumenism; Slavery; Slavery, Abolition of; Womanist Theology

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IRA G.ZEPP JR.

CIVIL WAR, ENGLAND

During the 1640s ENGLAND was wracked by Civil War. The conflict had a number of causes, of which religion was one of the most important. Many Puritans (see PURITANISM) believed that the church, led by King Charles I and WILLIAM LAUD, the archbishop of Canterbury, had adopted objectionable popish and superstitious practices and beliefs, and they were willing to fight to preserve Protestantism as they understood it. After six years of fighting, with large armies on both sides, the royalist Anglicans were defeated by the parliamentary Puritans, who insisted on the execution of the king and archbishop. During the Interregnum (1649–1660) England was governed without a king, first by parliament and then by the Lord Protector OLIVER CROMWELL. After Cromwell's death the monarchy and state church were restored in 1660, much as they had been before the conflict.

The hostilities can be separated into the First Civil War (1642–1646), the Second Civil War (1647–1648) and the Third Civil War (1649–1651). Some writers have used other terms to refer to these disruptions. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, called it the Great Rebellion in his history written during the seventeenth century itself, whereas the twentieth-century historian Christopher Hill preferred to term it the Puritan Revolution.

Causes and Historiography

Historians have argued about the causes of the English Civil War ever since its outbreak and are not likely ever to reach agreement. Their views are to some extent a reflection of their own times—it is often said that each age rewrites the past according to its own interests, and the generalization is particularly apt with reference to the great conflict of the seventeenth century.

During the period itself the war was widely viewed as a religious conflict led by those who opposed the increasingly high-church policies of King Charles and Archbishop Laud. These included greater emphasis on the Eucharist, more elaborate ceremonial, VESTMENTS, and music, and railed altars. The movement is often referred to as ARMINIANISM, although the belief in free will, which characterized the views of Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius himself, was not an important aspect of it. Both the Independents or Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), who opposed a state church altogether, and the Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM), who favored a state church but one without bishops, joined in opposing the established CHURCH OF

ENGLAND. Oliver Cromwell once said that although he did not originally regard religion as the principal issue in the war, he was driven to that opinion as the hostilities progressed.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the war was generally regarded as a protest against Charles I's arbitrary Personal Rule without parliament (1629–1640). The popular Whig interpretation of history looked on earlier events in England as leading inevitably to the ideal form of representative government and liberal democracy that reached its peak during the reign of Queen Victoria. The Civil War, then, was a necessary stage in reducing the power of the monarch, enhancing the role of parliament, and making the case for broader representation of the people in government. The brief account of the war that prefaces Thomas Babington Macaulay's famous *History of England* (1848) is one example of such an interpretation. Another can be found, as late as 1904, in *England under the Stuarts* by his great-nephew George Macaulay Trevelyan.

Trevelyan himself helped initiate the study of social history, and a number of twentieth-century writers have attempted to analyze the war as an example of social conflict. Because seventeenth-century England was not yet divided into social classes, at least in the sense that the Marxists used the terminology, the war could not satisfactorily be viewed as a class conflict, although more than one Russian historian attempted to do so and such an explanation could still be encountered in CHINA in the 1980s. However, more acute historians, among them Christopher Hill, were able to discern more subtle social divisions, with the "godly" and "industrious sort" asserting their rights in opposition to the entrenched privilege of monarchy and nobility. Lawrence Stone, approaching the matter from a different angle, chronicled a "crisis of confidence" in the aristocracy and a loss of faith in their leadership.

A number of mid-twentieth-century writers saw the war in terms of regional divisions, sometimes arising from local conflicts between leading families. John Morrill held this view when he published his study of Cheshire in 1974 and his more general *Revolt of the Provinces* in 1976, but his more recent work emphasizes religious considerations and can be thought of as completing a circular development by reverting to opinions like those of Cromwell and the Puritans or, on the other hand, those Anglicans who supported king and church. Stanford Lehmborg's study of *Cathedrals under Siege* (1996) emphasizes the fact that those who cherished the established church, with its beautiful buildings and liturgies, fought to preserve the monarchy as well.

The most important recent discussions of the issue have come from the pen of Conrad Russell. Both his brief account *The Causes of the English Civil War* and his massive narrative *The Fall of the British Monarchies* stress the fact that the Civil War was not a single event and thus had no single cause. At one point Russell separates the complex into seven specific problems: the Bishops' Wars between England and SCOTLAND; England's defeat in that conflict; Charles' inability to secure a settlement with Scotland; his failure to dissolve or prorogue the Long Parliament; his subjects' choice of sides; the failure to negotiate; and the matter of "the king's diminished majesty." Russell shows the ways in which Charles's own personality contributed to the conflict. More important, he concludes that there were three long-term causes. The first, the problem of multiple kingdoms, arose from the fact, hitherto insufficiently appreciated, that Charles was king of Scotland and IRELAND as well as England; he faced different difficulties in each of these realms and had insufficient understanding of the convictions of his Scottish and

Irish subjects. The second cause, the problem of religious division, affected the several realms in differing ways. The Scots Covenanters rebelled against the king's attempt to make the church in Scotland more like the Church of England and to increase the power of bishops. The Irish inevitably clung to Catholicism, whereas in England the gulf between Puritans and Arminians deepened during the years of Personal Rule. Finally, old financial and political systems broke down in the face of inflation and the rising costs of warfare. The conjunction of these problems in all three realms was no doubt partly fortuitous, but the long-term causes were sufficiently persistent that they were bound to result in an eventual conflict.

A variety of further views have been expressed. The distinguished narrative historian C.V. Wedgwood renounced any attempt to tease out general causes, believing that only particular events and personalities can explain the flow of history. Sir Geoffrey Elton used to argue that the war should not have occurred because none of the causes propounded by others was an adequate explanation. If pressed to account for the fact that it did take place he sometimes took refuge in blaming the personal ineptness of the king and his advisors.

If a general explanation or synthesis is ever achieved it is likely to admit the partial validity of all the causes identified in the past. A theory of multiple, rather than unitary, causation would acknowledge that the English Civil Wars were a series of conflicts involving three realms and motivated by differences of opinion about religion, political and constitutional issues, and social and economic conditions, with due allowance for the role of regional divisions and personalities. Religious disagreements, however, may emerge as the irreconcilable underlying issue.

Events

The outbreak of Civil War in England was prefaced by the Bishops' Wars in Scotland, a protest against Charles I's desire to make the Scottish kirk more like the Church of England. The necessity of raising money for a Scottish war led to the summoning of the Long Parliament, which was not officially dissolved until 1660. Charles's attempt to arrest the five members of the House of Commons whom he blamed for opposition to his policies (January 1642) probably spelled the end of any possibility of compromise between the king and parliament. Throughout the spring both sides raised armies. Charles's order to hoist the battle standard at Nottingham on August 22 was the sign that hostilities had commenced.

The royalists, often called Cavaliers, enjoyed initial advantages and might have won the war had it lasted only a year or two. They had a single army, already well organized and disciplined, and an experienced cavalry force; the role of the king as commander-in-chief ensured a unified chain of command. Charles's nephew Prince Rupert, who had come to England after growing up in the midst of the Thirty Years' War on the Continent, also proved himself an excellent military leader. The king's opponents suffered from divisions. Leadership was theoretically provided by a committee of parliament. After parliament and the Scots joined in the Solemn League and Covenant (1643) a Committee of Both Kingdoms was placed in charge; it was an inherently inefficient arrangement. In addition, several separate armies fought for parliament, and

their leaders often failed to communicate or cooperate with each other. Robert Devereux, third earl of Essex, was initially appointed the parliamentary general and instructed to raise a force of 20,000 foot soldiers and 5,000 horse soldiers. The most important of the other parliamentary armies was the so-called Ironsides of the Eastern Association, commanded by the earl of Manchester with Oliver Cromwell as his aide. More than the other contingents, this army was dominated by those who supported Independency in religion and the abolition of the state church. Parliament's chances of victory were enhanced by the Solemn League and Covenant, which brought the Scottish army into the field alongside the English "Roundheads" and by the creation of a single New Model Army in 1645. Parliament eventually fielded a larger army than that of the king, and as its leaders, especially Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, acquired experience they proved themselves equal or superior to Charles's officers. The religious zeal of many of the fighting men finally tipped the scales in favor of the king's opponents.

The chief engagements of the First Civil War were the battle of Edgehill (October 1642), a draw or perhaps a royalist victory presenting opportunities that Charles failed to seize; parliament's success in turning back the king's soldiers marching on London at Turnham Green (November 1642); battles at Newbury in Berkshire (September 1643 and October 1644), both indecisive but favoring the parliamentarians; Marston Moor, near York, where the royalists were routed and lost control of northern England (July 1644); Lostwithiel in Cornwall, where the parliamentary infantry led by the earl of Essex into an untenable position were forced to surrender to the king's men (September 1644); and Naseby, near Northampton, a great triumph for the New Model Army and the determining disaster for the royalists (June 14, 1645). In June 1646 the king's headquarters at Oxford surrendered. Charles had already slipped away incognito; he gave himself up to the Scottish forces at Newcastle, thinking that they would treat him better than his English foes.

The First Civil War was thus won by a coalition including parliament, the army (theoretically under the control of parliament but now often acting independently), and the Scots. Each of these groups attempted to negotiate a settlement that would end the hostilities. Parliament's Propositions of Newcastle were not accepted by the king, nor were the army's Heads of the Proposals, although in December 1647 Charles and a group of Scottish leaders did enter into an agreement called the Engagement. In it the Scots committed themselves to reopen the war, now fighting for the king rather than against him, on condition that he establish the Presbyterian church in both Scotland and England, at least for a trial period, and extirpate Independency in religion.

The only significant battle of the Second Civil War was fought at Preston in Lancashire in August 1648. Here Oliver Cromwell, with only 9,000 men, triumphed over a Scottish army more than twice as large. Cromwell regarded this victory as a sign of God's providence and favor toward his cause.

After the king's second defeat the army demanded his execution. When parliament was reluctant to take action against him a group of soldiers led by Colonel Pride blocked the doors of the parliament house, excluding those who opposed the army's demands. This came to be known as Pride's Purge of the Commons (December 1648). The House of Lords had already been abolished on the grounds that it was not elected and thus unrepresentative. The so-called Rump Parliament that remained in session established an irregular commission to try the king, the charge being that he had committed treason by

making war on his subjects. A small group of men, known as the Regicides because they were responsible for killing the king, found him guilty and signed his death warrant. He was beheaded outside the Banqueting House in Whitehall on January 30, 1649. The date is still commemorated by those who regard Charles as a martyr for the sake of the state church.

The Scots soon proclaimed his son Charles II as their new king. Parliament then resolved to force Scotland into compliance with its orders. In what is sometimes known as the Third Civil War an English army was sent to Scotland. Commanded by Cromwell, this force crossed the border in July 1650 and routed the Scottish army at Dunbar on September 3. The young Charles, who had gone to Scotland and had been crowned by the Scots, was able to make his way across the border into northeastern England, where he thought he had many friends, although he too was defeated at Worcester on September 2, 1651, a year to the day after Dunbar. When he succeeded in fleeing to FRANCE the Civil Wars were finally at an end.

After the execution of Charles I England embarked on the eleven-year Interregnum, the only period in its history when there was no monarch. Parliament attempted to run the government as a Commonwealth from 1649 to 1653. When it became evident that a single leader was needed, Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector. The Protectorate lasted from 1653 until Cromwell's death in 1658. His son Richard Cromwell succeeded him but soon resigned, leaving the country in a state of virtual anarchy during 1659. Finally the Long Parliament was reassembled and offered the throne to Charles II. His return to England in 1660 brought about the Restoration of both the monarchy and the state church.

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STANFORD LEHMBERG

CIVIL WAR, UNITED STATES

By virtually any historical account, the Civil War is *the* defining event in American history. Statistics often seem cold and abstract, but numbers count and the Civil War

brings some impressive statistics that were sufficiently horrendous to have involved virtually every living American, North and South.

Although Civil War enlistments and casualties cannot be known exactly, there are several reliable approximations. In compiling his indispensable chronology of the Civil War, E.B. Long estimates that total enlistments in the Federal forces numbered 2,778,304, including about 189,000 African Americans, in a population of 18,810,123. Confederate forces numbered 1,400,000 in a white population of 6,500,000. In addition there were slightly less than four million slaves. Of these soldiers 623,026 died and 471,427 were wounded, for a total casualty count of 1,094,453. In breaking the numbers down by each "nation," Federal army deaths totaled 360,222 of which 110,100 were killed in battle and 224,580 of disease in camp. Confederate deaths totaled 94,000 killed in battle and 164,000 from disease for a total of 258,000 dead. These casualty totals combined, in a total population of only thirty million, almost equal losses from all other American wars (see WAR). If translated into an equal proportion of the current U.S. population, the casualty rate would total ten million American soldiers and countless civilians. From another perspective, there were more killed in three days at Gettysburg (60,000) than in all eight years of the Revolution or War in Vietnam. Without exaggeration one can say that in terms of the kill ratios the Civil War was America's most appalling act of human destruction.

For later professional historians and popular history writers alike, the Civil War is a cottage industry that probably rivals all other American history combined in output, sales, and general interest. There have been over 100,000 books, articles, and dissertations written by professional scholars together with easily that number in the popular fiction and nonfiction markets. There are Civil War Roundtables and reenactments that draw thousands. America's best-selling novel and movie remains *Gone With the Wind*, and television documentaries abound.

Yet in all of this ferment and unending fascination there are some remarkable gaps and silences. Most notably there is no comprehensive history of Protestantism's role in the Civil War. A moment's reflection suggests that the unwritten religious history of the Civil War is not because religion was unimportant. To the contrary, Christianity was the most powerful cultural system in the antebellum North and South, and the great majority of these Christians were evangelical Protestants. On the eve of the Civil War the country had one church for every 580 people and could seat three-fifths of the population at one time. As C.C. Goen observed, "no other organization in the country was in closer direct touch with more people." Of these, the vast majority were evangelical Protestants, in particular BAPTISTS and Methodists and, as Goen shows, the bitter divisions of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches over SLAVERY and secession prefigured the political divisions to follow. To a significant extent then, we can say that the Civil War represented a Protestant bloodletting.

The reason there is such silence on Protestantism's role in the Civil War is largely because of the almost complete co-option of the churches by politicians on both sides of the conflict. Instead of offering a prophetic voice independent of their "nations"—one that could be framed in a compelling narrative—Protestant churchmen were awash in a sea of patriotism and, if anything, accelerated the blood lust by proclaiming God's blessing on the respective "cause" of North and South.

When news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached Northern and Southern audiences, all quibbles disappeared and in both nations, patriotism displaced religious and partisan loyalties. As flags flew everywhere and even became the subject of sermons, the center of Northern and Southern religiosity shifted decisively toward their nations. Individual sectarian life continued alongside an undoubted personal piety, but now it was a *Union* piety or a *Confederate* piety that transcended any common personal faith the two nations might share. The cultural captivity of churchmen and churches explains why the greatest sermon produced in the Civil War was delivered by a politician, not a minister, and in far fewer words than most ministers then preferred. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN was not only America's greatest politician, he was its greatest preacher, and in the Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural, he offered a gospel for the republic that has proved enduring.

Of course Protestants continued to preach sermons and commented on the war (see PREACHING). The favored time for religious commentary was the "Thanksgiving" and "Fast" Days proclaimed by Congress and the executive in both North and South. In all Lincoln would proclaim three national fasts throughout the war while, in the same period, Jefferson Davis would proclaim ten. In addition there were multiple state and local fasts in the Confederacy, and even more important, ongoing fasts and REVIVALS in the Confederate army.

In looking at the content of the political sermons preached on these occasions (and expanded on in the religious press), what is most striking is the extent to which both present their cause as a "sacred cause" and a "just war." Both would employ interchangeable language to invoke the Puritan categories of "COVENANT," "divine protection," and "New Israel," and both would portray themselves as a "redeemer nation."

At the outset of war leaders in the Union and Confederacy assumed a quick and bloodless victory filled with heroism and martial valor. One writer for the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* casually observed that, "The nations most favored by God have been baptized in the crimson lever of battle, and the holiest of saints have not worn the crown until they have borne the cross."

By September 1862, however, it became apparent on both sides that this would be no ordinary baptism in blood. The battlefield at Sharpsburg (Antietam Creek) would put to permanent rest all notions of approving smiles and splendid little wars. On the evening of that warm autumn day, after the fifth Federal drive was repulsed, 26,193 soldiers lay dead, wounded, or missing. The scale was unprecedented, impelled, James McPherson observes, by "a sort of fighting madness...a superadrenalized fury that turned [men] into mindless killing machines heedless of the normal instinct of self-preservation." For the press no less than the pulpit, nothing but religion could justify so demonic a fury. In the following week's letters to the editor, the *Richmond Enquirer* printed an address to the shell-shocked "soldiers of the Confederate Army" under the pseudonym "Peter the Hermit":

What are we fighting for? You will answer my question by saying, "we fight for the liberties and independence of our country—for the safety of our wives and children—for the inheritance our fathers left us, and the graves where their bones are buried." Noble objects are these.... But,

fellow soldiers, I am impressed by the belief that we are battling for a higher and nobler cause than any and all of these combined, and one that can and ought and will bring out the highest energies of our natures. I mean *the cross of Christ* and the purity of Christianity. (*Richmond Enquirer*, September 22, 1862)

The notions of “separate spheres” or “the spirituality of the church,” which insisted that ministers not “preach politics,” were reduced to empty rhetoric during the course of the war. In fact the CLERGY followed the politicians’ lead at almost every juncture, leaving transcendent morality at the footstool of a sacralized patriotism. It is true that even more than the politicians, and certainly more than the secular Northern press, the Northern clergy trumpeted the virtues of universal emancipation and the sin of slavery, and on this count deserve praise. Some even went so far as to protest racism in the North as Moses Smith did in a Thanksgiving sermon to his Plainville, Connecticut, Congregational church:

[A]s to the black man, he is as really, and I have sometimes believed more terribly enslaved at the North than at the South. He knows that he is a slave there, and expects a slave’s reward. But here he is tantalized with the name of freedom, but denied its privileges.... Do what he will and be what he will, he is hated everywhere at the North, banished from society, denied often so much as a seat in the cars.... We talk of liberty? Of all galling bondage, this bondage to social feelings, this servitude to caste, this being a “nigger” in society, and “a nigger” at the communion table is probably the most heartless and unrelenting slavery beneath the skies. It may not shackle the body, but it crushes the mind and kills the heart. (*Our Nation Not Forsaken*, Hartford 1863:10–13)

As heroic as these rare voices were, however, they were not saying anything that the relatively small number of abolitionists were not also saying inside and outside of the church; and they met the same deaf ear (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). As for the conduct of the war and protection of innocents, silence prevailed.

The crusading spirit was not limited to the North. One Confederate chaplain, caught up in his own country’s civil religion, wrote in *The [Richmond] Central Presbyterian* in December 1862: “we should add to the prayer for peace, let this war continue, if we are not yet so humbled and disciplined by its trials, as to be prepared for those glorious moral and spiritual gifts, which Thou designest it should confer upon us as a people, and upon the Church of Christ in the Confederacy, and upon mankind.”

In Northern churches and denominational publications, patriotism and morbid fascination with destruction often eclipsed serious moral inquiry. In an unprecedented reach, children were not exempted from the blood lust of war. Children were co-opted early on in the war effort and encouraged to wear uniforms and play war games. Parents would have photographs taken of their children with guns and swords. Patriotic songs and “panoramas” brought home the nobility of war to children on a dramatic scale. Awed children learned to revere the war and the warriors of Christ who prosecuted it. There was nothing to learn of right conduct or just cause, let alone acceptable scales of suffering or

the protection of innocents. Only a romanticized glory endured. In a column entitled “The children at home,” the New York *Evangelist* provided a “Chapter about Heroes,” which began with a conversation between two brothers:

“Is it not grand to hear about all these brave men? I am so glad that I live in these war times!” said George. “So am I,” said his brother William. “We did not think that the men who live now-a-days could be such heroes. It seems like reading the histories of old times.” “Don’t you wish, Will,” said George, after a pause, “that we were men and could do such things?” (June 26, 1862, April 3, 1862, Presbyterian Historical Society)

Northern clergy and denominational publications were hardly alone in fueling the blood lust. Stonewall Jackson’s aide-de-camp and chaplain, Robert Dabney, took the occasion of a funeral sermon for a fallen soldier to urge his young hearers to be Christlike in fighting to the end:

Let me exhort the young men of this community to be “followers of him as he also was of Jesus Christ.” And especially would I now commend by his example, the sacred and religious duty of defending the cause for which he died.... Surely [his] very blood should cry out again from the ground, if we permitted the soil which drank the precious libation, to be polluted with the despot’s foot! Before God, I take you to witness this day, that its blood seals upon you the obligation to fill their places in your country’s host, and “play the men for your people and the cities of your God,” to complete the vindication of their rights. (*Central Presbyterian*, March 12, 1863)

James M. McPherson suggests that the religious intensity for war and unquestioning patriotism may well have succeeded in extending the war for the last—and bloodiest—year.

With war’s end churchmen on both sides of the conflict struggled to find meaning. Divided Protestant churches would not reunite until the twentieth century. “Union” and “Confederate” continued to define their identity more than a common faith. In the South, Protestant churchmen played the lead role in enobling the memory of fallen soldiers and the Confederate cause. The Confederacy would live on in defeat, as Charles Regan Wilson has shown in his book *Baptized in Blood*, through the “Religion of the Lost Cause.” The vanquished Confederate nation, Wilson observes, “never resurrected, but it survived as a sacred presence, a holy ghost haunting the spirits and actions of post-Civil War Southerners.” Jim Crow segregation and the politics of white supremacy would encapsulate the innermost meaning of that Southern way.

In the North some noble Protestant ministers and educators strove nobly to uplift the freed slaves and the SOCIAL GOSPEL may have been their greatest legacy. For many others, however, war’s victory meant a return to business as usual, that is, the business of a “gospel of wealth.”

All was not gloom though. There was a great Protestant success story coming out of the Civil War and that was to be found in the black church. Here there were no divided

denominations, as Protestant African Americans from all regions came together and led the struggle for spiritual and civil equality. All of the major African American denominations (AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL, AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION, National Baptist Convention, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church) evidenced growth rates between 40 and 70 percent in the decades between 1865 and 1900. Among Protestants the biggest gainer was the National Baptist Convention, which displaced the Methodists as the largest African American denomination, claiming over 2.2 million communicants in 1900. In monetary terms the African American church was the dominant “industry” in the black community, with combined assets of over \$26 million by 1890. The National Baptist Convention was the single largest black organization in the world.

Clearly these are prodigious figures and do not begin to plumb the full measure of African American Protestant achievements. Besides organizing the spiritual life of the community and sustaining material needs through mutual aid societies, the black church would pave the way for African American education and literacy. They would succeed to an astounding degree, lifting literacy rates from at most 5 percent during slavery, to rates as high as 70 percent in some states.

Whether through worship, aid, or education, the African American church proclaimed a message of solidarity and pride that would sustain freedom in their arduous journey from freedom to equality. It is a journey that is still incomplete, and a journey that continues to look to the church and the clergy for leadership and inspiration. Here we see the greatest prophetic legacy of Protestant churches in the Civil War era.

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CLAPHAM SECT

The Clapham Sect was a loose association of parliamentarians and others concerned with religious, moral, and humanitarian issues in British public life, especially active from about 1790 to 1820. The name was first given pejoratively by the essayist Sydney Smith, who accused them of “patent Christianity.” It was not a sect in any ecclesiastical sense; its members were generally loyal adherents of the established church, of a strongly evangelical persuasion [although one, William Smith (1756–1835), had Unitarian leanings]. The link with Clapham (then a quiet suburb of London) came from several of the group having houses there, or regularly visiting. There was no fixed membership; the group functioned through shared outlook and personal friendship, strengthened in some cases by kinship or marriage relations. It included WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, the best-known evangelical layman of his day and an outstanding parliamentary figure; Henry Thornton (1760–1815), a wealthy philanthropist who financed many of their concerns; Smith, Member of Parliament for Norwich; Thomas Gisborne (1758–1846), moralist and writer; Thomas Babington (1758–1837), Member of Parliament for Leicester; James Stephen (1758–1832); and Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838).

The two last, who had seen Caribbean SLAVERY first hand, were the chief researchers and publicists, and Macaulay edited the *Christian Observer*, a periodical that normally reflected the Clapham outlook and views. Associated with them in Indian affairs were Charles Grant (1746–1822), a high official of the East India Company, and Lord Teignmouth (1751–1834), who as Sir John Shore had been governor-general in INDIA. GRANVILLE SHARP, a generation older and somewhat different in outlook and churchmanship, shared their concerns about slavery and AFRICA, whereas John Venn (1759–1813), rector of Clapham and secretary of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, was a friend.

The principal Clapham cause was opposition to slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). From 1791 Wilberforce and his colleagues made almost annual attempts to outlaw the British slave trade by parliamentary legislation, eventually succeeding in 1807. The cruelties of the trade were carefully documented and economic and strategic arguments against slavery used to bolster the moral and theological arguments. The group appealed beyond Parliament to public opinion and in particular mobilized Christian opinion, with skillful use of literature, the press, and public meetings. Evangelicals in particular rallied to the antislavery cause. After the act abolishing the trade, the Clapham group worked to enforce and extend the ban and to seek the end of slavery itself. Wilberforce handed over leadership of this campaign to Thomas Fowell Buxton in 1821; slave emancipation in the British dominions was declared in 1833. Long before this their desire for economic answers to slavery led the Clapham group into projects to develop African agriculture and trade, to participation in the African Institution, and above all to the establishment

and early oversight of the colony of SIERRA LEONE. Of all the antislavery forces in Britain, Clapham was probably the most effective.

Their second major concern was India. The goal of the reformers was to end the East India Company's ban on missionaries in the territories it controlled and its obtaining tax revenue from Hindu temple worship; to legislate against cruel and oppressive customs (increasingly documented by missionaries); and to secure explicit acknowledgment of Christianity by the Company, which represented the British administration in India. The renewal of the Company's charter in 1813 gave opportunity for parliamentary debate on these issues, with partial success for the reformers.

Clapham domestic concerns included the provision of schools for the poor, reform of prisons, relief of urban hunger, and action against dueling, the national lottery, and manifestations of vice in general, with vigorous support for Bible, tract, and missionary societies (see BIBLE SOCIETIES, MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). "The Saints," as they were often called, were moral rather than political radicals, contrasting, in Wilberforce's words, "the prevailing religious system of the upper and middle classes of this country with real Christianity." They brought EVANGELICALISM in a disciplined, morally earnest, and socially engaged form into the mainstream of British political, social, and intellectual life, deeply influencing the accepted values of the early Victorian period.

Several of the children of the Clapham group continued the same concerns into the next generation. Other descendants are more noted for their literary activity: Lord Macaulay, Leslie Stephen, Virginia Woolf, and E.M.Forster all came from Clapham families.

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ANDREW F.WALLS

CLERGY

Although charismatic prophets and apostles initially dominated the Christian clergy, by the second century three offices had developed: bishop, presbyter, and deacon. During the third century, the growth of the church and the extent of its charitable activities required the additional offices of the minor clergy. Bishops and presbyters also took on the character of priests and the liturgy became ever more elaborate. The conversion of the

Roman emperor Constantine and the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire by later emperors raised the power and status of the clergy, but also subsumed the church and the clergy into the imperial government. The church developed the complete hierarchical structure that the Catholic Church retains today. The early Middle Ages saw the conversion of most of Europe, but also a decline in the quality of the clergy. The Gregorian Reform beginning in the eleventh century raised the standards, but also claimed for the clergy an elevated status and power. The rise of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries helped raise the educational level of the clergy during the later Middle Ages. The Protestant Reformers were usually the products of the universities.

The REFORMATION redefined the character and activity of the clergy. Emphasis switched from the sacraments to the preached word, and ministers, preachers, and pastors were deprived of the privileges of the medieval clergy. Despite the “priesthood of all believers,” the clerical position of AUTHORITY was revived, but was based on education, not on sacramental status. More open to the world, the Protestant clergy has contributed significantly to Western culture, but it has also been more vulnerable to changing historical developments.

The First Two Centuries

The first clergy predate the death of Jesus. Jesus personally chose the Twelve (the early church would add “Apostles” after that office developed) as his closest disciples, and as eschatological judges over the twelve tribes of Israel. The need to maintain that number explains the replacement for Judas (Acts 1:20–25). However, no successors were chosen for the Twelve in later less eschatological times. Jesus sent the Twelve to preach and heal the sick during his lifetime, but they had no “apostolic” role immediately after the Resurrection. Instead they remained in Jerusalem, awaiting the return of the Lord. In the 50s, Paul mentions only Peter as the “Apostle” to the Jews, while claiming the apostleship to the Gentiles (Galatians 2:7,8). The Twelve governed the Jerusalem church initially, but Paul later lists only two, Peter and John, along with James, the brother of Jesus, as “pillars” of the church (Galatians 2:9). James played the leading role. Apostles (from Greek *apostolos*, meaning messenger) were sent by local churches as messengers to carry the Gospel. It was one of Paul’s distinctive claims that he that had been commissioned directly by the risen Lord. However chosen, there were a number of other Apostles, some mentioned by Paul, and the office continued to be exercised at least until the early second century.

In addition to peripatetic apostles, prophets and deacons provided continuous stationary leadership in the earliest decades. Prophets were charismatic figures, and we do not know whether there was any process for recognizing and acknowledging them. DEACONS (servants, ministers), on the other hand, are traditionally associated with the Seven (Acts 6:3–6), although the Seven seem to have had apostolic and prophetic functions as well. The Apostles chose the Seven from a list proposed by the community. They were charged with the daily administrative tasks of the community, especially CHARITY. The Apostles ordained the Seven by the laying on of hands, a rite that remained central to ordination for all clerics throughout the early church. Despite Paul’s

preference of CELIBACY for all (I Corinthians 7:25–39), there is no evidence that it was usual for the clergy.

Paul’s letters describe a less structured church with a rich diversity of gifts and offices. Reliance on the direct guidance of the Spirit made a clerical order unnecessary. This allowed for a more egalitarian church order in which women and those of lower social station took prominent roles. Worship was nonhierarchical. Paul mentions no leader for either the LORD’S SUPPER (I Corinthians 11:17–34) or the worship service (I Corinthians 14:26–33). He also mentions no sermon or homily. Presumably, prophetic utterances from the congregation sufficed. However, Paul also reveals an interest in a more ritualized Lord’s Supper, a development that would lead to formal liturgical leadership.

We do not know how this early group of apostleprophet—deacon was replaced with a new one, bishop—presbyter—deacon, by the second century. Presbyters (elders) usually formed a “college” that presided over the community but did not administrate. Their relationship to the episcopacy in the earliest period is still debated. In the New Testament there are combinations of bishop and deacon (Philippians 1:1) or presbyter and deacon (I Timothy 3:8, 4:14, 5:17) or bishop and presbyter (Titus 1:5–7). The office of bishop (overseer) may have developed out of the presbytery as individual presbyters were given administrative responsibility and authority; or the episcopacy and presbyteries may have initially been alternative forms of organization that were combined. In any event, by the second half of the second century the monarchical episcopate presided over the presbytery, supervised the deacons, and ruled over the community. To the present, this remains the clerical structure of the Roman Catholic, Anglican (see ANGLICANISM), and Orthodox Churches (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN).

The bishop, assisted by his presbyters, assumed liturgical leadership, including preaching. Presbyters taught neophytes and prepared candidates for BAPTISM. In the Letter of James (James 5:14–16), the presbyters anoint and pray over the sick. The primary role of deacons was the administration of church wealth and charity, both of which took on enormous proportions with the passage of time. The clergy were usually married. Some individuals may have assumed a celibate life as had Paul, but it was by no means required or even expected. Election of clergy by the community was the norm. With time clerics were increasingly drawn from the economically and socially prominent in the community.

These developments were not unopposed. Some continued the more egalitarian pneumatic practices of the Pauline churches. For them prophecy remained crucial, and women had a public prominence. Celibacy may also have been more common in such groups. The struggle is apparent in the deutero-Pauline letters, which sought to suppress the earlier practices and replace them with the hierarchical and patriarchal bishop or presbyter and deacon model (Titus 1:6–9; I Timothy 3:1–13, 5:17–22). Opposition was marginalized and then hereticized (see HERESY).

Third to Fifth Centuries

The third to fifth centuries were pivotal for the formation of the Christian clergy. The number of Christians grew dramatically despite spasmodic brutal persecutions. Charitable

activities and the administration of cemeteries burdened the clergy with greater economic responsibilities. As a result, the clerical hierarchy expanded to include “minor orders,” lesser ministries (e.g., *cemetarius*, gravedigger) that were finally fixed at four: subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, and doorkeeper. The “major orders” were increasingly absorbed in church service. In the larger cities and communities their offices became their sole profession and the church provided for their support. The liturgy, increasingly formal and elaborate, achieved written form for the first time. However, throughout the period some clerics remained illiterate. No schools similar to the modern seminaries and divinity schools existed, but learned bishops and presbyters provided training and some measure of education. The catechetical school in Alexandria and Origen’s school in Antioch achieved scholarly distinction, but whether they taught the clergy is not clear. They may have been similar to the pagan philosophical “schools” in which upper-class disciples gathered around famous thinkers. If clergy participated, their education would have been limited to biblical exegesis and theological speculation. There was no “practical” component to train clerics in the LITURGY or PREACHING.

In the liturgy the bishop assumed a sacerdotal role. The originally separate services of the Word (Paul’s worship service) and Lord’s Supper had been combined in the second century and the unified liturgy, the Mass, assumed the character of a sacrifice. Bishops resisted the title of “priest” until the third century because of its association with pagan practice. The Old Testament priesthood, however, provided precedent, and the belief that Christ’s death replaced the Temple sacrifices made the priestly title more acceptable. This was an important step in the sacralization of the clergy, a process that continued in the Middle Ages. The detailed and elaborate instructions for the ordination of clergy in the early liturgies reflect this development well. The creation of a sacred clerical estate, however, took place only after the conversion of the Emperor Constantine and the Christianization of the Roman Empire.

Constantine’s (280–337) Edict of Milan (313) granted toleration only to the church, but Theodosius the Great (347–395) outlawed paganism. JUDAISM was allowed an uncertain toleration. For the rest of the population, Christianity was the sole legal religion. The emperors lavished privilege, wealth, and status on the church and its clergy. Imperial facilities, for example, the imperial post system, were made available. Taxes were reduced or eliminated. The clergy were exempted from the many military and civic duties that burdened the rest of the population. In a rigidly hierarchical society, bishops were accorded the status of high government officials, a fact that was reflected in their official garb. Until this point clergy had had no distinctive clothing. Now, during the liturgy and on important occasions, bishops adopted forms of imperial court costume. Some elements of liturgical VESTMENTS derived from this source remain in use in the modern world. Daily attire would remain indistinguishable, however, from that of the upper classes until the late Middle Ages.

The social promotion of the clergy was part of a larger process that turned the clergy into a body separate from and superior to the LAITY. In imitation of the Roman *cursus honorum* by which one rose through the ranks to ever higher government office, there were efforts, never completely successful, to require clerics to climb the rungs of the clerical hierarchy. This promoted better-trained clerics, but it reinforced the sense of a closed corporation with its own interests and *esprit de corps*. The papal decision to impose celibacy upon bishops, presbyters, and deacons had the same effect. Celibacy

heightened clerical sacrality required by the priestly character of the bishops and presbyters, but also demanded a visibly higher level of commitment than that found among the laity. Realizing the worldly advantages of Church membership, and the disadvantages of loyalty to the old gods, many converted for worldly reasons. These new Christians lacked the fervor and commitment of their persecuted predecessors. A similar concern with lowered standards led to the development of monasticism.

The learned elite had steadfastly resisted Christianity as a pernicious superstition that threatened the stability and moral character of society. In the fourth century, however, some of the leading intellectuals were Christian, and often they belonged to the clergy, for example, Basil the Great (329–379), Gregory of Nyssa (335–394), Jerome (347–420), and Augustine (354–430). They produced a sophisticated theology that defined fundamental Christian doctrine: the Trinity and the nature of Christ (see CHRISTOLOGY). In ecumenical (universal) Councils called by the emperors, the bishops and learned clergy argued and promulgated dogma for the whole church. Battles over Christ’s divine and human natures were particularly violent, spilling over out of the council chambers into the streets.

Because the wealth of the church, the influence of the clergy upon the urban masses, and the ability to call on imperial support often made the bishops the most powerful officials in their cities, there was intense competition whenever a bishop died. In Rome and elsewhere this led to division, disputed elections, and even street fighting between adherents of competing candidates. This would remain a problem during the entire Middle Ages.

By the fourth and fifth centuries there had developed not only an impressive Eucharistic service, but also an elaborate baptism. A third major SACRAMENT, Penance, involved public penitential exercises (e.g., fasting, special clothing, exclusion from services) and, perhaps, public confession of major sins (murder, adultery). Such penance could be undergone only once, however.

All three sacraments, and most other rituals and liturgies, were performed by the bishop, often assisted by presbyters and deacons. As the church grew, it became impossible for bishops to retain sole competence. Presbyters were delegated to say Mass, perform baptisms, and, more rarely, administer Penance. As a result, some theologians (e.g., Jerome) developed a “presbyterian” ecclesiology that argued for the sacramental equality of presbyters and bishops, although conceding a primacy of institutional authority to the bishops. This ecclesiology remained an option in the theological tradition, although social conditions in the centuries after Jerome elevated the authority of the bishops far above that of the presbyters.

Early Middle Ages

The imperial church created the basic clerical organization of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches that continues to this day. After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century, that structure ensured the church’s survival. Germanic kings exercised much effective power over the church. Under Charlemagne (742–814), the reestablishment of the Roman Empire in the West brought renewed imperial control. The church was feudalized. Bishops became great magnates and servitors of the crown. Local

churches came to be “owned” by secular landlords. The expansion of the church north of the Alps created a network of parishes even in the rural areas, leaving some parish clergy at the mercy of the powerful. Lay nobles also founded on their estates churches that they considered to be their property. The bishops lost the authority to appoint, or even discipline, the clergy of such churches.

The quality of the lower clergy plummeted. Many took wives and engaged in secular business. Indistinguishable from their lay parishioners they provided baptism, the Eucharist, Christian burial, and other liturgical services. Preaching was not expected, not only because the clergy often lacked education, but also because the bishop had a monopoly on preaching. Presbyters could be delegated, but few were, because the laity did not expect or particularly desire preaching.

The Gregorian Reform

The Gregorian Reform (so named for Pope Gregory VII [1020–1085]) and the Investiture Crisis marked a turning point. (Investiture was the ceremony by which a secular ruler “invested” a bishop with his bishopric.) Clerical and lay reformers sought to elevate the quality and status of the clergy, and they targeted clerical marriage (concubinage) and the buying and selling of church offices (simony). Although the emperors helped initiate the reform, they eventually came to oppose it because a thoroughgoing abolition of simony would strip the emperors of their control of the bishops. The emperors had given great wealth and power to the bishops in an effort to counterbalance the often unruly secular magnates. The resulting Investiture Crisis affected all of Europe, not just the empire. Although never completely successful, the Gregorian Reform did limit lay “ownership” of churches and made clerical celibacy an often ignored, but universally recognized, requirement for deacons, presbyters, and bishops.

High and Later Middle Ages

From the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, the functions of the clergy achieved the form that Roman Catholic priests still retain. The common practice of calling presbyters “priests” reflects the exaltation of the sacrifice of the Mass (Eucharist). The traditional belief in a real presence of Christ in the bread and wine received precise theological definition and authoritative promulgation at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) (see TRANSUBSTANTIATION). The council required that all Christians receive the eucharist and confess to a priest at least once a year. Public penance had evolved into private repeatable confession, absolution by the priest, and an often nominal penance (e.g., prayers, fasts, charity). University-trained clerics produced a flood of increasingly sophisticated manuals for confessors. The ability of the priest to transubstantiate the bread and wine in the Eucharist and to absolve sins was ascribed to ordination. This sacrament of Holy Orders impressed a supernatural indelible “character” on the soul of the priest that endowed him with sacramental power. Its irremovability reinforced the difference separating and elevating the clergy above the laity. Tax exemption and

immunity from secular courts for clergy found widespread, if not uniform and universal, acceptance.

The expectation that priests and bishops preach on a regular basis comes from this period. During the Gregorian era, clergy and laity demanded frequent preaching in imitation of the Apostles. Religious orders such as Franciscans and Dominicans made it central to their mission. Competition from the friars encouraged parish clergy to preach as well. Although preaching would be required of Catholic clergy thereafter, the focus of their activity and function remained the sacraments.

The enhanced power and prestige of the clergy raised expectations concerning their education, sanctity, and zeal that were not, and probably could not be, met. A rising lay anticlericalism resulted, but the most biting critiques of the clergy came from within the clerical ranks. Paradoxically, the clergy on the eve of the REFORMATION was better educated than any previous generation, and it would be from its most committed members that the Protestant reformers would be drawn. In some ways, the medieval church was the victim of its own success.

Martin Luther

With the posting of the ninety-five theses, MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) began a process that ultimately redefined the clergy. Catholic clergy who sought to reform the church by rethinking their own function as clerics began the reformation. Anticlericalism provided popular support, but it was the theological agenda of the reformers that allowed this reform to transcend the limits of medieval reform and rebellion. The reformers joined the anticlerical populace in criticizing the abuses of the Catholic clergy. They went on to reject the theology on which the Catholic clergy was based. The reformers did not just condemn the failure of the clergy to live up to the high standards placed on them by both hierarchy and laity; they also attacked the very standards by which the anticlerical populace had judged the clergy to be wanting.

Martin Luther's critique of the Catholic understanding of the clergy became normative for Protestantism. Luther rejected Catholic teaching on (1) the "character" or definition of the clergy as a separate estate, (2) clerical celibacy, and (3) the sacrificial function of the "priest." Under the slogan "priesthood of all believers," Luther abandoned the Catholic clergy's claim to be supernaturally distinct from the Christian laity. He repudiated the "indelible character" that Catholic theology taught was impressed on the priest's soul during ordination. The value of ordination was hotly debated in the early Reformation, but Luther was content merely to deny its status as a sacrament and its ability to empower the priest to celebrate the Eucharist/Lord's Supper and to absolve sins in confession.

Luther argued that all Christians were made "priests" by their baptism. The clergy differed from the laity solely by their office. Once chosen, the clergy had the right and the responsibility to preach, administer the sacraments, and exercise pastoral care. However, neither before, during, or after their tenure of that office were they supernaturally different from the laity. The lack of such a distinction allowed Luther to reject clerical celibacy, which had been intended to protect the inherent sacrality of Catholic priests by preventing the so-called pollution contracted by sexual intercourse.

Luther also challenged Catholic doctrine concerning the sacrament most crucial to the Catholic priesthood—the Eucharist. Luther rejected *opus operatum*, which taught that Christ’s saving presence in the bread and wine unfailingly occurs when the priest intoned the correct form of words with the correct intention to confect the Eucharist. Instead Luther argued that the recipient’s FAITH made the objectively present Christ effectually present as grace and forgiveness. Luther’s denial of a sacrifice in the Eucharist had the greatest impact on the clergy. Luther made unnecessary a “priestly” character for the clergy because it was the sacrificial function of the mass that required an officiating priest. The denial of the sacrifice also reduced the numbers of clergy dramatically by eliminating the many priests solely employed in offering the mass for the dead. In Geneva it took only nine Protestant ministers to replace hundreds of Catholic priests. The disappearance of the minor orders, for which there was no biblical warrant, further reduced the clerical estate. Clerical nomenclature made clear the difference between Catholic and Protestant clergy. Whereas Catholic clergy remained “priests,” most Protestant clerics became “ministers,” “pastors,” and “preachers.”

Luther’s theology represented a fundamental shift not only in the character of the clergy, but in their function and in the religiosity of the churches they served. The Catholic clergy was, and is, primarily a sacramental entity both in form and office. Protestant clergy are constituted by their relationship to the Word, preaching foremost. Luther’s reduction of the number of sacraments to two, his emphasis on faith in the sacraments, and his teaching of JUSTIFICATION by faith alone had achieved this shift. The primary goal of the Protestant cleric was to help evoke faith, not to convey grace. Public worship would center on the sermon, not on the Lord’s Supper. The Protestant preacher primarily proclaimed God’s Word; the Catholic priest primarily mediated the grace of God and the real presence of Jesus Christ.

The fundamental changes in the clergy had social and political consequences. The clergy assimilated to the other learned professions as part of secular society. Urban and princely governments absorbed the clergy into the body politic as citizens and subjects, no longer enjoying the canon law tax exemption and judicial immunity. Instead, in most states the government absorbed the church and made the clergy civil servants. The prince or urban magistracy usually appointed, oversaw, and disciplined them. Luther’s Saxony was the model. Luther initially accorded the Elector of Saxony only the role of “emergency Bishop.” However, Luther recognized that the prince, by virtue of the “priesthood” he had in common with all other Christians, and the position of leadership that he occupied within Saxon society, had the responsibility to govern and protect the inchoate Lutheran state church as a “Godly Prince.”

Calvin and the Reformed Tradition

Disagreements concerning the Lord’s Supper caused the acrimonious division of Protestantism into Lutheran and Reformed (primarily Calvinist) Churches (see CALVINISM; LUTHERANISM). However, the two traditions also had differing visions of the clergy. Unlike Luther, the Reformed tradition rejected the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Lord’s Supper. This further desacramentalized their clergy, although the structure of the clergy, their role in discipline, and the relationship of church

and clergy to secular authority were also distinctive. JOHN CALVIN proposed three offices alongside the pastor: deacon, presbyter, and teacher. The diaconate administered charity; the teacher educated both clergy and laity. The presbyters, unlike the Catholic presbyter-priests, were lay elders (Greek *presbyteros*, elder) who, along with the pastor, ran the church by administering, overseeing, and representing it. Consistories composed of pastors and presbyters governed the community in faith, morals, and social welfare. The resulting discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE) often enforced by excommunication, public chastisement, and, where possible, civil penalty, is common to most of the Reformed tradition. Collective leadership and incipient ecclesiastical self-sufficiency often made for tensions with the secular government, even in lands where the Reformed was the official church, such as SCOTLAND, Geneva, and the NETHERLANDS. In Protestant England and Catholic FRANCE, Calvinist resistance to government dictates and even open warfare resulted.

The Free Church Tradition

Beginning with the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, the understanding of the ministerial office among the Anabaptists, Socinians, and (in the seventeenth century) the various English separatists was to see the minister first as expositor, that is, teacher, of Scripture. Since these traditions eschewed the notion of sacraments and saw baptism and the Lord's Supper not as vehicles of divine grace but as memorial and confessional acts, the role of the Anabaptist clergy was that of a presider at baptisms and the Lord's Supper. While the Polish Socinians, formally structured in the Minor Reformed Church of Poland were able to establish training institutions for clergy, the Anabaptists as an underground movement had to wait for a measure of formal tolerance in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century before they were able to offer training for future clergy. Also, Anabaptists chose their clergy from their own ranks, frequently by lot, a practice which among the Amish has survived into the twentyfirst century. The disposition among the churches of the Free Church tradition to see little theological significance between clergy and laity allowed such churches as the Baptists to make substantial gains in nineteenth century North America, since they were not as dependent on a trained and ordained clergy.

England and Anglicanism

Unlike almost all Continental Protestant churches, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND kept the full episcopal hierarchy with the exception of the pope. Retention of the bishops was thought to give the monarch practical control over the church and to lend religious legitimization to the social hierarchy that supported the monarchy itself. As James I (1566–1625) argued: “No bishop, no king.” The episcopacy became the flashpoint for more rigorous Protestants of dissatisfaction with the degree of church reform. By the end of the seventeenth century two visions of the church and the clergy competed, that of “church” and “chapel.” The state “church” remained staunchly episcopal. “Chapel” referred to a non-Episcopal ecclesiology and a less liturgically rich religiosity (Low

Church) than that of the dominant episcopal party (High Church). The unbroken apostolic tradition of episcopal consecration made easier an eventual rapprochement with the Catholic Church, both for individual clerics and the Anglican Church itself. The High Church tradition (see **ANGLO-CATHOLICISM**) favored a priestly understanding of the clergy and the use of the term “priest.” Celibacy remained an option, though not a requirement.

Early Modern and Modern Clergy

The centrality of preaching and the exclusive authority of Scripture brought to completion the late medieval movement toward an educated clergy. University training was required of most aspiring ministers, and governments often provided financial support for those studying for the ministry. The Protestant clergy was distinguished from the laity by education as once the Catholic clergy had been by their indelible character. The authority of the preacher in the pulpit replaced that of the priest at the altar. The clergy were seen and saw themselves as agents of “civilization” in the rural parishes, where the differences of class and education isolated the cleric in a way usually not seen in the Middle Ages. The medieval parish priest was often indistinguishable from his parishioners and may have felt more solidarity with his local community than with the international church. Both Protestant and Catholic reformers sought to give the clergy a new position of power and respect from which they could more effectively rule and instruct their congregations. The high educational standards of the Jesuits and the Council of Trent’s (1545–1563) mandate that every diocese have a seminary to train priests served this purpose. The Catholic seminary proved to be a more effective instrument than the Protestant university, given that the seminary drew aspirants to the priesthood out of the larger lay intellectual community. While ensuring theological conformity and moral rectitude, however, the seminaries also limited the intellectual growth of the seminarians. By contrast, the university-trained Protestant clergy was a crucial part of the intelligentsia and provided philosophers, scientists, writers, and other thinkers to the larger society. The Protestant parsonage became an important seedbed of intellectuals and culture.

The Protestant clergy was more exposed to the winds of change in the early Modern and Modern eras. Their Christianity often reflected the latest and the best that Western culture had to offer. The result was a form of Christianity (often called Liberal Protestantism) that was well adapted to modern culture, but which had little in common with the concerns of Luther and the other Reformers.

In Europe, despite revolution and secularization, the Protestant state churches and the Catholic Church determined the form of the clergy. The United States, with its separation of church and state (see **CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW**), experienced a proliferation of churches that re-created all the earlier clerical types. Prophets, priests, presbyters, and preachers peopled the religious landscape. Without government backing, the clergy had to cater to the laity, even in the mainline denominations. The clergy sometimes transmuted into a social welfare service as love of neighbor appeared to eclipse love of God. Tradition and theological systems gave ground to the concerns and values of a secularized society, and clergy assumed roles as psychologists, social workers, philosophers, or inspirational speakers. The ordination of women constitutes

undoubtedly the most significant development in midtwentieth century; virtually all Protestant denomination—the major exception in the United States is the Southern Baptist Convention—have endorsed the ordination of women. Unresolved in the early twentieth century is the ordination of openly homosexual individuals.

Conservative churches do not face this challenge, but their dissonance with modern culture marginalizes their clergy. The Catholic Church faces the additional hurdle of attracting men to the priesthood in an age when celibacy is viewed as aberrant. Paradoxically, however, it is precisely those churches that maintain a higher clerical profile that many laity seem to favor. The forces that created the Christian clergy in the first centuries of the church continue to operate.

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R.EMMET MCLAUGHLIN

CLERGY, MARRIAGE OF

The prohibition of marriage for Catholic deacons, priests, and bishops is one of the differences separating Protestant and Catholic Churches. St. Paul advocated CELIBACY

for all who could maintain it, but he recognized the right of other Apostles to have wives. Deutero-Pauline letters show marriage to be expected or perhaps required. Clerical marriage was the norm in the first centuries of the church, although some individuals followed Paul's advice. In the fourth century the papacy began to require an oath of celibacy from the upper clergy. Those who married before their ordination were to practice abstinence, but were not separated from their wives. The Eastern Orthodox Church (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN) allowed marriage to priests, but not to bishops. In the early Middle Ages priests in the West were often married. Attempts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to reinforce the requirement and to make it more stringent faced opposition. In practice, many clerics were husbands and fathers. Protestant reformers condemned clerical celibacy. Ministers were encouraged to marry. The minister's family was a model for the rest of society and a source for new clerics.

The Bible

The Old Testament and the later rabbinic tradition hold MARRIAGE in high esteem. The command to be fruitful and multiply (Genesis 1:28), the definition of Israel as descendants of the patriarchs, and the fundamental importance of the patriarchal FAMILY to society and religion made marriage central. Even more than later Protestant Christianity, JUDAISM remains a familycentered religion both in the definition of its membership and its most fundamental rites. The Old Testament expected the temple priesthood to be married because the priesthood was hereditary in the families of Levi and Aaron. Because sexual intercourse made one ritually impure, however, priests served the altar in alternate weeks during which they abstained. Some prophets and their disciples may have practiced a temporary celibacy. This may have been the case for John the Baptist and Jesus.

Jesus's attitude toward marriage was equivocal. Some of his sayings emphasize an antagonism between discipleship and the bonds of marriage and family (see Mark 3:21, 31–35; Matthew 8:21–22, 19:29; Luke 8:19–21). This reflected the eschatological expectation of the Gospels. However, Jesus nowhere forbids marriage, not even for the Twelve Apostles.

Because the Apostle Paul also expected the imminent end of the world and return of Christ, he urged celibacy for all able to maintain it (I Corinthians 7:25–38). However, he conceded marriage to the weak. He also recognized that other apostles had married and traveled with their wives (I Corinthians 9:5). The house-churches of the early period were often the homes of married Christians who exercised leadership. It is against this background that Titus's and Timothy's injunctions should be understood. Eager to achieve respectability in Greco-Roman society, the church embraced the patriarchal family in private life and the church (I Timothy 2:2, 3:7, 6:1; Titus 2:9, 10). Those who accepted Paul's preference for celibacy were accused of forbidding marriage (I Timothy 4:3). Bishops and deacons were expected to be husbands and fathers because the qualities needed to rule the church were the same as those of a successful *pater familias* (I Timothy 3:1–13; Titus 1:6–11). Patriarchy demanded subordination of wives, children, and slaves to the authority of the father. This model for marriage and family remained even after clerical celibacy was introduced. The patriarchal model created a paternalistic

relationship of the clergy to the laity. The use of the honorific “Father” for Catholic priests continues that tradition. Movements that challenged the authority of the clerical hierarchy often accorded women unusual authority and placed the family under pressure.

The Ancient Church

The church’s attitude toward clerical marriage began to change in the third century. At the beginning of the century Tertullian (c. 155 to after 220), a presbyter, was not self-conscious about his marriage, although he praised the many clerics who were celibate. Cyprian (d. 258), the bishop of Carthage, remained unmarried, perhaps because of the threat of persecution. Origen (c. 185–c. 254) went so far as to emasculate himself. The Spanish Council of Elvira (between 295 and 302) forbade married clerics to have sexual relations with their wives. In the fourth century, the papacy imposed celibacy on deacons, priests, and bishops. Married men who were ordained need not separate from their wives, although sexual abstinence was more difficult if the couple remained together. Many clerics were older men who had raised families and no longer suffered the sexual desires of the young. Wives welcomed their husband’s promotion because it raised their social status. Some wives were referred to as “priestess” and “bishoress.” But there is also evidence that some were “priests” in their own right. Nonetheless, the social pretensions of the wives caused complaint wherever clerical marriage was allowed.

The Middle Ages

The fall of the Roman Empire prevented the effective enforcement of celibacy. Many early medieval clerics were married, especially in the rural parishes where supervision was absent. Aside from sexual desire, practicality also played an important role. It was simply impossible for a man to maintain a premodern household alone. The skills required and the tasks involved were traditionally woman’s work.

Clerical marriage was the source of new clerics because, as in other trades, sons followed fathers. In the later Middle Ages there is evidence that many priests were themselves the sons of priests. This relationship explains how many new priests learned their craft. When clerical celibacy was reestablished new methods would be required.

Clerical families posed a problem. Clerics often provided for their offspring out of the church’s wealth. In the Middle Ages, that wealth was usually land that could be sold, given, or bestowed as dowry. Even when celibacy was successfully enforced, the extended family of a cleric were often the beneficiaries. Families put members in clerical positions to exploit the church’s power and wealth to the family’s advantage. Emperors and kings placed sons, nephews, and other relatives on the episcopal throne. They were imitated on every level of society.

Clerical marriage anchored the cleric in the community that he served. The concerns of the local community came to outweigh those of the universal Church. Caught up in local feuds and rivalries, clerics were often unable to minister to the entire congregation. They lacked the distance from the laity that celibacy provided the Catholic priest and that education gave the Protestant minister. The clergy assimilated to their surroundings. In

the early Middle Ages, when paganism was still a recent memory, Christianpagan hybrids resulted. At the very least, clerical marriage hindered the *esprit de corps* that professions need to maintain their identity and standards.

In an effort to reform the church, clergy and laity attacked clerical marriage during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Severe laws were passed to prevent such unions and to break up the ones that already existed. The Second Lateran Council (1123) went further than earlier legislation by arguing that marriage and clerical office were simply incompatible. As a result, no marriage contracted by a cleric could be recognized. Despite vocal resistance on the part of many clergy, clerical marriage became a contradiction in terms; it became “concubinage.” In certain areas (e.g., Spain and Scandinavia) clerical marriages continued. Some laity preferred a married clergy because unmarried priests were perceived as threats to the honor of wives and daughters, although the mass of the population valued celibacy as a mark of holiness. Although many clerics maintained relationships that were marriages to all intents and purposes, it was clearly considered to be a failing, if an understandable one. Even the most radical heresies (see HERESY) accepted the value of celibacy as they targeted clerical misbehavior in their condemnation of the church.

Nonetheless, the hierarchy had to recognize the reality of clerical marriage under whatever name. Whereas in many dioceses (e.g., in ENGLAND) the rules were rigorously enforced, in some dioceses (e.g., Constance) priests paid a yearly fine in order not to separate from their wives. In effect the bishop levied a tax on married clergy. The papacy also profited. It did not dispense from celibacy, but it did sell dispensations allowing the sons of priests to become clerics, despite canon law, which refused ordination to the illegitimate.

The fifteenth century saw the beginning of a change, however. Some reform proposals, for example, the *Reformatio Sigismundi*, advocated clerical marriage and, to avoid scandal, Pope Pius II may have favored it and predicted its eventual acceptance. On the eve of the REFORMATION, Erasmus of Rotterdam also supported clerical marriage.

The Reformation

Nonetheless, it required the theological innovations of the Protestant Reformation to overturn a millennium of tradition and to undermine the religious assumptions that lay at its base.

One of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI’S earliest reform efforts was a petition in 1522 to the bishop of Constance requesting permission for priests to marry. Zwingli married in 1524. MARTIN LUTHER initially did not focus on the question and resisted marriage until 1525. Having discovered the joys of sex and married life, he went beyond mere opposition to celibacy to praise and recommend marriage. Few Protestant writers would be as openly positive about sex, but the promotion of marriage became central to Protestant social teaching.

The Protestant rejection of celibacy implied a major reevaluation of what constituted the sacred. For Catholics, sexual purity was an important element in the sacral status of the clergy. This objective physical sacrality went beyond mere morality. It contributed to the supernatural aura that also accompanied the SACRAMENTS, church buildings, and

saints' relics. Like the Old Testament Temple or Ark of the Covenant, such people and objects were viewed as extensions of the sacred or the divine into the profane world. Protestant theology all but eliminated it. Although God was spiritually present *to* believers everywhere, God was not present *in* the world anywhere. God's power and knowledge simply extended to everything and everyone. For Luther the one exception was the Eucharist, but most other Protestants denied the real presence. The denial of the sacral status of the clergy secularized them. They might achieve a moral holiness, but so could the laity.

The arguments for clerical marriage drew upon core Protestant teachings to question the feasibility of celibacy. Given humanity's fallen condition, few could aspire to it. Only the grace of God could make it possible, and Protestant theologians did not think such grace was widely shed. The Catholic Church was more sanguine about both human ability and the extent of God's grace in this regard.

Protestants and Catholics also interpreted Titus 1:6 and I Timothy 3:2, 12 differently. The Catholic Church understood Titus/Timothy to specify that if a bishop or a priest or a deacon were to be married, he be married only once. It did not require or even urge marriage; it limited it. Luther agreed that Titus/Timothy did not require marriage of the clergy, but it did establish marriage as the normal condition for the clergy. Luther and the Protestant tradition praised marriage as the preferred sexual arrangement for all Christians. Where once celibacy was required of the clergy, now the unmarried cleric was the object of grave suspicion. Marriage became, in effect, obligatory. Protestant theologians rejected the Catholic claim that marriage was a sacrament, but they anchored marriage in the order of creation. Although divorce was now possible in theory, in practice it was as difficult to divorce in Wittenberg or Geneva as it was in Rome.

The patriarchal family became both the center of religious instruction—a little church as it were—and the basic building block of secular society. The effects of these changes on women were mixed. On the one hand, the Protestant position elevated the status of marriage and the roles of wife and mother. On the other, it eliminated any legitimate alternative to marriage, family, and subordination. Feminist historians have seen it as a setback for women.

Having advocated clerical marriage, Protestant clergy required guidance. The marriage and family life of Luther and Katherine von Bora was held up as a model for clergy and for all Christians. An innovative literature detailing the responsibilities of husbands and wives, parents and children, flowed from the printing presses. The medieval church had dealt with marriage primarily in a penitential setting in which limits and failings were emphasized. Protestant literature retained those concerns, but placed a greater emphasis on positive injunctions for behavior and attitudes. Protestant authors also put more weight on the companionate nature of marriage. The mutual support and consolation of spouses, more than sexual satisfaction, were the greatest loss for the celibate clergy. Of course, with marriage and family came business and cares. St. Paul had warned of this and the entire philosophical tradition had made the harridan wife of Socrates, Xanthippe, a standing warning against marriage.

The Modern World

Clerical marriage remains one of the most visible markers distinguishing Protestantism and Catholicism. However, modern Catholic theology has promoted a deeper appreciation for the married state that is at odds with traditional understanding of clerical celibacy. After the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), many priests were “laicized” (i.e., ceased to function as priests) and allowed to marry. Despite hopes for an end to the requirement, Pope Paul VI (1963–1978) and Pope John Paul II (1978–) forcefully reaffirmed it. However, unlike the ordination of women (see WOMEN CLERGY), which the hierarchy holds to be divinely prohibited, clerical celibacy is a purely disciplinary matter that lies within the competence of the church. As the shortage of Catholic priests in the Western world becomes ever more pressing, the Catholic Church has been urged to rethink the ban on clerical marriage. The Second Vatican Council’s reinstatement of married deacons may serve as precedent.

See also Celibacy; Judaism; Luther, Martin; Orthodoxy, Eastern; Zwingli, Huldrych

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R.EMMET MCLAUGHLIN

COCCEJUS, JOHANNES (1603–1669)

Reformed theologian. A seminal figure in COVENANT THEOLOGY, particularly as subsequently developed by the English Puritans, and a significant contributor to the development of historically and linguistically based biblical theology, Coccejus was born Johannes Koch, in Bremen, in 1603. Federal both in theology and politics, the republican city was a significant influence on Coccejus's thought. At Bremen's *gymnasium* he studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic with Matthias Martini, who had been a leading moderate against the High Calvinists in the controversy over the Articles of Remonstrance at the Synod of Dort. After completing his studies with Martini, Coccejus undertook rabbinical studies at Hamburg, and then went to Franeker to study under the Orientalist Sixtinus Amama and with Maccovius and WILLIAM AMES. Between 1630 and 1636, Coccejus taught sacred philology at Bremen. He then returned to Franeker, teaching biblical languages and exegesis. In 1643 he was appointed professor of both Hebrew and THEOLOGY, and the focus of his work shifted from exegesis to DOCTRINE, although his theology always remained strongly biblical. In 1650 he was appointed professor of theology at Leiden, where he remained until his death in 1669. His major works include an exposition of his federal theology, *Summa Doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei*, and the exegetical *Summa Theologiae ex Sacris Scripturis Repetita*.

Coccejus's exegesis was shaped by his linguistic studies. Locking horns with Reformed scholasticism, he vehemently opposed proof-texting and extrascriptural philosophizing in exegetical method (although he was not fully immune from either in his own work). Instead, he advocated applying the best available linguistic, archeological, and historical evidence to gain the most accurate possible reading of a biblical text. Each text was to be understood by grasping its author's intention, and by understanding it through both its textual and historical context. Truth was found not by amassing individual passages, but rather in the whole biblical witness.

At the same time, faithful reading meant not being limited by the written word. Although scripture preceded TRADITION and provided the yardstick for doctrine, Coccejus derided narrow literalism that "put Scripture in place of the Pope." To Coccejus, the biblical text was written with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and must be read with the same inspiration. The words are accessible to "carnal man," but only a reader of faith can encounter the transforming "spiritual truth" of the Word, Jesus Christ. Nor is any one interpretation or system exhaustive. God speaks to different people and different parts of the church in different ways, through the same scripture. Plural interpretations may point to different aspects of the divine will.

Coccejus stood in the tradition of federal theology and political thought stemming from such figures as HEINRICH BULLINGER and Kaspar Olevianus. COVENANT formed the key to Coccejus's understanding of the relationships between human beings, between individuals and their communities, between humans and God, and between God and the world.

In keeping with his evolutionary view of salvation history, the idea of successive covenants allowed Coccejus to draw a sharp distinction between the First and Second Testaments. This structured his entire theology. For Coccejus, covenant precedes

creation: the Father and Son freely enter a pretemporal covenant binding the Son to become sponsor of the covenant between God and human beings, realized at creation. The ensuing “covenant of works” (or “covenant of nature”) between God and humans has three aspects: law (setting out the way for people to learn God’s love), promise (pertaining to God’s love and mercy), and threat (ruling out all other paths and showing the inevitability of punishment for sin). The covenant of works is abrogated in five stages. First, it is broken by human disobedience. Second, it is replaced through the inauguration of the “covenant of grace,” which itself has two stages, of the Old Testament (anticipating Christ) and New Testament (fulfillment). Thus, the third abrogation of the covenant of works is the incarnation of Christ as Testator, fulfilling the covenant of GRACE. Fourth, the death of the body marks the end of the struggle against sin. In the resurrection of the body, the consequences of the covenant of works are swept away—its fifth abrogation—by the consummation of the covenant of grace.

Coccejus’s stages retain the Reformed emphasis on divine sovereignty and PREDESTINATION. The covenant is entirely a divine initiative, which humans receive as an unmerited gift and to which they respond in FAITH. At the same time, his schema importantly returns significance to history and to human response to divine grace, avoiding High Calvinism’s tendency to mechanistic determinism.

The covenant theme permeates Coccejus’s thought, issuing in a political as well as theological vision. Scripture is to be read in the community of faith; individuals are to perceive themselves as the products of, and participants in, communities of all levels, from family to the entire Christian community. Theology is done in conversation with others and under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Magistrates are to enact the will of Christ (collaboratively understood) and, if they fail, may be resisted. One may find the roots of American political federalism and an anti-individualist republicanism in Coccejus’s federalism (McCoy and Baker 1991).

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MARION MADDOX

COFFIN, HENRY SLOANE (1877–1954)

American theologian. Coffin was a Presbyterian minister, liberal theologian, advocate for the SOCIAL GosPEL, promoter of foreign MISSIONS and ECUMENISM, and educator. He was one of the most important Protestant leaders in the UNITED STATES in the first half of the twentieth century and a shaper of the Protestant establishment in his generation.

Coffin was born January 5, 1877, and he was educated at Yale. After a call to ministry he attended New College, Edinburgh, in SCOTLAND and the University of Marburg in GERMANY. He returned to the United States and earned his B.D. at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

Ordained to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. by the New York Presbytery in 1900, he accepted a call to the Bedford Park Presbyterian Church in the Bronx. Five years later he became the minister of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City and led that church into a period of expansion of its ministry and influence.

Coffin began to teach part time at Union Seminary in 1904. Soon his teaching and PREACHING attracted widespread attention. The periodical *The Christian Century* conducted a poll in 1924 to identify the twenty-five most respected and influential clergymen in America, and Coffin made the list. In 1926 Union Seminary elected him president. He led the seminary into a rich period of expansion and leadership. Both REINHOLD NIEBUHR and PAUL TILLICH joined the faculty. WOMEN were admitted as students, and he helped create the School of Sacred Music.

From the beginning of his ministry he was a leader in the informal movement for theological liberalism and MODERNISM. He became involved in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy at the national Presbyterian level between 1924 and 1927, and he hailed the decision of the General Assembly of 1927 when it decided to tolerate a diversity of theological positions. He served the Presbyterian Church as its representative at a number of ecumenical meetings in the 1930s and 1940s, and he was elected moderator in 1943.

Henry Sloane Coffin died November 25, 1954. His papers are in the Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

See also Fundamentalism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Presbyterianism

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JOHN PIPER

COKE, THOMAS (1747–1814)

Methodist bishop. One of the first two Methodist bishops in America, Thomas Coke was the most important early proponent of Methodist MISSIONS outside of ENGLAND and UNITED STATES. Born in WALES in 1747, Coke earned a doctorate in law from Oxford before becoming an Anglican priest. After six years of parish ministry, Coke was dismissed from his parish in 1777 due to his Methodist sympathies, and began serving as the primary assistant to JOHN WESLEY. In 1784, Wesley appointed Coke the first superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church and sent him to America to appoint FRANCIS ASBURY as his co-superintendent. The Christmas Conference in Baltimore elected Coke and Asbury joint superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church. (To Wesley's dismay, each later assumed the title of "bishop.")

Coke's frequent travels between America and Britain (18 crossings of the Atlantic) maintained ties between the Methodists in America and Britain despite the hostilities created by the American Revolution. Although Coke spent only three years in America and never renounced his British citizenship, he significantly expanded Methodism's geographical reach by appointing missionaries to the Channel Islands, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, the West Indies, north Wales, AFRICA, Ceylon, and INDIA. Coke assumed almost singlehanded financial responsibility for these missionaries, exhausting his personal fortune and those of his two wives. He died and was buried at sea while traveling to India in 1814.

A prolific author, Coke penned a BIBLE commentary, tracts, and sermons. He was instrumental in establishing Methodism's POLITY with bishops and superintendents.

See also Baltimore Conference; Methodism, England; Methodism, North America; Methodism

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THOMAS E. PHILLIPS

COLENZO, JOHN WILLIAM (1814–1883)

Anglican bishop of Natal. Colenso was born at St. Austell, Cornwall, ENGLAND on January 24, 1814. He studied at Cambridge, becoming a Fellow of St. John's. In 1846 he became vicar of Fornsett St. Mary, Norfolk. Theologically he was a liberal and a disciple of his friend, FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

Colenso was appointed to the new bishopric of Natal in SOUTH AFRICA in 1853, a task that was essentially a missionary one. In 1861 he published a controversial commentary on Romans in which he argued for UNIVERSALISM. Many Broad Churchmen at that time pursued Pauline studies as a way of asserting their Protestantism. Their forthright Protestantism, in turn, was a way of being anti-Tractarian and, as Colenso described his own work, of fighting “for a great principle—no less than the essential principle of Protestantism—free enquiry.” In 1862 Colenso published the first volume of his *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* in which he baldly asserted that the events narrated in these books were unhistorical. A public sensation ensued. His High Church metropolitan, Bishop Gray of Capetown, held a somewhat dubious ecclesiastical trial in 1863, found Colenso guilty of erroneous teaching, went on to pronounce him deposed, and ultimately excommunicated him (1866). Colenso won an appeal on technical grounds and thus he retained the legal right to be the bishop of Natal, although most of his fellow bishops, and the archbishop of Canterbury himself, considered him spiritually deposed.

As a missionary Colenso contributed to the study of the Zulu language and is remembered for denouncing unjust treatment of Zulus by the colonists. He died in Natal on June 20, 1883.

See also Broad Church; Colonialism Oxford Movement; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism

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TIMOTHY LARSEN

COLERIDGE, SAMUEL TAYLOR (1772–1834)

English poet. Although Coleridge's reputation as a poet has rarely been in question, the problem of his status as philosopher and theologian has always been equivocal. For contemporaries like Carlyle and De Quincey, or twentieth-century philosophers like Rene Wellek and Mary Warnock, or critics like Norman Fruman, his religious thinking could either be "explained," *ad hominem*, in terms of his own psychological problems, or seen as an extension of his unphilosophical rehash of contemporary German philosophy, mostly plagiarized, and assembled without any insight into the "essential incompatibility of different trends of thought" (Wellek 1931:67). Thus even by the time H.D. Traill came to write Coleridge's biography in 1884 he could safely be dismissed as a "legend which has only slowly died out."

The actual truth I believe to be that Coleridge's position from 1818 or 1820 until his death...was in no sense one of the highest, or even of any considerable influence.... A few mystics of the type of Maurice, a few eager seekers after truth like Sterling, may have gathered, or fancied they gathered, distinct dogmatic instruction from the Highgate oracles; and, no doubt to the extent of his influence over the former of these disciples, we may justly credit Coleridge's discourses with having exercised a real if only a transitory directive effect upon nineteenth century thought. But the terms in which his influence is sometimes spoken of appear, as far as one can judge the matter at this distance of time, to be greatly exaggerated. (Traill 1884:205,207)

Yet, in the century since, Coleridge's reputation has consistently grown—and it is the Protestant theologian who has come, retrospectively, to dominate the Coleridgean "legend."

As early as 1856, F.J.A. Hort, the Anglican theologian, saw that Coleridge's attempt to find a unity between philosophy, theology, and aesthetics was not merely unique for his time, but had made him that much more difficult to appreciate as a whole.

Classification is our pride and pleasure; and woe be to that which refuses to be classified. An author whose opinions will not range with those of any recognised party, or whose works never seem quite rightly lodged in any one division of a well-regulated library, occupies in general estimation what was once the place of a zoophyte or platypus—an uncanny creature, possibly of demonical origin. Such a divine monster was Coleridge. (Hort vol. II:292)

Granted that much of what his detractors said was true about his opium addiction, his propensity to plagiarism, and the exaggeration of his claims, it is remarkable that many of his greatest admirers were themselves philosophers of opposing schools, like John Stuart

Mill, or theologians and historians like Hort and Julius Hare, who had studied his German sources. “I rejoice to think,” wrote FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, “that those who have most profited by what he has taught them, do not and cannot form a school” [Maurice 1838 (4th ed. 1891):xi]. The originality most valued by his successors was, rather, a unity and width of vision perhaps historically unique—and certainly approached only by such later theologian-poets as JOHN HENRY NEWMAN and T.S.ELIOT. Although he first gained a reputation as a poet with the copublication with WILLIAM WORDSWORTH of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), and it was only later that he developed a career as political journalist, literary critic, philosopher, social commentator, and theologian, such a rough chronological list fails to reveal how much all these activities ran in parallel throughout his relatively long life. The myriad-mindedness, only fully revealed to the late twentieth century with the full publication of his massive correspondence and notebooks, had already been shown in the mid-1790s by lectures on politics and religion in relation to the Revolution then in progress in FRANCE, and by his aptly named, but then unique, hybrid form of “lay sermons.”

The importance of Coleridge’s theology lies not in particular doctrines, but in its *development*. The son of an Anglican priest, educated at Christ’s Hospital, he was attracted to the rationality of Unitarianism as a student at Cambridge, under the influence of his tutor. Essential to this stage of his thought was *Observations on Man* (1749) by David Hartley—after whom Coleridge named his eldest son. Although not explicitly Deist (see DEISM) or Unitarian, Hartley’s so-called philosophy seemed to many the logical epitome of both. It was, in effect, a theory of developmental psychology that allowed for the growth of the mind in seven stages from simple sensation to what Hartley called “theopathy” and finally “moral sense.” An essentially physical system, working by means of “vibrations” in the nervous system, Hartley’s psychology had little room for SIN and none for evil. Occasionally the normal progression from one level to another was interrupted or blocked, so that some individuals failed to fulfill their potential, and, not having reached moral sense, behaved in antisocial ways, although such problems for Hartley were no more than “shadows” in the light of God’s beneficence.

The first blow to this eighteenth-century “optimism” came with the failure of the French Revolution to produce peace and universal brotherhood. If it was only with the discovery of IMMANUEL KANT and the German idealists while in GERMANY from 1798 to 1800 that Coleridge began to formulate a new THEOLOGY philosophically, such works as *The Ancient Mariner* already show as early as 1797 a sense of original sin and mysterious evil unaccounted for by Hartley. As the name of his second son, Berkeley, indicated, Coleridge remained rooted in English as well as German thought at this period, but, with the progressive development of his opium addiction and the failure of his marriage in the early years of the new century, it was clear that no theology that did not give due weight to human frailty and depravity would serve. A journey to Malta and ITALY from 1805 to 1807 gave Coleridge firsthand experience, and a deep dislike, of contemporary Catholicism that was to last throughout his life.

Despite some important publications, including the first version of a philosophical periodical entitled *The Friend*, and his *Lectures on Shakespeare*, other personal disappointments, including, most seriously, a quarrel with Wordsworth and his wife (mostly over his drug addiction) gave his middle years, from 1807 to 1817, a growing sense of a life and opportunities wasted. In 1816–1817 came the two *Lay Sermons*,

together with his greatest critical work, *Biographia Literaria*. Although few could detect the binding theological thread joining this mixture of literary and political work, it was to become clearer in the next decade.

In 1817, too, Coleridge's personal life was dramatically altered by his move to the house of Dr. Gilman of Highgate, where he was freed from his previous financial worries, and deprived of the drugs that had so hampered his creativity in the past. In the 1820s there followed the *Philosophical Lectures*, *Aids to Reflection*, and *Church and State*—works of sometimes confusing originality. Thus, whereas the former show little that is new philosophically, they convey with peculiar clarity the *development* of ideas—in particular the process of “desynonymy,” by which new ideas claim new terms in separating from their linguistic matrix. Similarly *Aids*, purportedly a manual on meditation, also reveals a radical theological and psychological agenda—insisting that it is *need*, rather than argument, that draws the individual toward God. *Church and State*, apparently an eccentric sociological or political work on the balance of forces within society, occasioned by Coleridge's obstinate and futile opposition to the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1828, was to prove seminal in later nineteenth-century politics—inspiring such unlikely Coleridgeans as Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli and the Conservative welfare reforms of his Home Secretary Richard Cross.

Only in retrospect can be seen behind this succession of apparently occasional pieces an overall unifying theological theme, in which the possibilities of incremental change are explored in areas as seemingly diverse as history of ideas, devotional meditation, and social organization. Critics describing this later thought as “conservatism” or “orthodoxy” miss its radicalism in the prevalent context of Romantic Spinozistic thought, where the closing of the gap between God and NATURE implied the ultimate perfectability of mankind—an idea taken up by GEORG W.F. HEGEL, and through him LUDWIG FEUERBACH, and Karl Marx. Coleridge's insistence on traditional Trinitarian notions of fallen Nature, redeemable only by divine action, prevented him from ever embracing the facile optimism that in the twentieth century inspired such tyrannies as fascism, COMMUNISM, and various terrorist “liberation” movements such as the Irish Republican Army, the Red Brigades, or ETA.

Coleridge's unpublished notebooks of the period reveal a similar radicalism in biblical criticism and hermeneutics, and it is here, if anywhere, that the common charge of uncompleted work is most justified. Few thinkers, let alone theologians, up to this time had seriously engaged with the idea of human consciousness as in a process of continual growth and development, or had considered the implications of such growth to AESTHETICS, politics, or religious experience without losing a corresponding sense of human fallibility. The question of Coleridge's theology, therefore, has to be considered less in terms of his treatment of specific doctrines (important as these are) than in the way he relates all parts of human experience to a single fluid and developmental unity—a process as much aesthetic as philosophic.

Although little noticed at the time, the influence of these late works was to prove enormous and lasting—for a time even eclipsing his poetic achievement. Two of Hare's Cambridge students, Maurice and James Sterling, introduced to Coleridge's ideas (by a process described by Disraeli in one of his novels in terms of the spreading of arcane secrets) founded the “Apostles” (or Cambridge Conversazione Society) whose avowed aim was “Coleridgean.” In addition to Hort and Maurice himself, Coleridge was read by

ALFRED LORD TENNYSON (a later Apostle), F.C. Robertson, and, with obligatory reservations, by the Arnolds—THOMAS, Matthew, and Mary Augusta (Mrs. Humphry Ward). Perhaps even more surprisingly there is evidence that Coleridge influenced his German contemporaries—astonishingly, even Schelling, from whom Coleridge had himself plagiarized key passages for his *Biographia Literaria*. Through Charles Kingsley, who was taught at Helston Grammar School by Coleridge's third son, the Reverend Derwent Coleridge, much of his political thought was channeled into the Christian Socialist movement, and thence into the modern British Labour Party (see SOCIALISM, CHRISTIAN). Through RALPH WALDO EMERSON, whose meeting with Coleridge is described in *English Traits*, a different tradition of Coleridgean ideas passed through the New England Transcendentalists in American thought. Even while he was dismissed as practicing “a liberty of speculation no Christian could tolerate”—other aspects were taken up by the OXFORD MOVEMENT from EDWARD B. PUSEY and JOHN KEBLE to Newman, and by novelists from George MacDonald to GEORGE ELIOT, G.K. Chesterton, and even Disraeli. In the twentieth century he was no less influential on T.S. Eliot, the Oxford “Inklings” like C.S. LEWIS and J.R.R. Tolkien, Dorothy Sayers, and Owen Barfield.

Few, if any, Romantic thinkers have done more to change the way in which not merely the nineteenth but even the twentieth century was to discover and understand itself. If this was initially based on an essentially Protestant sense of individuality, those ideas were to become through Newman no less characteristic of later Catholic thought.

See also Romanticism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Individualism

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STEPHEN PRICKETT

COLIGNY, GASPARD DE (1519–1572)

French Protestant political figure. Gaspard de Coligny was a key Protestant military and political leader during the first decade of the religious wars in sixteenth-century FRANCE. Born to a powerful noble family, he initially pursued a military career. In 1552 he was named admiral of France, a post that conferred prestige but—despite the name—was not associated with naval command. Captured by the Spanish in 1557, he spent two years in prison. Observers have long regarded this confinement as critical to Coligny's CONVERSION to Protestantism. After his release, he endeavored in vain to mediate the mounting tension between the crown and emerging Protestants.

With the eruption of outright hostilities in 1562, Coligny became a principal commander of the Protestant army. He fought in defense of the HUGUENOTS, as French Protestants were known, even as he counseled them to pursue political negotiation. By the early 1570s, Coligny urged King Charles IX and Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis to instigate war against the Spanish as a means to deflect bellicose energies and reconcile their subjects. Coligny's association with the project further angered staunch Catholic opponents, who regarded Spain as a confessional ally. When he and other Huguenot leaders gathered in Paris for the marriage of the Protestant Henry of Navarre and the king's sister, Coligny's enemies attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate him on August 22, 1572. Two days later, the king ordered the slaughter of the Huguenot nobles lodged in the Louvre Palace and nearby private residences. Soldiers loyal to the extreme Catholic Duke of Guise murdered Coligny in the opening act of the infamous Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

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RAYMOND A. MENTZER

COLLEGES

See Colleges, Protestant; Higher Education

COLLEGES, PROTESTANT

The American Protestant institutions of higher education developed from three types of institutions: (1) the medieval European monastic and cathedral schools; (2) the late medieval European societies of masters and students that, beginning in the thirteenth century, evolved into universities; and (3) more specifically, the models provided by the early modern British universities at Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh and the fledgling dissenting academies in England and Scotland.

During the Colonial era, very few young men and essentially no women attended the largely Christian-oriented colleges in British North America. These institutions graduated fewer than 10,000 baccalaureate students before 1800. Of the “Colonial nine” institutions, only Benjamin Franklin’s University of Pennsylvania professed largely secular purposes. For most of the seventeenth century the Puritans/Congregationalists operated the only college, Harvard (founded 1636). Reluctantly, the oldest colony, Virginia, finally established William and Mary (Anglican) in 1693. Conservative Congregationalists opened Yale (founded 1701) in reaction to non-Calvinist and even Unitarian tendencies at Harvard. Five denominations began colleges when inspired by the First Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS): Princeton (1746, New Light Presbyterian), Kings/Columbia (1754, Anglican), Brown (1765, Baptist), Queens/Rutgers (1766, Dutch Reformed), and Dartmouth (1769, New Light Congregationalist).

Although ministers and other religious leaders were the primary founders of the colonial schools, established primarily to educate a native supply of future ministers, these early colleges never operated exclusively for that purpose. The institutions also sought to provide breadth of thought for other societal leaders including lawyers, doctors, teachers, and even country gentlemen. The percentage of ministerial graduates at seventeenth century Harvard was approximately fifty percent, but the percentage of ministerial graduates from Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth combined before 1850 and at Princeton in the late eighteenth century was about twenty-five percent.

The first two generations of the newly independent United States witnessed arguably the most significant period of college growth in the history of the country. Between the Revolution and 1800, the number of new permanent colleges to appear was twice the colonial nine, and the total number of permanent colleges reached 180 by the CIVIL WAR. Meanwhile in the 1800 to 1860 era, the college student population grew four times

faster (to 30,000) than did the general population (which increased from 5,300,000 to 31,400,000).

The major factors that contributed to this pre-Civil War growth included: (1) the spirit of the Second Great Awakening, especially as it affected two rapidly growing denominations, the Methodists (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA) and the Baptists; (2) the westward expansion; (3) the growing spirit of democratization and the resultant movement toward popular education; and (4) the growing tendency for local communities to want to have their own colleges for the general cultural advantages for all their people as well as the readily accessible educational opportunities (on the secondary as well as the higher level) for their youth.

The typical college to appear in the early nineteenth century was founded less often by a denomination than by individual preachers working with community leaders. It then operated less as a denominational institution than as a Christian community college that gained support from the members of a variety of denominations as well as the primarily affiliated one. Most often the large majority of the enrollees studied on the secondary level. The colleges welcomed this arrangement, as it generated enough income to warrant supplying college-level instruction for a limited number of students, and it helped to ensure a supply of college-ready students in this period when few communities operated secondary institutions.

After the Revolutionary War, individual states, beginning with Georgia in 1785, founded public colleges and universities; there were 22 major state universities in existence by the Civil War. With very few exceptions (most notably THOMAS JEFFERSON'S Virginia), these universities operated as primarily Protestant Christian institutions through much of the nineteenth century. Similarly, one could not sharply distinguish the private and public institutions of this period on the basis of the amount of public financing they received or how they were controlled. The contrasting features between the public and private institutions in the twentieth century appeared only gradually.

The curriculum of the old-time college emphasized the Greek and Latin languages and classics, mathematics, and, after the colonial period, some science. Typically the most popular courses throughout most of the nineteenth century were the senior-level set of classes, usually taught by the president, in what we now would call philosophy, religion, and the social sciences. The courses assumed such labels as mental philosophy, moral philosophy, intellectual philosophy, natural philosophy, evidences of Christianity, logic, and ethics. Surprisingly, a college almost never offered a course in biblical literature; the assumption was that the students learned the Scriptures on their own in study and worship groups. Essentially the curriculum was prescribed, and all students who matriculated together studied in the same set of classes for four years.

By far the most influential extracurricular activity in the antebellum period was the literary society. From its origins in the eighteenth century until its demise in the early twentieth century, the literary society provided the one major campus activity that the students controlled and operated. Most colleges had at least two societies that competed in a host of activities, intellectual no less than social. They vigorously recruited members, decorated their sometimes elegant halls, collected libraries that sometimes excelled over the college library, enforced their own set of rules and regulations, provided student services, and above all, competed with the rival society or societies in a set of public

performance literary contests that included debate, oral declamation, and oral criticism. The emphasis on developing public persuasion skills served a practical purpose when such a high percentage of the students were preparing for careers in politics, law, the ministry, and teaching. Many of the students prepared for the contests with more intellectual rigor than they did for their classroom activities. The popularity of the literary societies declined when their social and competitive functions were replaced by intercollegiate athletics and fraternities and sororities, and when new generations of students began to prepare for a broader range of careers including those that relied less on the development of oral persuasion skills.

The post-Civil War period witnessed the founding of new schools to serve constituencies that previously had rarely attended college, that is, women, African Americans, and immigrant groups. Pre-twentieth century colleges begun for women and blacks operated almost without exception as strongly committed Christian colleges.

Noteworthy of the few colleges to admit African Americans before the Civil War were Wilberforce in Ohio and Berea in Kentucky. Most of the original students at Wilberforce were mulatto children of southern planters. After the war, the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH acquired the institution, thus making it the first black-controlled college in America. Berea became the first college in a slave state to admit both blacks and whites. After the war, Northern American missionary societies opened more black Protestant colleges in the South than have been founded in all other periods (see MISSIONS, NORTH AMERICA; MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). The most effective of these church groups was the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION of the Congregational Church, which opened, for example, Atlanta, Fisk, Hampton, Howard, Talladega, and Tougaloo. Before 1900 almost all African-American colleges were private Protestant institutions.

The eastern elite "Seven Sisters" colleges included Vassar (founded 1865), Wellesley (1870), Smith (1871), Radcliffe (1879), Bryn Mawr (1885), Barnard (1889), and Mount Holyoke (1893). Meanwhile in the South, Spelman opened in 1881 as the first college for black women. In contrast to the East and South, higher education for women in the more egalitarian West was coeducational, beginning in the early to middle part of the century. By 1873 the majority of coeducational colleges were in the western states. Most of the African-American colleges also operated as coeducational institutions.

Ethnic groups outside of the mainstream culture who founded colleges after the mid-nineteenth century included the Dutch Reformed groups (see DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH)—Reformed and Christian Reformed, especially in western Michigan; the Swedes and Norwegians, largely in the northern prairie and Plains states; and the German Brethren and the MENNONITES in the mid-Atlantic and midwestern states. The Dutch and the Scandinavians recognized the need for higher education, especially for their preachers and teachers, but the Brethren and Mennonites, although having been longer in the country, were very slow to accept the idea of higher education for any reason.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States had become the leading industrial producer in the world. Some of the nouveaux riches used their wealth to found new or greatly enhanced institutions that had been founded by churches. These included Vanderbilt, Duke, and Emory with Methodist connections; Chicago by the Northern Baptist oil magnate, John D. Rockefeller; and Stetson, Baylor, and Wake Forest by the Southern Baptists.

Between approximately 1880 and 1960 American higher education in general changed its religious orientation to the point that by the late twentieth century it exerted primarily a negative effect on the spiritual orientation of its students. Whereas during the late nineteenth century nearly all institutions of higher education included religious goals among their aims for their students, by the early twentieth century perhaps only half did, and by mid-century, studies showed that the commitment to religious values by the average college student actually declined during the undergraduate years. The process of secularization followed this course: (1) the major state universities and some of the elite private institutions began the secularization process in the late nineteenth century; (2) the secondline state universities and more of the elite private schools followed in the early twentieth century; and (3) after 1920 most of the colleges of the mainline denominations began to follow the trend. During this intellectual revolution, American higher education changed from being a force that was much more Christian in nature than society in general, to the place where it is now—more secular than is the overall population.

Christian students, denominations, and parachurch organizations sought to counter the secular revolution in higher education through a variety of organizations, including the student-led Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) chapters, the denominational foundation houses, and the Bible institutes and colleges. Between 1875 and 1940 the student Y's served as the single most significant religious presence in the lives of students in the majority of colleges and universities of all types. Originally a social and spiritual agency to serve the needs of city youth in an era of rapid industrialization and urbanization, the movement began funding chapters on college campuses on the eve of the Civil War and then grew rapidly to 40 chapters in 1877, 181 in 1884, 345 in 1891, 628 in 1900, and 731 with nearly 100,000 members in 1920. The campus chapters provided a variety of services for the students in a period before the development of the modern student activities offices; these included freshman orientation, book-exchange services, student employment and financial aid programs, and tutorial assistance.

The best known "Y" activities, however, included Bible study, mission promotion (especially through the Student Volunteer movement), and both on- and off-campus evangelistic activity.

The "university pastorate" or denominational student centers brought the major denominations to the campus where they provided a variety of services (e.g., worship, counseling, and fellowship) especially to help the students of their specific faiths to grow spiritually while the professors helped them to grow intellectually. Originating at the turn of the century, these denominational houses by 1930 operated on over 100 state and independent private campuses, and the movement continues to the present.

Since World War II, the most prominent intercollegiate and interdenominational student religious organizations have been INTERVARSITY CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP, Campus Crusade, and the Navigators. They continue the spirit of the Y movement even if they attract a much smaller percentage of the students.

Arising in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Bible college movement for Christ began after the Y's but before the denominational student centers. This development was less a reaction to secularization in higher education than a result of three factors: (1) a response to the late nineteenth century revivalism of DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY and others (the Third Great Awakening); (2) an element in the

movement toward popular education; and (3) a reaction against liberalism in American Protestantism. The Bible colleges primarily served a constituency that had not attended the secularizing schools. As undergraduate, theological institutions that have varied greatly in quality, Bible colleges sought to train Christian workers from the working classes to serve the underserved in Christian ministry—the lower classes in the American cities and remote areas and the neglected peoples on the mission field. By 1950 the Bible colleges provided a majority, and by 1980 the large majority of Protestant missionaries from this country. These twentieth-century American missionaries have inspired the founding of hundreds if not thousands of Bible colleges in Third World countries, thus making the Bible college one of the primary educational exports from America.

Meanwhile the small, denominational liberal arts colleges reached their low point of morale between the world wars, especially in the 1930s. Added to the secularizing effect in many of them were the travails of the nation's worst economic depression. Recovery began in the late 1940s as the GI Bill brought record numbers of students to colleges of all types. Also, by 1960 most of the church colleges that were going to secularize had already begun to do so; however, the secularizing church colleges tended to be the more affluent ones. Steadily the recovery process continued through the second half of the twentieth century to the point where the Christian colleges today are as strong economically and academically as they have been at any time since the secular revolution. The reasons for the recovery include factors that have aided higher education in general (e.g., a strong economy, the mounting popularity of attending college, increasing financial aid packages). In addition, since the 1950s the evangelical/conservative groups of the churchattending public (the segment that would be most likely to send its youth to the continuing Christian colleges) have grown faster than have the mainline churches. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, continuing Christian colleges numbered approximately 200 liberal arts institutions plus the Bible colleges.

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WILLIAM C. RINGENBERG

COLLINS, ANTHONY (1676–1729)

English Deist. A freethinker and philosopher, Collins was born at Hounslow in Middlesex on June 21, 1676 of well-to-do parents, and was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge before training in law at the Temple. In addition to serving for many years as justice of the peace and deputy lieutenant in Middlesex and in Essex, Collins was a man of letters and wrote extensively on theological and philosophical issues of the day, an interest that was nurtured in part through his friendship with JOHN LOCKE for two years until Locke's death in 1704. Collins accepted Locke's arguments for the reasonableness of Christianity and added the right and necessity to inquire into all subjects, including religion, freely and without fear, which he argued was the genius of the Protestant REFORMATION.

In his *Essay Concerning the Use of Reason* (1707), he argued that reason is "that faculty of the Mind whereby it perceives the Truth, Falsehood, Probability or Improbability of Propositions." Consistent with most Deists of the eighteenth century, Collins, in his *Priesthood in Perfection* (1710), attacked religious dogmas that were contrary to reason and argued that an appeal to mystery or AUTHORITY would not suffice. In *A Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713) he championed the right to think freely and pointed out how the new science, the new philosophy, and the Reformation had exposed superstitions and pretenders to divine revelation. Collins advocated the application of historical-critical methods to the BIBLE as in any text in *The Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724) and *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered* (1725). Collins' argument was that since Jesus was understood as messiah, miracles were inadequate to sustain his messianic claim. Prophecy, the other traditional ground for proving the claims of Jesus, was also problematic since the notion of a literal fulfillment in Jesus could not be sustained. Despite a lifetime of controversy and attacks on his writings Collins died in 1729 as one of high personal repute and was buried in Oxford chapel.

See also Deism; Locke, John

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TIMOTHY E.FULOP

COLONIALISM

Colonialism, often a loosely used term of abuse, is properly applied to a system of social, economic, political, and intellectual relationships in which one or several nations, states, or peoples are ruled by and their interests subordinated to another. Colonial systems, or empires, have been important features of the early modern and modern worlds. They have embodied various forms of institutional and cultural control, associated with Protestantism in four much-debated ways. Protestantism has influenced the establishment and consolidation of colonialism; it has played a part in colonialism's development, as forms of colonial administration and control have changed; and it has often shaped the conditions of life under colonialism as experienced by colonized people. Protestantism has also contributed to the progressive subversion and termination of colonialism since the eighteenth century, beginning with the American Revolution and War of Independence.

Protestant THEOLOGY and beliefs initially offered no obvious encouragement or sanction for either a general state-sponsored colonial enterprise or popular involvement in colonization. It was rather the fragmentation of Protestantism, religious conflict at home, and instincts of self-preservation that prompted the first Puritans in 1620 (see PURITANISM) and many others later to emigrate from ENGLAND to form their new, religiously disciplined and tight-knit communities in what became New England. But North American colonial settlement, like settlement in many other parts of the world, brought encounters with local peoples. Temporary alliances could not disguise the general pattern of misunderstandings, hostility, conflict, and dispossession that spawned an aggressive settlerdriven colonialism. Finding itself spurned by local inhabitants, Protestant Christianity was readily identified with white settler notions of civilization, as against the "savagery," "barbarism," and probable inconvertibility of indigenous people. Settlers, including the Germans and Dutch from continental Europe no less than the British, endorsed this intertwining of colonialism and Protestantism, which was also a potent source of solidarity in the face of Catholic FRANCE and Spain.

Early settlers were largely obliged to fend for themselves in matters of religion. However, formation of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE (1699) and the SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (1701) illustrated the Anglican wish within Britain's governing circles to provide ecclesiastical support for colonial societies. At first, this entailed providing libraries, schools, and colonial CLERGY; after the 1780s, it involved the establishment of colonial bishoprics. Other denominations in the eighteenth century also steadily developed trans-Atlantic networks in which preachers, funds, and literature moved to and fro. With its growing denominational rivalries, its powerful Protestant institutional and cultural cement, its varying degrees of religious indifference, and its authoritarian and exclusive attitudes towards indigenous peoples, this pattern of European settler colonialism was replicated elsewhere throughout the nineteenth century—in CANADA, SOUTH AFRICA, the Australian Colonies (see AUSTRALIA), and NEW ZEALAND.

From the mid-eighteenth century, there also developed a clear Protestant missionary commitment to the CONVERSION of the extra-European world. It was pushed on at first by the pietist revivalism of the Moravian Brethren and Wesleyan evangelicals (see MORAVIAN CHURCH; EVANGELICALISM METHODISM). It was informed by a fresh sense of obligation and providential direction, evident in the expansion of knowledge, communication, and trade symbolized in Captain James Cook's Pacific voyages of the 1770s. It was taken up by the principal denominations—BAPTISTS, Congregationalists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists—and from the 1790s was systematically organized chiefly by voluntary lay societies, not only in Britain, but also from Boston to Basel and Berlin (see CONGREGATIONALISM ANGLICANISM; PRESBYTERIANISM). Still lacking any specific colonial commitment, Protestant MISSIONS were also kept at arm's length by colonial authorities. Often with good reason, West Indian planters, Cape colonists, and East India Company officials in INDIA all saw Protestant EVANGELISM and church or chapel building as seriously disruptive of colonial control, hierarchy, and the good order essential to commerce.

Protestant expansion nevertheless carried with it not only religious ideas, but also aspects of Western culture—the printing press, books, schools, GENDER relations, technology, and medicine. Indigenous peoples, both governments and individuals, and gradually colonial rulers as well learned to appreciate the value of missionary activity for its secular attributes. Missions in turn saw the advantages of negotiating a place for themselves with local rulers and colonial officials. Protestant influence thus spread widely, not only in formal colonies (especially those belonging to Britain), but also beyond their borders. Converts were always fewer in number than those who had been affected in other ways by Protestant teaching or example, but already by the mid-nineteenth century, local “native” evangelists and pastors rather than Western missionaries were the mainstay of Protestant expansion and the developing churches.

Explicit support from Protestants for colonialism has nevertheless varied greatly in time and place. It has fluctuated with the shifting balance between belief in the fundamental equality of humankind (strong in the late eighteenth and mid-twentieth centuries) and fears (especially between 1850 and 1914) that racial character and cultural attainment were biological constants. The former led Protestants to question both the necessity for colonialism and its likely duration; the latter, pessimistic in its assessment of the possibilities for “progress,” encouraged the view that colonialism was indispensable. Support has perhaps been strongest in those territories—for example, many parts of late nineteenth-century AFRICA or CHINA—where missions and converts felt in sore need of security and protection, and where Western governments looked to the presence of their own nationals in asserting colonial claims against rivals.

The extent to which the impact of a Protestant presence and following can be equated with colonialism has long been hotly debated. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, Protestant missionaries themselves were often anxious to separate Christianity from Western civilization and CULTURE. Some came to see in Christianity the fulfillment of local religious belief and custom, or avoided altogether operating within the formal structures of colonialism. Others emphasized the role of Protestants as intermediaries between colonial rulers and the ruled, as defenders of indigenous rights at law and to land or labor, and as moderating influences on otherwise secular societies. Equally contested, especially by anthropologists and historians, has been the degree to which Protestant

Christianity has either undermined indigenous cultures or has subverted colonial domination. Have they weakened the traditional bonds of local communities by questioning customary ways, and so opened the door to an intensified colonialism? Or have they facilitated the adaptation of local societies—through literacy, education, and new forms of social organization—to the point where Protestantism and resistance to colonialism have become not synonymous but often inseparable? In China from the late 1890s to the 1930s, the enormous growth of American Protestant interests provoked powerful expressions of Chinese religious independence and DISSENT. From John Chilembwe to Julius Nyerere, indigenous Protestants have certainly been prominent, above all in colonial Africa, both as political leaders and as vocal minority communities in the twentieth-century political struggle for independence. In part as a consequence of this involvement, especially since the 1920s and 1930s, Protestantism has flourished where colonialism in any formal political sense has long since disappeared.

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ANDREW PORTER

COMENIUS, JOHN (KOMENSKY, JAN AMOS) (1592–1670)

Czech pedagogue and theologian. Comenius is best known for his innovations in methods of pedagogy. Comenius served as the pastor and last bishop of the Unity of Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), a small Czech Protestant group inspired by the Hussite movement of the fifteenth century and later revived as the MORAVIAN CHURCH under Count NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF (1700–1760).

Life

Born in the Moravian village of Nivnice on March 28, 1592, Comenius lost both parents to the plague at the age of twelve. He began his formal education at the age of sixteen at the Latin school of P_erov. His scholarly abilities won him the recognition of the Moravian noble Charles the Elder of **Žerotin**, who had himself studied with Theodore Beza (1519–1605) in Geneva and was eager to send capable Czech students abroad to study in Calvinist centers of learning. With **Žerotin's** patronage, Comenius matriculated at the Reformed gymnasium of Herborn in 1611, where he studied with several leading continental scholars, most notably Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638). Alsted's anti-Aristotelian approach to learning, his chiliasm, and his work as an encyclopedist significantly influenced Comenius's own thought and future endeavors. Continuing his studies at Heidelberg, Comenius benefited from the irenic and ecumenical spirit of the Reformed scholar David Pareus (1548–1622).

He returned to Moravia in 1614, taught for two years at P_erov, and in 1616 was ordained a minister in his church. With the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618 and the Hapsburg victory at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, Protestant leaders were forced to flee. Comenius himself went into hiding, and under trying circumstances began writing *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (1623), a masterpiece of Czech literature and Protestant spirituality. In 1628 Comenius led a band of the Bohemian Brethren into exile in Leszno, POLAND, where he served as pastor of this refugee community and di-rector of the local gymnasium. As Protestants had been officially expelled from Bohemia and Moravia, he never returned to his homeland but spent the remainder of his life as a wandering scholar in several European countries. Comenius died on November 15, 1670.

Educational and Pansophic Endeavors

Comenius was a polymath who worked in many different fields, but he is best known as a pedagogical reformer. He criticized the educational methods of his day, especially the emphasis on rote memorization and recitation, and proposed instead a system that drew analogies from the natural world and favored the concrete over the abstract. Many of his pedagogical principles were presented in his treatise *The Great Didactic* (). His *Janua linguarum reserata* (1631) attempted to implement some of his innovations in teaching and his *Orbis sensualium pictus* (1658) was one of the first illustrated schoolbooks for children. Both these textbooks were soon translated into many European languages, and the *Orbis* was popular for the next two centuries.

These pedagogical works were expressions of a broader vision to reform all of human society through education. Comenius was a leading representative of the late Renaissance movement known as pansophism, which sought the underlying harmony of the universe and attempted to unite all science, philosophy, and religion on that basis. He spelled out his program for the unification of knowledge and a universal system of education in a

seven-volume work entitled *A General Consultation Concerning the Improvement of Human Affairs* (). Emphasizing both human rationality and divine revelation, Comenius sought truth on both an empirical and mystical level. This approach to knowledge brought him into conflict with the French philosopher Rene Descartes (1596–1650), whose strict division between mind and matter Comenius found unacceptable. His pedagogical and pansophic proposals drew the attention of many other leading intellectuals and rulers of his era. He accepted an invitation from ENGLAND to establish a pansophic college there, but his plans were thwarted by the outbreak of the English civil war. The American Puritan John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) seems to have hoped that the noted Czech educator-theologian would accept a position as the first president of Harvard College. Comenius was also involved in educational initiatives in SWEDEN and in Sárospatak, HUNGARY.

Theology and Religious Leadership

Comenius's untiring dedication to pedagogical reform stemmed partly from his conviction that education would pave the way for an ecumenical religious settlement in a confessionally fractured Europe. He perceived all his educational and pansophic endeavors as part of his broader calling as a theologian. Central to his theology and spirituality and bracketing his long career are the *Labyrinth* (1623) and *Unum necessarium* (1668). While these works reveal a Christocentric spirituality akin to that of the early Pietists and a biblicism indebted to the German Reformed tradition in which Comenius was educated, they also reflect the theology of the *Unitas Fratrum*. In keeping with elements of his own tradition, Comenius stressed the importance of a personal relationship with Christ, the need for an ecumenical reformation, and a theology of hope. The development of this last theme was most problematic for Comenius's reception because it was intertwined with his chiliastic views. These have led some interpreters to dismiss Comenius as a fanatic.

As a religious leader Comenius helped maintain the faith and vision of his church through its final days. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia, which marked the end of the Thirty Years War, was a bitter disappointment for the Bohemian Brethren, for it dashed their hopes of religious liberty in their homeland. In the same year Comenius was consecrated as the last bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum*, but his church would soon fall prey to the political intrigues of the day. Comenius foresaw and reflected on its imminent demise as a unified body in *The Bequest of the Unity of Brethren*, a short treatise reflecting many of the beliefs of the Brethren as well as his own theological and ecumenical vision. War between Poland and Sweden led to Comenius's final exile at age sixty-four. He ended his prolific career as a refugee in the NETHERLANDS, where he continued to promote educational reforms as well as political and confessional peace, until his death November 15, 1670.

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ANDREA STERK

COMMUNICATION

See Best Sellers in America, Religious; Mass Media; Publishing, Media; Televangelism

COMMUNION

See Lord's Supper

COMMUNION TABLES

In Protestant tradition, this is the table at which the Communion meal (Lord's Supper) or sacrament is served. The use of COMMUNION tables developed early in the REFORMATION period as Protestant reformers lambasted the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION and notions of the sacrament as a reenactment of Christ's sacrifice, views closely associated with the use of a consecrated ALTAR. Among the first of the Protestant reformers to substitute a table for the altar was HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, who in 1525 served a Communion meal at a table placed between the nave and the choir during the Maundy Thursday service in the Great Minster, Zurich. This table was

intended to approximate the original Passover meal at which Christ initiated the Communion ritual and to demonstrate the understanding of the sacrament as symbolic of Christ's gift of GRACE and the gathering of the spiritual community of the CHURCH.

Protestants widely adopted the COMMUNION table in the late sixteenth century, and placed it as near the congregation as possible, abandoning the chancel as the location for the sacrament. In ENGLAND, Archbishop WILLIAM LAUD reversed this process by stipulating that COMMUNION tables be located in the chancel and enclosed by rails, a directive that stirred significant controversy, as Puritans (see PURITANISM) argued that the sacrament of community affirmation required that participants sit as equals around a table (rather than kneel at an altar rail), breaking the bread themselves and passing it on.

Communion tables emulate domestic tables, are typically made of wood, and feature no overt religious symbols. Easily moved and stored when not in use, wooden tables suited the Reformed Christian reduction in the frequency of the sacrament, which was celebrated between four and twelve times each year. Scottish Presbyterians set up tables outdoors during sacramental festivals or placed several down the center aisle of churches. Congregationalists in New England devised hinged tables attached to pews and pulpits that could be lowered when not in use. Telescoping tables were used in England during the Commonwealth. Tables with drawers were used in the UNITED STATES during the Federal period. Presbyterian and Puritan sacramental services included a rhetorical segment called "fencing of the table," in which the minister warned the unworthy to abstain from Communion. A variety of cloths have been used to cover Communion tables.

In Reformed denominations, the permanent placement of the table beneath the elevated pulpit became popular in the eighteenth century. But with the development of the raised pulpit platform in the nineteenth century, the table again became peripatetic, appearing sometimes in front of the platform and, in the case of platforms with moveable pulpits, sometimes centered on the platform.

With the rise of ECUMENISM in the twentieth century and renewed emphasis on Christian community, the table gained wider use as the center of liturgical space. Many Catholics, following suggestions made by the Vatican II Council, and some Lutherans and Episcopalians substituted tables for their altars. Reformed groups joined them in rearranging WORSHIP space, often placing a large table in the center of the room and arranging the seats around it in a ring.

See also Architecture, Church; Liturgy; Sacraments; Presbyterianism; Congregationalism; Lutheranism; Anglicanism

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JEANNE HALGREN KILDE

COMMUNISM

Communism is the communal ownership of goods with the concomitant abrogation of private property. Two forms of communism may be distinguished: religious communism and political communism. In Protestantism, religious communism made its appearance among the adherents of the "Radical Reformation" such as Thomas Münster or the Münster Anabaptists. The HUTTERITES made the abrogation of private property one of their principal tenets. Subsequent representatives of Protestant groupings disavowing personal property can be found in 17th century England and later (Moravian Brethren, Shakers, etc.). In all instances, the argumentation rests on the precedent of the earliest Christian community as described in the Book of Acts and on Jesus's strictures against money and wealth. Political communism, likewise of long history, is expressed in modernity primarily in terms of the thought of Karl Marx (1818–1883). Marx and his successor Friedrich Engels advocated economic reforms to liberate workers from capitalist exploitation by abolishing private property and redistributing resources according to need. According to Marxism, religion justified the exploitation of the masses; the oppressed turned to religion to explain their tragic situation and to anticipate future rewards. Marxist economic reform, therefore, eliminates the need for religion.

Marxist religious and economic principles were translated into the first Communist party in RUSSIA in 1917. Vladimir Lenin was the first to implement a program of religious persecution. Church-owned property was seized, religious teaching ceased, the authority of the Orthodox Church was limited, and religious leaders (Orthodox, Catholic, and Baptist) were harassed, imprisoned, and killed.

Other Communist states replicated Russia's religious persecution. Christians in these countries responded variously to atheistic state policies; some complied with compulsory registration, whereas others formed "underground" churches and resistance movements (notably the Baptist *Iniatsiivniki*). Western visitors were shown only registered churches, and thus misinformation regarding the extent of persecution spread. Many ecumenical groups and mainline denominations remained silent, while parachurch organizations (mostly Protestant) and research institutes (e.g., Keston College) revealed and boldly criticized persecution and aided underground Christians.

With the Communist reform policy of *glasnost*, and eventually the fall of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe in the 1980s and 1990s, religious groups saw more freedom, and the degree of persecution was globally exposed.

See also China; Socialism, Christian; Orthodoxy, Eastern; Baptists

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KRISTI UPSON-SAIA

CONCORD, BOOK OF

See Book of Concord

CONE, JAMES HAL (1938-)

Theologian. James Hal Cone was born in Fordyce, Arkansas, on August 5, 1938 to Charles M. and Lucille Cone. In 1958 he received a B.A. from Philander Smith College, in Arkansas. He then attended Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois, where he received a B.D. degree in 1961. Four years later Cone was awarded a Ph.D. from Garrett- and Northwestern jointly. His dissertation focused on the doctrine of man in the theology of Karl Barth.

Cone married Rose Hampton and they had four children. His teaching career began at Philander Smith College as assistant professor in 1964. He also served as assistant minister at the Woodlawn African Methodist Episcopal Church. He became assistant professor at Adrian College in Michigan in 1966, and in 1969 went to Union Theological Seminary in New York, where he became assistant professor of systematic theology.

In the summer after Martin Luther King, Jr.'s death, Cone wrote his landmark volume, *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969). This book marked his radical break with white European theology. He introduced the term “black theology” into religious discourse. This book was quickly followed by a more systematic statement of theology in the spirit

of the Black Power Movement and the pronouncement of black church leaders (The National Committee of Black Churchmen). The latter volume was entitled *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1986).

Cone stressed the “liberation from oppression” theme religiously and culturally. Jesus and the Bible were called as witnesses to his liberation motif theology. God, in Jesus, a Jew, was identified in history with the oppressed. God, through Christ, demonstrated a willingness to suffer for liberation of op-pressed humanity. Blackness became the ultimate symbol of this suffering God who would liberate the oppressed.

Cone’s theology was readily received by black religious leaders. It was the proper articulation of the Gospel of freedom in the black church and community. It set off a serious dialogue within and without black religious and academic circles, stimulating much discussion by other black religious thinkers.

Cone’s book, *Martin and Malcolm and America: A Dream on a Nightmare* (1991) is representative of his mature theology. From the outset, the influence of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. on Cone was evident. However, the volume is helpful in revealing these influences on his decades of reflection. Cone’s *Risks of Faith* (1999) sums up his witness as a theo- logian.

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J.DEOTIS ROBERTS

CONFERENCE

Conference is a POLITY concept that has been effectively used by Methodists since their beginning in the eighteenth century. Many Methodist denominations are structured as connectional systems of conferences. For example, in the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, the largest Methodist denomination, every congregation is affiliated with a local charge conference. Charge conferences send at least one delegate to a regional annual conference. Annual conferences send delegates to a Jurisdictional or Central conference and to the denomination’s General Conference.

The conference concept is rooted in the thought of Methodism’s founder, JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791). Wesley identified “Christian conference” as one of the principal means by which God’s GRACE is conveyed to Christian people. He was convinced that Christians need to associate with other Christians to become and remain mature in their

faith. Fellowship and conversation are gifts made possible by divine grace to assist them. The early Methodist societies and their small groups (bands and classes) were designed to provide Christian conference.

As a structural feature of METHODISM, “conference” usually refers to the manner in which the various Methodist denominations have organized to consider mission, determine policy, and set strategy. Wesley initiated this type of conference structure in June 1744 when he gathered a few sympathetic Anglican clergymen and his lay preachers in London to consult on fundamental theological and ministerial issues. They considered, “1. What to teach; 2. How to teach; and 3. What to do....” (Davies 1988:IV,67). Wesley met annually thereafter with most of his preachers, and this conference became the predominant means of managing the Methodist movement. Among its most important functions were the selection, training, and appointment of preachers to their ministries. After Wesley’s death, the conference became more powerful and remains the principal governing body in British Methodism. In the nineteenth century, lay people were given voice and vote in the British conference.

Shortly after his arrival in America, Thomas Rankin (1738–1810), one of the lay preachers Wesley dispatched to the colonies, convened the first annual conference of Methodist preachers in June 1773 in Philadelphia. Like its British counterpart, this was a spiritual brotherhood that managed the fledgling movement. American Methodists have held annual conferences ever since.

With Wesley’s blessing, the American Methodist preachers held a “Christmas Conference” in Baltimore, Maryland, in December 1784, (see BALTIMORE CONFERENCE) at which they formally organized the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC). As the new church grew, geographical considerations prompted the MEC to organize regional annual conferences of its preachers, each presided over by a bishop (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY). In 1792 the MEC held its first General Conference, to which all of its ordained preachers in full connection with annual conferences were invited. Among its other actions, the General Conference claimed authority to legislate for the church, to revise its official book of DOCTRINE and discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE), and to meet every four years thereafter.

At the 1796 General Conference, the boundaries of six geographical annual conferences (New England, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, South Carolina, and Western) were fixed. As the church continued to grow, the 1808 General Conference adopted a plan for a delegated General Conference to which the various annual conferences sent elected representatives. As the supreme legislative body of the MEC, the General Conference was often the scene of bitter and divisive debate. For instance, the 1844 MEC General Conference debate over SLAVERY resulted in a denominational schism and the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

The quadrennial General Conference remains the preeminent legislative body of the larger Methodist denominations, that is, United Methodist, AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL, AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION, and Christian Methodist Episcopal churches. The General Conference authorizes revisions to the denominations’ official Books of Discipline. With the exception of The United Methodist Church, the General Conference of these churches also elects bishops who serve as their chief executive officers. United Methodists elect bishops at their quadrennial Jurisdictional

(U.S.) or Central (outside the U.S.) conferences. All four denominations are also organized into regional annual conferences. After considerable discussion and negotiation, mostly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, each of these churches granted lay people (see LAITY) the right to serve as delegates at General Conference in equal numbers with the CLERGY. They have also sought lay/clergy voting parity in their annual conferences.

Many Methodist or Methodist-related denominations in nations other than the UNITED STATES also utilize a conference structure. British Methodism holds an annual delegated conference that serves as its supreme legislative body (see METHODISM, ENGLAND). The Korean Methodist Church is organized with a General Conference and annual conferences. Other denominations may have a General Conference and annual conferences or their equivalent that may bear a different name, for example, archdiocese and diocese (Methodist Church Nigeria) or regions (Methodist Church in Brazil).

Conferences, whether local, annual, or denominational, usually produce reports of their ministries. Most annual conferences publish annual journals of their work that include reports, a record of proceedings, and a list of the names and addresses of their churches, clergy, and representative lay people. Thorough records of General Conferences are also published. These records and publications serve as primary historical documents of the denomination's ministry.

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- CHARLES YRIGOYEN

CONFESSING CHURCH

Confessing Church (Bekennende Kirche) was the name adopted in the spring of 1934 by one section of the German Evangelical Church. The group mobilized support from both pastors and laity in opposition to the rival section that called itself the "Faith Movement of German Christians" and insisted on a Christianity purged of all semitic influences. The feud between these contenders for the allegiance of German Protestants lasted through the Nazi era.

Origins and Establishment

The “GERMAN CHRISTIANS” welcomed Adolf Hitler’s advent to power in January 1933 and supported the Nazi political platform, including the purging from German society of all Jewish elements. They wanted to adopt similar goals in the life and structures of the German Evangelical Church. In the church elections of July 1933 they gained control of most of the administrative positions in a majority of the provincial branches of the church. Under the leadership of Hitler’s appointee as Reich Bishop, Ludwig Müller, they planned to remove pastors of Jewish origin from their offices, at the national synod to be held in September 1933.

However, such a challenge to the church’s autonomy, especially when drawn from an outside political source, prompted a vigorous response. The beginnings of what became the Confessing Church occurred when a group of Berlin pastors, under the leadership of MARTIN NIEMÖLLER, formed the Pastors Emergency League, whose aim was to defend ORTHODOXY in doctrine and the autonomy of the church structures, and to prevent the adoption of measures drawn from ideological movements, such as National Socialism.

During the winter months of 1933–1934 opponents of the Nazification of the church recognized the need for a theologically defensible manifesto. At the Synod of Barmen in May 1934, under KARL BARTH’S leadership, they produced the Barmen Confession (see BARMEN DECLARATION), which was to become the main platform of the Confessing Church for the remainder of the Nazi period. The six articles of the Barmen Confession affirmed both the independence of the Church from any politically influenced interference, and the need to uphold the supremacy of Christian witness over against alternative ideologies. They specifically rejected the totalitarian claims of the state both over the church (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW) and in the political field.

The significance of the Barmen Confession lay in its successful definition of Christian involvement in politics and the limits of Christian loyalty to the state. By rejecting the heretical ideas and practices of the “German Christians,” the Confessing Church steadfastly maintained the view that it alone constituted the “true Church.”

The result was a complex and often confusing situation. In the majority of provinces, particularly the largest, Prussia, the Confessing Church formed a minority, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the now “German Christian”-controlled bureaucracy. Instead, a rival structure, claiming to be the true inheritor of past traditions, gained support from those parishes willing to pay the price of defiance. Only in three provinces, Hannover, Bavaria, and Württemberg, was the Confessing Church in a majority, and so retained control of the church administration. *De facto*, if not *de jure*, there were now two German Evangelical Churches, which led to incessant conflicts within parishes at the local level. Personal, local, and political differences frequently reinforced the basic theological disagreements. The strength of the Confessing Church lay in its refusal to compromise. Its pastors, for example, rescinded their loyalty to “German Christian” bishops, refused to accept communications from diocesan offices, and resolutely defended their own congregations from unwanted interference. They formed local, provincial, and national Councils of Brethren (*Brüderräte*), which exercised doctrinal and practical authority and which were organized on a presbyterian model, drawn from the Reformed tradition.

Political Implications

In the eyes of the Confessing Church leadership, their stance was adopted solely for theological reasons. At no time did the Confessing Church seek to play the role of leading opposition to the secular goals of the Nazi Party, nor to organize resistance to the increasing tyranny that was to engulf the whole country. Their more limited ambition was to defend the autonomy and doctrine of the church against evident distortion and heresy by the “German Christians.” Later criticized as short-sighted, it was principally attributed to three factors. First, these men were theologians, not politicians, and they often sought to draw a strict line between theological definitions and political controversy. Throughout the Confessing Church, loyalty to Hitler was professed by both CLERGY and LAITY. The vast majority did not recognize, nor were they prepared to admit, that these political loyalties were incompatible with their church professions.

The second factor was the Lutheran tradition of respect for the ruling power (see LUTHERANISM). There was no history of organized DISSENT. The third factor was the no less inhibiting condition that most of the Evangelical clergy refused to be committed to any political involvement, either with the “German Christians” or with the Confessing Church. The ingrained tradition of PIETISM maintained the belief that “politics do not concern the church,” whose goal was the search for personal, not political, salvation. As a result, the Confessing Church leaders were unsuccessful in mobilizing the majority of church members to a critical opposition to the Nazis’ authority except on matters directly affecting church life and doctrine. Basically, no part of the German Evangelical Church, including the Confessing Church, had a theology adequate to mount any sustained attack on the actions of its political rulers, and for that reason, even at the end of the Nazi era, there was no more than what has been called a “reluctant resistance.”

This position was easily and often deliberately misunderstood. The political authorities, from Hitler downward, interpreted the Confessing Church’s stance as a political act of disobedience. The fulsome declarations of national loyalty made by Confessing Church leaders and supporters were regarded as hypocritical dissimulation. So, too, the “German Christians” regarded the Confessing Church pastors’ and parishes’ defiance as insubordination, motivated for church-political reasons. They sought to bring these dissenters to heel, using the highly political argument that the church must show its dedication to and unity with the National Socialist state and its leaders. Refusal to endorse such a platform was regarded as political treachery rather than theological obduracy.

The Nazis’ expectation that the German Evangelical Church would willingly allow itself to be “coordinated” into the new regime’s totalitarian plans was shattered by the determined opposition of the Confessing Church. In 1934 it became clear that this recalcitrance would not be overcome by the hamhanded activities of the “German Christian” authorities. In 1935 Hitler ordered the creation of a new Ministry of Church Affairs under a Nazi stalwart, Hanns Kerrl, although his plans for a more positive relationship seemed to presage yet another breach of the church’s autonomy. Furthermore, Kerrl’s policies were known to be continually under attack from his own more radical colleagues, who successfully undermined his authority. By 1938 the dominant Nazi policy toward the Confessing Church was one of confrontation and

suppression. At the outbreak of the war in 1939 Hitler ordered the cessation of all antichurch moves, although this did not stop the Gestapo from continuing its campaign to destroy the influence of the clergy, and especially of the Confessing Church. Had the war ended with a Nazi victory, there can be little doubt that the staunch defiance of the Confessing Church would have been ruthlessly eliminated.

For their part, the members of the Confessing Church were to become increasingly divided in their opinions about the moral and political legitimacy of the Nazi state and its policies. Already in 1935 this division could be observed between the “moderates,” particularly in the so-called intact provinces of Bavaria, Hannover, and Württemberg, and the more “radical” wing, especially in the “destroyed” province of Prussia, under the leadership of the “Dahlemites,” so called from the name of Niemöller’s parish in Berlin. The former continued to uphold their traditional obedience to the existing political authorities, refused to encourage open acts of defiance, and instead sought accommodation by working within the limits of the Nazi system. The latter, or “Dahlemite” group, even though maintaining their patriotic loyalty to the German nation, came to see the Nazi policies in the church sphere as unacceptable, and were, if necessary, prepared to accept the consequences of dissent. However, only a handful of these Confessing Church supporters were ready to recognize that the regime they served was determined to implement criminal policies of military aggression and racial persecution and genocide without regard to established law or ethics. Hence only a few far-sighted opponents of the regime, such as Pastor DIETRICH BONHOEFFER, were to become actively involved in the Resistance Movement, and eventually to pay the price of its failure.

Conflicting Dilemmas and Witness in the Face of Persecution

The Confessing Church’s ambivalence toward the Nazi regime was well illustrated in 1935 when 700 pastors, mainly in Prussia, were arrested for defying Nazi regulations. In 1936 the radical wing prepared, and sent privately to Hitler, a strong protest against the regime’s policies, such as the extension of the concentration camp system and the increasing persecution of the Jews. By some error, this document was publicized in a Swiss newspaper. The authors were at once accused of national treachery and forced to retreat. Such actions reinforced the Gestapo’s repressive intentions. In July 1937 Martin Niemöller was arrested together with some fifty other leading Confessing Church figures. Despite worldwide intercessions for his release, he was held without bail for nine months until a show trial was held, heavily orchestrated by Joseph Goebbels’s Propaganda Ministry. The judges, however, returned a verdict of not guilty on the major charges, and declared that Niemöller’s minor infractions of the law had been fully expiated by his months in prison. Hitler was not to be defied, however. Niemöller was immediately rearrested and remained incarcerated until the end of the war.

The subsequent wave of intimidation by the Gestapo saw numerous pastors arrested for various alleged breaches of Nazi ordinances. Most sentences were short, designed to compel submission in the future, although a few pastors paid a stiffer price, such as Paul Schneider, who was sent to Buchenwald concentration camp in November 1937 and put

to death there eighteen months later, the first pastor of the Confessing Church to lose his life as a result of Nazi persecution.

With the loss of its most pugnacious leader, Niemöller, and the enforced exile of its most distinguished theologian, Karl Barth, the Confessing Church inevitably suffered grave doubts about its future. Both the desire to maintain political loyalty and the pragmatic pressures to conform counseled an opportunistic compromise with the official church authorities. Others, however, remained staunch in their witness to the Gospel. In September 1938, on the occasion of the Sudetenland crisis and with the threat of imminent war, the Confessing Church leaders wrote a special Peace Liturgy, calling on the church members to repent, and asking for God's forgiveness of the personal and corporate sins of all nations, including their own. The Munich Conference was then announced and this liturgy was never circulated. However, a copy fell into Nazi hands and was seen as final and irrefutable proof of the Confessing Church's political treachery against Hitler's leadership. Cowed and intimidated by such virulent attacks, the Confessing Church made no response two months later to the outrageous and very public crimes of the anti-Jewish Crystal Night pogrom.

The constant threat of Gestapo surveillance and interrogation, or even of imprisonment in a concentration camp, and the unpredictability of such repressive attacks, lay heavily upon all Confessing Church members. To be sure, gestures of solidarity were made, such as the intercessory reading out during the Sunday services of the names of those members arrested, banished, or forbidden by the Gestapo to preach, although even these "Fürbittenlisten" were problematic in that it was virtually impossible to distinguish between those punished for purely theological protests and those accused of political agitation. This menacing repression created almost irreconcilable and paralyzing dilemmas for the pastors affected. Their desire to serve their congregations without conflict with the authorities, and their continuing national ties, were in reality incompatible with their theological insights and obligations, although only a small handful were prepared to recognize this fact.

In this atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty, the Confessing Church took no action as the clouds of war gathered in 1939. The same conflict of loyalties increased when the outbreak of war led to the escalation of violence and the perpetration of atrocities. The Nazi campaign during 1939–1940 for the so-called euthanasia of the mentally ill met with the same ambivalent response from the Confessing Church as had been the case earlier. Their refusal to challenge the Nazi state publicly, and their preference for private remonstrances, even if ignored, was a truly frustrating situation for the few who called for more decisive action based on Christian moral imperatives.

This crisis of conscience only increased as the news began to percolate about the atrocities committed on the eastern front and against the Jews. At a time of unprecedented challenge to their moral courage and conscience, all save a handful of Confessing Church members continued to turn a blind eye on events, or retreated into apathetic indifference as bystanders. Not until 1943 did Bishop Theophilus Wurm of Württemberg protest privately to the Nazi authorities against the ongoing breaches of God's moral commandments. In October 1943 the Confessing Church's Prussian Synod, more publicly, wrote to all its congregations to say: "Terms like 'eradication,' 'liquidation,' or 'unfit to live' are not known in the laws of God. The murdering of men solely because they are members of a foreign race, or because they are old, or mentally

ill, or the relatives of a criminal, cannot be considered as carrying out the authority entrusted to the State by God.”

Such an appeal to the ethical standards of earlier years was doomed to fail; but so too, in the circumstances of total war, were efforts to mobilize public opinion in protest against the crimes of their leaders. The abortive July 20, 1944, attempt on Hitler’s life was greeted with shock and dismay by the majority of Confessing Church members.

The military defeat of the National Socialist regime in May 1945 forced a reevaluation of the Confessing Church’s stance. Only a few months later, the surviving leaders met in Stuttgart to consider their past failings and their future opportunities. Largely inspired by the newly released Martin Niemöller, the Declaration of Guilt issued on this occasion aptly summarized the Confessing Church’s experience of the previous twelve years: “We know ourselves, with our people, to be not only in a community of suffering, but also in a solidarity of guilt. With great anguish we state: through us inestimable suffering was inflicted on many peoples and lands.... We have struggled for many years in the name of Jesus Christ against the spirit which found its terrible expression in the National Socialist regime of tyranny, but we accuse our selves for not witnessing more courageously, for not praying more faithfully, for not believing more joyously, and for not loving more ardently.”

It was a fitting epitaph.

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JOHN S.CONWAY

CONFESSION

The term “confession” had two distinct meanings in the REFORMATION period: the confession of SIN and the confession of FAITH. One might say that the controversy generated over the nature of the confession of sin led in large part to the development of confessions of faith that expressed the nature of true faith over against the teaching of the Roman Church.

I. Confession of Sin

The confession of sin was directly related to the practice of private penance because that had first developed in the Celtic monasteries of the Carolingian period. The canonical penance of the patristic period had consisted of contrition for sin, public confession of sin before the bishop and the congregation, satisfaction to manifest the sincerity of contrition, and finally public absolution by the bishop. Private penance reversed the last two parts, so that satisfaction followed absolution. Thus when Peter the Lombard defined penance as one of the seven SACRAMENTS in his *Sentences* of 1150, he defined penance as contrition, confession, and satisfaction. In this understanding of penance confession to the priest both manifests the sincerity of contrition and reveals the circumstances of each sin, so that the priest can both “loose” the sinner by absolution and “bind” the sinner with the appropriate remedy and punishment for sin by satisfaction.

The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 mandated private confession for all Christians and made clear the close connection between the confession of sin and the willingness to perform the satisfactions imposed by the priest. “All believers of both sexes shall after coming to the age of discretion faithfully confess all their sins at least once a year in private to their own priest, and strive to fulfill to the best of their ability the penance imposed upon them.” The only sins that had to be confessed were those that elicited the consent of the will against the love of God, even when no external deed resulted from such consent. However, when the consent of the will was lacking, and the root of love was left intact, then the sin was venial, or forgivable, because the love that remained was thought to cover a multitude of sins (I Peter 4:8). Any thought or desire that did not elicit the consent of the will was seen to be the remnant of original sin in the form of concupiscence, and such concupiscence was not thought to be sin, but rather the “tinder” or “occasion” of sin, which only became sin by the consent of the will.

The practice of private confession was closely associated with another mandate of the Fourth Lateran Council, that of the yearly reception of Communion, usually at Easter. To prepare for their annual confession penitents were encouraged to use the season of Lent as a period of penitential introspection, to bring to mind all the mortal sins that had been committed in the past year, so that all such sins could be fully confessed to the priest, usually during Holy Week, and ideally on Holy Saturday. The priest, on the other hand, was seen to be like a physician “diligently inquiring into the circumstances both of the

sinner and of the sin, so that he may wisely understand what advice he should give him and what remedy he should apply, trying different tests to heal the patient.” The failure to confess a sin of which the penitent was aware, or to confess all the circumstances of the sin, resulted in the lack of forgiveness for the penitent. On the other hand, the disclosure of sin confessed in private to the priest resulted in the priest being “dispatched to a monastery of strict discipline to do penance for the rest of his life.”

Upon hearing the full confession of sin, the priest made two judgments regarding the sinner. On the one hand, the priest judged that the contrition of the penitent was sincere; and because it was contrition that removed sin, the priest could pronounce a judgment of absolution. On the other hand, given that satisfaction now followed absolution, the priest also determined the requisite punishments, remedies, and satisfactions for sin, after the traditional penitential remedies of PRAYER, fasting, and alms. However, for what would one be making satisfaction after one had been absolved of sin? To answer this question the church developed a distinction between the eternal guilt and penalty of sin, which was fully satisfied by Christ, and the temporal guilt and punishment that remained, that the penitent must satisfy by his or her own efforts, in cooperation with Christ. Unlike BAPTISM, which was a full participation in the satisfaction of Christ needing nothing to complete it, the commission of mortal sin grieved the Holy Spirit and forfeited the GRACE received at baptism, so that penance was seen to be a “laborious baptism” that required the efforts of the penitent. The church, by the authority vested in priests, bishops, and the pope, had the ability both to discern and to assign the temporal punishments and satisfactions remaining after absolution; and were the penitent to die before the completion of these satisfactions, then they would have to be completed after death in purgatory before eternal life could be fully enjoyed.

In their desire to lighten the burden of satisfactions as much as possible, lay people turned to two major spiritual resources to help them make appropriate satisfaction: the monks and the sacrifice of the mass. Because monks were seen voluntarily to obey the “counsels of perfection” taught by Jesus, especially poverty, chastity, the renunciation of self-defense, and obedience, they were thought to perform works over and above those required by the law, which could therefore be applied to the satisfactions of others. Moreover, beginning in the Carolingian period, it became increasingly common for monks to be ordained as priests, so that they might say private masses on behalf of others. Because the mass was seen to be both a sacrifice offered by the priest to God and a sacrament offered by Christ to his people, the priest could offer the sacrifice of Christ in the mass for the benefit of those on whose behalf it was being offered, including not only those present during the mass in a spirit of devotion, but also those not present, and possibly even deceased and thought to be in purgatory. The endowment of monasteries by LAITY, both for the benefit of their works of supererogation and for the saying of masses on behalf of the patrons, became an increasingly common way for those patrons with means to make satisfaction for their sin.

MARTIN LUTHER was a lifelong devotee of private confession, and his understanding of the gospel could be said to emerge as a reform of private confession in particular, a reform that soon extended to all aspects of the Roman Church (see CATHOLICISM PROTESTANT REACTIONS; CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM). By 1507 Luther was both an Augustinian monk following the counsels of perfection and a priest offering the sacrifice of the mass. Luther initially

agreed with the Roman Church that it was contrition that removed sin, a contrition made perfect by the infusion of love for God by the Holy Spirit, and that only those sins that accused the conscience needed to be confessed. Luther also sought to strengthen his conscience after confession and absolution by zealously performing the satisfaction and penance imposed on him, especially by the strict observance of his monastic vows and life. However, the more Luther strove to confess and make satisfaction for his sin, the more his conscience accused him of sin, not only for those things that had the consent of will, but also for those thoughts and desires that he fought against with all his will. Indeed, by 1515 Luther was overwhelmed by experiences of tribulation that he called *Anfechtung*, in which the awareness of his own sin and the wrath of God against sin overwhelmed his conscience. Luther concluded from this experience that sin can never be eradicated by contrition, confession, and satisfaction; rather, the infusion of love reveals sin and wrath in the conscience, so that we might confess that we are sinners deserving of wrath, and consign ourselves to suffer the punishments of hell with Christ, out of love for God. Such confession justifies God in God's Word, for God tells us that we all have sinned and have fallen short of the glory of God, and we acknowledge this to be true when our own consciences experience the terror of sin and wrath.

However, Luther was to be led in yet another direction because of the influence of his own confessor, Johann von Staupitz. In private confession Staupitz told Luther not to look to his own contrition and terror, but rather to Jesus Christ crucified, for he has taken our sins on himself and has given us his righteousness in a "royal marriage." In light of this growing understanding of Christ as the one who takes on himself the sin that we acknowledge to be our own, Luther came to see that it is not the grace of God, but the law of God, that reveals sin in the conscience and terrifies it with the sense of the wrath of God. The terrified conscience despairs of removing sin by its own efforts, including its own contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Once the conscience has been terrified by the knowledge of its sin, the word of absolution needs to be proclaimed to it by the priest. However, this word is not a judgment about the sincerity of the penitent's contrition, but is rather the promise of forgiveness won by Christ on our behalf by his death on the cross. Sin is removed not by our contrition and satisfaction, but by faith in the promise of forgiveness spoken to us individually by the person of the priest. By faith the penitent no longer sees his or her sin in the conscience, but in the flesh of Christ, where it is taken away and put to death; and the penitent believes that the righteousness of Christ is now his or her own. Such faith in the promise of absolution brings genuine peace to terrified consciences, especially in the context of private confession.

On the basis of this new understanding and experience of confession, inspired in large part by the spiritual counsel of Johann von Staupitz in private confession, Luther came to see the whole ministry of the church in terms of the word of absolution. Instead of limiting absolution to private confession itself, Luther claimed that Christ left us with many promises of absolution, to strengthen and comfort the terrified consciences of the faithful. The word of absolution should be proclaimed in the sermon, and is also contained in the Lord's Prayer, when we pray that we may be forgiven as we forgive others. However, Luther especially prized those forms of absolution that were addressed by Christ to the individual directly. Thus in baptism the promise of absolution is applied individually to me with the accompanying sign of the water applied to my body. In private confession the priest or pastor speaks the word of absolution directly to me

individually, after having heard my own terrified conscience in confession, thereby returning me to the promise of absolution spoken to me in my baptism. In the LORD'S SUPPER the promise of absolution is spoken to me individually, confirmed by the sign of the body and blood of Christ that died for my forgiveness, which I eat and drink as I hear the word of absolution, "Shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sin." Luther also extended the power to proclaim absolution to every faithful Christian, in light of "the priesthood of all believers." However, Luther himself tended to focus on those forms of absolution proclaimed by ordained ministers to the faithful, especially baptism, private confession, the sermon, and the Supper. Indeed the worship life of the Christian could be seen to cycle through all four forms of absolution on a routine basis. In preparation for receiving the sacrament, the faithful would go to private confession, in which the word of absolution would return them to faith in the promise made to them in baptism. They would then hear the same word proclaimed in the sermon and prayed in the Lord's Prayer, culminating in Communion, in which the promise of absolution was once again applied to them individually, to console and strength their consciences in their lifelong struggle with sin.

Luther was ambivalent about the status of private confession as a sacrament. He was never in doubt about its essential character in the life of the church, defending it vigorously in 1522 after ANDREAS RUDOLF BODENSTEIN CARLSTADT had suggested that the only absolution needed by the faithful is found in the Supper. However, it lacked an accompanying sign, and hence could not really fit the definition of a sacrament as a promise of absolution with a confirming sign attached to it by Christ. By 1531 PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, who himself was decisively impacted by Luther's teaching on confession and absolution, defined both absolution and ordination as sacraments, and included this teaching in his magisterial *Loci communes* of 1543. Like Luther, Melanchthon especially treasured the way the promise of absolution is spoken directly to the individual by the pastor in private confession, making it the best form of absolution offered in the church, together with the Supper. Hence it is not surprising that private confession was always required by the Wittenberg Reformation before one could receive Communion, even though the requirement of yearly confession by the Fourth Lateran Council was also rejected as "tyranny."

JOHN CALVIN, on the other hand, was very suspicious of the practice of private confession to a priest. Although he always allowed that rightly understood it could be an edifying practice, he was always concerned about the lack of accountability created by the practice in the Roman Church. The priest, in conjunction with his bishop and possibly the pope (in reserved cases), was the only person who heard and judged sin, and was the only person with the AUTHORITY to excommunicate. Calvin appreciated the concern to maintain the holiness of the Supper as much as possible, but was very concerned that the priest and bishop could act tyrannically, excommunicating people over financial matters or personal grudges, as had been the case with Calvin's own father. Moreover, by the time Calvin emerged as an evangelical teacher, the study of the patristic period had uncovered the fact, unmentioned by Luther or Melanchthon, that private confession was unknown in that period, and only emerged later, in conjunction, so Calvin thought, with the emergence of the "papal tyranny." To preserve the goal of protecting the holiness of the Supper, while also avoiding the abuses possible in private confession, Calvin created an ecclesiastical senate of pastors and elders that he called the CONSISTORY. Although

the Consistory made its investigations into the sins of the congregation in private, it did not allow an individual to make such inquiries, but rather pastors and elected laity together inquired into the sins and prescribed the remedies, and also kept minutes of the proceedings for the record, again to establish mutual accountability. Calvin thus moved the church away from private confession, favored so highly by Luther and Melanchthon, toward something approximating the canonical penance of the patristic period. Calvin agreed with Melanchthon that ordination could be considered a sacrament, but did not accept the idea that confession should also be a sacrament, and pointed out this disagreement in his preface to the French translation of Melanchthon's 1543 *Loci*, which Calvin himself sponsored.

One practice on which all evangelical reformers could agree was the establishment of prayers of general confession in worship services. Such general confession could never take the place of private confession for the Lutherans, or of the Consistory for the Reformed, but it did remind the faithful right in the heart of their worship life that the gospel is offered only to those who have first been humbled by the awareness of their own sin, and who make a genuine confession of that sin together with others in the congregation. Once private confession was no longer obligatory in the Lutheran churches, and Consistories were no longer a prominent part of Reformed communities, the only confession of sin left was the prayer of general confession in Protestant worship services.

The Council of Trent responded to the teaching of Luther and Melanchthon by reasserting the teaching of the Fourth Lateran Council concerning the necessity of confessing one's sins at least once a year to one's priest. Trent denied that the word of absolution should be sought anywhere other than in the sacrament of penance, and asserted again that it was contrition that removed sin, not faith in the word of absolution. Trent denied Luther's and Melanchthon's definition of penance as the terrified conscience and faith, and reasserted the traditional definition of penance as contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Trent also asserted that only priests and bishops had the authority to bind and loose sins, and that penitents had to be simultaneously loosed from sin by the word of absolution, and bound to satisfactions for the punishment, correction, and satisfaction of sin. Trent denied that one could know with certainty that one's sins had been absolved in the sacrament of penance. Finally Trent denied the validity of general, public confessions of sin, as lacking in the efficacy of the sacrament of penance.

II. Confession of Faith

The confession of faith was a direct outgrowth of the criticism of the Roman Church begun by Martin Luther, centering on his objections to the Roman understanding of the confession of sin. At the Leipzig Debate of 1519 Luther had claimed that both popes and councils have erred, and that only the Word of God in Scripture is without error. In *The Babylonian Captivity* of 1520, Luther claimed that nothing could be made into an article of faith that was not clearly taught in Scripture. Both claims had the result of casting radical doubt not only on the more recent councils such as Constance (1415) and Fourth Lateran (1215), but also on the whole of the dogmatic tradition of the church, from the Council of Nicea (325) onward. Given the need to judge all previous conciliar

pronouncements on the basis of the Word of God in Scripture, it is not surprising that the various reforming movements of the sixteenth century came to develop their own public statements of authoritative teaching in the form of confessions of faith, both to distinguish the movements from what they considered to be the errors of Rome, and to bring about a public consensus about what the true teaching of Scripture really is.

The first confession of faith to emerge in the sixteenth century came from a community of reformers who rejected both Rome and the reforming agendas of Luther and Melancthon in Wittenberg and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS in Zurich and Basel. The SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION of 1527 was drafted by MICHAEL SATTLER the same year he was to be executed, and represented the consensus reached by members of the Swiss Brethren. The Confession makes a sharp distinction between membership in the civil world of the magistrate and the sword, and the kingdom of Christ that is governed by the gospel. The confession rejects the practice of infant baptism, insisting on faith and obedience prior to baptism. The Supper is only for those baptized upon their confession of faith, and is eaten and drunk in remembrance of Christ's death by those who are one body with Christ. The confession also rejects the use of civil authority in the church, insisting that the only disciplinary authority in the church is the ban—that is, excommunication. The baptized cannot take part in the bearing of the sword and oath taking, for Christ has forbidden his followers from so doing. The Schleithem Confession became a very effective way by which this community spread its teaching, and Zwingli and Calvin both devoted entire treatises to refuting its teaching from their interpretation of the Word of God in Scripture.

The AUGSBURG CONFESSION of 1530 was submitted to Charles V by the German rulers who had allowed evangelical teaching to take place in their territories and had allowed the reform of abuses in the churches in their lands. Drafted by Melancthon, the Augsburg Confession defended evangelical teaching on the basis of its catholicity, using the Apostles' Creed, the Creed of Constantinople, and the Definition of Chalcedon as the basis of catholic doctrine. The changes allowed by the rulers in their territories were said to be the elimination of recent abuses introduced into the church under the papacy, and hence represented a return to genuine catholic practice. Augsburg defines an abuse as any teaching or practice that is said to be a sacrifice or satisfaction for sin, or to merit anything from God, or that is made binding on conscience without the express command of God in Christ. The Roman theologians responded to the Augsburg Confession with the Pontifical Confutation, which was read aloud to the Emperor, but which was not provided in writing to the evangelicals. Although the Confutation agreed that many of the teachings of the Augsburg Confession were in fact catholic (although with some qualifications in each instance), it rejected the definition of abuses in the Confession, and asserted the catholicity of penitential satisfactions, the sacrifice of the Mass, the meriting of eternal life, and the authority of bishops to teach laws binding on conscience even when those laws cannot be found in Scripture. Melancthon defended the Augsburg Confession in light of these criticisms, and published his defense as the *Apology for the Augsburg Confession* (see AUGSBURG CONFESSION, APOLOGY OF) in 1531. In the *Apology* Melancthon for the first time teaches that both ordination and confession are sacraments, along with baptism and the Supper. Although these texts were both addressed to the Emperor in light of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, they quickly became the foundational confessional texts of the Wittenberg reform movement.

The Augsburg Confession was submitted at the height of the disagreement between Luther and Zwingli concerning the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Zwingli taught that the bread and wine were the signs of the body and blood of Christ that referred us to his death out of gratitude for our redemption. Zwingli denied that the body and blood of Christ could be offered in or with the bread and wine, because his true human body is in heaven. Luther responded by claiming that the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine are the sign that the promise of forgiveness applies to us personally. Because Christ is both divine and human in one person, his humanity is present wherever his divinity is present, especially where he offers his flesh and blood to us in his Word. The MARBURG COLLOQUY of 1539, at which Luther, Melancthon, MARTIN BUCER, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius were all present, failed to overcome the different understandings of the Supper in Wittenberg and Zurich. As a consequence, the leaders of Zurich were not signatories of the Augsburg Confession, but were instead represented by Zwingli's *Account of Faith* at Augsburg, which never attained the status of a confessional document. Subsequent to Augsburg, Oecolampadius drafted his own confession that was edited by Myconius after his death in 1531, which was adopted by the city of Basel as the First Basel Confession of 1534. This confession set the tone for subsequent confessions of the Reformed tradition until the latter part of the sixteenth century: they were developed by emerging Reformed churches in various cities or territories, and represented their first public teaching of the major doctrines of faith upon their emergence as organized churches. Thus, two years after the First Basel Confession, both the Geneva Confession and the First HELVETIC CONFESSION emerged, representing the teaching of the pastors of Geneva and Zurich, respectively. The emergence of Reformed churches in France, Scotland, and the Netherlands led to the publication of the French Confession of 1559, the Scots Confession written by JOHN KNOX in 1560, and the BELGIC CONFESSION of 1561.

John Calvin had a hand in helping to draft the French Confession, and liked the fact that the Reformed allowed for a wide variety of local confessions, unlike the Lutherans, who insisted that no one could be in fellowship with them unless they had signed the Augsburg Confession. Calvin had in fact signed the Augsburg Confession in 1541, although it was the *Variata* of 1540 drafted by Melancthon to incorporate the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 between Strasbourg and Wittenberg. The Concord taught that the body and blood are both represented and presented by the bread and wine. Calvin strove for the following decades to overcome the division between Zurich and Wittenberg by adopting the language of the Wittenberg Concord, and did in fact arrive at an agreement between the churches of Geneva and Zurich, the *Zurich Consensus* published in 1551. However, far from leading to a reconciliation between Zurich and Wittenberg, the *Zurich Consensus* was itself attacked by the Lutheran theologians Westphal and Heshusius as a betrayal of the Augsburg Confession, which even Melancthon was suspected of betraying in his 1540 *Variata*. The Lutherans subsequently sought to purge the "Crypto-Calvinists" from their midst, leading to the adoption of the Formula of Concord of 1577, in which Luther's writings against Zwingli in 1527 were used to interpret Melancthon's Augsburg Confession of 1530, along with the 1531 *Apology*, Luther's Small and Large Catechisms, Melancthon's treatise on the power and primacy of the pope, and Luther's SMALKALDIC ARTICLES of 1537.

The controversy between the Lutherans and the Reformed over the Supper led to the adoption of Reformed theology by Frederick III of the Palatinate. Frederick obtained from HEINRICH BULLINGER his last will and testament for the church at Zurich, which became in Frederick's hands the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566. Like the Augsburg Confession, the Second Helvetic Confession makes the claim to teach catholic doctrine, over and against the more recent innovations of the Roman Church. This confession also reflects the *Zurich Consensus*, by teaching that we commune spiritually with the flesh and blood of Christ at the same time we eat and drink the bread and wine of the Supper. The Second Helvetic Confession is the closest thing the Reformed tradition has to the Augsburg Confession, as it rapidly became adopted by Reformed communities throughout eastern and western Europe, as well as in England and Scotland.

As this historical survey shows, the development of confessions of faith in the sixteenth century was necessitated by several factors all converging at once. First, there was the need to set forth truly catholic doctrine and practice, over against the more recent abuses of the Roman Church. Such an agenda is clearly reflected in both the Augsburg Confession and the Second Helvetic Confession. Both confessions establish their continuity not only with the prophets and apostles, but also with the fathers and the councils of the patristic period. The claim for catholicity was made even more urgent by the Council of Trent, which claimed to be a true ecumenical Council under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, thereby attempting to make the various reformation confessions appear to be schismatic and sectarian in nature. Second, there was the need to give an account of faith taught in various territories and cities when they first emerged as organized churches. This was the trajectory taken by all the Reformed confessions up until the Second Helvetic Confession: they were all seen to be the confession of faith of a particular church—French, Belgic, or Scots—in a particular place and time—Basel, Geneva, Zurich—that was nonetheless in communion with other churches in which the gospel was preached and the sacraments rightly administered. The Reformed explicitly resisted the attempt by the Lutherans to have the Augsburg Confession become the only confession of the reforming movement, and also resisted having any one of the locally generated confessions become binding on all churches in all times and places, although eventually this kind of role was assumed *de facto* by the Second Helvetic Confession. However, the emergence of two distinct evangelical confessional traditions was resisted all along the line by Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin, who ultimately failed in their attempts to unite the increasingly separated confessional camps. Finally there was the need to come to agreement regarding the essential heads of doctrine taught by a specific reforming community. This was the primary reason for the development of the Schleithem Confession, and is one of the major impulses behind the Augsburg Confession and the many con-fessions of the Reformed tradition, culminating in the Second Helvetic Confession. The development of such confessions was often accompanied by the creation of catechisms as well, as in the case Luther's catechisms of 1529, the GENEVA CATECHISM of 1541, and the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM of 1561, making them important means for the propagation of evangelical faith in still other cities and territories.

In post-sixteenth century Protestantism, a number of confessions of faith were formulated to posit one's own belief over against that of competing churches. The driving

force, in each instance, was the absence of an authoritative confession speaking to the controversial issues or the conviction that an existing confession needed to be modified.

In England, Calvinist sentiment is reflected in the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF 1647, and its accompanying catechism, which grew out of the Anglican/Puritan controversies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Helvetic Consensus (Consensus Helveticus), of 1675, written by Johann Heinrich Heidegger and in use in Swiss Reformed churches until the middle of the eighteenth century, focused on several specific topics, such as the inspiration of the Bible (with the point that the Hebrew vowel marks were divinely inspired) and the various ramifications of the teaching of universal grace.

The Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition has, alongside the SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION, the Dordrecht confession of 1632 as a major confessional document. The confession grew out of the attempt to unite the two divided branches of Dutch Mennonites, the Frisian and the Flemish.

In the Baptist tradition, confessions have played a considerably more modest role in view of the insistence that the Bible itself should be the proper confession of faith.

Protestant confessions of the modern period are akin to the earlier Protestant confessions by their focus on specific issues. This holds true for the *The Fundamentals* articles, which were written in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in response to modernism and liberal theology. While never seen as a confession in the strict sense of the word, these articles summarized conservative (now beginning to be called “fundamentalist”) faith. The BARMEN CONFESSION 1934 likewise spoke to the specific German situation created by the Nazi government support of the GERMAN CHRISTIANS. Church mergers also called for restatements of the faith in terms of both the theological background of the merging churches and the effort to state the Christian faith in contemporary terms. This holds true for the statement of faith of the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, of 1959, which in turn was preceded by the Basis for Union of 1943. The independence movement of Protestant churches in former European colonies also challenged these churches to write confessions.

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CONFESSIONALIZATION

"Confessionalization" is a concept that was developed in German historiography in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This concept aims to provide a confessionally neutral perspective on the period between ca. 1550 and ca. 1650 by describing the development of the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic churches within one interpretive framework. The concept has mostly been applied to the history of the Holy Roman Empire but attempts to interpret European history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The concept of confessionalization has been a fruitful research tool, but has also led to lively historiographical controversies.

The Historiographical Concept of Confessionalization

Traditionally historiography divided the sixteenth century in two halves, with the Protestant REFORMATION in the first half and the Catholic COUNTER-REFORMATION in the second half of the century. For the Protestant churches in the Holy Roman Empire, the terms "Lutheran orthodoxy" and "Second Reformation" (denoting the Calvinist Reformation after the first, or Lutheran Reformation) were also used. In the 1950s the German historian Ernst Walter Zeeden first suggested that all the major creeds developing out of medieval Christianity—that is, LUTHERANISM, CALVINISM, and Catholicism—started to build modern, clearly defined confessional churches during the second half of the sixteenth century. He called this process "confessionbuilding."

Two scholars of the next generation, Heinz Schilling, who focused on Protestantism, and Wolfgang Reinhard, who focused on Catholicism, developed the concept of “confession-building” into the concept of “confessionalization.”

This concept proceeds from the general observation that in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period, the religious and the secular, church and state, were closely intertwined. When medieval Christianity was broken up by the Reformation, this close connection between CHURCH AND STATE resulted in an equally close linkage between the process of confession-building and the process of state formation. According to Schilling and Reinhard, the principle *cuius regio, eius religio* (“whose territory, whose religion”), which was established in the Holy Roman Empire by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, was afterward successfully enforced by the German princes in their territories, resulting in the establishment of unified confessional states.

All in all Schilling and Reinhard see confessionalization as a fundamental process in society and as a process of modernization with the following results: first, confessional homogenization of the population; second, the intensification of state formation (i.e., confessionalization as the first phase of ABSOLUTISM because the state gained control over the church); third, a general process of social disciplining resulting from the disciplining measures of church and state; fourth, the development of cultural and political identities in which the confessional factor played a key role. The concept of confessionalization thus sees the three confessional churches not from the point of view of their doctrinal differences but from a comparative perspective that stresses the “functional similarities” of the confessions, for instance, their contributions to the development of social control. The terms “Lutheran orthodoxy,” “Second Reformation,” and “Counter-Reformation” have therefore been replaced by “Lutheran/Calvinist/Catholic confessionalization.”

Periodization of the Process of Confessionalization in the Holy Roman Empire

Schilling has developed a periodization of the process of confessionalization in the Holy Roman Empire between the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and the Thirty Years’ War. He defines the following phases:

- First, the “preparatory phase” of confessionalization from the late 1540s until the early 1570s. In this phase the Augsburg peace system was fully functioning, but Tridentine Catholicism and Calvinism entered the Empire and began to make the confessional situation more precarious. The first territorial princes, notably Frederick III of the Palatinate, converted to Calvinism.
- Second, the 1570s brought the “transition to confessional confrontation.” After the conflicts within Lutheranism after MARTIN LUTHER’S death in 1546, the Lutheran concord movement once again defined Lutheranism unambiguously through the BOOK OF CONCORD and the Formula of Concord. Lutheran ORTHODOXY was thus defined in clear contrast to Calvinism. Consequently Protestant princes were increasingly forced to chose between Lutheranism and Calvinism. In this phase Catholicism also became more dynamic because princes and prince bishops embraced the Tridentine decrees and introduced the Jesuits to their lands.

- Third, the “apogee of confessionalization” occurred between the 1580s and the 1620s. Several German princes became Calvinist during this phase and the concord movement was vibrant in Lutheran GERMANY. In Catholic territories Tridentine Catholicism was actively stopping Protestant inroads or fighting Protestant remains. All this took place against a political background that was increasingly characterized by conflicts on all levels of Imperial politics and a lacking will for compromise by a new generation of politicians. Even time became confessionalized in this period: When Pope Gregory introduced his calendar reform in 1582, Protestants in the Empire did not accept the new calendar until 1699 or 1700. (In ENGLAND the Gregorian calendar was introduced only in 1752.)
- Fourth, “the end of confessionalization under the conditions of war and on the basis of the Peace of Westphalia” began in the 1620s when people realized that confessional conflict led to destruction and devastation. As a result irenisms and new religious movements such as PIETISM were on the rise.

Methods of Confessionalization

Reinhard has identified seven methods or mechanisms of confessionalization that were used by church and state to establish confessional homogeneity.

1. *The establishment of “pure DOCTRINE” and its formulation in a CONFESSION of faith.* This meant distinguishing one confessional church from other churches and eliminating possible sources of confusion.
2. *The distribution and enforcement of these new norms* (for example, through confessional oaths and subscription). In this way, the religious orthodoxy of personnel in key positions—for instance, theologians, CLERGY, teachers, and secular officials—was to be ensured and “dissidents” were to be removed.
3. *Propaganda and censure.* This meant making use of the printing press for propaganda purposes on the one hand and preventing rival churches from using the printing press on the other hand. Although the propaganda weapon of scholars was controversial, THEOLOGY, CATECHISMS, and sermons were used to influence the masses.
4. *Internalization of the new norms through education.* By founding new educational institutions, especially universities, all confessional churches hoped to keep their flock from attending their rivals’ institutions and to “indoctrinate” future generations.
5. *Disciplining the population.* Visitations and CHURCH DISCIPLINE were used to create a confessionally homogeneous population. The expulsion of confessional minorities also served as a means to this end.
6. *Rites and the control of participation in rites.* In view of the importance of rites for the coherence of the confessional group, participation in rites like BAPTISM and MARRIAGE was ensured through the keeping of registers. Rites that served as markers of confessional difference were cultivated in particular.
7. *Confessional regulation of language,* to which Reinhard refers, a field in which little research has been done so far. As an example he mentions the fact that Calvinists preferred names from the Old Testament, whereas saints’ names were particularly appealing to Catholics, these in turn being forbidden in Geneva.

Controversies about the Concept of Confessionalization

From the beginning the concept of confessionalization has met with positive reception as well as strong criticism in historiography. The critique falls broadly within five different categories: (1) the discussion about the periodization of the confessionalization process; (2) the controversy about the neglect of the theological characteristics of the confessional churches; (3) macro-historical criticism of the concept of confessionalization as a fundamental process of society; (4) the critique of confessionalization as a modernization process; and (5) the debate about the “top-to-bottom approach” of the concept of confessionalization.

With regard to periodization, even Reinhard and Schilling are not in agreement. Whereas Schilling has proposed the periodization of confessionalization in Germany between 1555 and the Thirty Years’ War explained above, Reinhard has extended the confessionalization process much further, starting with the AUGSBURG CONFESSION in 1530 and ending with the expulsion of the Salzburg Protestants in 1731–1732. As a consequence there have been discussions about an early or late periodization of the confessionalization process with Harm Klueting, for example, arguing for 1525 as the end of the Reformation as a popular movement and thus the beginning of confessionalization as a state-sponsored process. Other authors like Thomas Kaufmann have completely rejected the idea of a parallel development of the confessional churches, arguing that the importance of the Protestant Reformation as an upheaval in early modern society will be underestimated if the development of the three confessional churches is regarded as parallel.

Second, both Protestant and Catholic scholars, for example, Thomas Kaufmann and Walter Ziegler, have criticized the concept of confessionalization for ignoring the specific characteristics—the so-called *propria*—of the confessional churches in theology, piety, and spirituality as well as the question of theological truth. The treatment of religion in the concept of confessionalization has been described as “functionalreductionist”: “functional” because the concept looks only at the function of religion within state and society and “reductionist” because the *propria* of the confessional churches are thus leveled.

Third, from the very beginning historians have doubted Schilling’s and Reinhard’s thesis that confessionalization was a fundamental process of society and have described phenomena and processes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that existed independent of and uninfluenced by the process of confessionalization. Although acknowledging that religion was an important factor, historians like Winfried Schulze and Anton Schindling have identified more and more elements and developments in the age of confessionalization that were unconfessional or could not be confessionalized: Roman law and many aspects of matrimonial law, the Humanist republic of letters, the mystic-spiritual tradition, alchemy, and astrology.

Fourth, younger historians have criticized Reinhard’s and Schilling’s view of confessionalization as a modernization process. They see this particular aspect of the concept as an expression of the historiographical background of the 1970s, when German historiography proceeded on the assumption that there was a teleological process of social change, moving toward improved social and political structures. Luise Schorn-Schütte has stressed that, because this notion of modernization has been replaced in

historiography by the idea of different potentials and aims of development coexisting simultaneously in history, the modernization aspect of the concept of confessionalization can no longer be maintained.

Fifth, younger historians have also expressed doubts about the close connection between confessionalization and state formation postulated by Reinhard and Schilling. This point of criticism impinges on the general debate about the relationship between macro- and micro-history, between societal history (German *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*) and cultural history (see CULTURE). From a micro-historical viewpoint as well as from the perspective of his research into the workings of church discipline in early modern Berne, Heinrich Richard Schmidt has severely criticized the etatistic focus of the concept of confessionalization. According to Schmidt, Reinhard and Schilling have overemphasized the role of the state in the process of confessionalization, thus interpreting it as a top-to-bottom process in which the common people appear as subjects who were controlled and disciplined by church and state. Although Schmidt does not deny that there were pressures toward confessionalization “from above,” he argues that the process of confessionalization could be successful only if it fit in with the need for regulation within society. He does not see the state but the communities and groups in society as “actors” in the process of confessionalization and therefore postulates a view “from below.” Similarly Marc Forster has drawn attention to the bishopric of Speyer, where the Catholic communities developed a Catholic identity “from below” without being influenced by Tridentine reform or confessionalization measures by the state.

The critique of the concept of confessionalization has thus shed a clear light on its more problematic aspects and “blind spots”: first, the thesis of confessionalization being a fundamental process of society and a process of modernization has been falsified by historiography. Second, it seems clear that confessionalization can no longer be regarded as a successful process “from above,” but that the concept has to be modified to allow for various attempts at confessionalization “from above” and “from below” within one political and geographical entity. Thus, conflict and resistance as major factors in the process of confessionalization have been brought into the forefront: conflicts between competing confessional churches on the one hand and forms of resistance “from below” against confessionalization, social disciplining, and early modern state-building “from above” on the other hand.

One of the fundamental questions connected with the critique of the concept of confessionalization is whether falsification in one or some points leads to a complete dismissal of the concept or whether it can still function as a useful research tool, in which modifications are discussed and accepted according to the case study to which the concept is applied. It is striking that, in spite of the criticism, the concept of confessionalization continues to inspire research and is no longer applied only to Germany, but has been discussed in relation to the confessional histories of the NETHERLANDS, ENGLAND, IRELAND, Bohemia, FRANCE, and Spain among others. It is to be expected that the historiographical interest in micro-history, the history of everyday life, and the new cultural history will lead to more research on the meaning of confessionalization for the lives and identities of the common people. Whatever the outcome of the discussion, it can already be said that the concept of confessionalization has given important impulses to historiography.

See also Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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UTE LOTZ-HEUMANN

CONFIRMATION

Although the sixteenth-century Protestant reformers rejected confirmation as a sacrament, certain churches developed a rite called confirmation that retained some continuity with medieval Catholic sacramental practice. The CHURCH OF ENGLAND was the most conservative of the reforming groups in this regard. It is the one Protestant tradition that has had a rite called "confirmation" universally practiced from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first century. The rite of confirmation in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

of 1549 and 1552 included the imposition of hands and, like the Catholic sacrament, was administered only by the bishop (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY). For all the sixteenth-century reformers, the need to provide catechetical instruction to everyone, particularly children, was of much greater importance than the need for a liturgical rite of dubious origin and purpose (see CHILDHOOD). The pattern of catechetical instruction, examination of candidates in the basic tenets of the Christian faith by the CLERGY and/or LAITY, and a profession of faith and vows by the candidate became the prerequisites for admission to the LORD'S SUPPER in many Reformation traditions. Among the sixteenth-century reformers, MARTIN BUCER was the strongest proponent of an "evangelical" rite of confirmation, influencing its practice in ANGLICANISM and LUTHERANISM. His THEOLOGY and extensive writings on the topic grew out of his attempts to reconcile certain Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) with other Protestants and out of his deep concern for a proper and effective form of CHURCH DISCIPLINE. Due to Bucer's influence in some Lutheran regions of GERMANY, a public rite of confirmation that included the imposition of hands by the pastor served as the culmination of catechetical instruction for young adolescents and as the gateway that admitted them to the Lord's Supper.

Throughout the centuries since the REFORMATION, Protestant denominations that practice infant BAPTISM have developed rites that either marked the end of catechetical instruction or admitted one to the Lord's Supper or both. By the twentieth century in most Protestant denominations, these rites also included the imposition of hands by the pastor, were commonly (although not uniformly) called "confirmation," and had become important rituals in the lives of individual Christians and congregations. Theologically, the rite of confirmation has been understood in different and sometimes contradictory ways. PIETISM stressed the need for heartfelt CONVERSION and conviction in the CONFESSION of faith on the part of the confirmand. The ENLIGHTENMENT heightened the emphasis on the vows of the confirmands as the conscious decision of the autonomous individual. In the UNITED STATES, confirmation was often associated with membership in a particular denomination in contrast to baptism, through which one became a member of the universal church. In many parts of Europe and the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, confirmation coincided with end of formal education and marked the youth's coming of age.

Most commonly, confirmation has been viewed by both lay Christians and theologians as the young person's affirmation or public declaration of faith and an opportunity to renew, ratify, or affirm promises made by godparents on behalf of the child at baptism. Until the latter decades of the twentieth century, the rite of confirmation had been linked to both baptism and the Lord's Supper. The connection to baptism came through the confession of faith that is part of the rite. Confirmation and the Lord's Supper were linked, because confirmation traditionally served as the gateway to the Lord's Supper. Liturgical and patristic studies along with ecumenical dialogue and liturgical renewal in the latter half of the twentieth century affirmed the sacrament of baptism as *the* rite of initiation into full eucharistic fellowship in the church. This consensus called into question some aspects of the theology and practice of confirmation and, in some instances, has effected change in the practice of confirmation.

Origin, Development, Practice, and Theology of Confirmation up to the Reformation

Modern liturgical scholarship views the development of a separate rite of confirmation in the West as a disintegration of what was once a unified ritual of initiation that included baptism and anointing and the imposition of hands of the candidate by the bishop, and that then culminated in the newly baptized person's participation in the Lord's Supper. A number of factors contributed to the disintegration of this unified ritual into three independent rites, each of which would attain the status of sacrament in medieval theology. Most important among these factors were three developments: (1) the shift from adult to infant baptism, which was becoming the common practice by the end of the fifth century, and in which the priest rather than the bishop became the regular minister of baptism; (2) the continuation of the bishop as the proper minister for the postbaptismal ritual of anointing and imposition of hands, which developed into the sacrament of confirmation in the Western Christian tradition; and (3) the geographically large dioceses in most of Europe that prevented bishops from regularly participating in the baptismal rites of parishes.

By the twelfth century, the number of SACRAMENTS in the West had been fixed at seven: baptism, penance, confirmation, eucharist (Lord's Supper), MARRIAGE, ordination, and extreme unction. Because confirmation was administered by the bishop, there was no set age at which a person was confirmed. Rather, when a bishop visited a given locale, parents brought their children of all ages to be confirmed. Within the medieval Roman Catholic sacramental system, confirmation did not hold an important place in the lives of laity, and it was not associated with catechetical instruction or a person's first communion. The sacrament serving this latter function was penance. The unimportance of confirmation during the medieval period is illustrated through an account that extols one bishop for dismounting from his horse to confirm people. It seems that this practice placed him among a minority of bishops during this period.

According to medieval theologians, confirmation marked the person with an indelible character and therefore was unrepeatable; it completed baptism and conferred the Holy Spirit on the confirmand to strengthen the person for battle in the Christian life. The matter of the sacrament was the chrism, or perfumed oil, used in the anointing or signing, and the form of the sacrament was the words spoken by the bishop, "I sign you with the sign of the cross and I confirm you with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." The rite included prayers invoking the Holy Spirit, the signing on the forehead of the candidate with chrism by the bishop, and exhortations to the godparents to instruct their godchildren in good manners and works and to teach them the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Hail Mary. The imposition of hands that had been part of the unified initiation rite of the early CHURCH had evolved into a light blow on the candidate's cheek by the bishop and was interpreted as a ritual expression of the strife the person would face in living the Christian life.

This ritual and its theology were resoundingly rejected by all of the sixteenth-century Protestant reformers. First, the reformers limited the number of sacraments to those rites that clearly involved a New Testament witness of institution by Jesus Christ. Hence they concluded that only baptism and the Lord's Supper met this criterion and rejected Roman Catholic appeals to New Testament evidence for a separate rite of confirmation that used

examples from the Acts of the Apostles involving the imposition of hands. Second, the reformers rejected it on the basis of Roman Catholic theology that described confirmation as the completion of baptism. The reformers viewed this claim as a denigration of baptism, which they sought to highlight and exalt in reaction against a medieval social structure that had elevated monastic life above that of the lay Christian. Third, the reformers rejected the use of chrism because of the magical quality with which it was invested by the laity. In place of superstition, the reformers sought to strengthen the faith of the laity through education in the basic doctrinal teachings of the Christian church.

Development of Evangelical Confirmation in the Sixteenth Century

MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN both wrote disparagingly about the Roman Catholic sacrament of confirmation, with Luther calling it “mumbo jumbo” and “monkey business” and Calvin describing it as “a deceptive promise of the devil.” While Luther and Calvin rejected the Roman Catholic sacrament and its ritual with chrism, they both found a basis for the custom of the imposition of hands in Scripture and in the practice of the ancient church. In his *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*, Calvin suggested reviving the ancient practice in which the bishop examined the candidates in the catechism, their faith was approved, and they then received the imposition of hands. Luther proposed a similar process, carried out by the pastor, in a sermon in 1523. Yet the primary concern of most reformers was not the revision of a rite with this ritual gesture, but rather the instruction of the laity in the teachings of the church. After participating in the visitations of parishes in Saxony in 1528, Luther was so appalled by the ignorance of the faithful in the basics of Christian teaching that he wrote both his *Small Catechism* and *Large Catechism* in 1529. The former quickly became the standard for catechetical instruction of young Lutherans and is still used by Lutherans throughout the world. A host of other CATECHISMS were produced by many reformers in their mother tongues, expressing each reformer’s particular interpretation of the Christian FAITH. But it was Martin Bucer who not only wrote a catechism and advocated strongly for catechetical instruction, but also wrote extensively about and promoted a so-called “evangelical confirmation.” His views on a rite of confirmation can be found in the following documents: *What We Should Believe About Infant Baptism According to God’s Scripture* (1533); *Ziegenhainer Zuchtordnung* (Ziegenhain Discipline) and *Kasseler Kirchenordnung* (Kassel Church Order) (1539), church orders written after his successful compromise with Anabaptists in Hesse; *Hermann’s Consultation* (1543), a document prepared by Bucer and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON for Archbishop Hermann of Cologne as part of a thwarted attempt to introduce Lutheran reforms there; *A Brief Summary of Christian Doctrine* (1548), written in opposition to the AUGSBURG INTERIM; *De Regno Christi* (1550), a proposed means of introducing the Reformation in ENGLAND; and *Censura* (1551), his critique of the 1549 English *Book of Common Prayer*.

Bucer’s zeal on the subject stemmed from his defense of the practice of infant baptism along with his certainty that infants could not have faith. In 1538, Bucer was called to the territory of Hesse in Germany by the local ruler, Landgrave Philip (see PHILIP OF HESSE), to negotiate with a group of Anabaptists who had been arrested for their religious beliefs. In his theological debates with the Anabaptists, Bucer acknowledged the

need for both formal religious education and a public rite of confirmation, in which persons baptized in infancy would make a public confession of faith and a vow of obedience to the church. His efforts at mediation between the ruling Lutherans and minority Anabaptists bore fruit, for about 200 Anabaptists joined the state church. In some of his writings, Bucer also stressed that the profession of faith in the rite of confirmation involved more than just rote memorization of a catechism. To ensure the genuine nature of the confession of faith, Bucer insisted that those to be confirmed exhibit signs of the fruits of faith in their lives.

The basic components of the rite of confirmation advocated and outlined by Bucer in the two church orders of 1539 used in Hesse (*Ziegenhainer Zuchtordnung* and *Kasseler Kirchenordnung*) would become standard among Protestant denominations for youth who had been baptized as infants. The rite was preceded by instruction in the catechism and was administered when children had gained the Christian knowledge necessary to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. The children were examined in the basic tenets of the Christian faith by the pastor in the presence of the elders. The rite itself included a series of questions addressed to the candidate that were understood as the profession or confession of faith and included promises or vows to remain faithful and to be obedient to the church. These questions began with a recitation of the Apostles' Creed. The profession of faith by the candidates was followed by the imposition of hands by the pastor with a blessing invoking the Holy Spirit, and the rite concluded with prayers on behalf of the congregation for the newly confirmed. Thus this early form of the rite was linked to both baptism and the Lord's Supper. In many respects, it bore little resemblance to the Roman Catholic sacrament, which was not preceded by instruction in the faith, included no profession of faith, and was not the gateway to the Lord's Supper. The primary ritual action in the Roman Catholic sacrament—anointing the forehead with chrism—was replaced in the Protestant rite with the imposition of hands. However, theologically, the Roman Catholic sacrament was said to complete baptism and to confer the Holy Spirit. Although Protestant theology did not use the language of completion, it was understood that through the rite the candidates renewed or ratified their baptismal vows. In most rites, the words spoken with the imposition of hands invoked the Holy Spirit. Thus the Protestant rite of confirmation maintained continuity with the Roman Catholic sacrament through the association with baptism and with the giving of or strengthening by the Holy Spirit through the imposition of hands.

Rites of Confirmation or Affirmation of Baptism in Anglicanism, Lutheranism, Presbyterianism, and Methodism

As has already been noted, the Anglican communion is the one Protestant tradition that retained the bishop as the minister of confirmation. In other respects, the rite of confirmation in the revised *Book of Common Prayer* of 1552 was similar to that proposed by Bucer. It presumed instruction in the catechism before the rite; the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* had placed the catechism before the rite to emphasize this connection, and subsequent revisions maintained this order and included directives for the days and times of catechetical instruction. Instruction and confirmation were required before one could receive the Lord's Supper, based on a rubric added at the end of the rite in the 1552

edition. The words spoken by the bishop with the imposition of hands asked God for the daily increase of the Holy Spirit in the candidate. Preceding the imposition of hands was a prayer for strengthening by the Holy Spirit and an increase in the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, confirmation was described as the ratification of the promises made by the godparents at baptism. In 1662, the rubric that required confirmation before receiving the Lord's Supper was amended to allow those who had received instruction and desired to be confirmed to come to the table. This change reflected the reality of situations in which the bishop served a large diocese and could not manage the required triennial visitation to all parishes. The rite of confirmation in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* and rubrics governing its administration were the standard throughout the worldwide Anglican community until the latter half of the twentieth century, when widespread liturgical experimentation began, followed by the adoption of distinct prayer books in individual provinces. The LAMBETH CONFERENCE of 1948 endorsed a set of proposals that in the case of adult baptism called for baptism and confirmation to be combined in a single service. This innovation was an attempt to show the unitive nature of baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's Supper as the complete and threefold process of initiation. The Lambeth Conference of 1968 directed each province to study baptism and confirmation and to consider one of two revisions in practice: (1) the separation of confirmation from admission to the Lord's Supper or (2) infant baptism and confirmation administered together. In the first model, younger children would be allowed to commune and confirmation would be deferred to young adulthood; in the second model, after instruction regarding the sacrament, young children would be admitted to the Lord's Supper. Since 1968, many provinces in the Anglican community have adopted a variety of practices based on the first of these two models, which breaks the long tradition of confirmation as the gateway to the Lord's Supper.

In the Lutheran tradition, through the influence of Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, and Martin Chemnitz, some Lutheran regions introduced a rite of confirmation in the sixteenth century. However, in those areas where Lutherans objected strongly to the Leipzig Interim, an attempt to blend essential Lutheran doctrine with some Roman Catholic practices after the political and military defeat of Lutherans by Emperor Charles V, a different practice developed. This practice included instruction in the catechism and an examination of candidates in the basic teachings of the Christian faith before admittance to the Lord's Supper, but there was no public liturgical rite and the term "confirmation" was not used. Instead, this process was called "catechetical instruction" (*catechismus*), "confessional examination" (*beichtverhör*), or "communion of children" (*communiciren der kinder*). Throughout the sixteenth century and most of the seventeenth century, this practice was the norm in areas of Germany influenced by GNESIO-LUTHERANS and in all of the Scandinavian countries.

A public rite of confirmation among Lutherans was only gradually accepted through the influence of PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER and the spread of German Pietism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spener also revised the goal of catechetical instruction. No longer was its aim the worthy reception of the Lord's Supper; rather, instruction in the catechism became an opportunity for conversion of the individual. This new focus for the instruction also influenced the liturgical rite so that the confession of faith and vows or promises to remain faithful were viewed in this light as a sign of one's

personal conversion rather than as a confession of the faith of the church. Lutheran rites of confirmation maintained the connection to both baptism and the Lord's Supper until the latter decades of the twentieth century and generally included the components of Bucer's rite: instruction in the catechism before the rite, some form of examination of the candidate, the confession of faith and vows, and the imposition of hands by the pastor with an invocation of the Holy Spirit. Later rites also included vows or promises that bound the candidate to the teachings of the Lutheran Church and statements indicating that the confirmand was thereby a member of the Lutheran Church. Since the 1970s, some Lutheran denominations have, like Anglicans, separated first communion from confirmation.

The development of a rite of confirmation among English-speaking Presbyterians and Methodists, both with roots in ANGLICANISM, illustrates the power of Bucer's argument for a public rite of confirmation to ratify the baptismal promises made by godparents for infants (see PRESBYTERANISM; METHODISM). Presbyterians in the UNITED STATES, with roots in English PURITANISM, accepted the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and a seventeenth-century Directory for Worship. In reaction against the Anglican practice, the word "confirmation" was not part of these documents, but the 1789 Directory for Worship for American Presbyterians included detailed instructions regarding instruction for children in the catechism and their examination by the session, or governing body of elders, before receiving the Lord's Supper. Because of Presbyterian suspicion toward set liturgical forms, there was no prescribed rite to mark this event. It was not until 1905 that the Presbyterian hymnal included rites corresponding to the prescriptions in the Directory for Worship and introduced the nomenclature "confirmation" with a rite titled "Order for the Confirmation of Baptismal Vows." In addition to questions about ratification of one's baptismal vows and the Lord's Supper, the rite included the imposition of hands with the same PRAYER for the increase of the Holy Spirit in the 1662 Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. Throughout the twentieth century, subsequent hymnals alternately omitted and then reinstated the word "confirmation" from the title of the rite, indicating continued ambivalence regarding the use of the term while at the same time recognizing that the rite served an important purpose (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). Like Anglicans and Lutherans, American Presbyterians since the 1970s have begun to admit younger children to the Lord's Supper before the rite of confirmation.

Methodism also began without a rite of confirmation. To regulate those who were permitted at the Lord's Supper, JOHN WESLEY instituted "communion tickets" issued to those who were genuinely seeking faith and the GRACE of God; instruction in the basic teachings of the Christian faith, a prerequisite for others before confirmation and admittance to the Lord's Supper, is absent from Methodism at this point. As American Methodism evolved from a movement into a denomination, rites for membership were introduced in the middle of the nineteenth century (see METHODISM, ENGLAND; METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA). By the twentieth century, the rite for membership, although not called "confirmation," bore a marked resemblance to a rite of confirmation. The rite for membership was preceded by instruction in the faith, the questions addressed to the candidates in the rite included a confession of faith and renewal of vows, and candidates received the imposition of hands by the pastor. Not until 1964 did the Methodist church introduce the word "confirmation" into the title of the rite. At that time

and later, in *The United Methodist Hymnal* of 1989, the rite was not explicitly tied to admission to the Lord's Supper. Nevertheless, the tradition of confirmation preceding first communion has been the practice among Methodists in some areas. The hymnals from 1964 and 1989 both interpret the rite of confirmation as a public profession of faith by those baptized in infancy.

Theological Debates and Unresolved Issues

Ecumenical dialogue (see ECUMENISM) and advances in liturgical studies in the twentieth century have sparked reflection on the meaning of confirmation within many denominations and have reshaped the theology and practice of confirmation throughout the Protestant world (see DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL). Liturgical studies have made two important and related contributions. First, the early church pattern of instruction in the Christian faith of adults, followed by a unified complex of rituals that included baptism, anointment with chrism, imposition of hands along with the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and then immediate sharing with the faithful in the Lord's Supper, is viewed as exemplary. The Roman Catholic Church, with the adoption of the Rite of Christian Initiation for Adults (RCIA) following the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), restored this model, and Protestant traditions have drawn on this pattern in their liturgical revisions. Second, increased knowledge and understanding of this early church pattern of initiation have led to an ecumenical consensus that baptism is *the* sacrament that joins a person to the church and the Body of Christ, and is all that is needed for participation in the Lord's Supper.

In the middle of the twentieth century, the Anglican theologian and liturgist Gregory Dix sparked debate over the meaning of confirmation in general and of the imposition of hands in the rite in particular. He argued that the New Testament showed evidence of a twostage process of initiation—baptism into the death and resurrection of Christ and the pentecostal baptism of the Holy Spirit—both of which are necessary. On the basis of this interpretation of initiation in the New Testament, Dix further argued that the then-current practice of the Anglican Church was consistent with the New Testament, and that confirmation was the rite that conferred the Holy Spirit on the individual and completed baptism. While Dix convinced some with his argument, G.W.H.Lampe challenged Dix with his own study of New Testament and patristic evidence. Lampe concluded that New Testament evidence showed that the Holy Spirit was received in the single event of baptism. He also suggested that a ritual of anointing, which has pneumatic imagery, was better as part of the baptismal liturgy than in the rite of confirmation. His conclusions were supported by the work of J.D.C.Fisher, who traced the disintegration of the unified rite of initiation in the West. It was the work of Lampe and Fisher that first influenced Anglican liturgical revisions of the rite of baptism, which in turn impacted liturgical renewal in other Protestant denominations. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, nearly all main-line Protestant denominations had revised their baptismal rites to include a postbaptismal anointing with oil and/or imposition of hands with a prayer for the Holy Spirit. This change in baptismal rites raises the as-yet unanswered question: Why, then, should the church have another rite with the imposition of hands and prayer asking for the strengthening of Holy Spirit?

Ecumenical consensus in the late twentieth century that baptism was all that was necessary for the admission to the Lord's Supper called into question the connection between Protestant confirmation and first communion, an aspect of the rite that dates to the sixteenth century. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, Anglicans and Lutherans, denominations in which confirmation and first communion had been linked for centuries, separated first communion from confirmation and lowered the age for first communion. This change can also be traced to the influence of liturgical studies and ecumenical dialogue, as well as psychosocial studies of faith development. Liturgical studies had shown that in the West, the practice of communing infants immediately after baptism continued into the eleventh century. Ecumenical dialogue brought greater awareness of the practice of infant baptism in Orthodox communities (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). Finally, educators and pastoral theologians made the case that the faith of a Christian cannot be reduced to cognitive knowledge about Christian teaching. They argued that participation in the Lord's Supper, too often linked in the minds of laity as a reward for completion of an educational program, is itself a means through which a person's—even a young child's—faith can be strengthened. The severing of the connection between confirmation and first communion begs the question: Why, then, continue to practice the rite of confirmation?

The answer seems to lie in the rite's connection to baptism, especially in the confession of faith and promises or vows made by the person being confirmed. In the sixteenth century, the necessity for those baptized in infancy to make a public confession of their faith was at the core of Martin Bucer's arguments for a rite of confirmation. For Bucer, the confession of faith had to be more than recitation of knowledge learned in catechetical instruction. Spener emphasized the personal nature of the confession of faith as a sign of one's true conversion. In the twentieth century, for some Christians living under Communist rule, the rite of confirmation was countercultural, a personal and public pledge that stood in contrast to the atheistic youth dedication rites of the government. Since the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS), evangelical piety in American has resonated with language of confessing Jesus as one's personal Savior. The same language permeates the worldwide evangelical movement (see EVANGELICALISM). Such arguments, while illuminating the resilience of the rite of confirmation and its popular appeal among the laity, also pose new questions.

One serious objection that the sixteenth-century reformers had of Roman Catholic confirmation was that the bishop's action completed baptism. The reformers insisted that such language denigrated the dignity of baptism. How can Protestants of the twenty-first century avoid the notion that infant baptism is complete only by the action not of the bishop or any other minister of confirmation, but of the person's confession of faith at a later time? The ecumenical document *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*, prepared by the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1982, defined baptism as both a gift of God and humanity's response to that gift. Clearly, confirmation relates to the latter part of the meaning. Given its importance in terms of the rite of baptism in the lives of the laity within many denominations, does the rite of confirmation tip the balance too far toward the latter meaning and obscure the priority of the former? These issues are addressed in part through the current language of the rites, which commonly refer to the rite as an affirmation or reaffirmation of baptism rather than a renewal or ratification of baptism, and through rubrics that allow for and encourage multiple uses for the rite. These rubrics

indicate that the rite should not be limited to one-time use by adolescents completing a course of Christian education. Rather, the twenty-first century rites affirming baptism can be used throughout a person's life, whenever one recognizes the grace of God active in his or her life.

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RHODA SCHULER

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF ENGLAND

See Congregationalism

CONGREGATIONALISM

“Congregationalism” is an ECCLESIOLOGY and POLITY with roots in the earliest Christian Churches that found its initial denominational expression in Puritan and

Separatist gatherings in sixteenth-century ENGLAND. Congregational churches are marked by the autonomy of the local congregation as an expression of Christ's immediate, not mediate, headship of that gathered fellowship of believers. For churches of this orientation, the polity takes precedence over confessional concerns, each church being formed through its own Church COVENANT. The churches do, however, understand the responsibility to and for other churches of the same polity. This mutual care found early expression in local associations in counties and colonies (referred to in Congregational polity as the "vicinage"), only much later finding a national expression that began to resemble a DENOMINATION.

Origin and Development

The churches of the Apostolic era, in practice if not principle, were local gatherings composed exclusively of people who believed in Jesus as the Christ. The Book of Acts and the Pauline epistles tell us something about the concern and care expressed by one church for another. Those bases remain the underpinnings of the Congregational churches.

Later with the practical necessity for clarifying the tenets of the Christian faith in the face of heretical deviation, the church became an organization composed of all the congregations and individuals who received the SACRAMENTS from properly vested CLERGY. Nonetheless the practice of believers gathered locally and with the full authority under Christ to determine their own affairs remained alive within the church through many of the religious orders and through free spiritual associations.

The REFORMATION brought renewed opportunity for this polity to find expression and permanence. Even before MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN, John Wycliffe (1330–1384) had argued that it was both the duty and the right of the LAITY themselves to listen to the voice of God. The early Reformation polemic focused much on the AUTHORITY of the local congregation to order its own affairs. It was, however, in the milieu of the English Reformation that Congregationalism began to take shape in its modern sense.

Theologically ambivalent about the Protestant cause, King HENRY VIII began to initiate a period of religious change. Queen ELIZABETH I's settlement of religion (1559) did not satisfy, because of its moderate character, those who wanted more comprehensive reform and a "pure" church. The Puritans included those who sought both to change the CHURCH OF ENGLAND into a church based on congregational principles that was presbyterian in orientation, and those who came to believe that separation from the established church was the only viable path. Later, some Puritans argued that the church as an instrument and organ of the state—embracing all who resided within the parish, and served by incompetent and often immoral clergy—was a condition not to be tolerated (see PRESBYTERIANISM; PURITANISM).

Countless nonconforming Christians were imprisoned during Elizabeth's reign (see NONCONFORMITY). By at least 1567 a "separated Church" organized on congregational principles had been established in London under Richard Fitz. A few years later the first Congregational theorists, ROBERT BROWNE, began to write. Although he would eventually find himself back in the established church, he emerged

from Cambridge University and became pastor at Norwich and an articulate voice for the developing Congregationalism. His most famous publication was the *Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for Anie* (1582).

John Robinson (1576–1625), also a Cambridge graduate with Norwich connections, was the critical connector between English Congregationalism and North America. In 1608, under severe pressure, Robinson's congregation from the village of Scrooby emigrated to Leyden, in Holland. Threatened by cultural absorption and pressed by economic need, many members of this church, but not Robinson, arranged to relocate in the New World and became the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Massachusetts (see PILGRIM FATHERS). Robinson also led in the development of Congregational theory, enhancing the concept of inter-church relatedness and opening the door to a view of accepting all faithful Christians in communion, regardless of denominational affiliation.

The Separatist settlement at Plymouth (1620), followed quickly by the Puritan settlements at Salem (1628) and Massachusetts Bay (1630), provided all that was required for a Congregational establishment in New England. The industry, commitment, and competence of these New England settlers and their progeny ensured that Congregational principles would not be ignored in an emerging and diverse nation.

Other early sources of Congregational growth, especially in the eighteenth century, were the English colonies throughout the world. This was particularly true of the English settlements in CANADA and AUSTRALIA, where the rugged frontier and the distance from the seat of the church necessitated a more independent way of thinking and doing. Early outreach to foreign areas was generated by the London Missionary Society (est. 1795) whose earliest efforts were indifferent as to whether the churches being founded would be Congregational, Episcopal, or Presbyterian but which soon became essentially Congregational. The American Church joined the missionary effort in 1810 with the founding of the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS with Asia as its initial field of service.

Congregationalists have been reluctant to embrace statements of faith that could be construed as confessional requirements imposed on autonomous churches and have remained suspicious of overarching ecclesiastical structure, although the historic creeds of the Christian Church have consistently been commended for whatever value is found in them. Congregationalists formally embraced the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION, apart from its Presbyterian polity, in the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM in America, and the Savoy Declaration in ENGLAND. Theological openness has limited major departures on theological grounds to the formation of the Separate Baptist Churches in the mid-eighteenth century and the more substantive Unitarian departure in the nineteenth century (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION).

Theological Contributions

Congregationalism stands in the Reformed theological tradition, along with the Presbyterians and BAPTISTS, among others. During the nineteenth century the theological position of Congregationalism became far less reliant on its Calvinist roots and increasingly liberal in theological orientation (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). From 1850 to 1950 Congregationalism, in both the UNITED

STATES and Britain, produced a number of important thinkers such as HORACE BUSHNELL, NATHANIEL TAYLOR, WASHINGTON GLADDEN, PETER TAYLOR FORSYTH, R.W.DALE, C.H.Dodd, and Albert Peel. The movement was also involved in the Liturgical Movement, especially through the work of Nathaniel Micklem and others in Britain. Because of its essentially nonsectarian stance, Congregationalism has been able to embrace a broad range of theological positions and provide a platform for creative dialogue.

Congregationalism's distinctive feature is its ecclesiology, which emphasizes the completeness of the local church under the "headship" of Christ. The local church is seen as the only true, or visible, representation of the church. The Cambridge Platform makes clear that while the "Catholic Church" exists it cannot, by its very nature, have officers or exercise the true function of a church. Only in the visible church is one able to discover the classical "marks" of the church: the Word rightly preached, the sacraments rightly administered, and discipline rightly applied (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE).

For Congregationalists the church is a gathered body of believers joined in COVENANT relationship. It has been fundamental to the Congregational Way that only those who could profess a belief in the Lordship of Christ could become members of a church. The emphasis on a "gathered" fellowship stems from early Continental Anabaptist influences (see ANABAPTISM). The Church Covenant idea, likewise, comes as a result of exposure to the Federal (Covenant) Theology of HEINRICH BULLINGER, JOHANNES COCCEJUS, and others. COVENANT THEOLOGY serves as the foundational approach for the Congregational way of church life. The church, as a body of believers gathered by a Church Covenant, is central to the Puritan/Federal theologies of WILLIAM AMES, John Owen, THOMAS HOOKER, and JOHN COTTON, for example. The covenantal nature of the church carries with it a certain voluntaristic emphasis in that a level of intentionality is required of the believer. This stress on the covenant relationship had an effect on the development of the political system, particularly in the United States.

The twin foci of Congregationalism have traditionally been described as the autonomy (or independence) of the local church and the fellowship of those churches with one another. The fellowship of the churches was envisioned as a means for mutual encouragement, counsel, and, to some extent, correction. The vehicles of interchurch fellowship have been, principally, the Ecclesiastical Council of the Vicinage and the various associations entered into by the churches.

The Vicinage Council appears to be unique to the Congregational tradition and flows out of the tradition of the gathered church in broader fellowship. The same direct headship of Christ that draws believers into a church binds churches of a like mind into relationship. Through the Vicinage Council the local church calls on its "sister" churches to send ministers and delegates to meet in council, to consider the matters at hand, and to offer advice. The matter under consideration can be church business, a dispute between a minister or other member and the church, or the ordination or installation of a candidate for the ministry. The Vicinage Council recognizes and honors the autonomy of the church that calls it into existence, and carries only the authority granted to it by the call. The inviting church may ask for advice, counsel, or judgment. In cases of ordination the Vicinage Council does not itself ordain because only the covenanted community can ordain "officers." Rather, it reviews the candidate and the process and "proceeds with"

the church to the ordination. The Council's concurrence grants recognition to the ministry of the individual within the context of the broader fellowship. By conferring the "right hand of fellowship" (Galatians 2:9) it confirms and legitimates the action of the calling church. The Vicinage Council also serves as the primary means for granting recognition to a church seeking to become "Congregational."

The second vehicle of interchurch fellowship is the Association (although the Saybrook Articles in eighteenth-century Connecticut promoted the development of a quasi-Presbyterian system called the "consociation"). The Association provides, in some ways, a means for covenant communities to share in a broader covenant relationship. The earliest Association, formed in Massachusetts in 1633, was not of churches, but ministers. Various forms of Association developed over time, all designed to provide means for achieving the goal of interchurch relationships for mutual benefit. The nineteenth century, which saw so many advances for the Congregational movement, witnessed the first state association, begun in Maine in 1820, and the development of various national fellowships in Britain and the United States.

National Bodies

It is not until 1832 that a highly limited national expression is found in England in the Union of Congregational Churches and Ministers in England and Wales; and in America in the 1871 formation of the National Council of Congregational Churches. The essential ECUMENISM of Congregationalism has led, especially in the twentieth century, toward efforts for merger with other Protestant bodies. Successful mergers in the American experience include the merger with the Evangelical Protestant Churches (ca. 1925) and the General Convention of the Christian Church (1931). The major portion of Congregational Churches joined the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST that was formed by merger of the General Synod of the EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH and the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches (1957).

Congregational Churches for whom classical Congregational polity took precedence over desire for organic union joined with other continuing Congregationalists in the National Association of Congregational Christian Churches or the Conservative Congregational Christian Conference or became independent. The UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA embraces the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. Like their American counterparts, the churches in the United Kingdom are located in The United Reformed Church, whereas continuing churches find fellowship in the Congregational Federation in England, Union of Welsh Independents, and the Congregational Federation in Wales.

The International Congregational Fellowship was begun at a meeting in Chiselhurst, United Kingdom, in 1974. The International Congregational Fellowship is a nonrepresentative body consisting of Congregationalists from a broad range of nations, including Argentina, AUSTRALIA, BRAZIL, Bulgaria, Greece, Guyana, INDIA, INDONESIA, JAPAN, Kenya, KOREA, the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, PHILIPPINES, Rwanda, Samoa, SOUTH AFRICA, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Fellowship meets every four years. Through its Theological Commission it produces a twice-yearly scholarly journal, *The International Congregational Journal*.

The International Congregational Fellowship also has a youth movement, C-Way, which meets simultaneously with the Fellowship.

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CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

Conscientious objection is the principled repudiation of war by individuals or groups. This position has been consistently represented in a small portion of Protestant tradition. The medieval church incorporated three strands of thought regarding war, which survived in one form or another at the beginning of the Protestant REFORMATION: the crusade, the just war, and nonresistance. Although the concept of crusade, or holy war, showed signs of reemergence during the wars of religious domination in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for the most part Protestant theology leaned heavily toward a just war theory. Nonresistance resided in the radical sects of the time, from which emerged the triad of the historic peace churches, ANABAPTISTS, QUAKERS, and BRETHREN. From the two main traditions, nonresistance and just war, evolved the foundations for conscientious objection in modern time.

Nonresistance

Radical reformers in the sixteenth century primarily wanted a more pronounced break with the old church hierarchy than did the followers of MARTIN LUTHER or JOHN CALVIN. Some of these disparate groups gathered under Menno Simons and gave rise to the first historic peace church, Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM). Nonresistance was but one of their agreed principles; others included BAPTISM of adults, separation of CHURCH AND STATE, separation from unbelievers, and refusal to swear an oath. Strict dispensationalists, they argued that the New Testament was a radical departure from the Old. Therefore, they found a new, overriding commandment in Jesus's command that they "turn the other cheek." However, the circumstances of their time also influenced other beliefs. Eschewing infant baptism and demanding rebaptism on joining their church, the Anabaptists became a threat to the established churches of the time. Under a realized threat of death from governments controlled by both Catholics and other Protestant groups, Anabaptists pulled away. Although Anabaptists affirmed that God created government and its police powers to control the ungodly, they firmly believed that as children of God they had no need for the government's police powers. Integrating this concept of a necessary and God-ordained division between church and state with their pacifist interpretations of the New Testament, the Anabaptists developed an innovative concept of nonresistance. Over time, Anabaptists split over issues of property and church discipline into MENNONITES, HUTTERITES, and AMISH, all of which have retained the basic precepts.

The next group, the Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), emerged in England in the seventeenth century. Early Friends were followers of OLIVER CROMWELL; some even participated in his army. During the years of the Cromwell protectorate some radical reformers objected both to the refined theological arguments of the Puritans (see PURITANISM) and to the rituals of Catholics and Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM). They formed a new group, renouncing theologically trained preachers and relying on an inner light of the Holy Spirit to first convict and then give joy. When PACIFISM became a part of this mix is open to dispute. Certainly by the late seventeenth century it was a fundamental part of Quaker beliefs. Early Friends may not have relished doctrinal debates like the Puritans, but they did have biblical bases for their beliefs. Their pacifism, however, appears to have been founded on the concept of inner light, equality of humankind, and a realization that killing meant permanently extinguishing another person's inner light. Unlike Anabaptists, Quakers did not despair of the world, and so were more willing to participate in politics and to assume some "inner light" within others. Therefore, their view tended more to pacifism than nonresistance. Within short decades they moved to the New World and later onto continental Europe.

The Brethren (see BRETHREN, CHURCH OF), the last of the historic peace churches, appeared in the lower Germanic states at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their roots in the Reformation can be traced to Radical Pietists (see PIETISM) and an established Anabaptist tradition. The source of their nonviolent stance is uncertain, although most would argue that Brethren base this on scripture. Few written records of early Brethren exist and much present analysis depends on contemporary

Anabaptist accounts. Most argue that church leaders were heavily influenced by local Anabaptists, but that does not explain why they chose nonresistance.

All three of the peace churches migrated to the New World, so much so that by 1770 there were no Brethren left in Europe. Most found a welcome home in Pennsylvania by invitation of WILLIAM PENN, an English Quaker of influence. Penn's new land, founded on Quaker principles of forthright and egalitarian treatment of NATIVE AMERICANS, proved hospitable, although the immigration of settlers was open to all and eventually these plain people were outnumbered. Quakers withdrew from active participation in the government. By the time of the Revolution, Pennsylvania threw itself into the war, leaving these gentle people in an untenable position. Not only was the bearing of arms a problem, but so was the payment of taxes to a state at war. Nonresistant Brethren in particular came under suspicion by their neighbors as loyalists, which to some extent was true.

Some Mennonites and other smaller pacifist churches, such as the Molokans and Doukhobors, remained in Eastern Europe, although as conscription became reality in some of these countries the issue of conscientious objection surfaced. Many fled to other nations where they hoped to find a more friendly environment. Those coming to the United States were able to avoid the issue of conscientious objection until the southern states seceded. The CIVIL WAR produced particular problems for Quakers, whose creed forbade slave ownership (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Over the preceding decades some Friends had become more actively involved in reform issues; to ignore the largest reform issue of the century was difficult. Some Quakers did join the Union army; others, however, along with Mennonites and Brethren, used the substitution provisions to avoid military service. Most of the peace churches merely felt relieved to have the option of substitution and did not worry about the issue of morality in buying one's way out of service.

Shortly thereafter a new millennialist church arose in the United States under CHARLES TAZE RUSSELL (see MILLENNIALIST AND MILLENNIALISM). This new church, The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society or JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, was neither pacifist nor nonresistant, for they fully planned and expected to fight at Armageddon, which they anticipated imminently. However, because of their belief in the innately corrupt nature of this world, they refused to cooperate with any government no matter how important or righteous the cause; they preferred to hasten the return of Jesus Christ by allowing events to take their course. Determining their position in a peace tradition became problematic for themselves and for outsiders, especially at the start of WORLD WAR I.

Not until the reinstatement of a draft in World War I did the peace churches have to confront the difficulty of adhering to nonresistance in conflict with a strong national government. The intervening period had been so peaceful that many of the church districts found that the new generation needed instruction as to why the churches chose nonresistance. Indeed, they also found that they needed to explain to the government and their neighbors the sincerity and reality of their beliefs. As patriotism hit a fever pitch in the United States, those not supporting the war effort found themselves called slackers, and at times painted yellow, or tarred and feathered. Those not purchasing war bonds were ostracized at best, assaulted at worst. Nonresistance men, drafted into the army and promised alternative service, found an uncertain world with no rules or regulations for

either the army, the government, or the nonresistant draftee. Treatment at camps varied, ranging from gentle persuasion to outright, unapologetic abuse. Accounts differ as to how many eventually took up arms, but the number was high. Others made some accommodation. Still others, absolutists, refused all participation, and many of these, especially Jehovah's Witnesses, ended up incarcerated at Fort Leavenworth .

Two decades later storm clouds rumbled over Europe; the historic peace churches took note and decided to actively seek change in federal policy. In 1940, in an unprecedented move, representatives of the historic peace churches and their offshoots met with President Franklin Roosevelt and then with representatives from the Selective Service Board in Washington, D.C., to present a plan for an alternative service. With the full support of the churches, the government, and the military, Civilian Public Service became a reality. By the end of the war these conscientious objectors were doing important work, often taking the place of drafted orderlies and nurses in mental hospitals, volunteering as guinea pigs for medical testing, and jumping forest fires. Many of the men began to question their roles, their lack of pay, and their hidden presence in the system, although groups like the Old Order Amish and the Hutterites liked the system. Jehovah's Witnesses, for the most part, simply refused even to participate in Civilian Public Service and went to prison.

Just War Adherents

The pre-Reformation originators of the just war theory—St. Ambrose and St. Augustine of Hippo—based their understanding of moral theology on the circumstances of their world. In simplest terms these theologians felt that a just war was one fought for a just cause, justly conducted by a Christian ruler, and aimed for a just peace. During the Reformation, Martin Luther, wrestling with similar circumstances, came to a similar conclusion. John Calvin took the theory a step further when he closely identified the church with a godly state. Within the next decades most Protestants adhered to the concept of just wars, leaving nonresistance to the radical wings.

As the nations of Europe shifted from wars of religion to wars of national conquest, few Protestants worried about the morality of war, only the immediate effects. With the start of the ENLIGHTENMENT in the eighteenth century, however, others began to question the wisdom of using war to solve disputes. In his advocacy of the supremacy of human reason, Voltaire noted with interest the Quakers in England as rational, peaceful individuals. Like many Enlightenment philosophers, Voltaire was a deist, and not Christian, and certainly not Protestant, although these arguments for reliance on reason and science to produce an improving world and belief in progressively improving civilization for human kind engendered calls for civil reform. These reform movements inevitably merged with Protestant churches in Europe and America. Reform issues actively supported by Protestant churches in this period included abolition, woman suffrage, social welfare, child labor, and pacifism. Utopian societies sprouted within secular and religious communities.

Emphasis on the perfectability of humankind, or at least improvement, created a fundamental change in the nature of Protestant denominations, moving away from salvation by FAITH to an emphasis on social responsibility; this shift culminated in the

SOCIAL GosPEL of the late nineteenth century. Protestant churches, however, did not limit themselves to their own nations, but moved outward across the world in missionary movements to save souls and improve social and cultural standards, according to their own views (see MISSIONS, MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS).

Reality made perfectability ephemeral. In the United States, secular and religious pacifists faced a moral dilemma in the Civil War because most who chose pacifism were also abolitionists. A similar dilemma in World War I frustrated not only pacifists in the United States, but also those in Europe. The British struggled with the intransigence of local pacifists; GERMANY resorted to putting them in mental hospitals. Caught up in war fever on both sides of the Atlantic, ministers blessed the war effort from their pulpits. After the war, in a general revulsion against the horrific events of a war to end all wars, a revival of the repugnance against all things military emerged in areas of Europe as well as the United States. WOODROW WILSON'S vision of a League of Nations may have been a well-worn joke among diplomats in Paris, but the concept caught the imagination of intellectuals and ecclesiastica. Diplomats amended their views and signed a series of arms-reduction treaties in the 1920s, capped by an effort to outlaw war at the end of the decade. Protestant churches backed this new antiwar sensitivity, but the backing tended to be superficial only, espoused by elites with advanced university degrees and college students with a rosy view of their own generation. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Federal Council of Churches, and the Peace Pledge Union found a constituency in the 1920s and 1930s among ecumenical Protestant churches at the time on both sides of the Atlantic. How much all of this fed into a growing isolationism in the United States is unclear, but isolationism appears to have been more prevalent at all levels of society than a nascent pacifism.

Events in Germany undermined this widely held Protestant belief in the progressively improving lot of humankind. Mainland European Protestant pacifists faced the issue faster than those in the United Kingdom, the dominion, or in the United States, but the realization came hard to many. REINHOLD NIEBUHR, originally a mainline Protestant pacifist, found the realism of Nazi Germany difficult to reconcile with a pacifism based on the assumption of the goodness of humankind. His shift toward a reinterpretation of the Augustinian position of the just war illustrates the intellectual evolution of many at the time.

Although there was initial reaction on both sides of the Atlantic to the war, and some participation in alternative military service by Protestant members of nonhistoric peace churches during the war, the relative numbers were surprisingly small, given the expressed support of a Christian or secular peace stance in the preceding decades. The war enjoyed wide support, but the events in Hiroshima shifted the dynamics once again. Although the start of the Cold War went largely unquestioned in the United States, the fervent Cold War mentality and actions created a backlash, unleashing the quiescent undercurrents of pacifism, although the foundations of this new pacifism had shifted. No longer did it depend on the assumption of the perfectability of humankind, but rather on the objection to certain wars, types of wars, and types of weaponry. The definition of a just war no longer centered on the leadership of church or state, but on the consciences of individuals.

In addition, this new pacifism among Protestants emerged not only along the traditional north Atlantic nexus, but in AFRICA and in the south Pacific. As colonies

broke with their mother countries, Protestant churches established by colonial missionaries created their own identities. The definition of “just” reflected their unique circumstances. For instance, South African Protestant, non-Afrikaner churches, black and white, questioned a draft to support a government founded on the dishonorable structure of apartheid (see SOUTH AFRICA).

Throughout the world, the 1960s produced cultural and social changes within many societies. For the United States, the Vietnam War and civil rights efforts in the South engendered a cultural revolution reflected in a notable segment of society that was antiwar and pro-social justice. A typical slogan was “If you want peace, work for justice.” This amalgam of social reform spilled into unexpected areas of the country. The historic peace churches that had always maintained the need for a separation from society began to debate among themselves involvement in wider social issues, if not outright participation in government. Mennonites and Brethren found antinuclear weaponry, antiwar, antidraft, and civil rights activism based on civil disobedience easy to support. Moreover, young church members found the alternative to military service disturbingly easy because it did not involve suffering or personal witness. Growing momentum within these churches toward a proactive stance threatened to split the conservative from progressive branches, although points of doctrine were also at issue—separation from the fundamentalist movements of the earlier part of the century. Yet the movement of the historic peace churches from nonresistance toward the newer forms of pacifism exhibited in mainline Protestant churches worldwide is noteworthy. Reevaluation of church/state relations remains problematic and is certainly premature. Passive acceptance of the state with firm traditions of noninvolvement appears to have mutated into a proactive self-view of witness in an evil world. The primary exception to this shift, however, remains the Jehovah’s Witness groups worldwide, who maintain their old separation from other denominations and the state. They will not fight on behalf of any earthly, corrupt government, but wait expectantly for the imminent return of Christ, where they plan to fight at Armageddon. Not surprisingly, small numbers of the Jehovah’s Witness were found in prisons as conscientious objectors in most of the old Soviet Union satellites at the collapse of communism.

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DOROTHY O.PRATT

CONSERVATIVE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

The association of about 1,200 congregations and 225,000 members was founded in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1947, mainly as a result of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the old Northern Baptist Convention (NBC, now the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES/USA).

In 1920, conservatives in the NBC founded the Fundamentalist Fellowship to stop the spread of theological liberalism throughout the denomination and to resist the growth of the NBC's centralized denominational bureaucracy (see FUNDAMENTALISM, LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). The fundamentalists focused their attention on the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS), whose "inclusive policy" of appointing both conservatives and liberals as missionaries they found especially worrisome. Conservatives objected to the society's using their contributions to support unorthodox missionaries and accused the ABFMS of being unresponsive to their complaints. To overturn this policy, the fundamentalists proposed that the NBC adopt a binding statement of faith that would necessarily drive liberals from the DENOMINATION. But they soon divided over the best way to achieve their goals. In 1923, militant fundamentalists withdrew from the Fundamentalist Fellowship to form the BAPTIST BIBLE UNION; but even its more aggressive approach failed to achieve success. In 1933, most of the militants withdrew from the NBC to establish a denomination of their own, the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTISTS.

The moderate fundamentalists remained in the NBC but were no more successful than the militants at influencing denominational direction. In the early 1940s, conservatives again mounted a campaign against the theological inclusiveness of the ABFMS, which continued to resist the conservatives' demands for tighter theological controls over missionary appointments. After decades of trying, the conservatives finally despaired of ever reforming the ABFMS and took steps to found the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society (CBFMS) in 1943. Denominational leaders, fearing adverse financial consequences, resisted the conservatives' attempt to get the CBFMS recognized as one of the approved agencies of the NBC. In retaliation, conservatives withheld funds from the NBC, which in response changed denominational bylaws in 1946 to give voting rights in the annual convention only to contributing churches to the NBC. Thus outmaneuvered and excluded from denominational influence, about 200 congregations withdrew from the NBC and founded the Conservative Baptist Association of America (CBA) in 1947.

Over the next few years, hundreds of additional congregations joined the new CBA. In Arizona and Minnesota, Conservative Baptists gained control of the NBC-affiliated state Baptist conventions. Over the next few years, Conservative Baptists founded a number of

other institutions. In 1950, they established the Conservative Baptist Home Missions Society and the Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary in Denver, Colorado. The seminary was founded after both the Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago and the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, the NBC's most conservative SEMINARIES, refused to break ties with the Convention and join the new Conservative Baptist movement. A couple of years later, Conservative Baptists also recognized Western Baptist Theological Seminary, which was founded as an NBC seminary in 1927 in Portland, Oregon. In addition, over the years Conservative Baptists founded or approved a number of other educational institutions: Southwestern Bible College in Phoenix, International College in Hawaii, Northeastern Bible College in New Jersey, and the Seminary of the East in Pennsylvania.

Despite this proliferation of institutions, Conservative Baptists insisted on remaining organizationally decentralized. From the NBC's formation in 1908, many Baptists had opposed denominational centralization because it undercut the autonomy of the local churches and their freedom to pick and choose which Baptist agency or society that they wanted to support. Thus Conservative Baptists took care to keep their various societies and schools structurally and financially independent of one another. Each entity had its own board of directors, statement of faith, and fundraising strategies. Local congregations contributed to them as they saw fit. In this way, Conservative Baptists preferred independence over efficiency.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Conservative Baptists struggled over THEOLOGY and the issue of affiliations with groups outside their movement. Many Conservative Baptists were troubled that the doctrine of premillennialism was not affirmed in all of the statements of faith adopted by Conservative Baptist organizations. The Conservative Baptist Home Mission Society included premillennialism in its founding statement of faith, but the Foreign Missionary Society did not. The Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary's doctrinal statement contained premillennialism, but some Conservative Baptists complained that the statement was not explicitly *dispensational* premillennialism, a distinction that many Conservative Baptists thought should be required (see DISPENSATIONALISM). In addition to this theological dispute, Conservative Baptists argued over the propriety of Conservative Baptist churches affiliating with non-Conservative Baptist organizations. Some congregations in the movement maintained an official, but low-key relationship with the NBC, while others joined the new multidenominational NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS. Many Conservative Baptists insisted on a more separatistic line that prohibited any association with those with whom there was not complete theological and denominational agreement. By the mid-1960s, several hundred separatistic Conservative Baptist congregations, mainly in the Midwest and Rocky Mountain region, withdrew to form the Fundamentalist Baptist Fellowship and other groups.

By 2000, the Conservative Baptist movement had undergone considerable change, though its overall number of churches and members had remained more or less static for decades. The CBFMS and the CBHMS changed their names to CBInternational and Mission to the Americas, respectively. In 1999 Conservative Baptist headquarters, which contained offices for the CBA and the two mission agencies, moved from Wheaton, Illinois, to Littleton, Colorado. The CBA is now organized into nine regions, whose leaders (directors) make up the CBA board. Despite early fears over centralized

denominational structures, the CBA is now working to establish a sense of “denominational” loyalty and identity, and has developed the beginnings of mutual financial relationships by which the Conservative Baptist regions donate a percentage of their collections to the CBA and the CBA donates back a percentage of its collections to the regions. As with many other church organizations in the twenty-first century, the growing edge of the Conservative Baptist movement comes from new ethnic congregations as a result of recent immigration patterns in the United States.

See also Bible Colleges and Institutions

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TIMOTHY P. WEBER

CONSISTORY

In Catholic usage, the word “consistory” refers to an assembly of cardinals presided over by the Pope called to ratify decisions of particular importance for the entire CHURCH, such as the selection of new cardinals. In Protestant usage, it came to mean a court called to make important decisions within a particular area controlled by a Protestant government. These decisions often dealt with problems of marriage, and in that respect Protestant consistories can be regarded as successors not to the Consistory in Rome but rather to the courts of Catholic bishops, which also spent much of their time handling problems of MARRIAGE, especially cases alleging breach of promise. The earliest consistories established in Saxony by MARTIN LUTHER and his associates had this as a primary function. In many Lutheran states, however, the Consistory developed into an administrative body appointed by the sovereign to supervise the church within his state. It inherited many of the powers exercised by bishops in areas that were Catholic.

A different model of the consistory developed in areas that adopted the Calvinist version of Protestantism. JOHN CALVIN emphasized the importance of discipline, on the responsibility of a Protestant church not only to establish correct belief, but also to require correct behavior (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). To this end, when he was invited to take over supervision of the Reformed Church in Geneva, he insisted on the creation there of a new disciplinary institution called the Consistory, and actually drafted himself the ECCLESIASTICAL ORDINANCES that created it. The Consistory of Geneva was technically a committee of the local city government, made up of all the pastors on the city’s payroll plus a dozen lay commissioners or “elders” selected for one-year terms in the elections in which that government was reconstituted every year. It summoned before it a high percentage (about one-fifteenth) of the entire adult population of the republic every year for questioning.

People were questioned not only on marriage and related morals problems, but also on survivals of Catholic practices, on displays of disrespect for government and church officials, and on quarrels within families or among business associates. In the area of marriage cases, the Consistory exercised the right to recommend DIVORCE with permission to remarry, a right not allowed in Catholic courts. The Consistory resolved many of these problems by itself, acting as a kind of compulsory counseling service. But it could refer behavior involving suspected violations of law to the city government for further examination and punishment. And it also claimed the right to levy sentences of excommunication, without any right of appeal to the councils governing the city, for people judged to be guilty of serious offenses who seemed unwilling to change. This claim was hotly challenged, but after an extended controversy, the Consistory won the uncontested right to use excommunication, and repeatedly did, asking for further penalties, including banishment, for people who did not display repentance sufficient to win back from the Consistory the right to receive Communion.

In every area into which CALVINISM spread, consistorial discipline went with it, and bodies modeled on the Geneva Consistory were created. In FRANCE they were called “consistories.” In SCOTLAND they were called “kirk sessions.” In the German community of Emden, the mother church for Dutch Calvinism, it was called the “presbyterium.” Local circumstances, to be sure, led to considerable changes in the operations of these bodies. In France, where Protestants were at best tolerated but distrusted minorities, a consistory was created entirely within the Reformed community, often included deacons as well as pastors and elders within its membership, and usually spent more time in resolving quarrels than in administering discipline. In the NETHERLANDS, where Calvinist Protestants were a privileged minority, consistories were again voluntary associations depending on the consent of members without assured support from local governments to enforce decisions, and thus were hesitant to use excommunication. Only in Scotland, where the entire country adopted Calvinist Protestantism, did institutions fully resembling the Geneva Consistory take root. In almost every state in which Calvinism became important, however, discipline came to be highly valued, and some sort of institution was created to help maintain it.

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ROBERT M.KINGDON

CONSULTATION ON CHURCH UNION

The Consultation on Church Union (and also, for a time within that context, the Church of Christ Uniting) was known in the UNITED STATES by the acronym COCU. The project stemmed from a sermon preached in 1960 in Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, by EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, then stated clerk of the Presbyterian Church and later general secretary of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. The goal was “a church truly catholic, truly evangelical, and truly reformed.” Participating denominations have included the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH, the Christian Church (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, the EPISCOPAL CHURCH, the International Council of Community Churches, the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA), the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, and the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.

COCU’s first “plan of union,” published in 1970, envisaged full institutional merger, but failed to win approval from the sponsoring bodies. Continuing discussions developed and refined a “theological consensus” (1984) that by 1989 had been accepted by the churches as an “expression in the matters with which it deals, of the apostolic faith, order, worship, and witness of the church.” Meanwhile, the form of unity envisaged had shifted to a “covenant communion” that still claimed “organic” character while stopping short of the “organizational.”

Difficulties remained, however, over questions of ministerial order, especially at the level of “oversight” or “episcopé.” Presbyterians retained a historic suspicion of bishops, whereas Episcopalians were concerned to preserve a historic succession of them (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY).

COCU stagnated for much of the 1990s, but at the turn of the century seemed to perk up again. At its plenary meeting in 1999 (the first for ten years), a recommendation was issued that called on the denominations to declare by 2002 a mutual recognition as churches that would cover the apostolic faith (as “expressed in the Apostles’ and Nicene Creeds”), BAPTISM (mutually recognized since 1978), ordained ministries (as “given by God as instruments of God’s grace”), “celebration of the Eucharist together with intentional regularity,” shared engagement in mission, and development of “structures of accountability, consultation, and decision making.” The churches would work at finding by 2007 the means for a full reconciliation of ordained ministries such as would allow complete interchangeability of service between the denominations (see CLERGY). Integral to the entire process would be a pledge to “erase racism,” particularly to “combat systematic white skin color privilege.” More broadly, there would be a commitment to “oppose all marginalization and exclusion in church and society based on race, age, gender, forms of disability, sexual orientation, and class.” The new relationship among the denominations would operate under the title of Churches Uniting in Christ.

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

CONVENTICLES

The term “conventicles” refers to groups of Christians meeting privately to pray together and study the BIBLE. Conventicles are characterized by two basic criteria. First, they are attended by people with common religious practices, whose piety and the resulting *praxis pietatis* is significantly different from the way of religion usually practiced. Second, conventicles distance themselves in a critical, usually separatist manner from the official CHURCH recognized by the authorities.

Although the term did not yet exist in the sixteenth century, conventicles are initially linked in Protestantism with the radical wings of the REFORMATION. From the early BAPTISTS (CONRAD GREBEL in Zurich, from 1523), through the foundations of Christian core communities (JAKOB HUTTER in Mähren, from 1533) to the ecclesologically new approaches of MENNO SIMONS, conventicles form the nuclei of new religious entities. In terms of theological history, the conventicles of English PURITANISM had a particularly significant impact. Although the early separatism of the Elizabethan period had become insignificant by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the need for a closer, voluntary community of like-minded believers continued to exist. Starting in 1616, Henry Jacob developed the model of a semiseparatist church in England, taking his example from the I Corinthians 14, which met with great popularity. The members of this church made a COVENANT with God and with each other characterized by particular religious convictions and a pointedly dedicated *praxis pietatis*.

English refugees in the NETHERLANDS introduced the body of Puritanic thought to the Reformed ORTHODOXY. With his reform movement *Nadere Reformatie*, the Dutchman Gisbert Voetius took up the Puritans demand for pious gatherings, which were termed “conventicles” in the Netherlands, for mutual strengthening and edification in FAITH. However, Voetius’s reform movement continually stressed that these gatherings should always remain within the framework of the recognized state church. But Jean de Labadie, from Middelburg, the Netherlands, opposed this demand, and in 1669 made an exodus from “Babel,” the state church, with his conventicle. This tension between the conventicles and the official church shaped the development of PIETISM and the revivalist movement in Europe (see REVIVALS). Whereas the recognized authorities of Pietism (PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER, AUGUST HERMANN FRANKE, and JOHANN ALBRECHT BENGEL) pleaded for the continued existence of the conventicles, by then mostly called *Collegia pietatis*, radical Pietists set up their conventicles as new communities of true believers. Of those who detached themselves from the recognized church, only NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINSENDORF’S *Herrnhuter Brüderge-meine* (MORAVIAN CHURCH) gained recognition from the authorities in some territories. The exodus from the European Babel became a leitmotif of a large number of pietistic

conventicles. In this context, and on the basis of the personal contacts of WILLIAM PENN to European conventicles, Pennsylvania became a preferred exile land and mission area.

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ANDREAS MÜHLING

CONVERSION

The word *conversion* appears infrequently in the BI-BLE, yet it is integrally related to such biblical concepts as repentance, regeneration, JUSTIFICATION, and being born anew. Conversion refers to the human turning to God that is the result of and response to divine GRACE. It is a radical turning in that it changes the very root and core of a person's life, marking a wholesale reversal of beliefs, values, and behavior, as well as a realignment of allegiances. In the Bible, conversion is a turning from SIN to the obedience God desires, from idolatry to the one true God, from darkness to light, from evil to the goodness of God. It means dying to self and rising again in Christ. Throughout church history, the nature and substance of this turning have often been debated, sparked by the question of where FAITH begins. Does faith originate within human beings as they experience a capacity for good works and then turn to God for help in attaining them? Or does it originate solely within the freedom and grace of the sovereign God to love the human family despite the fact that "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (Romans 3:23)? Similarly, is conversion a onetime, unrepeatable, life-changing event that grows out of a soul-shaking crisis? Or is it a gradual, lifelong process that involves many turnings in the course of one's life? To address these questions, we turn first to the Bible and then to some of the major voices in the history of the church: Saint Augustine in the fourth century, JOHN CALVIN and MARTIN LUTHER in the sixteenth, and KARL BARTH in the twentieth.

Conversion in the Bible

The Hebrew word *shub*, meaning "to turn back" or "to return," is used in the Old Testament to denote the change of direction by which human beings turn away from sin

and radically reorient their lives in the service of God. In the New Testament *epistrophe*, *metanoia*, and their cognates denote repentance and conversion, both of which involve the total “turning around” of human life. These words signify both a physical turning and a radical reorientation of one’s inner self, emphasizing the totality of a person’s life. The English word “conversion” comes from the Latin *conversio*, meaning “to turn around.” Being converted is rather like making a U-turn.

In the Old Testament the turning involved in conversion is sometimes applied to God, who turns divine anger toward the Israelites in some instances and away from them in others (cf. Numbers 25:4; Joshua 7:26, 24:20). The predominant use of this idea, however, is its application to the nation of Israel. The prophets never tired of calling the Israelites to turn around—to repent and begin anew—in their relationship with God and neighbor. They were to turn away from their self-destructive fascination with foreign gods to the WORSHIP and service of the sovereign Lord who had freed them from the bonds of slavery and given them the promised land. The prophet Joel trumpets an oft-repeated prophetic theme: “Yet even now, says the Lord, return to me with all your heart, with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning; rend your hearts and not your clothing. Return to the Lord, your God, for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love, and relents from punishing” (Joel 2:12–13). Thus, turning to God is an act of human volition firmly rooted in the nature of God to be gracious and loving and merciful. So thoroughly committed was God to the Israelites’ return that God promised through Ezekiel, “A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances” (Ezekiel 36:26–27). The picture that emerges is (1) conversion is the work of God; (2) it involves a total inner change born of the Spirit of God; and (3) not only the inner life is changed, but also one’s behavior as God’s statutes and ordinances are carefully followed (cf. Jeremiah 32:39–40).

Turning to the New Testament, Paul’s Damascus road experience (Acts 9:1–27; cf. Acts 22:1–21, 26:9–23; Galatians 1:11–17; Philippians 3:2–11) is often regarded as the prime example of conversion in the Bible. Yet it has been effectively argued by Krister Stendahl that Paul was called rather than converted, and that Paul certainly did not undergo a change of religion commonly associated with the word “conversion.” Indeed, Paul continued to serve the same God, but with a new mission—that of proclaiming the gospel to the Gentiles. The moment of divine call on the Damascus road, therefore, stood in clear continuity with his religious past, a religious past that was itself prologue to the Damascus road experience. To be sure, what happened en route to Damascus was a radical turning point in Paul’s relationship with God, a relationship now centered in the person and work of Jesus Christ.

Jesus himself introduces the theme of conversion in the New Testament by announcing that the KINGDOM OF GOD has come near and, on this basis, all are called to turn to God. Jesus is likewise clear that turning to God involves the confession of sin and the conviction that God has acted decisively for the SALVATION of the world (cf. Mark 1:14–15; Matthew 3:2, 6, 8). Indeed, for Jesus such turning to God is the very fruit of God’s benevolence.

The New Testament is replete with images of this fruit of God’s dawning kingdom. At times it is the direct result of healing (cf. Acts 9:35), and at other times is descriptive of a

person's radical reorientation to the attachments of this world (cf. Acts 14:15) signified in the death of the old self and rebirth in Jesus Christ (cf. Ephesians 4:22–24; Romans 6:6–8; Colossians 3:9–10). Conversion is also seen as turning “from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God” (Acts 26:18; cf. Acts 26:20; II Timothy 2:25), and sometimes as God's universal purpose for all creation (cf. Acts 15:19—even the Gentiles are turning to God—Acts 17:30, 26:19–20; Matthew 28:19–20; Luke 24:47; II Peter 3:9). Throughout the New Testament, God's mercy in Jesus Christ is the decisive element in conversion. In fact, the wide and generous mercy of God is the only reason that human beings have the ability to make a U-turn with their lives (cf. Matthew 20:15; Romans 2:4; Luke 5:31–32), a U-turn that leads to nothing less than joy within God's own being (Luke 15:7, 10).

Yet the stab of conscience is also a crucial part of turning to God—remorse for sin, and the deep desire to pick up the pieces of one's life and begin again, confident that one is not forever held captive to past sins. Reminiscent of Joel 2, Jesus describes repentance in foreboding terms as personal sorrow for sin (cf. Matthew 11:20–21) and sounds a solemn warning of the inevitable judgment of God (cf. Matthew 3:10; Luke 13:3–5).

One of the most remarkable references, however, is Paul's claim that “when one turns to the Lord, the veil is removed” (II Corinthians 3:16), suggesting that human turning and the very self-revelation of God are bound up together. In fact, Paul goes so far as to say that only through the revelation of Jesus Christ was he able on that Damascus road to turn to God (cf. Galatians 12b).

The prophetic voice calling human beings to turn from idolatry is also present in the New Testament. Conversion is not just intellectual assent, but also loving and serving the one true God to the exclusion of all others. Nothing less than the total transformation of human life is what conversion means, and for a new creature in Christ there will be a new outlook on God and neighbor, and new ethical standards to uphold (cf. I Thessalonians 1:9; Hebrews 6:1).

Saint Augustine

The Protestant Reformers were greatly influenced by the writings of Augustine of Hippo (354–430 A.D.). Like Paul, Augustine experienced a dramatic turning point, yet it was neither sudden nor abrupt. In fact, Augustine had long struggled with the realities of faith over against a wantonly sensual life. One day, in the midst of this struggle, he overheard a child's voice across a garden wall saying, *tolle, lege; tolle lege*, meaning *take up and read; take up and read*, and he opened the Bible to Romans 13:13–14 and heard the Word of God address the demons within. Augustine understood this as a moment of divine grace flooding into his life. There was no merit on his part to pave the way, only grace; no accomplishment to his credit, only grace; no innate capacity for goodness, only grace. His turning to God was not the object of his will or desire. Instead, it came quite from outside himself and was supremely the gift of God's love in Jesus Christ.

Augustine insisted that original sin renders the human will incapable of turning to God, so conversion is totally a work of divine grace. In Adam and Eve all have sinned and are prisoners of rebellion, totally helpless to free themselves. The human will is not free of its own volition to choose God, so God breaks down the dividing wall of hostility

by divine grace. To be sure, the human will is not obliterated but is completely dependent on the grace of God (cf. I Corinthians 15:10). For Augustine, however, the hinge of the whole affair is ELECTION. The debt of sin is forgiven by grace, but the giving of grace is determined by election. Furthermore, only by grace do human beings persevere in their turning to God.

One of the more significant debates in the history of the church took place between Augustine and Pelagius over these very issues. Pelagius believed that humans have the innate ability to choose what is good and then to act on their good choice. The human creature knows what God desires because of the commandments God has given. But more than that, God has also bestowed on human beings the freedom to choose whether to obey or disobey them. In other words, inherent within human beings is the free will to do good, the free will to turn to God on their own. Augustine believed that Pelagius's teaching was HERESY and accused him of elevating sinners to the position of coauthor of their own salvation. Although Augustine won the argument, some form of Pelagianism always has been alive and well within the CHURCH.

From Martin Luther to John Calvin to Later Evangelicalism

At the time of the Protestant REFORMATION, conversion often referred to the vocational calling to monastic life as distinct from the secular world. Martin Luther (1483–1546), believing that this erroneously established two classes of Christians, refused to accept any distinction between “secular” and “religious” Christians. He insisted that the total self-commitment expected of monks and nuns should also be expected of every believer. Conversion, therefore, denoted for Luther the lifelong pilgrimage to complete self-commitment to God. He spoke of conversion as an unrepeatable entrance into the Christian life through BAPTISM, but also as a repeatable event occasioned by penitence and the confession of sin. Being a lifelong pilgrimage conversion functioned for Luther as a continual participation in the divine grace given in Jesus Christ, so that each time a sinner confesses and is forgiven, he is said to be converted anew.

John Calvin (1509–1564) also believed conversion to be a lifelong process of regeneration begun in baptism, although like Augustine, Calvin emphatically insisted that everything depends on the grace of God given to the elect. Divine grace is indeed the origin of all human goodness—the unceasing theme of gratitude and joy that holds the Christian life together. Furthermore, the only hope of persevering in grace is that God personally bends, forms, and directs the human heart to righteousness, although the work of grace is begun only in the elect. If a right will, an inclination toward goodness, exists in a person, it is because of that person's election by God before the foundation of the world. Those who turn to God and are converted were chosen to do so by divine will. Notably, Calvin also uses the word *conversion* to describe repentance, suggesting that turning to God requires not just inner remorse but also putting off the old nature to become new creatures in Jesus Christ. Like Luther, the turning of conversion requires the total transformation of human life both in outward works and in the soul itself.

Although Luther and Calvin were of one mind concerning the lifelong process of regeneration begun in baptism, later evangelical movements soon began to speak of

conversion as a single watershed event after years of discretion are reached. PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER (1635–1705), often considered the father of PIETISM, believed—true to his Lutheran heritage—that regeneration occurs at baptism in infancy. Yet he also insisted that Christians must undergo a second regeneration, and the pietists came to speak of this second regeneration as conversion. On this basis, a double standard was established whereby true Christians were distinguished from ordinary church members. Spener further believed that people may often lapse from the state of grace, requiring additional conversions, a position much in contrast with Calvin’s understanding of the perseverance of the saints.

The Wesleyan Movement (see WESLEYANISM) in England, largely influenced by German Pietists, was responsible for yet another significant departure from Luther and Calvin by dissociating regeneration from baptism. JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791) practiced the baptism of infants, yet insisted that infants could not be regenerated because regeneration must be a conscious, subjective experience. Over time the evangelical movements (see EVANGELICALISM) emphasized more and more the subjective consciousness until, for many, this became the central goal of religion. These movements understood that people cannot be said to be converted to the Christian faith until they have passed through such a subjective experience. The Calvinists believed that the certain knowledge of one’s election and regeneration, although highly desirable, does not necessarily follow. However, the Wesleyans came to believe that one’s subjective awareness of regeneration is essential to regeneration itself. If a person has not experienced and felt it, then it has not happened. These evangelical movements thus paved the way for FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) to define THEOLOGY as a systematizing of the religious selfconsciousness, which opened wide the door to a theological emphasis on having a conversion experience.

Karl Barth

The NEO-ORTHODOXY of Karl Barth (1886–1968) was a strong reaction against Schleiermacher and the emphasis on religious experience, and thereby returned to many of the central themes of Protestant theology espoused by Luther and Calvin. For example, Barth speaks of the total transformation of a person’s life and will that is involved in turning to God, and he emphatically states that the revelation of God’s love in Jesus Christ is the center of conversion, not what human beings feel through subjective experience. Barth insists that the real subject of Paul’s turning is not Paul, but the living Christ who encounters Paul on the Damascus road. God reveals not a truth or a philosophical concept that gives meaning to life, but Jesus Christ. Divine revelation therefore is the only thing that makes it possible for a human being to turn to God and be reconciled (Galatians 1:12). The crux of the matter is this: Jesus personally met Paul on the road to Damascus; Jesus made him both a witness to and a servant of the living God. Did Paul make a decision? Of course he did. However, Barth says that Paul’s was “a decision which can only follow that already made concerning him by Jesus. He knows only as one who is known by Him. This is why his knowledge has the power...radically to transform his life” (Barth 1961:198).

Open-ended Discussion

The church will always struggle with discordant views of what turning to God means. There remains a distinct tension between the Reformed view that places God at the center of conversion as an objective, redeeming presence, and the evangelical emphasis on a subjective conversion experience particularly after years of discretion are reached. Yet the voices that remain in the mainstream of the Protestant tradition are those that sustain the melodies of divine grace in ceaseless doxology for the love of God poured out on the cross.

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STEPHEN W. PLUNKETT

COOK, THOMAS

(1859–1912)

Methodist evangelist. Cook was born August 20, 1859 in Middlesborough, ENGLAND. Converted at 16 during a mission at the South Bank WM Chapel, he became a member of its mission band, leading cottage and open-air meetings. He conducted his first mission in Cumbria in 1879. Shortly after he received the blessing of entire SANCTIFICATION and offered himself for the Methodist ministry. This offer was declined but his talents were recognized by the secretary of the Home Mission Committee who appointed him to the post of lay evangelist in the Halifax and Bradford District. There his efforts were rewarded with tremendous successes. In 1882 he became a Methodist minister and was immediately appointed Connexional Evangelist, as Methodists responded to the opportunities demonstrated by James Caughey (1810–1891),

Methodist revival preachers. In his first year over 5,000 adults and children were led to SALVATION through his missions.

Cook conducted many of these missions all over Britain and the world, to NORWAY (1886), SOUTH AFRICA (1892), AUSTRALIA, and Ceylon (1894–1895). He was particularly effective as an evangelist to young people, at schools and colleges, publishing *Full Salvation: A Talk to Undergraduates. A Book on Soul Saving Preaching* that stressed repentance to God and the offer of full and free salvation from SIN. Cook was associated with the Southport Convention (est. 1885), the Wesleyan Methodist expression of a renewed emphasis on holiness springing from a rediscovery of JOHN WESLEY'S doctrine of Christian Perfection (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT). His book *New Testament Holiness* (1920) was a classic of its time.

His involvement in the Gospel Mission Care movement, with rural and seaside campaigns, made him a natural successor to Thomas Champness as superintendent of the *Joyful News Mission* in 1903. The establishment of Cliff College as a training center for lay evangelists in Derbyshire with Cook as first principal was the apex of a career cut short by his death on September 21, 1912.

See also Evangelism, Overview; Methodism, England; Wesleyan Methodism

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TIM MACQUIBAN

COOKE, HENRY (1788–1868)

Irish Presbyterian church leader and political activist. Cooke was born on May 11, 1788, the son of a county Londonderry tenant farmer. Educated for the Presbyterian ministry at Glasgow University, he emerged in the 1820s as the eloquent and relentless leader of a campaign against the theological and political liberalism that had characterized mainstream eighteenth-century Irish Presbyterianism.

The liberals, some of whom had become Anti-Trinitarian (see ANTI-TRINITARIANISM), rejected the theology of the Westminster formularies, statements that had been required for ordinands (candidates for ordination to the ministry). Politically, some liberals had been leaders in a movement to unite Irish people of all denominations to achieve radical political reform and Irish independence.

Cooke succeeded in persuading the Synod of Ulster, the governing body of mainstream Irish Presbyterianism, to reaffirm its trinitarian theology and establish a committee to test the ORTHODOXY of future ordinands. Seventeen ministers and their congregations withdrew to form a nonsubscribing synod, whereas the orthodox victory led to a union of the Synod of Ulster with the conservative Secession Synod to inaugurate the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, embracing 650,000 souls and characterized by

Cooke's EVANGELICALISM and anti-Catholicism (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS).

He was less successful politically. Most Irish Presbyterians remained Liberals in politics until Home Rule in 1886, and rejected his efforts to draw them closer to the episcopal Church of Ireland in a united Protestant front against resurgent Roman Catholicism, including his death-bed appeal in 1868 to Protestant electors to vote Tory and save the Church of Ireland from disestablishment. They did support him, however, in his unionism and his opposition to Daniel O'Connell's campaign to repeal Ireland's 1801 parliamentary union with Britain.

He published nothing of substance, although some of his sermons and speeches were printed.

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R.FINLAY HOLMES

COTTON, JOHN (1585–1652)

Puritan theologian. Cotton was an influential Puritan preacher-theologian in ENGLAND and, after 1633, in New England's Massachusetts Bay Colony. Born in Derby, England, he embraced PURITANISM during his studies (B.A. [1602]; M.A. [1606]; B.D. [1613]) at Cambridge University. He was a Lincolnshire vicar from 1612 until 1632, when he fled to the Bay Colony to avoid arrest for NONCONFORMITY. As Teacher of Boston's First Church, he played a prominent role in church and civic affairs. Practical considerations alone prevented his participation in the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

Commonplaces of CALVINISM after JOHN CALVIN and particularities of Puritan reform combine in his thought. He espoused COVENANT THEOLOGY, Predestinarianism, Ramist logic, and "plain style" PREACHING. The inward experience of the Holy Spirit was his signature theme. This emphasis led him to urge limiting church membership to those giving testimony of their CONVERSION experience. It sometimes sparked disputes with colleagues over DOCTRINE, including—in the proceedings against ANNE HUTCHINSON, his devoted follower—Cotton's apparent softness on ANTINOMIANISM.

Milk for Babes (1646), his children's CATECHISM, was widely used until 1700. His ecclesiology distinguished CONGREGATIONALISM (a term he popularized and perhaps coined) from separatist independency, which he considered anarchy. Its principles shaped the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM (1648). Against ROGER WILLIAMS, he defended Puritan legislation restricting "religious liberty."

No “Cottonian school of theology” arose; no critical edition of his collected works exists. Yet his life and works have long been recognized as indispensable resources for studies of trans-Atlantic Puritanism.

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JAMES O.DUKE

COUNTER-REFORMATION

The terms “Counter-Reformation” and its counterpart “Catholic Reform” or “Catholic Reformation” have long been employed to characterize Roman Catholicism during the early modern era. The terms represent divergent interpretations of early modern Catholicism, and define it largely in terms of its relationship to Protestantism (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM). Recent scholarship has questioned their ad-equacy and suggested alternatives, without denying their usefulness.

“Counter-Reformation” was first used by the German Lutheran historian Johann Stephan Pütter in a publication of 1776. Generally it came to connote the view that the Catholic Church was progressively declining during the late Middle Ages until something had to happen, that is, the Protestant REFORMATION. Measures subsequently taken by the Catholic Church were seen as essentially responses to the challenge of MARTIN LUTHER and the Reformers, most of them defensive and intended to counter or suppress the Protestant movements. Without the Reformation, there would have been no Catholic reforms, it was argued. “Counter-Reformation” points especially to the repressive measures taken against Protestants, such as the foundation of the Roman Inquisition (1542) and the first papal Index of Prohibited Books (1554). It constitutes the attempt of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) to clarify the Catholic position on doctrines called into question by the Protestants, and thus its decrees, for example, on the relationship between Scripture and TRADITION, JUSTIFICATION, and the SACRAMENTS. Emphasized by “Counter-Reformation” are the political and military efforts of Catholic princes and ecclesiastics to hold off Protestantism or to restore Catholicism, such as the Spanish Armada launched against England by Philip II of Spain in 1588, and the campaigns of Catholic emperors forcibly to recatholicize large areas in the Austrian lands and Bohemia

in the seventeenth century. The confessional militance of the Counter-Reformation appeared prominently in the religious wars in FRANCE (1562–1598) and in the Thirty Years War (1618–1648).

Catholic Reformation

The term “Catholic Reformation,” although coined earlier, was introduced into general usage by the Protestant historian Wilhelm Maurenbecher in a publication of 1880. Along with “Catholic Reform,” it was developed in response to “Counter-Reformation.” It located the origins of the Catholic Reform in measures undertaken or attempted in the late Middle Ages, such as the Observant movement in many religious orders that called them back to a stricter observance of their rules, or the reform decrees issued for Spain by the National Council of Seville in 1478. It thus indicated a continuity between these and the more effective measures that followed the shock of the Protestant Reformation. Indeed, for some the term “Catholic Reform” implied the extreme position that the Catholic Church would have reformed itself from within even had there been no Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Reform included the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. These laid down norms for bishops and pastors of parishes, especially regarding their obligations of residence and of preaching, and they established the parish as the center of Catholic life. They outlined a program for the education and formation of parish priests, which required each diocese to establish its own seminary, and they dealt with many abuses regarding, for example, the veneration of images, indulgences, and other practices. Implementation was another matter, and it took place only gradually and to varying degrees in different areas. The foundation of new active religious orders of men and women, usually by charismatic individuals, was a major part of the Catholic Reform. Most significant was the Society of Jesus or Jesuits, founded by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola and approved by the papacy in 1540. Among the foundations of women, who often faced considerable ecclesiastical opposition, the Ursulines stood out. Their founder was the Italian lay woman Angela Merici, and they received initial papal approbation in 1544. The Catholic Reform also resulted in a revived papacy, which peaked in the pontificate of Clement VIII (1592–1605) and, in the long run, in a greater centralization of the church.

Recent Developments

Most scholars today agree that both “Counter-Reformation” and “Catholic Reform” characterized early modern Catholicism while disagreeing about the precise weight to be accorded to each. For some the two terms taken together do not exhaust the reality. For example, one cannot easily include under either of these terms the far-reaching missionary activity in Asia, the Americas, and to a lesser degree AFRICA of the early modern Catholic Church, nor the flowering of mysticism in Saints Teresa of Avila or John of the Cross, nor the efflorescence of Baroque art. For this reason they prefer the bland but more comprehensive term “Early Modern Catholicism,” while recognizing that

the two traditional terms will continue to be used, and legitimately so, provided that one realizes that a part is being used to designate the whole.

Some recent scholarship has tended to evaluate more positively the state of the Catholic Church on the eve of the Reformation and so to make it more difficult to attribute the success of the Reformation to abuses within the church. This view would tend to see in the Reformation movements and in Early Modern Catholicism competing attempts to update Christianity to the changing world and religious aspirations of the sixteenth century. Similar to this is the approach that, although not denying the differences between Protestant and Catholic, emphasizes the parallels between the Protestant movements and developments within Catholicism, such as frequent close association with the state, concern for education at all levels, a more individualist piety, and attempts to elaborate spiritualities for Christians living in the world.

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ROBERT BIRELEY

COVENANT

In Christian (and Jewish) theology, *covenant* refers to the special relationship between God and the elect. This relationship was voluntarily engaged in by God, first in Paradise and renewed (Genesis 3:15) after Adam and Eve had disobeyed God's commandment not to eat from the tree of knowledge. This renewal was couched in the form of a promise to Adam and Eve that from their seed would be born the one who would destroy Satan. Christians understand this as referring to Jesus, the promised redeemer whose death of atonement releases the descendants of Adam and Eve from the consequences of the sin of disobedience. Because God had given Adam and Eve the commandment not to eat from the tree of knowledge, the contractual aspect of covenant with its obligations by both parties—God giving the creation and Adam and Eve obeying the commandment—was

stressed by the term *double covenant*, which was used in Reformed theology in the seventeenth century.

Covenant historians hold that Protestant covenantal theology derives from the works of MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551), JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564), and in particular from those of HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575). Primarily because of the great Reformation debate concerning the place of good works—or obedience to God’s law—in the process of salvation, the contractual as well as the promissory nature of God’s covenant continued to be stressed. Because Protestants emphasized the gratuitous (free) character of the covenant and the inability of humans to fulfill the requirement of obedience without the work of the Holy Spirit, they preferred to speak of the *covenant of grace*: God not only established the contract but also enabled a person to fulfill its terms. PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560), MARTIN LUTHER’S (1483–1546) collaborator, used the promise of the covenantal relationship in his *Loci communes* and in his expositions on the gospel of Matthew in the early 1520s, but HEINRICH BULLINGER composed the first Protestant elaboration of the doctrine of the covenant (Baker, “Heinrich Bullinger”). Covenant historians have treated the development of that doctrine as almost exclusively the work of theologians in the REFORMED CHURCHES and in PURITANISM (Weir 1983). These Reformed Churches are generally referred to as Calvinist. The development of covenantal theology from the beginning of the Christian Church to its Reformed definitions ending with KARL BARTH (1886–1968) is treated here with summaries of the ideas of the major theologians and a critical evaluation of seventeenth-century covenantal theories by Bertus Loonstra. Loonstra also refers to Jacob Arminius’s alleged introduction of a covenant between God the Father and Jesus, the Son, but like other ideas of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theologians taken from late medieval mystics, that pact was the subject of fifteenth-century mystery plays.

The denominational correctness that marks Protestant polemics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries still plagues modern church historians, who often underline differences in covenantal theology by insisting on the primacy of a favorite Reformer and his independent development, or trace most subsequent development back to Bullinger, its sixteenth-century fountain (cf. Visser, “Ursinus”). The historical studies listed in the references demonstrate that covenant was (and is) a flexible concept that occasioned frequent disagreements. For example Bullinger, Melanchthon, and his student, Zacharias Ursinus, apparently saw no difficulty in integrating God’s covenant with the doctrine of God’s ELECTION (Coenen 1963:128–134). But the covenantal condition of obedience to God’s law led to questions such as those raised by Arminians that God’s PREDESTINATION (election) was also conditional and thus not, as proposed by Calvin and stressed by his followers, absolute and eternal. Some interpreters of Calvin have even argued that the doctrine of the covenant is absent from his theology, but these are in a minority (Lillback, “Conundrum”). In the sixteenth century, disagreements among Protestants had already led to increasingly precise definitions of doctrine. These generally were summed up in CONFESSIONS of territorial and national churches. These confessions often occasioned elaborate explanations in defense of a territorial Church’s right to exist. An important example of this is afforded by the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (HC), which began its life in 1563 as a confessional document establishing a purer reformation in the German palatinate. It was later adopted as an official document of the Reformed Churches at the SYNOD of Dordt in 1618. Its explanation was written

by Zacharias Ursinus. He was a student and lifelong admirer of Philipp Melanchthon, a fact that is usually overlooked by Reformed scholars. Covenant historians see Ursinus as an important link between Bullinger and seventeenth-century covenant developments. Ursinus treated covenant in his explanation of Question 18 of the Heidelberg Catechism, which follows on the questions concerning Sin, God's wrath, and the believer's inability to achieve salvation. The covenant is integrated into the theology of redemption: "Covenant is so called because it is the promise of reconciliation and while we speak of the Old and New Testament, there is but one eternal covenant." This he repeats in his treatment of Gospel under Question 19, where he reproduces a play on the two Greek words *Eppangelia* and *evangelia*. These have different meanings that are often glossed over: *eppangelia* means the promise of a future redeemer, and *evangelia* (gospel) the teaching of the redeemer who is already there (Visser, "Ursinus"). Ursinus repeats the well-known usages for covenant and also discusses the chronological sequence of the covenant of creation (at the beginning of the world), the Mosaic covenant (the establishment of the Ten Commandments that replaced the moral law of nature), and the fulfilment of the law by Christ and the subsuming of the Ten Commandments in the two commandments of the Sermon on the Mount.

Antecedents

The covenantal relationship was always implicit in the writings of the fathers of the church, and occasionally received special attention in polemics against heretics. Those of the third-century Irenaeus of Lyon were edited by Erasmus and thus available to the sixteenth-century reformers. In the exegetical writings of medieval scholars, the covenantal idea was often presented by the metaphor of marriage, namely the marriage between God and the Church, for which such texts as John 3:29 and Ephesians 5:30 served as evidence. The marriage ring or wedding band (in French *alliance*, which is also French for covenant) was described by medieval mystics as the symbol of the indissoluble link between God and the believer. It reinforced the meaning of religion, which is derived from the Latin for "binding together." The idea came naturally to speakers of German, which translates "covenant" with the word "*bund*" This marriage metaphor dominated the writings of mystics such as Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and can also be found in those of Erasmus and Protestant reformers. Martin Luther clearly drew on Wessel Gansfort in 1520 in his *On the Freedom of the Christian*, and Melanchthon often spoke of marriage as an image of Christ's relationship to the church. The metaphor was still important in Samuel Willard's lectures on the *Shorter [Westminster] Catechism* (Boston, 1725). The believer is reminded of this bond by the two sacraments of baptism and communion as signs of the covenant at work, namely the washing away of sin and atonement through the death of Christ.

The Covenant and Salvation History

The covenantal relationship also became a vehicle for interpreting salvation history (e.g., Melanchthon and Bullinger) by focusing on God's repeated restoration of the covenant in

spite of the people's frequent disobedience. The Reformers often prefaced their discussions of the covenant with an exposition of synonyms used in the Bible and by the church fathers such as treaty, contract, testament, and promise. Melanchthon stressed the consolation implicit in God's voluntary covenant and preferred the word promise. *Foedus*, the Latin word for covenant, became the term of choice. It gave rise to *federal theology*, which received its fullest treatment in the work of JOHANNES COCCEIUS, a professor of theology at the University of Leiden. He had received his preparatory education in Bremen, Germany, where the Reformed doctrine of communion had been introduced by Albert Hardenberg (1510–1574), a friend of Melanchthon's, and further defined by Christopher Pezel (1539–1564), who had set himself the task of gathering and publishing Melanchthon's works and correspondence. It is not surprising, therefore, that Cocceius based his systematic covenantal theology not only on scriptural evidence of God's love acting in salvation history, but also on events in the life of the Christian Church. This too was an elaboration of existing ideas, for example of the theory of the ages of the church and the program of Lutheran historians to write a history of the church that focused on the witnesses to faith who represented the visible church of past centuries. This project is known as the *Magdeburg Centuries*, the history of the church published by MATTHIAS FLACIUS.

Later Developments

In the development of covenantal theology, the debate on obedience reflects the polemics against the antinomians, who proposed that because of the salvation through Christ, the works of Mosaic law were suspended. The Reformers stressed the need for obedience to the law, not because it helped one obtain salvation, but as an act of gratitude for that salvation and as a sign by which Christians were known (cf. Büsser, in Coenen 1963:159–170). In covenantal theology, the requirements of the law, also referred to as works of gratitude (e.g., in the HC), were discussed as the *covenant of works*, that is, the human counterpart to God's *covenant of grace*. In English PURITANISM, in the desire of the strict Calvinists for a further (or second) Reformation, and especially in later PIETISM, the covenant of works led to a large volume of manuals for the Christian life (Von Rohr) or what LUTHERANISM had defined as *vocation* according to Matthew 20:16. The emphasis placed on obedience through works also gave rise to more polemics, for example those concerning the observance of the sabbath and what type of work was permitted on the Lord's day. Some authors referred to the Fourth Commandment as the fourth covenant (Visser). The covenantal dimension of the Ten Commandments also comes to the fore in the utopian *Christianopolis* (1619) by the strict Lutheran superintendent of Wurtemberg, Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), who made them into the constitution of his ideal city. Once incorporated into the systematic theology of the leading Protestant churches, the covenant retained its importance in the explanation of God's special relationship to the believer. The subsequent commentaries on the Heidelberg Catechism with the *Handbuch* edited by Lothar Coenen at the quarcentenary (1963) of the HC may serve as examples. The ethical dimension of covenant theology that dominated Puritan writings also remains important, for example in the writings of Paul Ramsey, which he admitted he derived from Karl Barth (Werpehowski, "Christian

Love”). Barth wrote that the gracious election to the covenantal community with Jesus Christ was the purpose of God’s creation, thereby recalling the socioethical consequences of covenantal theology (Barth 1958: Vol. III, pt. 1, 96, 231). In the latter part of the twentieth century, the covenant was also seen as an ecumenical tool by the various denominations interested in opposing the spread of secular ideologies in the Southern Hemisphere and for dealing with cultural pluralism in general (Mount, “The Currency of Covenant”). The ecumenical development is rather a departure, for the biblical concept of the covenant for a chosen people was exclusive, even superior (Jospe, “Chosen People”). This view also became prevalent in Reformed circles (Gerstner, “The Thousand Generation Covenant”) and is based on the covenant with Abraham (Genesis 17) and the New Testamental 1 Peter 2:9. It played a role in the opposition of Scottish Presbyterians or Covenanters to King Charles I (1600–1649), who was an Anglican. They, in common with other reformed countries, saw the nation as a new Israel. The concept of a chosen people is also one of the roots of South Africa’s system of apartheid (Smith, “Covenant and Ethics”). The ecumenical movement’s use of a universal or inclusive covenant is the focus of a series of articles in the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*. Eric Mount’s review of covenant studies further reveals a continued debate on the role of covenant in political developments, in particular that of federalism including the American Revolution (Bullinger). Among these studies, that of Daniel Elazar has met with approval. He recognizes the distinction between God’s covenant and covenants engaged in between communities of equals to obtain and/or preserve their liberties, but he stresses Reformed covenantal thought as the source for a revival of ancient federalist traditions. In the second half of the sixteenth century, when rulers engaged in war to restore Roman Catholicism, numerous writings were produced to justify resistance based on the duty to obey God before a ruler who imposes erroneous (i.e., Roman) forms of worship. The arguments of these writings are summed up in the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (1579), in which the right to resist is derived from Roman and medieval contract theory. Its anonymous author wrote of a “double contract” requiring the individual to obey his contract with God before obeying that between the individual and the ruler when that ruler demands actions contrary to God’s commandments. Feudal law, notwithstanding the practice of subinfeudation, recognized the primacy of a vassal’s obligations to his liege lord, who to the believer is God. The *Vindiciae* addresses political exigencies created by the Reformation that might place a Protestant citizen or group of citizens under a Catholic (heretical) ruler (Visser, “Junius”).

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DERK VISSER

COVENANT THEOLOGY

This term normally designates a mode of THEOLOGY that emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century and flourished primarily among theologians of the Reformed, or Calvinist (see CALVINISM), tradition in GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ENGLAND, and the New England colonies of North America. Its characteristic feature was the organization of a theological system around the idea of dual covenants between God and humanity. By the mid-seventeenth century, the covenant, or "federal," theology shaped a considerable body of Reformed thought about GRACE, ETHICS, SACRAMENTS, the CHURCH, and the state.

Covenant thought represented the Protestant attempt to construct theology from scripture alone, and its adherents took their cues especially from the Old Testament narratives of God's COVENANT with Abraham (Genesis 15) and David (2 Samuel 7),

which accentuated God's unconditional grant of favor; the Sinai Covenant (Exodus 19–24), which promised favor on condition of obedience; Jeremiah's vision of a "new covenant" with Israel, inscribed in the heart; and the New Testament's linkage of the new covenant with the sacrificial death of Jesus. By 1561, proponents of covenant thought began to join these ideas to a notion that God covenanted with Adam before the fall, that Adam (as humanity's representative) failed to meet the covenant conditions, and that God graciously responded through a second covenant with Abraham. One aim of the covenant theology was to hold in tension an affirmation of both divine sovereignty and human responsibility.

The Dual Covenants

JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) in Geneva and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) in Zurich both used the idea of covenant to emphasize the continuity between the Old and New Testaments and to defend infant BAPTISM by virtue of its analogy with the circumcision that sealed the Abrahamic covenant. Zwingli's successor, JOHANN HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575), also represented the covenant as the foundation of a Christian republic. But the typical features of the covenant theology found expression only when Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583), a professor of dogmatic theology at the University of Heidelberg, emphasized in his *Catechesis, summa theologiae* (c. 1561) a distinction between a "covenant of nature" (*foedus naturale*) made with Adam before the fall on behalf of all humankind and a "covenant of grace" providing SALVATION for the elect. The covenant of nature required perfect moral obedience as the condition of eternal happiness, a condition that Adam failed to meet. The subsequent covenant of grace required only FAITH, which Ursinus viewed as a gift of divine grace. The distinction helped explain why humanity bore the guilt of Adam's sin, why men and women remained subject to the moral demands of the natural covenant even after Adam's fall, and why they could no longer attain salvation by obedience to it.

The classic European exposition was the *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei* (1648) of the German theologian JOHANNES COCCEJUS (1603–1669), who taught at the universities of Franeker and Leyden in the NETHERLANDS. The covenantal idea reached England especially through the *Sacra Theologia* (1585) of the English Calvinist Dudley Fenner (1558?–1587), who sharpened the concept by defining the natural covenant as a covenant of works (*foedus operum*). The covenant of works still obligated Adam's heirs to moral obedience, but salvation came only through the covenant of grace. Through the influence of Fenner and the Puritan preacher WILLIAM PERKINS (1558–1602), the covenant theology guided English Puritan reform, and by the end of the sixteenth century some Puritan separatists envisioned the church as a local congregation that required an explicit covenant among its members (see PURITANISM).

Some historians restrict the meaning of "covenant theology" to theological systems organized by the dual covenants of works and grace. Others extend the meaning to include any early modern theological system that made extensive use of the covenant metaphor. Some interpret the language of conditionality in covenantal thought as a softening of the Calvinist doctrine of PREDESTINATION or ELECTION. Others point out, more accurately, that covenant theologians incorporated subtle distinctions that

preserved the Reformed insistence that salvation was entirely a gift of sovereign grace to God's elect, chosen from eternity. They observe that the covenant between God and humanity was both conditional and absolute, imposing conditions for salvation and pledging God's fidelity to the faithful, but also making absolute promises of saving grace to the elect, who alone would have true faith.

Political Thought

Covenantal thought had political implications that became evident as early as 1534, when Heinrich Bullinger argued that civil laws were founded in the covenant. The HUGUENOTS who resisted the Catholic monarch in France, especially the author of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (1579), sometimes argued that the covenant with God governed the covenant between king and people. The German jurist JOHANNES ALTHUSIUS (1557?-1638) contended in his *Politics* (1603) that political life rested on implicit covenants, grounded in the covenant with God and logically prior to civil law, that enhanced human flourishing in families, voluntary associations, ascending levels of political governance, and a sovereign commonwealth administered by princes. Covenantal ideas inspired the Scottish Presbyterians who signed a National Covenant (1638) to resist the Prayer Book imposed by King Charles I in England and a "Solemn League and Covenant" (1648) with the English Parliament during the CIVIL WAR. A few historians have contended that covenant thought flowed into eighteenth-century political federalism.

As early as the mid-seventeenth century, Protestants outside the Calvinist tradition made use of covenantal images, continuing to use them into the nineteenth century, especially in the widely accepted definition of sacraments as seals of the covenant of grace. The twentieth century saw a recovery of covenantal thinking, evident in sources as diverse as the theology of KARL BARTH and the religious sociology of the American Robert Bellah, but the label "covenant theology" is best reserved for the early modern Reformed thinkers, who defined the covenants of works and grace as the organizing principle for theology and biblical interpretation.

See also Church and State, Overview; Congregationalism; Presbyterianism

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E. BROOKS HOLIFIELD

COVERDALE, MILES (1488–1568)

English Bible translator and reformer. Born in 1488 in the north of ENGLAND, Coverdale died in London in 1568. Known primarily as the first translator of the entire BIBLE into English, Coverdale was ordained into the Roman Catholic priesthood in 1514, but by the early 1520s had embraced Lutheran precepts (see LuTHERANISM), attending meetings at the famous White Horse Tavern. When fellow White Horse frequenter ROBERT BARNES was charged with HERESY, Coverdale helped him mount a defense, and then fled to the continent to avoid arrest. While abroad he drew on German translations of the Bible and Apocrypha, the Zurich Bible, and WILLIAM TYNDALE'S New Testament to produce the first complete English Bible. After the Bible was introduced in England in 1535 Coverdale put forth several subsequent editions, and also provided English translations for a number of MARTIN LUTHER'S writings.

Named bishop of Exeter during Edward VI's reign, he was deprived of his title when the Catholic Queen Mary assumed power. Although never officially reinstated, Coverdale assisted at archbishop MATTHEW PARKER'S consecration in 1559. Coverdale's growing support of PURITANISM came to light when he attended this ceremony without cope and miter. After Coverdale earned a Doctor of Divinity from Cambridge, Edmund Grindal assigned him a living in a London church. Further evidence of Coverdale's Puritan leanings emerged when he resigned that living in 1563 rather than conform to a strict observance of the LITURGY. He died five years later and was buried in St. Bartholomew's Church in London.

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KAREN BRUHN

CRANMER, THOMAS (1489–1556)

Archbishop of Canterbury and compiler of the ANGLICAN BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. The future archbishop of Canterbury was born in July 1489 into a family of minor Nottinghamshire gentry, the son of Thomas Cranmer of Aslocton and his wife

Agnes Hatfield. An uninspiring elementary education either at the hands of the parish priest or of a private tutor was followed by a period at grammar school, of which he later had dire memories. His father died in 1501, when he was twelve, and his elder brother John inherited the modest estate. Agnes decided to seek a career for her younger son and, perhaps detecting an ability that no one else had noticed, entered him at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1503. A century later this would have been a normal rite of passage for a young gentleman, but that was not so when Cranmer was young, and it clearly signaled ecclesiastical ambitions. However, there was nothing brilliant about young Thomas, who plugged away at the arts curriculum for eight years before taking an undistinguished degree in 1511.

In 1514, at the age of twenty-five, Cranmer had received an M.A. degree. Dull as he may have found the formal curriculum, his intellectual curiosity was aroused by humanists such as Erasmus and Faber, whose influence was growing in the university during those years. Cranmer became a good classical Latinist, and began to study Greek and Hebrew. At about the time of his second graduation, Jesus College elected him to a fellowship, which was not a mark of distinction, but indicated a recognized commitment to academic life. However, shortly afterward he did something highly unconventional—he got married. This offended against no law, given that he was not in orders, but because college fellowships were designed for those intending to be ordained, he resigned in 1516. This episode later loomed large in the folklore of the English REFORMATION, but in fact it was brief and tragic. His wife's name was Joan, and they lived together at the Dolphin Inn, a circumstance that caused his enemies to claim that she was a barmaid. In fact she seems to have been of suitable status for a man in his position, and during their brief marriage he supported himself as reader at Buckingham College, which had no rule of celibacy. A year later Joan died in childbirth, taking their child with her.

We do not know how he took this blow, but his reaction was to return to his original career rather than to seek another wife. Very exceptionally, Jesus College then reelected him to his fellowship, indicating that he had become a valuable member of the college community. In about 1520 he was ordained a priest, and in 1521 received his bachelor of divinity degree. By this time he was over thirty, several heads of colleges were younger, and he showed no particular ambition. In 1525 he became reader in divinity, having rejected an invitation to move to Oxford as a founding fellow of Cardinal College, and in 1526 achieved the doctor of divinity degree. By this time he was noted in the university as a follower of the “new learning,” and as an examiner was very strict in his insistence on biblical knowledge. This made him unpopular with some of his more conservative colleagues, but there was no suggestion that he was considered unorthodox.

By 1527 this relatively obscure don was beginning to get involved in high politics. Probably the initiative came from Cardinal Wolsey (1475–1530), who had recognized his abilities two years earlier. He did not leave Cambridge but began to travel to London for consultations about KING HENRY VIII's matrimonial problems (which required experts in both theology and canon law) and even undertook some minor diplomatic missions. Clergy of his background were often used in this way, but Cranmer was unusual in that he held no benefice, and his only administrative experience was as proctor's auditor. However, these developments help to explain why he left the university in 1529 to work full time on the king's problem.

What had happened was that Henry was getting nowhere with his canon law case and was switching to scripture-based theology, on which Cranmer was an expert. In October 1529 he was summoned to see the king and left with instructions to prepare a treatise on the matter. He entered the service of the Earl of Wiltshire (Anne Boleyn's father) and took up residence at Durham House. The work that he wrote in response to this order does not survive, but we know that the king was pleased with it. In January 1530 he sent his new specialist advisor to Rome in a futile attempt to persuade Pope Clement VII to allow a public discussion of his "Great Matter."

What Cranmer did achieve during the months that he stayed in Rome was, however, almost as useful and a remarkable feat for so inexperienced an envoy. He obtained favorable judgments, or *censure*, from several Italian universities and papal permission for these judgments to be published. This course was not his idea, but he was the most successful of the many who were trying to follow it. In 1531 Cranmer entered the king's direct service as a chaplain, and received his first benefice, the archdeaconry of Taunton.

The following year he was sent to chase the Emperor Charles V around his vast dominions, in another futile bid to persuade Charles to relax his hostility to an annulment. This mission was a steep learning curve. It was Cranmer's first experience of purely secular diplomacy, and his first encounter with the reformed, or Lutheran churches that were springing up all over Germany. There is no evidence that he was in any sense converted to the theology of the CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG, but he was impressed by the vernacular liturgies and vernacular scriptures these churches were using. Almost incredibly, he also married again, his bride being Margaret, niece to the wife of the Lutheran divine ANDREAS OSIANDER. They did not speak each other's languages, and can have known each other only a few weeks, but it was to be an enduring and fruitful union. It was also an appalling risk. Cranmer was now a beneficed priest in the king's service, and his marriage was a serious offense in canon law. He was to keep this union secret for over fifteen years, but it was a hostage to fortune, particularly as Henry found out, and connived at the deception. Worse was to follow.

In August 1532 the aged and obstructive archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, died, and the king needed an archbishop who would do his bidding over the most important issue in his life. The archdeacon of Taunton may not have been an obvious successor, but he had two enormous advantages: he genuinely believed in the king's cause, and he was a man of recognized learning and integrity. The summons to office was certainly a shock, and in the circumstances may well have been as unwelcome as Cranmer claimed. By January 1533 he was back in London, and his appointment was made public.

The new archbishop was not a party to Henry's secret marriage to Anne Boleyn in the same month, a move enforced by the fact that she was pregnant, but he knew from the first what he would be expected to do. On May 28, after a show of due process, he declared that Catherine was not, and never had been, Henry's wife. Like the king's, Cranmer's conscience at this point was very important. His consecration (to which Clement VII rather surprisingly raised no objection) involved an oath to the pope, which he knew he would have to break. He therefore entered a *caveat*, declaring that the said oath could not bind him against the laws of God, or of England. Not surprisingly he was later accused of hypocrisy, but it seems that he genuinely believed that the pope should have no jurisdiction in England, and went through the motions because Henry had not

quite got to that point. Obviously, he also rejected clerical CELIBACY, but could hardly say so openly. His great strength was not only personal loyalty to the king, but a like-mindedness that did not have to be constrained. He honestly believed that God had given Henry (and indeed all kings) the authority to rule the church in his dominions, and for that reason he accepted the king's judgment in matters of jurisdiction and worship. He actively promoted the English translation of the BIBLE, finally authorized in 1539, but apart from that he supported initiatives that came from THOMAS CROMWELL or the king himself. This involved not only the formal declaration of the Royal Supremacy, which through parliamentary statute had declared the king "head of the Church of England," but also the dissolution of the monasteries. Like many orthodox Catholics by this time, he had no particular use for the *Opus Dei*, preferring other expressions of piety, but when he pressed for the resources to be redistributed within the church, he was ignored. When he dissolved the Boleyn marriage in 1536, in one of the more discreditable examples of his flexibility, he was obeying the king's direct orders; when he wormed the truth out of a distraught Catherine Howard, the Queen, in 1541 he was discharging a pastoral duty. Although there is no evidence that at this time he held any specifically Protestant doctrines, he was bitterly unpopular with conservatives, both clerical and lay. The rebels in 1536 denounced him as a heretic, and when Cromwell fell in 1540 many hoped that the archbishop would go as well, but Henry consistently supported him. In 1537 he became godfather to Prince Edward, and in 1539 the king excused him the painful duty of voting for the Act of Six Articles with its staunchly Catholic line. In 1543, when he was denounced by the clergy of his own cathedral, Henry gave him the commission to investigate, with the words "...now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent."

When the old king died in January 1547, Cranmer in a sense emerged from cover. He had been experimenting with vernacular liturgy for some time, and had even used an English litany on occasion, but it is impossible to trace accurately the development of his theological thinking. He was immensely well read, not only in the Scriptures but also in the Greek and Latin fathers and the medieval schoolmen. His aim seems to have been to restore the purity of the early church, and it was not difficult to convince himself that papal authority and clerical celibacy were both comparatively late developments. By 1547 he seems to have come to the same conclusion about TRANSUBSTANTIATION, and that tipped him over into the Protestant camp. He had certainly read MARTIN LUTHER, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, and many other contemporary reformers, but his conclusions were not specifically based on any of them. Although not dramatically distinctive, his theology was *sui generis*. Until January 1547 Cranmer had paced himself by the king; now he became the pacesetter himself, aided and abetted by the sympathetic regime of the Lord Protector, the duke of Somerset.

In the summer he issued a set of homilies on the Eucharist and on justification that were clearly Protestant; in December the Act of Six Articles was repealed. In 1548 he wrote and issued an English order of Communion. Early in 1549 the First Act of Uniformity abolished the mass and many other traditional rites, and authorized instead the first Book of Common Prayer, Cranmer's slightly modified translation of the *Sarum Use*, the Roman rite for England, Wales, and Ireland. At the same time clerical marriage was legalized, and Margaret Cranmer was able to emerge from her long obscurity. Outside London these measures were not popular, and in the summer of 1549 there were

widespread disorders to which the religious changes contributed. The protesters were pacified or suppressed, but in October the Regency Council decided that the Lord Protector had overreached himself; he was overthrown and imprisoned. Cranmer was caught in the middle of this, and as a close ally of the Protector, it was thought that he would be the next to go. This was particularly the case because many of those involved in the *coup* were religious conservatives who wanted to return to the Henrician settlement.

The archbishop survived, partly because of a close personal relationship with the young king, and partly by allying with the pragmatic Earl of Warwick, the most powerful of the councillors. After a tense struggle, Warwick became president of the Council, and the program of religious reform continued. In 1550 a reformed Ordinal (book of rites for ordination) was introduced, reflecting the Protestant view of orders, and in 1552 (after much consultation) a revised Prayer Book. Cranmer had been trying since 1548 to attract prominent continental reformers to England, and because of the uncomfortable circumstances at home, several had come. The most important were MARTIN BUCER and Peter Martyr Vermigli, and both these played an important part in reforming the liturgy, which was much more unequivocally Protestant than its predecessor (which some conservatives had been willing to use). This was enforced by a second Act of Uniformity, but by that time Cranmer was at odds with Warwick, partly over the distribution of the property from the last of the religious foundations, the chantries. Warwick began to favor more radical reformers, such as JOHN KNOX and John Hooper, and Cranmer largely withdrew from the Council. In late 1552 he tried to introduce a reformed canon law, but Warwick killed it in the parliament, on the grounds that it would give the clergy too much power. At the same time the Council pressed the archbishop to prepare a reformed CONFESSION, which he did, but nothing was done with it until the summer of 1553, when it was promulgated as the 42 Articles.

By then King Edward VI (1537–1553), whose personal convictions had allowed this whole reformation to happen, was at the point of death. His lawful heir, Mary, was Catholic and a famous conservative, and Edward did his best to set up a scheme promoting his Protestant cousin, Jane Grey, in her place. This scheme, enthusiastically promoted by Warwick (now duke of Northumberland) and reluctantly supported by Cranmer, failed within days. Northumberland was swiftly tried and executed for treason, and Cranmer was one of those similarly tried and convicted during the autumn. He had already taken the precaution of putting his affairs in order, and sending Margaret and their children to Germany. He was executed not only because Mary believed that he was entirely responsible for what had happened to her mother, Catherine, and herself, but also because HERESY was a far worse crime than treason. However, until the papal jurisdiction was restored, there was no court in England competent to try him. Along with Nicholas Ridley and HUGH LATIMER, he was paraded in Oxford in April 1554 in what was officially termed an academic disputation but was in fact a show trial. He made no concessions, and remained in prison until the autumn of 1555.

The papal jurisdiction had been restored in January, but Cranmer's archiepiscopal status meant that a special commission had to be issued to try him. This took time, and it was not until September 1555 that James Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, presided at his trial in Oxford. Brookes wisely concentrated not on THEOLOGY, where Cranmer was robust, but on jurisdiction, where his enthusiasm for the Royal Supremacy made him vulnerable. "If you believe that the Queen has authority," Brookes asked him in effect,

“why do you not obey her in what she is now telling you to do?” Cranmer was inevitably convicted, and relaxed to the secular arm, but his confidence had been undermined. Under intense pressure, he signed a recantation, and then another, more explicit. Neither Mary nor Cardinal Pole was pleased. In spite of the propaganda triumph that such a submission would have represented, Mary wanted him dead, without any moral complications. She chose to regard his recantation as insincere and pressed on with the plans for his burning. Perhaps conscience smitten, or perhaps realizing he had nothing to gain, Cranmer decided that Protestantism meant more to him than the Royal Supremacy, and spectacularly withdrew his recantation at the stake. He was burned in Oxford March 21, 1556, and thus became a MARTYR. But none of this would have mattered, and his career might have languished in academic obscurity if the Edwardian church had not been restored by ELIZABETH I and taken root. Cranmer thus became a founding father of an enduring ecclesiastical tradition, which has now spread all over the world.

Thomas Cranmer was not a saint, and not even a great theologian; he was, however, an incomparable liturgist who became one of the great creators of the English language. He was also a first-class ecclesiastical statesman who made a plausible church out of the jurisdictional and doctrinal mess created by Henry VIII's conscience and its attendant needs. When he got the chance, in Edward VI's reign, Cranmer became a religious leader of stature and accomplishment. When put to the test, he managed (Just) to emerge as a Protestant hero and an example for later generations. How far this last was attributable to his own performance and how far to the evocative recreation of his life by author JOHN FOXE in *The Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous days* (1563) is a subject still under discussion.

See also Calvinism; Lord's Supper; Lutheranism; Presbyterianism; Reformation; Theology; Transubstantiation; Bible Translation

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DAVID LOADES

CREATION SCIENCE

"Creation Science" is a term adopted by American biblical literalists in the 1970s. It is part of the broader Creationist movement—that group committed to the accuracy of the account of creation as given in the first three chapters of the Book of Genesis. It is an outgrowth of American evangelical Protestantism of the nineteenth century, and continues to flourish today. The term of "Creation Science" is now subsumed under the category of "Intelligent Design."

Background History

With the enactment of Prohibition in the United States after World War One, anti-evolution religious groups were emboldened by their success in the fight against alcohol and pushed for the passage of laws forbidding the teaching of natural origins as argued by Charles Darwin. One of the states where the biblical literalists or fundamentalists were successful was Tennessee. This led, in 1925, to the notorious Scopes Trial, when a young teacher (John Thomas Scopes) was brought to task for teaching evolution. Prosecuted by three-time presidential candidate WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN and defended by the noted agnostic Clarence Darrow, Scopes was eventually found guilty, although the very light fine of \$100 was overturned on appeal. The true drama of the story, however, was the defense of the BIBLE given by Bryan and the mocking of its literal interpretation by Darrow. The evolutionists lost the case but they won the battle as—thanks particularly to the savage reporting of *Baltimore Sun* reporter H.L. Mencken—much of America laughed at the arguments of the critics of modern science. Bryan boasted, for example, that he took his stand on the Rock of Ages rather than the age of rocks (Ginger 1958; Larson 1997).

Evolution triumphed in Tennessee, and the 1930s and 1940s were to see progress in the understanding of the evolutionary process. Paradoxically, however, in the classrooms of the UNITED STATES, teaching of evolution withered and died. Concerned about sales, publishers pressured their authors, textbooks, suppressed references to evolution, and Darwin's place as a seminal figure to Western thought was denied or ignored. This state of affairs lasted through the 1950s, when the Russian success with Sputnik spurred a

push to revitalize American science education. Finally a whole new generation of evolution-friendly biology textbooks began to appear (Nelkin 1977).

Creation Science

With the textbooks however, came a revitalized opposition to evolution. The “Bible” of the anti-evolutionist movement, *Genesis Flood* by John C. Whitcomb and Henry M. Morris, appeared in 1961. Here was the definitive case for what now came to be called “Creationism,” a literal reading of Genesis that assumed six days of creation, six thousand years ago, with the appearance of plants and animals followed by humankind. This account also assumed a worldwide flood at some point later. By then the politics of the situation had changed from Tennessee in 1925. The U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that evolution could be taught in state-supported schools and that religion (as opposed to “Religious Studies”) could not have a place in such schools. Much therefore was made of the supposedly scientific case for Creationism, especially under the favored alternative name of “Creation Science.” Gaps in the fossil record were given prominent treatment.

In major respects *Genesis Flood* had its roots in the past as much as in the present because it drew heavily on the ideas of a turn-of-the-century Canadian, Seventh-day Adventist George McCready Price. A literal six days of creation (with the days of durations as experienced by us) was a crucial part of Adventists theology, given the high place Adventists gave to the final day of rest. Price had long been advocating a literal reading of the Bible, and had given much time and effort to fitting the empirical facts into the biblical account. As with many dispensationalists (those who believe in epochs ended with major upheavals), Armageddon figured highly in Adventist theology, and one finds a corresponding (and complementing) fascination with the earlier time of worldwide destruction, Noah’s Flood. For Price, as for later Creationists including Whitcomb and Morris, the progressivist fossil record is confirmation of the Flood, being not a record of life through long eons of time but an artifact of the rising waters.

The new Creationism gained an increasingly high profile. Sympathetic legislators introduced bills to mandate the teaching of Creation Science along with evolution. Arkansas in 1981 was the place and time of the ultimate showdown, when the American Civil Liberties Union—brought suit against a law that insisted on the teaching of Creationism alongside evolution. Once again the nation’s eyes were fixed on a southern United States courtroom, although this time the judge found against Creationism, ruling its aspirations to become part of biology curricula were unconstitutional (Ruse 1988; Gilkey 1985).

Intelligent Design

A new generation of supporters has attacked evolution and argued that origins, including human origins, stand outside the normal course of NATURE. Initially, today’s Creationists contented themselves with attacking evolution. They brought forward versions of the arguments that appeared in *Genesis Flood*, in Price and indeed in the writings of anti-evolutionists in the days of Darwin. If evolution be true, why does no one

ever see it in action? How did life start? Could the inorganic really turn into flourishing life, without the intervention of a divine artificer? Why are there so many gaps in the fossil record, and where are the necessary intermediates? How could chance make the sophisticated functioning of the hand and the eye?

Perhaps spurred by the objections of the evolutionists, the new Creationists formulated and promoted an alternative notion of origins, that meshes with a literal reading of the early chapters of Genesis. In the eyes of anti-evolutionists, the adaptive complexity of the living world is too subtle to be the product of blind law. In its intricate functioning, it apparently exhibits “irreducible complexity.” If blind law is inadequate, what alternative is there? The answer given is some form of “intelligent design.” An intervention—or interventions—in the normal course of nature brought on the true marks of the living. The world shows the results of the direct intervention of a conscious intelligence.

The Intelligent Design theorists have been criticized by conventional scientists, no less severely than were the earlier generations of Creationists (Miller 1999). It is argued that the notion of irreducible complexity is conceptually confused and empirically unwarranted. The very idea of design itself, out of step with modern science, is not needed and raises as many problems as it supposedly solves. Is design something that happened in the distant past, held in check until needed? How could this holding operation have operated in any organisms, let alone those more primitive than today’s forms? Is design something that was inserted in the recent past, or even in the present, in which case why do we not have direct evidence of its occurrence?

Criticisms have also been made of the theoretical defense of Intelligent Design by William Dembski (Ruse 2003). He argues that chance processes could never produce the complex functioning of organisms. Richard Dawkins (1985) has offered more sophisticated computer models to suggest how the kinds of objections by Dembski and those before him fade away as soon as one takes into consideration the real nature of evolution.

Science and Religion

One consequence of the Creationist movement has been increased efforts by theologians and concerned scientists and others (particularly philosophers and historians) to think hard about the science/religion relationship. They are challenged to formulate an adequate account of the true connections between science and religion in general, and between DARWINISM and Christianity in particular. One thing has become very clear: the conflict model of science and religion—that the two are natural enemies—is as much a phenomenon of the nineteenth century as is Creationism. For most of the Christian era, whether in Catholic or Protestant manifestations and the greatest friend of science has been religion—Copernicus was in minor orders and Darwin trained for the Anglican priesthood, and in both cases it shows.

There is still much work to be done in articulating the various options of the science/religion relationship. Some argue that the two are essentially things apart and hence truly cannot clash. This was the position of the late Stephen Jay Gould (1999) who talked of non-overlapping “Magisteria.” Others do not see science and religion as apart and indeed argue for integration. Most famous in the twentieth century in the context of

evolution was the French Jesuit paleontologist, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1955). Although few today accept his vision outright—a vision that moves progressively from the beginning of life to humans and thence beyond to the so-called Omega Point that Teilhard identified with Christ—there are many who still find his thinking stimulating and fertile.

There are also those who think that science and religion, although different, can at least impinge, one on the other, and that some kind of mutual respect must be achieved for them to exist in harmony (Barbour 1988). A key issue, obviously, is the understanding of “mutual respect.” Some who work on the science/religion interface think that only if evolutionists are willing to temper the harshness of pure Darwinism—to soften the depiction of nature red in tooth and claw—can science and religion be harmonized. Others take the attitude that it is not for the religious to question exactly how God created the universe, but rather to reinterpret and understand faith in the light of the most modern (and *prima facie* uncomfortable) scientific advances.

These are intellectual matters. One must recognize, however, that these do not exhaust the issue. There is a significant political dimension. Although the arguments are scientific (or more accurately, claimed to be scientific)—what drives the anti-evolutionists of today, as the Creationists of yesterday, is as much issues of morality and culture as of anything empirical.

Underlying this kind of argument is a sense that evolution is committed to something that Creationists call “metaphysical naturalism.” In the words of Phillip Johnson

“what is ultimately real is nature, which consists of the fundamental particles that make up what we call matter and energy, together with the natural laws that govern how those particles behave. Nature itself is ultimately all there is, at least as far as we are concerned. To put it another way, nature is a permanently closed system of material causes and effects that can never be influenced by anything outside of itself—by God, for example. To speak of something as ‘supernatural’ is therefore to imply that it is imaginary, and belief in powerful imaginary entities is known as superstition” (1995:37–38).

The creationists insist on being true “theistic realists,” assuming “that the universe and all its creatures were brought into existence for a purpose by God” (p. 209). Given the ongoing social and political triumphs of the religious right (see CHRISTIAN RIGHT) in the United States, it is likely that, for all of the scientists’ refutations, we shall see the continued existence—perhaps even flourishing—of the Creationist movement for many years yet to come. It is also likely this flourishing will continue to merge the scientific and religious with the political and social (Ruse 2000).

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Darwinism; Fundamentalism; Science

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- MICHAEL RUSE

CROMWELL, OLIVER (1599–1658)

English protestant statesman.

Early Life

Born in Huntingdon in East Anglia ENGLAND, on April 25, 1599, Oliver Cromwell was the only surviving son of Robert Cromwell and Elizabeth Steward. He became a statesman and military hero during the English CIVIL WARS and was named Lord Protector in 1653. Cromwell followed strict Puritan ideas in his early life, but propagated

more radical religious views, including limited liberty of conscience, during his later years. He died in 1658.

Robert and Elizabeth Cromwell originally had ten children, but only seven survived to adulthood. Robert Cromwell was politically active at the national level, where he sat in one of Queen ELIZABETH I's parliaments, and at the local level, where he was a justice of the peace and a landlord. Both of Cromwell's parents were from gentry families and had gained influence by acquiring former monastic lands during the reign of HENRY VIII. The Cromwells came from a poor yet well-connected branch of the family. There was a tenuous blood connection to THOMAS CROMWELL, the earl of Essex, Henry VIII's lord chancellor and the mastermind of the dissolution of the monasteries.

Cromwell's education began at the local grammar school. He came under the influence of the Puritan schoolmaster Thomas Beard (d.1632). Beard's ideas closely parallel those of the mature Cromwell, though it is difficult to tell how much Beard's ideas affected him. Beard's most famous work, *The Theatre of God's Judgments*, acts as an important case study for strict Puritan beliefs of the period. It emphasizes God's interest in the grim aspects of human experience. Abbott notes that Beard's God was "less the loving Father than a strong avenging Deity much absorbed in the discovery and punishment of sin...intending to teach morality by fear" (Abbott 1937:4.25).

Cromwell matriculated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge University, but left after a year due to his father's death and the need to assume family responsibilities. WILLIAM LAUD, the future archbishop of Canterbury, once referred to the school as a "hotbed of Puritanism." Abbott suggests that one can see Cromwell's educational and family experiences mirrored in his later career, such as his "remarkable command" of the BIBLE, his perception of God's intervention in his English history and in his own life, and his belief in the role of the "godly" in the community (Abbott 1937:4.26).

Historians disagree over the extent of Cromwell's formal education and his military background. Some believe that he studied law at Lincoln's Inn in London and lived there for a time. In 1620 he married Elizabeth Bourchier, the daughter of a London fur merchant, after a courtship that took place in London. It is also difficult to determine where and how he obtained his military training. He possibly adapted his military style from the Dutch. However, he believed that men motivated by a cause would form a better army than regular, professional soldiers if provided with discipline and strong leadership. Such concepts affected his success at the battle of Marston Moor in June 1644 and influenced the creation of the New Model Army in 1645.

The Cromwells lived in Huntingdon after they were married; they had nine children. Though they owned land, the Cromwells frequently experienced financial difficulties. The English government made many demands for taxation throughout the 1620s, and there were some bad harvests. In 1638 Cromwell inherited property in Ely from his maternal uncle, and his financial worries ended.

Political and Military Career

Cromwell was elected to the House of Commons from Huntingdon in 1628. There he became a noted opponent of Caroline religious policy. This Parliament promoted the Petition of Right and a Remonstrance against corrupt government. The Petition of Right

guaranteed civil liberties and established parliamentary AUTHORITY. It maintained the concept of due process, in particular arguing that no one could be arrested and jailed without given cause, and limited military presence by forbidding martial law and requiring a subject's approval before quartering troops on his private property.

After Charles I dissolved Parliament in 1629, it would not be called again for eleven years. During this time, Cromwell became a force in local politics. Throughout his early career, Cromwell made a name for himself by supporting the popular cause. Two notable incidents included opposition to the central government, in one case to obstruct the purging of corporations and in another to prevent the draining of the fens. He also supported several lectureships in Huntingdon.

For both the Short and Long Parliaments, Cromwell served as a MP for Cambridge. In the Long Parliament, Cromwell at first supported the reform group led by John Pym and participated in the Committee on Religion. When war broke out in 1642, Cromwell raised troops in Cambridge and became an officer in the army of the Eastern Association under the earl of Manchester. He soon distinguished himself in combat, but became critical of the military leadership, including Manchester, who wanted to force the king to settle but not defeat him completely.

In 1644, Cromwell began to separate himself from the moderate reformers in favor of more radical notions. The signing of the Solemn League and Covenant and propagation of the covenant oath undoubtedly influenced him. The Solemn League and Covenant formed the foundation for a 1643 military alliance between the opponents of Charles I in SCOTLAND and England. The major point in the treaty was England's promise to establish a Reformed church in exchange for Scottish military assistance. It also required its supporters to take an oath of allegiance to the Covenant. In 1643 and early in 1644, Scottish armies proved their worth by helping to defeat royalist forces at the battle of Tippermuir; the king agreed to treaty talks at Uxbridge.

After failing to settle with the king in 1645, Parliament renewed military opposition. Passing the New Model Ordinance to reorganize the parliamentary army, it created the Self-Denying Ordinance to separate WAR from politics. This latter ordinance, which appealed to many pious parliamentary supporters because it encouraged self-denial to curry God's favor, prohibited members of Parliament from serving as military officers. In June 1645, the battle of Naseby resulted in spectacular success for the New Model Army, which comprised large numbers of Independents and sectaries.

Believing Charles I intended to establish an absolute monarchy of the continental type, Cromwell maintained that the king was responsible for the nation's ills and committed himself to the king's military defeat. Cromwell proved willing to use the social and religious radicals shunned by the moderate reformers and considered dangerous by most parliamentarians. He believed that the state should ignore opinions when it needed men to serve. Cromwell represented a new revolutionary spirit dedicated to both religious and political reform. In addition, he had a passionate commitment to his goals. Christopher Hill has attributed this view to a "strong strand of Christian pragmatism" (Hill 1970:56–60, 77).

These ideas caused a permanent division between two groups of parliamentarians in 1647. One group, frequently termed the "political Presbyterians," saw the army as a threat to the authority of both Parliament and king; the other group, sometimes called the "political Independents," envisioned the soldiers as the true revolutionaries, those men

wanting real reform. In 1649, Cromwell solidly supported the execution of Charles I. He had, in fact, encouraged the campaign to have him tried and convicted for treason, punishable by death.

The abolition of the monarchy ushered in a period of English history known as the Interregnum, which in turn was divided into the Commonwealth era, from 1649 to 1653, and the Protectorate era from, 1653 to 1660. In February 1649, setting up an alternative government became the most urgent concern for Cromwell and his associates. Power rested chiefly in two bodies, the Rump Parliament, which welcomed the return of close to 100 purged members, and the Council of State. The latter was an eclectic body consisting of army officers, peers, and members of Parliament nominated by the Rump. Though it excluded radicals such as Thomas Harrison and Henry Ireton, Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax were two of the most active members. In April 1653 the Rump Parliament was dissolved in favor of a Nominated Assembly, the so-called “Barebones Parliament” that continued to work with the Council of State as the executive body.

Through the work of the Commonwealth government, Cromwell began to implement some of his religious policies. Committees were created to supervise missionary movements abroad, and bills were passed to propagate the gospel in WALES, IRELAND, the northern counties, and New England. Other legislation enforced morality, made Sabbath observance stricter, considered adultery a capital offense, and prohibited swearing and blasphemy. The most contentious issues involved tithes and the right of lay patrons to control livings, and these concerns were bound up with interests of property and the necessity of maintaining a professional, university-educated, ordained ministry.

The ineffectiveness of the Nominated Assembly and the disillusion of its moderate members with radical proposals prompted its dissolution in 1653. Cromwell replaced it with a Protectorate grounded on the Instrument of Government; he himself was named Lord Protector. This regime succeeded where the previous two regimes had failed by providing a religious settlement, although it did not satisfy everyone. In religion, the Instrument patterned itself after the Agreement of the People, mandating public profession of Christianity and the protection of dissenting congregations as long as they remained orderly. Such toleration did not extend to Catholics or those Anglicans who still refused to accept the Directory of Worship, used by the new national Presbyterian Church established in 1645. Cromwell’s ascension to Lord Protector earned him heavy criticism, both from his contemporaries and from historians, because he seemed to assume monarchical powers without the title of king.

Cromwell died in 1658, leaving the position of Lord Protector to his son, Richard. Richard’s inability to continue his father’s leadership contributed to the fall of the Protectorate and the restoration of the monarchy, but did not precipitate it. Weaknesses in the political system and divisions over contentious issues, including religion and the reform of law, meant that the English Republic was probably doomed to failure.

Religious Impact

Examining the themes of Cromwell’s life, one is struck by its dichotomy. Cromwell was both a fearless soldier and a committed champion of Christ. Studying how he reconciled these two main aspects of his personality can be both confusing and enlightening. John

Morrill has commented on the many interpretations of Oliver Cromwell, as a supporter of civil liberties and religious TOLERATION, as an “iconoclast” in both the literal and figurative senses of the term, as a murderer of the Irish people, and as a military hero (Morrill 1990:1). Examining Cromwell’s actions and words; what is difficult is reconciling all of these different personas into one.

On one hand, Cromwell’s religious beliefs reflected the Puritan influences on his education. He opposed the hierarchy of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, in particular the role of the bishops (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY). Cromwell held that the individual believer could have a personal relationship with God through PRAYER and WORSHIP, and despised the Episcopal teachings that emphasized the role of the priest as mediator. He wanted to abolish the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER and believed that PREACHING should be emphasized. Like many other members of the “godly” party, Cromwell saw himself as a member of the elect chosen both for eternal SALVATION and to be the vessel for God’s will on earth.

On the other hand, Cromwell’s religion reveals some new spiritual aspects. He referred to himself as a “seeker” who desired to know the will of God and act on it. Morrill believes that Cromwell was motivated by “a fierce commitment to a cause he believed in,” and one can see that the cause had political and spiritual implications (Morrill 1990:14). He called himself the “chief of sinners” whom God had completely saved. In a 1638 letter, Cromwell exclaims: “The Lord accept me in His Son, and give me to walk in the light...as He is the light! He it is that enlighteneth our blackness, our darkness” (Abbott 1937:101). Cromwell believed that his actions, military and otherwise, were part of God’s great purpose, and that he was an agent in the fulfillment of God’s will.

Cromwell’s influence on Protestantism cannot be overestimated. Of particular note is his position on religious toleration. Cromwell believed that no one should be constrained in religion, that there should be “no compulsion” of religion. Barry Coward nicely asserted that Cromwell’s “main aim was to erect a loose framework of state control within which individuals could find God for themselves” (Coward 1991:110). Yet there were limits to this religious toleration. Cromwell distrusted Catholics as well as radical sectarians. Although he could personally understand the spiritual perspective of some dissidents, his policy could not find a way to include them (see DISSENT). He sympathized with Quakers, yet purged them from the army and persecuted the radical Quaker James Naylor. As Coward has pointed out, Cromwell wanted not religious plurality, but rather religious unity, a way to incorporate everyone who believed in Christ and accepted the GRACE resulting from his death and resurrection. Even his readmission of the Jews into England in 1655 had a greater purpose, because he considered acknowledgment of the Jews a prerequisite to complete reformation (Coward 1991:110–112). Unfortunately, Cromwell’s most enduring legacy might be his intolerance, not his tolerance. The treatment of Irish Catholics under Cromwell’s rule exacerbated existing tensions between England and Ireland, and provided cause for long-term religious strife in the British Isles.

See also Anglicanism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Friends, Society of; Judaism; Philo-Semitism Presbyterianism; Preaching; Puritanism

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ALANA CAIN SCOTT

CROMWELL, THOMAS (1485–1540)

English statesman. Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex was a key advisor to King HENRY VIII of ENGLAND in the early years of the Protestant REFORMATION. His most significant contribution was an effort to cement England's identity as a Protestant country by encouraging Henry's fourth marriage to Anne of Cleves, a daughter of Protestant royalty from Flanders. The failure of this marriage, which ended in DIVORCE, fueled Henry's suspicion of Cromwell's motives and galvanized the energies of Cromwell's opponents at court. Charged with treason in June 1540, he was beheaded nearly seven weeks later, on July 28, 1540.

Cromwell's significance has been obscured. Although Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (see ACTS AND MONUMENTS) depicted him as a hero of Protestantism, Cromwell's obvious political adroitness seems more characteristic of one whose motives were self-serving. Cromwell's success in his ambitious pursuits was undeniable, but his commitment to political and religious reform offers the true key to his character and his achievement.

Born sometime in 1485 at Putney, Cromwell grew up in modest circumstances. His father struggled to earn a living from a variety of occupations, including blacksmith and brewer. As a young man he was known as unruly and, apparently after a quarrel with his father in 1503, went to ITALY to serve in the French army of Louis XII. Control of Naples was contested at that time, and in this case the French forces were defeated and Cromwell went to Florence where he entered the service of a noble family, the Frescobaldi, who were bankers. Apparently Cromwell traveled widely and learned quickly to represent influential interests in complex social situations. He also became familiar with European financial and political currents and gained administrative skills. After a few years of this service he moved to Flanders where he represented English economic interests with the merchants of Antwerp. In 1510 he also successfully

negotiated the renewal of a papal charter for an English religious guild, meeting Pope Julius II in the process. By 1514 he had returned to England and married Elizabeth Wykes. It appears that his wife's family had important political connections, but it was also apparent that Cromwell had begun to attract the notice of influential circles by his work on the continent. As a result Cardinal Wolsey appointed him collector of his revenues in 1514.

Cromwell attracted a variety of influential clients as he built a law career, but Wolsey became his chief benefactor. Henry VIII's principal advisor at the time, Wolsey controlled considerable patronage and bestowed it on Cromwell as he proved his mettle. In 1523 Cromwell gained a seat in Parliament, for Taunton, and in 1524 he was admitted as a member of Gray's Inn. In the same year Wolsey enlisted Cromwell's services in launching one of Henry's main reform initiatives: the suppression of the monasteries and the redirection of monastic funds for such purposes as enhancing the church's diocesan structure and education. Cromwell became immersed in auditing monastic possessions, and demonstrated both his administrative ability and his political acumen in the process. As Wolsey gave his attention to foreign affairs and the law courts, Cromwell saw an opportunity to address issues of national finance and the state of the church. He approached the suppression of the monasteries with the passion of a reformer, as intent on promoting education as he was in undercutting the fabric of medieval monasticism in England.

By 1524 the influence of several reform currents was apparent in England. In part reform of the church arose as an assertion of government and the role of lay advisors in them. Cromwell represented a new kind of policy maker whose career was built not on royal blood nor on the church, but on his own motivation and innate ability. The measure of his accomplishment was a rapid advance, eventually taking him beyond Wolsey, whose star faded. As one historian notes, Cromwell caught "the attention of a king grappling with seemingly intractable problems" by bringing to them new imagination. For a time Cromwell remained loyal to Wolsey, although he gained the king's approval and, in 1531, was made a privy counselor. He gained further responsibilities in 1533 and 1534, when he became chancellor of the Exchequer and the king's secretary. As he gained ascendancy he also established close ties with Protestants determined to create a Lutheran Church in England.

Intent on encouraging England's break with Rome, Cromwell's supreme moment came in 1534 when the king authorized him to direct the implementation of the Act of Supremacy. By this Act Henry excluded papal AUTHORITY from England and made the sovereign head of the church. In the execution of Thomas More, and other leading figures who dissented, and in the king's divorce from Catherine of Aragon and marriage to Anne Boleyn, Cromwell proved to be the loyal servant. His loyalty proved steadfast when Anne was executed on a charge of adultery and Henry married Jane Seymour who died in childbirth.

Meanwhile Cromwell set about to establish a reformed Christian nation under a well-administered government. For his loyalty to Henry, however, the power and ability he possessed, and his hopes for religious reform, Cromwell attracted powerful opponents, notably Bishop Stephen Gardiner and the Duke of Norfolk. King Henry's disenchantment with Anne of Cleves ignited a general dislike of Protestant reformers and those who befriended them. Henry's capacity for disenchantment with those he once revered sealed

Cromwell's fate. His reform program faltered with his death, but the Reformation took hold in England and his example encouraged the trend toward powerful, lay advisors at court.

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WILLIAM SACHS

CROSBY, FRANCES JANE (FANNY) (1820–1915)

American evangelical composer. Crosby was born March 24, 1820, in Southeast, New York, and died February 12, 1915, in Bridgeport, Connecticut. The daughter of John and Mercy Crosby, Frances (known as Fanny) came of old Puritan stock. The Crosby family traced its American roots to 1634, when Simon Crosby arrived from England to settle in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Blinded in infancy as the result of unfortunate medical treatment, Crosby manifested an alert mind, and committed long passages of the BIBLE and English poetry to memory. At fifteen years of age she entered the New York Institution for the Blind in Manhattan. There she completed her education and cultivated her musical and poetic ability. She spoke frequently on behalf of the Institution, urging state and federal support for education for the blind. She published three small volumes of poetry and collaborated with one of her teachers, George F. Root, to produce cantatas and other popular music before she left the Institution in 1858 to marry blind musician Alexander van Alstyne. Eleven years her junior, van Alstyne was a music teacher and church organist who encouraged his wife to pursue her interests and to retain her maiden name.

Crosby wrote her first hymn in 1864, and over the next 50 years she produced thousands more. Her collaboration in New York City with others interested in SUNDAY SCHOOLS, EVANGELISM, and REVIVALS resulted in the creation of the popular religious songs known as gospel hymns, and brought her to prominence at an auspicious moment. Evangelist Dwight Lyman MOODY'S songster, IRA DAVID SANKEY, popularized her music by including many of her texts in his influential *Gospel Hymns*. These were promptly translated and used around the world. Among her most enduring

texts are “Blessed Assurance,” “Rescue the Perishing,” “To God be the Glory,” and “Safe in the Arms of Jesus.”

For most of her adult life, Crosby identified herself primarily with the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. However, she attended with regularity many Protestant churches in Manhattan and Brooklyn and maintained an active interest in rescue mission work. A popular participant at such gatherings as Northfield Conferences, Chautauquas, and Christian Endeavor conventions, Crosby’s winsome personality endeared her to young and old. Her enduring hymns remain popular among nonliturgical Protestants.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Music; Music, American; Music, Popular

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EDITH BLUMHOFER

CROWTHER, DANDESON COATES (1844–1938)

Anglican missionary. Born in SIERRA LEONE in 1844 and raised in NIGERIA, Dandeson Crowther was the youngest son of Bishop Adjai Crowther. Destined for the ordained ministry in the Anglican Church, his extensive education included a period of study at the Church Missionary Society’s (now the CHURCH MISSION SOCIETY) college at Islington in North London. He was ordained by his father in 1870 and subsequently took up superintendence of the all-African Niger Mission, which formed part of his father’s wide-ranging jurisdiction under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). His accomplishments as a pastor-missionary led to his appointment as archdeacon of the Niger Delta in 1874.

By the mid-nineteenth century, CMS’s African policy was guided by a vision of creating a well-trained African ministry that would take the initiative in mission expansion and form the mainstay of autonomous African churches. Highly educated Africans like Archdeacon Crowther were vital to the realization of this vision. Zealous, pioneering, and by all accounts a resolute leader, he spearheaded one of the most successful evangelistic campaigns in modern African Christian history, guiding the flourishing mission through periods of mass conversions and violent persecution alike.

Revitalized European colonial expansion and the systematic introduction of Europeans into the hitherto all-African Mission were only two elements in the cocktail of events that precipitated the “Niger Crisis” of the early 1890s. This crisis marked a major turning

point in Archdeacon Crowther's career. In 1892 he launched the Niger Delta Pastorate in revolt against European control. Partly as a result of his own abiding sense of loyalty to the Anglican church, the revolt lasted for only six years, although it marked one of the first significant, wholly African, attempts to establish a self-supporting, self-governing church in Western Africa. Ultimately Dandeson Crowther remains one of the most notable figures of the early Protestant encounter with AFRICA. He is perhaps best remembered for his determined, if inchoate, efforts to give substance to an African vision that inspired his generation and survived well into the twentieth century.

See also African Theology; Anglicanism; Colonialism

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JEHU J.HANCILES

CROWTHER, SAMUEL ADJAI (AJAYI) (c. 1806–1891)

West African missionary and bishop. Ajayi (the modern spelling, although Crowther used Adjai) was born in Oshogun, Western Nigeria, in about 1806 and grew up while the Yoruba empire of Oyo was collapsing. Ajayi was not dedicated in infancy to any of the Yoruba divinities because of a diviner's prophecy that he would serve the supreme God. In 1821, when he was thirteen or perhaps a little older, his town was sacked by Fulani and Oyo Muslims. He was taken as a slave and sold several times before being bought by European traders for the transatlantic market. His slave ship was intercepted by the British Navy and brought to SIERRA LEONE. At a CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) school, Ajayi became a Christian and was baptized with the name of Samuel Crowther, after an eminent English clergyman.

A promising student, Crowther was sent briefly to ENGLAND for education, and then became one of the first students of the Fourah Bay Institution, the premier CMS educational facility. He served as a CMS schoolmaster and catechist before returning to the Fourah Bay Institution as tutor in 1834. In 1841 he was appointed with the CMS missionary JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN to accompany the expedition planned by Thomas Fowell Buxton to explore the potential for “Christianity, Commerce and Civilization” in the Niger basin. Although the expedition was generally deemed a failure, Crowther and Schoën saw great potential for missionary work by African Christians.

After studying at Islington College, London, Crowther was ordained in 1843, and in 1845 he returned to his homeland as part of the newly founded CMS Yoruba mission at Abeokuta. There he found the mother and sister from whom he had been separated by SLAVERY; they were among the earliest converts. In 1854 Crowther took part in another exploratory mission up the Niger, and in 1857 he took charge of a new CMS Niger mission covering the Delta, Igboland (Onitsha) and parts of what is now Northern Nigeria. In 1864 he became the first African Anglican bishop, with a diocese not territorially defined, and with a CLERGY entirely African. The arrival of European missionaries on the Niger from 1887 onward brought complaints about Crowther’s clergy and lay assistants. As the European presence increased, Crowther was sidelined, his authority as bishop bypassed, and his staff displaced. He died in Lagos on December 31, 1891, a broken old man, and was replaced by an Englishman. His son ARCHDEACON DANDESON CROWTHER was able to retain oversight of the mission in the Niger Delta area, which was self-supporting, but mission policy avoided placing Africans in the highest positions of leadership for several decades.

The best-known African Christian of the nineteenth century, Crowther is significant for several reasons. He helped demonstrate the importance of African languages for the future of Christianity. He was PREACHING in Yoruba in Sierra Leone at a time when services here were invariably in English. He took a major part in the Yoruba Bible translation, the first time an African mother-tongue speaker had played such a role. As a mission leader he demonstrated application to African languages, including their accumulated proverbial wisdom, and also encouraged it in others. He also developed (after some searing early experiences in Sierra Leone) a courteous and irenic dialogue with Muslims in the Upper Niger area, at a time when a deliberately confrontational style was in use elsewhere. Above all, Crowther represents African responsibility for the spread of the Christian faith in Africa and for direction of the African CHURCH. This was always the stated aim of Protestant MISSIONS, and by the middle of the nineteenth century it seemed in reach, with Henry Venn (a secretary of CMS from 1843 to 1872) articulating the principle that the object of mission was to produce self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating churches. Crowther’s unhappy last years saw the movement away from implementation of this policy in the colonial era. The next century brought a movement back again, as sub-Saharan AFRICA became Protestant Christianity’s principal area of growth.

See also African Theology; Bible Translation; Colonialism; Nigeria

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ANDREW F.WALLS

CRUMMELL, ALEXANDER (1819–1898)

African American church leader. Crummell was born March 3, 1819, in New York City, the child of “free Africans,” Crummell always insisted that he was of unadulterated African ancestry. The family of his mother, Charity (Hicks) Crummell, had been Long Islanders for several generations and “associated” with the Hicks family of Quakers, (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). Her husband, Boston Crummell, was descended from the Temne people in West AFRICA, and was said to have converted to Christianity before he was enslaved at around fourteen and transported to New York. On reaching maturity he refused to serve his master any longer, and established himself as an oyster vendor. The Crummells became affiliated with “the Afro-American group of the Protestant Episcopal Church,” as it was later called, and were able to provide Alexander a grammar school education, including mathematics and Latin, at New York’s African Free School.

Crummell studied briefly in the Noyes Academy, at Canaan, New Hampshire, until the school was destroyed by an anti-integrationist mob. He resumed studies at Beriah Greene’s Oneida Institute, in upstate New York, where the curriculum included biblical languages and some mechanical trades. For a short time he studied informally at Yale University, while ministering to a congregation in New Haven, Connecticut. Among his vestry men was Alexander Du Bois, the grandfather of W.E.B.Du Bois, who later wrote a short essay on Crummell’s life.

During the early years of his marriage to Sarah Crummell he served small congregations in Providence, Philadelphia, and New York. Although his candidacy for

admission to the General Theological Seminary in New York was denied on racial grounds, he was ordained an Episcopal priest after a course of private studies. He then conceived the idea of studying abroad, and during five years that he spent in ENGLAND, lecturing as an abolitionist and raising funds for his church in New York, he earned the bachelor's degree from Queens' College Cambridge, graduating in 1853.

Crummell's knowledge of biblical languages was not extraordinary, but he passed Cambridge examinations on Greek literature and was able to instruct students in the Greek testament. He was apparently influenced by the revival of Cambridge Platonism that occurred under the direction of William Whewell during the 1850s. In later years he wrote disparagingly of the tendency of black leaders toward "dogmatizing theories of sense and matter as the salvable hope of the race." Contemporaries spoke of his predilection for Platonic idealism and his ability to quote extemporaneously and at length from Greek authors.

On graduating from Cambridge, Crummell sailed, almost immediately, for LIBERIA, West Africa, and from 1853 to 1872 he spent sixteen years working as a farmer, educator, small businessman, and Episcopal missionary. During two trips to the UNITED STATES during that time he maintained his commitments to abolitionism and to the cause of the newly emancipated "freedmen." From 1861 to 1863 he worked with Edward Wilmot Blyden, an ordained Presbyterian clergyman, representing the Liberian government's colonization plans to the Lincoln administration. Crummell returned to the United States for good in 1872, and after some initial uncertainties, settled in Washington, D.C., where he established St. Luke's Episcopal Church in 1879, serving as its pastor until 1894 and holding a professorship at Howard University. He spent his final years writing and lecturing widely, and in 1897 he founded the American Negro Academy as a challenge to the Machiavellian schemes and pragmatic materialism of Booker T. Washington. Crummell died September 10, 1898.

Crummell had elitist notions of black power, evidenced in his allusion to JOHN MILTON'S phrase "to be weak is miserable." His pronouncements were frequently ironic in tone and attempted to reconcile cultural assimilationism with black separatism in writings that revealed his erudition and his colorful travels and adventures on three continents. His essays and addresses, written in a style described by John Greenleaf Whittier as "clear, classic, and chaste," provide a unique, if somewhat sardonic perspective on nineteenth-century intellectual life. Although Crummell contributed substantially to the African American protest tradition, it would diminish the importance of his legacy to view him primarily as a racial protest writer. His writings, for the most part addressed to black audiences, are most often concerned with the relationship of human nature to the concept of AUTHORITY, the importance of traditions and institutions to human existence (see TRADITION), and the defense of literate CULTURE. His blend of Eurocentric and Afrocentric ideology influenced W.E.B. Du Bois and other younger persons, including Anna J. Cooper, John W. Cromwell, and the Rev. Francis J. Grimké. Two of his protégés, the autodidact John E. Bruce and the Yale graduate William H. Ferris, became senior officials in the black power movement led by Marcus Garvey in the 1920s. Ferris published an early biography of Crummell in the *American Negro Academy Occasional Papers* (1920).

Crummell argued vigorously for purging black Christianity and culture of the emotionalism of slave religion, which he considered vulgar, materialistic, and

antinomian. A strict Episcopalian, exceedingly hostile to enthusiastic conversions, he wrote: "Sentiment, feeling, emotion...come from an *inferior* side of our nature. They are more allied to the physical than they are to the rational or spiritual of our being.... Easily excited, they as easily depart. And, at the best the feelings come and go, oftentimes independent of the will; dependent, not seldom upon health, or some peculiar physical condition; and hence evidently they are not the soil in which the Holy Spirit plants the seed of God's wonderful grace."

Crummell published numerous tracts and pamphlets, some of which were reprinted in the three published collections of his writings: *Africa and America: Addresses and Discourses* (1891); *The Future of Africa: Being Addresses, Sermons, Etc., Delivered in the Republic of Liberia* (1862); and *The Greatness of Christ and other Sermons* (1882). The quotation above is taken from "Piety, Morality, and Enthusiasm," originally published in Wilson J.Moses, ed., *Destiny and Race: Sermons and Addresses by Alexander Crummell* (1992). W.E.B.Du Bois published a well-known rhapsody on Crummell's life and character in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Most of Crummell's surviving manuscripts are in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, which holds over 400 of his sermons and some of his correspondence. Additional letters are in the Library of Congress, the Archives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Maryland Historical Society, and Columbia University.

See also Cambridge Platonists; Colonialism; Slavery, Abolition of

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WILSON J.MOSES

CULTURAL PROTESTANTISM

A cognate of the German compound noun *Kulturprotestantismus* (culture Protestantism), the term "cultural Protestantism" is of uncertain coinage. H. RICHARD NIEBUHR wrongly suggests that KARL BARTH "invented" it (Niebuhr 1951:84n.1); in fact, it had entered linguistic currency during the late nineteenth century. Often, but not always, applied pejoratively, the term has become a political-theological "cipher" (Müller 1992:21), suffering from the "ambiguities" of being used both descriptively and polemically (Rupp 1977:. 9); some scholars dismiss it as an "anachronistic" and "misleading" category (Chapman 2002:1). In general, it connotes a theological tendency to accommodate Christian faith to the currently prevailing CULTURE, and thus to deemphasize or negate discontinuities between the mundane and the divine. Cultural Protestantism is commonly identified with LIBERAL

PROTESTANTISM/LIBERALISM and associated with both INDIVIDUALISM and CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. Niebuhr, construing the phenomenon within his ethical-Christological typology, equates it with the “Christ of Culture” type, or those Christians who seek to acculturate Christ and who themselves feel at home in their culture.

Antecedents

The acculturational orientation of Cultural Protestantism is adumbrated in the BIBLE. A linkage between divinity and Israelite culture is established at Sinai by the divine appointment of craftsmen and the filling of craftsmanship with the Spirit of God (Exodus 31:1– 11). Jesus, despite his dictum about rendering to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s, hardly disdains everything about his own surrounding culture. A carpenter’s son (Matthew 13:55) and a carpenter himself (Mark 6:3), Jesus teaches in parables that evoke sympathetically his listeners’ rustic, agrarian lifestyle. Cultural Protestants have looked back on Jesus as the consummate moral philosopher and reformer whose legacy was the preparation of human beings in their current social circumstances for the future KINGDOM OF GOD.

In Niebuhr’s typological scope, the tendency that Cultural Protestantism crystallizes finds anticipators from the Apostolic era on. Paul and those among his Jewish Christian antagonists who sought to “compel the Gentiles to Judaize” (Galatians 2:14) had in common a desire to accommodate the Gospel to a specific culture or TRADITION. But whereas the Judaizers espoused allegiance to Jesus Christ without forsaking the legal obligations of Jewish tradition, Paul’s program for “grafting” the Gentile faithful onto the “tree” of faithless Israel (Romans 11:17–24) entailed a relaxation of some of those requirements, most notably circumcision, that were alien to Greco-Roman culture. In the Hellenistic world, Gnostic Christians, such as Basilides and Valentinus, construed Christ culturally and downplayed any sense of discrepancy between him and folkways by seeking to harmonize the gospel with contemporary philosophy and science. At the time of the Constantinian settlement, Lactantius aimed his culturally attuned Christian apologetics at demonstrating the sensibleness of the new faith in a Roman context. During the Middle Ages, however, as a pronounced tension prevailed between church and world, Peter Abelard proved somewhat exceptional in expounding Christian faith as a philosophy and ethics of cultural meliorism.

From the Reformation to the Present

The defining inclination of Cultural Protestantism to remain in harmony with the mores of the culture at large emerges in MARTIN LUTHER’S doctrine that it is the duty of Christians to obey their political ruler and to carry out their divine calling (*Beruf*) in secular society. During and after the REFORMATION, Christian acculturation was promoted *Ipsa Facto* through the proliferating translations of the BIBLE into the European vernaculars (see BIBLE TRANSLATION), a development encouraged by Luther’s emphasis on *sola scriptura*. The basic impulse underlying Cultural Protestantism was also fostered by certain aspects of the “inner-worldly asceticism”

(*innerweltliche Askese*) that MAX WEBER ascribes especially to the more Puritanical Protestant branches: their teaching the principle of dedicated fulfillment of worldly obligations as the sole means of proving religious merit, and their tendency to sanction, and adapt their ethic to, bourgeois capitalist pursuits.

During the ENLIGHTENMENT, efforts to accommodate the Christian religion to the current climate of hyperrationalism and scientism were made by such thinkers as JOHN LOCKE, who posited “the reasonableness of Christianity” on empirical, noncreedal grounds (which led to him to be accused of SOCINIANISM); IMMANUEL KANT, who construed religion itself “within the limits of reason”; and THOMAS JEFFERSON, who produced his own redaction of the Gospels, retaining only what he deemed Jesus’s essential moral sayings and deleting all scenes that smack of the supernatural. Nonetheless, religion had been left threatened with oblivion by the harsh criticism to which eighteenth-century thinkers had subjected it, and in that predicament it was FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER’S extremely influential *Speeches on Religion* (1799) that restored the religious dimension of life to intellectual respectability. Defending religion “to the educated classes (*die Gebildeten*) among its despisers,” Schleiermacher distinguished it from theoretical science, abstract philosophy or metaphysics, moral behavior, and theological dogma, and reinterpreted it as a type of feeling (*Gefühl*), that of absolute dependence. This conceptualization, which accorded with the antirationalist views of the nascent German Romantic movement, had the effect of ensuring for religion a place of primary importance in subsequent discussions of modern culture. Far from being of peripheral interest or even obsolete, as they had been for skeptics in the Age of Reason, religion and piety were for Schleiermacher—and for the countless readers he influenced—indispensable to and inseparable from scientific knowledge, moral action, and the loftiest culture.

If the whole nineteenth century became “the time of cultural Protestantism” (Niebuhr 1951:94), Schleiermacher had also set the tone for this development through his advocacy of Evangelical Protestantism over Roman Catholicism as the correct way of propounding the true CHURCH (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). A similarly antihierarchical, antiRoman conviction was shared by the prominent Lutheran and Reformed clerics and political leaders from the different states of GERMANY, who in 1863 founded the liberal *Protestantenverein* (Union of Protestants). Serving in effect as a Cultural Protestant agency, this association aimed at fostering the unity and advancement of the diverse *Landeskirchen* (established churches) of the nation in accord with the progress of culture, all in a Protestant spirit.

Among the theologians who carried the greatest sway after Schleiermacher in shaping Cultural Protestantism, ALBRECHT BENJAMIN RITSCHL stood preeminent. Interpreting Christian doctrine through the modern lenses of historical-critical BIBLE scholarship, Kantian ethics, and Hegelian idealism, Ritschl envisioned the Kingdom of God on earth, to which Jesus had beckoned humankind, as a goal realizable through the moral ordering of civilization in the manner of the modern West. The same belief in progress typified the leading perpetrators of Cultural Protestantism after him: the Germans ADOLF VON HARNACK, FRIEDRICH NAUMANN, and ERNST TROELTSCH; the Swiss LEONHARD RAGAZ; and the Americans SHAILER MATTHEWS and WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, whose conceptualization of the SOCIAL GOSPEL heeded Ritschl’s construal of the Kingdom of God.

Assessments

Foreshadowed and considerably inspired by SØREN KIERKEGAARD'S polemics against the worldly conformism of "Christendom," the harshest criticisms of Cultural Protestantism were those made by Barth, to whose DIALECTICAL THEOLOGY it served as a foil. Reaffirming Kierkegaard's insistence on the infinite "qualitative distinction" between God and humankind, Barth denied that religion is the firm basis on which human culture securely rests; on the contrary, he contended, religion constitutes the *Krisis* of culture and of barbarism alike, belying all efforts to enlist it for any social, political, humanistic, or other worldly ends. In his view, the "Declaration of German Professors" favoring the militaristic stance of Kaiser Wilhelm II at the outbreak of the First World War had effectually delegitimized the liberal accommodation of Christianity to culture.

As opposed to its disparagement by Barth and his Neo-Orthodox followers, some scholars reassess more neutrally or favorably the role of Cultural Protestantism not only in Wilhelmine Germany, but also in the Weimar Republic, when Cultural Protestants defended the place of Jewish citizens in German society (Nowak 1991:35).

As imagined in a later context far removed from the traumas of German history, Cultural Protestantism can seem quaint. The American radio-show host Garrison Keillor has been called "an elegiac poet of Culture Protestantism," as his remembrances of life in the (fictive) Calvinist community of Lake Wobegon, Minnesota, "appeal to a certain complacency in our faith, a nostalgia for the days when religion and culture went hand in hand and did not need to be too closely distinguished" (Heim 1987:517).

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ERIC ZIOLKOWSKI

CULTURE

Introduction

When we speak of culture in the context of Protestantism, faith, and religion, we are dealing with an evolving field of research and study. In terms of contemporary academic disciplines, the study of culture and religion and their relationship is a product of the ENLIGHTENMENT and MODERNISM. It involves the academic disciplines of sociology, cultural anthropology, religious studies, THEOLOGY, and MISSIOLOGY. The awareness of culture and its objectification for the purpose of description and analysis grows out of the Enlightenment ideal of understanding something by defining, describing, and analyzing it. Even though people have always been aware that different groups have different ways of life, practice, dress, music, and religion, the definition and description of this as culture are a modern phenomenon. Culture, as we understand it today, has always played a very important role in relationship to the Christian church. From its inception, the CHURCH struggled with the migration of its message and its self-expression from an Aramaic/Hebrew cultural context to a Greek and later a Latin cultural context. With the expansion of Christianity all over the world, new challenges of culture arose. It could be argued that the study of historical theology is an exercise in the study of the relationship between Christian faith and culture. Christian theology has always struggled with the unique problems represented in the translation of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures from one language to another. Language makes up a core part of what can be considered culture.

The word “culture” in the English language has become associated with two different ideas. One idea describes culture as the products of human society. This can be called the anthropological definition of culture. The other understanding of culture could be called “high” or “high-brow” culture, which has to do with those things that are valued in Western society as products of academia and the arts. In this discussion we focus on culture in the sense of cultural anthropology in relation to Christian faith and Protestantism. In this regard, we focus particularly on issues associated with the translation of texts and the understanding and role of symbols across cultures.

Definitions

E.A.Hoebel (1972:6) described culture as “the integrated system of learned behavior patterns which are characteristic of the members of a society and which are not the result of biological inheritance.” Evaluating this as a working definition of culture, it becomes clear that this is a value-neutral definition. That means that one culture is considered no better than another, simply different. This principle is known as cultural relativity. The assumption of the relativity of all cultures is largely a phenomenon of the twentieth century. Before this time, ideas of moral superiority or evolutionary superiority played an important role in thinking about cultures. Such ideas, particularly of the moral or evolutionary superiority of Western culture, were an uncritical part of the self-perception of Protestantism and its expansion all over the world during the colonial era (see

COLONIALISM). Missionaries were often associated with colonial authorities and assumed that their role was to indoctrinate what they perceived to be people of “primitive cultures” into “superior” Western culture and religion (see MISSIONS). Out of this idea of the superiority of Western culture developed the concept of syncretism. The idea behind syncretism is that there is somehow a culturally pure form of Christian faith. Where this “pure form” is mixed with outside cultural elements, including religious elements, faith becomes “syncretistic” or “impure.” It was the practical experience of missionaries as well as the observations of cultural anthropologists together with the rise of secularism (see SECULARIZATION) that challenged the assumptions of cultural superiority and easy judgments of syncretism.

If religion is expressed in forms of WORSHIP and cultic practice, Hoebel’s working definition of culture also implies that religion is part of culture. Whereas some within Protestantism, such as ERNST TROELTSCH (1865–1923), shifted their view from an idea of Christianity as a superior religion to the relativity of all religions, the idea of relativity among faiths has not enjoyed easy acceptance within Protestantism. Thus the question of the relativity of culture in relation to religion has become one of ongoing debate within Protestantism.

In the study and practice of mission, definitions of culture such as Hoebel’s have provided a basis for the development of approaches for communicating the Christian message among cultures. In the process of doing so, many difficult questions are being raised. Among these are questions about the assumption of relativity and value neutrality. Are cultures that support systems perceived in Western culture as oppressive to WOMEN and the poor to be considered value neutral? Do assumptions of cultural relativity encourage uncritical acceptance of injustice and exploitation within one’s own culture, including Western culture? How does the biblical prophetic call for justice fit with a blanket acceptance of cultural relativity? Does the Christian faith have an absolute claim to truth, or is it one way among many religions? Another result of the assumption of cultural relativity has been the growing awareness of how all people are influenced and even determined by their culture and context. This awareness of cultural bias and the recognition of the role of bias have confronted Protestant theology with the development of what is called “postmodern” thought (see POSTMODERNITY). Definitions such as Hoebel’s have also been challenged in that they are not perceived as dynamic enough. More and more, it is recognized that culture is something dynamic, ever changing, and evolving. Within the global community, cultures are constantly interrelating in a process of ongoing change. The result of the recognition of this dynamism has been an increasing trend within Protestant thought to speak in terms of context and contextual theology rather than culture and cultural theology.

Culture and Faith

Paul’s sermon to the Greek city leaders in Athens (Acts 17) represents one of the earliest examples of a Christian attempt to relate faith, culture, and a non-Christian religion. The early Christian apologists also struggled with making Christian faith intelligible within Greek philosophy and culture. One classic example from church history in which cultural issues were addressed in the context of faith is represented in a letter written by Pope

Gregory the Great (540–604) and sent to Augustine of Canterbury. In this letter Gregory urges Augustine to destroy idols but to bless pagan temples with holy water for Christian use. He also instructs Augustine to maintain pagan feasts but to fill them with new Christian meaning. Within Western Protestantism, one of the key texts on the relationship between faith and culture is H. RICHARD NIEBUHR'S book *Christ and Culture*. Niebuhr describes the relationship between Christ and culture in terms of five possible models: Christ against culture, Christ of culture, Christ above culture, Christ and culture in a paradoxical relationship, and Christ the transformer of culture. In traditional Protestant theology, MARTIN LUTHER can be seen as a proponent of the paradoxical relationship model and JOHN CALVIN as a proponent of the Christ the transformer of culture model.

Charles Kraft (1979) has developed the Christ the transformer of culture model in relation to cultural anthropology into a model for communicating the Christian message among cultures. In his argument he also draws on the developing field of translation theory and the idea of dynamic equivalent translation as developed by Eugene Nida (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). The dynamic equivalent approach to translation seeks to translate ideas from one language to another by seeking words and symbols that will evoke the same meaning in the hearer in the new language and culture as it would have evoked in the source language and culture. According to this principle, the translator's task is to find words, stories, and symbols in the new language that do not necessarily literally represent what was stated in the source language. Even though this principle is very conservatively applied in Bible translations, such highly popular modern English translations as the *Good News Bible* were based on it. Basic to these approaches is the assumption that the Christian message consists of a husk and a kernel. The husk is the culture in which the kernel of the message is encased. The husk must be removed from the kernel to allow one to translate this universal kernel into a new cultural husk. Missionary translators of the Christian Scriptures have found this approach helpful, particularly when faced with translating images or symbols that are totally unfamiliar in a new language and culture. One of the main problems of models such as those offered by Niebuhr and Kraft is their tendency to approach culture from a static and Western analytical perspective. Protestant thinkers in the Third World have argued that culture and faith are not that easily separated. Such models, as developed by Kraft, also seem to leave little space for the prophetic call of the Christian faith to challenge culture in areas of oppression.

The Japanese theologian Kosuke Koyama offered a very different perspective on culture and faith in his book *Mount Fuji and Mount Sinai: A Critique of Idols*. In his approach, Koyama wrestles with his Japanese history, religious heritage, and philosophical assumptions in a critical interplay with Western theology and TRADITION. Through the difficult task of self-critique and in a dialogue with Western religious tradition, Koyama places his own culture, Western culture, Christian faith, Buddhism, Shintoism, and history in a paradoxical conversation. This process does not offer neat answers and clear categories, but renders a constant challenge for action and reflection as culture meets culture and faith meets faith. Lamin Sanneh (1989) has wrestled with similar issues from an African perspective. He traced the history of the cross-cultural expansion of Christian faith and translation throughout church history and compared this with the expansion of the Muslim faith. The results of his study are

surprising in that although the cultural impact of Christian missionaries has often been destructive to local cultures, the effect of Bible translation and missionary attempts at developing vernacular literacy tended to preserve and transform culture by codifying, sometimes even creating, language and cultural forms. Such reflections from within non-Western contexts of Protestantism have contributed to a growing awareness of the complexity of the relationship between faith and culture. It has also underlined the surprising shape of interactions between Western Christianity and cultures and faiths that are different. Most of all, however, it has pointed out that viewing faith in relation to culture from the standpoint of cultural anthropology is inadequate due to the absence of sociological and economic critique that may identify injustice, exploitation, and cultural imperialism.

Faith, Culture, and Context

In 1972, a report of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) Theological Education Fund first used the term “contextualization” to describe the complex process of theological education in the changing cultural and sociopolitical situation of the world (Ukpong 1987:150). A Taiwanese theologian, Shoki Coe (1976), argued that contextualization is a term that better reflects the complex dynamic and interplay of theological and ethical factors that involves the process of communicating the Christian message in a particular situation. It is also argued that contextualization better reflects the Christian theological tradition of seeing the incarnation of Christ as a model for understanding how the Christian message relates to a particular situation. The term contextualization quickly gained ground within both Protestant and Roman Catholic circles and gave rise to an increasing number of Third World theologies (see LIBERATION THEOLOGY). These are attempts to engage the Christian tradition and Scriptures from within a particular context rather than to try to translate an essential idea from a dominantly Western perspective into a new culture. Such contextual theologies share a common commitment to do theology from the viewpoint of the marginalized in society, are suspicious of the influence of Western theology and philosophy, assume that culture and context are part of a dynamic system, emphasize commitment to the poor and community as essential to the task, and begin with experience (praxis).

Conclusion

Culture has always played a critical role in relation to the Christian faith. Since the close of the nineteenth century, culture as a phenomenon has become an object of study and has been viewed as value neutral. The Christian church and Protestantism draw on a rich history of interaction between culture and faith. Particularly in the twentieth century, as the Protestant church became a global church, issues of faith and culture have become critical. Today Christians of many cultures express and understand their faith in a rich tapestry of multifaceted perspectives. Christians in the non-Western world practice and speak of their faith in terms of their context and culture. As these many perspectives interact in the world church, there is a growing understanding of the complexity as well

as the beauty of the relationship between faith and culture. The Western cultural expression of the Christian faith can no longer dictate what the Christian faith would look like in another culture and context. NonWestern perspectives have also made it impossible to practice Christian faith without recognizing the plight of the poor and marginalized and without understanding the deep complexity of the relationship between Christian faith, culture, and religions.

See also African Theology; Asian Theology; Bosch, David Jacobus; Theology; Theology, Twentieth Century, Global; Feminist Theology; Black Theology; Womanist Theology

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CHARLES FENSHAM

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church was founded by Finis Ewing, Samuel King, and Samuel McAdow in the aftermath of the Cane Ridge Revival. The Cumberland Presbytery of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. was accused of ordaining illiterate ministers with beliefs contrary to the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION. These ministers were suspended in 1805, and the Presbytery itself was dissolved in 1806. They then formed a new Cumberland Presbytery in 1810, hoping to be readmitted. In 1813, the

Cumberland Presbytery became the Cumberland Synod, comprising three presbyteries. The first General Assembly was held in 1829.

The accusation of illiteracy was false, though the men in question had not received a classical education in Eastern colleges. There were doctrinal irregularities, however. The ARMINIAN tendencies of the church were formalized in 1814 (see ARMINIANISM), when the Westminster Confession was revised to soften its Calvinistic doctrines of PREDESTINATION and ATONEMENT. A further revised Confession of Faith was adopted in 1883. In 1906, after the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. had also modified the Westminster Confession, two-thirds of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church merged with that body. The remaining Cumberland Presbyterian Church continues in a harmonious relationship with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in America, which was founded as the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1869 and was known as the Second Cumberland Presbyterian Church from 1960 to 1992. In 1984, they jointly adopted a new Confession of Faith shaped primarily by the doctrine of the Covenant of Grace.

See also Calvinism; Presbyterianism

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NEAL HANSEN

CUMMINS, GEORGE DAVID (1811–1876)

American Episcopal churchman. Assistant bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and founder of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Cummins was born December 11, 1811, into an affluent Delaware family near Smyrna. His Methodist mother was a significant influence, and Cummins eventually graduated from Dickinson College in 1841. He was appointed a Methodist CIRCUIT RIDER by the BALTIMORE CONFERENCE, yet came to prefer Anglican worship and was drawn to the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1847, Cummins married Alexandrine Macomb Balch and was ordained as a priest of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH. Cummins served parishes in Norfolk, Richmond, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Chicago before being elected assistant bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky in 1866. He died on June 26, 1876.

By the time of his elevation to the episcopate, Cummins had become identified with the low-church Evangelical party within the Episcopal Church and was one of its most

outspoken leaders. Cummins grew increasingly alarmed by the inroads made by followers of the OXFORD MOVEMENT within the Episcopal Church. Cummins argued that the teaching of the Tractarians and the worship of their Ritualist successors undermined the Reformation formularies of classical ANGLICANISM.

Initially, Cummins believed that evangelicals should stay and fight this threat to evangelical truth, but his views changed (see EVANGELICALISM). A controversy erupted over Cummins's participation in an ecumenical communion service at a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in the fall of 1873. Cummins was harshly criticized for joining non-Episcopal ordained clergy in the sacrament, and responded by organizing a new denomination, the Reformed Episcopal Church, at a special meeting in New York on December 2, 1873. The new body sought to preserve the Protestant face of Anglicanism in their forthright "Declaration of Principles" and subsequent revision of the American BOOK of COMMON PRAYER. The split proved to be a small secession, however, because many prominent evangelical clergy (including several bishops) declined to throw in their lot with Cummins. While the evangelical party soon withered in the Episcopal Church in the United States, the Reformed Episcopal Church preserved a distinctive, though tiny, evangelical Anglican witness within American Protestantism for more than a century.

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GILLIS J.HARP

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DALE, ROBERT WILLIAM (1829–1895)

English Congregationalist. Dale, born December 1, 1829, was a minister and theologian and was also known as a leader of social Christianity in ENGLAND. A pastor at Carr's Lane Chapel in Birmingham (1853–1895) he was an early advocate of bringing the KINGDOM OF GOD on earth through individual Christians doing the will of God. From the 1860s on he served on local civic committees, the city council, and school board. Dale died March 13, 1895.

A "gospel of civic betterment," formulated with his copastor John Angell James, remained central to his later argument that the obligation of Christians to participate in civic and political life was a law of Christ. His approach to social problems like the sacredness of property and relations between employers and employees was grounded in an incarnational theology.

Dale expected the new EVANGELICALISM to lead to a new Christian theory of the social and political organization of the state. Distancing himself from an absolute separation of CHURCH AND STATE, he urged Christians to participate in local politics and social reform. This moved him closer to a historic Reformed position on church and state at a time when most English evangelicals avoided all political and state matters.

Dale was in polemic against both the older Calvinist ORTHODOXY and the new liberalism. His views on original sin and ATONEMENT led to HERESY charges. Yet the earnest, practical Christian morality of his theology and PREACHING was deeply admired by Congregationalists in England and the UNITED STATES. He was the LYMAN BEECHER lecturer in preaching at Yale in 1877–1878 and was elected president of the first International Congregational Council in 1891. Most of his eighteen books were collections of sermons and public lectures.

See also Calvinism; Congregationalism; Liberal Protestantism & Liberalism; Socialism, Christian; Social Gospel

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JANET F.FISHBURN

DARBY, JOHN NELSON (1800–1882)

English church leader. John Nelson Darby is the most prominent of the early leaders of the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN denomination, and its most prolific writer. He is generally credited with being the father of dispensational premillennialism (see DISPENSATIONALISM; MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM). His extensive travels throughout Western Europe, the West Indies, NEW ZEALAND, and North America helped spread his theological influence throughout the fundamentalist and evangelical traditions of Protestant Christianity.

Life and Ministry

Darby was born in London on November 18, 1800 into a prominent Irish family. His father was a well-to-do landowner and merchant. Darby's uncle, Admiral Sir Henry Darby, was a friend of Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson, the young Darby's sponsor and namesake. His mother seems to have been estranged from the family when Darby was young, an absence which he felt strongly.

Darby was educated at Trinity College in Dublin, IRELAND, from which he graduated with a B.A. as a Gold Medalist in 1819. He then began the study of law and was called to the Irish Bar in 1822, although he seems to have practiced only for a short time. He was ordained by Archbishop Magee as a deacon in the Church of Ireland, which had been united with the CHURCH OF ENGLAND by the Act of Union (1801), on August 7, 1825. He was ordained as a priest on February 19, 1826. He was appointed to a poor parish in County Wicklow. Throughout his life, Darby taught and modeled CHARITY for the poor and had little tolerance for those who placed too much emphasis on material possessions and social position. In his parish ministry, Darby was particularly noted for his CONVERSION of Roman Catholics to Protestantism.

A turning point in Darby's life occurred in late 1826. He was injured in a riding accident and returned to Dublin for several months of convalescence. This period of reflection and BIBLE study seems to have crystallized some of his convictions and laid the foundation for his theological system. When he returned to his parish, he learned that Archbishop Magee was requiring all new converts to take an oath of allegiance to the

crown. In protest of what he perceived to be Erastianism and clericalism, Darby resigned from his parish and left the established church.

By the late 1820s, Darby was meeting with a group of like-minded believers in Dublin, the beginning of the Brethren movement. Due to the prominence of the assembly at Plymouth, ENGLAND, this fellowship of churches is commonly designated as the "Plymouth Brethren." Although not the founder of this movement, John Nelson Darby quickly became its most effective and important leader.

Beginning in the 1850s, Darby made at least six trips to the UNITED STATES and CANADA. He founded several Brethren assemblies and taught his dispensational interpretation of Scripture. A lifelong bachelor, Darby remained active in ministry until his death on April 29, 1882.

Darby's Theological Influence

At the center of Darby's THEOLOGY was his conviction that the Scriptures, interpreted literally, must have supreme AUTHORITY, not the CHURCH. He had a life-long suspicion of ecclesiastical hierarchy. Second, Darby's view of spirituality was individualistic and personal, focusing on the believer's position in Christ. Third, Darby perceived that the CHURCH in the New Testament era was pure and unadulterated, and that the institutional church of his day was apostate. In his view, the established church was in ruins and was likely beyond reform. This led to a strict separatism in belief and practice. Finally, Darby's literal hermeneutic resulted in the expectation that biblical prophecy will be fulfilled literally. One result of this hermeneutic was that Darby saw a clear distinction between Israel and the church, a strict dichotomy between two peoples of God. Thus prophecies related to Israel, an earthly/material/this-worldly people, must be fulfilled literally on this earth. Prophecies to the church, a Gentile/heavenly/spiritual/other-worldly people, cannot be fulfilled on this earth. This separation of the two peoples of God is an eternal one. Israel's destiny is the earth while the church's is heaven.

The Brethren had a futurist premillennial ESCHATOLOGY, believing that the Apocalypse should be interpreted as prophecy, describing unfulfilled future events. They expected the return of Christ at any time, to be followed by the establishment of an earthly 1,000-year kingdom. Darby's major innovation is the DOCTRINE of the secret RAPTURE of the church. This teaching divides the second coming of Christ into two stages. In the first stage, Christ will come to earth before a seven-year period of tribulation (cf. Daniel 9:26–27) to take believers to be with him. Then, after the tribulation, Christ will come in judgment of his enemies and establish the millennium. Darby was not the first to hold this view, although the direct influence of others on his view of the rapture is difficult to ascertain. The rapture position seems to be consistent with Darby's theological development. His view of the apostate church ("the church in ruins") led to his eschatology (a pessimistic form of premillennialism), and his view of "two peoples of God" seemed to require the removal of the spiritual/heavenly people for

God to judge and then to bless the material/earthly people, Israel. But Darby would also point to 1 Thessalonians 4:13–18 for scriptural support of the rapture.

With the publication of the SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE (1909) and the growth of the Bible Conference Movement, Darby's dispensationalism spread widely among American fundamentalist and evangelical Protestants. Nonetheless, Darby remains largely unknown and his works unstudied outside of Plymouth Brethren circles.

See also Apocalypticism; Evangelicalism; Fundamentalism

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DALLAS KREIDER

DARWINISM

This term is commonly identified with theories of biological evolution, and in particular the theory that organic life evolved from earlier forms through a process of natural selection. Darwin's discovery of this evolutionary mechanism was based on a vast body of observations and inspired by the insights of such thinkers as Charles Lyell, Thomas Malthus, and WILLIAM PALEY. While there continue to be scientific debates and discussions about the exact mechanisms and pathways of evolution, Darwin's theory of natural selection has become the central theoretical model for the study of life, uniting fields as diverse as biogeography, ecology, paleontology, animal behavior, physiology, and neuroscience. Darwinism implies that the designs of all organisms are the result of contingent, natural processes. This apparently conflicts with traditional Christian views of the relationship between God and the creation, and of the place of humans in it. Since 1859 there have been diverse Protestant responses to Darwinism. This broad spectrum of responses reflects diverging schools of Protestant theology, changes in popular impressions of Darwinism and evolution, and different political uses of science in particular contexts. This article describes the discovery and evolution of Darwinism, gives a brief history of some Protestant reactions, and examines in more detail two issues that remain controversial: the status of humans and the place of the argument from design.

The Genesis of Darwin's Theory

Charles Darwin (1809–1882) had an early love of natural history that he pursued in university to the detriment of his official studies (first, medicine at Edinburgh; later, classics at Cambridge). However, Darwin's extracurricular immersion in natural history rapidly paid dividends. He published an article on invertebrate marine biology under the guidance of a professor who embraced the evolutionary theories of French biologist Jean Baptiste Lamarck; he went on botanical and geological expeditions with the clerical science professors at Cambridge; and he read William Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802) with great enthusiasm and attention. By the time Darwin earned his B.A. at Cambridge, he considered himself well qualified to settle down as an Anglican parson naturalist in a country parish, despite some religious doubts about being ordained.

It was at this point that Darwin was offered an unpaid position as a naturalist on a naval vessel, the HMS Beagle, which would be mapping the South American coast and continuing on around the world. With the encouragement of his Cambridge professors

and the grudging consent (and financial support) of his father, Darwin began his voyage of discovery in 1831. His collections and studies were wide ranging, and his letters to his professors were read to scientific societies and published in their journals. During the voyage he read Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1831–1835), a work that sought to explain vast geological changes in terms of the gradual, uniform action of normal geological processes. Darwin's theory of coral reef formation used Lyell's gradualist approach; as islands subsided corals grew upwards, eventually accumulating as circular reefs surrounding a central lagoon. The idea that small natural changes can be accumulated over vast stretches of time to create significant effects would later be applied to another mystery on which Darwin started to reflect during the voyage: What was the origin of species, and how did they come to exist where they did?

On his return in 1836, Darwin settled in London and began a series of remarkable notebooks addressing these questions. Although he was familiar with Lamarck's view that organisms inherited characteristics that their parents acquired, he felt that this theory failed to explain the origin of adaptations in NATURE. The manifold adaptations of biological structure to function had been used by Paley (and many others) to argue for the existence of a benevolent Creator. The challenge for an evolutionary theory was to explain how such a design might have arisen naturally. Darwin knew that all organisms varied somewhat from their parents, and that their progeny could inherit such variations. However, he found a key insight in Thomas Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). Malthus had argued that humans reproduce too rapidly for growth in food supply to keep up. In nature, where no moral restraint held back reproduction, and many organisms produced hundreds or thousands of seeds or offspring every year, Darwin saw that Malthus's principle operated with "manifold force." Organisms reproduce so quickly that only a fraction of each generation can possibly survive. The struggle for existence that ensued favored those with advantageous variations and so these became more common in successive generations. When this process is repeated over many generations, favorable variations gradually accumulate to form new adaptations and ultimately new species.

Although Darwin arrived at this insight in 1838, there remained many unanswered questions about the process, particularly about hybridism and speciation. He began a series of studies to investigate these questions and sketched out various versions of his theory, which he shared with a very small circle of scientific friends. He published *The Origin of Species* in 1859, after another naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, wrote to him with a very similar theory in 1858. The *Origin* is an abstract of a much longer work on which Darwin was working, but it nonetheless contains a very complete defense of the theory of common descent and clearly describes both natural and sexual selection.

The theory as it appears in the *Origin* bears traces of the influence of Paley's natural theology. In a passage that parallels one of Paley's, Darwin compares natural selection to an imaginary being constantly scrutinizing variations and selecting those best fitted to the environment. Some of Darwin's passages on the superiority of natural adaptations to human contrivances read like rewritings of the psalms that glorify God's handiwork. As Darwin later wrote in his *Autobiography*, "...my former belief...that each species had been purposely created...led to my tacit assumption that every detail of structure...was of some special, though unrecognized, service."

Despite the influence of natural theology on the metaphor of natural selection, the theory itself did not require God to explain the origin of species or adaptations, and Darwin came to reject the view of his friend, the American botanist Asa Gray, which suggested that God directed variation and evolution. By 1859 Darwin had drifted into agnosticism, in large part because he found certain Christian doctrines (such as that of Hell) morally repugnant. Darwin guarded his religious opinions as part of his private life, although he put forward a model for the natural evolution of religion in his *Descent of Man* (1871). In successive editions of the *Origin*, Darwin admitted the possibility of other mechanisms of evolution, although he maintained that natural selection was the most important. Darwin died an agnostic in 1882, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Some evangelicals claimed much later that he had renounced evolution and embraced Jesus Christ on his deathbed, and this anecdote remains popular in some circles to this day. James Moore traces the history of this rumor in his book, *The Darwin Legend* (1994).

The Evolution of Darwinism

The term “Darwinism” was rapidly adopted in the 1860s to denote any evolutionary theory of common descent. It was only in the 1880s that many of Darwin’s followers, lead by Alfred Wallace, began to focus on the evolutionary mechanism of natural selection as the defining criterion of Darwinism. However, by the early twentieth century, partial insights gained from studies of heredity and paleontology led to alternative mechanisms for evolutionary change. Mutationists held that species changed by sudden and large genetic alterations. Neo-Lamarckists claimed that organisms inherited characteristics acquired by their parents. Orthogenists claimed that there were indwelling tendencies for certain organisms to follow directional evolutionary trends. Darwinism was also eclipsed at this time by optimistic philosophical recastings of evolution, such as Henri Bergson’s *Creative Evolution* (1907)

By the 1930s and 40s, however, researchers from GERMANY, the Soviet Union, America, and Britain had developed the “new synthesis,” which brought together evidence from genetics, palaeontology, statistical biology, ecology, and systematics to show the superiority of Darwin’s key theoretical insight that natural selection was the most important evolutionary mechanism. Since then, Darwinism has been strongly identified with evolution by natural selection. The current Darwinian paradigm has produced much fruitful research in a wide range of fields. Through the late twentieth century, most biologists agreed that natural selection plays a very important role in evolution, although some controversy remains over the role of other factors, such as the rate of evolutionary change, the physiological constraints in variation, and the gradual genetic drift of characters without the influence of selective pressure.

Darwinism, then, has had diverse meanings within the scientific community, but there are close parallels between the situation in the late nineteenth and late twentieth centuries, when natural selection was the primary focus. Because of this, we will pay particular attention to Protestant responses to Darwinism from these periods.

Nineteenth-Century Protestant Responses

In the nineteenth century, biologists disagreed on the metaphysical implications of Darwinism. For example, Wallace did not believe that natural selection could explain the development of the human mind, although most others, including Darwin, held that the natural evolution of human consciousness was one of the most exciting insights of Darwinism. Other scientists, such as Darwin's American champion Asa Gray, believed that Darwinism was compatible with a view that God directed evolution, although they were strongly challenged by George Romanes, who held that there was no actual evidence of this. Darwin's German popularizer, Ernst Haeckel, used Darwinism as a foil for the "teleological" worldview of traditional religion; he claimed that Darwin had shown that design in nature was imperfect, or "dysteleological." Haeckel used "Darwinismus" as the foundation of his antitheological monistic philosophy. Some held that Darwinism could explain the evolution of human morality, but Thomas Huxley, Darwin's great early defender, later argued that moral behavior had to oppose the demands of Nature. Given that Darwinism had different implications in different contexts, it is not surprising that it gave rise to diverse Protestant responses.

Among the most famous of these responses is that of the Anglican bishop SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, who spoke against Darwin at an 1860 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He argued that Darwin's theory fell down on several points, and stipulated that he was rejecting it because of its poor scientific merit, not because of its religious implications. However, he also jokingly asked whether Huxley, who was present, had descended from an ape on his grandmother's or his grandfather's side. Huxley implied that he would rather have an ape for an ancestor than an obfuscating cleric. Later reports of this encounter, written by Huxley and other Darwinists, magnified its importance and exaggerated its effect on the audience. Neither Huxley nor Wilberforce entirely won over the crowd.

The myth of the Huxley-Wilberforce "debate" still flourishes as an archetype of Protestant hostility to Darwinism, glossing over the substantive arguments of the participants and focusing on the dramatic exchange of punchlines. The popular imagination is still entertained by similarly dramatized struggles of critics and proponents of Darwinism. However, there were and are more subtle and influential Protestant responses.

At the same 1860 Oxford meeting at which Huxley and Wilberforce traded barbs, the BROAD CHURCH Anglican FREDERICK TEMPLE gave a sermon embracing the idea that God can act through natural laws. Temple, later archbishop of Canterbury, continued to defend the compatibility of evolutionary thought and orthodox belief through the nineteenth century (see ORTHODOXY). Although there was much variation in detail, this approach was common to mainstream clergy and theologians in Europe and North America through the late nineteenth century, particularly those who were moderate liberal Protestants. Some held that a God who could design a natural process that would result in designed organisms was an even grander conception than Paley's God, who merely designed the organisms themselves. Others, afraid that this position bordered on DEISM, insisted that Darwinism showed that God was immanent in nature and was constantly involved in the ongoing process of creation. In Germany, Rudolf Schmid

argued that intelligent design could be seen in the gradual evolution of nature, and that natural order was an expression of God's presence in it. A few Protestants, influenced by MODERNISM, attempted to recast their THEOLOGY in terms of evolution. Lyman Abbott, for instance, in his *Theology of an Evolutionist* (1897), reframed the concept of SIN as a reversion to a lower, animal behavior.

Scientists who were Protestants also came to accept evolutionary theory through the late nineteenth century. The first naturalist to publicly endorse the theory of natural selection was an evangelical Anglican clergyman (see EVANGELICALISM). In 1859 Henry Tristram applied natural selection to explain the camouflaging coloration of Saharan birds. He later opposed materialistic readings of evolution, and agreed with Wallace that humans could not have evolved by natural selection alone. Tristram's openness to evolution was mirrored in the work of other late nineteenth-century Protestant biologists, such as the microscopist and Methodist William Dallinger and the evolutionary theorist and Congregationalist missionary John Gulick. The most influential Protestant evolutionist was Asa Gray, who battled against the anti-Darwinian biologist Louis Agassiz and promoted a theistic version of evolution.

Some older Protestant theologians and scientists were more hesitant about evolutionary theory, and they continued to publish their warnings into the 1890s. All maintained that evolutionary theory was not proven and that the Darwinian model of natural selection was particularly weak. The former OXFORD MOVEMENT leader EDWARD PUSEY denounced Darwinism applied to humans as "unscience." The Princeton Presbyterian CHARLES HODGE claimed that because Darwinism denied the existence of a designing God, it was necessarily atheistical; however, he did not rule out the possibility of evolution guided by God. A wide range of conservative theologians took up similar stances. Otto Zöckler opposed fellow German Ernst Haeckel with a similar argument. The Scottish-Canadian geologist John Dawson outlined this position in a series of books that warned against Darwinism even as they gradually warmed to the possibility of theistic evolution. Calvinist minister ABRAHAM KUYPER lectured on evolution in Holland and America, accepting a process of divine "election" while rejecting the possibility of a natural "selection." All of these powerful conservative Protestants accepted, at least in theory, the possibility of some kind of divinely guided, gradual evolution.

Whereas Protestant responses to Darwin are often divided into "for" and "against" camps, the differences between them were largely matters of emphasis. Those concerned that some Darwinians were attempting to undermine religion distanced themselves from "Darwinism" as such. Others, anxious to show that religion did not conflict with science, as some scientists were claiming, accepted "Darwinism." Still others, seeking to show that theology could gain from the increasing prestige of science, revised theological doctrines along evolutionary lines. However, all of these responses ultimately depended on (or at least allowed) a version of evolution that was somehow progressive and governed or directed by God.

The Twentieth Century: The Great Divide

Through the early twentieth century, the acceptance of some kind of evolution was common among main-stream Protestants and remained a particular feature of LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM. A providential, progressive vision of evolution was easy to maintain in light of the “eclipse of Darwinism” in the scientific community. Many alternative versions of evolutionary theory at the time left room for providential guidance and a pattern of cosmic progress (see above). In the 1920s, the process philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead inspired Protestant versions of PROCESS THEOLOGIES, which ultimately depended on an evolutionary world-view. These views were later informed by the progressive religio-scientific evolutionary model of Catholic philosopher Teilhard de Chardin. However, by the end of the century, few of these schemes seemed reconcilable with a popular neo-Darwinian view of evolution that emphasized natural, random processes and challenged the idea of upward progress. If there were any advancement in this kind of Darwinism, it was more like an undirected arms race than a gradual ascent to higher levels of being.

Such claims did not directly strike at the faith of the many Protestants influenced by the liberal theology of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER and ALBRECHT RITSCHL, who put religious experience at the center of belief. This school played down the importance of scientific explanation in Christian apologetics. From a very different perspective, the neo-orthodox theologian KARL BARTH also discounted the possibility that science had much meaning for faith. Revelation comes through divine initiative, he argued, whereas science is simply a human endeavor that cannot bridge the gap between God and man. The strength of these positions allowed many Protestants to stop paying attention to developments in Darwinism as something important to their belief (see SCIENCE).

Nonetheless, some American Protestants did remain concerned about science. As part of their response to the SECULARIZATION of American society, some early fundamentalists identified evolution as a dangerous doctrine, used by enemies of the faith to undermine the beliefs of the young (see FUNDAMENTALISM). This movement gathered political support, and many states banned the teaching of evolution in public schools. The matter reached a head in the famous 1925 show trial of biology teacher John Scopes in Tennessee. Scopes intentionally broke the law by teaching evolution, and in the subsequent media circus surrounding the trial, Clarence Darrow mocked the anti-evolutionary views of evangelical WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN for the benefit of an increasingly liberal and secular America. The bad publicity and mockery served only to fuel hostility to Darwinism among fundamentalists. Until about 1920, there had been only a handful of creationists arguing that God had literally created the earth and its creatures over seven 24-hour days a few thousand years ago. However, this movement grew rapidly in an anti-Darwinian atmosphere to become the powerful CREATION SCIENCE movement by the 1970s (see ELLEN GOULD WHITE, SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS).

By the late twentieth century, the popularity of creationism with the CHRISTIAN RIGHT in America was matched by the rise of a popular and aggressively secular version of Darwinism, defined in books written by such leading neo-Darwinists as Richard Dawkins, Edward O. Wilson, and Daniel Dennett. These authors challenged both creationism and theistic evolution by contending that natural selection necessarily has materialistic implications. The result has been a popular feeling that Darwinism and Protestant belief are incompatible, although some eminent scientists, theologians, and philosophers have challenged this view. The subsequent discussions have mirrored nineteenth-century dialogues and debates, and the fundamental issues of a century ago—the status of humans and the question of design—remain matters of controversy.

Darwinism and Human Uniqueness

Human uniqueness is essential to traditional Christian doctrines of Creation, Incarnation, ATONEMENT, and SALVATION, and is particularly important to branches of Protestantism that emphasize the supremacy of the BIBLE and the personal relationship between God and humans. Much of the initial post-Darwinian controversy centered on the question of “ape ancestry.” If humans evolved from animals, then how could Christ’s death atone for the sins of Adam (“the first man”)? What basis was there for morality? If there was continuity between apes and humans, then why were humans alone given divine dispensation?

Some of these questions remain intractable for certain Protestants. Others find them easier to answer because they read the first chapters of Genesis as an allegory of God’s relationship with humans. Others, particularly in the nineteenth century, developed theories of pre-Adamite humanity that allowed them to accept some version of human evolution. However, Darwinism is difficult to reconcile with the notion of a literal “first pair” of humans, because this would be a genetic bottleneck normally fatal to populations of complex animals.

Late twentieth-century Darwinists have offered explanations of the natural evolution of altruism, consciousness, and religion, following Darwin’s program in *The Descent of Man*. Proponents of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology explain various human and animal behaviors in terms of natural selection. A central tenet of sociobiology is that humans love one another because this kind of behavior provides, and provided in the past, an advantage for the survival of human social groups.

Many Protestants simply reject this position, just as many rejected Darwin’s claims about humans in the late nineteenth century. Sociobiologists are accused of making up “just so” stories to reduce virtue to mere selfishness and of importing metaphysical assumptions into their science. However, some have argued that even if sociobiology is a true explanation of the evolution of social behaviors, those behaviors may be moral nonetheless. It may make evolutionary sense for a mother to love her children, but that does not make the love any less valuable or real. God may have worked through natural law to create in us a consciousness of right and wrong.

The question of continuity between humans and animals has been dealt with in various ways (see ECOLOGY). Some, like Wallace, argued for some kind of supernatural intervention in the creation of human consciousness. Similarly, others have claimed that the soul was breathed into a population of beings that had naturally evolved to be physically human. These approaches have been criticized as being too dualistic, because they imply that mind and body have little to do with one another. Michael Ruse has suggested that there is an affinity between the Darwinian model of mind as contained by the structure of the brain and the Aristotelian Christian notions of the soul as a formative principle that activates the body. Protestants who emphasize divine immanence in matter might well have less difficulty conceptualizing the evolution of a soul.

Although a wide range of arguments on this subject have been written in theological journals, many ordinary believers either do not think about the difficulties of reconciling Darwinian and Christian conceptions of humanity, or hold these positions to be, at some level, incompatible.

Darwinism and Design

If Darwinism destroys the argument from design, many Protestants and atheists feel that it is necessarily destructive of Christian belief. The argument from design has an ancient pedigree and is central to much natural theology. Its classic formulation is in Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802), where the author reflects on coming across a watch on a heath. Because the parts of the watch are well adapted to their functions, an intelligent cause, or watchmaker, must have made it. For the watch, substitute any organism packed with still more exquisite adaptations, and the intelligent cause implied must be God. Paley wrote in part to answer DAVID HUME'S skeptical *Dialogues on Natural Religion* (1779), which claims that although we might compare nature to a watch, it might as easily be compared to a spider web. Although we might imagine nature to have been designed by a beneficent Creator, it is quite as probable that every organism has a separate creator, or that the creators are at war, or that this is just one of a series of botched creations. By focusing on beautiful organic adaptations, Paley sought to blunt the strength of Hume's argument.

Darwin, on the other hand, offered a suggestive mechanism explaining how nature selects without intelligence and so brings about marvelous adaptations over many generations. In various writings, Darwin stressed that adaptations are not perfect, that they are made up of organs and parts that previously had other uses, and that they resemble the work of a dogged tinkerer rather than an omniscient Creator. In an effort to salvage the design argument, Darwin's friend Asa Gray suggested that God directed variations along beneficial and adaptive paths. Here Gray was taking advantage of a lack of knowledge about the causes of variation. A similar move has been proposed more recently by those who hold that because variations ultimately depend on atomic changes at the quantum level, God can intervene in variation at the level of quantum indeterminacy without violating natural law. Both moves have been criticized as attempting to locate God in the gaps of human knowledge.

Darwin responded to Gray with what has come to be known as the “stone house” argument. Imagine, he wrote, an architect building a structure from stones that have fallen from a cliff. The stones have gained their shapes from natural laws of erosion. Given an architect who could select the stones best fitted to the structure’s demands, it would be unnecessary to claim that the shape of the stones or the laws of erosion had been providentially arranged to aid the architect. Natural selection presents an analogous case, Darwin claimed. Variations are the stones, the organism is the stone house, and natural selection is the architect. Variations may be determined by natural laws, but they are essentially random when it comes to the needs of the organism. Natural selection selects those best fitted to the organism, just as the architect selects the best building stones from a pile of scree.

Darwin’s argument made it difficult to prove that God directs evolution. Those who wish to prove this have followed several paths. Some have simply rejected natural selection as the mechanism of evolution, or discounted Darwin’s interpretation of variation. A few Protestant theologians have suggested that God might well act through a contingent and seemingly random process. This position, however, seems to magnify the problem of pain in nature. Why do animals suffer, and why are there so many apparently cruel and painful interactions between organisms in nature? It is one thing to explain pain as the result of the Fall, or some imperfection in the world, and another to claim that it is an inevitable part of the process by which God creates. However, it has always been difficult to “justify the ways of God to man,” and some theologians have claimed that Darwinism at least gives pain and suffering a purpose. Without pain, natural selection would not work, and so humans would never have come into being and the creation would never have developed.

Some Protestants have backed away from the claim that it is possible to find evidence of design in nature. The Anglo-Catholic Aubrey Moore (1848–1890) claimed that the regular action of natural law seen in natural selection could be taken as a confirmation of the Christian doctrine of the divine immanence of the Logos. However, he admitted that this was merely a confirmation of, not evidence for, belief. In doing this, he sharply reduced the apologetic value of nature to Christian theology, but suggested a way in which Christians could accept a law-like, but apparently undirected and random, process of evolution.

The 1990s brought a concerted attempt to revive Paley’s argument from design by demonstrating the inadequacy of Darwinism to explain the existence of irreducibly complex adaptations. American intelligent design theorists claim that certain adaptations, such as the Krebs cycle in cellular metabolism, are too complex to have developed gradually. Alter any part of the process and it simply does not work. Although intelligent design has gained a certain popularity among a segment of American Protestants, it has met with strong criticism from many scientists and some theologians. Darwinists claim that they are constantly finding explanations for the evolution of supposedly irreducibly complex adaptations, and that these typically involve pre-existing parts changing their function. Theologians suggest that it is unwise to locate God in the gaps of human knowledge, because such gaps have a tendency to get filled in. These arguments mirror those that raged in the 1860s and 70s.

It may be asked whether the argument from design is necessary to Christian belief. After all, Paley’s argument draws an analogy between God and a human watchmaker.

Some Protestant critics of natural theology have claimed that this is an unjustifiable comparison, and that we cannot know how God and the Creation are related. The argument from design has proven a powerful analogy, however, and it continues to play an important role in some American Protestants' arguments about evolution.

Future Prospects

There are diverse Protestant approaches to Darwinism, only a few of which have been touched on here. Through the 1990s numerous attempts were made to create forums for constructive dialogue, which are supported in several countries by the Templeton Foundation. In the UNITED STATES, the loudest discussion seems to be between those who believe that Darwinism is in effect a secular religion that promotes metaphysical naturalism and those who claim that it may be compatible with Protestant religion. In the United States, at least, Darwinism has been thoroughly politicized, with the Christian Right and the secular establishment taking opposing stands on its validity and its right to dominate the science classroom in the public schools. There have been repeated claims that Darwinism is “just a theory” or that it has become a secular religion. However, these claims have been persuasively rebutted by many commentators and have not been accepted by the courts or legislatures.

There are some difficulties in reconciling Darwinism with Protestant beliefs, but these difficulties alone do not explain why the most popular perception of their relationship is one of necessary conflict. This conflict is in part a product of the political chemistry of religion and CULTURE, particularly in the United States. It also may be attributed to our human love of the inherent drama of combat. Most of us learn about the world through MASS MEDIA narratives that favor entertaining dramatic struggles as the chief relationship between worldviews. As long as this is true, for most people Darwinism and Protestantism will remain locked in battle.

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RICHARD ENGLAND

DÁVID, FRANCIS (FERENC) (1510–1579)

Hungarian theologian. Dávid studied at the University of Wittenberg, was appointed school principal, and converted to LUTHERANISM. In 1556 he became superintendent of the evangelical church in Transylvania. Initially a Catholic, then an ardent Lutheran, he gradually shifted his allegiance to CALVINISM. Still, until 1558 he was one of the leading Lutheran figures in Transylvania. One year later he had turned Calvinist-Reformed, and when Calvinist churches obtained legal status, Dávid served as the first superintendent of the Calvinist churches in Transylvania (1564).

The increasing influence of Socinian-Unitarian notions prompted Dávid to reevaluate his christological beliefs. This embroiled him, beginning in 1566, in bitter controversy with Calvinist theologians. When in 1568 a Unitarian church was formally established in Transylvania, Dávid became its first superintendent.

In 1571 Dávid triggered the “adorantist” controversy in the Unitarian church. The controversy had to do with the question of whether Jesus was to be adored in prayer, a question that split the Unitarian church. In 1579 Dávid and his supporters succeeded in obtaining synodical concurrence for the principle of nonadoration. Dávid’s chief antagonist, Georgio Blandrata, obtained governmental suppression of Dávid’s views. That same year, Dávid debated the issue at a SYNOD meeting with the result that he was condemned as a theological innovator and blasphemer and sentenced to life imprisonment at the fortress of Deva, where he died. Dávid’s significance lies in the fact that he delineated, with striking consistency, a thoroughgoing Unitarian CHRISTOLOGY. Dávid also warrants recognition for the fact that he is the only sixteenth-century reformer who divorced his wife.

See also Anti-Trinitarianism; Christology; Lutheranism; Socinianism; Unitarian Universalist Association

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

DAVIDSON, RANDALL THOMAS (1848–1930)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Born in Edinburgh in 1848, Davidson's studies for ministry, in the precincts of the English Law Courts, readied him for realistic witness to civil officials. He served a brief assistant curacy, and became chaplain (secretary) to ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, archbishop of Canterbury (1877–1883). As dean of Windsor (1883–1891), Davidson cared for the Royal Family and became a trusted adviser to Queen Victoria. He was consecrated bishop of Rochester in 1891, and transferred to Winchester (1895), then to Canterbury (1903), retiring in 1928. Davidson died in London in 1930.

Davidson's primacy was a time of great change in CHURCH-STATE relations, in Anglican identity, and in world affairs. The Welsh Church was disestablished. Parliament allowed the CHURCH OF ENGLAND a large measure of self-regulation (1919), but crushingly rejected its proposed Prayer Book revision in 1927 and 1928. State and churches fought over public education, over matrimonial law, over labor relations, and over war policies.

Davidson led the churches in fights for persecuted Jews and Orthodox clergy in Russia, for Abyssinian and Armenian Christians, and for abused Chinese laborers in AFRICA. He encouraged the foundation of the Save the Children Fund. He worked for national unity during the constitutional crisis over the Lords and the emergence of the Republic of Ireland, and during the General Strike.

He led cautiously in new relationships across the ecumenical spectrum. Within his church, Davidson sought moderation and mediation between Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals. He was prepared to ordain men with creedal doubts (including a future archbishop, WILLIAM TEMPLE). A theological student (A.R. Vidler) saw him "as a very great, tactful, cautious statesman: a great pilot in these troublous times."

See also Anglicanism; Anglo-Catholicism; Ecumenism; Evangelicalism; Judaism; Orthodoxy, Eastern

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DAVID H. TRIPP

DAVIES, SAMUEL (1723–1761)

American clergy. Virtually forgotten in the long shadows of such towering eighteenth-century figures as GEORGE WHITEFIELD, JONATHAN EDWARDS, and JOHN WESLEY, Samuel Davies sowed seeds of revolutionary change in colonial America. As Presbyterian pastor and leader of the Great Awakening in Virginia, published poet, America's first composer of hymns, educator of slaves, successful advocate for religious TOLERATION, and the fourth president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), he helped shape much of the religious landscape that developed in nineteenth-century America.

Call to Ministry

Born November 3, 1723 to David and Martha Davies in New Castle County, Delaware, his mother named him after the Old Testament prophet Samuel in response to answered prayer for a son, and similarly dedicated him to the service of the Lord. He studied for the ministry in Samuel Blair's famed "log college" at Fagg's Manor, Pennsylvania. Davies appeared before the New Light Presbytery of New Castle and received his ordination in 1747.

Davies settled in Hanover County in May, 1748 to pastor four meetinghouses of Presbyterian dissenters (see DISSENT). Willing to work within the ecclesiastical system of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, the established church of Virginia, Davies sought and obtained a license to preach from the colonial governor. Unlike many New Light preachers, the temperate Davies took care to cultivate warm relations with those who belonged to the established church and colonial government. He did not openly evangelize their members, nor did he disparage the Anglican ministers. Indeed, on October 4, 1748 he married Jane Holt, the daughter of a prominent family from Williamsburg and a member of the Church of England. As a result, even those who disagreed with him found no grounds to criticize his character or actions.

Great Awakening in Virginia

The Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) solidified its hold in Virginia under the ministry of Davies. Soon the number of Presbyterian congregations was spreading beyond Hanover County. Davies found a ready audience for the gospel when he arrived in the colony. New Light evangelists before him had brought many people into the faith and prepared many for the evangelical message. Davies's own revival success was not predicated on the great emotional outbursts or physical manifestations common elsewhere during the Great Awakening (see REVIVALS). His moderate disposition and his audience's Anglican background served to restrain such behavior. For his part Davies neither encouraged nor discouraged excess emotionalism, although he did consider it to be a valid expression of the salvific experience.

The fine oratorical ability and humble demeanor of Davies received favorable responses wherever he preached. He focused the content of his sermons on the harsh reality of frontier life, especially the imminence of death. Because of his own weak physical constitution he carried the conviction that his life had been spared from premature death so that he could preach to the people of Virginia (see DEATH AND DYING). Consequently he considered his own PREACHING to be "as a dying man to dying men" (Pilcher 1971:65). He balanced such dire preaching, however, with sermons on the enjoyment and pleasure to be derived from the justified life. His sermons, which were collected and published as *Sermons on Important Subjects*, were still being read on both sides of the Atlantic a century after his death.

Preaching did not exhaust the means that Davies used to reach Hanover with the gospel. He also wrote poetry to explicate further the divine truths gathered from his sermon preparations and to express his own devotional feelings toward God. They appeared in the local *Virginia Gazette* and were collected for the private libraries of a number of Anglican planters. In 1752 over fifty of his poems were published under the title *Miscellaneous Poems*. He was, as well, the first colonial American to write and publish hymns, many of which he wrote to accompany his sermons and to prepare his parishioners for the LORD'S SUPPER. His "Communion Hymns" were still being used into the twentieth century.

Davies, himself a slave owner, made the evangelistic outreach to the slave population a significant priority of his ministry (see SLAVERY). By 1755 nearly three hundred slaves attended his church services. With the help of friends in ENGLAND, JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY numbered among them, Davies provided spelling books, catechetical material, and the hymnals of ISAAC WATTS for the slaves (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The slaves especially valued Watts's hymnals. Davies recounted that at times the "sundry of them were lodged all night in my kitchen; and sometimes, when I have awaked about two or three a-clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber and carried my mind away to heaven" (Pilcher 1971:112).

Advocate and Educator

Davies's revivalistic success brought him into frequent conflict with the colonial government. Davies pressed the officials in Williamsburg to recognize the Act of Toleration passed in ENGLAND in 1689 as having force in the British colonies. Not until his trip to England (1753–1755) did he successfully secure a declaration from the royal government that the Act of Toleration extended to the dissenters in Virginia. With the commencement of the French and Indian War, the government of Virginia found it expedient to ignore remaining restrictions on the Presbyterians to ensure their loyalty to the Crown. Davies's fight for the toleration of dissenters is recognized as laying the groundwork for the separation of CHURCH AND STATE in the United States.

In 1758 Samuel Davies became the fourth president of the College of New Jersey. He had earlier visited England with GILBERT TENNENT to raise money for the fledgling college. The funds procured on the trip built Nassau Hall and helped to put the college on sound economic footing. During his brief two years as president he raised the standard for both entrance and graduation and planned to expand the library. His untimely death came on February 4, 1761, at the age of thirty-seven.

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JOSEPH L.THOMAS

DEACONESS, DEACON

The terms “deaconess” and “deacon” refer to a present-day office of service in the church that dates back to the first century. The terms themselves are derived from the Greek verb, *diakonein*, and its cognate nouns *diakonos* and *diakonia*. *Diakonein* meant to serve or to minister. The noun *diakonos*, or deacon, meant servant or minister.

The Early and the Medieval Church

The early church created the deacon out of a need to administer CHARITY. The tradition of the church held the first deacons to have been the “seven men of good repute” chosen by the apostles of Jesus Christ to serve tables and to help with the daily distribution, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles 6:1–4. These seven men included the first martyr, Stephen, considered by the church father Irenaeus (c. 135–200) as the first deacon, but nowhere does the New Testament name these seven men as deacons. The first reference to deacons as officeholders in the New Testament is in the salutation of Paul in the first verse of his letter to the Philippians. They appear also in his first letter to Timothy 3:8–13, where their expected attributes are described. In Paul’s letter to the Romans 16:1–2, he speaks of a woman, Phoebe, as a *diakonos* of the church of Cenchreae.

Deacons began in the first century with little if any obvious place in the liturgy and a large role with the poor. The elders or presbyters (later priests) existed alongside deacons and were not initially necessarily above them. Deacons worked closely with bishops, helping them with financial administration and with charity. The role of the deacons in the Christian congregations brought them into close proximity with other Christians. Deacons visited the sick and prepared the dead for burial. Deacons were called the eyes and ears of the bishops, conveying messages and reporting problems.

Apparently some WOMEN were deacons in the earliest Church. As the church hierarchy evolved, women were moved out of the office of deacon and, at least by the second or third century, into an office of their own as deaconesses. The deaconesses did for women what deacons did for men. This office evolved on the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea to fulfill diaconal roles among women that were thought inappropriate for men, such as anointing the naked bodies of women before BAPTISM. Deaconesses

existed alongside the widows of the church who lived from the church's charity, were supposed to have been married once, and were to be over a minimum age. In the western end of the Mediterranean, widows could fulfill the deacon's functions among women.

Gradually, as assistants to the bishops, the deacons and the widows and deaconesses assumed some importance in the liturgy alongside their role in social welfare. The deacons were given functions that varied over time but included reading the Gospel and later the epistle, reciting certain prayers, and serving the wine and sometimes the bread in Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER). The deacons and deaconesses were doorkeepers and ushers during services and instructed new Christians before and after baptism. Some deacons presided over the Eucharist, particularly in churches over which the bishop had given them charge, notably with the expansion of the church in the third century. Deacons conducted catechism classes, and they sometimes preached.

Some churches, such as the Church of Rome, limited the number of their deacons to seven because of the precedent in Acts (chapter 6), but allowed the number of presbyters to expand. Churches appointed subdeacons to aid the deacons. By the third century, some churches had, as well, acolytes, readers, exorcists, and doorkeepers in an evolving expansion of church office. Among deacons, there was often a senior or principal deacon, called "archdeacon."

As the bishop's right-hand helpers, some deacons succeeded to the office of bishop directly without becoming presbyters. This practice continued right down at least to Hildebrand (Gregory VII, pope, 1073–1085), who was an archdeacon in diaconal orders when chosen pope. There was disagreement in the church in the third and fourth centuries as to the role of deacons in relation to presbyters, especially with regard to who was higher in church hierarchy, who could preside at the Eucharist, and who could preach. Although the diaconate eventually became a stepping stone to becoming a priest, this was not a foregone conclusion in these early centuries.

As Christianity became legal in the Roman Empire, however, deacons became subordinate to presbyters, deaconesses to deacons, and widows to deaconesses. The emperors Constantine and Licinius announced official toleration of Christians in the Roman Empire in 313, and in 380–382 the emperor Theodosius required the people of the empire to practice orthodox Christianity. This meant enormous change for the church. The church could now own property. Worship moved from house churches into large basilicas, and worship leaders adopted liturgical dress. Deacons served as bishops' representatives to church councils and meetings. Deacons judged with other clerics over assemblies, adjudicating quarrels among Christians. Church offices and liturgical roles developed. The role of the church in social welfare expanded. Christian emperors relied heavily on the bishops to administer relief of the poor, care for orphans, run hospitals, and oversee prison conditions.

Church office became a full-time occupation for many bishops, presbyters, and deacons, who came to depend on ecclesiastical revenues for support rather than on their own incomes, but with financial support came demands, such as CELIBACY. Just like monks in the newly forming monastic communities, bishops, presbyters (priests), and deacons in the western end of the Mediterranean were asked to be celibate. That priests and deacons not marry took a long time to make official, and longer still to enforce. It was not until the Second Lateran Council of the church in 1139 that marriages of subdeacons, deacons, and priests were invalid.

Just as the legalization of Christianity had enormous ramifications for the church, so too did the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476. Deacons retained a role in social welfare and property management at least into the fourth and the fifth centuries, but they lost it by the seventh century, when parishes were taking responsibility for their own poor rather than relying on the bishops whose assistants the deacons had been.

As deacons lost their social welfare functions, the church emphasized their liturgical roles. By the time of Gregory the Great (pope, 590–604), deacons had become renowned for their singing in the liturgy. By the early sixth century or before, deacons blessed the paschal candle at the Easter Vigil, but monasteries helped the needy, as did religious orders as they emerged. The male diaconate became an office one occupied on the way to the priesthood.

Deaconesses and widows formed female religious communities that sometimes included dedicated vir-gins. From these female living situations emerged religious orders (see MONASTICISM). The deaconesses and the widows were absorbed into the emerging religious orders.

Some functions of the deacons continued in the hands of the archdeacons, who retained important responsibilities in the financial, judicial, and charitable work of the church. Medieval archdeacons were legal representatives of bishops and exercised jurisdiction over priests. By the twelfth century archdeacons were themselves generally also priests in the West.

By that time, governments were also taking more of a role in social welfare, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, confraternities or lay brotherhoods and sisterhoods began to assume these responsibilities. By the fifteenth century the deacon's role was almost exclusively liturgical, and the diaconate prepared men for the priesthood.

From the Reformation to the Nineteenth Century

The reformers of the Protestant REFORMATION of the sixteenth century found the diaconate ripe for a reform along biblical lines. The model that they advocated was that of the early church when deacons had had responsibilities for the poor. This was practical as well, for in areas that became Protestant, Roman Catholic religious orders and confraternities were abolished or gradually dissolved, leaving communities bereft of the social welfare and education services they had performed.

City councils took over the Catholic Church's endowments and properties and also the responsibility for social welfare and education. Reformers such as MARTIN LUTHER, MARTIN BUCER, and JOHN CALVIN wanted those who cared for the poor to be called deacons, but, of these three, only Calvin was able to impose the title of deacon onto those who were responsible for social welfare. Deacon was one of the four church offices in the plural ministry of the ecclesiastical ordinances of Geneva (1541) that Calvin was instrumental in writing: (1) deacons served alongside (2) pastors, (3) doctors (teachers), and (4) elders.

As for the diaconate, Calvin envisioned a "double diaconate" based on his reading of Romans 12:6–8. He interpreted these verses to imply a difference between (1) those who

“serve the church in administering the affairs of the poor” (the procurators, or trustees, of the city hospital) and (2) those who care “for the poor themselves” (those who ran the hospital on a day-to-day basis). The title of deacon seems to have been seldom used in Geneva for these officials, however, at least in the city’s documents. “Deacon” more commonly referred to the administrators of the privately endowed funds for Protestant refugees to Geneva that sprang up in the city in the sixteenth century: the French Fund, the Italian fund, and the German fund. There were no female deacons in Geneva, although Calvin supported the restoration of the ancient office of widow for women in the church.

The actual organization of city welfare did not differ greatly in Protestant cities such as Geneva, Wittenberg, and Strasbourg, however. Those responsible for social welfare tended, whatever their title, to be officials as much of local government as of the church, even in Reformed churches in Switzerland. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI’S Reformed Church of Zurich did not call deacons those who worked with the poor, for instance.

There were some Lutheran regions where those responsible for poor relief were called deacons (see LUTHERANISM). JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN (1485–1558), Luther’s pastor and minister of the city church in Wittenberg, used the title of deacon for those responsible for social welfare in the church orders that he wrote or edited for Lutheran churches in north Germany and Denmark. Still, some Lutherans of the sixteenth century called those ordained clergy who were serving as assistants to parish pastors “deacons.” By the seventeenth century, among Lutherans the title *deacon* generally referred to assistant pastors.

This was not the case in Reformed churches that emerged from the Genevan model. Of the four offices of the church that Calvin identified, it was “doctor” rather than deacon that tended to get dropped as Reformed churches organized elsewhere. Thus the organizational manual of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, its *Book of Discipline* of 1561, included deacons. Deacons were found in Reformed churches of FRANCE, the Germanies (see GERMANY), the Low Countries (modern-day Belgium and the Netherlands), and even among the refugees from the Continent of Europe to ENGLAND, and deacons were actively involved in poor relief. The Reformed churches of Wessel on the Rhine allowed women as deacons of the sort who cared for the sick.

The Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) who came out of the Protestant Reformation appeared to more freely allow women service that involved a title than did Lutheran or Reformed Churches. Mennonite Anabaptists (see MENNONITES) allowed for both deacons and deaconesses in their Confession of Dordrecht or Dort (April 21, 1632).

The Church of England retained the transitional diaconate of the medieval era, however, even though those Englishmen who had lived on the Continent in Reformed cities during the Marian exile (1553–1558), or who were Puritans (see PURITANISM), preferred the Reformed model of deacons as serving the poor. When the spiritual descendants of some of these people migrated to the New World as Separatists or Puritans in the seventeenth century, they retained the office of deacon in their churches, but gradually that term was telescoped with that of elder or trustee. The Boards of Deacons became governing boards of many Congregational or Baptist churches (see CONGREGATIONALISM, BAPTISTS). Meanwhile, in the eighteenth century back in England, Methodists (see METHODISM) emerging from within the Church of England naturally retained the transitional deacon of that church.

There were, then, broadly, two models for deacons in the denominations that emerged from the Reformation and the early-modern era up to the nineteenth century: (1) The transitional diaconate in which the office of deacon was held by a clergyman on his way to becoming a priest or pastor. This was true in the Catholic Church, the Church of England, and the Methodist Church. (2) The deacon as social worker and financial officer. These deacons were chosen from the congregation and had no intention of becoming pastors. They usually worked part time at their diaconal tasks. This model was found in Reformed churches modeled on Switzerland or churches that adopted that model. Lutherans, as they came to the new world and founded congregations, used the term “deacon” in both senses. There were “congregational deacons” in some synods of Lutheranism. “Deacon” was also used to refer to men on their way to becoming Lutheran pastors.

The Nineteenth Century

The next major development in the diaconate, after the Protestant Reformation, occurred in the nineteenth century and originated in the Germanies. The Napoleonic Wars, which ended in 1815, left families disrupted, women widowed, and children orphaned. The industrial revolution, arriving later in Europe than in England, brought with it the problems of urbanization.

Germany made a unique contribution to urban work in the form of the Inner Mission, a program of social action and evangelism that began with rescue houses for children who were neglected or abandoned during the wars. In 1833, in Hamburg, Johannes Wichern founded a home for vagrant boys, educating them and training them, gathering them into groups of twelve to fourteen boys with an “older brother,” a new type of deacon. In 1839 Wichern founded a brother house and trained deacons for work in jails, slums, and places where many pastors would not go. As the movement spread in the Germanies and beyond, deacons were trained in other places, too, sometimes in conjunction with their female counterparts, deaconesses. The Inner Mission included institutions such as seamen’s missions, hostels, hospices, halfway houses, and homes to rescue women from PROSTITUTION and work such as visitation of prisons, distribution of literature, and youth work. Deacons would also work in hospitals.

The deaconess movement in the Germanies owes its origins to Theodore Fliedner (1800–1864), a parish pastor at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine River just below Düsseldorf, who was inspired by trips to England where he visited ELIZABETH FRY, the prison reformer, and to the NETHERLANDS where he became aware of Mennonite deaconesses. Fliedner established at Kaiserswerth a halfway house for women prisoners in 1833 and a kindergarten and a school for nurses in 1836, an orphanage in 1842, and a mental hospital in 1852. To staff these institutions he educated women to be nurses, teachers, and social workers, and called them deaconesses.

The Napoleonic Wars had left many women without men. Single women of rural or artisan families came to Kaiserswerth to be educated. Many became deaconesses, living together in mother houses, dressed in the blue dress and white bonnet of the Kaiserswerth

deaconess, committing themselves for five years at a time, receiving no salary except pocket money and a promise that they would be cared for in their old age. From Kaiserswerth they were sent out to other parts of Germany and abroad. They founded the nursing movement in the Germanies, some of them heading up the hospitals in which they served.

The movement grew enormously both in numbers of deaconesses and of mother houses. In 1861 Fliedner organized a General Conference of deaconess mother houses. Besides Fliedner, others founded mother houses, among whom was WILHELM LÖHE of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria (1854). Some mother houses, such as Bielefeld in Westphalia (1869), built clusters of institutions for the sick, mentally ill, and elderly. Later, under Adolf Hitler, German deaconesses took heroic measures to protect these disadvantaged.

The deaconess movement spread beyond Germany to France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, RUSSIA, Austria-Hungary, and Britain. In 1862 the first deaconess of the Church of England, Elizabeth Ferard, was set apart by the Bishop of London. Her movement continues today in the deaconesses of St. Andrew's House, London. However, the OXFORD MOVEMENT in England and its religious sisterhoods interfered with the attraction of the deaconess movement, as did the fact that nursing in England developed along secular lines, Florence Nightingale having stayed at Kaiserswerth but never having become a deaconess. British deaconesses were less involved in nursing than their Continental counterparts.

Methodists and Baptists in England also had deaconesses, and Methodism would play a prominent role when deaconesses spread to the New World, although the deaconess movement in America owes its foundation to William Passavant, a Lutheran pastor, who, after a visit to Kaiserswerth, consecrated his first deaconesses in America on May 28, 1850.

The Lutheran deaconesses movement in the New World followed the mother-house model of the Old World with centers in areas where Germans and Scandinavians settled: Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Brooklyn, and Omaha, for instance. In some centers there was training for deacons, too, in Colorado and Nebraska. Philanthropists and trustees founded deaconess homes and hospitals, but in the case of the Norwegians, a deaconess from Norway, Elizabeth Fedde, brought the movement to Brooklyn and Minneapolis. Lutheran deaconesses often spoke the language of the mother country to each other and in the mother house.

Although the deaconesses movement never became as large in the United States as it had been in Europe, there were deaconesses from many Protestant denominations: Reformed, Baptist, Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian, Mennonite, and Methodist. There were also interdenominational deaconess associations. Women of German descent were well represented, and sometimes mother houses in Europe, such as Bielefeld and Neuendettelsau, sent deaconesses to the United States. Deaconesses founded or staffed hospitals that dot the country today, some still with "Deaconess" in their titles, but it was not so much nursing that caught on among American deaconesses as the inner-city work of the Methodists.

Among Methodists in America, deaconesses got a later start than among Lutherans. Prominent Methodist women agitated for the deaconess cause, including the well-educated sisters, Jane and Henrietta Bancroft, deans of the women's colleges at Northwestern University and the University of Southern California. The General

Conference of the Methodist Church recognized deaconess work as an institution of the church in 1888, and the Chicago Training School for City and Home and Foreign Missions (1885) became the first school for deaconesses in the Methodist Church, although it was not limited to deaconesses. By 1915 Methodists had founded sixty such schools across the country in cities such as Boston, New York, San Francisco, and Grand Rapids.

Methodist deaconesses were particularly active in work in the inner city, especially among immigrants. They met women arriving at train stations and found them safe housing, helped people find work, opened clubs for young people, sponsored mother's circles, and established kindergartens and nurseries. Aware of society's problems, they opposed child labor (see CHILDHOOD) and were active in the TEMPERANCE movement.

The Twentieth Century

The deaconess movement and the deacons on the inner mission model thrived into the twentieth century. In some regions, such as Europe, growth continued until after World War II, but by the 1950s the movement appeared to have peaked, although some groups modernized and fared better, switching from pocket money to salaries, making deaconess "garb" optional or modernizing it, educating deaconesses in colleges and universities, and allowing deaconesses to marry or to work part time. As more denominations accepted women pastors, deaconesses had problems with recruitment, although some DENOMINATIONS, especially if they did not ordain women pastors, had ongoing success with their deaconess movements. This was true of the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD, which did not have deaconesses until the twentieth century, but which now has deaconesses in the Concordia Deaconess Program, founded in 1980, and from the older Lutheran Deaconess Association at Valparaiso University. The Valparaiso deaconess has members in several Lutheran synods, including some who are ordained pastors.

Deacons and deaconesses organized on a world-wide basis. After World War II, the World Federation of Deaconess Associations became the precursor to DIAKONIA, an organization intended to further ecumenical relationship among diaconal associations of various countries. There are also five regional organizations including DOTAC (Diakonia of the Americas and the Caribbean). These have regular conferences.

Denominational affiliation could create obstacles for deaconess associations, and in the case of Norwegian Lutheran Deaconess, it may be what rushed them out of existence. Denominations could mandate that women be either pastors or deaconesses but not both at the same time, for instance, as is the case for the Deaconess Community of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (see LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA) headquartered at Gladwyne, Pennsylvania. Deaconesses who became pastors were removed from the deaconess roster, although they might have preferred to continue to participate in the deaconess community. The Gladwyne Community suffered from a five-

year hiatus in new deaconess consecrations from 1988 to 1993 imposed by the church when the denomination was studying ministry.

The modern tendency is for deacons and deaconesses to be subsumed under one name, usually “deacon” but sometimes diaconal minister. In some de-nominations the title of deaconess has been dropped, or deaconesses have been allowed to keep their title but admit no new deaconesses. That is the case with the Church of England. Most Church of England deaconesses became deacons after 1987 when they were allowed to do so. Those who stayed deaconesses could keep the title, but there were to be no new deaconesses. Some female deacons went on to become ordained priests in the 1990s when it was allowed, if they had had the appropriate education. Some continued to live in community.

The UNITED METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA has allowed Methodist deaconesses to remain and recruit, although the denomination, at its 1996 General Conference, approved the “Deacon in Full Connection,” or permanent deacon. These are men or women, with the appropriate theological and professional education, ordained as deacons. Methodist deacons can preach, but not preside at the LORD’S SUPPER. The transitional diaconate was eliminated as a stepping stone to becoming an elder (pastor) within the Methodist Church, although a probationary period was not eliminated. Diaconal ministers already in office in Methodism were given the opportunity to join the order of deacon. In the year 2000 there were 1,000 permanent deacons among United Methodists and 35,000 elders.

Long before the Methodists, the AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH affirmed the permanent deacon in 1952 by adding a provision for *perpetual deacons* who were not transitional to the priesthood but who served permanently, after appropriate education, as deacons. An exciting development in the acknowledgment of a permanent diaconate was that of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Second Vatican Council in 1967 it restored the permanent diaconate and allowed men thirty-five years of age or older to serve in that ordained capacity even though they were married. Catholic Permanent Deacons have liturgical roles and can preach and serve the community in various ways. However, because they cannot preside over the Mass, they have not made up for the widespread shortage of priests.

The existence of the threefold ministry of bishops, pastors, and deacons has added a dynamic to ecumenical dialogue (see ECUMENISM) that is not easily resolved among church bodies that have a more unitary concept of the ministry as embodied in the pastor. On the other hand, church bodies with a unitary concept of ministry sometimes have a proliferation of “lay ministers” or workers, performing various tasks, many of which are appropriate to a deacon. The solution of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, described in its *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* of 1982, was to encourage, for the sake of unity and because of historical precedent, consideration of the threefold ministry by denominations that did not have it.

In addition to permanent deacons, there are still, of course, congregationally elected deacons in some denominations or deacons who serve as governing boards of churches, and there are programs to train them in diaconal service such as the Order of St. Stephen, Deacon.

See also Clergy; Women Clergy

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JEANNINE E.OLSON

DEATH AND DYING

Christianity does not deny death. Jesus, it attests, “was crucified, dead and buried.” However, in Christian perspective “death” has many faces. It is “natural,” established by the Creator. It limits the time of human existence and thus makes it important, and points it beyond itself to the eternal God. Natural death is penultimate; it is death unto God, who alone is ultimate. Death is also unnatural. In this fallen, sinful world, death pretends to be ultimate, the last word, an absolute nothingness that threatens the meaning of existence and in the end would separate the individual from the world, from others, and finally from God.

As the power that separates existence from God, death is indeed the power of SIN. As a true human being Jesus suffered this sinful death; as the Messiah he did so for the SALVATION of humankind. His death was a martyr’s death—the natural and expected out-come of the life he led. The cross was also a sinful “no” to the intrusion of God into this death-defined world. On the other hand, it is the overriding divine “no” of God’s judgment on the “no” of a sinful world. In Jesus’s death God, not death, has the last word, the word of forgiveness and reconciliation unto God.

With the loss of this perspective in the early decades of the twentieth century, discourse on death was silenced. However, in the 1970s following the publication of Elisabeth Kubler-Ross’s *On Death and Dying*, Americans realized that after all death and dying are universal, “natural” phenomena subject to rational reflection and control. Consequently there appeared a plethora of excellent books and school courses on “death and dying,” exploring all facets of the phenomena. These have helped the church understand just “what” this phenomenon of death is, but leave questions of meaning generally unexplored.

See also Heaven and Hell

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ROBERT T. OSBORN

DEATH OF GOD

For theology, the concept of the death of God is associated with a movement in radical theology in the United States in the 1960s. Behind the phrase lie two philosophical traditions: that of G.W.F. HEGEL (1770–1831) and FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844–1900). The death of God refers not to the death of God but to the experience of the absence of God or to the absence of the experience of God. Both of these have been features of Western culture since the 1950s, and the analyses of Hegel and Nietzsche have been revived to address these twin crises. The death of God has been, in turn, the critique of modernity and the foundation of postmodernity. The theology of the death of God is associated with the vivid imagery of Nietzsche's Madman, who proclaims the death of God, but the more suggestive and profound meaning of the movement derives from the writings of Hegel.

G.W.F.Hegel

The death of God might well be taken as the starting point of Hegel's philosophical system. During the early days in Jena, as he began to develop his own position, it was the dramatic, even nostalgic device by which he distinguished his own speculative philosophy from the alternatives of the day. The phrase appeared in *The Journal of Critical Philosophy* in an essay entitled "Faith and Knowledge" (1802). He had been critical of philosophy since the writings of Rene Descartes (1596–1650) with its dualism, which separates thinking and being. This tradition was exacerbated by the scepticism of philosopher IMMANUEL KANT'S (1724–1804) *Critique of Pure Reason*. The consequence was that God became a hypothesis, beyond the limits of the knowable. God could well be dead. The outcome was not necessarily atheism, for the loss of God was experienced as "infinite grief." The Absolute had not been rejected, but the relationship of the finite and the infinite was broken, not simply in fact but as an idea. Hegel later described the process in *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. In absolute subjectivity the Unhappy Consciousness succumbs to the tragic fate of becoming itself absolute and self-sufficient, finally losing even this certainty of self. It is "the bitter pain which finds expression in the cruel words, 'God is dead'."

Hegel, as a good Lutheran, accepted the truth of Christianity as a religion, but sought to supersede it in his philosophy. Even the phrase “death of God” he took from a seventeenth-century Lutheran hymn. In Christian piety it refers to the death of Christ, the incarnation of God. The death of God in this sense was a historical event, cruel but not tragic, because beyond death at Golgotha lies the resurrection. In fact, the phrase Hegel borrows is “Gott *selbst* ist tot.” “God himself is dead” is a philosophical, not a theological utterance. For Hegel the truth of Christianity lies in its exemplification of the universal in the particular, the idea in the event. The death of God refers not now to the death of Christ, but to the loss of the Absolute in a culture informed by ENLIGHTENMENT duality. Hegel’s entire philosophical project therefore began from this analysis. His system of Absolute Idealism was intended to lead not back to religion but on to a new identification of thinking and being. The historical Good Friday points to the Speculative Good Friday.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer

The phrase “death of God,” therefore, refers not to a historical event but to a cultural milieu of the nineteenth century that resulted not in atheism but in “infinite grief.” When this cultural milieu was replicated in the middle of the twentieth century, Hegel’s use of the phrase was revived. The milieu itself was first described by the German theologian DIETRICH BONHOEFFER (1906–1945), who was arrested and executed by the Gestapo for his part in plotting against Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). In spite of the fact that his fragmentary writings in prison were tentative, incomplete, and at times enigmatic, indeed precisely because they were not developed, they became the starting point for several post-World War II theological movements, each of which he would no doubt have disowned. In these *Letters and Papers from Prison* he claims that we are moving toward a time of no religion at all: people as they are now simply cannot be religious any more. God is no longer present to the believer, yet belief remains. How is this absence of God to be interpreted? God is teaching us that we must live as people who can get along very well without him. “The God who is with us is the God who forsakes us (Mark 15:34).” At Gethsemane the disciples of Jesus are called to watch. Christians are challenged to participate in the sufferings of God at the hands of a godless world. Bonhoeffer expresses the infinite grief of absence and the hope of finding an appropriate way not back but forward. It was left to others to revive the Hegelian theme of the death of God.

William Hamilton

Gabriel Vahanian was the first to announce the death of God (1961), but the two main exponents of the theology of the death of God were William Hamilton American and

Theologian Thomas Altizer (1927–). Hamilton offered not logic but biography, not metaphysics but personal experience. In describing his own religious history he invites others to identify with it. Earlier in his life there was experience of God, a God to be enjoyed, celebrated, and obeyed. Now that experience has gone. Argument has played no part, least of all argument designed to disprove the existence of God. There is now a sense of loss, comparable to the death of a loved one. There is a particular kind of grieving endured when the body of the loved one is not found, so Hamilton experiences the death of God, and yet there is part of him that waits for the return of God. Clearly Hamilton is not influenced by Hegel, but themes from Bonhoeffer appear. One is “secret discipline”: paradoxically, he prays for the return of the God who apparently is dead. But it must be the return of the God who is revealed in Christ. Another is the concentration of the person of Jesus. Christians waiting for God must adopt the life-style of the “man for others.” It is in this that the true humanity of Jesus is revealed, and that true divinity is revealed. Hamilton might be better described as a secular theologian. He uses the phrase “death of God,” but does not develop it theologically.

Thomas Altizer

Thomas Altizer’s work is much more sophisticated and ambitious. If Hamilton explores his personal experience of the unhappy consciousness, Altizer launches himself into a theological reinterpretation of the doctrine of incarnation that is thoroughly dialectical. In the secular culture of the 1960s there was a widespread acknowledgement that God was absent: but only Christians knew that God was dead. The absence might be assumed to be the work of man: the death of God was the work of God himself. According to Altizer, Christians should not hold back, but should will the death of God. At the beginning and end of the period of the “death of God” theology, Altizer published on American novelist Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) in 1963 and on English poet William Blake (1757–1827) in 1967. He proposed an alternative reading to that of Eliade. It is God himself who, by the incarnation, has brought an end of the sacred in its primordial form. For Christians there is no going back. The sacred can be regained only by a dialectical negation of the profane, but it must be a sacred understood now in the light of the death of God. Nor is it simply the pre-Christian God who has died. As early as World War I KARL BARTH (1886–1968) declared that such a God is dead. Altizer pursues his dialectic in a more Hegelian vein through the doctrine of *kenosis*, the self-emptying of God (Philippians 2:6–11). The kenotic movement of the Incarnation sees Spirit becoming flesh, eternity becoming time, and the sacred becoming profane. Christians must not look romantically or nostalgically to the beginning, but rather with hopeful anticipation to the end. The death of God marks the epiphany of the eschatological Christ. Altizer describes this as the gospel of Christian atheism. It was not received as good news in the churches, and unlike Hamilton he did not recommend radical Christians participate in the traditional religious life. However, by pursuing his profane destiny he still hoped to find a way “to return to the God who is all in all.”

The death of God theology was short-lived, but sufficiently lively that writers in other fields of radical theology felt it necessary to relate their own movement to it. Thus feminist theology welcomed the death of the divine patriarch, while liberation theology rejected the theme as distracting from the real issue, the death of men [sic!]. But these movements were calling for a new understanding of God the liberator and did not extend the theology of the death of God.

Friedrich Nietzsche

It was assumed in the 1960s that it was Nietzsche whose influence lay behind the theology of the death of God. As we have seen, the more fruitful influences were Hegel and even Bonhoeffer. The contemporary revival of interest in Nietzsche relates not to modernity but to postmodernity. He is influential on theology, but the outcome is not a revival of the movement of the 1960s.

Even more so than for Hegel, the death of God is the starting point of Nietzsche's philosophy. But unlike Hegel, he does not appropriate it from theology, nor does he attempt to develop it in such a way as to correct or complete a theological project. The intense religious faith of his youth gave way to a loss of religious beliefs in his student days. The reasons for this are not clear and apparently do not matter. Nietzsche claims that religious faith does not come about by rational argument, nor does argument lead to the loss of belief. It is as if the possibility of belief is relative to the culture in which we live. In some epochs everyone believes in God: in other periods few share such beliefs. In this sense God has a history. In the emerging secular culture the possibility of believing in God dies out. For Nietzsche it is irrelevant to protest whether this should be so or not. As a prophet of the coming age he proclaims that God is dead. For atheism this would be the end of the story; for Nietzsche it is only the beginning. For atheism the death of God would be a conclusion; for Nietzsche it is a premise: he wishes to explore the consequences.

Throughout his works Nietzsche refers frequently to the death of God, but there are two passages in *The Gay Science* in which he describes the event and its consequences in some detail. In the first passage, "The Meaning of Our Cheerfulness," he describes the death of God as if it were a cosmic event that had already taken place at the edge of the universe, not caused or planned here on earth; an event that nevertheless will eventually engulf this world. He foresees a period of destruction and desolation. The whole of Western culture was based upon religious premises. The death of God means the loss of the foundations of truth, morality, and aesthetics. Some are unaware of what has happened, others choose to ignore, but a few like Nietzsche experience "this monstrous logic of terror." The abyss of nihilism opens up. Why then cheerfulness? Because those who are brave enough to accept the death of God, who are steadfast enough to accept their fate, discover that with the end of the old world, a new world beckons. Nietzsche frequently uses the metaphor of putting out to sea. Previously men set the course of their lives by looking to the heavens. Now the old religious framework has been dismantled, but instead of being tossed about in a hostile flood, the free spirits discover that they can

take responsibility for the ship, for the course, indeed can declare it to be “our sea.” Some of the same themes appear in the more famous passage, “The Madman.” Now the death of God is not an event that takes place out of sight of mankind. All those who have participated in the creation of the secular culture have had a hand on the assassin’s knife that killed God. They knew not what they did. At a stroke they wiped out the horizon by which to steer a course, loosed the earth from the sun so that judgments such as higher and lower have no meaning. There is only one thing for it: they will have to become gods. They will have to take responsibility for discovering a new foundation for life, the life of meaning and significance, the truly human life.

For Nietzsche the death of God is a metaphor for the loss of the old religious foundations of life. It is the preface to his criticism of religion, particularly the Christian religion as a religion of decadence and *ressentiment*. Bonhoeffer was influenced by these themes in Nietzsche, as for example when he condemned the “religious premise,” the presentation of mankind as weak, incompetent, and dependent on God. However, the current revival of interest in Nietzsche relates to postmodernism. Writers on this subject begin with the dissolution of the Enlightenment project, with the loss of consensus on the conditions of truth and universal moral and aesthetic values. The death of God in this context means the end of the religious basis of modernity. Those who wish to continue theology under the condition of postmodernity must do so *post mortem dei*.

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ALISTAIR KEE

DEISM

Deism was a current of thought originating in seventeenth-century ENGLAND that formed the basis for eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT attitudes toward religion, reason, and nature in FRANCE, GERMANY, and beyond. Deists typically challenged the notion of revelation from God in a BIBLE and proposed the alternative of commonsense reason as a guide to religion and morality.

Definition

It is difficult to define “deism” because some who have been called “deists” rejected the label, and even those who accepted the term disagreed on its meaning. Two of the best-known English deists, CHARLES BLOUNT and JOHN TOLAND, for example, claimed to be fighting deism, and a third, ANTHONY COLLINS, never confessed to being a deist. No doubt this was because “deist” was something of a dirty word, which polemicists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries used as a weapon against their opponents. The word was coined by Pierre Viret in 1564 to designate anything that fell between atheism and Christianity, and was used with similar imprecision in the early eighteenth century. Most of those given the name accepted God’s creation of the world and rejected the notion of special revelation in the Bible, while disagreeing on the existence of an immortal soul, future retribution, freedom of the will, human nature, and the possibility of divine intervention in the world.

Generally, however, these thinkers agreed that one can start with abstract reason and then proceed from an abstract (“self-evident”) principle to conclusions about goodness, justice, and God. All rejected a simple appeal to AUTHORITY (religious or political) because their understanding of what is reasonable—and on this they differed—was their criterion for truth. The location of a DOCTRINE in the Bible was not enough for it to be thought divine—it had to meet the approval of what their understanding of reason considered acceptable. In a sense, this was a development of MARTIN LUTHER’S Protestant principle that the locus of authority is not an ecclesiastical institution but a particular construal of the Bible. However, although Luther debated not the truth of the

Bible but its interpretation, deists judged Scripture's veracity by its coherence with what they determined to be reason's dictates.

Origins

The first impulses of deist thinking emerged as an attempt to protect French Protestants against persecution by Catholics. EDWARD LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY (1583–1633), widely regarded as a progenitor of deism, proposed his five “common notions” (the existence of God, that God ought to be worshipped, the necessity of moral virtue and piety, sin's expiation by repentance, rewards and punishment after death) in the hope that they would help end the wars of religion. Herbert and his successors believed that appeals to religious authority, which emphasized differences rather than similarities among religions, were responsible for the intellectual and political violence of the seventeenth century. They were determined to rely on evidence from nature and reason, which all were thought to share, rather than TRADITION, which tended to divide.

The rise of deism also involved a battle for political control. Deists insisted on persons' fundamental right to understand truth for themselves—an indirect result of Protestantism's emphasis on the FAITH of the individual. Most English deists were Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM) fearful that without autonomy people would be susceptible to political control by Roman Catholics using implicit faith and papal infallibility, and by enthusiasts claiming immediate inspiration.

A third factor was the seventeenth century's burgeoning faith in the power of reason. Progress in physics (Sir ISAAC NEWTON), law (SAMUEL PUFENDORF and Baron de Montesquieu), and biblical criticism (Richard Simon) offered hope that reason could bring life and society under control. The CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS (Ralph Cudworth, Benjamin Whichcote, and HENRY MORE) appeared to demonstrate that reason could recognize and appropriate divine truth as well. They also brought morality to the fore, linking it to religion by making moral disposition a prerequisite to true spiritual experience.

Fourth, some deists were reacting against the scandal of particularity—the notion that God revealed himself to particular peoples at particular times rather than to all humans from the beginning. The orthodox Christian God who sent people to hell (see HEAVEN AND HELL) without giving them a chance to respond to the gospel seemed to be a monster, unworthy of a rational person's devotion. This reaction was strengthened by reports from voyages to the New World and East of millions of non-Christian but religious souls who often seemed more moral than their European contemporaries.

Other factors included a sense of ecclesiastical corruption, pluralism, moral turpitude in the established church, and political and theological wrangling by the CLERGY—all of which seemed to justify deists' rejection of religious authority.

Basic Themes of English Deism

Although French and German deists further developed the early thinking of the English deists, it was the latter who established the basic outlines of deist reasoning that persisted through the eighteenth century. A number of important themes originated with English thinkers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Epistemological Optimism Based on Common Sense. The English deists believed that reason was perfectly capable of discerning between good and evil, and truth and error, by appeal to what is intuitively obvious—or as deists put it, common sense. By this they meant not knowledge from everyday experience so much as abstract principles divorced from experience and traditions grounded in religious experience. For example, they thought Christ's resurrection unlikely because of the abstract principle that the course of NATURE is never altered. Confucius knew better how to treat enemies because reason shows intuitively that Jesus's command to love enemies is improper. These things can be known with a certainty akin to that produced by mathematical reasoning because truth is a set of clear propositions that can be proven, whereas traditional religion relies on authority and mystery. Therefore the rational person can determine what is true in religion by comparing religious claims to what is thought to be intuitively clear. As Toland asserted, nothing could be true of God that exceeded the limits of his understanding.

Elitism and Hostility to "Priestcraft." Truth can be understood in its full clarity only by the educated who can follow rational argument; the uneducated masses comprehend only fables and religious allegories. Like Benjamin Franklin, they thought Christianity useful for teaching the untutored hordes for the purpose of social control. Collins said he sent his domestics to church so they would learn not to rob him or cut his throat. As Tindal remarked, citing a Greek proverb, "Miracles for fools and reasons for wise men." He and other deists believed the masses were kept ignorant of "natural religion" by a conspiracy of priests who for the sake of selfish gain distorted or destroyed the original knowledge given by reason and intuition to all human beings. In a Golden Age at the beginning of creation, the first generations practiced a simple and clear religion of nature that institutional religion had subsequently suppressed.

Religion as Moralism. For deists the essence of religion is morality. According to WILLIAM WOLLASTON, "By religion I mean nothing else but our obligation to do (under which I comprehend acts both of body and mind. I say to *do*) what ought not to be omitted, and to *forbear* what ought not to be done." These moral obligations are known a priori, before and without revelation. In fact, intuition showed deists that much of what passes for revelation in the Bible is in fact immoral.

Ahistorical Religion. God and true religion were thought by deists to be absolutely invariable since the beginning of history. Because they had decided a priori that revelation must have always been available equally to all human beings from the very beginning of history, and that to admit anything otherwise would be to conceive an unjust and malevolent God, they insisted on the unchanging character of both true religion and its deity. Hence all positive religions connected to history were necessarily suspect—products of an arbitrary god who is not God.

Sincerity as the Heart of True Religion. Because no religious doctrine has been known universally, sincerity is all that matters for divine acceptance. Theological differences are insignificant, and all religions are relative expressions of divine sanctions for morality. Hence none is better than another at reconciling the individual to the divine, and each demonstrates the importance of character, not belief.

Rejection of Christian Theology. Christian doctrines were particularly noteworthy for being superfluous and downright pernicious. For example, the satisfaction theory of the ATONEMENT smacked of ancient heathen sacrifices appeasing a bloodthirsty god. Why cannot God simply forgive? asked the deists. Besides, if God requires satisfaction, he can be hurt, which implies weakness and imperfection. The person of Jesus was also controversial. He could not be central in true religion because he was a latecomer to the history of humanity and therefore inaccessible to many. To accept his central role would be to accept ORTHODOXY'S claim that some times and places were privileged over others, which in turn would make God an arbitrary god.

Hostility to Judaism. For this reason JUDAISM was execrable to most deists, who were leaders of the Enlightenment's reevaluation of Judaism. The notion of a chosen people, they felt, implies divine favoritism, and the religion as a whole is full of human ceremonialism and priestly imposture. In a way, the deists' strictures of the Old Testament were those of the New Testament, and those of the Jewish religion were those of the Christian religion. As far as the deists were concerned, "priests" had perverted the original purity of the natural religion in both instances. While the English deists left no doubt that they favored the legal emancipation of Jews in England, their disparagement of the "legalism" of the Jewish religion could easily be used to label the Jewish religion as morally and religiously inferior, especially when their analogous denunciation of the Christian religion were ignored.

The English Deists

LORD HERBERT of Cherbury published his five common notions, which he claimed were known a priori by intuition, in *De Veritate, Prout Distinguitur a Revelatione, a Verisimile, a Possibili, et a Falso*, first in Paris in 1624, then in London in 1633 and 1645. In *Antient Religion of the Gentiles* (1663) he cited heathen who had lived "innocent and commendable lives" as illustrations of why the Fathers of the church had been "too rigid and severe" to sentence the majority of humanity to damnation because they did not know Christ. He learned from Vossius's *De Origine ac Progressu Idololatriae* (1641) that all the wise Gentiles were monotheists.

Charles Blount (1654–1693), a disciple of Herbert, used the Jesuit travelogues from CHINA to rail against "particular religions" and stipulate that "revealed religion" cannot be true because it is not known by all. Only that which is universal is true. In *Summary Account of the Deist's Religion* (1693), Blount argues that reason is the first revelation of God and by the nature of things makes moral truths self-evident. It also reveals that there was no divine mediator, and that morality is far more important than any supposed mystery. Blount often attacked classical religion in his writings, but the astute reader can

discern between the lines a critique of Christian orthodoxy that has been veiled for fear of legal action.

JOHN TOLAND (1670–1722) was a learned philosopher whose many writings made deism accessible to a broad audience. His most famous work, *Christianity Not Mystrious: Or a treatise Shewing That there is nothing in the Gospel Contrary to Reason, Nor above it: And that no Christian Doctrine can be properly call'd a Mystery* (1696), charged that truth is always clear and true religion always reasonable and intelligible. Original Christianity therefore was free of mystery, which came only with the admixture of Platonic and Aristotelian thought imported by the Fathers. Other superstitions came through gentile additions of mysteries and ceremonies from pagan religions. The clergy's greatest crime was to prevent people from thinking for themselves because self-determination is the greatest gift. Ironically, Toland, who was a materialist and pantheist, both decried mystery in Christianity and tried to rehabilitate Druidism and continental Freemasonry. Toland admired some classical authors for their elegance and disdain for superstition, but denounced Plato for his "incomprehensible" mysteries, and Epicurus, Aristotle, and Plato for their repugnant morals.

MATTHEW TINDAL (1657–1733) was the most learned of the British deists. His *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730) was not called "the Deists' Bible" without reason: it elicited more than 150 published replies. Despite having sat at Locke's feet as an admiring disciple, Tindal, like most deists, believed in a priori knowledge. His basic argument in *Christianity* began with the assumption that rational religion is clear, accessible, and perfect. If perfect, it cannot be made clearer. Any claim to make it clearer is therefore false. Because traditional Christianity makes that claim, it is false. Hence any pretenses to external (outside the human mind and heart) revelation owe to enthusiasm or imposture. To be governed by such revelation is to renounce reason and replace understanding with implicit faith. In the second half of *Christianity*, which Tindal wrote when he was seventy-five years old, the Oxford fellow systematically attacked the Bible by impugning the character of biblical heroes and the intelligence of the apostles, questioning the reliability of the prophecies and miracle stories, and challenging the limits of the biblical canon. Much of the New Testament, he declared, was hyperbolic and parabolic, so its words must be interpreted in a contrary sense to make common sense. In contrast to the confusion elicited by the Bible, the light of nature clearly shows us the way to God by repentance and moral amendment.

THOMAS CHUBB (1679–1746), a Salisbury tallow chandler and glovemaker who confessed he knew no languages but his own, was the least educated of all the deists. He began as a disciple of the Arians WILLIAM WHISTON and Samuel Clarke, then became a deist. He was able to express the currents of his age in a vigorous and accessible fashion; more than anyone else, Chubb took deism to the common people. Chubb's basic rule of thinking was that reason is or ought to be a sufficient guide in matters of religion. He taught that all persons have the divine law in their hearts, so they can easily determine whether something purporting to be divine is truly so. Religion is valuable only as it serves human morality; far from central, life after death is at best uncertain and prayer is unnecessary.

The aristocratic ANTHONY COLLINS (1676–1729) was the best educated and most sophisticated of the English deists. A friend of Locke, he argued in his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713) for the right to think and publish freely, and charged that enthusiasm and

superstition are worse than atheism. A necessitarian who argued against free will, Collins is particularly known for his criticisms of supposed New Testament fulfillments of Old Testament prophecies. Other English deists include WILLIAM WOLLASTON, THOMAS WOOLSTON, Thomas Morgan, Lord Henry St John Bolingbroke, and Peter Annet.

Attacks on Deism from England and America

The early eighteenth century was flooded with pamphlets and treatises written by orthodox divines attacking deist claims. Yet many of these attacks shared the rationalistic premises of the deists and so were not particularly effective. Bishop JOSEPH BUTLER'S *Analogy of Religion* (1736), however, dealt English deism a crippling blow. Butler contended that nature is just as mysterious as revelation. The deist description of nature as clear and indubitable, he argued, was more fanciful than accurate. Nature is neither uniform nor transparent in intelligibility. Furthermore, deists have no good reason to presume that the grand system of being, much of which is beyond human ken, is anything like the empirical realities that we know. So if revealed religion seems irrational at points, natural religion is not without its own dark enigmas.

Others had made similar but less compelling arguments. Philosopher and bishop GEORGE BERKELEY had asserted that some mathematical axioms are as puzzling as the Christian mysteries (*The Analyst*, 1734), whereas in *The Case of Reason* (1731) WILLIAM LAW denied the use of abstract reason in morality and religion, arguing that religion is best validated by historical evidence and implicit faith. Later in that century JOHN WESLEY proposed that inner conversion is the best argument.

The American philosopher-theologian JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758) made the most pointed criticisms of the deist project without at the same time denying a role for reason in apprehending religious truth. In his notebooks and treatises he charged that the deist bar of common sense fails to admit truths of life even deists affirm. For life, like religion, abounds with mystery and paradox. The deist restriction of truth to propositions that can be understood comprehensively presumes a one-dimensional view of the human person. Propositions are functions of the affections, which in turn are grounded in aspects of the person that transcend thinking. Hence religious claims are borne not of mere rational perception but a complex blend of passion, interest, and ratiocination. Reason is also the product of complex forces; it is not neutral but interested. So although it can and must determine the possibility of revelation, it is no wonder that unregenerate reason cannot comprehend regenerate arguments for revelation. Edwards also challenged deist views of nature and the religions. He portrayed the world not as a giant machine but as a living organism, sustained not by laws of nature but by immediate re-creation from moment to throbbing moment. Like the deists, Edwards took other religions seriously, acknowledged their providential role in world history, and made room for the Holy Spirit in the work of pagan philosophers in China, Greece, and Rome. However, he denied a common substratum at the heart of all religions. Finally, Edwards resisted the move of deists (and a surprising number of “orthodox” thinkers) to make true religion

synonymous with moral virtue. Edwards insisted instead that true religion always issues from aesthetic vision (see AESTHETICS). Hence moral sincerity is not enough, unless it is the appeal of true virtue. Unlike the deists, Edwards was more interested in internal states and sensibilities than external works.

DAVID HUME (1711–1776) had even less confidence in abstract reason. In “Of Miracles,” “Of a Particular Providence and of a Future State” (1748), *The Natural History of Religion* (1757), and *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779), he proposed that reason is impotent to either establish or falsify religious beliefs. His criticism of mechanism—that the idea of causation corresponds to actual fact—was devastating to the model of the universe as machine. It denied that reality was as transparent as deists claimed.

Deism on the Continent

Although deism in England dissipated by mid-century, it took on new life across the English Channel. François Marie Arouet (Voltaire was his adopted name) (1694–1778) was less a philosopher than a satirist who popularized deism in France by clear and crisp wit. After the suppression of the *Encyclopédie* and the execution of Huguenot Jean Calas in 1762, Voltaire raised his battle cry, “Ecrasez l’infâme” (“Crush the infamous thing.”). By this he meant orthodox, institutional Christianity, whose mysterious doctrines inspired persecuting fanaticism. Influenced by the English deists, Voltaire decried the “immorality” of Old Testament heroes such as David, and found the gospels self-contradictory: God could not have been born of a girl or died on a gibbet. Voltaire was nevertheless a theist who was convinced by the argument from design and taught a religion of praise, adoration, and moral virtue.

Deist thinking in Germany led to a new emphasis on biblical criticism. JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER (1725–1791), professor of theology at HALLE and often called the father of historical criticism of the Bible, followed Tindal in saying that the essence of biblical religion was the moral teachings of Christ. Readers should consider as revelation only what is reasonable and agrees with one’s moral experience. HERMANN SAMUEL REIMARUS (1694–1768), professor of oriental languages at Hamburg, was the most famous German deist. In his 4,000-page *An Apology for the Rational Worshippers of God* (published in portions by GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING), Reimarus declared that Christianity was not only unnecessary but fraudulent: there are contradictions in the stories of both the Exodus and Jesus’s resurrection, and evidence that Jesus’s disciples stole his body and created a religion foreign to his intentions when it became clear that Jesus’s prophecy of the imminent kingdom had failed.

Lessing (1729–1781) took a more nuanced approach to Christianity, but accentuated deism’s skepticism toward the Bible’s historical claims. In “On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power,” Lessing pronounced that although reason delivers truths that are a priori and therefore certain, historical claims are dependent on human testimony and therefore uncertain. Miracle stories are particularly unreliable because we no longer have experience to compare them with. Hence “accidental truths of history can never become

the proof of necessary truths of reason.” The teachings of Christ teach an inward truth that existed long before the Bible, and this inward truth can be known only by “spirit and power” or personal experience. In *The Education of the Human Race* (1777), Lessing departed from the English deist view of religious history by suggesting progressive revelation in which historical religions are superseded by a more sublime eternal gospel—deism. In another departure, Lessing insisted that historical revelation can tell us things reason cannot, and that reason in fact develops under the tutelage of positive revelation. Thus the infinite manifests itself only through the finite, the eternal through the temporal process of becoming. The terminus of this development is moral autonomy in which one does right not for rewards but because it is right.

Deism in America

Near the end of the eighteenth century, deism borrowed from the American Revolution a passion it had previously lacked and enjoyed considerable popularity among the cultural elite. The majority of students at Yale, Dartmouth, and Princeton were said to have become skeptics under its influence. Franklin, THOMAS JEFFERSON, and other leaders of the new republic were proponents of this Enlightenment religion.

By the age of seventeen, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) was convinced of deism after reading Collins and Tindal. He never reconciled his deist belief in comprehensive natural laws with his faith in divine intervention, but maintained throughout his life a near-obsession with the idea of moral perfection through good works. Convinced of divine benevolence by nature’s benefits, Franklin was skeptical of orthodox Christian beliefs. Shortly before his death he said he believed that Jesus was the best moral teacher ever but doubted his divinity. He affirmed immortality and retribution, and fought fervently for religious tolerance.

Dismissed by his political archrival Alexander Hamilton as an “atheist and fanatic,” THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826) believed that apparent design in the universe points to a First Cause. Jefferson adopted deist insistence that ideas must be distinct before reason can act on them, and decided that the Incarnation, Jesus’s resurrection, revelation, biblical miracles, and the Trinity are indistinct if not murky. Jesus taught a rational religion of three propositions: one perfect God, reward and punishment in the future, and love for God and neighbor. Like Toland, Jefferson dismissed Christianity as hopelessly corrupted by “Platonic absurdities.” Calvinism contained the worst of these: “If I were to found a new religion, [my fundamental principle] would be the reverse of Calvin’s, that we are saved by our good works which are within our power, and not by the faith which is not within our power.” True religion, he wrote, is essentially social morality, which the man Jesus taught better than anyone. Though not a philosopher, he was the most capable proponent of deism in early America.

Ethan Allen (1737–1789), leader of the Green Mountain Boys during the Revolution, wrote America’s first systematic treatise on deism, *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*, in 1784. The least gifted of American deists, Allen contributed no innovations, but went to great lengths to deny the divinity of Jesus and to accuse the biblical deity of immortality

and arbitrariness. Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* (1794–1795), America's best-known deist treatise, was a response to the dogmatic atheism of the French Revolution. It opened with the words, "My own mind is my own church." America's leading polemicist, Paine attacked written revelation as hearsay, and miracles as portraying a deity who performed tricks to amuse.

Elihu Palmer (1764–1806), America's most sophisticated deist, was blinded by a yellow fever epidemic in 1793. In his *Principles of Nature* (1801) he developed a natural ethics based on "reciprocal justice" and "universal benevolence." It is utilitarian in method, appealing to whatever maximizes pleasure and minimizes pain. Palmer taught that rational investigation of the laws of nature reveals both ethics and religion, and condemns the subjugation of WOMEN, people of color, and coercion of conscience. It also points up the immorality and absurdity of Christian doctrine: eternal damnation punishes finite sins with infinite pain; original sin suggests that vice and virtue can be transferred; and the atonement is savage retaliation of evil for evil. Palmer's deist newspaper, *The Temple of Reason*, attacked both church and state as twin obstacles to progress.

The Corrosion of Deism

While deism was capturing the minds of many in the American cultural elite, two original minds in Europe were launching devastating salvos against a religion of reason. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712–1778), an intellectual bridge between deism and Romanticism, held to deist beliefs about God and morality but rejected deist isolation of reason from feeling and willing. His 1762 "Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar" in *Emile* suggests that although nature (not the Bible) teaches religious truth, the way to nature's truth is through "feeling" and "conscience." The Bible is unreliable because it is founded on human testimony, and abstract reasoning is equally unable to find God. Certainty and the divine are found only at the intersection of rational evidence, religious intuition, and moral conviction. Innate sentiments of justice and virtue are the only true guides to divine truth. In a move not unlike Edwards's, Rousseau located reason in the maelstrom of human experience, and denied empirical reason's access to the divine.

IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804), in *The Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), agreed with Rousseau that faith is not a product of empirical knowledge, but insisted on the rationality of faith in *The Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) by arguing that moral reason demands a *summum bonum* that is possible only with a Supreme Being. Faith is moral faith, or a recognition of our moral duty as divine command. Kant agreed with deists that theology is essentially morality and moral knowledge is a priori, but disagreed on the capacity of abstract reason to prove God's existence, and suggested that moral knowledge is more certain than scientific knowledge. He rejected deists' optimism about human nature, hinting that divine assistance is necessary to break the power of an innate propensity to evil.

The Legacy of Deism

In the next two centuries after Kant there were few serious attempts to construct a religious system using abstract or empirical reason. Most concluded that the deist portrait of humanity and nature had been shallow and alienating. Humans seemed little more than animated bodies conforming to nature's laws, and the mechanistic universe of deism appeared cold and deterministic. God seemed to have been an absentee landlord, far removed from the quotidian struggles of existence. Terrifying divinity had been transmuted into an enlightened English squire. The depths of experience were flattened and the mysteries of life replaced by a bland and regular simplicity.

Yet deism's influence has been far-reaching nevertheless. The grand Enlightenment project, which has been the intellectual foundation for MODERNITY, largely stems from deist rejection of authority (both political and religious) and its stubborn devotion to the claims of empirical and abstract reason. Politically, deism played a role in the development of religious tolerance, which was expressed institutionally in the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. Theology was never the same after deism. Now it would search for God in human experience rather than the Bible or ecclesiastical institution. In response to Kant's response to deism, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) and his liberal Protestant successors found truth outside the Bible and the church, and then reconstructed God, humanity, and church accordingly. Theology could no longer ignore biblical criticism or the sciences, and in most of the next two centuries the universal was to be preferred to the historically particular. Academic study of the Bible was dominated by historicism, which was inspired by deist challenges to historical narratives in the Bible. The larger cultures of Europe and America came to adopt the deist view that religion's essence and purpose is morality. Protestantism in general has come to be increasingly marked by the deist approach to authority as located in the individual conscience. Conservative Protestants claim the authority of reason to start new churches in the name of differing interpretations of the Bible. Mainline and liberal Protestants reject parts or all of traditional doctrine because of perceived conflicts with reason. Both tendencies pay tribute to the rationalistic legacy of deism.

See also: Ethics

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DELANY, MARTIN (1812–1885)

American black nationalist and civil rights activist. Born of a free mother and enslaved father in western Virginia, Martin Delany spent most of his early life in Pennsylvania. He worked as a physician's assistant, and even attended a semester at Harvard Medical School before the protests of white students led to his dismissal. In 1848, FREDERICK DOUGLASS hired Delany as a co-editor of the abolitionist newspaper, *The North Star*. Delany toured the North in an anti-slavery campaign promoting moral suasion—the idea that moral and material improvement of blacks would negate the proslavery presumptions of black inferiority. Despite his membership in the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (AME) church, Delany drew little support from black churches, which rejected the materialist aspects of his message in favor of a more otherworldly focused Christianity.

Delany's mission changed dramatically with the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, which he saw as the first step toward nationalization of SLAVERY and continued degradation of free blacks. Although he vigorously opposed the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, Delany now believed that the future for blacks lay outside the UNITED STATES. In *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered* (1852), Delany argued that forming a new nation remained the only way that blacks could gain full economic and political freedom. Delany's appeal combined the biblical language of the Exodus with missionary zeal to redeem AFRICA with Christian civilization. Delany secured West African land for a colony, but his plans changed again with the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR. Delany recruited for the Union Army, served as major of a regiment of black troops in the South, and, after the war's close, worked for the Freedmen's Bureau.

See also Slavery, Abolition of

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DEMOCRACY

At its core, *democracy* means “rule” (*kratein*) by the “people” (*demos*). More fully conceived, democracy is a blend of distinct social, political, and legal ideas and institutions. Democracy embraces the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, pluralism, toleration, and privacy. It insists on a limited government that is accessible and accountable to the people. It typically features a constitution and a charter of civil and political freedoms, a system of popular representation and political checks and balances, a guarantee of procedural rights in civil and criminal cases, and a commitment to majoritarian rule and minority protection, to regular popular political elections, to state-sponsored education and social welfare programs, to protection and promotion of private property and market economies, among others. Democracy, however, has no paradigmatic form. The four dozen national democracies around the world today have cast these basic ideas and institutions into widely variant forms.

Democratic ideas and institutions have an ancient pedigree. Classical Greek and Roman writers, notably Aristotle and Cicero, described democracy, alongside monarchy and aristocracy, and these discussions were echoed and elaborated by dozens of medieval and early modern Catholic writers. Small communities like the Greek polis, the medieval cloister, and the colonial township practiced various forms of direct democracy. Legal documents from the Edict of Milan (313) to the Magna Carta (1215) to the Petition of Right (1628) spoke of liberties, rights, privileges, and religious TOLERATION. Before the seventeenth century, however, these instances of democracy remained incidental and isolated. Monarchical and aristocratic theories and forms of government dominated the Western state and church. Democracy emerged as a formal theory and form of civil government and social organization only in early modern times.

Protestant Support

Protestantism helped to shape the modern rise of democracy. Although none of the leading Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century taught democracy per se, their theology was filled with democratic implications. Following MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN, many early Protestants taught that a person is at once saint and sinner.

On the other hand, each person is created in the image of God and has equal access to God. Each person is called by God to a distinct vocation, which stands equal in dignity to all others. Each is a prophet, priest, and king and responsible to exhort, minister, and rule in the community. Each is thus vested with a natural liberty to live, to believe, and to serve God and neighbor; each is entitled to the vernacular Scripture, to education, to work in a vocation. On the other hand, all persons are inherently sinful. They need the restraint of the moral and civil law to deter them from vice and drive them to virtue. They need the association of others to exhort, minister, and rule them with law and with love. Persons are thus by nature communal creatures and belong to families, churches, schools, and other associations. Such associations, which are ordained by God and instituted by human covenants, are essential for the individual to flourish and for the state to function.

In the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, various Protestant groups in Europe began to derive democratic theory from this early Protestant theology. The Protestant theology of the *person* was cast into democratic social theory. Because all persons stand equal before God, they must stand equal before God's political agents in the state. Because God has vested all persons with natural liberties of life and belief, the state must assure them of similar civil liberties. Because God has called all persons to be prophets, priests, and kings, the state must protect their freedoms to speak, to worship, and to rule in the community. Because God has created people as social creatures, the state must promote and protect a plurality of social institutions, particularly the church, the school, and the family. The Protestant theology of COVENANTS (see also COVENANT THEOLOGY) was cast into democratic constitutional theory. Societies and states must be created by voluntary written covenants, compacts, or constitutions, to which parties swear their mutual allegiance before God and each other in the form of oaths. These founding documents describe the community's ideals and values, delineate the citizen's rights and responsibilities, and define the officials' powers and prerogatives. The Protestant theology of SIN was cast into democratic political theory. The political office must be protected against the inherent sinfulness of the political official. Power must be distributed among self-checking executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Officials must be elected to limited terms of office. Laws must be clearly codified, and discretion and equity closely guarded. If officials abuse their office, they must be disobeyed; if they persist in their abuse, they must be removed, even if by force of arms.

Democracy and Protestant Movements

These Protestant democratic ideas were among the driving ideological forces of the revolts of the French HUGUENOTS, Dutch pietists (see PIETISM), and Scottish Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM) against their monarchical oppressors in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They inspired Anglo-Puritans in the English civil wars of 1640–1688 that truncated royal prerogatives, augmented parliamentary power and popular representation, and ultimately yielded the famous 1689 BILL OF RIGHTS and Toleration Act and their many eighteenth-century constitutional progeny. These ideas remained a perennial source of inspiration and instruction for various neo-

Lutheran and neoCalvinist political movements in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They also had a modest place, alongside more dominant Catholic views, in the establishment of the Christian Democracy Party at the end of the nineteenth century.

These Protestant democratic ideas also helped to inspire the creation of several democratic church polities in Europe and America. Anabaptist churches (see ANABAPTISM), notably the AMISH and MENNONITES, separated themselves from secular society into small democratic communities, which featured popular election of church officers, public participation in church governance, and intensely egalitarian organizations and activities. Calvinist churches were often created as democratic polities. Church congregations were formed by ecclesiastical constitutions. Church power was separated among pastors, elders, and deacons, each of whom was elected to a limited term of office and held a measure of authority over the others. CHURCH LAW was codified and administered through a variety of public or representative bodies. Church members convened periodic popular meetings to assess the performance of church officers and to deliberate changes in doctrine, liturgy, or government.

Puritan writers in New England drew ready political lessons from this democratic understanding of the church, and these lessons were reflected in several of the new American state constitutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Methodists (see METHODISM), BAPTISTS, and various other smaller religious groups born of the First and Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) in America eventually made democratization a centerpiece of their political theologies and ecclesiologies—a feature that such nineteenth-century European observers as ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, Lord Acton, and ABRAHAM KUYPER both celebrated and advocated among their coreligionists in Europe.

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America, many Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM), Baptists, Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), Lutherans, Methodists, and other Protestants joined with Catholics, Jews (see JUDAISM), and ENLIGHTENMENT exponents to establish the core constitutional forms of federalism and separation of powers and to secure the constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and press, due process, and equal protection under the law. Many of these same Protestants later also worked to abolish SLAVERY (see also SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), to establish public schools, to reform laws of MARRIAGE and FAMILY life, to institute prohibition, TEMPERANCE and other moral reforms, and to broaden the political franchise—although these reform movements permanently splintered Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist, and other denominations among more conservative and progressive factions. Some of these Protestant democratic reform efforts found new life in the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement led by WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH and his allies on both sides of the Atlantic in the early twentieth century. Protestant democratic theory found later theological champions in such luminaries as H. RICHARD and REINHOLD NIEBUHR in America and KARL BARTH and DIETRICH BONHOEFFER in Europe, and enjoyed intense rejuvenation and reformation in the immediate aftermaths of both World War I and World War II.

Today, most mainline Protestant churches in Europe have only a negligible effect on mainstream democratic politics, although Lutheran churches continue to have moral influence on public policy in GERMANY and Scandinavia, and several Anglican and

Evangelical intellectuals have come to public and political prominence in ENGLAND and SCOTLAND. American Protestant influence on and in democracy is also somewhat diffuse and diluted, although pockets of intense intellectual and institutional strength remain in black churches, in various Reformed and Evangelical academic, human rights, and public policy groups, and in such political movements as the Christian Coalition.

Although the political influence of mainline Protestantism waned in much of North America and Western Europe in the later twentieth century, it waxed in Latin America, AFRICA, and Eastern Europe as well as in SOUTH KOREA, JAPAN, and scattered pockets of the Indian subcontinent. Particularly in Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe, Protestant mission churches had for decades served as zones of liberty during the harsh reigns of fascist, socialist, or colonial authorities. These churches were organized democratically like their American and European counterparts. They served as centers of poor relief, education, health care, and social welfare in the community. They catalyzed the formation of voluntary associations, and provided a sanctuary for political dissidents and a sanction for movements of democratic reform and renewal. They also leveled indigenous social hierarchies with their insistence on vernacularizing the BI-BLE, on educating all persons for a vocation, and on relativizing all political authority to the authority of God. Protestant churches thereby provided models of democracy and bulwarks against autocracy in these long-trammeled societies, and have emerged as key leaders of the democratic movements now breaking out in these regions.

See also Church and State, Overview

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DEMOGRAPHY

See Statistics

DENMARK

When discussing Protestantism in Denmark, the history of the Lutheran Church is the most important. Because members of other Protestant religious communities constitute less than half a percent of the population, this article focuses on the history, theology, mission, and ecumenical relations within the Lutheran Church. Other Protestant groups are discussed at the end of the article.

History of the Lutheran Church in Denmark

In the 1520s the Carmelite provincial Poul Helgesen (Paulus Helie) was at the forefront of a humanistic Catholic MODERNISM, which was inspired by Erasmus of Rotterdam. Some of his students converted to the evangelical movement, which grew in all large towns, even though it was illegal (see EVANGELICALISM). After a civil war, King Christian III removed and jailed each and every Catholic bishop, and confiscated the bishop's estate (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY). He started an evangelical REFORMATION (1536–1537) conducted in close cooperation with MARTIN LUTHER and other reformers in Wittenberg. The fundamental law of the church, the Church Ordinance, was created on the basis of JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN'S German organization of the church and with Bugenhagen's help.

The University of Wittenberg became the model for the reestablished University of Copenhagen, and the leaders within the church and within the education system were trained in Wittenberg. The LITURGY was based on Luther's suggestions, and the first Danish translation of the BIBLE (1550) was based on Luther's Bible from 1545. The king became the actual leader of the church. The state continued to control the church following the ORTHODOXY of the seventeenth century, which included forced confessions, unification, control of the CLERGY and the LAITY, as well as persecution of reformed Christians and other non-Lutheran Protestants. During the royal absolute rule, emphasis was placed on ties to the early Christian church as well as to the Lutheran Reformation from Wittenberg. As the basis for CONFESSION, the connection was emphasized (1683) by using the Bible, the Apostle's Creed, the Nicaean and the Athanasian confession of faith, Luther's shorter CATECHISM, and the unchanged

AUGSBURG CONFESSION of 1530. Jews and reformed Protestants were given a certain amount of freedom of religion because of dynastic and trade politics.

A movement of PIETISM from GERMANY that was critical of the church gained ground in Copenhagen at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but both orthodox theologians and the government fought against it. Using legal means, the government forced on the public a Pietism that belonged to the established Church. A mission in the Danish colony of Trankebar in INDIA was established, and during this process there was close contact with the theologians from HALLE. It was the first mission in the Lutheran world and was followed by another mission in Greenland. Confirmation was also established, and compulsory mass was conducted for Jews in Copenhagen. A Royal Ordinance (1741) was characteristically put in place to promote private spiritual development, but at the same time the priests oversaw these meetings. During the Age of ENLIGHTENMENT (c. 1760–1800), a number of reforms were put in place within social and educational spheres, as well as within the church. The Moravians were allowed to establish a colony in the south of Denmark, which had religious and financial freedom. Once censorship was removed, a group of men gave voice to their opinions. They were strongly influenced by foreign philosophers critical of the church. They fiercely criticized the Protestant form of Christianity, and called instead for a “religion of reason,” inspired by the ideas of the FRENCH REVOLUTION. Some theologians, who were also influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, did try to produce a defense against the criticism, and the government once again limited freedom of the press.

Several popular religious revival movements came about at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were inspired by German Pietism, the MORAVIAN CHURCH, and changes within the society. These revival movements branched out into different ecclesiastical factions. In general terms one can say that the LAITY came of age, became independent, and that the people insisted on self-determination in religious and political matters. The revival movements grew out of societal changes to a certain extent, but the movements themselves also contributed to these changes. During this period, both N.F.S.GRUNDTVIG (1783–1872) and SØREN KIERKEGAARD (1813–1855) had a great influence on Protestantism both within Denmark’s borders and abroad. At first the authorities tried to limit the laity’s insistence on evaluating the priests’ preaching, their illegal private gatherings, and their rejection of textbooks, which were produced during the Enlightenment. With the creation of the modern *Danish Constitution* (Grundloven) in 1849, many issues were resolved.

The Danish Constitution of 1849 (and slightly revised in 1953) maintains that the Lutheran Church is The Danish People’s Church (Folkekirke). The basis for CONFESSION is the same as during the absolute monarchy. Because freedom of religion had been established, people from other religious communities were free to practice the Protestant faith, although that did not mean that equality of religion was established. Church and state were separated, but not completely. The ruling king or queen is obligated to belong to the Lutheran Church, and it was decided that The Danish People’s Church would be the only church in Denmark to be supported by the state. The state underwrites two theological faculties, graduates from which are employed as priests in The Danish People’s Church. It also collects a church tax, and maintains a curriculum in religion in the schools, which is based on Lutheran THEOLOGY. Weddings and christenings belong to the realm of civil law. The state also gives the church a direct

annual financial contribution. A common department has never controlled the internal conduct of the church within a SYNOD or a bishop's department because a planned synod constitution has never been realized. Every bishop is the leader of the church in his diocese, but there is no legal bishop's department with the AUTHORITY to speak of the behalf of the entire church.

The state's Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs administers The Danish People's Church, and all church-related laws are passed in the Danish parliament (Folketinget), which is religiously neutral. The church minister is politically announced and does not have to be a member of The Danish People's Church. Of a population of 5.2 million, 86 percent are members of The Danish People's Church, and around 84 percent have their children baptized within the church. Both percentages have been declining in the past few years. The yearly budget of The Danish People's Church is around five billion Danish crowns, 80 percent of which comes from church taxes paid by its members. The direct financial contribution from the state is around 11 percent.

Debates about the privileges of The Danish People's Church in relation to other Protestant religious communities and confessions have taken place in recent years within both church and political spheres. Other topics that have been discussed are the lack of common religious administration, the relationship between CHURCH AND STATE, and the finances of the church.

Theology and Church Life

The government, which introduced the Protestant Reformation in 1536–1537, decided that the theological basis for Danish Protestantism was to be a combination of the theology of Luther and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. A few theologians held opinions about religious education that were close to those of CALVINISM, whereas other Protestant opinions were prohibited. The government came down firmly, also dismissing the traditional Lutheran Formula of Concord (Konkordieformel) of 1574 because it feared internal religious upheaval and worried about foreign policy issues. During the orthodoxy of the seventeenth century a penitential movement spread, and a CHURCH DISCIPLINE inspired by Calvinism was introduced.

Jesper Brochmand presented the theological basis for this movement in his dogmatic handbook *Systema Universe Theologicæ* (1633), which was partly the Lutheran theology based on the aforementioned confession writings and partly a ferocious attack on all other Protestant beliefs as well as on Catholicism. Johann Gerhard was a particularly great influence when the book was written, and English devotional writings were also translated into Danish at that time. A huge number of hymns written by Thomas Kingo reflected Lutheran orthodoxy, and these hymns are still frequently sung (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). Conditions in Germany and the pietistic movement influenced Danish theological development. Bishop H.A. Brorson wrote poetic hymns, which people still sing and appreciate, concerning the need for repentance, CONVERSION, and becoming a believer. The theologians of the Enlightenment, such as N.E.Balle and Fr.

Münter, who were both bishops, were also very influenced by the German spiritual movements of the time.

A major turning point came at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the first popular revival movements based on both the Lutheran doctrine and Pietism from HALLE. The *Ecclesiastical Association of the Home Mission in Denmark* (*Kirkelig Forening for den Indre Mission i Danmark*) pursued this, becoming a tightly knit organization, which ran a number of schools and social institutions and whose members gathered in hundreds of mission houses. Emphasis was placed on personal conversion and a pious life, where one distanced oneself from worldly pleasures and emphasized the gap between believer and disbeliever. A number of priests joined this movement, and so it became ecclesiastical and sacramental. The organization is still very active. The influence of the American and English revival and conversion movements around the end of the nineteenth century also led to a significant religious activism, especially among the laity.

The theologian Nicolaj Frederick Grundtvig inspired the other large religious movement (*Grundtvigianismen*) in Denmark. Grundtvig had moved from rationalism to biblical Christianity, which again was replaced by a critical stand toward the Bible and the conviction that one found the true core of Christianity through the profession of faith and by BAPTISM. This “Living Word” existed before the Bible and was orally handed down in the congregations up until the present. Grundtvig also added a new dimension to Protestantism in Denmark when it came to the relationship between church and state. He was of the opinion that all points of view should be represented within the framework of the official church, that priests should be able to preach freely and freely conduct their rituals, and that the laity should freely be able to choose the priest they preferred. The last point of view was the only one that was realized and remains in effect. Furthermore, it was important to sharply distinguish between Christian belief and social upbringing, which was the domain of the school. Grundtvig became one of the founding fathers of hundreds of folk high schools that were established, some of which still exist. As a composer of hymns, Grundtvig was unsurpassed. His hymns make up about one third of the current Danish book of hymns. Grundtvig’s movement, which is still very active, is much more open toward contemporary art, literary CULTURE, and politics than the Home Mission (Indre Mission).

Søren Kierkegaard was the other great philosopher and theologian who in the nineteenth century added a new dimension to Protestantism in Denmark and elsewhere. In his early writing he described how humans were presented with possibilities in life. He dissociated himself from philosophers such as GEORG W.F. HEGEL from Germany and H.L.Martensen from Denmark, who thought that the truth of Christianity could be proved objectively. For Kierkegaard, Christianity existed once the individual passionately embraced the “paradox” of faith. God was not a feeling within a human being, but came from the outside through Jesus, who encouraged either faith or indignation. Kierkegaard challenged people to follow Christ’s imitation in suffering. Using very acerbic language he fought the official church during the last months of his life because he believed that it had abandoned the ideal of the New Testament. Few listened to him, and except for a few pious and anticlerical groups, nobody paid much attention to him at the time, although he became one of the founding philosophical fathers of existentialism and was behind the renewal of Protestant theology in the twentieth century.

H.L.Martensen (1808–1854), a professor who later became bishop, was very influential at the end of the nineteenth century. He in turn was influenced by Hegel's holistic view of the world, and Martensen was a great inspiration for what became the third influential ecclesiastical faction, *Kirkeligt Centrum*, which still exists. This ecclesiastical faction fell between the Indre Mission and Grundtvig's movement. It has a certain shared spiritual community with Indre Mission, and yet by being critically open to art and culture, it also resembles the school of thought that Grundtvig established.

Protestantism was in a deep crisis at the end of the nineteenth century. Philosophers launched heavy attacks on Martensen's harmonious way of thinking. At the same time the followers of Grundtvig launched serious accusations against the theological faculty because it did not hire their people. The fundamentalist members of Indre Mission rejected the criticism of the Bible, which the faculty taught. Georg Brandes, a man of letters, and other atheists and free thinkers mercilessly rejected the entire Christian faith and notion of culture. They demanded that the country be purged of all religion, which would be replaced by secular humanism. A few theologians from the university did try to defend Christianity by using a theology based on experience, which came from Germany. Another form of Protestant activism unfolded within the realm of a Christian-social movement, which was based on English CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. That, however, was dissolved again in 1948.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a liberal theology became popular, which was also influenced by the situation in Germany. Liberal theologians respected Bible criticism but were of the opinion that the Christian faith should be a personal experience. Jesus was to serve as the model for imitation and as a Christian, one should live morally and without straying. The American and English youth organizations were a great influence, and extensive work was initiated among Christian young people, which generated a great following. In the 1930s another movement, the Oxford Group Movement, also became popular among the previously mentioned groups. However, a group of theologians who were connected to the magazine *Tidehverv* launched fierce and personal attacks on so-called religious idealism. Using Luther, Kierkegaard, KARL BARTH, and RUDOLF BULTMANN as their basis, they emphasized the great distance between God and human, who in himself/herself has nothing on which to base his/her life. Humans are solely subject to the mercy of God. Any Christian morality and all forms of Christian activism were rejected. The movement, which is modest in size, has recently attacked the view of human nature, which it feels is the basis for the welfare state and it has emphasized a close connection between the national sentiment and the Christian sentiment.

K.E.Løgstrup (1905–1981) has had a tremendous influence through his writing, which is focused on philosophy and cultural criticism. However, one cannot point out any common denominators in his work and the current Protestant theology. One can be of the opinion that a form of Barthianism takes a leading place, apart from the fact that the research of Søren Kierkegaard is also very significant.

Mission and Ecumenism

The Danish People's Church cannot operate foreign MISSIONS because of a special clause in the guidelines of the church. However, a large number of private corporations, which are financed solely by private fund-raisers, help run the foreign mission. The largest is *Danmission*, which recently has absorbed several smaller corporations. During the past several years, the mission's purpose and goals have been discussed and work within Denmark's borders has been conducted.

Until recently The Danish People's Church was not able to participate officially in ecumenical work, but after a trial period, a board was established, *Det mellemkirkelige Råd*, in 1994. The minister of ecclesiastical affairs and the dioceses choose its members. This board initiates contact with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION, and the Conference of European Churches. The board also reaches out to other Danish Protestant organizations and to the Catholic Church in Denmark.

When the bishops of The Danish People's Church refused to join a formalized agreement with the Anglican Church and with Protestant churches in SWEDEN, NORWAY, and the Baltics (the so-called Porvoo Declaration [1995]), it was a source of tension between these churches. Denmark also refused to sign The Joint Declaration of Justification, which states that Catholics and Lutherans have a shared theological position on that topic. The theological reason for the refusals came after an agitated discussion among the clergy and the laity.

Other Protestant Religious Communities

In 1667 King Christian V married Charlotte Amalie from the principality Hessen-Kassel in Germany. She was a Calvinist, and as queen she was allowed to keep her faith. A few years later, the HUGUENOTS, Calvinist refugees from FRANCE, were allowed a certain degree of freedom of religion. Today Copenhagen has German, French, and Korean Reformed congregations, and in Frederica in Jutland there is a Danish congregation. The church has about 750 members.

In 1839 Julius Købner (1806–1884) founded a Baptist congregation in Copenhagen. He had become a Baptist while in Hamburg, Germany. The revival movements strongly emphasized personal conversion to religion, and a number of people went a step further and became BAPTISTS. However, they were persecuted by the government, which among other things forced them to baptize their infants. After freedom of religion had been introduced in 1849, a Danish-German Baptist congregation was organized, but from 1888 the members attached themselves to the congregation in the UNITED STATES, where a number of Danish emigrants had become Baptists. The church has operated a

theological seminary since 1918. The Baptist community is internationally linked to the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE. Currently it has 5,800 members, fortyseven congregations, and fifty-five pastors.

The Pentecostal movement, Pinsevaekkelsen, gained ground after a number of meetings conducted in 1907 by the Norwegian Methodist T.B.Barratts. Today it has about 5,000 members, forty-six congregations, and forty ministers, and the movement is represented in most of the joint institutions of the church. One part branched out and created the Church of the Apostles (Den apostolske kirke), which was influenced by Evan Roberts's awakening in WALES. It counts about 2,300 baptized members, forty-one congregations, and forty-four pastors. Christian Willerup, educated and ordained in the United States, founded the Methodist Church (Metodistkirken) in Denmark in 1859. It is part of the United Methodist Church, and its ministers are educated at the church's Nordic Theological Seminary (Nordiske Teologiske Seminarium) in Sweden. It has twenty-one local churches, twenty ordained clergy, and forty lay preachers. Also to be mentioned are the Moravians, the SALVATION ARMY, and the Danish Society for Mission, part of the International Federation of Free Evangelical Churches, all of which are smaller Protestant church congregations with fewer than 2,000 members.

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MARTIN SCHWARZ LAUSTEN

DENOMINATION

A denomination is a religious organization (historically Protestant) that emphasizes the voluntaristic and inclusive nature of ecclesial bodies. Emerging in Europe and North America during the early modern era, the denomination has been historically the preeminent ecclesial understanding of religious bodies in the UNITED STATES. Scholars disagree as to the usefulness of the term outside of the specific American context. Students of American religion see denominationalism as largely peculiar to the religious world of the United States (although they accept its use in other cases where both ecclesiastical bodies and the larger society bear parallels with the American experience). Sociologists have been on the whole more willing to use the term in a less specific usage.

All agree that denominations stand over against the historic categories of church and sect. In the typology established by MAX WEBER and ERNST TROELTSCH, a CHURCH was understood as being coterminous with its society and inclusive in membership. A sect, in turn, was seen as a voluntary religious community at odds with the larger society and imposing strict requirements on its followers. In contrast to both, a denomination is a voluntary community, formally separate from the state, but more inclusive in its membership requirements than a sect and less antagonistic to its host society. Likewise, denominationalism presupposes a certain social parity or equality among religious communities vis-à-vis the larger society. Whereas the church/sect division historically emerged out of a milieu of established state religion, in which churches were part of the established order and sects were outsiders, denominationalism has flourished best in the absence of a state church. Finally, in contrast with both churches and sects, a denomination does not normally posit an absolute or exclusive claim to truth. A distinctive mark of denominations is that although they are competitive with each other vis-à-vis membership, they nonetheless can cooperate with one another for broader purposes. Indeed, some have argued that the very term “denomination” suggested the implicit recognition that particular religious communities are in some senses but members of a larger group “denominated” by a particular name.

Historical Origins

The idea of the religious denomination has its roots not in America but in the Puritan phase of the REFORMATION in ENGLAND, particularly during the period of the Puritan Commonwealth (1649–1660). As divisions emerged within the Puritan party over ecclesiastical polity—particularly between Presbyterians and Independents (i.e., Congregationalists)—some Independents, reacting to claims of Presbyterian exclusivism, began to suggest that divisions over POLITY were not actually schismatic divisions within the church. Communities who agreed on the fundamental doctrines of the Christian message could still see themselves as being united even though they differed concerning church order. The belief that ecclesial differences did not necessarily lead to sectarian conflict but could allow for cooperation can be seen as the beginning of the denominational principle.

The Commonwealth period ended with the reestablishment of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and with the reassertion of an established church, discussion of denominationalism largely faded away. But in the Toleration Act of 1689, which granted legal status to most non-Anglican Protestants, some elements of denominationalism reemerged (although many political proscriptions continued to be enforced on Nonconformists). The concept of denomination became important in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century movements of PIETISM and EVANGELICALISM. The emphasis on subjective religious experience and practical Christian living allowed Pietists to de-emphasize many traditional Christian divisions. Religious experience and practical morality marked the true Christian, and accordingly true Christianity could be found in religious communities with differing understandings of polity and particular theological formulas. The same attitude was reflected by JOHN WESLEY, who claimed that he refused to distinguish between professing believers by any category except the common principles of Christianity.

It was in eighteenth-century America that the denominational understanding began to firmly take root. The openness of the American colonial environment to differing religious communities, and the absence of any established church in many of the colonies (and the weak establishments in colonies outside of New England), set American church life in a voluntary direction and led to a spirit of comparative tolerance (see TOLERATION). Scholars have argued that denominationalism emerged out of this milieu as a fact in American life before it was worked out as a theory. The denominational impulse was particularly strong in the middle colonies (New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware). Church life developed here along the pattern of voluntary, independent communities supported by committed individuals. The free environment of these colonies proved conducive to groups like the BAPTISTS (who were ideologically committed to voluntarism), as well as to those, such as Presbyterians and Anglicans, who in Europe were established churches but in America relied on voluntary support.

In the development of the American denominational pattern, the middle years of the eighteenth century proved crucial. The great religious excitement of the mid-century (usually referred to as the Great Awakening) severely undermined the Anglican religious establishment in the southern colonies (Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South

Carolina, and Georgia) and also weakened the established churches of New England (see AWAKENINGS). The new emphasis on an active, conversion-centered piety made many individuals both impatient with established churches and interested in a new vision of Christian unity. The American Revolution also contributed to the triumph of denominationalism. British policy between 1763 and 1776 had been to bring the colonial practices more completely into line with British models. Historians have referred to this as a policy of “anglicization.” Because of the link between the crown and the established church and the importance of the church in contemporary English legal theory, this policy of anglicization had religious as well as political implications. The campaign to establish an American Anglican episcopate during these years can be seen as an attempt to extend a more formal recognition of the place of the Church of England in the colonies. The triumph of the revolutionary forces in the Revolution of 1776 not only stymied this plan politically, but also allowed for the triumph of denominationalism. The Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom (1785), which firmly rejected the idea of any religious establishment, became the model for the First Amendment to the United States Constitution and its vision of the separation of CHURCH AND STATE. By law, churches became understood as voluntary associations.

Denominationalism and the Early American Republic

During the years immediately following 1783, as the new American nation began to address the question of political organization, the colonial denominations likewise began to take on formal structure. Episcopalians (i.e., Anglicans) organized themselves nationally between 1785 and 1789. Methodists established a national organization in 1784. Presbyterians did the same in 1788, and the (historically Dutch) Reformed Church organized itself in 1792.

The situation in America during the early national period gave still a further set of characteristics to denominationalism. As organizations, these denominational bodies emphasized purposefulness, instrumentality, and nationality—all of which were key elements for survival during this period. In contrast with many forms of sectarianism that taught that the proper religious response to the social order was withdrawal, denominations were socially active in orientation and involved in their cultures. Indeed, denominational organization was often for the purpose of action. Typically it was because of the need to become involved in such tasks as home MISSIONS that denominational organization emerged. The emphasis on purposefulness also gave to denominations a self-perception of instrumentality. Church structures were tools or instruments for a higher good and not ends in themselves. Finally, no higher good was more pressing than the extension of Christian organization and influence across the new nation. As the nation poured out into the trans-Appalachian west, the churches, it was argued, needed to follow. Only through organization and cooperation could this great national need be met.

The emphasis on denominations as instruments for a purpose greater than themselves can perhaps best be seen in the celebrated Plan of Union of 1801 that united

Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Both of these bodies had emerged out of the Puritan protest of the Elizabethan settlement. They differed, however, concerning the basis of church order. Congregationalists believed that the fundamental Christian unity was the individual congregation and were wary of overarching ecclesial structures. Presbyterians believed that ordained ministers and lay elders should be associated in session meetings above the congregational level and be involved with oversight. This issue of polity had divided Presbyterians and Congregationalists (see PRESBYTERIANISM AND CONGREGATIONALISM) since the middle of the seventeenth century. But the combination of a perceived need for mission, coupled with a sense of evangelical camaraderie flowing from the Great Awakening, convinced both bodies that cooperation was possible. Hence the Plan of Union, while recognizing ecclesial diversity, set forth a plan of cooperation between the two bodies for missionizing the west.

With the collapse of the Standing Order of Connecticut (which had established the Congregational church in that state) in 1818, the last major colonial religious establishment came to an end, and denominationalism became the dominant motif in American Protestantism. Denominational Protestantism was marked during these years by two attributes, both tied to the dynamics of denominationalism. The first of these was a vigorous emphasis on institution-building that included evangelization, church planting, largescale PUBLISHING, and the creation of institutions of learning. In the religious marketplace of antebellum America, denominations competed for persons and resources. The vigor and activity of this competition, and its effect on the larger society, impressed foreign observers. The German church historian PHILIP SCHAFF, in his work *America* (1854), famously contrasted the number, size, and strength of the independent churches of the city of New York with that of his native Berlin, where church and state were still united. A second characteristic was that, despite the competition, there was a degree of cooperation between the religious communities. In one of the earliest accounts of the state of American Protestantism, Robert Baird, in *Religion in America* (1843), argued that this cooperation stemmed from the fact that all of the “evangelical denominations” (by which he excluded Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Jews, Mormons, and others) were on the same social footing and were united in maintaining the religious health of the nation. This common task engendered a spirit of unity. The unwritten compact of cooperation by Protestant denominations to strengthen the role of religion in the society, joined with full sympathy for the separation between the state and any individual religious community, has sometimes been called the “voluntary establishment.”

During the nineteenth century, the denominational idea of ecclesial differences, coupled with cooperation, found an international voice in the Evangelical Alliance, an association of European and American Protestant churches. Founded in 1845, the Evangelical Alliance was the first pan-Protestant cooperative organization. As early as 1867, it sponsored prayer for Christian unity. The Evangelical Alliance was concerned primarily with cooperation. As one spokesperson at an early meeting explained, “Alliance is a well-chosen term. It solves the question immediately by force of definition. It expresses all union expedient or possible among Christians who conscientiously differ in forms of administration; while it admits full liberty of individual opinions, within a range agreed upon” (Bedell 1874:151).

The Second Denominational Arrangement

The paradox of the antebellum denominational model—vigorous activity by individual religious communities (often in direct competition with other groups) and at the same time a sense of shared cooperation in the larger task of maintaining the religious and moral health of the nation—flowed from the very idea of denomination. Denominational organizations, although independent, nonetheless shared some “common denominator” with other religious groups that allowed for compromise. In the antebellum period, this common denominator was evangelical (Protestant) Christianity. By the end of the nineteenth century, the denominational spirit, while alive and well, was transformed by the growing complexity of American society. The large-scale growth of Roman Catholics, Jews, and other religious bodies, who Robert Baird had earlier dismissed as being simply “non-evangelical” bodies, undermined the unifying principle of evangelical Christianity. By the early twentieth century, the category of denomination became refitted with a far broader unifying principle. Denominations (now including Catholics and Jews) were seen as being committed to defending certain general religious and moral values—a “Judeo-Christian ethic”—or the values of Western culture. This trend was captured by the sociologist Will Herberg in *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (1955), which depicted each of these historic religious faiths as functioning in a quasidenominational fellowship, united in maintaining the “American way of life.” Some historians have referred to this reconfiguration of denominationalism as the second denominational arrangement.

The victory of denominationalism was not total, however. The period of the second denominational arrangement also saw a growing theological critique of the idea of denominationalism among Protestants themselves. H. RICHARD NIEBUHR in *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929), condemned existing denominational divisions as reflective of the “moral failure” of the church. For Niebuhr, the panoply of denominations reflected social, racial, ethnic, and economic distinctions rather than any meaningful theological issues. Hence the source of denominationalism was *social* and not theological. Likewise, the emergence of an ecumenical spirit within Protestantism (usually dated from the international WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE OF EDINBURGH of 1910) began to challenge the principle of denominationalism. The twentieth-century ecumenical movement rejected the alliance model of church cooperation favored in the nineteenth century (which assumed the perpetuity of denominational existence and called simply for cooperation between denominations), and lifted up a vision of a church united in faith and order as well as life and work (see ECUMENISM). A true and visible church unity was the goal now, not simply interdenominational cooperation. From this perspective, continuing denominational divisions were seen as a scandal in the Christian life.

Recent Developments

The great social, religious, and cultural revolutions of the 1960s may be seen as largely disrupting the second denominational arrangement. Much of this affected denominationalism on the social level. During the 1960s, the unifying social appeal of a “Judeo-Christian ethic” began to receive criticism by advocates of secularist understanding of the separation of church and state, who believed that the government should be far more neutral concerning religious values than it had been in earlier eras. Another set of criticisms came from multiculturalists, who felt that the waves of new immigration from AFRICA and Asia (flowing as a result of changes in immigration law in the mid-1960s), made the old denominational compromise of “Protestant, Catholic, Jew” far too constraining. The presence of Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and others called for a new understanding of the place of religion in American life. The complex new religious make-up of the nation challenged all of the earlier models of denominationalism and raised anew the question of what was to be the nature of the common denominator.

If the social basis of denominationalism was being questioned, so too was the category’s continuing religious usefulness. Particularly because of the crisis in membership and identity among the older “main line” or “old line” denominations beginning in the late 1960s, critics began to claim that denominational identity was both too “high” and too “low” to describe usefully the state of American religious (and particularly Protestant) identity. Loyalty and identity, it was argued, were now more firmly entrenched in both the local community or congregation (in contrast to the large national denomination), and at the same time in broad transdenominational categories of identification. As the importance of personal identity through race, GENDER, sexual orientation, ideology, and so forth grew, denominational identification waned. A conservative evangelical Presbyterian (to use one example) displayed more loyalty to conservative and evangelical principles than to Presbyterian ones. To some, denominations are a relic of the past. The future of the idea of the denomination as it emerged in eighteenth-century America, and as it flourished for well over a century, remains unclear.

Denominations sociologically conceived as voluntary inclusive religious communities are also be found in other societies where there is no established church and freedom of religion is practiced. The degree to which these communities fit the American denominational system in all its permutations is still a matter of debate.

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THE DEVIL

The leaders of the sixteenth-century Protestant REFORMATION derived their concept of the Devil from the BIBLE and from early Christian writers, especially Augustine of Hippo (354–420), but current Protestant concepts range from the view that the Devil does not exist at all through the view that he exists as a metaphor of human evil to the view that he is a real being with enormous powers to tempt and disrupt humans, nations, and the whole earth. Traditional Protestant concepts of the Devil also borrowed from, and added to, concepts of evil in AFRICA, Asia, and elsewhere.

Origins

The word “Devil” derives from Greek *diabolos* (adversary or slanderer) and the Greek translation of Old Testament (OT) Hebrew *satan* (obstructor). In the OT, the word “satan” is either a common or a proper noun meaning different things in different contexts—sometimes a great angel as in the Book of Job, sometimes simply as “something in the way.” Two key passages often cited by Christians as references to the Devil—Genesis 3 and Isaiah 14—do not mention Satan at all, though many if not most commentators have taken “the serpent” in the first and “the bright morning star” in the second to refer to him. The first clear appearance of the Devil as the powerful leader of all the forces of evil is in the intertestamental (pseudepigraphical) literature of the second century B.C. to the first century A.D.

In the New Testament (NT), the Devil and the spiritual powers of darkness at his command are at constant war against God and the good, and the victory of Christ over evil is perhaps the main theme of the whole NT. In the Gospels, Christ frequently encounters and defeats Satan and his demons. In the Epistles, Paul warns against the Devil and other spiritual powers of darkness. A variety of names exist for the Devil in biblical literature; Satan is only the most common. The NT presents the Devil as an angel created by God who falls by rebelling against the divine will. His purpose and that of his followers—angelic and human—is to obstruct the coming of the Kingdom of God. God grants the Devil power for a time over “this world,” a common theme in John and Paul, but God never eases his control over him, so that although Satan roams the world seeking

the ruin of souls, Christ's Passion and Resurrection have shaken his power. Toward the end of time, a human ruler, the Antichrist, will rise up under Satan's command and make one last effort to block the kingdom, but Christ will be victorious and will destroy Satan and his Antichrist forever.

Fifteenth through Seventeenth Centuries

Conservative Protestant Reformers such as MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) and JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) drew deeply from Augustine as well as the Bible, adopting his view that God creates the world, including angels and humans, for the purpose of extending his goodness. But if God forced his creatures to be good, they would be only puppets lacking moral choice and, therefore, goodness. So God creates angels and humans with free will, knowing in all eternity that some will choose good and others evil. The great choice between good and evil was first offered to the angels: some chose eternally to love and serve their maker; others, through pride, eternally chose to deny his will. The angels who fell, led by Satan, were cast out of HEAVEN into hell. God allows them to roam on earth and tempt humans. God created human beings in the image of Adam and Eve, completely good yet also completely free to make their own choice to love God or to prefer their own will instead. Satan could not force them, but he was permitted to tempt them, and they yielded, falling into sin through free choice. Because all humanity is present in Adam and Eve, all humanity fell with their original sin. Original sin bent humans so much that their inclination is to evil, and no human has enough power to break that inclination by himself or herself. After original sin, humanity was under Satan's power. In strict justice, God could have left humanity in this wretched state forever, but in God's mercy and love God comes to us as Christ. Christ, being completely God himself, has the strength to break Satan's power, and, being completely human, Christ can represent humanity in atonement with God.

The Reformers readily accepted these ideas because they, like other Christians, needed the Devil as a partial answer to the classical problem of evil: God is all-powerful and all-good; how, then, can there be evil in the world that he creates and maintains? One of the many strategies designed to cope with this problem involves the Devil as a powerful principle of evil in stark and powerful (though ultimately vain) opposition to God's will. Luther's and Calvin's strong belief in predestination shaped their view of the Devil. Luther argued that a corollary of the absolute omnipotence of God was God's predestination of humans to either heaven or hell: predestination could not be denied without blasphemously limiting God's sovereignty over all times and all places, and God chooses those whom he saves and those he does not. Thus free will is an illusion, and every man and woman is either under God's complete power and protection, or under Satan's.

God has direct, immediate control over every creature, including humans, angels, and the Devil, and Luther unflinchingly accepted the corollary that God causes the Devil's activity. God wills evil but uses it for the good; on another level God both wills evil and wills us to resist and oppose it. Luther's emphasis on the Devil's power derived from this

idea of God's twofold will. God does not do evil himself but uses the Devil to do evil. The Devil is God's tool, like a hoe that he uses to cultivate his garden. The hoe takes its own pleasure in destroying the weeds, but it can never move out of God's hands, never weed where God does not wish, never thwart his purpose of making a beautiful garden. Christ's Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection have broken Satan's power.

Calvin expressed similar views with his own characteristic logical precision, which led him to teach double predestination. God predestines some to be saved and others to be damned, and he does so not only because he knows that they are damned but also because he wills them to be damned. As a result of original sin, human nature is completely deformed as to both reason and will, incapable of finding truth without faith and the illumination of the Bible. The Bible declares the Devil's existence, but Calvin grasped that it has little to say about it, so he focused on the central concept of the Devil: evil. Like Luther, Calvin believed that no creature, even a great angel, can act against God's will. God carries out his justice through Satan. Such beliefs had destructive consequences, especially in the religious wars and the trials for witchcraft, where all sides in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries viewed their opponents as tools of Satan.

The radical Reformers of the sixteenth-century Reformation, in their efforts to return to Biblical Christianity, tended to pay less theological attention to the Devil than the conservative Reformers. They were less interested in theory than in practice, concentrating more on reforming themselves and their own communities than on spreading their own doctrines. Such radicals as the Anabaptists, the Unitarians, and the followers of THOMAS MÜNTZER (1489–1525), JAKOB HUTTER (d. 1536), MENNO SIMONS (1496–1561), and, later, GEORGE Fox (1624–1691) lacked the power, and usually the will, to repress their opponents. They believed that the world was under the power of the Devil and that Christians had no business with worldly affairs. Muntzer viewed Christ as a moral model rather than as Redeemer, thus removing the cosmic struggle of Christ against Satan from center stage, where the conservatives had kept it. Some radicals believed in universalism: the view that every creature—even Satan—would eventually return to the Kingdom of Heaven; a few Anabaptists even denied the existence of the Devil altogether. After reaching its peak in the early seventeenth century, Protestant belief in the Devil declined toward the end of the century at the same time that prosecutions for witchcraft were declining. Protestant scholars finally discovered that there was no biblical basis for belief in diabolical witchcraft. Still, few of the seventeenth-century skeptics who denied that Satan worked through witches expressed doubt as to his existence.

Eighteenth Century and Beyond

That changed in the eighteenth century as part of a broader cultural movement characterized by the ENLIGHTENMENT. The old theological worldview shared by all Christians was challenged by the rise of natural science. Causation seemed to be mechanical, leaving no place for divine intervention or human free will, let alone the Devil. Even though logically such a view disallowed human freedom, liberal Christians

and secularists increasingly insisted on human effort as opposed to divine decree, and predestinarian views, along with belief in original sin, slowly withered. Gradual moral progressivism slowly took the place of stark moral choice, and the dichotomy between good and evil—God and the Devil—closed. Deists, while denying original sin, still took the human propensity to evil seriously.

Material progressivism, which increasingly dominated thought in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, treated the past, and therefore both tradition and the Bible, as a positive evil to be cast off in order to establish a new order of the ages. Not only the Devil but also God became symbols of ancient repression and despotic kingship. The profoundly influential arguments of the Scottish philosopher DAVID HUME (1711–1776) against Christianity undermined its theological foundations; the rise of democracy undermined ideas of hierarchy, even those of heaven and hell. Popular revolutionary and antireligious writers such as Thomas Paine (1737–1809) derided Christian beliefs and scorned the idea of Satan as absurd. On the other hand, the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814) proved both in his writings and in his life that if there is no objective standard for evil, then there is no way of judging torturing children as worse than eating peach pie. Without a foundation for belief in good and evil, Sade demonstrated, there is no basis for rational moral judgment. Satan, in other words, is as good as Christ.

In the nineteenth century, the mechanistic theories of the previous century were made real by industrialization, with its hell-like factories and its depletion of the rural villages where the sense of Christian community had been stable for hundreds of years. From its beginning, Christianity had been communitarian; now the uprooted were forced to bear the brunt of the individualistic entrepreneurial theories of their masters. Having to confront the Devil alone, without the support of community, in hellish labor conditions, caused many impoverished Christians to abandon their faith altogether. Meanwhile, many Protestant leaders retreated from the old worldview centered on Christ's sacrifice as saving humanity from sin. Abandoning the independent epistemological bases of Christianity in experience, revelation, and tradition, they began trying to fit Christianity into the empirical, scientific framework that had begun to dominate intellectual circles, a task achieved only by gradually amputating theological limbs and eventually excising spiritual vital organs. Liberal Christians staggered back before agnostic sarcasm about the grotesque absurdity of Satan even more quickly than they did before direct philosophical attacks. As they abandoned traditional and biblical beliefs, the Devil was usually first to go as an encumbrance in their effort to make Christianity easy and optimistic in a world where secular progress was in vogue. FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834), a pastor of the Reformed (Calvinist) Church, argued that it was obvious that evil existed but that displacing its origins from humanity onto Satan did nothing to explain it. Conservatives argued in response that without the Devil, the purpose of Christ's mission was lost. A third, middle persuasion, a sort of practical mysticism (for example, original METHODISM), abandoned traditional theological certainties yet affirmed the authority of the Bible and therefore the existence of the Devil.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Christian beliefs were further undermined by reductionism (the belief that everything can be explained in materialist terms alone). Most weakening was biblical criticism, which sapped the authority of the Bible and the credibility of tradition. One nineteenth- and twentieth-century Christian reaction to this criticism was to dismiss it and to affirm the words of the Bible "literally";

a second was to adopt mystical and metaphorical interpretations; a third was to reject the reliability of the Bible. Modern psychology revealed the power of evil in negative projection (assigning the destructive impulses within ourselves to outsiders whom we choose as scapegoats). Disbelief in the Devil did not prevent Protestants (or others) from demonizing people. In the third view, biblical mentions of the Devil and demons in the Bible were considered the product of the primitive first-century worldview of Jesus and the NT writers. Scripture and tradition were abandoned in favor of the shifting arguments of the latest historians.

By 1800, liberal intellectual Protestants in Western civilization had abandoned the core of Christian beliefs; by 1900 more and more educated Christians had done so; by 2000, most Christians—in the West but not among newly converted peoples—had done so. The Devil had become a comic figure or a childish bogey. One result has been a peculiar defenselessness against the problem of evil. Against the flood of desecralization, a generation of theologians bred in the experience of World War II—KARL BARTH (1886–1968), PAUL TILLICH (1886–1965), and REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971)—tried to reverse the dilution of Christianity by reaffirming neo-orthodox values, expressing ancient truths in opposition to materialist reductionism, but in ways understandable to their culture. The obscene horrors of the world wars, they argued, demonstrated that radical evil (if not the Devil as a personality) was real. For a while, their ideas caught, but in Western culture they were swept away by the socially popular view that evil does not exist and that accident, fate, circumstance, genetics, and environment are all to blame for other people's actions. The term "evil" has been replaced by "disturbed," "sick," "inappropriate," or "mean-spirited" (while hatred, rage, and incivility have actually increased).

By the end of the twentieth century identifiably Protestant concepts of the Devil had become rare except among the Evangelicals. The contemporary worldview among leading intellectuals, including clergymen as well as professors and journalists, is irony. Use of terms such as "evil," "truth," "sin," "beauty," "God" (and most of all "the Devil"), have become social blunders unless set in the ironic quotation marks that let contemporaries know that we do not take them seriously. In a world where irony elides into cynicism, when any behavior is simply a matter of personal choice, when any idea is as good as any other, there are no standards by which Hitler is worse than Lincoln. In such a world, the Devil is no longer even a joke or a scary story; he simply has no place at all.

The Protestant self has been replaced by the post-modern self, a random collection of feelings, impulses, desires, and functions, a self that has no moral being at its center—indeed, no center—but only fluctuating identities that sway with cultural fashion. In such a society, Protestantism has had a variety of responses to the concept of the Devil and of radical evil. Three main strands can be traced in current Protestantism: a conservative, traditional, view; a liberal, skeptical view; and a so-called "literalist" biblical view typical of Evangelicals. The tension between liberal and conservative forces within Protestantism continues into the twenty-first century, but in broad societal terms the liberals have been successful in persuading most of the Western world (though not less devolved cultures) to disbelieve in both the Devil and hell. To many contemporary Christians the Devil seems old-fashioned and absurd in the context of the dominant materialist worldview of the time, which in fact has no room for any sort of Christianity at all, demythologized or

not. What remains to be seen is whether Protestantism has the resources to give society the ability to suspend irony in the face of real suffering—in the face of the Devil.

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JEFFREY BURTON RUSSELL

DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE

See Publishing, Media

DE VRIES, PETER (1910–1993)

American writer. The author of twenty-three novels, De Vries narrated the consequences of social mobility and cultural change for religious identity and community.

Life and Works

Born on the south side of Chicago of Dutch immigrant parents February 27, 1910, De Vries was raised in the CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH (Calvinist), educated in its schools, reared in an ethos that judged movie attendance, dancing, card playing, and shopping or sports on Sunday as “worldly,” and graduated from Calvin College, a denominational institution, in 1931. He lived in Chicago until 1944, where he published stories in *Story* and *Esquire*, joined the editorial staff of *Poetry* in 1938, and published his first novel (1940). With the encouragement of writer James Thurber (1894–1961), he joined the staff of *The New Yorker*. He lived in Westport, Connecticut with his wife, nee Katinka Loeser (1913–1991), whom he married in 1943. They had four children, one of whom, Emily, died in 1960.

The Blood of the Lamb (1962), which narrates the protagonist’s upward mobility and the death of his daughter, is typical of De Vries’s work. It juxtaposes Midwestern and Eastern settings, religious/ethnic and secular/mobile cultures, and experiences of pain and loss with rollicking comedy. De Vries’s achievement of posing and mutually illuminating these and other contraries in his narratives and securing, at the same time, the integrity, generosity, and modesty of his main characters and/or narrators is noteworthy.

De Vries clarifies the distinction between traditional, ethnic Protestant beliefs and behaviors and those of a religiously vague or diverse American culture. He also records the tension between Reformed doctrines, particularly divine sovereignty and human depravity, and experience, particularly personal suffering and human friendship. His comedy does not ridicule, but encourages those who encounter and negotiate religious, cultural, and personal conflicts, and it affirms that experience, for better and worse, challenges expectations. De Vries died September 2, 1993, in Connecticut.

WESLEY A. KORT

DIALECTICAL THEOLOGY

See Neo-Orthodoxy

DIALOGUE, INTERCONFSSIONAL

Interconfessional dialogue designates a process aimed at settling historically and theologically divisive differences among communities that all claim to be in some sense “Christian” and “church.” Although the procedure may go back to the sixteenth century (the “colloquies” between the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers at MARBURG in 1529, between Roman Catholics and Protestants at Ratisbon/REGENSBURG in 1541, or between Lutherans and Reformed at Montbéliard in 1586), or even to the fifteenth century (as in the attempted reconciliation between Western Catholics and Eastern Orthodox around the council of FerraraFlorence), it was in the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century that the practice of such dialogue flourished, albeit with variations of pace and perhaps with different visions of the final goal. Conversations between two parties became known as bilateral dialogues, whereas several parties are said to engage in multilateral dialogue. Dialogues have taken place at national, regional, and universal levels. Particular dialogues have stretched over years and even decades.

The most comprehensive dialogues have been those characteristic of the Faith and Order movement, which dates from 1920 and has since 1948 taken institutional form as the Faith and Order commission of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. At first, the participants were Protestant (including Anglicans in prominent roles) and Orthodox, but since 1968 the 120-member commission has also included twelve official Roman Catholic members. World Conferences on Faith and Order—Lausanne (1927), Edinburgh (1938), Lund (1952), Montreal (1963), and Santiago de Compostela (1993)—were staging posts along a way of continuous study and conversation on such topics as the nature and structure of the CHURCH, its WORSHIP, and its sources and agencies of AUTHORITY. In particular the statement achieved at Montreal on “Scripture, Tradition and Traditions” provided a framework for progress toward agreement on particular issues. The most widely produced and received document was that issuing from the meeting of the commission at Lima, Peru, in 1982, under the title *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, it stated a convergence and developing consensus on those three themes. The Lima text had been fifty-five years in the making before being considered mature enough for presentation to the sponsoring churches with the request for an official response as to “the extent to which your church can recognize in this text the faith of the Church through the ages,” “the consequences your church can draw from this text for its relations and dialogues with other churches,” and “the guidance your church can take from this text for its worship, educational, ethical, and spiritual life and witness.” Although the

churches were not invited to formally adopt the Lima text, its influence in all the mentioned areas has been quite considerable. Ongoing projects in Faith and Order include “the common expression of the apostolic faith today” (study document *Confessing the One Faith*, 1991) and *The Nature and Identity of the Church* (interim statement, 1998).

Although some transconfessional unions of a structural or organic kind have been achieved at the national or regional level (as between Anglicans, Methodists, and Reformed in South India since 1947; or between Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists in CANADA since 1925 and in AUSTRALIA since 1977), it is more by the bilateral route that new or restored relationships have been sought and formalized between what were for a while called “world confessional families” and more recently “Christian world communions.” Dialogue between Anglicans and Old Catholics resulted in the Bonn Agreement of 1931, whereby the two communions enjoy full mutual recognition and sacramental sharing. Dialogue between Lutherans and Reformed in Europe led to the establishment of a similar mutual relationship by the Leuenberg Agreement of 1973, which has either been directly extended or had repercussions in other parts of the world, and has more recently allowed for some Methodist churches also to be brought into the Leuenberg Church Fellowship.

A global Anglican-Lutheran dialogue has provided at least a framework for the establishment of new relationships of various kinds between some Lutheran and Anglican churches at the regional or national level, as between the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and the Evangelical Church in GERMANY (by the Meissen Declaration, signed in 1991), or between churches in the British Isles and in the Nordic countries (by the Porvoo Declaration, signed in 1996), or in the United States between the EPISCOPAL CHURCH and the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (“Called to Common Mission,” effective 2001). The dialogue between the LU-THERAN WORLD FEDERATION and the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL, with its report on “The Church—Community of Grace” (1984), supplied a context for the “fellowship of word and sacrament” subsequently established between Lutheran and Methodist churches in Germany, Austria, SWEDEN, and NORWAY. A dialogue between the World Methodist Council and the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES concluded in its report “Together in God’s Grace” (1987) that there was “sufficient agreement in doctrine and practice” to justify existing unions between denominations of the two traditions and to encourage further fellowship, cooperation, and even unions elsewhere.

Although some of these dialogues began earlier, it was the official entrance of the Roman Catholic Church on the ecumenical scene with the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) that made bilateral dialogues the most prominent instrument of sustained doctrinal conversation and negotiation at the universal level. Having its own self-understanding as a universal ecclesial body composed of episcopally governed particular churches that are in a mutual communion, the touchstone of which is their respective communion with the church and bishop of Rome, the Roman Catholic Church has successfully invited into dialogue with itself a number of partners whose self-understandings and implied ecclesiologies vary among themselves. These include the Eastern Orthodox Churches, which look to Constantinople as the Ecumenical Patriarchate (see ORTHODOX, EASTERN); the various Oriental Orthodox Churches, which never accepted the council of Chalcedon 451; the Anglican Communion; the Lutheran World

Federation; the World Alliance of Reformed Churches; the World Methodist Council; the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE; the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST; the Mennonite World Conference (see MENNONITES); and several harder-to-pinpoint groups of Pentecostals and Evangelicals. By far the largest body of Christians in the world, the Roman Catholic Church, appears to have met with the agreement of the other communities to treat in distinct dialogues the issues that were controversial and divisive between Rome and each of them. On the Roman side the dialogues have been conducted under the aegis of the Secretariat (later Pontifical Council) for Promoting Christian Unity.

Among post-Vatican II dialogues between Protestant bodies and the Roman Catholic Church, it was probably the work of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) that made the early program. The first ARCIC produced “agreed statements” on “Eucharistic Doctrine” (Windsor 1971), “Ministry and Ordination” (Canterbury 1973), and “Authority in the Church” (Venice 1976), and these were incorporated—together with “elucidations” and a further statement on Authority—into a “Final Report” (1981). Although the worldwide Anglican bishops at the LAMBETH CONFERENCE of 1988 found the texts on eucharist and on ministry “a sufficient basis for taking the next step toward the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith,” the response from the Vatican in 1991 considered the welcome “progress” made in the dialogue as yet insufficient to permit the affirmation of “substantial agreement” in some “essential matters” in those two areas, let alone in the areas of magisterial and pastoral authority. Nevertheless a second ARCIC pursued the dialogue and issued statements on “Salvation and the Church” (Llandaff 1986), “Church as Communion” (Dublin 1990), “Life in Christ—Morals, Communion and the Church” (1993), and “The Gift of Authority” (Palazzola 1998). It is insisted that the statements of the Commission are not “authoritative declarations” by the sponsoring bodies but are published for the sake of allowing wide discussion before authoritative evaluations are made.

Contemporaneously the dialogue between the Lutheran World Federation and Rome had proceeded by way of a study commission’s work on “The Gospel and the Church” (Malta 1972) and then reports of a Joint Roman Catholic-Lutheran Commission on “Eucharist” (1978) and “Ministry in the Church” (1981) as well as texts produced around the time of the 450th anniversary of the Diet of Augsburg on “Ways to Community” and “All Under One Christ” (both 1980), themes that were pursued around the time of the 500th anniversary of MARTIN LUTHER’S birth in “Martin Luther—Witness to Jesus Christ” (1983) and “Facing Unity—Models, Forms and Phases of Catholic-Lutheran Church Fellowship” (1984). It was, however, the sharpening of the focus on the recurrent topic that Lutherans have always considered central to the REFORMATION—that is, the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION—that eventually allowed what is perhaps the most significant achievement so far of any dialogue between a Protestant body and the Roman Catholic Church. The Joint Commission’s lengthy report “Church and Justification” was completed in 1993 and stands—together with work done in national dialogues in Germany and in the UNITED STATES—as the backdrop for the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification (JDDJ) that was solemnly signed on behalf of the Lutheran World Federation and the Roman Catholic Church at Augsburg on October 31, 1999. The attainment of “consensus on basic truths of the doctrine of justification”—allowing for “differing explications” of detail—meant that the mutual doctrinal condemnations of the sixteenth century “do not apply to today’s partner” as the common and respective

teachings are set forth in the JDDJ. It is expected that the JDDJ will provide “a solid basis” for “further clarification” on such topics as “the relationship between the word of God and church DOCTRINE, ECCLESIOLOGY, ecclesial authority, church unity, ministry, the SACRAMENTS, and the relation between justification and social ETHICS” and thus more generally “bear fruit in the life and teaching of the churches.” The JDDJ is not yet viewed as making possible eucharistic communion between Lutherans and Roman Catholics. In 2001 explorations began with a view to finding ways in which Methodist and Reformed bodies could become associated with the Lutheran-Roman Catholic agreement on justification.

Both the World Methodist Council and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches engaged in their own dialogues with the Roman Catholic Church in the final third of the twentieth century. The Joint Commission between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Methodist Council treated eucharist and ministry among a plethora of themes in its reports of 1971 and 1976, but began to achieve more systematic focus with documents on the Holy Spirit (1981) and the Church (1986) before developing a series of statements in fundamental THEOLOGY that were intended to “set out theological perspectives within which more specific questions may be viewed”: “The Apostolic Tradition” (1991), “The Word of Life: A Statement on Revelation and Faith” (1996), “Speaking the Truth in Love: Teaching Authority among Roman Catholics and Methodists” (2001). The sponsoring bodies have encouraged the continuing work of the Joint Commission without yet coming to a formal evaluation of its results. The commitment to a “goal of full communion in faith, mission and sacramental life” has been repeatedly affirmed. The dialogues between representatives of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Roman Catholic Church have emphasized the location and role of the church in the world: thus “The Presence of Christ in Church and World” (1970–1977), “Towards a Common Understanding of the Church” (1984–1990, with the important theme of “a reconciliation of memories”), and “Church as Community of Common Witness to the Kingdom of God” (since 1998)—an approach found also in the Reformed dialogue with Anglicans that produced “God’s Reign and Our Unity” (1984).

In addition to these dialogues dealing with the inherited divisions in Western Christendom, not only the Roman Catholic Church but also several Protestant bodies have engaged at various levels in dialogue with the Eastern Orthodox churches and even, in some cases, with the Oriental Orthodox.

The highly complex pattern of bilateral dialogues raises the question of consistency between positions expressed and results achieved by the various participant bodies in relation to different partners. Thus the multilateral dimension cannot be ignored. Since Vatican II, a Joint Working Group has existed between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches, and the WCC Faith and Order Commission has facilitated periodic forums to trace the progress of the various bilateral dialogues. From a positive point of view, the mutual influences and borrowings between the bilateral dialogues must be recorded.

The complexity of the ecumenical scene is compounded by the question of what a final resolution of inherited divisions would entail. The dominance of “world confessional families” or “Christian world communions” in the latter part of the twentieth century has tended to favor a goal of “reconciled diversity” or a “communion of communions” in which the diverse traditions would continue to bear a certain

ecclesiological significance. Cardinal Jan Willebrands, president of the Secretariat/Council for Promoting Christian Unity (1969–1989), launched the notion of ecclesial “typoi,” which would each maintain certain theological, liturgical, spiritual, and disciplinary characteristics of their own, even while agreeing in fundamental doctrine and sharing some kind of pastoral and governmental structure. Precisely the last is the likely sticking point insofar as it involves the question of overlapping jurisdictions. In ancient, medieval, and even early-modern times, ecclesial unity has been thought to carry a certain geographical quality, whether in the primitive picture of one bishop in one church in one place reflected in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, or in the sees and dioceses of the Constantinian era, or even in the post-Reformation settlement of *cuius regio eius religio*. A communion of spatially coinciding communions would presumably require some form of collegial or corporate oversight in each of an agreed and perhaps mobile set of units.

This is the developing landscape that has seen the reemergence of the question of a universal ministry of unity. Pope John Paul II took the matter up in his 1995 encyclical affirming the “irrevocable” commitment of the Roman Catholic Church to ECUMENISM. For the pope, dialogue is the appropriate, “personalist” modality in the search for full communion among Christians and their communities, involving not only an “exchange of ideas” but always an “exchange of gifts.” Mindful of “the grave obstacle which the lack of unity represents for the proclamation of the Gospel,” John Paul II in “*Ut Unum Sint*” invited “church leaders and their theologians to engage with [him] in a patient and fraternal dialogue” toward finding a way of exercising the primacy claimed and offered by the see of Rome in the service of truth and love that, “while in no way renouncing what is essential to its mission,” would nonetheless be “open to a new situation.”

See also Anglicanism; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Congregationalism; Lutheranism; Methodism; Presbyterianism

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

DIBELIUS, FRIEDRICH KARL OTTO (1880–1967)

German Lutheran bishop. Dibelius was born in Berlin on May 15, 1880, the second of three sons of a high-ranking postal administrator. He died on January 31, 1967, also in Berlin where he had become an honorary citizen in 1958. He studied theology in Berlin with the church historian ADOLF VON HARNACK being the primary influence on him. After the presentation of his philological dissertation at the University of Gießen and completion of the first theological exam, Dibelius attended the seminary in Wittenberg (1904–1906), the place where the future leaders of the Prussian state church were educated. He received his Ph.D. there and a licentiate (doctor) of theology in 1906. This stage of his studies took him to SCOTLAND on a church-financed month-long trip, where he was especially impressed by the devoutness practiced in the CHURCH there.

After brief stints in several provinces (in Crossen/ Brandenburg, Danzig, Lauenburg/Pommerania, 1907–1915) Dibelius became a pastor in the German capital Berlin. He understood World War I to be a just and defensive war for GERMANY; the abolition of the monarchy at the end of the war upset him, but initially it did not threaten his nationalist mentality. His position at the Evangelical Consistory in Berlin hung in the balance with the dissolution of the royal church regiment, but the representatives of an advisory council set up to lead the church under these new conditions named him chairman. At the same time Dibelius published prolifically both on the church policy pursued by the political left and against those in the church who sought to reform a governmentally organized Evangelical Church in Prussia.

Subsequently Dibelius's career advanced quickly. In 1921 he was put in charge of the Evangelical Consistory concerned with social issues and the evangelical schools, but also with evangelical minorities abroad. In 1925 he became superintendent of the church in the Kurmark, roughly the area near Berlin. He tackled work issues with fervent energy. He bought a car to be able to visit all the pastors in his district, held regional church meetings, supported the church press, and intensely debated public issues. He developed his broader program in a book, *Das Jahrhundert der Kirche (The Century of the Church)*, (1926, 1928). In this best-seller, he called on German Christians to use the separation of CHURCH AND STATE that had been forcibly introduced in 1919, to hold on to an evangelical-Christian and nationalist-conservative culture and morality vis-à-vis a secular Weimar Republic, and to expand and defend that culture comprehensively and forcefully.

The ecumenical conference on “Life and Work” in Stockholm (1925) had influenced this concept. Two additional books by Dibelius showed the extension of his historical compass and the degradation of his nationalism: *Kirche und Völker-bund (Church and the League of Nations, 1927)* as well as *Friede auf Erden (Peace on Earth, 1930)*, the former a book that examined the subject of militarism prevalent in the church, the latter advocating the individual’s right to refuse military service for reasons of conscience.

Initially Dibelius was not at all critical of National Socialism, but sought to fend off its intervention in church matters. Subsequently, in June 1933 he was dismissed from his post of superintendent. He joined the CONFESSING CHURCH, where he participated loyally and consistently, although in a secondary position. In the sometimes divisive battles of the Confessing Church, he opted neither for the direction advocated by MARTIN NIEMÖLLER, nor for the Lutheran confessionalists who gathered around Bishop Hanns Meiser of Bavaria. Rather, Dibelius strongly supported the “Church Unity Project” of Bishop Theophil Wurm in Württemberg, who after 1941 sought to build a coalition of those with a neutral position and those who had taken a specific position within the Confessing Church. In 1945 this “Unity Project” provided the foundation for the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD).

In 1945 he was elected bishop of the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg—a position he held until 1966—where he contributed substantially to the integration of the evangelical churches within the EKD. His sober and pragmatic style, always geared toward the essential, never lost sight of the goal to integrate the divergent personalities and groups. It characterized his tenure as EKD council chairman; this was not a time without tension, but he was always sustained by the majority. He drew the wrath of the powers in the German Democratic Republic, however, because he refused to recognize that state and because he often drew comparisons between their policies, especially vis-à-vis the church, and the Nazi policy toward the church. Dibelius was fervent and uncompromising in this regard. Over the years, however, his position met opposition among those church groups that sought a more flexible policy in the interest of a coherence of churches and congregations in East and West; until 1968 the EKD was an all-German entity. The disagreement escalated in 1959 when Dibelius claimed in a publication entitled “Obrigkeit?” (“Authorities?”) that the government of the GDR should not be recognized as an authority ordained by God. Hence, in the eyes of many evangelical Christians in both parts of Germany, he came to be seen as a reactionary personality. Yet within the ecumenical movement, the attitude toward him was partly different. Dibelius, who was consistently active in that movement, was elected one of the six presidents of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES during the plenary at the 1954 Evanston meeting—against the forceful resistance of some German delegates. He held that office until 1961.

Along with sometimes vociferous antagonism, Dibelius also met with worldwide approval and recognition during his lifetime. The concept he advocated, that of a church and society modeled after a national church that reflects morally religious grandeur toward society, but is also partially inflected by an antiseccular, antisocialist, and, partially, anti-Semitic sense, was seen in the outlook of ADOLF STOECKER, a man Dibelius admired. It was also combined with other traits, however, especially in connection with his experiences with ECUMENISM. The evangelical theologian and

bishop is one of the most important representatives of the evangelical church in Germany in the twentieth century.

See also German Christians

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

DIBELIUS, MARTIN (1883–1947)

German New Testament scholar. Born in Dresden, GERMANY, Dibelius studied THEOLOGY in Neuchatel, Leipzig, Tuebingen, and Berlin. He passed his first theological exam and received his Doctor of Philosophy in 1905. After receiving his license in theology (1908) and completing his habilitation in the New Testament (1910), he became a professor at Heidelberg (1915), and remained there until his death.

The history of religions school influenced his methodology; this was evident in his early commentaries on the Pauline epistles and the Pastoral epistles. His work in form criticism was pathbreaking. See *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1919, *From Tradition to Gospel*, tr. 1934). Dibelius understood the gospels as collections of smaller units originally transmitted orally; he traced the development of these units, classified them, and sought to discern their original function and context. He saw PREACHING as the key to understanding the formation of Christian TRADITION. He also applied form-critical principles to Acts, the canonical epistles, and other early Christian literature. Dibelius was interested in the gospel's relationship to the world, both in early Christianity and in his own time. His commentary on James (1921), one of the most influential in the twentieth century, presented James as an exhortation to live the Christian life.

Dibelius believed it the Christian's duty to be involved in public matters. He was politically involved in democratic causes from his student days. The Nazi regime curtailed his scholarly and political activities, but did not remove him from his position. After the end of World War II, the Americans sought his help in reopening and reconfiguring Heidelberg University.

See also Bultmann, Rudolf

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MARY JANE HAEMIG

DICKINSON, EMILY (1830–1886)

American poet. Dickinson was born December 10, 1830, and spent her entire life in the New England village of Amherst, Massachusetts. Her parents, Edward and Emily Norcross Dickinson, were members of the nineteenth century's rising professional class, and the family's life centered around Amherst College, which her grandfather founded and where her father and brother both served in various capacities.

The oldest of three children, Emily grew up in an environment that was Whiggish in its politics and modified Calvinist in its theology (see CALVINISM). Her training emphasized the benefits of prudence more than the ecstasies of the spirit and the virtues of benevolence more than the terrors of hell. Dickinson attended church regularly with her family through her twenties, but never joined the congregation and, by the age of thirty, no longer took part in its services.

Dickinson's adult years were occupied with the writing of poetry and letters and, with the help of her sister Lavinia, the managing of her family's home. Emily entertained seriously the thought of marriage only once, and that was when she was past fifty. Increasingly reclusive, she left the grounds of her family's home but once in the last two decades of her life.

Dickinson began to write poetry in her late twenties, and by the age of thirty-five had written over a thousand poems. Although her pace slackened in later years, she continued to compose works and left behind at her death almost 1,800 poems. The first edition of her poetry was published four years after her death and proved an instant success. Her reputation was quickly established, and she is now regarded as one of the finest lyric poets in the English language.

Taking the metrical patterns of the Protestant hymnal as her guide (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS), Dickinson fashioned a brilliantly eccentric poetic style, which she employed to explore the great religious themes of suffering, belief, personal identity, and the existence of God. Scientifically articulate and philosophically astute, Dickinson confronted in her poetry the crucial issues that prompted doubts about the Christian faith in the nineteenth century. To the end, she remained troubled about God the Father, who exists "Somewhere—in Silence," but found comfort in Jesus the Son, the "Tender Pioneer" who has gone before us in the way of suffering and death.

While living the most intensely focused inward life of any major figure in American history, Dickinson produced a body of work that made her the greatest of all American

poets and one of the most creatively enigmatic religious thinkers American culture has ever produced.

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ROGER LUNDIN

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

The religious reform movement, originating in America and Great Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century, was also known as the Christian or Restoration Movement, although it was increasingly labeled the Stone-Campbell Movement in the late twentieth century after its founding leaders, BARTON W.STONE and Thomas and Alexander Campbell (see CAMPBELL FAMILY). The original impulse was to restore the primitive New Testament church as a means to effect Christian unity. The American movement suffered two divisions in the twentieth century, resulting in three church bodies: the Churches of Christ, the undenominational fellowship of CHRISTIAN CHURCHES and CHURCHES OF CHRIST—often known as independent Christian Churches—and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Congregations with roots in this movement exist in over 160 countries.

American Origins

The movement's earliest American origins are found in the work of Barton W.Stone (1772–1844). Baptized Anglican at birth (see ANGLICANISM), Stone experienced CONVERSION in 1791 under the preaching of Presbyterian revivalists James McGready (1760–1817) and William Hodge (see PRESBYTERIANISM). He became pastor for two Presbyterian congregations near Paris, Kentucky in 1796. In spring 1801 he witnessed events of the Great Western Revival led by McGready in Logan County, Kentucky, connected with annual sacramental services (see REVIVALS). Stone organized such a gathering for his church at Cane Ridge, August 7–12, 1801. The Cane Ridge CAMP MEETING was one of the largest and most spectacular of the era in its emotional fervor and interdenominational cooperation.

Stemming partially from events at Cane Ridge, the antirevival Synod of Kentucky moved against Stone's colleague, Richard McNemar (1770–1839). At the 1803 synod meeting, Stone, McNemar, and three other ministers withdrew to form the Springfield Presbytery. In "An Apology for Renouncing the Jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky" (1804), the ministers stated that although they still considered themselves in communion

with the Presbyterian Church, they were compelled to separate to avoid constant conflict over issues of theology and polity.

Within a year, however, the leaders of the Springfield Presbytery dissolved the body. In “The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery” (1804) they wrote, “We will that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the body of Christ at large; for there is but one Body, and one Spirit....” In an attempt to avoid distinguishing themselves from other followers of Christ, they called themselves simply Christians and their churches Christian Churches, taking their cue from the Christian groups led by James O’Kelly (1757–1826) in North Carolina, and by Elias Smith (1769–1846) and Abner Jones (1772–1841) in New England. Stone became the acknowledged leader of the movement that by the late 1820s had over 12,000 members in at least ten states.

Campbell Movement

The second part of the Stone-Campbell Movement originated in Northern Ireland in the ministry of Thomas Campbell (1763–1854). Campbell was part of the Old Light, Anti-Burgher division of the Secession Church, known as the Associate Synod, itself a schism from the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. He spent years trying to heal the divisions in IRELAND to no avail. When Campbell became ill under the stress, he was advised to remove himself from the situation or face continued deteriorating health, so he immigrated to the United States.

Upon arrival in Philadelphia in 1807, Campbell presented himself to the meeting of the Associate Synod—already organized in America—and received a preaching appointment in western Pennsylvania between Pittsburgh and Washington. His proclivity for unity led him to allow Presbyterians who were not members of his group to participate in the communion service. A fellow minister traveling with Campbell reported him to the Presbytery of Chartiers on their return to Pittsburgh, beginning a nearly two-year procession of accusations and trials that ended in 1809 with Campbell’s withdrawal from the Associate Synod.

Friends in western Pennsylvania continued to support Campbell’s ministry. They formed a society for the promotion of unity and evangelical Christianity named the Christian Association, and designated Campbell to write an explanation of its nature and aims. In “The Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington, Pennsylvania” (1809) he described the mechanism he believed would bring about Christian unity. True Christians should abandon allegiance to denominational creeds and structures as terms of communion and recognize each other as Christians based solely on adherence to the clear teachings of scripture. Such Christians should come together in every locality to form a church of Christ, in communion with every other such body worldwide.

Thomas Campbell’s son Alexander provided substance to his father’s proposals. Alexander Campbell (1788–1866) and the rest of Thomas’s family arrived in America in 1809 in the midst of Thomas’s religious changes. The younger Campbell threw himself into the reform work his father had begun and within a few years took the lead. In 1811

the Christian Association organized itself into the Brush Run Church and ordained Alexander to the ministry the following year.

The issue of BAPTISM became crucial at the birth of Alexander Campbell's first child in 1812. Both Campbells knew of the controversies over baptism among Scottish independents, especially the division among followers of John Glas that produced the Scotch Baptists. Alexander studied the matter for some time, concluding that infant baptism was not scriptural. This led to his decision to seek immersion at the hands of a Baptist minister, Matthias Luce (1764–1831). Several others in the Brush Run Church, including his mother and father, joined Campbell, and soon the congregation was one of baptized believers.

This stance on baptism led many to view the Campbells as BAPTISTS, prompting the Redstone Baptist Association to invite their church to join. Although the Campbells made it clear they could not accept the Baptists' Philadelphia Confession of Faith, the Brush Run Church was admitted into the Redstone Association in 1815, and the Campbells did their reform work as Baptists until around 1830. From 1823 to 1830 Alexander Campbell published a religious journal named *The Christian Baptist*. Campbell also gained considerable fame through his debates on baptism with Presbyterians John Walker (1820), William Maccalla (1823), and Nathan Rice (1843).

Joining Forces

By the 1820s the Campbell and Stone Movements experienced increasing contact. The two groups shared anticreed, antisectarian, prounity, and Bibleonly stances, although they differed in significant ways. Stone focused on the power of scripture to transform lives, whereas Alexander Campbell emphasized the importance of discerning New Testament facts concerning belief and practice. In 1825 Campbell began a series of articles in the *Christian Baptist* titled "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things," describing beliefs and practices of the early church he believed had been lost or corrupted. These included immersion of believers, weekly observance of the Lord's Supper, congregational polity with governance by local elders, and simple worship with songs reflecting scriptural concepts, all of which became central tenets of the movement.

Although the Stone churches taught immersion of believers, they often practiced "open membership," accepting those who had been baptized as infants. The Campbell churches generally insisted on immersion as a prerequisite for membership, though not denying there were unimmersed Christians. The Stone movement preferred the name Christian; Alexander Campbell preferred disciples, partly to avoid confusion of his movement with the Smith-Jones Movement Christians who were unitarian. Stone held a premillennial eschatology and a negative view of human nature. Campbell was postmillennial and optimistic about the ability of Christians to restore the primitive church, bring Christian unity, and the conversion of the world (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM). The two leaders differed as well in their understanding of the nature of Christ, the ATONEMENT, and the role of the Holy Spirit in conversion.

Despite the differences, beginning in the early 1830s many Stone and Campbell congregations in Kentucky and surrounding states united. Individual congregations used the names Christian Church, Church of Christ, and Disciples of Christ interchangeably. By 1860 the movement in the United States claimed over 200,000 members in about 2,000 congregations. Initial evangelistic success was attributed largely to the work of Walter Scott, who developed a simple Christocentric method of teaching. Instead of a Calvinist appeal to wait for the Holy Spirit, Scott taught that anyone could hear and believe the gospel, repent of past sins, submit to baptism (immersion), and receive the gift of the Holy Spirit and eternal life (see CALVINISM). This was often referred to as the “five finger exercise” because its five points could be taught using the fingers of one hand.

Scotch Baptists who immigrated to eastern Canada in the early 1800s formed the nucleus of the movement in that country. David Oliphant Sr., James Black (1797–1886), and John McKellar were among the earliest leaders. Early contact with both the Stone and Campbell Movements in the United States led many of these Baptist congregations to affiliate with the Stone-Campbell Movement in the 1830s and following. These churches tended to be narrow and legalistic and did not experience the growth of the movement in the United States. By 1867 there were about seventy churches, with an estimated membership of 4,000.

The early movement in Great Britain had similar contours. Independent congregations practicing immersion and designated Church of Christ existed in SCOTLAND and Ireland in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Scotch Baptist minister William Jones (1762–1846) began in 1835 republishing material from Alexander Campbell’s journal the *Millennial Harbinger* (1830–1870), although he later repudiated Campbell’s ideas. James Wallis, also a Scotch Baptist, broke with that group in 1836 and began publishing *The Christian Messenger and Reformer*, which became a major force among Churches of Christ in Great Britain. By 1847 these churches numbered eighty, with about 2,300 members. British members took the movement to New Zealand in 1843, and in 1845 Thomas Magarey brought it from New Zealand to Australia.

In October 1849 the first General Convention, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, created the American Christian Missionary Society (ACMS). Alexander Campbell was elected President (in absentia), a post he held until his death in 1866. Although some opposed the society as an unscriptural organization, the issue did not become divisive until the CIVIL WAR. Many leaders in both North and South were pacifists (see PACIFISM). When the war broke out, however, the Society, now a de facto northern institution, felt pressure to make a statement of loyalty to the Union. In 1861 and 1863 the ACMS passed resolutions supporting the northern cause. Southern leaders like Tolbert Fanning (1810–1874) concluded that they could not endorse the society until it repented of this evil.

Division

The circumstances of the first division of the movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not merely sectional. Economic and sociological factors

stemming from the war played a part in the rejection by many southern churches of the missionary society and instruments in worship. Yet theological objections had been raised early, and many northern churches also rejected the “innovations.” In the U.S. religious census of 1906, many of the conservative churches were listed separately as Churches of Christ, with the others listed as Disciples of Christ.

The second division reflected issues of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, including higher criticism of scripture and the controversy over evolution (see FUNDAMENTALISM, MODERNITY). The most divisive early issue, however, was that of “open membership” on the mission field. The United Christian Missionary Society (UCMS), formed in 1920 by a merger of Disciples agencies, investigated the charges and cleared the missionaries involved despite evidence it was being practiced. Congregations that stopped support of the UCMS and organized independent mission work became known as independent Christian Churches. Members of these churches began meeting in a North American Christian Convention in 1927, though not at first as a rival to the International Convention of Disciples of Christ. From 1934 to 1948 the Commission on Restudy of the Disciples of Christ attempted to work through the problems with little success. The Panel of Scholars (1957–1963), the Study Committee on Brotherhood Restructure (1958–1960), and the Commission on Restructure (1962–1966) culminated in the adoption of the Provisional Design for Restructure of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in 1968. The restructuring led many independent Christian Churches to final separation.

British Churches of Christ underwent similar divisions surrounding issues of cooperation and public worship. Many congregations organized themselves for cooperative work as early as 1842, but an “Old Paths” group resisted the organization and by 1945 was regarded as a completely separate body. In 1981 many of the churches in the “Co-Operation,” then known as the Association of Churches of Christ, joined the United Reformed Church. Those that rejected the union continued as the Fellowship of Churches of Christ. Churches in Australia and New Zealand reflected comparable tensions.

Contemporary Organization

In the United States, the largest of the three bodies at the beginning of the twenty-first century was Churches of Christ, with approximately 1.25 million members in 13,000 congregations. Extensive twentieth-century mission work, especially in AFRICA, resulted in a membership outside the United States of over one million. This stream of the Stone-Campbell Movement experienced internal tensions over issues such as worship practices and exclusivist attitudes beginning in the 1970s. Informal structures such as annual lectureships and periodicals that helped provide a coherent identity for Churches of Christ in the past have come to serve as rallying points for differing positions. A number of colleges, universities, and seminaries are affiliated with Churches of Christ in the United States, including Pepperdine University (California), Abilene Christian University (Texas), and Lipscomb University (Tennessee).

The 1968 Restructure of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) focused on three manifestations of the church: local, regional, and general. At the General level a new office of general minister and president was created, and multifaceted ministries of the denomination were coordinated into units. The national offices for the denomination in the United States are in Indianapolis, Indiana. A General Assembly meets in uneven years. The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) suffered membership losses similar to those suffered by other mainstream Protestant denominations in the late twentieth century. A small group of dissident members formed Disciple Renewal in 1985 to protest what they saw as a move away by leadership from a historic focus on Christ and biblical teaching. Disciples began the new millennium with approximately 800,000 members in 3,800 congregations in the United States and Canada. New church planting and theological discernment initiatives signaled efforts both to grow and strengthen the body in the twenty-first century.

Independent Christian Churches numbered over one million in the United States in 2000. These churches, although experiencing tensions like the other streams, have enjoyed significant growth in the early twentyfirst century through church plantings by local evangelistic associations and parachurch organizations like the Christian Missionary Fellowship. The annual North American Christian Convention, although without any delegated authority over the churches, provides a forum for networking, reports from ministries, inspiration, and fellowship that provides a sense of identity for many in these churches.

Churches historically related to the Stone-Campbell Movement exist in over 160 countries. The World Convention of Churches of Christ (WCCC), established in 1930 by Jesse M.Bader and meeting roughly every four years, serves as a forum to maintain contact between all parts of the movement in a context of Bible study and worship. In addition, yearly meetings between members of Churches of Christ and independent Christian Churches, known as Restoration Forums, were begun in 1984; and a more formal Stone-Campbell Dialogue with representatives from the three major streams in the United States began in 1999.

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DOUGLAS A.FOSTER

DISPENSATIONALISM

Dispensationalism is a tradition within American evangelical ORTHODOXY. Thus, it has much in common with other traditions within the extended family of EVANGELICALISM, both in thought and practice. The movement has consistently affirmed the inspiration, inerrancy, and AUTHORITY of Scripture (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY). Dispensationalists argue that the BIBLE, when interpreted according to a historical-grammatical-literary-theological method, results in the conclusion that God's purpose in history is to bring glory to himself. Further, God's work in history is seen to occur in clearly distinguishable periods of time, or dispensations. The number of dispensations is not as essential to the TRADITION as the recognition that there are discontinuities in the historical administration of God's plan. This tradition has a strong ecclesiastical emphasis, believing that the CHURCH is the primary means by which God carries out God's purposes in this age. Dispensationalists have emphasized both the universal, transdenominational identity of the church and its localized form in gathered communities of faith. Believing that apocalyptic and prophetic Scriptures have relevance for the present as well as the future, dispensationalists have strongly affirmed the imminent (at any time) return of Christ and a political future for Israel in God's plan (see APOCALYPTICISM). Dispensationalism is futurist premillennial in its EsCHATOLOGY and most of its proponents have believed in the doctrine of the RAPTURE of the church before the bodily return of Christ, although there are adherents of both the mid- and post-tribulation rapture positions in this tradition.

Dispensationalists generally agree that these distinguishable periods of time include different responsibilities for humans as they relate to God. A dispensation ends in the failure of humans to fulfill their obligations to God, which brings a resulting judgment on their SIN. A new dispensation, with a different administrative relationship, replaces the former one. Some critics of dispensationalism have caricatured the system as holding the unorthodox view that these rules and regulations are differing ways of SALVATION. Dispensationalists have always emphatically denied this charge, affirming with evangelical orthodoxy that salvation is always by GRACE through FAITH. In every dispensation, salvation is a gracious gift of God. What changes in the administrative discontinuity is the content of faith and the responsibilities God places on humanity. In response to the charge that dispensationalism is Antinomian (see ANTINOMIANISM), the tradition has consistently affirmed that there is law in every dispensation, although the content of that law may be different in each period of time. None of the legal

requirements God places on humans was ever intended to produce salvation; rather, they were the means by which redeemed people maintain fellowship with their God.

Biblical Defense

Critics sometimes charge that dispensationalism is an interpretive grid imposed on the Scriptures. In response, dispensationalists point to the biblical usage of the Greek *oikonomia* in support of their view of history. In short they claim that dispensationalism is taught in Scripture, that the biblical writers use the word essentially in the same way that dispensationalists do. The basic meaning of *oikonomia*, which in its various forms appears about twenty times in the Greek New Testament, is “to manage, regulate, administer, and plan the affairs of a household.” The word is rendered in various translations as “dispensation, economy, stewardship, arrangement, plan, administration.” The word appears in a nontheological sense in the parable of Jesus in Luke 16:1–13. The household steward is accountable to his master for his handling of the affairs of the household. His failure to carry out his responsibilities to the satisfaction of his master results in a change of administration. This steward or manager is relieved of his duties and, presumably, a new *oikonomos* will be hired. Thus, the dispensation of the former steward ends and is replaced by another. Theologically, the Apostle Paul uses *oikonomia* to define the responsibility that God has given to him (Ephesians 3:2–10). This dispensation is based on the work of Christ in his DEATH and resurrection (Ephesians 3:10; cf. Ephesians 2:13–18). This text seems to indicate that a dispensation preceded the Christ event, which was then replaced by one based on the work of the Messiah in his first coming. Further, Paul anticipates a future period of time, the “dispensation of the fulness of times” (Ephesians 1:10; KJV), when all things in HEAVEN and earth will be gathered together in Christ. Although some evangelicals see this as a reference to the present age, dispensationalists affirm that it is the eschatological Messianic age that is in view. Thus, dispensationalists claim, their reading of redemptive history is consistent with that of the Apostle Paul, whose writings provide biblical support for at least three dispensations.

Origins of Dispensationalism

Dispensationalism originated in the nineteenth century in the teaching of the Anglican JOHN NELSON DARBY (1800–1882) (see ANGLICANISM). Darby rejected the organized church as apostate, leading him to become part of a separatist group that later became known as the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN. Darby adopted a futurist premillennial eschatology, rejecting the historicist approach popular among British millennialists (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENMALISM) of his era. Central to Darby’s hermeneutics was an anthropological dualism. In his view the true church is a heavenly people, an

invisible group with heavenly citizenship, promises, and prophecies. Israel, on the other hand, is God's earthly people. All of the biblical prophecies to Israel will be fulfilled on the earth in the millennium and the eternal state. The church inherits spiritual blessings and her eternal destiny is in heaven. These two peoples never commingle. A strict separation of these two peoples of God must be maintained when interpreting promises and prophecies in Scripture. The future eschatological plan of God has both an earthly and a heavenly component.

Darby developed two distinctive doctrines related to this heavenly people. He proposed that the church age was a parenthesis between the sixty-ninth and seventieth weeks of Daniel 9:25–27. This period of time was a mystery, not revealed in Scripture before the coming of the Messiah. The seventieth week of Daniel, the Great Tribulation, was prophesied for God's earthly people (Israel), and has not yet been fulfilled. Because the wrath of God will be poured out on the earth during this time, God's heavenly people will be taken away, or raptured, before this seven-year period. Darby based his doctrine of the RAPTURE of the church before this period of tribulation on I Thessalonians 4:15–18. With the heavenly people removed from the earth, God's judgment is then unleashed on Israel and unbelieving Gentiles (see Revelation 6–19).

In Darby's view, God's promises to his earthly people, Israel, would then be fulfilled in a millennial kingdom. Although they had rejected their Messiah in his first coming, Israel would turn to him in faith during the Great Tribulation. The Messiah will destroy all of his enemies and rule over the world from the Davidic throne in Jerusalem for one thousand years (Revelation 20:1–6). After one last rebellion is quashed, a new heaven and earth are created, the former the eternal home of the church and the latter the realm of Israel.

Dispensationalism spread to North America through a series of Bible and prophecy conferences in the late nineteenth century. The most prominent of these was the Niagara Conference (1883–1897). Darby himself made several trips to America to speak at these gatherings. Through the teaching of J.H. Brookes, A.J. Gordon, and C.I. Scofield, this teaching took on a distinctive American flair. American dispensationalists generally rejected Darby's view of the organized church as apostate and focused on purifying or reviving their denominations.

This period of dispensationalism's history has been designated by historians of the tradition as the classic stage. These dispensationalists maintained Darby's anthropological dualism and his futurist ESCHATOLOGY. The failure of WILLIAM MILLER'S date-setting (1844) clearly demonstrated to them the danger of historicism. Further, dispensationalists claimed that their theology was based on a literal interpretation of the Bible. Fundamentalist in their theology, representatives of many denominations were found in their ranks, including Presbyterians and Congregationalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM; PRESBYTERIANISM, CONGREGATIONALISM). Later, BAPTISTS and nondenominational churches were represented as well.

The major teachings of this classic stage of American dispensationalism were systematized in the SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE. C.I. Scofield, a prominent spokesman in the tradition, published a King James Version of the Bible (Oxford University Press) with copious notes explaining his interpretation of much of the biblical text in successive editions in 1909 and 1917 (see BIBLE, KING JAMES VERSION). Although not all dispensationalists agreed with every one of his interpretations,

Scofield's system became the major articulation of the tradition. The influence of the *Scofield Reference Bible* is so pervasive that in popular understanding, his sevenfold scheme of history is often assumed to be the essential statement of dispensationalism.

Scofield's disciple, L.S.Chafer, founded the Evangelical Theological College in Dallas, Texas in 1924. This institution was renamed Dallas Theological Seminary in 1936 and Chafer served as its president until his death in 1952. Chafer's eight-volume *Systematic Theology* (1948) is the most developed articulation of classic dispensationalism.

A Dynamic Tradition

The next generation of dispensational scholars continued to develop their own understanding of Scripture within the framework of this hermeneutical tradition. J.F.Walvoord, J.D.Pentecost, and C.C.Ryrie, all students of Chafer, each introduced modifications to classic dispensationalism. These modifications are perhaps most visible in the *Revised Scofield Reference Bible* (1967), in which many notes were changed and others added. This period of the tradition's history is differentiated from the previous one with the label "revised," based on the "revision" of the original *Scofield Reference Bible*.

In the mid-1960s, Charles Ryrie wrote an apologetic for the movement, which was intended to coincide with the revision of Scofield's study Bible. *Dispensationalism Today* (1965) provides one of the clearest articulations of revised dispensationalism and quickly achieved textbook status. Ryrie defended and explained the systematization and development in the movement. Gone is the strict anthropological dualism of the classic stage, although the futurist eschatology and the strong biblical emphasis remain. Ryrie defined the essence of dispensationalism in terms of three sine qua non: the consistent use of literal hermeneutics, which results in a distinction between Israel and the church, and the conviction that God's purpose in all that he does is to glorify himself.

During the latter decades of the twentieth century, dispensational scholars proposed additional modifications of this tradition. These modifications grew out of a renewed interest in studying the history of the tradition and a fresh look at biblical revelation, as well as an evaluation of the sine qua non approach to definition. There were proposals for each of the three as *the* essence of dispensationalism. Eventually some of these dispensationalists concluded that perhaps the attempt to articulate the essence of dispensationalism, in contrast to other orthodox traditions, was an inadequate approach to the question of definition. Some concluded that a better approach might be to focus on the major themes and emphases of the tradition. The tradition has always claimed to be committed to the task of biblical hermeneutics, and here is an illustration of how deep that commitment was.

At the heart of these modifications in dispensational thought seems to be an emphasis on more continuity or progression in the plan of God. Thus, these progressive dispensationalists stress the present inauguration of God's eschatological blessings, which will culminate in their fullness in the eternal state. The distinction between Israel and the church remains, although it is defended not on the basis of an anthropological

dualism or a modified “two people of God” approach, but rather as part of the historical fulfillment of God’s COVENANT program. The church, although not revealed explicitly in the Old Testament, is an integral part of God’s plan for history, not simply a parenthesis within God’s historical scheme. There remains a future for political Israel, not simply in the millennium but in eternity as well. In the eschatological Messianic kingdom, all redeemed humanity will exist eternally on a re-created earth. In its progressive form, dispensationalism remains futurist premillennial in its eschatology, usually including a pretribulation rapture of the church, and continues to emphasize the authority of Scripture as support for its view. C.A. Blaising, D.L.Bock, and R.L.Saucy are the most prominent representatives of progressive dispensationalism.

Impact of Dispensationalism

Because of the consistent emphasis within this tradition on the authority of Scripture, dispensationalism has provided numerous contributions to Protestantism. First, the tradition has had a strong MISSIONS emphasis, which is reflected in the founding of faith mission agencies and other parachurch organizations. C.I. Scofield founded Central American Mission (now CAM International). Dispensationalists have been active in Africa Inland Mission (now AIM International), Sudan Interior Mission (now SIM), Campus Crusade for Christ, INTERVARSITY CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP, the Navigators, YOUTH FOR CHRIST, Young Life, and numerous other nondenominational missions agencies. In addition, dispensationalists serve in many capacities in denominational missions organizations (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). Through this missionary emphasis, the teachings of dispensationalism have spread throughout the world, resulting in a global presence of the movement. Second, dispensationalists have always been active in social work, including Rescue Missions, orphanages, ministry to the poor, and other service agencies. Third, dispensationalists have written biblical commentaries, usually with a particular emphasis on the practical implications of the text for life and ministry. Fourth, many have launched radio and television ministries (see TELEVANGELISM; PUBLISHING MEDIA). Charles Fuller’s “Old Time Gospel Hour,” M.R.DeHaan and Richard DeHann on “Radio Bible Class,” J.Vernon McGee’s “Through the Bible,” JERRY FALWELL’S “Old Time Gospel Hour,” Theodore Epp and Warren Wiersbe on “Back to the Bible,” and Chuck Swindoll’s “Insight for Living” are all examples of the national and world-wide influence of this tradition. Fifth, dispensationalists were involved in founding BIBLE COLLEGES and SEMINARIES. In addition to Dallas Theological Seminary, several other institutions have their roots in dispensationalism, such as MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE, Philadelphia College of the Bible, Lancaster Bible College, Grace Theological Seminary, Biola University and Talbot Seminary, and Multnomah Bible College/Seminary. In addition, dispensationalists serve on the faculties of many other Protestant educational institutions. Sixth, dispensationalists serve the church in pastoral and lay leadership capacities in many Protestant denominational and independent churches.

Dispensationalism is a dynamic tradition, developing as its adherents dialogue with other Christians around the biblical text. Although the study of its history demonstrates unmistakable paradigmatic stages in dispensational thought, this does not mean that every dispensationalist in each period was in total agreement on the understanding of Scripture. Rather, the strength of this tradition is its unity amidst diversity. Further, under the umbrella of the label dispensationalism, one today finds representatives of the various stages in its historical development. Throughout its history, dispensationalism has consistently had a strong ministry focus, serving the church and the world with the gospel in word and deed.

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- G.R. KREIDER

DISSENT

The dissenting tradition of ENGLAND and WALES began with the late medieval Lollards and then the separatists who left the CHURCH OF ENGLAND under ELIZABETH I (1533–1603). The dissenters grew in the mid-seventeenth century but were persecuted between 1662 and 1689. Enjoying toleration in the eighteenth century, they polarized into rational Dissenters and Evangelicals, whose numbers were hugely expanded by the creation of METHODISM. They played a large part in Victorian public affairs, but declined in the twentieth century.

Origins

The Dissenters, or Nonconformists, were those in England and Wales who worshipped outside the established Church of England. Similar groups existed in Ireland, and for a while the term “dissent” was used for those Presbyterians who seceded from the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. Theoretically applicable to Roman Catholics, the description was normally confined to Protestants. Dissent goes back to the Lollards of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who criticized clerical and papal abuses, appealing to the text of the English scriptures translated by their founder, English theologian John Wyclif (1330–1384). Putting down roots in parts of southeastern England such as Buckinghamshire, they persisted into the sixteenth century and probably into the seventeenth. Following the settlement of the Church of England under Elizabeth I, some of those Puritans who wanted further reformation began to worship separately. The early separatist leaders ROBERT BROWNE and Robert Harrison left the country for the NETHERLANDS in order to escape persecution, but Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, who both wrote in defense of separatism, were hanged in 1593. Fifteen years later a group of separatists escaped to the Netherlands under THOMAS ROBINSON, and in 1620 some of his followers crossed the Atlantic to settle as the PILGRIM FATHERS. Another group, under John Smyth, also fled in 1608 to Amsterdam, where their leader baptized himself and so began the Baptist tradition. A small number of churches followed Smyth in holding an Arminian theology of general redemption and so were called General Baptists. Other Baptists who emerged in the 1630s were known as Particular

Baptists because, like the great majority of separatists, they upheld the Calvinist doctrine of particular redemption.

Development

The upheavals of the CIVIL WAR and interregnum in the 1640s and 1650s allowed an upsurge of dissent. The separatists who practiced infant baptism, now called the Independents, flourished, together with the Baptists. The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, repudiating Calvinism in favor of guidance by the inner light, was founded by English religious leader George Fox (1624–1691) and soon earned the nickname of the Quakers. Smaller sects holding radical views—the Ranters, Diggers, Muggletonians, and others—briefly came into existence in this disturbed period. The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was followed two years later by the “Great Ejection,” the expulsion from their parishes on St. Bartholomew’s Day of about 1,000 clergy, mostly Presbyterians, who would not agree to accept the exclusive use of the prayer book. Dissenters were subject to the penalties of the Clarendon Code of legislation that excluded them from public office, and after 1664 prohibited more than five people from meeting for non-Anglican worship. Despite a short respite between 1672 and 1673, the reigns of Charles II (1630–1685) and James II (1633–1701) were marked by serious persecution, which was terminated only by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the consequent passing of the Toleration Act of 1689. Henceforth dissenters were allowed to worship freely so long as their meetings were licensed.

During the eighteenth century, dissent broadened theologically under the influence of the intellectual currents of the times. Most Presbyterians and General Baptists gradually turned toward Arian beliefs and became known as rational Dissenters; most Independents and Particular Baptists retained their Trinitarian orthodoxy. By the end of the century the nominal Presbyterians, often well educated and prosperous, were increasingly Unitarian in theology. The century also witnessed, however, the transformation of dissent by the Evangelical Revival. JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791) created METHODISM as vigorous societies within the Church of England, but even before his death in 1791 it was tending to function as a separate denomination. Its status was always unclear: although technically dissenting, it did not identify with the dissenting tradition. A similar form of evangelical religion gradually transformed the Independents and Baptists into rapidly growing bodies, which, like Methodism, appealed to the poor as well as the middle classes. By the middle of the nineteenth century almost half the churchgoing population was Nonconformist.

In 1828 the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts meant that Nonconformists were no longer treated as second-class citizens. They subsequently organized campaigns demanding the removal of the remaining marks of discrimination and pressed unsuccessfully for disestablishment. The “Nonconformist conscience” around the end of the century called for the enactment of what was considered moral legislation, such as the prohibition of alcohol. Growth petered out in the middle years of the century, and from the 1880s Nonconformity went into long-term decline. The explanation has been much

debated, but must include competition from new forms of recreation and a weakening of former doctrinal convictions in the chapels. Nevertheless fresh denominations were created, notably the SALVATION ARMY (1878) and the Pentecostals (from 1907). In the twentieth century, Nonconformists preferred to call themselves the FREE CHURCHES and increasingly cooperated in ecumenical activities. Although the older Free Churches went into accelerated decline from the 1960s, in the same decade new black-led denominations were organized to serve the immigrant community and charismatic “house churches,” subsequently styled the “New Churches,” started their rapid growth. Hence by the end of the twentieth century the non-Anglican Protestant bodies attracted more worshippers than either the Church of England or the Roman Catholic Church.

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DISTLER, HUGO (1908–1942)

German composer. Distler. One of Germany's foremost composers of sacred music in the twentieth century, was born in Nuremberg on June 24, 1908. He was brought up by his maternal grandparents, graduated from the famous Melanchthon Gymnasium in Nuremberg, and subsequently studied at the Leipzig conservatory. At the age of twenty-two he was appointed organist at the St. Jakobi Church in Lübeck. In 1937 he joined the faculty of the Württembergische Musikhochschule (Conservatory) in Stuttgart. Three years later, in May 1940, he was promoted to professor and in the same year received an appointment to the Conservatory of Music in Berlin. Early in 1942 he was also appointed conductor of the Berlin Opera and Cathedral choirs. The increasing Allied air raids on Berlin had triggered the evacuation of his family to a rural area on the Baltic Sea. Thus, alone in Berlin, Distler committed suicide on November 1, 1942.

Distler's opus consists of motets, organ preludes, and cantatas; in fact, most of his compositions are church music. Because his style combined adherence to classical forms of compositions with modern tonality, the Nazis decried his music as "degenerate," a fact that undoubtedly contributed to his youthful suicide.

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HANS HILLERBRAND

DIVORCE

During the sixteenth century, a majority of Protestant authors formulated theological perspectives on divorce that reacted against the Roman Catholic doctrine of the indissolubility of consummated marriages and the accompanying prohibition against remarriage by reinterpreting the biblical testimony and texts from Christian antiquity on the subject. Divorce might be possible, but only on “scriptural grounds.” Protestant writings and ecclesiastical legislation of subsequent generations drew on the work of the reformers, but also took into account the social and political contexts of their own time, thereby gradually moving further away from the Catholic position (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). Because of the increasing secularization of divorce in the West from the seventeenth century onward, ecclesiastical opinions on divorce came to have less of a direct influence on civil laws and practices than in previous years. By the twenty-first century, most Protestant denominations acknowledged divorce to be a regrettable social reality as well as a sign of human fallibility, but nevertheless encouraged full acceptance of the divorced within the Christian community and permitted remarriage within church walls.

Early Protestant Perspectives

Because Protestant writers of the sixteenth century affirmed that MARRIAGE was a divinely ordained institution (although not a sacrament), many were reluctant to take up the topic of divorce and did so only when pressed by pastoral need. Although some Protestants held to the indissolubility of marriage, the greater number rejected the Catholic position, later set down at the Council of Trent, that a validly celebrated and consummated Christian marriage could be dissolved only by the death of a spouse. Among Protestant “dissolubilists” there were two camps: those who interpreted Matthew 5:32 and 19:9 (the “Matthean exception”) to permit divorce only for adultery, and those who allowed for other causes defensible by scripture. Protestants were also critical of the methods that Catholics used for circumventing the indissolubility of marriage by allowing for dispensations and annulments granted by ecclesiastical authorities. Annulment could be obtained, for example, in cases of marriage with an unbeliever by

citing the so-called “Pauline privilege” (*privilegium Pauli*) of 1 Corinthians 7:15, and in marriages in which diriment (nullifying) impediments could be identified, such as a union falling within certain degrees of consanguinity or affinity, marriage by coercion, impotence, or a previous marriage or espousal. Protestants to varying degrees acknowledged that certain impediments could warrant divorce, but limited them to those with “scriptural” precedent.

The term “divorce” (*divortium*) was used in a variety of senses during the sixteenth century. It could refer to the legal dissolution of the marriage bond (*a vinculo matrimonii*) that could enable a former spouse or spouses to contract a new—and legally valid—marriage. Temporary or permanent restrictions, such as a delay of at least nine months for a woman to ensure there was no pregnancy, might be imposed on those wishing to remarry. The term could mean judicial separation literally from “bed and board” (*a mensa et thoro*), by which a couple legally might live apart physically although they were still married by law. Numerous Protestant commentators who were persuaded that cohabitation was essential to any definition of marriage challenged this practice. “Divorce” was applied to annulments, though the granting of an annulment assumed that the marriage never existed legally in the first place. For example, the severing of the relationship between KING HENRY VIII and Catherine of Aragon was technically an annulment because of a preexisting impediment of affinity, though the term “divorce” is sometimes used in the historic documents.

In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), MARTIN LUTHER directed his comments toward divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*. So concerned was he to uphold the scriptural mandate that what God had joined was not to be broken apart (Matthew 19:6) that he stated he preferred bigamy to divorce, and indeed he counseled such for Henry VIII and PHILIP OF HESSE. Unscriptural impediments were no justification for annulling marriages, and those who allowed them were guilty of treason against God. Yet Luther conceded that annulments might be possible in cases of impotence, a previously contracted marriage, and a vow of CELIBACY. Despite his belief that couples ought to make every effort to be reconciled and remain together, Luther recognized that Christ himself had permitted divorce in cases of adultery (Matthew 5:32, 19:9) and that St. Paul had compelled no one, particularly the innocent person in a divorce, to remain unmarried lest that one burn (cf. 1 Corinthians 7:9). He also claimed, hesitatingly, and in reference to the Pauline privilege, that the spouse abandoned by a believer ought to be able to remarry, because the deserter was little more than an unbeliever. Two years later, in his sermon on the “Estate of Marriage,” Luther argued from the basis of Deuteronomy 22:22–24 that the innocent party of a scriptural divorce could remarry because it was as if the adulterer had died (cf. Romans 7:2–3). He also added two more grounds for divorce and remarriage: bodily or natural deficiencies, and refusal to fulfill conjugal duties (cf. 1 Corinthians 7:5). However, when the issue was unreconcilable incompatibility, Luther would allow for divorce but not remarriage.

PHILIPP MELANCHTHON followed his teacher Luther in upholding the sanctity of marriage (“an eternal, inseparable fellowship of one husband and one wife”; *Loci Communes*, 1555), and in permitting divorce for adultery and for desertion. He relied on Genesis 2:24 (cf. 1 Corinthians 6:16) and an interpretation of sexual chastity to bolster his argument for divorce as a consequence of adultery, and argued that the innocent party should be permitted to remarry. Following the “evidence” of Leviticus 18:29 and 1

Corinthians 6:9–10, the guilty ought to be condemned to death or banished. Justified by the Pauline privilege, he linked desertion with adultery, because those who strayed from home were usually perceived as adulterers. Disease (e.g., leprosy), however, was not a ground for divorce, but rather was to be dealt with by compassion and faithfulness.

HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, on the other hand, did consider contagious diseases to be grounds for the dissolution of the marriage bond. He viewed adultery, following Christ's words in Matthew's Gospel, as the benchmark for permitting divorce, and identified what he perceived as equally or more serious conditions, including disease, impotence, desertion, marriage with an unbeliever, and serious crime, to be sufficient causes as well. Zwingli's views were codified in a 1525 marriage law for Zurich that imposed penalties on those proven of adultery: physical punishment, excommunication, confiscation of property, and, in serious or repeat cases, even death. The marriage tribunal (*Ehegericht*) of Zurich investigated and considered cases individually, and if attempts at reconciliation failed, reluctantly granted the divorce and allowed the possibility of remarriage. Both the innocent and guilty (but reformed in behavior, as judged by the tribunal) parties were allowed to remarry within certain restrictions. The policy established in Zurich influenced other city-state policies in SWITZERLAND, including Basel's *Ehegerichtsordnung* of 1533.

Sixteenth-century civil divorce laws in Protestant GERMANY and in Nordic countries were formulated on the basis of Luther's views, although in practice they tended to be more conservative. Even if divorce and remarriage were approved on scriptural grounds, church leaders typically denied a public celebration of a new union in the church building. Adultery and abandonment were justifiable causes for divorce in Württemberg, Nuremberg, and in the Swedish church's 1572 Church Ordinance, which drew on the ordinances of Württemberg as mediated by the laws of Pfalz-Neuberg. The 1572 ordinances, which remained in effect until 1686, permitted divorce only after all avenues for reconciliation had been exhausted, and then granted that both parties could remarry; after 1686, other circumstances, including marital incompatibility, might lead to divorce. In the Kingdom of DENMARK (which in the sixteenth century included NORWAY and Iceland), the 1582 Articles of Marriage recognized under certain conditions adultery and desertion as legitimate grounds, but allowed only the innocent party of adultery to remarry, and then with restrictions. Impotence and disease, if proven to have existed and to have been concealed at the time of the wedding, might effectively nullify the marriage union.

The views on divorce proffered by JOHN CALVIN in his scripture commentaries influenced legislation in Geneva, SCOTLAND, and other Calvinist centers in Europe. In principle, Calvin held to the indissolubility of marriage because of his belief that God ties couples in an unbreakable bond. Yet, drawing on Old and New Testament texts, he made a singular exception when either party violated the union by adultery, and permitted divorce as a substitute for the old COVENANT'S penalty of death. According to Calvin's exegesis of 1 Corinthians 7, divorce might also be possible in situations where an unbelieving spouse deserted the believer by presuming that the deserter was engaged in an adulterous relationship. Other so-called "causes," such as disease or impotence, Calvin found indefensible. Calvin's successor in Geneva, THEODORE BEZA, built on Calvin's position in his *Tractatio de repudiis et divortii* (1569). Beza upheld the two scripturally sanctioned grounds for divorce and no other: adultery (where he allowed both the guilty

and innocent parties to remarry after meeting certain conditions, with the former receiving some type of punishment); and desertion (which he expanded to include situations where both parties are believers and other than religious reasons). The Genevan *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* (1561) anticipated Beza's broader understanding of desertion, but made a distinction between willful and unintentional abandonment; different processes were advised depending on the GENDER of the deserting spouse. Adultery could dissolve the marriage (but only when one party was truly innocent), but in practice, punishment was meted out more often than divorce. In Scotland, where JOHN KNOX built on Calvin's teachings, adultery was the sole ground for divorce during the 1560s, but by 1573 willful desertion of four or more years was added as a cause; with both conditions, divorce was granted only after lengthy procedures and with reluctance. Until the 1930s, adultery and desertion remained the only legal grounds for divorce in Scotland.

The radical reformers in general allowed only adultery and a strict reading of the Pauline privilege as causes for divorce. Some Anabaptists (inspired by Ezra 10:11ff) stressed the supremacy of the Christian's union with Christ over any human covenant to the extent that believers were expected to break marriages with non-Anabaptist spouses who hindered religious practices (see ANABAPTISM). Regarding such mixed marriages, the fifth article of the Wismar resolutions (1554) advised that the nonbeliever should initiate any divorce for reasons of faith. The believer could not contract a second marriage until such a time as the former spouse remarried or committed adultery, and only then after consultation with the elders of the congregation. A much more liberal view was taken up by Strassburg Reformer MARTIN BUCER, who added to these two grounds other causes as a consequence of his view that mutual benevolence and companionship were primary in marriage. If these characteristics were absent, then claimed Bucer, there was no marriage—even before the formality of divorce. Continual cohabitation was therefore essential to marriage, unless a calling of God could be discerned. In the section on divorce in *De Regno Christi* (translated in 1644 by JOHN MILTON as *The Judgement of Martin Bucer, Concerning Divorce*), Bucer contended that a marriage in which the two were no longer one flesh on account of crime, impotence, mental or physical illness, and emotional or physical abandonment could be severed by mutual consent or by repudiation. Divorce was deemed a remedy instituted by God, and as such, equal opportunity for divorce was to be given to wives and husbands. Nevertheless, the breakdown of a marriage was a serious matter; punishments of varying degrees were given to violators, although remarriage could occur later. Bucer advised church leaders to admonish all parishioners to cultivate their marriages according to godly precepts to stave off discord.

Although Bucer influenced the REFORMATION in ENGLAND, his permissive policy on divorce was not formally taken up there. Indeed, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND officially adhered to the indissolubility of marriage and would not recognize divorce (*a vinculo*) legislation until the mid-nineteenth century, although from the 1670s a private Act of Parliament could be granted in individual cases that dissolved the marriage bond and allowed remarriage. Despite the church's legal stance, certain English theologians, among them WILLIAM TYNDALE, Thomas Becon, and John Hooper, argued from the Matthean exception that adultery could justify dissolution of the marriage, though each interpreted the conditions and consequences required differently; Tyndale also cited the

Pauline privilege (coupled with 1 Timothy 5:8) for desertion. The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, drafted by commission in 1552 with the first printed edition in 1571, provided for divorce *a vinculo* in cases of adultery, desertion, hostility, and ill-treatment, and condemned as unscriptural and confusing the practice of separation *a mensa et thoro*. Never ratified, the *Reformatio Legum* nonetheless articulated the opinions of numerous bishops and divines during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even so, the approved Canons of 1604 concerning divorce did not permit divorce *a vinculo* or remarriage, but did recognize judicial separation. By the end of the seventeenth century, separation *a mensa et thoro* granted by the ecclesiastical court was usually expected before further proceedings that could lead to dissolution by Parliamentary action.

By the end of the sixteenth century, most Protestant countries had legalized divorce for specified conditions, with adultery and abandonment most often the grounds identified. Fornication and desertion remained the only causes for divorce *a vinculo* until well into the eighteenth century in some locations, whereas in others civil legislation expanded the list of causes. Such was not the case in England, where the Church of England maintained its stance on the indissolubility of marriage. Lively debates continued at length throughout the seventeenth century as some theologians by tract and treatise reinforced the indissolubilist position, whereas others took the Continental dissolubilist approach that adultery alone or with desertion stood as legitimate scriptural grounds. Within the Puritan wing of ANGLICANISM, this range of opinions was evident. Robert Cleaver claimed that besides death, only adultery could sever the marriage bond, because it broke the covenant that God had witnessed. WILLIAM PERKINS added desertion, because a spouse who abandoned another was to his mind no Christian. William Whately, who in a 1617 sermon admitted the possibility for divorce on account of adultery, unchastity, and the unwillingness to perform certain marital duties, seven years later reversed his opinion and denied any grounds for divorce. John Milton published three treatises on divorce between 1643 and 1645 in addition to Bucer's text. Not surprisingly, Milton expressed views similar to Bucer, although he was not as egalitarian along the lines of gender as was the older theologian. Milton's liberal position never found legal expression in his own day. In fact, during the periods of the English CIVIL WAR and the interregnum, no legislation regarding divorce was enacted by Cromwell's government save for the 1650 Adultery Act, which made fornication a capital offense. Across the Atlantic, however, Puritans in New England legalized divorce through civil courts from the 1620s (see PURITANISM).

The Secularization of Divorce

Starting in the seventeenth century, church courts, many of which had been established during the Reformation to deal with matrimonial matters in Protestant countries and states, began to become more limited in their dealings or to be eliminated entirely. Secular civil governments and their courts increasingly determined the principles that would procure divorces for the population. In some contexts, churches and denominations were able to continue to exert an influence on legislation and policy,

particularly where CLERGY were members of the legislative bodies, lay legislators brought their church's teachings to bear in civic matters, or civil governments found it politic to be attentive to churchly opinion. In other situations, no such partnership or toleration existed, or it persisted for only a short duration. Many German states in the 1870s, for example, followed the Prussian divorce code that went well beyond Luther's conditions for divorce and included such causes as incurable madness, defamation of the spouse's character, conviction for a felony, drunkenness, and extravagance.

In tandem with this shift away from ecclesiastical pressure on civil law, or perhaps as a result of it, writings on divorce relied less on the teachings of scripture and the arguments of past generations of Protestant theologians and more on interpretations of contract theory and natural law as well as on social expediency. Discourse and debate on divorce was taken up predominantly outside of the church by writers who might give a cursory nod to the biblical witness or to the prevailing theological stance of the region. Notable and influential secular authors on divorce included SAMUEL PUFENDORF and CHRISTIAN THOMASIVS in Germany and JOHN LOCKE, DAVID HUME, Daniel Defoe, and Caleb Fleming in England. Protestant theological writings on marriage and divorce continued to be produced, though in much lesser quantity than in the sixteenth century. The exception was in England, where throughout the seventeenth century writers persisted in debates. Thereafter the number of theological treatises published declined significantly, and sometimes they were included within wider discussions on canon law and on the THEOLOGY and practices of the ancient church.

Discussions regarding divorce continued in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the Church of England dealt with the reality that Parliament was granting divorces *a vinculo*—especially for the wealthy—in ever-increasing numbers. With successful petitions for divorce came a sense of threat to the sanctity of marriage as well as the prospect of requests for remarriages solemnized by church officiants. Dissolubilist and indissolubilist opinions by Anglicans and Dissenters (and by Catholics) circulated in essays and printed sermons as a succession of divorce-related bills were introduced to the House of Lords and House of Commons. In 1857, Parliament decreed that divorce could be obtained through a secular court of divorce for reason of adultery in the case of a wife and for adultery with aggravating circumstances (e.g., incest, bigamy, cruelty, or desertion) by the husband; no involvement in an ecclesiastical court was expected in the process. It was also determined that although an incumbent could object to solemnizing the remarriage of the guilty party of a divorce (and in such a case he should allow a willing clergyman to officiate in his stead), he could not oppose the remarriage of the innocent spouse. Not surprisingly, this decree drew mixed reactions. Numerous theologians, bishops, and clergy welcomed the Matrimonial Causes Act, among them FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, Christopher Wordsworth, and William Bright. Others raised objections to the new civil policy, including Tractarian JOHN KEBLE, who posited that distinctions existed between churchly and secular marriages (the former, as “blessed in heaven,” was indissoluble). Although most English Protestant writers approved of divorce within the bounds of the Matthean exception, the indissolubilist position was still championed, especially by Anglo-Catholics (see ANGLLO-CATHOLICISM).

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the indissolubilist interpretation was strengthened by developments in biblical criticism that

gave historical and literary precedence to the Gospel of Mark. Neither Mark (10:11–12) nor Luke (16:18) identifies adultery as a cause for divorce; this cause is found only in the Matthean exception, which some scholars came to consider a secondary gloss on the original text and hence a corruption of what was said by the Lord himself. Questions about biblical interpretation generated the publication of books and articles on the subject of divorce (and marriage) at a time that was also marked by an accelerating divorce rate that became of great concern in both ecclesiastical and civil ranks. Even into the twenty-first century, theologians and church leaders within the Church of England have continued the debate on what were (if any) legitimate grounds for divorce, and what the church's ministry should be to the divorced and to those who seek the church's blessing on a second marriage.

Ecclesiastical Perspectives and Practices

No Protestant DENOMINATION takes delight at the dissolution of a marriage. However, different responses to marital breakdown are registered among the denominations, and even within a single ecclesiastical communion. Historical and current theological reflection affect a denomination's understanding of divorce, as do contemporary approaches to biblical exegesis and interpretation. Social contexts and pressures, civil laws, and customs also have an influence, whether the denomination chooses to accommodate to them or to be countercultural.

The ASSEMBLIES OF GOD ("Divorce and Remarriage," 1973) discourages divorce because of their belief that God hates divorce (cf. Malachi 2:16) and that nothing should separate those joined in matrimony (Matthew 19:6). When both spouses are professing Christians, divorce is not an option (1 Corinthians 7:10–11). However, when one spouse is an unbeliever, divorce is possible in situations in which the unbeliever is guilty of adultery or abandonment, although reconciliation is considered the better course. Under these circumstances, the divorced believer may remarry, but only with a Christian.

Because God instituted marriage and abhors divorce, the Lutheran Church of Australia ("Marriage, Divorce, and Re-Marriage," 2001) recognizes that divorce may be possible, but only in cases of unchastity and willful separation. If a divorced person made an attempt toward reconciliation in the previous marriage, repented of his or her part in its failure, and now expresses the desire to begin a new marriage on a Christian foundation, then a pastor may officiate at the second wedding. The EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA ("A Message on Sexuality," 1996) holds to the permanence of marriage and acknowledges divorce to be the result of human sinfulness, though without specifying particular grounds. The divorced are to be cared for compassionately and given the opportunity for a new relationship by remarriage after counsel by the pastor or other professionals.

Although permanency in marriage is demanded of Christ's disciples, the CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA ("Divorce," 2002) recognizes that persistent SIN may rend the union asunder. Because marital breakdown is the result of sin, the church's ministry must be one of reconciliation and, when necessary, of

discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). In addition, the church is called on to care for the divorced and their children. The church's stance on remarriage is situational: "The church should neither issue a clear prohibition against remarriage nor attempt to list with legal precision the circumstances under which remarriage does not conflict with biblical teaching. The church must apply biblical principles to concrete situations in the light of its best understanding of what happened in a particular divorce and what is being planned for a particular remarriage." A minister of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, at his or her discretion, may conduct the marriage of a divorced person whose former spouse still lives.

Within the Anglican community, the Church of the Province of New Zealand in 1970 permitted the remarriage of a divorced person in the church whose former spouse was still living. The General Synod of the Church of England in 2002 allowed the same but only in "exceptional circumstances," and left the decision whether or not to solemnize the new union to the individual ministers. Despite this option, marriage was still affirmed as a "solemn, public and lifelong covenant"—indissoluble, in the sense that unconditional promises are made for life.

In recognition of the need for pastoral care at the time of divorce, some denominations have proposed rituals that include one or both spouses. The UNITED METHODIST CHURCH published an experimental "Rituals with the Divorced" in 1976 that drew a largely negative response from members and nonmembers alike. However, convinced that some resource was needed, the denomination included in its 1992 *Book of Worship* a prayer ("...grant forgiveness for what is past and growth in all that makes for new life") and selected scripture lessons in a section on healing services. Other Protestant denominations have similarly included prayers or blessings for those with marital difficulties or for the divorced in service books published since the 1990s.

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See also doctrinal statements posted on denominational websites.

KAREN B. WESTERFIELD TUCKER

DOCTRINE

Doctrine, meaning teaching, is an elastic term: its range of use extends from the most solemn determination of ecumenical councils concerning indispensable dogma (“the doctrine of the Trinity”) through a body of tenets and beliefs characteristic of one ecclesiastical community (“reformed doctrine”) to the views of a single theologian on a particular topic (“Pannenberg’s doctrine of the last things”).

The sixteenth-century reformers sought to purify the Western Church from inherited accretions and distortions, and to concentrate, correctively and positively, on the essentials of the Gospel. In the face of tradition their formal principle of doctrine was Scripture, even though “*sola Scriptura*” as a formula may belong to later generations of Protestant ORTHODOXY. In the face of SALVATION as human achievement, the Reformers’ material principle of doctrine was salvation as divine gift, solely on the merits of Christ (*propter Christum solum*), sheerly by GRACE (*sola gratia*), received through FAITH alone (*sola fide*); these are the “exclusive particles” of which the Lutheran Formula of Concord (1580) speaks in connection with “the righteousness of faith before God” (Epitome, III.7; Solid Declaration, III).

Scripture as Formal Principle of Doctrine

In the Formula of Concord, Holy Scripture is affirmed as the sole judge (*iudex, Richter*), rule (*regula, Regel*), plumb-line (*Richtschnur*), and touchstone (*Probersteiri*) by which “all doctrines should and must be known and judged as good or evil, right or wrong” (Epitome, 3): “We believe, teach, and confess that the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments are the only norm according to which all doctrines and teachers alike must be measured and judged, as it is written, ‘Thy word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path’ (Psalm 119:105); and St. Paul says, ‘Even if an angel from heaven came and preached any other gospel, let him be accursed’ (Galatians 1:8)” (Epitome, 1). Confessions in the Reformed (“Calvinist”) line typically insist on the divine inspiration of Scripture: “We believe and confess the canonical Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles of both Testaments to be the true Word of God, and to have sufficient authority of themselves, not of men. For God himself spoke to the fathers,

prophets, and apostles, and still speaks to us through the Holy Scriptures” (Second HELVETIC CONFESSION, 1566, ch. 1).

The degree to which beliefs and practices must be explicitly revealed and authorized in Scripture has sometimes been controversial. Regarding the law of WORSHIP: whereas MARTIN LUTHER allowed hymns “of human composition,” Calvinists for long sang only biblical psalms and canticles, and the English Puritans in their “Admonition to the Parliament” of 1572 even objected to antiphonal recitation as “tossing the psalms like tennis balls.” Regarding the law of belief: JOHN CALVIN could wish that the terms “Trinity” and “person” were buried, provided that those who objected to them—as absent from Scripture and “fashioned by the human mind”—agreed on “the faith that Father, Son, and Spirit are one God, yet the Son is not the Father, nor the Spirit the Son, but that they are differentiated by their particular characteristics”; but in fact, in the face of HERESY, these terms could and should be used as “explaining nothing else than what is attested and sealed by Scripture” (*Institutes* I.13.3–5). JOHN WESLEY, in his sermon “On the Trinity,” declared that he “dare not insist” on others’ using those terms, although he used them himself “without scruple” and looked in substance for a fully trinitarian faith. On the whole, classical Protestantism has been content with the primacy or supremacy of Scripture, allowing for variety in “indifferent” matters (ADIA-PHORA) and for the reflective deduction of doctrines from a scriptural basis, especially where these encapsulate in summary form the complex biblical witness or are necessary to avert its misapprehension.

All Protestants assert the “sufficiency” of Scripture, in the sense that it “containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that is should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation” (Church of England, Article VI).

When read in the same Spirit as they were written, the Scriptures are considered to be in principle “perspicuous.” Nevertheless, MATTHIAS FLACIUS (Illyricus), in his *Clavis Sacrae Scripturae* (1567), acknowledges the difficulties that sometimes occur in the understanding of Scripture: the presence of foreign idioms and literary conventions; the occasional character of the writings; some seeming contradictions in them; the fact that in this life we see God and his mysteries only “*in aenigmate*” The central clue to understanding Scripture resides in knowing “our sickness and Christ as our physician.” Crucial is the relation and distinction that Scripture itself establishes between law and gospel: the law drives us to Christ as the way to the eternal life that the law could only promise but never, because of our SIN, deliver. Flacius points to the many pieces of procedural advice that the Scriptures themselves offer for their own understanding. Nor does the Holy Spirit disdain the use of exegetical rules for the sake of clarity; and, following a notion and practice that goes back at least to St. Augustine, Johann Gerhard of Jena (1582–1637), in the first volume of his *Loci Theologici* (1610), sets out in technical form quite a list of them in the course of 229 paragraphs “on the interpretation of Scripture.” The main points are: Scripture should be understood from within itself; all interpretation should be governed by “the rule of faith,” which consists in the Apostles’ Creed, as itself an excellent summary of sacred doctrine drawn from Scripture, and in the Decalogue, which together compose “the form of sound words in the faith and love of Christ” (cf. II Timothy 1:13); the less clear texts are to be illuminated on the basis of the clearer, on the assumption that there will be no contradiction between them; a knowledge

of grammar, rhetoric, argument, and the original languages is called for; attention must be paid to the larger context and the particular circumstances of a passage as well as its aim; dogmas and requisites for salvation can be established only from the clearer passages and their proper and primary sense. Both Flacius and Gerhard insist that a fruitful reading of the Scriptures requires PRAYER, assiduous study, and spiritual discipline. Scholars have the responsibility of providing good translations and faithful interpretations for the benefit of those who lack learning (see BIBLE TRANSLATION).

So vital is the Scripture principle for self-conscious Reformation Protestants that Gerhard Ebeling, for example, could define “church history as the history of the exegesis of Holy Scripture” (1946; in idem, *Wort Gottes und Tradition: Studien zu einer Hermeneutik der Konfessionen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1964:9–27). Doctrinal history is a story neither of continuous decline nor of continuous development but rather of the decisions of the church in ever renewed attempts to understand and expound Holy Scripture (W.Schneemelcher). Dogma, according to KARL BARTH, is properly “the agreement of the Church’s proclamation with the revelation to which Holy Scripture testifies” (*Kirchliche Dogmatik* I/1:280; *Church Dogmatics* I/1:304).

Subsidiary Standards

The Protestant Reformers acknowledged the utility of subsidiary standards of doctrine—“normae normatae,” themselves governed by Scripture—to safeguard the scriptural message and faith, especially on controversial points.

Thus the Formula of Concord: “Immediately after the time of the apostles, indeed already during their lifetime, false teachers and heretics arose. Against these the primitive Church composed symbols, i.e. brief and explicit confessions, which were accepted as the unanimous, catholic, Christian faith and the confession of the orthodox and true Church, namely, the Apostles’ Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed. We publicly pledge ourselves to these, and we hereby reject all heresies and all teachings that have ever been introduced into the Church contrary to them” (Epitome, 2).

Similarly, in regard to contemporary controversies, the AUGSBURG CONFESSION of 1530 and the SMALKALD ARTICLES of 1537 are affirmed as “the unanimous consensus and exposition of our Christian faith” (ibid., 3). Because these matters affected “the laity and the salvation of their souls,” the signatories of the BOOK OF CONCORD also endorsed Luther’s Small and Large Catechisms, interestingly characterized as “the Laypeople’s Bible,” in which “is briefly comprehended everything that is treated at greater length in Holy Scripture and which a Christian must know for his eternal salvation” (ibid.). Among Lutheran churches the Augsburg Confession has enjoyed a more wide-spread recognition than any other of the sixteenth-century documents, equaled perhaps only by the Small Catechism.

On the Reformed side also, subsidiary standards took shape as CONFESSIONS and CATECHISMS, each bearing strong family resemblances, even though locally formulated. The Second Helvetic Confession of 1566 may be taken as representative also of others that included the First Helvetic (1536), the GALLICAN (1559), the BELGIC (1561), the Scots (1560), and the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION (1647). Whereas the confessions used technical language, the catechisms were more pastorally oriented. Thus the first two items in the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM of 1563:

Q. What is thy only comfort in life and in death?

A. That I, with body and soul, both in life and in death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Savior Jesus Christ, who with his precious blood has fully satisfied for all my sins, and redeemed me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must work together for my salvation. Wherefore, by his Holy Spirit, he also assures me of eternal life, and makes me heartily willing and ready henceforth to live unto him.

Q. How many things are necessary for thee to know, that thou in this comfort mayest live and die happily?

A. Three things: First, the greatness of my sin and misery; second, how I am redeemed from all my sins and misery; third, how I am to be thankful to God for such redemption.

The CHURCH OF ENGLAND included catechisms in the successive versions of its BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (1549, 1552, 1559, 1604, 1662), and considerable doctrinal AUTHORITY was vested in the Prayer Book itself as providing “an Order for Prayer, and for the reading of the holy Scripture, much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers,” such that “nothing is ordained to be read but the very pure Word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same” (“Concerning the Service of the Church”). The English Articles of Religion (1571) mention the two Books of Homilies of 1547 and 1571 as containing “a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times” (Article 35); and Article 11 declares “justification by faith alone” to be “a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as is more largely expressed in the Homily of Justification [no. 3 in the First Book].”

John Wesley abridged the Anglican Articles of Religion for the Methodists in North America, and his version retains its constitutional authority in the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH. The most widespread subsidiary standards in worldwide METHODISM, however, are Wesley’s *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (1755) and the first four volumes of his *Sermons* (1746–1770), which the 1932 constitution of the Methodist Church of Great Britain states “are not intended to impose a system of formal or speculative theology on Methodist Preachers, but to set up standards of preaching and belief which should secure loyalty to the fundamental truths of the Gospel of Redemption and ensure the continued witness of the Church to the realities of the Christian experience of salvation” (Deed of Union, clause 30). In practice Methodism, perhaps more than any other church, has treated hymnody as an informal instrument of doctrine. In his preface to *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People*

Called Methodists (1780), Wesley claimed that the hymnal contained “all the most important truths of our most holy religion, whether speculative or practical,” “a distinct and full account of scriptural Christianity (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS).”

Justification as Material Principle of Doctrine

The classical reformers all took for granted—as undisputed with Rome and as evidence of their own apostolicity and catholicity—the trinitarian and christological determinations of the ecumenical councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, as enshrined in the early creeds and definitions (thus the Augsburg Confession, 1 and 3; Second Helvetic Confession, 3 and 11; Anglican Articles 1–2, 5, and 8). It was over the understanding of salvation—its nature, its mediation, and its location—that the crunch came with the papal church.

The Augsburg Confession, in its article 4 on justification, declares that “we cannot obtain forgiveness of sin and righteousness before God by our own merits, works or satisfactions, but we receive forgiveness of sin and become righteous before God by grace, for Christ’s sake, through faith, when we believe that Christ suffered for us and that for his sake our sin is forgiven and righteousness and eternal life are given to us, for God will regard and reckon this faith as righteousness, as St. Paul says in Romans 3 and 4.” In the Anglican Articles concerning “the office and work of Christ, or our redemption,” similar teaching on JUSTIFICATION is called “the first and chief article,” in which “nothing can be given up or compromised, even if heaven and earth and things temporal should be destroyed,” for “on this article rests all that we teach and practice against the pope, the devil, and the world.” Luther himself called justification “the lord, ruler, and judge of every kind of doctrine, which preserves and governs all Christian teaching” (WA 39/I:205), and “when this article stands, the Church stands; when it falls, the Church falls” (WA 40/111:352). Calvin considered a proper doctrine of justification “the principal article of the Christian religion,” and he stated its importance existentially: “Unless you first of all grasp what your relationship to God is, and the nature of his judgment concerning you, you have neither a foundation on which to establish your salvation nor one on which to build piety toward God” (*Institutes* III. 11.1).

Although none perhaps has insisted on it with such single-mindedness as the Lutherans, other Protestant churches also teach justification by grace alone through faith alone, as in chapter 15 of the Second Helvetic Confession and article 11 of the English Articles of Religion. For Lutherans, Reformed, and Anglicans alike, these articles are accompanied by teaching on original and actual sin (which call for a redemption that human beings can in no way achieve for themselves) and on the good works that are the proper fruit of justification, but never its meritorious cause (Augsburg Confession, 2 and 6, then 18–19 and 20; Second Helvetic Confession, 8–9 and 16; Anglican Articles, 9–10 and 12–14). The Second Helvetic Confession (10) and the Anglican Articles (17) also teach in this connection “predestination to life” and “election of the saints.”

Soteriology is intrinsically connected with ecclesiology. The Augsburg Confession speaks first of the ministerial function of the church: “To bring about such faith [as to

receive justification], God has instituted the office of preaching [*Predigtamt; ministerium ecclesiasticum*], to teach the Gospel and to provide the Sacraments. For through the Word and the Sacraments, as by instruments, God gives the Holy Spirit, who works faith, where and when he pleases, in those who hear the Gospel” (article 5). Only then is “the one holy Church, which will endure for ever” defined as “the gathering [*congregatio; Versammlung*] of saints [*sanctorum*] or all believers [*aller Gläubigen*],” in which—precisely—“the Gospel is purely taught [*docetur*] or preached [*gepredigt*] and the Sacraments are administered rightly [*recte*] or according to the Gospel [*lauts des Evangelii*]” (article 7). Similarly, Anglican Article 19 defines “the visible Church of Christ” as “a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ’s ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.” The Second Helvetic Confession begins its description of the church thus: “Forasmuch as God from the beginning would have men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth [1 Timothy 2:4], it is necessary that there always should have been, and should be at this day, and to the end of the world, a Church—that is, a company of the faithful called and gathered out of the world; a communion of all saints, that is, of them who truly know and rightly worship and serve the true God, in Jesus Christ the Savior, by the word of the Holy Spirit, and who by faith are partakers of all those good graces which are freely offered through Christ” (17).

According to the Augsburg Confession, “it is sufficient for the true unity of the Christian Church that the Gospel be preached according to a pure understanding of it and that the sacraments be administered in accordance with the divine Word [so the German; the Latin has: it is enough to agree (*consentire*) concerning the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments]. It is not necessary for the true unity of the Christian Church that [Latin: traditions or rites or] ceremonies, instituted by men, should be observed uniformly in all places” (7). The English (Article 34) and the Swiss agree that uniformity of rites and ceremonies is not necessary: “The truth and unity of the Church consists...not in outward rites and ceremonies, but rather in the truth and unity of the catholic faith. This catholic faith is not taught us by the ordinances or laws of men, but by the holy Scriptures, a compendious and short sum whereof is the Apostles’ Creed.... The true unity of the Church consists in several points of doctrine, in the true and uniform preaching of the Gospel, and in such rites as the Lord himself has expressly set down” (Second Helvetic, 17). It is this last principle that leads the Reformers to include in their subsidiary standards teaching on the dominical sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper (Augsburg Confession, 9–13, 22, 24; Second Helvetic, 19–21; Anglican Articles, 25–31).

Doctrine and Community

FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, in *The Christian Faith* (2nd edition, 1830–1831), famously defined “dogmatic theology” as “the science which systematizes the doctrine prevalent in a Christian church at a given time” (section 19). That definition prompts the

questions of the senses in which doctrine itself may be descriptive or prescriptive or both, and of whether doctrine, even in a particular community, may shift over time.

The question of description or prescription obliges us to examine who, in the living church, are the bearers of the faith that intends conformity to the documents regarded as authoritative, both Scripture and subsidiary texts, whether these are functioning as sources or as criteria. Because the Holy Spirit is the final instance of Christian teaching (John 14:26; 16:13–15), there is a strong scriptural case to be made for all who have been anointed with the Spirit of truth (I Corinthians 2:4–16; I John 2:20f., 27). From New Testament times, however, there have also been “pastors and teachers” (Ephesians 4:11) with special responsibilities within the believing community (for “teachers,” cf. also I Corinthians 12:28f.; I Timothy 2:7; II Timothy 1:11; James 3:1), as well as “bishops (*episkopoi*)” (Philippians 1:1), who should be “apt teachers” (I Timothy 3:1f; cf. Titus 1:7–14), and “elders (*presbyteroi*)” who “oversee the flock and feed the church of God” (Acts 20:17–28) and “labor in the word and doctrine” (I Timothy 5:17).

The CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG declares that “nobody should publicly teach or preach or administer the sacraments in the church without a regular call” (14); but Lutheran churches have, on the whole, placed less constitutional significance on particular structures of ecclesiastical governance and ministry than either Anglicans or the Reformed have invested in the episcopal or presbyterian patterns they have respectively found in the New Testament. All Protestant churches in practice agree that some human instances are needed to arouse and sustain faith in the congregations, to guide their fellow believers in Christian truth, and to correct those who err. Protestant bodies have tended to synodical organization for units wider than the local congregation. Concomitant with the rise and spread of modern democracy, lay persons have increasingly participated in various ways with the ordained in the pastoral and doctrinal government of the Protestant churches, so that the sharper distinctions between the teachers and the taught have yielded in varying degrees to an interaction in which all may from the start both learn and instruct.

Although anything like “professional theologians” can scarcely be found in the earliest church, Protestantism from its beginnings inherited this medieval development from the universities and schools. Protestant churches recognize a vocation to intellectual theological work as a principal occupation, usually carried out in conjunction with teaching future pastors. Theologians are concerned for the fidelity and internal consistency of doctrine as well as the faith’s communicability. WOLFHART PANNENBERG, perhaps the most considerable Protestant theologian in the generations since Karl Barth, reckons the perennial task of systematic theology to be the critical construction of coherent models of reality that at least render plausible—without yet fully and finally proving its truth—the Christian confession of the Triune God as the creator, sustainer, redeemer, and final savior of the world. Theologians vary in the weight and roles they allow, in the interactive task, to the scriptural and ecclesiastical givens (the “message”) and to the ambient culture (the “addressees”). Tensions may occur between the intellectual freedom claimed by academic theologians as necessary to their work and the concern of the church’s pastoral governance for the stability of communal belief systems; but in principle all seek to subserve the veracity of the Christian faith and the authenticity of its proclamation. The sense of human fallibility affecting any particular

instance of teaching is countered by confidence in the abiding power of God's Word to strike home.

Protestant churches have solemnly rejected what they consider false teachings, from the sixteenth-century anathemas to the "*Verwerfungen*" of the BARMEN DECLARATION of 1934 against the positions of the so-called GERMAN CHRISTIANS. They have sometimes deposed their own pastors and teachers for heresy, when stubbornly persisted in. Very rarely are laypeople excommunicated for mistaken beliefs. Moral discipline is seldom exercised today in the larger churches, although some smaller communities such as the MENNONITES still practice fraternal admonition and suspension from privileges.

Historical Shifts?

Suspicious of what he called "cognitive propositionalism," George Lindbeck, in his much noticed book *The Nature of Doctrine* (1984), put less emphasis on the substantive content of doctrines than on their function as "rules of speech" within an ecclesial community (a "cultural-linguistic" approach); he considered "dogmas" to be irreversible as long as the conditions of their original formulation obtained. History does, however, bring changes in social, cultural, intellectual, and ecclesiastical conditions, and Protestantism has certainly experienced shifts at least in theological fashion, whose effects on the interpretation of formal doctrine have been considerable, even where the official primary and subsidiary standards have remained in place.

The Protestant centuries have seen the development of certain elements that may have been present in the REFORMATION but were later joined by other factors to produce shifts in emphasis and in the overall configuration of the faith. Like the concomitant Renaissance, the Reformation may be understood in part as the contestation of inherited authorities. Thus the attention to the subjective "faith by which one believes" could turn toward INDIVIDUALISM, such that, on the ENLIGHTENMENT front, GOTTFRIED E. WILHELM LESSING could view the right to private judgment as an outworking of Luther's concerns, especially when supported by confidence in universal "reason" (Luther's attacks on reason would have really been directed only against late medieval scholasticism); and on the PI-ETISM front, the "religion of the heart" could elevate "personal experience" over a "dead orthodoxy" and lead, ecclesilogically, to the self-grouping of "real Christians" somehow distinct from the nominal. The rejection of "the authority of the past" found intellectual expression in historicism, whereby previous achievements were subjected to criticism on the basis of "modern" criteria. The "historical conditioning" of both Scripture and tradition was highlighted in such a way as to make their deconstruction possible and their reconstruction necessary: thus the rejection of "miracle" and much else in the biblical texts, and a program such as that of RUDOLF BULTMANN in favor of "demythologization" and an "existential" restatement of the Gospel; or a reading of "the history of dogma" like ADOLF VON HARNACK'S, which evaluated negatively the early "hellenization" of the Gospel and prompted attempts to "de-metaphysicalize" Christianity. Viewing these moves as

reductionistic, some Protestants have swung to an extreme reaction in the form of “FUNDAMENTALISM,” reminiscent in some ways of “Scripture alone,” but now characterized by a “literalistic” reading that often fails to acknowledge the complexity of the Bible, its multiplicity of literary and rhetorical genres, and its traditionally proven openness to constructive interpretation in different senses that do not derogate from its authority and salvific functioning.

Not all developments in Protestant doctrine have stood in such problematic relation to the efforts made in the sixteenth century to reform the (Western) Church. Various movements have sought to rejoin the magisterial reformers in the advocacy of a scriptural Christianity that does not forfeit the catholicity embodied in authentic tradition. Among Anglicans, in particular, a steady stream of patristic scholarship has helped maintain continuity with early Christian doctrine. The twentieth century saw “Luther revivals” of various kinds (KARL HOLL and G.Ebeling in the first and second halves of the century in GERMANY; T. Mannermaa toward its end in FINLAND). Karl Barth, and such pupils as T.F.Torrance, revitalized the classic Reformed tradition, and Barth’s influence in particular extended through wider swathes of Protestantism and even beyond. Attention to Wesley as theologian on the part of such scholars as G.C.Cell, A.C.Outler, and C.W.Williams gave some credibility to the Methodists’ claim of him as their guide to “plain old Christianity.” A doxological approach to doctrine (E.Schlink; J.-J.von Allmen), taken in conjunction with liturgical reform and renewal, has encouraged both Protestants and Roman Catholics to find common ground in worship that is both nourished by the BIBLE and shaped according to patristic patterns. Ecumenical concerns have in fact assumed increasing prominence in Protestantism over the past several generations as part of the broader search for unity in a historically divided Christendom.

Ecumenical Dialogues

In the twentieth century ecumenically minded Protestants engaged energetically in “doctrinal dialogues (*Lehrgespräche*)” (see DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL ECUMENICAL AGREEMENTS). In Europe, the most significant intra-Protestant case focused on the LORD’S SUPPER, a contentious issue since the MARBURG COLLOQUY between Luther and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI in 1529: the agreement between German Lutherans and Reformed on the Arnoldshain Theses of 1957 was consolidated over a broader range of topics and on a wider geographical basis in the Leuenberg Concordat of 1973, and the Leuenberg Church Fellowship has more recently included Methodist churches also. British Anglican churches have produced in doctrinal dialogue with the Evangelical Church in Germany the Meissen Agreement (1988–1991), and with Scandinavian and Baltic churches the Porvoo Agreement (1992–1996), the latter of which was considered sufficient for the establishment of full communion. In North America doctrinal dialogues have achieved sufficient agreement for Lutherans to enter into official communion with both Reformed and Anglicans. The principal Protestant families of churches have, in many countries and globally, engaged in doctrinal dialogue with the Orthodox churches (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN) and especially, in view of

Western history, with the Roman Catholic Church. In this last case, the most dramatic result was the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification (1998–1999), officially signed between the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION: it formally states that the mutual condemnations of the sixteenth century do not touch the common and respective teachings of the two parties as they are now formulated in the document itself; and the consequences of this settlement regarding a key doctrine are awaited for other doctrinal and ecclesiological matters that have been controversial, and even divisive, between Protestants and Roman Catholics (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM; CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). In multilateral ECUMENISM, Protestant churches have engaged energetically in the Faith and Order movement, whose principal achievement was the “convergence text” on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* issuing from the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES’ commission at Lima, Peru, in 1982.

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

DONNE, JOHN (1572–1631)

Anglican theologian, religious author. John Donne was brought up a Roman Catholic (it was rumored that two of his uncles on his mother's side of the family shared between them a relic from the Catholic martyr or English traitor, Sir Thomas More, Donne's greatgreat uncle) and remained keenly conscious of his Catholic heritage. His early years were spent as a student at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as Lincoln's Inn, where he seemed headed for a career as a witty young gallant and a sensual, cynical poet. He traveled broadly in FRANCE and ITALY; was a gentleman adventurer in two of the Earl of Essex's naval expeditions against Spain; worked as secretary for Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper; and, after his romantic marriage to Ann More and subsequent disgrace, did backwork for various patrons before finally becoming ordained in 1615. In 1621 Donne was nominated Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral by King James, eventually becoming, along with Launcelot Andrewes, one of the most widely acclaimed preachers of James's reign.

Donne's religious writings fall into three general groups: The first group includes religious lyrics and satires, mostly written during the first decade or so of the seventeenth century. The most famous of these are the "Holy Sonnets," dramatic and intensely personal expressions of anguished guilt and appeals for divine grace and mercy. The second group is a series of occasional prose tracts: *Biathanatos* (1608), an apologia for suicide; *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), a defense of the oath of allegiance; and *Ignatius his Conclave* (1611), a satire on the Jesuits. The third group includes sermons and other devotional writing. *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624), a series of meditations Donne wrote while dangerously ill, reveals the primary characteristics of all Donne's later religious writings: an intense and very material preoccupation with physical and spiritual sickness; an acute analysis of the often paradoxical psychological urgencies of a mind in turn dejected, turbulent, or exalted. Some 160 of Donne's sermons survive, thirtyfour of them written on the *Psalms*. Like his *Devotions*, Donne's sermons are unique in the intensity of their portrait of personal religious experience, and in the consistency of their focus on sickness and sin as the defining condition of human existence.

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A.LEIGH DENEFF

DORT, CANONS OF

The Canons of Dort are an early and important doctrinal statement of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. The some one hundred delegates to the Synod of Dort drafted and approved the Canons during their 180 sessions at the town of Dordrecht (English Dort) between November 1618 and May 1619. Also known as the Five Articles against the Remonstrants (see REMONSTRANTS), they were prepared in response to the theological challenge posed by the followers of JACOB ARMINIUS (1559–1609). The controversy focused above all on the question of PREDESTINATION. Yet it soon encompassed other doctrinal issues, including the character and extent of ATONEMENT, human corruption and depravity, the nature of divine GRACE, and the possibility of a total fall from grace. The dispute, which had smoldered within the Dutch Reformed community for some time, erupted in 1604. The Canons themselves were a vigorous, point-by-point refutation and response to a subsequent 1610 declaration formulated by the Arminians (see ARMINIANISM). Together with the BELGIC CONFESSION OF FAITH (1561) and the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563), the Canons formed a precise doctrinal standard of Dutch Reformed belief during the decisive initial period of the REFORMATION.

The gathering at Dordrecht was, strictly speaking, a national SYNOD of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. The official deputies—pastors, elders, and theological experts—were by and large firm Calvinists. Thirteen Remonstrant theologians were also present, but their discussions with the delegates were shrill, if not acrimonious. The Remonstrants were eventually deemed obstructionists and expelled. Finally, attendance by twenty-six representatives from eight foreign countries, principally the German principalities, Swiss city-states, and British Isles, lent the synod a decidedly international flavor with concomitant significance. Altogether, the Canons enjoyed wide circulation and were the subject of extensive discussion long after their formulation.

Arminius had been a pastor at Amsterdam and later professor of theology at the University of Leiden. Although he had studied at Geneva with THEODORE BEZA, Arminius eventually broke with Calvinist ORTHODOXY on the doctrine of predestination, moderating in particular the Calvinist stance on predestination of the reprobate (see CALVINISM). His followers formalized these views in an official Remonstrance, which they presented to the Estates of Holland and West Friesland in 1610, several months after his death. In light of this petition, they were dubbed “Remonstrants.” Their Remonstrance called for a national synod to revise the Belgic

Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. More specifically, it asserted five articles of faith that the petitioners deemed a necessary revision of prevailing Calvinist understanding. Briefly, these theological views, as elaborated in the Remonstrance and elsewhere, were that (1) God has from eternity elected those who believe in Christ and persevere in their faith; (2) Christ atoned for all humanity, but only believers will be saved; (3) regeneration and CONVERSION are dependant on the gift of the Holy Spirit; (4) all good works are the result of the operation of grace in the believer, but this grace is not irresistible; and (5) all such believers will be aided in their faith, although Scripture must be examined closely to determine whether they may fall from grace.

The nature of the Remonstrance indelibly colored and shaped the character of the Canons, whose authors insisted on that which they considered proper Reformed doctrine, all the while explicitly rejecting the views contained in the Remonstrance. The structure of the Canons reflects their purpose. Drafted in Latin and replete with strong biblical language, they are divided into chapters, or Heads of Doctrine, which reply in turn to each of the five articles of the 1610 Remonstrance. But the Canons have only four chapters, having collapsed Heads of Doctrine Three and Four into one, because no controversy existed over point three of the Remonstrance. Each head provides a lengthy exposition of what its authors regarded as the correct theological position on the subject. The explanations are followed by specific repudiations of the alleged errors of the Arminians.

The first, crucial Head of Doctrine maintains divine predestination. It affirms unconditional ELECTION—the belief that election was not founded on foreseen faith or any human disposition. In addition, God has not elected all persons; some have been passed over in the eternal election. A long list of rejected errors is attached. The second head deals with Christ's DEATH and human redemption. The essential theological point is an avowal of particular or limited atonement, as opposed to what its authors regarded as the Remonstrance's position of universal atonement. The third and fourth heads are combined, and consider human corruption and conversion to God. As such, they underscore the total incapacity of humanity. Divine grace, moreover, ultimately cannot be resisted. Again, the Canons reject what the delegates to the synod took to be the Remonstrants' belief in humanity's partial depravity and the possibility of resisting God's grace. The fifth and final head discusses the perseverance of the SAINTS, ruling out any possibility of their lapse from grace, an error attributed to the Remonstrants. The Canons' concluding remarks reiterate the Synod's affirmation of orthodox DOCTRINE and vigorous rejection of Remonstrant errors.

The Canons of Dort mark a critical consensus among the resolute Calvinist ecclesiastical authorities in the NETHERLANDS. They worked jointly to draw up the Canons and affixed their signatures on completion. During the decades that followed the Synod, the Canons became the basis for an imposed unity and uniformity among the Dutch Reformed churches. Some 200 nonconforming pastors were dismissed, and the Remonstrants found themselves generally persecuted. Several were forced into exile. The result of this intense struggle was the dominance of a strict Calvinist orthodoxy within the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

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RAYMOND A.MENTZER

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK (1818–1895)

American slave, freedman, abolitionist, and author. Frederick Douglass embodied African-American engagement with evangelical Protestantism. He received religious instruction from enslaved blacks and free whites. He joined a Baltimore church around 1830 and, as a runaway, was licensed in Massachusetts in 1839 to preach in the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH. He criticized American churches for tolerating SLAVERY, but his criticisms were not faithless. Central Protestant theological issues, such as the relationship between human activity and divine providence, remained important to him, and he published some important writings in evangelical periodicals.

Douglass made two significant contributions to Protestantism—culminations of trends commencing in black religion around 1770. First, Douglass articulated a standard of CONVERSION relevant to a society marred by slaveholding and racial inequity. The slaveholders' standard was manumission of their slaves; the slaves' standard was the determination to be free. African American religion by 1845 had resolved two problems in conversion in the pietistic tradition—the converts' self-centeredness and the conversion narratives' focus on the self even while recommending self-abnegation. The slaves' desire to be free, articulated in the slave narrative, could never be understood as selfish. Second, Douglass racialized the spiritual autobiography that by 1800 had become a staple of popular Protestantism. He sacralized blacks' yearning for liberation. Of global significance in religious history, Douglass confirmed the evangelical Protestantism of most black North Americans. Neither animism, Islam, nor Roman Catholicism, all known in West Africa, promoted individual freedom as vibrantly as evangelical Protestantism could or offered blacks a tradition of popular autobiographies that could justify both individual freedom and opposition to slavery.

See also Evangelicalism; Slavery, Abolition of

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JOHN SAILLANT

DRUMMOND, HENRY (1851–1897)

Scottish professor and writer. The most enduring work of Henry Drummond is his study of 1 Corinthians 13, *The Greatest Thing in the World*. It was first published in 1887 and has never been out of print.

Born in Stirling, SCOTLAND, August 17, 1851, to a financially comfortable, religious family, Drummond proceeded to New College (theological). In the fall of 1873, he entered the University of Edinburgh at age fifteen and 1873, he interrupted his studies for two years, assisting DWIGHT L. MOODY'S first mission to Britain in the inquiry room and speaking at follow-up meetings. Later, Moody said of his friend Drummond, "He is the most Christ-like man I ever knew."

In 1877, Drummond was made Lecturer, later Professor, of Natural Science at Free Church College, Glasgow. His effort to reconcile evolution with Christian thought, published as *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883), and released just before he left on a ten-month exploration of central AFRICA, became a best seller and made him famous. *Tropical Africa* (1888) detailed his experience. Other essays circulated widely and were collected posthumously in a volume titled *The Ideal Life* (1897). A dapper dresser who never married, Drummond worked in the Boys Brigade movement and pioneered university student Christian work from 1884 until his final illness.

Drummond's first visit to America was an 1879 geological expedition to the Rocky Mountains. He returned in 1887 to speak at colleges, at Moody's summer conference at Northfield, Massachusetts, and to receive his only degree, an honorary doctorate, from Amherst. In America and CANADA in 1893, he lectured at Lowell Institute (*The Ascent of Man*, 1894), Harvard, and Chicago and visited friends.

The first stages of a debilitating disease, perhaps bone cancer, began in the spring of 1894, and Drummond died at Tunbridge Wells, March 11, 1897. He is buried in Stirling.

See also Darwinism; Nature; Creation Science

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THOMAS E.CORTS

DU PLESSIS, DAVID JOHANNES (1905–1987)

South African pentecostal leader. David Johannes du Plessis, a descendant of French HUGUENOTS and father of the charismatic or neopentecostal movement, was born in SOUTH AFRICA in 1905. There in the 1930s he was the General Secretary of the Apostolic Faith Mission, a pentecostal organization. According to du Plessis, in 1936 Smith Wigglesworth, a British pentecostal evangelist, prophesied to him that he would become a world leader in causing the pentecostal doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, evidenced by speaking in TONGUES and other supernatural gifts, to be recognized by the mainline churches.

Du Plessis was one the architects of the Pentecostal World Conference launched in 1947, and in 1949 became its first General Secretary. He believed that PENTECOSTALISM—considered an offshoot of Protestantism—was for all Christians regardless of DENOMINATION. He maintained that the work of the Holy Spirit overrode ecclesiastical boundaries and took this message to leading American universities and SEMINARIES, including Princeton and Yale.

Du Plessis became a pentecostal ambassador to the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and also to the Roman Catholic Church. He was a Protestant operating within Catholic circles, and in 1964 was an official observer at the Second Vatican Council.

David du Plessis's work has occasioned admiration and condemnation; regarded by some as a champion of Christian unity helping to bring Catholicism and also Protestantism with its evangelicals and pentecostals all together; but considered by others as having undermined the REFORMATION. The David J. du Plessis Center at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California houses his archives.

See also Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Evangelicalism

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THOMAS A. WELCH

DUBOIS, WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT (1868–1963)

Author, editor and educator, civil rights leader. DuBois was a towering figure among twentieth-century black leaders with a keen sense of mission to free black America. He was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He had a Christian upbringing and was a devoted Christian in his youthful days, accompanying his mother to a nearby Congregational Church at Great Barrington. He studied at Fisk (Nashville), Harvard, and Berlin and subsequently taught at Wilberforce and Pennsylvania universities. He also served as director of publications for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), as editor of *Crisis Magazine* (1910–1932), as editor of *Atlanta University Studies* (1897–1911), and as editor of *Phylon Quarterly Review* (1940–1944).

DuBois became secretary of the NAACP, but in 1948 he left the association. He advocated total elimination of discrimination and equality of all races. He was a major speaker at the All African Conference held in Accra, Ghana in 1958 where he advocated socialism over capitalism (see SOCIALISM, CHRISTIAN). Three years later, at the age of ninety-three, he joined the Communist party. He was invited to Ghana by the first prime minister of the country, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Consequently he returned to Ghana in 1961 as a voluntary exile where he died two years later as a citizen of Ghana.

Apart from his background in the Congregational Church, his major significance for Protestantism lies in the fact that he influenced and worked in close association with the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH (A.M.E.Zion), which became strongest in North Carolina in 1820. The A.M.E.Zion Church was a religious/Christian variant of the black consciousness movement. DuBois collaborated with Bishop Alexander Walters, bishop of the A.M.E.Zion Church in the African Association in London, which held a conference in July 1900. Sylvester Williams who founded the association was the general secretary; Walters was the president while DuBois served as chairman of the Committee on Address.

See also Civil Rights Movement; Slavery, Abolition of

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CEPHAS N.OMENYO

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Deeply rooted in North Carolina METHODISM, Duke University has always maintained meaningful and friendly relations with the Methodist church. The university traces its origins to a primitive, one-room school that the Methodists and Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) of Randolph County, North Carolina, jointly organized in 1838. The following year Brantley York, the school's principal and a Methodist preacher, converted the school into Union Institute.

Moving on to other work in 1842, York was succeeded by his young assistant, Braxton Craven, also a Methodist preacher, and for the next forty years Craven was to be the chief sustainer of the school. Hoping, in vain as it turned out, to gain monetary support from the state, Craven arranged in 1849 for the school to be incorporated as Normal College, with the primary mission of training young men to become school teachers. Disappointed by his inability to gain financial support for Normal College from the state, Craven turned to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and offered to give preministerial training to aspiring preachers. The church conference responded warmly to the proposal and in 1856 adopted the college as its own. Accordingly, in 1859 the school became Trinity College and sought to grow as a Methodist liberal arts institution.

Although Trinity College, unlike many similar schools, managed to survive the CIVIL WAR, it was desperately poor. Only Craven's determination and sacrifices allowed the school to survive, although gradually there developed a small body of alumni who cherished the institution. When Craven died in 1882 Trinity faced a crisis: its financial situation was so bleak that there was talk of closing the college and selling the property (which was not much). Three trustees, however, all Methodist laymen and prominent businessmen, stepped into the breach to save Trinity. They not only did that but also hired a twenty-nine year-old Pennsylvanian and Yale graduate, John F. Crowell, to become Trinity's president.

Among many revitalizing ideas that Crowell introduced, the most important was his conviction that if Trinity was serious about its ambitions, then it would have to move from its rural, isolated location in Randolph County to one of North Carolina's livelier, more prosperous manufacturing towns in the Piedmont region. Therefore, in 1892, in response to generous offers of money and land from two Methodist laymen in Durham—Washington Duke and Julian S. Carr—Trinity opened its doors there. Whereas the economic depression of 1893 only made a bad situation worse in North Carolina, Trinity

had the good fortune in 1894 to name as Crowell's successor a spellbinding Methodist preacher from South Carolina, John C. Kilgo.

Responding quickly to Kilgo's charismatic leadership and impassioned preaching, Washington Duke, the patriarch of the Durham family that was growing rich in tobacco and textiles, offered Trinity \$100,000 in 1896 if it would admit women on "an equal footing" with men. The college promptly agreed and Trinity became coeducational long before most of its peers. Other significant gifts to the college continued to come from Duke and two of his sons, Benjamin N. and James B. Duke. The problem of financial support that had so haunted Craven was finally solved through the generosity of the Duke family.

Long before Kilgo became a Methodist bishop in 1910 and was succeeded as president by Methodist layman William P. Few, Trinity had begun to move cautiously toward university status. Benjamin and James Duke underwrote a small but high-quality law school in 1904; there was also talk of a medical school, and the department of religion grew steadily with help from the Methodists.

In 1921 President Few conceived the idea of organizing a major research university around Trinity College and gradually sold the plan, with constant help from Ben Duke, to the wealthiest member of the family, James Duke. The dream became a reality in December 1924 when Duke University was born. The institution's ties with the Methodist church, however, continued exactly as they had been earlier—friendly and steady, but not constricting. That is, both Kilgo and Few felt deeply that, although it was important to maintain certain formal ties with the Methodist church, it was equally important that there should be a certain arm's-length aspect to the relationship. Committed church bodies, like state legislatures, sometimes responded to popular, fleeting passions and could cause serious trouble for educational institutions.

In practice this meant that first Trinity and then Duke had a self-perpetuating board of thirty-six trustees who nominated their own successors. The charter provided that the older North Carolina Conference of the Methodist church should "elect" (actually "ratify") one-third of the trustees, the newer Western North Carolina Conference another third, and the alumni the final third. Aside from some financial support to Duke's ecumenical divinity school from the Methodist conferences and a wide variety of cooperative ventures, the charter's provision about the trustees remains the historic symbol of Duke University's relationship with Methodism.

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ROBERT F. DURDEN

DUTCH PROTESTANTS IN AMERICA

Dutch Protestants in America are products of JOHN CALVIN'S (1509–1564) Genevan reformation, which spread to FRANCE, ENGLAND, the German Palatinate, and the Low Countries. Under Prince William of Orange, Dutch patriots rallied around the Calvinist (Reformed) faith to throw off Catholic Spanish rule and establish the Dutch Republic, with the *Nederlands Gereformeerde* (later *Hervormde*) *Kerk* (Netherlands Reformed Church) as the established church. This body defined its THEOLOGY and POLITY in the historic national Synod of Dort (1618–1619) (see DORT, CANONS OF). Roman Catholics held their ground in the provinces below the Rhine River, but the nine provinces north of the Rhine became overwhelmingly Protestant. In 1815, the population comprised 60 percent Reformed, 38 percent Roman Catholics, and 2 percent Jews, Mennonites, and other Protestants. In 1834, the Netherlands Reformed Church suffered a schism when a conservative minority, despite severe persecution, formed a free church, the Christian Seceded Church.

Immigration

Dutch immigrants brought this religious history as part of their cultural baggage. In the nineteenth century, 80 percent were Reformed and less than 20 percent Catholic. Of the Reformed immigrants, 20 percent belonged to the Seceded Church. In the UNITED STATES a second schism occurred in 1857, which divided the Dutch Reformed Church into two rival denominations.

The Dutch immigrated to America in three waves: the Dutch West India Company colony of New Netherland beginning in the 1620s; the nineteenth-century free migration to the Midwest; and the planned migration after the Second World War, when the Dutch government encouraged its dispirited citizens to emigrate overseas to relieve overcrowding and wide-spread deprivation.

The colonial migration brought 7,000 Dutch to the New World in the forty years before the English seized New Netherland in 1664. This number increased to 100,000 by 1790, when the Dutch comprised one-sixth of the populace within a fifty-mile radius of New York City. From 1820 to 1920, 250,000 Dutch came; most congregated within fifty

miles of Lake Michigan, led by the flagship colony of Holland, Michigan. The pioneer colony of Pella, Iowa was the nest for colonies in upper Midwest, especially Orange City. In 1945–1965, another 80,000 Dutch came, many with one-way steamship tickets paid by their government. The Dutch Reformed Church in America is a direct offshoot of these immigration waves, and church life and theological debates bear the stamp of Netherlandic origins.

Founding the Dutch Reformed Church

One of the oldest American denominations, the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church (after 1867, the Dutch Reformed Church in America) was founded in 1628 in New Amsterdam (later New York City), under the auspices of the Classis of Amsterdam of the Netherlands Reformed Church, by Jonas Michaelius (1577–1646), the first ordained minister in New Netherlands. Director Peter Minuit, who purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for \$24, began Reformed worship in his home. He and his successors permitted “no other services than those of the true Reformed Religion.” Leading clerics in New Netherlands were Everardus Bogardus (1607–1647) in New Amsterdam, from 1633 to 1647; Johannes Megapolensis (1601–1670) in Rensselaerwyck (later Albany) from 1642 to 1649 and in New Amsterdam from 1647 to 1670; Samuel Drisius in New Amsterdam from 1652 to 1673; and Gideon Shaats in Beverwyck (later Albany), from 1652 to 1694.

Although only the Reformed faith was publicly funded, private WORSHIP was allowed to other Protestants and even to Catholics. However, when twentythree Dutch Jews from Brazil came seeking refuge in 1654, Governor Peter Stuyvesant and the Reverend Megapolensis wanted to throw the “godless rascals” out. This “deceitful race,” the governor declared, “must not be allowed to infect and trouble this new colony.” But the West India Company’s board of directors in Amsterdam overruled the governor and, much to his chagrin, ordered him to “connive,” that is, to allow the Jews to remain, provided that they cared for their own poor, as all non-Reformed colonists were required to do. Profit took precedence over profession.

The English government, after seizing the colony in 1664, guaranteed freedom of religion to the Dutch Reformed Church (see TOLERATION). Fresh immigration ceased and government monies were cut off, but the Dutch Reformed Church remained the dominant religion and culture. Filling the pulpits was the major challenge; only six clerics were available to serve twenty-three congregations in 1700. Aspiring colonial clerics had to cross the ocean to take seminary training and ordination in the NETHERLANDS. In 1776, the Dutch Reformed Church counted more than 100 congregations, centered in New York and New Jersey.

The Dutch language was used in worship services and catechetical instruction until 1762, when English services began. Sunday worship included Genevan psalm singing and prayers, but the focal point was the sermon, which was often doctrinal and always lengthy. One sermon each Sunday expounded on the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM, one of the three Dutch Reformed confessions, called the “Three Forms of Unity.” Dutch

CALVINISM was shaped theologically by its stress on the sovereignty of God and God's COVENANT with believers (see COVENANT THEOLOGY). Culturally, the Reformed stressed vocation as a "calling," which led to a strong work ethic and directing every task to the "glory of God."

Americanization

The First and Second Great Awakenings and the American Revolution greatly impacted the Dutch Reformed Church (see AWAKENINGS). Its leaders generally frowned on the New Measures, as employed by GEORGE WHITEFIELD (1714–1770) in the 1740s and CHARLES G. FINNEY (1792–1875) in the 1820s, for giving too much credence to "free will" over God's sovereign decree. But both Whitefield and Finney were quasi-Calvinists by upbringing and profession, and many Dutch Reformed Church members embraced their revivalist methods (see REVIVALS). One result was factionalism—"Old Side/New Side" factions in the eighteenth century, and "Old School/New School" parties in the nineteenth century. The Reverend Theodore Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1692c. 1747), who from 1720 served Dutch Reformed congregations in central New Jersey for twenty years, was the leading preacher of the New Birth. American revivalism thus modified traditional Dutch Reformed theology and polity as formulated in the Canons and Church Order of Dort.

Dutch Reformed teachings about human nature, covenants, and the nexus between freedom and virtue helped inspire the Whiggish American Revolution and the Constitution. (The Netherlands was the first government to recognize the new American nation in 1782.) Most Dutch Reformed Church members supported the Patriot cause, although more than one-third of the CLERGY were Tories. Internal tensions were exacerbated by depredations of the British armies, who viewed the Dutch as enemies and occupied many of their churches.

The war had a further fallout; it brought to a head a lengthy debate over whether or not the American church should remain under the Classis of Amsterdam. The progressive, pro-American party, called the "Coetus" (pronounced "seetus"), strongly demanded the right to train and ordain its own ministers in America, and they established Queens (later Rutgers) College in 1766 to do so. The traditional, pro-Dutch party, called the "Conferentie," favored the status quo under Amsterdam's control. The deeper issue was the pace of Americanization. In 1771, the Reverend Dr. John Henry Livingston managed to bring the factions together in a Union Convention, and in 1784, he helped found New Brunswick Seminary, the oldest in the nation.

In 1792, Livingston led the CHURCH to break with Amsterdam and form an American, "voluntary-membership denomination" with its own LITURGY, polity, and constitution. The document, in an echo of the First Amendment's disestablishment clause, allowed for freedom of conscience for every member, which was a weakening of the Reformed creedal basis and a sharp departure from the Dort church order. The new church constitution gave clerics greater latitude to reinterpret cardinal Reformed doctrines, such as ELECTION and limited ATONEMENT, in favor of the rising spirit of

ARMINIANISM that came to full fruition in the Second Great Awakening. Weekly sermons from the Heidelberg Catechism also fell away in many churches. In 1822, under the leadership of theology professor Solomon Froeligh (1750–1827), a number of New Jersey churches seceded from the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church—the name adopted in 1819 to distinguish it from the German Reformed and other Reformed bodies—and formed the True Reformed Dutch Church.

The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church did not fare well in the new democratic religious age, with its popular revolt against Calvinist doctrines and an educated clergy. Like other denominations with Calvinist roots—Anglican, Presbyterian, and Congregational—the Dutch fed on internal growth but gained few converts on the frontier, in comparison to the “upstart” Methodists and BAPTISTS with their evangelistic efforts. “Marrying Dutch” (i.e., within the denomination) was so common as to be a cliché, and almost every Dutch Reformed cleric had a close relative in the profession. All five sons of Frelinghuysen, for example, were ordained.

True (Christian) Reformed Church

New immigration from the Netherlands, beginning in the mid-1840s, saved the day for the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church and boosted its mission efforts on the midwestern frontier. The first major accession was in 1850, when the Reverend Albertus C. Van Raalte, leader of the Holland (Michigan) Colony, founded in 1847, arranged for the nine congregations in the Classis of Holland to affiliate. Some families refused to go along, however, believing that the Reformed Church of the East was so Americanized as to have left the orthodox way in faith and practice. Some 10 percent of the member families of the Classis of Holland seceded in 1857 and formed the “True” Dutch Reformed Church (later the CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA). That year, the Noon Day Prayer Meeting at the Fulton Street Dutch Reformed Church in New York City sparked a religious revival that spread nationwide.

The two Dutch Reformed churches competed for members and their church buildings often stood within eyesight of one another. The True denomination, with its old Dutch ways, received most of the new immigrants and grew rapidly, eventually gaining parity with the senior denomination. But the Reformed Church also attracted its share of immigrants, especially in the Midwest, which created a cultural division between the old American Eastern wing and the young Western wing. The immigrant churches were more conservative theologically and culturally; they slowed the process of change and blocked merger movements with German Reformed and Presbyterian bodies that Eastern leaders orchestrated.

Two new Dutch Reformed denominations emerged in the twentieth century, both largely the result of conservative secessions from the Christian Reformed Church. These are the Protestant Reformed Church (in 1922) and the United Reformed Church (in 1995). Several smaller Reformed groups also exist. Since about 1950, a growing number of Dutch have joined Baptist, Pentecostal, nondenominational, and independent churches,

some of which also espouse Reformed theology. Upwardly mobile Dutch increasingly affiliate with mainline Protestant denominations, especially Presbyterian bodies.

A significant factor in the growth of the Christian Reformed Church was its staunch refusal to accept Freemasons. The Reformed Church had long permitted such members. This prompted a second schism in the 1880s, which led several thousand Reformed Church members (10 percent), mainly in the Midwestern congregations, to switch to the Christian Reformed Church. Furthermore, the mother church in the Netherlands, which viewed FREEMASONRY through the lens of the anti-Christian French ENLIGHTENMENT, in 1882 began strongly advising its immigrating families to affiliate with the Christian Reformed Church. This decision, which coincided with the increasing immigration from the northern Netherlands in the 1880s due to a severe agricultural depression, brought thousands of devout families into the junior denomination.

Starting after 1900, the Christian Reformed Church developed a national system of Christian day schools (K-12), to raise up biblically and doctrinally literate church members. These parent-controlled schools became the feeders of the church, and led to intermarriage within the covenant community. They were modeled after Netherlandic schools that gained full public funding under Dr. ABRAHAM KUYPER, the foremost Calvinist leader in the Netherlands from 1880 to 1920. Until the 1970s, over 80 percent of Christian Reformed families enrolled their children in *onze* (our) schools, which are conjoined in Christian Schools International, which today includes 300 schools with 60,000 students in the United States.

In contrast, the Reformed Church in America supported public schools. The 1892 General Synod declared that the “Common School is vitally essential to the fusing of the heterogeneous elements of our population into one nation.” This resolution reflects the denomination’s three centuries of assimilation. Their youths would be “salt and light” in public schools.

Reformed Dutch liberal arts colleges include Hope (1866), Central (est. 1853, became Reformed in 1916), Calvin (1876), Northwestern (1882), Dordt (1955), and Trinity Christian (1959). Theological seminaries, in addition to New Brunswick, are Western (1866), Calvin (1876), and Mid-America (1982). Lay missionaries train at Reformed Bible College (1937) (see CHRISTIAN COLLEGES; BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTIONS; SEMINARIES).

Today the two largest Dutch Reformed denominations number about 280,000 each. The Reformed Church remains headquartered in New York City; the Christian Reformed “Zion” is in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Both bodies include Canadian congregations. Post-1945 immigrants to CANADA compose 28 percent of Christian Reformed Church membership, which strengthened its flagging “Dutchness.” The more “Americanized” Reformed Church is affiliated with the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Grand Rapids is also the national center of Christian book PUBLISHING, with four firms—William B. Eerdmans, Zondervan, Kregel, and Baker Book House—all founded by interrelated Christian Reformed immigrants.

Dutch Reformed Church groups share a common “world and life view,” rooted in a strong diaconal tradition, which has led them to establish human service institutions—“Holland homes” for the elderly, mental health hospitals (Pine Rest in Grand Rapids,

Michigan; Bethesda in Denver; and Goffle Hill in Paterson, New Jersey), homes for special needs children and adults, institutions for troubled youth and women in transition, day care centers, an international child welfare and adoption agency (Bethany Christian Services), and world relief organizations.

Notables

Dutch Protestants claim three U.S. presidents: Martin Van Buren, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt cherished his Reformed Church heritage.

The Reformed Church pioneered in foreign MIS-SIONS in Asia and the Middle East, under Samuel Zwemer (1867–1952), missionary to Arabia and Egypt, and Ida Scudder (1870–1959), medical missionary in INDIA. NORMAN VINCENT PEALE (1898–1993), though non-Dutch, pastored New York City’s seminal Marble Collegiate Church for more than fifty years (1932–1984). In 1955, Robert H. Schuller (b. 1926) founded the Crystal Cathedral in southern California.

Leading Christian Reformed theologians include Gerhardus Vos (1862–1949) of Princeton Seminary, Louis Berkhof (1874–1957) of Calvin Seminary, Cornelius Van Til (1895–1987) of Westminster Seminary (Philadelphia), and Peter Eldersveld (1911–65), radio minister of the denominational “Back to God Hour” program. Christian ETHICS professors include Henry Stob (1908–2000) of Calvin College and Lewis Smedes (b. 1921) of Calvin and Fuller Seminaries. Scholars in Reformed philosophy include Alvin Plantinga (b. 1932) of the University of Notre Dame and Nicholas Woltersdorff (b. 1932) of Yale University.

Dutch Reformed denominations today stand with at least fifteen other Reformed bodies, but the combined Dutch membership of 750,000 (one-third of whom are Canadian), pales in comparison with the total of six million Reformed in America members. Dutch Reformed presses, periodicals, books, and academic and social institutions play a large role in the evangelical community (see EVANGELICALISM). In the defense of biblical AUTHORITY and commitment to cultural transformation, the Dutch Reformed Church has made a mark on American Protestantism far out of proportion to its numbers.

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DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH (GEREFORMEERDE KERK)

The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) had its beginning in the sixteenth century and became the established church in the Protestant Dutch Republic, although Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom (see DISSENT). The DRC was Calvinist in doctrine and survived serious doctrinal conflicts. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the DRC became a pluralistic church. The NETHERLANDS lost its typical Protestant stamp after the French Revolution, and the influence of the DRC on society waned. Several schisms hampered the DRC, and the secularization of the twentieth century caused a great loss in membership. In reaction, the DRC showed a new missionary and ecumenical zeal after World War II.

Founding of the DRC

The organization and the doctrine of the *Gereformeerde Kerk* or Dutch Reformed Church evolved gradually during the persecution of the REFORMATION by the Spanish government and its suppression by the Roman Catholic Church. Reformed groups arose in the southern provinces of the Low Countries in the 1550s, when numerous groups from inside and outside the country had already paved the way for new religious ideas. The Reformation movement was marked by several influences, including sacramentalism, ANABAPTISM, CALVINISM, the Modern Devotion, and biblical humanism. From the start of the reign of the Spanish King Philip II in 1559, the situation deteriorated for the Dutch Reformation movement. In an attempt to explain its intentions to the government, the Reformed pastor Guido de Bres, following the French example, formulated the BELGIC CONFESSION in 1561, which was immediately given confessional status by the DRC. From 1566 Reformed people fled persecution in the Netherlands, and congregations were formed in ENGLAND and GERMANY while the Netherlands rebelled against Spain. At the Convent of Wezel (1568) and the Synod of Emden (1571), these congregations agreed on unification and certain ecclesiastical standards. The HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563) was adopted along with the Belgic

Confession. From 1572 the DRC reappeared as a predominantly Calvinist church in the liberated parts of the Netherlands, and the first national synod was held in Dordrecht in 1578.

Established Church

The DRC became the established church in the Dutch Republic, although the government tolerated the Catholic church and other dominations, like the Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM) and the Anabaptists. A minority of the Dutch adhered to the Reformed faith and only part of this minority were confessing members of the DRC. Nevertheless, the DRC was dominant in society, especially because EDUCATION was part of its task. It was not just its confession but also its Calvinistic piety and life- and worldview that permeated Dutch society. Public offices could be held only by members of the DRC.

The first serious test for this partnership was the struggle over ARMINIANISM in the early 1600s. Arminius held the eternal election as a fruit of FAITH, whereas according to the Calvinist doctrine faith is a fruit of ELECTION. This disagreement led to serious tensions in both church and state. The matter was settled at the international synod of Dordrecht (1618/ 19), which formulated the CANONS OF DORT, rejecting the Arminian viewpoints and stressing the Calvinistic character of the DRC's doctrine. Together with the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession, these canons were adopted as the doctrinal basis of the church, the so-called Three Forms of Unity. This synod also accepted a democratic church order, which functioned for almost two centuries. Maurits, prince of Orange and the informal head of the state, settled the dispute all over the country, replacing unwilling magistrates with loyal ones. State and church preserved unity, a unity that was fostered by the synod's decision to issue a new Dutch translation of the BIBLE, financed by the States-General of the Republic, the so-called *Statenbijbel* (1637). This translation exerted a unifying force with unsurpassed influence on Dutch language and culture and was replaced by a new translation only in 1951. This feat could not hide that tensions in the relationship had surfaced during the Arminian dispute. The state guarded its interests with zeal, and never again during the Dutch Republic was the DRC (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW) allowed to convene a national synod. The influence of the state included the governor's right to attend synodical meetings, the right of the local magistrates to accept or reject a minister, but also the obligation to pay him and to defend and uphold the DRC. Concord in society was the aim of the magistrates. For this reason the dominant position of the DRC included a tolerant attitude toward dissenters, Jews, and Roman Catholics and dismissal of overly strict ministers. The Republic was renowned for its freedom of conscience. Most books published in the seventeenth century were printed there, and persecuted Christians, like the French HUGUENOTS, often fled to the Republic for the sake of freedom.

The economic success of the early Dutch Republic was based on the development of Amsterdam as a stable market for international trade, organized and regulated by trade companies. At the trading posts founded in INDIA, AFRICA, and America the DRC also established congregations. The best known is the DRC founded in New Amsterdam (New

York) in 1628. A full-grown American denomination developed out of this church. Known today as the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, its congregations are located mainly in New York, New Jersey, and Michigan. Until they became independent in 1792, these churches were part of the classis of Amsterdam. In 1867 the church deleted the word “Dutch” in its name, although the Dutch language and hymns were still present in services at certain occasions until about 1900. Its constitution is still in accordance with that of the DRC and consists of the Three Forms of Unity.

New Religious Trends

Despite the prolonged dominant position of the DRC, the reformation of Dutch society was not as successful as might have been expected. Some groups argued that the Reformation in the Netherlands had stalled halfway. An international movement for ongoing reformation of personal life and society gained influence in the Netherlands as *Nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation). This movement played a substantial role in the church, thanks to theologians like Voetius, the founder of the university of Utrecht (1636). These groups engaged in long-running disputes on issues like the observance of the Lord’s day with theologians like JOHANNES COCCEJUS (1603–1669), who defended a more historical interpretation of Scripture. Concern for CONVERSION, personal piety, and SALVATION took precedence over concern for social reform and the Christian life.

This emphasis on personal religion coincided with the stressing of personal convictions over authoritative opinions, as promulgated by ENLIGHTENMENT philosophers. They emphasized the need for religious tolerance. This was already practiced in the Republic, but the DRC was still the predominant public church. This historical privilege was at odds with the Enlightened theory of the equality of all people and the ideal of tolerance (see TOLERATION). In the eighteenth century, the influence of the *Nadere Reformatie* became entangled with the Enlightenment movement among both the Reformed and dissenters. In Enlightened fashion, theologians tried to synthesize reason and revelation. Classic Reformed theological positions were adapted to the spirit of the times: God was an impersonal *primus movens*, the Christian life was a matter of virtues, and Christians were rewarded for their virtues in an afterlife. Reformed theology became thin in these years and just clung to the old standards, although the DRC continued to be an important institution, mainly because its preaching upheld prudent civil behavior. The idea of the fatherland became the cohesive factor in society instead of the confession of the divine guidance of Dutch history.

After the French Revolution

In 1795 the Dutch Republic was occupied by the French and finally collapsed. A Batavian Republic was founded in which the ties between church and state were severed, according to the principles of the French Revolution. All existing churches received equal protection, and state offices were open to all. When the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was created in 1813, King William I of Orange adopted the Napoleonic idea of a uniform state supported by a uniform DRC—to which 55 percent of the Dutch people at that time belonged. The DRC—now called *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*—accepted the king’s control, which meant a fixation of the theological status quo and a loss of self-governance by the provincial and local bodies. This was the low ebb in the history of religious freedom in the Netherlands. Meanwhile, a countermovement to deistic rationalism and rigid ORTHODOXY had arisen in eighteenth-century Europe in the form of the Methodists (see METHODISM) and the MORAVIANS and of ROMANTICISM in general. The REVEIL movement gained importance within Christian circles in the Netherlands from the 1820s, whereas quite a few Reformed people gathered in CONVENTICLES on weekdays because the Sunday services did not match their doctrinal and liturgical standards. Protests of the Reformed against the new hierarchy and Enlightenment theology led to the Secession of 1834. Several ministers were excommunicated for disobedience to the church order and the small groups that left the DRC thereupon were fined and imprisoned whenever they gathered. With the new constitution of 1848, the Seceders received the right to organize their *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* (Christian Reformed Church) freely. The DRC synod regained its freedom in church matters, but the DRC kept its link with the state, though in a less prominent way than was the case before 1795.

A Divided Church

The synod governed the DRC but did not decide theological disputes when several theological schools gained ground in the nineteenth century, from MODERNISM, with its rejection of the supernatural, to a neo-Calvinistic theology, which advocated a return to the confessional standards and to the decentralized governmental structure of the seventeenth century. Famous theologians like J.H. Scholten, P.Hofstede de Groot, and ABRAHAM KUYPER (1837–1920) tried to adapt the DRC to modern times. Their differing opinions led to serious disputes and controversies within the DRC and resulted, on the one hand, in a church without a distinct character, irreligiousness among the elite, and a massive loss of laborers to the Socialist movement and, on the other, to a rapid growth of nonestablished churches, like the REMONSTRANTS and the Reformed. In the year 1886 and following, about 10 percent of the members of the DRC left. These so-called *Dolerenden* (Lamenters), led by Kuypers, merged in 1892 with a majority of the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* and founded the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (Reformed Churches). Less than half the Dutch population now belonged to the DRC.

Still claiming to be the church of the fatherland, it entered the twentieth century in a state of confusion and dismay, whereas the smaller but cohesive Reformed Churches dominated the Protestant scene for about half a century. Within the DRC, several groups organized to alter the character of the church: the Confessionals, who, inspired by Ph. J. Hoedemaker, tried to restore the church; their more outspoken Reformed allies, the Ethicals; and the Liberals. This period of confusion lasted until the 1920s, when the rise of the theology of KARL BARTH (1886–1968) and the emergence of gifted theologians like K.H. Miskotte and O. Noordmans gave a new impulse to the DRC and its theology. Under the influence of Barth's struggle against German National Socialism, the DRC looked beyond its sixteenth- and seventeenth-century standards to confess her belief anew in the face of the challenges of the twentieth century.

In the meantime, membership of the DRC had dwindled down to one third of the Dutch population in the 1930s; the percentage of Dutch nonbelievers had grown to fourteen percent in the 1930s. In these dramatic circumstances, a movement took hold in the 1920s and 1930s in the DRC for reorganization of its governmental structure and for return to its basics. This movement seemed to fail until the war and the German occupation of the Netherlands accelerated this process. Nazi terror and the spiritual and material needs of the Dutch forced the DRC to speak out for its confession and made her relevant within Dutch society as a whole. This new confidence combined with the urge to reorganize, resulting in a general synod—the first since 1619—that accepted a new church order, which was implemented in 1951. Although not a return to the Dordrecht order, several elements were retained: congregations were represented in the governmental bodies again, and a formula was agreed upon regarding the function and status of the Three Forms of Unity: “confessing in community with our forefathers.” The influence of Barth was dominant in the new church order; liberals were criticized for relying on the concept of the human being as a religious being, and the orthodox were criticized for relying on their knowledge of God's will.

New Self-Consciousness

The DRC presented itself as a church that confessed Christ for the Dutch people as a whole. This meant that, according to its understanding of the structure of the divine covenant, the DRC also included those who had not expressly left the church. This self-understanding also implied that it should have a missionary, apostolic attitude. By assuming this role, the DRC claimed a responsibility for Dutch society, not only in concord with the state, as in former days, but in its own right, over against the state, if need be. In the 1950s and 1960s the DRC formulated its opinion on social issues on a regular basis. In the 1960s the ordination of WOMEN (see also WOMEN CLERGY) was accepted, although parts of the DRC never acquiesced to this decision. When Dutch society polarized in the 1960s, polarization got hold of the church as well. The DRC lost many members as a result of growing secularization and became marginalized in Dutch society. The secularization and the internal tensions tempered the pretensions of the DRC and led to new contacts with the *Gereformeerde Kerken*. These churches had experienced

two schisms since its formation in 1892 and had also had difficulties in coping with secularization. From the 1960s on, both churches began talking together about a possible merger, a process called *Samen op Weg* (Together on the Way), joined by the small Lutheran Church in 1986. Since that year the churches have been in a “state of reunion.” The strong Reformed minority of the DRC has serious concerns about the union, although the merger of the three churches will be effectuated in 2004. The new church will be called the *Protestantse Kerk in Nederland* (Protestant Church in the Netherlands).

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GEORGE HARINCK

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN AFRICA

The Dutch Reformed Church, or Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), is the dominant Afrikaner church in SOUTH AFRICA. Founded in 1652, when the first Dutch settlers came to South Africa, the NGK has been the church of the Afrikaner establishment and was closely linked with the racist policies of apartheid from 1948 to 1994.

Theologically the Calvinist NGK stresses God's sovereignty, human sinfulness in a fallen world, and the redemptive work of Christ, not only in saving human souls but also transforming culture, through the work of the Holy Spirit in the Christian community.

Their stress on transforming human culture led the NGK to work on shaping a "New Jerusalem" in South Africa. The Afrikaners saw strong parallels between themselves as the people of God, and the biblical nation of Israel, which led them to focus on the Old Testament rather than the New.

In the early years the NGK was an interracial church in which whites and blacks worshipped together. Some white Afrikaners came to object to drinking out of the same cup as black Christians during the LORD'S SUPPER. The Synod (annual general meeting) of 1857 proposed that "as a concession to the prejudice and weakness of a few, it is recommended that the church serve one or more tables to the European members after the non-white members have been served." This recommendation came in spite of the church's recognition that the BIBLE taught that all Christians ought to worship together. In addition the Synod recommended that "if the weakness of some requires that the groups be separated, the congregation from the heathen should enjoy its privilege in a separate building and a separate institution." This concession soon grew into a policy of separating white and non-white churches, and eventually led to formation of separate mission churches for non-whites in South Africa.

In 1948 the NGK minister, Daniel Malan, became Prime Minister of South Africa and established apartheid, in which not only the churches but the entire society was segregated by race. The NGK supported and defended Malan's policies on theological grounds.

The NGK gradually found itself ostracized by virtually the entire Christian community, to the point that in 1986, the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES declared apartheid to be HERESY, and broke off fellowship with the NGK.

The Afrikaner community responded with a feeling that it was an embattled minority struggling to be obedient to God while faced with hostile forces all around trying to prevent it from doing so. This sense of threat—from the black majority and from the powerful English supported by liberal world opinion—led the Afrikaner churches to entrench themselves in their racist and exclusivistic ideology.

The church and South African society as a whole took an abrupt about-face in the early 1990s, when South Africa abolished apartheid and developed a multiracial government and society. The NGK has supported these developments wholeheartedly and has gradually been welcomed back into the worldwide community of Christian Churches.

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NEIL LETTINGA

DWIGHT, TIMOTHY (1752–1817)

New England theologian. Dwight was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, May 14, 1752, the son of Timothy (Major) Dwight and Mary Edwards, oldest daughter of distinguished Puritan divine, JONATHAN EDWARDS. In 1777 he married Mary Woolsey, with whom he had seven sons. In 1795 he became president, chaplain, and professor of THEOLOGY at Yale College, where he died January 11, 1817.

Like his grandfather, Dwight entered Yale at the age of twelve, and there he studied JOHN LOCKE'S philosophy, rhetoric, poetry, and the arts. When in 1771 he was appointed a tutor by the college, he worked with several colleagues, the most prominent of whom was Joel Barlow, to seek an authentic American literary style. Dwight's experiments with poetry, such as *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785) and *Greenfield Hill* (1794), fell short of his literary aspirations but communicated Dwight's feelings about America's destiny. In 1774 Dwight joined the College Church as a professing member and rededicated himself to serving God, and in 1777 he was licensed to preach by the Congregational church. That same year he became a chaplain to the Continental Army.

Accepting the invitation to Greenfield Hill in 1783 marked the beginning of Dwight's life work, advancing the cause of evangelical Christianity in the nation. He published the first of many arguments, an anonymous poem *The Triumph of Infidelity*, against the "infidels," whom he believed threatened the Protestant establishment of New England. These perceived enemies of Christianity were as varied as Deists, Universalists, or President THOMAS JEFFERSON. He also began the series of sermons that would be his theological statement, *Theology Explained and Defended*. The return to Yale gave him a pulpit to address not only New England, but also the nation. Claiming the mantle of the Edwardian TRADITION, he constructed a Christianity informed by empirical rationalism and pragmatism that was the foundation for the PREACHING of the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS). Through his students, among whom were LYMAN BEECHER and NATHANIEL TAYLOR, he declared that the Christian religion and New England CULTURE mutually supported each other and could create the KINGDOM OF GOD in America. The Protestant crusade of the nineteenth century proceeded on the basis of this claim.

See also Deism; Unitarian Universalist Association; Universalism

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ANNABELLE S.WENZKE

E

ECCLESIASTICAL ORDINANCES

When it became clear that the earliest Protestants were not going to be able to secure the reforms they wanted within the structure of the Roman Catholic Church, they began creating new ecclesiastical institutions. To give these institutions shape, they drafted new laws or ordinances, which in effect became constitutions for reformed churches. These ecclesiastical ordinances were normally first drafted by a clergyman for a city, and then adopted, usually with a few revisions and amendments, by the city's government. Many of these ordinances were later revised and extended to cover broader areas, an entire province, even a kingdom.

Perhaps the first complete set of ecclesiastical ordinances was drafted for the Hanseatic city of Stralsund by the Lutheran theologian Johannes Aepinus (1499–1553) in 1525. It provided for the selection of clergymen whose primary function would be to preach, thus providing a significant break with Catholic parish priests whose primary function had been to administer the sacraments. It provided for schools to teach children basic skills and Scripture, with additional provision of Latin schools to prepare students for professions. It also provided for the care of the poor through the creation of a common chest. The Stralsund Council added the provision that one of the preachers would have general charge of the entire establishment, becoming its superintendent.

This pattern was duplicated again and again by clergymen all over Europe. There were some who became particularly well known for the ecclesiastical ordinances they drafted and often then implemented. One of these was JOHANNES BRENZ (1499–1570), who drafted an ordinance for the city of Hall and the surrounding territory in 1526, and then went on to become one of the leading creators and leaders of new ecclesiastical institutions in the principality of Württemberg. Another was JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN (1485–1558). He drafted ordinances for a number of leading cities in north GERMANY, including Braunschweig in 1528, Hamburg in 1529, and Lübeck in 1531. He also assisted in creating ordinances for wider territories, including Pomerania in 1535, DENMARK between 1537 and 1539, and Schleswig-Holstein in 1542. The ordinances drafted by Bugenhagen followed the same basic pattern as those of Aepinus and Brenz. They typically created an office of superintendent and provided for the selection and supervision of preaching clergy, the establishment of schools (both elementary and advanced), and a common chest to finance the church and assist the poor. They also, however, added a good deal. Bugenhagen began the practice of adding details on the rituals to be practiced by clergymen that became an ever more important feature of later Lutheran ecclesiastical ordinances. They often became liturgical manuals as much as constitutions, sometimes even appending an entire catechism or confession of faith.

A significantly different pattern was devised by JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) for the city of Geneva in 1541. Unlike the Lutheran ecclesiastical ordinances, it made no provision for a superintendent. It did include provision for selecting a first order of ministers called pastors, on the basis of their willingness to accept received theology, their skills as preachers, and their willingness to live according to strict moral precepts. The second order of ministers, called doctors, taught in schools, both on elementary and advanced levels. The fourth order of ministers, called deacons, gathered and administered assets for the relief of the poor. Its most important innovation, however, was a third order of ministers called elders. Their function was to gather with the pastors once a week in a new institution called the Consistory, to supervise the behavior of everyone in the community and to see to it that Genevans not only accepted correct belief but also behaved in a truly Christian manner—in short, to exercise discipline. The only powers they could use in enforcing their judgments were admonition and excommunication, and it took some time before their right to excommunicate was generally accepted. Once it was, however, they shaped the Genevan community in powerful ways and made it a model either feared or respected throughout Europe.

This Genevan pattern proved enormously influential. It was extended and imitated throughout those parts of Europe that turned Reformed or Calvinist rather than Lutheran and was revised to fit entire nations in books of discipline, notably one adopted for the Protestants of FRANCE in 1559 and for SCOTLAND in 1560.

Ecclesiastical ordinances thus served throughout Europe to consolidate the Protestant REFORMATION, and to give it an important ongoing structure.

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ECCLESIOLOGY

Ecclesiology is the theological study of the nature and characteristics of the church. It is concerned primarily with the theological identity of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church of Jesus Christ and secondarily in a derivative sense with the identities of particular churches (denominations). This article focuses on programmatic and formal aspects of ecclesiology rather than on the biblical material, the substantive issues, and the seminal theologians.

The Scope of Ecclesiology

Ecclesiology has undergone a renaissance since the 1960s, thanks to the impetus of the significantly titled *Church Dogmatics* of KARL BARTH, the revolution in Roman Catholic attitudes to other churches at the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), and the ecumenical movement and its stimulus to theological dialogue on the nature of the church. Ecclesiology is one of the most creative areas of theological activity today.

The term “ecclesiology” derives from Latinized forms of the Greek *ekklēsia* (church, assembly, congregation) and *logos* (reasoned discourse). As a major department of the theological enterprise ecclesiology stands alongside such traditional theological disciplines as fundamental THEOLOGY (the methods, norms, and sources of theology), anthropology (the theological study of human nature), soteriology (the theological exploration of salvation), and ESCHATOLOGY (theological reflection on the last things and the fulfilment of God’s purposes in history).

Ecclesiology embraces a wide range of subdisciplines. It may take the form of objective study of the church as an institution, an enduring, structured organization, and will then need to draw on nontheological academic approaches, such as those of sociology and statistics. Theological work on the ministry, the SACRAMENTS and LITURGY, and the forms of oversight and structures of governance in the church also fall under the purview of ecclesiology.

Ecclesiology and Missiology

The relationship between ecclesiology and MISSIOLOGY is particularly interesting. There is a sense in which missiology is a subdivision of ecclesiology, for it is the church that is mandated to mission and it is the lay and ordained members of the church who engage in it. Mission is not the act of freelance individuals who bear no relation to the church, but is an activity of the church. Mission is, therefore, an ecclesial matter. On the other hand, mission is greater than the church, taking its rise in the *missio dei* that springs from God's eternal being and purpose. The church plays its Godgiven part as an instrument of a purpose that transcends it.

Missiology, the study of the principles and practice of Christian mission (including EVANGELISM/evangeli-zation) is therefore a major theological discipline in its own right. However, ecclesiology and missiology should always go hand in hand. A study of the church that is not orientated to mission will tend to be inwardlooking and uncritical. Reflection on mission that is not geared to the WORSHIP, ministry, and oversight of the church is likely to be rather freewheeling, individualistic, and unaccountable. An ecclesiology for our time, an age of pluralism of faiths and consumerist materialism—as well as of spiritual searching and New Age syncretism—will be infused with mission concerns and insights. Now that the momentum of Barthianism, Vatican II, and ECUMENISM has slackened, it seems likely that ecclesiology will take its direction from missiology in the immediate future and so find fresh energy.

The fact that ecclesiology today is conducted in the context of a pluralism of world religions and secular worldviews lends it an “apologetic” dimension; it will always have one eye on the claims of alternative positions. It will need to show why the Christian vision of divine community is valid and can be justified in the face of criticism and indifference. Ecclesiology needs to be persuasive, to engage in advocacy, and to set out its credentials. It will strive to bring to light the Christian understanding of the church as the body of Christ, to lead the enquirer beyond the institutional face of the church (and of the churches), and to reveal its mystical nature.

The Ecumenical Context

Ecclesiology today also needs to take the ecumenical context seriously. On the basis of gradual growth in mutual understanding and respect through virtually a century of the ecumenical movement, the churches now stand in an unprecedented relationship to each other. Through their association in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) and national councils of churches (or equivalents) and through theological dialogue, they recognize, implicitly or explicitly and to one degree or another, the one church of Jesus Christ in each other. The churches stand in a relation of mutual reception (drawing from each other's life and theology) and mutual accountability. That is to say, they are in various degrees of communion (*koinonid*) with each other.

Because ecclesiology in an ecumenical age is compelled to recognize the degree of communion that exists between churches, it cannot be merely confessional. In confessional ecclesiology we tend to define our own church over against other churches, as though they were not also and equally church. Ecclesiology must be pursued in an explicitly ecumenical manner, so that different ecclesial voices are invited to participate in the discussion, and conclusions are formulated in a way that is sensitive and respectful to ecumenical partners. The fullest expression of this approach is found in the work of the World Council of Churches Faith and Order Commission, and its most fruitful outcome so far is the report *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (1982).

A Viable Ecclesiology

A good deal of ecclesiology in the second half of the twentieth century reflected the culture of modernity (see MODERNISM). It was optimistic, expansive, and even grandiose. Self-criticism and humility were not its most obvious characteristics. Ecumenical ecclesiology has often been conducted in the stratosphere, drawing up ideal models of a united church, without sufficiently reflecting on the ambiguities of the concept of unity itself or the intractable difficulties of implementing a strong organizational concept of unity. It has not been sufficiently grounded in practical realities, including the hard-won convictions and well-winnowed practices that help to form the identities of particular churches. As modernity gives way to post-modernity, a somewhat chastened ecclesiology—one that is pursued in a more tentative, exploratory, piecemeal, and down-to-earth way—is appropriate. It needs to find a voice that is practical and realistic and can point to incremental ways forward to greater unity in mission.

A Feminist Ecclesiology?

FEMINIST THEOLOGY has not been drawn to ecclesiology. Christian feminists tend to be ambivalent about ordination. The dominantly androcentric, patriarchal, and sexist character of historic Christianity provokes alienation from the institutional church. Feminist ecclesiology often espouses a radically alternative vision of church, one shaped by women for women. However, feminist theologians who have remained within the historic churches point out that the church has given women much as well as denying them much. Feminist ecclesiology wants to reshape the church's self-understanding and to transform its practice. This involves a critique of CHRISTOLOGY that emphasizes that it was human nature, created in the image of God, not merely the nature of the human male, that was united with the Word in the Incarnation. Feminist ecclesiology goes on to deconstruct the biblical and traditional images of the church as the body or

bride of Christ, before setting about reconstructing ecclesial imagery along androgynous lines, stressing the mutuality of women and men.

Strength and Weakness

The Protestant traditions of ecclesiology are marked by a critical principle: The gospel is more important than the institution, spirit is superior to structure. Catholic ecclesiology, on the other hand, stresses that structure is necessary for the spirit to work and that the institution is the essential vehicle of the gospel. It is Protestant shorthand to say that the gospel—and only the gospel—constitutes the church. What this slogan means is that Christ constitutes the church as his mystical body through the power of the gospel, which is tangibly embodied in word and sacrament. These two concrete expressions of the gospel make Christ present in the community. Thus, Protestant ecclesiology has centered around the twin foci of Word and Sacrament. In this sense, the gospel is the radical critical principle of Protestant ecclesiology and relativizes every institutional structure of ministry and oversight.

The weakness of Protestant ecclesiology has been the tendency to equate the spiritual with the invisible and the worldly with the visible. MARTIN LUTHER and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON had to defend themselves against the charge that they were postulating a purely Platonic church, one removed from concrete reality. KARL BARTH and FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER played off the unchanging inward essence of the church against the changing outward form. To this extent Protestant ecclesiology veers toward docetism and gnosticism, whereas Catholic ecclesiology is typically in danger of idolizing the institutional expression of the church. However, institutional structures of ministry and oversight are needed in every properly constituted church. The tension between the authenticating power of the Gospel and the structures that are necessary to facilitate its work generates much of the creative energy of ecclesiology.

Of course, anyone, Christian or not, may take up ecclesiology or any other aspect of theology, but it makes a difference if one loves the church as such—and one's own church, too. Christians often need to be given permission to love the church. Then ecclesiology becomes a joy and a privilege. However, theologians, like other Christians, sometimes have a lovehate relationship with the Church/church, which can result in destructive elements creeping into ecclesiology. Ecclesiology should be constructive and conducted in an irenic, ecumenical spirit as far as possible, but without being bland and the ecclesiastical equivalent of politically correct. Only occasionally, and where necessary to maintain a lively dialogue, should it be fiercely polemical, in the spirit of the Reformers and their antagonists alike.

See also Church

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PAUL AVIS

ECOLOGY

“Ecology” etymologically derives from the Greek *oikos+logos*, or “study of the household.” Herein lies a clue to its modern usage: both the branch of scientific study called ecology and the popular movement regarding the proper treatment of the natural environment accent living things in relation, depending as in a household on one another.

As a recognizable social and moral movement, ecology arose in the late 1960s following the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in the UNITED STATES. Many early writings of the ecology (or “green”) movement were secular, even antagonistic to Christianity, alleging it encouraged humankind to view the nonhuman, natural world entirely instrumentally. Development of this critique issued in the charge of “anthropocentrism” or human-centeredness. In response, the great chorus of Christian theological writing on ecology or environmental ethics in the final quarter of the twentieth century opened on a defensive note. Some theologians, drawing on PROCESS THEOLOGY or FEMINIST THEOLOGY, have pressed for a radical reform of Christianity based on the new ecological consciousness. Yet others, accenting common biblical ideas such as creation stewardship, have maintained that Christianity is inherently ecological, even if this requires rediscovery.

Historical Protestant Thought

Protestantism can claim a history of ecological concern. In prayers published in 1910, WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH confessed that “in the past we have exercised the high dominion of man with ruthless cruelty, so that the voice of the Earth, which should have gone up to thee in song, has been a groan of travail” (Rauschenbusch 1984:223). Further back, the typical pattern of classical Protestant systematic THEOLOGY opened with an exposition of “God the creator” of all things. So JOHN CALVIN speaks of the “excellence of divine art” apparent in the “whole workmanship of the universe.” Hence, ecology as the study of relations in the natural *oikos* is contained within the DOCTRINE of creation. Intriguingly, KARL BARTH places ETHICS there also; it concerns human work, formed on the creative work of God. For Barth, Sabbath rest locates the meaning of human and divine work in creation and redemption, because the Sabbath celebrates the

completed work of God. Creation, consequently, cannot be for mere use; rather, we glory in its dizzying variety and, as in Genesis, properly steward it as *gift*. Indeed, the strength of the concept of stewardship preserves classical REFORMATION Theologies like Calvin's from maintaining that creation is solely for human benefit, as secular critics allege. Earthly things are "entrusted to us, and we must one day render account of them" (Calvin 1559:III,X,5).

Contemporary Ecology and the Bible

One strand of contemporary Protestant ecological thinking has continued to emphasize creation and stewardship. American evangelical Christians have favored stewardship language with its clear biblical roots. Paul Santmire has accented this biblical and Reformation legacy, attempting an "ecological reading of biblical faith." Acknowledging Christianity's ambiguous ecological record, Santmire maintains Christianity is inherently ecological and resists the radical reorganization of Christian thought according to recent trends. The ecological challenge has no quick answer—the BIBLE teaches that life's struggles are complicated and hard—but Christians can respond from within their TRADITION with thoughtfulness and care.

Biblical emphasis among Protestant fundamentalists on environmental issues has led to controversy. American Secretary of the Interior (1980–1983) and ASSEMBLY OF GOD church member James Watt publically noted that "the Lord may come soon" when speaking of ecological policy; to some this implied the environment need not be protected. Bible reading, many LIBERAL PROTESTANTS contend, can therefore hardly be sufficient; instead, theology must be radically transformed by ecology.

New Ecotheologies

Searching for "deep ecology" in theology, while yet accenting creation, thinkers such as Matthew Fox and Thomas Berry have attempted to reconstruct a "universe story" that depends on evolutionary theory but sees all created things as deeply interconnected. On both thinkers' admission, the Christian tradition, although providing insight, is inadequate to the ecological reorientation required by current knowledge about the interdependency and fluidity of the universe.

In a related reorientation, citing Alfred North Whitehead's view that the universe was a process, open-ended in its ultimate destination, process theologians such as John Cobb have advanced a speculative view of God and nature unfolding together. Such theology hopefully can empower Christians and others to live as activate participants in the rich variety of interwoven and evolving communities that make up the unfolding world.

A third set of thinkers, "ecofeminists," have linked hierarchical models of AUTHORITY to the domination and destruction of the natural environment wrought by

Western cultures. An earthier, embodied feminist theology can result in revolutionized understandings of how humankind and nature relate. Catholic feminist Rosemary Ruether has directed this critique toward ENLIGHTENMENT philosophies that develop sharp distinctions between humans and NATURE. Because these philosophies sustain liberal Protestantism, ecological rethinking may need also to transcend it. Indeed, the pervasive intellectual instability of POSTMODERNISM introduces unclarity about where the radical ecological critique will lead. Perhaps fittingly, ecotheology is in flux, and likely will be for some time.

Practical Outcomes

Despite differences, the various ecological theologies agree on increased need for “green” sensitivity and on policies that protect the environment. Indeed, predominantly Protestant bodies have issued practical recommendations, such as the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES’ *101 Ways to Help Save the Earth*. Theology cannot reduce to policy and recommendations, for at the heart of Christianity lies a vision of interdependencies in the *oikos* between human beings, God, and creation. Because Protestantism inspired the rise of capitalist modernity (as MAX WEBER maintained), it may indeed be implicated in the human abuse of creation rooted in the denial of these dependencies (see MODERNISM). However, the pragmatic orientation of Protestant thought and its commitment to reexamine cultural practices in the light of the biblical witness suggest both a deep theological/ecological reexamination and practical ecologically sensitive behavioral changes are both within its future reach.

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CHARLES R. PINCHES

ECONOMICS

Protestant theology has been a fertile source of reflection on economics. Many Protestant theologians contributed to the development of the discipline and the entrepreneurial lifestyle of many Protestant church members encouraged economic growth in their societies. In the twentieth century Protestant churches engaged in dialogue about economic development worldwide, whereas in recent decades there has been great interest in the economic potential of Pentecostal congregations in the developing world.

The two great Reformation theologians who wrote on economic life were MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN. Luther developed an account of VOCATION (*Beruf*), although there is no single work in which he reflects on the meaning of employment. He argued that love of neighbor is fulfilled through daily work, which becomes a divine ordinance. The four orders of creation where God expresses God's will are the FAMILY, the state, employment, and the CHURCH. Any form of work can express a vocation by which we serve God and enable society to be preserved. Such an understanding of society means that vocation applies to all people and the governance of this ordering is by law and not gospel. This teaching enabled late medieval society to break free of an ethic where only religious employment was of value. In medieval teaching, *praecepta* were ethical maxims for all Christians but *consilia* were for the minority who were ordained or in religious orders. Luther swept this distinction away.

However, Calvin was to take Luther's teaching considerably further. Calvin argued that the proof of ELECTION was demonstrated by the fruits of daily life, especially in employment and one's calling. The three ethical maxims that Calvin enjoined were diligence in lawful callings, ASCETICISM in regard to consumption, and the constructive use of time. All this led to what was later called the Protestant work ethic. Calvin put it well when he wrote: "We know that people were created for the express purpose of being employed in labour of various kinds, and that no sacrifice is more pleasing to God than when everyone applies diligently to one's own calling, and endeavours to live in such a manner as to contribute to the general advantage." The Calvinist interest in stewardship created a new work-force that responded to the discipline of work. Protestant beliefs encouraged a moral and ascetic work-force.

Calvin also provided an exegesis of Deuteronomy 23:20, which enabled the restrictions on usury to be put aside. He claimed that this restriction applied only to the Hebrews. Usury should be regulated but it could be allowed. Calvin fixed the maximum rate of interest for the parishes of Geneva at 5 percent, prohibited exacting interest from

the poor, and allowed ministers to invest for interest. Calvin transformed scriptural exegesis by arguing that money could be used to create wealth in the same way as land. This was not entirely a free market, however. The new technology in Calvin's day was printing and Calvin regulated the industry carefully.

In the centuries succeeding the REFORMATION the teaching of Protestantism was consistent on the nature of work. Some Protestant theologians also contributed to the study of economics, especially the nineteenth-century Scottish minister THOMAS CHALMERS.

Chalmers argued for a free market alongside a campaign of charitable giving that would replace state welfare (see CHARITY). He was deeply influential among business leaders in nineteenth-century SCOTLAND. However, it was to be the American WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH who next contributed to an analysis of the market economy. He was a Baptist pastor in New York in the 1890s who challenged both society and the churches to engage with "men out of work, out of clothes, out of shoes, out of hope." Rauschenbusch launched the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement, which argued that the moral dimension of economics must always be considered by Christians. Shortly after this, MAX WEBER wrote his famous study in 1904 in GERMANY on "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," in which he claimed that economic development occurred in cultures that had a strong Protestant ethic to encourage entrepreneurial behavior. These two dimensions of the moral response to economics, and the contribution Protestant values and beliefs make to economics, have shaped the debate ever since.

Contemporary debates on economics divide on the ethics of the free market and whether this is a "status confessionis" for Christians. Those who argue this include Ulrich Duchrow, a German theologian, who has published many books through the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC). He has argued for radical church protest against the involvement of the Western Protestant churches in the capitalist economy. He believes contemporary capitalism is demonic; he was a major influence at the 1983 Vancouver Assembly and the 1991 Canberra Assembly of the WCC. Another German Protestant theologian committed to socialist economics is JÜRGEN MOLTMANN, although his views differ slightly from those of Duchrow. Moltmann argues for "economic co-determination and control of economic power by the producers."

There are many Protestant theologians and churches that would disagree with any adoption of socialist, or Marxist, economic beliefs. Among the critics of this approach would be the English Anglican theologians Ronald Preston and John Atherton. In the UNITED STATES, Lutheran Robert Benne and Methodist J.P. Wogaman would have a similar debate about the free market. Lord Griffiths in England is a Protestant banker who espoused the neoclassical economics of the Conservative Government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. His books argue for the need to adopt free market economics.

Finally many Pentecostal churches in AFRICA, Asia, and Latin America, as well as in the Western world, have become agents of economic renewal in impoverished societies.

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PETER SEDGWICK

ECUMENICAL AGREEMENTS

The twentieth century has been the era of ecumenism, the effort, both formal and informal, both domestic and international, to bridge the chasms that have divided not only the various Protestant churches but Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches as well. The goals of these ecumenical efforts has ranged from organizing common local activities, such as ecumenical Thanksgiving Day services in the United States, to “altar and pulpit fellowship,” where the churches involved allow exchange of clergy both for preaching and celebrating the Lord’s Supper. An important aspect of the twentieth century ecumenical momentum has been the organizational merger of different denominations, such as the merger of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church into the United Church of Christ or the formation of the United Methodist Church. In countries such as Nigeria, Canada, or India, the ecumenical momentum has entailed the formation of “united” or “uniting” churches.

Perhaps the most important, albeit not widely known, phenomenon in this connection has been a number of ecumenical agreements reached in Europe by various churches. The Leuenberg Agreement of 1973 instituted church fellowship or “full mutual recognition” among some 85 Lutheran, Reformed, and United (Lutheran and Reformed) churches all over Europe even including five churches in Argentina and Uruguay. In 1988, agreement was reached in Meissen, Germany, between the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and the 24 Lutheran, Reformed, and United churches in Germany that comprise the Evangelical Church of Germany (EKD) with regard to pulpit and altar fellowship. The *Meissen Common Statement’s* six paragraphs identify ten agreements in matters of theology but acknowledge the unresolved difference over the historic episcopal succession. This latter point of unresolved disagreement prevented the mutual recognition of ministries in the Meissen Statement.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Chairmen of the EKD Council and the Church Leaders’ Conference of the Federation (Bishops Kruse and Demke) solemnly signed the Meissen *Common Statement* in Westminster Abbey in January 1991. A second signing of the *Statement* took place in February 1991 in Berlin. The two parties declared their intention to “take all possible steps to closer fellowship in as many areas of Christian life and witness as possible, so that all our members together may advance on the way to full, visible unity.”

In 1993, a similar agreement to enter into fellowship was reached at Porvoo, Finland, between the Church of England, the Church of Ireland, the Church of Wales on the one side and the Scandinavian Lutheran Churches, together with the Lutheran Churches of Iceland, Estonia and Lithuania, on the other. The agreement is named Porvoo after the city in which it was signed.

The agreement covers important points of agreement under six headings. It acknowledges all signatory churches as belonging to the one holy, catholic, and apostolic church. The agreement also acknowledges that in the signatory churches the Word of God is authentically preached, and the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist are properly administered; that the signatory churches share the common confession of the apostolic faith; that oversight (episcopate) is exercised in the signatory churches in various ways in order to express continuity of apostolic life, mission, and ministry; that the episcopal office is valued in the signatory churches as a visible sign of expressing and serving the unity of the church and its continuity in apostolic life, mission, and ministry; that persons episcopally ordained in any of the churches to the office of bishop, priest, or deacon are welcome to serve, by invitation, in the same ministry in the receiving church without reordination; and that bishops from another signatory church normally be invited to participate in the laying on of hands at the ordination of new bishops as a sign of the unity and continuity of the church.

A Lutheran-Roman Catholic *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* evoked considerable controversy at its public presentation, especially in Germany, where virtually all Lutheran professors of theology signed a letter of opposition. Nonetheless, it was signed by representatives of the Vatican and the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION On October 31, 1998. It summarized the sixteenth century controversies over this issue as essentially disagreements over language.

In the United States, the agreement of 2001 between the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA and the EPISCOPAL CHURCH, USA, entitled *Called to Common Mission*, stipulated that in return for the Episcopal recognition of the legitimacy of current Lutheran ELCA ministry, the ELCA would henceforth ordain candidates for the ministry with a bishop present, and candidates for the office of bishop with an Episcopal bishop present. A temporary Episcopal concession was here matched by a permanent ELCA concession. The Call to Common Mission statement at first did not receive the necessary majority vote by the church-wide assembly of the ELCA. The document had to be submitted to a second vote, where it was approved. The document gave rise to an opposition movement within the ELCA, the Word Alone Network, and it continues to threaten a split in the ELCA.

All in all, these ecumenical initiatives appear to have excited mainly church officials and rarely had significant or meaningful impact on the local congregational level. The explanation may well lie in the reality that on the local, personal level traditional religious antagonisms have long given way to mutual understanding and acceptance, despite continuing theological or ecclesial differences. Moreover, the various agreements have essentially involved only churches of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican traditions. Thus, large denominations, such as the Baptists, have not been involved.

See also Dialogue, Interconfessional

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ECUMENISM

Ecumenism is a relatively recent term for an ancient Christian commitment to both unity and mission “to the whole inhabited earth.” It was not widely embraced as a major religious imperative in Protestantism until the twentieth century, despite earlier foreshadowings. Although it seems like a simple concept, ecumenism is beset with ambiguities and tensions regarding the nature of the unity that Protestants seek.

Terminology

Ecumenism, conceived as the task of knitting together the divisions within Christianity on behalf of the entire world, may extend as far back as New Testament times and the debate concerning Gentile missions at the Jerusalem Conference. However, the term “ecumenism” is itself modern, unlike its more ancient cognate “ecumenical,” and reflects an intentionality and sense of urgency coordinate with an era of religious freedom, pluralism, and globalism.

According to a 1997 study by the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC), “there is no authoritative definition of the term, and it is in fact used to characterize a wide range of activities, ideas and organizational arrangements” (“TCUV,” p. 4). Part of the terminological difficulty is that an old wineskin is being made to hold new wine. The terms “ecumenism” and “ecumenical” both derive from the Greek *oikoumene*, which referred to a geographical—not theological or ecclesiological—reality, that is: “the whole inhabited world.” This is the usage in scripture. During the patristic era “ecumenical” assumed a more ecclesiological connotation meaning the whole church. From the first, therefore, ecumenism was dual: concern for all humanity; concern for the unity of Christians.

The term “ecumenical” was seldom used until the nineteenth century, although a few European Protestant leaders, like the Swiss founder of the Red Cross, Henri Dunant, began speaking of an “ecumenical spirit,” apparently referring to the promotion of cooperation and unity among Christians. The specific nature of that unity was unclear.

This usage was also complicated by the fact that the task of promoting Christian unity was never conceived as an end in itself but linked to a grander mission—to witness and

serve the whole world (the *oikoumene*). Thus the actual corporate “reunion” of divided churches expresses only a small part of what is generally meant by ecumenism.

As these terms became increasingly common in twentieth-century Protestantism—and Christianity generally—different ecumenical orientations materialized: ecclesial ecumenism, theological ecumenism, mission-driven ecumenism, and even interfaith ecumenism, which broadens the term beyond its specifically Christian content. Although useful to evaluate differences in emphasis and orientation, these orientations overlap in practice. What unites all forms of ecumenism is the divine imperative to reconnect Christians to each other and to the presence of God in the world.

History of Protestant Ecumenism before 1900

The first Protestant reformers did not intend to divide Western Christianity but to make the gospel the basis for Christian unity. JOHN CALVIN, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, MARTIN BUCER, and THOMAS CRANMER, among others, sought to reconcile their own theological differences and even explored rapprochement with Roman Catholic authorities, especially at the Colloquy of Regensburg in 1541 (see REGENSBURG, COLLOQUY). Unfortunately the hardening of doctrinal divisions and the emergent national and territorial Protestant church systems dashed such hopes. However, isolated Protestant voices—such as JAN LASKE, JOHN COMENIUS, GEORGE CALIXT, Hugh Grotius, John Dury, and many others—continued to keep alive the irenic ideal of a theologically and spiritually unified Christendom.

The roots of modern Protestant ecumenism, however, do not lie primarily in past schemes for reunion but with the Pietist and the Evangelical movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These built a sense of international Christian fellowship and sympathy across the Northern European and trans-Atlantic communities. By focusing on personal experience rather than DOCTRINE or liturgical conformity, they promoted a form of Protestantism that transcended its divisions. JOHN WESLEY’S phrase, “if thy heart is as mine, give me thy hand,” exemplified this spirit.

Equally important, these movements expected a coming universal church based on a union of hearts and prayers. There was an undercurrent of apostolic and eschatological fervor in this anticipation of a global “Age of the Spirit,” and a missionary zeal. In ENGLAND the Wesleys and GEORGE WHITEFIELD, in America COTTON and INCREASE MATHER and JONATHAN EDWARDS, and in GERMANY the MORAVIAN CHURCH and Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF were all drawn to mission frontiers. In Pennsylvania Zinzendorf tried in vain to unite Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) and other Christians in a “Church of the Spirit.” In Massachusetts Edwards issued a “Humble Plea” for a worldwide concert of PRAYER for the arrival of the KINGDOM OF GOD on earth. In 1793 New Divinity preacher SAMUEL HOPKINS described a future world united by Christianity in global peace, justice, goodwill, racial harmony, and enlightenment.

The nineteenth century witnessed countless examples of practical interdenominational cooperation. These included reform and service agencies, like the AMERICAN BIBLE

SOCIETY, the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Inner Mission in Germany, and international agencies like the YMCA/YWCA, the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF). The latter provided the leaders of the twentieth-century ecumenical movement: JOHN R. MOTT, NATHAN SÖDERBLOM, WILLEM ADOLF VISSER 'T HOOFT, J.H. Oldham, WILLIAM TEMPLE, and others.

Proposals for church unions proliferated. The PRUSSIAN UNION (1817) set the stage for later efforts to reunify the continental Reformation churches. Proposals for a united Protestant Church came from a variety of corners: the CAMPBELL FAMILY (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), SAMUEL SCHMUCKER (LUTHERANISM), PHILIP SCHAFF (Reformed), William Augustus Muhlenberg and William Reed Huntingdon (Episcopal), and Henry Lunn (British METHODISM). In the 1890s the Grindelwald Conferences held in SWITZERLAND brought Protestants together to explore differences and pray for unity. The LAMBETH QUADRILATERAL adopted by Anglicans (see CHURCH OF ENGLAND) in 1888 proposed using the historic apostolic episcopacy and the faith of the first Christian communities as a basis for a unity that would not only build bridge Protestantism but reach out to Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN; CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS).

Even the new theological trends of the nineteenth century contributed. The nascent liberalism of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER in Germany, FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE in England, and HORACE BUSHNELL in America created an impatience with doctrinaire theological divisions and argumentation. TRANSCENDENTALISM generated an impatience with institutions; and theological ROMANTICISM and ANGLO-CATHOLICISM yearned for the experience of sacramental unity.

Within a brief span of time transnational confessional associations were formed: the LAMBETH CONFERENCE (1867), the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES (1875), the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL (1881), the International Congregational Council (1891), the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE (1905), and the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION (1923). These created a structure that facilitated later ecumenical dialogue and cooperation.

Modern Protestant Ecumenism

By 1900 the stage was set for a worldwide ecumenical movement. Modern ecumenism was to have both a churchward and a worldward direction, consistently linking unity in matters of faith and fellowship to shared mission, witness, and service to the world at large. Many diverse strands of thought and activity fed this enterprise. Until the 1960s the overriding motivation was to stall the seeming erosion of the Christian West and revitalize the Christian presence in the world in the wake of modernization and the impact of religious freedom. This apparent convergence of interests, however, was more apparent than real, and it began to be challenged in the 1960s. By the end of the century the notion that Christian diversity and pluralism might be better signs of ecumenical

health than like-mindedness was espoused openly, requiring rethinking of the nature of ecumenical unity.

In 1900 the large Ecumenical Missionary Conference, which was organized in New York City by WSCF leaders, called for a unified Protestant missionary effort. Their hopes came to fruition at the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE of 1910 in Edinburgh, in which representatives of international Protestant missionary agencies around the world spoke of unity as the key to successful global evangelization. Meanwhile major Protestant denominations in the United States—concerned about home missions, urbanization, and industrialization—collaborated in 1908 to form the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (the predecessor of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES). Several American denominations also called for new initiatives at theological and ecclesial unification.

World War I disrupted all such plans. Rather than quenching enthusiasm, however, the war spurred it on. Protestant leaders dealt with the collapse of “Christendom” in Europe and the new realities of international politics, economics, and social thought by taking advantage of the molten situation. Three major strands of ecumenical activity emerged in the 1920s: the Faith and Order movement, the Life and Work movement, and the International Missionary Conference. All three eventually merged to form the WCC.

The Faith and Order movement, which was begun in 1927 at Lausanne, Switzerland, by American Episcopal bishop CHARLES BRENT, promoted a theological brand of ecumenism. Its immediate goal was not to construct church merger schemes but to pursue theological dialogue to clarify confessional differences and misunderstandings and prepare a path for full sacramental reconciliation and ministerial mutuality among the churches. The Ecumenical Institute at Bossy, Switzerland was particularly instrumental in promoting comparative ecclesiological studies.

In 1948 the Commission on Faith and Order of the new WCC took over this task. With the addition of Eastern Orthodox members in 1961 and official Roman Catholic members after Vatican II, Faith and Order envisioned the possibility of theological rapprochement among all the major branches of Christianity, based on common creedal principles and a core consensus on sacramental fellowship and ministerial orders. The result was the release in 1982 of the notable ecumenical document on *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*, which described the theological opportunities and obstacles to this goal.

The apparent confluence of these theological streams, however, was soon interrupted by demands to give the voices of people of color, the poor, WOMEN, and the Third World a powerful hearing. The new mandate pursued ecumenical theology pluralistically, with an eye for cultural context and nontheological factors. By the 1990s the coexistence of older and new visions of theological ecumenism in the Faith and Order movement had produced creative tensions that crisscrossed traditional confessional lines.

Mission-driven ecumenism found a home within the International Missionary Conference (IMC), the immediate successor to the 1910 Edinburgh Conference. Formed in 1921 at Lake Mohonk, New York, by Mott and Oldham, it repudiated the traditional notion of simply “exporting” Western Christianity. Rather than replicating the divisions of the West, it tried to create indigenous Christian churches that would be responsive to local cultures and local needs and flexible in worship and ministry. It shared Western resources and encouraged programs “to help unite the Christian forces of the world in

seeking justice in international and inter-racial relations.” At its 1938 world conference at Tambaram, INDIA over 50 percent of the delegates were non-Western.

Ironically this ecumenical embrace of indigenous cultures and regional diversity generated more actual ecclesial unions than the Faith and Order movement. One of its successes was the formation of the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA, the first union church in which the barriers between Episcopal and non-Episcopal ministerial orders were overcome. The united churches in Northern India (see CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA) and Sri Lanka were similarly notable. In addition the IMC helped to set up many of the important local, regional, and national councils of churches throughout the mission world.

When the IMC formally merged with the WCC in 1961 as the Division (now Commission) on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME), the process of de-Westernizing Protestant ecumenism was accelerated. Over the next several decades the CWME zeroed in on the global fight against racism and apartheid, poverty and economic exploitation, restrictions on women, environmental exploitation, the dangers of globalization, and the eradication of local traditions. Such thinking created a new ecumenical agenda that situated theological and ecclesial reflection within specific cultural contexts and needs, including the need for dialogue with indigenous religious traditions. In 1976 the CWME assembled the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians and in 1982 released the important document “Mission and Evangelism—An Ecumenical Affirmation.”

A third major ecumenical player was the Life and Work movement, founded at Stockholm in 1925 under the leadership of Swedish archbishop Nathan Soderblom. It reflected Western social idealism in its urgent desire to bring a prophetic Christian moral witness to bear on the forces of modernity and secularity. In many ways Life and Work initially sought to recreate a unified Western Christian culture—to act, as Soderblom said, “on behalf of Christendom.” This bias showed up at its Second World Conference at Oxford in 1937 when only thirty delegates of 425 were from non-Western regions.

Adopting a neo-Reformation theological stance in the late 1930s, which claimed to be able to disentangle Christ from CULTURE, Life and Work recognized the benefits of mating with the Faith and Order movement. Out of this marriage came the WCC, whose vision would be “a whole church speaking the whole gospel to the whole world.” Not posing as a “super-church” nor brokering corporate mergers, the WCC created a forum, or “space,” that might function as a symbol of “visible union” by nurturing ecumenical fellowship, theological dialogue, and “mission through witness and service.”

The sense of cohesion was soon tempered, however, by calls for renewal and change coming out of the West. Starting with the 1969 “Programme to Combat Racism” and continuing through the 1974 Berlin conference on “Sexism in Church and Society,” ecumenical programs received sharp scrutiny. The “Ecumenical Decade of Churches in Solidarity with Women, 1988–1998” mandated a renewed ecumenical vision built on “solidarity” across racial, GENDER, class, and cultural divides. The WCC added SCIENCE, technology, nuclear development, bioethics, and ECOLOGY to its list of ecumenical concerns, climaxing with a program on Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation.

This complicated situation was not so abnormal as it may have seemed to observers. It developed from the perennial duality of Protestant ecumenism that balanced unity and

mission, witness and service, church and world. No wonder that fifty years after its founding, the WCC was still struggling with the meaning of ecumenism but now thinking in terms of pluralism, mutuality, forbearance, and “reconciling diversity.”

Additional Manifestations of Modern Ecumenism

The work of the WCC hardly exhausts the reality of ecumenism, even within Protestantism. In addition to the ecumenical work of many local, regional, and national councils of churches, formal mergers or covenant agreements between specific denominational communities were important. Between 1906 and 1968 at least twenty-six church unions took place in the UNITED STATES. Examples elsewhere were the UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA, the Evangelical Church in Germany, the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, Church of South India, Church of North India, Church of Sri Lanka, United Church of Zambia, Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa, United Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands, and the UNITING CHURCH in Australia. According to the 1995 Consultation of United and Uniting Churches, such unions continue to provide the benchmarks for “modeling diversity within unity in communities of increasing pluralism.”

Nonetheless the fate of the CONSULTATION ON CHURCH UNION, begun in America in 1960 by EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, reveals a growing denominational dis-interest in corporate mergers. The failure of its initial proposals for the full union of nine Protestant denominations in 1970 and later in 1988 for a “covenant communion” led to a more modest 2002 cooperative proposal, called “Churches Uniting in Christ.” The “Ecumenical Partnership” agreement of 1989 between the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST and the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST is another such cooperative scheme, as is the “Concordat of Agreement” of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH and the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, which became effective in 2001.

In Central Europe since 1973 over 100 “Reformation” churches have formed the Leuenberg Church Fellowship, agreeing to full sacramental and pulpit fellowship with each other and “common witness and service.” Such agreements established what they termed a “communion of communions,” in which, according to the Leuenberg Agreement, “the lively plurality in styles of preaching, ways of worship, church order, and in diaconal and social action” that characterizes particular communions are preserved. As “A Protestant Understanding of Ecclesial Communion,” adopted in 2000 by the Evangelical Church of Germany, insists, “it is not the diversity that needs to be overcome, but the separation.”

The entrance of Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism into the ecumenical arena with Protestantism has also shaped the course of Protestant ecumenism. The Orthodox have brought a deep commitment to unity based on conciliar traditions and the AUTHORITY of ancient precedents. After the Second Vatican Council, Roman Catholic (RC) delegates became official members of the Commission on Faith and Order, although not full members of the WCC. The RC Church and the WCC also formed a Joint Working Group that has worked for the “restoration of the unity of all Christians” in

“real and full communion.” By the 1990s nearly all programmatic units of the WCC included Catholic representation. In addition, RC delegates are full members of 35 national councils of churches and ecumenical organizations worldwide.

The bilateral dialogues between Catholics and a wide variety of Protestant faiths have been equally significant. These have removed much misunderstanding and mistrust on both sides. Especially noteworthy was the 1997 Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, in which Catholic and Lutheran theologians reached a “common understanding” of the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH.

Although many Protestant evangelicals today avoid terms like ecumenical or ecumenism, they tend to continue the nineteenth-century tradition of associational cooperation. In the United States the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS was created in 1942; in CANADA, the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada in 1964. In 1951 evangelicals formed the World Evangelical Fellowship (now the World Evangelical Alliance), which resurrected the Evangelical Alliance’s tradition of uniting evangelicals in global prayer.

In 1974 the LAUSANNE COMMITTEE FOR WORLD EVANGELIZATION, an international gathering from over 150 nations, approved “The Lausanne Covenant,” affirming that God seeks “the Church’s visible unity” through “fellowship, work, and witness.” “Evangelism summons us to unity,” they said, echoing the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference. Although rejecting liberal utopianism, the covenant signers affirmed that the gospel witness must not be separated from human welfare everywhere. EVANGELISM requires a “concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society” and the “liberation of men and women from every kind of oppression.” In a phrase strikingly reminiscent of the founding statement of the WCC, though nuanced differently, Lausanne declared that “world evangelization requires the whole Church to take the whole gospel to the whole world.” Evangelicals reaffirmed this covenant fifteen years later in “The Manila Manifesto” (1989). An increased discomfort with ecumenicity, however, was apparent in its emphasis on the work of local churches and its warning that cooperation with nonevangelicals is appropriate only when biblical truths were not comprised.

Conclusion

The question remains if the past century of ecumenical enterprise would have exhilarated or disappointed its founders. Support for ecumenism continues to ebb and flow, especially within local congregations, which often prove resistant to ecumenical enthusiasms. Nonetheless global communications, technology, and cultural pluralism have all forced Christians to think and act in less parochial ways. Whether that will continue to produce an ecumenism of visible unity, as sought by the WCC, or merely one of mutual influence and cross-fertilization remains unclear. What can be said is that ecumenism has become something more complex, diverse, interactive, and organic than the simple word “unity” suggests. It is based as much on a commitment to the task of

togetherness as on like-mindedness, and that has not always been characteristic of Protestant history.

See also Dialogue, Interconfessional

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WILLIAM M.KING

EDDY, MARY BAKER (1821–1910)

Founder of the Church of Christ, Scientist. Mary Baker was born July 16, 1821, in Bow, New Hampshire. The daughter of Mark and Abigail Baker, both descendants of New England Puritan families, Mary Baker grew up amidst the Protestant revivals, reform movements, and utopian experiments known as the Second Great Awakening. The religious idealism of the awakening exerted a lasting influence on her thought, as did the awakening's emphasis on the transformational power of religious experience. With regard to more specific elements of her theology, a nearby community of Shakers probably inspired her concept of a mother church as well as her belief that God was the mother as well as father of life.

Physical Problems

In 1843 Mary Baker entered into a short marriage with George W. Glover, who died in 1844. Chronic back pain and other maladies, many of which she had suffered since childhood, prevented her from caring for their son George, born after his father's death. She experimented with homeopathy and, in 1853, married Daniel Patterson, an itinerant dentist who shared her interest in alternative medicine but failed to help prevent her invalidism. In a state of desperation, she appealed for help to Phineas P. Quimby (1802–1866), a clockmaker, daguerreotypist, and healer in Portland, Maine, who used mental influence to treat disease.

Quimby had successfully treated hundreds of patients using a technique he developed out of his study of mesmerism, a practical philosophy named after the eighteenth-century Austrian physician Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), who posited the existence of an intangible magnetic fluid permeating human bodies and their surroundings. Mesmer and his followers believed that this magnetic fluid could convey positive, therapeutic influence from an operator to a subject. Through his own experiments, Quimby discovered that ideas themselves could trigger feelings of recovery and well-being. This discovery led Quimby to dispense with belief in the existence of a ubiquitous magnetic fluid and marked an important development in the understanding of hypnosis, and of human psychology more generally.

Mary Baker Patterson recovered her health under Quimby's care and stayed on to study mental healing with him. As Quimby's student, she believed that he had discovered the scientific explanation for Jesus's power as a healer as well as the essential teaching of the New Testament. Later on, she downplayed Quimby's influence, maintaining that he practiced a form of materialistic "animal magnetism" and never grasped the true idealism of Christian Science.

Turning Point

Shortly after Quimby's death in 1866, she took a serious fall on the ice and lapsed into a hopeless state, unable to move from bed. Three days later, while reading the New Testament stories of Jesus's healing, she experienced the healing power of Christ and rose from her bed, completely cured. In 1870 she began teaching her own version of mental healing. In 1873 she divorced Daniel Patterson, from whom she had long been estranged, and married Gilbert Eddy, one of her students.

In 1875 Mary Baker Eddy published the first edition of *Science and Health*, her most famous writing. The fourth and final edition, published in 1906, remains the centerpiece of Christian Science life, along with the New Testament. Rejecting literal interpretations of Christian doctrine, *Science and Health* explains the apparent existence of disease and other forms of material reality as consequences of erroneous belief. The suffering caused by erroneous belief in material reality could be eradicated, Eddy argued, through belief in the omnipotent power of Divine Love. Ignorance of Divine Love, and the suffering entailed by this ignorance, defined mortality. Conversely, identification with the loving presence of Christ through prayer and meditation offered perfect happiness and immortality.

Eddy's Place in Protestantism

Eddy founded the Massachusetts Metaphysical College in Boston, where she taught short courses in Christian Science to hundreds of students from 1881 until 1889, when disputes with students led her to close the college. In an effort to control the interpretation of Christian Science and consolidate her own authority, Eddy established the Church of Christ, Scientist. This religious institution grew rapidly during the last decades of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth. By 1906, 682 branches of the church existed across the United States, and a new mother church was erected in Boston to replace the smaller mother church built in 1884. After Eddy's death in Chestnut Hill, outside of Boston, on December 3, 1910, the church continued to grow under the guidance of a board of directors, which Eddy had assembled to conduct church business and disseminate her teachings. As a result of the effective institutionalization of her principles, no other church leader emerged to inherit the mantle of her authority.

Eddy's importance in the history of American Protestantism goes beyond her role as the founder of a denominational church. She represents the historical connection between the enthusiasm for religious experience characteristic of evangelical Protestantism in the early nineteenth century and the emergence of popular metaphysical movements in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Like other advocates of metaphysical religion, Eddy focused on bridging the gap between religion and science and, more specifically, on offering experimental proof for the existence and influence of unseen spiritual forces. While other advocates of metaphysical religion looked to Hinduism, Buddhism, and other non-Christian religions to help them in their efforts to understand the power of mind over matter, Eddy stayed within Protestant Christianity and found the power of mind over matter solely within Christ.

In certain respects, Eddy's understanding of Christian Science was similar to ideas about the power of Jesus's characteristic faith healing in African-American traditions, which led to the emergence of PENTECOSTALISM in the early twentieth century. Eddy was more concerned with justifying Christian healing scientifically, while faith healers and Pentecostals have been far more straightforward in acknowledging the reality of bodily suffering, but both traditions share strong belief in the healing power of religious faith and experience. In this regard, Eddy represents the important but often overlooked connection between the rich tradition of religious experience and experimentation flowing out of nineteenth-century Protestant EVANGELICALISM and the religious approach to science characteristic of the New Age movement and other forms of metaphysical religion.

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AMANDA PORTERFIELD

EDINBURG MISSIONARY CONFERENCE OF 1910

See World Missionary Conference

EDUCATION, EUROPE

In its original sense education contains two slightly different meanings: the action of a parent or teacher to educate children or students, and the development of knowledge, rationality, and cognitive ability by certain authorities. Although in the first understanding a certain knowledge can be examined, the development of erudition turns the created being into a human being in the image and likeness of God. Thus education means in the widest sense any developing impact on human beings toward personality, knowledge, and rationality through other people or institutions, nature, and experience. In the second, more specific sense, education can be understood as the reflected rational children toward a moral/ethical understanding and responsibility. Shaping of education depends on the historical context and the contemporary impacts of mentality, social order, society, culture, and so on. Thus the understanding of the term cannot be used in the sense of a *nomen universale*. Education as part of the theoretical reflection within theology has its place in anthropology, doctrine of creation, sin and redemption, in Christology and eschatology. Education thus becomes the focus of the (self-)understanding of the human being and therefore has to be developed in the tension of sin/nature and grace—in the Protestant tradition within the tension of law and gospel.

Education in the Early Church

Ever since the establishment of the church as part of the state in the fourth century, tensions between secular-pagan education and Christian teaching have dominated the history of Western schooling. The responsibility for education swung like a pendulum between ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Although early medieval schools derived from classical Roman institutions, they became increasingly “Christianized”—not so much in terms of teaching methods, but certainly in subject matter. The sixth century proved an important turning point: in response to the missionary challenge posed by the pagan Germanic environment, the educational emphasis shifted toward the sacramental and liturgical life of the church. CONVERSION to Christianity, at the time, was not merely a change of religion, but a more wide-ranging *conversio* of lifestyle, CULTURE,

and manners of speech. From this perspective it is clear that a fundamental reorientation was needed to develop a Christian educational system.

“Palace” or “court schools” (*scholae palatinae*) catered to the leading nobility, but their curriculum was limited to the acquisition of basic administrative skills, primarily written and spoken Latin. It was important, therefore, to supplement this level with more sophisticated clerical education. The Irish-Scottish mission tackled the task in Central Europe and a new ideal of the ministry emerged wherever British monks established their foundations. Boniface (d. 755) followed this tradition and erected schools for clerical novices in the Benedictine monasteries. This type of education, of course, was intended exclusively for members of the order (and the occasional aristocratic patron). Chrodegang of Metz (d. 766) filled the emerging gap in the education of the secular clergy through the foundation of cathedral schools.

Both school forms found their legal financial basis in the Germanic church system (*Eigenkirchenweseri*). Local lords not only took physical possession of churches and monasteries in their territories, but also exercised extensive spiritual supervision. It was inevitable that princes and emperors gradually extended these powers to ecclesiastical schools, and clerical education, only recently emancipated from secular influence, soon returned under worldly control. The *Admonitio generalis* of Charlemagne (789) ordered that every monastery and every diocese should teach psalms, musical notes, chants, the *computus* (i.e., calendar calculation), and grammar. In addition every school had to be in possession of dogmatically sound Catholic books, and the emperor recommended careful examination of candidates for the priesthood at annual meetings of the diocesan clergy.

Even traces of compulsory popular education can be detected. With reference to Caesarius of Arles (470/1–543) and the Synode of Baision (529), the emperor and bishops called for the establishment of parish schools. These schools were to teach reading, writing, and ecclesiastical LITURGY alongside the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer (to be expounded in the vernacular).

Charlemagne’s system, developed under the influence of Alcuin (735–804), was equally open to secular concerns. Apart from other topics, the reading of profane texts was introduced, and liberal arts were taught as preparation for studies on Holy Scripture. Ludwig the Pious, however, advised by Benedict of Aniane, refocused his educational policy on the training of clergymen. The Imperial Diet of Aachen (817) closed monastic schools to outsiders. Henceforth monasteries ceased to provide public education and limited their teaching to their own needs. At the same time the boarding school system enhanced the unity of clerical upbringing and training, a principle resuscitated in the sixteenth century by reformers of all confessional persuasions. In short the church claimed full and exclusive responsibility for education.

At the same time the level of education in kings and rulers declined so much so that cultured rulers such as Friedrich II (1194–1250) or Alfons X (1221–1284) were regarded as exceptional by their contemporaries. From the thirteenth century a growing number of observers complained about the deplorable educational standards of political leaders and about the unprecedented increase in the power of peasants and other commoners who were eager to learn.

Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries

In a fresh educational offensive starting in the twelfth century, imperial and papal legislators began to regulate the fast expanding range of new methods of teaching and study and eventually helped to establish corporate bodies of masters and scholars in *universitates magistrorum et scholarium* under central control. On the secular side the *Authentica habita*, issued by Fredric Barbarossa (1122–1190) around 1158, provided for the safety and protection of scholars while traveling to and staying at the place of study, prohibited their arrest for crimes committed by fellow countrymen, and guaranteed them a free choice of court.

On the ecclesiastical side, a new wave of legislation, beginning with the Lateran Councils of 1123, endeavored to expand papal jurisdiction and to consolidate the church's hold over education. The main elements were (1) a commitment to the education and training of priests; (2) financial safeguards for teachers (salaries, benefices) and students (new foundations, scholarships, dispensations from residence requirements); (3) privileges of jurisdiction (universities and their members to enjoy immunity from local courts); (4) teaching licenses; (5) institutionalization of courses and curricula (limited to certain social groups); and (6) protection of scholarly communities from local authorities. This blueprint for a centrally (in fact, papal) controlled dissemination of knowledge, however, soon fell victim to the dynamics of European state development. National or princely prestige, as well as ambitions of the academic communities themselves, ensured that university expansion failed to adhere to papal planning. Eventually all institutions were allowed to offer the full range of faculties (art, medicine, law, theology) and to award their own doctorates.

The growth of the educational system from the thirteenth century, evident above all in the spread of the ability to read and write Latin beyond the clerical estate, cannot be explained by purely socioeconomic or purely religious reasons, but depended on a whole range of interconnected factors: the establishment of universities; the foundation of mendicant orders; the increasing number of towns as centers of educational institutions; the emergence of an ambitious “middle class” engaged in commerce, trade, economy, and arts; the growing need for administrative and especially legal expertise in the nascent territorial and city states; and the rising demand for educational and edifying literature among the LAITY, to name but a few. All of these tendencies combined to destroy the basic assumption that “*clerici*” were “*litterati*” and “*laici*” were “*illitterati*” albeit without revolutionizing the social order. From the fourteenth century, princes started to found universities in Central Europe, and—alongside the pope—the emperor became one of the main patrons of learning. With ever-greater frequency, universities approached them for improved charters and privileges.

Elementary schools, too, had been revived by the papal reform legislation in the twelfth century. As a result of the increasing economic and cultural importance of towns, however, magistrates started to intervene in the running of Latin schools, and to promote the establishment of German institutions.

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

After the thirteenth century a certain stream of intellectuals emphasized the main sources of the ancient world. This way back to the sources (*ad fontes*) was a diverse movement, which later on was subordinated under the label “Humanism.” As modern research has developed, this label has come into question, even though we can find some common understanding of education founded in a common anthropology focusing on the understanding of the image of God in the creation of man, *homines non nascuntur, sed finguntur* (Erasmus 1529). During the process of education the human being can grow and develop in the image of God. Thus education has its goal in the image and likeness of individuals to their creator.

This attempt of education became very influential. In the northern parts of Europe, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) became the core of a large movement, which related back through the philosophers of the Renaissance to the understanding of education in Rome and Athens. Erasmus became influential not only for transferring this understanding over the Alps but also for a certain merger of Christian and pagan thoughts subordinated to an elaborated interpretation of Scripture based on the old languages. His theological focus came to the fore when he used Christ as the basis for his interpretation of the image of god. Nevertheless it is not clear how much Erasmus’s understanding of Christology had an impact on his anthropology or the other way around. Christ becomes the true model for pious behavior and the prototype of ethical orientation. In Christ, human beings find their model of true humanity and the image of God that they bear within their souls. Thus the discussion of piety and the way to SALVATION becomes more and more a discussion of true human behavior and orientation of life. Erasmus matches human activity—education, knowledge, and the struggle for more and better knowledge—with God’s GRACE and eternal mercy.

The Reformation

Even though MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) feared a certain kind of semipelagianism in this attempt, the later educational reform ideas of the Wittenberg professor and his followers take root in this development. Against the background of the Western church’s traditional knowledge of the first centuries, the Wittenberg reformer saw the Roman (i.e., papal) limitation of the church system, as well as the scholastic educational reform, as apostasy from the original norm. Because of that he feared another ecclesiastical reform, which would spoil the system of education, schooling, and teaching even further.

Thus, with his reform program Luther referred to scriptural authority as the last and ultimate AUTHORITY. It determines the critique on the scholastic but also the humanistic education and school reforms, as well as the emphasis of the future reformed teaching plan. Luther pointed out three theological arguments for a new, enforced commitment for teaching the youth: first, fighting Satan, who strives to destroy God’s good creation; second, turning to God’s mercy, which only the Germans received in this

century, but will not keep forever. Third, simple obedience to God's commandment and the natural order of creation binds church and its representatives to youth education. Even though Luther makes school education part of worldly considerations and the responsibility of secular authorities, the biblical theological argumentation of this idea must still be taken into consideration. Juvenile education, school, and training are not only matters of natural reason, but part of theological contemplation. Luther closely combines this unity of ecclesiastical and worldly responsibility for education and training with medieval reform concepts on the one hand; on the other hand he clearly splits it from early modern educational endeavors of the secular authorities.

Other reformers—especially PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560) and JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN (1485–1558) who worked out the merely practical matters of the reformed concept of teaching and schooling in church ordinances, handbooks, textbooks, catechisms and other helpful and quite successful materials—followed Luther in his theological grounding of school reform and in their efforts to deal with this problem as a consequence of their REFORMATION insights. They are basically concerned with the general education of youth, which has to be realized in *omnibus civitatibus, oppidis et pagis* (in all societies, towns, and villages).

Main elements of school ordinances in Wittenberg, Zurich, or other stem cells of the Reformation include the following items: the knowledge of languages (mainly Latin), a certain knowledge of science and arts (*orbis litterarum*), the classical *artes liberales*, and finally a biblically grounded knowledge of ETHICS and piety. Any content of the school ordinances influenced by Reformation thought was related and focused on a better understanding of Scripture as the revelation of God, God's love and mercy, and God's will to redeem the sinner. Thus the knowledge of God's revelation implies certain knowledge of God's will and God's orders for humankind.

Of course Luther and others refer to the education of an academic elite when they recommend special furthering of the “prodigy.” Although Luther did not concentrate on that in his early years, his reform attempts after the visitation of churches and schools in rural Saxony of 1527 more and more accentuated the education of future evangelical CLERGY and a biblically founded knowledge for the ruling elites. Improved education was seen as a tool in the apocalyptic battle between God and Satan: the study of the past as much as other disciplines would alert people to God's omniscience and help them to understand the Scriptures and the fate of the world. It thus obtained an important place in school and university education, even though profane—and especially classical—historians were to be studied in strict subordination to the overall authority of the Bible.

Even though Luther did not explicitly mention religious education, the requirement for special lessons on the Holy Book can be found in almost all school regulations and school foundations. Probably as a helpful handbook or model of biblical lessons in school or at home Luther worked out in several steps his CATECHISMS: first the Great catechism for pastors and trained clergy and later on the Small catechism for the house father (*pater familias*). One can hardly over-estimate the influence and importance of Luther's catechisms for the history of evangelical theological education. Even though several other handbooks for elementary education in faith and piety had been written, none of them ever became as important as Luther's two books (later included in the Book of Concord and other collections of main sources of the evangelical faith).

Whereas Luther separated the Erasmian synthesis of Christianity and Humanism by the secularization of the medieval performance of education by the church on the one hand and a strong focus on its Christian grounding, referring to a certain mystical understanding of education on the other, Melanchthon strongly accentuated the humanistic ideal. Although Luther denied a human activity to rebuild the human being after God's image and likeness, Melanchthon and JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) supported an academic education if not for the salvation of humankind then for the teaching of human beings in the will of God. Melanchthon went back to humanistic ideals as *eloquentia* and other virtues as described in the antique books. This concept is strengthened through his accentuation of natural law. It contains the *testimonium* of God's eternal justice and preforms future ethical behavior of humankind. Nevertheless Melanchthon does not understand education as a way to heaven. True Christian education develops the *iustitia civilis* but not *iustitia christiana*.

Even more, the humanistic heritage comes into the fore in the pedagogical concepts of John Sturm (1507–1589) in Strasbourg and Calvin in Geneva. The latter stressed the doctrinal character of an ecclesiastical education and focused on the training of future clergy and an ecclesiastical elite. Schools became places in which children get trained in a certain orientation of life and a biblically grounded ethical doctrine. At this point Calvin continued the pedagogical reform attempts of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) as he had performed them in Zurich and as were continued by HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575). Within this reformed concept, education became part of God's pedagogy. SIN was understood in the meaning of not knowing. As much as ignorance leads to hell, the true knowledge of God as revealed in Scripture becomes the exclusive way to heaven.

The humanistic heritage was continued in the Lutheran and the Reformed tradition but also within a large educational reform movement initiated by the Jesuits in Catholicism, where again Christian Humanism came to the fore. In their schools, Jesuits taught future soldiers of Christ, instruments of the will of God, and servants of a catholic reform, which would protect the unity of the church. Although Erasmus tried to work out the personality of human beings after the image of God, the Jesuits accentuated the giving up of personal interests and a pure obedience to the will of God represented in the orders of the superior.

Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries

In the age of CONFSSIONALIZATION up to the Napoleonic Age, the tension between a more or less secular education and an ecclesiastically dominated teaching of the youth continued. Even though the Reformation radically secularized the question of responsibility for education, at the same time the reformers on both sides of the confessional border focused on its deeper foundation within theology and its goal to understand Scripture and to improve personal or collective piety. After the "golden age" of a confessional reform of schools and university documented in hundreds of church and school ordinances in the end of the sixteenth century, a certain kind of skepticism arose. Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) skeptically described the human ability of cognition

and knowledge. Increasingly, the educational concept focuses pragmatically on the ability for ethical decision and a more general orientation of life. The humanistic emphasis on (re-)building human beings in the image and like-ness of God fades.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS (1533–1592), the Bohemian theologian, pedagogue, and pansophical philosopher, developed a holistic understanding of education. Deeply rooted in his theological understanding of creation, Comenius understood his pedagogical responsibility as cooperation of human beings in God's preservation of God's creation. Because of the analogy of cosmic order (nature) and individual development (human nature) Comenius's concept of education improves the human ability to continue and work out God's plans. Within a holistic concept he accentuates the teaching in native languages and natural science (*realia*), and the development of didactic methods.

Although Comenius's educational concept is related to his heterodox pansophic theological tradition, Wolfgang Ratke (1571–1635) developed his pedagogy from within his Lutheran setting: "Schooling and education can be justified by its meaning for salvation of souls only." Again a certain theological focus becomes important. Methods and contents of schooling following Ratke develop an ability to teach the human mind all reasonable things. This understanding is founded on the conviction of an evident analogy between nature and language (harmony of creation).

A fresh impulse came through the Pietist movement (see PIETISM); in particular AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE (1663–1723) developed a concept of Christian education in relation to the reform of church and piety: "Change of the world by changing the humans." The center of the concept is Francke's understanding of rebirth and renewal. God's grace pours faith into the soul of a human being. This effects a total change of life and behavior that should be obvious to people from outside. Thus education focuses on the knowledge of God through certain knowledge of Scripture, practical (craftworks) and social abilities for the improvement of taking over responsibilities for church and society. Godliness, erudition, good and pious behavior to honor God and serve one's neighbors are the main topics of the Pietist tradition of HALLE impacting the Prussian General-Landschul-Reglement of 1763.

Parallel to the Pietist movement, pedagogical concepts related to the philosophy of ENLIGHTENMENT were developed. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712–1778) concentrated on the development of human beings as a process starting with CHILDHOOD. Even though some reformers had seen the need for an appropriate educational approach to children, the individual attempt was worked out a century later. Rousseau merges experience of world and self into a holistic concept of learning. Stressing his anthropological conviction that human beings are as good as God had created them, his educational theory accentuates developing moral and ethical competence toward perfection. Next to the individual education of human beings Rousseau focuses on the education of citizens. Later his concept became part of a mainstream pedagogy, which combines educational, economic, political, and legalistic efforts.

The tension between a merely secular education of citizens and a theological education of pious children of God continued even though the history of education concentrated more and more on the development of three main humanistic tendencies.

First, JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER (1744–1803) understood humanity in terms of historical development. Thus the idea of progress had a deep impact on his pedagogical thought: education develops progressively the humanity of humans. Herder's

understanding of humanity was in agreement with humanistic and biblical ideas. Humanity is the goal of any human development. Because young people are tempted and endangered by negative forces, the pedagogue trusts in God's mercy and grace to fulfill his duty in educating them.

After Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) the individualistic approach became a critical note. Although Rousseau and his followers focused on an education to develop human ability in relation to the objective and evident needs of nature, society, and culture, Humboldt and—from another perspective—Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) argued that individual abilities should be improved to develop an individual performance of humanity without regard to heteronomistic orders and needs or transcendental principles. Thus the new humanistic movement stressed a critical distance from society, culture, economy, and state.

Second, the German classic education, on the contrary, tried to open its educational concept to the needs of culture and society on the one hand and to preserve and accept nature and individuality on the other. So JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE (1749–1832) understood education as a lifelong process of conscious and experienced life, as an individual performance of the development of humankind within the progress of history. The neo-humanistic movement related its ideal of humanity back to ancient traditions and the heroes of the Greek and Latin legends. Finally the Kant scholar Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) focused his understanding of education on an “axiom, it is unrelated trust in the creative and self-reflected power of the human spirit.” Although GEORG FRIEDRICH WILHELM HEGEL (1770–1831) worked out the dialectic-idealistic reconciliation of individual and society, nature and culture, rationality and self-consciousness, the term emancipation comes into the fore: Hegel stresses the need for a productive and creative distance of the human individual from collective developments. Positively this process builds the self—negatively it distorts an effective development of self-consciousness and mind (*Entfremdung*). Karl Marx (1818–1883) turned this idealistic concept into practical advice: Because the socioeconomic surroundings force human beings into a distorted process of non-self-determined life (*Entfremdung*) the historical process has to be corrected. Education has to change the socioeconomic impact into a productive support of the development of humanity and freedom.

The third tendency has its main figures in FRIEDRICH ERNST SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911). Even though their pedagogical concepts reflect a strong relation between society and education, they do not see this relation as static as, for instance, did Karl Marx and others. Schleiermacher understands the sociocultural context as the sum of individual developments and experiences that affect each other. Education needs to improve the reflection of these individual experiences and to work out the ability to take over responsibility and innovative power for the future.

In the nineteenth century the impact of greater philosophical or theological systems on the concepts of education declined. Since then, pedagogy was secularized completely and theological principles cannot be found in its theoretical setting. Even though some reform attempts had been made, it seems that for the theological reflection of education, pedagogy was not needed. The later development of totalitarian educational reform shows that this theological reluctance was extremely dangerous and a mistake.

Within the debate for educational reform in the twentieth century, theological arguments were suspected to be doctrinal or, even worse, ideological. After World Wars I and II, totalitarian pedagogy needed to be radically corrected and its consequences avoided. Even though ideological systems still continued with their diverse types of right, Hegelian principles made their impact on indoctrination. Because these concepts showed clearly the negative side of the complete and radical secularization of education and its theory, theological reform worked out its answer focusing on the crisis of theology as a consequence of the crisis of occidental culture and society (Karl Spranger), and its critique. Educational theory performed as critique of ideology and any kind of “-ism.” Theologians still struggled with the problem of defining education as a genuine theologically reflected part of ecclesiastical work within the world. Although some Protestant educational concepts influenced by KARL BARTH (1886–1968) and his followers refused and denied any influence of secular thought and disciplines within theological discourse, other ideas related to the liberal theology of the beginning twentieth century seem to be more open to pedagogical, sociological, and psychological questions, answers, and methods (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Reform pedagogy after World War II primarily was oriented to a practical reform. The methods and ideas that seemed to be main parts of totalitarian and indoctrinating political or cultural systems were to be avoided. Whereas this critique after World War I focused on the distinction of law and gospel and accentuated pedagogy under the law, Karl Barth’s influence after World War II forced theologians to reflect education more in the light of God’s promise and the gospel. Even though the Protestant church of GERMANY, for example, still claims its responsibility for education, schooling, and teaching in universities and schools for applied sciences (synod of 1958 in Berlin, 1971 in Frankfurt/Main, and 1978 in Bethel) the dialogue with pedagogy, sociology, psychology, and other disciplines about pedagogical reform does not reflect any genuine theological contributions and ideas.

It seems that education newly becomes a challenge for theological reflection. Four main dimensions or circles of questions have to be reflected before a new concept of evangelical education can be sketched out: (1) the question of life orientation, change of virtues (*Wertewandel*), and an increasing discontinuity between the generations; (2) globalization or internalization of cultural change and its impacts; (3) cultural diversity and multiversity within national societies; and (4) radical and complete secularization of previously religious spheres and rooms. These problems provoke new answers to the old question of a Christian, Scripture-based, and theologically reflected education in the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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EDUCATION, OVERVIEW

The Protestant REFORMATION cannot be understood apart from its relationship to education. The point of the Reformation, for many of its leaders, was to rejuvenate the piety and faith of the people by replacing popular belief with a purer and simpler presentation of the Gospel. MARTIN LUTHER, during his early, optimistic years, raised the expectation that most people could break through moribund TRADITION to religious transformation. It has been popular among some recent historians, however, to emphasize the extent to which this project failed in its objectives. These historians have argued that the impact of the Protestant Reformation was limited to representatives of elite CULTURE, while leaving popular culture largely unaffected. They point to the persistence of popular superstitions among the largely illiterate peasantry as evidence that the Protestant Reformation failed to penetrate and transform all levels of society.

The historical debate about the extent of religious change in the sixteenth century is difficult to resolve. Nevertheless, the question of Protestantism's ability to achieve its goals remains a viable and pressing topic of debate. If the Protestant Reformation set out to inculcate a Christian way of life grounded in claims about the proper knowledge of God, then its impact on education will be one measure not only of its practical success, but also of its historical significance and continued theological vitality.

Relationship to the New Learning

The Protestant Reformation is commonly thought to have given rise to widespread literacy among the LAITY due to its emphasis on reading the BIBLE in the vernacular. Recently, however, historians have been complicating this view by pointing to trends of increased schooling and literacy that began in the late medieval period. The call for ecclesiastical reformation, which frequently included proposals for improving education for both CLERGY and laity, long preceded the Protestant movement. Moreover, expanding opportunities in administrative and governmental careers fueled the demand for higher rates of literacy. Luther is an example of this trend: he had just begun the study of law after earning his baccalaureate and master's degrees when a storm sent him to a monastery instead.

In Luther's day, primary education typically began with vernacular lessons focused on devotional works, with some attention to Latin scripture and the Latin psalter. Boys who went on to Latin grammar school encountered a curriculum shaped by the rise of humanism. The "new learning" was first developed in the fifteenth century in northern ITALY, but it soon spread throughout Europe. The humanists emphasized the study of classic texts—the Latin poets, play-wrights, historians, and especially Cicero, with his emphasis on rhetoric—as models of good speaking and writing. The *studia humanitatis* dominated Western education up to the nineteenth century. Its most basic pedagogic tool was imitation, in the forms of recitation and memorization. Its goal was to cultivate moral character and promote civic responsibility.

For the study of scripture and the preparation of pastors, the Protestant reformers found the humanist emphasis on the rhetorical arts more helpful than the scholastic reliance on syllogistic logic and abstruse metaphysics. But the reformers also shaped the new learning in significant ways. Their commitment to the liberation of the Word of God led to an affirmation of the vernacular in the LITURGY and in translations of the Bible. They also took advantage of the advent of printing to mount an ambitious program for lay literacy. The publication of countless pamphlets and an enthusiasm for sermons is witness to the often-repeated observation that piety shifted from the visual and sacramental to the verbal and pedagogic. The emphasis on sermons gave many people their first opportunity to hear learned orations from men trained in university theology faculties. In contrast with these advances, Protestantism brought about the dissolution of the monasteries and the schools that they housed. Another system of education was needed to fill this void.

State-Sponsored Education and the Role of the Catechism

Early in his career, Luther defended an unlimited and voluntary access to the Bible, and he saw the FAMILY as the natural place for such instruction. Events soon made him change his mind. The Peasants' War, the rise of ANABAPTISM, and the popularity of spiritualists who rejected formal education convinced him that religious instruction needed to be in the hands of the secular authority. Luther came to think that children are a gift from God and that parents have an obligation to send them to school, regardless of the parents' own economic interests (see CHILDHOOD).

Many parents who did not intend their children to pursue one of the professions—medicine, law, or THEOLOGY—resisted Luther's call for state-sponsored education. When Luther grew impatient with the lack of progress in educating the laity, he turned to the ancient tradition of catechesis to rectify the situation. Baptismal catechesis was essential to the early church—a necessary means of instructing pagan adults, at the time of their CONVERSION, in the mysteries of the faith. Luther revived this practice by creating a new genre, the CATECHISM, which, like medieval primers, brought together the basics of the Christian faith in a question-and-answer format.

Luther's idea of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS, coupled with his emphasis on each individual's particular vocation in the world, required that the laity be properly

educated. The Small Catechism of 1529 illustrates these twin objectives. It includes discussions of the Ten Commandments, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer, as well as instruction about saying grace before meals. It also contains passages of scripture that outline the duties associated with various social roles. This influential text (and its equivalents in the Reformed tradition) was taught by schoolmasters, parents, and pastors and became the basis for religious education throughout Protestant GERMANY.

Luther's success in making religious DOCTRINE an essential part of the curriculum produced the first Protestant school system. Nevertheless, his training in nominalism, as well as his two-kingdom theology, made him pessimistic about the possibility, so fervently pursued by the scholastics, of integrating faith and learning. With his emphasis on the sovereignty of God, JOHN CALVIN had a more positive approach to the unity of all knowledge. All knowledge, Calvin insisted, should be for the purpose of glorifying God. Calvin founded the Geneva Academy in 1558 because he believed that the liberal arts are a gift of God and that all people are born with a desire for learning. He also organized the city of Geneva along the lines of a school that educates its citizens in a wise and eloquent piety, on the assumption that all of culture should be animated by religion.

The Teaching Task of the Ministry

The reformers were distinguished by their insistence on the teaching task of the ministry. The authority of the pastor is not given by his office, nor is it the product of personal charisma. Instead, it is to be demonstrated by his teaching abilities. The content of this teaching is to be the Gospel as it is disclosed in the Scriptures.

The role of teaching in the CHURCH was not limited to the pastor. Calvin argued that while every pastor is a teacher, not every teacher is a pastor. Teachers correspond to the ancient role of the prophets, while pastors correspond to the apostles. The task of the teacher is to instruct people in a godly way of life.

The Protestant idea that Scripture is clear and accessible to all meant that there was no need for a single AUTHORITY on its interpretation. Consequently, the reformers envisioned a pluralistic and nonauthoritarian approach to Christian education. Both Luther and Calvin, for example, accepted the teaching authority of church councils, even though they held them to be fallible and subject to the Gospel. Both also recognized the need for theological scholarship as a source of teaching authority. Finally, both acknowledged the responsibility of the congregation to check the authority of pastors, teachers, and theologians.

Modern Education

The beginning of modern education can be connected to the decline of the humanist curriculum and the catechism in religious instruction. Several factors were involved in this transformation. First, the ENLIGHTENMENT defined rationality as objectivity, which contributed to the separation of the sciences from the humanities and the subsequent fragmentation of knowledge. Consequently, the classics no longer served as the foundation for education. Moreover, the Enlightenment equated religious authority with unwarranted dogmatism and the arbitrary restriction of individual freedom. This made catechization look like rote memorization of formulaic statements.

Second, the Industrial Revolution pressured education to become more practical and functional. Under the increasing demands of complex and dynamic economies, education lost much of its coherence. The differentiation and rationalization of social systems made the religious justification of learning superfluous. As nation-states became increasingly pluralistic and secular, religion was relegated to a marginal or private role, and state-sponsored education was stripped of its moral and religious character.

Third, the growth of national literatures in the eighteenth century displaced the Latin and Greek classics. The modern version of the humanities, organized around the study of national literatures, provided a substitute for religion with aesthetic and literary ideals. This reconfiguration of the humanities gave modern education some badly needed unity as well as token spiritual values, although it is doubtful today whether the humanities, riven as they are by ideological disputes, can still provide this service.

Beginning as early as JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU'S work in the eighteenth century and climaxing with John Dewey's work in the twentieth century, modern education gives priority to the process of learning, rather than the content. Active participation thus eclipses the pedagogy of imitation. The purpose of schools is to provide the proper environment for the natural development of student potential. Perhaps it was inevitable that psychological theories that focus on childhood development would emphasize the nurturing of personal growth in opposition to the traditional goal of internalizing the style and content of the classics. What might be surprising is that much of the impetus for modern innovations in education came from within Protestantism itself.

The background to much of this pedagogic shift is the Protestant emphasis on subjectivity, which was formulated most clearly by the German theologian FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER. A decline in the reformers' understanding of original sin also contributed to modern views of education. JOHN AMOS COMENIUS, a minister of the MORAVIAN CHURCH who is often called the "father of modern education," systematized and expanded Protestant ideas by advocating a free and universal system of education that adapts the curriculum to student needs and capacities. In the United States, HORACE BUSHNELL defended the growing SUNDAY SCHOOL movement by arguing that parents and churches should work together in nurturing the natural piety of children. He rejected the revivalist idea that children are mired in SIN until their conversion.

Liberal Protestantism and secularism thus cooperated in the privatization of religious faith. The result has been a growing dissatisfaction with state-sponsored education. While

the United States is an extreme example (much of Europe still permits religious education in government schools), it nonetheless is a test case of Protestantism's ability to preserve its distinctive identity. When state-sponsored education emerged in the United States in the early nineteenth century, Protestantism served as the basis for cultural and social unity. The most popular elementary school reading texts, MCGUFFEY READERS, were a kind of American catechism, using illustrated stories to teach millions of children biblical principles. By the 1960s, it was clear that American society was too pluralistic to warrant Protestant control of state-sponsored education. The dismantling of the Protestant establishment has led to an increase in HOMESCHOOLING and private schools, as well as legal battles over governmental regulation of public schools.

The Problem of Globalism

Perhaps the most pressing question for Christian education today concerns the relationship between the twin goals of educating for faithfulness and educating for citizenship. There are legitimate goals of education that are universal, namely preparation for citizenship and the acquisition of basic skills. But it is becoming increasingly difficult for educational systems to express the collective identity of a nation when globalism blurs the boundaries that give nations character. When religious traditions are commodified as alternative means of satisfying basic human needs, religious education becomes a matter of appreciating the relative truths and universal values of all religious traditions, rather than the particularities of any single faith.

Must socialization in the skills of tolerance and inclusivity, required by a global economy, be taught at the expense of commitments and traditions that are particular and local (see TOLERATION)? Given the consumerism that drives globalism, it is reasonable to assume that moral instruction will increasingly be dependent on participation in well-defined communities whose educational agendas will not necessarily coincide with the needs of nation-states. Providing schools with more local authority over educational policy is not a sufficient solution because, even within a particular geographical area, multiple moral communities will be the norm. The hard question concerns how these moral communities can be given institutional expression.

Clearly, Christian communities will have to become more active in helping to reinvent state sponsored education. Minimally, nation-states should continue to support a wide variety of educational options. Instead of thinking of public and private, state-sponsored and home-based, and secular and religious schooling as separate and opposing entities, one should see them as alternatives that can coexist in complementary and mutually reinforcing ways. Pluralism should be encouraged within schools, as well as among them. State-sponsored schools can go a long way toward promoting diverse approaches to moral education, rather than imposing a single model of moral development on all students. In a time of increasing moral complacency and the widespread assumption of moral relativism, the strong ties that bind students to their religious communities need to be protected and nurtured, in the context of weaker and yet still essential ties to the public good.

Can Education Be Christian?

What is so Christian about education? Schools today face a legitimation crisis as the lofty goals of higher education give way to the pressing demands of rapid technological transformation. Not surprisingly, then, there are a number of proposals for restoring education to its religious roots.

One set of proposals concerns the need to reintegrate education and morality. Character education has become a popular topic of reform for those worried about the ability of fragmented families to raise children in a moral tradition. Character education, however, decontextualizes moral values by disconnecting them from the religious traditions that give them meaning. The problems of moral relativism and corrosive INDIVIDUALISM are only exacerbated when students are encouraged to exercise their personal preference by selecting moral principles from a menu of options. If character is to be about belief and not just behavior, it will have to be an expression of a life-long commitment to habits of living rooted in a theological understanding of good and evil.

More significant are calls to ground education in the objective morality of the NATURAL LAW tradition. Appeals to the natural law in Protestantism are usually not as explicit or systematic as in Roman Catholicism. Nonetheless, the natural law has the advantage of being rooted in Christianity but theoretically accessible to everyone. Reason alone, some theologians argue, can illuminate the natural constraints to human behavior that promote human flourishing and the public good. The definition of NATURE, however, has never been so contentious as it is today. Moreover, Protestant theology traditionally insists that nature cannot be a source of truth beside the one revelation of Jesus Christ, so that the proper understanding of nature is, in the end, theological and not philosophical.

Another set of proposals concerns the content of education rather than its purpose. Some Protestants are among the most vocal supporters of a return to the classical texts of the humanist curriculum. While it might seem ironic that Christian schools would be at the forefront of defending the study of ancient pagan thinkers, there is a long tradition in the church of enjoying and using the liberal arts for the glory of God. Others argue for a greater role for religious texts and religious ideas in state-sponsored instruction. Still others want teachers and students alike to have more freedom to approach their material from a religious perspective.

In sum, education is not one concern among many for the Protestant churches. From birth to death, the church immerses the believer in religious formation. Christian education is thus not one kind of education, as if education is an object whose nature is well understood and “Christian” is a modifier that specifies a certain variation of that object. Christians do not use education for a specific ideological purpose. Instead, Christianity is a system of education. This means, in part, that no single institution can carry the full weight of Christian education. The church, family, and school must work together to ensure the vitality of Protestantism.

Two questions seem paramount: (1) How far can state-sponsored education be stretched to accommodate religious communities and their need to pass on their traditions to new generations; and (2) how far can Christians go in reclaiming education as a Christian enterprise while still recognizing the largely secular needs of nation-states to

use the socializing effects of education for national purposes? At the point where those questions meet lies the future of Christian education.

See also Education, Theology: Asia, Europe, and United States

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EDUCATION, THEOLOGY: UNITED STATES

Broadly defined, theological education in the Protestant tradition, as in that of the Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox traditions, took place in a variety of venues: the home, catechetical programs, public worship, SUNDAY SCHOOLS, denominational and BIBLE COLLEGES, ministerial apprenticeships, and in SEMINARIES and divinity schools. Although a dizzying diversity in loci and aims characterized theological education within American Protestantism from the early seventeenth to the end of the twentieth century, the primary aim of all formal theological education was to integrate learning and piety in preparation for the ministry. Protestants, though, did not always agree among themselves on what the terms learning and piety meant, and how the relationship between the two was to be understood. Protestant theological educators, particularly in the twentieth century, also promoted an empirical approach to the study of religion in state colleges and universities that gradually separated piety and learning (see HIGHER EDUCATION).

The first generation of Massachusetts Bay Puritans, the dominant religious tradition in the American colonies during the seventeenth century, built Harvard College in 1636, six years after the settlement of Boston, to provide the colony not only with an educated pulpit but also an educated pew, demonstrating the high priority they placed on theological education. A Harvard education, the primary source of formal theological education in the seventeenth century, aimed to bring intelligence, critical organization, and study into communion with genuine piety. In 1701 some CLERGY in Connecticut, believing that the theological education at Harvard suffered from the influence of rationalism and ARMINIANISM, obtained a colonial charter for the establishment of Yale College. The professors of the new school, also educated at Harvard, wanted to restore to ministerial preparation the old connection between Calvinist piety and learning.

Other attacks on formal ministerial education arose in the midst of the First Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) when GILBERT TENNENT, Presbyterian pastor in New Brunswick, New Jersey, preached on “The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry” (1740). That sermon sounded an alarm about the “Pharisee-teachers” who were “letter-learned” but unconverted, and called for a new kind of ministerial education that gave due emphasis to religious conversion as a necessary prerequisite for ministerial training. That new education, he asserted, could be had at his father William Tennent’s Log

College (the future Princeton College). The revivalist emphasis on CONVERSION was not greeted with universal approval. Many at Harvard criticized the new emphasis on conversion because they perceived it as an escape from an enlightened examination of the Christian tradition. Spiritual enthusiasm without the guidance of reason, even revivalist supporters like JONATHAN EDWARDS argued, brought heat without light. A ministry, Edwards maintained, needed a spiritually formed reason, one that was guided by the biblical criteria. Other supporters of the Great Awakening, those on the radical edge, saw formal education of any kind as a hindrance to the movements of the spirit and sought to make the conversion experience itself the sole criterion for admittance into the ministry. Such a view of ministerial preparation was not widespread in the eighteenth century, but it became an increasing emphasis among the emerging evangelical Baptist and Methodist traditions in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century America.

Not all theological education in the colonies took place in the confines of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, William and Mary (established in 1694 by Anglicans), or Brown (established in 1764 by the BAPTISTS). Nor did evangelical conversion become the sole criterion for ministry among large numbers of the old Puritan denominations or the new evangelical traditions in the eighteenth century (see EVANGELICALISM). Much theological education for the ministry took place in parsonages or on Methodist circuits where young men were apprenticed to mature pastors or seasoned itinerant preachers. In the parsonages or on the circuits young men read THEOLOGY with senior pastors and learned the art of PREACHING and pastoring by following their example. Such apprenticeship programs developed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and into the first decades of the nineteenth century within a number of Protestant traditions, from PRESBYTERIANISM to UNIVERSALISM. Such theological preparations, though, were not universally reliable forms of education and in the nineteenth century the old Puritan traditions as well as some among the new evangelical traditions increasingly turned to colleges for theological education.

Throughout the nineteenth century the colleges became a significant locus for theological preparation for the ministry. In the antebellum period numerous new denominational colleges arose, many of them the creations of the graduates from Yale and Princeton, and a good number the result of efforts by Baptist and especially Methodist ministers. Many of these colleges were established in part to encourage vocations to the ministry. However, for Baptists and Methodists, the two largest Protestant denominations by 1830, the colleges were by no means the primary loci for theological education of the ministry. Less than half of the Baptist and Methodist ministers in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century had college degrees or were trained in theological schools. The antebellum Methodist Conferences, however, had prescribed a course of study for all their ministers. That course of study could be achieved through apprenticeship programs and did not have to be delivered through formal schooling.

In the early nineteenth century the seminary or divinity school became a new locus of theological education for the ministry. The seminaries arose from a variety of motivations: a desire to provide a more systematic and formal theological education than was provided in apprenticeship programs; an emerging sense of the ministry as a professional career comparable to that of other professional careers (physicians and lawyers) that needed formal education and training; and a need to preserve

denominational or confessional identity in a religiously pluralistic society. The emergence of the Protestant seminary system was the result of the Unitarian takeover of Harvard University in 1805 when the liberal Henry Ware, a Unitarian, was appointed to Harvard's Hollis chair of divinity, succeeding the Old Calvinist theologian David Tappan. That appointment angered the Old Calvinists and the New Divinity Men who, realizing that they had lost control of Harvard, joined together in 1808 to establish the first American freestanding Protestant divinity school, the Andover Theological Seminary. Soon thereafter other seminaries were established, many of them associated with the major universities.

Princeton Theological Seminary (1812) was the first among the universities to create a school specifically separated from the rest of the university and dedicated solely to the theological education of the Presbyterian ministry. Harvard, too, responded to this trend by founding the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in 1816, a society that eventually created Harvard Divinity School (1826), the training ground for over fifty years for the Unitarian ministry. Yale followed suit in 1822 when it created its own Divinity School, which became a potent theological force in the nineteenth century, developing, under the initiative of NATHANIEL WILLIAM TAYLOR, what became known as the New Haven theology. These seminaries and a number of others that were established as either freestanding or university-affiliated institutions focused on preparing a learned and pious ministry.

Although the seminaries and divinity schools fostered a relationship between piety and reason, they did not all understand or emphasize that relationship in the same way and by the 1840s and 1850s an incipient rift developed between the two. Learning could mean different things at various times: for the early seventeenth-century Puritans, learning meant following Peter Ramus and his philosophy; for some during the Great Awakening and thereafter it meant following JOHN LOCKE and ISAAC NEWTON; for Unitarians as well as Presbyterians at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century it meant the Scottish ENLIGHTENMENT; for others in the early to mid-nineteenth century it meant ROMANTICISM and/or German critical scholarship. Protestants, too, saw learning either as an instrumental means of promoting piety or as a critical discipline that was independent of piety. That division in the Protestant understanding of the relationship between spiritual and academic education would become increasingly evident in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Theological education in the divinity schools affiliated with major universities changed significantly in the 1880s with the rise of the modern research university. Between 1880 and 1930 those divinity schools particularly developed a theological scholarship that many considered freed from dogma and in keeping with the scientific methods of the age. The liberal evangelicals in the divinity schools saw education itself (not revivalism) as the primary means of winning Americans to the truth of Protestantism and as the chief way of enlarging Protestant influence in the country. The university divinity schools understood their roles as national agents or promoters of Christian truth, piety, and religious values in a scientific and bureaucratic age.

The development of specialized studies in the universities and in the divinity schools led to a certain fragmentation in the theological discipline as divinity school programs incorporated critical scholarship in biblical, historical, and systematic studies, and added specialties in the new sciences of sociology, psychology, and education to serve the needs

of changing, multipurpose “social congregations” in urban America. Piety and religious practice continued to provide a unifying element in the divinity schools, but the demands of new doctoral and master’s level degree programs left little time for spiritual development.

Throughout the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century conservative evangelicals, members of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT, and fundamentalists suspected all forms of critical learning (understood as learning without faith) in the divinity schools because they believed it threatened piety and the received faith of the churches. Many conservative Protestants, therefore, developed new forms of theological education that emphasized piety and in many cases subordinated learning to piety.

The new form of learning that emerged among conservative evangelical Protestants during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and well into the middle of the twentieth century was the Bible institute and Bible colleges. These new institutions promoted inductive biblical studies over critical methods, and practical over systematic theology in the preparation of ministerial candidates. These new schools, moreover, placed little or no focus on the traditional liberal arts curriculum as a preparation for theological education. Gradually after World War II many Bible institutes and colleges emerged from their almost exclusive emphasis on Bible studies and developed into accredited colleges with a liberal arts curriculum. Seminaries, too, for conservative evangelicals and fundamentalists emerged before and after the war, developing, as was the case with Fuller Theological Seminary, into degree-granting institutions of higher learning where critical thought and conservative evangelical piety entered into dialogue. However, the split in Protestantism between critical and precritical theological education for the ministry continued throughout the twentieth century.

Although liberal Protestant theological educators were primarily interested in ministerial education, they gave increasing attention in the twentieth century to the study of religion at the undergraduate level. Throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century the theological education of undergraduates was perceived as part of the Christian ministerial mission, and the divinity schools as well as freestanding seminaries prepared ministers and minister-professors for the denominational college religion programs. In 1911 Charles Foster Kent of Yale Divinity School lamented the sorry state of undergraduate religion at the denominational colleges and universities, where, in his estimation, the programs were catechetical and not focused on primary texts or the acquisition of foreign languages. In 1922 he helped found the National Council on Religion in Higher Education, a society that was devoted throughout much of the twentieth century to the improvement of the academic study of religion in undergraduate programs. By the 1940s and 1950s, undergraduate and graduate programs in religion began to develop in the state colleges and universities as well as in the denominational schools, and by the 1960s the growth of religious studies programs in these institutions forced a clear separation between teaching religion as a ministerial mission and teaching about religion from the perspective of a variety of empirical disciplines as well as from a theological perspective. The growth of these new programs also brought into existence in 1964 the American Academy of Religion to serve as a national professional organization for academic specialists in the study of religion. The impetus behind these movements to improve the study of religion came primarily from the divinity schools. The need to fill

academic positions in the new religious studies programs, more-over, transformed Protestant theological education to some extent by emphasizing the academic or empirical study of religion, a study that was divorced from spiritual formation.

By the late twentieth century a number of scholars in both the liberal and conservative Protestant evangelical traditions began to call attention to the historical developments that led to an increasing split between piety and learning in Protestant theological education and called for a reexamination of the relationship. The separation of the two was not by intention because by intention many of the divinity schools and seminaries continued to speak of FAITH seeking understanding as a goal of Protestant theological education. That relationship, however, was by no means evident in the time and energy given to WORSHIP and spiritual development in the large university-affiliated divinity schools, nor was it evident in the conservative evangelical institutions that had subordinated or made learning instrumental to piety.

See also Arminianism; Calvinism; Fundamentalism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Methodism; Puritanism; Revivals; Unitarian Universalist Association

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PATRICK W. CAREY

EDWARDS, JONATHAN (1703–1758)

Colonial American theologian. Jonathan Edwards was known in his own era as a Congregationalist pastor, a proponent of Reformed THEOLOGY, a prolific biblical exegete, a theologian adept in philosophy, a proponent of Protestant missions, and a defender of revivalism. He elaborated an aesthetic vision of theology—and a conception of divine beauty—that has continued to attract the attention of historians and theologians (see AESTHETICISM).

The Divine Beauty and Revivalist Piety

Born in East Windsor, Connecticut, on October 5, 1703, Edwards was the only son of the Congregationalist pastor Timothy Edwards and Esther Stoddard Edwards. A precocious child, he entered Yale College in 1716, graduating four years later and earning a master's degree in 1722. While a graduate student, he began his essay "Of Being," in which he drew on a philosophical idealism to contend that the world could not exist apart from an omniscient consciousness. A two-year pastorate at a Presbyterian Church in New York City allowed him to begin his notes on "The Mind," in which he explained human judgments about excellence and beauty as reflections of the mind's intuitive grasp of being as a vast set of relations and proportions, which Edwards believed to be manifestations of God's own excellence or beauty. During the same period, he began his lifelong habit of puzzling over ESCHATOLOGY, attempting in his "Notes on the Apocalypse" to decipher biblical clues about the beginning of a millennial age and the timing of the final judgment. In 1724 he moved to New Haven, Connecticut to teach as a tutor at Yale, where he continued his reflections on natural and spiritual beauty.

After receiving his M.A. degree, Edwards became an assistant to his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, at the Congregational Church in Northampton, Massachusetts. There he began "The Images of Divine Things," which proposed that the harmony of being entailed a resemblance between physical facts and spiritual truths. When Stoddard died in 1729, Edwards became the sole pastor, quickly gaining a reputation as a preacher and lecturer who combined a talent for philosophy with a Calvinist piety and theology. In 1734, his sermons sparked a revival of religion in his church and the surrounding region.

After a second wave of AWAKENINGS in 1740, Edwards defended the REVIVALS against critics who found them disruptive and divisive. His *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746) argued that genuine CONVERSION produced a love for the divine beauty and a selfless concern for one's neighbor. The book suggested that despite their excesses, the New England revivals displayed the presence of the Holy Spirit, and later published defenses of the revivals helped confirm generations of English-speaking Protestants in the belief that an experience of rebirth would be a mark of true faith. In 1747, Edwards published *A Humble Attempt* to stimulate a concert of PRAYER among Protestants throughout the world, and his correspondence with other Protestant CLERGY in America and the British Isles brought him into union with advocates of an international awakening.

Missions and Metaphysics

Edwards's zeal for converts led him to support MIS-SIONS to the Native Americans, and his 1749 account of the missionary DAVID BRAINERD would inspire later Protestant mission efforts. A dispute with his Northampton congregation over his desire for stricter membership standards led to his dismissal in 1751, but it also generated a discussion of the nature of the church that would continue for the next century. After his dismissal, Edwards became the pastor and missionary to the Housatonics and Mohawks in the outpost of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and he also found time to enter more deeply into European philosophical and theological discussions. His treatise on *The Freedom of the Will* (1754) attempted to refute Arminian ideas of self-determination, while his closely argued *Original Sin* (1758) attempted to undercut Arminian efforts to define sinfulness as a matter of human acts rather than innate dispositions (see ARMINIANISM). His *Nature of True Virtue* (1765) resumed his longstanding ethical interests by arguing, in contrast to British ethicists, that only a special divine GRACE could produce a truly virtuous "love to being in general." His *Concerning the End for Which God Created the World* (1765) used both biblical and philosophical argument to contend that the end of creation was, as Calvinists had long maintained, the Glory of God. In 1758 Edwards became the president of the College of New Jersey (in Princeton), but he died as a result of a smallpox inoculation within three months.

Edwards had a long-enduring influence on Protestantism in America and Britain. His disciples in the Edwardean tradition—especially SAMUEL HOPKINS (1721–1803), Joseph Bellamy (1719–1790), and Nathaniel Emmons (1745–1840)—kept alive Edwards's demand for stricter church membership and his revivalist fervor while also popularizing his distinction between natural inability, or constraint external to the will, and moral inability, or the will's inability to choose against its own inclinations, for which human agents bore responsibility. The distinction reappeared in Congregationalist and Presbyterian revivalism and in English and American Baptist mission movements, but it also intensified tensions among English-speaking Protestants. Some nineteenth-century Old School Presbyterians and Calvinistic BAPTISTS distrusted Edwards as a fount of HERESY; British and American Methodists liked his revivalist piety but

deplored his CALVINISM; nineteenth-century liberals relegated him to a forgotten past (see LIBERAL; PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Even many of Edwards's critics in America, however, from the Yale theologian NATHANIEL TAYLOR (1786–1858) to the Oberlin revivalist CHARLES G. FINNEY (1792–1875), bore residues of an Edwardean theological culture. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE (1811–1896), an admiring critic, used more than one of her novels to draw a broader Protestant public into the intricacies of Edwards's heritage. By the 1920s, Edwards served for progressives as a symbol of America's unfortunate Calvinist heritage, but two world wars and an economic depression, along with the rise of a neo-orthodox Protestant theology, helped spark a reassessment of a thinker who combined a sober reading of human nature with a hopeful glimpse of transcendent beauty.

See also Congregationalism; Neo-Orthodoxy; Presbyterianism

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E.BROOKS HOLIFIELD

ELECTION

Although often identified with the REFORMATION, the doctrine of election (and its associated idea of PREDESTINATION) had a long and somewhat uneasy history in the Christian church well before the Reformation. The uneasiness of this doctrine derives from the fact that it inevitably raises the question of God's justness in choosing some and not others. As traditionally defined, the doctrine of election is the sovereign act of God in eternity past in choosing or electing some persons to be saved or rescued from the consequences of their sins and therefore being destined for eternal life. Of course, theologians have recognized that election logically raises the difficult question of the eternal destiny of those God did not elect. This nonelection is called reprobation and may be conceived passively as passing over or actively as willful rejection.

Historically the DOCTRINE of election was not a theological conviction that necessarily distinguished Protestants from Catholics. From the time of Augustine this doctrine had been part of the theological lexicon of Christian thought. Augustine forged his understanding of election in large part through the polemics of the Pelagian controversy. For him divine election begins, not with abstract speculations about God in eternity, but with fallen man who exists in a mass of perdition (*massa perditionis*). This miserable fact governed his understanding of this doctrine. God's rescue of some from the mass of fallen humanity lies at the heart of Augustine's conception of divine election. In Augustine's vocabulary, election and predestination are synonymous and both are employed exclusively as the positive expression of the divine will to save a specific number of sinners (*praedestinatio ad vitam*). God elects "not because He foreknew that we should be such, but in order that we would be such by the election of His grace" (*De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 19.38). According to Augustine election is an exercise of sovereign free will without any regard to what man does or does not do in the future. He occasionally referred to reprobation as a corollary to election, but it was a topic he preferred to avoid.

Although the Pelagian controversy wreaked havoc in the early church, Augustine's doctrine of election received approval at the Second Council of Orange (529). To be sure not all actually agreed with Augustine, but it represented the standard view of the medieval CHURCH. There were those who felt Augustine's avoidance of reprobation was unwarranted and thus turned it into a doctrine of double predestination (*gemina praedestinatio*)—the idea that in eternity past God decreed the election of some to SALVATION and reprobated others to damnation. Gottschalk of Orbais articulated this

view in the seventh century and suffered imprisonment, but in the fourteenth century, the general of the Augustinian Hermits, Gregory of Rimini, and Thomas Bradwardine, the archbishop of Canterbury, advocated much the same view with impunity. Some have pointed to the existence of a late medieval school of thought (*Schola Augustiniana moderna*) that descended from Rimini and served as a theological resource for MARTIN LUTHER and the Protestants.

The Protestant Development of the Doctrine of Election

Reformation theologians evidence a broad acquaintance with all of the major fathers, both Greek and Latin, but it was Augustine who occupied first place in the pantheon of fathers. Although not infallible, he was the preeminently judicious and wise mentor on most theological questions, not the least of which was the doctrine of predestination. Because Protestants saw themselves as drawing on this heritage, they self-consciously appropriated an Augustinian doctrine of election.

All the major first-generation reformers (Luther, JOHN CALVIN, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI), following Augustine, affirmed unconditional election and were unafraid to go the extra step and embrace a doctrine of double predestination. Although the doctrine of election is most often identified with the Reformed branch of Protestantism, it was a vital part of early LUTHERANISM as well. Luther was no systematic theologian and never articulated a fully developed doctrine of election. However, it is abundantly clear from his work against Erasmus, *De servo arbitrio* (The Bondage of the Will), that he embraced a full-orbed doctrine of unconditional election and one can occasionally glimpse an underlying double predestination. For the most part Luther identified election with predestination and highlighted its pastoral benefit. It was a fundamental theological presupposition for Luther that everything flows from God's eternal decree in accordance with his sovereign will.

There is, however, a certain theological tension between Luther's emphasis on the overarching divine causality and his recognition that God desires the salvation of all. He solved this riddle by appealing to the distinction between the *Deus absconditus* (hidden God) and the *Deus revelatus* (revealed God). According to Luther the revealed will of God in the scriptures must be distinguished from the secret will of God who decrees all things including election to salvation and rejection unto damnation. In all of this Luther insists that God's ways are inscrutable and Christians must not pry into the mysteries of heaven.

Even before Luther's death in 1546 some followers of Luther began to retreat from his bold doctrine of double predestination. Leading the way was Luther's closest associate, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, who gradually moved in a synergistic direction. In the first edition (1521) of his *Loci Communes*, Melancthon had been a staunch defender of Luther's rigorous doctrine of election and predestination, although over time his Erasmian humanistic tendencies surfaced, leading to a significant modification of Luther's doctrine. The 1535 revision of the *Loci Communes* marked a turning point in Melancthon's understanding of election. His insistence that God is not the author of SIN

became an overriding concern in his thought. Although retaining his conviction that election depends entirely on the mercy of God, he maintained at the same time that human beings retain some ability to accept or reject FAITH. Melancthon famously concludes “the cause must be in man that Saul is cast away and David is accepted.” Whatever else one can say about election, Melancthon insisted that humans must cooperate with God to bring about salvation, although such cooperation must not be viewed as meritorious.

Melancthon’s synergistic view of election and reprobation eventually prevailed in Lutheran confessional statements. Article 11 of the *Formula of Concord* (1577) acknowledges election, but all speculation about the reprobate is dismissed as “inspired by Satan.” Melancthonian synergism exercised determinative influence on later Lutheranism in two ways. First, it led to the ultimate rejection of Luther’s more rigorous doctrine of double predestination. Second, it led inevitably to what would become a constitutive difference between the Lutheran and Reformed communities and a source of much hostility.

From a distance Calvin may appear to tower over other Reformed theologians, but the intervening centuries have had a way of distorting the historical reality. In recent years it has been increasingly recognized that the origins of Reformed theology do not derive exclusively from Calvin, but rather from a coterie of theologians who were associated with Swiss reform, including besides Calvin, Zwingli, HEINRICH BULLINGER, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and Wolfgang Musculus. Although each embraced the doctrine of election, they had varying emphases, and none of them made predestination the central dogma of their theological system.

Zwingli was a first-generation magisterial reformer and the inaugurator of Swiss reform. He did not give a lot of attention to the topic of predestination until his meeting with Luther at the COLLOQUY OF MARBURG in 1529. There Zwingli preached a sermon on providence and predestination to an audience that included Luther himself. This sermon was later expanded and published as *De providentia* (On Providence). There can be little doubt that of all the major Protestant reformers, Zwingli articulated the most extreme doctrine of predestination. Zwingli’s *De providentia* reveals his strongly philosophical cast of mind. Most obviously his philosophical orientation is signaled by the constant parade of ancient philosophers across the pages of this work. Concerning the ancients Zwingli reserved his greatest praise for the last great representative of Roman Stoicism, Lucius Annaeus Seneca. The most significant impact from Seneca is found in Zwingli’s all-encompassing doctrine of providence, of which predestination is a subcategory. Following Seneca he insists there is no secondary causality: “Nothing,” he writes, “is done or achieved which is not done and achieved by the immediate care and power of the Deity.” Indeed providence looms so large that there appears to be no room for human will or human responsibility. What is more, Zwingli’s understanding of predestination as indistinguishable from providence logically inclined him to the conclusion that God is the cause of human sin. Although God is absolved of any personal culpability, yet Zwingli can assert that God is the “author, mover and instigator of human sin.” At the core of Zwingli’s thought about election and reprobation is the notion that both issue directly from the divine will. Zwingli attributed both to the divine will in the same way, constructing an absolutely *symmetrical* doctrine of double predestination. The

cause and means of both election and reprobation are precisely the same. For Zwingli God is the exclusive and immediate cause of all things.

More than any other, Calvin is identified with the doctrine of predestination, in large part because he was called on to defend it repeatedly during his tenure in Geneva. However, the first signs of his predestinarian views became evident during the years in Strasbourg with MARTIN BUCER (1538–1541), first in his 1539 edition of the *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION* and then his commentary on *Romans* (1540). His debates with Albert Pighuis (1543) and Jerome Bolsec (1550) prompted further refinement, resulting in his *De aeterna praedestinatione* (On Eternal Predestination) in 1552 and reached its final expression in the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. For Calvin election was most often regarded as a subcomponent of the broader category of predestination—a rubric under which the positive aspect of election is distinguished from the negative aspect of reprobation. His conception of election is part of a “double predestination” in that God willed from eternity to elect some to eternal life for his own glory and reprobated others to eternal death to display his justice. He defines predestination as “God’s eternal decree by which he compacted with himself what he wills to become of each man. For all are not created in equal condition; rather eternal life is foreordained for some, eternal damnation for others” (*Institutes*, II.21.5). His doctrine of predestination was asymmetrical (contra Zwingli) in that he identified a different cause for eternal life than for eternal damnation. The cause of the former was the will of God in election, but the cause of the latter was identified as the sins of the reprobate. In Calvin the salvation of the elect reveals the depth of God’s mercy, and the condemnation of the reprobate displays the severity of his justice. He acknowledges that election and predestination are an inscrutable mystery, but he insists that an inability to understand does not give one the right to reject a doctrine so clearly revealed in scripture.

Calvin’s view more or less prevailed in Reformed confessions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although even in the Reformed branch there were various refinements. Peter Martyr Vermigli affirmed a doctrine of double predestination like Calvin. However, unlike Calvin, Vermigli tended toward a passive understanding of reprobation as a passing over, whereas Calvin seemed to conceive of reprobation as active. There were also theologians of the Reformed tradition who demurred about a full-fledged doctrine of double predestination. Bullinger of Zurich refused to accept reprobation as a necessary corollary to election, and his colleague at Zurich, Theodore Bibliander, openly opposed the rigorous predestinarianism of Peter Martyr Vermigli. So, despite the general consensus, there was some soteriological divergence.

In seventeenth-century Holland within the Reformed church, opposition to the Calvinistic teaching on predestination arose in the teaching of JACOBUS ARMINIUS. In his *Declaration of Sentiments* (1608) Arminius objected not only to double predestination, but also to the *supralapsarian* (as well as *infralapsarian*) conception of election. Although never normative for Reformed Protestantism, there were those whose doctrine of predestination inclined them to a *supralapsarian* order of the divine decrees—that is, in eternity, God’s decree of election (and reprobation) was logically before the decree to permit the fall. In effect this made the fall a means by which the decree of election and reprobation could be implemented. The majority tended to a more historic view of *infralapsarianism*—that is, in eternity, God decreed to permit the fall logically before God’s decree of election (and reprobation). According to this line of thinking,

election was seen as a rescue of sinners. Debate over this speculative aspect of predestination sparked intense controversy in the Dutch Protestant church between the Arminians and the Reformed (see ARMINIANISM).

Along with his rejection of the *supralapsarian* conception of predestination, Arminius also concluded that divine election is conditioned upon foreseen faith. The theological debate became a national controversy that was resolved at the Synod of Dordrecht (1618–1619). This national SYNOD, which included representatives from various Reformed Protestant churches throughout Europe, upheld the traditional Reformed belief in unconditional election along with the other so-called four main points of CALVINISM (total depravity, limited ATONEMENT, irresistible GRACE, and perseverance of the SAINTS). The Canons of Dordrecht (or Dort; see DORT, CANONS OF) clearly favored an *infralapsarian* conception of predestination, although without condemning *supralapsarianism*. This became normative for the Reformed ORTHODOXY.

Under the influence of the continental Reformed theologians, the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of Religion of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND also embraced unconditional election (article 17). There was a good deal of resistance but never enough to excise the article. The Puritan movement within the Anglican Church continued generally to uphold unconditional election and double predestination (see PURITANISM). For many Puritans the doctrine of election took on added significance by establishing a link to the doctrine of assurance. Scholars have often noted that among English and American Puritans the doctrine of election seems to provoke a certain anxiety over the assurance of one's election. In other words, Puritans came to increasingly ask the question: "How can I be assured that I am one of God's elect?" Early reformers tended to answer this question by pointing the anxious Christian exclusively to the promises of Christ. However, later Protestants and especially the Puritans, although acknowledging the viability of the earlier Reformed answer, wanted something more tangible and began to answer the question by pointing to certain signs (*signa posteriora*) of spiritual fruit in the individual's life, such as regular attendance at church, partaking of the SACRAMENTS, reading the BIBLE, and PRAYER. These signs became concrete evidences of one's election and thus, it was argued, relieved the anxiety. This kind of spiritual logic became known as the *practical syllogism* and, following a standard pattern of spiritual argument, was based on the theological principle that the elect necessarily exhibit certain observable signs of their election. If the individual exhibits those signs, then they are among the elect. The *practical syllogism*, in varying forms, was manifested in the teachings of the Synod of Dordrecht as well as in the thought of the American Puritan JONATHAN EDWARDS.

One of the most public controversies among leading Protestants in the eighteenth-century centered on the doctrine of predestination. The two founders of the Methodist movement, GEORGE WHITEFIELD and JOHN WESLEY, were bitterly divided over this theological issue. In 1740 when Whitefield was preaching in the American colonies during the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS), Wesley preached and published his sermon entitled "On Free Grace," in which he labeled the doctrine of election "blasphemy." The Wesleyan Methodists followed Arminius's view that election was based on foreseen faith, whereas the Calvinist Methodists and Whitefield upheld traditional Reformed doctrine of unconditional election. This controversy led to an irreversible breach between Wesley and Whitefield as well as their followers.

Modern Developments of the Doctrine of Election

Generally the doctrine of election continued to be advocated by Presbyterians and Evangelical Anglicans, denied by Methodists and Baptists, and ridiculed by secularists during the ENLIGHTENMENT of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was not until KARL BARTH that the doctrine of election received a new and revolutionary interpretation. For the Swiss theologian the doctrine of election was “the sum of the gospel.” In essence Barth turned the whole of theology into CHRISTOLOGY. While looking to the reformers for theological inspiration, he developed his understanding of election in a vastly different way. Where the Reformers tended to advocate a double predestination—election of some to salvation and reprobation to condemnation for others—Barth identified Christ with both the elect and the reprobate. According to his view divine predestination is properly described as a double predestination, which he understood as God making the double decision to elect all mankind to salvation in Christ as well as the decision to reprobate Christ himself in place of sinful humanity. Christ is at once the elect for all and the reprobate for all. Although Barth was unwilling to acknowledge a doctrine of *apokatastasis* (universal salvation), this seems to be the necessary conclusion to his unique understanding of double predestination. Thus Barth’s understanding of election is the victory over reprobation or, as he said, it is the “triumph of grace.” Barth’s distinctive approach has indeed removed the long-standing uneasiness of this doctrine, but in so doing has divorced the doctrine from its Augustinian origins.

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FRANK A.JAMES III

ELIOT, GEORGE (1819–1880)

English writer. Under the pseudonym George Eliot, Mary Ann (Marian) Evans wrote eight novels that all implicitly or explicitly explore religious themes. She explored religion throughout her own life as well.

Eliot was born November 22, 1819, in Warwickshire, ENGLAND. Early in life she experienced an evangelical CONVERSION, prompted by interaction with a boarding school teacher. After a family move in 1841, she came into contact with a circle of Unitarians. She left EVANGELICALISM and began to immerse herself in the ideas of DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS (whose *Life of Jesus* she translated), LUDWIG FEUERBACH, Auguste Comte, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL, and Baruch Spinoza. In 1854 she entered a relationship with George Henry Lewes, whom she would have married if his wife had granted him a divorce. His death in 1878 devastated her, but she did fall in love again and marry an old friend, John Walter Cross, shortly before her death on December 22, 1880.

Some scholars have concluded that Eliot abandoned Christianity entirely, but her writing suggests otherwise. Eliot's first two works, *Scenes of Clerical Life* (1858) and *Adam Bede* (1859), feature protagonists engaged in Christian ministry, including, in the latter, a female Methodist preacher. Eliot's best novel, *Middlemarch* (1872), centers on Dorothea Brooke, an autobiographical character who engages in religious scholarship and social justice work. Eliot's last novel, *Daniel Deronda* (1876), interweaves JUDAISM, Christianity, and elements of Comte's "religion of humanity." This blend reflects the views of the author, who wrote in an 1873 letter, "Every community met to worship the highest Good (which is understood to be expressed by God) carries me along in its main current."

See also Jesus, Lives of; Unitarian Universalist Association

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ELESHA COFFMAN

ELIOT, JOHN (1604–1690)

New England Puritan. John Eliot was a longtime minister in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and a missionary to American Indian peoples of southern New England. He was born in Widford, Hertfordshire, ENGLAND. A graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge in 1622, he was likely converted under Puritan pastor THOMAS HOOKER in 1629. Eliot emigrated to Massachusetts Bay in 1631 to enjoy worship services characterized by New Testament purity rather than by the “human additions and novelties” that he believed plagued an insufficiently reformed CHURCH OF ENGLAND. The following year the Roxbury congregation ordained him a teaching elder, and he remained there for fifty-five years.

Eliot embraced mostly mainstream Puritan positions, although two of his works, *The Christian Commonwealth* (1659) and *The Communion of Churches* (1665), expressed unconventional political, eschatological, and ecclesiological views that he later largely abandoned (see ESCHATOLOGY, ECCLESIOLOGY). He helped translate the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), a metrical Psalter that was the first book printed in New England. Eliot sought to make the Puritan church inclusive, as illustrated by his support for the Halfway Covenant and, more dramatically, his outreach to the Indians. He first preached to natives in 1646, gathered early converts into their own settlement at Natick by 1651, and published his first work in the Indians’ own Massachusett language in 1654. Eliot went on to found fourteen Indian “praying towns” and to translate the BIBLE and several Puritan devotional works into Massachusett. Such efforts earned him the title “Apostle to the Indians.” Although Eliot sought to transform the natives’ religion and much of their CULTURE, his long-term interaction with Indians in turn transformed him into a great respecter of their humanity and a great sympathizer with Indian problems. Eliot died on May 21, 1690.

See also Puritanism; Bible Translation

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RICHARD W.POINTER

ELIOT, T.S. (1888–1965)

English poet. Because he once described himself as “a classicist in literature, a conservative in politics, and a catholic in religion,” it would seem paradoxical to include T.S.Eliot in an *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*. However, Eliot’s final ANGLO-CATHOLICISM was as self-conscious a personal construction as his writing and politics—the outcome of a long and complex journey, mirroring his career pilgrimage from patrician Bostonian (albeit born in St. Louis, Missouri) to *enfant terrible* of modernist poetry, to London publisher and arbiter of English critical taste.

Critical opinion has always been sharply divided over Eliot’s poetical and religious evolution. For some the change from the disillusioned and agnostic radical of *Prufrack* (1917), the early poems, and *The Waste Land* (1922), to the Christian poet of *Ash Wednesday* (1930) and the *Four Quartets* (1943), was a retreat as unforgivable aesthetically and philosophically as his taking of British citizenship (1927) and his subsequent conservatism was politically. Yet with hindsight, early poems like *The Hippopotamus* are visibly more Christian than agnostic, and essays like *Tradition and the Individual Talent* (1919) presented an argument about the necessity of change as applicable to THEOLOGY as to its ostensible AESTHETICS.

More important, the later self-advertised “conservatism” conceals only thinly a continued poetic and theological radicalism. The apparent mysticism of *Ash Wednesday* distracted many readers from the fact that Eliot’s style was even more elliptical and fragmented than *The Waste Land*, the *Quartets*—together with the four verse plays, beginning with *Murder in the Cathedral* (1933)—continued to break new ground aesthetically. It was, moreover, typical of Eliot to advocate adherence to the traditions of the past at the very time that he was at his most theologically innovative. For him the great Christian “tradition” of European poetry and philosophy did not involve imitation of the past, but *changing* it—and seeing each new work as implying a radical reappraisal of all that had gone before. Proclaimed as an aesthetic and critical creed, it was less noticed that this was *also* a theological principle. Eliot’s critical veneration for Dante and the Metaphysical poets, JOHN DONNE, GEORGE HERBERT, Vaughan, and Marvell, stemmed also from a desire to write poetry that would change not merely readers’ understanding of the present, but of the past—a move that reached its fullest expression in his meditations on Britain at war in *Little Gidding*. Similarly for his new-found ANGLICANISM to survive, it was essential that it could answer JOHN HENRY NEWMAN’S criticism that it lacked self-awareness—and part of the answer lay in

changing our understanding of the tradition to which the Catholic Newman had appealed. Essays such as *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture* and *The Idea of a Christian Society*, controversial as they were to prove, were part of the same attempt to see his faith in social as much as aesthetic terms.

His encouragement of new poetic talent as a publisher, his Nobel Prize (1948), and his service in liturgical and educational developments made him a leading English public figure after World War II.

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STEPHEN PRICKETT

ELIZABETH I (ELIZABETH TUDOR) (1533–1603)

Elizabeth I was the savior of Protestantism in England, establishing it permanently as the state religion, ANGLICANISM, with the conservative Elizabethan Settlement of Religion in 1559. But Elizabeth's reluctance to permit any further religious change created the Puritan movement within Anglicanism and spawned a number of separatist churches. Elizabeth created the religious foundation for English-speaking Protestantism.

Her birth precipitated a schism between ENGLAND and Rome, and Elizabeth was educated by evangelical tutors. Spending some of her formative years in the household of Queen Katherine Parr of England, she learned the attitudes of Erasmian humanism and Protestant reform. As a youth she also learned the political necessity of cautious dissembling, appearing to be a Henrician Catholic under her father, HENRY VIII, an obedient Edwardian Protestant under her half-brother Edward VI, and a dutiful attendee of Catholic masses under her half-sister Mary.

After she took the throne on November 17, 1558, Elizabeth indicated her clear rejection of Catholicism. She repudiated TRANSUBSTANTIATION, refusing to allow the elevation of the host in her chapel services and at her coronation. By Easter 1559 her chaplain celebrated at a table rather than an ALTAR, and she received both the bread and the wine—sure signs of Protestantism. Elizabeth prudently refused to explain her personal theology, but her behaviors and writings demonstrate her to have been Erasmian, evangelical, and Lutheran in her preferences. Despite her certain Protestantism, Elizabeth was very cautious about religious change, irritating and infuriating Protestants who hoped that she would create a better disciplined, preaching church.

The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion created the Anglican Church with its prayer book LITURGY and its continued Episcopal structure of governance. Though Protestant in THEOLOGY, the church looked Catholic in structure. Its form may well have reflected Elizabeth's personal tastes in Protestantism. It certainly reflected the necessity of compromise with powerful Catholic forces in the nation. The queen, a Nicodemite keeping her religious conviction concealed, wanted political stability more than she wanted to please a jealous God, so the Act of Uniformity required all her subjects to use the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (1552), slightly amended, and left the bishops in

charge. By the Act of Supremacy, Elizabeth became Supreme Governor of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

As Supreme Governor, Elizabeth would not allow any infringement of her right to control religion. In 1562/3, when it was still expected that she would complete the reforms, the Convocation of CANTERBURY, representing the CLERGY, proposed to Parliament a set of disciplinary reforms and a statement of belief that became the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. Elizabeth exploded, making it clear that decisions about religion were not to be made without her permission. It was not until 1571 that the Thirty-Nine Articles became law, leaving the English church in a theological limbo for the first dozen years of her reign. Moreover, Elizabeth never permitted a reform of the discipline, so the church administered discipline according to the canon law (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE).

As events in the 1560s made it clear that Elizabeth was not going to allow further reformation of her church, those committed to it began to agitate for change. These "Puritans" were, in many ways, Elizabeth's direct creation, because she refused to respond to their concerns. One result was a Presbyterian movement that sought to strip the English church of its "evil" bishops and give power to congregations, but Elizabeth was not interested in sharing power with anyone. The 1570s and 1580s were dominated by the struggle between those who wanted a church more like Calvinist churches and those who defended the queen's prayer book religion and her bishops.

This caught her bishops between their queen and their consciences. In 1576, commenting that England already had enough preachers, Elizabeth ordered Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, to suppress "prophesyings," educational exercises that encouraged PREACHING. Grindal refused, reminding Elizabeth that she was a mortal creature and would be judged by God for hindering the duties of the bishops. She suspended him as archbishop, further encouraging the belief that PRESBYTERIANISM, or even separation from the established church, was the only way for the godly to complete the REFORMATION. When Grindal died in 1583, he was replaced by JOHN WHITGIFT. Called her "little black husband" by Elizabeth, Whitgift accepted the job of forcing the Puritans into obedience to their sovereign.

Elizabeth's commitment to religious stability meant that she was unwilling to allow persecution on religious grounds, but she did practice political persecution. She demanded obedience to her law, not ideological purity. Consequently, she did not punish Catholics for their faith, but for their allegiance to a foreign power, the Pope. After the Catholic Revolt of the Northern Earls in 1569 and her excommunication by the Pope in 1570, her government squeezed Catholics harder and harder, insisting they attend church and take communion or pay heavy fines. But they were not burned for heresy. On the other hand, Catholic missionary priests working in England were frequently executed for treason against the queen. By the 1590s, Elizabeth, feeling embattled on both sides, accepted harsher and harsher measures against anyone, Catholic or Protestant, who refused to participate in the religion established by law.

Elizabeth's intransigence was her most important contribution to English-speaking Protestantism. Her religious settlement created a national church with Protestant theology and Catholic structures. Across her long reign, supporters and detractors of that settlement hardened into forerunners of recognizable denominations. If Elizabeth had

been less stubborn, the religious history of the English-speaking world might have been very different.

See also Bishop and Episcopacy; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Evangelicalism; Lutheranism; Puritanism

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NORMAN L.JONES

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO (1803–1882)

Essayist, philosopher, and poet. Emerson was a guiding light in the movement of religious reform known as American transcendentalism. His essays also figured importantly in the emergence of a distinctively American literary tradition and the development of religious liberalism and romantic religion in the United States.

Early Years

Born May 25, 1803, in what was once the staunchly Puritan town of Boston, Emerson was the second of four surviving sons of Ruth Haskins Emerson and William Emerson (1769–1811), minister to Boston's First Church. The Emersons descended from a long line of New England clerics, but in contrast to the Calvinist faith of his Puritan forebears, Emerson's father aligned himself with the liberal *Unitarian* wing of the the Congregational churches. After his father died in 1811, Emerson and his brothers were raised primarily by their mother and a charismatic aunt, Mary Moody Emerson (1774–1863) who was for years her nephew's chief religious confidante and mentor.

At the age of fourteen Emerson entered Harvard College, where he was trained in the standard curriculum of the classics, rhetoric, history, English, and theology. Though only a middling student, he demonstrated some flair as an aspiring poet and essayist. It was in college, however, that he first began keeping the voluminous journal that served throughout his life as a rich resource for his essays, lectures, and addresses. Here he was also introduced to the new German school of biblical scholarship—the HIGHER CRITICISM—from the popular lecturer Edward Everett (1794–1865).

In 1825, after much indecision, Emerson resolved to enter the ministry, whereupon he began formal study at Harvard's Divinity School. Licensed to preach the following year, he served as a supply preacher for congregations in eastern Massachusetts until his ordination in 1829 at Boston's historic Second Church. Having meanwhile married a beautiful young heiress named Ellen Tucker, Emerson now seemed launched on a happy and prosperous career, but after a mere sixteen months of marriage, Ellen succumbed to tuberculosis, leaving her husband adrift and disconsolate. The next year, in protest over

his church's insistence on the traditional administration of the COMMUNION rite, Emerson resigned his pastorate and embarked on his first extended journey abroad.

In the wake of Ellen's death in 1831, Emerson underwent a kind of religious transformation, of which the first fruit was the publication in 1836 of his book, *Nature*. Part sermon, part prose-poem, *Nature* was Emerson's earliest attempt to put his new romantic religious and philosophical vision into words. In the weeks following the appearance of *Nature*, Emerson began meeting informally with several of his friends, mostly Unitarian clergymen, to discuss recent views on art, religion, and science. The meetings soon attracted the attention of a wider association that formed the nucleus of the transcendentalist movement.

Emerson's Views Develop

Two addresses delivered in the decade of renewal following Ellen's death serve as the best gauges of Emerson's mature views on Unitarian religion and Christianity in general. The first of these, "The Lord's Supper," he presented to his parishioners in the fall of 1832 to explain his reasons for stepping down. Reviewing the history of the communion rite in Western churches and the gospel evidence concerning its origins, he concluded that Jesus never intended to establish a rite of perpetual observance and that it was not appropriate to celebrate the rite as the church was then doing. Emerson's critique of the communion rite reflected the influence of German historical methods, but was fueled by his growing dissatisfaction with the church's general adherence to what he termed "formal religion"—religion in which the outer forms of religious observance are thought to overwhelm its inner spirit.

The famous address Emerson delivered at the commencement ceremonies of Harvard's Divinity School in 1838 set out his considered theological positions even more defiantly. Here he argued that traditional Christianity had committed two grave errors: first, it had become unduly preoccupied with the person of Jesus of Nazareth, and second, it no longer gave sufficient heed to the true source of revelation—the soul itself, stronghold of the "moral nature"—what Emerson variously referred to as the Self, the Over-soul, or the God within. Here he made his Christological views explicit: Jesus was the "true man," the greatest moral exemplar and teacher in the history of the world, but he was not the son of God in any exclusive sense. Emerson's address triggered an avalanche of protest from Unitarian authorities, including Harvard's professor of biblical literature, Andrews Norton (1786–1853), who condemned Emerson's address as the "latest form of infidelity."

Following the controversy triggered by the Divinity School address, Emerson withdrew from religious polemics to dedicate his energies to various writing projects. Besides his involvement with *The Dial* (1840–1844), the first transcendentalist literary magazine, he worked assiduously to complete two collections of essays upon which his subsequent reputation was built: *Essays: First Series* (1841) and *Essays: Second Series*, published three years later. "Self-Reliance," perhaps America's most famous and controversial essay, appeared for the first time in the collection of 1841. Emerson's

ruminations on the universal immanence of the moral law had convinced him that the human soul was itself grounded in divinity, a concept for which he found corroboration in the Quaker doctrine of the inner light, and later in his reading of the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads.

While continuities may be seen between Emersonian self-reliance and Quaker piety, and even with older patterns of New England faith, Emerson's theological views represented a striking departure from tradition. Quick to affirm his belief in the divinity of man and nature, he also voiced doubt about doctrines ascribing personality to God. The "Self" or divine principle in Emersonian thought was impersonal and monistic, not theistic. Also distinctive of Emersonian thought was its emphasis on process and transformation. Thus, Emersonian thought exhibited marked suspicion of traditional metaphysical or theological formulations. Good flowed from the soul's outward expansions; evil was its mere privation.

Emerson's Writings

The publication of Emerson's first two books of essays was followed in 1850 by *Representative Men*, and by *English Traits* in 1856. Before his death in 1882, several more collections followed, including *The Conduct of Life* (1860) and *Society and Solitude* (1870). By mid-century, Emerson had acquired the status of an American cultural icon. Through the popularization of his poems and essays, "the Sage of Concord" had become America's representative philosopher. Emerson died on April 27, 1882.

Although Emerson did not participate actively in the affairs of the Unitarian church after the controversies of the 1830s, by the end of the century the views of the transcendentalist ministers had become part of a normative Unitarian outlook. On the other hand, mainline Protestant denominations have tended to ignore Emerson because of his abandonment of traditional theological forms, his preference for the languages of science and philosophy, and his conception of Jesus primarily as a moral exemplar. Nevertheless, his legacy fundamentally altered the cultural landscape within which American churches have developed.

See also Romanticism; Unitarian-Universalist Churches

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ALAN D.HODDER

EMPIRICAL THEOLOGY

How is one to know what is religiously true? Dissatisfaction with poor answers to this question has led religious thinkers to examine critically their religious knowledge. Among those who have done this are empirical theologians.

In their efforts to justify their claims to truth, empirical theologians have based their religious knowledge on religious experience. Unlike most other religious thinkers, empirical theologians have understood religious experience to be a form of perception. Also, for the empirical theologians this perception refers to concrete and natural evidence rather than to supernatural events.

Empirical theologians are often called “liberals,” because they assume that people must decide for themselves whether their evidence is religiously persuasive (see LIBERAL; PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Many other theologians have disagreed with them, particularly neo-Reformation theologians, who have followed in the line of thought extending from St. Augustine (354–430), to MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546), to KARL BARTH (1886–1968). The neo-Reformation theologians argued that people are so misled by their sin and natural limitations that their evaluation of evidence is unreliable, so that God must intervene and lead them to the truth (see NEO-ORTHODOXY).

Philosophical Origins of Empirical Theology

To introduce empirical theology historically, the story of its philosophical origins will be interpreted with the bias of an empirical theologian. Empirical theology is understood to be an effort to defend religious knowledge in a new way, particularly after it had been challenged by a turn of events in European thought. Take empiricism back to its modern origins, back to Englishman FRANCIS BACON (1561–1628), who was the first major Western thinker to propose an empirical method for learning about the world. Bacon was impatient with thinkers who seemed to spin ideas out of their thought or who followed what he called the “idols” of biased perception, private predilection, commercial metaphor, and philosophical dogma. He admired the new scientists, such as Copernicus and Galileo, who looked to physical evidence in the world that stood before them.

JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704) also revolted against those who believed that good ideas could be gained by thought alone. For Locke, the mind possessed no ideas innate to itself, but began as “a blank slate,” an “empty cabinet” ready to be filled with clear and distinct ideas delivered by the five senses as they regarded the external world. The store of ideas contributed by the five senses was increased, Locke said, by additional ideas contributed by a kind of “internal sense,” whereby one reflects on the ideas gained through sensation and relates those ideas to each other through acts of reason, believing, doubting, or willing.

Locke was followed by other empiricists, principal among them the Scottish philosopher DAVID HUME (1711–1776). Hume went beyond Locke by asserting that if we have only our own impressions (“matters of fact”) and only our own ways of relating those impressions (“relations of ideas”), then we have no reason to claim that our beliefs apply to the external world. We merely have head-realities—impressions and ways of relating impressions. Accordingly, such external realities as space, time, and causality are merely *our* habits of speech, only customs of talking about *our* impressions and their logical relations. But Hume went still further. For him, religion, AESTHETICS, and ETHICS failed to refer even to matters of fact and relations of ideas. Religion, aesthetics, and ethics cannot show how they are based on facts or on the relations of ideas, so that if they are theories, then they are theories without even the weak empirical plausibility that Hume had accorded to sense experience.

Before Hume, an implicit empiricism had been Western religion’s best friend. Scriptural JUDAISM, Christianity, and Islam had all used historical evidence to justify their beliefs. God had been encountered not behind closed eyelids and not behind closed doors in dark, silent chambers, but rather in the open spaces of the desert, in the clouds on mountaintops, in the outcomes of military battles, in green pastures and beside still waters, in outdoor sermons before hungry crowds, and at a bloody execution on the outskirts of Jerusalem.

Modern philosophical empiricism could have refined sense knowledge and lent new plausibility to the implicit empiricism of the scriptures and traditions of the ancient Middle East. But Hume prevented that; even if religious language had been empirical, empirical knowledge referred to the self rather than to the world external to the self. In effect, he bent the hook of Western religious thought, so that it caught only the garments of the believer and let the fish in the sea of history swim away. He turned history’s time, space, and causality into arid customs of thought and made the mighty acts of God ghostly constructions imaginatively entertained in the private interiors of isolated individuals.

But it was not as though Hume—an elite, European, male—had single-handedly dissolved empiricism and with it the hard, time-tested reality of the masses. Hume’s argument was simply an emblem of the emerging, secular, commercial, and scientific practices and beliefs of ordinary Europeans. He and they treasured information, whatever it referred to, and began to have doubts about the supposedly factual religious stories of the ancient Middle East. They created a new, self-critical empiricism that broke the religious bed in which, for millennia, religious claims had been sleeping and exposed religious beliefs to drafts of hostile analysis. No one, certainly not the European masses, had wanted to expose religion to hostile analysis, but this happened anyway.

The well-meaning German philosopher IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804) tried to save the West from empirical skepticism, but he only made matters worse. He first turned his attention to empirical knowledge, primarily to save SCIENCE, which had long assumed that its empirical knowledge had referred to something real. Agreeing with Hume that science's knowledge might not refer directly to the external world, Kant argued that it was nevertheless true, because it was based on universal structures of the human mind. Space and time, quantity and quality, and substance and causality were universal aspects of thought, Kant said, and it was the human mind that, with these structures, made knowledge of the external world possible, not the other way around. Using mental structures, science synthesized phenomena and thereby arrived at real truth. However, although he may have cast aside Hume's bent hook, Kant seemed also to place the fish of the sea of history in the aquarium of the human mind.

For Kant, science kept one foot in the known world of phenomena, but morality and religion were entirely removed from that world. Morality and religion depended on one's own private will to do what is good, but this will derived neither from sense experience nor from pure and universal reasons of the mind. Nevertheless, Kant argued that the moral will was thoroughly real, so that people should examine it and uncover and affirm what it presupposed. Among those presuppositions was a God who would reward moral efforts in HEAVEN as they were not rewarded on Earth. However, this God was derived from reasoning about one's internal, spiritual life and had no empirical basis.

Kant's efforts were about as helpful to religious empiricism as ocean water is to a thirsty person. Kant may have saved science's indirect access to phenomena of physical history, but at the same time he removed God from physical history. For Kant, religious meaning was derived from reasoning about the subjective human spirit, not from the social and incarnational histories so important to the ancient Israelites and Christians.

The solution offered by Kant and other nineteenth-century philosophical idealists caused the great majority of theologians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to locate religious knowledge more in the private and spiritual events of a person's heart and mind than in the public and material events of a society's history. For these theologians, people might sit in the train of spatial-temporal history, but their religious dreams were about a world outside spatial-temporal history. These theologians were more attuned to Plato and Aristotle, whose sublime ideas existed somehow apart from historical contingency, and less attuned to the biblical worlds in which material and spiritual history were united and made up all the world there was.

Anticipations of Empirical Theology

Empirical theology was primarily an American effort to return to the world of Locke and to begin again to interrogate carefully the external world in search of concrete evidence on which to base religious experience and knowledge. Reverting to where Locke had left off, empirical theologians were blessed—some say cursed—with the naiveté of those who assumed that they perceived a world external to themselves. This recovery began with American theologian JONATHAN EDWARDS, whom historian Perry Miller has

called “the first and most radical, even though the most tragically misunderstood, of American empiricists” (Miller 1948:137). Admittedly, Miller’s interpretation stands against what may be the more accepted interpretation: that Edwards was a philosophical idealist, more influenced by the CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS than by Locke’s empiricism. According to Miller, the youthful Edwards obtained a copy of Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and understood in a flash why Locke had replaced understanding based on ideas innate to the human mind with ideas derived from the five senses. But Edwards became the protege who carried the master’s doctrine further than had the master; he bridled at Locke’s restriction of perception to the five senses and asserted that there were other forms of perception, specifically what he called “the sense of the heart.” The sense of the heart was not only an affection, but also a form of perception—one that, for example, went beyond the idea that God was holy or displeased and actually perceived God’s holiness or displeasure, just as the actual taste of the sweetness of honey went beyond the idea that honey is sweet. With this fuller empiricism, Edwards argued, for example, that religious words can be restored through renewing the perception on which they are based; that when SIN alienates the inclinations, one’s perception can be newly opened to God’s spirit as it is perceived in God’s works; and that sensational PREACHING (for example, revivalist preaching about damnation) can enliven the sense of the heart.

Although America had to wait more than 100 years for the next great theorist of religious empiricism, WILLIAM JAMES (1842–1910), this is not to say that empirical theology in various popular forms was absent in America from Edwards’s death in 1758 until the 1870s, when James came into his own. Pietistic evangelicals made religious affections key to religious identity, thereby centering theological truth on a religious experience that might be called “religious perception of religious evidence.” This PIETISM began at least with the first Great Awakening (1740–1742) (see AWAKENINGS); was sustained by various Congregationalist, Methodist, Baptist, Disciples, Presbyterian, and independent groups; was boosted by a series of large REVIVALS lasting until at least 1875; and grew stronger through the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. However, connections between pietistic evangelicals and empirical theologians were seldom appreciated, because each group regarded the other suspiciously across a canyon of cultural differences.

Meanwhile, like Edwards, James carried the empiricism of Locke to a deeper level, calling it “radical empiricism.” James began as a materialistic empiricist, first as a medical student and then as the psychologist who set up America’s first laboratory for psychological research. However, his investigations led him to believe that clear and conscious sensations of medical facts were less important than the relations among the facts—the “near, next, like, from, towards, against, because, for, through”—none of which could be sensed. These relations convey the desire underlying a sensed activity, the goal that it seeks, and the dangerousness, beauty, and utility that it conveys. For James, these are “affective phenomena” or “appreciative attributes,” missed entirely by Locke (and, later, by the twentieth-century positivists, who would confine perception to reports of the five senses). Perceiving these relations, we do not just invent, guess at, or think about the feelings and values in the external world, but actually feel them.

In *Varieties of Religious Experience* and *A Pluralistic Universe*, James argued that religious experience itself could be a form of nonsensuous perception. Religion is a

person's "total reaction upon life," and religious perception is "that curious sense of the whole residual cosmos as an everlasting presence, intimate or alien, terrible or amusing" (James 1985:36–37). Within that cosmos, the divine is perceived as "a wider self," "a more," escaping our exact knowledge much as human language escapes the knowledge of the cat dozing at our feet as we converse in a library. James became the first scientist to reconcile and make singular what had been two separate worlds, one religious and spiritual, the other irreligious and physical. Admittedly, James did not reach this point single-handedly, but rather with the guidance of many Europeans—perhaps most obviously the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941).

James's radical empiricism was extended by the English-American mathematician and philosopher of science Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947) and by fellow pragmatist John Dewey (1859–1952). When Whitehead, already a famed mathematician and philosopher of science, came to the UNITED STATES at age 63, he published in rapid succession at least seven books, each of which gave abstract knowledge a basis in vague physical experience. For Whitehead, primitive perception became less like a pipeline for clear and distinct impressions and more a means of registering the emotional impact of surrounding circumstances. For example, he pointed to the incomprehensible sense of attraction or repulsion felt as one enters a room, making one feel like an iron filing entering a magnet's field of force. Because of this, and often against their will, people find themselves making spontaneous, half-conscious judgments that are colored in ways they cannot understand. For Whitehead, conscious, clear sense experience and thought were only the unreliable abstractions from this rich soup of feeling. Impishly, Whitehead had stood Plato, René Descartes, Locke, and Hume on their heads; for him, vague, barely conscious, physical feeling was no longer the contaminated effluvia of reliable knowledge, but rather the solid rock on which all knowledge is built.

Whitehead believed that the religious response began as a feeling, not as an idea but rather as a vague intuition of the sacred. It was a perception of the one reality that stood beyond the chaos of the mundane world—the one reality that organizes and evaluates what otherwise is "a mass of pain and mystery" and that lures the perceiver to more intense satisfactions. Calling this reality "God," Whitehead contended that it incites us to embrace, integrate, and enjoy as much of the world's diversity as we can endure, to evolve rather than to devolve or to settle for the flat plane of monotonous repetition. God is best known directly, through mostly unconscious perception rather than through any text, ritual, or institution.

Just as Whitehead, in classic empirical fashion, moved beyond the abstraction of mathematics, John Dewey moved beyond the abstractions of German idealist GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL and began to think like a Darwinian and to talk of an "immediate empiricism" (see DARWINIANISM). Organisms lived in environments, and organisms and environments changed so regularly that they would continually lose life-sustaining connections with each other. To save themselves from destruction and to attain a new synchronicity with their environments, human organisms envisioned new forms of "the whole." They imagined a new and wider universe, one capacious enough to bring changing environments and organisms back into a working relation with each other. Finally, this whole not only was imagined, but also was perceived with what Dewey called a "sense of totality," "the sense of an extensive and underlying whole," an apprehension of an "imaginative totality"—or, most simply, "a sense of the whole."

Perceived aesthetically, Dewey said in *Art as Experience*, this wholeness is an art object; perceived religiously, Dewey said in *A Common Faith*, this wholeness to the universe can be called “God,” for it accomplishes what God is said to accomplish.

Four Empirical Theologians

Here was an American intellectual heritage, philosophically rich, theologically original, and religiously suggestive; but, except for Edwards, its authors were philosophers of religion rather than theologians. Four Americans who were modern theologians took up the task of theologically enlarging this prototype for empirical theology, connecting it with biblical and traditional questions of theology as well as with the cosmologies and methods of the sciences. Their writing, as well as writings of those who have echoed and extended their work, can be grasped quickly if it is seen in the light cast by the Edwards and the new philosophers of religion.

In 1919, Douglas Clyde Macintosh’s *Theology as an Empirical Science* argued that theology should adopt some of the empirical methods of the natural sciences, and Macintosh proposed a genre of “new theology.” A Canadian who taught at Yale University, Macintosh (1877–1948) argued that theologians must first discern what God seems to have accomplished in the world. Only then can they arrive at concepts of God, inferring what God must be if God is to do what God has done. Subsequently, when theologians have more fully formed their concepts of God, they must apply them to the world’s evidence and test them for their truth. For Macintosh, theology was based on perception of the world, but was not radical in James’s sense or immediate in Dewey’s sense, nor did it rely on the elemental forms of physical apprehension to which Whitehead would turn. Instead, it relied on the reports of the senses to discover God’s overt effects in a world of everyday events. Nevertheless, Macintosh’s work stood squarely in the line of British ENLIGHTENMENT empiricism and of the basic American turn to empirical evidence advocated by Edwards, James, Dewey, and Whitehead. Macintosh’s concept of God also was, however, classically orthodox in making God absolute and unambiguously good.

In *Religious Experience and Scientific Method*, Henry Nelson Wieman (1884–1975) acknowledged that God can be more or less perceived in vague and noncognitive experiences. This meant that what we sensuously perceive is mere oil on the surface of a deep religious ocean of experience. However, because this nonsensuous experience was so ephemeral, Wieman concentrated on what was empirically more obvious: the difference between what we by ourselves are able to create and what in fact we do create. In short, we know that we are given opportunities for creativity that we have not given ourselves. Wieman called the giver of those opportunities “God” and enjoined his readers to admit that they are utterly dependent on this God. In *The Source of Human Good*, Wieman argued that the reality of this source of human good was so palpably obvious that atheism was absurd, so that our principal responsibility was to find ways to collaborate with it. Humans would best collaborate by doing all they could to open themselves to what is strange to them, absorb it, synthesize it, and allow it to change their

lives, particularly to advance the creativity of their communities. All of this was possible, however, only because a source of creativity stood behind the process; the experience of this source of creativity was the experience of God.

Bernard Eugene Meland (1899–1993) was Wieman’s student and colleague, but, as an empiricist, he was the first major theological voice for the nonsensuous empiricism of James, Dewey, and Whitehead. Meland sought evidence for the divine in the subtle subsurface of the experienced world. Much as James held out for an experience of a “More,” Dewey for a sense of the “whole,” and Whitehead for an intuition of the sacred, Meland held out for an appreciative awareness of the “Creative Passage” experienced at the vague and indefinite margins of conscious experience. Toward the end of his career, especially in *Fallible Forms and Symbols*, Meland would thunder against fellow theologians, even fellow empirical theologians, who would crudely, he thought, demand precision in human thought about what was deeper than human thought. Meland’s corrective was not to invoke a judging God that would correct finite and sinful efforts to describe God, not invoke mystics of the East or West who would dismiss the world, but rather to call for more deft and sensitive ways of religiously discerning the concrete world. Meland aspired to lay hold of that which lay behind the surface of cultural, political, and scientific phenomena, without distorting it.

Bernard M. Loomer (1911–1985), like Wieman and Meland, was a professor at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, but became less rationalistic and more empirical only in the last decade of his life, after he had moved to The Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, CA. As a disciple of Whitehead, Loomer was a nonsensuous empiricist, concentrating on the aesthetic character of specifically religious experience. He took Wieman’s lead and focused on the need to internalize and reconcile within ourselves those things that diverge most from our expectations. But he went beyond Wieman in suggesting that, in their appreciation for ambiguity, people could perceive God nonsensuously, as “the organic restlessness of the whole body of creation,” which promoted the creative diversity of the universe. In its concentration on contrast within identity, this perception was more aesthetic than moral or spiritual. Loomer wrote no books, but his essay “The Size of God,” written shortly before his death, became unexpectedly influential. There, unlike Wieman, Loomer acknowledged that God was morally ambiguous, promoting both the good and the evil that creativity makes possible.

For all their independent theological genius, the works of these most important empirical theologians (with the possible exception of MacIntosh) are best understood as extensions of the breakthroughs achieved by James, Dewey, and Whitehead. None of them seriously attempted to revise biblical interpretation, historic traditions of religious thought, or ecclesiastical symbols. Although their theological writings opened new doors and spawned an empirical style in theology, their full theological promise is yet to be realized.

The Future of Empirical Theology

At first, the wisdom of empirical theology seemed to be demonstrated by the disciples it inspired, and the realization of its full theological promise seemed imminent. But the story of the students and followers of the empirical theologians grew unexpectedly complicated, for empirical theology was made problematic in the 1980s by the new postmodernists' distrust of meta-physics and empiricism, as well as by their fondness for pluralism and relativism (see POSTMODERNITY). The postmodernists challenged empiricism's assumption that evidence could be known objectively and that religious truth could be justified by reference to its sources. Empirical theology's line of argument split into three forks, none of which simply extended the original trajectory.

Those who most closely followed that trajectory of empirical theology attempted to revise empirical theology for a new age. Some (e.g., Jerome Stone, Tyron Inbody) reconceived empirical theology. Others elaborated the empirical implications of Whitehead's philosophy of religion and formed one branch of what came to be called "PROCESS THEOLOGY." These Whiteheadians focused on naturalism and ECOLOGY (e.g., Donald Crosby, Jay McDaniel), on social justice and economic development (e.g., Marjorie Suchocki, John Donald Crosby, Jay McDaniel), on social justice and economic development (e.g., Marjorie Suchocki, John Cobb), and on the examination of parapsychology and scientific empiricism (e.g., David Griffin).

A second group, more deeply shocked by postmodern attitudes, veered away from the trajectory of empirical theology without abandoning it altogether. They found in postmodern thought new and unexpected grounds for a modest empirical theology. They acknowledged that the naturalistic metaphysics of empirical theology had been undermined. However, they found possibilities for revising empirical theology in philosophical deconstructionism, neopragmatism, and a new historicism. They focused on the empirical meanings of history (e.g., William Dean), TRADITION (e.g., Delwin Brown), and pragmatism (e.g., Sheila Davmore pluralistic revisions of empirical theology (e.g., Nancy Frankenberry, Marvin Shaw).

Later, a third group of students and friends of empirical theology (e.g., Frankenberry, Creighton Peden) took shape. They accepted the theological damage caused by the new turn away from metaphysics and toward pluralism and relativism, abandoned efforts at the revision of empirical theology, retained their affection for their former heroes, but called for the decent and complete burial of their theology.

Empirical theology had carried tantalizingly far the latent empiricism of the BIBLE and the explicit empiricism of Francis Bacon. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a critical reaction to postmodern skepticism is setting in. If this permits the restoration of empirical theology, then its task will be, at last, to return the favor that it long ago received, changing secular CULTURE as it had once been changed by that culture.

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WILLIAM DEAN

ENGLAND

Protestant beliefs first began to make an impact in England during the fifteenth century, and their residual impact was a significant factor in the English Reformation and the creation of a Protestant CHURCH OF ENGLAND by 1558. Tensions between English Protestants in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries resulted in the creation of a number of Protestant churches outside the established Church of England after 1660, and there were further secessions from the established church after the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, there were many different Protestant churches in England, but Protestantism remained the dominant religion. Although Protestantism was still the religion of two-thirds of English Christians in the late twentieth century, it had been greatly weakened by the growth of Roman Catholicism in England, the growth in the number of people following non-Christian faiths, and the overall decline of religious observance since 1850.

The Origins of Protestantism in England

The origins of English Protestantism are to be found in the teachings of John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384) and his followers, the Lollards. Wycliffe attacked papal AuTHORITY, advocated a literal interpretation of scripture, and rejected the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION. The Lollards promoted these ideas in highly populist language. Though Lollardy was driven underground by persecution, its beliefs survived until the 1520s, when they began to be fused with the doctrines of LU-THERANISM, imported to England as a result of trade with the Dutch and North German ports. Lutheran ideas also began to be adopted by a number of university-based English theologians.

The Reformation in England

Protestant doctrines were not, however, a major element in the first phase of the English Reformation in the reign of HENRY VIII. This involved only a breach with Rome, and Catholic DOCTRINE was strictly enforced, though some leading churchmen, such as THOMAS CRANMER, clearly wished to move the English church in a more Protestant direction. This was only achieved, briefly, in the reign of Edward VI (1548–1553) and, finally, after the succession of ELIZABETH I in 1558. English Protestantism of the late sixteenth century was Calvinist rather than Lutheran in doctrine, both in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER and the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, but the English church retained both episcopacy (see BISHOP and EPISCOPACY) and the administrative structure of the pre-Reformation church, as well as some modest elements of Catholic ceremonial in its public WORSHIP. Starting in the 1560s, an extreme Protestant lobby within the English church pressed for the abolition of bishops, of special VESTMENTS used by the CLERGY, and of the limited ceremonial permitted by the *Book of Common Prayer*. The late twentieth century brought a major reassessment of the impact of PURITANISM within the English church in the late sixteenth century, and it has been shown that the moderate form of CALVINISM adopted by the church leadership enjoyed widespread support throughout England.

Puritans versus Arminians

Further conflict between Puritans and non-Puritans in England took place in the early seventeenth century as a result of the deliberate rejection of Calvinism and the adoption of ARMINIANISM by many English bishops and clergy. This was combined with the introduction of more ceremony into the church services and relocation of the ALTAR from the body of the church to the east end of the chancel, where it was railed in and covered with an elaborate carpet to emphasize its sacramental nature. Puritan opposition to Arminian bishops, such as LANCELOT ANDREWES and WILLIAM LAUD, was a major factor in the English CIVIL WARS of the 1640s, which resulted in the temporary abolition of episcopacy in 1645 and of the monarchy in 1649. During the 1650s both CONGREGATIONALISM and PRESBYTERIANISM were widely adopted in England. A number of congregations of BAPTISTS had also been formed in the early seventeenth century, and these were also tolerated. More extremist Protestant groups, such as the LEVELLERS and SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, were not.

Episcopacy was re-established with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Although efforts were made to accommodate the different groups of Puritans, these were not wholly successful, and a number of Puritan clergy were ejected. These clergy and their followers set up their own Congregational or Presbyterian churches, all of which, together with those of the Baptists, were granted limited TOLERATION in the 1680s. Protestant dissenters from the established church, however, remained relatively few during the first half of the eighteenth century and were excluded from political and public

office (see DISSENT). After the withdrawal of the more extreme Puritans, the Church of England reverted to the high church doctrines and practices favored by the Arminian bishops of the early seventeenth century, and this outlook dominated Anglican theology until the mid-nineteenth century. This THEOLOGY included a strong belief in the divine nature of monarchy and the importance of the close links between CHURCH AND STATE.

The Evangelical Revival

During the eighteenth century, both PIETISM and rationalism had a major impact on the Protestant churches in England. Pietism resulted in the Evangelical Revival, which began with JOHN WESLEY, CHARLES WESLEY, and GEORGE WHITEFIELD in the Church of England in the 1730s. Whereas the Wesleys were Arminian in doctrine, Whitefield was a Calvinist. Both groups, however, were anxious to remain within the established Church of England but gradually withdrew, in the case of the Wesleyans not until the 1790s, as a result of Episcopal and clerical opposition. METHODISM, as it was generally termed, was opposed by the bishops on the grounds that it encouraged religious enthusiasm and might lead to political radicalism and a breach in the close relationship between church and state, and also because they believed (wrongly in many cases) that Methodists were seeking to reintroduce within the Church of England the Calvinist doctrines that ANGLICANISM had rejected in the early seventeenth century. In fact, it was the Calvinist minority within Methodism that, with relatively few exceptions, remained within the Church of England and provided the core membership of Anglican EVANGELICALISM in the nineteenth century.

Rationalist influences within the Protestant churches in England had their greatest impact on NONCONFORMITY, because determined action by the bishops ensured that they made little headway in the Church of England. As a result, most English Presbyterian congregations, together with some Baptist and Congregational ones, adopted what was variously described as ARIANISM, SOCINIANISM, or Unitarianism during the second half of the eighteenth century (see UNITARIAN; UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION). However, traditional, non-Unitarian, Protestant nonconformity was stimulated by the secessions of the Methodists and some Calvinist evangelicals from the Church of England, with the result that by the religious census of 1851, the numbers of Protestant nonconformists almost equaled the number of those who attended the services of the Church of England, and in some parts of the country (e.g., Cornwall and many midland and northern towns) they greatly exceeded them.

Religious Tensions in the Early Nineteenth Century

Until the second half of the twentieth century, there was general agreement among historians that the growth of Protestant nonconformity in England had been the result of spiritual and theological stagnation in the Church of England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This view has now been challenged, and it is clear that, although the Church of England may not have been responding to demands for a more evangelical type of Protestantism, it was far from decadent. From about 1780, there was a major movement of ecclesiastical reform led by the bishops that anticipated parts of the reform program resulting from Parliamentary legislation in the 1830s. Nevertheless, the growth in the numbers of those who had been excluded, or who excluded themselves, from the Church of England resulted in a series of parliamentary measures in the 1820s in which many of the remaining, largely political restrictions on non-Anglicans, both Protestant nonconformists and Roman Catholics, were removed. Pressure from non-Anglicans and anticlericalists also resulted in the administrative reforms sponsored by Parliament in the 1830s, which allowed the Church of England to respond more satisfactorily to the demographic and social changes brought about by INDUSTRIALIZATION.

These same pressures also brought about a Catholic revival in the Church of England, the OXFORD MOVEMENT, determined to reassert the independence of the Church of England from state control and the authority of its bishops and clergy. This movement began with the redefinition of Anglican theology, but through its association with ROMANTICISM and its eventual desire to return to a somewhat ill-defined preReformation "golden age," by the 1840s it had resulted in significant changes to the design of Anglican churches and the presentation of Anglican worship that were widely seen as bringing the Church of England closer to the Roman Catholic Church. These changes were strongly opposed, not just by Protestant nonconformists, but also by evangelicals within the Church of England (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). It was also opposed by a growing number of liberal or broad church theologians and their supporters, who had generally approved the parliamentary reform program of the 1830s and who wanted the Church of England to adopt both a progressive political outlook and a theology sympathetic to the less literal interpretation of scripture on which both Anglican high churchmen and Evangelicals were agreed. It is a matter of debate among historians as to whether this division of the Church of England into more clearly identified church parties was a strength, in that it promoted comprehensiveness, or a weakness, in that it shattered the broad theological consensus that had existed within the Church of England before the 1830s.

Protestantism in England Since 1850

In due course, both the Catholic and the liberal movements within the Church of England had their impact on Protestant nonconformity, and many of the divisions that existed within the established church were replicated (although usually in a less extreme form)

within the various nonconformist churches. The non-conformist churches themselves became almost part of a new, more pluralist, religious establishment. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of new Protestant organizations, including the SALVATION ARMY, emerged to offer less structured forms of ministry and worship that had more appeal to the lower social classes, many of whom had, even by the 1851 religious census, ceased to attend services in the more traditional churches. This shift continued in the twentieth century with the establishment of and rapid growth in PENTECOSTALISM, especially among immigrant Afro-Caribbean communities in the major cities. By the early years of the twentieth century, all of the more traditional Protestant churches in England were in severe decline, as was Protestantism as a whole. Along with the growth of new Protestant churches was a significant increase in the Roman Catholic population. This increase had begun in the 1840s with conversions from the Church of England, resulting from the Oxford Movement, and immigration from IRELAND after the potato famine of the 1840s. By the 1990s, even Roman Catholicism was in decline in England, and it was generally estimated that the 10 percent of the population who were regular churchgoers were more or less evenly divided (one-third each) among the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the non-Anglican Protestant churches.

Protestantism and the English Nation

Over the four and a half centuries of its existence, Protestantism in England has closely identified itself with a strong sense of English nationalism and has seen its fortunes as being closely bound up with that of the nation as a whole. Despite the long record of religious toleration in England compared with many other European countries, a clear manifestation of militant anti-Catholicism in England was sustained until well into the twentieth century. The vestiges of this remain in the legislation that prevents the monarch from being, or marrying, a Roman Catholic. This alliance between Englishness and Protestantism is deep-rooted and frequently subconscious in a nation that has largely ceased to practice formal religion. However, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the defense of the Protestant constitution was a matter on which all English Protestants, whether in the established Church of England or in one of the non-conformist churches, could agree. The result was that, despite some pressure from nonconformists for disestablishment in the late nineteenth century, disestablishment never really became a major nonconformist demand in England in the way that it did in WALES, where it was linked with issues of language and nationality. That Protestant bond in England, and the strength of anti-Catholicism, also led to occasions in both the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in which evangelicals within the established church and Protestant nonconformists outside it formed alliances against movements in the Church of England that critics felt were moving it closer to Roman Catholicism. As the Church of England began to recognize that religious pluralism was a reality, it became more willing to recognize Protestant nonconformity as almost a part of the Protestant establishment, and ecumenical dialogue between the mainstream Protestant churches in England took place

much earlier than that between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church (see ECUMENISM, DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL).

Although there have been good relations between the long-established Protestant churches in England (which has not always been extended to some of the newer Protestant churches), for much of the last century this led to few examples of organic reunion. Although the different branches of Methodism came together in a formal union in 1932, and a later union between Congregational and Presbyterian churches created the United Reformed Church, attempts to unite the Anglican and Methodist churches failed in the 1960s and 1970s. However, since 1970, a growing number of Protestant churches, including the Church of England, have agreed to share a building, particularly in areas of new housing, and a few of these shared churches have included Roman Catholic participation. There have also been a number of joint initiatives between the mainstream Protestant churches in England in the field of ministerial and theological training.

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NIGEL YATES

ENLIGHTENMENT

The term “Enlightenment” refers to the vast and various trends in thought that marked the European eighteenth century and had a great sociopolitical and cultural impact in Europe and beyond. Supported by the intellectual elites of the time, the movement took on different names—*Lumières*, *Aufklärung*, *Enlightenment*, *Iluminismo*, *Ilustración*—and shapes depending on the different modalities brought on by the cultural and religious context of each country. Enlightenment thought questioned the legitimacy of the powers in place; examined the foundations of social, political, and religious order; developed a criticism of political as well as religious matters; and encouraged tolerance as well as free and encyclopedic knowledge. Fully confident in the powers of reason and the virtues of knowledge, advocates of the Enlightenment dreamed of a better world and chose to be optimistic. The fight was against obscurantism, ignorance, religious fanaticism, and superstitions in favor of education, separation of politics from religion, freedom of conscience, and human rights. One of the main roots of Western modernity (see MODERNISM) unquestionably grows out of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, even though the genealogy of this modernity may require going further back in time than this age, appropriately called “Age of Enlightenment.” To take a sociohistorical approach to the Enlightenment is to break out of the simplistic schema that opposes modernity to religion as two antagonistic and external worlds where the progress of modernity would ineluctably cause the decline of religion. The sociohistorical research shows the plurality of historical figures of the Enlightenment and its complex relationship with religion.

The Enlightenment may have been furthered by some great leaders in the fields of philosophy, science, and politics, but it also manifested itself through varied means that contributed to the social spread of ideas. The many societies of the eighteenth century (e.g., learned societies, reading societies, economic societies), the sociability of the salons, the use of French as the language of the intelligentsia at the time, the magazines and books, the relation between thinkers and politicians—all helped create an international network of influence and emulation. Thus the Royal Academy of Berlin, founded in 1701 with the participation of GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ, became an important center of intellectual life under Frederic II from 1740 to 1770. With the establishment of the Great Lodge of England in 1717, FREEMASONRY championed the Enlightenment by relativizing the differences in faiths and by promoting tolerance and free debate. The spirit of the Enlightenment appeared in FRANCE particularly through the endeavor of the

Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisoné des Sciences, des Arts, et des Mé-tiers, which, under Diderot's leadership, gathered a great number of philosophers and scientists, the best known being Montesquieu, Voltaire, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, d'Alembert, Buffon, the Baron of Holbach, and Turgot. After many mishaps and in spite of the royal opposition (as soon as Volume II was published in 1752, a warrant from the king's counsel banned the work), the venture was successfully completed. It showed a will to further scientific knowledge, supported by a belief in progress, which had to confront all political and religious barriers that were raised against free investigation. The Jesuits saw in it "Satan's Bible."

What is the Enlightenment? IMMANUEL KANT, in his famous essay, *Was ist Aufklärung?* Explains: "What is the Enlightenment? It is man leaving his self-caused minority. Minority, that is inability to use his own intelligence without another's guidance. A self-caused minority since its cause resides not in a lack of intelligence, but in a lack of determination and courage to use it without another's guidance. *Sapere aude!* Have the courage to use your *own* intelligence! That is the motto of the Enlightenment" (Bahr 1974:9). Through the demand for a free use of reason the AUTHORITY principle in politics as well as religion is questioned. This questioning rests on the assertion that any human can and must exercise his or her liberty of thought on all things, together with the insistence on the universality of criticism and the affirmation of the rights of the individual (see INDIVIDUALISM). A vital moment in the emergence of the idea of tolerance, the Enlightenment combines universalism and cosmopolitanism. Thus the philosopher PIERRE BAYLE (1647–1706), author of the famous *Dictionnaire Critique et Historique* (1696–1697) that aimed to review in a critical fashion all positions, declared in 1700, "I am a citizen of the world, I am neither in the Emperor's service, nor in the King of France's service, but in the truth's service." It is on this universalistic base that the Age of Enlightenment would dream of a better world and generate several emancipation utopias.

This Age was more anticlerical than antireligious. Religions were to be founded rationally, with an insistence on individual conscience and the full acknowledgment of the social purpose of religion. Within this frame of thought some enlightened Christians would seek to join the philosophes by extolling a Christianity stripped of superstitions and taking its inspiration from the early centuries. The spirit of Enlightenment sought an internal transformation, an interiorization of FAITH. This Age is not only that of Reason, it is also that of feeling and subjectivity: *Aufklärung* and PIETISM in Protestantism (with Kant, for example), *Haskala* (Jewish Enlightenment) and Hasidism in JUDAISM, Enlightened Catholicism, and Jansenism kept close ties. Still the acceptance of the Enlightenment was varied and one should not sway too much in the opposite direction by emphasizing unilaterally the symbiosis between Enlightenment and religion. Not only did some religions radically oppose the Enlightenment, but the Enlightenment itself became radical in some instances and countries, which fostered conflicts with religions. This was especially the case in France, where the subsequent history would tend to accredit a fundamental opposition between Enlightenment and religion, religion and progress. By the end of the eighteenth century the French philosopher Condorcet (1743–1794) declared himself openly atheist and led an extremist fight against the Catholic CLERGY. Overall the Enlightenment's relations with Catholicism were more difficult and

conflictive than they were with Protestantism (this in spite of the existence of many Enlightened Catholics).

Protestantism and Enlightenment

“Protestant churches themselves were quite receptive to adopting the ideals of the Enlightenment. The reading of the BIBLE had promoted a rational education, the use of philological means to interpret texts was usual, and the LAITY benefited from it. The plurality of faiths could be positively conceived as a plurality of means to attain SALVATION. The collegial structure of the church—especially with regards to Reformed churches—allowed for peer debate” (Im Hof 1993:175). Unlike Latin countries of Catholic culture, in Anglo-Saxon countries religion and Enlightenment closely blended rather than being opposed. The quest for a rational version of religion provided, aside from the Evangelical awakening, a stimulus for change. In Great Britain and the UNITED STATES freemasonry was a para-Protestant organization among other religious alternatives rather than a fierce opposition to the church. George Washington himself was a freemason and an Episcopalian. ENGLAND, which simultaneously was the most counterrevolutionary and the most modern country, engendered an Enlightenment that was magisterial and Christian, supported by the towns’ moderate clergy. In England social and intellectual change did not encounter a unified resistance that was politico-religious or lead to antagonistic definitions of religious Enlightenment and secular Enlightenment. In English DISSENT there is both a religious form of Enlightenment and an enlightened form of religion. In Protestant countries, such as Great Britain, Lutheran and Calvinist GERMANY, the Swiss reformed Cantons, or Geneva, the Enlightenment had less anticlerical notes than in Catholic Europe. Religious criticism aimed mainly at historical Christianity only rarely led to openly atheist statements, taking instead the shape of a DEISM advocating the return to a natural religion, bereft of mystery and revelation (in England), or of a cultural and social reformulation that would integrate the religious dimension (German *Aufklärung*). Protestant theologians, sensitive to the demands of the Enlightenment, developed a THEOLOGY subjected to rational control, characterized by content more ethical than dogmatic, careful to eliminate all contradiction between FAITH and reason. Within this perspective CHRISTOLOGY was to lose its central position and Christ, more and more deposed of his divine attributes, would acquire a value more exemplary than redemptory.

Numerous Protestant thinkers made key contributions to the Enlightenment. First are the theorists of NATURAL LAW, the Dutch Calvinist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and the German Lutheran SAMUEL PUFENDORF (1632–1694). Their influence was great in an age, the eighteenth century, that sought new bases to international law and was developing HUMAN RIGHTS; Natural Law inspired the cosmopolitan thought of the Age of Enlightenment. Within the realm of SCIENCE the leader was ISAAC NEWTON, who discovered gravitation (he developed some heterodox positions on religion, notably by calculating the date of the Apocalypse). It is mostly in the field of philosophy, however, that the contributions of Protestant thinkers were important. First of all the

English JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704), celebrated by Voltaire in his *Lettres Philosophiques* (1734), was a master of the Enlightenment who advocated tolerance based on the differentiation between civil and religious society (*Epistola de Tolerantia*, 1695). In *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) he outlined a religion promoting the harmony between reason and biblical revelation and whose main dogma was the messianism of Christ. His *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), translated in French by the Huguenot refugee Pierre Coste, would become one of the breviaries of the eighteenth century (see HUGUENOTS). Then the French Bayle reminds us that the *Internationale du Refuge Huguenot* represents the first generation of the Enlightenment (Huguenot refugees would contribute to the spreading of Enlightenment thought by translating key works by Pufendorf and Locke into French). Bayle vigorously championed freedom of conscience and tolerance by preaching in favor of the rights of the “wandering consciousness” (*Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ, Contrain-les d’entrer* 1686). The portrait of Bayle as a nonbeliever drawn by Voltaire does not fit the truth.

Aside from Kant, German Lutheran philosophers were key contributors to the Enlightenment, among whom were Leibniz (1646–1716), GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING (1729–1781), and CHRISTIAN WOLFF (1679–1754). Positing that CHURCH and politics were not strictly opposed while being distinctive, Leibniz, as an enlightened man, reestablishes the relationship between politics and religion. He laicized political and social exteriority while consecrating interiority, each needing to remain in its place: the church by not imposing any external obligation on the faithful, politics by not imposing any internal obligations. Through an exchange of letters with the Catholic bishop Bossuet (1627–1704), Leibniz also became the precursor of ecumenical dialogue (see ECUMENISM; DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL). Wolff, a disciple of Leibniz, distinguished himself not only by his rational thoughts on God, the world, and man (*Métaphysique Allemande* 1719), but most of all by his defense of Natural Law and the political influence it gave him over different schools of thoughts. He also produced school textbooks in German and Latin that presented the philosophy of the *Aufklärung*. As for Lessing and his investigation of a wisdom based on religious principles as well as his taste for parables (he used to call himself a “lover of theology”), he sought to further the *Aufklärung* within the realm of religion.

The French philosopher Rousseau (1712–1778), despite a temporary conversion to Catholicism, would remain a philosopher of the Enlightenment strongly affected by Protestantism. Against the materialistic and rationalist atheists of his time, he would become in his “Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard” (Book IV of the *Emile ou de l’Education*, 1762), the apologist of a religion of the heart where sentiment allows one to apprehend God without objectifying Him. His educational ideas developed in *Emile ou de L’Education*, which were influenced by John Locke’s ideas, would inspire several Protestant pedagogues, including the German Johannes Bernhardt Basedow (1723–1790), the Swiss Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), and the French Jean-Frédéric (or JoHANN FRIEDRICH) OBERLIN (1740–1826). Rousseau, who had returned to Protestantism, would answer the archbishop of Paris who along with many others—in particular the Synod and the Petit Conseil of Geneva—condemned the *Emile*, “I follow Writing and reason as the only rules of my belief; I deny the authority of men and will submit to their formulas inasmuch as I perceive the truth.” It was an opportunity for

Rousseau to state his Christian identity, “I am Christian, not as a disciple of Priests, but as a disciple of Jesus-Christ” (*Lettre a Christophe de Beaumont* from 1763).

“In America, it is religion that leads to Enlightenment; it is the observance of the divine laws that leads man to freedom,” ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE noted in *De la Démocratie en Amérique* (1835). The Founding Fathers of what would become the United States, starting with THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826), the main author of the Declaration of Independence, were influenced by the thoughts of the Enlightenment, and most particularly by Locke. With a thought that links, as Tocqueville had noted, the spirit of religion and the spirit of freedom, “We hold these truths to be selfevident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed” (Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776).

Faith and Enlightenment do not oppose as reason does to superstition or intelligence to obscurantism. If the eighteenth century sanctioned the failure of an ultraconservative, authoritarian, and unitarian view of religion, it did not sanction the failure of religion in general. The eighteenth century also represented a religious mutation, an in-depth evolution that saw religion turn toward the intimacy of consciences while looking to express itself “reasonably.” The autonomy of the secular realms (politics, morality, society, etc.) became one of the greatest passions of the Age of Enlightenment, and Kant would devote himself to ensure a status of autonomy for reason. Were human autonomy set against religion as if belonging to a religious faith implied the negation of human autonomy, theologians would answer that the dependency to God is the condition of true human freedom. By speaking of theonomy, a Protestant theologian such as PAUL TILLICH (1886–1965) would place human and world autonomy within a frame that would situate and transcend it.

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JEAN-PAUL WILLAIME

EPHRATA

See Brethren, Church of the

EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SCOTLAND

The CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, established in 1560 at the time of the REFORMATION, alternated for nearly 130 years between Episcopal and Presbyterian forms but maintained its unity during this period. It was the inability of the Scottish bishops to renounce their loyalty to the exiled King James VII, when William of Orange was proclaimed King of Scots in 1689, that led to the disestablishment of episcopacy and the breaking into two what had hitherto existed as a single Protestant church (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). While almost all Episcopal priests in the south of SCOTLAND were immediately thrust out of their livings, many Episcopal priests in the northern half of the country held on to the parish churches until their deaths despite attempts by the Presbyterian authorities to remove them (see PRESBYTERIANISM). The Toleration Act of 1712 made Episcopal ministry legal provided that they prayed for Queen Anne. This split the Episcopali community into jurors, who prayed for Queen Anne and her Hanoverian successors, and nonjurors, who continued to pray for the exiled Stuart monarchy. The failure of the 1715 Rising, however, was followed by the first of a succession of repressive Penal Laws against episcopacy and the final removal of all Episcopal clergy from the parish churches.

It was during the period from 1720 to 1745 that the main features of the Scottish Episcopal Church were consolidated. The system of college bishops, set up as a temporary measure in 1704 to maintain the Episcopal succession, was replaced by diocesan bishops under the Concordate of 1731. From 1724, the Scottish Prayer Book began to develop along a very distinct line, drawing inspiration from the 1549 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, the failed 1637 Scottish Prayer Book, and the studies of Bishop Rattray on the Eastern Liturgies. The emerging high sacramental DOCTRINE of the Scottish LITURGY resulted in disputes during the 1740s over the Usages, disputes that were rendered academic by the 1745 Rising.

The aftermath of the 1745 Rising saw a fresh set of penal legislation enacted against episcopacy in Scotland, resulting in imprisonment and exile for several Episcopal priests. Some Episcopal congregation members from the landed and merchant classes decided they could no longer continue to be considered non-jurors and established Qualified chapels with English or Irish clergymen. Although outright attacks on Episcopalianism largely ceased after 1760, the strong downward social pressures led to a steady decline in the church over most of the country. Against this background, Bishops William Falconer and Robert Forbes brought out a new *Scottish Prayer Book* in 1764.

By 1784, half of the church's priests were found in the Diocese of Aberdeen alone, as were three of its four bishops. Those three bishops laid the foundations of the worldwide Anglican Communion in Aberdeen by consecrating SAMUEL SEABURY as the first American bishop in 1784, bequeathing the Scottish Liturgy to the American Episcopal Church in the process. The American Episcopal Church also adopted the Scottish pattern of having a primus—a presiding bishop—rather than an archbishop.

The death of Prince Charles in 1788 paved the way for Scottish Episcopal Church to finally abandon its support for the exiled Stuarts and begin to pray for the Hanoverian monarchy. The primus, Bishop John Skinner, was the principal architect of the church's rejuvenation, and his efforts led to the repeal of the Penal Laws in 1792. The Scottish Episcopal Church was obliged to adopt the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, but Scottish Episcopal CLERGY were barred from ministering in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND (a bar that applied equally to American Episcopal clergy). Skinner also started the process of reuniting the Qualified churches with the Scottish Episcopal Church.

The nineteenth century brought the regeneration of the Scottish Episcopal Church. A beginning was made with the erection of new church buildings for the ancient congregations. Edinburgh Theological College was founded in 1810, the oldest such college in the Anglican Communion (followed by General Theological Seminary, New York in 1817, then Chichester Theological College, ENGLAND in 1839). During the middle of the nineteenth century, the present arrangement of seven dioceses was settled and new cathedrals were erected in Perth, Inverness, and Edinburgh. By the end of the century, almost every town in Scotland had an Episcopal congregation. Along with mission work at home, the church began to undertake foreign mission work in Chanda, INDIA and Kaffraria (St. John's) in southern AFRICA (see MISSIONS).

In 1840 an Act of Parliament was passed that allowed Scottish Episcopal clergy to minister for one or two Sundays in any church in England. The Scottish bishops succeeded in having this Act extended to include the clergy of the American Episcopal Church. Not until 1864 did the Church of England allow full communion and interchangeability of clergy with the Scottish and American Episcopal Churches.

The OXFORD MOVEMENT reached Scotland in the 1840s, where it found a measure of ready acceptance, owing to the high sacramental doctrine of the Scottish Liturgy. At the same time, there was an increasing number of Oxbridge-educated bishops, mostly with low-church tendencies, who were deeply suspicious of any deviation from the *Book of Common Prayer*. Bishop Forbes was subjected to an ecclesiastical trial in 1860 by his fellow bishops for his high sacramental views, and several other priests were censured or suspended for their support of the Oxford Movement. In 1863 the Scottish Liturgy was relegated to a secondary place in the life of the Scottish Episcopal Church and the *Book of Common Prayer* assumed dominance.

The low-church/high-church tensions within the Scottish Episcopal Church reached a rupture point in Edinburgh in 1842. What initially seemed like a local dispute between Reverend D.T.K.Drummond, who wished to hold evangelical services, and Bishop Terrot, who insisted on strict liturgical services, caused a number of congregations and clergy to withdraw from the Scottish Episcopal Church and attempt to place themselves directly under the authority of the Church of England. Within a few years, more than 20 of these "English Episcopal" chapels were in existence. They received no official support

from the Church of England, and by the end of the nineteenth century most of these congregations had either died out or had united with the Scottish Episcopal Church.

In common with most denominations, the Scottish Episcopal Church reached its maximum size at about the beginning of the twentieth century. After World War I, the main mission effort was concentrated in Scotland's four cities. In 1929 a new Scottish Prayer Book reestablished the primacy of the distinctive Scottish Liturgy. Since World War II, rural depopulation and inner-city slum clearance both have led to the closure of churches. Some expansion occurred in the second half of the twentieth century in Scotland's new towns and in the suburban growth areas of the great cities, while new missions were established in the thinly populated far north and west, making use of itinerant priests. Extension of the ministry beyond full-time stipendiary priests took place in two developments: nonstipendiary clergy were appointed from 1973, while WOMEN were admitted as deacons in 1985 and to the priesthood in 1994 (see WOMEN CLERGY). After some years of experimentation, a modern language version of the Scottish Liturgy was produced in 1982. The nature of foreign mission work changed, as the Scottish Episcopal Church ceased direct involvement in Chanda, India in 1958 and the diocese of St. John's in SOUTH AFRICA became more self-reliant.

In the year 2000, the Scottish Episcopal Church had about 51,500 members (about 5 percent of all Scottish church attenders), and 320 churches and places of worship. Recent ecumenical developments have seen a move to sharing some church buildings, particularly with the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church.

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EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNITED STATES

Colonial Period

The Episcopal Church in the United States began as the American branch of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. After the Revolutionary War, the church dropped all identification by name with ENGLAND. Organizing itself independently in 1789, it named itself “the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.” The name “episcopal” (Greek *overseer*, corrupted in Anglo-Saxon to *bishop*) stems from the contentious Commonwealth period in English history when CLERGY and LAITY who wanted the Church of England ruled by bishops used the title for themselves (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). In later centuries, the term *Anglican* (from the Latin for “English”) came into common use to describe any church that held the faith and practice of the Church of England.

The Anglican faith first appeared in North America in the sixteenth century, when Anglican chaplains accompanying English expeditions conducted services in what became California and North Carolina. With the establishment of Virginia in 1607, the Anglican faith came permanently to America. During the colonial period, the Church of England became the established church (or official state church, supported by legislation and taxes) in six colonies. Its greatest influence was in Virginia, with 250 Anglican churches by 1775. One of the two Anglican institutions of higher learning in the colonies, the College of William and Mary (which had a divinity school to train Anglican clergy), was founded in 1693 in Virginia’s colonial capital of Williamsburg.

In South Carolina Anglicanism was strong in the tidewater “low country” but was almost nonexistent in the religionless “back country.” In New York, the church’s establishment was limited to the more densely populated lower counties. The second Anglican college in the colonies (King’s College, now Columbia University) was established in Manhattan in 1754. Like the College of William and Mary, it has since become secular. Two of the three other Anglican-established churches in North Carolina and Georgia (where JOHN WESLEY and CHARLES WESLEY were the first two clergy) existed largely only on paper. With high clergy salaries and prosperous parishes,

Maryland provided an exception. The church was also influential in some colonies where it was not established, particularly in Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

The principal organization that attempted to make the colonies Anglican was the London-based SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS (SPG). From 1701 through the end of the Revolutionary War, the “Venerable Society” dispatched more than 300 missionaries to America and provided funds for their support and for the construction of Anglican churches. Colonial Anglicans existed without resident bishops. Nominal supervision came from the bishop of London, who appointed clerical representatives called “commissaries.” Colonists who desired ordination took an expensive and dangerous journey to England to receive deacon’s and priest’s orders (see DEACONESS, DEACON). By the start of the Revolution, the Church of England was the second-largest denomination in America (after CONGREGATIONALISM) and the most widely diffused. Although its congregations included large numbers of the lower economic classes, its adherents came disproportionately from the economically comfortable or wealthy.

Reorganization

The American Revolution placed Anglican clergy in a unique situation, for on ordination they swore oaths to support the English monarch. Nevertheless, almost half of the colonial Anglican clergy decided to support the Revolution. Emotionally and financially dependent on England, SPG clergy generally became Loyalists; clergy paid directly by parishes typically became Patriots. The vast majority of Anglican lay people supported the Revolutionary cause. More than half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and many of the American military leaders were Anglicans.

During or immediately after the Revolution, the Church of England was disestablished (or deprived of state support) in all colonies in which it had been established. In several meetings held in Philadelphia in the 1780s, lay and clerical delegates from Anglican parishes in most states established a constitution, drafted an American version of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, and arranged for the American church to secure the consecration of its own bishops in England. The delegates adopted a unitary form of government headed by a General Convention (normally meeting every three years) presided over by a presiding bishop. The Convention consists of a House of Bishops in which all bishops have seats, and a House of Deputies composed of an equal number of clerical and lay delegates. Dioceses (geographical areas administered by a bishop, divided into self-supporting units called parishes) elect the delegates. Elected bodies of laypeople called vestries govern the parishes and also hire the chief minister, or rector.

The first bishops consecrated—all Patriots—came from Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia. Preceding them was Samuel Seabury the bishop of Connecticut, a Loyalist whose consecration in 1785 at the hands of Scottish bishops was controversial. Following the consecration in 1790 of the president of the College of William and Mary, the “Protestant Episcopal Church” fulfilled its parent church’s mandate that it must have three bishops commissioned in England before it could consecrate its own bishops. These

Episcopal bishops immediately began to ordain clergy and to consecrate additional bishops. But many states lacked bishops for years, and from the Revolutionary War until late in the twentieth century, the Episcopal Church suffered from a shortage of clergy.

The reorganized church confronted numerous difficulties. To many Patriots it was, in the memorable words of one Episcopalian, “a piece of baggage left on the shores by the retreating British troops.” In addition, the post-Revolutionary period was a time of decline in American religion, when many denominations—and the Episcopal Church above all—lost members to DEISM. Simultaneously, the church lost many members from its lower economic classes to the more egalitarian and emotional BAPTISTS and Methodists (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA). Once intended as an evangelical haven for Anglicanism, Methodism broke away from the Episcopal Church in 1784.

Nineteenth Century

From the second decade of the nineteenth century on, however, the Episcopal Church revived, generally (but not entirely) as a result of the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS). Bishops in New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia led the revival. Founded in 1835, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society sent Episcopal missionaries into the new states of the expanding Union, into NATIVE AMERICAN reservations, and into such countries as JAPAN, CHINA, and LIBERIA. Two parties contended for control of the church. The evangelical party emphasized PREACHING, simple WORSHIP, and personal CONVERSION. The high-church party emphasized the SACRAMENTS, the episcopate, the priesthood, and the visible CHURCH as God’s appointed channels for GRACE.

The spread of the OXFORD MOVEMENT to America widened the divisions. Its adherents (called “tractarians”) asserted doctrinal and historical claims that the traditional high-church party did not. High churchmen, for example, accepted the title “Protestant,” while most tractarians emphasized the pre-Reformation heritage and viewed the Church of England as a national Catholic church. From the 1840s on, Episcopal Church life was marked by tensions over whether the church was a form of Catholicism or Protestantism.

The Episcopal Church avoided taking an official stand on SLAVERY, but, like several other denominations, divided into northern and southern branches. By 1866, the southern and northern dioceses had reunited. Before the CIVIL WAR, the church’s record of work with African Americans was inadequate. Most Anglican planters in the South resisted the efforts of clergy to baptize and evangelize their slaves, though the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century caused some improvement (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). By the time of the American Revolution, most slaves had still not become Christians.

The subsequent Second Great Awakening increased Episcopal work with African Americans, often under the auspices of the evangelical party. In the South, however, most converted blacks joined either Baptist or Methodist churches, where they could experience not only emotional worship, but also black leadership. Only a minority—perhaps 35,000, most of whom also departed after the war—became Episcopalians.

Those southern African Americans who remained in the Episcopal Church found themselves second-class citizens. Not until the 1950s did black members receive voting representation at General Convention in all dioceses of the Episcopal Church.

The situation was better in the North. There large congregations of African-American Episcopalians developed in major cities and often had black pastors. De facto segregation marked church life, however. Although few black leaders of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT were Episcopalians, the civil rights legislation passed in the 1960s allowed African Americans to be elected bishops of leading Episcopal dioceses and to play important roles in the life of the church.

In the later nineteenth century, ANGLO-CATHOLICISM emerged as a new and influential party in the church. Distinct from the high-church party but building on its beliefs, it advocated frequent "eucharists" or "masses," monastic orders (see MONASTICISM), voluntary private CONFESSION, the use of the title "father" for clergy, and prayers for the dead. To the formal but relatively plain ceremonial of the Episcopal Church it added candles, incense, crucifixes, ALTAR-centered churches, processions, a greater use of color, and more elaborate VESTMENTS. It also added such medieval body language as genuflecting and the sign of the cross. In church ARCHITECTURE, it revived such medieval styles as gothic and romanesque. To adherents, Anglo-Catholicism represented the forgotten Catholic heritage of the Episcopal Church, but to its Protestant-minded opponents it was mere "ritualism." Although a minority movement, Anglo-Catholicism significantly affected Episcopal teachings, practices, and church architecture.

A second church party, called the BROAD CHURCH, also emerged. This party sought truth from all sources to confront the new intellectual challenges to Christianity. It took the lead not only in introducing the HIGHER CRITICISM to Episcopalians, but also in demonstrating that the new discoveries of biblical scholars could be reconciled with Christian beliefs. The Broad Churchmen played the same role in reconciling Episcopalians to the controversial teachings of DARWINISM. Although many Episcopalians initially resisted Broad Church views, the movement was so successful that controversies over FUNDAMENTALISM and evolution quieted more quickly in the Episcopal Church than in other mainline denominations. Largely due to the work of the Broad Churchmen, the Episcopal Church became the first denomination in America to advocate the SOCIAL GOSPEL.

The Episcopal Church had long been interested in uniting divided Christianity. Shortly after the Revolution, it absorbed the remaining Swedish Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania and Delaware. Ultimately rejected by the General Convention, the Muhlenberg Memorial of 1853 advocated that bishops ordain Protestant clergy who accepted the essence of Episcopal teachings, yet allow those clergy to continue to minister in their denominations. In 1886 the General Convention did pass the Chicago Quadrilateral, which called for church union on the basis of BAPTISM, the LORD'S SUPPER, governance by bishops, and the AuTHORITY not only of Scripture, but also of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. Subsequently the church played a leading role in the Faith and Order Movement and in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. It also joined the Federal Council of Churches and later the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

Although the southern dioceses struggled economically for many decades, the massive immigration from Europe that poured into the industrialized United States after the CIVIL WAR caused the northern dioceses to grow both in membership and ethnic diversity (see ETHNICITY). Episcopal parishes benefited the most from the “invisible immigration” from England, but the church also sponsored small missions to other immigrant groups.

Twentieth Century

Because Protestant services of worship at U.S. military academies had long been conducted according to the *Book of Common Prayer*, a disproportionate number of American military officers were Episcopalians. In World War I, the commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Force, Episcopalian John J. Pershing, appointed Bishop CHARLES BRENT as chief of the thousands of military chaplains (see CHAPLAINCY). With the exception of its evangelical wing, the Episcopal Church was little involved in the controversies over TEMPERANCE and prohibition following the war. Unlike most Protestant denominations, it continued to use fermented wine in its services of Holy Communion.

Like other denominations, the church experienced serious losses of members, staff, and buildings during the Depression. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor were Episcopalians, as were two of his three Republican opponents and one of his vice presidents. Beginning in the 1930s, NEO-ORTHODOXY began to influence Episcopal clergy, and it continued to do so for several decades.

More than 500 Episcopal chaplains and a substantial number of laity served in the American military forces during World War II. After the war, as new Episcopal churches were constructed throughout the nation, the church’s traditional shortage of clergy increased. In 1946 the General Convention abruptly ended 17 years of negotiations for unity with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The rupture displayed the continued tensions between Anglo-Catholics and more Protestant-minded Episcopalians.

The 1960s and 1970s were tumultuous decades. The Second Vatican Council (Vatican II, 1962–1965) fostered increased cooperation and ecumenical dialogue between Episcopalians and Roman Catholics. In addition, it caused the Episcopal Church to make changes in its LITURGY parallel to those made in the Roman Catholic mass. Shaped by contemporary liturgical scholarship and substituting modern language for the Elizabethan original, the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* was initially controversial among Episcopalians. By inspiring a new spirit of self-examination and openness toward Protestants, Vatican II had the additional effect of reducing the differences and tensions between Anglo-Catholics and other Episcopalians. When some of the ideals of Vatican II failed to be realized in succeeding decades, an increasing number of Roman Catholics not only became Episcopalians, but also rose to leading positions in the church.

The same impetus that had caused Episcopalians to be active in the Social Gospel movement prompted them to play a significant role in the civil rights movement. Led by

the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU, organized 1959), numerous Episcopalians marched with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. In 1964 the General Convention forbade racial discrimination in Episcopal churches. In 1965 a seminary student and ESCRU member was murdered by a segregationist in Alabama. In 1967 the convention established the highly controversial General Convention Special Program to channel millions of dollars to minority groups in American society. During the same period, the church was embroiled in controversy over the Vietnam War.

Beginning in the 1960s, the Episcopal Church began to seriously consider the role of WOMEN. The church had used the term “women’s work” to describe the unpaid volunteer work of Episcopal laywomen in SUNDAY SCHOOLS, altar guilds, and similar organizations. New opportunities for Episcopal women had opened in the mid-nineteenth century with the establishment of communities of celibate nuns. Late in the century the General Convention authorized the office of deaconess. Deaconesses (who had to be widowed or single) could teach or administer, but could lead worship only when male clergy were absent. Though always few in numbers, both the sisterhoods (see SISTERHOODS, ANGLICAN) and the deaconesses played a prominent role in the work of Episcopal orphanages, hospitals, and other institutions. The largest and most autonomous organization of women was the Woman’s Auxiliary to the Board of Missions, established in 1871.

Most vestries remained all male until the social and sexual revolution of the Vietnam era. In 1967 women gained the right to serve as lay deputies to General Conventions. In 1976 the General Convention approved their ordination to the priesthood (see WOMEN CLERGY). The first Episcopal woman bishop was consecrated in 1989. Combined with the other changes in church practice, the ordination of women caused many traditionalists to leave the Episcopal Church for “Continuing Anglican” churches or for EASTERN ORTHODOXY or Roman Catholicism. Some traditionalists remained in the Episcopal Church, but formed organizations aimed at restoring the old ORTHODOXY. From the 1960s on, a resurgent evangelical movement (often combined with charismatic elements) became a conservative and growing force in the church (see EVANGELICALISM).

When the bishop of New York ordained a lesbian in the 1970s, the Episcopal Church entered the debate over the place and role of homosexuals in the church (see HOMOSEXUALITY, SEXUALITY). Although the twentieth century ended with the General Convention failing to give explicit approval to the ordinations of practicing homosexuals, individual bishops have continued to ordain candidates in whose character and judgment they possess confidence. Homosexuals also played an increasing role in the lay activities of the Episcopal Church. In 2003, the Diocese of New Hampshire elected an openly gay bishop. The election’s subsequent confirmation by both houses of the General Convention marked a turning point, even as it prompted the possibility of schism for the Episcopal Church in the USA as well as for the international Anglican Communion.

Like most mainline denominations, the Episcopal Church began to decline in membership in the later 1960s. At the start of the twenty-first century, its baptized membership approximates 2.3 million; among church bodies in the United States, it ranks somewhere between twelfth and fourteenth in size. Although relatively small, the Episcopal Church has had an effect on American history and culture disproportionate to its size. Eleven American presidents, thirty-three Supreme Court justices, large numbers

of U.S. senators, congressmen, and corporate chief executives, as well as a substantial number of influential figures in other fields have been Episcopalian.

Summation

The Episcopal Church has always been a small church in America. The large membership that occurred because of its established status in the colonial period quickly disappeared once membership was no longer obligatory. Its records in EVANGELISM, in domestic MISSIONS (where only the Congregationalists sent fewer missionaries to the new south and west), and in liturgical matters (where Episcopal services can seem daunting to newcomers) may all have contributed.

Throughout its history, the church has tended to appeal to the economically comfortable, the educated, and the cultured and aesthetically inclined. The result has been that Americans who are not economically comfortable, not educated, and not especially cultivated or inclined toward aesthetics have joined other churches. Episcopal institutional churches and inner city and mountain missions have provided major exceptions. With a growing Hispanic membership, active ministries with Native Americans, African Americans, and Asian-Americans, and with the continued involvement of “extra-territorial” dioceses in the Caribbean, Latin America and Taiwan, as well as parishes in Europe, the Episcopal Church at the start of the 21st century finds itself challenged to accommodate a greater ethnic and cultural diversity than ever before. The 73rd General Convention (2000) also launched a “20/20” evangelism and mission initiative designed to double active participation in the church by the year 2020.

The Episcopal Church has also displayed a tendency to eschew extremes and to follow a middle path. Many movements—Methodism, Evangelicalism, Anglo-Catholicism, MODERNISM, traditionalism, liberal Protestantism, the charismatic movement, and others—have tried to move the church to the left or to the right, but such movements have tended to be incorporated under the “broad tent” of the church, rather than become definitive. As a result, throughout most of its history the Episcopal Church has been typified by a moderation that weathers crises well.

Until recent decades, internal Catholic-Protestant tensions have kept the church from being as involved in church unions as many of its members have wished. One significant development was Called to common Mission (2001), which established a “Concordat of Agreement” bringing the Episcopal Church into full communion with the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (see ECUMENISM; DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL). The Episcopal Church also supports the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Despite its ties to the establishment, for more than 100 years the church has been one of the more progressive churches in terms of social matters. Above all, the Episcopal Church has been the church of liturgy and theater among the Protestant churches of the United States.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Baptists, United States; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Ecumenism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Methodist Episcopal Church Conference; Polity

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ERASTIANISM

See Erastus, Thomas

ERASTUS, THOMAS (LUBER) (1524–1583)

Protestant reformer. Thomas Lüber who latinized his name to Erastus, was born in Baden, SWITZERLAND, September 7, 1524, studied THEOLOGY at Basel and medicine at Bologna and Padua, and became a renowned physician who made his mark by repudiating the medical theories of THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS. In 1558 he was appointed personal physician of elector Otto Heinrich of the Palatinate and simultaneously professor of medicine at the University of Heidelberg. Trusted spiritual advisor to the elector, he became increasingly involved in ecclesiastical affairs in the Palatinate. In 1577 he wrote advocating the death penalty for witches. A committed Zwinglian/Calvinist, Erastus opposed the introduction of LUTHERANISM in the Palatinate and lost his position at Heidelberg in 1580. Thus forced to emigrate, he became professor of medicine at the University of Basel, where he also received a professorship in moral philosophy shortly before his death. He died in Basel on December 31, 1583.

Erastus is best known for giving his name to the doctrine of Erastianism, which was thought to be found in his book *Explicatio*. This was the notion that government held all sovereignty within a commonwealth and that, therefore, the political power was superior to ecclesiastical power, which in turn had to be submissive to it. In fact Erastus himself favored the Zurich model of the relationship between the political and ecclesiastical power, as introduced by HULDRYCH ZWINGLI.

See also Calvinism

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

ESCHATOLOGY

The word *eschatology* is derived from the Greek and refers to discourse about the end times, the last events of human history, and the final destiny of the individual human being. In the Christian tradition, eschatological belief relates to the ultimate fulfillment of God's plan for humanity and the ultimate triumph of Jesus Christ and the establishment of His Kingdom. In the Hebrew scriptures, eschatological hope, found especially in the books of Daniel, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, centers on an age of righteousness associated with the coming of the Messiah. Christian eschatology is closely interwoven with millennialism or CHILIASM, the expectation of Christ's end-time return to Earth and his thousand-year reign of justice, righteousness, and peace foretold in Revelation 20 (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISTS). Christian eschatology is also closely linked to APOCALYPTICISM, a literary genre in ancient Jewish and early Christian thought through which hidden truths or spiritual realities, often dealing with the final conflict of good and evil, are apprehended by the author through a vision or divine revelation and transmitted to the reader, often in allegorical form. The Book of Revelation, a Christian apocalypse incorporated into the biblical canon, closes the New Testament.

The rich tradition of Protestant eschatological interpretation, now spanning nearly five centuries, is rooted in a still older tradition of Christian eschatological exegesis and expectation. The earliest Christians anticipated Christ's return in their own lifetime, but as Christianity won TOLERATION and then primacy in the Roman world, church leaders and theologians played down the expectations of an imminent end of history. St. Augustine historicized the Bible's prophetic and apocalyptic passages, for example, finding eschatological fulfillment in the gradual unfolding of history, rather than in a final moment of eschatological crisis.

The medieval church, with its quasi-monarchical structure, continued to discourage eschatological speculation, particularly by the LAITY. Eschatology flourished at the grassroots level, however, often implicitly challenging the papacy, as in the visionary work of the twelfth-century monk Joachim of Fiore and the fifteenth-century Hussite movement in Bohemia.

Protestant Eschatology from the Reformation through the Great Awakening

This, then, is the eschatological tradition that passed into the Protestant movement in the early sixteenth century. The early reformers held ambivalent eschatological views. On the one hand, they readily used eschatological imagery, particularly biblical allusions to the ANTICHRIST, the Beast, and the Whore of Babylon, to pursue their campaign against Rome. Numerous engravings and polemical writings identify the papacy with these demonic end-time figures, as do the hyper-Protestant marginal notes of the GENEVA BIBLE of 1560.

In general, however, MARTIN LUTHER, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, JOHN CALVIN, and other early Reformation leaders were deeply suspicious of what they viewed as a dangerous upsurge of eschatological speculation in a highly volatile religious and social situation. Calvin did not include Revelation in his commentaries. Luther declared Revelation “neither apostolic nor prophetic,” and relegated it to an appendix in his German New Testament. The early Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) and other Protestant radicals, by contrast, were intensely interested in eschatology and saw history’s final drama unfolding in their own time. During the turbulent days of the Peasants War in Germany, THOMAS MÜNTZER inspired his followers with eschatological expectations, up to their catastrophic final stand at Frankenhausen in 1525. Nine years later, in 1534, followers of a charismatic Dutch preacher named JAN MATHIIS took over the Westphalian city of Munster, proclaiming it the New Jerusalem. This eschatological experiment soon degenerated into brutality, chaos, and mass starvation, and was crushed by the authorities in 1535. Such excesses confirmed the Protestant leaders’ suspicions of excessively literalist or present-minded eschatological interpretations. Although Christ’s Second Coming is affirmed in the creed of all Protestant bodies, it has remained a muted theme in the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican confessions.

As in the medieval era, however, eschatological speculations periodically erupted in Protestantism’s more fervent and evangelical precincts, particularly in times of religious or social crisis. The wave of reform that followed HENRY VIII’s establishment of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, culminating in the Puritan movement, the English CIVIL WAR, regicide, and the rule of OLIVER CROMWELL, for example, was marked by intense end-time anticipation. Puritan writers found profound eschatological meaning in the movement to purify the English church. JOHN MILTON (1608–1674), the poet of PURITANISM, was only one of many who invested these events with eschatological significance.

The so-called Fifth Monarchy Men sect saw Cromwell’s rule foreshadowed in the allegorical image in Daniel 2 of a statue representing five successive world kingdoms, the last of which is an end-time reign of righteousness. The mathematician and natural philosopher Sir ISAAC NEWTON (1642–1727) devoted his final years to eschatology, examining the apocalyptic scriptures synoptically to decipher the end-time system they revealed.

The Puritan settlers of New England brought eschatology to America. Michael Wigglesworth’s New England physician and theologian *Day of Doom* (1662) is full of

end-time anticipations, as are the writings of COTTON MATHER (1663–1728). In these New World eschatological reflections, American realities figured prominently. Sometimes the Indians and sometimes the French Catholics of CANADA were identified with the Antichrist; others speculated that America might be the site of Christ’s millennial kingdom.

Eschatological expectation in America flared brightly during the Great Awakening of the 1740s and the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century. The revivalist and theologian JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758) wrote extensively on apocalyptic themes. Espousing a position later called postmillennialism, Edwards proclaimed that through piety, prayer, and evangelism, Christians could achieve a redeemed social order in the present age, paving the way for the millennium as a prelude to Christ’s return.

Trends in Eschatology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In ENGLAND the Reverend EDWARD IRVING, a charismatic London minister of the 1820s, preached Christ’s imminent return. Irving’s convert HENRY DRUMMOND, a wealthy banker and Tory member of Parliament, held a series of prophecy conferences on his estate in the 1820s and 1830s. In America the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Coming, popularly called SHAKERS, incorporated a strong eschatological strand in their THEOLOGY. In the *Book of Mormon* (1830), which JOSEPH SMITH offered as a divinely inspired history and revelation of future events, American history is refigured in sacred terms, with the newly founded Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (see MORMONISM) playing a central role in God’s unfolding plan.

Beginning in the 1830s, WILLIAM MILLER of upstate New York, drawing on calculations involving various events and time sequences in the Hebrew scriptures, proclaimed the second coming of Christ “around 1843 or 1844.” Eventually, Millerite leaders pinpointed the final date even more precisely: October 22, 1843 (later revised to October 22, 1844). The movement won thousands of adherents, and attracted thousands more of the curious. When the appointed day came and went, a crisis resulted that some called the Great Disappointment. From the wreckage, however, arose the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST church, a Protestant denomination with millions of members worldwide that remains a bastion of eschatological belief, although modern Adventists carefully avoid date-setting.

Meanwhile, a system of eschatological interpretation known as premillennial DISPENSATIONALISM arose in England and spread rapidly to America. The person who systematized and promulgated this scheme, the Reverend JOHN NELSON DARBY (1800–1882), was a founder of a dissenting sect known as the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN. If rightly understood and arrayed in proper sequence, Darby taught, Bible prophecy reveals a series of divinely ordained epochs, or dispensations, each with its distinct means of SALVATION. The end of the present dispensation, the Church Age, he believed, would be signaled by a series of signs foretold by Christ, sometimes in parables, including wars and wickedness, natural disasters, and the restoration of the Jews

to the promised land. Next on the prophetic calendar will come the RAPTURE, when all true believers will join Christ in the air, followed by the Great Tribulation (Matthew 24:21) and the rise of a demonic figure, the Antichrist. Antichrist's reign will end after seven years, however, when he is vanquished at the Battle of Armageddon by a triumphant Christ and the raptured saints. Hailed as Messiah by the Jews who survive Antichrist's persecution, Christ will establish his millennial kingdom in the rebuilt temple in Jerusalem.

An indefatigable writer and preacher, Darby toured widely, winning many adherents in America. One convert to dispensationalism, Cyrus Scofield, published in 1909 an annotated Bible with notes based on Darby's system. Through the popular SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE, prophecy periodicals and conferences, schools like Dallas Theological Seminary, and the preaching of dispensationalist ministers, Darby's eschatological scheme pervaded American EVANGELICALISM. The rise of PENTECOSTALISM in the early twentieth century gave further impetus to end-time anticipations.

Other eschatological perspectives gained support as well, however, including the reformist version underlying the SOCIAL GOSPEL preached in many liberal Protestant churches in the early twentieth century (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Social Gospel ministers and theologians offered a version of Edwardian postmillennialism adapted to an urban industrial age. By promoting slum-housing legislation, labor unions, worker-protection laws, the prohibition of child labor, and similar reforms, they taught, Christians could hasten the prophesied KINGDOM OF GOD. In *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917), and other works, theologian WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH translated postmillennialist eschatology into a mandate for social reform. This reformist outlook profoundly influenced the Methodist and Presbyterian churches and other main-stream Protestant denominations, as well as the ecumenically minded Federal Council of Churches (FCC). "The Social Creed of the Churches," adopted by the FCC in 1912, represents the high water mark of the Social Gospel. The young REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971) espoused the Social Gospel in his early ministry and writings, although he would later harshly criticize what he saw as its excessive optimism about the human condition.

Although the disillusionment that followed World War I undermined the postmillennialist eschatology of the Social Gospel, premillennial dispensationalism, with its darker, more apocalyptic view of history, remained strong in the evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal churches, which had continued to stress individual salvation and missionary work rather than the christianization of the social order (see FUNDAMENTALISM; PENTECOSTALISM). As the nineteenth-century evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY memorably put it, expending one's energies on social reform was like polishing the brass fittings on a sinking ocean liner.

After World War II premillennial dispensationalism gradually emerged as the dominant eschatology of grassroots American Protestantism, taking root as a kind of folk theology promulgated more by paperback popularizers, radio preachers, and televangelists than by established church institutions or mainstream theological seminaries. The atomic bomb; the United Nations; the movement for European unity; the establishment of Israel in 1948; the Israelis' recapture of Jerusalem's Old City in 1967;

and later the rise of computers, a global economy, and a worldwide communications systems all struck prophecy writers as portentous signs of the times, making plain that the present dispensation would soon end.

Although twentieth-century Protestant ministers and theologians outside the evangelical and fundamentalist subcultures displayed little interest in combing the biblical prophecies for clues to end-time events, successive generations of scholars, especially in Germany, contributed to a renewed awareness of the importance of eschatology in early Christianity. Johannes Weiss's *Die Predigt Jesu Von Reiche Gottes* (*The Sermon of Jesus on the Kingdom of God*) of 1892, and ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (1906), published in English in 1910 as *The Quest for the Historical Jesus*, insisted on the urgency of the first Christians' eschatological expectations. Schweitzer contended that Jesus's entire ministry was founded on the belief that the world would end very soon. This theme was reiterated by later German theologians such as Klaus Koch, whose *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik* (1970) appeared in English two years later as *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, and Ernst Kasemann, who in an influential 1969 article declared the apocalyptic worldview "the mother of all Christian theology."

The well-known Swiss theologian KARL BARTH (1886–1968), as part of his larger reassertion of an orthodox tradition that he believed had been lost in post-ENLIGHTENMENT theology, sought to recover a renewed sense of eschatology as a central element in Christian doctrine and in the Protestant REFORMATION. Fundamental to the Christian life, Barth contended, were moments of decision confronted from an eschatological perspective. (For Barth, such a moment had come in 1935 when, teaching in GERMANY, he had refused an oath of allegiance to Adolph Hitler's Nazi regime.) The German Lutheran theologian PAUL TILLICH (1886–1965), who came to America in 1933, drew on existentialism and depth psychology in defining eschatology as "ultimate concern" in his *Systematic Theology* (1951–1963) and *The Courage to Be* (1952), which won a large readership.

Although Continental scholars reasserted the importance of eschatology in early Christianity, millions of American Protestants embraced present-day end-time speculation ever more fervently. As the nation's liberal, mainstream Protestant denominations lost ground after 1970, evangelical, fundamentalist, and charismatic denominations such as the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD and the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, as well as independent community churches and Bible fellowships with no strong denominational ties, surged in membership. Premillennialist eschatological belief loomed large in these churches. Bible prophecy also figured prominently in countless radio and television ministries by such figures as JERRY FALWELL, PAT ROBERTSON, Jack Van Impe, and James Hagee, a San Antonio pastor with a flock of thousands. Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) and Paul and Jan Crouch's Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) frequently showcased eschatological themes (see TELEVANGELISM; PUBLISHING, MEDIA).

Paperback writers spread the end-time message as well. Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970), a popularization of premillennial dispensationalism, became an all-time bestseller and remained in print thirty years later. Many other eschatological popularizers gained prominence in late twentieth-century America. A multivolume series of novels by Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins, launched in 1995 with *Left Behind*,

offered a fictionalized version of Darby's system. The *Left Behind* series became a publishing phenomenon, with thirty million copies sold by 2001. Movies such as Donald Thompson's "A Thief in the Night" (1972), Matt Crouch's "The Omega Code" (1999), and Peter LaLonde's "Left Behind: The Movie" (2000), based on the LaHaye and Jenkins series, reached large audiences with their eschatological message. Continuing a long tradition in popular Protestant eschatology, these writers, televangelists, and filmmakers wove current events into their scenarios, from communications satellites and the Trilateral Commission to global warming, radical feminism, and Islamic fundamentalism, as signs of the end times or anticipations of Antichrist's rule.

The terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center in September 2001 pushed popular interest in eschatology to still higher levels. Within weeks prophecy books appeared on the bookshelves incorporating these events, including James Hagee's *Attack on America: New York, Jerusalem, and the Role of Terrorism in the Last Days*. The global reach of U.S. mass culture, including the prophecy-oriented TV programs and paperbacks, reinforced by thousands of charismatic and evangelical Protestant missionaries, spread premillennialist eschatological belief to Latin America and Africa as well.

As the twenty-first century began, eschatology remained central in the Protestant tradition. In the liberal churches, Christ's Second Coming was interpreted allegorically, residually acknowledged in the recitation of a creed, or simply viewed as a mystery whose details were best left unexplored. In the vibrant and expansive evangelical, fundamentalist, and charismatic sectors of American Protestantism, however, and in parts of the world proselytized by U.S. Protestant missionaries, eschatology was not merely a matter of credal affirmation or historical interest, but a vibrant reality, stirring fervent expectations of the approaching end and encouraging believers to search the scriptures and scan the headlines for signs that history's final climax was drawing ever nearer.

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ESTONIA

The present territory of the Republic of Estonia does not correspond geographically to the area that made up Estonia at the time of the REFORMATION in the sixteenth century. A large part of what is now Estonia belonged at that time to Livonia. Therefore, it is possible to speak of the history of Protestantism in Estonia only in general terms.

The arrival of Protestantism in Estonia was marked by the religious renewal movements and churches that arrived in northern Estonia and Livonia as a result of the reformation of the church started by MARTIN LUTHER in GERMANY. Protestantism reached Estonia from Wittenberg in 1523, initially attaining a following in the larger towns, where the people tried to make use of the reformation of the church for their own economic benefit and to achieve their own political goals. The reformation movement first reached Tallinn and then spread outward to Narva, Rakvere, and Paide. A year later it reached Tartu, then in Livonia but now part of southern Estonia, and from there it continued to broaden its base to Viljandi, Pärnu, and Valga. Finally, it reached Haapsalu in western Estonia and then the islands.

Although local church leaders objected fiercely to the reforms, they spread rapidly across the country thanks to wandering preachers who taught the Gospel in this new way. The first Protestant preachers in Estonia and Livonia to have come from the center of the Reformist movement in Germany and whose names are known today were Johann Lange and Zacharias Hasse in Tallinn and Hermann Marsow and MELCHIOR HOFMANN in Tartu. The Reformist movement then spread from the towns to the countryside, where the country people (at that time the majority of the population of Estonia and Livonia) hoped that the reformation of the church would bring about an improvement in their way of life and began to actively support the reformers. As a result, the movement spread quickly throughout the whole of Estonia and Livonia. After a change in political power in the

region, these developments were halted by a Catholic counterrevolution that was successful in the parts of Livonia that had fallen under Polish influence.

The triumphant march of Protestantism across Estonia and Old Livonia was sealed for good during the second half of the sixteenth century, when the period of Swedish supremacy began. Worthy of particular note during this period was the work of Johannes Rudbeckius, bishop of Västerås in SWEDEN, who led the development of a Lutheran church organization in this region. In 1694, a version of the Swedish Church Law adapted for Estonia and Livonia came into force. This laid out the structure of the CHURCH, set requirements for members of the CLERGY, and defined the basic tasks of the church in its role as proclaimer of the Gospel and educator. The Swedish era and Swedish supremacy in Estonia came to an end during the Great Northern War, when Russian forces occupied Tallinn in 1710. However, Protestantism, in the form of LUTHERANISM, had established a firm foothold in the area and had already taken the leading role in church life. In addition to the reform of the church, the most significant advance of this period was the establishment of an educational system and a network of schools for Estonians with Estonian as the common language. Estonian was beginning to spread as a written language, and this development was not even halted by the extensive Russification policies of the Russian Tsarist regime, which reigned for several centuries. One aspect of these policies was the granting of considerable economic and political advantages to the Orthodox Church and its followers (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). Estonia's separation from Tsarist Russia and the establishment of an independent Estonian state in 1918 had a significant impact on the church. The Lutheran Church was no longer under the administration of the Russian Lutheran Church but had become independent. In so doing, it also became the largest Christian confession in Estonia.

The Second World War and the subsequent Soviet occupation after 1945 led to a dramatic slowing, and in many areas a complete halt, of the development of church life. Together with the political leaders, officer corps, and intellectual elite of independent Estonia, large numbers of the clergy were also deported or put to death. State and church-run institutions of theological education, where members of the clergy had also been trained, were closed down. Atheism was declared the official ideology. All church organizations were banned, and the churches themselves were subjected to strict control. The churches were prohibited from being involved in welfare work and from working with young people, WOMEN, and children. Although the churches were separated from the state, the state began to control and limit the activities of the churches (see CHURCH AND STATE OVERVIEW). Freedom of belief was retained in theory, but in practice people were not given the opportunity to exercise it.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, a breakthrough occurred in relations between the state and the churches when Estonia left the Soviet Union and re-established the independent state in 1991. There has been a steady progression from the former sense of opposition between church and state, both public and hidden, to a level of cooperation. The Estonian Constitution guarantees freedom of belief to everyone living in Estonia. There is no such thing as a state church in Estonia. All churches and associations of congregations are deemed equal and to have equal rights. The state's relations with the churches and with other religious associations are regulated by the Churches and Congregations Act, passed in 2002. To coordinate relations between the Christian churches and the state and between the Christian churches themselves, and to promote

joint efforts to help advance society and proclaim the Gospel, the Council of Estonian Churches was set up in 1989 on the instigation of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church. All of the large Christian churches operating in Estonia are members of the Council.

Of the traditional Protestant churches, only Lutheranism is represented in Estonia today. The Anglican Church and the Reformed churches do not exist. The oldest Protestant church in Estonia, the Lutheran Church has existed in various institutional forms since the arrival of the Reformation in Estonia. After Estonia's separation from Tsarist Russia and the declaration of an independent Estonian Republic in 1918, an independent church based on the Lutheran confession was created. The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (*Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik Kirik*) is now the largest church in Estonia. In its role as the largest church institution, it has been the carrier of national identity for centuries. This became particularly important during the years of occupation.

The church has an Episcopal-synod structure and comprises 169 congregations, divided into twelve deaneries. This network of congregations covers the whole of Estonia. The Lutheran churches tend to be situated in what were the town centers back in the time of the first Estonian Republic, because during the Soviet period it was not possible to set up new congregations or build churches in newer neighborhoods. According to state statistics, church membership currently stands at about 172,000, and the clergy numbers around 190. The church's spiritual leader is the Archbishop, who is assisted by the Bishop and under whom serve the ministers (pastors), deacons, and others who work for the church in various fields.

The focal point of the everyday life of the Lutheran Church is Sunday WORSHIP. The congregations also have SUNDAY SCHOOLS, youth groups, choirs, diaconal centers, and other organizations promoting church life and cooperation in general. The church cooperates with state institutions in areas where the interests of the state and the church meet. The church is expected to express and promote moral values, but as society develops there is an ever-increasing need for diaconal work. The church has its own university offering higher education and training for members of the clergy and church musicians; for military, hospital, and prison chaplains; and for deacons and youth workers.

The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church has been a member of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION since 1963. It also belongs to the European Conference of Churches (1959) and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1961).

The second largest Christian grouping in Estonia to have grown out of Protestantism is the Baptist Church (see BAPTISTS). The movement reached Estonia in the 1870s and was initially limited to western Estonia, but later spread across the whole country. A union of Estonian Baptist congregations was set up in 1900. After the Second World War, in the second half of the 1940s, the union was amalgamated with the Evangelical Christians, the Pentecostals, and the free congregations. The Union of Estonian Evangelical Christian and Baptist Congregations currently encompasses some eighty-nine congregations with around 6,100 members. The congregations are served by eighty-one members of the clergy. Since 1989, Estonian Baptists have had their own theological seminary for training the clergy for their work in the congregations.

Although the Anglican Church is not represented in Estonia, another church that grew out of the Anglican Church has been active here since 1910: the Methodist Church (see

METHODISM; METHODISM, EUROPE). The Estonian Methodist Church has a Congregationalist structure. The highest decision-making body of the Methodist Church is the General Assembly, which selects a person from among the clergy to be the leader of the church (the Superintendent) for the subsequent three years. The church has 1,800 members split between twenty-four congregations and served by twenty-two members of the clergy. The church set up a theological seminary in 1994 with the aim of providing training for people working for the church.

There have been Pentecostals in Estonia since 1909, although they were forced to join the Union of Evangelical Christians and Baptists during the period of Soviet occupation (see PENTECOSTALISM). They were not given the opportunity of operating as an independent church. After the restoration of the Republic of Estonia, three “exile Estonian” Pentecostal Ministers founded an association of Estonian Congregationalist congregations that today is known as the Estonian Christian Pentecostal Church. It has 3,500 members, thirty-nine autonomous congregations, and sixty-three clergy. The church has had its own BIBLE school since 1992. Several Pentecostal congregations in Estonia have taken the decision to operate as independent congregations, and some have set up small alternative associations of congregations.

Protestantism in Estonia means the liberal theological movement and grouping of clergy that developed within the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (then operating under its former name of *Eesti Evangeeliumi Luteriusu Kirik*) in the 1920s under the name “New Protestantism.” This movement had a significant influence on Estonian THEOLOGY and on the development of church life. Its characteristic feature was the interpretation of the didactic basis of the church in the spirit of nineteenth-century German liberal Cultural Protestantism, and it followed the same theological ideas (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). The most important exponents of the idea were Theodor Tallmeister (1889–1947) and Voldemar Kuljus (1898–1979). From 1923 until 1940, the movement published its own magazine first titled *Protestantline Ilm* and then *Protestanlik Maailm* (*Protestant World*).

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TIIT PAADEM

ETHICS

A vital contribution of Protestantism is to preclude the possibility of ethics as a disparate discipline, as a conversation apart from the grace that exercises dominion. Unless the Word through which we are saved perpetually conditions the word of ethics, morality can become menacingly independent. Whether tempting toward preening pride, scrupulous secularity, or nihilistic despair, ethics without constant reference to “eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord” lead us astray. As Paul put it in Romans 5,

But law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more, so that, just as sin exercised dominion in death, so grace might also exercise dominion through justification leading to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. What then are we to say? (Romans 5:20–21, 6:1a)

One approach to Protestant ethics is through the question of soteriology. We may plausibly read Protestant ethics such that for MARTIN LUTHER, JOHN CALVIN, and MICHAEL SATTLER, ethics and soteriology are inextricably intertwined. Luther’s insistence that the study of requisite morality not become an enterprise severed from the answer of our SALVATION in Christ is a claim with which all subsequent Protestants have had to reckon. We may responsibly interpret each Protestant TRADITION to suggest that we cannot give form to an answer regarding what we are to do apart from the question of what God has done for us through Christ.

The manner of formulating the question of our salvation will lead to significantly different ethics. While some Protestant theologians might argue that “ultimately, nothing is at stake,” the ecclesial descendants of Michael Sattler might well argue that for Anabaptist ethics, *everything* is at stake. In *The Epistle to the Romans*, KARL BARTH suggests that through Christ, “all human duties and virtues and good deeds are set upon the edge of a knife.” We may fruitfully read these two strongly divergent assertions, along with the testimonies of other Protestant theologians, as turning on the knife-edge of soteriology. Here we examine a seminal text by each of four theologians key to Protestant thought: Saint Augustine, Martin Luther, Michael Sattler, and John Calvin. In each of these strands of Protestant thought, God’s radically prodigal work for us provides the requisite way to understand our own labors.

“That faith which worketh by love” in Augustine’s *On the Spirit and the Letter*(412)

Written in the early fifth century, Saint Augustine’s biblical commentary on II Corinthians and Romans, *On the Spirit and the Letter*, became an important interpretive work for Luther and other Protestant writers. All who followed Augustine in the West sought to secure their allegiance to his ORTHODOXY. *On the Spirit and the Letter* was crucial in establishing this important genealogy for the REFORMATION, perhaps in part because it is more obviously scriptural than some of his neo-platonic works. In Augustine’s distinction between a letter that is “inculcating and threatening” and a spirit that is “assisting and healing,” early Protestant writers found a strong emphasis on the necessity of GRACE. Although the Reformation reading of *On the Spirit and the Letter* is not uncontested, it serves to set a tone of humility and gratitude for a Protestant understanding of ethics. Inasmuch as some Western Christians had earlier come to see the law as either a specific task to be duly achieved or a particular failing about which properly to repent, Augustine’s words on “the holy law” served to reformulate the question.

From Chapter 9 of *On the Spirit*, the following passage well exemplifies the humbling and edifying use to which the Reformation put Augustine’s work:

For there was need to prove to man how corruptly weak he was, so that against his iniquity, the holy law brought him no help towards good, but rather increased than diminished his iniquity; seeing that the law entered, that the offence might abound; that being thus convicted and confounded, he might see not only that he needed a physician, but also God as his helper so to direct his steps that sin should not rule over him, and he might be healed by betaking himself to the help of the divine mercy; and in this way, where sin abounded grace might much more abound—not through the merit of the sinner, but by the intervention of his Helper.

Augustine breaks from some earlier interpretations of II Corinthians to read “the law” that heightens “iniquity” not merely as the “old law” of Israel before Christ, but any law that functions apart from God’s mercy. Reading II Corinthians and Romans together, Augustine finds a new way to interpret the relation between precept and mercy. The law, whether spoken by Christ or through Moses, becomes “the letter that killeth” if humans seek through the law’s guidance to avoid conviction and confusion and to live by their own will and their own wits. One of Augustine’s chief rhetorical aims in the treatise is therefore to create “an ardent desire to cleave to [our] Maker”—to create in us a longing for “the intervention of [our] Helper”—and he judges as fatal a use of holy precepts that allows one to eschew the aid of our maker and physician. Only through the grace of God, written by the Holy Spirit as “the finger of God” in our hearts, are we “repaired” of the effects of SIN and “liberated” to receive the law in doxological joy rather than in fear or pride.

In this way, Augustine reads Paul as striving “with much courage and earnestness against the proud and arrogant...in order that he may commend the grace of God.” This

well characterizes Augustine's own task, as he continually reads Romans, II Corinthians, Galatians, and the Psalms as a commendation of grace, reading each text through a hermeneutic wrought by his own argument with those who encourage holiness without continual reference to and praise of the one who heals, writes, and liberates. In this answer to futile striving, Augustine might have placed the accent on original sin and perpetual depravity. But his stress is slightly different, as he commends, continually, the grace of God. He contrasts Pelagian pride with Christian humility not merely to force his interlocutors to bow, but ultimately to encourage doxology. The various strands of his argument in the text return, again and again, to the refrain of praise for the power of God's grace. For example, in treating a verse like Psalm 36:10—"For He extendeth His mercy to them that know Him, and His righteousness to the upright of heart"—Augustine warns that we avoid a reading whereby we might make ourselves "the chief end of living." Rather, we must continue reading that same Psalm to hear "Let not the foot of pride come against me," a word that beckons us toward "that fountain of life, from the draughts of which alone is imbibed the holiness which is itself the good life." It is to this "fountain of life" that Augustine finally returns the reader, as he considers the possibility of a Christian who lives on earth in accordance with all of God's precepts. In the closing lines of the treatise, Augustine suggests that perhaps God has a reason to not yet grant such a thing as complete compliance, for with perfection, the congregation of believers might be led astray to praise ourselves. We are called to rather open our mouths continually to praise the one by whose mercy and goodness we live.

Augustine endeavors to discredit those who would read and attempt to live the law apart from the Spirit that gives life. The alternative, doxological life to which Augustine calls his readers in *On the Spirit* found one bold adherent who sought to define discipleship as perpetual praise and service.

It is to Martin Luther and *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520) that we now turn.

Should he grow so foolish, however, as to presume to become righteous, free, saved, and a Christian by means of some good work, he would instantly lose faith and all its benefits, a foolishness aptly illustrated in the fable of the dog who runs along a stream with a piece of meat in his mouth and, deceived by the reflection of the meat in the water, opens his mouth to snap at it and so loses both the meat and the reflection. (Martin Luther, *The Freedom of a Christian*)

In *The Freedom of a Christian*, Luther begins working through I Corinthians 9:19 and Romans 13:8 with the aim of avoiding the dog's foolishness. The statements "For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all," and "Owe no one anything, except to love one another," intertwine to reveal the liberty and slavery of faithful love. For Luther, the servitude that marks Christian ethics requires a radical freedom, a freedom owing to Christ's payment for humankind's sins. Reading *The Freedom of a Christian* is crucial to understanding Luther's Augustinian emphasis on the centrality of grace and praise in a truly Christian life. In this treatise, Luther considers JUSTIFICATION and ethics as interwoven, indeed almost indistinguishable. What Augustine holds inextricably together—the Christian life and doxology—Luther binds

again. The Christian life is distinguished as grateful praise, and all that is worthy of our doing is worthy only inasmuch as it is formed by gratitude.

Luther's rhetorical strategy in the text involves first our recognition that we have nothing, but precisely that we might receive life from another. This dire predicament of nothingness is universal, Luther insists, whether we look to the Old or the New Testament: "As we fare with respect to one commandment, so we fare with all, for it is equally impossible for us to keep any one of them." Luther's primary use of the law, what is at times called his "theological use," brings the reader to the point of sheer need:

Now when a man has learned through the commandments to recognize his helplessness and is distressed about how he might satisfy the law—since the law must be fulfilled so that not a jot or tittle shall be lost, otherwise man will be condemned without hope—then, being truly humbled and reduced to nothing in his own eyes, he finds in himself nothing whereby he may be justified and saved."

We would misread Luther to discover in his rhetoric merely condemnation without hope, for only through finding ourselves "reduced to nothing" are we prepared to receive the "one thing, and only one thing," that is "necessary for Christian life, righteousness and freedom." Luther preaches the reader into a corner so that he or she might not find a way around the Word: "For if [one] could be justified by anything else, [one] would not need the Word, and consequently [one] would not need faith." To use Luther's own metaphor, we receive all of Christ's benefits only if we run, panting with desperation, to the marital bed, and only if we remain in that bed into our old age, like an eager newlywed. As he puts it in another treatise, *Concerning the Letter and the Spirit*, "Grace is only given to those who long for it."

Only after longing for Christ and all his benefits do individuals receive them.. And for Luther, the benefits are not ephemera. The fable of the foolish dog (quoted earlier) provides a helpful entrée to this aspect of Luther's treatise. Found at the crux of his argument, the story of the lost meat and reflection points to a central concern for Lutheran ethics. The dog loses the steak and the image of the steak, because the image remains only inasmuch as the dog resists the urge to snap hungrily at it. The image of the meat glistening in the water is not an illusion, but neither is it real in and of itself. Works of love for one's neighbor are not illusory, but neither do they exist in and of themselves. Loving works exist as loving works only inasmuch as one perpetually recalls this and avoids the temptation to consider the reflection to be the real meat.

To put this differently, for us truly to be freed for the sake of our neighbor, we must be bound by infinite gratitude for all that Christ is giving us, "unworthy and condemned" as we are. Only as we are bound to Christ, subject to Him in humble receptivity, can we become subject to our neighbor in love. Luther here joins Paul's letter to the Romans, with which he began the treatise, to Paul's letter to the Philippians. By being bound to Christ through our condemnation before the law and through relinquishing of ourselves to Christ, we take on the form of a servant. This "emptying" is crucial if we are truly to love our neighbor as Christ intends. Our graced descent becomes the recurring pattern for our life of discipleship—our reflection, if you will, of the meat of FAITH. For us to love our neighbor, we must come to that neighbor as those who are nothing outside our marriage

to Christ. As Luther puts it, we become “Christ to one another,” inasmuch as we know ourselves saved only by Christ. By this kind of faith, the Christian “descends” to love the neighbor as he or she is also in need.

The metaphors in this treatise are rhetorically rich, as Luther claims that a faithful soul does not merely “share” in the goodness of Christ, but becomes “saturated and intoxicated” with the promises fulfilled in him. There is a kind of union Luther strains to describe whereby those who wed Christ become truly embodied with Christ’s goodness. For Luther, the transformation of the faithful to obedient servants has the form of *kenosis*, but this emptying results in a joyful abundance that enables “the freest service, cheerfully and lovingly done.” Because Christ gives all that a soul needs, the life of a Christian is a “surplus,” an act of doxology given unreservedly. Through Christian *kenosis* and receptivity, life itself becomes sheer gift and hardly belonging to one individual to hoard, protect, or navigate with precision. Lutheran “ethics” are, quite literally, gratuitous; the Christian life is a life freely given. If service becomes instead a mapped plan for reward or a strategy to avoid punishment, then it is not Christian service. The Christian, “caught up beyond himself into God,” is freed to consider “nothing except the need and advantage of the neighbor.”

The whole problem of ethics is so delicate, so dubious, that the addition of one word too much is far more disastrous than the omission of one word which might have been said.

Luther insists in *Freedom of a Christian* that “ethics” per se is a dangerous concept, a temptation to lose faith and, paradoxically, to lose the self-giving activity reflective of true faith. Luther’s recurring emphasis is therefore on soteriology, on the gift of Christ, rather than on the particular nuances of the Christian life. But at least one aspect of his emphasis has abiding implications for Lutheran ethics: All Christians are eligible for this MARRIAGE to Christ. By liberally using the holy wedding imagery previously reserved for the cloistered, Luther both levels and elevates the life of faithful service. The barber, the midwife, and the blacksmith are all as bereft of true Christian virtue as the ordained priest—all are condemned, and all are saved, through the same Christ to whom they may be wed in faith. The previously insignificant lives of the masses are just as open to God’s holy use as the lives of those who preside over the Mass. Thus Luther brings about what William Lazareth has called “the emancipation of the common life.” The daily toils of the common Christian are sanctified through Christ; whether changing diapers, washing dishes, cutting hair, or baking bread, according to Luther each aspect of the embodied life is potentially crucial to the kingdom.

But by freeing the daily lives of the prince and the pauper for Christian service, Luther also entangles sacred living with the daily minutia of trade, community schooling, care of children, and the execution of criminals. The service for which one is joyfully freed by faith can take forms heretofore considered beneath the calling of a true man or woman of faith. How is such seemingly mundane, or even profane, work transformed by the holy freedom to love one’s neighbor? Is the difference merely formal, or does Christ’s presence in the sinner also bring a material change? In an attempt to explicate scriptural tensions, as well as tensions pressed by those living in the first generation of the Reformation, Luther tries a complicated and somewhat confusing heuristic: that of the

two realms, or kingdoms. In his writings, the knife-edge of ethics rests perilously between these realms: one realm ruled by law and order, and another realm ruled by faith and forgiveness. God institutes both, Luther affirms, but the activity of God is different in each. Through one realm, God preserves the stability of creation; through the other, God saves His people, bringing them to grateful, free service for others.

Luther's writings on the interplay of these two realms in the life of the Christian are sufficiently complex to have troubled his followers since. If the Christian lives in both realms, how does this not lead to a split moral personality? How can forgiveness, grace, and mercy coexist alongside judgement, justice, and punishment? Luther's writings on such questions were occasioned by particular questions in the heat of rebellion, DIVORCE, or ecclesial crisis, and his resolutions are less than systematic. At times, the reader is reminded that Luther's true passion is soteriology, not ethics. Yet there are points of beautiful clarity, such as at the end of *Two Kinds of Righteousness*, where he goes into detail to answer the question: "Is it not proper [for a Christian] to punish sin?" The answer, he says, depends on whether the query comes from a private citizen or from a public servant. The public servant must at times "defend the oppressed" by punishing offenders. But the private citizen may seek the punishment of a wrongdoer only if he is certain that he is not "doing from anger and impatience that which he believes he is doing from love of justice." Luther here and elsewhere presses the faithful to suspect our quests for justice over clemency.

But some who heard Luther's call to a liberated priesthood of holy believers thought his double-edged morality a sham (see PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS). They took offense in particular to his resolution on the question of faithful service and ordered violence. Does not participation in the life of Christ preclude bodily harm of another? It is to Michael Sattler, who sought so to reform the early Reformation, that we now turn.

“Abide in the Lord as God’s Obedient Children” through the Schleitheim Confession (1527)

Eliminate from you that which is evil and the Lord will be your God and you will be his sons and daughters. Dear brethren, keep in mind what Paul admonishes Timothy when he says, The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world.

This document, attributed to Sattler (d. 1527), is an ecclesial epistle written for and by a group of Christian dissenters for the sake of internal hope, unity, and courage in precarious times. For these besieged reformers, *The Freedom of a Christian* was a call to live in uncompromising obedience to the ways of the one who wrought that freedom. These Christians read the Reformation return to Scripture alone, grace alone, and faith alone as bringing in a new, old way of following Christ: the way of peaceful, nonresistant witness to the truth, even to martyred DEATH. Rejecting what they saw as a duplicitous dualism in Luther's two kingdoms, Sattler and his brethren embraced a new, neo-Johannine dualism. True Christians must "withdraw from Babylon and the earthly Egypt"

to remain “free from the slavery of the flesh.” They must maintain themselves as “fitted for service” in the “perfection of Christ.”

In this concise and clear letter, the early Anabaptists (as they were called by their persecutors) laid out the way of Christ’s perfection: (1) baptism is for those who repent and believe; (2) the faithful will practice fraternal admonition, or “the ban”; (3) only those will gather at the Lord’s table who are of the “one faith”; (4) because “all creatures are in but two classes, good and bad,” there will be a separation from all who are not of that “one faith”; (5) the pastor is to arise from among the faithful to lead among them; (6) believers will neither wield sword against one another, nor wield it against their enemy, nor orchestrate the sword by becoming a magistrate; and (7) there will be no swearing by oaths. By way of these instructions, Sattler and his brethren may “walk according to the simplicity of the divine truth.”

The form of the document itself testifies to the different world to which these Christians were called. This is a letter concerning unity, written by the faithful to encourage the faithful; it is not a treatise sent out by a rhetorically or theologically gifted vanguard. The epistle is not so much persuasive as declarative. Finally, the testimony to salvation in Christ is inextricably intertwined with the lived testimony of the faithful life of separation, PACIFISM, and martyrdom. The writers take Luther’s separation between two realms and declare themselves to be planted firmly on the only cruciform side of that divide. Because “the sword is ordained of God outside the perfection of Christ,” those who embody Christ in the world must eschew the sword for any purpose. The perfection to which Sattler and others were calling one another was not perfection subsequent to salvation, but perfection constitutive of it.

By way of their zeal for Christ’s way, the people called Anabaptist become Christ’s people (see ANABAPTISM). Ethics and soteriology are again wed in this text, but in a way that mirrors in the reverse Luther’s wedding. For Martin Luther, ethics separated from faith alone in Christ alone led to pride or despair and the loss of a union. For Sattler, faith separated from the practices of a holy, nonresistant people is a sham, a parody of the Christian life. Discipleship requires fully embodied cruciformity, as the body of the Christian and the collective body of Christ take on the bloody marks of witness. The consequences are perilous, and the knife-edge of discipleship sharpens. But there is no other way, for, as the letter closes, Christ “gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people of his own, zealous of good works.”

We turn next to John Calvin’s “Capable of joyful obedience,” in *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION* (1559).

For, as soon as Christian freedom is mentioned, either passions boil or wild tumults rise...Some, on the pretext of this freedom, shake off all obedience toward God and break out into unbridled license. Others disdain it, thinking that it takes away all moderation, order, and choice of things. What should we do here, hedged about with such perplexities?

Calvin begins Chapter 19 in Book III of his *Institutes* with this question. Is there doctrinal space between the dangers of libertarian ANTINOMIANISM and the pride of works righteousness? From the seeming impasse between Sattler’s brethren and the followers of Luther, we are prompted to ask this question with Calvin. Calvin’s answer involves a

reformulation of Luther's freedom, a reformulation more in line with Luther's ideological brother, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, than with Luther himself. Under Calvin, the freedom brought by justification in Christ alone issues forth in a new relationship to the law. Through Christ, we are "freed from the law's yoke" and thus enabled "willingly to obey God's will." We receive an "eager readiness to obey God," having received the assurance of righteousness through Christ. In this way, Calvin clears soteriological room for a third use, the "proper," "upbuilding," and "liberating" use of God's commands.

Calvin forges a distinction between two "very different" functions of the law, separating the movement of justification before God and of SANCTIFICATION for the chosen. Disputing ANDREAS OSIANDER'S "mixing of forgiveness of sins with rebirth," Calvin sets justification and rebirth as two related but distinct movements of grace. There is "no place" for the law "before God's judgement seat," as the believer turns only to Christ for the justification that forgives our iniquity. But the law is hardly "superfluous for believers"; it continues "teaching and exhorting and urging them to do good." The "condemnatory" use of the law brings the reprobate to search for God's forgiveness in Christ, but the "pedagogical" use is the proper use for the elect (Book II, Chapter 7). This is the use that enables the daily "progress" of the Christian SAINTS and fulfills the concentric promises of the law and the gospel. This section in Book II is often a commentary on the Psalms, as Calvin explicates the workings of the lamp that lights the paths of the faithful. Using the psalmist to interpret Paul's words on the law, Calvin exclaims, "David especially shows that in the law he apprehended the Mediator, without whom there is no delight or sweetness." Through grace, the otherwise "bitter" law becomes "sweet," and the regenerate pant after righteousness.

The disagreement between Calvin and Luther on the matter of the law's sweetness has roots in their interpretation of Romans 7:24, a passage with which Augustine also struggled. While all three agree that Paul is speaking with the anguish of a "spiritual" or "regenerate" man, Calvin tempers the heat of the verse with a rhetorical reading into the next chapter. There, he reminds us, Paul promises that "there is no more condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus (Book IV, Chapter 15). For those no longer condemned, for those "sanctified by Christ's spirit," we may "cultivate blamelessness and purity of life." As David Steinmetz has written, for Calvin "Paul's cry...is not—and can never be—the last word, not even in this life."

Calvin's vision for purity in this life has a particular setting, the city of Geneva, where the variously appointed councils vigorously pursued the progress of the regenerate. Here Calvin's vision of a regenerate people who live according to God's commandments takes on embodied life. The contours of this community, Calvin lays out in Book II, Chapter 8, where, for instance, the command not to take the Lord's name in vain charges that the faithful speak with "reverence" and "praise" for all that we "recognize as done by him." This deepening of the command is characteristic. Calvin explicates the prohibition against killing thus:

We are accordingly commanded, if we find anything of use to us in saving our neighbors' lives, faithfully to employ it; if there is anything that makes for their peace, to see to it; if anything harmful, to ward it off; if they are in any danger, to lend a helping hand.

Calvin develops each command with the narrative and teachings of Christ. The one whose death brings about the possibility of righteousness also “restored [the law] to its integrity,” and the ten dictates of righteousness become the daily works of justice and mercy. The leaders of Geneva, under Calvin’s guidance, sought to foster joyful obedience to these dictates, punishing accordingly those who did not obey. When they discovered, for instance, merchants overcharging their customers, doctors with unfair fees, or someone taking advantage of a sojourner, the councils sought justice. Through a wedding of church and *polis*, Calvin envisioned that the faithful might live a newly rigorous adherence to and joy of the law.

This vision inspired, among others, the life and works of JONATHAN EDWARDS, who sought to bring Calvin’s Geneva to bear on life in colonial Massachusetts. Whereas Anabaptists struggled to put their trust only in Christ and Luther’s followers recognized that Christ alone could secure a holy city, there remained among Calvin’s followers the reasonable hope for a truly holy people on earth.

The question remains whether Calvinist ethics resolves the impasse between Luther’s dangerous freedom and Sattler’s endangered discipleship by blunting the knife-edge of ethics. As Karl Barth wrote in *The Epistle to the Romans*, “The whole problem of ethics is so delicate, so dubious, that the addition of one word too much is far more disastrous than the omission of one word which might have been said.” To paraphrase Barth, has Calvin said one word too many?

Can Ethics Be Christian?

The interim between Calvin’s Geneva and Karl Barth’s cutting indictment of human striving in *Epistle to the Romans* should be noted. The road to Barth’s salvo runs through the ENLIGHTENMENT, and in particular the practical morality of IMMANUEL KANT. With Kant’s defense of morality in the *Critique of Practical Reason*, the matter of morality and soteriology is entirely transformed. For Augustine, Luther, Sattler, and Calvin, ethics is a variously complicated dialectic of practice and praise, of discipleship and doxology. In Kant’s wake, the “sublime and mighty name that dost embrace nothing charming or insinuating but requirest submission” is not God, but “Duty!” God, as it turns out, is a “postulate of pure practical reason”—the divine becomes a morally necessary assumption. Arguably due in part to the tragically bloody wars following the Reformation, many learned Europeans eagerly accepted a fundamental shift away from the dangerously contested realm of explicit Christianity and toward a moral order within the bounds of universal human reason. Given the flammable alliance of nation-state, warfare, and religious disagreement about the holy kingdom, it is not surprising that Western philosophy took up Kant’s summons to a merely human “kingdom of ends.”

The results reverberate throughout Protestant thought. James M. Gustafson, a leading Reformed ethicist of the twentieth century, is able to ask the question “Can Ethics Be Christian,” the title of his 1975 book, in large part due to the severing of soteriology and morality. This process spans continents and centuries, and Protestants who sought to retrieve original texts were themselves influenced by the growing separation. For

example, a century after the Enlightenment, German theologian ALBRECHT RITSCHL read Luther's de-emphasis of metaphysics through Kant's emphasis on practical reason to depict the Jesus of scripture as a moral figure summoning humanity to a new level of "reciprocal moral action." Ritschl's hope for a civil state that would realize the lived gospel of Jesus found a ready adherent across the Atlantic, as WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH sought to propel a relatively new nation state toward the justice of Jesus. While neither theologian sought explicitly to banish soteriology from the field of ethics, the question had already become framed in such a way that morality was itself an end humanly pursued. As Western Europe and the UNITED STATES became increasingly secularized, questions of faith, DOCTRINE, and doxology became significantly less important than the separate task of civil, moral discourse. Thus, can ethics be Christian?

Intertwined with this trajectory are thinkers who sought anew to problematize ethics for the sake of soteriology. For Danish philosopher SØREN KIERKEGAARD, Protestant ethics is precisely the irresolvable intersection of faith, fear, and obedience. Both DIETRICH BONHOEFFER and Karl Barth sought to amplify Kierkegaard's crisis in order to summon a new generation to mind the growing gap between Protestant faith and Protestant ethics. While their response is itself ineluctably influenced by the Enlightenment, it may be a promisingly Protestant way to proceed.

See also Capital Punishment; Election; Vocation; War; Schleithem Confession

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ETHICS, MEDICAL

“Medical ethics” is one of several terms used to identify a broad set of issues and questions arising from both the practice and the research interests of medicine. The “ethics of health care,” for example, considers the principles and policies of medical practice and delivery systems, which permit or prohibit therapeutic interventions. “Biomedical ethics” typically refers to the range of life sciences dealt with under the heading “medicine,” whereas “bioethics” usually engages the “Pastoral medicine” is sometimes used to describe the ways in which a religion’s teachings inform and imfull range of life sciences as they affect persons. pinge upon medical practice. “Medical ethics” conventionally signifies the body of conventions and rules that govern professional medical behavior and the mores of physicians.

Early History

Although the present status of medical ethics dates from the mid-twentieth century, its genesis is many centuries older, and the evolutionary process that developed what we now know as medical ethics evolved gradually over many millennia. In primitive cultures the shaman or medicine man was (and continues to be) both priest and physician, whose early ethics embraced both religious virtues and medical techniques deeply rooted in vows, prayers, and codes. In modern times, however, medical ethics has become progressively autonomous and emancipated from religious presuppositions.

In medicine’s infancy, whatever comfort or relief a patient hoped for from a physician’s ministrations was not derived from a set of timeless ideals or a medical ethics in the modern sense. All the same, ancient physicians were likely aware that both patients and colleagues harbored certain expectations of them, if only in the form of the natural virtues of prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude. It is reasonable to think that the emerging vocation of medicine was, therefore, not without certain self-conscious moral commitments.

As a general rule, from their inception and through evolving stages, what we now know as the “professions” were not without some inchoate sense of purpose, however dimly perceived in antiquity. That purpose contained an incipient ethics that became

articulate over time, and typically took the form of principles of right and wrong that defined the character and governed the conduct of members of the profession. Whereas earlier interests in medicine as a vocation focused on its social and cultural role, modern medical ethics is largely driven by emerging innovative issues in research and practice.

There is no evidence that ancient Western physicians were required to swear an oath or accept even an informal code of professional conduct. The Hippocratic corpus, variously dated as from the sixth century B.C. to the first century A.D., is our earliest documentary expression of “medical ethics.” Although it mandated both behavior and noble aphorisms for physicians, it was not widely accepted or practiced until the advent of Christianity, whose ideals and virtues were consistent with the major features of the Hippocratic template. In the modern period, medical schools have employed solemn pledges for their graduates using either a version of the Hippocratic oath or incorporating concepts from it. While there is nothing comparable to the Hippocratic corpus in the earlier literature of classical Greece and Rome, there is a Chinese code of medical ethics developed in Sun Ssu-maiao’s *The Thousand Golden Remedies*, which dates from the sixth century A.D.

Several moral maxims, the origins of which cannot always be identified in Western medicine, emerged from this period. The most familiar of them is the Hippocratic precept, *primum non nocere* (do no harm)—do not make matters worse by your intervention. Another Hippocratic dictum holds that it is the duty of physicians to preserve (or prolong) life and to relieve pain (or suffering). The precept also requires that the physician’s duty is to his primary patient, and that medical decisions are to be made for the benefit of the primary patient without concern for spinoff benefits that might accrue to dependent populations. Yet another hoary maxim from this period is that a physician is under no obligation to offer, nor a patient under any duty to receive, treatments that are not beneficial to the patient being treated. The wisdom of these and other ancient moral maxims has been tested by twentieth-century advances in medical and bio-medical technologies, by the advent of sophisticated mechanisms (like double-blind clinical studies) for assessing treatment efficacy, by systems theory and family medicine (which challenge the exclusivity of the primary patient), and by therapies for which the preservation of life and the relief of pain are sometimes not complementary.

Religion

In the ancient world, and prior to the Christian era, primary Jewish commentary on medical topics was contained in the Mishnah and the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. Further rabbinic responsa to questions concerning medical matters are found in various collections of Midrash. Already the ground was being prepared for an anecdotal, case-oriented medical ethics; but the full implementation of this approach was delayed for several centuries by remarkable innovations in medical technology. Meanwhile, the need for summary statements of Jewish law took the form of codes, one of which was written in the twelfth century by Moses Maimonides, who was himself a rabbi and a physician. In the centuries following, five identifiable principles important for Jewish

medical ethics have emerged: human life has intrinsic value; the highest moral imperative is the preservation of human life; all human lives are equal; our lives belong to God; the sanctity of human life inheres in the human being as a whole. Over time the work of Maimonides, together with that of Christian scholastics, became the prototype for modern secular codes of medical ethics.

In the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era, the expectations and commitments within the guild of medicine were both deepened and made more explicit as Christian theologians directed interest to the etiology of diseases and the moral merits of medical interventions. In their efforts to take account of the attributes ascribed to God, they widely believed God to be both the origin of, and the remedy for, human suffering and disease: “See now that I, I am He, and besides me there is no god: I put to death and I keep alive, I inflict wounds and I heal; there is no rescue from my grasp.” (Deuteronomy 32:39) It may therefore be unsurprising that philosophies of medicine in the early Christian era variously held that medicine was an instrument of divine grace to provide relief and, conversely, that medicine demonstrated an absence of faith in its diabolic human attempt to alter the divine purpose.

Evolution of Codes

From the seventeenth century onward, the history of medical ethics took on a distinctively different look. With the advent of the rational ENLIGHTENMENT, monarchical forms of government, frequent revolutions, and a diminished role for religion in social and political life, metaphysical traditions were abandoned in favor of an experimental empirical scientific orientation that increasingly claimed both cultural ascendancy and medicine’s allegiance.

Among other notable changes, the notion was developed in GERMANY that physicians are not only agents for the sick but are also the overseers and managers of a country’s health; in FRANCE the revolutionary ideology of a right to health care took shape; and medical philosophers in Great Britain and the young UNITED STATES applied common-sense intuition in their efforts to articulate a moral philosophy for medicine that was universal in both scope and application.

Early medical ethics essays in colonial America appropriated the common-sense appeal to moral principles which claimed that each individual is endowed with an innate moral sense which, if properly maintained, could serve as an internalized moral gyroscope. The first of these essays, Samuel Bard’s (1742–1821) *Discourse on the Duties of a Physician* (1769), agreed with the eighteenth-century Scottish moral philosopher Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) that duty and benevolence were the governing moral principles. In 1789 Benjamin Rush addressed some doctor-patient issues in his speech, “Observations on the Duties of a Physician and the Methods for Improving Medicine,” in which he focused on the knowledge and skills that identified the physician as a professional. Meanwhile, John Gregory of Edinburgh published his *Lectures upon the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician* (1817), an ambitious essay in which the author

spoke to the moral qualities and temperament required of a physician, together with the kind of education suitable to qualify a physician for practice.

Although preceded by several physician-authored essays on the duties of physicians, as well as a code of ethics promulgated by the Medical Society of New Jersey in 1766, the publication of Thomas Percival's (1740–1804) *Medical Ethics* (1803) is generally acknowledged as the beginning of modern Western medical ethics. Percival's book actually has more to do with medical etiquette than with medical ethics. His principal claim was that a physician should be a Christian gentleman—prudent, charitable, honest, trustworthy. Percival's treatise remained the presiding reference for medical ethics into the third decade of the twentieth century, when Chauncey Leake's 1927 edition of his book was published. In sum, these early attempts at formulating a medical ethics proffered a series of benevolent duties: cure the sick; comfort the dying; serve the poor; observe confidentiality and honesty; and do all this unselfishly out of regard for others and not for self.

In 1808 an association of Boston physicians adopted a code of medical ethics that closely followed Percival's model; in 1823 the New York State Medical Society followed suit. In rapid succession codes were ratified by The Medico-Chirurgical Society of Baltimore (1832) and by the College of Physicians of Philadelphia (1843). The newly formed American Medical Association, meeting in Philadelphia and drawing largely from Percival's *Medical Ethics*, promulgated the first national code of ethics in 1847.

The AMA code has been revised several times, most recently as the "Principles of Medical Ethics" (1980), a document bearing little resemblance to Percival's. The seven principles perpetuate the tradition: a physician is to contribute to the community, but as a private citizen; patient care is advocated, but physicians are guaranteed the freedom to choose whom they will serve; and there is no hint that physicians, or the profession as a whole, are obligated to influence the distribution of medical resources to serve the underserved. The principles express prerogatives for self-regulation, stress the individual practitioner's autonomy, and make no affirmation of the equality of patients as persons. There is no lively sense of the common good except as this might spin off from the good one does oneself. The overall cast of this document is of a union or guild document, a statement made by craftsmen to protect themselves in which their prerogatives and rights form the central motif. In the larger cultural tradition of medical ethics, the 1980 AMA "Principles" appear to be the *creatio ex nihilo* (creation out of nothing) of modern doctors. To be sure, there are exceptions to this stance; the code of the American College of Physicians, together with many of the other medical specialty codes, displays a different temperament that tends to reflect an older and more traditional model of covenantal, rather than contractual, physician-patient relationship.

International concern for, and interest in, medical ethics escalated following World War II, and several global codes were adopted. In 1947 the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal propounded 10 standards, called "The Nuremberg Code," to guide physicians in all future experiments on human subjects; in 1948 the General Assembly of the World Medical Association adopted a modified form of the Hippocratic oath known as the "Declaration of Geneva"; in 1964 the World Medical Association expanded the ethics of human experimentation and ratified the "Declaration of Helsinki," which was promptly endorsed by nine medical organizations in the United States active in clinical

investigations; and, continuing this concern, the “AMA Guidelines for Clinical Investigation” were promulgated in 1966.

The Modern Period

Meanwhile, medical ethics was receiving the attention of scholars outside the medical profession as increasing numbers of theologians, philosophers, lawyers, social scientists, and others began to address the broad range of issues arising from the practice of medicine. Roman Catholic moral theologians and some papal encyclicals have been attentive to medico-moral issues for several centuries. In addition, Judaism lays claim to a lengthy tradition of rabbinic responsa, together with the dicta of religious courts, on these topics. The literature of medical ethics since the REFORMATION contains works, among those already cited, by several Protestant physicians, but deliberate and sustained cognizance of these matters in commentary by Protestant theological ethicists and moral philosophers has been comparatively recent. The tendency of Jewish medical ethics has been case oriented. Roman Catholic theologians, while utilizing carefully wrought natural law principles, have been casuistic as well. In an increasingly secular venue, both of these approaches have been labeled as “legalistic” and, in much current discussion, rejected or disregarded. The tendency among Protestant commentators, among whom are both intentional and nominal Protestants, has been case oriented as well, but without the resource of ecclesial canon or dicta.

There may be several reasons for the recent increase in serious and sustained scholarly attention to medicine and ethics: (1) increased governmental supervision of medical funding and practice following decrees by the Nuremberg Tribunal on human experimentation and other medical activities; (2) exponential advances in technologies of various sorts, but especially biomedical technologies; (3) the role of mass media in disseminating information on medical breakthroughs both large and small; (4) a decline in colonialism together with escalating competition among nations for technical achievement; and (5) increasing attention by government, the general public, and nonmedical academic specialists to the full range of issues in medical education, practice, and research. These and doubtless other developments in the last half of the twentieth century appear to have encouraged what has come to be an eruption of commentary, both verbal and written.

In the twentieth century, the first significant book by a Protestant theologian to address itself to ethical issues arising out of the practice of medicine was Joseph Fletcher’s *Morals and Medicine* (1954). Two other scholarly monographs appeared sixteen years later: Paul Ramsey’s (1913–1988) *The Patient as Person* and Harmon Smith’s (1930–) *Ethics and the New Medicine* (both 1970). In the decades after 1970, a deluge of articles, monographs, symposia, bibliographies, and dictionaries followed. Most prominent among the authors of these texts were religious ethicists, but there were increasingly others—philosophers, physicians, nurses, lawyers, political scientists, historians, and economists—who addressed themselves to burgeoning biomedical technology and

changing medical practice. Today one must be acquainted with this wide range of commentary in order to be well-informed.

Some of these works were of general interest, treated many issues, and were frequently adopted as texts for emerging college and university courses. Among them are Edmund D. Pellegrino and David C. Thomasma, *A Philosophical Basis of Medical Practice* (1981); Robert M. Veatch, *A Theory of Medical Ethics* (1981); William F. May, *The Physician's Covenant: Images of the Healer in Medical Ethics* (1983); Thomas Beauchamp and James Childress, *Principles of Bio-Medical Ethics* (1983); *Health and Human Values: A Guide to Making Your Own Decision* (1983), edited by Frank Hanon, John Burnside, and Thomas Beauchamp; the multivolume report of the President's Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Biomedical and Behavioral Research (1983); and Leon Kass, *Toward a More Natural Science* (1985).

A number of essays and monographs appeared challenging traditional and conventional ways of dealing with medical ethics. Among these were Ivan Illich, *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health* (1976); H.T. Engelhardt, *The Foundations of Bioethics* (1986); Stanley Hauerwas, *Suffering Presence: Theological Reflections on Medicine, the Church and the Mentally Handicapped* (1986); and Harmon L. Smith and Larry R. Churchill, *Professional Ethics and Primary Care Medicine: Beyond Dilemmas and Decorum* (1986).

Other publications addressed particular topics and problem areas. Illustrative of these works are Robert F. Weir, *Selective Nontreatment of Handicapped New-borns* (1984); Karen Lebacqz, *Genetics, Ethics and Parenthood* (1983); Joel Feinberg, *The Problem of Abortion* (1984); Brian Clark's play, *Whose Life Is It, Anyway* (1980); Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (1982); and Larry Churchill, *Rationing Health Care in America: Perceptions and Principles of Justice* (1987).

Writings on medical ethics currently address every aspect of the practice of medicine, together with a broad range of commentary on ancillary matters related to the profession. The *Encyclopedia of Bioethics* (1982) is a standard reference. The *Hastings Center Report* (published by the Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences), the *Journal of Medical Ethics* (published by the Society for the Study of Medical Ethics), *Second Opinion* (published by the Park Ridge Center for the Study of Health, Faith, and Ethics), the *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*, and the *Linacre Quarterly* are among the best-known periodicals of this genre. In addition, The Kennedy Institute of Ethics at Georgetown University annually publishes a *Bibliography of Bioethics*, and the Hastings Center biannually produces a *Bibliography of Ethics, Bio-medicine and Professional Responsibility*. These bibliographies list not only entries on clinical topics from womb to tomb, but also inventories of a growing miscellany of monographs and symposia on issues extending from genetics and molecular biology to managed care to after death, out-of-body phenomena. There is, further, a growing list of publications addressing the infrastructure of the practice of medicine. These and other writings comprise a literature that appears in both the popular and professional press, and in other media as well, leaving no important issue unexamined.

Attempts to attribute the genesis of these diverse commentaries to either a single technical *tour de force*, such as cardiac homografts, or to a cluster of insistent events such as the allocation of a scarce, lifesaving resources, have been unconvincing. Very like its ancient history, medical ethics in the modern period has evolved from a constellation of

events, some of which have to do with remarkable technical advances in medical and biomedical applications, and some of which have to do with the economic and political milieu within which modern medicine is practiced. The formative years appear to have been the two and one-half decades between the mid-1940s and the early 1980s.

In 1967 Colorado was the first state to revise its abortion statute to legalize abortions for the so-called maternal, fetal, and social indications. Several states followed suit before the U.S. Supreme Court, in its 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, provided abortion on request in the first and second trimesters and, with some state-imposed restrictions, in the third trimester. Artificial insemination issues arose in the late 1960s with several celebrated cases that challenged traditional notions about paternity, whether AID constituted adultery, and provoked child support litigation. In 1978 the first *in vitro* fertilization/embryo implantation baby was born. Systematic genetic screening for ethnic-specific populations, particularly for sickle-cell anemia among African Americans and Tay-Sachs disease among Ashkenazy Jews, was begun in the 1960s. After centuries of pronouncing death on the basis of cardiorespiratory criteria, the French Academy of Medicine proposed brain-function criteria in the late 1950s; the Beecher Committee refined those criteria in 1968, and in 1981 a presidential commission proposed a Uniform Definition of Death Act, which was endorsed by the American Bar Association, the American Medical Association, and the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. The new criteria provided that irreversible cessation of circulatory and respiratory functions, or irreversible cessation of all functions of the entire brain, were sufficient to pronounce a patient dead. In the mid-1970s the case of Karen Ann Quinlan was among the first to test the new brain death criteria. These were halcyon years.

Resident in distinct but related events are some of the controversial claims and counterclaims that gave rise to medical ethics. It became known in 1962, for example, that owing to an insufficient number of dialysis machines, candidates for chronic hemodialysis at Seattle's Artificial Kidney Center at Swedish Hospital were being selected on the basis of criteria that included social utility and were considerably broader than immediate and urgent patient need. Both professional and public response ranged from outrage to admiration. In retrospect, some have said that the committee, appointed by the county medical society and euphemistically known as the "God squad," was making life and death decisions for patients that they had no moral right to make. Others have maintained that, in view of many claims upon only a few machines, the committee was performing a responsible and unavoidable, however onerous, civic duty to both the individual candidates for dialysis and the larger society. Because Belden Scriber's invention in the 1960s of the arteriovenous shunt made chronic dialysis for renal failure a much less hazardous and far more patient-friendly clinical option, this event is seen by some to have triggered, for both the public and the professions, the increased interest in medical ethics.

Willem Kolff reported development of the first successful renal dialysis machine in 1944, but the broad moral issues regarding its availability and the clinical need for it did not arise until the 1960s, when it became clear that renal dialysis was a scarce, lifesaving resource and that more patients required dialysis than there were machines to serve them. Ultimately, the United States Congress was willing to allocate sufficient funding to guarantee dialysis to every citizen who qualified for it.

These developments laid the groundwork for the dramatic first successful renal homograft between identical twins performed by Joseph Murray and his team at Boston's Peter Bent Brigham Hospital in 1954. This surgical transplant was not only a breakthrough in biomedical technology, but a harbinger of serious moral issues: in this instance, whether it is ever right or proper to take a normal organ from a healthy person for replacement of a diseased organ in a sick person. Many believed that this procedure violated the ancient maxim that authorized intervention is only for the benefit of the primary patient.

There were, in fact, many noteworthy and morally provocative events preceding the Seattle quandary. In the early 1940s, treating World War II burn victims and building on the earlier work of Emile Holman, which showed that an immune process of some sort was at work in rejecting skin grafts, Peter Medawar confirmed Holman's hypothesis and demonstrated that the process could be inverted by injecting foreign cells into very young animals who then acquired tolerance for "foreign" grafts without rejecting them. Theoretically, human embryos could also become histocompatible with the donors of injected cells; and cyclosporine and other immunosuppressive drugs used in later tissue and organ transplantation would thus have been unneeded had donor and recipient exchanged histocompatible tissue or organs. Such a move was morally repulsive to Medawar, but there is no evidence that his decision *not* to demonstrate this hypothesis in human subjects generated much public or professional attention. Unlike later decisions by some hospitals *not* to admit and treat indigent patients, Medawar's choice clearly did not create an ethical *cause célèbre*.

Methodologies of Medical Ethics

Contemporary writings on medical ethics range from descriptive studies to ideologic advocacy, and the case study method is overwhelmingly popular. Narrative and literature studies have recently provided an innovative tool for both teaching and problem solving. Overall, contemporary medical ethics prefers an ethics of duty and obligation, which is called *deontology*, to an ethics of goals and ends, or *teleology*; indeed both the practice and research interests of medicine are sometimes criticized for not having a discrete and robust goal. Moreover, rejecting the older medical paternalism and reflecting increasingly popular consumer advocacy, utilitarian principles frequently claim the center of attention in current monographs, with little or no attention given to an exposition of the character requisite to being a good physician. The stress on decision procedures and utilitarian principles tends to eschew and avoid the complexity of physician self-perceptions, professional loyalties, and the subtle influences of habits of practice that have been historically at the core of medical ethics. Fear of malpractice litigation has further contributed to increasing substitution of computer and other electronic and mechanical analyses for clinical judgment. The hospital, not the bedside in a home, has come to be the principal site of care.

Whether medical ethics is a species of ethics or a genus unto itself remains an unresolved question. The greater weight of the evidence suggests that what is unique

about the moral deliberations that occur within the context of medicine are data, not agreed-upon ethical principles and virtues. Ethics derives from the Greek *ἠθός* and morals from the Latin *mores*, both of which signified expected, routine, and conventional behavior. In late medieval universities, ethics came to be the study of character and virtue, of the theory of good behavior, while morals came to be the study of proper conduct, of the practice of behavior. That distinction, between an accurate description of behavior and a rational account of why it was appropriate behavior, was initiated in order to bring rationality to conduct, but rationality in modernity is elusive owing to emphasis on individual autonomy and the absence of shared intellectual and moral commitments.

Because the topics associated with medical ethics were foreign to most academic departments—philosophy departments, for example, were largely preoccupied with existentialism and formal criticism of language—most of the earlier twentieth-century commentary on medical ethics was provided by theologians and theological ethicists. It became quickly apparent, however, that for medical ethics (or bioethics or biomedical ethics) to survive and succeed in a pluralistic and increasingly secularized culture, religious/theological language would need to be superseded and replaced by a cultural speech independent of religion, and that the cherished American virtues of autonomy and private conscience could not be violated, even under the rubric of “the common good.” Attention turned, quite naturally therefore, from pre-occupation with a virtuous character to concerns for public policy and law, with the result that medical ethics, as practiced, has tended more and more to locate its *raison d'être* in regulations and regulatory agencies like institutional review boards and ethics advisory committees.

Among all the species, it was believed that the human species has the unique capacity to give an intelligible account of its behavior. The task of ethics was therefore to assess the congruence or incongruence, the coherence or incoherence, of behavior when measured by belief, or of belief when gauged by behavior. So ethics as ethics is not concerned with codifying behavior, or defining right and wrong conduct; its task instead is to articulate what William Temple called “basic commitments,” the beliefs and virtues that describe the character of persons. This method has been largely abandoned in contemporary discussions of medical ethics, and appeal to regulations of various sorts has taken its place.

Herein lie the grounds for an internal debate among medical ethicists: has the shift from decorum and internal conversation to publicly examined decision making been serviceable to either physicians or their patients? Should the subject matter of their consultations be entirely rule governed? Are our choices always principled? Is decision making the *sine qua non* of ethics? Is the democratization of medical decision making as common public property a good thing? Is there a place between physician and patient in medical ethics for character and relationship? Has the fiduciary relationship been sacrificed to a business model?

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HARMON L. SMITH

ETHNICITY

Protestant churches are often rooted in ethnic communities but confess faith in the oneness of Christ's CHURCH, which transcends all divisions.

Definition

The Greek roots *ethnikos* and *ethnos* refer to a people or a nation. However, although ethnicity is closely related to national identity, the two are not synonymous. Some modern nation states have a high degree of ethnic homogeneity, but others contain a large number of ethnic groups. These are sometimes distinguished by language, but a sense of shared CULTURE and history can be sufficient to form a strong sense of ethnic identity. Religious profession is often one of the unifying features of an ethnic community. Through their ethnicity, people celebrate the particularity and diversity of human life. However, ethnic identity can also be evoked ideologically to mobilize a community for political or military action. Its dark side can be seen, for example, in racism and ethnic cleansing.

Protestant Churches and Ethnic Identity

Since the day of Pentecost, the Christian church has been called to transcend all barriers of language, nationality, and ethnicity. The Latin Mass of the medieval church was a powerful symbol of unity throughout Western Europe. The sixteenth-century REFORMATION appeared to disrupt this unity, first by promoting WORSHIP in the vernacular and second by organizing the church on a national basis. The principle of *cuius regio eius religio* ("whose region his the religion") ensured that the Protestant faith came to be identified with particular territories and peoples. To its critics, the Reformation had fragmented the church into a miscellany of ethnic religious movements.

Its defenders were at pains to stress that shared DOCTRINE and common practice expressed the unity of the church even when it was organized on national lines. Nevertheless the danger remained that the Protestant churches might be compromised by their close identification with particular nations and/or ethnic communities. As Christianity developed in North America, most immigrants adhered to the church that most closely corresponded to their ethnic origins in Europe. When the Protestant faith was taken to other parts of the world through missionary work (see MISSIONS), it tended to replicate the ethnically based divisions of the North Atlantic. These were reinforced by comity agreements, which divided territory geographically among the various missions. The result was often a series of ethnically homogeneous Protestant churches, a pattern favorable to church growth. “Indigenous principles,” wrote Donald McGavran, “lead Christians to go to their own folk, to their kith and kin, and thus to grow among their own kind of people....Men like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic or class barriers.” (McGavran 1970:350)

Ethnicity and the One Church of Jesus Christ

The church’s mission constantly drives it to become fully local, rooted in the native soil of each particular community. The dynamic of the incarnation means that the church grows as Christ comes to be at home in each culture. Yet this process carries the danger that Christian FAITH becomes so bound up with the interests of an ethnic group that it is easily compromised. The church can lose all critical distance from the culture in which it is set. It can put up barriers that divide it from sister churches even in the same locality. When this happens, the church needs to recover its catholic or universal character. Protestant faith requires the dialectic of affirming national and ethnic identity as the sphere within which Christ becomes known and enfleshed, while always relativizing ethnicity by pointing to its destiny in the wider purpose of God that embraces all peoples in and through Jesus Christ.

A definitive moment in the clarification of this issue came in GERMANY in the 1930s. The GERMAN CHRISTIANS argued that their ethnic and national identity was an order of creation granted by God and gave their support to Adolf Hitler’s National Socialism. The minority CONFESSING CHURCH argued that the church is constituted by hearing the Word of God—Jesus Christ—and found therein a basis for questioning Hitler’s program. Through the BARMEN DECLARATION of 1934, they affirmed the finality of the unity of the church in Jesus Christ.

SOUTH AFRICA’S apartheid system was decisively challenged in 1982 at Ottawa when the General Council of the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES affirmed that “the Gospel of Jesus Christ demands... a community of believers which transcends all barriers of race—a community in which the love for Christ and for one another has overcome the divisions of race and colour.” Apartheid in South Africa was declared to be a HERESY. It was made clear that ethnic identity, however its richness may be cherished, can never be accorded a place of ultimacy in the life of the church.

In the post-Cold War age of ethnically based conflict, the church has an urgent obligation to demonstrate the reconciliation brought by Jesus Christ. Protestant churches need to be on guard lest they be coopted by an ethnic group and reduced to functioning as a tribal religion. The migration of people groups into urban melting pots brings anew the question of whether their faith is primarily an expression of ethnic identity or whether they belong primarily to a global community of faith. Protestant faith affirms the integrity of national and ethnic identities but always deabsolutizes them and makes clear that belonging together in Christ transcends all ethnic differences among people.

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KENNETH R.ROSS

EUCHARIST

See Lord's Supper

EUTHANASIA

The term *euthanasia* (literally “good” or “gentle” death or “dying well”) covers a wide range of issues, depending on whether the patient is conscious/competent and/or whether the physician’s conduct is active or passive. Many people distinguish simply between voluntary euthanasia (where a competent, informed person asks another to end his or her life and is not coerced into doing so) and involuntary euthanasia (where a terminally ill person, who does not have the capacity for informed choice, is killed). Because many believe that the person taking the life should be a trained physician, voluntary euthanasia is increasingly termed “physician-assisted suicide.”

However, there are other acts or omissions that may also be seen as forms of euthanasia. A physician may withdraw treatment or medical intervention knowing that this will shorten a comatose patient’s life. Or a conscious patient may refuse life-sustaining treatment even though the physician is willing to continue treatment. Or, again, a patient might leave a Living Will to the effect that he or she does not wish to be treated in the event of serious illness. Given this wide range of possibilities very few people remain wholly for or against every form of euthanasia. Even among advocates of “direct” or “active” euthanasia few recommend that the lives of *all* of those who are permanently comatose or have severe learning disabilities should be actively terminated.

Among Christians there is no unanimity on euthanasia. On this ethical issue, as on many others, there is a range of beliefs across denominations and within denominations. Even when a particular church takes a firm line against, say, physician-assisted suicide, some of its regular churchgoers will conclude otherwise.

This can be illustrated from opinion poll data. For example, data from *British Social Attitudes* surveys suggested that most people, including many churchgoers, increasingly support changes in the law that would allow physician-assisted suicide for the terminally ill. Seventy-six percent of the whole sample in the 1980s were in favor of this being allowed for the terminally ill and in the 1990s this rose to 82 percent. Support among monthly churchgoers across denominations during these two decades differed little from the sample as a whole—it was 72 and 84 percent, respectively. It was only among weekly churchgoers that a statistically significant difference emerged, with support at 48 and 45 percent, respectively. Among Anglican weekly churchgoers in the 1980s support rose to 66 percent. Clearest opposition to this form of euthanasia was among Roman Catholic weekly churchgoers: here only 39 percent supported it, although among monthly attenders this rose to 75 percent. Age was not a strong predictor of different attitudes.

Even a 1990s question about allowing for euthanasia for those who are simply tired of living showed that 6 percent of weekly churchgoers, as distinct from 12 percent of the sample as a whole, agreed to this.

From a theological perspective it might once have been sufficient simply to argue that human life is God-given and should never be taken by human beings outside a context of a just war or just punishment. However, the dilemmas created by modern medicine seem to make such a clear-cut position increasingly difficult to hold. Is withdrawing life-sustaining medical treatment or intensive nursing care from a patient whose cortex is destroyed tantamount to euthanasia or not? Is withholding life-prolonging treatment with the agreement of conscious but terminally ill patients tantamount to assisted suicide or not? Modern medicine makes such questions unavoidable.

It is often argued by theologians in this context that human life is a gift, a gift from a loving God made known in Jesus Christ. The analogy of the gift relationship finds its foundation in God's gift of the Logos and continues in the Logos's gift of life to us. We in turn should respond to this gift with gratitude, thanksgiving, and deep responsibility. In contrast, those who lack this faith may see human life, not as a gracious gift, but as a chance by-product of a world that has meaning only if we choose to give it meaning. In theory at least, this second position allows human beings to shape human life as they will. If people decide to opt for euthanasia then that is their autonomous choice: life can be shaped as they will. Conversely, for Christians life is God-given and is not simply to be shaped by humans as they will, but to be approached gratefully and responsibly.

Yet in the context of modern medicine the contrast between these two positions is not nearly so clear-cut. Christian doctors, committed to the belief that life is God-given, still face the same dilemmas about prolonging the lives of the terminally ill or permanently comatose. Gift relationships are by no means all gracious—some can be highly manipulative, especially the required gifts of submission. Gracious gifts should be treated with gratitude and responsibility, but they may not bind the one to whom they are given—it is manipulative gifts that do that. Gracious gifts can be enjoyed for a while and then shared with, or even returned with gratitude to, the giver. Gracious gifts leave both giver and receiver free. Indeed when God-given life becomes nothing but a burden, it might seem appropriate to return that life prayerfully and humbly to the giver.

The 1998 LAMBETH CONFERENCE of Anglican Bishops identified five “bedrock principles” that are crucial to these issues from a Christian perspective:

Life is God-given and therefore has intrinsic sanctity, significance, and worth.

Human beings are in relationship with the created order and that relationship is characterized by such words as respect, enjoyment, and responsibility.

Human beings, although flawed by sin, nevertheless have the capacity to make free and responsible moral choices.

Human meaning and purpose are found in our relationship with God, in the exercise of freedom, critical self-knowledge, and in our relationship with one another and the wider community.

This life is not the sum total of human existence; we find our ultimate fulfillment in eternity with God through Christ.

The bishops argued that a combination of the first, second, and fourth principles precludes either voluntary euthanasia or involuntary euthanasia. They also worried about the consequential dangers of legalizing such forms of euthanasia—especially the danger of abuse, the danger of diminution of respect for human life, and the danger of damaging the doctor/patient relationship. They summarized the dangers as follows:

- the virtual impossibility of framing and implementing legislation that would prevent abuse by the unscrupulous
- a diminution of respect for all human life, especially of the marginalized and those who may be regarded as “unproductive” members of society
- the potential devaluing of worth, in their own eyes, of the elderly, the sick, and of those who are dependent on others for their well-being
- the potential destruction of the important and delicate trust of the doctor/patient relationship

However, they argued that the following *are* consonant with their Christian principles:

- To withhold or withdraw excessive medical treatment or intervention (e.g., life support) may be appropriate where there is no reasonable prospect of recovery.
- When the primary intent is to relieve suffering and not to bring about death, to provide supportive care for the alleviation of intolerable pain and suffering may be appropriate even if the side effect of that care is to hasten the dying process (i.e., the doctrine of double effect).
- To refuse or terminate medical treatment (such as declining to undertake a course of chemotherapy for cancer) is a legitimate individual moral choice.
- When the person is in a permanent vegetative state to sustain him or her with artificial nutrition and hydration may indeed be seen as constituting medical intervention.

See also Ethics; Ethics, Medical

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EVANGELICAL (EVANGELISCH)

The term is derived from the Greek euangelium (“good news”, i.e. the “good news” of the gospel) and came into widespread usage in the German Reformation. The German equivalent, “evangelisch” used both as noun and adjective became quickly the self-designation for the supporters of the MARTIN LUTHER, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, and the other reformers. The usage of the term thus preceded the introduction of the terms “Lutheran,” “Calvinist,” or “Mennonite”, which came into usage from the middle of the sixteenth century onward when ecclesiastical boundaries needed to be defined more sharply. “Evangelisch” was, from the beginning, an umbrella term, denoting all those who were partisans of the Reformation. In that sense, the Calvinist churches could be labeled “evangelisch” (evangelical).

In German language usage, the term continues to be used into the present. In popular usage it is considered a synonym for both “Lutheran” and “Protestant”, a practice which is understandable in light of the fact that the overwhelming majority of German Protestants are Lu-theran. Ther term is not to be understood in a theological, but an ecclesiastical sense. Accordingly, German usage speaks of the “evangelische” church and what is meant thereby is not what in American usage would be an “evangelical church”, i.e. a theologically conservative church but rather a “Protestant”, and generally Lutheran church. More precisely, the term “evangelisch” denotes the churches of the PRUSSIAN UNION, while the explicitly Lutheran churches in Germany have the designation “evangelisch-lutherisch” (evangelical-Lutheran) churches.

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

This English movement had its origin in the middle of the nineteenth century, when a number of clergy became concerned about the increasing influence and impact of the Oxford Movement effort to define the Anglican Church as catholic. A gathering in London in 1846, attended by hundreds of clergy from several countries, marked the official establishment of the Evangelical Alliance. Its goals were the “advancement of evangelical Protestantism,” which entailed the objective of affirming traditional, conservative theology in the Protestant mode. The objectives of the Alliance also spelled out the opposition to “infidelity, popery, and other forms of superstition, error, and profanes, especially the desecration of the Lord’s Day.”

The movement quickly took root in several European countries and the United States as it became clear that the goals of the movement were to affirm the common belief of Protestant Christians, while understanding and deploring the divisions within Christendom. In a way, the Alliance may be considered the forerunner of the various ecumenical efforts of the twentieth century in that its underlying premise was the notion that the challenges of modernity, such as the disregard of the Lord’s Day, could be best dealt with in concord among the various Protestant groupings.

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EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

The Evangelical and Reformed Church (E & R Church), although in existence for only twenty-three years, exemplified the church union and ecumenical discourse (see ECUMENISM) prevalent in early twentieth-century Protestantism. The church came into existence when union discussions between several denominations resulted in the uniting of two of those denominations, the Reformed Church in the United States and the Evangelical Synod of North America. It ceased to exist as a DENOMINATION because of another church union agreement, uniting the Evangelical and Reformed Church with the Congregational Christian Churches to form the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. The union process that created the E & R Church was distinctive among the many church mergers and unions that occurred worldwide during the first part of the twentieth century because that union was based on the assumption of a common faith and belief within the merging churches. Institutional form and procedure were deemed secondary issues to be addressed once the union was enacted. They would be discerned according to God's leading and to fit the context of the church at the time.

Union Creates Evangelical and Reformed Church

Church union was facilitated by the fact that both the Evangelical and the Reformed churches had roots in German Protestantism. As immigrants from GERMANY and SWITZERLAND came to America they founded congregations where they settled, the Reformed immigrants largely in the Central Atlantic region and those who would create the Evangelical church in the Mid-west. Eventually, the congregations within each of these traditions joined together and new denominations were founded. The SYNOD of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America was created in 1793, nearly a century after the first German Reformed congregations were gathered. Mirroring the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia (see PRUSSIAN UNION), pastors of Lutheran and Reformed traditions in the UNITED STATES met in St. Louis,

Missouri in 1840 to found the German Evangelical Church Society of the West, the first united church in U.S. history.

Both churches grew in number and expanded geographically, although they remained largely regional institutions. As they grew, each church changed its name to reflect its broader membership. Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century, it was the Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Church in the United States that began to discuss church union. By 1918 the Reformed Church had developed a plan for uniting all churches in the Reformed tradition. In 1925 the Evangelical church began official negotiations with other denominations toward organic union. Although other Reformed denominations, such as the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, were a part of initial discussions, the final parties in the negotiations were the Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Church in the United States. After six years of negotiating, a Plan of Union was approved by the Reformed church in 1932–1933 and the Evangelical church in 1933. On June 26, 1934, a union celebration was held and the Evangelical and Reformed Church officially came into existence.

The Plan of Union, the document in church mergers that usually spells out both the ideological terms of the agreement and the mechanics of the process, was unique. It emphasized faith and common belief as the basis for union. The institutional nature of the church was left to be worked out after the union. Protestantism had been created upon and distinguished by concern for doctrinal points and church governance. In the Evangelical and Reformed merger, however, a common faith and belief were assumed. No single statement of faith or creed was designated as authoritative in E & R churches, although all of the historic creeds of both churches were recognized as important, such as the AUGSBURG CONFESSION and HEIDELBERG CATECHISM. Emphasis was placed on looking to the Scriptures first to define Christian faith and life, and to the creeds secondarily. In both it was acknowledged that individual interpretation was appropriate and would create a range of understandings.

Once the union was enacted a committee was created to write a constitution for the new church, including a definition of its form of government. Because the polities, the governmental forms, of the two merging churches were quite different (the Evangelical church being more centralized and the Reformed church based more on congregational autonomy), it was not an easy process. After four years a hybrid polity combining some presbyterian traits and some congregational traits was agreed upon. The Constitution and bylaws were adopted in 1938 and took effect in 1940.

Union Dissolves the E & R Church

In spite of its short existence the Evangelical and Reformed church contributed in several other ways to American Protestantism. It provided several prominent twentieth-century theologians including H. RICHARD NIEBUHR, REINHOLD NIEBUHR, and PAUL TILLICH. The church cooperated ecumenically with other denominations in mission work, PUBLISHING, and further church union discussions. Even before the Constitution

for the E & R Church was approved, church leaders began union discussions with leaders of the Congregational Christian Churches. In 1942 a public announcement of the discussions was made and a proposal for union was approved by both church bodies. Between 1943 and 1949 the Basis for Union underwent ten revisions. Union was initially planned for 1950, but lingering concerns within some of the Congregational Christian Churches delayed the union celebration until 1957. In June of 1957, twenty-three years after the Evangelical and Reformed Church came into existence, it ceased to exist when, in following the prayer of Jesus “that they may all be one” (John 17:22), the E & R Church merged with the Congregational Christian Churches to form the United Church of Christ.

See also Congregationalism; Lutheranism; Mercersburg Theology; Polity; Presbyterianism; Schaff, Philip

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EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH OF AMERICA

The Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA) was the result of the merger of two FREE CHURCH organizations in 1950. Born out of the nineteenth-century “evangelical” REVIVALS in northwest Europe, which resulted in organizations separate from the Lutheran church, immigrants to the UNITED STATES from these groups established a number of independent congregations. In 1884 one group of Swedish congregations formed a loose association in Iowa, named the Swedish Evangelical Free Church. A second group of Danish and Norwegian congregations formally organized into the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Free Church in 1909. In June 1950 these two groups, representing 275 local congregations, formally merged at the Medicine Lake Conference Grounds near Minneapolis, Minnesota, becoming the Evangelical Free Church of America. The EFCA international headquarters have remained in Minneapolis since then.

The denomination’s governing structure is congregational, where each local congregation largely governs its own affairs independently. National and international organization, however, was created to manage certain cooperative endeavors, such as MIS-SIONS. There is an annual meeting where representatives from each congregation are sent to supervise these endeavors. The DENOMINATION of approximately 1,250 congregations, two universities, and a seminary is divided into twenty-two districts, each managed by a district superintendent and district leadership team. From the CLERGY membership, a president is elected to serve the denomination’s national activities, preserve its values, and create stronger unity.

Although every congregation is largely independent in its business and ministry, a change that occurred with the 1950 merger was the introduction of a twelve-point doctrinal statement that is now incorporated into each local congregation’s constitution. Evidence of the influence of the post-fundamentalist evangelical movement is witnessed in the EFCA statement of beliefs, including clear Trinitarian affirmations, belief in ATONEMENT through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, assertion of the BIBLE being authoritative and inerrant (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY), original SIN, the second coming of Christ and human resurrection.

The EFCA has influence greater than its size in American EVANGELICALISM. First, it supports more than 500 missionaries in Asia, Europe, and LATIN AMERICA. Second, it holds membership in the World Evangelical Alliance and the International Federation

of Free Evangelical Churches, two organizations that provide leadership to millions of evangelicals worldwide. Third, and most important, the EFCA maintains a seminary and two interdenominational universities in North America: Trinity Evangelical Divinity School and Trinity International University in Illinois, along with Trinity Western University in British Columbia, CANADA. Graduates from these schools have populated leadership positions in every evangelical-oriented denomination in North America.

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H.CHAD HILLIER

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

Originating in a 1988 merger of three previous church bodies, at the turn of the twenty-first century the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) included some 5.1 million baptized members, making it the largest Lutheran DENOMINATION in the UNITED STATES. Slightly less than half of these numbers participate in the sacrament of Holy Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER) or contribute financially, considered marks of active membership. About 30 percent, something more than 1.5 million people, attend weekly worship services.

Approximately 10,800 congregations served by some 17,500 pastors, almost 2,000 of whom are WOMEN, provide WORSHIP as well as a range of other services. There are also somewhat more than 1,000 associates in ministry working at various levels of assistance. The congregations in turn support sixtyfive geographical synods, the largest of them in North-eastern Pennsylvania and in Minneapolis, reflecting regional concentrations in the Northeast and the Mid-west. A church-wide assembly meets every other year. The national offices are located in Chicago.

Historically, the Lutherans who formed the ELCA have put particular emphasis on four areas. One of these areas is world mission (see MISSIONS). Although the numbers have declined significantly since the merger, in 2000 there were still some 300 missionaries serving in forty-five countries around the world, with concentrations in sub-Saharan Africa and New Guinea. Another area of emphasis has been HIGHER EDUCATION. Eight SEMINARIES prepare pastors for the CHURCH; in addition, there are twenty-eight affiliated colleges and universities distributed across the country. The best known include Gettysburg College, Wittenberg University, and St. Olaf's College. A third area of emphasis is CHAPLAINCY, with more than 850 chaplains in the armed forces, another 125 and additional staff serving more than 200 state and private colleges and universities, and roughly 800 providing special ministries in counseling, prisons, and the like.

A fourth area of special emphasis in the ELCA has been social service. Earlier generations of Lutherans were among the leaders in providing for orphans and the elderly; in the 1970s, they owned more than one-third of the nation's nursing home beds, along with some notable hospitals. Lutheran Social Services, organized by state, usually but not always under that name, is one of the largest nongovernmental agencies in the

nation. It continues the work with children and the aging, but also provides a broad range of counseling help and related assistance.

Lutheran World Relief (LWR), jointly funded by the ELCA and the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD (LC-MS), provides for international services such as development and disaster assistance. It has been noted for its effectiveness around the world, generally being among the first church agencies contacted in crises. ELCA funds for LWR are contributed out of the World Hunger Appeal, a long-standing enterprise with some \$16 million worth of contributions in 2000.

Since the breakthroughs of the 1960s, the Lutherans who eventually formed the ELCA have been active in ecumenical relations both nationally and internationally. Lutheranism's sixteenth-century origins in Roman Catholicism have given a strong priority to improved relations in this connection. The Lutheran-Catholic Dialogues were particularly noteworthy. They included representatives from the churches that merged to form the ELCA with those of the LC-MS in conversation with American Roman Catholic theologians. More recently, the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification approved by the ELCA, other European Lutherans, and (in a qualified way) the Vatican is said to have achieved new levels of reconciliation. The ELCA has also entered into substantial ecumenical agreements with Episcopalians, Reformed, Moravians, and others. It has solidified relations in its own tradition through the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION.

Governance

A generation ago, Sidney Earl Meade pointed to an axiomatic difference in American Christianity. In Europe, the church has been able to rely on the coercive power of the state to maintain itself financially and otherwise; in the United States, the disestablishment clause of the Constitution has limited the church's power to persuasion. This has inevitably tipped American church governance in the direction of congregationalism, in which the membership holds the last word.

Unlike other sixteenth-century reformers, MARTIN LUTHER and the others associated with the beginnings of LUTHERANISM did not propose an ideal church structure. Some of the original Lutheran documents are explicitly congregational; some are at least tacitly hierarchical. Traditionally, governance has been an issue in which Lutherans have agreed to disagree. The churches uniting in the ELCA had their own traditions; concerns about a looming hierarchicalism delayed the merger and occasioned the first major conflict.

As in other American churches, the congregations provide the basic unit of governance. Some are small, struggling to maintain membership in the aftermath of population shifts that have isolated them in inner cities, small towns, and open countryside. Other congregations are extraordinarily large, particularly in metropolitan areas, with memberships of 5,000 to 7,000. Small or large, maintaining their communities, the congregations call pastors and provide the church's funding, a total of

more than \$2.3 billion in 2000 (a contribution of something over \$500 per communing member).

Thus dependent on the congregations, the ELCA was designed to provide some independence for other layers of authority. This has been difficult for the CLERGY. Pastors, whose responsibilities are defined by PREACHING and administering the SACRAMENTS, learn quickly the importance of responsiveness. The bishops have some constitutional authority in the calling and discipline of parish pastors, but soon learn the perils of acting without congregational support (see BISHOPS AND EPISCOPACY).

There has been relatively more success in efforts to protect other layers of structure, with provisions to give some independence to the SYNODS and the national church. The synods are the next governmental step after the congregations. They provide assistance to the local parishes through the bishops, who are elected to six-year terms, and synodical staff. They in turn pass along a portion of the funding that they receive from the congregations to the national church, termed the “churchwide.” The churchwide is responsible for providing leadership in matters such as world mission, outreach, theological education and ministry (see EDUCATION, THEOLOGY: UNITED STATES), social statements, relations with the colleges and universities, and gender- and age-specific ministries. Church-wide assemblies and the church council, which represents the assemblies between meetings, establish policies for the national church. The presiding bishop is chief executive officer of the churchwide offices, and represents the ELCA nationally and internationally. The Conference of Bishops meets twice yearly, providing advice and support.

The traditional American Lutheran ambivalence on AUTHORITY is most evident in the office of bishop. The bishops are the first source of assistance when congregations are seeking pastors or experiencing conflict. (An estimated 40 percent of the parishes were in contention at the turn of the century.) But with this, the bishops’ authority has been limited to basically that of advice and consent.

Called to Common Mission (CCM), an agreement with the Episcopal Church, USA, brought the ambivalence about church governance in the ELCA to a head. Traditionally, Lutherans have asserted their connection to the apostolic church of the New Testament through the confession of that Word preached in the New Testament and by the Lutheran reformers. In the Denver Assembly of the ELCA, the church voted to accept apostolic succession through the historic episcopate, which claims connection to the church of the apostles through the office of bishop. Approximately one-third of the ELCA’s membership objected to the CCM and similar efforts, seeing evidence of a growing hierarchicalism. The result was the largest conflict since the merger.

History

Lutheranism came to North America with waves of immigrants from GERMANY and the Scandinavian counties. Consequently, it reflects its European origins even as it has become an American DENOMINATION, showing evidence of the power of the “melting pot.” Lutherans began arriving in North America well before the founding of the

American republic; there are seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century congregations in New York, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and the Virgin Islands. The heaviest immigrations began in the early nineteenth century with Germans who settled in Pennsylvania and other Eastern and Southeastern states, and ended with the Scandinavians, who continued to arrive primarily in the Midwest until the 1920s. In Minnesota, the Dakotas, and some other regions, Lutheran grandchildren of the most recent immigrants—German Russians, Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns—still identify with their ethnic origins.

Like others, Lutheran immigrants generally sought to perpetuate forms familiar from their native lands. Initially, the linguistic groups divided along lines that reflected matters of contention at home. The farmers and laborers who made up the bulk of the immigrants had been strongly affected by the PIETISM of Lutheran revival movements that had swept the state churches (see REVIVALISM). Middle- and upper-class immigrants, generally sent by the European churches or immigrating themselves with traditions of leadership, usually reflected more self-consciously Lutheran forms of THEOLOGY and practice. The obstacles to unity posed by these divisions were largely overcome by the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the linguistic groups merged to form ethnic churches (see ETHNICITY).

Lutheran immigrants brought their heritage to America in the Scriptures, the Lutheran Confessions, and their hymnals (see CONFESSIO; HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The confessions, a collection of documents that include Luther's CATECHISMS and the AUGSBURG CONFESSIO, have been considered definitive of Lutheran ism. Centered around the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone, they provided a framework for interpreting the new situation in America.

Immersing a European confessional tradition in the American melting pot proved a corrosive process for each wave of immigrants, eating away at already present conflicts, opening up issues with those who had arrived earlier and were already adapting. INDIVIDUALISM, a pervasive Protestantism shaped by revivalism, along with the progressivism of the American people, were some of the major challenges. Some Lutherans, notably the LC-MS and related groups, sought to protect against the confessional tradition by enclosing theologically. The ELCA brought together Lutherans who had, to varying degrees, sought to hold their Lutheranism in a critical conversation with American CULTURE, taking on its challenges.

World War II brought decisive changes for American Lutherans. Within a few years, ethnic Lutherans completed their linguistic transitions. The postwar economy along with the MASS MEDIA broke through Lutheran isolation. Traditional barriers broken, the first multi-ethnic mergers of Lutherans occurred with the AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH (ALC) in 1960 and the LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (LCA) in 1962. Cooperative work between the ALC and the LCA and, to a lesser extent, with the LC-MS, raised some hopes during the 1960s that Lutherans in America would finally be able to unite in one church. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, citing matters of biblical and confessional authority, the LC-MS began to pull back within itself. A split-off group, eventually calling itself the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in America, broke away from the LC-MS in 1976, and took a lead in merger talks between the ALC and the LCA.

In 1982, conventions of the three church bodies, listening to one another by phone hookups, voted simultaneously to form a new church. Further enriching the alphabet

soup, the Commission on the New Lutheran Church (CNLC) was formed. It negotiated terms of the merger, among other things establishing a system of GENDER and racial quotas for leadership positions in hopes of opening the ELCA to the wider culture. On January 1, 1988, the new church legally succeeded its predecessor bodies.

A number of key people contributed to the mergers leading to and including the ELCA. Frederick Axel Shoitz and Franklin Clark Fry, once dubbed “Mr. Lutheran” by *Time* magazine, exerted shaping influences in the formation of the ALC and LCA. Successors of theirs, Kent Knutson and Robert Marshall, whose friendship was cut short by Knutson’s untimely death, set the two churches on an irreversible course toward a merger. David Preus of the ALC, James Crumley of the LCA, and Will Hertzfeld from the AELC were all critically important in the merger process. Yet to name such individuals is to ignore the collective character of efforts stretching back over generations, as well as that of those who worked more anonymously to effect the change.

In the late 1950s, surveying the massive acculturation of Protestantism in the United States, Winthrop Hudson expressed the hope that the confessional Lutheranism then emerging out of its isolation would lead the way in the recovery of a more specifically Christian identity. The 1988 merger was completed in a somewhat similar hope, that united Lutherans would have a greater impact in American public life. The distance of time has a way of sorting out hope and illusion. At the turn of the century, the ELCA continued to be divided by issues that have historically perplexed American Lutherans—authority, both theological and church-political, and the church’s position in relation to public culture. The presenting issues were the office of the bishop and sexual ethics (see *SEXUALITY; HOMOSEXUALITY*).

Character

Offensive as it may be in some circles, Lutherans have thrived on religious humor in which they have been the butt of the joke. They are portrayed as stolid, taciturn, family oriented, work driven, and inclined to regard potluck suppers and tuna casserole as sacramental. With some allowance for exaggeration, the joke may not be far off.

Wags in the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES once said, “Lutherans provide the foremen and the superintendents for the plants the Episcopalians own.” In fact, by origin and by immigration, Lutherans have historically been blue-collar people, the biggest percentage having small-town origins with another larger group growing up in the rust-belt cities of New York, Pennsylvania, and the Great Lakes region. The farm crisis, carrying through the later twentieth century into the twenty-first century, along with technological replacement of labor, has hit Lutherans hard.

The strong educational emphasis of Lutheranism, combined with work habits learned on farms or in skilled labor, have served Lutheran families well, however. If older Lutherans are likely to show signs of an ethnic past, shaking hands revealing years of labor, where the younger Lutherans remain, they are likely to have accredited themselves educationally for work acquiring and distributing information. The two generations have not always come together easily.

Published demographics indicate that in 2000, ELCA Lutherans were some 98 percent white, though committed to welcoming other races. Informed speculation suggested that the church had lost two generations of its young and was on the way to losing a third. The average Lutheran assembly, whether congregational, synodical, or churchwide, looked older and ready for work, as long as there was some humor on the side, but anxious about its future.

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JAMES ARNE NESTINGEN

EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

See Evangelicalism

EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH

This denomination was the result of the union in 1946 of two church bodies formed among German Americans in the early nineteenth century, the Church of the United Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Church (see EVANGELICALISM). The former body traces its origin to the evangelistic work of Philip William Otterbein (1726–1813), an immigrant missionary-pastor of the German Reformed Church, who established a partnership in ministry with the “converted” Mennonite, Martin Boehm (1725–1812). Otterbein was educated at the Herborn Academy in Germany, a Pietist-oriented school (see PIETISM). It was Otterbein’s embrace of Boehm, following the latter’s testimony to the new birth in Christ at a barn revival meeting in Pennsylvania on Pentecost, around 1767, that launched their common mission (see REVIVALS). It represented an eschatologically driven enterprise to form a higher unity among German Americans, based on a shared experience of personal new birth in Christ, that would transcend the barriers of adversarial church bodies of their day (see ESCHATOLOGY). Using that date as their point of origin, the United Brethren declared itself to be the first “American-born” DENOMINATION.

In actuality, Otterbein’s intent was not to found a new church, but rather to nurture a revival among German Americans that would transcend existing church structures of all sorts. However, a new denomination it would become. Despite Otterbein’s personal friendship with Methodist bishop FRANCIS ASBURY, the United Brethren would eschew the episcopally grounded Methodist ecclesial structures in favor of a more democratic, “nonpartisan” brotherhood in Christ. Their bishops were elected to quadrennial terms from among the “brothers” in conference. In Pietist fashion, the early United Brethren hoped to manifest a “more glorious state of the church on earth” (Otterbein), as an end-time community of the reborn. This brotherhood would extend conference voting privileges in church conferences to lay preachers, recognize the diverse sacramental practices of persons coming from a variety of ecclesial backgrounds, and (by 1851) begin extending preaching licenses to WOMEN. By 1889, the General Conference approved the ordination of women (see WOMEN CLERGY).

The United Brethren adopted a CONFESSION of faith and a discipline at their first General Conference in 1815 (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). Both were based on documents prepared by Otterbein for use in his Reformed congregation at Baltimore

(1774–1813). Their early missionaries, led by Bishop Christian New-comer, received ordination at the hand of the aged Otterbein, after Newcomer and others had advanced into the Ohio Valley (c. 1810). Their itinerant successors reached to the Pacific Northwest by 1853 (see ITINERANCY). On peace and justice issues, the United Brethren Discipline of 1821 committed members to renounce SLAVERY and slaveholding, making them one of the earliest denominations to adopt an official antislavery position (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). A missionary presence was established in the British colony of SIERRA LEONE in West Africa that began in the 1850s and eventually flourished with the help of an African-American couple, the Joseph Gomers. This mission grew to become the largest Protestant church in that nation. The leaders of the newly independent Sierra Leone in 1960 were graduates of the United Brethren Albert Academy in Freetown. In other overseas fields, beginning with South CHINA (1889) and then JAPAN, the PHILIPPINES, and LATIN AMERICA, United Brethren missionaries were pioneers in establishing indigenous-led united churches, in cooperation with other American mission boards (see MISSIONS; MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). Home mission centers were launched among Spanish-Americans in New Mexico and Florida.

Alongside this work, Jacob Albright (1759–1808), a Pennsylvania-born farmer of Lutheran background, underwent a profound experience of the new birth and then launched an evangelistic mission among his neighbors that resulted in the formation, after his death, of the Evangelical Association (1816). Unlike the United Brethren, this body patterned itself more closely after Methodist DOCTRINE and POLITY. In fact, one of its early names, in addition to the “Albright People,” was “The Newly Formed Methodist Conference.” However, Albright’s ordination had been conferred by his lay associates, rather than by established church authorities. After their humble origin, Evangelicals prized church order and an efficient itinerancy plan. They were the first denomination in America to include in their Book of Discipline an extended essay on the doctrine of entire SANCTIFICATION. Evangelicals also labored among the succeeding generations of German immigrants to the UNTTED STATES, and so retained a longer use of that language than did the United Brethren.

By the mid-nineteenth century, both Evangelicals and United Brethren also began founding colleges and then SEMINARIES for the training of Christian workers, although neither church required seminary education for ordination (see HIGHER EDUCATION). Whereas the United Brethren followed the single-track ordination plan of the Reformed Church (elders only), Evangelicals followed METHODISM in adhering to two orders (deacons and elders). Led by their missionary bishop, John Seybert (1791–1860), their expansion beyond their Eastern Pennsylvania base was centered in the upper Midwest and Canada, whereas United Brethren missionaries favored a line of expansion in the lower Midwest.

Fittingly, Evangelicals launched their major overseas mission effort in GERMANY (1850), from where they established a strong “free church” presence throughout German-speaking Europe, including hospitals and benevolent homes operated by a deaconess society, a seminary, and numerous congregations, including locations in all major German cities. Other overseas fields included Japan (where their missionaries first translated the Old Testament into Japanese), central China, and NIGERIA, plus “home” missions in Appalachia, and among urban ethnic minorities (see ETHNICITY).

Both denominations experienced division in the nineteenth century, for which leading causes included controversies over FREEMASONRY and the revision of the original church constitution (the United Brethren in 1889), as well as disagreements over language, polity, and the interpretation of the doctrine of sanctification (the Evangelicals in 1891). The leader of the “Old Constitution” minority among the United Brethren was Bishop Milton Wright, father of the Wright brothers of aviation fame. The schism among Evangelicals was healed in 1922, resulting in the formation of the Evangelical Church. Evangelicals contributed one president of the Federal Council of Churches (Bishop John Stamm) and one president of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (Bishop Reuben Mueller). Their church united in 1946 with the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, forming a church comprising more than 700,000 members and almost 5,000 congregations in North America that would be known as The Evangelical United Brethren Church. Its overseas constituency was found in five annual conferences in Europe and West Africa, and was also distributed throughout a variety of indigenous united churches on five continents. Its strong ecumenical commitment resulted in the union of their church with Methodism in 1968, resulting in the formation of the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, which for a time was the largest Protestant denomination in North America.

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J. STEVEN O’MALLEY

EVANGELICALISM

Words such as *mosaic* and *kaleidoscope* have been used to describe the bewildering diversity of groups that are associated with evangelicalism. Growing out of currents dating back to the Protestant REFORMATION, evangelicalism originated during the eighteenth century as a phenomenon within Protestantism in North America and Britain. By the end of the twentieth century it had become one of the most vibrant, global expressions of Protestantism. Often identified as “conservative” because of its consistent concern for defending certain theological doctrines, it has also been remarkably responsive and adaptable to different cultures and times, creating a dynamic, not static, movement.

The word *evangelical* is derived from the New Testament Greek word *euangelion*, referring to the “good news” of the Christian gospel. Its contemporary usage carries numerous connotations derived from its association with certain groups throughout the history of Protestantism. During the sixteenth century the word was first applied generally to Protestant reformers because of their doctrinal emphasis on JUSTIFICATION by FAITH, the priesthood of all believers, and the AUTHORITY of the BIBLE. It became, particularly in reference to LUTHERANISM in GERMANY, a synonym for Protestantism.

Second, the influence of earlier Puritans and Pietists (see PURITANISM, PIETISM) set the stage for religious REVIVALS in Britain and North America during the eighteenth century. Central figures in igniting these revivals in Britain were GEORGE WHITEFIELD, an eloquent evangelist who effectively used open-air preaching; JOHN WESLEY, an evangelist whose organizational genius led to the creation of METHODISM; and Howell Harris, an aggressive evangelist in Wales. The label “evangelical” was adopted by Protestants who wished to distinguish themselves from coreligionists who did not share the same emphasis on the necessity of a CONVERSION experience, participation in EVANGELISM, and a rigorous approach toward personal holiness. The term was also used to identify a particular party within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND that was sympathetic with the emphases of the Methodist revival. In North America the extraordinary revivals of JONATHAN EDWARDS during the 1730s, and the itinerant preaching of George Whitefield several decades later, set in motion the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS). The movement spread to Nova Scotia in CANADA through the efforts of HENRY ALLINE. Known as “New Lights,” eighteenth-century evangelicals significantly shaped American culture during the Revolutionary era.

The third historical context to give meaning to the term “evangelicalism” grew out of revival fires during the nineteenth century called the Second Great Awakening. In North America the CAMP MEETINGS organized by Methodist circuit-riding preachers, the new methods of evangelism introduced by CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, and the evangelistic activity of BAPTISTS in the southern states resulted in spectacular displays of religious enthusiasm. Common evangelical concerns often transcended denominational differences, giving rise to hundreds of cooperative initiatives in the form of VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES that furthered causes such as TEMPERANCE, SABBATARIANISM, prison reform, and the abolition of slavery (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). By the mid-nineteenth century evangelicalism had become the prevailing orientation among Protestants in North America, prompting some to designate the era as the evangelical century.

Divisions among Protestants in the United States over slavery during the CIVIL WAR were followed by a flurry of new disputes involving DARWINISM and higher criticism of the Bible. Social and economic changes created by industrialization and urbanization further fragmented the evangelical hegemony of earlier decades. A group of evangelicals particularly concerned about defending orthodox Christianity against the influence of theological Liberalism (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM) became known as fundamentalists after the publication of *The Fundamentals* and their involvement in the infamous Scopes “Monkey Trial” in 1925 (see FUNDAMENTALISM). These fundamentalists distinguished themselves from what they perceived as dangerous compromises among more accommodating Protestants by retaining their emphasis on personal Conversion, but adding a more rigorous stress on the inspiration of the Bible, the imminent return of Christ, and separation from “the world.” A growing sense of alienation prompted fundamentalist evangelicals to establish a network of hundreds of independent agencies promoting evangelism, global MISSIONS, Bible knowledge, publishing, youth work, radio broadcasting, Bible Schools and colleges (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTIONS), summer conferences, and other activities. This organizational infrastructure provided the foundation for an evangelical resurgence during the 1970s.

The influx of new immigrant groups added still more diversity to evangelicalism in North America during the twentieth century. In addition, a powerful new strand of evangelicalism emerged out of the HoLINESS MOVEMENT that had left Methodism during the 1890s. Pentecostalism, with its emphasis on the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit such as speaking in tongues and divine healing, reshaped evangelical demographics and became one of the most significant religious influences in the world during the twentieth century.

During the 1930s and 1940s those directly associated with, or influenced by, the fundamentalist network gradually emerged from their cultural isolation. Strengthened by the growing popularity of evangelist BILLY GRAHAM and the intellectual leadership of CARL F.H.HENRY, founding editor of *Christianity Today*, the “neo-evangelicals” formed in 1942 the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS, which became the center of a wider coalition of more ecumenically minded and cooperative evangelical organizations. The aggressive expansion of evangelical churches and organizations, the skillful use of broadcast media by radio preachers during the 1920s and TELEVANGELISTS during the 1970s (see PUBLISHING MEDIA), and the

involvement of evangelicals in areas of public life such as education, professional sports, politics, and media, gave “born again” Christians more visibility and attractiveness. By the end of the twentieth century, evangelicalism was once again the largest and most robust force within Protestantism in both North America and Britain.

The multitude of branches associated with evangelicalism has prompted contemporary historians and pollsters to search for a more precise definition that accurately identifies its distinctive features, thus making it possible to measure the extent of evangelicalism. A commonly used approach is illustrated by the descriptive quadrilateral developed by David W. Bebbington. Despite the considerable diversity among evangelicals, he argues there are at least four continuities or qualities that create a kind of conceptual unity if not always an actual unity, and that define the essence of evangelicalism. None of the four characteristics is unique to evangelicals, but the emphasis placed on the combination of these particular characteristics sets them apart from other Christians. Evangelicals are *conversionists*, meaning that people become Christians by repenting and personally experiencing what the Protestant reformers called “justification by grace through faith.” Second, they are *crucicentric*; that is, at the center of their theological scheme is the understanding that ATONEMENT was made to God for human sin by the death of Jesus Christ on the cross. Third, they are *biblicist*, that is, they have a particularly high regard for the Bible, considering it to be inspired by God and the final authority in matters of faith and Christian practice. Fourth, evangelicals are known as *activists*, meaning that genuine conversion will be accompanied by a new motivation for doing good and for holy living. This explains the time and energy evangelicals devote to personal piety, to missionary efforts, and to philanthropic projects of all kinds.

According to David Barrett’s *World Christian Encyclopedia* (2001), approximately 34 percent of the world’s population was Christian at the end of the twentieth century. Although estimates vary depending on the definition being used, it is likely that more than one third of the world’s Christians could be considered evangelical. The massive missionary efforts during the past two centuries, and especially the rapid expansion of Pentecostal and charismatic expressions of evangelicalism in the non-Western world, have contributed toward making evangelicalism a global phenomenon.

See also Alline, Henry; Atonement; Awakenings; Baptists; Bible Schools; Camp Meetings; Christianity Today; Civil War; Conversion; Darwinism; Edwards, Jonathan; Finney, Charles Grandison; Fundamentalism; Germany; Graham, Billy; Henry, Carl F.H.; Liberalism; Lutheranism; Mass Media; Methodism; National Association of Evangelicals; Pentecostalism; Revivals; Sabbatarianism; Slavery, Abolition of; Televangelism; Temperance; Voluntary Societies; Wesley, John; Whitefield, George

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BRUCE L. GUENTHER

EVANGELICALISM, THEOLOGY

“Evangelical” is a word with many meanings. In some contexts it is synonymous with “Protestant,” whereas in others it indicates religious enthusiasm or fanaticism. Etymologically, it means “of the Gospel.” An evangelical is one who promotes the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The early Protestants (especially Lutherans in Northern Europe) chose the term to designate their movement because of its emphasis on JUSTIFICATION by GRACE through FAITH alone. That SALVATION does not have to be earned was considered “good news” (gospel). In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Great Britain, evangelicals were a party within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND; they emphasized the Protestant side of the Elizabethan Settlement that created ANGLICANISM. Many of them were Puritan in sympathy and theology. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Great Britain and North America, the label came to be used of those affiliated with the Great Awakenings (see AWAKENINGS) and other REVIVALS. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, evangelicals were those Protestants who promoted and attended revivals and embraced a relatively conservative theology during the rise of liberal theology in mainline Protestant denominations (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). The fundamentalist movement arose in the early twentieth century out of evangelicalism in Great Britain and North America (see FUNDAMENTALISM). It sought militantly to expose and marginalize liberal theology and higher criticism of the BIBLE in Protestant seminaries and denominations. In the 1940s, several fundamentalist leaders, including Harold John Ockenga in New England, began to use the term “evangelical” to describe a new type of conservative Protestantism that is postfundamentalist. Agreeing with much of fundamentalist THEOLOGY (e.g., inspiration of Scripture, deity of Jesus Christ, salvation through the cross of Jesus Christ alone), these newer evangelicals eschewed fundamentalist separatism and anti-intellectualism. They forged a coalition of nonfundamentalist conservative Protestants that included revivalists, Calvinists, Wesleyans, Pentecostals, Pietists (see PIETISM), and BAPTISTS. The NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS was formed in 1941 and came to include fifty denominations and thousands of churches, parachurch organizations, and individuals. Out of this new postfundamentalist movement arose evangelical theology with diverse Protestant roots.

All evangelicals (in the postfundamentalist sense) share four common features. They are intensely *biblicist* in that they believe the Bible to be God’s supernaturally inspired, written Word uniquely authoritative for Christian faith and practice. Their biblicism

extends to a devotional use as well as a theological use of the Bible. Evangelicals emphasize Bible reading and promote love for the Bible. Evangelicals do not all agree about secondary matters related to a DOCTRINE of Scripture, such as whether it contains incidental errors. Many evangelicals believe that it is inerrant in all matters on which it touches, including history and cosmology (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY); other evangelicals believe that it is infallible for all matters related to salvation, but not inerrant. The second common feature is *conversionism*. Evangelical Protestants believe that every person needs to have a personal encounter with Jesus Christ in a CONVERSION experience involving repentance and faith. Some practice infant baptism, but no evangelical believes that BAPTISM is a guarantee of salvation or sufficient for full reception of salvation. Third, evangelical faith is marked by *crucicentrism*. The cross of Jesus Christ is the focus of evangelical piety, PREACHING, and practice. Evangelicals believe that Jesus Christ's death on the cross is the sole basis for a right relationship between persons and God, because there Christ made ATONEMENT for the sins of the world. They may disagree on the exact nature and scope of the atonement. Finally, part and parcel of being evangelical is *activism* in MISSIONS and "outreach" to people outside the evangelical church. All evangelicals value "witnessing" and proclamation; some add the dimension of social ministry to their activism.

Organs of Evangelical Theology and Evangelical Theologians

Evangelical theology arises out of the evangelical movement. It takes for granted the basic contours of Protestant Christian theology such as *sola scriptura* and justification by grace through faith alone. It also takes for granted basic Christian ORTHODOXY as expressed in the earliest Christian creeds and in the consensus of the church fathers. It is worked out by evangelical theologians in such publications as *Christianity Today* and *The Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, which is published by the 3,000member Evangelical Theological Society, which requires members to have advanced theology degrees and to affirm biblical inerrancy and the Trinity. The leading postfundamentalist evangelical theologian of the second half of the twentieth century was CARL

F.H.HENRY (b. 1913), who served as president of Fuller Theological Seminary and was a founding editor of *Christianity Today* magazine. He produced a massive, multivolume evangelical work of theology titled *God, Revelation and Authority* (1976–1983), and is generally regarded as the "dean of evangelical theologians." Henry is conservative in theology in that he closely follows Protestant orthodoxy; he championed the cause of biblical inerrancy while at the same time criticizing fundamentalism's naive biblicism and harsh separatism. He believes that all serious problems in modern theology arise from defection from commitment to the sole supreme authority of the Bible, which serves as the foundational presupposition of all Christian thought.

Other leading evangelical theologians include EDWARD JOHN CARNELL, Bernard Ramm, Donald G. Bloesch, Millard Erickson, Stanley J. Grenz, Miroslav Volf, and Clark Pinnock. Much evangelical theological reflection focuses on issues of religious authority, proper theological method, the nature of Scripture, God's attributes and relationship to

creation, and salvation. Basic evangelical theological mental habits come from the Old Princeton School of theology led by Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, Archibald Alexander Hodge, and Benjamin Breckenridge Warfield in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These Presbyterian scholars stood on the shoulders of earlier Reformed scholastic theologians, such as Francis Turretin. Twentieth-century evangelical theology borrowed from them an emphasis on the priority of special, propositional revelation over natural theology and personal experience, as well as commitment to the unique authority of the Bible as God's verbally inspired and inerrant written Word. Not all evangelical theologians are equally influenced by the Old Princeton School theology, however. Some, such as Bloesch, draw on ancient Christian sources, first-generation Reformers, PIETISM, and mediating theologians, such as PETER TAYLOR FORSYTH. Progressive evangelical thinkers, such as Ramm, have been influenced by KARL BARTH and moderate NEO-ORTHODOXY; postconservative evangelical theologians, such as Grenz and Pinnock, have attempted to update evangelical theology with help from postmodern thought and German eschatological theologians WOLFHART PANNENBERG and Jurgen Moltmann (see POSTMODERNITY). Despite this diversity of resources, all evangelical theologians are confessing Protestants who affirm the authoritative sources and norms of Christian thought and resist liberal accommodation to modern CULTURE.

Evangelical theologians may be divided into two broad camps: *traditionalists* and *reformists*. These camps agree about fundamental matters, such as the sole supreme authority of Scripture for Christian faith and practice and the necessity of personal repentance and faith for appropriation of the benefits of Christ's death in conversion (regeneration and justification). They are all heavily influenced by the Protestant reformers MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN and by the movers and shakers of the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, JONATHAN EDWARDS and JOHN WESLEY. However, some evangelical thinkers follow Henry as defenders of orthodoxy, whereas others follow Bernard Ramm in constructive theology. The former are traditionalists, because they appeal to a "received evangelical tradition" including the ancient Christian consensus and the consensus of the firstgeneration reformers as authoritative, and guard the borders of evangelical thought against doctrinal drift, HERESY, and liberal accommodation. These theologians are not far from their fundamentalist roots in temperament and conservative outlook. They regard theology's primary tasks as critical and ignore or downplay the constructive tasks of theology. The other camp of evangelical theologians comprises reformists or progressives who view theology's constructive task as forever unfinished. For them, evangelical theology is constantly in revision as it is guided by Scripture, TRADITION, reason, and experience (the so-called "Wesleyan quadrilateral"). These two parties of evangelical thinkers often fall into conflict with each other. The former group tends to draw heavy and somewhat narrow boundaries around authentic Christianity, whereas the latter group views authentic Christianity as broad and indefinite.

Issues and Controversies in Evangelical Theology

The basic ethos of evangelical theology is Protestant, and all four major branches of the sixteenth-century Protestant REFORMATION are represented among evangelical theologians. Some are Lutheran or belong to offshoots of the European Lutheran churches, such as the EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH of America and the Evangelical Covenant Church of America. Many are Reformed and belong to Presbyterian and other churches stemming from the reforming works of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, John Calvin, and JOHN KNOX. More than a few are Anglican or Episcopalian or members of one of the many offshoots of the Church of England and the EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE U.S.A., including METHODISM and the many Holiness and Pentecostal churches (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT; PENTECOSTALISM). Quite a few are Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) or Baptists. All share a common Protestant theological ethos that is strongly rooted in Luther's principles of *sola gratia et fides*, *sola scriptura* and the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. Some, however, embrace a sacramental spirituality, whereas others promote a pietistrevivalist spirituality. Some are deeply indebted to the Puritan heritage, whereas others are rooted in the Arminian and Wesleyan tradition (see ARMINIANISM). Many emphasize total divine sovereignty, including meticulous providence and unconditional PREDESTINATION, whereas many others prefer a more synergistic theology of the God-human relationship. All of these and other diversities among evangelical theologians give rise to tensions within evangelical theology. Such tensions are especially exacerbated by the fundamentalist heritage of evangelical theology in the late twentieth century and into the twenty-first century.

Perhaps the most enduring and divisive issue debated by evangelical theologians is the nature of Scripture's inspiration and accuracy. This is the so-called "inerrancy controversy" that waxes and wanes among evangelicals. Evangelicals look back to two theologians of Protestant orthodoxy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who debated the extent and nature of Scripture's inspiration and accuracy. Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield of Princeton Theological Seminary followed Charles Hodge and Francis Turretin in arguing for the "plenary verbal inspiration" of the Bible and derived its strict, detailed inerrancy from that. According to Warfield and those conservative evangelicals who follow his thinking, Scripture can be fully authoritative only if it is a supernaturally inspired (not dictated) message from God that is fully accurate in all matters, including history and cosmology. In contrast, Scottish evangelical theologian James Orr affirmed Scripture's authority and inspiration but denied strict, detailed inerrancy. For Warfield and those who follow his thinking about Scripture, it is adequate to its purpose (salvation) and therefore "infallible" even if it is not inerrant in matters not pertaining to salvation. At its founding, the Evangelical Theological Society required members to confess Scripture's inerrancy, but in the 1960s, Fuller Theological Seminary—the flagship educational institution of North American evangelicalism—dropped its inerrancy statement. In 1976, conservative evangelical theologian and editor of *Christianity Today* Harold Lindsell published *The Battle for the Bible*, which took noninerrantist evangelicals to task for undermining Scripture's authority. A furor ensued among evangelicals that continues into the twenty-first century. Traditionalist, conservative evangelical theologians insist that inerrancy is the only guard against

doctrinal drift and cultural accommodation; reformist, postconservative evangelical theologians argue that every reasonable account of inerrancy kills it with the death of a thousand qualifications and that inerrancy tends to elevate Scripture to an idol or “paper pope” (EMIL BRUNNER). Inerrancy has become a fault line, if not a continental divide, within the community of evangelical theologians.

A second significant controversial issue among evangelical theologians has to do with the doctrine of God. Traditionalists tend to assume an Augustinian perspective on God as by definition and by revelation the all-determining reality. God’s primary attribute is majesty or glory. Divine power is exalted and any limitation resisted. These theologians are impressed by Jonathan Edwards’s account of God’s power and glory. Reformist evangelical thinkers draw more heavily on an Eastern Orthodox (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN) and Wesleyan (see WESLEYANISM) account of God as primarily love; they regard God as self-limiting in relation to creation and affirm human free will as a limitation on God’s power (because of God’s voluntary self-restriction). These two doctrines of God constantly give rise to tensions within the evangelical theological community. These underlying tensions came to the surface in open disruption in the late 1990s and early twenty-first century in a controversy over “open theism.” Open theism is the belief held by some reformist evangelical theologians that due to a voluntary self-restriction in relation to creation, God does not know the future exhaustively and infallibly. Open theists, such as Clark Pinnock, argue that divine foreknowledge is logically incompatible with creaturely free will and that Scripture portrays God as changing his mind and as learning in history. A number of evangelical theologians rallied around this new view, which was in turn vilified by traditionalists as incompatible with Scripture and God’s glory. In 2001, the Evangelical Theological Society passed a resolution affirming God’s absolute foreknowledge, and in 2002, it voted to investigate whether open theists may be members. A number of evangelical educational institutions decided not to hire open theists. In response, a group of 110 reformist evangelical scholars signed a manifesto titled “The Word Made Fresh: A Call for a Renewal of the Evangelical Spirit” (2002) that called for greater openness within evangelical theology.

The Future of Evangelical Theology

Evangelical theology is increasingly being accepted as a major school of theology separate from fundamentalism among the theologians of Protestantism. Nevertheless, its future is uncertain. Rifts and controversies continue to create strife among evangelical theologians in North America. At the same time, EVANGELICALISM as a popular movement is spreading throughout the world and becoming indigenous in non-Western cultures and countries. Major conventions of evangelical leaders and thinkers from around the world have taken place in SWITZERLAND (Lausanne 1 and 2) and the PHILIPPINES. These were attended by non-Western evangelicals, who played significant roles in shaping the theologies of these evangelical gatherings, especially as they related to missions and evangelistic endeavors. The future of evangelical theology may rest with the non-Western evangelical communities and their theologians, who tend

not to be captivated by categories of Protestant orthodoxy and scholastic methods of doing theology. Many of them are charismatic or “third-wave” Christians, who emphasize the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit and “power encounters” between Christians and demonic forces. These theologies of spiritual warfare will no doubt challenge the status quo of traditional Western evangelical thought, which tends to focus on revealed propositions and coherent systems of doctrine.

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ROGER E. OLSON

EVANGELICALS, GERMANY

The English word *evangelical* was originally used to translate the German word *evangelisch*, a practice that continues to this day. Thus the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1974) renders Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland as “Evangelical Church in Germany.” Since the mid-1960s the new word *evangelikal* was introduced into the German language. The main source and advocate of such usage is the German religious news service *IAllianz* (IDEA). It popularized the term *evangelikal* as a transdenominational identifier within German Protestantism.

Most movements and church organizations that are referred to as *evangelikal* had their beginnings well before the mid-1960s. Before that date German evangelicals would speak of themselves as “pietists,” implying that they were legitimate heirs of eighteenth century PIETISM and claiming that there was a continuity of experience and THEOLOGY. The link between then and now is to be found in the “awakening movement,” or *Erweckungsbewegung*, of the nineteenth century that eventually emerged as the “Fellowship Movement,” or *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Fellowship Movement, with its many organizations and suborganizations, often denoted as “*Gnadauer Verband*” has always been part of the established regional territorial evangelical Lutheran churches, or *Landeskirchen*. In its effort to evangelize the country and to bring people together for prayer and fellowship beyond denominational boundaries, the movement has more or less cooperated with the commonly named “free churches,” notably the Baptists, the Methodists (see METHODISM), and the Federation of Free Evangelical Congregations, through the Evangelical Alliance (*Evangelische Allianz*). Therefore, the Evangelical Alliance is the loose, transdenominational umbrella organization of German evangelicals and represents the theologically as well as politically conservative wing of German Protestantism. Because of the conservative nature of evangelicalism, the free churches have sometimes voiced their opposition to being classified as *evangelikal*. It is nevertheless true that evangelicals are represented within the “free churches” just as they are a part of the regional churches. Some free churches, notably the Federation of Free Evangelical Congregations, are closer to the evangelical center, whereas others, particularly the United Methodist Church (*Evangelisch-methodistische Kirche*), are more removed.

EVANGELICALISM emphasizes the experiential nature of the Christian faith. Through evangelistic efforts on the local level, mass media, and national or Europe-wide rallies, people are invited to make a personal commitment to Christ. Soteriology

(SALVATION) is, therefore, the center of evangelicalism. Evangelism and missionary work, but also diaconical engagement (“mother houses,” hospitals, counseling centers, student work, etc.) are seen as indispensable elements of the Christian faith. Despite differences in ecclesiology among various evangelicals, a common week of prayer is organized annually in early January and a common effort is made in EVANGELISM. The BIBLE is seen as the inspired word of God, but German evangelicals have not clearly distinguished between a fundamentalist (“inerrancy”) and an evangelical approach to the Bible and in biblical scholarship (see FUNDAMENTALISM). In politics German evangelicals vehemently opposed laws on ABORTION and, as the “quiet of the land,” are generally taking a conservative or rather “disinterested” position.

References and Further Reading

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ERICH GELDBACH

EVANGELISM, OVERVIEW

Evangelism is the organized propagation of Christian belief and practice, the “good news” described in the New Testament. Evangelism can be quantified into 45 major components, for each of which most Protestant churches, Missions, and agencies keep detailed records including elaborate annual statistics. These statistics can demonstrate how individuals and thus countries, peoples, languages, and cities and their populations receive Christian evangelism.

Protestants have long specialized in every variety of organized evangelism listed and described in this article, on all continents, in all 238 countries of the world, and in most of its 12,000 languages. In addition, Protestant evangelists have often cooperated with Anglican, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and independent clergy, workers, and laypersons. Likewise, the recipients of all of the major forms of evangelism are in most places composed of hearers, listeners, viewers, and readers of many backgrounds, ethnicities, ages, religions, nationalities, denominations, and so on. What this means is that evangelism in practice usually operates cooperatively by all churches and Christians of any confession working together.

Origins of Evangelism

Although the theme of God’s favor arises at a number of points in the Old Testament, Christian evangelism begins with Jesus’s life, death, and resurrection. The mandate for evangelism is encapsulated first in the six New Testament accounts of Christ’s Great Commission, and then in the multiple occurrences of the Greek verb *euangelizo* and its vast number of synonyms.

Investigating Evangelism

Christians regard Jesus not only as the good news (*euangelion*), but also as the master evangelizer and evangelist bringing that same good news to the human race. Column 7 of Table 1 analyzes how Jesus converted believers in Palestine and how Christian evangelists attempt to do this today. The words Jesus used form a typology of seven distinct types of words corresponding to seven modes of evangelism. Jesus used five main modes or points of contact with people through words: (1) *hidden words* (his private hopes and prayers), (2) *visual words* (what people saw of his person, his life, his lifestyle, his deeds, and his actions), (3) *personal words* (face-to-face meetings with an individual or a group), (4) *proclaimed words* (Jesus' preaching and teaching to groups or crowds), and (5) *written words* (Jesus' use of scrolls of the Old Testament as the written Word of God). After his resurrection, Jesus delivered two further mandates: *baptize* and *train*. After his ascension, Jesus then expanded these last two mandates. First, he founded his church, with its church-planting imperative. Second, he launched a leadership training program, selecting, calling out, setting apart, and training a whole new age of sevenfold leadership in ministry: disciples, apostles, prophets, evangelists, healers, pastors, and teachers. He thus expanded the understanding of his Great Commission, which his disciples later expanded into two further categories: (6) *printed words* (literature, tracts, periodicals, books) and (7) *electronic words* (broadcasting, radio/TV, cassettes, computers, etc.).

Quantifying 45 Dimensions of Evangelism

Evangelism is the activity, individual or collective and usually organized, by which Christians set forth and spread their beliefs and practices. The quantification of evangelism boils down to measuring the various modes of contact that persons or populations have had with evangelizers. In short, it means enumerating the duration, quality, and intensity of all conversations and awareness resulting from this contact with Christians, Christianity, Jesus Christ, and the Gospel.

With the foregoing definitions and methodology in mind, we can reduce evangelism to 45 major areas or components, which are listed in Table 2. Here, we label them for shorthand purposes as "ministries." This article provides a brief description of each of these ministries, with relevant statistics for each placed separately in the Appendix as Table 5, giving the total number of evangelism-hours per annum that each type of ministry worldwide generates, the factor by which the media multiples these hours, and the number of persons that each type of evangelism thus reaches. These are given there as each ministry's description, as follows:

- Evangelism-hours originated per year. This is the actual number of hours put in by evangelizers of all Protestant and associated confessions, in each type of ministry each year. For example, a part-time evangelist who preaches for one hour twice a week, each week throughout the year, originates 104 evangelism-hours per annum.

- Media factor. This is a multiplying factor representing the audience exposed to one hour of each variety of ministry.

Table 1. The origins and present ministries of evangelism in (a) Christ's Great Commission, and (b) the richest biblical word Evangelize!

MANDATE IMPERATIVE			DOMINANT CHARACTERISTIC	HUMAN ROLE	SUB-TYPES OF EVANGELISM	RESULTING WORDS	OUTREACH MINISTRIES	OVERVIEW	OTHER KEYWORDS		DIMENSIONS of "evangelize"		FACETS
English	NT Greek	Usages							(related nouns) Greek, Latin (L)	Usages	Total	Key dimensions	English
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>
OVERALL IMPERATIVE													
Evangelize!	<i>evangelizo</i>	133	Authoritative	7-P Evangelism	Platiform evangelism Evangelistic work	EVANGELIZING WORDS	45	7-P Evangelization	<i>evangelion semeia kai terata evangelizatio</i> (L)	76/133 77/84 41	400	Evangelize with signs following	700
MINICOMMISSION I: EVANGELIZE! CONSTITUENT MANDATES:													
1. Receive!	<i>labete</i>	263	Spirit-dominated	Prayer	Baptism in the Spirit	HIDDEN	2	Pneumatic	<i>parakletos</i>	5/34	10	Accompany, Be filled,	33
	<i>verb:</i>			evangelism	Spirit evangelism	WORDS		evangelization	<i>dynamis</i>	120/331		Breathe, Cooperate,	
	<i>lambano</i>				Pneumatization				<i>pneumatikos</i>	28/413		Follow, Participate,	
					Renewal in the Spirit				<i>exousia</i>	103/107		Pneumatize, Pray,	
					Intercession							Receive power,	
					Power evangelism							Stay, Wait	
2. Go!	<i>poreuthentes</i>	154	Person-implemented	Pre-evangelism	Apostolate	VISUAL	11	Preparatory	<i>apostole missio</i>	4/255	45	Act, Contact,	101
	<i>verb:</i>				Mission	WORDS		evangelism	(L)	900		Develop,	
	<i>poreuomai</i>				Extension							Encounter, Engage,	
					Outreach							Extend, Go, Help,	
					Primary evangelism							Impact, Influence,	
					Visitation evangelism							Itinerate, Liberate,	
					Visual evangelism							Love, Make aware,	
					Audiovisual							Occupy, Permeate,	
					evangelism							Prepare, Reach,	
												Seek, Send, Show,	
												Target, Touch,	
												Transmit, Visit	
3. Witness!	<i>martyres</i>	173	Unorganized, private	Personal	Person-to-person	PERSONAL	2	Presence	<i>martyria</i>	57/173	60	Be martyred, Be	132
	<i>verb:</i>			evangelism	witness	WORDS		evangelization	<i>praesentia</i> (L)	120		present, Bring,	
	<i>martyreo</i>				Personal work				justitia (L)	220		Carry, Confess,	
					Individual				pax (L)	200		Dialogue, Expose,	
					evangelism				<i>dialogismos</i>	14/43		Gossip, Inform,	

					Conversational talk						Propagate, Radiate,			
					Dialogue evangelism						Report, Say, Share,			
					Gossiping the gospel						Shine, Sow, Spread,			
					Seed-sowing						Talk, Tell, Testify,			
					Prophetic evangelism						Witness			
4.	Proclaim!	<i>keryxate</i>	72	Ordered, public	Preaching	Public evangelism	PROCLAIMED	6	Proclamation	<i>kerygma</i>	8/72	48	Advertise, Announce,	85
	verb:				evangelism	Mass evangelism	WORDS		evangelization	<i>apologia</i> (L)	8/18		Declare,	
	<i>kerysso</i>					Demonstration							Demonstrate, Do	
						evangelism							miracles, Exorcise,	
						Deliverance							Explain, Expound,	
						evangelism							Give a message,	
						Incarnational							Give opportunity,	
						evangelism							Herald, Make	
						Saturation							listen, Preach,	
						evangelism							Present, Proclaim,	
													Prove, Publish,	
													Read, Reason,	
													Refute, Saturate,	
													Translate	
MINICOMMISSION II: DISCIPLE!														
5.	Disciple!	<i>matheteusate</i> verb: <i>matheteuo</i>	266	Convert-oriented	Persuasion evangelism	Paracletic evangelism Harvest evangelism Discipling evangelism Verdict evangelism Decision evangelism Lordship evangelism Healing evangelism Power healing	WRITTEN WORDS	9	Pressure evangelization	<i>paraklesis</i> <i>therismos</i> <i>mathetes</i> <i>therapeia</i>	29/34 13/36, 261/266 3/47	63	Appeal, Catch, Compel, Confront, Conquer, Convert, Convince, Denounce, Disciple, Exhort, Forgive, Give, Harvest, Heal, Impart, Implore, Invite, Offer, Persuade, Press, Reap, Retain, Urge, Warn, Win	128
6.	Baptize!	<i>baptizantes</i> verb: <i>baptizo</i>	111	Church-oriented	Pastoral evangelism	Baptism Baptizing evangelism Evangelism that results in churches Church planting Incorporation Shepherding Celebration evangelism	PRINTED WORDS	9	Planting evangelization	<i>baptismos</i> <i>koinonia</i> <i>ekklēsia</i> <i>leitourgeia</i> <i>eucharistia</i> <i>katechumēnos</i>	23/111 19/59 115 6/15 15/54 8	35	Affiliate, Baptize, Bless, Build, Catechize, Confirm, Enroll, Feed, Grow, Incorporate, Initiate, Minister, Multiply, Plant, Praise, Sacramentalize, Serve, Tend, Worship	70
7.	Train!	<i>didaskontes</i> verb: <i>didasko</i>	212	Ministry-oriented	Programmed evangelism	Teaching evangelism Electronic	ELECTRONIC WORDS	6	Pedagogical evangelization	<i>didache</i> <i>diakonia</i> <i>oikodome</i>	30/212 34/101 18/59	21	Broadcast, Celebrate,	43

evangelism
Broadcasting
Radio/TV
evangelism

Edify,
Educate,
Follow-up,
Instruct,
Mobilize,
Nurture,
Program,
Teach, Train

This table portrays meanings and usages of terms. The columns are as follows:

1. The seven mandates of the Great Commission, as imperatives
2. The Greek New Testament verbs involved
3. Number of usages in Greek OT and NT
4. Dominant feature of each
5. Human role, in English usage
6. Other varieties of evangelistic terminology
7. Typology of resulting types of words
8. Number of related major outreach ministries
9. Theological overview terms
10. Other Greek or Latin key words
11. NT usages of these key words
12. Total dimensions of “evangelize”
13. Key dimensions
14. Total dimensions, synonyms, and facets in English usage

Table 2. Evangelism described under 7 modes of evangelizing words and 45 distinct outreach ministries.

		<i>EVANGELIZING WORDS</i>	<i>Description of "words" (lines in capitals) and ministries (lines in lowercase)</i>
<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Human role</i>	Outreach ministries	<i>(bold type=major keywords in each ministry under one of the 7 Imperatives/Mandates)</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
Receive!	Prayer evangelism	HIDDEN WORDS	WORDS HIDDEN IN PRIVATE PRAYER, CHARISMATA RECEIVED.
		1. Intercession	Continuing earnestly in prayer, interceding for persons and peoples.
		2. Inner renewal/spirituality	Being filled with the Holy Spirit, waiting, then following Jesus.
Go!	Pre-evangelism	VISUAL WORDS (audiovisual)	CHRISTIANS GO, HELP, SHOW VISIBLE SIGNS PREPARING HEARERS.
		3. Christians' lifestyle	Going, meeting, bringing the love of God by Christian loving and lives.

		4. Audiovisual ministries	Sending out, speaking out, displaying, showing words and pictures.
		5. Plays/concerts/operas/shows	Shows illustrating Christian doctrine, history, ethics.
		6. "Jesus" Film shows	Portraying the incarnation, person, work, and ministry of Jesus.
		7. Audio scriptures	Making Scripture available to nonliterate, reading aloud, corresponding .
		8. Scripture leaflets/selections	Impacting whole populations with mass illustrated leaflets.
		9. Every-home campaign visits	Going, seeking, visiting, contacting, touching, encountering, giving .
		10. New Reader Scriptures	Providing pictorial literacy primers, supplying gospels for new literates.
		11. Braille scriptures	Doing miracles, giving sight to the blind.
		12. Signed/deaf scriptures	Reaching deaf persons with the gospel.
		13. Christian suffering	Showing how Christians live through sickness, suffering, even death.
Witness!	Personal evangelism	PERSONAL WORDS	CHRISTIANS WITNESS PERSONALLY BY PRESENCE, WORD, DEED, DYING.
		14. Personal evangelism	Telling others about Jesus, speaking, gossiping the gospel, introducing, informing.
		15. Martyrdoms	The witness of those who lose their lives for Christ and are martyred.
Proclaim!	Preaching evangelism	PROCLAIMED WORDS	WORDS PREACHED, PROCLAIMING THE GOSPEL IN STRUCTURED SITUATIONS.
		16. Full-time home church workers	Preaching, stating, reading.
		17. Foreign missionaries	Translating, interpreting, expounding, saturating.
		18. Evangelists	Proclaiming, announcing.

			declaring, heralding, presenting.
	19. Short-term missionaries		Demonstrating, saturating.
	20. Part-time evangelizers		Giving opportunity to many others.
	21. Mission agencies		Advertising, enabling workers to promulgate the gospel.
Disciple!	Persuasion evangelism	WRITTEN WORDS (Scriptures)	WRITTEN SCRIPTURES PERSUADING, PRESSING DISCIPLE-OPPORTUNITIES.
	22. Portions/gospels		Imparting, forgiving, offering, explaining.
	23. Near-gospels		Circulating gospels among related languages with no scriptures.
	24. New Testaments		Persuading, discipline reaping.
	25. Near-New Testaments		Distributing the whole story of Jesus to related languages with no scriptures.
	26. Bibles		Convincing, winning, converting, healing.
	27. Near-Bibles		Offering the Bible's riches to related languages without it.
	28. Lingua franca gospels		Catching, confronting scripture-less languages through lingua francas.
	29. Lingua franca NTs		Harvesting scripture-less languages through wider-communication languages.
	30. Lingua franca Bibles		Making the Bible's riches understandable to all through trade and similar languages.
Baptize!	Pastoral evangelism	PRINTED WORDS (literature)	BAPTISM, CHURCH-PLANTING, PASTORAL LIFE, PRINTED WORDS.
	31. Denominational materials		Catechizing, baptizing, confirming, incorporating new believers, pastoring.
	32. Local church output		Enrolling, affiliating, worshipping, blessing.
	33. Outside Christian literature		Helping, supporting.
	34. Church-planting output		Planting new churches, building, church growth.

Train!	Programmed evangelism	35. Institutional ministries/records	Serving, ministering.
		36. Christian books	Feeding, growing.
		37. Christian periodicals	Tending, shepherding.
		38. Tracts	Multiplying individual ministries.
		39. Other documentation	Praising, singing.
		ELECTRONIC WORDS	TRAINED BY ELECTRONIC-MEDIA PROGRAMMED WORDS.
		40. Programmed training	Instructing, teaching, educating, making people learn.
		41. Christian radio programs	Broadcasting, following-up.
		42. Christian TV programs	Telecasting teaching materials, cultivating, edifying.
		43. Urban media (cable TV, &c)	Working among all varieties of peoples, especially urban populations, uniting.
		44. Christian-owned computers	Programming the church's many activities, e-mailing, faxing.
		45. Internet/networks/e-mail	Mobilizing the vast area of Christian resources worldwide; surfing, training.

This table portrays meanings and usages of terms and components of evangelism and its related ministries and terminologies.

- Total offers received per year. The end product is this total, which is the number of offers of conversion that actually reach hearers, being the product of the preceding 2 lines. Note that “received” says nothing about the recipients’ acceptance or rejection of the message.

Hidden Words

This first mode of evangelism has as its mandate and imperative “Receive!” This mode refers to evangelizing words not visible to the outside world, and especially to words hidden in prayer. Thus these ministries are generally not subject to exact enumeration or precise statistics. Here we label them ministries 1 and 2.

1. *Intercession.* This first variety of outreach ministry is one that Christians exercise by praying for specific, named causes, situations, populations, and persons. In particular, we refer here to prayer directly related to evangelism. There are currently 30 distinct Protestant global prayer networks for world evangelization, 10 million prayer groups, 20 million Christians in full-time prayer ministry, and some 100 million laypersons who have become daily intercessors. In the 1990s, evangelicals organized a campaign known

as “Praying through the 10/40 Window,” in which some 20 million evangelicals undertook six months of daily intercession for the evangelizing of the world’s 1.6 billion unevangelized persons. Many of the larger networks actually collect and publish annual statistics relevant to, if not directly enumerating, this hidden ministry. Thus Every Home for Christ (EHC) International (formerly World Literature Crusade, or Every Home Crusade) enumerates its prayer materials sent out regularly to its committed intercessors. By 1991, the EHC was distributing 2,640,449 prayer bulletins each year in 28 languages for its work in 169 countries.

2. *Inner renewal/spirituality.* This refers to that eventual state in which a formerly inactive, lethargic, or dormant church or denomination moves rapidly to being vibrant, enthusiastic, and active. The phrase also covers other major areas of Christian activity and impact, including spirituality, mysticism, spiritual gifts, charismata, and spiritual warfare. In the year 2000, this renewal’s active adult church members were estimated at 375 million.

Visual Words

This second mode of evangelism has as its mandate and imperative “Go!” This mode refers to evangelizing words directly visible or audible to all. They are visible signs preparing hearers for the gospel. This covers ministries 3 to 13.

3. *Christian lifestyle.* This form of evangelism seeks to commend Christian belief and practice by the day-to-day fruits and rewards it may offer. There is a direct parallel here with Jesus’ own ministry on Earth. People saw him, heard him, and observed his deeds and his lifestyle. For Jesus, the verb *euangelizo* meant to spread good news with signs following. Contemporary Christian lifestyle consists of myriads of phenomena of these kinds across the world. They engender vast varieties of evangelism and evangelistic ministries. Christians demonstrating a genuinely Christ-like lifestyle today probably number at least 100 million.

4. *Audiovisual ministries.* Although this descriptive terminology is only a couple of centuries old, it encompasses the vast range of Christian art (paintings, sculpture, tapestry, et alia). MARTIN LUTHER was firmly of the opinion that artistic representation could aid the proclamation of the Gospel. Christian art in vast profusion has appeared throughout Christian history. One ministry centers on one individual Christian whose work has resulted in a billion images of Christ. In 1940, artist Warner Sallman (1892–1968) painted the *Head of Christ*. It has become one of the most enduring images of Jesus in both American and global Christianity. Sallman’s version of Christ has appeared in many different media of devotional life, including Bibles, Sunday-school literature, calendars, posters, church bulletins, clocks, lamps, wallet-sized photos, pins, and stickers.

In addition to thousands of works of visual art illustrating the Gospel, there is yet another type: ARCHITECTURE. In England, Canterbury Cathedral has since the Middle Ages depicted the entire BIBLE story in its stained glass windows (originally to evangelize a nonliterate population). Today more tourists and others—more than four million—visit it each year than the total inhabitants in fourteenth-century England.

There are literally hundreds of other audiovisual ministries under this heading.

5. *Plays/concerts/operas/shows.* This variety of evangelism refers to a whole range of theatrical, cinematic, radio, and television epics, narratives or productions that can be described as clearly evangelistic. The range includes Christian theatre, plays, shows, opera, ballet, musicals, music performances, concerts, and motion pictures of other Bible or Christian subjects in addition to the depiction of the life of Christ. Possibly the most popular and successful evangelistic presentation of all time has been GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL'S oratorio "Messiah," an artistic masterpiece written in 1741. Its fifty-three sections of biblical texts are a skillfully crafted statement of Christian DoCTRINE describing the mighty drama of human redemption. "Messiah" is the most-performed major choral work in history, and most likely the single most-performed musical work around the world today. It is also a powerful evangelistic tool—professional, popular, participatory, universally acclaimed, and yet all the time biblical, Bible-quoting, Christ-centered, eschatological. Although not deliberately evangelistic, its phenomenal success in Britain is linked with the evangelical revival in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and with JOHN WESLEY'S robust doctrine of assurance of SALVATION. Its evangelistic effect is heightened by the absence of the name "Jesus" (used only once, in section 51, from I Corinthians 15:57) and the cautious low-key use of the name "Christ."

Over the last 250 years, performances of "Messiah" have taken place at least once a year, usually at Christmas, in some 3,000 metropolises in some 20,000 churches, cathedrals, choirs, clubs, societies, festivals, colleges, and other venues across the English-speaking world. Performances have average attendances of 200 persons each and vary in length from two to four hours. Performers vary from fifty to over 5,000 at one time. Altogether, these attract four million attendees in person every year.

There are numerous other musical compositions based on the Gospel story. A widely known one is JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH'S "Saint Matthew Passion" (1729), based on the life of Christ. Going beyond this worldwide English-language coverage, there is also a vast coverage of similar musical works composed and presented in nearly sixty other global languages. Many have been hugely successful as dramas, theatre plays, musicals, and radio plays (e.g., "The Man Born to be King" in 1945).

6. *Jesus films.* There has been a long history of movies portraying the life of Jesus. These include *Intolerance* (1916), *The King of Kings* (1927), *Ben Hur* (1959), *King of Kings* (1961), *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965), *The Gospel According to St Matthew* (1966), *Godspell* (1973), *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1973), *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977), *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), and *Jesus*, the classic spread in 700 languages worldwide by Campus Crusade for Christ.

7. *Audio scriptures.* Another audiovisual variety that has blossomed in the twentieth century hinges on recordings (CDs, records, tapes) of the full texts of Christian Scriptures—gospels, New Testaments, Bi bles—in several thousand languages. These can then be circulated, bought, sold, copied, reproduced, translated, and—a most important development—broadcast over radio, either at talking speed (for listeners to record) or at dictation speed (for listeners to write down). By 1997, audio scriptures had been prepared and were widely circulating, through the United Bible Societies, Forum of Bible Agencies, Audio Scriptures International, and other specialist agencies, in some 4,600 languages.

8. *Scripture leaflets/selections.* Jesus sprinkled his teachings with visually evocative quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures varying in length from short texts to well-known narratives and exegesis of longer passages. A similar ministry is performed today through the widespread and continuous scattering, in every walk of life, of short Scripture verses or texts in leaflet form. BIBLE SOCIETIES have formalized these with their category “Selections,” defined as 4- or 8-page colorful visually appealing booklets with a number of selected Scripture passages. Scores of agencies publish large ranges and quantities of similar selections.

9. *Every-home campaign visits.* In his itinerations, Jesus frequently visited people’s homes and there delivered major teaching, healing miracles, or other definitive ministry. House-to-house visiting has always been an important initial stage in evangelistic strategy. Massive programs of nationwide campaigns now make this a leading form of evangelism. The first attempt by a mission organization to reach systematically every home in an entire nation took place from 1912–1917 in JAPAN, where the Oriental Missionary Society visited 10,300,000 homes. So successful was this program that it was extended to other countries, and then finally throughout the world. More recently, the major example is Every Home for Christ International (EHC). This organization was begun in CANADA in 1946 as the World Literature Crusade for radio outreach. It then expanded to systematic tract distribution through the EHC, with more than 1.85 billion booklet distributions and more than 22 million written responses for Christ over the succeeding 43 years. Since 1953, EHC has specialized in house-to-house visitation to entire populations of countries. By 1996, the total of all such visits had risen to more than 10 million per year. In addition, there are thousands of small local church or parish visitation campaigns each year.

10. *New Reader Scriptures.* Jesus was literate himself, accustomed to public reading and exposition of the written Scriptures. He constantly drew attention to them. He challenged skeptics: “Have you never read in the Scriptures...” (Matthew 21:42). In 1967 the United Bible Societies inaugurated a new variety of scriptures, designed especially for the newly literate or potential literates, called NRS (New Reader Scriptures). Easy to read, illustrated, attractively printed, the NRS have proven very popular.

11. *Braille Scripture.* In the year 1830, a teacher at a school for the blind named Louis Braille developed a raised-dot system that became standard for the English-speaking world. In 1932, Standard English Braille was adopted in the United States. Nonsighted or totally blind persons numbered some 19.3 million worldwide in 2000. In addition, another 30 million persons are legally blind. Of these 49 million, 10 million have access to a Braille Scripture in their own language.

12. *Signed/deaf Scriptures.* Sign languages were developed in Europe more than four centuries ago. In Britain, schools for the deaf were begun in the mid-nineteenth century. In 2000, the world contained 365 million deaf (hearing-impaired) persons, of whom 150 million are severely impaired and 23 million are totally deaf. Of these, about 15 percent use or understand a sign language. Sign languages include American Sign Language (ASL), as well as quite different systems used in more than 60 other languages. Of all deaf persons, about 30 million have access to signed Scriptures in their own sign language.

13. *Christian suffering.* Jesus promised his disciples that theirs would not be a life of ease but a life of hardship, persecution, and suffering. Jesus taught his disciples to redeem suffering and use it for the glory of God.

Personal Words

The third of the seven modes of evangelism has as its mandate and imperative “Witness!” This refers to evangelizing words at the grassroots—the day-to-day evangelism of ordinary Christians as they go about their work, home life, and social activities. These are words through which individual Christians evangelize others. This results in ministries 14 and 15.

14. *Personal evangelism.* Sometimes called “personal work,” this is the usually private endeavor of an active Christian to interest or enroll other persons for the faith, usually by means of one-on-one conversation. Personal evangelism is regularly monitored in public-opinion polls. In a survey dated December 1982, the Gallup Organization asked a nationwide representative random sample of Americans the carefully phrased question: “Have you ever tried to encourage someone to believe in Jesus Christ or to accept Him as his or her Savior?” Some 51 percent of all Americans answered “Yes,” 41 percent answered “No,” and 8 percent answered “No opinion/Don’t know.”

15. *Martyrdoms.* Jesus often warned that a disciple’s commitment could result in death. This has subsequently been the case throughout church history. In the twentieth century, martyrdoms have become well known as a result of regular and persistent reports in the media. In the light of twenty centuries of Christian history with its 70 million martyrs, it is safe to say that martyrdom has been the single most significant factor leading to the evangelization and Christianization of a people or nation. The total of all Christian martyrs since World War II has averaged 300,000 a year. This toll fell dramatically to 160,000 a year with the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR during 1989–1992.

Proclaimed Words

This fourth of the seven modes of evangelism has as its mandate and imperative “Proclaim!” These are words preached by professional workers proclaiming and expounding the gospel in structured situations. This covers ministries 16 to 21. They center on the public announcement of Christian belief and practice.

16. *Full-time home church workers.* Full-time Christian workers are found virtually everywhere. In this analysis we divide them into home workers (dealt with here as no. 16) and foreign workers (no. 17). The term covers all employees of churches, denominations, agencies, and institutions. These workers may even be self-employed. The category usually covers ongoing employment lasting more than one year, usually long term, and excluding short-term workers (less than one year). The range of vocations covered is vast, from theologians, bishops, and clergy at one end to administrators, accountants, secretaries, and manual laborers at the other. But all may be considered part of the church’s proclamation of the Christian faith, by word of mouth, by writing, or by

their service and their quality of life. In the year 2000, full-time Protestant home workers, of all confessions, were estimated at 2,100,000 worldwide.

17. *Foreign missionaries.* A foreign missionary is defined here as a full-time Christian worker of any age, race, or occupation, who works in a country in which he or she is not a citizen (or national) but is a foreigner (or alien). The estimated total of Protestant foreign missionaries of all confessions was 220,000 in the year 2000.

18. *Evangelists.* Evangelists are defined here as part-time or full-time Christian workers who specialize in the public or private proclamation of the Gospel, either structured or unstructured. The two titles “evangelist” and “catechist,” are almost interchangeable. The following list classifies them by the size of their operations into seven levels:

- *Nonprofessional, part-time evangelists* form the vast bulk of the category. Many denominations in developing countries use a rank or category called “evangelists.” Often no salaries are paid.
- *Part-time catechists* are located mainly in Asia and in sub-Saharan AFRICA.
- *Full-time professional evangelists* have mushroomed since 1950, each with an independent evangelistic association.
- *Full-time professional missionary catechists* often have graduated from SEMINARIES, BIBLE COLLEGES, or other training establishments.
- *Macro-evangelists* is the term that best fits those whose evangelistic organizations have grown large enough to support teams of associate evangelists undertaking multiple campaigns, crusades, and macro-crusades. There are at least 500 such macro-evangelists worldwide.
- *Mega-evangelists* are defined here as those evangelists who from time to time actually preach live to crowds of over one million (including both face-to face and over radio/TV). Some 30 well-known evangelists in a variety of cultures across the world fall into this category in the year 2000. German mega-evangelist Reinhard Bonnke preached in 1994 to 1.67 million people who attended six evening meetings in Kaduna, Nigeria, with 500,000 people at the culminating Saturday meeting held in Muhamed Murtala Square. More than 200,000 decision cards were signed by Kaduna citizens declaring that they had received Jesus as Savior. By 1996, Bonnke had preached face-to-face to 28,545,000 persons, of whom 6,053,190 registered decisions for Christ (see TELEVANGELISM).
- *Global evangelists.* This term is reserved here for any evangelist who in practice has addressed, and still can address, the entire globe at once, or who reaches live an audience of around one billion hearers at once (mostly via radio/TV). In the year 2003, only two such persons were attaining this category. The first is BILLY GRAHAM, who preached face-to-face to 180 million from 1940–2003, and over radio/TV to over a billion during Global Mission 1995. The second is John Paul II, who, although not a professional evangelist, has fulfilled this function from 1978 to the present by regularly expounding Christianity, Christ, and the Gospel to multi-million-hearer audiences. In the year 2003, the total number of evangelists worldwide was estimated at some 710,000, and catechists at 520,000.

19. *Short-term missionaries.* These short-term workers are usually defined as those who work abroad full-time, or in full-time church or other Christian jobs, for a period of more

than one month but less than one year in length. The total of short-term Protestant workers serving abroad in the year 2000 was estimated at 400,000 at any one time.

20. *Part-time evangelizers*. This category is defined here as persons who have secular employment but who nevertheless put in a substantial amount of work each week as part-time or volunteer Christian workers, specializing in spreading the Gospel. This includes Methodist lay preachers, Anglican lay readers, Catholic parish assistants (when not full-time), parish visitors, and a whole variety of roles in almost all denominations. They number 20 million part-time workers.

21. *Mission agencies*. These are 4,000 agencies that exist specifically to implement the evangelical world mission. They undertake foreign missions and outreach and other cross-cultural mission activity.

Written Words (Scriptures)

This fifth of the seven modes of evangelism has as its mandate and imperative “Disciple!” This refers to evangelizing words taken from the Bible, which has been translated into 3,500 languages, and covers ministries 22 to 30. “Script” means “handwriting; written words, letters, or figures.” Jesus constantly quoted the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, saying “It is written...,” or “Have you not read....” To this must be added the whole ministry of writing out Scripture verses by hand, especially in person-to-person correspondence, authoring manuscripts, periodicals, and even in BIBLE TRANSLATION.

Faced today with some 7,000 distinct languages with no Scripture translations yet done, translators have long recognized that a people’s access to the Scriptures may be provided, temporarily or even permanently, if translations exist in either of two indirect forms. The first form is *near-scriptures*, which are defined as scriptures in any closely-related language, itself defined here as one within the same language cluster; the three varieties of near-scriptures are here enumerated under ministries 23, 25, and 27. The second form is *lingua franca scriptures*, which are scriptures in any language in wide use among the people, especially a trade language, a lingua franca, even a national language. Using these criteria, the number of peoples with access to Scripture rises dramatically.

22. *Portions/Gospels*. A portion is a single book of the Bible published separately as a booklet by itself. Portions most frequently appearing vary in length from forty pages long (the Gospel of Luke) to only a page or two (Philemon, John 2, Jude). Most, however, are Gospels. Average length is twenty-five pages. The major distributors of these portions are the world’s 180 Bible societies and agencies. Thousands of other organizations, especially local churches, also engage in scripture distribution.

23. *Near-Gospels*. For a language into which no Scripture has yet been translated, a “near-Gospel” is a copy of a Gospel in a closely-related language within the same language cluster.

24. *New Testaments (300 pages)*. Translation and publication of the New Testament in a new language is not simply a temporary resting-point on the journey to production of the whole Bible. For many agencies, especially the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL, also termed WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS [WBT]), the New Testament alone is a sensible end goal. Having completed the New Testament, WBT’s translators then move

on to other languages that as yet have nothing at all translated. They leave local translators supported by local churches to continue by translating the Old Testament. Total New Testaments distributed by all agencies—free, or subsidized, or commercial—amount to 121 million a year.

25. *Near-New Testaments*. This term relates to languages in which no Scripture has yet been translated. A “near-NT” is a copy in a closely-related language within the same language cluster.

26. *Bibles (1,300 pages)*. Translation and publication of the whole Bible is so complex a process that such translation has been achieved, so far, in only 450 languages—barely 3 percent of the world’s total. Total distribution from all sources by the year 2000 was 54 million a year.

27. *Near-Bibles*. Among a people with a mother tongue into which at present no scriptures have been translated or produced, a ‘near-Bible’ is a translation of the complete Bible into a closely-related language within the same language cluster. This may not be entirely satisfactory to the people concerned but since same-cluster languages share more than 80 percent of common vocabulary, it is certainly better than nothing.

28. *Lingua franca Gospels*. This category refers to any people who have a published Gospel available in a language distant or different from their mother tongue and which is understood by more than 50 percent of the population. Usually this is a language of wider communication (international language, lingua franca, trade language, market language, church language), but sometimes it is simply a neighboring or geographically nearby language.

29. *Lingua franca New Testaments*. The category refers to a people with a New Testament available in a language of wider communication understood by more than 50 percent of the population.

30. *Lingua franca Bibles*. This mode of evangelism is particularly powerful in that national and international languages multiply its influence far and wide.

Printed Words (Literature)

The sixth of the seven modes of evangelism has as its mandate and imperative “Baptize!” This encompasses the church’s duty to engage in pastoral evangelism, to initiate new believers, to catechize new converts, to plant churches, to train, worship, minister, and multiply. That Christian evangelists are obeying this mandate is evident from the current global total of newly baptized persons per year: 40 million. This results in an enormous volume of documentation. Baptism, church-planting, and pastoral life are surrounded daily by millions of printed Christian words. In all of these, the vast expansion of printed literature plays a central role. They are enumerated here under nine main varieties of evangelism, here termed ministries 31 to 39.

31. *Denominational materials*. There are at present some 34,000 Christian denominations in the world. The central offices of at least 10,000 of them produce specialized literature to directly assist their local churches in evangelism and outreach. These cover teaching, catechism, baptism classes, Sunday schools, and the like. Baptism candidates are particularly well served.

32. *Local church output.* Some 3.5 million local churches exist—parish churches, congregations, or other places of worship. All of them in open countries produce large quantities of printed materials directly supporting the church’s evangelism and outreach.

33. *Outside Christian literature.* A quite different form of printed material is experienced through outpeople’s territory often with their own alien congre-side languages and influences—through alien or foreign or other-culture Christians who live on the gations. But most outside literature comes in, incidentally or accidentally, via the major lingua francas.

34. *Church-planting output.* A vast amount of printed literature is produced and circulated concerning a whole new ecclesiastical industry—church planting. Around 2,000 denominations and 3,000 mission agencies now incorporate church growth methodology and have organized departments to promote church planting, both in their home countries and on their mission fields abroad. As one result, by the year 2000, newly planted churches each year had risen to some 60,000.

35. *Institutional ministries/records.* Major Christian institutions number 105,000; minor church-related or Christian-related institutions number another 376,000. Every one of these 481,000 institutions is—or is supposed to be—a center of Christian outreach, evangelism, apologetics, and training. Each produces a voluminous annual output of literature and documentation.

36. *Christian books (100 pages).* A printed book is defined by UNESCO as one having 48 or more pages. In 1995 the total number of all new titles produced on any subject, secular or religious, reached the astronomical figure of 900,000, and by 2000 it had risen to over 1 million per year. With reprints of older titles, this results in the printing of 30 billion copies a year. Of these, Christian titles and books account for 3 percent per year.

37. *Christian periodicals (30 pages).* A most important role is played in outreach, evangelism, and apologetics by the 34,500 Christian periodicals, serials, magazines, journals, newspapers and the like, with circulation of some 50 million, and in 3,000 languages.

38. *Tracts (2 pages).* A tract is a short, concise, self-contained, stand-alone presentation of the gospel averaging a couple of sides of a small piece of paper. There has been a long history of Christian outreach through tract distribution, which was estimated in the year 2000 to total 5 billion tracts per year. A typical example of the evangelistic creativity tracts make possible comes from Ujjain in north India. At the 1992 Kumbh Mela (Nectar Festival) with 10 million Hindus bathing in a river Ganges confluence, 225 Indian missionary workers distributed 1 million copies of the Gospel of John and 3 million gospel tracts in 33 days. At the 2001 Kumbh Mela, there were 70 million Hindu pilgrims, and similar vast increases in tract distribution.

39. *Other documentation.* This variety of ministry covers a vast range of activities. One of the most effective of these is placing Christian articles or stories in secular newspapers and magazines. A striking example comes from the former Soviet Union. Since 1990, Christian Agency Good News (ABC) has published evangelistic articles in more than 1.2 billion copies of Russian and Ukrainian newspapers and magazines.

Electronic Words

The seventh and last of the seven modes of evangelism has as its mandate and imperative “Train!” covering ministries 40 to 45.

40. *Programmed training.* Systematized Christian teaching on evangelism has followed development of secular communications. Bible correspondence courses followed the Penny Post in Britain, and radiophonic “schools of the air” came after the invention of broadcasting. After the invention and rapid expansion of distance education from 1945 in Britain and the United States, theological education by extension (TEE) and TEE and evangelism (TEEE) followed soon after. The TEE movement originated at a Presbyterian seminary in Guatemala in 1963; by 1980, there were over 200 major TEE organizations world-wide with 400 programs and 60,000 extension students in 90 countries. By 2000, virtually everything depended on electronics. Meanwhile, by 1966, Bible correspondence courses were mushrooming world-wide. Responses from individuals by then ranged from 110,000 enrolments in Morocco to 4 million a year in the United States (Catholic as well as Protestant courses). One of the largest denominational programs was that of the 12-million-member SEVENTHDAY ADVENTIST CHURCH. In 1986, they had 180 Bible correspondence schools in 77 languages with 520,167 annual enrollments and 281,345 graduating. By 2000, some 60 million persons were receiving some kind of electronic programmed instruction and training in some aspects of evangelism and mission.

41. *Christian radio programs.* Christian broadcasting has since its origin in 1921 reached more people for every hour of evangelism than any other variety. In LATIN AMERICA, the most-heard radio evangelist for a time was Maria Miranda, heard by 100 million per day over 537 stations in 22 countries in 1990. Hundreds of other locally produced Protestant broadcasts are heard daily, even in non-Christian countries: for example, 10 percent of the population of Yemen listens to Christian radio. One of the most influential and long-lasting evangelistic ministries has been ‘The Lutheran Hour’ over radio station KFUD operated by THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD since 1925. By 1931, 5 million heard its preaching each week; by 1987, there were 40 million regular listeners in 31 languages around the world.

42. *Christian TV programs.* TV activity has been going on in some 180 nations for many years. As an example, in October 1990, three shows were aired on Argentinian TV by CBN (Christian Broadcasting Network); more than eight million people saw the programs, and three million repeated the salvation prayer.

43. *Urban media (cable TV, etc.).* Urban areas and their 2.6 billion inhabitants have high exposure to the newest forms of electronic evangelism. Of 7,000 metropolises, every year some 1,400 hold citywide evangelistic campaigns featuring radio, TV, relays, satellites, video instruction, computer networks, the Internet, and other media. Results of recent campaigns are even more striking than those of 20 or 30 years earlier. The Rev. Y. Jeyaraj, general superintendent of the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD of INDIA, summed up a recent evangelistic campaign in Madras: “Conservatively, there were more than 250,000 converted.” Another new medium of communication is cable television. Urban media programs featuring evangelism are under way in some 3,000 metropolises and cities worldwide.

44. *Christian-owned computers.* Under this head are included internal or in-house word-processing, databasing, donor lists, accounting, desktop publishing, and other computer-related activities. Around 3 percent of all this relates to evangelism, outreach, and mission.

45. *Internet/networks/e-mail.* The latest mega-activity to be added to types of evangelism comes from the enormous expansion of electronic mail and online network activity, particularly over the internet with its 400 million users (150 million of whom are Protestants). Thousands of Christian organizations advertise and evangelize via their own home pages on the world wide web.

See also Colonialism; Jehovah's Witnesses; Mass Media; Mormonism; Post-Colonialism; Publishing, Media; Statistics

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EVANGELISTIC ORGANIZATIONS

Cooperative evangelistic associations have been a feature of Protestantism at least since seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Pietists summoned Protestants to show their FAITH by their works and to share their faith with the world around them (see PIETISM). Denominations and state churches have their own associations dedicated to evangelistic outreach, but cooperative efforts have claimed the energies of Protestants who regard cross-denominational task-oriented agencies as effective means to specific ends. Such agencies first appeared in Europe in part as an expression of the Pietist conviction that true Christianity was a matter of the heart rather than of religious affiliation. For 200 years, cooperative efforts have been a particularly vibrant feature of American Protestantism, and—despite their Protestant roots and their early anti-Catholic tenor—in the twentieth century, some have gained substantial Catholic support as well. Often interrelated, claiming support from overlapping constituencies if not institutional connection, evangelistic associations have been a prominent feature of the Protestant moral crusade to save the world. This emanated first from the West, but by the twentieth century it radiated from most places where evangelical Christianity thrived. It is impossible to catalogue all of the evangelistic associations that carry forward Christian cooperative evangelistic efforts. The most enduring tend to cluster around three tasks with evangelistic intent: PUBLISHING, educating, and proclamation.

Bible Societies

Since the Pietist impulse loomed large among those who urged cross-denominational cooperation on behalf of specific tasks, it is not surprising that BIBLE publication was one of the first tasks to which North Atlantic Protestants turned. Carl Hildebrandt von Canstein founded the world's first Bible society in HALLE, Germany's Pietist center, in 1710. In addition to his interest in Bible distribution, Hildebrand devoted himself to developing a new printing method that allowed production at unusually low cost. By 1722, he had added Bohemian and Polish editions to his German stock.

Britons established their first Bible society in 1719, though the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE (founded in 1698) also undertook the

translation and publication of scripture as part of its mission, as did the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (founded in 1709 and famous in the American colonies as the supporter of DAVID BRAINERD'S evangelism among Native Americans). The best known and most ambitious of the British BIBLE SOCIETIES, the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (BFBS), was established in London in 1804 with the enthusiastic support of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. From the beginning, BFBS leadership united Anglicans and Non-Conformists around their common emphasis on scripture (see ANGLICANISM; NON-CONFORMITY). During the nineteenth century, the BFBS established offices in continental European cities, for example, opening a Bible depot in Vienna in 1850. By 1811, BFBS distributors were at work in Egypt. By mid-century, the BFBS had undertaken the task of providing Bibles in all of the languages of the British Empire. It worked alongside the growing number of British missionaries, supporting their evangelistic outreach by helping translate and by printing scripture (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). By the end of the nineteenth century, the BFBS had more than 7,500 auxiliaries under its umbrella. Until 1901, English law limited the BFBS's circulation of English-language Bibles to the King James Version (see BIBLE, KING JAMES VERSION). The twentieth century brought the end of that restriction and saw the cooperative production of new Bible translations.

Cooperative efforts in SCOTLAND took a somewhat different course. The two most important local Bible societies, the Edinburgh Bible Society (1809) and the Glasgow Bible Society (1812), disassociated themselves from the BFBS after 1826 and in 1861 incorporated the National Bible Society of Scotland. The emergence of the National Bible Society of Scotland highlights some of the tensions that quickly beset cooperative Bible production. Disagreements over the inclusion of the Apocrypha contributed to the formation of a separate National Scottish Society. The National Bible Society of Scotland enabled evangelistic efforts of Scottish missionaries around the world. In IRELAND, the Dublin Bible Society, founded in 1806, participated in a loose federation of local Bible societies that adopted the name Hibernian Bible Society. Other British tensions surfaced over the refusal of the BFBS to exclude non-Trinitarians; this led to the emergence of a Trinitarian Bible Society.

The creation of European Bible societies was not confined to Britain. The same impulse surfaced in Scandinavia and on the Continent, where several societies enjoyed the patronage of royalty. An incomplete list suggests the extent of this movement, which stood at the evangelistic core of Western Protestantism: Basel Bible Society (1804), Berlin (later Prussian) Bible Society (1805), Russian Bible Society (1812), Swedish Bible Society (1814), Netherlands Bible Society (1814), Icelandic Bible Society (1815), Norwegian Bible Society (1816), and Protestant Biblical Society of Paris (1818). Cantonal Bible societies dotted SWITZERLAND. The Napoleonic Wars notwithstanding, Bible societies grew apace. Perhaps most remarkable was the Russian Bible Society, sanctioned by Czar Alexander I, one of the few that had an ecumenical Protestant base. Thanks to political pressure, representatives of Russia's many churches—Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Uniat, Armenian, and Lutheran—sat on its board, and by 1823 it had 289 auxiliaries. Nicholas I succeeded to the throne in 1825 and closed the Russian Bible Society the next year. Elsewhere as well, these societies sometimes found themselves curtailed by Catholic opposition or by political change.

In the UNITED STATES, the first evangelistic associations with national reach arose out of the Second Great Awakening in the Northeast (see AWAKENINGS). This early nineteenth-century burst of religious energy fueled determination to evangelize and civilize the west. Convinced that biblical morality assured divine favor, the supporters of these societies regarded the publication and distribution of inexpensive uplifting literature as crucial to the planting of the gospel in every western settlement. They supported missionaries to promote SUNDAY SCHOOLS and hired colporteurs to travel the countryside and sell mass-produced religious reading material. Protestants believed that the Bible was the single most important civilizing and Christianizing text. Like their European counterparts, Americans cooperated in Bible publishing and distribution, a task too large and too urgent to be left to any single DENOMINATION.

Protestants in the Northeast established the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY (ABS) in May 1816, when representatives of thirty-five local and state Bible societies met in New York City, drafted a constitution, and vowed to work for the circulation of “the Holy Scripture without note or comment.” As in Europe, Americans called for a united Christian (read Protestant) front, deploring the “local feelings, party prejudices, and sectarian jealousies” that fractured Protestantism. On the first ABS board of 36 managers were some of the most distinguished American Protestants of the day, including the Revolutionary War statesman ELIAS BOUDINOT, the first president of the ABS. With head-quarters at Bible House in Manhattan, the ABS had for its model the already prosperous BFBS. By 1820, some 100,000 Bibles had poured from ABS presses.

By the twentieth century, Western Bible societies were at work in around the world. As the century progressed, their relationships to national Christian movements changed. More than 125 new national Bible societies emerged to take ownership of the work. Australians established a Bible Union in 1937; the Hong Kong Bible Society was organized in 1950; a Bible Society was established in Cambodia in 1968, ceased operation with the Khmer Rouges takeover in 1975, and reopened in 1993; and an Austrian Bible Society began functioning in 1970 after 23 years of planning by the country’s small Protestant minority. Bible societies were active in Chile from 1820, but Chilean Protestants organized their own Bible Society in 1972.

The proliferation of Bible societies in all continents led in 1946 to the founding of the United Bible Societies, an alliance for consultation among the 137 national Bible societies working in more than 200 countries. The ongoing work of Bible societies has been critical to the evangelistic efforts of Protestants (and, more recently, Catholics) around the world. Especially since Vatican II, Bible societies in some countries have drawn support and leadership from Roman Catholics as well as from Protestants. Bible societies offer the biblical message in many translations, forms, and sizes and, in recent decades, in nonprint formats as well.

Related to the conviction that access to the Bible was crucial for Christian evangelism was the creation of WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS. Founded in 1942, Wycliffe Bible Translators represented the vision of William Cameron Townsend, whose commitment to Bible translation was piqued during his visit to native peoples in Guatemala in the World War I era. Committed to providing the Bible to the thousands of language groups that had no Scripture, Townsend instituted the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a linguistics training program that began modestly in an Arkansas farm in 1934. By 1951, courses had spread to Australia and Britain, and a few years later,

Wycliffe began enlisting the cooperation of German evangelicals. By the end of the twentieth century, Wycliffe was offering linguistic training courses on every continent, preparing people to work in partnership with native speakers of lesser-known languages. Wycliffe translators have completed at least 450 translations of the New Testament and portions of scripture in many more languages.

A flurry of other publishing agencies accompanied the determination to flood the world with Bibles, as evangelicals saw the usefulness of tracts, pamphlets, and inexpensive books for disseminating their message. In Britain, the Religious Tract Society, founded in 1799, offered cheaply produced moral and evangelistic literature by Anglicans and Non-Conformists. By 1825, the American Tract Society gave national scope to the production of texts ranging from tracts to a magazine to children's storybooks. Tract Society colporteurs soon peddled these printed wares in the remotest reaches of the United States. Such societies were managed by interdenominational boards and supported by the donations of those who shared a commitment to their goals. Noting the overlap of supporters and board members, some suggested that these earliest United States voluntary associations constituted a "benevolent empire."

Supports for Sunday Schools

An enterprise that relied on publishing to enable educational goals was the Sunday School. The growing number of Sunday schools in Britain led in 1795 to the creation of a Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools. The London Sunday School Union, formed in 1803, was followed quickly by Sunday School associations in Ireland and Scotland. In 1862, at a meeting in London of representatives of British Sunday school unions, British Sunday school enthusiasts decided to extend their work to the Continent.

Meanwhile, in 1824 the American Sunday School Union (ASU) took shape to facilitate the onward march of the Sunday School movement in the United States and to meet the need of local Sunday School associations for adequate literature and other supplies. The ASU offered lessons, hymnals and, in time, Sunday school novels urging Christian values on the young. These were inexpensive and widely distributed, sometimes constituting the core of a community's first public library. The ASU also raised support for missionaries to establish Sunday schools in the west and in other places where children's religious instruction was neglected. Nondenominational Sunday schools sometimes became the nuclei of regular congregations.

In 1872, the British Sunday School Union and the American Sunday School Union agreed on a uniform lessons series. This marked an important step in making the movement's content, as well as its form, truly international. A World Sunday School Convention met in London in 1889. In 1907, the international Sunday school movement adopted the name World's Sunday School Association. In 1947, this became the World Council on Christian Education. This agency had units in many countries, and became affiliated with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1971, after the Sunday school movement had abandoned much of its early evangelistic impetus.

Bible Institutes

Another educational format with explicit evangelistic intent is the Bible institute (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES). Nineteenth-century innovations, Bible institutes ranged from small enterprises without structured curricula to well-organized, on-the-road-to accreditation schools. Chicago's MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE enjoys an international reputation and offers an example of the institutes' objectives. Built on the premise that traditional schools educated would-be Christian workers away from the masses, evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY opted to train evangelists, missionaries, and other types of Christian workers in the effective use of the English Bible and congregational singing. The school that bears his name (first called the Chicago Training Institute) combined classroom instruction with hands-on experience, and faculty impressed on students the urgency of the evangelistic task. Moody Bible Institute became a powerhouse of nondenominational conservative Protestantism in the United States, and over the past century has sent thousands of graduates to other parts of the world. Students also come to Moody from many countries. The Bible institute model adapts readily to other cultures, and throughout the twentieth century, Bible institutes proved their effectiveness in training an army of energetic evangelists on every continent. For those who cannot attend a Bible institute, correspondence work has long been available, and web-based instruction further expands possibilities. Bible institutes may be denominationally connected, but those that are not function like voluntary associations, depending directly on the contributions of those who share their vision for equipping workers for Christian outreach and nurturing a congeries of related evangelistic activities, including broadcasting, publishing, conferencing, and equipping seminars.

While Moody Bible Institute served both domestic and overseas EVANGELISM, the story of another Bible institute offers a glimpse of an even more direct connection between Bible institutes and foreign MISSIONS. In 1815, a small group of Reformed and Lutheran Pietists from Basel, Switzerland and nearby Wurttemberg, GERMANY applied for permission to open a missionary training institute. The first class of seven students entered in 1816 under the auspices of an interdenominational group, the Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft Basel. The school trained English and Dutch as well as German missionaries, and by 1821 recruited its own missionaries to serve in RUSSIA and AFRICA'S Gold Coast. In 1834 the first three missionaries of the BASEL MISSION arrived in INDIA with a commission to establish both schools and churches. The Basel Mission's formative years coincided with the rapid spread of Bible societies throughout Europe, as well as with the parallel founding of numerous foreign missions agencies. In Britain, the Baptist Missionary Society organized in 1792; the nondenominational London Missionary Society, in 1795; and the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Scottish Presbyterian Society, in 1799. The Basel Mission's training institute was open to all with a Pietist inclination, and its student body included Europeans from most northern European nations. This evangelistic association influenced many missions agencies by the training it offered, and its own missionaries played important roles in providing education and opposing SLAVERY (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

At about the same time, the Second Great Awakening stirred the west as well as the northeastern United States. Growing numbers of converts and large population shifts pressured denominations to provide pastors and evangelists to serve far-flung constituencies. The founding of SEMINARIES and the need for scholarships resulted in 1826 in the founding of the American Education Association, an enterprise that at first supplemental traditional evangelistic outreach to improve educational opportunities for clergy.

Youth Work

In the twentieth century, several evangelical voluntary associations directly targeted youth. Those associations with the widest reach continue to be active on university campuses worldwide. Bill and Vonnette Bright established Campus Crusade for Christ as an American outreach in 1953. With headquarters in Orlando, Florida, this agency, long since international in scope, has expanded beyond its original student focus. Some 65 percent of its 25,000 workers are outside of North America, in 191 countries, where more than 500,000 registered volunteers assist their efforts. In addition to its evangelistic work on university campuses, Campus Crusade has two widely known evangelistic tools: the *Four Spiritual Laws* (which presents the basic evangelistic message), and the *Jesus Film*, a movie presenting the life of Christ. Translated into 80 languages, the film has been viewed by some 850 million people worldwide.

The second influential student-oriented outreach is INTERVARSITY CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP. With roots at Cambridge University in ENGLAND, the movement began in Britain in 1877, shaped by student interest in global evangelism. In 1928, British InterVarsity helped organize a Canadian affiliate. Canadian InterVarsity director Stacey Woods met with University of Michigan students in 1938, and the first United States chapter resulted. In 1941, InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA officially organized. InterVarsity USA has more than 1,000 staff members and produces training materials used by hundreds of campus outreaches to students and faculty. Every three years it sponsors a huge missions gathering that uses the facilities of the University of Illinois-Urbana to enlist college students from across the United States in global missions outreach. Outside the west, InterVarsity groups at major university campuses mobilize and nurture Christian students and support broadly based evangelistic programs. InterVarsity Press has become a major supplier of resources that challenge and support Christian thought on contemporary issues.

Missionary Outreach

Evangelistic associations targeting university students are sustained by a broad evangelical impulse to share faith in every possible way. In the early national period in

the United States, for example, the determination to be aggressive about planting the Gospel in the vast new territories of the Louisiana Purchase captured the imaginations of Congregationalists in New England, Presbyterians in the mid-Atlantic region, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists as well as of newer groups like the Disciples of Christ. The era saw expanded foreign trade and the growth of the British Empire, and some Americans also felt the urge to convert the world. As in the colonial era, the first targets were the “heathen” of North America. The Connecticut Missionary Association, established in 1798, produced the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* to interest people in this work. A Congregational- Presbyterian Plan of Union in 1801 had as part of its purpose the efficient preaching of the gospel in the West. The Union accelerated efforts and contributed to the founding in New York City in 1826 of the American Home Missionary Association.

Meanwhile, a few students at Williams College in western Massachusetts expressed their interest in foreign missions. During their years at Andover Seminary in Boston, these and other students pursued this interest and gained the support of the General Association of Massachusetts. The same year (1810), Connecticut and Massachusetts Congregationalists cooperated to form the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN Missions. This society sent its first party of missionaries to India in 1812. Aboard ship, however, Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice changed their minds about Congregationalism and embraced Baptist views (see JUDSON FAMILY). This led in 1814 to the creation of the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Mission. Both societies recruited workers and expanded their global reach. Their contact with other cultures gave them influence over the American perception of other peoples, religions, and cultures and sometimes translated into influence in American foreign policy.

These early missionary societies—like the European Protestant missionary societies that preceded them—were denominational in intent (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). By the mid-nineteenth century, non-denominational evangelistic associations took on specific tasks and invited a cooperative approach to missionary outreach. Representative of these groups is the Women’s Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands (WUMS), established in November 1860 in New York by Sarah Doremus and women from six denominations. The first North American agency to send single female missionaries, the WUMS drew inspiration from a similar British endeavor and worked especially among WOMEN and children, and it soon had placed missionaries around the world. Part of the era’s growing interest in “women’s work for women,” the WUMS sent women to the secluded women to whom traditional missionaries seldom had access. By the end of the century, a long list of such nondenominational mission agencies recruited workers for worldwide evangelism. Between 1900 and 1920, for example, societies promoting village evangelism originated in India under the auspices of the Ramabai Mukti Mission, an agency led by Indians, and in England as The Fellowship for Evangelising Britain’s Villages. Such local agencies worked side-by-side with others that had national constituencies in view.

Faith Missions

None of these groups was better known than the CHINA INLAND MISSION (CIM). Established by the Englishman JAMES HUDSON TAYLOR in 1865, the CIM had no established support structure. Taylor expected his recruits to “live by faith” and pray for answers to their needs. This approach necessitated a network of supporters—often at home, but sometimes elsewhere—who would faithfully remember the needs of their ambassadors abroad. The CIM was an early example of a growing cluster of “faith missions” that veered sharply from the customary practices of the more familiar denominational, or “board,” missions. At the turn of the twentieth century, large numbers of conservative evangelicals found faith missions like the CIM or the Africa Inland Mission (founded in 1895 by Scotsman Peter Cameron Scott) satisfactory alternatives to traditional evangelistic organizations that were mired in disputes about the goals of missionary task and the implications of new THEOLOGY for world evangelization. Faith missions required little startup capital and promoted a direct sense of teamwork and cooperation in accomplishing evangelism. More flexible than denominational board missions, they appealed to people who hoped to get a job done quickly.

In the twentieth century, evangelistic associations of all kinds proliferated. New missions agencies represented both new approaches and new technology, and some older agencies adapted or merged to keep up with the times. With the closing of mainland China to Western missionaries, for example, the CIM regrouped and became the Overseas Missionary Fellowship. As missionaries pressed into ever more remote regions, the Missionary Aviation Fellowship arose to provide transportation, and the Moody Bible Institute developed a highly regarded pilot training program. Evangelicals have historically exploited opportunities and been responsive to change, and evangelistic associations that seize particular opportunities offer rapid adaptation to changing times. Evangelistic associations that enlist retirees, sports teams, students, bluecollar workers, health professionals, and other professionals for short-term missionary involvement have become more numerous. Evangelistic associations promote undercover work in closed countries; socalled “tentmakers” (a reference to St. Paul, who supported himself by tentmaking while sharing the gospel) teach English in China, distribute humanitarian aid in the Middle East, or coach basketball in Indonesia, quietly building relationships that they hope will blossom in conversions.

In the twentieth century, the professionalization and coming of age of revivalism combined with advances in technology to facilitate the formation of yet another cluster of evangelistic associations, these dedicated to fulfilling the goals of individuals or ministry teams. Since the 1950s, the best-known of these has been the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA). With roots in another evangelistic association, YOUTH FOR CHRIST, the BGEA incorporated early in the 1950s. Based for many years in Minneapolis, Minnesota (now in Charlotte, North Carolina as well), the BGEA has offices in cities around the world—Sydney, Buenos Aires, Winnipeg, London, Paris, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Mexico City—and firm ties to native Christian leaders. Although the BGEA engages in evangelism through multiple media—World Wide Pictures, *Decision* magazine (in six languages and Braille), radio broadcasts, and books—the heart of its work is the traditional evangelistic crusades conducted by BILLY GRAHAM and

his coworkers. Satellite television has multiplied the visibility of Billy Graham and a host of lesser-known evangelists. Graham's access to the leadership of nations around the world is unprecedented. The international scope of his influence has not been fully assessed. His son, Franklin Graham, has assumed the leadership of the organization.

Thousands of evangelistic associations like Graham's rely on gifts from supporters to enable outreaches around the world. Many originate in the West, but increasing numbers mobilize people in other parts of the world. The Luis Palau Evangelistic Association, for example, based in North America, conducts extensive work in LATIN AMERICA. An Argentinian by birth, Palau uses the media as well as traditional crusades to do evangelism. Headed by Ravi Zacharias, a native of India, the Ravi Zacharias International Ministries focuses its efforts on reaching those who shape the ideas of contemporary CULTURE. Some evangelistic associations outside the West now target Western populations.

Coordinating Efforts

The proliferation of cooperative societies dedicated either directly or indirectly to evangelistic outreach led early to concern in the West about duplication and inefficiency. The EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE—established in a burst of evangelical optimism in 1846 in London by 800 representatives from 10 countries—languished until the 1880s, when a dynamic American Congregationalist, Josiah Strong, took it in hand. Strong's enthusiasm for most things American and British smacked to some of racism, and his confidence in America's destiny shone through his agenda, but he breathed life into a dying entity. Large Evangelical Alliance congresses he organized in 1886 in London and in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair built momentum, and by the time his social agenda forced him from the Alliance, Strong had given the organization a new lease on life. In Britain, its offices in London remain a hub for evangelicals of all denominations and none.

The nineteenth-century hope for evangelical cooperation gained global currency in 1951 with the formation of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA). The WEA is an alliance of alliances. Its members include seven regional organizations: Association of Evangelicals of Africa, European Evangelical Alliance, Evangelical Fellowship of Asia, Evangelical Association of the Caribbean, Evangelical Fellowship of the South Pacific, and Latin American Evangelical Fellowship. Each of these, in turn, comprises evangelical alliances or associations in particular countries, for a total of 113 national evangelical alliances. In addition to these full members, the WEA welcomes as associate members evangelical agencies with significant international commitments. This list includes entities like the Chinese Coordinating Centre of World Evangelization, Food for the Hungry, JEWS FOR JESUS, and many Western-based missionary organizations.

Evangelicals also provide significant support and leadership for the humanitarian work of WORLD VISION INTERNATIONAL. Established in 1950, this partnership of Christians offers health care, education, and humanitarian aid in an effort to assist people to help themselves and pursue justice. While it is not directly evangelistic, World Vision

attracts the support of evangelicals who believe that humanitarian aid may create the climate conducive to Gospel witness. Leprosy missions, orphanages, hospitals, adoption agencies, schools, and many other entities play vital roles in enabling and expanding the work of evangelistic associations.

Evangelistic associations channel Christian energies into proclaiming the Christian message. Their proponents exploit all available media, including print media and radio, with startling success. HCJB, the world's first missionary radio station, went on the air in Ecuador on Christmas 1931. Seventy years later, it was one of the world's largest short-wave broadcasters, sending evangelistic programming from Quito in twelve languages and twenty-two dialects and also airing programming from such far-flung places as Seychelles, Swaziland, and the United Kingdom. Another evangelistic association dedicated to radio is Trans World Radio, begun under the direction of American Paul Freed in 1952. It beamed its first broadcast to Spain from a small transmitter in Tangier, Morocco. Fifty years later, it boasted 1,800 hours of programming each week from thirteen powerful transmitters and 2,300 local stations. Its Christian programming reached 160 countries in 180 languages. Served by missionaries and local staff, such broadcast evangelistic associations are the best known of many that flourished in the twentieth century.

Evangelistic associations come and go. Some change significantly over time and modify their early evangelistic goals. The YMCA (see YMCA/YWCA) and, to some extent, the older Bible societies have shed their evangelistic edge. Other agencies disappeared because they could not sustain support, or they merged, or they adapted to altered conditions by changing name or focus. Since World War II, an enormous number of new evangelistic associations jostle with established associations for money and recruits. The communications and transportation revolutions promote global awareness and make possible evangelistic interactions unimagined by earlier generations. Evangelistic associations will certainly adapt their strategies, but they will not go away. They are deeply embedded in the core of what twenty-first-century Christians assume it means to be evangelical. And EVANGELICALISM'S entrepreneurial instincts find in the voluntary association model a flexible and efficient means to an all-consuming end.

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F

FAITH

The most controversial aspect of Protestantism that emerged during the REFORMATION centered on the Protestant understanding of faith. Scholastic theology heavily influenced the prevailing Roman Catholic view on faith, creating a series of functional dualisms vastly removed from the original biblical understanding. These dualisms focused on the distinction between content of faith (in Latin *fides quae*) and subjective actions of faith (*fides qua*): the distinction between faith of laypersons in assenting to ORTHODOXY without understanding it (*fides implicita*) and faith of clergy in assenting to the same universal truths (*fides explicita*), between faith appropriated through natural means (*fides acquisita*) and faith incorporated into the soul alongside other virtues by supernatural means (*fides infusa*). The dualism drawing the Reformer's most ardent ire involved the distinction between "unformed faith" (*fides informis*), a faith unrelated to love and able to exist alongside mortal sin; and "formed faith" (*fides caritate formatd*), a faith formed by and continually active in love. These aspects of faith required meritorious works by the believer to achieve JUSTIFICATION.

MARTIN LUTHER reacted to this formulation through the notion popularly known as justification by faith alone. Luther argued against the priority of love for perfecting faith by emphasizing the free gift of GRACE from God. Luther understood the "righteousness of God" in Romans 1:17 as justifying, not punishing, the sinner. In Hebrews 11:1 he understood faith as trust in God's promises rather than faith achieved through good works. Saving faith focused on the sufficiency of Christ's work divinely imputed to the sinner. This understanding of faith was refined by Luther's contemporaries. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI heavily focused on the certainty of faith through a clear knowledge of ELECTION. For Zwingli, faith was both a pledge of the Holy Spirit that seals the believer's heart, and a trust that God will protect and guide the believer. Faith enables the believer to reconcile contradictory passages and bring understanding to Scriptural meaning. To support his assertion, Zwingli affirmed that faith and Scripture are inseparable, citing Christ's own appeal to Scripture to further demonstrate the certainty of God's guidance. Faith is a sense that God assures us inwardly with the Holy Spirit while acknowledging that external matters contribute nothing to justification. As such, Zwingli understood the LORD'S SUPPER to be little more than a liturgy of "signs." Luther and JOHN CALVIN continued to affirm the divine efficacy of the Lord's Supper and vigorously rejected this radical reappraisal of the sacrament. Unlike Zwingli, Calvin was aware that the believer's faith is always weak and requires regular strengthening through the ministries of the church and the administration of the sacraments.

While all the reformers unanimously described faith as a gift from God, relating it to the workings of the Holy Spirit and Scripture, Calvin provided the clearest exposition on the role of the Holy Spirit in matters of faith. Calvin described faith as the principal work of the Holy Spirit. Believers do not initiate faith, but faith is founded upon the “might of the Spirit.” Consequently, the Spirit is the “inner teacher” by whose effort the promise of SALVATION penetrates the believer’s mind. Like Zwingli, Calvin affirmed the inseparable relationship between faith and the Word of God and that these “can no more be disconnected from each other than rays of light from the sun” (*Institutes III:2:6*). And while faith is both a matter of heart and mind, Calvin stressed that “the knowledge of faith consist more of certainty than discernment” (*Institutes III:2:14*). For Calvin, certainty is dependent on the activity of the Holy Spirit and the restoration of right worship of God through the genuine teaching and PREACHING of Scripture by the church.

The Roman Catholic reaction to this Protestant formulation was ratified in the Council of Trent (1547), which condemned the “vain confidence of [these] heretics” (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM). Other reactions came from Radical Reformers such as Anabaptists and Inspirationists, or Pietists (see ANABAPTISM PIETISM). Many Anabaptists emphasized the importance of good works as testimony to the presence of faith. Pietists, like THOMAS MÜNTZER, emphasized the primacy of experiential revelatory faith as opposed to faith informed by biblical revelation.

The Post-Reformation understandings of faith took on numerous expressions. In reaction to the development of orthodox CALVINISM, JACOBUS ARMINIS began an unpretentious revival of the role of meritorious works in faith. Introducing the notion of faith as a human work upon which the pardon of SIN is suspended, Arminius reacted strongly to the claim that God damns individuals for eternity (see ARMINIANISM). Arminius linked the concept of PREDESTINATION with faith by reducing the decision of faith to a simple human possibility. While agreeing with Calvinists that there was no salvation apart from faith, Arminius accepted that faith was the basis of predestination, rather than the orthodox Calvinist’s view that predestination was the basis of faith.

PURITANISM also developed away from mainstream Reformation thought by demanding that certitude be confirmed only through the experience of holy living. The Puritan emphasis on holy living eventually influenced other expressions of Protestantism such as METHODISM and the HOLINESS MOVEMENT. These Protestant expressions accepted that faith and religious knowledge were not derived from objective theological formulation but rather blossom from the experiences of the believer’s heart.

The eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT bore witness to a sustained attack on traditional categories of faith and religious dogma through the emergence of Rationalism. Popularly represented as DEISM and Protestant Scholasticism, some Protestant theologians such as Jean Aphonse Turretin sought to reduce Christianity to a core of moral principles and universally held beliefs. Faith was subsumed into an objectified natural religion. The climax of Enlightenment philosophies arrived with IMMANUEL KANT, who redirected contemporary thought by defining the limits of knowledge. Kant drew a sharp distinction between “phenomena” (knowledge which we derive from experience of the world) and “noumena” (a priori transcendental knowledge). This eventually led to the claim that knowledge of the world could not lead to knowledge of God. While Kant intended to eliminate speculative knowledge in order to “make room for

faith,” he unwittingly reset the course of THEOLOGY, allowing the development of liberalism into diverse expressions (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). In the case of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, certainty of faith was grounded in psychological and emotional experience rather than in natural theology or biblical revelation. Here faith is grounded in a feeling of absolute dependence. Late nineteenth century liberalism tended to view institutionalized religion, traditional creeds, and metaphysics with uncertainty, although this skepticism was offset by a confidence in human progress and the unhindered quest for a unified vision of truth. ADOLF VON HARNACK clearly stated these themes in his 1901 book *What Is Christianity?* Harnack’s approach was to define true Christianity by “stripping off the husks and lay[ing] bare the kernel [of truth].” Harnack proposed that the core of Christianity is the personality and teachings of Jesus, which could be summed up through the commandment to love. This ethic of love grounded faith into a praxis of social engagement and framework of evolutionary progress. However, the rising confidence in human progress was shattered by World War I with the theological vacuum appropriated by NEO-ORTHODOXY and FUNDAMENTALISM.

Reacting to liberalism, fundamentalism affirmed previous Protestant faith expressions and theologies within a rationalistic framework by affirming the AuTHORITY, inspiration, and inerrancy of Scripture (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY). Appropriating a form of seventeenth-century Calvinistic scholasticism, fundamentalism was committed to resisting social change in order to preserve what were considered to be the correct articles of faith. Faith was characterized as propositional assent in order to preserve certainty, an approach that has continued on into contemporary forms of conservative EVANGELICALISM.

On the other hand, liberalism heavily influenced neo-orthodoxy, which tended to emphasize the divine origin and nature of faith. Neo-orthodox faith was characterized as active assent to the elusive, mysterious and non-propositional divine prompting. Its most popular exponent was KARL BARTH, and while his views evolved over time, he nevertheless understood faith within the framework of divine immanence. This framework took the form of the “Word of God,” which was not a proposition or object but God actually speaking. The real object of inquiry was Jesus Christ, the true foundation of faith. For Barth, certainty was the result of the triumph of God’s grace rather than the results of natural theologies or human expression.

In turn, Barth significantly influenced DIETRICH BONHOEFFER who formulated the challenging question “Who is Christ for us today?” Bonhoeffer’s faith engagement between certainty and uncertainty is clearly seen in his understanding of mystery as the root of everything comprehensible. And while faith is part of mystery that cannot be transformed into knowledge, Bonhoeffer paradoxically states that “mystery does not mean merely that one does not know something...the deepest mystery is not the person farthest away but precisely the one closest to us” (Feil 1985:6). This mystery is located at the center of the distinction between faith and theologies, thus influencing Bonhoeffer to urgently define the relation between theory and praxis. As a result, Bonhoeffer placed theology and faith in the service of Christian praxis, and is remembered for such expressions as “a world come of age” and “Religionless Christianity.” Bonhoeffer’s theology eventually influenced radical theologians of the 1960s, who introduced such expressions as the DEATH OF GOD and the Ground of Being (see ROBINSON, JOHN

ARTHUR THOMAS) to explain the failure of anthropomorphic religious language in addressing contemporary religious concerns.

Today contemporary theology weaves between radicalism and new conservatism. Faith expressed in POSTMODERNITY is subject to a new openness brought out by the challenges of pluralism, poststructuralism, and ECUMENISM. While this openness to inquire into all aspects of faith may create great tension, the engagement of certainty and uncertainty within the ongoing process of redemption will continue to shape the future of Protestant expressions of faith.

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FAITH HEALING

Diverse types of faith, or religious, healing are practiced within Protestant churches. The practices vary according to the theological accounts given of the process of healing, the sense of the miraculous, the perception of process, and the place of skills in the performance of the minister. The relationship between religious healing and conventional medicine is often one of tension. In some religious traditions there is a rejection of the world that implies a refusal to use its medical science. Elsewhere, the relationship is complementary, and there is recent evidence of a reformulated healing ministry within the pastoral role of clergy.

Definitions

Religious intervention in matters of human health takes a variety of forms, and we may distinguish a number of categories: those that are attributed exclusively to divine power, those centered on the religious healer, and those dependent on a measure of trust on the part of the individual to be healed.

Miraculous healing excludes those forms of religious healing that may be attributed to the skill of the minister or the process of therapy, including counseling or PRAYER. Within the Christian faith the archetypes of this category are the healing miracles of Jesus of Nazareth, which included the raising to life of those reported to be dead as well as relief from less terminal conditions. The notion of miraculous healing is problematic in that some would regard the effect of prayer to be a miracle, whereas others might see it as a kind of therapy. Some skeptics or demythologists might venture to explain the conditions cured by Jesus as psychosomatic and notice that they did not include, for example, the repair of broken limbs. Within the category of the miraculous, *divine healing* is the term applied to beneficial effects on the condition of a sufferer that are attributed to a supernatural power acting independently of the faith of the subject and of the skills of the human agent or healer. The concept of *divine healing* prevails among traditional Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM). *Faith healing*, by contrast, refers to those forms in which an improvement or cure relies on the trust or confidence of the subject. This trust is typically developed in a religious context and invested in an

almighty power, but in a secular sense faith can equally be a belief in the self or in the minister of healing or in a set of procedures.

Within the category of religious healing there is a much noticed and distinctive type in the form of *shamanism*. This is the term given to procedures that center on the skills or spiritual endowments of a healer or shaman: its classical forms have been observed in tribal communities in northern Siberia and places remote from Western Protestantism, but shamanic practices have also been recognized in the West, notably by M.B. McGuire.

Although this typology may be useful in identifying approaches to religious healing—and is indeed grounded in the perceptions of practitioners—there is an ambivalence about some cases. Those whose names and reputations are used to attract large audiences to healing meetings may insist that they have no power of their own but that God has chosen to work through them: in this way they define their practice as *divine healing* but the mediated construction of their practice may celebrate the person of the healer.

The Rejection of Worldly Medicine

Tensions between secular medicine and the ministrations of religious professionals have characterized the postures of a number of world-rejecting sects in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They are, however, rooted in biblical precedents. It is reported that “the king Asa in the thirty and ninth year of his reign was diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great; yet in his disease he sought not to the Lord but to the physicians. And Asa slept with his fathers, and died in the one and fortieth year of his reign” (II Chronicles 16:12–13).

The inference is that Asa might have recovered from his gout had he turned to prayer. Such is the lesson drawn from the demise of Asa by many of the faithful who distance the religious community from the wisdom of the world. In 1899 a member of a fundamentalist Christian sect in London, the Plumstead Peculiars, declined to call a doctor to his ailing newborn child and, when the child died, faced conviction for manslaughter. “I have an honest belief in the power of prayer,” said the father. “When the King was the Prince of Wales and had typhoid, prayers were offered up throughout the land, and he recovered.”

The Judge observed: “My recollection is that Sir William Gill [the royal physician] had something to do with the recovery.... It is wicked that these people should let their children die, when by taking ordinary precautions which God has placed in their power they could save them.”

These examples evidence not an explicit taboo on secular means of healing, but a conviction in the adequacy of prayer and a sense that recourse to a doctor is a sign of weakening FAITH. The reluctance to abandon religious faith for secular science is particularly pronounced in respect of the condition JOHN BUNYAN terms “the Slough of Desspond,” more popularly diagnosed as depression. In respect to such conditions, there is a sense that the individual, the religious organizations, and their God ought to be sufficient to restore health. The sense of betrayal of Christian faith and its ministers when seeking help from a doctor or psychologist is prompted partly by the concept of

“wholeness” and the equation of SIN and suffering in the teaching of Jesus. He cures with the significant words, “Thy faith has made thee whole” and asks whether it is easier to say “Thy sins be forgiven thee” or “Arise and walk” (Matthew 9:5).

The notion that right belief is the key to good health is in modern times associated particularly with CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. This movement owes to earlier currents the principle of *mental healing* that perceives illness as a condition of the mind. Such a diagnosis may be traced in Christian practice to the theology of a Swedish scientist EMANUEL SWEDENBORG (1688–1772), founder of the religious sect that bears his name. The Swedenborgian principle was that healing could be effected by harmonizing physical and spiritual realities, adjusting the body to the mind, the mind to the soul, and the soul to the angelic order. This idea of mental adjustment was prevalent in the movement called mesmerism, which was fashionable in America in the mid-nineteenth century. It was propagated in the teachings of the mesmerist Charles Poyen, of Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, and subsequently in the writings of MARY BAKER EDDY, the founder of Christian Science. In 1875 she published her *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, citing Matthew 9:2–8 to demonstrate the central tenet that sickness and pain were delusions curable by the correction of mental error:

It is plain that God does not employ drugs or hygiene, nor provide them for human use; else Jesus would have recommended them in his healing. The sick are more deplorably lost than the sinning if the sick cannot rely on God for help and the sinning can.

JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES, by contrast, are happy to seek healing through hospitals, albeit upon certain conscientious conditions. For Witnesses, secular medicine does not contradict faith in the power of prayer. It is rather that they read in Genesis 9:4 and Acts 15:29 a taboo on consuming bloods and therefore upon blood transfusion. They have in recent years been active in exploring and documenting alternatives to blood transfusion, but there have been cases in Australia and the United States where the children of Witnesses have been made wards of the court to authorize certain treatment.

Although abstention from secular medicine per se or from particular practices has in many cases often been a dimension of a more general rejection of the world, it has not necessarily been so. In the case of the AMISH, for example, taboos on the use of motor transport and electricity are not applied against resort to medical treatment. Resistance is based on a preference for time-honored remedies, not on religious dogma. Curiously, those religious organizations within the Christian faith that have studiously refrained from secular medicine have not been those that used high profile healing events in their outreach or featured in a sensational way the cases of those who have been cured against the expectations of their doctors. Rather, their disposition has been a defensive one.

Healing in the Context of Faith

The historic relationships of religion and health may be regarded within two traditions, both attended by tensions. On one hand, there is an approval for conventional medicine, a willing resort to it, and material and moral support for its practitioners. This accord, in which clergy would deploy medical science in the fulfillment of their pastoral role, was memorably described by the Reverend COTTON MATHER (1663–1728) as the “angelical conjunction.” In the late eighteenth century, the founder of Methodism, JOHN WESLEY, published and republished a book called *Primitive Physick*, demonstrating and commending a knowledge of herbal remedies alongside a belief in the power of faith. In England the established church took responsibility for the provision of a number of hospitals: St. Bartholomew’s was founded in 1123 and St. Thomas’s was started in a parish church by that name in Southwark, where the original operating theater survives. The angelical conjunction was to suffer a fall and enjoy a subsequent rise. In time the differentiation of professions would relieve the clergy of many of the skills they had assumed as obligations of their Christian vocation, including architecture and finance as well as pastoral activities. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the functions of care passed largely to the state in the name of welfare. The “conjunction” revived as the welfare state faltered. Clergy and lay persons of the mainstream Christian churches sought the skills and practiced in the role of counselors. The notion of healing was broadened to apply to the recovery not merely of a physical but of a mental or emotional condition and of satisfactory relationships. Perhaps as a response to the standard Marxist critique that the hope of a life hereafter enables the faithful to endure the discomforts of the present world, the burgeoning Pentecostal churches of Central America have kept physical dimensions of the human condition in sharp focus. R.A. Chesnut found rather less evidence in Brazil of a conviction in remote consolation than in the hope of immediate relief from the illnesses that attend poverty.

On the other hand, there is a disposition among some religious organizations to direct medical practice according to their own principles. The private hospitals in the United States belonging to, for example, the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH are administered according to the divine revelations about health received in the 1860s by its prophetess ELLEN GOULD WHITE (1827–1915).

The practice of miraculous healing in meetings of the revivalist type has recently enjoyed a resurgence through television and modern methods of communication (see TELEVANGELISTS; PUBLISHING, MEDIA). Its effects are visible and its challenge to conventional medicine is derisive. The book that records the miracles God has worked through the healing evangelist Melvin Banks shows on the front cover the picture of a woman holding aloft her walking stick in defiance of the doctors who said she would always need it. Miraculous healing in Catholicism focuses on certain shrines such as Lourdes, whereas the Protestant counterpart is focused on individuals with charismatic gifts.

The presentation of a sick or disabled person at a healing crusade may, if recovery does not follow, result in disappointment if not cognitive dissonance, although nothing else is lost unless the dependency on faith excludes the recourse to conventional therapy. Those affirming a divine plan may recognize a place within it for the secular professions,

for example, "It is wonderful how God can use doctors and nurses." However, there are implications of a legal kind when conventional medicine is refused. In the last twenty years there have been a number of cases in which parents have been brought before American courts after the deaths of children whom they had entrusted to Christian Science practitioners. When prayer has not been effective, both parents and practitioners have been variously charged with child abuse, negligence, and manslaughter.

New Directions in Christian Ministry

Until recent years the practice of hands-on healing and therapy has been found rather more in the marginal sects than in the mainstream churches. However, in a much-noticed work, McGuire (1988) has documented the prevalence of healing rituals in the religious life of suburban America. In "the metaphysical movement," Maguire detects elements that derive from various nominally Christian traditions, from New Thought, mesmerism, the mind-cure groups of the 1880s, Spiritualism, Christian Science, and an experimental interest in currents of spirituality that are or were native American, Latin American, Caribbean, and Polynesian. Metaphysical healing is a syncretic movement that is open to alternative pathology and Eastern philosophy and redefines received notions of illness and dysfunction. This is a world of house-groups rather than of rallies and conventions; it is about processes rather than persons, and ritual practices are devolved rather than centralized.

The variety of life and death concerns that are addressed by hands-on therapy rituals in the religious life of the American suburb similarly occupies the ministry of healing in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. It is a pastoral movement in which healing is recognized as an easing of some problem or discomfort rather than the absolute elimination of an adverse condition. It is not spectacular; it does not celebrate its results; it is not advertised as a crowd-puller, although it is a legitimating principle in the church's mission. The ministry operates, for example, in the rehabilitation of counseling and psychotherapy within the sacred domain, in the hospice movement pioneered in Britain by Dr. Cicely Saunders, and in the provision of healing services within the regular ministrations of the mainstream churches. The purpose of ministry to the dying is to enable them to die well, not to recover to full health. Typically, a parish may designate one service a month as a healing service when those desiring healing may have hands laid on them by ministers who may be available for counsel. There is no expectation of instant cure, the congregation is not invited to behold the effect, and photographers do not stand by. Conventional medicine and the prayerful ministry of the church are perceived to be complementary, whereas in some sects conventional medicine forms are respected, if at all, as agents of the divine will. The church-type ministry looks to the Gospel for its motivation, whereas the tradition of miraculous healing looks to Pauline teachings, notably I Corinthians 12, for its authority.

If ritualized healing is directed by a literal interpretation of a biblical imperative to "Lay hands on the sick and they shall be healed" (Mark 16:18), the church's ministry of

pastoral care is, in the spirit of the angelical conjunction, an endeavor to discern the meaning of the Gospel and to convey it to points of need.

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ROGER HOMAN

FALWELL, JERRY (1933–)

American preacher and televangelist. Falwell was born on August 11, 1933 in Lynchburg, Virginia. He is best known as a television evangelist, or “televangelist” and founder of the Moral Majority. His significance lies in his critical leadership in shifting large numbers of fundamentalist Christians away from their historic separation of religion and politics and resulting political inactivism, to an active engagement in politics, which they previously considered to be secular. Falwell’s political organization, Moral Majority, which he formed in 1979, played a key role in mobilizing the “Religious Right,” beginning with registering new voters.

In defense of FUNDAMENTALISM, Falwell sought to restore the nation’s “Christian” underpinnings by attempting to legislate through Congress a Bible-based morality, which he claimed had been eroded by proponents of equal rights for women and homosexuals (see HOMOSEXUALITY), abortion rights, and “secular humanism.” His television program, the “Old-Time Gospel Hour,” one of the most watched religious broadcasts during the 1980s, offered a platform to the new political movement, the rise of which coincided with that of TELEVANGELISM. The National Association of Religious Broadcasters inducted Falwell into its Broadcasting Hall of Fame in 1985.

The attention he received by the media, most of it negative, while lobbying Congress and President Ronald Reagan and acting as a cultural critic made Falwell a household name through the 1980s. Unsuccessful in implementing the Moral Majority’s conservative social agenda, even with the support of the conservative Reagan, whose election the religious right had supported, and unable to raise funds needed to continue, Falwell disbanded the organization in 1989.

Pastor of one of the nation’s largest Protestant churches, Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Falwell is also founder and chancellor of Liberty University.

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BOBBY C.ALEXANDER

FAMILY

Behind the Protestant understanding of family lies a complex history of devotion and debate. From the REFORMATION on, believers from many different times and places have idealized the human family as a school of godly character, a perfect metaphor of divine love, and a model of Christian unity. Even as the meaning and structure of family life have changed over time, the idealized visions persist—a testimony to its powerful and enduring grasp on the Protestant imagination.

Yet family has also been a potent instrument of controversy. On one level, this is not surprising, given the fact that domestic life encompasses a range of deeply sensitive human issues: SEXUALITY, childrearing, the promise of birth, and the finality of DEATH. In the five centuries since the Reformation, Protestant thinkers have produced an enormous body of work articulating church teaching on such matters, yet Protestant churches have exercised an uncertain jurisdiction over the private lives of their parishioners, often caught in the competing pressures of secular life. Just as the reformers sought to persuade their parishioners against the practice of clandestine marriage in the sixteenth century, modern evangelical leaders have struggled to enforce biblical standards of DIVORCE and remarriage within their broad and often fractious constituencies.

In an even larger sense, however, Protestant discourse about family life has played a major role in matters of religious identity. The periodic need to delineate key beliefs and practices around MARRIAGE, childrearing, and sexuality has often corresponded with some fundamental shifts in Protestant thought. The structure of this essay in fact lifts up three significant examples of this parallel process. The first section deals with the role of family in the Reformation and its importance as a means of articulating important differences between Protestants and Catholics, and as a site for instructing the faithful. The second section discusses the importance of family at another crucial juncture, the post-ENLIGHTENMENT retooling of Christian faith to meet the demands of an industrializing, urbanizing world. The third and final section describes the central role of family in the contemporary encounter between religion and the modern global world, most dramatically encapsulated in the fundamentalist response.

The Reformation

The reformers' rejection of priestly CELIBACY placed family at the center of the Protestant polemic against Catholicism. Whereas MARTIN LUTHER and his followers did not believe that an unmarried priesthood was categorically wrong, they were not willing to make it a requirement for all CLERGY, for they believed that this would lead only to hypocrisy and abuse. Celibacy, they argued, was the gift of a particular few, and marriage was the higher calling required of all believers. Thus Luther urged his fellow Protestant clergy to marry and establish households, following suit himself when he wed Katherine von Bora, a former nun, in 1525.

Although the Protestant Reformers denied that marriage was a sacrament or in any sense a direct means of sanctifying GRACE, they were convinced that marriage was ordained by God for the spiritual benefit of all Christians. For one thing, the married state saved individuals from the temptations of lust, which Luther in particular believed were a serious threat to a godly life. But even the daily give and take of domestic affairs could lead one closer to God; Luther declared that God and all his angels smiled at the sight of a father washing his baby's diapers, for even as menial and dirty a task as this might be undertaken "in Christian faith." Luther's remarkable statement adds weight to historian Steven Ozment's view that the Reformers' emphasis on family life was one of their most enduring legacies, a protest against Catholic ecclesiastical practice that over time became one of the most visible and successful of all Protestant reforms.

In some ways, however, the Protestant Reformation introduced a more secular approach to marriage as an institution regulated primarily by the state, not the church (see CHURCH AND STATE OVERVIEW). The point at issue was the problem of clandestine marriage, in which couples wed by mutual consent without the knowledge or approval of parents or church. The reformers, who wanted entry into marriage to be as easy as possible, blamed the custom on confusion generated by the complexities of canon law. Their solution was to give the state primary legal responsibility for regulating marriage. Thus secular law publicly legitimized a couple's decision to wed while the church provided moral oversight, especially in cases of infidelity or abuse. This series of reforms did not immediately amount to drastic changes in practice, because a great deal of canon law was simply transferred into state statutes, but, as historian John Witte has argued, it did lay a foundation for a more secular, contract-oriented model of marriage in the future.

Family was also an important social context for teaching and establishing the Protestant faith among new believers. It is important to remember that the reformers' assumptions about family life grew out of their sixteenth-century northern European context, in which families were considerably larger and more complex than their modern counterparts. Generalizations about sixteenth-century families are difficult, for the historical evidence has proven frustratingly elusive or incomplete, and their exact composition has been a matter of heated debate among scholars. Yet in broad terms, it is proper to speak of the Reformation era family as a household, a group of related individuals living together under one roof, but often as not including various kin and servants. A married couple formed the center of this arrangement, but the number and configuration of family members could change considerably over time as children came

and went, parents aged, and various relatives took up residence, sometimes as servants to the rest of the household.

The Protestant reformers emphasized the father's role as the spiritual head of his household. Although in some ways the reformers' emphasis on the spiritual dimensions of married life elevated the role of WOMEN, Reformation teachings left Western-style patriarchy very much intact. In a voluminous list of sermons on marriage and housekeeping handbooks, Protestant leaders explicitly directed fathers to lead their households in regular times of PRAYER and in attendance at public WORSHIP. The Reformers also provided CATECHISMS for fathers to use for the doctrinal instruction of their children, as well as handbooks detailing the proper means of achieving a unified, Christian household.

Like most sixteenth-century Europeans, the Reformers did not sentimentalize CHILDHOOD, nor did they skimp on applying doctrines of original sin. Not surprisingly, their recommendations for disciplining children often sound harsh to modern ears. This did not mean, however, that sixteenth-century Protestants did not find pleasure in raising children. Most historians no longer accept the thesis developed by French scholar Philippe Aries, that in an age of high infant mortality rates, premodern families did not especially mourn the loss of a child; to be sure, sixteenth-century parents did not romanticize their children's moral capacities, but the very sinfulness of the young made careful parenting all the more critical. Most of the Reformers adopted infant rather than adult BAPTISM, and understood it as a preliminary framework for the development of an adult saving FAITH in Christ. Baptism was not in any sense a guarantee of SALVATION, and each child required a regimen of firm parental discipline, didactic instruction, and constant prayer for his or her eventual salvation.

The English Reformation added another dimension to Protestant understanding, specifically the idea of family as a church within the CHURCH. This metaphor reflected the assumption of Anglican thinkers, as representatives of England's state church, that religion was key to maintaining social order. Thus, family became a microcosm of the secular state, a little commonwealth bound together by respect for properly ordained AUTHORITY residing in the father as head of the household. The English Puritans took the metaphor in a more spiritual direction (see PURITANISM). In their view, the various members of a family constituted a church in miniature, bonded together by the mutual obligations of COVENANT. Thus, although the wife was considered both physically and spiritually the "weaker vessel" of the marriage relationship, her husband could not take advantage of his superior status. He was obliged to provide for her well-being and to live in spiritual partnership with her. Similarly, Puritan parents had covenantal duties toward their children, to provide them with daily necessities and firm discipline, but also regular opportunities for family worship, catechetical instruction, and godly example.

Family relationships provided some of the most elevated spiritual metaphors in Puritan devotional writing. Poet Edward Taylor wrote of the "ravishment" of his soul by Christ the yearning bridegroom; he likened God's work in the heart of a Christian to a woman's patient attention to her household tasks, spinning and weaving thread into a finished cloth garment. Puritan writers were also fond of comparing the believer to a baby feeding contentedly from a mother's breast.

Historian Steven Ozment has suggested that the centrality of family in Puritan life signaled a "domestication" of Protestant belief, as the otherworldly asceticism of the

celibate priest gave way to the conviction that God was most clearly manifest in the happy, well-regulated home of the believer. More than just a school of godly character or a guardian against lust, the Puritan household was itself a unique conduit of divine grace. Although perhaps few individual families measured up to this spiritual ideal, in centuries to follow, the model of the Christian family would take an even deeper hold in the culture of Western Protestantism.

Protestants and the Bourgeois Family

From the sixteenth century onward through the nineteenth, families in the West became smaller and more nuclear, that is, centered around a single married couple and their children. Although historians have vigorously debated the meaning, causes, and extent of this change—which did not, of course, affect all families equally—at least part of the force behind it was practical: declining child mortality rates, increased urbanization, and INDUSTRIALIZATION meant that large, extended households were not necessarily an economic advantage. The emerging bourgeois family depended on a single wage earned by the father, who left his domicile each morning to labor in the public world of business and commerce, while mother and children lived more quietly within the private sphere of the home.

The new model identified family as central to the developing world of private life, characterized by an ordered intimacy between spouses, parents, and children. To be sure, access to a private life was certainly economically determined; few working class or rural families could demarcate their lives into separate spheres of home and work. Yet, as it developed in the nineteenth century, the domestic ideal had widespread currency. As market-driven economies made everincreasing demands on those striving for success, home became the place where morality and religion lodged most deeply.

Although historians have debated the effect of bourgeois domesticity on the status of women, it certainly marked a departure from the traditional patriarchal household of centuries past. In some ways, the bourgeois pattern increased the subordinate status of women, assuming that they would be economically dependent on a male provider and fill a submissive role in the marriage relationship as well. Moreover, in most Western legal systems, women had no independent standing before the law; the legal principle of “femme covert” meant that a man always took responsibility for his wife’s or daughter’s property and wages and represented her in the political arena. Yet in other ways, the emerging bourgeois family undercut the old assumptions of patriarchal society by emphasizing the necessity of mutual love and intimacy in marriage. By the late nineteenth century, falling birth rates among middle-class women suggest a shift in the balance of power in the bedroom as well. Indeed, in the long run, women’s ownership of the domestic sphere allowed them to assume increasingly direct responsibility for upholding social morality. The social networks that they created on behalf of TEMPERANCE and other moral causes eventually became a platform for voicing a common complaint against their legal and social disadvantages. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the legal barriers against women were beginning to fall,

marked by the passage of married women's property acts and suffrage amendments in most of the Western industrialized nations.

The intimacy of middle-class family life also centered increasingly on children. By the eighteenth century, and especially in the rising democratic ethos of the UNITED STATES, the feudal assumption that all children would simply inherit their parents' station in life did not reflect reality. To a degree, the "discovery of childhood" in the early modern West drew from the democratic ethos of the ENLIGHTENMENT and the optimism of Romantic thought. Emile, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU'S archtypical child of nature, was not a stubborn sinner, but rather a young innocent with an innate potential for rational thought and an infinite capacity for good. Falling child mortality rates, paired with declining family size, also contributed to this trend, allowing parents in the urbanized middle classes to devote more specific attention to the moral and intellectual growth of each individual child.

This new ideal of family intimacy did not mesh easily with some forms of Protestant belief. On the most fundamental level, the celebration of childhood innocence came into conflict with the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. In a strictly logical sense, this teaching held that all children came into the world under its stain and were thus liable for eternal punishment, even if death came within minutes of birth. Yet from Augustine's time on, Christian thinkers had struggled against the apparent injustice; Thomas Aquinas in fact posited a "limbo" for the souls of unbaptized children. Even the Puritan divines recognized the difference between the logical implications of a DOCTRINE and the emotional needs of parents grieving the loss of a child.

The emphasis on adult CONVERSION in the evangelical REVIVALS of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also posed a quandary for parents. To what extent were they responsible for the spiritual fate of a child not yet at the moral "age of accountability"? Moreover, to what degree could parents expect genuine faith in children who were not old enough to experience a full-fledged conversion experience? In some cases, anxiety about the unchecked sins of childhood led to the conviction that parents had a duty to "break the will" of the young rebels in their care, sometimes through sustained physical punishment. By forcefully repressing a child's sinful tendencies, parents might not save him or her from punishment, but they could limit the pull of temptation to SIN in the years before a full adult conversion was possible.

In many ways, nineteenth-century liberal Protestant thought marked a response to these parental concerns (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Instead of a transcendent God of judgment, liberals emphasized God's immanence, that is, God's embodiedness in the created world. Rejecting the idea of a depraved human nature, they saw great possibilities for progress and development in each individual person. Reflecting the optimistic spirit of their age, liberal theologians proclaimed the KINGDOM OF GOD, not as a future heavenly state, but rather as the promise of their own age, here on earth.

Two leading theologians, the American Congregationalist HORACE BUSHNELL and the German Reformed thinker FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, played a major role in developing a Protestant understanding of Christian nurture. Both men rejected the traditional evangelical view of children as desperate rebels unable to accept or understand divine love. Instead, they affirmed the authenticity of childhood faith at every stage of its development, for although a very young child might not intellectually understand

Christian doctrine, he or she still had the capacity for a true faith in God. Although neither theologian romanticized childhood innocence, both emphasized the naturalness and purity of youth and saw childhood as a time of unique openness to the divine. Parents therefore played a crucial role in the child's moral outcome. Thoughtless, cruel, or dissolute treatment could harden the child's spirit toward eventual rebellion against God; in a parallel fashion, firm and gentle childrearing would implant a positive awareness of God's care for creation, and open the way for genuine faith even in a preliterate infant. To Bushnell, even the atmosphere of a Christian home was subtly salvific. A child reared in a calm, loving, peaceful environment, he believed, would have no difficulty eventually accepting God as heavenly father.

The nineteenth century thus saw the gradual identification of the Western bourgeois family as a fundamentally "Christian" institution. Family was not just a place for catechizing and disciplining the young, but itself a means of grace in the lives of parents and children. Regular household devotions were an important sign of godliness, but hardly the only one. Even more telling was the home's peaceful, controlled atmosphere—a true sign of its essentially Christian character.

The Christian home also became an important means of evangelistic outreach for European and American Protestants. In foreign missionary efforts, especially those organized and led by women, Western-style domesticity became a key means of introducing Christianity to non-Western people. By the late nineteenth century, most Western missionaries recognized that reaching native women in their homes could be far more effective in proclaiming the Gospel than simply PREACHING sermons in the public square. But the missionary emphasis on family was far more than a pragmatic strategy: for Victorian Protestants, home was so closely identified with the essence of Christianity that it was all but impossible to separate the two.

The use of family as an evangelistic tool meant, in many cases, a headlong confrontation between Western assumptions and indigenous traditions. When, for example, the Anglican LAMBETH CONFERENCE interdicted polygamy (plural marriage) in 1888, African Christians faced some difficult choices. In African society, polygamy was a sign of economic success and a means of cementing political alliances; some observant converts pointed out the multiple wives of the Old Testament patriarchs. In embracing monogamy, converts sacrificed social power and in many cases treasured personal relationships. For some, the cost was simply too high. In 1917, an act of church discipline against the polygamous marriages of several Nigerian laymen led to a mass exodus of members and, in protest, the formation of the United African Methodist Church.

Fundamentalism and Families

In recent years, family has become central to a new religious polemic, this time embodied in a wave of popular fundamentalist movements. Defining FUNDAMENTALISM is a difficult and often contentious task, a scholarly problem that reflects the rapid, complex growth of antimodern movements around the world today. In their public rhetoric,

fundamentalist adherents proclaim a deep antipathy toward modern secularism in all its social, political, and intellectual manifestations. Yet in a larger sense, fundamentalism and modernity exist in a symbiotic relationship (see MODERNISM). Hardly a movement of the rural or unlettered, fundamentalism is most compelling where people feel the most powerless to combat its corrosive effects.

The term “fundamentalist” originally referred to a conservative wing within late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American Protestantism. Although the movement was not initially successful in halting the spread of liberal theology, by the mid-twentieth century it exercised a broad influence within American Protestant evangelical culture (see EVANGELICALISM), and, by dint of energetic evangelistic work, on the larger world as well.

Family is an important symbolic battleground in the modern “culture wars” (see CULTURE). Although historians have disagreed, oftentimes fiercely, about the extent of a modern-day family crisis, there is no doubt that over the course of the twentieth century, domestic life in the modern West—and, increasingly, the rest of the world as well—has vastly changed. Although fundamentalist adherents often point to ideological movements like feminism as reason for a family “breakdown,” the sources of change are in fact much broader, reflecting some deeper shifts in modern social arrangements. Thus, rising educational and income opportunities for younger women have reduced the demands of “the family claim” on their lives. Increasing access to birth control has shortened the average couple’s child-bearing years and liberated their sexual expression both within and outside of marriage. Longer years of schooling for young children have decreased the family’s educational role and opened up a new range of possibilities for economic and geographic mobility. The transformation has not been as dramatic (nor perhaps as overwhelmingly negative) as some of the more insistent voices have claimed; yet it is clear that modernity has allowed individuals to make life decisions with far greater independence from their families than their grandparents would have ever thought possible.

The conservative emphasis on family has also arisen against a backdrop of reluctance among more liberal Protestant bodies to make binding rules about sexuality. As social scientists have argued, this development reflects broader individualizing trends in North America and Europe and the increasing privatization of marriage and childrearing relationships. Protestant denominations, no less than secular governing bodies, have become averse to regulating the intimate personal relationships of their constituents, perhaps also because they have recognized the futility of even attempting to do so.

The “pro-family” agenda, centered on the conviction that the home is the true bedrock of a moral society, has both a negative and a positive expression. On the one hand is an effort to control sexuality through opposition to ABORTION and HOMOSEXUALITY, and to situate women more emphatically in the home as wives and mothers. On the other hand, pro-family advocates have also sought to address the problem of father absence, a crisis at least as old as the industrial revolution itself. Though the language of groups like Promise Keepers is often unabashedly patriarchal, their purpose is generally much broader. By affirming the father’s spiritual responsibilities to his wife and children, they hope to reinvigorate family life and, by extension, Christianity among some of its historically weakest supporters.

The sense of social and spiritual crisis in the now post-Christian West has often obscured the vitality of the faith in other parts of the world. By the late twentieth century, religious demographers were reporting that Christianity's center of gravity had shifted to the southern hemisphere, centered in vigorous Pentecostal and indigenous movements in developing African and Latin American nations (see PENTACOSTALISM; LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA). By 1980, the "average" Christian was not a white, middle-class American, but more likely young, poor, and experiencing all of the hardships of life in a third-world country.

The new global face of Protestantism has posed unprecedented challenges to traditional Western beliefs and practices about family. Discussions on the subject have had to take into account the poverty and exploitation brought on by a rapidly globalizing economy, the sexual victimization of women and children in a world-wide market for pornography, and the ravages of the AIDS virus in Africa and Asia. Long a matter of ethical and theological debate among Western Protestants, family has become a key social concern for the faith's rising generations.

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MARGARET L. BENDROTH

FARADAY, MICHAEL (1791–1867)

English scientist and theologian. Faraday was born at Newington, Surrey, on September 22, 1791, to a former blacksmith and his wife who had recently moved to London from his native Westmorland. After little formal education and apprenticeship to a bookbinder, Faraday became assistant to Humphry Davy at the Royal Institution (R.I.). Here he remained for the rest of his working life, learning from Davy and eventually becoming professor of chemistry and director of the R.I.

Faraday undertook fundamental research at the R.I., working first in chemistry, where he discovered benzene and (with Davy) invented the miners' safety lamp. He soon moved into a lifelong study of electricity, discovering many basic laws in, for example, electromagnetism and electrochemistry and making possible the invention of the dynamo. John Tyndall, the British physicist and Faraday's colleague, described him as "the greatest experimental philosopher the world has ever seen." He also pioneered popular lectures at the R.I. and emerged as one of Britain's best communicators of science. His *Chemical History of a Candle* is still in print and cited as a model of chemical education.

Faraday was a committed member of a small Protestant denomination, the Sandemanian Church. It remained an inspiration and a consolation for the whole of his life. The church's evangelical theology assured him of the divine origin of NATURE and may even have suggested details of his unified field theory of electricity (see EVANGELICAL; EVANGELICALISM, THEOLOGY OF). Certainly it denied him the possibility of using science as an alternative way to God, and at times of crisis and approaching death it brought him "no doubtful hope." The other-worldly values of Sandemanianism were reflected in Faraday's contentment with its simple rituals, a deeply enriching though childless marriage, and his lack of financial ambition. His own extensively marked Bibles testify to the depth of his faith. Faraday died at his house at Hampton Court, which was provided by Queen Victoria for his final years, on August 25, 1867.

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COLIN A.RUSSELL

FAREL, GUILLAUME (1489–1565)

French reformer. Farel, an early French reformer who was later overshadowed by JOHN CALVIN, was born in Gap in southeastern FRANCE. The son of a notary, Farel studied in Paris with the humanist J.Lefèvre d'Étaples, and taught at the Collège Cardinal Lemoine. A passionate preacher, although not a priest, Farel preached in the diocese of Meaux, under the reforming bishop Guillaume Briçonnet (1521–1523) and later moved to Basel. Friendly with JOHANNES OECO LAMPADIUS, he fell out with Desiderius Erasmus. Chased out, he went to Montbéliard (1524–1525) where, without formal ordination, Farel celebrated Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER). He moved on to Metz (1525) and Strasbourg.

Farel evangelized French-speaking SWITZERLAND as a teacher in Aigle (1527), then under Berne. With his encouragement Neuchâtel accepted the REFORMATION (1530), and Pierre Viret from Orbe became a pastor (1531). Farel again fled from Geneva in 1532. Over a year later he returned, having brought the Waldensians fully into the Reformation. Farel helped accomplish the suspension of the Mass (August 1535) in Geneva, the destruction of images, and acceptance of the Reformation (May 21, 1536). That year he persuaded Calvin to stay (July) and led the deputation to the Dispute of Lausanne (1536), resulting in the acceptance of the Reformation there and in the region of Vaud.

In Geneva Farel and Calvin drafted *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* and a *Confession of Faith* (1537) but refused Bernese liturgical practices. Geneva expelled them in 1538, and Farel became pastor in Neuchâtel until his death in 1565, journeying often to other Reformed cities. He corresponded with Calvin, and despite his disapproval, married (1558) a young girl staying with her mother in his home. Their son, John (b. 1564), died (1568).

Farel's publications include *Pater noster et le credo en français* (1524), the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed with commentary; *Sommaire et briefve declaration...* (c. 1529); and *Maniere et fasson...* (1528?), considered the first French Reformed LITURGY. His doctrines were close to those of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, but later moved closer to those of Calvin on the spiritual communication of Christ's body and blood in Communion.

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JEANNINE E. OLSON

FOOTWASHING

Both a liturgical act, after the example of Jesus at the Last Supper (John 13), and also a specific example and paradigm of humble service (I Timothy 6:10), foot-washing was part of the baptismal LITURGY in some areas of the early church, and became a stable part of the Maundy Thursday Mass of the Last Supper, in the ritual reenactment of that event, in the medieval Roman rite. It was also more frequently used in medieval monasteries as an expression and intensification of mutual humility and service.

Most REFORMATION churches abandoned this custom, as part of the simplification of WORSHIP. Some early Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM), however, retained it—or, rather, reinstated it—as a New Testament ordinance that had been misused. BALTHASAR HUBMAIER (1481–1528) washed the feet of the newly baptized after they received Communion, and MENNO SIMONS (c. 1496–1561) commended foot-washing as a rite of welcome to visitors from afar. The Dutch Anabaptist Dietrich Philips (1504–1568) explicitly listed foot-washing as a divinely commanded regular rite of cleansing and humility, and as a distinguishing mark of a true church. At least some MENNONITES followed Dietrich’s counsel, and under their influence English BAPTISTS followed suit for some time. The usage provoked sharp mutual insult among churches.

Mennonites have tended, especially since the nineteenth century, to relinquish the practice, partly at least because in the prosperous Western world this degree of intimacy is embarrassing, and because this service is less natural as a hygienic measure where hot water is available all the time in every home. Also, the custom has, according to some observers, shifted its meaning, and become opaque to succeeding generations.

German Baptists, led by Alexander Mack, introduced the usage as part of their celebration of the Eucharist, or LORD’S SUPPER. For the BRETHREN tradition, in its several branches (Old German Baptists, Brethren Church, Church of the Brethren, Grace Brethren, Old Order River Brethren), the celebration has three components: the Love-Feast, the Washing of Feet, and the Lord’s Supper. In Brethren understanding all three parts have the same AUTHORITY as commanded by Christ.

Some Protestant traditions (Anglican particularly), moved in part by the Roman Catholic reordering of Holy Week (1955), have revived the rite of footwashing as part of the Maundy Thursday evening Eucharist. Ecumenical contacts have made the Brethren manner of celebration more familiar to other denominations, and the difference of custom began to be seen as a complementarity of New Testament interpretation rather than an

issue of conflict. In ecumenical groups the imagery of foot-washing as humble and gentle service has promoted experiments with simple rites of mutual hand-washing, such as a parent might do for a small child. Both giver and receiver are called on to act in simplicity, patience, and humble CHARITY.

The usage and the changing ecumenical relationships have drawn attention to the New Testament data, and the literature is large and growing. The shared Protestant insistence on the normative role of Scripture naturally points to shared exploration of the biblical data. Protestant scholars have felt obliged to question the historicity of John 13, but also to suggest that Luke 22:27 indicates that something like John 13 lies behind the Synoptic tradition. The foot-washing by Jesus in John is presented as an example of humble service to be followed, a revelation of the divine humility, a symbol of the believer's need humbly to accept the sacrificial love of the Savior; it may also be seen as a self-dedicatory act by Jesus himself, an act directing his own will to the sacrificial act that will be given its meaning in a few minutes in the Supper and in a few hours before Pilate and on Calvary.

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DAVID H. TRIPP

FELGENHAUER, PAUL (1593–c.1677)

Protestant mystic. Son of a Lutheran pastor, Felgenhauer was born in Putschwitz, Bohemia on November 16, 1593, and studied at Wittenberg, where he became deacon at the Castle Church. Soon, however, he was forced to leave the town and returned to Bohemia, where he began a prolific writing career. In his *Chronologie* of 1620 he argued that the end of the world was imminent. In this work Felgenhauer echoed the notion, widespread at the time, that the duration of the world was confined to 6,000 years, of which less than 200 years remained. In a second work of the same year Felgenhauer launched a bitter attack on the Lutheran churches and their CLERGY.

Forced to leave Bohemia because of the vicissitudes of the Thirty Years' War and the concomitant dynamic Catholic COUNTER-REFORMATION, he moved to Amsterdam where he continued to publish his mystical writings. After 1638 he appears to have practiced medicine, while at the same time seeking followers for his cause. Expulsions and imprisonment overshadowed the last phase of his life, about which—including the exact date and place of death—nothing is known.

Felgenhauer stood in the tradition of the chiliastic and spiritualist tradition of Protestantism. Importantly, he expressed considerable warmth and empathy toward Jews because he understood religions to express at their core the same truths.

See also Apocalypticism; Chiliasm; Judaism; Lutheranism; Millenarians and Millennialists; Philo-Semitism

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

See Peace Organizations

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

Founded in 1934 and existing as Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (FSC) from 1936 to 1963, this group of radical Protestants, both lay and clergy, men and women, black and white, sought to transform southern culture and society by fighting for justice in labor and in racial relations. Along the way it had to overcome the prejudices and lethargy of the churches themselves in bridging the gap between social justice and the Christian Gospel, as well as face the hostility of a society unwilling to change. Under the inspiration of REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S NEO-ORTHODOXY and CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, its actions, both by individual members and as a group, ranged from meetings, conferences, investigations on lynching, racially integrated work camps and bus rides, labor organization, pamphleteering, founding of cooperatives, and rallies. Eventually, however, the larger and more aggressive wave of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT took the historic stage, and the FSC dispersed as its members found other fields to plow.

Background and Early History

The impetus for the FSC may be seen at the intersection of the southern church and society of the period. The economy of the South from the 1920s through the 1950s was dominated by tenant farming, on the one hand, and textile and mining industries, on the other. In both sectors the holders of capital relied on the region's cheap labor. In both, employers tended to wield almost total control over the lives of the poorly paid workers who lacked recourse to air grievances or to bargain collectively. In the face of these exigencies, the Protestant establishment wavered. Officially many denominations recognized the right of workers to unionize. Because company towns and even churches were often in the dole of these employers, however, there was not only little resistance but also anti-union rhetoric from the pulpit. As to racial justice, Protestants fared no better. Jim Crow was the law of the land, and any deviation was hunted down not only by the authorities, but by the likes of the KU KLUX KLAN. Although Protestant churches at

the denominational level usually denounced lynching, explicit opposition to racial violence was by no means common at the local level, even when it occurred on church property. On segregation there was so little DISSENT from the church as to make complicity the norm.

In this state of affairs, about eighty Southern Protestants from both sides of the clerical, racial, and GENDER divide gathered in May 1934 in Monteagle, Tennessee to hear Reinhold Niebuhr speak on pressing questions of the day. Under the initiator James Dombrowski they emerged as the Fellowship of Younger Churchmen, and included many ministers and teachers from the Methodist and Presbyterian folds as well as other professionals from churches high and low. North Carolina, then as later, was the best represented state. The members were influenced by the analyses of Marxism, several with a background in PACIFISM and YMCA work (see YMCA/ YWCA), but as Niebuhrian Neo-orthodox they rejected the optimistic progressivism of the SOCIAL GOSPEL and instead stared human evil in the face as they worked.

Howard Anderson Kester was elected executive sec retary. Kester, a Congregationalist who also worked for Niebuhr's Committee on Economic and Racial Justice (eventually merged with the FSC), made his home in Black Mountain, North Carolina, the headquarters of the organization until he resigned in 1943. Under Kester's leadership the FSC and its members worked mainly on questions of land and labor. They investigated labor disputes; propagated a liturgy of the Holy Earth, designed to promote Christian stewardship of land; probed and denounced lynching; and spoke out for the inclusion of black people in the welfare of the nation. In many ways the FSC not only extended the legacy of nineteenth-century Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), but also anticipated the praxis of LIBERATION THEOLOGY of the following generation.

Transformation and Peak

In 1944 Nelle Morton, a vigorous educator and champion of women's rights, took over at the helm of the FSC, and with this change the group came into its maturity and highest efficacy. First, Morton moved the headquarters to Chapel Hill, where it garnered further support from both liberal church people of the area and students of the University of North Carolina. Moreover, the Fellowship enjoyed the sympathetic patronage of Frank Graham, then head of the university and later senator. Morton also sought to promote teamwork and a stronger collegial fabric among FSC members, whose number exceeded 500 by the end of the decade. She appointed two secretaries, one black and one white.

Although involvement in labor affairs continued, the Fellowship turned increasingly to racial problems, believing them to underlie social and economic injustice in the region. In 1946 an interracial bus ride was organized to test new laws on interstate travel, but this first "Freedom Ride" ran aground when participants boarded an "intrastate" bus to Greensboro. Other efforts at racial integration included work camps in rural areas bringing the races together in cooperative work and life. These projects, however, often faced hostile opposition from white people of the surrounding communities who even coerced the force of law to break up the bold experiments. In response a donation of land

in 1948 was slated for a Fellowship Center where work camps could be safely conducted, but funding and support eventually proved insufficient for full execution of the plans.

Decline, Dispersion

In 1949 Morton resigned because of ill health, and, following the short term of Charles M. Jones, distinguished for his own pastoral promotion of desegregation, Howard Kester returned in late 1951 as executive secretary. Although renewed in his enthusiasm, Kester's move of the headquarters back to remote Black Mountain had the effect of canceling the advantages of the Chapel Hill years. In this last period Neale Hughley became the Fellowship's first black president.

By 1957, however, the FSC as an organization was listing. Although its annual conference in Nashville, boldly billed as a Southwide Rally, featured as speaker the young Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., the event fell short of engendering the wide response expected. In the meantime the more confrontational civil disobedience of other groups, particularly of black membership, gained ascendancy in the struggle for civil rights. The minority of black members in the FSC was not strong enough to give the group leadership in that transformation. After several more meetings and some work camps the FSC voted in 1963 to cease as such and to merge into the new Committee of Southern Churchmen, headed by William Campbell of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. With that formal end the members of the FSC turned fully elsewhere to continue their Christian action in the South and beyond. In the three decades of its existence, the FSC went from a vanguard Protestant movement for social witness to being submerged in newer and wider currents of protest and advocacy. If its original views and aims now seemed common, it was partly because of its very agency in making them so.

See also Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism

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DAVID U.LIU

FEUERBACH, LUDWIG (1804–1872)

Protestant theologian, philosopher. Feuerbach was one of the most influential critics of Christianity in the nineteenth century. Although he began his career as a idealist, he became the advocate for a new atheistic humanism. He is best known for his view that the concept of God is an involuntary and unconscious projection of human attributes and, hence, that religion is humanity's earliest and indirect form of self-knowledge. He believed that Protestantism was the practical turning point toward this atheistic humanism in the history of the West because of MARTIN LUTHER'S (1483–1546) emphasis on the humanity of God as revealed in Christ. Throughout his life he was concerned with a theory of religion because he was convinced that only when human beings were free of this illusion could they take responsibility for their own welfare.

Early Life and Thought: 1804–1839

Ludwig Feuerbach, the fourth of eight children, was born in 1804 into an old and distinguished German family. His father, Paul Anselm, was a famous professor of jurisprudence and reformer of the Bavarian legal code. He was also a powerful advocate of liberal political reform in an repressive era; consequently, the family lived under a cloud of political suspicion. Deeply religious as a youth, Feuerbach entered the University of Heidelberg in 1823 to study theology. There he came under the influence of the Hegelian theologian Karl Daub (1765–1836) and was captured by the intellectual grandeur of Hegelian philosophy in contrast to the narrower concerns of theology. Against his father's wishes, he transferred to the University of Berlin, ostensibly to study theology but, in actuality, to study philosophy with G.W.F. HEGEL (1770–1831), whom he regarded as the originator of a "new epoch" in philosophy and culture.

For financial reasons, Feuerbach transferred to Erlangen in 1826. After graduation he became a privatedozent lecturing on the history of modern philosophy. Against his father's advice he anonymously published a book entitled *Thoughts on Death and Immortality* (1830), arguing that the Christian doctrine of personal immortality is hostile to true religion. To add offense to conservative injury, he appended aphorisms to the text that were insulting to conservative pietists. The book was met with hostility by his

colleagues and banned by censorship. When Feuerbach refused to disclaim its authorship, he was dismissed from his post. In 1833, however, he met the daughter of a wealthy porcelain manufacturer, and married her four years later. Unable to obtain a professorship, he retired to a remote hamlet near Ansbach, where the porcelain factory was located, and devoted himself to writing.

Through the Thirties, Feuerbach's intellectual trajectory moved from an enthusiastic appropriation of Hegel's philosophical project to an outright rejection, with some vacillation in between. His dissertation (1828) argued that the divine ground and unity of the world is reason and, hence, that the logos is the essence of the human. In his *Thoughts on Death and Immortality*, his philosophical idealism took the form of a pantheism in which God is the all-encompassing ground of both personhood and nature. Feuerbach argued that this idealism is incompatible both with Christian theism and the doctrine of immortality, both of which had emerged only in the modern period as crucial elements of Protestant doctrine. Because God is the all-consuming love out of which multiple things appear, true religion is to surrender to this all-encompassing ground and to recognize death as total dissolution. In his repudiation of Hegel in 1838, he rejected the notion of an absolute philosophy and especially the claim that Absolute Spirit constituted the unity of both nature and spirit. He was especially critical of Hegel's identification of thought and being, and argued that the all-encompassing reality was not spirit but nature.

In the middle 1830s, a split developed among the followers of Hegel that had both religious and political implications. On the conservative side were those who argued that Hegelian philosophy was in harmony with Christian theism and justified the support of a Christian state. On the radical side were those who believed that Hegel's Absolute was incompatible with Christian doctrine and who were critical of the existing state. Feuerbach increasingly found himself allied with those like BRUNO BAUER (1809–1882), D.F. STRAUSS (1808–1874), Karl Marx (1818–1883), and Karl Ruge who held a latter view, but when these young (left-wing) Hegelians engaged in either theological or political criticism, they were censored and denied the academic positions for which they had been trained.

Middle Period: 1840–1848

Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (1841) made him immediately famous in Europe, and he found himself recognized, along with Bruno Bauer, as the intellectual leader of the small group of radical Young Hegelians bent on separating church and state and creating an egalitarian democracy. To do this, they believed it crucial to establish the philosophical principles of a new humanism. In 1842 and 1843 Feuerbach attempted to do this with his *Voläufige Thesen zur Philosophie* [Preliminary Theses Toward the Reformation of Philosophy] and his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*, both published in Switzerland because they were forbidden in Germany.

Feuerbach believed that his new philosophy was the inevitable outcome of the Protestant Reformation. Christianity, he argued, had in modern times suffered both a practical and a theoretical dissolution. On the practical side, Luther had dissolved

theology into anthropology by arguing that “God in and for himself” should be of no interest to the believer but only the human “God for us” in the man Jesus. And on the theoretical side, theological speculation had moved from theism to Hegel’s pantheism, albeit a pantheism that paradoxically claimed to justify Christianity. Feuerbach argued that Hegel’s attempt to restore Christianity by identifying the finite with the infinite was only a piece of logical legerdemain in which matter had been made only a “moment” in the life of God. He also argued that the clue to understanding Hegel’s philosophy is the way in which Hegel characteristically transformed abstract predicates into subjects; for example, the abstraction “thinking” was turned into a subject “reason.” Consequently, the philosophy of the future would simply invert Hegel’s logic. Instead of construing the predicate as a subject, it would show that thinking is the activity of existing individuals. Thought comes out of being, not being out of thought.

So far as Feuerbach was concerned, Hegel had confused logic with existence. The philosophy of the future, by contrast, would be based on the insight that to be there (*Da-sein*) in space and time is the primary determination of being. The human being is not merely a bearer of reason but is constituted by its own unique constellation of senses that mediate the world to consciousness. The body is constituted in its mode of being as feeling, and each sense organ has its own unique need for satisfaction. Sensuousness is the link between the body and the consciousness, but because humans are also conscious they are “universal” and free, and this freedom and universality extend themselves over the entire human being. Moreover, the person, the “I,” only exists in concrete relations to another person, a “Thou.” We are social beings through and through. Hence, the highest and last principle of philosophy is the unity of person with person.

The radical Young Hegelian movement of which Feuerbach was a spokesman did not last long. By the summer of 1843 its two influential journals had been suppressed by the censors and their editors, Karl Ruge and Karl Marx, forced to emigrate to Paris. Moreover, important strategic disagreements had arisen. Marx argued that revolutionary praxis was the only way to bring about social change, while Feuerbach and Ruge insisted one must first change consciousness.

When the revolutions of 1848 swept over Europe, Feuerbach was tempted to leave his solitary life and attended the Frankfurt Assembly as an observer. While there, he received an invitation from the students of Heidelberg to give a series of public lectures on religion. Denied the use of the university, he delivered the lectures in the Heidelberg city hall.

Feuerbach was most productive between 1841 and 1848, during which he published six major works, of which the best known is *The Essence of Christianity* (1841). The thesis of the book is simple, although the supporting arguments are complex: The concept of God is the involuntary projection by the human mind of its own best attributes, and this projection is then made an object of worship. Just as Hegel argued that the Absolute Spirit objectifies itself in creation and then comes to self-consciousness by reconciling itself to this objectification, Feuerbach argued that humankind objectifies itself in the idea of God and then comes to self-consciousness by reconciling itself to this objectification.

The book is divided into two parts. The first attempts to show that the idea of God is simply the abstracted attributes of human nature—reason, will, and love—conceived as a single being. The argument goes something like this. Human nature is distinguished by virtue of self-consciousness. Self-consciousness is the capacity to envision oneself as a

member of a species, but the attributes of this species are necessarily regarded as perfections. The imagination, under the pressure of feeling, seizes on these perfections and unifies them in the idea of a divine separate being. Human beings then fall under the sway of this projection because they desire recognition by another "Thou" and are frightened by the limits of nature and, above all, death. The idea of God promises them both loving recognition and the overcoming of death. Consequently, one can say that although religion is false, it is also the vehicle by which the human race becomes aware of its own real nature. Theology is anthropology.

The predicate of love is the most important of these attributes, and as an analysis of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation reveals, this love is so great that God is willing to relinquish his own nature for the welfare of humankind. Feuerbach takes this to mean that in Christianity humankind has unconsciously expressed the idea that love is more important than God, that love is itself divine. It also means that insofar as God is believed to be a transcendent being with perfect love, humankind is alienated from its own loving nature. So long as God is regarded as the repository of all goodness and perfection, humankind will be regarded as imperfect and sick.

If Feuerbach considered the first part of the book to be positive because it points out the truth contained in religion, the second part is negative because it demonstrates the bad effects of theology. Feuerbach argues that Christian theology is riddled with contradictions; for example, the concept of God contains both impersonal (metaphysical) and anthropomorphic attributes. But the deepest contradiction, he argues, is between the Christian virtues of faith and love, because faith separates and distinguishes between believers and unbelievers, while love embraces all.

The first edition of *The Essence of Christianity* (1841) was primarily directed at the Catholic understanding of Christianity, but in 1843 Feuerbach made an extensive study of Luther and published a revised edition. Feuerbach argued that Luther differed from Catholicism by virtue of his radical idea that God is a deity "for us." Faith insists that God is by definition "for us" and does not have some mysterious purposes that transcend our welfare. To say "God is good" means "good for us." Luther also saw that the certitude of Christian belief is founded on the Incarnation because there the humanity of God becomes an object for the senses. Only a sensuous being can be a certain being. Here there can be no basis for mistrust. Moreover, the resurrection confirms this love for us because in this event God reveals that all the conditions of our finitude, especially death, have been set aside. We will become gods. In short, to believe is to make God a man and man a god.

Feuerbach came to believe that his projection theory of religion did not adequately explain how the religious folk came to feel they were in touch with a "divine other," and in 1845 he wrote still another book, *Das Wesen der Religion* [The Essence of Religion], in which he argued that the enduring ground and object of religion is nature, upon which we feel ourselves to be absolutely dependent. By nature, Feuerbach means the "not-I"; that is, all those forces from within and without that impinge on the "I." Human beings, he argued, are driven by the urge to happiness, and the realization of this happiness is both dependent on nature's beneficence and limited by its apparent indifference to individual well-being, especially by the fact of death. Human beings want, above all, to live, and impelled by the a urge to live they instinctively transform this desire into a being capable of granting it, a being that recognizes them, hears their complaints, and

grants their desires. Religion, in short, arises out of the opposition of the urge to happiness and the limits of nature and death. This is why the belief in miracles and immortality are so often associated with religion. The tomb is the birthplace of the gods.

Final Period: 1848–1872

After the brief exciting hopes and possibilities raised by the revolutions of 1848 were dashed by the failure of the Frankfurt Assembly, Feuerbach retreated once again to his isolated existence. He worked on numerous writing projects, especially in the field of ethics, where he attempted to construct an ethic based on the urge to happiness. The only book he published during this time was another interpretation of religion, *Theogony* (1860). The basic argument depends once again on the notion that the gods are “for us.” The gods are the reified wishes of humankind. Conscious beings are bent on their own happiness but are aware that their needs and desires can be thwarted. Hence, every wish is accompanied by a sense of the nothingness that clings to all life. Religion arises when the person grasps the notion that there are many links between a wish and its realization, and conceives of a being that is not subject to limitation and failure. The gods represent the unity of willing and the ability to succeed. A god is simply a being who can annul the difference between the wish and its realization. Where there are no wishes there are no gods.

In 1859, when the porcelain factory of his wife’s family went bankrupt, Feuerbach, dispirited and without money, was forced to move to a small town near Nürnberg, where he lived out his life in ill health, supported only with the financial aid of friends.

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VAN A.HARVEY

FINLAND

The Middle Ages

The first Christian influences came to Finland from both east and west. Because some essential terms like priest (Finnish *pappi*), cross (*risti*), and Bible (*Raamattu*) entered the Finnish language through Slavic languages, the early eastern influence is obvious, although it was later overcome by the western. A large part of medieval ecclesiastical terminology came into Finnish through Swedish.

In the eleventh century both Novgorod and SWEDEN extended their influences into Finland. After more than 200 years of fighting, Sweden and Novgorod signed an everlasting peace treaty in 1323. Most of Finland was to remain under Swedish rule and in the Catholic Church, whereas the easternmost part was left under the domain of Novgorod. As an example of Swedish influence, the English-born bishop Henry of Uppsala in Sweden visited Finland and was killed by a Finnish peasant in 1158, becoming patron Saint of Finland. Inhabitants of the Åland Islands have always spoken Swedish. During the thirteenth century Swedish settlers inhabited large areas around the coasts of the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia.

The cathedral of Turku (Latin *Aboa*; Swedish *Åbo*) was consecrated on June 17, 1300. The celebrations were continued on the following day, when the relics of Saint Henry were transferred to the cathedral. Finland was no more a mission field, but an organized diocese, led by the first Finnish-born bishop. The majority of the clergy was educated in the cathedral school of Turku. At this time the first Finns are found in the records of the University of Paris.

The medieval bishops of Turku were, with a few exceptions, members of the Finnish aristocracy and had studied in foreign universities. Most of them were masters of arts from the University of Paris. The bishop had a castle and an armed retinue. He represented the Finns in the Royal Council of Sweden and was assisted by the Cathedral Chapter, which by the end of the Middle Ages contained twelve canons. They elected the bishop, usually one of themselves; took care of the services in the cathedral; and governed the diocese. Most canons had studied abroad. The names of 164 Finns have been found in the records of medieval universities. The Chapter of Turku in most cases covered the costs.

The medieval Church took care of everything that had to do with high culture. The Cathedral school in Turku was not the leading one in Europe, but its curriculum was the same as elsewhere. A young man having learned his Latin there adapted himself without difficulty to the company of masters and students in Paris, Prague, and Leipzig. Nearly all literature used in Finland belonged to the clergy. Most of the extant medieval manuscripts were philosophical, juridical, and theological texts brought back to Finland by the students. The first book for Finland, *Missale Aboense*, was printed by the order of the Bishop of Turku in Lübeck in 1488.

By the end of the Middle Ages, eighty stone churches had been erected, many of them decorated with frescoes. The Dominicans founded a convent in Turku in 1249 and in Viborg in 1398. The Franciscans did not arrive until the fifteenth century. The monastery of St. Bridget of Sweden, founded in Naantali (Swedish Nådendal) near Turku in 1462, became an important center of spiritual life.

The basic Christian texts were no doubt already translated into Finnish during the mission period. In the late Middle Ages priests were obliged to read the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, Ave Maria, and Apostles' Creed in Finnish from the pulpit every Sunday. They had to have these texts written, although none of them have been preserved.

At the end of the Middle Ages there were some one hundred parishes in Finland. Near Turku the distance between the churches could be only a couple of kilometers. In northern and eastern Finland children were baptized only when they were able to ski to the church.

The Finns during this period were brought up to live with the Church and its sacraments. Donations and wills speak for a devout religiosity. Pilgrimages were made to Vadstena to the grave of St. Bridget, to Santiago de Compostella, to Rome, and to the Holy Land.

The Reformation

The REFORMATION in Sweden was a typical *Fürsten-reformation*, or Reformation by the Princes, initiated and led by the new king, the powerful and unscrupulous Gustavu Vasa (reigned 1523–1560). He was not very interested in theological issues but saw clearly the political advantages of the new Lutheran teaching, even though it had been declared a heresy. The religious turbulence in GERMANY gave him a pretext to confiscate the property of the church and to crush its political power. The ties to the Holy See were broken by 1523; after that the highest ecclesiastical authority was the king. He wanted to avoid abrupt changes in church ceremonies, which might give cause for opposition and rebellion. This is why the transformation of doctrine, liturgy, church life, and organization was smooth and slow. Importantly, the episcopal structure of the church was left intact.

The king had no interest in culture, which suffered along with the financial position of the church. The young University of Uppsala was closed and the schools fell into decay. On the other hand, the Reformation brought the translation of the New Testament (1526)

and the entire BIBLE (1541), as well as several liturgical books, into Swedish. Because most Finns could not understand Swedish, important texts had to be translated into Finnish. Thus the Reformation gave Finns their written language. The Finnish reformer MICHAEL AGRICOLA is also the father of Finnish literature and the Finnish written language.

Lutheran Orthodoxy

Sweden accepted the AUGSBURG CONFESSION in 1593. The Lutheran Church was the state church. During the age of confessionalism, Sweden was one of the great powers in Europe. During the Thirty Years War the Finns joined the Protestant cause.

In the seventeenth century Sweden expanded its territory to the south and east. In the area conquered from RUSSIA, Ingermanland and Kexholms län, Lutheran ministers tried to convert the Finnish-speaking Greek Orthodox population to Lutheranism, although the religion proved to be stronger than the common language; thousands of Greek Orthodox fled over the border to Russia.

Finland got her own university in 1640. The first hundred years of Academia Aboensis left no mark on the history of learning and science, although the university offered better opportunities for the education of the clergy. The bishop of Turku was the vicechancellor of the university, and the three professors of theology were members of the Cathedral Chapter. A printing press was founded in Turku in 1642.

During the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy, the church had a cultural monopoly similar to that of the Middle Ages. The church preached loyalty to the sovereign, instilled a strong sense of Christian morality in the people, and taught the Finns to read. To know the main articles of the CATECHISM by heart was a precondition for confirmation and thus also for marriage. In western parts of the country most people had that kind of literacy at the end of seventeenth century. Devotional literature (e.g., JOHANN ARNDT) was translated into Finnish and printed.

The Age of Pietism and the Enlightenment

During the eighteenth century the Finnish Church was known for Lutheran Orthodoxy, PIETISM, and ENLIGHTENMENT. Johannes Gezelius the Younger, who became bishop of Turku in 1690, visited as a student the eminent pietist PHILIPP JACOB SPENER in Frankfurt and translated his *Pia Desideria* into Swedish. The manuscript was, however, left unprinted. Pietism made its appearance in Sweden and in Turku first in radical form, prompting the bishops to oppose it. In 1726 the Diet of Estates issued the so-called Conventicle Placard, which prohibited devotional meetings led by laymen, a hallmark of Pietism. It remained in force in Finland until 1870.

Measures against Pietism were of no use. A popular ecstatic REVIVAL broke out in the Turku region. At first the revival manifested itself in ecstatic physical phenomena, including shaking and crying. The pastors, however, managed to keep the revival movement within the old and staple church Christianity.

The eighteenth century in Sweden was the age of the Nordic Enlightenment, a golden era of learning in the natural sciences and economics. In fact, most of the bishops of Turku at that time were natural scientists, two of them having been students of Carl von Linné. Practical church life centered on the vicar as a paternal leader in his parish; people went to him for advice in secular matters as well. His duty was to seek the welfare of the people. Useful unknown plants, above all the potato, first appeared in the vegetable gardens of parsonages. New cultivation techniques, such as ditching marshlands, also began to spread from parsonages.

In the Russian Empire

In 1809 Finland became a Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire. Czar Alexander I promised to respect the constitution and the laws of the previous Swedish rule—the constitution secured the supreme power of the monarch. The czar was the head of the Greek Orthodox Church of Russia, but he pledged to maintain the Lutheran faith in Finland. The union of throne and altar continued in force, even though the throne had moved from Stockholm to St. Petersburg. The bishop of Turku, who had proved his loyalty to the new ruler, was rewarded with a title of archbishop at the time of the Reformation celebrations in 1817.

The church was loyal to the czar. The bishops (a third diocese for northern Finland was established in 1850) kept the Pietist revival movements under close surveillance. These movements emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century and remained typical for the religious life in Finland. At first they were opposed by both the state and the leading clergy who feared that they would cause political unrest.

Czar Alexander II succeeded to the imperial throne in 1855 and agreed to liberal reforms in Finland. A new Ecclesiastical Law of 1869 was drafted by Frans Ludvig Schauman, professor of practical theology. This law applied not to all citizens but only to the members of the Lutheran Church. The principle of the confessional (Lutheran) character of the state was dropped. Because it was politically impossible to grant religious freedom to the Greek Orthodox, who belonged to the Church of Russia, religious freedom was not established. In 1889 Lutherans were allowed to leave their church and to join other Protestant churches, which in practice meant BAPTISTS and METHODISTS.

The Ecclesiastical Law established a SYNOD as a legislative body. It consisted of clergy and laymen, the latter being in the majority. The synod was given the power to enact and change the Ecclesiastical Law. Bills needed the approval of the Diet and the sovereign, but they did not have the right to change the proposals; so the Finnish Church reached greater independence from the state than its sister churches in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

The Church in Independent Finland

Finland became independent in 1917. In the following year a civil war broke out between “the reds” and “the whites,” and it ended with the victory of the “white” Finland. It was also a war of classes, and the clergy had taken sides with the whites. This guaranteed a strong position for the church in the 1920s and 1930s, but the connection with the working class remained cold. Information on the position of the church in the Soviet Union made the clergy even more suspicious.

A law dealing with religious freedom was promulgated in 1923, although it never caused the much feared mass exodus from the church; in 1923 less than 20,000 people left the church. Afterward the figure sank to a couple of thousand annually. Religious freedom thus secured the position of the church; it remained a people’s church, even though membership was voluntary.

The ecumenical movement reached Finland at the end of the nineteenth century through Christian student and youth movements. Finns were represented in the Life and Work Conference in Stockholm in 1925, but unofficially. Gustaf Johansson, the conservative archbishop of Turku until 1930, did not endorse the “worldly” movement, but after his retirement the situation changed. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was one of the founding members of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and has carried on doctrinal dialogues with other churches, such as the Russian Orthodox Church. The dialogue with the Anglican Church was initiated in the 1930s, and the Porvoo Communion was agreed upon between 1989 and 1992.

The Winter War (1939–1940) against the Soviet Union united the Finnish people and healed the wounds of the civil war. The war—felt to be fought for “home, religion and fatherland”—strengthened the position of the church. Military chaplains saw that the soldiers were more religious than they had thought. On the other hand, the service activity of the church in a crisis removed old prejudices.

In the insecure post-World War II atmosphere the church came to be seen as protector of the national identity. In 1946 the Social Democratic party removed from its program the traditional goal of separating state and church and ending religious education in school. The church assumed new tasks such as family counseling. Social work expanded rapidly, as did youth work.

In the 1960s the Finnish church was branded undemocratic and conservative, but since the collapse of COMMUNISM at the end of the twentieth century a new interest in religion has been apparent. The old revival movements have become stronger. The interest of MASS MEDIA in religious life has increased. Churches still have their say in Finnish society. For example, when issues such as human dignity and HUMAN RIGHTS, the moral values of the nation, or development of the environment are discussed, the churches of Finland do participate vigorously with their own contributions and solutions.

At the beginning of the new millennium Finland was still de facto a country of one confession. Eightyfive percent of the population belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. It is a state church, although the remaining bonds between state and church are very loose and the church would like to be called a people’s church rather than a state church. Church attendance is low as in other Scandinavian countries. Approximately 10

percent of church members attend a church service at least once a month. Ninety percent of babies are baptized, and 92 percent of the fifteen-year-old age group attend confirmation classes. Both numbers are higher than the membership figures of the church.

In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and Finnish Independence (1917) the ties of the Finnish Orthodox Church with the patriarchate of Moscow were cut, and in 1923 the Finnish Orthodox Church received autonomous status under the patriarchate of Constantinople. During the Second World War some 70 percent of its members had to leave their homes. The period after the war was a period of vigorous rebuilding, with the state building churches, vicarages, and cemeteries. The Finnish Orthodox Church has about fifty thousand members.

The Roman Catholic diocese of Helsinki was established in 1955. It consists of seven parishes, with about eight thousand members, the majority of them living in Helsinki and the other major cities of southern Finland. The majority of priests and nuns come from the NETHERLANDS and POLAND.

Anglo-American Christianity spread to Finland during the nineteenth century, and Baptists, Methodists, the SALVATION ARMY, and SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST churches were established in the country. Their membership remains less than 1 percent of the total population. Pentecostal communities have approximately fifty thousand members.

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SIMO HEININEN

FINLEY, ROBERT (1772–1817)

American clergy. Finley was born in 1772, graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1787, and began a teaching career. Five years later he decided to enter the ministry and returned to his alma mater to study theology under JOHN WITHERSPOON. Finley pastored a New Jersey congregation for almost twenty-two years while also fostering his interests in pedagogy. He ran a school for boys and influenced school curricula to include biblical instruction. Finley also saw SLAVERY as a problem of educational methodology. Subsequently he became involved in issues of race.

In 1816 Finley traveled to Washington, D.C. to promote his plan: *Thoughts on the Colonization of Free Blacks*. He proposed to address the status of free blacks by forming an organization that would transport them to an African colony. Colonization as an idea had been considered for more than thirty years before and others participated alongside Finley for the cause. Finley's activities, however, led public opinion on the matter and attracted the attention of influential government leaders.

After the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY was approved with Finley as a coordinator, he returned to New Jersey and endured ridicule for his cause. Returning to his interest in education, Finley resigned from his pastorate in 1817 and accepted a position as the president of the University of Georgia. Falling ill of a fever, he died the same year.

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HOWELL WILLIAMS

FINNEY, CHARLES GRANDISON (1792–1875)

American revivalist. Finney was a prominent figure of the Second Great Awakening who scholars consider to be the “father of modern revivalism.” Born in Warren, Connecticut, in 1792, Finney’s family migrated west-ward to upstate New York and settled first in Oneida and later in Jefferson County. After a brief law career, he experienced CONVERSION in 1821 and soon dedicated his time to studying theology with Presbyterian minister George W. Gale in Adams, NY. The Presbytery of St. Lawrence licensed him in 1823.

Finney brought the atmosphere of the rural CAMP MEETING revivals to the growing urban population. He delivered his message using a PREACHING style called “new measures” that blended his theological and legal training. He sparked REVIVALS throughout western New York in the 1820s. Abandoning conventional Sunday sermons, Finney preached on consecutive nights in a community for several weeks. His insistence on the human agency of conversions eventually led him away from PRESBYTERIANISM to CONGREGATIONALISM.

Finney settled in New York City in 1832, where he preached at the Second Free Presbyterian Church, and later the Congregationalist Broadway Tabernacle from 1834 to 1837. He accepted a position on the faculty at Oberlin College, Ohio in 1835, where he moved permanently in 1837. Finney served as President of Oberlin from 1851 to 1866. He died in Oberlin on August 16, 1875.

Finney’s urban EVANGELISM profoundly shaped the Protestant experience in the UNITED STATES. His theology is outlined in his *Lectures on Revivals* (1835) and *Lectures on Systematic Theology* (1847). Several books of his sermons were published posthumously.

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LEE L. WILLIS, III

FIRST AMENDMENT

See Bill of Rights

FISHER, GEOFFREY FRANCIS (1887–1972)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Fisher was born in Nuneaton in the county of Warwickshire, ENGLAND, in 1887. Educated at Oxford, he was ordained as a priest in 1913. He was a headmaster at Repton School in Derby County from 1914 to 1932. Upon retirement from that post, he was named bishop of Chester. He became bishop of London in 1939, a position he maintained through World War II.

Fisher was appointed the CHURCH OF ENGLAND'S ninety-ninth archbishop of Canterbury in 1945, a position he was to hold until his retirement in 1961. A strong advocate of ECUMENISM, Fisher was the chairperson of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES founding assembly in Amsterdam in 1948. He served as that organization's first president from 1948 to 1954.

In 1959, during a five week tour of INDIA, JAPAN, and KOREA, Fisher conducted the first official visit ever paid by an archbishop of Canterbury to Asian dioceses of the Anglican Communion. The following year, he traveled to the Vatican to meet with Pope John XXIII, becoming the first archbishop of Canterbury to visit the Pope since 1397. That same year he visited the Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN).

In 1961 Fisher was made baron of Lambeth, and he retired to the seaside county of Dorset. He died in 1972.

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HELEN FARLEY

FISK, WILBUR (1792–1839)

American Methodist minister and educator. Born in Vermont August 31, 1792, the son of a farmer, Fisk was educated at the University of Vermont and Brown University, graduating in 1815. After attending a CAMP MEETING and having a spiritual experience that led him to a PREACHING ministry, he was ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1822, serving in circuits in Vermont and Massachusetts. However, ill health affected his ministry and he declined offers of election as bishop. In 1826 he was appointed principal of Wilbraham Wesleyan Academy, one of a growing number of Methodist schools whose cause he championed. His ministry thereafter was dedicated to the support of education and tract societies in the work of mission.

In 1831 Fisk became the first president of a chartered Methodist (Wesleyan) University at Middle-town, Connecticut where he served until his death in 1839. He viewed his institution as a place where “morality and religion” were to be taught, not through proselytism but by Christian example in teaching through a broad liberal education. He was, through his pattern of life and conversation, the means of the CONVERSION of many students. He initiated a wave of development of theological education in METHODISM, with his dictum that “a cultivated church will have a cultivated ministry.” His dying words were: “Education must go hand in hand with religion or the world will never be converted.”

As one of American Methodism’s first theologians he was a keen controversialist, writing *Calvinistic Controversy* in defense of ARMINIANISM in 1835. He was a fierce advocate of TEMPERANCE. In the SLAVERY debate he upset fellow Methodists by not aligning with abolitionists, favoring colonization instead, and was subject to much criticism in the North East Conference. His work became more widely known after a visit to Europe in 1835. He died February 22, 1839 after a short illness.

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TIM MACQUIBAN

FLACIUS, MATTHIAS ILLYRICUS (1520–1575)

Lutheran theologian. Born to an Istrian Italo-Croatian family, drawn into evangelical-humanistic circles in Venice as a youth, Flacius's spiritual crisis brought him to study at Basel, Tübingen, and Wittenberg. MARTIN LUTHER'S counsel gave him peace. Recognition of his theological aptitude won him Wittenberg's professorship of Hebrew (1544). When colleagues, led by PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, supported the compromising position of the so-called Leipzig Interim in 1549, Flacius resigned in protest against what he considered a betrayal of the gospel and Luther. He quickly became the intellectual leader of the "GNESIO-LUTHERANS" gathered in Magdeburg, the center of resistance to imperial, electoral Saxon church policy and "Philippist" theology, particularly on issues of public confession of faith in relation to ADIAPHORA, good works in the Christian life, and the freedom of the will.

Called to the University of Jena (1557), he fell into controversy with his colleague Viktorin Strigel on freedom of the will and with Duke Johann Friedrich the Middler on princely power in church affairs. Dismissed from his professorship, he joined NIKOLAUS GALLUS in Regensburg (1562–1566), aided Lutherans in Antwerp (1566–1567), and lived as a private scholar in Strasbourg and Frankfurt/Main. His oft-reprinted *Clavis sacrae scriptura* (1567) laid the foundations for Protestant hermeneutics; his New Testament *Glossa* (1570) incorporated Lutheran insights into the form of medieval biblical commentary. His *Catalogus testium veritatis* (1556) gathered patristic evidence against the papacy, modeling use of historical materials for polemical purposes. His leadership shaped the *Magdeburg Centuries*, the church history composed by Johannes Wigand and Matthaeus Judex (1559–1574). His radical interpretation of Luther's THEOLOGY, especially his definition of original SIN as the essence or substance of sinners, alienated him from most, even in his own circle.

See also Gallus, Nikolaus; Gnesio-Lutherans; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp

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ROBERT KOLB

FONTAINEBLEAU, EDICT OF

Issued by French King Louis XIV on October 17, 1685, the Edict of Fontainebleau revoked the Edict of Nantes. It declared CALVINISM illegal in FRANCE and led to the HUGUENOT exodus from France.

In 1598, King Henry IV issued the Edict of Nantes out of political necessity. It brought an end to nearly three decades of religiously motivated civil and political strife, when it became obvious that Calvinism was not strong enough to become the authorized religion in France. The Edict of Nantes created an uneasy truce; it did not, however, settle any major issues. By the mid-seventeenth century (largely because of the Revolution and CIVIL WAR in ENGLAND), Calvinism had become identified with Republicanism. For Louis XIV, the Calvinists represented a religious and political threat to his absolutist ideals and a religious threat to his Catholic Church.

The Edict of Fontainebleau is comprised of only twelve articles. Article 1 formally revoked the Edict of Nantes and ordered the destruction of all R.P.R. (*Religion prétendue réformée*—"The Allegedly Reformed," as they were called by Catholics) churches. Articles 2 and 3 forbade Reformed worship either in private or in public by commoners or the nobility. Articles 4, 5, and 6 dealt with Reformed CLERGY. Those not accepting the Catholic faith were given fifteen days to leave the country. To make CONVERSION to Catholicism more appealing, clergy were granted generous benefits, and the transition from pastor to attorney was made easier. Articles 7 and 8 dealt with children and required Catholic BAPTISM and the closing of Protestant schools. Article 9 allowed for the repatriation of R.P.R. émigrés during a fourmonth clemency. After that, their property was to be confiscated. Article 10 provided for severe punishment for Calvinists attempting to leave France. Article 11 concerned relapsed Catholics. Article 12, finally, allowed Calvinists "freedom of conscience." The king seemed unwilling to force Calvinists to practice Catholicism.

Despite the threat of punishment, Huguenots fled France by the tens of thousands. They migrated to the United Provinces, GERMANY (notably Prussia), Great Britain, SWITZERLAND, and the American Colonies.

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DAVID WHITFORD

FORSYTH, PETER TAYLOR (1848–1921)

British theologian. Forsyth was one of the most influential British Protestant theologians of the early twentieth century. A gifted pastor and educator, he was also a prodigious theological scholar who published some twenty-five books, several hundred articles, and a number of other lesser works (although he resisted the temptation to write a formal, systematic theology), which contributed to the religious debates of his own time. It was only after his death, however, especially after two World Wars had wreaked devastation in Europe, that his THEOLOGY achieved both popular and critical acclaim.

Theological Foundations

Of Scottish birth and ancestry, Forsyth studied classical literature and moral philosophy in his native country before traveling to GERMANY to sit at the feet of the great Protestant theologian ALBRECHT RITSCHL. Although raised within the liberal tradition of Ritschl and GEORG W.F. HEGEL, Forsyth's theology came into its own only as he began to distance himself imperceptibly from the LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM of his youth, then very much in the ascendancy. The catalyst that initiated this important transformation in his religious thinking was never made entirely clear, although it appears to have centered on two primary convictions. First, Forsyth came to believe that his own sinfulness had rendered futile any effort to know God and to advance God's kingdom on earth. Second, he concluded that the serious business of "real life" had not been well served by the principal tenets of liberal Protestantism: liberalism, he remarked, was "too sentimental"; it "interpreted the heavenly Fatherhood by the earthly," instead of the other way around; its "ethic was more altruistic than evangelical, more of effort than of faith"; and it "canonized freedom instead of an authority that makes free." Liberalism was, he concluded, "a spent movement" (*The Examiner*, November 5, 1905:462). In its place, Forsyth embraced an early form of NEO-ORTHODOXY. Although this new theological position has proved difficult to pin down, it could be described as being biblical, positive, and evangelical in nature, although it did not entirely abandon an emphasis on the rational and relational.

The consequence of this spiritual transformation was significant. At a time when evangelical theology had become unfashionable, Forsyth encouraged the church to recover the good news of God's grace, forgiveness, and new life. God offers the world this free gift, Forsyth contended, and it is here—not in the despair of liberalism—that the heart of the Christian life, and of all reality, is found. In advancing these doctrines, Forsyth (as has often been observed) anticipated much of what later emerged in the important work of scholars such as KARL BARTH and C.H.Dodd.

Writings

Forsyth's theology was advanced in numerous books, articles, and lectures. These concentrated principally on three areas: the work and person of Christ, the church and SACRAMENTS, PRAYER and mission. His most influential writings included *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* (1907), in which he commends PREACHING as an act of WORSHIP—a divine/human encounter—that is shared by both preacher and congregation; *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (1909), a stirring account of the mystery of the Incarnation and perhaps Forsyth's most influential publication; *The Work of Christ* (1910), a confident proclamation of the place of the Cross at the center of all human reality; *The Principle of Authority* (1913), a major work outlining Forsyth's philosophy of religion and his epistemology; *The Justification of God* (1916), an attempt to advance a credible theodicy in the midst of the horrors of the First World War; and *The Church and the Sacraments* (1917), an illustration of the author's growing appreciation for the efficacy of the sacraments of BAPTISM and holy communion.

Biographical

Forsyth was born of modest means at Aberdeen, SCOTLAND on May 12, 1848, the eldest of five children. After graduating from the University of Aberdeen (M.A., 1869) he pursued further studies in theology at the University of Göttingen and at New College, London. In 1876 he was ordained into the Congregational ministry, serving as pastor to five English churches in succession: Shipley, Yorkshire (1876–1880); St. Thomas' Square, Hackney, London (1880–1885); Cheetam Hill, Manchester (1885–1889); Clarendon Park, Leicester (1888–1894); and Emmanuel Church, Cambridge (1894–1901). In 1877 he married Minna Magness (d. 1894), by whom he had one daughter, Jessie; in 1898 he married Bertha Ison. In 1901 he was appointed principal of New College. Four years later he was elected chair of the Congregational Union of ENGLAND and WALES. He made two voyages to the UNITED STATES, in 1899 to address the Congregational assembly being held in Boston, and in 1907 to deliver the LYMAN BEECHER lectures at Yale. In 1910 he became dean of the faculty of theology of the University of London.

By nature Forsyth was practical, compassionate, and energetic, although his health was never robust. He was quick witted, a gifted conversationalist, and (not surprising, given his Celtic origins) deeply passionate and poetic. In many ways he remained something of a populist, disinclined to become involved in the more speculative forms of theology. This may help to explain why he never attained the level of academic fame achieved by less able colleagues. Exhausted by the demands of office, as well as by the moral failure associated with the First World War, Forsyth died on November 11, 1921—Armistice Day.

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GRAYSON CARTER

FOSDICK, HARRY EMERSON (1878–1969)

American preacher. Fostdick was born in Buffalo, New York, on May 24, 1878 and raised in a pious Baptist family. He had a CONVERSION experience at age seven and decided on a life of Christian service. An excellent student, Fostdick graduated at the top of his class in both high school and college. During his years at Colgate University, he experienced his first serious illness, a depression that challenged his FAITH. The illness returned in his first year at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He left school, turning first to his fiancée and then to his family. He tried to take his own life, but his father interrupted him, and then found him help. Fostdick entered a sanitarium and then took a trip to ENGLAND. He returned to Union in the fall of 1902, recovered, and with a renewed enthusiasm for the ministry, graduated *summa cum laude* in 1904. The dark night of his soul led him to a lifelong commitment to pastoral counseling for others facing similar circumstances. The year that he graduated from seminary he married Florence Allen Whitney, who became his lifelong partner and support in ministry.

Fostdick's first pastorate, First Baptist Church in Montclair, New Jersey, set the pattern for his life. He worked hard at his PREACHING, preparing and honing his sermons, and the church grew under his leadership. He believed that preaching and pastoral counseling were closely related and said on occasion that preaching was pastoral counseling on a group scale. He found time to accept a part-time appointment at Union Theological Seminary as a lecturer, to preach at colleges around the nation, to become involved in civic affairs, and to teach in a variety of BIBLE conferences. He published several books, including *The Manhood of the Master* (1913) and *The Meaning of Prayer* (1915). The sermons and books were very popular and fixed him in the minds of many in his generation as a leading apologist for the Christian faith.

In 1915 Fostdick left his Montclair pulpit to become the Morris Jesup Professor of Practical Theology at Union Theological Seminary. He was an early advocate of America's entry into World War I and wrote a book in support of the war, titled *The Challenge of the Present Crisis*. When the UNITED STATES entered the war, he took a leave from Union and went to Europe for a six-month tour of duty as preacher and chaplain under the auspices of the YMCA (see YMCA/ YWCA). His experiences on the front lines and the disillusionment of the postwar era turned him away from war and toward PACIFISM. He later said that his book on the war was the only one he regretted

writing. He remained a firm pacifist, even after Pearl Harbor and throughout World War II.

Fosdick made a very important decision in 1918, when he agreed to become the Preaching Minister at First Presbyterian Church in New York City. The placement of a liberal Baptist in one of the most prominent Presbyterian pulpits in the nation brought serious objections from conservative Presbyterians across the land. He became involved in the growing fundamentalist-modernist debate in Protestant life, a debate that raged most vigorously in the two major denominations in his life, the BAPTISTS and the Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM). In 1922 he preached what became his most famous sermon, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" This sermon became a national benchmark of the theological debate, in part because John D. Rockefeller, Jr., arranged to mail a copy to every ordained Protestant minister in America. Two books he wrote in this period added fuel to the theological fire: *Christianity and Progress* (1922) and *The Modern Use of the Bible* (1924). As the debate heated up, the leadership of "Old First" refused to ask him to resign. His status eventually became an issue for the General Assembly of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. which invited him to join the Presbyterian Church on condition that he adhere to the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH.

Faced with many conflicting choices, Fosdick decided to resign from First Presbyterian Church and accept a call to be pastor of Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York City. The congregation, with the support of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., soon moved to a new site on Morningside Heights. The grand gothicstyle Riverside Church opened in 1931, and with Fosdick in the pulpit became one of the major centers of Protestant worship. He preached at Riverside and taught at nearby Union Theological Seminary until his retirement from both places in 1946.

At Park Avenue and Riverside, Fosdick assumed a wide variety of leadership roles in Protestant life. Crowds lined up waiting to get into church to hear him preach, typically filling the cavernous sanctuary of Riverside. In 1927 he launched the "National Vespers Hour," a radio ministry, and quickly became the leading radio preacher in the nation. He continued to write extensively, including *A Guide to Understanding the Bible* (1938). His hymns include the popular "God of Grace and God of Glory" (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). His work in pastoral counseling led him to the study and use of psychological insights in his work and to the publication of *On Being a Real Person* (1943). A SOCIAL GOSPEL advocate throughout his ministry, he sustained his interest in racial and economic justice issues during his Riverside years and supported the birth-control movement. His voice on these issues was an important one even though he rarely took prophetic positions. He was alert to winds of theological change in the 1930s and announced in an important sermon in 1935 that "The Church Must Go Beyond Modernism." He led an active life in retirement, during which he published his autobiography, *The Living of These Days* (1956).

Fosdick died on October 5, 1969. He is known as one of the most prominent leaders of liberal Protestantism in America in the first half of the twentieth century and arguably the best-known American preacher and pastor of his generation.

See also Fundamentalism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Modernism

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JOHN PIPER

FOX, GEORGE (1624–1691)

Founder of the quaker movement. Englishman George Fox was born in Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire in July 1624 into a religious family, the son of a successful weaver, Christopher Fox, and his wife Mary, née Lago. A serious and taciturn youth, Fox was intended for the ministry but was instead apprenticed to a shoemaker. When he was about nineteen years old, the hypocritical heavy drinking of his puritan associates initiated in him a protracted spiritual crisis. In September 1643, seemingly unaware of the turmoil of CIVIL WAR that had broken out in the previous August, he began an extended journey in the Midlands and south of England in pursuit of spiritual illumination, but instead experienced acute despair. He sought, in vain, guidance from various ministers of religion, spent time in London in the midst of the English capital's intense religious ferment of the 1640s, and paid two visits to his family in Leicestershire (where an unsuccessful attempt was made to recruit him for military service in the civil war).

Fox continued to look, to no avail, for rescue out of his spiritual dilemmas at the hands of leading godly ministers, but from 1646 on, underwent a set of revelations that slowly began to set him on the road to recovery, although he remained, at that stage, still prone to acute dejection. Included in these insights was a perception that true ministry was not restricted to university-educated clerics and that God did not dwell in churches but in the hearts of the faithful. What he called the "openings" of scripture helped to rescue him from what he termed his condition as a "man of sorrows." Still essentially solitary, from early in 1647 he began a further tour in the Midlands in search of peace of mind, and his depressions began to alternate with exaltations. In the end he found the relief he sought, not in guidance from religious experts, but from a personal encounter with Christ as his savior and guide. Thus Fox acquired what he called a "pure fire" and sense of discernment of truth, giving him deep insights into the creation and the perfectability of humanity. He next felt called to share with others his own newly found son-ship with God and to draw them away from what he saw as the human-centered artifices of the religion of his day.

Early in 1649 his challenge to existing religious systems became overt when, in Nottingham, he vehemently denounced parish worship and faced the first in a series of arrests and imprisonments that punctuated the rest of his career. After a brief incarceration in Nottingham, Fox underwent a year-long jail sentence in Derby until his release in autumn 1651. His missionary range was now about to be extended into the north, into Yorkshire and, eventually, in 1652, to the Westmorland hills, where his

encounters with spiritual aspirants known as Seekers brought Fox together with men and women who probably formed incipient Quakerism as much as Fox did. Also in 1652, Fox stopped at the godly gentry home at Swarthmoor in north Lancashire, west of the Westmorland hills, and made a large-scale conversion amidst this religious family, including the wife of the squire, Margaret Fell, whom, after her husband's death, Fox was to marry in 1669.

In 1653 he faced his third major imprisonment, in Carlisle in Cumberland. In the following years the Quaker movement grew at a rapid rate, though Fox was faced with a challenge to his leadership of the movement from the charismatic James Nayler (1617–1660). A further challenge, to the survival of the Quaker movement as a whole, came with the restoration in 1660 of the monarchy and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, accompanied by repressive legislation against dissidents such as the Quakers. A sufferer along with his movement, Fox underwent imprisonment from 1663 to 1666, but also in the 1660s, with Margaret Fell, built the Quaker organization into a resilient defensive structure of pyramidal regional and national meetings. Fox also played a vital role in the missionary spread of the Quaker movement, conducting an extended itinerancy throughout ENGLAND, but also launched out to IRELAND, the West Indies, America, and the NETHERLANDS. George Fox died in Gracechurch Street, London on January 13, 1691. While recognition must be accorded to Fox's originality and rejection of the religious conventions of his age, particular interpretative emphasis in this article is on his place within the Protestant tradition.

Fox and English Protestantism

In the first place we should recognize the classic English Protestant features of Fox's antecedents and background. His Protestant credentials were, indeed, impeccable. As he proudly tells us in his *Autobiography*, his mother was "an upright woman...and of the stock of the martyrs." The latter phrase indicates that Fox could lay claim to descent either from England's Protestants executed by Queen Mary in the mid-1550s or that he was descended from England's pre-Reformation Lollards (their founder, John Wyclif [c. 1329–1384], lived in Fox's native Leicestershire). However, his mother's devout Protestant influence on Fox was more than merely a matter of ancestry. As Fox's Quaker eulogist, WILLIAM PENN (1644–1718), recalled, she fostered his religious development, bringing to bear Stuart PURITANISM'S sensitivity to the state of individuals' psyches: she, Penn recalled, "taking notice of his singular temper and the gravity, wisdom, and piety that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company when very young, was tender and indulgent over him...."

Thus the ardent Protestant Mary Fox played the kind of religious influencing role toward her son that the pious Susanna Wesley performed toward her sons, the founders of METHODISM, JOHN (1703–1791) and CHARLES (1707–1788) WESLEY. However, young Fox was also exposed to the pious Protestant mentoring of his godly father Christopher Fox, known to his neighbors, sardonically or not, as "Righteous Christer." If the influence of a godly, indeed explicitly puritan, home background were not enough to

expose the growing George Fox to the moral, spiritual, and doctrinal strains of English Protestantism, then the teaching he heard as an adolescent in his Fenny Drayton parish church was indubitably of the Reformation. In the late 1630s and early 1640s Fenny Drayton parish was in the safe Protestant hands of Nathaniel Stephens (1606/7–1678), a Calvinist minister with whom young Fox was wont to discuss theology. Though Fox was later to reject Stephens and his teaching, this minister's markedly Protestant outlook provided one of the several forms of Protestantism's impress upon him.

It was the coalescence of such impressions that induced Fox to face, in an anguished, experiential way, those issues of salvation and damnation that also haunted MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546), JOHN BUNYAN (1628–1688), and John Wesley. Like his predecessor, Luther, and his contemporary, Bunyan, Fox knew despair, the key word for his condition, which he used three times in one short paragraph of his *Journal*, a work that rings with the anguished authenticity of the other great English Protestant spiritual classics of the seventeenth century. In 1646 Fox was beginning to find his way out of the maze of his despondency with a variant of the central Protestant doctrine of justification by faith: "...if all were believers, then they...passed from death to life..." However, the focus of this formula was the christocentricity of the Protestant Reformation, "relying," as Fox wrote, "wholly on the lord Jesus Christ." Indeed, Fox's Protestant interpretation of Christ's sole saving role was summed up in his realization that all men and women "are concluded under sin and shut up in unbelief, as I had been—that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence—who enlightens and gives grace and faith and power.... by Jesus, the opener of the door with his heavenly key, the entrance was given.... all was done, and to be done, in and by Christ....all was done by Christ the life, and my belief was in him." Thus Fox echoed Luther's evangelical centering on Christ crucified as the sole medium of our redemption: as Luther wrote in his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, "...I openly teach and confess, that no man can obtain the favour of God, righteousness and salvation, but by Christ alone...."

Fox and the Reformation

Fox's christology was, like Luther's, concentrated on the redeeming work of Jesus Christ on the Cross. Fox derived a theology of the cross from the Reformation, whose influences were so pervasive in the England in which Fox grew to maturity. Calvin's impress was even heavier in that profoundly Protestant religious culture, so it should in no way surprise us to hear Fox echoing, and also building on, the thinking of the Genevan reformer. This is particularly the case in the way that Calvin, in the *Institutes*, unfolded Christ's roles as prophet, priest, and king. Christ's all-sufficiency in these "offices"—for example, as prophet where "Outside Christ there is nothing worth knowing"—could be taken to mean that either a teaching authority, or papal or episcopal rule, or sacerdotal ministry or sacrificial rite (the Mass) claimed by a church such as that of Rome were negated by Christ's prophetic, kingly, and priestly offices. When Fox took up analysis of these functions of Christ, he both accepted them and added to them, providing no fewer than eleven such offices, including that of bishop, but in such a way as to follow and

build on Calvin in the latter's affirming of Christ as the sole and sufficient ruler of, and provider for, His church.

If Calvin drew attention to Christ's priesthood, Luther is forever associated with insight into the universal priesthood of faith. The concept was set out in his 1520 work, *The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Amelioration of the Christian Estate*: "...our baptism consecrates us all without exception, and makes us all priests.... All [Christians] have spiritual status, and are truly priests...." In his *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (a work better known in England than some of Luther's other writings, thanks to a translated edition of 1575), Luther extended the inclusive, or universalist, implications of the priesthood of all believers to take in the equal status of all under and in Christ: "...in Christ...there is no difference of persons...but all are one. For there is but one body, one spirit, one hope of vocation for all...." The difference between Luther and Fox in this regard is that while Luther tended to pass over the implications for women of this egalitarian doctrine of the church, Fox lovingly expatiated on a church order like that of his SOCIETY OF FRIENDS in which women shared equality of status. Indeed, he drew on a string of holy women of the New Testament, and especially on Mary Magdalene, who announced the Lord's resurrection, to establish that "If male and female have received the testimony of Jesus, they have received the spirit of prophecy." Fox thereby extended the Reformation principle of the priesthood of all believers along a line of logical sequence to female equality fully and explicitly articulate.

This, though, was less a derivation from Luther himself than the working out of the source common to both Luther and Fox, Paul. Luther, who grounded his Reformation theology in Paul, and above all in a doctrine of redemption he found in the Epistle to the Romans, was, predictably, generous in his acknowledgments of his indebtedness to "the apostle." Because the commentary on Galatians is an exegesis of a Pauline epistle, it is not surprising that Luther's reliance on Paul is evident in his citation of him in favor of the elimination, in Christ, of status distinctions. However, in the *Address to the Christian Nobility*, Luther also adduced Paul in favor of the abrogation of differentiations of race, rank, and gender, using such phrases as "This is St. Paul's meaning.... This is supported by Romans 12 and I Corinthians 12...." The only remaining piece that needs to be put in place is Fox's Luther-like dependence on Paul's authority. In *The Woman Learning in Silence*, for example, first published in 1656 and forming the classic statement of Quaker gender egalitarianism in the church, Fox freely cites "the apostle" in favor of his views.

Fox's reliance on Paul should be seen as placing him quite firmly within a broad Protestant tradition, but ought also to be viewed as part of a strongly Protestant appreciation of the authority of Scripture as a whole. Luther's reverence for the Bible is well known; he was, as he said, "captive to the word of God" and in 1519, for example, he wrote, "We must let Scripture have the chief place and be its own truest, simplest and clearest interpreter...." What, though, might surprise those who believe that Fox and the Quakers put scripture on a par with other, and more immediate, forms of revelation is that Fox also recognized the uniqueness and inerrancy of the Bible, as he wrote in *The True Christians Distinguished* (1689):

The holy scriptures of truth are the truest history that is on the earth of the creation of God; of what God has done himself; and what God has done

by his prophets and holy men and women; what God has done by Christ his son.... So the scripture of truth is the best book of truth upon the earth to be read, believed, fulfilled and practised.

There are other senses in which Fox can be identified with the Protestant traditions of the European and English Reformations: for example, as his *Journal* records, he was conventionally and narrowly antiCatholic. It may well be, though, that Fox, born in the reign that gave the English the Authorized Version of the scripture, was at his most Protestant in his deference to the Bible—as his recent biographer Larry Ingle writes, “a true heir of the Protestant Reformation” (Ingle 1994: p. XX).

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MICHAEL A.MULLETT

FOXÉ, JOHN (1517–1587)

English preacher and writer. John Foxe compiled the *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Times*, an extraordinarily influential ecclesiastical history that has been known from the beginning as *The Book of Martyrs*. Martyrologies in this encyclopedic collection identify medieval heretics such as Jan Hus and John Wyclif and sixteenth-century Protestants with the “true” church of Christ under attack by the ANTICHRIST, whom Foxe identifies with the pope and the Church of Rome.

Foxe was born in Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1517. Little is known concerning his parentage. As a student at Oxford University, he received B.A. and M.A. degrees. He resigned his fellowship at Magdalen College in line with Protestant rejection of the vow of CELIBACY required of permanent fellows, who entered into religious orders. In 1547 he married Agnes Randall, who bore his many children. After moving to London during the same year, Foxe entered into service of the Duchess of Richmond and tutored the children of her late brother, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. During the zealously Protestant regime of Edward VI (1547–1553), Foxe published Latin treatises on religious and social issues, and translated tracts by MARTIN LUTHER and other German Protestants.

Foxe’s ordination as DEACON in 1550 initiated his career as a Protestant preacher. At about this time, he began the historical research that occupied the rest of his life. At the accession of Queen Mary I (1553–1558), a militant Catholic, Foxe emigrated from ENGLAND to Strasbourg, FRANCE, where he published the first installment of his history of the martyrs, *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1554). It focused on late medieval figures, notably John Wyclif, the Lollard martyrs, and Jan Hus, whom Foxe regarded as proto-Protestants. He soon moved to Frankfurt, GERMANY, where he participated in liturgical controversy, and then to Basel, SWITZERLAND, where he worked as a proofreader employed by the printer Joannes Oporinus.

Persecution during the reign of Mary I resulted in the death of more than 300 Protestants. Foxe collected gruesome manuscript records concerning HERESY interrogations, torture, and eyewitness accounts concerning the comportment and last words spoken by Martyrs as they were burnt alive (see MARTYRS AND MARTYROLOGIES). Edmund Grindal, an English exile who later became archbishop of Canterbury, helped gather these martyrologic documents and urged Foxe to compile them in chronicle form. As the martyrologist engaged in this research, he completed *Christus Triumphans* (1556), an “apocalyptic comedy” that embeds persecution and

suffering within the transcendent framework of providential history that Foxe derived from the Book of Revelation.

The death of Mary I and accession of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) enabled Foxe to return to England. Before leaving Basel, he published *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1559), a sequel to his *Commentarii* that extends his account of religious persecution from late medieval times through the reign of Mary I. After Edmund Grindal ordained Foxe as a priest in 1560, Foxe received patronage from the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, JOHN JEWEL and John Parkhurst. His failure to rise high in the church hierarchy may be due to his adherence to the first wave of Puritan protest during the 1560s.

In 1563, John Day, the Protestant master printer, published the first edition of THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS. Foxe compiled it as a Protestant alternative to medieval legends of SAINTS, whose accounts of miracles, cures, and magical feats occupied an important place in Roman Catholic devotion. Basing the text on his two previous Latin chronicles in addition to a great variety of manuscript and printed sources, Foxe collaborated with Day in the production of the best-illustrated English book of its age. It is notable for woodcut portrayals of the “true” sainthood of scores of Protestant martyrs.

In collaboration with Day, Foxe oversaw expansion of this massive ecclesiastical history to more than three million words in three revised editions published between 1570 and 1583. This collection of fervid stories supported re-establishment of Protestant theological DOCTRINE under Queen Elizabeth and stirred up intense hostility against the regime of Mary I, the papacy, and the Church of Rome. The book became widely known when chained copies of the 1570 edition were placed in English cathedrals under order from the Convocation. Five more unabridged editions were published by the end of the seventeenth century. These editions contained an extraordinary array of genres (e.g., martyrologies, poems, letters, and tracts). These folio editions constitute the most physically imposing and complex English books of their time.

Foxe engaged in other projects, including collaboration with Day on an edition of writings by three renowned reformers: *The Whole Works of William Tyndale, John Frith, and Doctor Robert Barnes* (1573). Until his death in London, he labored on a commentary on Revelation that was published posthumously as *Eicasmī seu Meditationes in Sacram Apocalypsin* (1587).

Roman Catholic readers attacked the truthfulness of *The Book of Martyrs* soon after its initial appearance. Although Foxe’s handling of documents is generally accurate, he altered sources and selected partisan narratives to which he attached inflammatory comments. Controversy concerning Foxe’s trustworthiness underwent renewal during preparation of a nineteenth-century edition of Foxe’s text. During the late twentieth century, William Haller’s influential thesis that this book praises England as an “elect nation” has undergone qualification by Richard Bauckham and others, who have demonstrated that Haller suppressed the broadly European scope of Foxe’s history of Christianity.

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JOHN N. KING

FRANCE

The French Protestant community is small but disproportionately influential in national life. This has been true for the greater part of its history. Largely a Calvinist constituency, France's Protestant population includes a Lutheran element (especially in eastern France) and a number of minority churches. Questions of liberty and toleration are of considerable importance to all these groups—unsurprisingly, given the centuries of persecution endured by French Protestants in the early modern period. Indirectly, if not directly, these experiences still resonate at the turn of the millennium.

Facts and Figures

Accurate estimates of the total Protestant population in France are difficult in that they necessarily depend on a clear definition of the term "Protestant." Most commentators agree on a figure of one million or approximately 2 percent of the French population. Looser definitions of the term or differently worded questions in a public opinion survey will sometimes attract a larger response. In 1980 for example, 4.5 percent of French people declared themselves to be "close to Protestantism"; clearly this group included many who rarely, if ever, set foot in a Protestant place of worship and some who continued to be members of the Catholic Church.

Protestants in France are split into three groups. The largest (460,000) constitutes the Reformed community—a group lying squarely in the Calvinist tradition (JOHN CALVIN, 1509–1564, was born and educated in France). A smaller but still sizeable group (280,000) is composed of Lutherans, a community found largely in eastern France. The final section (210,000) is made up of a variety of smaller, mostly evangelical groups, many of which owe their existence to waves of evangelism that took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The great majority of French Protestants are affiliated with the *Fédération Protestante de France*—the exceptions can be found among the smaller congregations that resist membership for both doctrinal and ecclesiological reasons.

A second organizational divide reflects the particular status of all churches (not only Protestant ones) in the Alsace-Moselle region. These *départements* found themselves in

Germany rather than France at the time of the separation of church and state (1905). For this reason, the Napoleonic concordat rather than Republican legislation provides the framework for ecclesiastical administration. Protestant pastors (like their Catholic counterparts) are paid by the state, and courses of religious education (Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish) continue in the school system. The University of Strasbourg incorporates both a Catholic and a Protestant theology faculty; the possibility of a Muslim equivalent is currently under review. None of these features are present in metropolitan France.

The geographical distribution of Protestants in France is uneven. Apart from the community in Paris, the majority of the Reformed constituency can be found in a semicircle south of the Massif central, with concentrations in the Ardèche, the Gard and up to a point in the *départements* of the southwest. As the rural exodus continues, the principal centers of Reformed Protestantism (outside Paris) can be found in Marseilles, Nimes, and Montpellier, though important traces of the rural community in the Gard can still be seen, epitomized in the Musée du Désert area. The Lutheran community is found in eastern France, where the links with their German counterparts have been and still are most easily effected.

The economic and social composition of the French Protestant community is equally skewed. It contains disproportionate numbers of professionals, from both the business and the service sector, notably teachers. The rural population (from the Cévennes, for example) is rapidly diminishing given the movement of the population as a whole away from rural areas. There has never been a sizeable urban working class among French Protestants, except in pockets in the east.

Historical Perspective

Long years of persecution provide the dominant theme in the history of French Protestantism. From 1523 (the date of the first burning in this history of martyrdom and reprisal), the Protestants of France were in a position of self-defense. It is important to remember, in this respect, the considerable threat they posed to a unitary state; at the end of the sixteenth century, approximately one-third of the French population were Huguenots. Had the balance of history moved in a slightly different direction, the religious map of Europe would look very different indeed, but this did not happen. France remained a Catholic country that eventually came to terms with the Protestant minority within its boundaries. The struggle, however, continued for centuries.

The persecution was not always equally intense. The first wave came to an end in 1598 with the passing of the Edict of Nantes. This edict was well ahead of its time in accepting the principle of two religions within one state, but contained basic contradictions that became increasingly evident. It was essentially a pragmatic solution to particular circumstance and despite all its claims to be perpetual and irrevocable, it was unlikely to endure in the changing circumstance of the seventeenth century. It is true that French Protestantism enjoyed one of its brief periods of respite under Louis XIII and in the first part of Louis XIV's reign, but this did not last. Through the second part of the

seventeenth century, Louis took an increasingly harsh view of those of his realm who were not of the Catholic faith. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) was but the culmination of a series of measures, the passing of which implied, with increasing clarity, that a Protestant, by his or her very being, was in contradiction with the king. In 1685 all pretenses were dropped; the Edict of Revocation had the intention of destroying the supposedly reformed church (*Eglise Prétendue Réformée*) and of liquidating those who professed its faith.

Those who could do so, fled, dramatically reducing the size of the Protestant community in France; those who remained simply endured. How they did so (there are countless examples of courage and heroism) constitutes the most significant feature in the collective memory of French Protestantism. It continues to resonate some three hundred years later.

The situation gradually eased in the course of the eighteenth century, leading eventually to the Edict of Toleration in 1787. It was, however, the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the Napoleonic legislation of 1802 that gave the Protestant community its legal existence in a definitive sense. With this in mind, it is hardly surprising that the Protestants became increasingly, if not unanimously, committed to the Republican ideal through the course of the nineteenth century. This should not be seen as a simple or automatic endorsement; rather it came about as each reminder of a conservative alliance between throne and altar (and there were several in the nineteenth century) led to uncomfortable circumstances for the Protestants. The exception in this respect was the Orleanist monarchy (1830–1848); the death of the Duc d'Orléans in an accident in 1842 was as much a disaster for the Protestant community as it was for anyone in France.

The Third Republic offered Protestants a unique opportunity. Not only were they tolerated, they found themselves in a position to contribute positively to the Republican legislation on (a) church and state, and (b) the creation of a Republican school system. The latter, in fact, precedes the former. All three of French politician Jules Ferry's (1832–1893) advisers at this crucial moment in the history of French education were Protestant pastors (Ferdinand Buisson, Felix Pécaut, and Jules Steeg). Such people represented a midway position in the public debates of the period: neither clerical nor anticlerical, they were well placed to make a lasting contribution to the new school system. Their influence far outweighed the numerical significance of the Protestant population at the time. One result of this situation is the commitment of the vast majority of French Protestants not only to the state school system (disproportionate numbers of Protestants become teachers), but to the principle of *laïcité* (the absence of religion in the public sphere) itself.

A final defining moment can be found in World War II. Protestants fought alongside other French people to defend the honor of their country. In this sense, old antagonisms began to diminish (those, for example, between Catholic and Protestant or between clerical and anticlerical), but for some Protestants, not least those in the Cévennes, far more deep-seated reflexes were activated as they resisted the threat from outside. *Résistez* had become the rallying cry of the persecuted HUGUENOTS in the early eighteenth century, and the Cévennes terrain, which once protected the Camisards (so-called because of their distinctive clothing) in their struggles against Louis XIV, now protected the Maquisards in their resistance to the Germans.

Postwar Debates

Jean Baubérot and Jean-Paul Willaime, two distinguished commentators on French Protestantism, describe the Protestant community in three ways: as a Christian denomination, as a religious minority, and as a *religion laïque*. In this sense Protestantism continues to situate itself as the “crossroads” of both political and philosophical life in France. The debates that follow—ecumenism, tolerance, and *laïcité*—pick up the nuances of each of the three descriptions.

Relationships with other Christians, and more especially with the Catholic Church, have evolved in the postwar period. Cemented in a very practical way as a result of the war, they gradually acquired institutional embodiment. Initially this took the form of movements such as the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity and a range of common endeavors in the field of social responsibility. In the 1960s a huge step forward occurred following the Second Vatican Council which, among a whole range of revolutionary decisions, legitimated ecumenical contacts from the Catholic side. The papacy of John XXIV was clearly pivotal in this process.

There is, however, another side to this debate—the very marked mismatch in France in the size of the two constituencies. In a very real sense a total commitment to ecumenism on the part of the Protestant minority is a risky business in that they, rather than the Catholics, are likely to lose their identity if things are pushed to their logical conclusion. The issue of intermarriage illustrates this perfectly. Three-quarters of young Protestants marry out of their faith, raising real issues for the future. A rather different question is raised by more recent ecclesiastical events (a notably more conservative pope on the one hand and both the ordination of women and the relative growth of the evangelical churches on the other). Clearly the progress toward ecumenism can never be taken for granted; the movement ebbs and flows depending considerably on particular and changing circumstances.

The second description—that of a religious minority—raises wider issues than ecumenism, for it involves a new set of circumstances in postwar France. Questions of religious liberty now concern entirely different religious constituencies, notably the growing Muslim population (considerably larger than the Protestant community) and a whole series of sects and new religious movements. The question of Judaism has also acquired new resonance in view of the postwar influx of Sephardic Jews from North Africa, with the result that France now houses the largest Jewish community in western Europe.

What is the attitude of the French Protestant population to this changing situation? Unsurprisingly, given their past, Protestants are vigilant with regard to religious liberty, defending the right of the religious minority to exist within a society shaped not only by a Catholic past, but more recently by a strongly secular state. Both church and state in France run the risk of monopolistic tendencies, and both have some difficulty in coming to terms with a multifaith society in which religious communities aspire to a public as well as private existence. The *affaire du foulard* illustrates this point dramatically: should Muslim girls be allowed to wear their *foulard* (or Muslim scarf) in a state school or does the *foulard* count as a religious symbol, proscribed by law from the school system? The debate divided French society through the 1990s and beyond. It is a debate in which the

Protestant community is torn between its desire to defend the liberty of religion while upholding the principles of *laïcité*. An inevitable question follows: Are the two aspirations compatible?

The answer becomes clearer in a more developed understanding of *laïcité* and its applications to the political sphere, the third theme introduced by Baubérot and Willaime. We have already seen that historical circumstance drove French Protestants toward the Republican ideal and to the philosophy that supported it. It seems, however, that *laïcité* does not work as well in an increasingly multifaith society, which is obliged to accommodate religious minorities with very different aspirations. Here there are two schools of thought. The first defends a traditional view of *laïcité*, notable for its anti-Catholicism, but turning very readily into antireligion per se. Such a view is vehemently opposed to the wearing of the *foulard* in the state school and sees the Muslim scarf as a threat to the system. The second approach takes a rather different view, suggesting that the notion of the state or the school as a neutral space should evolve as circumstances alter, permitting a genuine dialogue between those of different faiths. In this situation, the wearing of *the foulard* is rather differently constructed and is no longer a threat to the system. It is interesting that Jean Baubérot, a distinguished spokesman for the Protestant community in France, should be at the forefront of the debates about *laïcité*.

The Future

Recent commemorations of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1985 and of the edict itself in 1998 have permitted both the Protestant community and France as a whole to reflect on the contribution that Protestantism has made to French society, notably in the field of religious liberty. This is readily acknowledged, almost to the point of admitting that France as a whole has, to some extent, been Protestantized—the core values of Protestantism have in many ways become that of the French. But if this is the case, how is it possible for French Protestants to maintain a distinct identity? The question is crucial though not specific to Protestantism; it concerns the fate of minorities more generally. It can be summarized as follows: if assimilation is as complete as possible, what then does it mean to be a Protestant (or indeed a Jew) in France at the turn of the millennium? The answer is unclear.

See also Calvin; Calvinist; Lutheran.

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GRACE DAVIE

FRANCK, SEBASTIAN (1499–1542)

Spiritualist theologian. A radical spiritualist Protestant, Franck joined the Protestant movement in 1525 and became a minister in a village near Nuremberg. He left his post in 1529 because he found that the REFORMATION brought no visible moral improvement. Both Strasbourg (1532) and Ulm (1539) expelled him at the insistence of their CLERGY. He finally settled in Basel, where he died.

In the face of dogmatic claims by all the churches and sects, Franck disavowed all DOCTRINE, and emphasized the experience of the Inner Word. Franck was one of the most consistent defenders of religious TOLERATION in the Reformation. He felt that the orthodox churches had proven themselves unchristian persecutors, whereas heretics had often been the true followers of Christ (see ORTHODOXY; HERESY). In his letter to Johannes Campanus (1531), Franck dismissed the church and the SACRAMENTS as toys that had been given to immature Christians in the early centuries, but that were no longer needed. In his *Paradoxa* (1534) he argued that God had made the BIBLE obscure so that believers would turn inward to the divine spark found in all men. Although he respected the Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) and his fellow spiritualist CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD, who had also lived at Strasbourg and Ulm, he rejected the exclusivity of the Anabaptists, and the “dogmatism” of Schwenckfeld. He gathered no following, although his works influenced later thinkers (e.g., Dirk Volcksherts Coornhert and VALENTIN WEIGEL), and many of his teachings would become staples in the modern world.

See also Spiritualism

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FRANCKE, AUGUST HERMANN (1663–1727)

German Pietist. Francke was born in Lübeck on March 22, 1663, son of a distinguished jurist. The early death of his father placed the responsibility for the large family into the hands of his mother. Francke received his early education from tutors and attended the universities of Erfurt and Kiel. In 1684 he moved to Leipzig, where he was the tutor of a student of THEOLOGY and received, in 1685, the degree of magister artium, which authorized him to teach at the university. The following year he founded together with a friend what they called the *collegium philobiblicum*, the “society of the friends of the Bible,” which had the purpose of studying the BIBLE. In March of 1687 he moved to Lüneburg. There, while meditating on John 20:31, he experienced a CONVERSION, which he saw as a new life.

In the spring of 1689 he resumed his teaching at Leipzig. His classes, together with his *collegium philobiblicum*, gained attention and a circle of like-minded souls. At the same time the faculty was aghast and prohibited further teaching in August of 1689. In March of the following year Francke received a call to be DEACON at the Augustinian Church in Erfurt. Although he had strong supporters, his Pietist disposition still raised questions about his Lutheran ORTHODOXY, and he had to undergo a public scrutiny of his belief (see PIETISM). Even though his appointment was confirmed, in the end his antagonists carried the day. Erfurt, although a Lutheran town, was legally under the jurisdiction of the (Catholic) archbishop of Mainz, who was solicited by Francke’s opponents to move against him. Toward the end of September 1691 he was expelled from Erfurt. The Brandenburg Elector Fredrick III appointed him in December of 1691 professor of Hebrew and Greek at the new university at HALLE, and seven years later, professor of theology there.

At Easter time 1695 Francke had founded a school for the poor with hardly any means at his disposal. He found a theology student as teacher. Similarly Francke began an orphanage without adequate funds. Additional institutions followed, including a high school for the sons of the nobility. The financial needs of these institutions—soon to be called the “Franckian Foundations”—were met both by a steady flow of gifts but also by some revenue-producing activities, such as a bookstore and pharmacy, not to mention governmental privileges. When Francke died in 1727, over 2,000 pupils were receiving instruction, together with 250 students and a teaching corps of some 167 teachers,

including eight female teachers. Francke also called attention to the missionary mandate of Christianity, sending missionaries to INDIA and North America, such as HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG.

Francke pointedly noted that it was not the goal of education to further lives of prominence or affluence. The goal was to train the young in the love and fear of God. Religion thus occupied an important role in the curriculum, generally some three hours each day, with the average length of instruction initially ten hours daily. Pedagogically, the pupils were disciplined with the notion that they were commanded to follow the pious men and women in the Bible and make the study of CATECHISM and Bible central in their lives.

Francke's significance, in addition to the impressive institutions in Halle, which still exist today, was to have demonstrated that the Pietist orientation was not to be confused with ecstatic and irresponsible religion. Rather, the religion of the heart, which the Pietists embraced, was also socially responsible.

See also Spener, Philip Jakob

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FREE CHURCH

“Free Church” is a generic term (originally British) for Christian denominations that rejected the control of the established national church (i.e., CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CHURCH OF SCOTLAND) in regulatory structures, DOCTRINE, WORSHIP, discipline, and ministry. The concept was later extended to North European lands and to North American churches with traditions derived from or sympathetic with those European Free Churches.

The earlier term in England was “Separatists,” (partly as a term of disapproval of persons detached from the majority community, partly as a positive assertion of the right of each congregation to separate existence), later “Protestant Dissenters” (i.e., dissenting from the English Act of Uniformity, 1662). This term was replaced by “Nonconformists.” In the nineteenth century, a more positive term and ethos were chosen. The original groups denoted were Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians; the Methodist denominations were added as their separation from the Church of England widened and they made common cause with the existing Dissenters in campaigns for TOLERATION, educational freedom, and representation in other areas of public life (e.g., hospital and prison CHAPLAINCY, government advisory boards). Quakers and Unitarians were, for many political purposes, accepted as allies. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the generic term “Free Church” became current and representation on the political front (e.g., education, hospital and military chaplaincy) was carried out through the Free Church Federal Council. This Council also collaborated with the Church of England in addressing or responding to the British Government on MARRIAGE law reform and similar issues. The range of British Free Churches was extended by the emergence of the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN (or “Christian Brethren”), the SALVATION ARMY, and the Pentecostal denominations (see PENTECOSTALISM).

On the European continent, dissenting minority groups had emerged in the Middle Ages. Hussites survived in some areas, for example, as the Czech Brethren and the (Socinian) Polish Brethren. During the REFORMATION, Anabaptist (see ANABAPTISM) and specifically MENNONITE and, later, German Baptist (Alexander Mack) congregations were established. MENNONITES helped to mentor and encourage the first English BAPTISTS in exile in the Low Countries. The nineteenth century saw “Free” versions of the established national Protestant churches (and of the larger nonestablished churches in America) come into existence, largely in protest against the established churches’ perceived compromise with secular trends in society, ETHICS,

CULTURE, and philosophy. Included in this tradition were the Free Church of Scotland, Free Church of England, Old Lutherans, Free Lutherans, Free Methodists, and *Gereformeerde Kerk/Christian Reformed Church*). These denominations, together with Continental branches of the British and American Protestant churches, have come to be classified first as “sects” (the concept made popular by ERNST TROELTSCH in his study of the social doctrines of the various Christian groupings) and later as “Free Churches” (*Freikirchen*), especially by Roman Catholic ecumenists, both as a matter of courtesy and also on ecclesiological grounds, because the Second Vatican Council had committed the Roman Church to admitting that Protestant churches are “ecclesial” in character (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM).

In the UNITED STATES, the First Amendment to the Constitution makes all churches, Protestant or otherwise, free churches in the sense that none of them is governed by civic legislation in its constitution, doctrine, membership, or manner of worship. The ideal of “a free church in a free state” is in principle realized for all. The “Free Church” category has come to designate the churches of Anabaptist or “radical Reformation” derivation and of other traditions generated in America that place emphasis on the local congregation as self-existent and autonomous, on freedom from imposed creeds or liturgies, and on discipleship as personal choice. These include the Christian Church (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST) and the EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH. Polity centers on voluntary association of congregations at various levels.

The classic Free Church concern is for the purity of the church as Christ’s bride. Being a Christian is an issue of individual responsibility, even if heritagebaptism is accepted, but belonging to the church is not an option, because Christ’s disciples are essentially mutually responsible and interdependent.

The belief among the Free Churches is that the church is not created by the secular realm, nor can it be governed by it. The church is distinct from society in general, and must, if necessary, “come out” and be separate. The Old Testament principles of Israel’s holiness are the basis for this. In Britain, however, social witness became significant. In the United States, the public perception is that the older Free Churches (e.g., the AMISH) will abstain from such public debate, except for a consistent lived witness to PACIFISM and studied avoidance of confrontation with groups such as the KU KLUX KLAN. More modern independent and fundamentalist groups will take an overtly right-wing political stance on such matters as war and peace and public welfare (see FUNDAMENTALISM).

Free Churches, as Free Churches in the American sense, cannot be assumed to have a common THEOLOGY. Some are Trinitarian, some are Unitarian, and others avoid insistence on choice in the issue. Some have a particular concern for ESCHATOLOGY, with DIS-PENSATIONALISM and RESTORATIONISM held as important tenets.

See also Congregationalism; Dissent; Friends, Society of; Lutheranism; Methodism; Nonconformity; Presbyterianism; Unitarian-Universalist Association

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FREE CHURCH FEDERAL COUNCIL

The Free Church Federal Council became the Free Churches' Council in 2002. More recently it voted itself out of existence to enter a "collaborative partnership" with Churches Together in England. The Free Church Council of Wales has partnered with Cytun, Churches Together in Wales.

These developments are the culmination of over a century of church unity efforts in ENGLAND and WALES by the free churches. The FREE CHURCH movement is worldwide and traces its roots to the New Testament. It resisted organizational form beyond denominations until the nineteenth century. In the established church context of England these churches and their members were known as dissenters or nonconformists. The form of this unity has been the federation of a variety of independent churches and religious groups for work of mutual interest, including EVANGELISM and social reform efforts.

The initial meeting of representatives of several of the free churches took place in Manchester in 1892, and formally organized as the National Free Church Council in 1896. The first key leaders were Hugh Price Hughes, Charles Berry, and Alexander Mackennal. The Organizing Secretary from 1895 to 1910 was Thomas Law. The initial goals of the organization included affirming Jesus Christ as the sole AUTHORITY in the associated churches and taking the Gospel to the people in the large towns. Individuals involved came from many of the free churches, and initially represented themselves and not their denominations. These included BAPTISTS, Wesleyans, Free Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Calvinistic Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and members of the Free Church of England. Persons from other free groups soon joined. The National Council consisted of individuals and representatives of the local Church Councils and Federations. In 1899 The National Council published the Free Church Catechism. In 1919 another federal union emerged called the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches. This brought together official representatives of the various denominations. The leader of this effort was J.H.Shakespeare of the Baptist Union.

These two church unity groups ran on more or less parallel lines espousing unity in action among free churches until they united in 1940 to become the Free Church Federal Council. The Council had a moderator, chosen for one year, and an annual congress. The Council worked through local church councils in cities and towns scattered over England and Wales, and through the several denominational members. It worked to do things together that no one group could do alone. It followed the form and function of the

similar group in the United States, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

See also Congregationalism; Denomination; Dissent; Nonconformity; Presbyterianism; Primitive Methodist Church; Wesleyan Church

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FREE METHODIST CHURCH OF AMERICA

The Free Methodist Church of America was organized in 1860 after a number of clergy, foremost among them Benjamin Titus Roberts (1823–1893), were defrocked by the Western New York Methodist Episcopal Church. These clergy and sympathetic laypersons joined with a similar group of disenfranchised Methodists from Missouri and Illinois led by John Wesley Redfield (1810–1863). They elected Roberts as their leader at Pekin, New York, in August 1860. Sensitive to populist issues, equal representation was given to CLERGY and LAITY in denominational governance.

Free Methodists sought to live and teach primitive Methodist values and THEOLOGY. The key term was “freedom.” The Free Methodists promoted freedom from SIN (SANCTIFICATION), freedom from SLAVERY, freedom from pew rents, and freedom from what they saw as the manipulation of secret societies (lodges, etc.). Roberts promoted the right of WOMEN to preach, a right removed by the church over Roberts’ protests in 1896 and not restored until the 1970s. Roberts was also involved in labor organization efforts, maintained a farm and founded Chili Seminary, which eventually became Roberts Wesleyan University. He was an ardent abolitionist and promoted civil rights for African-Americans (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). The Free Methodist Church has never managed to develop strength in the Old South.

An aggressive mission program developed. Extensive efforts were made in SOUTH AFRICA, Central Africa, JAPAN, BRAZIL (especially by Japanese immigrants) and CHINA, with fewer resources committed to other places. In Burundi, Mozambique, and Japan, the missions were soon depending on local leadership and funds. In other areas, especially AFRICA, growth was hampered because of firm mission control. The greatest growth in Africa came with the merger with the churches created by the Congo Evangelistic Society (British Pentecostal) in the 1970s. From 1960, some Free Methodist mission leaders attempted to encourage independence of mission areas by establishing a series of national conferences, each with its own ecclesiastical structure.

The contemporary Free Methodist Church has about 74,000 members in the UNITED STATES and about 360,000 outside of the United States. The denomination has been active in education and supports Central Christian College (McPherson, Kansas), Greenville College (Greenville, Illinois), Roberts Wesleyan University (Rochester, New

York), Seattle Pacific University (Seattle, Washington), and Spring Arbor University (Spring Arbor, Michigan).

See also Methodism; Missions; Primitive Methodist Church

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FREE WILL BAPTISTS

Free Will Baptist denominations have about 300,000 members in several different organizations. The term “free will” reflects the explicitly Arminian heritage of this tradition, as opposed to the modified CALVINISM or the mixed Calvinist-Arminian heritage of other larger Baptist bodies in America and Europe. The modern Free Will Baptist movement, today centered in the American South but not located exclusively there, is the product of two streams of Baptist life that flowed together in the twentieth century. These two streams had independent, unrelated origins: one northern and one southern, both with roots in the 1700s. Over the next two centuries, both movements faced a series of schisms, crises, and ecumenical mergers that defined and shaped them, while at the same time lowering overall membership.

Both the northern and southern wings of the Free Will Baptist movement stand in the tradition of the GENERAL BAPTISTS, the first group of modern BAPTISTS to emerge, when JOHN SMYTH and Thomas Helwys in 1609 led a group of English Separatist exiles in Holland. Smyth’s interest in creating a congregation whose visible membership was identical to the invisible and universal church of true SAINTS ultimately led him to reject the ancient practice of infant BAPTISM and replace it with adult baptism. This view on baptism, however, was just one of several distinctive views held by these English exiles. Others included a commitment to religious liberty, the elimination of state intrusion into private religious matters, a radical understanding of the priesthood of the believer that emphasized individual conscience, and the use of the BIBLE as the final standard for DOCTRINE and practice. Eventually, by the middle of the 1600s, these Baptists moved beyond discussion of the proper candidate for baptism to discussion of the proper mode of baptism. As a result, Baptists embraced baptism by immersion, a practice used by some Christians in the first few centuries, but long abandoned by the 1600s.

Two years after Smyth and Helwys formed their Baptist congregation in Holland, Smyth applied for membership in a Mennonite congregation, taking the majority of his Baptists with him (see MENNONITES). Helwys led a minority group back to ENGLAND, forming a congregation that then spread the new movement throughout the country. These Baptists were firmly Arminian in their theology, which set them off from the mainstream of Puritan thought (see ARMINIANISM; PURITANISM). Eventually, they became known as General Baptists because of their belief that Jesus died for all

humanity, not merely the elect. General Baptists believed that ATONEMENT was general rather than particular in its scope.

About a generation later, in the 1630s, a second type of Baptist movement emerged, with no connection to the General Baptists formed by Smyth and Helwys. Calvinistic in THEOLOGY, these Baptists became known as Particular Baptists. The groups were similar in their explicitly Baptist beliefs. Both emphasized the priesthood of the believer in a radical and exaggerated sense, the sole and final AUTHORITY of the Bible in matters of doctrine, and adult baptism. The Particular Baptists differed from General Baptists in their understanding of Calvinist theology. Particular Baptists represented a separate group with separate origins, not a schism from the slightly older Arminian movement. The two groups continued in England over the next 200 years with little conflict or contact. By the end of the 1800s, Calvinism and Arminianism had ceased to be relevant points of discussion for most British Baptists, and the two groups merged.

Both Particular and General Baptists settled in North America beginning in the 1600s and founded churches in New England, the Middle Colonies, and the South. Many of these congregations were mixed, with members from both General and Particular backgrounds. Other congregations were exclusively General or Particular, but the Particular movement proved dominant. Mixed congregations eventually became Particular Baptists in identity, and Particular Baptists and their ideological descendents formed the regional and national organizations that represented most Baptists in the UNITED STATES. However, General Baptists did plant some congregations in the South, especially in North Carolina. Modern Free Will Baptists stand in the tradition of these General Baptists, although there may be more of a nexus than a direct, historical link.

The New England Branch of Free Will Baptists

New England Free Will Baptists grew out of the leadership of Benjamin Randall (1749–1808). Born in New Hampshire, Randall was reared in a pious Congregationalist home. From an early age, he had an interest in religion and the cultivation of personal piety. The conversionist zeal of the Great Awakening, however, proved distasteful to him, at least initially (see AWAKENINGS). He was especially critical of GEORGE WHITEFIELD'S dramatic and emotional form of PREACHING, a new direction in homiletics. Despite his ridicule of Whitefield, Randall started to have the classic doubts about the state of his soul that formed the content of colonial CONVERSION narratives. When he heard that Whitefield had died shortly after leaving New Hampshire, Randall became despondent and had his own dramatic conversion experience.

Randall first identified with the CONGREGATIONALISM of his youth, but his church's disinterest in applying discipline to other members disappointed him (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). He formed a prayer group of like-minded church members who hoped to bring revivalist zeal into the congregation. Instead, he brought reproach from the pastor, and Randall left the congregation. Randall's criticism of the church coincided with another development, his interest in the subject of baptism. It was during

this same time that Randall, with no clear external influence, came to the conclusion that the only proper baptism was the immersion of adult converts. After some thought and conversation, Randall was baptized by immersion and joined a Calvinistic Baptist church in Maine.

Over the next several years, Randall preached in Baptist churches in New Hampshire and Maine. Although he was firmly Arminian in his theology from the time of his conversion, he had no clashes with the dominant Calvinism of the area's Baptist Churches. He simply preached on other themes, such as conversion and the importance of morally upstanding behavior. However, some leaders in the churches eventually pressed Randall about his failure to preach on the theme of ELECTION. Randall admitted that he never preached on the issue because he did not believe in it, and, as a result, his ordination ceased to be recognized by the area's Baptists. In turn, a group of Randall's supporters ordained him and started a new congregation on April 5, 1780, based on exclusively Arminian principles. This congregation marks the beginning of the Free Will Baptist movement in New England.

Randall and his supporters started numerous Free Will Baptist churches and recruited many new clergymen throughout New England. As the movement grew at the local level, the need for organizational life above the local congregation grew. Randall worked to create a series of local organizations called monthly meetings, as well as a regional quarterly meeting. Eventually, an organization called the yearly meeting was formed that could rightfully be called the Free Will Baptist Church. Like many denominational titles, though, Free Will Baptist came to be the title of the group only after it had been in existence for about twenty years.

Randall and his Free Will associates had a connectional understanding of Baptist identity, rather than a hyperlocal understanding. The yearly meeting, also known as the Free Will Baptist Connexion, was the church, and the local congregations were extensions. For these early Free Will Baptists, the local congregation derived its authority from its membership in the parent body. By the time Randall died in 1808, the Free Will Baptist movement had spread throughout New England and was strong both at the local level and at the institutional level. The movement continued to flourish after his death, benefiting both from strong internal leadership and the external influences of the Second Great Awakening. The denomination-building spirit of the first half of the 1800s was not lost on the Free Will Baptists of New England. This group formed home and foreign mission societies, created a publication society, and founded an education society, as well as numerous colleges, including Hillsdale, Bates, and Colby.

ECUMENISM shaped much of Baptist identity in the twentieth century, including that of the Free Wills. Just as British Particular and General Baptists no longer found Calvinism and Arminianism strong enough points of identity to prevent merger, many Free Will Baptists and leaders in the larger, historically Calvinist Northern Baptist movement worked for a merger. In 1911, the Free Will Baptist Connexion of New England merged into the larger Northern Baptist Convention. About half of the congregations declined to participate in the merger, choosing to retain an explicitly Free Will identity. These Free Will Baptists developed stronger relations with the Free Will Baptists of the South, creating the National Association of Free Will Baptists in 1935.

Southern Free Will Baptists

While the northern branch of the Free Will Baptist movement developed largely through the work of one man without any strong connections to any other Baptist movement, the southern branch has a more complex origin that remains the subject of some debate among historians. The debate centers on the connections of the southern Free Will denomination, which formed in a mature institutional sense around 1829, to the earlier General Baptist movement. Free Will Baptist historians understand their movement to be the direct heir of General Baptist life in America. General Baptists, after a period of decline due to the proselytizing of Particular Baptists, emerged with renewed energy under the name Free Will.

Other historians contend that the two movements have no direct links. While the two groups have a similar Arminian theology, these historians contend that the similarity is one of correlation, not causation. The General Baptist movement totally died out. The Free Will Baptists of the 1820s constitute a totally separate movement with no connection to the Generals. Free Will Baptists, however, contend that after a massive numbers of General Baptists affiliated with the more dominant Calvinistic Baptists, a small remnant of churches and leaders worked to rebuild the Arminian Baptist movement. The movement never died out, according to their narrative. Instead, General Baptists survived, but survived very lean years in the late 1700s, which accounts for the paucity of documentary evidence left by the group. Eventually, General Baptists once again became vital and took the name Free Will.

A leading founder of North Carolina General Baptist life was Paul Palmer. Palmer was born in Maryland, baptized in Delaware, and ordained a minister in Connecticut. Around 1720, he arrived in North Carolina, finding General Baptists already there, but without a church. Palmer gathered these Baptists together and organized the first Baptist Church in that state. An itinerant rather than a pastor, Palmer's preaching resulted in the formation of other General Baptist Churches in the state (see ITINERANCY). Palmer was firmly Arminian in doctrine, and he found eager listeners among the English immigrants to the coastal regions of North Carolina. There is no clear date for his birth or death, but the absence of his name from records at a certain point indicates that he died no later than 1750.

One of the converts of Paul Palmer was Joseph Parker. Parker formed a General Baptist Church at Meherrin, North Carolina, that quickly became an important center of Arminian expansion. Parker also saw the population of North Carolina increase, and with that increase, he saw Calvinistic Baptists start to grow in the area. Beginning in the 1750s, Calvinistic and revivalist Separate Baptists not only started new congregations in North Carolina, they worked to convert General Baptists to their views. These efforts to gain new adherents to the Separate movement from among the Generals succeeded from the vantage point of the Calvinists. By the end of the 1700s, most General Baptist congregations had either totally identified with the Calvinist Baptist movement or they had atrophied. This targeting of the General Baptists was directed by leaders associated with the Philadelphia Baptist Association, the dominant Baptist organization of that period and the closest to a national organization that Baptists had. After the departure of

large numbers of Generals for the ranks of the Calvinist Baptists, a small group of leaders such as Parker worked to keep the General movement alive.

The Free Will Baptist movement in the South grew out of the disarray among General Baptists in the second half of the eighteenth century. The debate centers on the nature of that growth. It may be that the General Baptist movement totally died. In that case, the Free Will Baptist movement is the ideological heir to the General Baptists, and it emerged to fill the vacuum left by the demise of these earlier Arminians. On the other hand, it may be that the Free Will Baptist movement in North Carolina represents an institutional development that occurred after General Baptists recovered from the decimation of their ranks. The documentary evidence is slim for making a firm conclusion either way. It is certain that there is no clear documentary link between the Generals and the Free Wills. It is also certain that Free Will Baptist is not a term used widely by General Baptists. However, there are scattered references to some General Baptists as Free Will Baptists in the late 1700s. The fact that the Free Will Baptist movement emerges at the time the General Baptist movement may have been “dying out” suggests that Free Will Baptist was simply a new term for an old movement.

Free Will Baptist churches grew strong in North Carolina from the 1830s through the rest of the century. This growth came despite numerous threats to the movement’s vitality. Free Will Baptists had their ranks challenged in the antebellum years by the Restorationist movements of both Thomas and Alexander Campbell (see CAMPBELL FAMILY) and the Disciples movement (see DISCIPLES OF CHRIST). Large numbers of Free Will Baptists left for traditions associated with RESTORATIONISM. However, the Free Will Baptists regrouped and gained a clearer sense of their identity. As North Carolina Free Will Baptists migrated to other parts of the South, they carried their Arminian Baptist identity with them, forming a counternarrative of Baptist identity that challenged the total hegemony of the more Calvinist SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. In 1845, the year that the Southern Baptist Convention was formed, the North Carolina General Conference of Original Free Will Baptists was formed. This organization served as the parent body of Free Will Baptist life in the South. The Conference was divided into associations that supervised subregions.

A National Denomination and a Schism

Northern and Southern Free Will Baptists made some attempts to connect their fellowships, although nothing permanent occurred until 1935. The impetus behind uniting the groups came in the merger of Northern Free Will Baptists into the Northern Baptist Convention in 1911. Many Free Will Baptists felt that their movement would be totally eliminated without a strong national DENOMINATION to nurture their Arminian heritage. Southern-heritage Free Will Baptists began working with those Northern Free Will Baptists who remained outside the Northern Baptist Convention. After a series of mergers and cooperative ventures between the two groups, the National Association of Free Will Baptists (NAFWB) was formed in 1935. For the first time, Free Will Baptists

had a national denominational infrastructure that paralleled the organizations of other denominations.

As has been the case with other Baptist organizations, the local churches and regional movements created the national denomination rather than vice versa. Free Will Baptists had been present in America since the 1700s. The formation of the NAFWB brought together numerous different streams of Free Will Baptist life, united in their common Arminianism and in their desire to preserve the Free Will Baptist name. However, the national denomination had identity and POLITY issues that would eventually result in the departure of the historically significant North Carolina Conference.

The leadership of the NAFWB was heavily influenced by the twentieth-century FUNDAMENTALISM Movement, especially the separatist brand associated with Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina. The young denomination opened the Free Will Baptist Bible College in 1938, largely modeled after Bob Jones University. Seven years later, North Carolina Free Will Baptists founded Mount Olive College, basing it on the classic liberal arts model of other small denominational colleges. Although not deliberately in competition with the Free Will Baptist Bible College, the two institutions symbolize two different approaches to Free Will identity, one separatist and one ecumenical.

With North Carolina Free Will Baptists moving in a different direction regarding HIGHER EDUCATION, it should come as no surprise that North Carolina would have other conflicts with the national body. These conflicts centered on the autonomy of the local congregation. Many classic Free Will Baptist bodies deemphasized the total autonomy of the local congregation. Local congregations were accountable in some sense to the parent denomination, a characteristic that Free Will Baptists shared with the General Baptists of an earlier era. In 1960, several members of a North Carolina congregation raised questions about the doctrinal ideas of their pastor and apparently the majority of the church members. The pastor stressed the concept of eternal security of the believer, an idea alien to historic Free Will thought. Those members with concerns brought their issues to the North Carolina Conference. The Conference ruled in favor of the minority, claiming that local congregations are subordinate to the parent denomination. The issue was eventually taken before the civil courts, which sided with the North Carolina Conference. However, the national denomination sided with the local congregation and stressed the issue of absolute congregational autonomy. The tension between NAFWB and North Carolina became permanent and North Carolina leaders withdrew from the national organization in 1962. Their North Carolina-based denomination, with its own college and publishing house, remains a strong, although small, representative of the Free Will Baptist identity.

Today, there are three main denominational bodies in the Free Will Baptist tradition. The NAFWB, based in Nashville, Tennessee, has more than 200,000 members and approximately 2,500 congregations. This group has a standard Free Will Arminian Baptist theology. Wedded to their Arminianism is an embrace of some Reformed developments of the late 1800s, namely BIBLICAL inerrancy. The General Conference of Original Freewill Baptists, based in North Carolina, has a much smaller membership, although the denomination is strong and growing. This group connects its Arminian Baptist identity with mainline Protestantism, seeing itself as one branch or denomination of the larger Church. Finally, there is a smaller Pentecostal Free Will Baptist Church.

This movement grew out of the Holiness and then Pentecostal work of G.B. Cashwell, who brought Pentecostal theology to the Free Will Baptists in the vicinity of Dunn, North Carolina.

See also Baptists, United States

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MERRILL M.HAWKINS, JR.

FREEDOM, LIBERTY

See Bill of Rights; Dissent; Toleration

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

See Bill of Rights; Toleration

FREEMAN, THOMAS BIRCH (1809– 1890)

Methodist missionary. The son of an African father and English mother, Freeman was born December 8, 1809 in Winchester, ENGLAND. He was accepted as a missionary by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1837 and ordained for work in West Africa. Before he left, he married for the first time. His wife died within two months of his arrival at Cape Coast, but he remained in West Africa for fifty-two years, with only two periods on furlough.

Adapting his PREACHING to local customs and practices he exercised a pioneering role in the development of METHODISM on the Gold Coast, appealing to Europeans and Africans alike. He recruited native Africans to ministries as well as attracting successive waves of European missionaries through the publication of his journals *Of various visits to the Kingdoms of Ashanti, Yoruiba and Dahomi to promote the objects of the Wesleyan Missionary Society* (1843), although half of them died within a year of arrival. His mission to the Ashanti captured the imagination of monarch and people in Britain who sent gifts and raised money to support his work. His opposition to the slave trade made the task of mission difficult, as did tribal wars and colonial policies.

Despite Freeman's success in raising funds for the mission, the Committee in London questioned his financial competence, leading to his resignation as general superintendent. After a number of years working for the colonial government as an administrator in the Accra district, he spent the last fifteen years of his life as a circuit minister, during which time the jubilee of the Gold Coast Mission was celebrated (1885). He died in August 1890, revered as the Father of West African Methodism.

See also Africa; Methodism; Missionary Organizations; Missions; Slavery; Slavery, Abolition of; Wesleyanism

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TIM MACQUIBAN

FREEMASONRY

Freemasonry is a worldwide fraternal order of men encouraging morality, charity, and fellowship through secret rituals and meetings open only to members. Although it has undergone many changes since its founding in the early eighteenth century, including a substantial decline in the late twentieth century, the fraternity still boasts some six million “brothers.” Masonry’s religious connections have been an important part of its appeal, but these ties have also aroused persistent opposition.

The Founding of the Fraternity

The origins of Freemasonry are unclear. Medieval stone masons sometimes met in “lodges” attached to specific building sites and sponsored legendary histories tracing the craft to the creation of Solomon’s Temple and before, a lineage appropriated by the later fraternal order. Seventeenth-century craft groups in London and Scotland accepted non-builders into their ranks, but the modern fraternity (what early brothers called “speculative” Masonry to distinguish it from “operative” builders) began in London during the years surrounding 1717. By the end of the 1720s, the new order had developed most of its distinctive forms: a three-degree system of rituals performed within local lodges supervised by national (or regional) grand lodges; charitable aid to Masons and others; the metaphorical use of building tools to represent moral truths; and a membership policy that accepted men of good character regardless of occupation, political loyalties, and even, within certain limits (most notably belief in a supreme Creator), religious belief. Intellectually, Masonry joined together hopes of secret wisdom (seen in boasts about the fraternity’s ancient origins) with early ENLIGHTENMENT ideals of order, balance, and mathematical regularity (symbolized by geometry and building), and a stress on unity among men of different backgrounds and beliefs. This ideal of brotherhood drew upon the contemporary critique of sectarian divisions by LATITUDINARIAN theologians.

The new fraternity spread quickly. By 1738, continental lodges had become so popular that a papal encyclical condemned the fraternity as a threat to social unity and true religion. Despite this religious opposition (and continuing official distrust), French

Freemasonry continued to attract substantial support among the upper reaches of society. Mid-century French women even created their own Masonic organizations (the fraternity elsewhere still remains almost universally restricted to males). In both FRANCE and Germanic countries, Freemasonry also became identified with the Enlightenment, attracting such brothers as French jurist Charles Montesquieu (1689–1755), French poet Voltaire (1694–1778), Austrian composer Wolfgang Mozart (1756–1791), and JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE (1749–1832). When the FRENCH REVOLUTION broke out near the end of the century, a popular theory attributed it to lodges that had been corrupted by the Illuminati, an anti-Jesuit order that had briefly flourished in Bavaria (and that has continued to attract speculation from conspiracy theorists).

European sailors and merchants also spread Masonry into other parts of the world. A lodge met in Calcutta by 1729, although Indian lodges did not accept Hindus or Sikhs until the middle of the nineteenth century. English-speaking Masonry still uses the Bible within its rituals as “the volume of the sacred law” (as well as a key source of language and ritual stories), but the fraternity allows use of other sacred scriptures in non-Christian areas.

Lodges also spread into America, with the first Masonic groups meeting there in the 1730s. Masonic brothers divided on the American Revolution, but a number of the most important leaders were members, including Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) and George Washington (1732–1799). Post-Revolutionary Masonry gained extraordinary popularity, spreading into nearly every American locality in the years after 1790. Brothers were often called upon to dedicate public buildings (including the United States Capitol, whose cornerstone was laid by President Washington himself in 1792). Post-Revolutionary brothers also increasingly identified their order with Christianity. In the “higher degree” bodies developed in this period to expand on the original three degrees, Masons developed rituals that were often based upon Biblical stories and themes. Some enthusiastic brothers began to claim that the fraternity not only served divine purposes, but even had divine origin.

This broad enthusiasm, however, did not last. The 1826 kidnapping (and possibly murder) of William Morgan, an upstate New York brother who threatened to publish the fraternity’s rituals, by zealous brothers set off a substantial movement against Masonry. Drawing upon the emerging ideals of EVANGELICALISM and democracy, opponents argued that Masonry’s social exclusivity, broad religious inclusiveness, and use of Biblical material threatened Christianity and republican government. Helping to develop organizational methods of agitation and organization later used by abolitionism and other antebellum reform movements (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), the anti-Masonic movement sponsored newspapers and even a political party that fielded a presidential candidate in 1832 and 1836. The attack was largely successful, virtually destroying Masonry in the northern United States. The fraternity began to revive only in the 1840s.

The Age of Fraternalism and After

Masonry in America and elsewhere became even more popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Masonic forms and ideas inspired and provided models for a host of new fraternal societies, including labor unions, mutual insurance companies, college fraternities, and ethnic organizations. Even American Catholics, attempting to blunt the appeal of Masonry and similar institutions crossing religious lines, established their own fraternal organization, the Knights of Columbus (1882). The language of brotherhood popularized by Freemasonry and its imitators became a key tenet of liberal Protestantism. Despite this growing competition, Masonry remained the largest and most prestigious of all fraternal orders. A variety of associated Masonic organizations took root in these years, including the newly popular Scottish Rite, Knights Templar, and Royal Arch bodies established before the CIVIL WAR (all initiating third-degree brothers into “higher degrees”), the new Order of the Eastern Star, Rainbow Girls, and DeMolay (for, respectively, women, girls, and boys related to Masons), and the Shrine (stressing organized charity and social enjoyment).

The twentieth century posed a variety of significant challenges to the fraternity. The Great Depression slowed Masonic growth. In both GERMANY and France, Nazis persecuted Masons as representatives of cosmopolitan universalism. More problematic for the fraternity in the long run was a substantial decline in membership during the last half of the twentieth century. Although American Masonry grew in the 1940s and 1950s, it thereafter fell from a high point of 4 million members to around 2.5 million. Only the relatively small African American “Prince Hall” branch of the fraternity, established before white Masonry began to accept African Americans in the 1960s, continues to thrive (members have included musician Duke Ellington [1899–1974], Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall [1908–1993], and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson [1941–]).

Even during its years of growth and expansion, Masonry continued to be dogged by opposition. The British fraternity has periodically aroused public fears that loyalty to the brotherhood subverts loyalty to the larger society. The Roman Catholic Church remains officially opposed to its members joining the fraternity, although local clergy have often been more accepting. American Fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM) often reject the fraternity as well. Most religious attacks, besides rather implausible complaints that Masonic rituals encourage Satanic worship, center on the dangers and compromises presumed necessary within an organization that professes religious purposes yet encourages a strong sense of brotherhood among men of different religious beliefs. Masons have usually countered by noting the fraternity’s encouragement of charity, morality, and friendship.

See also Fundamentalism; Slavery, Abolition of.

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STEVEN C.BULLOCK

FRENCH REVOLUTION

French Protestants in the late eighteenth century numbered approximately 700,000, or about 2 percent of the French population. The Calvinists lived mainly in the Midi, and the 200,000 Lutherans were centered on the Rhine frontier in Alsace. Before 1787, only the latter were legally protected thanks to the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, leaving members of the *religion pré-tendu réformée* (to use the derogatory official designation) vulnerable to sporadic persecution into the 1760s. Spurred on by a *cause célèbre* like the Calas case, enlightened opinion was, by that date, ready to end the related fictions that France was a uniconfessional state and that the HUGUENOTS were disloyal opponents of the Bourbon monarchy. Careful lobbying of Louis XVI's ministers like Malesherbes, Necker, and Breteuil by able pastors like Rabaut de Saint-Etienne eventually elicited the "Edict Concerning Those Who Do Not Profess the Catholic Religion" in November 1787. Members of the Reformed Churches could marry before a royal judge or a *curé* (acting only as a civil officer), register the births of their children, and die knowing they could bequeath their estates to fellow Protestants. It was a limited measure that affirmed the monopoly of the Catholic Church in public WORSHIP and left Protestants still ineligible to hold public office. Notwithstanding its limitations, the Edict inspired most Protestant congregations to heighten their local profiles.

As FRANCE prepared for the meeting of the Estates General in 1789, Protestant laymen made the case for further concessions in the *Cahiers* or list of proposals for constitutional change that they, like other communities, were required to produce. Fifteen Protestant deputies were elected to the Estates General, determined to achieve full citizenship. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (August 1789) established the general principle of religious liberty, and then a decree of Christmas Eve 1789 abolished the last legal inequalities between Protestants and Catholics. These concessions made Huguenots across France initially most sympathetic to the Revolution, as now they were no longer "foreigners in their own homeland." Protestants took up offices, joined the revolutionary clubs, bought Catholic Church land when it came on the market, and worshipped freely.

Interconfessional tensions increased in the winter of 1789–1790, especially so in Nîmes, a center of the silk industry second only to Lyon and home to a prosperous and ambitious Protestant community. Protestants dominated the officer corps of the town's National Guard and used it as an instrument to achieve post-Revolutionary supremacy in local politics. Worried Catholics in the new *département* of the Gard began to see the

whole Revolution as a Protestant plot, and riots erupted in both Montauban and Nîmes in the spring of 1790. The so-called *bagarre*, or brawl, of Nîmes left about 20 Protestants and 300 Catholics dead in four days of street fighting. It was one of the worst outbreaks of violence in the first part of the French Revolution. Protestants in the Gard tended to be pro-Revolutionary because of the political and social benefits that the Revolution had conferred on them, and sectarian violence only began to diminish once members of the Reformed faith felt that their new legal status was beyond doubt. Lutherans were less enthusiastic than their Reformed brethren; the Revolution had brought them little and threatened to deprive them of much.

Protestants tended to support the Republic established in 1792 and became associated with the Girondin faction in the National Convention (to which nine Protestants were elected). When the latter were proscribed after the Jacobin coup of June 1793, the Reformed Church once again faced an uncertain future. Forty-seven of its leaders were executed for their part in the Federalist revolt in the Gard, while ordinary members faced the closure of their *temples* (or their conversion into “Temples of Reason”) as part of the state’s policy of de-Christianization. These constraints were not always unacceptable. Thus at La Rochelle there is evidence of bourgeois Protestant involvement in the drive against all public expressions of Christian practice. Pastors came under the same pressure as Catholic priests to make public renunciation of their ministry and their faith, and a majority did so. It has been calculated that of some 106 pastors in the synods of Languedoc (about 69 percent) abandoned their pastoral functions during the de-Christianization movement of 1793–1794, with at most one in five pastors attempting to keep some form of ministry going. Ex-pastors often enlisted in the service of the Republic, most famously Jeanbon Saint-André, who was given responsibility on the Committee of Public Safety for the Navy. Those who stayed in their posts had to resume old habits by going back underground, knowing that they risked imprisonment if discovered. With the collapse of the synodal and consistorial structures of the Reformed Church, the LAITY were left to their own devices. Most were not prepared to give up their faith. They may have paid lipservice to the Republican cults but, as at La Rochelle, went on clandestinely with their worship and conducted MARRIAGES and BAPTISMS.

Freedom of worship was not officially restored until the law of 3 *ventôse* Year III (February 21, 1795), when CHURCH AND STATE were formally separated. It was a mixed blessing for the leaderless Protestants when politicians tried to stand back from religious contestation. The way was effectively cleared for a fresh surge of sectarian killings, as Catholic murder gangs hunted down hundreds of Calvinists in the Gard and Lozère during the “white terror.” The recovery of a religious life after 1795 was difficult. In Alsace, pastors were able to restart church life quite promptly in 1795, but in Montbéliard, Uzès, the Vivarais, and the Agennais, organization required much attention; worship resumed in 1798 in La Rochelle, in 1801 in Marseille, and not before 1805 in Toulouse. Services often had to be conducted without a pastor, for, excluding Alsace, there were only 120 pastors active in 1799, at least one-third fewer than in 1789. Another consequence of the Revolution was a diminution of middle-class supporters, traditionally the fundraisers and willing members of the consistories, and the loss of revenue that resulted. After the Revolution, the two-thirds of the Protestant population who lived in the countryside kept the faith of their forefathers alive.

Relations between French Protestants and the state were finally and favorably regularized under the Napoleonic Concordat. Under that agreement and separate Organic Articles of April 1802, the 480,000 Calvinists and 200,000 Lutherans received better terms than those granted to the Catholics. The agreements gave them an unprecedented degree of official recognition, with Protestant churches established on a parallel basis to the Catholics, including provision for regularizing the formation of consistories (intended to ensure dominance by the social elite) and salaried pastors from 1804. But there was also continuing watchfulness by the new prefects in the provinces; Protestant synods could gather only with the express permission of the government. The new arrangement enabled Protestant groups to take up their worshipping and communal life again, and relations with the Catholic majority were seldom a problem thereafter, except in one or two areas like the Gard, the scene of renewed bloodletting during the Restoration of 1814–1815 in a second wave of the white terror.

See also Calvinism; Consistory; Lutheranism

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FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE

The largest organization in North America of liberal Quakers belonging to the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), the Friends General Conference (FGC) was founded in 1900 at Chautauqua, New York. The Conference was a merger of the First-Day School Conference, Friends Union for Philanthropic Labor, Friends Religious Conference, Friends Educational Conference, and Young Friends Associations. Seven Quaker yearly meetings with a combined membership of about 17,000—Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Genesee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—participated in the FGC from its beginning.

In accordance with long-standing liberal Quaker traditions, volunteers ran the FGC until 1904, when Henry Morse Wilbur was hired as secretary of the Advancement Committee, dedicated to encouraging the spread of Quaker beliefs and principles. In 1914, J. Barnard Walton became the new advancement secretary, serving until 1951. Walton's indefatigable travels helped to build the FGC and halt the decline of liberal Quaker membership. Jane Rushmore, hired in 1907, built up the FGC's religious education program.

The FGC's best-known program was its week-long summer gatherings, held annually or biennially, with an attendance of 1,500 to 3,000 people. From 1916 to 1968, these conferences were held almost exclusively in Cape May, New Jersey, in even-numbered years. They were held mostly for purposes of education and spiritual renewal. In the mid-to late-twentieth century, the FGC expanded as liberal Quakers from Baltimore to New York healed old schisms with Orthodox Quakers and as many new yearly meetings, often with most members in college towns, joined up, extending the geographical range from Maine and Eastern Canada to Minnesota and from Florida to Texas (but not the West Coast, except Alaska and Western Canada). In 2000, FGC yearly meetings had approximately 32,945 members.

See also Friends, Society of; Society of Friends in North America

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FRIENDS WORLD COMMITTEE FOR CONSULTATION

The Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC) is the most broadly representative organization of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) worldwide, embracing all branches of Friends. Arising from a proposal at a 1937 conference in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, it was founded in 1938 at Doorn, the NETHERLANDS. Its first chairman was Carl Heath, an English peace activist. Before World War II, the FWCC's membership was limited mainly to European and American Quakers, but in the postwar era membership expanded to include churches from AFRICA, Asia, AUSTRALIA, and LATIN AMERICA.

The FWCC's most valuable contribution has been the facilitation of Quaker intervisitation. Douglas Steere, philosopher and writer on spirituality from Haverford College, traveled extensively on behalf of the FWCC, especially during the 1960s. Steere was a Quaker observer at the Vatican II Council and a speaker at a Christian-Buddhist dialogue in JAPAN, one among many ecumenical activities in which the FWCC has participated. The FWCC is a chief sponsor of Quaker United Nations Offices in New York and Geneva, SWITZERLAND.

A variety of peacemaking and civil liberties efforts in the UNITED STATES and worldwide have been held under FWCC auspices. In 1967, in response to an FWCC Conference calling for "an all-out attack on want," the FWCC formed the "Right Sharing of the World's Resources" (RSWR), which called for the gift of 1 percent of all Quakers' income to the poor. The RSWR has since become independent of the FWCC. The FWCC's major gatherings are triennial; it has met every three years since 1952. As of 2002, yearly meetings with a membership of 255, 246, about three-quarters of the worldwide total Quaker membership of 338, 219, were affiliated with the FWCC.

See also American Friends Service Committee; Friends, Society of; Society of Friends in North America

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FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF

There is a certain polarization in the identity of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, founded by GEORGE Fox (1626–1691) and others in the middle of the seventeenth century. On the one hand, Quakerism was formed by the Protestant legacy of the REFORMATION; there was, in Fox and also in such a major articulator of Quaker thought as Robert Barclay (1648–1690), a strong proclivity toward Protestant doctrines—of humanity’s sinfulness and the certainty of human damnation were it not for the supreme efficacy of Christ’s saving DEATH, and of the AUTHORITY of Scripture as God’s revelation supplying divine truth in place of what in human beings would otherwise be immutable ignorance. In that kind of formulation, humankind’s sole help lay in agencies outside humanity itself; the redemption won by Christ in an action in time past entirely free of positive human involvement, with the Scripture standing apart from men and women as an outside light. To set against that line of thought, an anthropologically more optimistic Quaker approach stressed a capacity for goodness within the human person and an access to the revelation of truth from wellsprings deep within the minds and spirits of women and men: the “inner light.” In this article attention will be given to the Quaker ambivalence over what may be simplified as “externalist” and “internalist” tendencies in Quaker religious thought. Here the focus is on the influences of Protestantism, emphasizing the elements of Quaker religious thought that belong within the camp of the Protestant Reformation.

Indeed, the Protestant features of the Society of Friends have sometimes been obscured in a traditional Quaker historiography that saw it as representing a radical breakaway from the conventional English Protestantism of the seventeenth century. Especially in a school of Quaker historical writing that emerged in the nineteenth century, the Quaker founder George Fox and the early Friends were seen as having mounted a sharp reaction away from, and a repudiation of, the most pronounced forms of Calvinist Protestantism in mid-seventeenth-century England, those of PRESBYTERIANISM, Independents, and BAPTISTS, the principal Puritan groupings of the age of the English CIVIL WARS and revolution. Thus in his pioneering survey of mid-seventeenth-century English religious radicalism, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (1876), the Quaker historian Robert Barclay quoted the Victorian religious thinker C.H. SPURGEON to the effect that “the Puritans, who had been like the spring buds and blossoms, were getting into the sere and yellow leaf, and the Independents, and Baptists, and other sects, who were at times thoroughly and even

remarkably spiritual, were growing worldly, political and vain glorious” (Barclay 1876:191). The truth was, Barclay himself argued, that Fox and the first Quakers undertook nothing less than the reformation of the English Reformation, whereas the early Quakers’ own historiography of their origins used the kind of vocabulary that had earlier been used by writers such as JOHN FOXE to contrast the corruptions of pre-Reformation Catholicism with the light of the gospel shed by godly change under HENRY VIII, Edward VI, and ELIZABETH I. As a contemporaneous account of the hostility that the Friends faced from the mainstream churches in the national establishment of religion in ENGLAND in the Puritan ascendancy of the 1650s put it, “the Baptists sued us for the very tythe eggs. It can hardly be declared the cruel havoc and spoyle the Presbyterians made. Their priests made poor people come up two hundred miles...”—to be exploited. The early Friends, then, in their own self-perception, stood not for a linear continuity with Reformation Protestantism, but rather for a rejection of Protestantism’s own corruptions and represented the authentic reformation.

George Fox

Fox himself drew the clearest line between the new reformation he claimed to represent and the existing Protestant TRADITION forged in Tudor and Stuart England. In the first place, Fox depicted the self-acclaimed “godly” religion established in the post-Civil War England (into which he erupted as an evangelist from about 1652 onward) as a system of featherbedding clerical self-interest and self-indulgence. The CLERGY of the mainstream branches of established PURITANISM were “hireling teachers” or “priests,” dismissively labeled as such to ensure that they were firmly counted in with the old Catholic clerical estate whose supremacy, Fox implied, had hardly been lessened in a post-Reformation England, where the very parish churches still used for worship had been erected “in ye darke time of popery.” However, beyond the moral criticism of an ecclesiastical reformist denouncing the practical shortcoming of an established church, Fox took issue on a more fundamental level with what he portrayed as the false doctrines of England’s supposedly Protestant establishment of religion in the 1650s. In particular, he attacked what he saw as contemporaneous Protestantism’s obsession with humanity’s sinfulness: Fox told Protestant ministers that they “preach up sin...It was all their workes to plead for itt...they came to plead for sin & imperfections....” And indeed it was true that the Protestant preachers of Fox’s day, such as JOHN BUNYAN (1628–1688), did make much of SIN, and linked it to their equal stress on the necessity and indispensability of redemption from its effects by Christ’s sole saving power, a “Protestant” insistence that Fox fully shared. For Fox lacked the sense of intrinsic human sinlessness per se commonly attributed to English ultra-radical groups, such as the Ranters of the 1650s. Instead, he manifested a strongly Protestant conviction that “Hee hath Taken away my sinne (viz: Christ my saviour)...” (Fox 1911:56,2).

No doubt, aspects of early Quaker spirituality, including the conviction of identity with Christ as expressed in the Quaker James Nayler’s (1617–1660) ride into Bristol in 1656 in imitation of Jesus’s Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem, fostered the

contemporaneous perception on the part of more orthodox Protestants that the Quakers' CHRISTOLOGY was only interiorist, replacing the historic and salvific Jesus with an elusive spiritual and internal Christ-spirit present in the devout man or woman. Fox determinedly repulsed such an attitude, in a strong affirmation of the actuality of the saving Jesus who died and rose in historical time. Thus the Reformation's, and above all, MARTIN LUTHER'S understanding of the ATONEMENT as a defined and redemptive historical event—in the terms of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, on whose LITURGY Fox was reared, “one oblation once offered,” “a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice...”—was strongly reaffirmed in 1650 when Fox declared his faith that Christ “did suffer without ye gates at Jerusalem...there outwardely...” What is particularly interesting is that Fox chose to use a language of externality—“*without* ye gates,” “there *outwardely*”—that was designed to emphasize the once-accomplished action of the crucified Christ, who came “to purchase & sanctifie & redeeme” “with his bloode,” a vocabulary almost uncannily similar to that used by the self-appointed defender of Protestantism Bunyan in an encounter he conducted in 1656 with the Quaker spokesman Edward Burroughs. On that occasion, Bunyan tried to fault Burroughs as a traitor to the Reformation pillars of Christ's historically achieved redemption once won for us, outside of us. Yet at the beginning of that same decade of the 1650s, Fox himself nailed the nascent Quaker movement firmly to the Protestant mast of acceptance of Christ's primary role as savior of mankind.

In that singularly disputatious decade of the 1650s, a debate that Fox held with a Jesuit in 1658 offered further proof of his embrasure within the English Protestant mainstream, with its vivid current of antipopery. Fox's debating articles for this encounter began with the motion “whether or noe ye church of Rome was not degenerated from ye Churh [*sic*] in ye primitive times from there life & doctrine & ye power & spiritt that they was in....” “He went on to demand “what scriptures Catholics had for setting uppe cloysters for Nunns & Monasteryes & Abbeys for men: and for all there severall orders. And what scripture had they for praying by beades & to Images: & for making Crosses & forbidding of meates & marriages & for putting people to death for religion.”

The features of Catholicism to which Fox there took issue—MONASTICISM, religious orders, the use of the rosary and veneration of images, compulsory fasting and CELIBACY, religious persecution—informed the common agenda of well-established English Protestant objections to popery, which was habitually depicted as a system both of superstition (as in, e.g., Andrew Marvell's 1677 *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England*) and of unwarranted affronts to Christian liberty. Fox's hapless Jesuit antagonist went on to try to defend the practices of his church with reference to the DOCTRINE of its extra-Scriptural traditions, a source of authority whose authenticity was affirmed by the sixteenth-century Catholic Council of Trent. Fox, though, like any staunch Protestant in the lineage of Luther, riposted by taking his stand on the authority of Scripture alone; when the Jesuit father claimed, in defense of the customs of the Catholic Church, support from allusions in 2 Thessalonians:3 to what Paul had vouchsafed to that church in the form of “the tradition that we passed on to you,” Fox “bid him reade yt scripture againe: & there hee might see howe hee perverted ye Apostles words....”

The more general controversy over Scripture next focused on its proof texts for opposed understandings of the Eucharist. Here Fox insisted on an outright rejection of the

Catholic Church's Eucharistic doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION, according to which the elements of bread and wine in holy communion (LORD'S SUPPER) were totally transformed into the very essence of the body and blood of Christ. Fox, adopting a somewhat coarse-grained and materialistically minded skepticism concerning the Catholic formula, proceeded to a rather far-fetched offer of a wager with the "pope & some of his cardinals & Jesuites" according to which, if the bread and wine of the Eucharist underwent no decay, Fox and his people would promptly become Catholic converts—with a viceversa clause built into the bet. The tone of the caustic little satire is unmistakably Anglo-Protestant, articulating an evolved national CULTURE of contempt for Catholicism—displayed in, for example, the elaborate anti-popish displays conducted during the campaign in 1679–1681 for the exclusion from the throne of the Catholic James Duke of York. Thus the Quaker founder Fox showed himself to be both formed by and powerfully expressive of his country's entrenched Protestant anti-Catholic culture.

William Penn and Robert Barclay

The strongly etched Protestantism of the early Quaker mainstream was affirmed by one of the movement's best-known early leaders, WILLIAM PENN (1644–1718). It is true that in 1668 Penn, in his *Sandy Foundations Shaken* undermined some of the chief buttresses of Protestantism, including PREDESTINATION and the traditional "forensic" understanding of the Atonement according to which Christ was cast to become man so that, human and divine, he alone could redeem humanity. Even so, it was also Penn who stated, twenty years after that seemingly un-Protestant work of 1668, that he "loved the protestant religion above his life." In the intervening years between 1668 and 1688, English and Welsh Quakerism, sharing in the fullest measure the persecution heaped on the dissenting Protestant groups after the Restoration of Anglican monarchy in 1660, in fact itself underwent a continuing alignment of its doctrines to the Protestant center.

The chief architect of this process was the Scot Robert Barclay (1648–1690), the author of a series of works on Quaker dogmatics, the best known of which is *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1676), described as "one of the most impressive theological writings of the seventeenth century." Before his CONVERSION to Quakerism, Barclay received his early education at Scots College, Paris, a Catholic seminary of which his uncle was principal. Indeed, he later recalled that in his schooling he had been "defiled by the pollutions of popery," but was thereby perhaps led more positively into appreciative approaches to writings of the great medieval Catholic writers, Tauler, St. Bernard, Bonaventure, and Thomas a Kempis. However, in his *Apology*, Barclay was at pains to reveal the distinctiveness of the Quaker way and its pursuit of truths central to the Christian message from which both Catholicism and Protestantism were aberrant. His most dramatic severance of his Quakerism from the Protestant core undoubtedly lay in his description of the Reformation doctrine of reprobation—the predestined consigning of sinners to their damnation—as "horrible and blasphemous." Even so, in his attempt to steer a midway course between the churches of the

Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation, we find Barclay leaning his tiller closer to Wittenberg and Geneva than to Rome and Paris.

A focal issue—the pillar, indeed, in the midst of the doctrinal battlefield between Reformation and antiReformation—on which we might test that last statement is that of JUSTIFICATION, the process by which men and women are accounted acceptable in God’s sight. For Barclay, the Catholic understanding of justification was *fundamentally* erroneous (“vitiating”), so that “Luther did not without great Ground oppose himself to them in this Matter.” This was because, in Barclay’s view, the Catholic sense of the works by which sinners were justified amounted in fact to a parcel of financial deals, bulls, pardons, and indulgences, the accoutrements of “the Pope’s *Doctrine of Merits*, the most beneficial of all his Revenue.” As Barclay in his great work progressively distanced himself from Catholicism as an apparatus of delusive external works that did not in fact justify sinners, he proceeded to repudiate with considerable force the centerpiece of Catholic worship, the Mass, in which “they pretend to offer Christ daily to the Father...so that a Man for Money can procure Christ thus to be offered for him when he pleases...” (Barclay 1765:165, 167).

If the Catholics trusted too much for their justification in bogus meritorious routines, then the Protestants, Barclay continued, invested too much confidence in FAITH alone to justify. But it was at just this point that, instead a holding a balancing line between the theories of SALVATION (soteriology) of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, Barclay showed his own real affinity with the apprehension of justification that descended down from Luther and JOHN CALVIN to the evolving Protestantism of the later seventeenth century. We can appreciate the full extent of the Protestantism of one of Quakerism’s greatest doctrinal formulators in phrases of his that could be taken as textbook layouts of what Reformation soteriology amounts to: “Justification springs of, and from the Love of God:

Neither can we procure Remission of Sins or Justification by any Act of our own, so as to merit it, or draw it as a Debt from God due unto us; but we acknowledge all to be *of* and *from* his *Love*, which is the original and fundamental Cause of our Acceptance.... God manifested this Love towards us, in the sending of his beloved Son the Lord *Jesus Christ* into the World, who gave himself for us an *Offering* and a Sacrifice to God.... Neither do we think that Remission of Sins is to be expected, sought, or obtained any other Way, or by any Works or Sacrifice whatsoever.... So then Christ by his Death and Sufferings hath reconciled us to God, even while we are Enemies....

We can readily trace the lines of those formulas back to Calvin, for although the phrases may be in different order and variant language, the same meaning is unmistakable: Christ’s sole and sufficient redeeming action as commissioned by the Father out of God’s own love, bringing reconciliation where there had been enmity, and our own lack both of need and capacity to strive to achieve our own justification. As Calvin wrote:

All that we have hitherto said of Christ leads to this one result, that condemned, dead, and lost in ourselves, we must in him seek

righteousness, deliverance, life, and salvation.... The office of Redeemer was assigned him in order that he might be our Saviour.... God...as our enemy until he was reconciled to us by Christ.... [Therefore], we must fix our eyes and minds on Christ alone, as it is to him alone that our sins, which necessarily provoked the wrath of God, are not imputed to us. Hence that imputation of righteousness without works..., the righteousness found in Christ alone being accepted as if it were ours. (Calvin 1875:1, 434–436, 457).

A point of difference might appear to have arisen over Barclay's authentically Quaker appreciation of opportunities for SANCTIFICATION in what has been termed the "transforming power of the Cross." Seen in that light, the Atonement was more than a forensic process of apportioning to sinful men and women, who remained no more than "justified sinner," the imputed fruits of Christ's redeeming action. The second stage, as it were, of redemptive action saw the operation of "this pure and perfect Redemption *in ourselves*, purifying, cleansing, and redeeming us from the Power of Corruption, and bringing us into Unity, Favour, and Friendship with God." Could Calvin's soteriological analysis accommodate such a sense of progress and transformation? Indeed it could—for in his devotional classic, originally part of the *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION* and known as the *Golden Booklet of the True Christian Life*, Calvin traced the route of perfection:

The Lord has adopted us to be his children on this condition that we reveal an imitation of Christ who is the mediator of our adoption.... Perfection must be the final mark at which we aim, and the goal for which we strive.... Let us steadily exert ourselves to reach a higher degree of holiness till we shall finally arrive at a perfection of goodness which we seek and pursue as long as we live.... (Calvin 1981:15, 18–19).

Barclay's Quaker-Protestant understanding of a justification that led on to sanctification was, to say the least, to be accommodated within a Protestant schema that led back to Calvin and that ran through a line that led via the greatest expositor of Reformed doctrine in England, WILLIAM PERKINS (1558–1602), who devised a graph that included the stages of effectual calling, justification, sanctification, glorification, and life eternal. The Quaker Robert Barclay ought to be viewed within that English Protestant lineage.

Quietism

A subsequent Quaker spiritual development, quietism, was viewed by the great historian of the Friends, RUFUS M. JONES, as having been bequeathed to the movement as a legacy of mystical and contemplative devotion by Barclay. The eighteenth-century quietist phase of Quaker history, marked as it was by tendencies toward "habit and custom" rather than the pristine "freshness and surprise...creative insight and

discovery...fluidity and mobility” of the first Friends, arose, Jones wrote, especially from Barclay’s sense of the essential oppositeness of divine and human illumination. In other words, quietism sprang out of “the absolute despair of human nature which Protestant theology...had greatly intensified.” Quietist thought, then, insisted on the negation of all that was indigenously human in the makeup of men and women and its replacement by divine inspirations. On the basis of those divine leadings, however, people might be set free for lives not of contemplative inaction, but rather of intense activity.

Indeed, the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—Jones’s classic “quietist” period—also formed a golden age of Quaker activism in the world, especially the world of social reform and ameliorism. The great prison reformer ELIZABETH FRY (1780–1845) typified those urges, and Quaker radical statesman John Bright (1811–1889) was born and raised within the period of the ascendancy of quietist spirituality among Friends. Whereas English Quakers of that period focused on attempts to create a kind of Christian humanitarianism, their American co-religionists were exercised by the moral stigma of SLAVERY in their own country. JOHN WOOLMAN (c. 1720–1772) was the eighteenth-century American patron saint of the Quaker witness against slavery’s inhumanity, although we seem at first hearing to listen to the voice of the ENLIGHTENMENT when we read Woolman’s announcement that “all nations are of one blood” and “of a general brotherhood.” But the real inspiration for Woolman’s humane UNIVERSALISM was not so much secular enlightened liberalism as the Scriptures, and specifically the witness of Genesis 3:20 to the common ancestry of humankind. Indeed, in his Quaker-Protestant voice, Woolman used Scripture as the chief seal of his authority (“Holy Writ”), with citations from Paul and, liberally, from the Old Testament. Woolman, too, was no less “Protestant” in his doctrine of the Fall and of redemption won “thro the wonderful love of God, in Christ Jesus our Lord,” a redemptive action that had the capacity to restore humanity to the “primitive harmony” that prevailed before sin sowed discord on earth (Woolman 1776:256, 270).

Even so, the Quaker-quietist preoccupation with personal holiness produced in the eighteenth century a revulsion away from the central doctrines of the Protestant Reformation of salvation won for humankind vicariously through the merits of Christ crucified, benefits transferred to the credit of the justified sinner. Jones calls this traditional Protestant approach, which took its rise directly from Luther and Calvin, “forensic,” meaning that it envisaged a legal transaction in which the Father, taking note of the penalty paid by Christ on the cross to take away sins, attributed the fruits of that expiating action to the account of (selected) human sinners, clearing their accounts of sin and guilt and requiring no investment from them into the salvific process, because the Son’s work was in itself all-sufficient for atonement. In Woolman himself we encounter an appreciation, which Barclay himself had pioneered, of the participation of suffering saints in the entirety of the work of redemption. Woolman’s fellow American Quaker Job Scott was a powerful spokesman of a reaction away from the forensic schema that formed the bedrock of Reformation soteriology. Indeed, we seem to hear in Scott’s teaching an echo of pre-Reformation emphases, found above all in Thomas a Kempis’s (1379–1471) *The Imitation of Christ*, which portrays Christ as an exemplar and model quintessentially to be followed as the template of our own strenuous achievement of holiness. Of course, as discussed earlier, the second pillar of the Reformation, Calvin, stressed sanctification in the persons of the elect, but Luther had challenged and reversed the Kempian concern

with merit and the pursuit of perfection when he declared, in his lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, that:

Wherefore Paul saith...that Christ first began and not we. 'He, even he (saith Paul) loved me and gave himself for me.' As if he said: He found in me no good will nor right understanding; but this good Lord had mercy upon me. He saw me to be nothing else but wicked, going astray, contemning God and flying from him more and more; yea, rebelling against God, taken, led, and carried away captive to the devil (Luther 1956:176).

But Scott was closer to Kempis than he was to Luther when he postulated, not as with Luther, the sinner, that were it not for Christ, moving in inexorable alienation away from God, but instead a movement, in Kempis's pattern, of discipleship, of imitation, and of following within Christ's footsteps to a personal cross of suffering on which sainthood was to be achieved:

And do not the obedience, suffering and death of Christ, as plainly point out to us the necessity of a life of obedience, self-denial, and death unto sin, as even outward circumcision pointed out the circumcision of the heart? And is it not on the very ground of this necessity of a real self-denial, and death to sin, that Christ insists upon it, that whoever will be his disciple, must first deny himself, take up his daily (mark daily) cross and follow him? Follow him! What is that? Why it is to take his Holy Spirit for our leader and guide into all truth; to take him for our pattern and example; and to follow him, wheresoever he leadeth us, in the way of regeneration, self-denial, the loss of our life, and death unto all sin (Jones 1921:78).

Thus the Lutheran soteriologic scheme, according to which sinners, on the account of Christ's saving death, are quite passively considered just in God's audit, seems in Scott to be supplanted by a sharp sense of the would-be saint's actively following in a route of seeking perfection by active, earnest, and self-denying endeavor, Christ being the exemplar and stencil-plate. Even so, Scott's rooting in quietism induced in him an appreciation, which returns us to an essentially Protestant outlook, that nothing good in humanity could subsist and activate without being, as Scott put it, "moved" and "initiated" divinely, for works and even prayers arising from the natural "creature" would not "get the blessing," and to "utter a request to God rightly always requires His divine, living, immediate assistance."

Evangelicalism

If the authentic legacy of the Reformation and Protestantism's insistence that anything that is of worth in human hearts and souls is of God is so far advanced in the Quaker quietist Scott, his DENOMINATION was about to undergo a fundamental realignment to the reawakening of Protestantism and its doctrines, especially those of salvation, known as the Evangelical revival and taking its rise from the missionary work of the Methodist founder, JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791). Partly as a result of personal contacts with Methodists, the Quaker minister Mary Dudley (1750–1823) brought into her PREACHING and writing a firm and vibrant emotional reaffirmation of the principles of the Reformation that Wesley himself had imparted to the widespread Evangelical movement that fed new currents of spirituality both inside and apart from the CHURCH OF ENGLAND between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see EVANGELICALISM). Dudley's watchwords were absolutely resonant of the whole Evangelical movement within the Protestant churches in that period: "the original fall and degeneracy of man" rectified by God's "stupendous plan of redemption." Dudley also saw herself as entrusted with the correction of errors in the Quakerism of her day—rationalism on the one hand and confidence in the efficacy of good works to save—which had obscured the message of the scriptures:

Preach Christ crucified...be not afraid to preach the cross of Christ and to proclaim not only what he would do within us by His Spirit, but also what he hath done without [outside of] us, the all-atoning sacrifice which should never be lost sight of.

In such words, Mary Dudley restated ProtestantQuaker principles that can be traced back to Fox and his insistence that Christ "did suffer without ye gates at Jerusalem there outwardly." The central affirmation—whatever the importance in Quaker spirituality of an appreciation of a light and, indeed, of a spirit, of Christ within the believer—was of an objective historical saving action taking place in history and external to our more individual experiences. The difference in the Evangelical period was to an extent one of tone, for whereas Reformation and post-Reformation thought on the issues of salvation and GRACE revolved around the legal and forensic issues with which Luther had to grapple, by the late eighteenth century it may have been the emotional and individualist emphases of the Romantic movement that found their way as influences into Evangelical Quaker discourse, such as that of the Quaker preacher Thomas Shillitoe (1754—1836):

I feel I have nothing to depend upon, but the mercies of God in Christ Jesus. I do not rely for salvation upon any merits of my own; all my own works are as filthy rags... my faith is in the merits of Jesus Christ and in the offering he made for us. I trust my past sins are all forgiven me... that they have been washed away by the blood of Christ, who died for my sins.

At the height of the Evangelical ascendancy within Quakerism, in works such as the *Principles of Religion* (1805), Henry Tuke (1755–1814) summarized its positions on such

topics as the infallibility of Scripture, the degeneracy of humankind after the Fall, and the absolute indispensability of the Atonement to rectify the terrible consequences of the sin of Adam and Eve. Even so, Evangelical voices did not command the entire Quaker repertoire in the nineteenth century. The American Quaker preacher Elias Hicks (1748–1830) took his stand on the distinctive and venerable Quaker tradition of the inner light and proclaimed an interiorist view that accepted Christ as redeemer—as was the case, of course, in the classic Reformation Christian formulation—but in the shape rather of an inner force: “...no other Saviour but such an one who takes His residence in the very centre of the soul of man can possibly bring salvation to man.” Hicks’s interiority traced the dividing line between his in many ways traditional or conservative Quakerism and the neo-Protestant teachings of the Evangelicals. His insistence on “a portion of God,” or even an “inward God,” “the uncreated Word,” “Christ,” within the believer removed the necessity of a salvation that came from any force apart from the self. Scripture, too, that Evangelical and Protestant touchstone and inerrant reservoir of objective revealed truth, was sidelined in Hicks’s scheme as being an external source, an “out ward instrumental help” “to lead the minds of the children of men home to this divine inward principle manifested in their own hearts and minds.” The formal “Great Separation” of 1827–1828 between Evangelical and “Hicksite” Friends in North America, a Quaker schism unhealed to the present day, dramatically exposed the tension between the two strands, Protestant and Evangelical versus interiorist and spiritual, that have formed the Quaker identity since the inception of the Society of Friends.

See also American Friends Service Committee; Calvinism; Individualism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Romanticism; Society of Friends in North America

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MICHAEL A.A.MULLETT

FRONTIER RELIGION

The perception of a religion distinctive to the North American frontier originated in the early twentieth century with the application of Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" to camp meeting revivalism. These outdoor evangelical events were often huge, spanning several days, with participants camping on site. One result was the appearance of chaos and pandemonium. The most notorious characteristic of CAMP MEETINGS was the seemingly inexplicable bodily expressions of spiritual feeling, particularly the "jerks," which appeared to fit well into Turner's contention that the wilderness environment produced a unique American CULTURE. Camp meeting revivalism, which first appeared in Kentucky in 1800, lent credence to this interpretation. The primitive environment seemed to produce wild expressions of religious feeling. As recent historians have demonstrated, however, the camp meeting format descended from main streams of American Protestant THEOLOGY. The idea of environmental causes has also been abandoned. Despite camp meeting revivalism's origins in the new nation's western region, most appeared in more densely populated neighborhoods, under the direction of ordained ministers, where religious congregations had existed for several years. Moreover, the format quickly spread to urban areas of the east because of its evangelical power. Although the impression of a religiously starved, unrestrained, and ignorant pioneer population persists, it is outdated by more than two decades of scholarship.

Large outdoor evangelical events were not new anywhere in America, but the Kentucky innovation of camping on the meeting grounds greatly intensified religious appeals for spiritual rebirth. Participants coexisted, for a few days at least, in a total environment marked by interdenominational cooperation and New Testament principles, removed from normal daily cares and social distinctions. The Methodists, led by FRANCIS ASBURY, were more comfortable than most other American denominations with emotionally charged spiritual expressions and immediately embraced the new evangelical format. Camp meeting revivalism quickly spread and fueled the new denomination's growth.

The impact in frontier regions was compounded by the decentralized structure of early American METHODISM. Bishop Asbury immediately perceived the camp meeting's potential. He also responded promptly to the expansion of western settlement through a system of itinerant ministers assigned to preaching circuits. The itinerant CIRCUIT RIDERS were able to bring group WORSHIP to the farthest reaches of settlement, where local populations were not yet able to support a permanent ministry. Nearly all white

Americans were at least nominally Christian, and although the pious could read Scripture and engage in private PRAYER in the absence of institutionalized religion, the Methodist circuit riders often offered the first opportunity for group worship. Many westerners descended from other denominations, but group worship, however infrequent the circuit rider's visits, and the BAPTISM of children as Christians, lured many families away from their former denominations.

Those denominations that required an educated ministry, such as the Presbyterians, struggled to keep up with the rapid settlement expansion. One response was the formation of a missionary corps of young men. For example, the Connecticut Missionary Society, organized in 1798, sent a regular stream of Congregational ministers to the New Englanders who settled Ohio's Western Reserve. In frontier regions settled by adherents of multiple denominations, the result was often a confusing, although not to say un-Christianlike, interdenominational rivalry. An unattractive aspect of American Christianity, interdenominational competition has yet to be studied in detail. It was no doubt strongest in frontier regions where the availability of affordable land brought believers from different denominations into closer geographical proximity than was usually the case in the seaboard states.

The other target of "home missionary" work on the frontier was the Native American population. Efforts to convert Native Americans to Christianity originated with the beginnings of European settlement. The most significant missionary work during the eighteenth century was by German missionaries John Heckewelder of the MORAVIAN CHURCH and David Zeisberger of the United Brethren in western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley. However, CONVERSION to Christianity proceeded slowly and offered little protection from attack. In particular, the infamous massacre of nearly 100 Delaware believers (mostly women and children) at the Moravian settlement known as Gnadenhütten in 1782 deterred efforts of similar scale. After several wars of conquest in the early years of the republic, religious outreach to the scattered groups of Indian survivors received fresh attention. But the efforts to Christianize Indians met with general resentment or indifference, not only because missionaries demanded a rejection of native religious beliefs, but also because they nearly always required also the adoption of European cultural practices. Christian Indians were expected to abandon traditional GENDER roles, folkways, and systems of justice. A few Americans, such as Methodist James B. Finley and Baptist Isaac McCoy, made Indian MISSIONS a central part of their ministerial career, but many others participated in short evangelical tours. Most found the work arduous and unrewarding, and accepted the first acceptable pulpit offered by Euro-American pioneers.

The ample and affordable land on the frontier also provided a rare opportunity for the members of small denominations and communal societies to settle in close geographical proximity with one another. The most prominent example is that of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), not only in Utah, but also earlier in Missouri and Illinois. The lower price of frontier land also facilitated the survival of other communal groups, for example, the AMANA COLONY in Iowa and the Swedish Bishop Hill colony in Illinois. In a similar fashion, the availability of frontier land enabled numerous ethnic minorities, such as German Lutherans, to establish geographic enclaves strong enough to support independent congregations and schools, significantly reducing pressure to adopt the English language and assimilate.

Thus, the tendency of the twentieth century was to frame the concept of frontier religion within the narrow confines of extremely chaotic and emotional camp meetings. Scholars have shown that such meetings were not limited to newly settled areas, yet the frontier did exert an effect on American religion, aspects of which remain evident today.

See also Ethnicity; Evangelical United Brethren Church; Evangelicalism; Methodism; Mormonism; Presbyterianism; Revivals

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ELLEN ESLINGER

FRY, ELIZABETH GURNEY (1780–1845)

English Quaker. Although born into a wealthy family, Fry devoted her life to working on behalf of those whom society considered as outcasts—especially prisoners. After her marriage she began to visit London’s Newgate prison. Her particular focus was female prisoners, whom the authorities considered incorrigible and who were treated accordingly. In contrast she saw the possibility of rehabilitation and consequently formed an association of Quaker volunteers who ministered to them in a variety of ways, religious and otherwise. These included beginning a school for the women’s children who were confined with their mothers, as well as for the WOMEN themselves, most of whom were illiterate. Encountering many prisoners—both male and female—condemned to death, Fry also became a vocal opponent of the death penalty, which could be mandated for offenses as minor as shoplifting. In addition she worked to reduce the suffering of women sentenced to be transported as indentured servants to AUSTRALIA, providing for their needs during the journey. With her brother, Joseph John Gurney, she traveled to the north of ENGLAND to view jails there and in SCOTLAND, establishing women’s associations in each of the towns for the visiting of prisoners. He subsequently described their trip in “Notes on a Visit made to some of the Prisons in the North of England, in company with Elizabeth Fry”(1819).

Before the age of forty, Fry’s reputation as a reformer—not only on behalf of prisoners, but also of the mentally ill—had spread even to RUSSIA. Hearing of her work, an Englishman in charge of the new asylum in St. Petersburg wrote to her for advice. She responded with various recommendations, the core of which focused on treating the patients with kindness and a degree of humanity not hitherto shown them. Again, it was the dignity of the individual that concerned her, whether prisoner or mental patient. The two daughters who edited her *Memoirs* point out that for her, “justice and humanity claim conjointly to be heard.” She demonstrated this twin focus in her life as an advocate.

See also Capital Punishment; Friends, Society of

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GEORGE ANDERSON

FULL GOSPEL BUSINESS MEN'S FELLOWSHIP

The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) is a Christian laymen's organization founded in 1951 in Los Angeles by Demos Shakarian, an Armenian-American, millionaire dairy farmer, and Pentecostal. The Fellowship began as a Pentecostal parachurch organization (see PENTECOSTALISM), with membership open to all Christian men regardless of ecclesiastical and theological background. To protect its identity as a lay organization, the FGBMFI denies official leadership roles to CLERGY and other full-time Gospel workers. "Full Gospel" reflects the Fellowship's adherence to orthodox Christianity and Pentecostal doctrine and refers to the belief that the entire New Testament should be accepted as valid for contemporary Christians, including references to (orthodox Christianity plus Pentecostal doctrine) refers to the preaching of the entire New Testament, including FAITH HEALING, speaking in tongues, and deliverance from demonic forces. "Business Men" include chief executive officers, entrepreneurs, professionals, politically connected men, military officers, farmers, white-collar employees, and some laborers. The Fellowship encourages men to get back into church life, in order to address what is seen as the predominance of females (or feminization) in many churches. WOMEN are not allowed to join the organization. FGBMFI meetings, usually held in the nonecclesiastical atmosphere of restaurants or hotels, consist of nonsectarian gatherings in which men share the powerful and positive way God works in their lives. Meetings include time for personal testimonies as well as an invitation to men to turn their lives over to Christ.

By adopting modern business techniques of organization and communication, the FGBMFI spread its activities throughout the world, opening approximately 6,000 chapters in over 132 countries by the end of the twentieth century. After the death of Demos Shakarian in 1993, Richard Shakarian, his son, became the new international president. Aligning with the CHRISTIAN RIGHT, the FGBMFI membership promotes conservative economics and politics. The Fellowship uses the Internet to propagate its message and to advertise local, national, and international activities. The FGBMFI seeks to transcend denominational, racial, and cultural barriers. According to the Fellowship's official website, the FGBMFI represents a "vast global movement of laymen being used mightily by God to bring in this last great harvest [untold masses of men filled with the Holy Spirit] through the outpouring of God's Holy Spirit before the return of our Lord

Jesus Christ” (www.fgbmfi.org). This sense of prophetic mission provides the Fellowship with a strong foundation to reach men throughout the world.

History

The Shakarian story and FGBMFI development are rooted in prophecy. As told by Demos Shakarian (1913–1993), in the nineteenth century the Shakarian family lived in the Armenian city of Kara Kala when they and other Armenians were directed by prophecy to relocate to the western United States to escape terrible danger from Turkish foes. In the new land, the Shakarians would prosper under God’s blessing and God would cause their “seed to be a blessing to the nations.” In 1905 the Shakarian family arrived in Los Angeles, where they maintained connections to Armenian Pentecostal church life. Isaac Shakarian, the son, married Zarouhi Yessayian and they named their first child Demos, born in 1913. At age thirteen Demos spoke in tongues at a church service when he was “baptized in the Holy Spirit.” In 1932 Demos married Rose Gabrielian, and their first child, Richard, was born two years later. The Shakarian business became the largest dairy in California and, by the 1940s, the largest private dairy in the world, according to Shakarian. In 1937 Demos received a personal prophecy from his friend Milton Hansen that God had chosen him to “speak of holy matters with heads of state around the world.”

Shakarian met and became close friends with British healing evangelist Dr. Charles Price, who preached the “Full Gospel.” Price’s preaching, healing efforts, and prophecy influenced Shakarian and his vision of a layman’s revival. In the early 1940s Shakarian was president of a chapter of the Christian Business Men’s Committee (CBMC), an organization of Evangelical laymen (see EVANGELICALISM). It struck Shakarian that during religious meetings women often far outnumbered men. Accustomed to Armenian men being the prime movers in the church, he found it confusing that American men had given up the highest calling of all. Shakarian also realized that many of the businessmen he came in contact with never spoke about God. He organized religious tent meetings that reached beyond the inward-looking Armenian community. One notable event was a major Pentecostal youth rally, in 1948, that overflowed the Hollywood Bowl with over 21,000 in attendance.

In the wake of the Los Angeles Pentecostal evangelistic meetings (see REVIVALS) held by ORAL GRANVILLE ROBERTS, in 1951, Shakarian launched the first meeting of the Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship, a Pentecostal version of the CBMC. Held at Clifton’s Cafeteria, in Los Angeles, the event attracted only eighteen men along with Roberts, Shakarian, and Shakarian’s wife Rose. The Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship of America elected Shakarian as president and named key officers, including a banker, an automobile salesman, a building contractor, and an accountant. The Fellowship ministry challenged the stereotype that Pentecostalism was largely confined to the working class and the economically deprived. Vice President Lee Braxton, for example, piloted his own plane throughout the nation to promote Fellowship growth. Shakarian and the other Fellowship officers worked without salaries. Meetings took place in luxury hotels and ballrooms. “International” replaced “of America” in the official

charter recognized by the State of California in January 1953. The FGBMFI doctrinal statement required members to believe in the Trinity, an infallible BIBLE, SANCTIFICATION by the blood of Christ, divine healing, and “the baptism in the Holy Ghost accompanied by the initial physical sign of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterances.”

Development

At the first meeting, Roberts spoke of the expected emergence of 1,000 chapters, but there were still no additional chapters one year later. A disappointed Shakarian persisted in promoting the Fellowship, traveling and spending thousands of dollars of his own money. With the creation of the magazine the *Full Gospel Business Men's Voice* (Thomas R. Nickel offered his print shop and editorial services) and the radio program Breakfast-Broadcast, from Clifton's Cafeteria, the growth of the FGBMFI improved. By the summer of 1953 there were nine chapters throughout the United States. A typical chapter meeting consisted of choruses, prayers, and announcements, followed by testimonies, prayers for the sick, presentation of prophecies, glossolalia, calls for salvation, and an evening banquet. Although a Los Angeles office coordinated Fellowship activities, Shakarian opposed too much focus on centralization. Since 1953, annual international conventions (larger-scale replicas of chapter meetings) take place in major American cities. Throughout the 1950s the crusades of healing evangelists Tommy Hicks, Oral Roberts, and William Branham resulted in the creation of many of the early Fellowship chapters. Each chapter seeks to encourage laymen to be personal witnesses for Jesus, bring healing to those in need, and promote fellowship and unity among Christian churches.

FGBMFI leaders maintain that the driving force of the movement is the Holy Spirit. In 1955, Johannesburg, SOUTH AFRICA was the site of the first overseas chapter. A Fellowship chapter in Toronto, CANADA developed the following year. Healing evangelists, such as Tommy Hicks, promoted the FGBMFI at crusades outside the United States. Accepting an invitation from President François Duvalier to hold meetings in Haiti, the Fellowship demonstrated its willingness to reach out to any part of the world, even nations ruled by dictators. By 1961 eighteen nations were represented at the first European convention in Zurich, SWITZERLAND. To spread its influence, the Fellowship began organizing “airlifts,” in which FGBMFI members personally finance a visit to a country for the purpose of sharing the Gospel. The Fellowship's 1965 London “airlift” and convention led to the establishment of chapters in many parts of the country. Airlifts occurred even in war-torn destinations such as Vietnam. Such Fellowship endeavors helped spread Pentecostalism into many nations. The Charismatic Movement of the 1960s extended to mainline Protestant churches and other denominations throughout the world. Beginning in 1963, a series of Fellowship booklets promoted neo-Pentecostal renewal (mainly with testimonies from *Voice* magazine) in Baptist, Episcopalian, and Methodist denominations. By the late 1960s the Fellowship was one of the few Protestant-dominated organizations attracting Catholic members. The Vatican

awarded Demos Shakarian a special award in 1974 for the role the FGBMFT played in the Catholic Charismatic Movement.

In 1975 Shakarian reported that after twenty-four years in existence the Fellowship had a total number of 1,650 chapters in fifty-two countries and that the monthly circulation of *Voice* magazine was 800,000. The magazine was translated into seven languages. He also claimed that 4,000,000 people viewed the “Good News,” a weekly half-hour television series in its fourth year, carried by 150 television stations, including outlets in Canada, Bermuda, AUSTRALIA, and JAPAN. The Fellowship’s radio program operated in twenty-one languages throughout Europe, South America, and Asia. Corresponding to its impressive growth, the Fellowship completed new international headquarters in Costa Mesa in 1980, at a cost of \$5,000,000. Oral Roberts gave the keynote speech, demonstrating his continual and influential role in the development of the Fellowship. The mixture of emphases on faith and prosperity continued at Fellowship activities. Leaders included executives who made the Fortune 500 list of American corporate business giants. The FGBMFI has been characterized as “a society of Spirit-filled capitalists trying to make good in the business world.” Faith teachers such as Kenneth Copeland and Kenneth Hagin received support from the FGBMFI, which welcomed their focus on teaching “positive confession” in Christian’s right to expect for healing and prosperity, even in the midst of criticism of the “name it and claim it” Gospel.

The Fellowship encountered division among the leadership after Demos Shakarian experienced a massive stroke in 1984. Several leaders requested that Shakarian retire and become Chairman of the Board, but he refused. The charge surfaced that Shakarian was guilty of “irregularities” in reporting travel expenses, and, as a result of the power struggle, U.S. membership dropped significantly. In 1987 the Fellowship voted seven “rebellious” members of the board of directors out of office and Shakarian regained complete control. Outside the United States, the FGBMFI continued to grow and in the late 1980s there were 2,646 chapters worldwide. When Demos Shakarian died in 1993, his son Richard assumed the role of president. Utilizing the Internet, the FGBMFI provides potential members with an abundance of local and global information. Issues of the *Voice* magazine, for example, can be downloaded.

Prospects for the Future

The early FGBMFI leaders came from several churches: the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, the Pentecostal Holiness Church, the CHURCH OF GOD, the INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF THE FOURSQUARE GOSPEL, and the PENTECOSTAL CHURCH OF GOD. In the early stage, many Pentecostal clergy leaders distrusted the FGBMFI. Traditional Pentecostal ministers opposed the open ecumenical fellowship and they feared that Shakarian sought the creation of a new denomination or organization that diverted money from churches. From its beginning, however, the Fellowship represented a ministry that was not dependent on clergy leaders. The FGBMFI adopted interdenominationalism, preferring that people remain in their own churches. When it

became clear that the Fellowship viewed itself as a service rather than a substitute to churches, Pentecostal church opposition diminished.

Animosity between mainstream Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism was intense. Non-Pentecostal believers took exception to the term Full Gospel, which implied that many denominations failed to preach the Gospel in its fullness. For Evangelicals, glossolalia (speaking in tongues) and healing could not be central and indispensable facets of the Christian experience. Still, the Fellowship offered a bridge between classical Pentecostals and Christians from the historic denominations who had received the baptism of the Spirit. The FGBMFI continues to play an important role in the growth of the charismatic movement and the breaking down of barriers between Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal Christians. The FGBMFI did not claim to seek theological precision; simple testimonies of men facing and overcoming the trials and tribulations of life remain a major component of Fellowship success. Attractive to many Christians is a strong experiential theme that a living God carries out biblical promises to those seeking reassurance.

From its origins, the FGBMFI has also sought to attract men of color and of varied ethnicity. In the 1950s the FGBMFI moved the site of its Atlanta convention to Denver when the selected hotel made arrangements to segregate black businessmen into nearby accommodations. Shakarian's position broke down barriers among African Americans who viewed the Fellowship as the exclusive domain of white men (African Americans, however, still participate in small numbers). The Fellowship's global impact suggests a praiseworthy record on the issue of race relations.

The outreach of the Fellowship continues to be dynamic and varied, including a prison ministry initiated by Andrew Kaminski, an American businessman sent to prison for tax evasion. On the eve of the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, the Australian FGBMFI started an athletic club that would allow them access to the Olympic village to witness to the athletes. Small groups called "fire teams" present testimony of God's love and minister in the power of the Holy Spirit. In recognition of the supportive role that women provide FGBMFI members, Vangie Shakarian (wife of President Richard Sharkarian) organized ways for women to become better involved within the Fellowship. Women hold prayer meetings and speak at many FGBMFI conventions and meetings.

As the Fellowship pursues a greater global impact, it appears to pay scant attention to globalization issues relating to the unequal distribution of wealth. Members share the dream that prosperity will come to those who follow the Lord in the fullness of the Holy Spirit. Successful Fellowship members see themselves as spiritual and social models for the world's poor people. A persistent notion is that by serving the Lord in the power of the Holy Spirit, working hard, and living honestly, anyone can realize the American dream of prosperity. The Fellowship is also unapologetic about its alliances with conservative politicians, such as Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, Pat Robertson, and other American and world leaders. Throughout the world, conservative politicians and wealthy men continue to champion the growth of the Fellowship. By means of its strong economic and organizational base and its fervor to share the good news of the Gospel, the FGBMFI shows signs of continuing success as a worldwide recruiting arm for charismatic renewal.

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ERIC R.CROUSE

FULLER, MARGARET (1810–1850)

American spiritual writer. Fuller was born in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts on May 23, 1810. She grew up in an intellectual household of Puritan ancestry, and at age twenty-one began to have mystical visions that led her to a new form of spirituality. Her visions challenged the masculinity of God and the gendered boundaries of religion.

Fuller questioned how the public sphere became “masculine” and why WOMEN were relegated to the private, spiritual sphere. She believed that separation into gendered spheres was a separation of God’s true essence, which challenged prevailing GENDER norms. Her spirituality proposed that each gender could transcend its divided self and supported divine intuition. Her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* focused on liberation from gendered categories for both men and women. In this work, Fuller also identified two elements that live within women: “Minerva,” the seat of intellect, and the “Muse,” the feminine side representing intuition and religious activity.

Fuller equated women with religion and domesticity, but she did achieve her purpose of not limiting the choice of other roles within religious traditions or in society. As an editor, a literary critic, a Transcendentalist, a journalist, and a foreign correspondent during the Roman Revolution (1848) in ITALY, she demonstrated her beliefs. Unfortunately, Fuller died prematurely in 1850 in a shipwreck while returning from Italy to New York.

See also Emerson, Ralph Waldo; Puritanism; Transcendentalism

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KELLY J.BAKER

FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism emerged as a recognizable movement in American Protestantism in the World War I era. It shares some features of other twentieth-century fundamentalisms around the globe, but it arose in response to circumstances within Western Christianity and American culture. Fundamentalists construct their identity and worldview around a sacred text—the BIBLE. They regard the Bible as divinely inspired and thus beyond the reach of human criticism. Their insistence that the Bible provides a detailed map for all of life means that American fundamentalists see particular social and cultural patterns as part of the created order. God intended men, women, and children to stand in particular relationships to one another and to God, and the state has no right to interfere, especially in the interaction between parent and child. Fundamentalists root their strict moral code in their reading of Scripture.

Fundamentalism arose within American Protestantism as a response to profound social and intellectual changes that became widely evident after the CIVIL WAR. For several generations before Charles Darwin, scientists (especially geologists) had challenged the Genesis creation account, but Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871) became the symbols of the mounting conviction that modern SCI-ENCE was incompatible with traditional Christianity (see DARWINISM). Darwin's evolutionary theory challenged his generation to reformulate basic assumptions of Western culture. His observations and conclusions challenged deeply embedded beliefs and implied a developmental spiral with profound implications for ways of understanding society.

Among Darwin's respondents was Princeton's outspoken Charles Hodge. While some ridiculed Darwin or sought a mediating position, Hodge insisted that Darwin's work was incompatible with ORTHODOXY. In *What Is Darwinism?* (1874), Hodge stated bluntly that evolutionary theory could not coexist with the orthodox view of God as omnipotent Creator. Pulpiters and popular orators and authors took sides and enlisted the public in the controversy. For decades, debates about creationism between people with local name recognition filled auditoriums around the country.

Modern science did not present the only contemporary challenge to traditional Christianity. At about the same time, the work of German and British biblical scholars, animated by a modern view of history, recast the way in which they approached the sacred text from which American evangelicals took their cues. Some of this new biblical scholarship predated the Civil War, but its impact on American Christianity was felt most urgently in the second half of the nineteenth century. The work of such German scholars

as Wilhelm Vatke, DAVID STRAUSS, and FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR reflected on the history of Israel, the life of Jesus, and the rise of Christianity using the same interpretive devices for the sacred that historians used for the secular. Such scholarship excluded the miraculous and providential motifs that had long dominated the Christian view of history. Vatke argued that the Pentateuch was written late in Israel's history; Strauss believed that early Christian Messianic expectations had unintentionally constructed the Christ of the Gospels; Baur applied rigorous historical criteria to the study of the origins of Christianity and to the dating of New Testament writings. Each challenged cherished convictions, but their particular challenges were less important in the long run than the method that they embraced.

German biblical scholars submitted the biblical text to the same rigorous scrutiny they applied to other ancient documents. In 1878, Julius Wellhausen challenged Mosaic authorship of the Books of the Law, and soon a torrent of criticism questioned other longcherished Protestant assumptions. For devotees of the new method, the Bible yielded its place as the inerrant Word of God to a developmental view of history. Furthermore, historical theology gained respect as a discipline in its own right. Its emphasis on the scientific study of DOCTRINE within the context of Christian history seemed to some to erode the AUTHORITY of Scripture.

The scholarship produced by advocates of the new method agitated in American SEMINARIES, where it resulted in the well-publicized HERESY trials of several esteemed faculty and CLERGY. The intellectual challenge to orthodoxy was enormous, and a variety of responses followed. Many Congregationalists and the institutions they controlled—like Andover Seminary—embraced the implications of the new scholarship. The historic Methodist preoccupation with religious experience rather than with dogma made it easy for many of them, especially in the North, to do the same (see METHODISM; METHODISM IN NORTH AMERICA). Liberals, as advocates of the new scholarship were known, counted in their ranks significant numbers of Episcopal clergy as well as some BAPTISTS, Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM) and DISCIPLES OF CHRIST. Seminary graduates from schools affiliated with all of these denominations, especially in the Northeast, soon brought the practical implications of the new theology to America's pews. The University of Chicago Divinity School, invigorated by John D. Rockefeller's money, gathered a faculty of influential advocates of the modern approach to theology. Religious liberalism manifested different qualities in different places (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Those who fearlessly advocated the accommodation of faith to CULTURE came to be known as modernists (see MODERNISM). The University of Chicago's SHAILER MATHEWS articulated their convictions. Others emphasized social concerns similar to those that motivated the famous Baptist Social Gospeler WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. William Newton Clarke's Christ-entered emphasis in the *Outline of Christian Theology* (1898), perhaps the era's most influential systematic theology, represented yet another "take" on liberalism. The movement's popular voice was CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON'S magazine *The Christian Century*. Novelist Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896) explored the implications of progressive theology in the life of a young minister.

EVANGELICALISM, still largely based in America's traditional denominations, faced the implications of this intellectual challenge at a moment also defined by rapid

INDUSTRIALIZATION and urbanization. Immigration patterns also shifted with the arrival of large numbers of southern and eastern European Jews and Catholics, exacerbating other bewildering social changes. These influences combined to encourage evangelicals to strike out in new directions to confront new conditions. They worked within and around denominations to accomplish this. Many Baptists and Presbyterians resisted progressive ideas. Some Methodists did, too, especially those who understood the Wesleyan tradition through the lens of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

Besides writing and preaching about the “old-time religion,” such people cooperated in a wide range of voluntary associations (see VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES), publications, and new institutions designed to enable them to reach the urban masses with their message. Nondenominational urban congregations with free pews were a favored venue for urging conversionist Bible-centered Christianity. Evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY sponsored such a congregation in Chicago; one-time Presbyterian Albert B. Simpson opened a Gospel Tabernacle in Manhattan; and the Church of the Open Door served inner-city Los Angeles. To provide rudimentary training for would-be preachers, missionaries, and lay workers, prominent men and women helped facilitate Bible institutes. Moody explained that institutes existed to train “gap men” to bridge the gap between an educated clergy and the urban masses (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES). They offered classes in the English Bible and the use of music in evangelism and sent their students out for daily practice on urban streets.

With his reliance on the evangelical message in its most basic form, Moody rallied many who were deeply concerned by the contemporary erosion of traditional Christian faith. Although Moody, a layman with little formal education, did not directly confront the new ideas himself, he convened and made flourish clusters of people who did. They gathered at Moody’s Chicago Training Institute (later MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE) or, most often, during the summer conference season in Moody’s boyhood hometown of Northfield, Massachusetts. During the 1890s, Cyrus Ingersoll Scofield, a lawyer turned Congregationalist minister, occasionally joined the group. Scofield brought to Northfield study notes that addressed biblical themes in unusual detail. He developed them for personal use as well as for a correspondence Bible course that he offered out of his Dallas church. Moody and others encouraged their publication, and in 1909 the first SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE appeared. Keyed to the Authorized Version, the notes set out a view of history marked by seven successive dispensations that corresponded roughly with the succession of divine covenants (see DISPENSATIONALISM). Scofield assumed the unity of the biblical text as well as its inerrancy (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY).

Scofield’s Bible became a best seller. Its copious notes with their explanations of how God interacted with humanity in each dispensation governed fundamentalist views of the modern world for decades. People carried the Scofield Bible to CAMP MEETINGS, prophecy conferences, REVIVALS, youth meetings, and SUNDAY SCHOOLS, and it became an indispensable fundamentalist handbook. Its notes presented the novel view that the church was a parenthesis in God’s plan and might be withdrawn (“raptured”) at any time (see RAPTURE). Christ’s physical return was always imminent. Moody and his most influential cohorts had claimed that their apprehension of the imminence of the second coming had transformed their lives, spurring them to personal preparedness (a disciplined spirituality) and aggressive EVANGELISM. Scofield now collected, systematized and popularized ideas that British PLYMOUTH BRETHREN and

American evangelicals had bandied about for years. For Moody, the “blessed hope” of New Testament promise was the instantaneous surprising departure of the church from the earth, setting the stage for a period of divine judgment known as the Tribulation (see TRIBULATIONISM). (In the 1990s, Tim La Haye and Tim Jenkins built their successful “Left Behind” series around this bit of Scofield’s teaching.) Scofield’s views promptly became the “stuff” of fundamentalist novels, a genre that modeled fundamentalist THEOLOGY paired with a wholesome lifestyle. The most successful of these came from the pen of Grace Livingston Hill. The author of more than 100 books that sold hundreds of thousands of copies, the Presbyterian Hill used fiction to insist on the practical benefits of careful attention to the Bible read through Scofield’s notes. She also urged the traditional American evangelical moral code and insisted on the centrality of CONVERSION.

While not all American evangelicals agreed that the church was a parenthesis, masses of the faithful nurtured the “blessed hope.” Their popular literature affirmed it, their Bible institutes typically taught Dispensationalism and their prophecy conferences attracted ever-increasing numbers to hear some of the era’s most adept preachers urge them to read the signs of the times in current events and to be ready for the rapture.

As a core of American evangelicals rallied to what they regarded as the essentials of Christian faith, they worked through churches and agencies dedicated to upholding the verbal inspiration of Scripture, the exclusivity of the Gospel message, EVANGELISM, and an empowered LAITY. They cooperated in faith Missions as an alternative to denominational mission boards. Faith missions, targeting specific needs or areas, depended on the direct prayers and support of the faithful to accomplish evangelism. The most famous of the early faith missions was undoubtedly the CHINA INLAND MISSION (CIM), brainchild of the Englishman J. HUDSON TAYLOR. With offices in CANADA and the UNITED STATES, the CIM, under the direction of its long-time North American leader, Henry Frost, enlisted hundreds of young American men and women to go to inland China without salary to spread the gospel.

Tract societies and publishing houses bent the latest technologies to the conservative evangelical cause. At about the same time that the Scofield Bible first appeared, a group of evangelicals concerned about the drift of Protestantism from its moorings pulled together twelve small volumes of essays making the case for the points that conservatives held dear. Edited by people such as Southern Baptist pastor Amzi Clarence Dixon (brother of Thomas Dixon of “Birth of a Nation” fame); educator, pastor, and evangelist REUBEN A. TORREY; and the prominent Jewish convert Louis Meyer, the books were funded by a generous grant from Los Angeles laymen Lyman and Milton Stewart. The Stewarts envisioned a series that addressed current critical issues, and they intended their funds to ensure that the religious leadership of the English-speaking world received copies. The series, known as *The Fundamentals*, appeared between 1910 and 1913. An estimated three million copies circulated before the outbreak of World War I.

The series helped give the mounting movement its enduring name. Other declarations offered lists of basic beliefs. The most famous of these, the “Five Points of Fundamentalism,” were part of a formulation developed by the Northern Presbyterian Church during the 1890s and decreed formally in 1910. In that year, the denomination identified Five Points as “essential and necessary” doctrines of the church: (1) the original autograph of Scripture as inspired and without error, (2) the virgin birth, (3) the

“satisfaction” theory of the ATONEMENT, (4) the physical resurrection, and (5) the miracles of Jesus. The Presbyterian Church demanded that its seminary professors use inerrancy as a starting point for biblical and theological scholarship. During the 1890s, Charles Briggs of Union Seminary (New York) and Preserved Smith of Lane Seminary (Cincinnati) were dismissed for heresy, and Union Seminary’s church historian, A.C. McGiffert, resigned from the Presbyterian ministry, each in part a victim of the clash between modern scholarly method and affirmations that attempted to capture the historic essence of evangelicalism. (Presbyterians were quick to point out that these were “extra-creedal.”)

The most famous public moment in the history of American fundamentalism occurred in July 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee when WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN and Clarence Darrow faced each other in a courtroom showdown on evolution. Tennessee law—like that of several other southern states—forbade the teaching of evolution. In both the North and the South, influential pastors and members of such groups as statewide anti-evolution leagues, the Bible Crusaders of America, the Defenders of the Christian Faith, and the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association (established in 1919 to promote cooperative national strategies to combat threats like the teaching of evolution) bent their efforts toward keeping creationism in school textbooks. A three-time Democratic presidential candidate and former Secretary of State, Bryan had earned a reputation as an orator. Darrow was the country’s most visible attorney, famous for his reasoning, his oratory, and the cases he had defended. The nation hung on newspaper reports of the spectacle that the Scopes trial became. Darrow seemed to handily make a fool of Bryan, though Bryan technically won the case. Reporters, none more ably than the *Baltimore Sun’s* H.L. Mencken, ridiculed fundamentalism as narrow obscurantism. A long list of national spectacles lingers in the collective American memory of the 1920s, but none was more damaging to the public image of fundamentalism than the Scopes trial.

If the public turned to other spectacles, members of American Protestant denominations did not. The struggle for control seemed ever more intense. Polity and the extent of early liberal inroads spared Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM) and Northern Methodists the bitter infighting that beset Presbyterians and Baptists. Conservatives held the upper hand in the Northern Presbyterian Church, but the Auburn Affirmation of 1924, with more than 1,200 signatures, condemned the famous Five Points of 1910 as well as the biblical literalism that undergirded them. During the 1920s, controversy swirled around HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, a professor at New York’s liberal Union Theological Seminary and regular guest preacher at New York City’s First Presbyterian Church. One of the country’s best-known preachers, in 1922 the Baptist Fosdick preached a plea for reconciliation that publicist Ivy Lee retitled and transformed into a liberal battle cry: “Shall the Fundamentalists Win?” Fosdick ultimately resigned the Presbyterian pulpit and moved to the new Riverside Church. Built by John D. Rockefeller specifically for Fosdick, Riverside stood along the Hudson River across Broadway from Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary, where Fosdick intended to influence the best minds of the next generation. Meanwhile, Southern Baptist John Roach Straton also held forth in New York at Calvary Baptist Church, attacking Fosdick and making his sanctuary an influential center in the national struggle for the soul of American Protestantism.

Denominational controversies inevitably involved seminaries. Perhaps the most famous case unfolded at the Presbyterians' Princeton Theological Seminary. In *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923), Princeton New Testament professor JOHN GRESHAM MACHEN insisted that liberalism was not Christianity. Rumbblings of dissent troubled the seminary through the 1920s and led in 1929 to the withdrawal of conservatives and the founding of Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia. Author Pearl Buck became a focus of conservative discontent with Presbyterian foreign MISSIONS, and conservatives established an independent foreign missions board. When the denomination barred the Independent Board of Missions, conservatives formed a new Presbyterian denomination (that itself divided in 1937 over premillennialism), known after 1939 as the Orthodox Presbyterian Church.

In 1920 many Baptist fundamentalists in the north-east associated in the National Federation of Fundamentalists of the Northern Baptists. William Bell Riley, Minneapolis Baptist pastor and Bible institute founder, and Texas Baptists J.Frank Norris and T.T. Shields led a BAPTIST BIBLE UNION that assaulted liberalism and evolution. Their inability to agree led in a few years to the disintegration of the Union. In 1928 Norris created the World Fundamentalist Baptist Missionary Fellowship, complete with Bible institute, mission board, and periodical, *The Fundamentalist*. A split in 1950 gave rise to the Baptist Bible Fellowship International. Meanwhile, conservative secessions from the Northern Baptist Convention led to the founding of new denominations, including the General Association of Regular Baptists (1932) (see GENERAL BAPTISTS) and the CONSERVATIVE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION (1947).

As important as the emergence of new denominations were the clusters of independent congregations—Gospel tabernacles, Bible churches, freestanding Congregationalist or Baptist churches—that served a constituency disenchanted with liberalism in the pulpit. Their support for such congregations and for publications, Bible institutes, radio broadcasts, and mission agencies helped organize fundamentalists into a web of overlapping networks that made them a powerful grassroots influence. Even denominations that did not endure splits were not immune to powerful fundamentalist voices. For example, Southern Methodists like L.W.Munhall and Los Angeles's fiery “fighting Bob” Shuler rallied the fundamentalist faithful from many settings.

Such popular voices encouraged the faithful to hold fast to the truths at stake in denominational battles. Since the death of D.L.Moody in 1899, a long list of evangelists had taken up his mantle. Nationally, the most famous was BILLY SUNDAY, a converted professional baseball player whose vigorous PREACHING style captivated audiences across the land. His evangelistic party included several who greatly enhanced his influence—his wife, Helen, Bible teacher Virginia Asher, and songster Homer Rodeheaver. When Sunday died in 1935, *The Christian Century* declared the end of an era and opined that the fundamentalist movement he represented would disappear as well. The liberal Protestant elite failed to notice what was happening on the ground.

Evangelicals had seized on the possibilities of radio and were using it to build a popular constituency unimaginable only a few years earlier. Evangelist Paul Rader used his Chicago Tabernacle as the base for all-day broadcasting over the city's powerful WBJT (Where Jesus Blesses Thousands)/WBBM. Charles and Grace Fuller's “Old-Fashioned Revival,” with its upbeat music, stirring homey sermons, and Grace “Honey” Fuller's motherly reading of listeners' letters, emanated from the Long Beach (California)

Auditorium, and became a fixture among conservatives of many denominations. Missouri Synod Lutherans offered "The Lutheran Hour" with the popular Walter Meier, a program that drew a wide non-Lutheran audience (see LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD).

If national and local radio broadcasting revealed growing fundamentalist strength, the increasing number of Bible institutes training laity and clergy refuted liberal hopes of fundamentalist retreat. Nearly 100 new Bible institutes were organized between 1930 and 1950, and their graduates became a fundamentalist army of sorts, working at home and abroad. If they did not directly engage theological issues in ways that demanded national attention, they manifested the enduring appeal of their message.

Fundamentalism was never monolithic, and during the 1940s, some basic rifts became apparent. Three representative clusters of issues reveal some of the inner tensions: (1) engaging the academy, (2) separatism, and (3) PENTECOSTALISM.

During the 1940s, a new generation of conservatives determined to reform fundamentalism by reappropriating the evangelical label and reengaging the academy. Protestantism in general had clearly lost its dominance in defining America's moral life, but men like CARL F.H.HENRY and Harold John Ockenga believed that they had something positive to offer. The fundamentalist label seemed worn and linked to old controversies. A group of young evangelicals eschewed it in favor of a focus on the positive affirmations the tradition held for contemporary concerns. They pursued advanced education, gaining credentials that prepared them to teach and write in dialogue with the scholarly issues of the day. Known as neoevangelicals, in the World War II era these men assumed evangelical leadership roles as teachers, pastors, editors (especially of *Christianity Today*), and theologians. Their determination led to the creation of Fuller Seminary in Pasadena, California. Named for radio evangelist Charles E.Fuller, Fuller Seminary came to represent the promise of serious new evangelical scholarship and the intentions of these reformist fundamentalists.

From the 1930s, separation loomed as a potentially divisive issue for fundamentalists. In the absence of a single cohesive organizing mechanism, interrelated fundamentalist networks often centered in charismatic personalities. A few of these became powerful voices for separation not only from worldliness, but also from churches and agencies affiliated with liberal denominations. Among the most outspoken were Carl MacIntyre, John R. Rice, and Bob Jones. When neoevangelicals reclaimed the evangelical name and sponsored a NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS (NAE), the separatist agenda became a national issue. The NAE welcomed denominations, independent congregations, and congregations affiliated with denominations that held membership in such ecumenical agencies as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. Separatists objected to such mixing of fundamentalist truth and liberal Protestant error. The debate in the NAE's *United Evangelical Action* was long and bitter. In the end, the separatists abandoned the NAE's efforts to keep their networks free from the taint of association with error.

While separatism was perhaps the primary dividing point between these neoevangelicals and old-line fundamentalists, the same people split along similar lines over accepting Pentecostals as evangelicals. Although some Pentecostals had long indicated their affinities for fundamentalism, fundamentalist associations had not warmed to cooperation with Pentecostals. For one thing, the notes to the Scofield Bible held that

spiritual gifts had ceased with the apostles, and dispensationalists tended to frown on any who advocated the contemporary centrality of spiritual gifts. The organizers of the NAE indicated their willingness to see the larger picture. On the Five Points or the topics of *The Fundamentals*, Pentecostals and evangelicals found themselves in essential agreement. On their part, separatists tended to be as wary of perceived errors among conservatives as of liberal heresies. Pentecostals became partners in the NAE, but they never won acknowledgment as fundamentalists.

After World War II, differentiating fundamentalists from evangelicals became a thorny task. Some self-professed new evangelicals manifested decidedly fundamentalist predilections, while others abandoned dispensationalism, moved from the legalism and prescription long central to fundamentalism, and advocated responsible Christian freedom. Historian George Marsden once quipped that a fundamentalist might be described as “an evangelical who is angry about something.” A generation later, some suggest that the differences within this family of conservative Protestants are as much sociological as theological: Fundamentalist networks offer specific do’s and don’ts for all of life, whereas evangelicals exercise choice in a context framed by scriptural injunctions. Another way of sorting might be to regard all fundamentalists as evangelicals, but not all evangelicals as fundamentalists. Bible institutes, colleges, broadcasts, camps, and periodicals still nurture the networks that make fundamentalism a vigorous grassroots movement, and its political voice in the New CHRISTIAN RIGHT renews its public prominence. Social issues—especially those dealing with sexual ethics (see SEXUALITY) and public education—rally the faithful to invoke noisily the movement’s highly selective rendering of American history as well as the claims of Scripture.

The case of BILLY GRAHAM offers an example of the differentiation between evangelicals and fundamentalists. By most renderings, Graham, the product of a Southern Baptist home, a fundamentalist Bible college, and Wheaton College, a conservative, undergraduate institution, drew his early support from a mix of fundamentalists and new evangelicals. He used YOUTH FOR CHRIST, a fundamentalist youth movement, as his base for building a team and gaining experience as an evangelist. For eight years, his crusades heartened conservative Christians to hope for a national revival. Then in 1957 Graham launched a crusade at Madison Square Garden. He welcomed ministers of many denominations, liberal and conservative, to the platform and commended his converts to their pastoral care. Livid fundamentalist separatists accused Graham of betraying the Gospel, while many neo-evangelicals supported his stance. The quarrel was not about the Five Points or the doctrines of *The Fundamentals*’, rather, it centered on notions of separation and purity that fundamentalists had added to the doctrinal views that first animated their movement.

Fundamentalism retains strong grassroots appeal. In some of its power bases, the Scofield Bible and dispensationalism have yielded to other views of history and other readings of Scripture. In others, the Authorized Version amplified with Scofield’s notes remains the only accepted text. The Bible Colleges and institutes serve large constituencies of fundamentalist youth who eschew a liberal arts education in favor of hands-on training for evangelistic outreach. One of the first remains the best known of the institutes, Chicago’s Moody Bible Institute. Dallas Theological Seminary, long a bastion of fundamentalist education, JERRY FALWELL’S Liberty University in Lynchburg, Virginia, and Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina are among

the best known of hundreds of schools that serve the constituency and mobilize tens of thousands of alumni to faithfulness to the cause. Radio preachers, publications, denominations, churches, camps, missions agencies, and political organizations—many with offices in Colorado Springs—channel fundamentalist outreach, and some, like Focus on the Family or Campus Crusade for Christ, straddle the hazy borderline with evangelicalism and appeal to all but the most vehement fundamentalists. Best-selling authors like Hal Lindsay (*The Late Great Planet Earth*) and Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins (the *Left Behind* series) demonstrate continued broad cultural fascination with the vivid fundamentalist picture of the end-times. The perceived lack of moral compass in American life raises the movement's appeal among those who yearn for absolute standards of right and wrong.

See also Creation Science

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FUNERARY RITES

As is the case for much of Protestant worship, REFORMATION era funerary rites were formed in reaction to what the reformers considered to be serious defects and abuses in the WORSHIP of the medieval church. Protestant responses to the burial practices of the Roman church ranged from attempts to purify and simplify these rites to an outright rejection of all burial ceremony altogether. It would be many generations before Protestant churches created their own distinctive and full funerary rites, but by the mid-twentieth century, most Protestant groups had produced fully developed funeral rites that were well grounded theologically, as witnesses to the resurrection, and expressions of pastoral care to the bereaved. Most recently, the Protestant tendencies toward freedom from institutional constraint and the importance of the individual have combined with certain trends in CULTURE to result in the increase of highly personalized, improvised, free-form memorial services instead of the set official burial liturgies of the churches.

Medieval Roman Burial Rites

To assess the depth and character of early Protestant reactions to medieval practices, it is important to understand how the Roman church actually ritualized the burial of the dead. Unfortunately, most of our knowledge of these rites comes from monastic sources, and, although it is assumed that the burials of ordinary Christians were somewhat similar, there were surely many local variations and departures from the monastic norms.

The typical pattern appears to be as follows: When someone died, bells were rung to notify the community that a death had occurred. At the home of the deceased, the body was washed and shrouded in preparation for burial, sometimes accompanied by the chanting of psalms. The body, covered by a pall, was then carried in procession to the church, where the Office of the Dead, consisting of prayers, psalms, and scripture, was said. After this, the requiem, or funeral, mass proper was observed, followed by prayers and chants for absolution. The body was incensed and sprinkled with holy water and then taken in solemn procession to the grave (either in the churchyard or under the church), where the sign of the cross was administered and the body buried. On the eve of the

Reformation, the overall mood of these rites was somber, focusing greatly on SIN, judgment, purgatory, and interceding on behalf of the soul after death.

Martin Luther and Early Lutheran Rites

Although MARTIN LUTHER produced manuals for BAPTISM and MARRIAGE, he did not do the same for funerals, but he did make his theological objections to the Roman burial practices clear. He saw the death of a Christian not in fearful ways but as “a deep, strong, and sweet sleep” and the coffin as “nothing but paradise.” Therefore, he composed a number of confident and hopeful burial Hymns to replace the “dirges and doleful songs” of the Roman ritual (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). Luther spoke out against such “popish abominations” as vigils, requiem masses, purgatory, the desperate prayers begging for the deceased to be spared the judgment, and “all other hocus-pocus on behalf of the dead.”

Because Luther himself created no authoritative burial rite, a number of funeral orders sprang up in the various areas of Lutheran influence (see LUTHERANISM). However, all of these reflect in their own way Luther’s desire for simplicity and hopefulness, and express his conviction that funerals should be conducted “with proper decorum in order to honor and praise that joyous article of our faith, namely, the resurrection of the dead.” A typical early Lutheran burial order began with a procession, sometimes led by a cross-bearer, from the home of the deceased directly to the grave. Along the way, the worshipers would sing psalms (Psalms 90 and 130 were often included) and hymns, including the “*Media Vita*” (“In the midst of life we are in death,” an eleventh-century text that was well-known in GERMANY and formed the basis of Luther’s hymn *Mitten wir im Leben sind*). The burial itself probably took place in silence and was often followed by a brief service at the grave, in the church, or at the home of the deceased consisting of Scripture, hymns, prayers, and sometimes a sermon.

Early Reformed Practices

The early Reformed tradition stands on the more extreme end of the reaction to the medieval Roman burial rites, even to the point that many of its adherents were buried with no ceremony whatsoever. JOHN CALVIN himself seems to have allowed at least the minimum ceremony of a fitting sermon preached at graveside, but the laws of sixteenth-century Geneva were completely indifferent to any ordered funeral practice, being content essentially to warn against unbiblical superstition and to leave the rest to family discretion.

In the early decades after the Reformation, a sparse pattern of burial without ceremony, sometimes followed by a brief sermon on the resurrection, seems to have established itself as the norm among the Reformed churches. As time went on, however,

this minimalist approach became more and more difficult to maintain in the face of pastoral needs at the time of death. Gradually here and there among the Reformed communities, some ritual was added to the unadorned act of placing the body in the ground, such as the minister saying words of committal, and the sermons began to display more comfort for the bereaved. These accommodations were never without controversy, however, and the command of the Puritan-influenced *Westminster Directory of Public Worship* (1645) to “let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be... immediately interred, without any ceremony” reflects the tendency of the Reformed groups to avoid what they regarded as the pomp and superstition of funeral rituals altogether. It was not until the nineteenth century that anything like complete funeral orders were followed in the Reformed churches.

Early Anglicans, Wesley, and the Methodist Movement

If the Reformed tradition expresses the most drastic rejection of the medieval funerary rites, the most conserving Protestant response to those ceremonies can be seen in the Anglican tradition. Archbishop THOMAS CRANMER, whose liturgical genius lay behind the 1549 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, simplified the Roman rites and made them more hopeful, but left much of the Catholic pattern in place, including an optional office of the dead and a eucharistic service observed either before or after burial. Although there were still prayers of petition for the departed (a practice condemned by the Lutheran and Reformed traditions), the theological center of gravity had clearly shifted from fear to hope, from pleading for the soul of the departed to the idea of eternal rest in Christ.

The 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* came under criticism from continental reformers, however. MARTIN BUCER, for example, had complained, “since scripture nowhere teaches us by word or example to pray for the departed... I wish that this commendation of the dead and prayer for them be omitted.” The 1552 revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* showed the effects of these and other criticisms and included a burial service that is much-abbreviated, eliminates the observance of the Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER), and omits the prayers and commendations on behalf of the departed. Subsequent editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* move back and forth between the conservatism of the 1549 version and the more austere tendencies of the 1552 revision.

Among the Methodists, JOHN WESLEY’S 1784 *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America With Other Occasional Services* included a burial service that closely followed the then-current (1662) Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. But perhaps what most set the early Methodists apart was the unofficial but widespread practice of singing, as the body was carried to the grave, joyful hymns with confident evangelical expressions, such as “Rejoice for a brother deceased, our loss is his infinite gain.”

As for the service itself, Wesley shortened the *Book of Common Prayer* ritual, and he omitted both the service of committal and the prayer specifically giving thanks to God that “it hath pleased Thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful

world.” These changes were mainly in keeping with Puritan objections to the *Book of Common Prayer*, but they were also in accord with Wesley’s own desire for an emphasis on the gospel and for simplicity. Wesley’s own last will and testament called for his body to be carried to the grave by “six poor men” (who would be paid for the service from his estate) and stated that “I particularly desire there may be no horse, no coach, no escutcheon, no pomp, except the tears of them that loved me.... “In the nineteenth century, some of the passages Wesley omitted from the *Book of Common Prayer* were restored to the Methodist burial service, including the committal. But the language of the committal was altered to provide an emphasis on the general hope of resurrection rather than on any knowledge of the fate of the deceased (see METHODISM).

Free Church and Anabaptist Churches

The churches of the left wing of the Reformation shared with other Protestants a general suspicion of Roman burial ceremonies and doctrines. With no official liturgies in place, the free churches generally developed funeral practices along the lines of local custom, basically preferring simple observances involving scripture and prayer, at graveside or in the church. CLERGY were sometimes present, but often free church burials were conducted by family members, friends, or other lay persons. Beginning in the nineteenth century, service manuals and other published funeral resources for FREE CHURCH and independent clergy use were developed, such as Gould and Shakespeare’s *A Manual for Free Church Ministers* (1905), but these had, of course, no authoritative status.

Contemporary Developments and Issues

Because the first Protestant burial liturgies were reactions to what the reformers considered to be Roman abuses, these services tended to be theological and ritual overcorrections. Many of the initial Protestant services showed little tolerance for any positive reference to the life of the deceased, for any expression of deep grief or any theological emphasis but cheerful hope, and for any local custom that might hint at superstition. What was gained in theological purity, however, was often lost in pastoral compassion. Thus the subsequent development of Protestant funeral liturgies has generally been marked by more rounded services that are increasingly open to the human aspects of grief and loss, more supportive of the need to remember the life of the person who has died, and more adaptable to a wide range of local customs and conventions.

In the mid-twentieth century, most Protestant groups, influenced both by a THEOLOGY of divine compassion and an increasing awareness of the psychology of grief, produced funeral liturgies that were similar enough in form and substance to constitute something of a consensus. These services were generally two-part ceremonies: the funeral proper, with an emphasis on the proclamation of the resurrection, followed by

a graveside committal service, in which the deceased was bid farewell and entrusted to God. These services were characterized by brevity, by an emphasis on the hope and thanksgiving for the life of the deceased, by the encouragement to include a funeral sermon, and by sufficient choices in prayers and Scripture readings to make these rites adaptable to various situations (such as the death of a child) and many levels of grief. Most of these twentieth-century revisions attempted to reclaim, at least as an option for the service, the early church custom of observing the Eucharist on the occasion of death, but this practice did not receive wide acceptance.

In the late twentieth century, however, several factors and forces converged to place these consensus Protestant funeral rites under stress. First, the bonds connecting people to the institutional church were loosened, and the kind of innovation and personalization frequently at work in marriage ceremonies began to take hold in death rituals as well. Many Protestants feel quite free to depart from the set liturgies and to create highly individualized and customized funerary rites.

Second, psychological and therapeutic ideas about grief, which earlier had enhanced traditional Christian views of death and loss by adding pastoral care themes to the funeral liturgy, now began gradually to rival those theological views. Thus, the purpose of funerals tended to shift away from an emphasis on hope for the deceased toward a concentration on the "grief work" of the mourner, away from a clear emphasis on the larger theological meanings of death toward more focus on the biography of the deceased and the meaning of loss for the living.

Moreover, a strong consumerist critique of the cost of funerals, a sharp worldwide rise in the rate of cremation, a desire for less melancholy and more celebrative ceremonies, a decreased interest in the symbolism of the physical body of the deceased, and, to some extent, an attempt to turn the focus away from death and toward the hope of the resurrection have combined to encourage the practice of memorial services instead of funerals. Memorial services, in which the body of the deceased is absent, typically are held some days or weeks after the death and feature some elements of the older funeral pattern (e.g., Scripture, prayers, and hymns), but they also often include several eulogies or remembrances of the deceased. Because of the mobility and fragmentation of contemporary society, the village structure implied in older funeral liturgies no longer pervades. Thus, attendance at funerals and memorial services today is declining (except in the case of the death of a celebrity or someone of unusual recognition), and, consequently, they tend to be smaller gatherings of family and friends rather than community-wide events.

See also Death and Dying

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THOMAS G.LONG

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GALLICAN CONFESSION

The Gallican Confession is the earliest comprehensive statement of belief for the Reformed Churches of FRANCE. Delegates to the first National Synod, meeting secretly at Paris, adopted the text in May 1559. The seventh National Synod, held at La Rochelle in 1571, meticulously reexamined and confirmed the various articles. Accordingly, the declaration is also known as the Confession of Faith of La Rochelle. Subsequent gatherings of the national SYNOD reviewed and made minor modifications into the seventeenth century. Although the CONFESSION appears to have fallen into disuse after the 1650s, it was not officially superseded until 1872.

The Gallican Confession's forty articles, preceded by an eloquent preamble, were likely based on a Genevan model or a confession drawn up in 1557 for presentation to King Henry II. The structure, at once simple and elegant, follows a classic pattern. The first eight articles outline the Reformed understanding of God and enumerate the canonical books of Scripture from which this knowledge flows. Three subsequent articles discuss human nature and original SIN. Articles 12–19 treat SALVATION through Christ. The next five take up the divine gift of FAITH and the promise of regeneration. A series of fifteen articles then discusses in turn the DOCTRINE of the CHURCH, ecclesiastical organization, and the SACRAMENTS. The final two articles touch on the temporal magistrates, civil laws, and their relationship to divine AUTHORITY.

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RAYMOND A. MENTZER

GALLUS, NIKOLAUS (1516–1570)

German lutheran theologian. Gallus, born Nikolaus Hahn, was the eldest son of the mayor of Köthen. Like many affected by Humanism, he Latinized his name to Gallus. In 1530 he enrolled at the University of Wittenberg. There he studied under Justus Jonas, Jacob Schenck, MARTIN LUTHER, and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. He earned his master's degree in THEOLOGY in 1537. After a brief leave he returned to Wittenberg and in 1540 earned his Studium. He then assumed a teaching position in Mansfeld. In 1543, with the help of Luther and Melanchthon, he received a ministerial appointment in Regensburg. After the defeat of Protestant forces in the Schmalkaldic War in 1548 and the implementation of the AUGSBURG INTERIM, Gallus left Regensburg over his unwillingness to accept the Interim. He first traveled to Wittenberg, but quickly moved on to Magdeburg.

Magdeburg was a well-fortified city that did not fall in the War of Schmalkald and thus became a Mecca for those who still hoped to fight against the Interim. The Interim reinstated many of the liturgical practices abandoned by the Protestants. To make this acceptable, Melanchthon put forward an interpretation of DOCTRINE where such practices were considered adiaphoristic; that is, they were considered “(theologically) indifferent things.” (see ADIAPHORA) From Magdeburg Gallus and such reformers as NIKOLAUS VON AMSDORF, MATTHIAS FLACIUS, and others issued a large number of pamphlets against the Interim. These pamphlets can be grouped in three major categories: (1) those that attacked the Interim, (2) those that defended the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, and (3) those that called for armed resistance to the Interim. Of those pamphlets, broadsheets, and apologies, the most complete and most influential was the *Confession, Instruction, and Warning of the Pastors and Preachers of the Christian Church in Magdeburg*, published in April of 1550 and written by Gallus.

The *Confession* is divided into seven chapters, grouped into three sections. The first section (chapters 1–7) recapitulates the main doctrinal *loci* of the Augsburg Confession. Section two discusses resistance theory, and section three warns of judgment against those who oppose Magdeburg. Over half of the document is devoted to the discussion of armed resistance to tyranny. The Confession is important because of its synthesis of earlier theories of resistance, its innovative interpretation of Romans 13, and its influence on later resistance theories. The *Confession* synthesized early sixteenth-century theories of NATURAL LAW and positive law theories into a unified theory of resistance by lesser magistrates. Gallus's unique reading of Paul's admonition to obey AUTHORITY

in Romans 13 argued that only those authorities that are a terror to evildoers are in fact ordained by God. If authorities terrorize the good they betray themselves as agents of the DEVIL. Finally the *Confession* had international fame and influence. Its influence can be seen in the theories of resistance developed by Calvinists (such as THEODORE BEZA and JOHN KNOX) later in the sixteenth century.

In 1553 Gallus returned to Regensburg. During the 1550s and 1560s he was involved in every major intra-Lutheran controversy, including the Adiaphorist Controversy mentioned above, but also the controversies concerning free will, the Council of Trent, ANDREAS OSIANDER, CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD, and Georg Major. Gallus died in 1570.

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DAVID WHITFORD

GARRISON, WINFRED (1874–1969)

American church historian and educator. Garrison was born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1874 and died in Houston, Texas, in 1969. An active member of the Christian Church/DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, he was a prominent historian, receiving his Ph.D. in church history from the University of Chicago in 1897. His publications include over twenty books, most on Christianity in the UNITED STATES.

In 1898 Garrison became an instructor at the Disciples Divinity School, University of Chicago. From 1899 to 1906, Garrison was the president of Butler College. Moving to New Mexico for health reasons, he became president of New Mexico State University. In 1921 Garrison returned to the Disciples Divinity School to become associate professor, from which he retired in 1943. At the age of 81, Garrison helped establish the department of philosophy and religion at the University of Houston.

Multitalented, Garrison was an accomplished violinist, sculptor, linguist, educational administrator, and author. A founding member of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Garrison served on that board in various capacities for twenty-eight years. He was also on the editorial board of *The Christian Century* for over thirty years.

Garrison's particular interests were Protestantism, Christian unity, and the development of Christianity in the United States. He noted that Christianity in early America often took on the frontier characteristics of equality, independence, and INDIVIDUALISM (see FRONTIER RELIGION). He maintained that the unity that American Christianity and Protestant denominationalism sought in the new world would be found only by allowing for differences of opinion while uniting on a singular belief in Christ.

See also American Society of Church History; Higher Education; Seminaries

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DAVID L.LITTLE

GENDER

Cultural and theological assumptions about gender have played an important role in shaping Protestant thought and practice. Although Protestantism has no single body of teaching or rule of practice about gender roles, changing attitudes about masculinity and femininity have significantly affected Protestant conceptions of church leadership and norms of marriage and family life. Many scholars also find gender identity central to the often unstated dynamics of religious “feminization” within church bodies. The gendered nature of religious experience has also shaped Protestant spirituality, particularly within sectarian movements, where nontraditional gender usages may help symbolize a group’s divergence from the Protestant mainstream.

Gender as a Category of Analysis

Gender refers to the many possible social meanings attached to male and female sexual difference. Though these biological givens do not change much over time, ideas about their larger meaning may vary widely, for as scholars argue, gender is a cultural product constructed from the texts, rules, or traditions of a particular time and place. Gender constructions pose ideals of masculine and feminine behavior and appearance, and they influence practices around marriage, sexuality, and child-rearing.

Gender is also a “useful category of historical analysis” (Scott 1988) because, as postmodernist scholars argue, it provides important clues about power relationships within a given society. Conflicts over gender roles, and the use of gendered language, may often point toward larger anxieties about the social order, particularly during times of rapid change. Scholars disagree over the degree to which gender categories are imposed upon or created by persons and groups, though most would agree that such constructions are not rigidly deterministic, but allow room for various forms of individual “negotiation.”

Analysis of gender in Protestant history, and in a wide variety of other subject areas, owes much to women’s history, but the two are not the same. Gender studies built on women’s studies, an area of study that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, itself an outgrowth of second-wave feminism. The initial purpose of women’s studies was

compensatory, as a way of making up for the dearth of historical, scientific, and psychological information about women, but the explosion of scholarship on women led to more interpretive questions about gender roles, including new ones about men and masculinity. Attention to gender as an interpretive category has opened new forms of cultural analysis and invited attention to various meanings attached to marriage, sexuality, and parenthood. Gender studies also, of course, raised a host of unanswered questions about masculinity as a specific realm of experience that has changed over time and across cultures.

Sources of Protestant Tradition

In the absence of any received tradition, Protestant assumptions about gender have arisen within the boundaries of certain scriptural norms, and they have both reflected and reinforced prevailing cultural ideas about male and female differences. One influential model of gender in Western thought, for example, is based in Aristotelian biology and on an interpretation of Genesis 1:26–27, that “man” was created in God’s image. According to this view, humanity is primarily male and women are derivative, defective beings, forever imperfect because they do not possess the original imprint of the divine. A corollary of this androcentric monism or single-sex model, influenced by Greek psychology and the writings of Augustine, located the divine image in human rationality. Thus masculinity became identified with the capacity for rational thought, and femininity with the realm of emotion and intuition. The view of women as fundamentally flawed and subrational has contributed to the recurring identification within Christian thought of the woman Eve as the primary sinner, and her feminine weakness the means by which humanity was inflicted with original sin.

Another influential set of assumptions about gender, most often associated with nineteenth-century romanticism, viewed men and women as entirely different beings, neither in any sense derivative of the other. Although both sexes were said to reflect different aspects of the divine—men were still identified with objective rationality and women with emotional expressiveness—this model built on a strong identity between femininity and religion. Men were less adept in spiritual matters, it was assumed, because they lacked the requisite feeling, while women were seen as inherently, intuitively suited for religious work.

Protestant assumptions about gender have also been influenced by an array of feminist critiques. In the west, the eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT introduced the principle (though not necessarily the practice) of gender neutrality before the law. This egalitarian model of feminism has greatly affected debates about women’s ordination and ecclesiastical representation, especially since the rise of second-wave feminism in the 1960s. As Christianity’s center of balance has shifted over the course of the twentieth century from the West to AFRICA, Asia, and LATIN AMERICA, Protestant theologizing about gender has also been challenged by new generations of feminist thinkers, including Latina *mujerista* and African American womanist writers.

Conceptions of Leadership

Protestant assumptions about gender have often formed within the context of debates about women's ecclesiastical roles, arguments in which the range of Protestant theological and social diversity are clearly evident. The common argument against female priests, that they cannot represent Christ because they do not share his male embodiedness, primarily applies to Protestant denominations with a more episcopal structure, where leadership draws from a direct line of succession from Christ and his apostles. However, most other Protestant bodies, especially those with a more congregational basis of government, have struggled to articulate the meaning of gender as a basis for ecclesiastical practice. The issue has forced them to weigh the relative importance of two Protestant principles, biblical warrant and individual freedom—a difficult theological maneuver at best.

On the one hand, Protestant groups are constrained by their understanding of biblical norms. The New Testament, and the Pauline letters in particular, contain scattered but directed passages about feminine submission to masculine authority, including some strictures against women assuming positions of religious leadership. For some Protestants, including many conservative evangelicals, the discussion has ended here: an individual's gender determines eligibility for church office.

This approach has come up against the biblical principle of spiritual equality (Galatians 3:28), however, as well as the historic Protestant emphasis on lay participation. Among pentecostal groups especially, the central importance of the Holy Spirit in calling and equipping individuals for various tasks has, at times, facilitated more equal access to church leadership. Not surprisingly perhaps, women have often been some of the earliest leaders of new spiritual movements, for example, the prophetic church movement in Africa.

As a result of these often countervailing pressures, Protestant practice has assumed an often confusing variety of forms, but the categories are durable. In fact, many of the deliberations among Protestant bodies about the ordination of homosexual persons have resembled previous debates about women in church office. The debate also raises difficult questions about the nature of gender itself and the degree to which an individual's identity is biologically determined or socially constructed. Queries about the origins of gender identity draw on a raft of scientific knowledge—embryological, genetic, and psychological research; yet the even larger question, whether an individual's sexual identity should disqualify him or her for church office, remains an open question within the broadening scope of Protestant belief and practice.

Religion and Domesticity

The REFORMATION, particularly its affirmation of Christian family life, played a major role in shaping modern Western Protestant understandings of gender. The emerging view of marriage as a covenanted relationship built on a principle of spiritual equality,

continued to require female submission, but within a framework of responsible male leadership and sexual continence.

To be sure, the Reformers' critique of medieval Catholicism eradicated a pantheon of female saints and mystics, and removed Mary from her intercessory role. The closing of monastic orders also eliminated one major source of women's institutional power within the church; Protestant women would have few formal roles consonant with those of nuns or abbesses, or many powerful, positive models of female spirituality. Religious leadership in the Protestant Reformation was routinely denied to women, as the spiritually "weaker vessel."

Yet the Reformers also introduced some significant new requirements for men as husbands and fathers. Although MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) and JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) did not regard marriage as a sacrament, they held a high regard for the family as a school of religious formation and as a foundation of community life. Fathers especially had a responsibility to catechize their wives and children, and to rule responsibly. The rejection of clerical celibacy affirmed sexuality within marriage and led to increasing appreciation of its spiritual dimensions. Thus, in contrast to medieval acceptance of male incontinence as a necessity of nature, Luther taught that men had the power and the responsibility to control their sexual impulses because fatherhood required the ability to moderate one's personal desires.

The emphasis on the spiritual dimensions of marriage, evident most clearly among English Puritans, also introduced the possibility of a more egalitarian understanding of gender differences. Although the assumption of women's inferiority prevailed, the Puritan stress on inward piety could allow women and men to see each other as Christian companions within the bounds of a divinely sanctioned relationship. The result was an often paradoxical Protestant view of men and women as spiritual equals within a strict social hierarchy.

In the nineteenth century Christian domesticity was a central part of the message of Western missionaries. Women missionaries especially argued that to be Christian was, at least in part, to adopt Western domestic norms. Many missionaries thus challenged a variety of other cultural practices—polygamy, child marriages, and female circumcision—as fundamentally "unchristian," arguing (a bit ahistorically) that only Western-style Protestantism could elevate women to a position of true dignity and power. But in Africa, for example, the subsequent drive to eliminate polygamy introduced new economic and social hardships on the wives and children suddenly ejected from plural marriages.

Still, for women in patriarchal societies, religion can provide a hedge against male power. Church allegiance, especially for example, in Latin American pentecostal groups that forbid alcohol, tobacco, and sexual license, may bring about what one study has called a "reform of machismo" (Brusco 1995), restraining mostly male behaviors and authorizing women to enforce Christian standards of morality.

Feminization and Masculinization

Protestant beliefs and behaviors surrounding gender have often reflected the numerical reality that church membership has been predominantly female. Where churches follow a more open, voluntary structure, women have supported them in strong numbers, at least in part because this openness has allowed significant opportunities for leadership and personal expression, often unavailable elsewhere in society. In the nineteenth century, gender ideology encouraged women to identify with the cause of organized religion on the basis of their presumed spiritual affinity for such work.

Some critics have viewed feminization in a negative light. The tendency to identify religion as “women’s work,” they suggest, has contributed to its cultural irrelevance in the modern era. Religious feminization has been associated with the rise of sentimental piety, as well as the emergence of a more humanitarian liberal theology out of a presumably “masculine” rationalistic Calvinism. Pressures around feminization have also contributed to resistance against women in church leadership roles, based on the worry that female predominance there would remove any remaining incentives for men to support organized religion.

Churches have perceived feminization as problematic most often during times of anxiety about low levels of male membership. The problem has increased with the growing social bifurcation, especially in the secularizing West, between what has been perceived as the public (masculine) sphere of business and government, and the private (feminine) sphere of home and church. Movements within Protestantism, such as the “muscular Christianity” of the Victorians, and interdenominational “men’s movements” like the Promise Keepers in the late twentieth century, have attempted to redress the imbalance by promoting forms of worship and exhortation aimed directly at men.

Many scholars have also analyzed the role of gender in the emergence of fundamentalist movements, for these often include an aggressively masculine and/or antifeminist message. One of the similarities between Protestant fundamentalism and other non-Western forms is the common conviction that modern religious decline is related to family breakdown and, in particular, female independence from domestic constraints. Religious conservatives often emphasize the necessity of shoring up the traditional family, and restraining women’s public role, as a key to moral and spiritual revival.

Gender and Religious Experience

Evidence from Protestant history suggests that men and women may experience religion differently, and often in ways that subvert culturally accepted norms of gender. Nineteenth-century women’s evangelical conversion narratives, for example, emphasize sin and unworthiness more than men’s do, but they also show women finding new assertiveness as the result of the spiritual encounter. Puritan men who invoked feminine

biblical images—like the church as the “bride of Christ”—could access a realm of religious feeling otherwise denied them.

Not surprisingly perhaps, variant or radical forms of Protestantism have often experimented with gender roles. The radical Anabaptists in sixteenth-century Münster, for example, declared a new age of liberation and introduced polygamy—at least partly to deal with an overabundance of women and a relatively small number of men in their millennial society. The LatterDay Saints have made church-sanctioned marriage a central part of their eschatology, emphasizing its eternally binding, redemptive power.

Many leaders of new sects have been women who challenged prevailing gender ideologies. Mother ANN LEE (1736–1784) founder of the SHAKERS, a radical eighteenth-century sect, envisioned God as both male and female. Many Shakers believed that just as the male Christ had inaugurated one Christian era, a female redeemer (Mother Ann) would begin the next one. Christian Science, a movement founded by a woman, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), and over-whelmingly female in membership, rejected the assumption that the god of the Bible was male, and posited instead a nonmaterial “mother/father” god.

It is fitting then that so much fundamental debate in churches has involved gender issues. Protestantism has been shaped by a range of passionate arguments about the gender of God, maleness and eligibility for church office, and the use of gendered language in worship and in biblical translations. All of these point to the deep resonance of these elusive human categories within the history of Protestantism and in its future.

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MARGARET BENDROTH

GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTIST CHURCHES

The General Association of Regular Baptist Churches (GARBC) is a fundamentalist group of churches that broke from the Northern Baptist Convention (see AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES) in 1932 to form its own Association. It continues today as a Baptist denomination with more than 1,500 churches with a combined membership of 220,000-plus persons with various affiliated mission agencies, educational institutions, and other programs (see BAPTISTS).

Background

Beginning about 1919, when the Fundamentalist-Modernist (see MODERNISM) controversy was raging, Baptist leaders J.C.Massee and W.B.Riley called fundamentalists within the Northern Baptist Convention to meet each year before the Convention's annual meeting to press their cause. In 1920 Massee was elected president of the newly founded Fundamentalist Fellowship (in Buffalo, New York). Among other things, the Fellowship hoped to get the Northern Baptist Convention to adopt a confessional statement (similar to the New Hampshire Confession). In 1922 this effort failed, with the Convention voting instead that the New Testament was its only rule of faith. This led to the formation in 1923 (in Kansas City, Missouri) of the BAPTIST BIBLE UNION, a group comprising Northern Baptists (led by W.B.Riley), southern fundamentalists (led by J.F.Norris), and Canadian fundamentalists (led by T.T.Shields). In 1932, at the Union's last annual meeting (at the Belden Avenue Baptist Church in Chicago), the GARBC was formed by a group of thirty-four men from eight states.

Early History

At the May 1932 meeting in Chicago, Howard C. Fulton, pastor of the Belden Avenue Baptist Church, addressed the group on “What Regular Old Fashioned Baptists Stand For.” Twenty-two churches were represented and elected Harry G. Hamilton, from Buffalo, president of the new GARBC. The aim was to have an association (not a convention) of churches that would be separate from the Northern Baptist Convention. The GARBC adopted the New Hampshire Confession of Faith (1833) with a premillennial revision to the statement in 1934 in Gary, Indiana (see CONFESSIOIN).

By 1933, the GARBC had begun publishing *The Bulletin* (which became *The Baptist Bulletin* in 1934). In 1933 Robert T. Ketcham (1889–1978; born in Nelson, Pennsylvania) was elected vice president of the GARBC in 1933 and president in 1934, a post that he held until 1938. Ketcham was the single most influential person in the GARBC’s development. He served as the organization’s national representative (1948–1960), editor of *The Baptist Bulletin* (1948–1955), and national consultant (1960–1966). In 1934 the Council of Fourteen was established to carry out the directives of the annual meetings; this became the Council of Eighteen in 1972. The Council meets twice a year; its members are elected by delegates from GARBC churches at the annual meetings.

Developments

Early in its history the GARBC developed relationships with various mission agencies and educational institutions. By design, these agencies and institutions are not organizationally connected with the GARBC, but rather are approved (and listed) by the GARBC. Among the earliest approved mission agencies was the General Council of Cooperating Baptist Missions of North America (founded in 1920, with the name changed to Baptist Mid-Missions in 1953). The first schools approved were the Los Angeles Baptist Theological Seminary, founded in 1927, and the Baptist Bible Seminary in Johnson City, New York.

Currently, the GARBC has twelve approved mission agencies, among which the two best-known for international work are the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism (founded in 1927 as the Association of Baptists for Evangelism in the Orient; the current name was adopted in 1939; headquartered in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) and the Baptist Mid-Missions (founded in 1920, headquartered in Cleveland, Ohio). There are nine educational institutions approved by the GARBC: Baptist Bible College and Seminary (Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania); Cedarville University (Cedarville, Ohio), Faith Baptist Bible College and Theological Seminary (Ankeny, Iowa), Northwest Baptist Seminary (Tacoma, Washington), Shasta Bible College (Redding, California), Spurgeon Baptist Bible College (Mulberry, Florida), Temple Baptist Seminary and Tennessee Temple University (Chattanooga, Tennessee), and Western Baptist College (Salem, Oregon). Five compassion ministries (most of which are related to work with children) are

approved by the GARBC. In 1950 the Regular Baptist Press was established to meet the GARBC's publication needs. Its offices are located in Schaumburg, Illinois.

The national offices of the GARBC were originally located in Chicago. In 1965 the GARBC moved to Des Plaines, Illinois in 1965 and to Schaumburg, Illinois (the current location) in 1976. A new International Ministry Resource Center for the GARBC and the Regular Baptist Press was under construction in 2003. The highest position in the GARBC national office is called the National Representative. The first National Representative was appointed in 1944 (Heber O. Van Gilder, 1944–1948). Robert T. Ketcham was the National Representative from 1948 to 1960. Since then some of the National Representatives have been Paul R. Jackson (1903–1969), Joseph M. Stowell (born 1911) and Paul N. Tassell. In 2003 the National Representative was John Greening.

The GARBC reached 100 churches by 1938, 500 by 1949, and 1,000 by 1962, and has more than 1,500 churches today. The churches are located primarily in the North from New York westward and throughout the Midwest, and in Washington, California, and Florida. The churches also group themselves in various state and regional associations for local work and fellowship purposes.

Distinctives

The GARBC's primary distinctives are their Baptist, fundamentalist, separatist, and premillennialist identities. The church stresses Baptist distinctives in ways similar to all Baptist groups and is strongly committed to the proclamation of the Gospel. The GARBC emphasizes separation from worldliness and ecclesiastical apostasy, defined in part as theological liberalism and compromising accommodation (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). They understand the BIBLE to be inerrant (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY). The creation accounts are understood as literal and historical, and any form of theistic evolution is rejected. As an aspect of their premillennialism, they believe that at the second advent of Christ the SALVATION of Israel as a nation will occur in the Holy Land.

See also Baptist Family of Churches; Baptist Missions; Baptists, United States; Fundamentalism; Millenarians and Millennialism

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DAVID M.SCHOLER

GENERAL BAPTISTS

General Baptists emerged as the earliest group of the new Baptist faith in ENGLAND in the 1610s, and in the UNITED STATES beginning in the 1650s. They were marked by their more expansive, less Calvinistic views (in comparison with other BAPTISTS) on ATONEMENT and ELECTION. As they expressed it in their CONFESSION of 1678, “God’s love is manifest to all mankind, in that he is not willing, as himself hath sworn, and abundantly declared in his work, that man kind should perish eternally, but would have all to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. And Christ died for all men, and there is a sufficiency in his death and merits for the sins of the whole world...so that if any do perish, it’s not for want of the means of grace manifested by Christ to them” (Baker 1974:18). General Baptists believed that God’s offer of SALVATION was open to all, not just to a predestined elect (see PREDESTINATION; ELECTION). This stood in contrast to the insistence on “particular” atonement espoused by the Particular (and later the Separate) Baptists. But nearly all early Baptists agreed on other fundamental doctrines and practices, including BAPTISM of adult believers by immersion, religious liberty, the primacy of Scripture over all other religious AUTHORITY, and CONGREGATIONALISM in church government.

Early English General Baptists

Baptists in England and the United States emerged as a separatist movement within seventeenth-century English Protestantism. The early Baptists were divided into two groups, each with its own separate origin and history: the Particular Baptists and the General Baptists. As separatists from the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, the early General Baptists argued that true Christians must break completely from the Church of England and all forms of Christianity that partook at all of popery, and organize themselves into small bands of believers (congregations) led by elders and DEACONS (see CLERGY). A Cambridge graduate named JOHN SMYTH, who had sought asylum in Holland because of persecution, rebaptized himself in 1609, signifying his belief that baptism should be restricted to believers only. Smyth and a group of thirty-six others formed what is generally thought of as the first Baptist church after the publication of Smyth’s views on

baptism in 1609. One of those members, Thomas Helwys, then split with Smyth, returned to London in the early 1610s, and established a Baptist church there. In 1612, Helwys published (and was jailed for) a short, controversial pamphlet on religious liberty, arguing that “The King hath no power over the immortal soul of his subjects” (Brackney 1988:191).

Despite persecution, the General Baptists grew from five churches and 150 members in 1626 to about forty congregations in 1644. They created the General Assembly of General Baptists in 1654 and subscribed to a confession of faith in 1678. Their church government was relatively centralized in comparison to other groups, because they gave considerable authority to their general assemblies to act so as to “preserve unity” and “prevent heresy,” and with “lawful power to hear, and determine, as also to excommunicate” individuals and congregations that were not in accordance with the confession (Baker 1974:19). In the eighteenth century, the English General Baptists fell into disarray and largely died out. Most members joined up with other Protestant dissenters (such as the Quakers, or Friends), evolved into Unitarians or began attending congregations of other more successful Baptist groups (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF; DISSENT; NON-CONFORMITY).

General Baptists in the United States

General Baptists appeared in Rhode Island in the 1650s. In the United States the General Baptists retained their greatest strength in Rhode Island and other nearby regions through the eighteenth century, although some appeared in the South in the late seventeenth century. Over time, most General Baptist churches eventually merged into other Baptist groups, such as the Particular and then the Separate Baptists.

Under the influence of the Great Awakening “New Light” preaching (see AWAKENINGS), many General Baptist members began to accept more Calvinistic doctrines of limited atonement, whereas others moved in an opposite direction and merged with the growing movement of “FREE WILL BAPTISTS.” As a result, the General Baptists exercised relatively little influence in England or the United States after the mid-eighteenth century. In the United States, the Separates and Regular Baptists merged to form the dominant mainstream of Baptist life by the late eighteenth century.

Later Developments Among General Baptists

Small pockets of General Baptist sentiment survived, attracting those who believed in more general views on humankind atonement than the largely Calvinistic limited atonement, mainstream Baptist tradition. Later generations of General Baptists split over a number of issues. Some joined the Free Will Baptists. Others began describing themselves as the “Six-Principle” Baptists, adding to the normal run of Baptist beliefs the

idea that the laying on of hands was one of the gospel ordinances that Christians were commanded to obey. They took their principles from Hebrews 6:1–3, verses that outlined their six principles: repentance from sins, faith toward God, baptism by immersion, laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment.

In 1824, Benoni Stinson, a young Regular Baptist minister in Kentucky, grew dissatisfied with the harsh CALVINISM that he encountered among Baptist associations in his state. Failing to change its THEOLOGY, Stinson formed a new congregation that came to be called General Baptists. It held to the historic General Baptist view on the universal offer of salvation, and insisted on three ordinances: baptism, the LORD'S SUPPER, and WASHING OF FEET. Eventually, many of the "Stinsonites" merged with the Free Will Baptists, but a remnant of General Baptists originated by Stinson survives today and supports a small denominational establishment.

See also Americans United for the Separation of Church and State; Feet, Washing of; UnitarianUniversalist Association

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PAUL HARVEY

GENEVA BIBLE

The Geneva Bible was a translation made by exiles to Geneva during the reign of the Catholic queen of England, Mary Tudor (r. 1553–1558). Set in Roman type, with twenty-six engravings and five maps, each book was introduced by a preface and divided into verses. It became the most popular English Bible among Protestants in the British Isles and the New World because of comments in the margins, common in Renaissance books. These served as an interpretive device that placed it squarely in the Protestant camp, identifying the pope as ANTICHRIST. Read in Scottish churches, it also came to the New World with Pilgrims on the Mayflower (1620).

In 1555 JOHN CALVIN had welcomed Marian exiles to Geneva during an intense period of BIBLE publication in this Protestant printing center. Although the exact identity of William Whittingham's team of translators is uncertain, Anthony Gilby and Christopher Goodman participated. After the accession of ELIZABETH I (r. 1558–1603) to the English throne, Whittingham stayed in Geneva until May 1560, seeing the Bible through the press of Rowland Hall.

Frequently reprinted, after 1576, some editions substituted marginal notes revised by Laurence Tomson, based on notes by THEODORE BEZA (1519–1605) and Camerarius. From the late 1590s some Geneva Bibles substituted anti-Catholic notes by Franciscus Junius (1545–1602) on the Book of Revelation.

In 1604 James I (r. 1603–1625) claimed the Geneva Bible's notes allowed disobedience to kings. He ordered a new translation without marginal notes (1611). In 1616 printing the Geneva Bible in ENGLAND was forbidden, and it was imported from Amsterdam. This barrier was lifted after 1640. New marginal notes proved too expensive for the printing industry. A separate volume of annotations and commentary was published instead, enabling the King James Version of the Bible, itself influenced by the Geneva Bible (whose last known edition was 1644), to supersede it in popularity. Modern facsimile editions have allowed work on the enormous impact of the Bible and its marginalia.

See also Bible, King James Version; Bible Translation; Pilgrim Fathers

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JEANNINE E. OLSON

GENEVA CATECHISM

The 1542 *Catechism of the Church of Geneva* was JOHN CALVIN'S second original contribution to sixteenth-century catechetical literature. His first CATECHISM, published in 1537 during his first stay in Geneva, was a short summary of his THEOLOGY with many similarities to the developing INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. Like the first catechetical efforts of other Reformers (MARTIN LUTHER, JOHANNES BRENZ, MARTIN BUCER), this work proved too complex for catechetical use, and furthermore its author was forced out of Geneva in the following year. When invited to return in 1541, therefore, Calvin demanded thorough religious and moral reforms as a condition. One aspect of these reforms was intensive religious instruction. For this purpose Calvin wrote the Geneva Catechism in November of 1541. It was published in French the next year, and in Latin in 1545.

The sixteenth century saw intense catechetical activity among both Catholics and Protestants. This literature drew on fifteenth-century precedents and embodied a renewed concern for well-informed lay piety. Also influential was Desiderius Erasmus's 1533 *Explanation of the Creed*. Among evangelical catechisms, Luther's *German Catechism* of 1529 and his subsequent (and more effective) *Shorter Catechism* were particularly important. In southern GERMANY the free imperial city of Strasbourg produced a large number of catechisms throughout the 1520s and 1530s, two of them written by Bucer, the most important Strasbourg theologian, in 1534 and 1537, respectively. Calvin lived in Strasbourg during his exile from Geneva, 1537–1541. While there he translated into French the section of Bucer's 1537 catechism intended for young children, demonstrating his respect for Bucer as a catechist, although his 1542 catechism shows more debt to Bucer's 1534 *Short Scriptural Explanation*.

Sixteenth-century catechisms, like their medieval predecessors, consisted of an explanation of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the SACRAMENTS. Luther deviated from his predecessors by placing the Commandments before the Creed. This expressed his belief that the Law functioned primarily to convict us of our sinfulness and drive us to faith in Christ (the "second use" of the Law). This order was followed by many evangelical catechisms, including Calvin's 1537 attempt. The earlier editions of the *Institutes* (up to 1559) also began with the Law as a means of self-knowledge leading to faith in Christ. In southern Germany, however, it was more common to follow the medieval order, and Bucer's 1534 catechism did so. The 1542 Geneva Catechism, written after Calvin's stay in Strasbourg, also began with the Creed.

Theologically, placing the summary of the Law after the Creed expressed a focus on the Law as a guide to the Christian life (the so-called third use), which would become typical of “Reformed” Protestantism. However, Calvin’s continued use of the “Lutheran” order in the 1539 and 1543 versions of the *Institutes* should make us cautious about reading too much into this.

Calvin’s second catechism, unlike his first, adopted the question-and-answer format typical of the genre. Calvin expands this format into a dialogue, in which the minister might pose objections or make follow-up comments. Pedagogically this method may have made children feel as if they were taking a more active part in the learning process. Even though they were in fact reciting rote responses, the minister’s questions would encourage them to think more carefully about exactly why they were giving those particular answers.

The minister’s objections also led to the condemnation of erroneous positions. Calvin’s catechism is free from direct polemic, but occasionally the minister makes what appears to be a logical inference from what the child has just said, only to be corrected. For instance, after the child asserts that works done in faith are pleasing to God, the minister suggests that it follows that such works merit God’s love. This meets with a categorical “No.” The minister then objects, “You are not intending to say however that the good works of the faithful are useless?” And later, “But can we believe in order to be justified, without doing good works?” After the child has answered these questions correctly, the minister finally confirms the orthodox position: “Faith then...is the root from which [good works] are produced.” To which the child responds, “It is so.” This rigorous interrogation matches objections made by Catholics and would have been good preparation for the defense of Protestant beliefs in real debate. It also allows Calvin to address controversial issues without directly attacking his opponents.

The catechism is a summary of the Christian faith intended for pastoral purposes. It lacks the polemic of the *Institutes* and also does not engage in detailed exegetical or historical discussion. It focuses on issues of direct pastoral importance—the minister repeatedly asks such questions as, “Do you derive any benefit from this?” (Qu. 41, CR 34:21) Thus, PREDESTINATION is affirmed but not discussed in detail, and more theoretical questions such as the role of the natural knowledge of God are omitted entirely. On the other hand, Calvin’s discussion of the sacraments here is arguably clearer and more convincing than the rather involved treatment in the 1559 *Institutes*. Calvin seems much more comfortable explaining how the believer is to regard the sacraments as means of grace (his primary focus here) than attempting to clarify his position among the swirling sixteenth-century controversies on the subject.

Other noteworthy points include Calvin’s explicit affirmation of the Trinity in traditional language, in contrast to the 1537 catechism’s attempt to avoid non-biblical terminology. Christ’s saving work is presented primarily as a victory over death and a liberation from Satan’s tyranny, although it is also a satisfaction of God’s justice. Calvin defines the church primarily as “the company of those whom God has chosen to save” (Qu. 100, CR 34:41), but he links the forgiveness of sins to membership in the church as “the community of the faithful” (Qu. 105, CR 34:42) explicitly threatening schismatics with damnation.

Although much briefer and to the point than the *Institutes*, the catechism is a remarkably detailed presentation of Christian DOCTRINE (especially when compared to

its chief counterpart among the Lutherans, the *Shorter Catechism*). Calvin's stylistic virtues of clarity and confidence are particularly in evidence. The Latin version differs little from the French, although it occasionally adds additional comments and is not a slavishly literal translation.

The 1542 Catechism was supreme among Reformed catechetical literature until the composition of the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM in 1563, which borrowed a good deal from it (including its creative use of the question-and-answer format). It continued, however, to be among the three principal catechisms of the Reformed tradition, and is regarded to this day as one of the major Reformed confessional statements.

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http://www.reformed.org/documents/calvin/%20geneva_catachism/geneva_catachism.html

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EDWIN TAIT

GEORGE, DAVID (1742–1810)

African American churchman. Founder of pioneering black Baptist churches in the American South, Nova Scotia, and West Africa, George was born into SLAVERY in Virginia in 1742. He later fled to South Carolina, where he founded the first black Baptist church at Silver Bluff in 1773. The congregation grew to more than thirty slaves and free blacks under George's direction and was visited by notable black itinerants such as George Liele.

After siding with British Loyalists during the American War of Independence, George was evacuated to Nova Scotia in 1783 along with three thousand other African Americans. At Shelburne he founded one of the first Baptist churches in Nova Scotia; he also itinerated, baptized, and organized seven other Baptist churches in black and white communities throughout the province. Well known for his passionate preaching, George became a target of mob violence in 1784 when disbanded white soldiers rioted against free blacks. In 1792 he helped organize the emigration of 1,200 blacks to SIERRA LEONE, where he continued his work as a Baptist preacher, church organizer, and political advocate. George delivered his life narrative to the Baptist ministers John Rippon and Samuel Pearce during a visit to ENGLAND in 1793; Rippon published this account in the 1793 edition of *The Annual Baptist Register*. George died in Sierra Leone in 1810.

See also Africa; African American Protestantism; American Baptist Churches; Baptists, United States; Sierra Leone

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JOANNA BROOKS

GERHARDT, PAUL (1607–1676)

Lutheran hymn writer. Gerhardt was born near Wittenberg on March 12, 1607. Orphaned early in his youth, he attended boarding schools and in 1628 began the study of THEOLOGY at the University of Wittenberg, then the citadel of Lutheran ORTHODOXY. The next years of Gerhardt's life are enigmatic. In 1643 he was in Berlin and eight years later, he was appointed Pastor in the small town of Mittenwalde near Berlin. In 1655 he married Anna Maria Berthold, the youngest daughter of a legal counsel in Berlin in whose house he had stayed as a guest for some time. In 1657 he was appointed DEACON at the parish of St. Nikolaus in Berlin.

Gerhardt's mature years fell into the time of the intense controversy between Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist) theologians especially in Prussia. The Prussian elector sought to stem the vehement controversy by ordering the omission of the Formula of Concord, with its decided anti-Reformed orientation, in the ordination vows of candidates for the ministry, and furthermore prohibited Prussian theology students from attending the University of Wittenberg. Gerhardt, who sided with the Lutherans, served as theological expert at an important colloquy between Lutherans and Reformed in 1662–1663, indicating his desire to resolve the disagreements. By the same token he refused to subscribe to a government-imposed statement that would have demanded complete silence in all controversial theological issues. Accordingly he was removed from his office in February 1666.

A flood of petitions to the Prussian elector effected his reinstatement, without giving him, however, the authorization to preach. The Berlin city council addressed a new petition to the elector, asking that Gerhardt be allowed to preach. The elector's failure to respond to this new petition prompted Gerhardt to resign his position in February 1667. In October of the following year he was elected archdeacon of Luebben in the Niederlausitz, where he died on May 27, 1676.

Gerhardt's significance in that turbulent age lay in his voluminous contribution to German Lutheran hymnody. The 1653 Lutheran hymnal, published in Berlin (*Praxis Pietatis Melicd*), included some eighty of his hymns, a significant number of which are still found in the current German Lutheran hymnal, an indication, surely, of his abiding significance. Although his popularity has been mainly in the German language culture, a number of his hymns, such as O, Sacred Head Now Wounded, have been translated into English.

See also Hymns and Hymnals

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GERMAN CHRISTIANS

The German Christians (*Deutsche Christen*) were a group of clergy and laypeople in GERMANY in the 1930s and 1940s who sought to synthesize National Socialism (Nazism) and Christianity. They aimed to purge Christianity of everything they deemed Jewish and to transform the German Protestant church into an association based on “blood.” Most of the approximately 600,000 members were Protestant, although a few Catholics were involved. By mid-1933, six months after Hitler became chancellor, German Christians had acquired key posts in the Protestant establishment—in national church governing bodies and university faculties of theology, as regional bishops, and on local church councils. Many kept those positions until 1945 and beyond.

Birth of the German Christians

Three impulses converged to form the German Christian movement. In 1932, a group of politicians and pastors met to discuss how to win the Protestant churches of Germany to the Nazi cause. They initially named themselves Protestant National Socialists but decided on German Christians instead. Meanwhile, in Thuringia, Siegfried Leffler and Julius Leutheuser, two young pastors and war veterans, had been preaching religious renewal along Nazi lines since the 1920s. They also called themselves German Christians. The two groups began to cooperate. A third initiative came from the Protestant, folkish associations that emerged after World War I. Dedicated to reviving church life through emphasizing German culture, ANTI-SEMITISM, and nationalism, some of those organizations merged with the German Christian movement.

Instead of breaking with the established Protestant churches, the German Christians tried to take over from within. Their efforts sparked a fight for control known as the Church Struggle. The German Christians’s main rival was the CONFESSING CHURCH, another movement within official Protestantism. Most Protestants remained neutral. The German Christians also had opposition outside the church from neopagans who considered even nazified Christianity “too Jewish.” Although clergymen were their main spokesmen, the German Christians represented a cross-section of German society:

women and men, old and young, teachers, dentists, railroad workers, house-wives, and farmers.

Ideology

The German Christians aimed to create a “people’s church” that would embrace all “true” Germans and provide a spiritual homeland for the Aryans of the Third Reich. Calling themselves “Stormtroopers of Christ,” they attacked every aspect of Christianity that was related to JUDAISM. They rejected the Old Testament, revised the New Testament, expunged words like “Hallelujah” and “Hosanna” from hymns, and denied that Jesus was a Jew. Because the German Christians considered Jewishness racial, they refused to accept conversions from Judaism to Christianity as valid.

Certain ideas about gender helped the German Christians reconcile Nazism and Christianity. According to German Christians, only a hard, manly church devoid of qualities they considered feminine—like compassion—could fight racial impurity. Moreover, they argued, just as Christian faith did not eradicate physical differences between male and female, it did not negate the supposedly biological fact of race.

Growth and Expansion Tactics

The German Christians promoted their views through mass rallies; in newspapers, flyers, and scholarly works; and from the pulpit. Lay members spread the word in schools and at local pubs. The German Christians did more than talk: they disrupted meetings of the Confessing Church, barricaded church buildings, and assaulted and harassed non-Aryans, that is, converts from Judaism to Christianity and their families.

German Christian ideas remained fairly constant, but the movement changed over time. During the first year (1932 to late 1933) the German Christians enjoyed open Nazi support. They swept the Protestant church elections in 1933 and dominated the process that unified Germany’s regional Protestant churches into a national Protestant Church. A German Christian, the naval chaplain Ludwig Müller, became Protestant Reich bishop.

Fall of the German Christians

Success was short-lived. Worried that the German Christians caused dissension, Nazi leaders withdrew their support. Tensions surrounding the movement exploded at a rally in November 1933. Before an audience of 20,000 in the Berlin Sports Palace, the speaker, a high school religion teacher named Reinhold Krause, attacked the Old Testament, the

concept of sin, and the symbol of the cross as unacceptable signs of Jewish influence. Krause's speech sparked a wave of departures from German Christian ranks by members who wanted to retain traditional Christianity.

For the next two years the movement was in shambles. The national group splintered, but the names of the new factions—Reich Movement of German Christians; The Church Movement of German Christians; The German Christians, National Church Union—indicate that core ideas persisted. By late 1935 the German Christians were reorganizing, and by September 1939, when German troops invaded Poland, almost all the camps had reestablished ties.

War fulfilled many of the German Christians' aims. They had demanded an aggressive Christianity; now they had the nation at arms. They demanded exclusion of non-Aryans and Jewish influences from German religious life; that goal was realized by default through the deportation and murder of people defined as Jews. But the war also brought setbacks. Even the German Christians experienced hostility from Nazi authorities who resented Christianity in any form.

When Hitler's regime collapsed in 1945, the German Christian movement lost all credibility. Former members now had to justify their involvement to Allied occupation authorities, denazification boards, and even themselves. Many pointed to their ideal of the "people's church" to try to prove they had only wanted religious renewal. They rarely mentioned the anti-Semitism that had pervaded their program. In response to Allied pressure, some German Christian pastors were ousted, but within a few years almost all were back in the pulpit. Lay members easily reentered the Protestant mainstream. Some scholars dismiss the German Christians because they constituted a small part of the population—around 1 percent. In the context of the Nazi system, however, the movement was significant. Through their quest for a "racially pure," anti-Jewish church, the German Christians echoed and endorsed the crimes of Nazi Germany.

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GERMAN GROUPS IN AMERICA

The appearance of German groups in America had a modest beginning in 1683, with the arrival of a small Mennonite congregation in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Soon others arrived in that colony, drawn by the “Holy Experiment” of the Quaker colonial proprietor, William Penn (1644–1718). The early immigrants included a preponderance of religious mystics (like Johann Kelpius, 1673–1708) and sectarians (including the German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers; Schwenkfelders; the “Community of True Inspiration,” whose members later formed the Amana colonies in Iowa; and others), who were characterized by radical Pietist beliefs. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, German radical Pietists like Conrad Beissel (1691–1768) and George Rapp (1757–1847) founded perfectionistic communities driven by eschatological fervor, such as the Ephrata Cloister (Pennsylvania) and New Harmony (Indiana), respectively. Moravians also migrated to colonial North Carolina and Pennsylvania, where their leader, Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF (1700–1760) unsuccessfully attempted to form a unitive movement of Pennsylvania German sects called “The Congregation of God in the Spirit” (1742). In addition, numerous Hessian mercenary soldiers employed by the British during the Revolutionary War remained in this land and contributed to the cultural life of the new nation.

German immigration to the American middle colonies in the eighteenth century was surpassed in the period from 1820 to 1925, when almost six million Germans arrived in the United States, representing the largest nationality group among all American immigrants of that era. Religious freedom linked with a quest for new economic opportunity was a major factor for earlier German immigrants, who coalesced in three kinds of religious groups, the “plain Dutch,” the “church Dutch,” and the “bush meeting Dutch.” (In this usage, “Dutch” is an American colloquialism for “Deutsch,” as distinct from immigrants from Holland.)

The Plain Dutch

The “plain Dutch,” noted for their conservative garb, included those who identified with the believers’ church, or historic peace church tradition. They include some twenty

organized Anabaptist church bodies, which take their name from their opponents' reference to their practice of "rebaptizing" their converts in denunciation of infant baptism. They are concerned with restoring a primitive New Testament pattern of church life, based on discipleship and the separation of church and state. They are chiefly represented in America by a variety of MENNONITE church bodies, derived from the name of their Dutch Anabaptist leader, MENNO SIMONS (c. 1496–1561). Those Mennonites who moved to colonial Pennsylvania, as well as Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, were of Swiss and South German Anabaptist orientation. Mennonites who migrated to the American Plains states and southern Manitoba in the late nineteenth century were of Russian-German origin. Groups that emerged from the former immigration include the "Old" Mennonites and the Old Order Amish, who based their beliefs on the decision (c. 1693) of a Swiss Mennonite named Jacob Ammann to reject the new spirit of PIETISM by adopting a traditionalist view of dress and economic and social life for his adherents. By contrast, the River Brethren (1788), later known as the BRETHREN IN CHRIST, integrated Pietist themes of personal rebirth with an Anabaptist form of church life. Mennonites of Russian-German origin largely became concentrated in the Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonite Churches. Like Quakers, Mennonites have initiated valuable humanitarian service projects as part of their nonviolent witness to the world. Total membership in North American Mennonite bodies was 340,000 in 1984.

The Church Dutch

The "church Dutch" represent the adherents of the official state churches, including Lutherans, German Reformed, and Roman Catholics. Persons of German descent represent the majority of the two largest Lutheran church bodies in America, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (5.5 million members at its formation in 1988) and the LUTHERAN CHURCH, MIS-SOURI SYNOD (2.7 million members). The lineage of the former body reaches back to the organizational work of HENRY M.MUHLENBERG (1711–1787) a product of the Halle (GERMANY) center of Lutheran Pietism, who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1742. In the nineteenth century, German Lutherans polarized between supporters of SAMUEL S.SCHMUCKER (1799–1873) of Gettysburg Seminary (Pennsylvania), who led the effort to "Americanize" Lutherans, and CARL F.W.WALTHER (1811–1887), an immigrant who reacted against German Lutheran rationalism and shaped a distinctly confessional "church" consciousness among Saxons in Missouri. His work soon spread to other states. SYNODS that grew from Schmucker's work were fully involved in the National and WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. The Missouri Synod, becoming the largest German Protestant denomination in America, maintained German-language services through the era of the First World War, and has continued to provide the most extensive parochial school system in America outside Catholicism. Prior to the twentieth century, German Lutherans tended to maintain an identity distinct from Lutherans of Scandinavian and Baltic origin.

Also numbered among the “church Dutch” were the German Reformed, who arrived in the middle colonies in the colonial era and were initially organized by John Philip Boehm (1683–1749) and then by Michael Schlatter (1718–1790). The latter organized a “coetus” under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Amsterdam. German Reformed had their home in the German Palatinate, and were devoted to an irenic statement of Reformed theology, the HEIDELBERG CAT-ECHISM (1563). Given this irenic bent, German Reformed in America joined with “unionist” Prussian immigrants, known as the Evangelical Synod of North America, to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1934. The latter body became a part of the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST in 1957. Finally, there were the German Catholics, who, along with Irish immigrants, formed the majority of the ten million Roman Catholic immigrants who arrived from Europe in the century following 1820. German Catholic dioceses, especially in the Great Lakes and the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, formed another bulwark of German cultural heritage, and often resisted the pace of their church’s Americanization.

The Bush-Meeting Dutch

A third religious grouping of German Americans has been called the “bush-meeting Dutch,” which describes their propensity for open-air revival or camp meeting services and emotional, Pietistic religious expression centered on the centrality of the experience of the “new birth” (*der Wiedergeburt*). Their early leadership was provided by the unionist efforts of a Pietist missionary of the German Reformed Church, Philip William Otterbein (1726–1813) and a “converted” Mennonite leader, Martin Boehm (1725–1813), who laid the foundations for the Church of the United Brethren in Christ (1800). The latter, as well as the Evangelical Association that was founded by a Lutheran lay preacher, Jacob Albright (1759–1808), grew rapidly in the nineteenth century by adapting revivalistic preaching and Methodist patterns of organization to reach German immigrants, among others. The Evangelicals also conducted extensive mission work to their German “Fatherland,” establishing a major free church group there in the mid-nineteenth century. These two German-American revival denominations united to form the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH (1946), which was later joined with the Methodist Church to form the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH (1968).

After the abortive liberal revolutions in Germany in 1830 and 1848, significant numbers of intellectual and political activist Germans immigrated to the UNITED STATES. Many were of Jewish heritage. Large numbers of Yiddish-speaking German Jews settled in New York City. The scores of learned editors of Germanlanguage newspapers in North America increasingly molded German-Americans into a self-conscious political block that was against slavery and Republican in sentiment. German cultural centers, called *Turnverein*, were established in cities and towns across mid-America. Another wave of German intelligentsia arrived during the oppression of the Hitler era in the 1930s and 1940s, including such notables as scientists Albert Einstein and Wernher von Braun.

The broad mix of religious and ideological groups that has comprised German-American culture reached its height of national influence in the era before the First World War, when (in 1910) 27.5 percent of all American citizens were of German birth or had at least one German-born parent.

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J.STEVEN O'MALLEY

GERMANY

The Federal Republic of Germany has 356, 945 square kilometers and 80 million people. Formally, roughly 42 percent are registered as Catholics, 40 percent as Protestants, and about 8 percent are Muslims. Protestant, in this context, means overwhelmingly Lutheran, for which the German word “evangelisch” is customarily a synonym. A distinctive feature of Protestantism is its territorial delimitation and the influence of particular doctrinal traditions. This goes back to the time of the REFORMATION when the Protestant princes reformed the church in their territories. Protestantism has had a deep impact on cultural, economic, and political developments in society, leading German Christians to reflect on subjects such as guilt and confession, forgiveness and reconciliation, and the church’s commitment to the ongoing challenges of our time.

Development of Protestantism

In 1517, Martin Luther’s Ninety-five Theses, at first written in Latin and meant for discussion in the faculty of Wittenberg, voiced the demand for a radical renewal of the Catholic Church and became the spark that set the fire. This document, although merely theological, spread like a freedom charter. MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) together with highly gifted scholars such as PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, JOHANNES BUGHENHAGEN, JOHANNES BRENZ, and MARTIN BUCER inspired the movement of church renewal. The Swiss reformers HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) and JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) of Geneva worked somewhat independently from the developments in Germany. The biblical message of JUSTIFICATION by GRACE alone brought these men into conflict with the pope and his curia. In 1521 Luther was excommunicated but stood courageously in front of the emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms and appealed to his conscience’s commitment to the Word of God alone. The religious controversy was resolved in German lands with the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which provided for religious peace on a territorial basis: the territorial rulers had the authority to decide the religious orientation of their territories.

This formally separated Germany into Catholic and Lutheran territories. CALVINISM was not recognized in the Peace of Augsburg but nonetheless demonstrated striking

vitality toward the end of the century, with a number of territorial rulers converting to Calvinism. This ecclesiastical bifurcation began to entail cultural ramifications so that North Germany (mainly Lutheran and Calvinist) developed differently from the South.

Theologically the churches undertook to demonstrate their particular theological emphases in almost scholastic fashion. All churches took correct DOCTRINE to be the essence of the Christian religion, leading to the label of ORTHODOXY for that period.

In the late seventeenth century, following confessional orthodoxy, a new movement of personal piety arose. The Reformation stress on personal SALVATION was restated in terms of the personal experience of faith. PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER, JOHANN ALBRECHT BENGEL, and many others emphasized the practical side of piety. The term "Pietists," initially a term of mockery, soon became the universally used label.

Extensive BIBLE study and gatherings with PRAYER, hymns, and an individual way of life became characteristic of PIETISM. After 1700 AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE in HALLE and later count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF in HERRNHUT with his community of Moravians began sending missionaries overseas. Pietism was a movement similar to that of JOHN WESLEY'S in ENGLAND, but unlike Wesley's METHODISM it did not result in a separate church. In the nineteenth century the notion of mission to people overseas was stimulated by the establishment of several missionary societies, but only after the German acquisition of overseas colonies in 1885 did the issue of MISSIONS receive general attention. In the early nineteenth century several attempts were made to overcome the fatal divisions of the Reformation era. Effectively a third

Protestant church came into being in addition to the Reformed and Lutheran: the Church of the PRUSSIAN UNION.

The Germany of roughly its current boundaries came into being in 1871. Before that it was divided into more than thirty larger and smaller states, virtually autonomous so that they even waged war against each other. The sovereign determined the confession of his subjects, so that quite often some villages were Protestant whereas over the border of the small state the villagers were Catholic. This confessional "mosaic" is recognizable in the confessional map of Germany until today. In 1918, with the end of World War I, a 400-year-old relationship of "throne and altar" ended, and the churches plunged into a severe crisis. In a time of poverty they had to establish synods and councils and organize their finances. Twenty-eight territorial churches formed a federation in 1922. It lasted eleven years until the Nazis dissolved it and, as they claimed, established a National Church (Reichskirche). During the period of oppression during the "Third Reich" (1933–1945), a renewed understanding of Christian service and mandate developed in the so-called CONFESSING CHURCH.

After the defeat in World War II Germany was divided into two separate states. Under the subjection of the Soviet Union, Eastern Germany, including East Berlin, became the German Democratic Republic (GDR). West Germany constituted the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). When Protestant church leaders met in Stuttgart in 1945, they adopted a declaration of guilt for the Nazi regime, asking the neighboring Christians and churches for forgiveness. In 1948, a time of growing tension between the two political systems of East and West, the federation of churches known as the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) was founded, consisting of the regional churches of both East and West. The churches in both states retained a special bilateral relationship across the inner German border. However, so as not to be relegated to a religious ghetto or to be confined to

WORSHIP and private religious needs, the churches in the GDR accepted the permanence of the GDR and its social system and attempted to add their own contributions to society. In 1969 they ended their membership in the EKD and established the Federation of the Evangelical Churches—Bund Evangelischer Kirchen (BEK)—in the German Democratic Republic. The special relationship between the church federation in the East and the EKD in the West, however, continued in joint statements of both churches and took shape in a wide-reaching network of partner relationships between parishes in East and West.

The autonomy of the BEK resulted in a new definition of the goals of church politics, reducing confrontation and seeking cooperation where it appeared possible to both CHURCH AND STATE. However, the fundamental conflict to which committed Christian students and workers were subjected in the educational system of the GDR was never settled. The GDR Ministry of State Security (Stasi), in its effort to control the population, penetrated every organization to gain collaborators and the church was not excluded. After German unification, discerning between cooperation and resistance was difficult. With the extraordinary events set in motion by the rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, the influence of the Soviet Union on East Germany waned, and the East German people overthrew the Communist government in late 1989 in a peaceful revolution.

When the GDR was established in 1949, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), more than 90 percent of the population were members of the Protestant (Lutheran and Prussian Union) Church. In the 1980s, after half a century of the socialist reorganization of society, only 30 to 40 percent of the population belonged to a Christian church, even fewer in the cities.

Cultural, Economic, and Political Impacts

According to Luther's principle of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS, all Christians should be able to read the Bible. Endowed with the ability to find the adequate language, after twelve years' work Luther completed the translation of the entire Bible in 1534 (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). Through this translation he contributed significantly to the emergence of a unified written German language. The disposition of Protestantism to cultivate literacy and to spread regard for the vernacular served to remove the linguistic dominance of Latin of medieval Christendom and to encourage the rise of national boundaries based on languages. It is therefore possible to speak of Protestantism's contribution to the rise of present German society.

All reformers were extremely busy writing essays, counseling letters, and comments on theological and public issues of the day. Neither Luther nor his associates were organizers but rather scholars and educators. The publication of the Bible in German, however, was a signal to many Christians to rely directly on the message of the Word of God and to take responsibility for the life of the church. The real reform of the church, its service, and structure was implemented by town councils or rulers, not by bishops (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). Thus, the responsibility of the LAITY in Protestantism

was recognized early. In addition the dialogue with the spirit of the age, particularly in social and scholarly fields, was taken seriously from the beginnings of Protestantism. PAUL TILLICH, for one, argued that “the Protestant principle” of prophetic criticism is to be included in any authentic expression of church life and that it is a genuine value in the secular world.

Sociologist MAX WEBER held that the Protestant ethic—that is, the value attached to hard work, thrift, and efficiency—was an important factor in the economic success of Protestant groups not only in the Reformed parts of Germany but also in the early stages of European capitalism. Worldly success came to be interpreted as a sign of an individual’s ELECTION or eternal SALVATION and was therefore vigorously pursued. The emphasis of Calvinism on the religious duty to make fruitful use of the God-given resources at each individual’s disposal, and its orderliness and systemization of ways of life were also regarded by Weber as economically significant aspects of the Protestant ethic. Although Weber’s thesis was widely accepted, it has been subject to criticism for its monocausal explanation of the rise of capitalism. It has been expanded in favor of multicausal explanations, the argument being that political and social pressures, together with the spirit of INDIVIDUALISM with its ethic of self-help and frugality, were more significant factors (Tawney 1926).

The break from Rome during the period of the Reformation brought a new alliance of “throne and altar” in Protestant territories, a close relation of church and state: the sovereigns assumed leadership, appointed the administrators of the church of their territories, and controlled all important issues. This alliance proved to be a great hindrance when democratic ideas began to spread in the nineteenth century and Protestant pastors condemned this movement as dangerous and atheistic.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, according to its constitution, the relationship between church and state is governed by the principle that there are certain limits on the powers of the state. The constitution does not, therefore, seek to secure all-inclusive authority for the state, but limits its purpose to the maintenance of the common good, of which freedom and social justice are the main aspects. The churches are by their very nature independent of the state and do not derive any authority from it. The state recognizes them as institutions with the right of self-determination. They therefore claim autonomy in carrying out their spiritual and religious mission. State and church are obliged to strive for meaningful cooperation. Schools of theology are integral parts of state universities; schools give religious instruction on behalf of the church; and in the social services area the churches play a large role, shared alike by Catholics and Protestants.

The churches are authorized to collect a “church tax.” The legal foundation for the church tax system is found in Article 140 of the German constitution. The church tax is levied as a surcharge on the income tax and amounts to 8 or 9 percent of income tax paid, depending on the state. This church tax is administered and collected by the revenue office and transferred to the churches.

Contemporary Organizational Structures

After decades of separation, the regional Protestant churches in East and West Germany were reunited organizationally in 1991. The eight churches of the Federation of Evangelical Churches (BEK) in the territory of the former German Democratic Republic again became part of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD). The synods of the EKD of the West created the legal conditions for restoring the organizational unity, and then the synods of the BEK of the East agreed to the unification of all regional churches under the umbrella of the EKD some weeks later. This procedure made it possible for a new EKD Synod to constitute itself in Coburg on June 28–30, 1991, as the representative body of the twenty-four regional churches, which have a total membership of some thirty million in over 18,100 congregations. The churches of East Germany brought what they endured and experienced during forty years of socialist rule and the twenty years of the Federation of Evangelical Churches. Member churches retain their own character, which applies even more to local congregations.

It is the Council of Christian Churches—Arbeitsgemeinschaft Christlicher Kirchen (ACK)—that aims to promote the unity of the churches in national, regional, and local alliances in Germany. In 1948, before the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Protestant churches and the Old Catholic Church joined together to form the Council of Christian Churches. In 1974 the Roman Catholic Church, through association of the German dioceses and the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Germany, joined the ACK. Because of the division of Germany beginning in 1963, the representatives from the eastern part of Germany met separately and founded an organization of Christian churches in the GDR. In 1991 both areas in Germany united in ACK under a new revised constitution. The constitution was also signed by the following churches: Baptist Union, United Methodist Church, Association of Mennonite congregations in Germany, European Continental Province of the Moravian Church, the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch in Germany, the Christian Reformed Church in Germany, the Salvation Army in Germany, and Russian Orthodox Church in Germany. Other churches take part with guest status or as observers. Among other things ACK strives for the promotion of theological dialogue, counseling and arbitration, safeguarding of ecumenical responsibilities, and the representation of common concerns on political issues.

Continuing Challenges

Diaconal Work

The Diakonisches Werk of the EKD is an umbrella organization of a great number of initiatives undertaken in the field of church social services. The members represent some 29,000 independent institutions of different size and legal status with about 300,000 full and part-time employees. Integrated in social legislation, the Diakonisches Werk coordinates and represents, for example, activities in preschools, care of the sick and

disabled, immigrants, care of the homeless, former prisoners, and the poor. The main office coordinates and represents the planning and funding for many different tasks that also include aid in disasters and assistance known as “Brot für die Welt” (Bread for the World). In a time of challenge through outbursts of hatred, the German churches have taken a stand on behalf of thousands of refugees from African and Asian countries. Synodical meetings have expressed their concern and have called for Christian love and hospitality for those who have come applying for asylum.

Mission

In the early 1970s German Protestant churches structurally involved themselves in mission work by founding regional associations of mission (“Missionswerke”). The “Missionswerke” accepted the challenge presented by the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) to act against social injustices such as racism and economic exploitation, and to work for justice, peace, and the preservation of creation. To promote mutual ecumenical encounters, German churches invite ecumenical workers to assume pastoral work in traditional parishes or to join those who inform congregations about new developments in the field of mission and ECUMENISM. An increasing number of congregations or church districts have set up direct links with overseas partners. The regional associations of mission have established new international structures where different churches share their multiple needs and possibilities. This means no more “one-way traffic” and not only “two-way traffic” but a multilaterally committed Christian community.

Church Membership

Undoubtedly many formal church members have become discouraged in their faith, and the young generation’s indifference toward Christianity is on the increase. Secularization and the attractions of modern life have contributed to a measurable decrease in personal belief and church membership. On the other hand, the German Evangelical “KIRCHENTAG (Church Rally),” founded in 1949 as a lay movement and held every second year, attracts more than one hundred thousand people and is particularly fascinating to the younger generation.

New Spirituality

Particularly in the western part of Germany people are expecting less and less from the church, and a free market of vague spirituality and esoteric counseling is flourishing. Reincarnation therapists, astrologers, religious healers, and other representatives of esoteric religion offer their services. More and more people feel the need of some kind of religious experience. Pentecostal and charismatic groups find it easier than the established churches to meet the challenge (see PENTECOSTALISM). Experts of the regional churches and the Protestant Center on Questions of Weltanschauung—

Evangelisches Zentrum für Weltaanschauung (EZW)—offer orientation and warning, where necessary. However, it seems that the desire for more spirituality also indicates shortcomings of the churches. The questions about dealing with one's own soul, healing the sick (see FAITH HEALING), looking after the dying (see DEATH AND DYING), meditation, and spiritual experience are not dealt with often enough and sometimes disappear behind social and political involvement. There is, however, a growing readiness within the churches to search for new forms of Christian spirituality and to revive forgotten resources of the Christian faith.

Ecology

After pastors and congregations in the 1960s had already given attention to certain environmental problems, the 1970s brought the ecological question to the agenda of many church synods. Initially, it was the discussion about the use of nuclear energy for the production of electricity that led to a passionate debate on the chances of survival of a lifestyle based on a permanent rise of electrical demand. But how to reduce the consumption of energy and to manage the regeneration of power sources? How to avoid enormous mountains of garbage, and how to develop a healthier relationship with nature and the environment? Projects of ecological analysis were initiated and the awareness increased that belief in God as Creator of the World leads Christians to adopt a responsible attitude toward the gifts of creation.

Women

The long tradition of Protestant women's religious orders, the mother-houses of DEACONESSES and sisterhoods, goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when Christian unmarried women used the chance of being trained to do social work in the communities. However, because social change does not stop at church portals, the number of those seeking admittance to such orders has become very small. However, WOMEN are still the foundation of the church as active believers and volunteers. In every regional church the Women's Service is autonomous and the umbrella organization on EKD-level covers a wide scope of activities of more than forty women's unions and associations. Women were very much engaged in the Peace and Antipartheid Movements and through the World Day of Prayer ecumenical contacts and personal relationships develop beyond geographical, social, and cultural boundaries. Although women were allowed to study theology in the 1920s—and it was not until the end of the 1960s that the first women were ordained and called to serve as pastors—today 40 percent of theological students are women and their numbers increase steadily in congregations. Women no longer allow themselves to be put off with subordinate functions, but assume leadership roles in the church. In 1992 Maria Jepsen from Hamburg became the first Lutheran woman bishop. The discussion about equality of women gained momentum with the women's movements in the 1970s and found a strong backing at the Women's Forum of the "Kirchentag." FEMINIST THEOLOGY—quite

often a stumbling block and a cause of offense—has become an important source of renewal from within the church.

Interreligious Encounter

To live side by side with people of different faiths is still a new experience for many Germans. Although there have been smaller communities of Buddhists, Hindus, or Bahais for many years, it was in particular the recruitment of hundreds of thousands of foreign workers since the 1960s, mainly from Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia, that made Germans feel the need of interreligious encounter. Today about 80 percent of the six million Muslims in Germany are of Turkish origin. This has confronted Germans forcefully with another religion, although prejudices and ignorance can be overcome by conversation and familiarity. From time to time congregations hold interreligious prayer services for justice and peace, sometimes as a prelude to an intercultural week. Jews, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims, Alevis, and others gather with Christians to read from their Holy Scriptures and pray in their own languages. It is a cause for hope that in Germany, too, people of different faiths overcome existing prejudices and barriers and join together.

See also Barmen Declaration; German Christians; Lutheranism; Lutheranism, Germany; Missions, German; Worms, Diet of

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DIETER BECKER

GHANA

The first of the modern African states, achieving independence in 1957, Ghana's boundaries are those of the former British territory of the Gold Coast. The latter grew incrementally from a small coastal area at the beginning of the nineteenth century to a considerable enclave early in the twentieth century, the last significant accession being part of the former German colony of Togo after World War I. There are many ethnic groups and many languages, with the Akan (in several subdivisions) in the central and southern part of the country being the most numerous.

Christianity first appeared with the Portuguese, who built a trading post and sought the conversion of local rulers. When the Dutch superseded the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, the Protestant presence began. Although the Dutch trading company declared the extension of the Reformed faith to be one of its aims, both the will and the means were often lacking. Other European powers—Denmark, Britain, Brandenburg-Prussia—set up their trading stations. Most of these “forts” or “factories” had a chaplain, and sometimes this post was held by a local. Thus the Dutch fort had the Africans J.C. Protten and Jacobus Capitein (the latter with a doctorate from Leiden) and the English Philip Quaque (1741–1816), taken to England for education as a boy, and returning to Africa ordained. Long afterward a memorial tablet commemorating Quaque's long ministry at Cape Coast impressed and inspired SAMUEL ADJAI CROWTHER.

Regular mission work began with the arrival of the BASEL MISSION, first to the Danish and later to the British sphere, which gradually absorbed the other powers. Missionary mortality was high, and the missionary Andreas Riis moved to the state of Akuapem, on a mountain ridge where health risks were less but where the king was insistent that God had given different ways of life to black people and white. The Basel Mission accepted the challenge to show that there were black people who followed the Christian way by bringing in Jamaican Christians who long remained pillars of the evangelistic, pastoral, and agricultural work of the mission. Akropong, the Akuapem capital, was the base for a particularly fine translation of the Scriptures into Twi, later revised by C.A. Akrofi.

Meanwhile, British Wesleyans arrived, following the discovery by a Methodist ship captain of a Bible reading and prayer group meeting among Africans in the British sector. The Methodists suffered numerous fatalities, until the arrival of the enterprising THOMAS BIRCH FREEMAN, himself of mixed blood. Freeman extended the mission and made the long journey to Kumasi to open negotiations with the powerful ruler of

Ashanti. For a long time the Anglican presence was restricted to colonial locations, whereas the North German (or Bremen) Mission began work among the Ewe in the eastern sector. It was to lead to the emergence of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church.

The period of World War I brought several charismatic figures. Prophet WILLIAM WADÉ HARRIS himself came to Western Ghana. A mulatto clerk called John Swatson established a whole chain of churches and presented them to an astonished Anglican bishop. Above all the illiterate independent preacher KWAME SAMPSON OPPONG brought many thousands into the Methodist pastoral care in long-resistant Ashanti. The other main development of the World War I years was the deportation or internment of the Basel missionaries as enemy aliens and their replacement by a far smaller group from the United Free Church of Scotland. Although institutional work suffered, the development probably hastened the formation of an autonomous Presbyterian Church of Ghana. AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES, such as the Musama Disco Cristo Church, arose with new readings of scripture on issues such as healing. Another major church that came into being was the Church of Pentecost, which combined features of a Western Pentecostal church with those of an African prophet-healing church. It numbered among its members the remarkable poetsinger Afua Kuma, a traditional midwife who adapted the idiom of traditional praise songs to the praise of Christ. Like other West African countries, Ghana has been deeply influenced in recent years by the charismatic movement, which has both affected the main Protestant (and Roman Catholic) churches as well as produced countless new churches and deliverance ministries. Ghana provided the forum for the first church-state clashes among the new African states.

See also: Methodism, Global; Missions; Pentecostalism; Presbyterianism; Wesleyanism

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- ANDREW F. WALLS

GIDEONS INTERNATIONAL

A voluntary organization known for placing copies of the BIBLE in hotels, hospitals, prisons, and senior citizen homes among other institutions, the Gideons is also the oldest Christian business and professional men's association in the United States. The idea of the organization was first formed in a meeting in the Central Hotel in Boscobel, Wisconsin, in September of 1898. Traveling businessmen John Nicholson and Samuel Hill were strangers who found themselves sharing a room because the hotel was completely booked. Nicholson (1859–1956), a native of Buffalo, New York, worked for papermakers Bradner Smith & Co. in Chicago. Hill (1867–1936) was born in Hardwick, Vermont, and worked for H.M.Hooker Co. of Chicago, in wholesale paint and glass. They discovered they shared a common Christian faith (both were converted in their teens). They talked to early in the morning about forming an association that would help Christian businessmen remain faithful to Christ during their travels and encourage them to share their faith with other businessmen.

The idea took no concrete shape until the following year, when in July 1899 Nicholson and Hill formed the Gideons with W.J.Knights (1853–1940)—a native of New York who represented wholesale grocer John S.Gould & Co. of Chicago. The group's name was taken from the Old Testament story in Judges 7, in which Gideon led a band of Israelites to victory over the Midianites. Surrounding the Midian camp from cliffs above in the middle of the night, they blew trumpets, broke pitchers, waved torches, and shouted "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" whereupon the frightened Midianites fled. The three men likewise wanted to do whatever it was that God wanted them to do, to hold up their torches just where they stood (wherever their business took them) and speak up for God.

The little group elected Hill as president, Knights as vice-president, and Nicholson as secretary-treasurer, and soon a logo was created that incorporated a two-handed pitcher with a flame protruding from the top, placed in a circle, which represented a trumpet. This became a lapel pin that Gideon members wore on the road to identify one another. It is also the logo found on Gideon Bibles.

By the Gideons' first annual convention in 1900, 600 members had been enrolled, and local "camps" (or chapters) began to be formed, the first in Chicago, in September 1900. The organization grew rapidly (over 1,600 members by 1901, and double that two years later), a magazine was started (*The Gideori*), and by 1905 the first full-time staff member was hired at the national headquarters (in Chicago, now in Nashville, Tennessee).

According to the 1901 bylaws, “The object of the Gideons shall be to recognize the Christian traveling men of the world with cordial fellowship; to encourage one another in the Master’s work; to improve every opportunity for the betterment of the lives of our fellow travelers, business men and others, with whom we may come in contact; scattering seeds all along the pathway for Christ.” This says nothing about distributing Bibles. Instead, early on there was a strong emphasis on personal EVANGELISM and an expectation that members would speak in public forums on behalf of their FAITH. Some new members balked at this and left when some leaders insisted such practices were part of being a “real Christian.”

Bible distribution was first conceived in 1903 when Gideon Fred Woodcock, treasurer of the Chicago camp, visited the British Isles. There he discovered that a Christian Association for Christian Travelers, which had existed for some thirty years, placed books “for wholesome reading” (including the Bible) in the hotels their members frequented. Woodcock took the idea back to the UNITED STATES. Because of financial difficulties the organization was not able to act on the idea until 1908, where at the annual convention the Gideons pledged themselves to placing Bibles in every hotel in the country. The first shipment of twentyfive hotel Bibles was sent to Superior Hotel in Iron Mountain (now Superior), Montana, in November of that year.

At first the Gideon’s contracted with the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY to furnish Bibles, but when the demand became too great, the organization switched to the publishing house of Thomas Nelson and Sons of New York. Since 1936 the National Bible Press has been the major printer of Gideon Bibles. In the early years there was some debate over the translation to be distributed: the American Standard Version was preferred at first, but slowly the King James Version took precedence (see BIBLE, KING JAMES VERSION). In 1974 the New International Version was also approved for use in Gideon Bibles, although today the New King James Version is the alternate to the King James.

Gideons expanded their Bible distribution program to hospitals (1916) and to public schools in 1941 (“except where forbidden by law”), to members of the armed services in 1941 (distributing only New Testaments and Psalms editions), and to prisons in 1957.

Independent Gideons organizations were founded in CANADA in 1911 and SWEDEN in 1919 (both eventually amalgamated with what has become Gideons International). With the formation of the Gideon International Extension Committee in 1947 the work expanded rapidly overseas, beginning in 1949 with the establishment of Gideons in the British Isles, with dozens more international ministries added during the following decade.

Gideon literature is replete with stories of individuals who come across a Gideon Bible and whose lives are subsequently changed. One example: An executive in radio explained how his excessive drinking had destroyed his family and led him to the edge of a nervous breakdown; “the future held no promise,” he wrote. When he entered his hotel room he spotted a Gideon Bible: “In a distracted way, I picked it up and started to read. Old familiar words I had learned as a child, when I knelt before an altar covered by the checkered gingham apron of her whom we called Mother, words of life, quick and powerful, leaped out from those pages, and found their way into my troubled heart.” Other testimonies speak of the mere sight of a Gideon Bible bringing attacks of conscience upon men about to commit adultery, forgery, and so on.

Today Gideons has 150,000 members in 176 countries and distributes more than 59 million Bibles annually. It is financed by contributions from churches and individuals, conceiving of itself “as an extended missionary arm of the church” whose “sole purpose is to win men, women, boys and girls to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ through association, personal testimony, and distributing the Bible in the human traffic lanes and streams of everyday life.”

See also American Bible Society; Bible Translation

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MARK GALLI

GLADDEN, WASHINGTON (1836–1918)

American theologian. Washington Gladden was one of the leading preachers in American CONGREGATIONALISM, serving the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, from 1882 to 1918. He published more than 50 books, many of them sermon collections. Although he is best known today as a pioneer of the Protestant SOCIAL GOSPEL, he was just as important in his own time as a popularizer of LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM, helping a generation of evangelically minded Protestants deal with the challenges of modern biblical criticism and the reconciliation of SCIENCE and FAITH.

Career

Born February 11, 1836, in Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania, Gladden was raised by an uncle in Owego, New York, after his father died in 1841. He attended Williams College from 1856 to 1859. His career reflected his belief in the twin power of pulpit and pen. Brief service to Congregational parishes in Brooklyn and the Bronx, New York, preceded important Congregational pulpits at North Adams, Massachusetts (1866–1871), Springfield, Massachusetts (1875–1882), and Columbus, Ohio (1882–1918). His desire to discern the social forces at work in society also produced an interest in journalism, and he wrote significant articles for the *Springfield Republican*, the *Independent* (a national religious weekly), and the *Century* (an important periodical).

Gladden helped organize American Congregationalism, serving as moderator of the Congregational Association of Ohio and as moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches (1904–1907). He supported ECUMENISM and the formation of the Federal Council of Churches, serving on its Commission on the Church and Social Service. In 1905, he created a national stir in the churches by calling on the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, in which he had been active, to repudiate a \$1,000,000 gift from John D. Rockefeller as “tainted money.”

In addition, Gladden was a cofounder with Richard Ely and others of the American Economic Association in 1885, an organization dedicated to overturning the dominant laissez-faire philosophy of economics and government in America. He also helped create the American Institute of Christian Sociology at Chautauqua, New York, in 1893.

During World War I, Gladden condemned the militarism and uncritical patriotism that led to war and the failure of the churches to promote a culture of peace, but he eventually supported Wilson's decision to enter the war and entertained hopes for a new social order that would follow. Gladden died in Columbus, Ohio, on July 2, 1918.

Gladden's Social Gospel Theology

Washington Gladden believed that Christians were obliged to make religion “a regenerating force in human society,” by which he meant a spiritual force transforming human relationships and social institutions in accord with the “law of love.” His social gospel was rooted in his liberal THEOLOGY. As a seriously minded religious youth, the fatherless Gladden failed to achieve the sort of personal CONVERSION experience that was believed necessary for reconciliation with God. Failing to find such solace, he eventually concluded that simply trusting in God's enduring presence, love, and “friendship”—or “fatherhood,” as he later termed it—was the true essence of the Christian life. Inspired by the antislavery movement (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF) sweeping through New York State, young Gladden quickly equated friendship with God with solidarity, or “brotherhood,” with all human beings suffering degradation. The goal of a Christian life is not primarily to win personal happiness in heaven, he wrote, but “to realize the KINGDOM OF GOD in this world.”

His viewpoint became embedded in American Protestant spirituality through his famous hymn “O Master, Let Me Walk with Thee.” Here it is Jesus who walks the “lowly paths of service” ahead of his disciples, summoning them to sweeten and strengthen their faith in work “that triumphs over wrong.” For Gladden, Christ is a creative and liberating spiritual force working out his will in history and society. The churches should aim not at promoting themselves or the nation, but rather at inspiring disciples who can discern the reconciling ministry of Jesus and participate in its actualization, what the social gospel as a whole called the Kingdom of God. He articulated a new model for the Christian pastor and LAITY in which they became a “working church,” embracing service to all areas of human life and culture (see PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS). Although he came from rural America, Gladden embraced the modern city as a place of human potential and a sacred laboratory for an emerging Christian social order.

Gladden was particularly important in helping to change Protestant attitudes toward the labor movement and industrial democracy. By 1886, he was moving away from simple “good will” as a solution to industrial strife and calling for labor to organize in response to the increasing concentration of power by employers. By 1911 he was advocating industrial democracy and active government intervention to protect the rights of labor. He supported the cooperative movement and municipal ownership of key public utilities, even serving a term on the Columbus city council.

Gladden's Liberal Theology

Like some other famous preachers of the time, such as Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks, Gladden was important for popularizing the liberal theology being developed by theologians and biblical scholars at major Protestant SEMINARIES. He openly rejected the traditional doctrines of original sin and substitutionary ATONEMENT of Christ. Profoundly influenced by the thinking of HORACE BUSHNELL and FREDERICK WILLIAM ROBERTSON, he regarded all language as necessarily metaphorical, thus rejecting doctrinal orthodoxies and BIBLICAL INERRANCY. Adopting the notion of "progressive revelation," he believed that biblical history only gradually reveals the divine nature, displaying it most paradigmatically in Jesus' ministry of service to the world rather than in a set of doctrinal assertions (see MODERNISM).

During the last two decades of his life, Gladden sought to help ordinary Christians harmonize their religious beliefs with advances in scientific knowledge. In a series of sermons and books, he suggested that the evolutionary model of science and the work on religious experience by such scholars as WILLIAM JAMES provide new grounds for faith. Human religious awareness may have evolved in response to real divine forces at work in the universe. The work of creation is not finished; at the heart of the universe is a Christlike moral pull (or divine *Logos*) drawing the world toward a loving and reconciling end. In his autobiography, Gladden concluded that

...the work of creation is not yet finished, and never will be. The work of creation is a continuous process.... And the Spirit in whose image our spirits are fashioned, and with whom we are made for fellowship, is here, all the while.... He is near us, in the pulsations of our hearts, in the movements of our minds, living and working in us and manifesting Himself in every natural force, in every law of life. (*Recollections* 1909:426–427).

See also Christology; Cultural Protestantism; Higher Criticism; Hymns and Hymnals; Kingsley, Charles; Maurice, Frederick Denison; Revivals; Sheldon, Charles; Socialism, Christian

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WILLIAM M.KING

GLADSTONE, WILLIAM EWART (1809–1898)

English politician. Gladstone was born in Liverpool, England, on December 29, 1809, the son of John Gladstone, a city merchant of Scottish Presbyterian ancestry. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church Oxford and elected to Parliament in 1832, serving for more than 60 years, with four terms as Liberal Prime Minister (1868–1874, 1880–1885, 1886, and 1892–1894). His was “a political outlook that was conditioned by the Christian Faith” (Bebbington 1993:xii). He died at Hawarden on May 19, 1898.

Gladstone became a High Churchman devoted to the defense of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, resisting the movement from ANGLICANISM to Roman Catholicism. In 1838 he wrote *The State in Its Relations with the Church*, stressing his desire for a national church that encouraged religious unity. He combined a Protestant emphasis on the open BIBLE and a Catholic emphasis on the doctrine of the CHURCH and the AUTHORITY of bishops (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). His anti-Catholicism led him to resign from the government in 1845 over the Maynooth Grant. He later disowned his friend Henry Manning, who became a cardinal. In 1874 he wrote *The Vatican Decrees* against infallibility and other Roman Catholic doctrines, yet he opposed the Public Worship Regulation Bill in defense of the rights of Anglo-Catholic Ritualists (see ANGLO CATHOLICISM) and self-regulation by the church. His adherence to his church did not prevent dialogue with dissenters, who became a significant support for the Liberal Party (see DISSENT, NONCONFORMITY). His attendance at the Metropolitan Tabernacle in 1882 to hear CHARLES SPURGEON preach brought much criticism.

Gladstone regularly partook of communion and observed the fasts of the church. His view of religion and society was molded by his belief that “community is the very essence of the Church of Christ,” a repudiation of earlier EVANGELICALISM that stressed the more individualistic social ethics.

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TIM MACQUIBAN

GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

The Glorious Revolution is the name commonly given to the 1688–1689 displacement of the Catholic king of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, James II (1633–1701), by his Protestant son-in-law, William III (1650–1702).

Events

The revolution was sparked by James's desire to remove legal impediments on English Catholics. Initially he hoped to do this through parliament, but the legislature he called in 1685 refused to repeal laws banning Catholic worship or the test acts that prevented anyone but CHURCH OF ENGLAND communicants from holding public office. This left James having to use his prerogative to pursue his objectives. Between 1686 and 1688 he claimed a royal power to evade the test legislation and to issue "declarations of indulgence" permitting a wide freedom of conscience (see TOLERATION).

Early reaction among the Protestant English was muted. Although most saw the king as advancing an authoritarian view of kingship and an objectionable religion, many comforted themselves that he was aging. His daughter and heir, Mary (married to William, prince of Orange and stadtholder of most of the United Provinces of the NETHERLANDS), was a staunch Protestant, who most thought would reverse James's policies. In the summer of 1688, however, James's wife, Mary, gave birth to a son. Faced with the prospect of a perpetual Catholic dynasty, leading figures began to plot with William to help him invade. William, who wished to control England and bring it to war against his archenemy, Louis XIV of FRANCE, set sail from Holland in October. A widely circulated manifesto asked for English support.

William landed at Torbay on November 5. Over the next month, preplanned risings took place in support in the north of England, and leading conspirators in James's army defected. All this destroyed the king's morale. His army advanced to Salisbury Plain to oppose William, but James then ordered it to retreat, and amid every sign of nervous breakdown, he fled London on the night of December 11. Although apprehended in his first escape, he reached the safety of France by Christmas.

William's path to the throne was now clear. A provisional government, consisting of all peers in London, invited the prince to assume temporary executive power. In response he organized a "convention" (a body to be constituted in the same way as a parliament but without a king) to decide the future of the realm. When this group met (January 22, 1689), many of its members objected to replacing James with a foreign Dutchman, but it soon became clear that other solutions would not work. James had become generally unacceptable; a proposal for a regency was defeated; and suggestions that William's wife become queen became untenable when the prince threatened to leave England rather than accept this arrangement. Everybody knew William's withdrawal would produce political chaos, so the convention offered him the throne on February 13. The only two restraints on William were a novel joint monarchy in which Mary joined her husband as reigning monarch and a "Declaration of Rights," which negated James's claims about the prerogative.

In Scotland the pattern of events was similar. Order broke down when James fled; William called a convention that offered him and his wife the throne. In IRELAND William's authority was at first frustrated by the majority Catholic population who rose in support of James. However, victories at Derry (1689), the Boyne (1690), and Aughrim (1691) secured the western realm for the new regime and placed the minority Irish Protestants in an ascendancy that would complicate Irish history henceforth.

The Revolution and Protestantism

At first glance, the Glorious Revolution looks like an assertion of the antipopish Protestantism, which had dominated seventeenth-century Britain. It certainly was that. A Catholic king had been removed, and acceptance of William meant joining his crusade against Louis XIV. This was not a purely religious war, given that William had Catholic allies in Spain and Austria, but it was nevertheless a fight against the leading enemy of Protestantism, and arguably pre served the reformed faith in Europe. Beyond this basic interpretation, however, the relation between revolution and faith was complex. The events of 1688 saw a weakening, because some arguments against James came to rest on appeals for greater tolerance of Catholics, but also a final realization of British Protestantism.

As William and his British supporters opposed the old king, they stressed the difference between his intransigent faith and the nonpersecuting religion of the Protestants. Thus the Orange manifesto took its stand on James's violation of English and Scots law, not his religion. Spokesmen such as the prince's chaplain, Gilbert Burnet, warned that lynching Romanists would make Protestants worse than their rivals. This rhetoric tempered anti-Catholic excess, and, when combined with the new king's highly tolerant attitudes to all confessions, eased religious tensions.

Against this, the revolution strengthened links between Britishness and Protestantism by defining the nation's faith in the clearest manner yet. First, the English convention resolved that kingship "of this protestant realm" was incompatible with Catholicism. When incorporated into the later BILL OF RIGHTS (1689), this resolution barred

Catholics from the throne and declared that any monarch who converted once crowned would be treated as if naturally dead. Although often overlooked, this provision was one of the revolution's most radical acts, reversing the relationship between sovereignty and national religion. Hitherto, England, WALES, and Ireland had been Protestant because their kings had made them so. Now kings must be reformed Christians because their nations were.

A second strengthening of British Protestantism came through the toleration act of April 1689. Passed through the Westminster parliament to ease the political divisions of Protestantism, this did not repeal the test acts, but it did grant freedom to worship outside the establishment under certain conditions (see DIS-SENT; NONCONFORMITY). Its effect was to define England as a Protestant nation still more clearly. The prime condition for religious freedom was agreement with the established church's *doctrinal*, as opposed to ecclesiological, articles. Because these mapped out the main tenets of orthodox trinitarian Protestantism, it widened the boundaries of acceptable worship from the established denomination to a broader reformed Christianity. When coupled with the fact that Scotland had abolished its English-style church at the revolution, and replaced it with a presbyterian kirk (see PRESBYTERIANISM), the toleration act ensured that the Britain born in the 1707 union would become a Protestant, not simply an Anglican, entity (see ANGLICANISM).

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TONY CLAYDON

GNESIO-LUTHERANS

Although the term “Gnesio-Lutherans” may be comparatively recent, it refers to a party within the later Lutheran REFORMATION emerging in the aftermath of the Schmalkald War. Originally called “Flacians” by their opponents, the Gnesio-Lutherans became a loosely affiliated, colorful band of controversialists led by NICKOLAUS VON AMSDORF and MATTHIAS FLACIUS (Illyricus). In a series of conflicts that erupted along a theological fault line in the Lutheran reform opened by PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, they developed an influential theory of political resistance and set the stage for a restoration of MARTIN LUTHER’S influence in the Lutheran Formula of Concord.

Origins

Finally making good on a threat first leveled in the DIET OF WORMS in 1521, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V went to war against the political-military alliance supporting the Lutheran Reformation in 1547. Assembled in the Schmalkald League, the Lutherans had had the superior forces but had been weakened by several factors, among them the death of Luther in 1546. Charles made quick work of the League’s divided armies, but his own alliance was not stable enough to impose an end to the Lutheran reform. Temporizing, Charles sought compromise in the AUGSBURG INTERIM of 1548. When that failed, Duke Moritz of Saxony, who gained the reunification of Ducal and Electoral Saxony as a reward for his military support of the emperor, proposed a further compromise. Although never officially adopted by the empire, it has been termed the “Leipzig Interim.” Eventually, Charles was forced to withdraw entirely, conceding terms initially in the Peace of Passau of 1552 and, finally, the Peace of Augsburg of 1555.

In late medieval-early modern European life, liturgics—the rituals of the Western mass and associated practices—were a fundamental expression of religious and therefore also political unity. Recognizing its religious importance, in 1526 Luther published his German Mass, using traditional Catholic forms but revising them on the basis of his understanding of the biblical doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone. The critical turn was from sacrifice to sacrament, from the mass as a meritorious act of the CHURCH

for God to the LORD'S SUPPER as God's act distributing the gifts of Christ's death and resurrection to the faithful. On this basis, Luther was particularly critical of such standard medieval practices as the canon of the mass or eucharistic prayer; the reservation of the host, in which the bread used in the mass was reserved on the altar; Corpus Christi processions, in which the bread was carried through the community in a sacred vessel; and communion in one kind only, in which the priests alone received the wine of the mass.

Understanding his vocation as a call to preserve the religious as well as the political unity of the empire in its place in Europe, Charles V was particularly concerned about the Lutheran revisions. In preparation for the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, originally called to restore unity, the emperor demanded an account of the liturgical variances and accompanying practices. In the negotiations that followed the diet, such matters of religious practice became the fundamental issues. Thus, after the Schmalkald War, Charles immediately sought to roll back the Lutheran revisions. In the Augsburg Interim, he allowed two concessions that had been on the table at Augsburg: the marriage of CLERGY (see CLERGY, MARRIAGE OF) and communion in both kinds.

Philipp Melanchthon, who had agreed to such terms at Augsburg, had in the meantime come under considerable criticism for his conciliatory efforts. But with Luther's death, he had taken religious leadership in the Lutheran reform and urged support for Charles V's policies. His yielding appears to have been more principled than opportunistic—Melanchthon had his own particular concerns for religious and political unity. His critics, however, rejected the distinction. In his own defense, Melanchthon appealed to the liturgical concept of ADIAPHORA. An adiaphoron is a practice of the church not mandated biblically that thus might be treated as a matter of choice. Supporting Charles's imposed liturgical renewal and working with Duke Moritz, Melanchthon argued that he was conceding only in adiaphora, sometimes erroneously termed "matters of indifference."

In fact, however, there were some other issues involved. One was a matter of leadership. Throughout the Reformation, Melanchthon had had difficulties maintaining authority. He was alternatively yielding and harsh, a combination that raised questions about his predictability and trustworthiness. Another issue was theological. In the later 1520s, Melanchthon began a series of revisions of the teachings he had shared with Luther. In the years following 1536 and 1541, these modifications manifested themselves in substantial variations on such critical theological matters as the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament, the bondage of the will, the nature of CONVERSION, and related issues. In the view of critics, the Leipzig Interim, though it never gained legal status, appeared to consolidate Melanchthon's experimentation.

Matthias Flacius, a Croatian drawn to the Lutheran Reformation, arrived in Wittenberg in 1547. He was to become known as a biblical scholar and church historian, author of the *Clavis Scriptorum* and the *Magdeburg Centuries*. But in his days in Wittenberg, he was Melanchthon's secretary, working with him in the faculty. That service ended when Flacius published some compromising letters in which Melanchthon privately deplored the conciliations that he had been publicly supporting.

Forced out of Wittenberg in the ensuing controversy, Flacius fled to temporary safety in Magdeburg, a city still successfully resisting Charles V. There he joined forces with Nickolaus von Amsdorf, a longtime friend of Luther's who had become the reforming

bishop in that city, and Nikolaus Gallus, a pastor. Together, with Flacius in the lead, they attacked Melanchthon and his arguments. The defining issue, as summarized in the Formula of Concord that officially settled the matter, concerned “ceremonies of ecclesiastical practices that are neither commanded nor forbidden in God’s Word but that were introduced in the churches for the sake of good order or decorum” (BOOK OF CONCORD). Mounting a range of objections to Melanchthon’s appeal, Flacius argued that in a time of persecution, when political and military force are used to mandate adiaphora, such practices lose their optional character and so must be resisted.

Eventually, in the mid-1550s, Melanchthon and Flacius settled that issue. But in the intervening years, controversy had erupted around a whole series of other issues, exacerbating hostilities. Altogether, although there were also side matters, six controversies were engaged: after the adiaphorist, the synergistic, concerning the role of the will in conversion; the majoristic, on the relationship of faith and good works; the antinomian, another round on a perennial debate in the Lutheran reform concerning the role of the law in the life of faith; the crypto-Calvinist, on the nature of Christ’s presence in the sacrament; and the Osiandrian, named for ANDREAS OSIANDER of Nuremberg, who proposed an alternative to Melanchthon’s understanding of justification by faith.

The various theologians involved in these conflicts, which generally featured generous use of invective and caricature, fell into two parties. The Philippists, so called polemically by their opponents, included Melanchthon’s more loyal students, associated with him at the University of Wittenberg. The “Flacians,” “Gnesio-,” or “true Lutherans,” equally polemical labels, were dispersed from Magdeburg by a military reversal in 1551. But they were never as concentrated geographically. Some of the more notable theologians included in the party were Johann Wigand, who returned to Magdeburg briefly before setting off for other points; Tileman Hesshus, who served for a time in Heidelberg; Joachim Westphal of Hamburg; Anton Otto from Nordhausen; and Andreas Poach of Erfurt. The Gnesio-Lutheran theologians had strong support from pastors in Braunschweig, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Luneberg. Like some of his companions, Flacius became an itinerant, finding it difficult to hold a position because of his own polemical excesses, particularly in the synergist controversy, and his outspoken views of political AUTHORITY. He also won the enmity of some of the other Gnesio-Lutherans, such as Otto and Poach.

Contributions

One of the factors in the inflammatory rhetoric of the conflict between the Gnesio-Lutherans and their Philippist opponents may be their very closeness theologically. Generally, the issues that divided them were as much cultural as they were matters of faith: The Gnesio-Lutherans sought to reclaim Luther’s apocalyptically driven, relationally oriented conclusions in matters of SIN and GRACE; the Philippists were more cautious, stressing the continuity of biblical faith with other ancient literature, the unity of CHURCH AND STATE, and the integrity of personal striving in the achievement of new life in Christ. Where they differed in emphasis, however, the two

parties generally shared a common theological method that they had both learned from Melancthon. There were exceptions, however, such as von Amsdorf, Otto, and Poach, who reflected more direct appropriation of Luther's way of thinking.

For all of their contentions, the Gnesio-Lutherans left a significant legacy. The doctrine of political resistance that they developed in Magdeburg completed a process of development in Luther's own thought. It left its impression in Article X of the Formula of Concord and, as a more developed doctrine, in CALVINISM. The Gnesio-Lutherans also played a significant part in the Formula of Concord's attempts to restore the LUTHERANISM of the earlier Reformation.

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JAMES ARNE NESTINGEN

GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON (1749–1832)

German writer. Goethe was born on August 28, 1749, in Frankfurt am Main, GERMANY, and died on March 3, 1832, in Weimar. He was brought up with tutors under the supervision of his father, Johann Caspar Goethe (1710–1782). In 1765 he began studying law in Leipzig but in 1768 broke off his studies and returned to Frankfurt because of illness. He spent time with Susanna Katharina von Klettenberg (1723–1774) and frequented her Pietist circle.

In 1771 he finished his studies in Strasbourg; there he met JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER. From 1771 to 1775 he prepared for a law career in Frankfurt and in 1772 did practical training at the supreme court in Wetzlar. From April to October 1775 he was engaged to Anna Elisabeth (Lili) Schönemann (1758–1817). At the invitation of Duke (later, in 1814, Grand Duke) Karl August (1757–1828), Goethe resettled in Weimar, Saxony. His career as a civil servant in Weimar included being privy councilor for legation, royal tutor, counsel of state, minister, true privy councilor, and minister of state. Between 1786 and 1788 he made his first tour of ITALY. After 1788 he enjoyed the lifelong companionship of Christiane Vulpius (1765–1816), whom he married in 1806. In 1788 he was freed from official duties. In 1789 his son August von Goethe was born (died 1830). From 1791 to 1817 he was director of the royal theater of Weimar. In 1792–1793 he took part in a military campaign against FRANCE. In 1794 his friendship with JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH VON SCHILLER began. In 1801 he made the acquaintance of GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL (1770–1831) and in 1808 met with Napoleon (1769–1821) in Erfurt. In 1812 he visited Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827).

Career

Goethe is considered the most important poet in the German language. His literary career spans six decades, from 1770 to 1830, during which time the world was transformed forever by events such as the American and FRENCH REVOLUTIONS. By 1770 his

early works had already changed the concept of poetry, creating an autonomous art form that served no longer to illustrate something beyond itself, such as a philosophical or theological idea—as did the literature of the ENLIGHTENMENT—but based what truth it contained in personal experiences and perceptions. His most important works include the countless poems now referred to as poems of personal experience, inspired by love—first for Friederike Brion (1752–1813) and later for other women—and also by nature’s beauty; the dramas *Die Mitschuldigen* (1768–1769), *Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand* (1773), *Clavigo* (1774), *Stella* (1776/1816), *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (1779/1781), *Egmont* (1788), *Faust* (1808/ 1832), *Torquato Tasso* (1790), *Die Natürliche Tochter* (1803); the narratives *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774), *Reineke Fuchs* (1794), *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* (1795), *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795–1796), *Herrmann und Dorothea* (1797), *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809), *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre oder die Entsagenden* (1821/ 1829), *Novelle* (1828); the biographical writings *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1811/1833), *Sankt Rochus-Fest zu Bingen* (1817), *Belagerung von Mainz* (1822), *Campagne in Frankreich 1792* (1822), *Italiänische Reise* (1829); many works on natural sciences, including *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen: Elegie* (1799–1800) and *Zur Farbenlehre* (1810); and reviews, theoretical writings on art, and more than twenty thousand letters.

Religion and Philosophy

Goethe grew up within the orthodox Lutheran environment of Frankfurt am Main (see ORTHODOXY), was spiritually very close to his mother, Katharina Elisabeth (née Textor, 1731–1808), and was schooled early in life in the ancient languages in order to study THEOLOGY. However, in Strasbourg he grew estranged from the Pietist circle (see PIETISM) he had been frequenting on recommendations made to him in Frankfurt. The only contact that lasted was with JOHANN HEINRICH JUNG-STILLING. His last known taking of the Sacrament took place on August 26, 1770. In an anonymously published letter, *Brief des Pastors zu an den Pastor zu* (Letter of the Pastor of to the Pastor of), he confesses a belief in a religion of loving understanding that assumes an individual’s unmediated relationship to God in a Protestant sense but seeks this outside of all sacrament and churchly ritual. He also opposed any dogmatic or orthodox definition of belief and championed enlightened tolerance, because “God and love are synonymous” (WA, I, 37, p. 156). Over the years his fundamental rejection of all abstract systematizing would grow ever more pronounced.

In *Leiden des jungen Werthers* (Sorrows of Young Werther) he goes a step further toward secularization by suggestively placing his protagonist in the role of Christ. Werther sacrifices himself for the happiness of his friends and takes as his final meal bread and wine, the food of the Last Supper. In *Faust*, Goethe uses biblical figures and motifs to enrich and enliven his poetry but not to demonstrate theological or religious truths. Fixed and certain convictions meant nothing to him, only the continual renewal of thought. In *West-östlichen Divan* (1819/1827) he wrote: “Und solang du das nicht hast,/Dieses: Stirb und werde! /Bist du nur ein trüber Gast /Auf der dunklen Erde” (WA I,

6, p. 28)—a secularized version of Matthew 10:39 (also Mark 8:34, Luke 17:33, John 12:25, and I Corinthians 15:36).

The popular belief that Goethe was a pantheist requires some clarification. Indeed an explanation of his religious beliefs must be based in part on his writings in the natural sciences. There he repeatedly states that only in the observation of nature can one perceive the divine. In, for example, a letter to Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819) dated January 6, 1813, he also qualifies his pantheism:

I cannot, with the manifold directions of my being, have enough with only a single way of thinking; as poet and artist I am a polytheist; a pantheist, however, as a scientist, and none more crucial than the other. If I need a god for my person, as a moral being, so it is provided. The heavenly and the earthly things are a realm of such expanse that only the organs of all creatures taken together are able to comprehend it. (WA IV, 23, p. 226)

This passage reveals Goethe's great tolerance and even sympathy for Roman Catholicism—in 1814 he dedicates a holy picture to the Saint Rochus chapel in Bingen, Germany. This tolerant stance becomes the pedagogical landscape depicted in his late work *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, where his teachings of deep respect and reverence are explained and qualified. There is reverence “for that which is above us,” “for that which is below us,” and “for that which is equal to us,” and from these comes the greatest of all, reverence for oneself.

See also Literature, German

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ULRICH KARTHAUS

GOGARTEN, FRIEDRICH (1887–1967)

German theologian. Gogarten was born in Dortmund, GERMANY, January 13, 1887, and died October 16, 1967, in Göttingen. He studied art history, German literature, and psychology in Munich and theology in Jena, Berlin, and Heidelberg. He was pastor in Stelzendorf, Thuringia (1917–1925), and Dorndorf near Jena (1925–1931) while serving as lecturer in theology at the university of Jena. He was awarded an honorary doctorate in THEOLOGY by the University of Giessen in 1924. From 1931 to 1935 he was professor of theology at Breslau from 1931 to 1935, and from then until his retirement in 1955 professor at Göttingen.

In 1922 he founded, together with KARL BARTH and Eduard Thurneysen, the journal *Zwischen den Zeiten*. Hitler's Third Reich and the ascendancy of the German Christian movement caused the founders to part company over Gogarten's seeming acceptance of the GERMAN CHRISTIANS' identification of God's law with the people's law. Gogarten himself was not part of the German Christian movement.

His work manifests influences of ERNST TROELTSCH, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Martin Heidegger as well as the personalism of Martin Buber, Ferdinand Ebner (1882–1931), and Eberhard Grisebach (1880–1945). The strongest influence, nonetheless, was MARTIN LUTHER and his understanding of the nature of the gospel. Neo-Lutherans, especially the church historian KARL HOLL, were significant interlocutors in his reflections on the relation between faith and history. For Gogarten history is the encounter of the "I and Thou" even as revelation is the personal calling of the "I" by the "Thou." The subject of revelation, and of FAITH, is Jesus Christ, the historical event of the personal unity of God and humanity. Christ is the "Thou" of God calling the "I" into responsibility toward the "Thou" of other humans and of the world. This conceptualization allowed Gogarten to develop his understanding of true worldliness: it alone enables authentic responsibility to God and humans and the natural world. That such worldliness, or secularization, is the gift of the gospel is Gogarten's enduring contribution to Protestant theology.

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MARTIN RUMSCHEIDT

GOMAR, FRANZ (1563–1641)

Dutch theologian. Gomar was born January 30, 1563, in Bruges, Flanders, and died January 11, 1641, in Groningen, Friesland. He studied in Strasbourg under Johannes Sturm; in Neustadt, Rheinpfalz, under Zacharius Ursinus, Franz Junius, and Girolamo Zanchi; and in Oxford, Cambridge (Master of Arts in philosophy, 1584), and Heidelberg, where he obtained a Ph.D. in theology in 1594. After serving as minister of the Flemish community in Frankfurt am Main from 1586 to 1593, he was appointed professor of theology in Leiden in 1594.

In 1604 Gomar became involved in increasingly acrimonious disputes with his colleague JACOBUS ARMINIUS on the issue of PREDESTINATION, a conflict that intensified as Gomar disputed with the followers of Arminius after the latter died in 1609. Unsolved dogmatic issues, the problem of church discipline, and the question of the role of the Church in the State all led to conflict within the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands. Gomar taught strict supralapsarian predestination and also vehemently defended the authority of Presbyterians and SYNODS. He was a strong opponent of Arminius, whom he accused of Pelagian and Jesuit tendencies. As the Gomarians demanded that the conflict be settled by a national synod, the heads of state were drawn into the debate. Several conferences between followers of Arminius and supporters of Gomar (known since 1611 as REMONSTRANTS and counter-Remonstrants) came to nothing. After the appointment of Conrad Vorstius as Arminius's successor, Gomar resigned from his position as professor in Leiden in 1611, and in the same year himself became a minister and professor in Middelburg, Zeeland. In 1615 he took up a position in Saumur in France, and in 1618 became professor in Groningen. From 1618 to 1619 he was an influential figure in the Dordrecht Synod, where he was responsible for the condemnation of the Remonstrants, without, however, being able to impose strict supralapsarianism. Gomar edited a translation of the Old Testament ("Statenvertaling") and established a center of Reformed orthodoxy in Groningen, where he expounded New Testament and dogmatics. He was also known as "the hammer of the Arminians." A pugnacious, controversial, and yet peace-loving teacher, Gomar was a seminal influence on many students over several decades and an important thinker in an Europe seared by the Thirty Years' War.

See also Arminianism; Presbyterianism

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ANDREAS MÜHLING

GOMARIANS

In the seventeenth century, Reformed orthodox theology experienced its peak in the NETHERLANDS. The resolutions of the Synod of Dort of 1618–1619, in which almost all larger Reformed churches with the exception of the HUGUENOTS took part, condemned ARMINIANISM and adopted the Calvinist teaching of PREDESTINATION defended by FRANZ GOMAR (Franciscus Gomarus), without, however, adopting the supralapsarianism—the teaching that God’s PREDESTINATION had occurred *before* the Fall—which he defended. After the defeat of the followers of Arminius, Gomar became one of the greatest theological authorities in the Netherlands, and his work was fundamental for Dutch ORTHODOXY. In their *Synopsius purioris Theologiae* (1625) Johannes Polyander, Andreas Rivetus, Antonius Thysius, and Antonius Walaeus, theologians of Leiden, sought to summarize all the orthodox material influenced by Gomar on the basis of the CANONS OF DORT. However, the structuring of federal theology, inter alia by JOHANNES COCCEJUS, meant that the teaching of predestination defended by the followers of Gomar began to be replaced by the concept of “Heilsgeschichte,” an interpretation of history stressing God’s saving GRACE. The orthodoxy influenced by Gomar was already on its way out during his lifetime. Gisbert Voetius, Gomar’s most influential student, had an impact in that he integrated puritanical influences into the THEOLOGY of Gomar and called—analogously to puritanical demands—for further reformation (see PURITANISM).

Leading this “*Nadere Reformatie*,” Voetius’s theology, decisively influenced by Gomar, formed an at once critical and controversial counterpoint within the church and society of the Netherlands. On the basis of the resolutions of the Synod of Dort, the reform movement led by Voetius entered into fierce debates not only with state authorities about the autonomy of the church, as in the so-called five-chapter dispute of the 1650s and 1660s in Utrecht; the criticism was also directed against theological adversaries: in the so-called Sabbath dispute equally sharp attacks were lodged against Coccejus and his “federal theology” based on “heilsgeschichte” as against the “new” philosophy of René Descartes or the chiliastic sermons of Jean de Labadie with his insistence on the separation of the devout from the world (see CHILASM). Finally the Voetius reform movement inveighed, in the end without success, against the traditional customs and celebrations with their alleged tendency to “profane” Sundays.

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ANDREAS MÜHLING

GOODSPEED, EDGAR JOHNSON (1871–1962)

New Testament scholar. Goodspeed, eminent Greek scholar, specialist in New Testament and early Christian literature, and America's leading translator of the Scriptures, was a tireless proponent for the use of modern language versions of the BIBLE in public worship. As a graduate student at the University of Chicago (Ph.D., 1898), Goodspeed developed a keen interest in manuscript study and the collection and deciphering of Greek papyri. His familiarity with them enabled him to refute current theories of the Aramaic origins of the New Testament and demonstrate that it was written in colloquial Greek. The New Testament, he believed, should therefore be translated into everyday English.

Other Americans since Andrews Norton (1855) had published translations of the New Testament in contemporary idiom, and three modern language versions (Moffatt, Weymouth, and the Twentieth Century) enjoyed wide circulation, but these were intended for private reading. Goodspeed intended his for public use. He thus challenged the entrenched position of the King James Version in American Protestant churches.

The New Testament: An American Translation (1923) offered a novel presentation. Goodspeed, an accomplished essayist, used modern paragraphing and kept verse numbers unobtrusive to facilitate narrative flow.

An unfortunate press release of a sample translation of the Lord's Prayer (taken from Luke instead of the familiar Matthean version) aroused a torrent of protest on editorial pages across the nation. Goodspeed became the target of critics with little knowledge of the history of the English Bible, who challenged his scholarly credentials and accused him of "monkeying with the Bible." These attacks cemented Goodspeed's commitment to Bible education among the general public. He became a popular platform speaker and produced numerous books for nonspecialists, including *The Story of the Bible* (1936), *How Came the Bible?* (1940), and *How to Read the Bible* (1946).

Goodspeed taught at the University of Chicago (1902–1937) and published more than sixty books. He is best known for his theory that the publication of Acts provided the stimulus for gathering the Pauline letters and the writing of Ephesians (by Onesimus) as an encyclical to head this collection.

See also Bible Translation; Bible, King James Version

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ROBERT LEE CARTER

GORDON, ADONIRAM JUDSON (1836–1895)

American theologian. Gordon was born on April 19, 1836, in New Hampton, New Hampshire. As a Baptist minister, he embraced historic premillennialism early in his pastoral ministry. Four different influences, like four separate tributaries, flowed into his concern with the doctrine of premillennialism: moderate CALVINISM, the phenomenon of revivalism and MISSIONS, the development of personal piety, and the Higher Life ministry of the Holy Spirit. Eventually these influences merged to make the picture more complete, showing the dominance of premillennialism in his life. Every aspect of his ministry—missionary endeavors; defense of WOMEN’S ministry; his relationship with his wife, Maria Hale Gordon; his broad associations with other evangelical leaders; social ministry; the founding of the Boston Missionary Training School in 1889 (now two separate institutions, Gordon College and Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary); and the publication of a monthly journal, *The Watchword*—were subsumed under this theme.

Gordon was educated from 1853 to 1856 at the New London Literary and Scientific Institution (now ColbySawyer College, New London, New Hampshire). From 1856 to 1860 he attended Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island). He received his theological training at Newton Theological Institution (Newton, Massachusetts), graduating in 1863. He then served as pastor of the Baptist Church in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts (from 1863 to 1869), and for 25 years (1869–1895) at Clarendon Street Baptist Church, Boston.

Gordon’s ministry was expansive. Among those with whom he worked were evangelist DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY and Presbyterian missions advocate and fellow premillennialist, ARTHUR TAPPAN PIERSON. Gordon led a prosperous congregation, served on his denomination’s mission board, edited hymn books, authored hymns, and wrote several books, in addition to editing a monthly premillenarian journal, *The Watchword*, for seventeen years. His most widely recognized hymn is the tune to “My Jesus, I Love Thee.”

Gordon died from complications of pneumonia on February 2, 1895, in Boston at the age of 58.

See also Higher Life Movement; Millenarians and Millennialism; Hymns and Hymnals

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SCOTT M.GIBSON

GRACE

“Amazing grace, how sweet the sound, That saved a wretch like me! I once was lost, but now am found, Was blind, but now I see. / ’Twas grace that taught my heart to fear, And grace my fears relieved; How precious did that grace appear The hour I first believed!”

This hymn, written by the British theologian John Newton in 1779, continues to be popular in the English-speaking Protestant world. It illustrates two characteristic features of the Christian understanding of grace, especially in Protestantism. Grace marks God’s saving and—in a certain sense—also God’s judging action on the human being who is blinded because he or she is helplessly self-centered and lost in an obsession with self-interest. God’s grace absolves and endows the sinner with the perception of God’s passionate will and God’s faithfulness. The abundance of life that is created and promised by God is surprising, because no one who is blind can expect an unseen reality. It amazes because God’s grace is overwhelming: it liberates in such a way that any resistance would be absurd. Through grace, human beings encounter the living God. Grace teaches the due fear of God’s judgment and at the same time relieves one from the fear of God’s wrath. God establishes an asymmetrical relationship with human beings through grace. Grace arises from the inexhaustible justice of God—no human being deserves it and can claim it. It is the unmerited favor of God and divine inspiring, regenerating strength. God’s free grace corresponds to the surprised and incessant joy of those who are showered with this incomprehensible gift. It precedes all that we can expect from ourselves, for us, for others, and for the world.

Grace is derived from the Latin *gratia*. Its theological meaning had been developed especially by the Apostle Paul based on the Greek *charis*. In Hebrew, it corresponds to “goodness,” “kindness,” and “steadfast love,” often in conjunction with “faithfulness” (e.g., Genesis 24:27). It is prominent in the narratives, in wisdom literature, and above all in prayers. God’s benevolence surpasses God’s wrath; it surpasses the time-space of human alienation from God’s will: “For his anger is but for a moment; his favor is for a lifetime” (Psalms 30:5). Wrath passes, grace stands. It is as if the sun breaks through the clouds after it had been concealed temporarily. This can be misunderstood. One might think grace was the inmost nature of God, which was intermittently interrupted by other expressions and impulses. Yet God’s grace is not an emotion, not even a basic mood that might be interrupted by others’ feelings. God’s grace emanates from God’s unchanging purposes; it acts determinedly and is not a temporary cheerful state of mind or a good temper. God’s “steadfast love endures forever” (Psalms 100:5). The pious can rely on it,

and the unfaithful will never escape it. The appropriate answer to God's grace is human obedience toward God's commandments, which are signs of God's faithfulness.

Paul argued that God's grace realizes its abundance in the weakness of afflicted people who experience that they have nothing to offer to God nor to summon up against God (II Corinthians 12:8). Jews and Gentiles perceive God's grace by JUSTIFICATION, "by his grace as a gift, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Romans 3:24), "by faith apart from works prescribed by the law" (Romans 3:28). Grace constitutes a space of living in communion with Jesus Christ. To cut oneself off from Christ means to fall away from grace (Galatians 5:4). Grace (*charis*) embodies itself in particular gifts (*charismata*), such as prophecy, ministry, and exhortation (I Corinthians 12:4–11). Paul explained that the only appropriate answer to God's grace is faith, trust in God's promises, and consent to God's will. FAITH is an indication of God's gift. It points to God and God's SALVATION as we find it in Jesus Christ. It refers us to God's sovereign initiative in reconciling the world with God (II Corinthians 5:18). God never purely reacts. God's action reveals his steadfast love and enduring faithfulness.

The early fathers emphasized that human beings can only be receptive for God's grace, yet grace inspires and forms the human being as a whole. Augustine stressed the notion of prevenient Grace (*gratia praeveniens*): God's mercy is prior to all human expectation and understanding. Experienced in PRAYER, it is irresistible. Thomas Aquinas stated that grace does not contradict NATURE. According to Aquinas, God's creation cannot be totally corrupted by human SIN; grace heals the incomplete natural notion of God: "Grace does not destroy nature, but perfects it" (*Summa theologiae*, I, q. 1, a. 8, ad 2). MARTIN LUTHER rediscovered the biblical usage: Grace is not an attribute or a mood of God, but God's action out of loving-kindness. In this way Luther not only corrected the traditional doctrine of grace, but also radically revised it by establishing it as the primary rule of all theological understanding. God's grace is His saving action, realized as the justification of the sinner who remains dependent on God's grace all the time. Human beings are saved through grace alone (*sola gratia*) only by faith (*sola fide*); both correspond to God's presence in Jesus Christ (*solus Christus*). The reformer opposed an understanding of grace that had been and to some extent still is popular in the Roman Catholic praxis of penitence: God's grace is God's aid for the appropriate life; it is like a drive belt that actuates human conduct of life according to God's intention. In the twentieth century, DIETRICH BONHOEFFER criticized "cheap grace" as the mere acceptance of God's reconciling work that avoids true discipleship obedient to God's will communicated by Jesus Christ. KARL BARTH argued against the teachings of EMIL BRUNNER that grace is revelation that alone makes possible every true notion of God, of God's will and of God's action. Therefore, there can be no "natural" recognition of God.

North American Protestantism has been marked by two contrasting perceptions of grace in relation to sin, God's healing and encouraging power, and the task of sanctification. On the one hand is the continuing, if diminished, influence of JONATHAN EDWARDS, with the Calvinist notion of irresistible divine grace toward the elect and the picture of "sinners in the hands of an angry God." On the other hand, METHODISM has mediated JOHN WESLEY'S view of the universal availability of prevenient grace, and his notion of the "cooperation" of the believer toward "perfection": "God works, therefore you can work; God works, therefore you must work" (sermon "On

Working Out Our Own Salvation”). All this demonstrates that grace remains a very complex and multifaceted topic of Christian theology and piety.

See also Theology

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GERHARD SAUTER

GRAHAM, BILLY (1918-)

American evangelist. Born William Franklin Graham Jr. on November 7, 1918, on a farm outside Charlotte, North Carolina, to William Franklin and Morrow Coffey Graham, Billy Graham became the most famous and successful evangelist of the twentieth century. He preached in person to more than eighty million people in more than eighty countries and reached countless other millions via radio, television, films, books, magazines, and newspaper columns.

Life

Graham attended Bob Jones College for one semester; the Florida Bible Institute, where he began PREACHING and changed his denominational affiliation from Associate Reformed Presbyterian to Southern Baptist; and Wheaton College, where he met and married Ruth Bell, the daughter of a medical missionary to CHINA, and undertook his first and only stint as a local pastor. In 1945 he became the field representative of a dynamic evangelistic movement known as YOUTH FOR CHRIST International. In this role, he toured the UNITED STATES and much of Great Britain and Europe, teaching local church leaders how to organize youth rallies and forging friendships with scores of Christian leaders who would later join his organization or provide critical assistance to his crusades when he visited their cities throughout the world.

The New Evangelicalism

The exposure and stature Graham gained through Youth for Christ and nationally publicized early crusades in Los Angeles, Boston, Washington, and other major cities between 1949 and 1952 enabled him to become a key leader in a young movement that called itself “the New Evangelicalism.” The term signified a form of conservative

Christianity that consciously separated itself from traditional FUNDAMENTALISM by its tendency to be tolerant of minor theological differences among essentially like-minded believers, a conviction that evangelical faith could and should be set forth and defended in an intellectually rigorous manner rather than simply asserted dogmatically, and a more positive attitude toward social reform than Fundamentalists had held since the end of World War I. Stunningly successful months-long revivals in London (1954) and New York (1957); triumphant tours of the Continent (1954, 1955), the Far East (1956), AUSTRALIA (1959), and AFRICA (1960); the founding of the magazine, *Christianity Today* (1956); the launching of nationwide television broadcasts on ABC (1957), and a public friendship with President Dwight Eisenhower and Vice President Richard Nixon firmly established Billy Graham as the acknowledged standard-bearer for evangelical Christianity.

As Graham came to recognize the extent of his influence, he determined not only to help EVANGELICALISM become more dynamic and self-confident, but also to shape the fundamental direction of contemporary Christianity. That determination manifested itself significantly in several major international conferences sponsored or largely underwritten by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA). In particular, the 1966 World Congress on Evangelism in Berlin, attended by 1,200 evangelical leaders from 104 nations, and the 1974 the International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, Switzerland, attended by 2,400 delegates from 150 countries, helped evangelicals see themselves as a worldwide Christian force, alongside Vatican II and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

Subsequently, BGEA-sponsored conferences in Amsterdam in 1983, 1986, and 2000 provided more than 22,000 on-the-job itinerant evangelists from 185 countries with encouragement and instruction, not only in theology and spiritual development, but also in such mundane matters as sermon preparation, advertising and fund-raising, and effective use of films and videotapes. Smaller gatherings throughout the world afforded similar training to additional thousands of evangelists.

Graham and Politics

Graham's preaching during the early years of his ministry was filled with political themes, and he eagerly sought ties with political leaders, who often reciprocated, viewing him as a valuable political ally. When Lyndon Johnson became president after John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Graham provided valuable support and legitimation for Johnson's causes—the War on Poverty, the Civil Rights Act, the war in Vietnam—and drew sharp disapproval from those who felt he had compromised his ability to speak with a prophetic voice. This line of criticism intensified after Nixon won the White House in 1968. An openly enthusiastic supporter, Graham remained staunchly loyal to the beleaguered president until the revelations surrounding Watergate finally forced some recognition of his old friend's darker side. Deeply stung, Graham drew back from overt political involvement, rarely visiting the White House during the Ford and Carter administrations. When the movement known as the Religious Right surfaced in the late

1970s, Graham declined to participate in it, warning his brethren to “be wary of exercising political influence” lest they lose their spiritual impact. He returned to Washington more frequently and more publicly during the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, with whom he had been friends since the 1950s, but his contribution appears to have involved symbolic legitimation rather than strategic counsel, a course continued by his appearance and prayer at Bill Clinton’s two inaugurations.

Because of the staunch anticommunism of his early preaching, few developments in Graham’s ministry proved more surprising than his success in penetrating the Iron Curtain. Beginning in 1978, virtually every Soviet-controlled country progressively gave him privileges that no other churchman, including the most prominent and politically docile native religious leaders, had ever received. These efforts culminated in state-broadcast services in packed stadiums in Budapest (1989) and Moscow (1992). Graham used these visits to preach, to encourage Christian believers, and to explain to Communist leaders that their restriction of religious freedom was counterproductive, hampering diplomatic relations with America.

World Impact

Graham’s hundreds of crusades have had an immense, if ultimately immeasurable, impact on local churches, on American and world Christianity, and on millions of individual lives. To extend the reach of the crusades, the BGEA has used radio, television, film, and other mass media more efficiently and effectively than any other evangelistic ministry. Crusade services have long been transmitted live to numerous other venues, beginning with landline telephone relays in the 1954 London Crusade and culminating in the 1995 “Global Mission,” when the famed evangelist’s distinctive voice and familiar message soared upward from his pulpit in Puerto Rico to a network of thirty satellites that broad-cast to receiving dishes in more than 165 countries.

In recognition of his achievements, Graham has received, among many accolades and prizes, both the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1983) and the Congressional Gold Medal (1996) the highest honors these two branches of government can bestow upon a civilian.

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WILLIAM MARTIN

GREAT AWAKENINGS

See Awakenings

GREBEL, CONRAD (c. 1498–1526)

Anabaptist leader. Grebel was born in Zurich c. 1498. His father, Jacob von Grebel, was a prominent member of the Zurich city council and a prosperous entrepreneur. Grebel's student years in Vienna and Basel, beset by lack of direction and family conflict, ended without a degree. His marriage to a woman below his station caused a rupture with his family. There were two sons and a daughter.

Early in 1522, Grebel experienced a religious CONVERSION under the impact of the evangelical preaching of the reformer HULDRYCH ZWINGLI. Grebel's passionate paean to Zwingli's preaching of the gospel was appended to Zwingli's *Apologeticus Archeteles* that year. Grebel's fervent partisanship made him into a ringleader of a group of young lay supporters.

Grebel was in every respect a Zwinglian. His commitment to Zwingli's *sola scriptura* and to the competence of the Christian congregation to decide questions of faith drove him and several others to agitate for the BAPTISM of adult believers as the scriptural way of safeguarding the competence of the Christian congregation. This presupposed the abandonment of baptizing infants, which Zwingli, for socioreligious reasons, would not do. In the resulting conflict neither Zwingli nor his disciples could yield, and on January 21, 1525, a parting occurred when Grebel and his companions baptized one another. They did not perceive this act as schismatic nor as abandoning Zwingli's reform program for Zurich.

ANDREAS KARLSTADT may have influenced their view of baptism, whereas THOMAS MÜNTZER certainly influenced them on the importance of personal FAITH. Because of their defiant act of baptizing, which Zwingli and the Zurich city council saw as "rebaptism," they were decried as schismatics, arrested, and imprisoned. Grebel bitterly complained about his mentor's betrayal of thorough reform. Escaping from prison, he worked as a fugitive to gain support for his vision but died, perhaps from the plague, in May 1526. He is now considered to be the proto-Anabaptist. The Anabaptist movement, of which he is a progenitor, has survived to the present in the MENNONITE Churches.

See also Anabaptism

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WALTER KLAASSEN

GRUNDTVIG, NICOLAJ FREDERICK SEVERIN (1783–1872)

Danish church reformer. Son of a pastor, Nicolaj Grundtvig was born in Udby, DENMARK, on September 8, 1783. After studying in Copenhagen he served as a private tutor and then as history teacher. From the beginning of his career, Grundtvig was embroiled in controversy. His trial sermon in Copenhagen in 1810 had the rather provocative title “Why Has the Word of God Disappeared from His House?” and, not surprisingly, it prompted the Copenhagen clergy to file a complaint against him. A year later Grundtvig experienced a CONVERSION, which entailed his commitment to affirm the traditional Lutheran THEOLOGY against ENLIGHTENMENT change. Between 1811, the year of his ordination, and 1826 he served various parishes. The publication of his polemic *Kirkens Genmæle* (The Church’s Reply) in 1826, directed against an eminent liberal theologian, led to a civil suit against him and prompted his resignation from the ministry, the imposition of a fine, and censorship of his publications.

In 1832 Grundtvig began to preach weekly in Christianshavn and it was there that his concern for reform and renewal triggered an increasing number of devotees and followers. The acceptance of the position of chaplain in a Copenhagen hospital gave him the authorization to preside over the LORD’S SUPPER. Here Grundtvig’s reform movement had its beginnings. It significantly influenced the Danish Lutheran church in a variety of ways for decades. Grundtvig’s some 1,400 hymns enriched Danish and even Anglophone hymnody. His movement advocated freedom for the CLERGY from liturgical and theological restrictions. His understanding of the Christian faith was that it was joyous. Grundtvig also focused his attention on education, establishing folk schools, a kind of continuing education venture, which focused on practical subjects.

Late in his life his contributions to both the Danish church and to the country—Grundtvig was a firm believer in the harmony of church and society—were recognized by his appointment, in 1861, as bishop of the (entire) Danish church. Grundtvig died in Copenhagen on September 2, 1872.

See also Hymns and Hymnals

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (1594–1632)

Swedish monarch. The king of SWEDEN from 1611 until his death in 1632, Gustavus Adolphus was known as the “Lion of the North: Savior of Protestants” during the Thirty Years’ War because he checked the power of Hapsburgs and ensured the survival of Protestantism in Europe. He died at the Battle of Lützen, although his army won the battle.

Born on December 9, 1594, in Stockholm, Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus was the son of Charles IX of the Vasa dynasty, and Kristina of Holstein-Gottorp. He was married to the daughter of the elector of Brandenburg-Prussia, Maria Eleanora. He was also known as Gustav II Adolf in Swedish. A deeply religious Lutheran, Gustavus Adolphus received a classical education in law and history as well as THEOLOGY. During his reign he founded the city of Gothenburg and was the founder of the University of Dorpat in Tartu, Estonia, which then belonged to the kingdom of Sweden.

War in Northern Europe

From his father Charles IX, Gustavus Adolphus inherited a war with DENMARK, which controlled both sides of the entrance to the Baltic Sea. Sweden and Denmark signed the peace treaty of Knäred in 1613, whereby Denmark gained Elvsborg in pledge for a large sum of Swedish silver coins to be paid within six years. Denmark’s King Christian IV did not expect to lose the pledged territory, underestimating the determination of Gustavus Adolphus, who ensured that Sweden paid what was due within two years.

Sweden was also involved in a conflict with RUSSIA. A peace treaty signed at Stolbova in 1617 ensured Sweden gained Ingermanland and the province of Kexholm, depriving Russia of its coast towards the Baltic Sea. Though these engagements were strategically vital for the security of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus was anxious to come to the aid of Protestant forces in Europe. Sweden’s resources were tied up in a long-standing war with neighboring, Catholic POLAND, effectively preventing them from joining the Protestant cause. With the help of diplomats from Catholic FRANCE, ENGLAND, and Brandenburg, Adolphus freed himself from the war against Poland with the Treaty of

Altmark signed in September 1629. By the end of this year, Gustavus Adolphus controlled much of the east Baltic coast, effectively dominating Baltic trade.

The Thirty Years' War

Gustavus Adolphus is most remembered for his defense of the Protestant lands in GERMANY. As long as the Protestants of northern Germany were secure, Adolphus felt that Sweden was safe from the onslaught of Papism: "As one wave follows another in the sea, so the Papal deluge is approaching our shores." To this end, he proposed the creation of two Protestant leagues in Germany, one charged with military affairs and the other with civil administration, to keep the Catholic powers, particularly Ferdinand II of Spain, at bay.

French cardinal and statesman Duc de Richelieu desired an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus to form an effective foil to the Hapsburg power in Europe. Further, he sought to bolster his strength with the help of Maximilian of Bavaria and the Catholic league. Both Gustavus Adolphus and Richelieu were pragmatists. Although they held opposite views on religion, they both recognized their mutual need to form a realistic opposition to Ferdinand II. Richelieu surmised that Ferdinand's army would be more intent on limiting the damage inflicted by the forces of Adolphus than on posing a threat at the French border. Sweden also pledged to protect the trade interests of France, while not interfering with Saxony and Bavaria.

Gustavus Adolphus landed with an army of 13,000 men in Peenemünde in Pomerania in 1630. With the aid of the Protestant Saxon army, he engaged the Catholic field marshal Tserclaes Tilly in the battle of Breitenfeld, defeating his forces in 1631. The Swedes triumphed because of the superior flexibility of their army formations. Further, because Sweden was a relatively poor country that could not afford all the metal for heavy artillery, the cannons of the Swedes were smaller and very mobile. Gustavus Adolphus turned a potential weakness into an advantage. An astute scholar of military tactics, he also had stressed attack above defense, and considered mobility to be of paramount importance.

In 1632, Adolphus signed a treaty of alliance with Richelieu at Bärwalde, which provided a subsidy to the Swedes of 400,000 riksdaler per year until 1636, and again engaged the forces of Tilly at the Battle of Lech. The Swedish army was victorious, and Tilly sustained a fatal wound. Gustavus Adolphus and the Swedish army advanced as far south as Munich in Bavaria. The Bavarians, most of whom were Catholics, feared that Gustavus Adolphus would compel them to become Protestants, but the king believed that faith should be a matter of conscience.

Ferdinand II feared that Gustavus Adolphus would invade Vienna and appealed to Albrecht Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, to defeat the Swedes. Wallenstein moved north to interrupt the supply routes of the Swedish army. Gustavus Adolphus followed Wallenstein, and on November 6, 1632, the armies met at Lützen. Though the Swedes won, Gustavus Adolphus was killed in the battle, misled by poor eyesight and dense fog

to charge into an enemy formation. His achievements had limited the Hapsburg power and ensured the survival of Protestantism in Europe.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish Riksdag of the Estates decided that he would be known as Gustavus Adolphus the Great (*Gustav Adolf den Store*).

See also Lutheranism, Scandinavia

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HELEN FARLEY

H

HALLE

Located on the Saale river in Sachsen-Anhalt, GERMANY, Halle achieved prominence in European Protestantism through the establishment of a progressive university and August Hermann Francke's Pietist orphanage in the 1690s, making Halle a center of both the ENLIGHTENMENT and PIETISM in early eighteenthcentury Prussia. After 1740, Pietist influences waned, and the university became the leading voice of theological rationalism under SIEGMUND JAKOB BAUMGARTEN and JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER.

Lutheran Links

With the rise of the Protestant movement in the early 1520s, both MARTIN LUTHER and THOMAS MÜNTZER quickly won adherents in Halle. Although the city had become a favorite residence of Albrecht, the archbishop of Magdeburg, it also had a Hanseatic tradition of independence from episcopal authority. Albrecht aggressively countered the new movement in the city by reinvigorating Catholic piety and expelling Protestant dissenters, although over the next two decades he was unable to stem the support for the new reforms among the townspeople (see DISSENT). He withdrew from the city in 1541 and opened the way for the establishment of the REFORMATION. Justus Jonas, one of Luther's closest associates, came from Wittenberg to lead the institutional reforms. After the Interim in 1548, the archbishop sought to reimpose Catholicism, but the Peace of Augsburg (1555) secured the establishment of Protestantism in Halle.

After 1555 Lutherans consolidated their gains in Halle, although, as in many other Lutheran cities, conflicts over Philippism (see PHILIPP MELANCHTHON) and crypto-CALVINISM marked the second-half of the sixteenth century. The Thirty Years' War left Halle and its economy in shambles, and Halle's influence on Protestantism in Germany was minimal for much of the seventeenth century. After the death of the last administrator of the archbishopric in 1680, the territory fell to the elector of Brandenburg. Under control of the Reformed Hohenzollerns, Halle's fortunes would change considerably and the city would play an important role in the confessional politics of an expansionist Brandenburg-Prussia and shape eighteenthcentury German Protestantism.

Elector Friedrich III established a new university in Halle in the early 1690s. The jurist CHRISTIAN THOMASius, who had been driven from the University of Leipzig for his support of the Pietist cause, became the first professor at the new academy in 1690. Many of Thomasius's students followed him from Leipzig to Halle. Under Thomasius and his colleagues the law faculty at Halle would become the leading representative of Enlightenment jurisprudence in Germany. Friedrich also wanted to establish a theology faculty in Halle that could provide candidates for clerical office in his territories. He became a protector of Pietist interests, and his appointments to the new theology faculty were all ardent Pietists. Joachim Justus Breithaupt became first professor of theology in 1691. The next year, his friend and former colleague in Erfurt, A.H.Francke, was appointed pastor in nearby Glaucha and professor in the philosophical faculty. The university received its official charter in 1694 and quickly became a center of both Pietism and the early Enlightenment in Germany.

Closely related to the university was the orphanage founded by Francke in 1695. Unlike older models Francke's orphanage was organized as an educational institution devoted to the cultivation of piety and ability. It drew students far beyond the city of Halle. By the time of Francke's death in 1727 the schools of the Francke Foundations, as the orphanage and its institutions were known, had more than 2,200 students and employed more than 160 teachers. Francke had further established a pedagogical institute for training teachers, the first of its kind in central Europe, and he made the Foundations a center for missionary activity. Although Francke initially funded the operations through donations, he was increasingly able to support his work through the profits of a printing house and the production of pharmaceuticals. The successes of the foundations—shrewdly publicized by Francke—established an international and much emulated reputation for the institutions' work.

Alliance Against Traditionalism

In the early decades, the Pietist and Enlightenment parties in Halle saw themselves as allies against the forces of traditionalism—whether legal or theological—and advocates of a new model of education that was practically oriented, emphasized instruction in German and Latin, and was opposed to the older disputational paradigm. There were, however, underlying conflicts between Pietist biblicism and the enlightened rationalism in Halle. The alliance faltered in 1723 when Francke orchestrated the expulsion of the rationalist CHRISTIAN WOLFF from the university. The death of Friedrich Wilhelm I in 1740, however, marked the end of the Pietist phase in Halle. That same year Wolff triumphantly returned to Halle. The Foundations continued under Francke's son, Gottfried August, but the university, including the faculty of theology, moved toward rationalism.

The career of Baumgarten (1706–1757) marks an important transition in the period between Pietism and Rationalism in the theology faculty at Halle. A product of Halle Pietism, Baumgarten nevertheless integrated elements of Wolffian rationalism into his theology and aimed to provide a scientific (*wissenschaftlich*) basis for theology. Semler

built on Baumgarten's work and became a pioneer in the use of the historical critical method. Semler rejected Francke's emphasis on the simultaneous cultivation of piety and learning and instead encouraged the inclusion of secular disciplines into theological training. Under Semler, Halle became the leading university of theological rationalism and NEOLOGY in Germany.

The establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810 severely weakened Halle's central position in Prussian higher education. The influence of rationalism continued, but FRIEDRICH AUGUST GOTTFREU THOLUCK took the theological faculty in a more conservative direction after his arrival in 1826. During his long tenure as professor of theology, Tholuck sought to combine his revival-oriented piety with academic theological inquiry, and under his influence Halle became a center of biblical theology, a tradition carried on by his student Martin Kähler (1835–1912).

During the 1930s conflicts over National Socialism and the CONFESSING CHURCH divided the theological faculty at Halle. In 1946 the Francke Foundations were dissolved and its schools secularized. After the reunification of Germany, the Foundations were revived in 1992. With its rich libraries and archives, Halle is today a major center for the study of Pietism and the Enlightenment.

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JONATHAN N.STROM

HAMANN, JOHANN GEORG (1730–1788)

German theologian. Hamann was born in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) (East-Prussia) on August 27, 1730, and worked there as a translator and customs officer. The decisive turning point in his life came in 1758 in London through an intense study of and meditation on the BIBLE. He died June 21, 1788, in Münster, Westphalia.

The task of being a witness to the Gospel, to which Hamann was called in London, did not lead him, a life-long stutterer, into a public church office. Instead, he was a servant of the divine word as a publicist and writer, with his reviews in the “Königsbergsche Gelehrte und Politische Zeitungen” and with his succinct small leaflets (“Fliegende Blätter”). These were meant to disseminate the Gospel, as it was summarized by MARTIN LUTHER in his small catechism, throughout society, and in doing this Hamann caused offense. Hamann was aware of his mixed dialectic relationship to his readers; his writings were full of both riddles and candor. He was a writer in a dialectic of concealment and publicity, determined by the mystery of the Messiah and his parables, as told in Mark (Mark 4:11ff.), as well as in Pauline and Johannine theology.

Hamann’s aim was to be “Philologus crucis,” a philologist of the cross. The cross was the source of strength for his critical philology, with which he criticized the philosophers HERMANN REIMARUS (1694–1768) and G.E.Lessing (1729–1781), Moses Mendelssohn, Frederick the Great, and last but not least, by his “Metakritik über den Purismus der Vernunft,” IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804). In particular contradiction to his contemporaries, Hamann wrote about the responsible perception of one’s fellow creatures (especially in the “Aesthetica in nuce”; 1762). He also wrote concerning reason and language, time and history, sexuality and marriage, as well as politics.

Hamann’s importance for literary studies, philosophy, and theology cannot be overstated. This becomes especially clear in the doctrine of God of this extraordinarily informal “Father of the Church”: For Hamann, God is, in his speaking work and working speaking, “author” and “poet”—“God a writer!” As such, God writes the book of nature and history, and in doing so God also writes each individual’s life history. Through its “ride to hell of self-knowledge,” each individual human is understood and interpreted by God; God himself is the best interpreter of God’s words and their last critic, their judge.

Hamann, no irrationalist, but a radical Enlightenment thinker, sees God as the one who addresses him, together with all creatures, through fellow creatures. Therefore, thinking

and reason constitute language. With the help of the theology and philosophy that are inherent in the translation of such language effective in the act of translation, Hamann attempts to answer the problem of Being. With respect to his ontological hermeneutics, Hamann is superior to Kant and G. W.F. Hegel (1770–1831). Hamann sees God, in contrast to Kant, not as a limited concept, and not, as Hegel does, as a smooth and unhindered mediation.

Hamann turns away sharply from the dogmatism of reason proposed by the representatives of natural religion and their speculative theology. Instead he welcomes the scepticism of Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779), and shares Kant's "sceptical tactic." However, he does not follow him on his critical way, which itself becomes dogmatic in its assertion of the "purity" of reason because Kant fears skepticism (by the assertion of the "purity" of reason). Kant, in Hamann's view, does not put an end to the affair of interplay between dogmatism and scepticism, but perpetuates it.

Whereas the puristic tendency of Kant's transcendental question, which abstracts from all particulars, leads to the idea of a limit, Hamann's metacritique resists this limit with a center having its core situated in the events of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. This center, laid down in the title of Hamann's leaflet "Golgatha und Scheblimini!," determines Hamann's life, to the last detail of his reading and writing. The mutual participation of the specific features of the divine and human nature in the person of Jesus Christ ("communicatio idiomatum") is the "main key to all human knowledge." God shows humanity and humiliation not only in the cross, but also as creator. God shows it also as the Holy Spirit, who "is the writer of stupid and humanly silly, yes even sinful human stories." With this theology of condescension, Hamann succeeds in thinking God, in leaving behind the alternative of Idealism and Materialism, by integrating the true elements of both in the medium of the word, and following Luther in a very impressive way.

See also Kant, Immanuel; Luther, Martin; Reimarus, Hermann

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OSWALD BAYER

HANDEL, GEORGE FRIDERIC (1685–1759)

Composer. Born in HALLE, Germany, February 23, 1685, Handel visited leading German musical centers, including Berlin and Leipzig, at an early age. In 1702 he enrolled at Halle University and was quickly appointed organist of the Halle Domkirche (cathedral). The following year he joined the Hamburg opera orchestra, soon becoming harpsichordist-conductor and composing four operas. For most of 1706 to 1710 he lived in Italy, staying in Rome, Florence, Naples, and Venice. On returning to GERMANY he accepted the post of Kapellmeister (conductor) to the Elector of Hanover, assured that he could take immediate leave to visit Düsseldorf and ENGLAND. After a year in England he returned to Hanover, but by October 1712 he was once more in England. Aside from travel to the continent to see his family, restore his health, or recruit singers, he spent the rest of his life there, leasing a house in Brook Street, Mayfair, from 1723 and taking British citizenship in 1727. His only extended sojourn outside England was a season in Dublin (1741–1742) when he first performed *Messiah*. His other major works were first performed in London. Handel died April 14, 1759, in London and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Career

The trajectory of Handel's career from Halle to England shows a progression through contemporary opportunities to learn, practice, and gain prestige. He could have become an esteemed German provincial church organist and composer like JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH, but he had a strong ambition to be free to compose and direct—especially opera—as he wanted, with first-rate performers, on a world stage. He diplomatically declined most offers of contractual obligations and salaried posts, while showing (in his early career especially) a remarkable flair for gaining rapid access to influential figures and attracting patronage without ties. He spoke and wrote four languages, composed settings in six, rapidly assimilated local styles, and accommodated local tastes. He composed in every genre of his time, pushed out the boundaries of

existing genres, and introduced new ones, notably English oratorio, English unacted secular drama, and the organ concerto.

Religion and politics, inextricably connected in Handel's time, coincided throughout his own life, and later in his work. His father had served as a field surgeon in the Thirty Years' War, during which Halle was twice besieged and the Domkirche organist's free lodging was badly damaged. During Handel's childhood Huguenot and Calvinist refugees were allowed to settle in Halle (see HUGUENOTS; CALVINISM), and Jews were readmitted in 1692 (see JUDAISM). On his mother's side Handel came from a family of Lutheran pastors (see LUTHERANISM), but the Domkirche had a predominantly Calvinist congregation, which affected the terms of his employment there. Visiting Italy entailed moving between supporters of different sides in the War of Spanish Succession, as well as working in a Catholic society, but as the world center of largescale, high-quality music it was the obvious next move after the staging post of the free City of Hamburg.

Nothing surviving from his earlier years anticipates the reach of Handel's sacred compositions for Rome, notably the scintillating *Dixit Dominus* for soloists, chorus, and orchestra. In Italy he wrote liturgical settings and sacred motets and cantatas, and his first oratorios: *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*, a

moral allegory to a text by his admirer Cardinal Pamphili (reworked in 1737 and 1757); and, for Marquis Ruspoli, the intensely dramatic *La Resurrezione*, one of his three works concerning the life of Christ. He was fêted for his virtuoso keyboard playing, richly housed in the palazzi of cardinals, and immediately accepted as a composer for the Roman Catholic church. However, he chose not to develop a career as such, or to stay in Rome, and left Italy after achieving international operatic success.

According to John Mainwaring, offers of employment were made to him, along with persuasions to convert, both of which he declined, being "resolved to die a member of that communion in which he was born and bred." According to John Hawkins he found the level of religious toleration available in Britain personally attractive and "would frequently declare the pleasure he felt in setting the Scriptures." In later life Handel was a devout attendant of his local church, St. George's Hanover Square (naturalization required Anglican conformity). In his music he expressed a sense of his Lutheran origins most clearly in his Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline (1737), formerly the Hanoverian Electoral Princess: it draws on two chorales and the work of several composers from their shared tradition.

Political circumstances complicated Handel's career in England. His celebration of Queen Anne as peacemaker, and his *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* for British celebrations of the Peace of Utrecht, resulted in the termination of his employment with the Elector of Hanover, to whom the peace was anathema, but who was the future King of England. The Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, besides interrupting musical life, was a reminder of the threat to the Hanoverian regime and the Protestant succession in Britain, and may have

prompted Handel's otherwise unexplained setting of the Passion text by B.H.Brockes (a work partly copied out by J.S.Bach) for performance in Germany. He was often identified by the London nobility and gentry—on whose favor the furtherance of his career depended—as the servant of the widely resented foreign monarchy. The unprecedentedly grand music he wrote for state ceremonials, notably the Coronation Anthems (1727), conspicuously allied him with the crown, from which he received three pensions. His almost cult status was attested by the erection of his statue in Vauxhall pleasure gardens in 1738, an unheard of tribute for any musician, let alone a living one. Such dominance of the cultural scene was resented as social presumption by the upper classes, and his public performances were periodically snubbed.

From the moment of his arrival, efforts by English authors to make Handel the fountainhead of a secure tradition of English opera failed. He chose to make his name in Italian opera, but in-fighting between generations of the royal family, who were major patrons, made an always financially risky enterprise even less sustainable. The Royal Academy (Italian) opera company began ambitiously in 1719 with Handel as one of its principal composers, but dissolved in 1728; thereafter he mounted productions increasingly as his own manager. The Opera of the Nobility, begun in 1733 by the opposition party around Frederick Prince of Wales, took away most of his leading singers, but itself ran aground. Handel wrote his last opera in 1740. His subsequent refusal to write for the Earl of Middlesex's opera company again damaged his popularity. The outbreak of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, however, unified national feeling behind the Hanoverians in defense of Protestantism and liberty against Catholic FRANCE, and the enthusiastic response to Handel's religious-nationalist oratorios of the late 1740s set a pattern of esteem that lasted the rest of his life. He died an affluent and honored citizen of his adopted country.

Works

Despite Handel's prominence as a composer of forty-two Italian operas, his London public was probably more familiar with his music—both his compositions and his dazzling improvisations on the organ—for the Anglican church (see ANGLICANISM). Early in his English career he accepted the hospitality of James Brydges (Earl of Carnarvon, later Duke of Chandos), who was building a princely mansion at Cannons, near London, and for whom he wrote a grand Te Deum and the eleven anthems that became known as the Chandos Anthems. His works for state religious occasions, besides those already mentioned, include the Dettingen Anthem and Te Deum, the Anthem for the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, and royal wedding anthems. He provided an anthem for the Foundling Hospital, a newly established charity for abandoned children, of which he became a governor. He also wrote five anthems for the Chapel Royal. Many of his church compositions were frequently heard on festive and charitable occasions. As poems in their praise testify, their scale and impact satisfied the contemporary appetite for the religious sublime, and Handel reused some of them in his oratorios.

Cannons was the only private house in Britain with a substantial musical establishment, and there Handelian oratorio began. At the home of his previous English host, the Earl of Burlington, Handel had encountered leading poets of the day—John Gay, Alexander Pope, and John Arbuthnot—and from that “club of composers” emerged his enchanting masque *Acis and Galatea*, probably first performed at Cannons in 1718. During the same period, also for Cannons, and with some of the same collaborators, he wrote his first biblical oratorio, *Esther*. “Unauthorized” public performances of both works in 1732 prompted Handel to mount his own newly enlarged versions, and so, unpremeditatedly, he introduced oratorio in English to the British public. For most of the next decade his seasons combined English oratorio and Italian opera, until in 1741 he turned to oratorio alone. “Oratorio” is now loosely used to describe all the English works that he originally performed in the theater, and to include secular works ranging from quasi-operas and masques on mythological stories (e.g., *Semele*; *The Choice of Hercules*) to odes (*Alexander’s Feast*; *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*). Handel’s seventeen religious oratorios are mostly based on the Old Testament or Apocrypha; only *Messiah* draws on the New Testament and liturgical texts outside the psalms, and only *Theodora* has a story set in Christian times.

The 1718 *Esther* set the pattern in being a newly written text dramatizing the biblical and apocryphal narratives, employing the recitative-and-aria style of Italian opera, and making full use of a chorus. The dramatization involved embroidering or inventing incidents—usually suggested by the source material—and selecting and paraphrasing Scripture. Sometimes there was an intermediary source between the BIBLE and the libretto, usually a work of literary distinction; in the case of *Esther*, it was Racine’s neoclassical choric drama. The anthems inserted into the 1732 *Esther* represent the other and less frequent strain of libretto composition, using actual scriptural text. Only *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt* consist entirely of texts taken from the Bible with only minor verbal adjustment, but here too the librettist shaped the works, by selection, juxtaposition, and sequencing of the biblical verses.

Italian opera (and Italian oratorio) lacked a chorus, and the chorus of English oratorio gave Handel the opportunity to write grand, varied, and dramatic music, and afforded his audience the awe-inspiring sensations that signaled the highest art. Handel did not, so far as we know, write or choose the subjects of any of his English librettos. Their authors were able and cultivated people. Several were deliberately contributing to the making of high art, and two at least were writing in the cause of the Protestant religion: Charles Jennens (*Saul, Messiah, Belshazzar*, and possibly *Israel in Egypt*) and the Rev. Thomas Morell (*Judas Maccabaeus, Alexander Balus, Theodora, Jephtha*).

Of the librettists of the religious oratorios whose identities are known, two—James Miller (*Joseph and his Brethren*) and Morell—were CHURCH OF ENGLAND ministers; one, Jennens, was a devout nonjuring Anglican; and one, Samuel Humphreys (the 1732 *Esther, Deborah, and Athalia*), compiled a massive biblical commentary from standard Anglican exegeses. The oratorios are further rooted in Anglicanism through their “cathedral” musical style (which made them anathema to the Methodist JOHN WESLEY), their assertion of the church-state bond reinforced by the reuse of anthems for state occasions, and their textual analogy of national Protestant defiance of European Catholic autocracies. Yet they also appealed to nonconformists (see NON-CONFORMITY), on account of their lack of doctrinal insistence and their depiction of an

elect, embattled, minority religious community succeeding over corrupt, hedonistic apostates and heathens. Their celebration of hard-won freedom of religion and nationhood was congenial to Englishmen—and later Americans—of any persuasion. They also incorporate the views of England's leading ENLIGHTENMENT philosopher, the third earl of Shaftesbury, through their criticism and improvement of Old Testament ethics and personalities, and their dramatization of the principles of "sensibility." The conflict between enlightenment and religious fervor would have been familiar to Handel from his youth. It reached a head at Halle University during his year there (1702–1703) in the clash between the philosopher Christian Thomasius and the Pietist August Hermann Francke (see PIETISM). Handel's oratorios are remarkable in accommodating both views.

During the nineteenth century the oratorios were regarded principally as sacred works. In the twentieth century they were celebrated as dramas of individuals and nations, and as showing a pantheist and humanist Handel overriding the sectarianism of his librettists and his times. More recently, exploration has focused on the richness of their response to the ideas of their day. Besides making copious reference to current political life and theory—both government and opposition—they reflect diverse, but connected, religious and aesthetic concerns.

Handelian oratorio responded to the artistic reform movement calling for uplifting, instructive, national art, and (in music) English word settings; to the taste for sentimental drama; to the desire for a national religious epic and the use of Greek tragedy as a model for music dramas; to the enthusiasm for the Bible as literature, for the religious sublime, and for biblical paraphrase; and, above all, to the rallying of ORTHODOXY against freethinking. The period of Handel's oratorio composition (1732–1752) was also the period of the major English defense against DEISM, and the oratorios, with their insistence on providentialism, on the truth of prophecy and miracles, on the integrity of Scripture, and the dependency of the New Testament on the Old, and prominently utilizing the common antideist armory of evidence, were major—and uniquely lasting—contributions to that defense. The outstanding instance, an oratorio unlike any of his others but firmly rooted in antideist literature, is *Messiah*, a deliberate affirmation by Jennens of the Christian creed and its universal authority, and a paean to the propagation of the gospel.

More generally, through the accessibility and emotive power of Handel's music, and through their LATITUDINARIANISM and avoidance of dogmatism (even in *Messiah*), the oratorios fulfilled the widespread contemporary call to make the truths of religion movingly convincing and thus revitalize religious feeling and reform behavior. In this respect English oratorio was a Protestant annexation of its Catholic original, and can be seen as a form of "counter-COUNTER-REFORMATION." Through oratorio the Roman church used music as an inducement to worship and conversion. Handel's English oratorios lay claim to the oratorians' form of religious expressiveness and stamp it with Protestantism by taking as their sources not the New Testament or hagiography, but the Old Testament and Apocrypha, invoking and capitalizing on the time-honored parallel between the religious-political dispensation of the ancient Israelites and that of Protestant Britain (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM; CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). The rebuttal of Catholicism is clearest in the one Christian drama, *Theodora*, which reflects contemporary English admiration for the

purity of the early church (not, as is sometimes anachronistically supposed, the influence of METHODISM). It presents a voluntary religious community whose elite is defined by spiritual excellence, instead of a religious structure heavy with doctrines, hierarchy, and priesthood; it identifies Christianity with freedom of thought and belief, rather than prescribed belief and practice; it celebrates religious observance that is private and spontaneous, not public and ritualized; and it opposes fresh, pure, individual belief to tradition, authority, and world domination.

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RUTH SMITH

HARKNESS, GEORGIA (1891–1974)

American theologian. Harkness was the first professional woman theologian in the UNITED STATES and the first female theologian to teach in Protestant seminaries in the United States. Born April 21, 1891, and raised in the tiny upstate New York village of Harkness, named after her grandfather, she was the second daughter and youngest of four children of J. Warren and Lillie (Merrill) Harkness. Her parents took her in their arms to the Harkness Methodist Episcopal Church when she was three weeks old, beginning her lifelong commitment to the church as a loyal critic from within.

After attending the one-room elementary school, which served as the family's church on Sundays, Harkness graduated from nearby Keeseville High School and received her A.B. from Cornell University in 1912. She was deeply influenced by the Student Volunteer Movement in college and took its pledge to become a foreign missionary. Feeling needed at home, she instead taught for a short time at high schools in Schuylersville and Scotia, New York. Unsatisfied with this career direction, Harkness entered the newly formed Boston University School of Religious Education to pursue an alternative calling to be a director of religious education. By the time she received her two master's degrees (and A.M.) in 1920, she decided that her calling was to teach in higher education and she remained at Boston University to gain a doctorate in philosophy.

Harkness began her teaching career as assistant professor of religious education in 1922 at Elmira College, one of the country's earliest women's colleges, teaching philosophy there until 1937. She moved to Mt. Holyoke College in Holyoke, Massachusetts, for two years. In 1939 Harkness accepted the invitation from Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois to become one of the first professors of applied theology in a United States seminary, although she had hoped to be named to the professorship in systematic theology. After eleven years Harkness moved to the Pacific School of Religion in 1960, remaining there until retirement in 1961.

Professor of applied theology rightly described Georgia Harkness, a social prophet within the Methodist and Protestant churches beginning with her early years at Elmira College. She became a pacifist in 1924 after visiting war-torn Europe following World War I and spoke out against any use of nuclear weaponry throughout her lifetime (see PACIFISM). She gained international attention at the Oxford Conference of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1938 when she described the churches as one of the main bastions of male dominance in society. Having received local ordination in the Methodist

Episcopal Church in 1938 Harkness was credited with doing more than anyone else to bring full ordination and conference membership to women in her denomination in 1956. In 1948 she called on the Methodist Church to eliminate the Central Jurisdiction, made up of black congregations, before joining with the Evangelical United Brethren to form the United Methodist Church in that year. The Central Jurisdiction was abolished the following year, and the United Methodist Church became an integrated denomination.

One hour before his death in 1937, her father told his daughter that he hoped she would write more about Jesus Christ. This led her to rethink her own spiritual and professional commitments. Harkness moved from an early emphasis and rather arid writings on philosophical idealism to become an evangelical liberal, combining the personal evangelical emphasis of her childhood with her liberal commitment to social justice as an adult. She gained scholarly distinction as a theologian of the laity, interpreting theological issues in understandable language. Over her lifetime she preached and lectured through the world. Her thirty-eight books and countless articles on THEOLOGY, spiritual life, ministry of the LAITY, and ETHICS, drawn from Biblical interpretation, are written in both narrative and poetic form. She also wrote over 200 hymns, including "Hope of the World," which opened the second assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1954 in Evanston, Illinois.

Throughout her lifetime, Harkness used pen, pulpit, and platform to hold the churches responsible for the social implications of Christianity. A prefeminist and lone female voice, she challenged and worked together with such giants among male theologians of her day as KARL BARTH, REINHOLD NIEBUHR, and PAUL TILLICH. Her words to the church sound more like the liberation theologians of the twenty-first century than of a woman scholar of the mid-twentieth century.

The United Library at Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary holds the Georgia Harkness major manuscript collection, consisting of her autobiographical essay, written for the Pacific Coast Theological Group in the 1950s, letters to and from Harkness, manuscript and printed copies of sermons, essays, speeches, poems, and hymns, as well as published clippings and course syllabi. A further invaluable source is over two hundred letters exchanged between Harkness and Edgar Sheffield Brightman over a twenty-five-year period in the Department of Special Collections at the Library at Boston University.

Of the thirty-eight books that she wrote, *Understanding the Christian Faith* (1947), *Gospel and Our World* (1949), *The Faith by Which the Church Lives* (1940), *Toward Understanding the Bible* (1954), and *Women in Church and Society* (1971) are representative of her mature emphasis on applied theology, the ministry of the laity, and social ethics. *The Dark Night of the Soul* (1945) is a pastoral care approach growing out of her recovery from depression. Her books on spiritual growth include *Prayer and the Common Life* (1948) and *Mysticism* (1973), and representative of her devotional books, some written in poetry, are *Grace Abounding* (1969), *Through Christ Our Lord* (1950), *Be Still and Know* (1953), and *Holy Flame* (1935). Characteristic of her earlier books, written from the prospect of philosophical idealism, are *Conflicts in Religious Thought* (1929) and *The Recovery of Ideals* (1937). Harkness contributed countless articles for *The Christian Century*, including the only one by a woman in the series on "How My Mind Has Changed" (March 15, 1939), *Zion's Herald*, and *The Christian Advocate*.

Harkness died in retirement in Claremont, California, survived by her companion of many years, the musician Verna Miller. She was buried in Harkness, New York. Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary honored her pioneering role by establishing the Georgia Harkness Chair to be held by a woman in theological studies.

See also Ethics; Feminist Theology; Liberation Theology; Methodist Episcopal Church Conference; Theology, Twentieth-Century, North American

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ROSEMARY KELLER

HARNACK, ADOLF VON (1851–1930)

German theologian and historian. Harnack was born a Baltic German in Dorpat (Livonia) on May 7, 1851, son of the professor of theology, Theodosius Harnack, who was considered one of the leading Lutheran scholars of his time. Through his active participation in the Church of Livonia, Theodosius Harnack moved away from PIETISM and developed into a consciously Lutheran churchman.

Having grown up in conservative confessional surroundings, Adolf began studying evangelical theology in Dorpat in 1869. However, serious tensions quickly arose between him and his father as Adolf was influenced by the church historian Moritz von Engelhard and sought to apply the historical-critical method rigorously to the history of dogma. Beginning with the winter semester of 1872 Harnack studied at the University of Leipzig, a bastion of conservative confessional LUTHERANISM at the time, obtaining his doctorate in 1873 with a dissertation entitled *Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus* and qualifying as a university lecturer in 1874 with his postdoctoral thesis *De Apellis monarchica*. Both works examined the problems of gnosticism and its sources. At the young age of twenty-three Harnack became a lecturer in Leipzig and already at twenty-five associate professor at the Leipzig faculty. During the period in Leipzig Harnack broke his ties to conservative confessional Lutheranism. His reading of the works of ALBRECHT RITSCHL caused him to distance himself still further from traditional Lutheran theology.

An extremely popular academic teacher with the students in Leipzig, Harnack soon gathered around him a group of talented scholars who were to gain a significant influence in the fields of theology and church policy. Among them were MARTIN RADE, Friedrich Loofs, William Wrede, and Emil Schürer. Together with Schürer he established the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (*Theological Literary Journal*), which still exists today. Within a few years this became one of the most influential theological review journals. Because of denominational reservations, he declined the offer of a position in Breslau, but in 1879 Harnack accepted a professorship at Giessen in Hesse, which appeared unproblematic because it was not dominated by conservative New Lutheran thinking. In Giessen he began working on his three-volume *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (*Handbook of the History of Dogma*), the first volume of which was published in 1886 and earned him a name in the theological world.

In this study Harnack remained true to his rigorous historical-critical approach: he rejected the idea that dogma existed in the early church as historically comprehensible.

Rather, it was the hellenization of the original Gospel, a disastrous turn from the point of view of the development of piety. Harnack used the original Gospel of Jesus as a criterion for the assessment and portrayal of the history of dogma, which he maintained had been used by conservative historical study as an instrument to strengthen its own position and objectives. Harnack opposed this diagnosed misuse of the history of dogma by the conservatives with his own historical message. He maintained that the historiography of dogma amounted to more than either the description of a cultural history or the history of the development of dogmas. Its objective could be correctly established only if the history of dogma were interpreted as a history of institutions. Striving in this way to demonstrate the historical relativity of dogmas, he sought to open up new paths to faith beyond theological arbitrariness. Historical-critical historiography of dogma seeks in this way to provide clear orientation and thus to strengthen human faith beyond manipulated dogmas by seeking to capture the deep inner substance of Christianity.

In 1866, the year of publication of the first volume of his *History of Dogma*, Harnack was appointed to a professorship in Marburg, and in 1888 moved to Berlin. By then his *History of Dogma* was widely read, but met with hefty criticism from conservative circles. Conservative theological and church circles sought to prevent his Berlin appointment. However, a public and at times polemical controversy, in the course of which the governing council of the Prussian Evangelical Church denied its consent to Harnack's appointment, did not prevent his being called to Berlin. Nevertheless, from then on Harnack's relationship to the official church authorities remained strained. He was not appointed to church examination committees, nor elected a member of a church synod. The advocates of "positive," that is, traditional Christianity saw in Harnack an influential opponent who was weakening the fundamental confessional principles and making space for a theological subjectivism. Harnack found himself the target of attacks, which intensified into the so-called Apostolicum dispute, a controversy over the continued viability of the Apostles Creed. A direct consequence of this controversy was the establishment of a "positive" professorship at Berlin for the correction of Harnack. It was occupied by Adolf Schlatter (1852–1938), and it allowed Harnack's pursuit of scholarly, organizational, and political tasks unencumbered by ecclesiastical concerns.

Harnack rapidly became one of the most controversial, but at the same time one of the most influential, Berlin professors. He was supported and encouraged by the Prussian minister of education and cultural affairs Friedrich Althoff and by the liberal historian Theodor Mommsen. In 1890, Harnack was appointed to the *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. After assuming numerous responsibilities in the academy and the university, he took up the position of director of the Prussian State Library in 1905. In 1911 he became the first president of the *KaiserWilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften*, now the Max Planck Society. Additionally, Harnack grew to be a close advisor of Emperor Wilhelm II on aspects of church policy. Harnack cofounded the *Evangelisch-Sozialen Kongress*, which saw its task in dealing with the social question from the perspective of Protestantism, and from 1903 to 1912 was its president.

Thus before the outbreak of World War I Harnack was highly regarded as a theologian and scientific organizer not only in GERMANY but also abroad. At the beginning of the war, Harnack supported the political objectives of Germany. Like the majority of German intellectuals he was initially convinced that the war had been forced on the Empire and constituted a legitimate form of self-defense. Harnack therefore supported the emperor in

an advisory capacity and brought his excellent reputation to bear journalistically for the German war aims. However, as the war continued, he began as early as 1915 to join the pacifists in calling for rapprochement and peace as well as campaigning for wide-reaching democratic reforms within German politics. In addition Harnack made intensive use of his foreign contacts to bring about if not a pro-German, at least a neutral, friendly attitude among the American public. Harnack considered the all-out submarine warfare initiated by the German command to be political stupidity, and saw the resulting entry of the United States into the war as a personal failure.

After the German defeat and the revolution in 1918–1919 Harnack supported the new democratic parliamentary republic. Unlike many of his colleagues, however, he did not join any particular party but rather continued to see his task in serving science by acting, in his capacity as a scholar, as advisor to the political institutions and creating scientific political committees. He played an active role in establishing the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* (Emergency Association of German Science) after the war.

The political and theological development of the Weimar Republic was a source of great concern for Harnack. His declaration of belief in the republic met with hefty criticism within conservative church circles. In the elections for German president in 1925 Harnack openly supported the Catholic Wilhelm Marx from the Catholic-influenced Center party, who was competing against the war hero Otto von Hindenburg for the position of president. Harnack's analysis of the general political situation in the Weimar Republic and the situation in terms of church policy led him to pessimistic conclusions in the latter years of his life. Harnack saw German Protestantism to be in danger of being taken over by politically reactionary forces. He saw the new theological generation, which had been shaped to a great extent by experiences of war, as characterized by an ahistorical, anticultural basic position. Harnack reproached KARL BARTH in a 1923 correspondence with him, arguing that if detached from cultural points of reference Barth's theological writings on revelation could lead only to a fatal selfisolation. According to Harnack the ahistorical views propagated by Barth formed the core of an irrational critique of culture, which threatened the basic values of a Christian humanist culture.

The liberal cultural theologian also regarded the theological program of the "New Lutherans" such as Emanuel Hirsch and FRIEDRICH GOGARTEN as a matter for great concern. In his opinion their concepts could lead only to a confessionalism, which had long been outgrown. Harnack was equally skeptical of the close interlinking of the historical theological approaches of young conservative theologians with political rights. He saw this as sowing a seed from which nothing good could grow for church policy.

Harnack died on June 10, 1930, in Heidelberg while on a business trip as president of the *KaiserWilhelm-Gesellschaft*. His ashes were buried in Berlin. The last speaker who, on behalf of the students, addressed those gathered on the occasion of the funeral service was DIETRICH BONHOEFFER. Bonhoeffer's words on the responsibilities of men and women in the modern world are linked not least to the work of Harnack.

Harnack was the last German-speaking theologian who exercised great authority from a theological point of view and at the same time was socially influential, politically significant, and important as a scientific organizer. Despite this, during his lifetime as a theologian Harnack remained a church historian whose name is still associated with a progressive understanding of the history of dogma. Harnack's basic theory was that a

method of interpretation consisting of unprejudiced historical criticism should be used to determine the original Gospel of Jesus, undistorted by church dogma. He believed that, despite the insights of the “Religionsgeschichtliche Schule” (“History of Religions School”), no research could be carried out into the life of Jesus—the message of Jesus could be extracted by means of careful historical study. However, any critical work on dogmas was conditional on having an accurate edition of the relevant source texts. Thus in 1891 the *Kirchenväterkommision* (Committee on the Church Fathers) was formed at the proposal of Harnack and Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), which assumed the task of editing old church literature from before 325 and publishing this in fifty volumes. By 1924 *Texte und Untersuchungen* published by Harnack already ran to forty-five volumes and thus had provided essential working materials for “Patristicism.”

The Gospel of Jesus, the contents of which Harnack summarized using the key terms “faith in God,” “love of humans,” and “trust in the Kingdom of God” in his most well-known work *Das Wesen des Christentums* (*What is Christianity*) published in 1900, was, he maintained, the most pure form of human religiousness. Harnack believed these three concepts to be mutually dependent, together forming the “*Wesen des Christentums*” (this translates literally as the “essence of Christianity”) and therefore to be of the utmost cultural significance. Harnack allowed that Protestantism was the most mature form of Christianity because by resorting to the biblical fundamentals this had relaxed the connection to old confessional statements. He maintained that Protestantism recognized the individuality of Christians and made this a principle of church institutions.

The reception of Harnack’s work has basically never been interrupted. However, his theology is of questionable relevance within the theological debate today. Although his studies had a decisive influence in the content-related disputes into the 1930s, this influence was broken by “dialectic theology.” However, to understand the marked break in the reception of Harnack’s work we need to look at more than the theological level alone. The political lack of clarity of so-called cultural Protestantism that Harnack personified with regard to German National Socialism discredited cultural Protestantism as a whole and at the same time had a serious impact on the reception of Harnack’s work after 1945.

After 1945 discussions on Harnack within Protestantism were restricted to small circles of specialists. In Germany, but also in the UNITED STATES and ENGLAND, it was Harnack’s *Wesen des Christentums* in particular that was discussed (Niebuhr, Glick, Sykes). In the United States Harnack’s approach was usually assessed negatively despite his influence in the first half of the twentieth century having been considerable, because of his promotion of patristic thinking.

In German-speaking research Harnack’s work became a focus of greater attention on the occasion of his 150th birthday jubilee in May 2001. In this context the question raised again of the relationship between “Protestantism and culture” is motivated by the basic position of apologetics of scientific theology in relation to a society that seems to have an ever-decreasing requirement for this theology. The existential crisis of institutions that through this are also threatened with the loss of their link to society is a further reason for the fresh interest in Harnack and his work. Whether there will really be a heightened new reception of the work of Adolf von Harnack remains to be seen.

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ANDREAS MÜHLING

HARRIS, WILLIAM WADÉ **(c. 1860–1929)**

African churchman. Harris was born at Half Graway, Liberia, circa 1860, and died at Harper, Liberia on June 23, 1929. He belonged to the Grebo people of LIBERIA. Brought up by a Methodist uncle, Harris became a catechist and teacher for the Episcopal Church. In 1910, while in prison for sedition, he had a vision in which Gabriel called him to fulfill all the commands of Matthew 28:19. On his release, he preached and baptized in his home area. In 1913, following the death of his wife, he set off “into all the world.”

With two female companions, Harris walked the whole breadth of the Ivory Coast (then a French colony) where missions, almost all Catholic, were new, and then into the western Gold Coast. The women sang praises to God, drawing a crowd; Harris, after explaining his mission to the chief, preached, and baptized those who responded. His message centered on repentance, turning to God, complete abandonment of other divinities and all traditional cult objects or fetishes, and on SALVATION through Christ, who was returning as judge. The PREACHING was reinforced by healings (see FAITH HEALING), demonstrations of spiritual power, and triumphant confrontations with traditional priests (and occasionally with colonial officials and Catholic priests, if these tried to obstruct his work). A huge movement to Christianity resulted. In the 18 months before the French deported him to Liberia, Harris baptized an estimated 100,000 people in the Ivory Coast, and perhaps 10,000 (including JOSEPH CASELEY-HAYFORD) in the Gold Coast. He formed worshiping congregations, appointed leaders, offered rudimentary teaching based on the Ten Commandments, left Bibles, and urged his hearers to accept teaching from missions as this became available.

In the 1920s Harris agreed that the British Methodist mission should assume care of the Ivory Coast congregations, but he seems to have regretted this later, being increasingly disillusioned with mission teaching and practice on MARRIAGE and on money. He consecrated John Ahui as his representative. Independent *eglises Harristes* still flourish.

Harris died in Harper, Liberia on June 23, 1929, but he is the seminal figure for all forms of Ivory Coast Christianity. He was also the first and most remarkable of the African charismatic figures who, independently of the missions, led mass movements toward Christianity in the period from about 1913 to 1935.

See also Africa; African Instituted Churches; Colonialism; Missionary Organizations; Missions

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ANDREW F.WALLS

HARTSHORNE, CHARLES (1897–2000)

American philosopher and theologian. Hartshorne was born on June 5, 1897 in Kittanning, Pennsylvania, the son of an Episcopalian minister. He attended Haverford College between 1915 and 1917 before serving as a medical orderly in the United States military. Returning to academia to complete his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. at Harvard University by 1923, Hartshorne went on to accept a Sheldon Travelling Fellowship to Germany, where he attended lectures by Martin Heidegger and Edmund Husserl. He returned to Harvard between 1925 and 1928, as an instructor and Research Fellow, assisting Alfred North Whitehead for one semester and also, with Paul Weiss, editing the collected papers of Charles Sanders Peirce. The works of Whitehead and Peirce were to have far-reaching influences on Hartshorne's own philosophical thought, leading to his consequential conception of God as subject to the processes of time and change. In 1928, Hartshorne accepted a post at the Department of Philosophy of the University of Chicago where, in due time, he received a joint position in the Divinity School. He remained teaching at Chicago until 1955, then moved to professorships at Emory University (1955–1962) and the University of Texas at Austin (1962–1976). He died on October 9, 2000.

Hartshorne was a prominent advocate for what came to be known as process philosophy. His written works include: *Man's Vision of God and the Logic of Theism* (1941), *The Divine Relativity: A Social Conception of God* (1948), and *Aquinas to Whitehead: Seven Centuries of Metaphysics of Religion* (1976). Identifying his own thought as principally philosophy rather than theology, Hartshorne argued against the classical theistic understanding of God as omnipotent, omniscient, and immutable. Instead, he maintained that God's perfection consists precisely in the ability to respond to change. A defender of Anselm's famous ontological argument, in a period when the rationality of theism had become vilified within the academy, Hartshorne sought to demonstrate that the so-called philosophical "proofs" for the existence of God—the ontological, teleological, and cosmological arguments—jointly reinforce the claims of one another.

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KATHRYN BEVIS

HASTINGS, LADY SELINA (1707–1791)

English evangelical leader. Born August 24, 1707, the second daughter of Earl Ferris, she married Theophilus Hastings, ninth earl of Huntingdon in 1728 and bore him four children. Through the influence of her sisters Betty and Margaret she became acquainted with the work of the Methodists in the first wave of religious revival in England and was converted in 1739. By 1748 she had transferred her attention to GEORGE WHITEFIELD'S Calvinistic variety of METHODISM rather than the ARMINIANISM of JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, although she retained their friendship. She helped a number of men receive ordination and employed them as her chaplains until the church authorities refused to allow this spirit of independence. She had particular links with Thomas Haweis and her cousin, Walter Shirley, notable evangelical clergymen, and was a friend of Toplady and Dodderidge. She built some chapels and acquired others in what became known as the "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion," by 1791 in an association numbering twentythree districts and over sixty chapels, located in fashionable spa towns and cathedral cities such as Brighton, Bath, Chichester, and Worcester.

The doctrinal basis of the association was the *Fifteen Articles*, a selection of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. In 1768, after the expulsion of evangelical students from Oxford, she opened a College at Trefeca, WALES, as an academy for preachers. John Fletcher was its first president, but he resigned in 1771 over the renewed debate between Calvinists and Arminians, as did Joseph Benson. On the death of George Whitefield she took over responsibility for the Bethesda Orphan House in Georgia but this burnt down. Lady Selina died June 17, 1791 at her home in Spa Fields, London and was buried at Donington Park.

See also Calvinism; Evangelicalism

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TIM MACQUIBAN

HAUGE, HANS NIELSEN (1771–1824)

Norwegian lay preacher. Hauge was born into a farmer family in the agrarian community of Rolvsøy in what was then the kingdom of DENMARK and NORWAY. In 1796, as he walked in the fields, he experienced a special calling from God to preach and to urge his fellow countrymen to conversion and a different lifestyle. This sparked the first thorough revival movement in Norway, called Haugianism, which dominated religious life of the country during the first half of the nineteenth century. Hauge, firmly rooted in the country's Lutheran tradition, emphasized a personally experienced salvation and a puritan way of life stressing the importance of inner-worldly vocational work. His followers were, to a great extent, industrious people who took part in the modernization of the Norwegian economy. Hauge himself was arrested in 1804 as preaching gatherings were prohibited by law for those who were not ordained. In 1809 he was temporarily released in order to assist in alleviating the country's serious economic problems following the Napoleonic wars. In 1813 he was finally sentenced to pay a fine of 1,000 *riksdaler* for ignoring the prohibition on lay preaching. Hauge continued to urge people to remain within the Lutheran state church and to pay respect to the clergy. His own activity, however, gradually changed into maintaining his religious network and caring for his economic activities.

Haugianism came to lay a foundation for Norwegian religious life both in Norway and among Norwegian emigrants in North America, its importance being of both a religious and an economic nature. A Lutheran-formed and serious-minded religious outlook combined with a puritan lifestyle characterized his followers. Toward the second half of the century, Haugianism was increasingly contested by more evangelically oriented revival movements, but Hauge's influence is still the most important single contribution to Norwegian religious life after the REFORMATION.

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JON P. KNUDSEN

HAYFORD, JOSEPH EPHRAIM CASELY (1866–1930)

African writer. Born to the family of a Ghanaian Methodist minister on September 28, 1866, Casely Hayford became a successful writer, journalist, politician, and lawyer. His greatest contribution to Protestantism was his positive appraisal of the life and ministry of the West African prophet WILLIAM WADÉ HARRIS, one of the leaders in the AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES movement.

As a lawyer Casely Hayford worked with Aborigines Rights Protection Society against the Lands Bill of 1897, to preserve the African land tenure system. As a politician Casely Hayford served as a member of the Legislative Council from 1916 until 1930. He was the moving force behind the founding of the National Congress of British West Africa, and the Gold Coast Youth Conference, precursors to Ghana's political parties.

As a journalist he wrote articles arguing racial equality and the need for representation of Africans at the highest levels of administration of their affairs. His novel *Ethiopia Unbound* (1911) was one of the first texts of modern fiction produced in English in West Africa. A vigorous defense of black people, the work was also critical of Christianity as a mainly white religion.

As an educational reformer, he helped establish Achimota College in 1927, which was a precursor to the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast in 1961.

With his interest in the life of Wadé Harris, Casely Hayford was a pioneer scholar in African Independence. His controversial portrayal of Harris as a legitimate prophet was one of the earliest triumphs of the African Christian Independence movement.

Casely Hayford died August 11, 1930.

See also Africa

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CASELY B. ESSAMUAH

HEAVEN AND HELL

At the outset of the Protestant REFORMATION, the AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530) affirmed biblical and traditional views of heaven and hell; since then views have varied dramatically among denominations, congregations, and even individuals. Views now range in a spectrum from a physical, “literal heaven” to no heaven at all. As for hell, beliefs are even more spongy, with a definite tendency, except among evangelicals, to ignore it.

Overview

The Bible affirms the reality of both heaven and hell. The Lord’s Prayer itself addresses a “Father in heaven” and prays that his will be done “on earth as it is in heaven.” The New Testament can scarcely be understood without reference to the kingdom of God as a radical change from our present lives. The range of interpretations of biblical passages is vast. At one extreme they are taken as physical statements about physical reality; at the other they are dismissed as superstitious errors on the part of Jesus and the biblical writers; in between, a huge variety of metaphorical interpretations exist. In Protestantism in the West during the past three centuries the tendency has been in the direction of the extremes; many non-Western societies, however, offer a rich and vivid sense of heaven. This article can mention only some of the deepest questions and a few alternatives.

What Are Heaven and Hell?

Are heaven and hell the “afterlife” or “eternal life”? That is, do we live on in time after the end of our earthly lives, or are our whole lives subsumed in God’s eternity? What is it in us that lives eternally? Do we become one with God as a raindrop does with the sea, or does our essence live on, or our personality, or our body? Usually it is believed that the

soul or character lives on, but the Bible and tradition give no precise idea of what the Greek *pneuma*, soul or spirit means, and Paul speaks of a *soma pneumatikon* (soul-body or spiritual body). Two quite different strands run through Protestantism: the immortality of the soul (which derives from Greek philosophy) and the biblical idea of bodily resurrection. The apostle Paul declared that there was no point in a Christianity that did not affirm the physical resurrection.

The kingdom of God (*basileia tou theou*) is a main theme of the New Testament. It is clear that Christ is our ruler: a *basileus*, emperor had connotations of majesty and power almost inconceivable in the twenty-first century. Sometimes the kingdom seems to be among us now or “in our hands”; sometimes on this earth now or at the end of time, sometimes in some more divine state of existence such as “heaven.” The New Testament envisions a radical change that will soon occur at the end of time or last days (*ta eschata*) and will radically transform the world. Christ’s first coming was incarnate as Jesus born of Mary, and Christ will come a second time to complete the transformation of the cosmos. The world may come to an end with the last judgment and the final destruction of evil at that time; after the judgment, time may disappear, or Christ may reign a thousand years before finally eliminating all space and time. The Last Judgment is often contrasted with the personal judgment that each person faces at the end of life, but almost all Protestants believe that the last merely confirms the personal judgment: God does not change his mind in the meantime. But then where is the soul between the time of our personal death and the general resurrection at the end of time? Protestants have all eschewed the Catholic idea of purgatory, so that opinion varies from the soul’s being in some sort of interim state before rejoining its body to a view that at our death we are lifted from time into eternity, the moment of our death being also the moment of our resurrection. Some, particularly nineteenth-century pietists, believed that the souls are with us as our companions.

Both time and space are problematic: where are heaven and hell? Early Protestant views were in line with previous Christian ones that the earth was a sphere at the center of the cosmos, with hell inside of it, and heaven beyond all the spheres of moon, sun, and stars. Such views became untenable and unnecessary with the discoveries of modern astronomy, since which most educated Protestants believe that heaven (and hell) are not “out there” anywhere in the physical cosmos but in another mode of being entirely, sometimes within us, sometimes in another spiritual dimension.

What does heaven mean? Is it a radical change and transformation to something far beyond our experience? Are we made perfect by union with God, by our fulfillment as individuals, or as the perfection of community? Does it mean that we are absorbed into God, or that we encounter him intensely face to face, or that we are fulfilled to our utmost perfection as individuals? If it is the last, how old will we be, and in what state of mind or body? Will we feel ourselves “individuals” at all, recognizing our families and friends as our own? Will we be so bound to one another in love that heaven is more a realization of community than of self? If the point of life is to love God and neighbor, is heaven the fulfillment of that love to the point that differences dissolve in a more perfect union? If heaven is a community, on what level do we feel that community—our families and friends, our congregation, our geographical community, the whole earth, or the whole cosmos? Is everyone equal in heaven or are some closer to God, some deeper in love,

than others? John Calvin made it clear that whatever differences in earthly station and authority exist between us, they will not exist in heaven, where the only ruler is Christ.

Does perfection in heaven mean stasis or a dynamic motion to ever more perfect perfection? Will we be in an eternal state of unchanging glory or will we continue to know more, feel more, love more, even serve more? Sixteenth-century reformers tended to see heaven as an eternal moment of praise and adoration of God; many nineteenth-century pietists believed that if salvation was achieved through good works, then surely good works (service to God and others) must continue in the other life.

Going to Heaven or Hell

How does one go to heaven or hell? Better put, how does one come to be in the state of soul and character that is heaven or hell? Does this occur by complete predestination, where God eternally determines which persons are in which state, by human free will to choose, or by God's foreknowledge that our free choice sometimes chooses hell? In complete predestination, God damns to eternal hell those whom he does not choose to save; in other views, damnation is our own free choice to live in an evil state. Is divine grace the source of our salvation, as the original reformers insisted, or are works the source, as nineteenth- and twentieth-century pietists believed? The pietists placed an unusually strong emphasis on the reward and punishment aspect of the afterlife: if you choose to do good works, you will be saved. A quite different position among sixteenth-century radicals, and recently gaining great popularity among liberal Protestants, is universalism, the theology that everyone is saved and everything is purified and redeemed at the end. Very rare, however, has been any view that you can change your mind after you die; rather, this is the life that God gives us and in this life we eternally form our character.

Biblical descriptions of heaven are lavish with music, gems, gold, light, brilliance; descriptions of hell describe fire, sulfur, torture, and darkness. Some Protestants, perhaps not realizing that in thinking about heaven and hell we are limited by human imagination and words in trying to understand what is beyond all our capacities to know, take these descriptions as physical truth. From the beginning of Christianity, all sorts of details (woods, fountains, dancing, and so on) have been added, particularly by groups such as the Latter-Day Saints, whose heaven is extremely physical. The physicality of heaven derives not only from the specific biblical descriptions but also from the biblical doctrine of resurrection. We rise in our bodies (however transcended); that concept has continually raised questions of food and sex, as well as other bodily functions. More abstractly inclined Protestants are content with the idea that heaven is essentially the full presence of everyone and everything transfused by God and without defect, while hell is the state of absence of all these qualities. In most views, heaven is a place that is dynamic rather than static, so that it must have some sort of real metaphorical time, for metaphor does not mean distance from reality.

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JEFFREY BURTON RUSSELL

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH (1770–1831)

German philosopher. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born on August 27, 1770, in Stuttgart, Germany. His father was an administrative official in the Württemberg ducal bureaucracy. Hegel attended the Protestant seminary (*Stift*) at Tübingen for five years beginning in 1788, most likely with plans to enter either the clergy or the civil service. On graduation from Tübingen he worked as a private tutor in Bern (1793–1796) and Frankfurt (1797–1800). His father died in 1799, leaving Hegel an inheritance that allowed him to pursue what had in the meantime become his chief interest, philosophy. In 1801 he secured a teaching position at Jena and taught there until 1806. FRIEDRICH W.J.VON SCHELLING (1775–1854) was teaching there as well and the two collaborated on the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie* (*Critical Journal of Philosophy*) until Schelling departed Jena in 1803. In 1801 Hegel published a book on the difference between Johann G.Fichte and Schelling. As a result of their collaboration on the *Critical Journal* and the 1801 book Hegel was publicly regarded as a disciple of Schelling; however, in 1807 Hegel published *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (*Phenomenology of Spirit*), which marked an intellectual and personal break with Schelling and set Hegel on the path of becoming one of the premier philosophers of Germany.

In late 1806 Hegel lost his position at Jena when the university was shut down in the wake of the Battle of Jena. From 1807 until 1808 he supported himself by editing a newspaper in Bamberg. From 1808 until 1816 he was rector of and professor at a gymnasium (i.e., school) in Nuremberg. While at Nuremberg he published the *Science of Logic* (volume one in 1811–1812; volume two in 1816). He married in 1811. From 1816 until 1818 he was a professor at Heidelberg. There he published, in 1817, *Enzyklopädie der Philosophischen Wissenschaften* (*Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline*), his “system.” From 1818 until his death, on November 14, 1831 (from cholera), he was a professor in the philosophical faculty in Berlin. During his Berlin years Hegel published only one new book, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (*Outlines of the Philosophy of Right* 1821). However, he also prepared second and third editions of the *Encyclopedia* (1827 and 1830) and at the time of his death was nearly finished with a second edition of the *Wissenschaft der Logik* (*Science of Logic*). After his death, his lectures on the philosophy of history, history of philosophy, philosophy of religion, and philosophy of art were published by his followers.

Hegel in Context

To grasp Hegel's relation to and importance for Protestant thought, it is necessary to see him in his intellectual and political context. Hegel's era was a time of heightened theological tension. In the previous generation Christian theology had been shaken to its roots by the combination of historical criticism of the BIBLE and creeds and by rationalism. In addition the 1780s witnessed the so-called pantheism controversy, when Friedrich H. Jacobi published his account of conversations he had had with GOTTHOLD E. LESSING. In this account he revealed Lessing's sympathies with Benedict Spinoza, who was commonly thought to have been a pantheist. Lessing's declaration seemed to be an endorsement of this pantheism. A decade later Johann Fichte was forced to resign his professorship at Jena because of accusations that his philosophy supported atheism. In Hegel's day most theological responses to these issues took one of three forms. First, there was a resurgence of confessional ORTHODOXY, buttressed by the support of a militant and doctrinally conservative PIETISM and emphasizing a traditional conception of the supernatural. Leading representatives included FRIEDRICH A. G. THOLUCK and Ernst W. Hengstenberg. Second, there was an accommodation to the deistic critique of Christianity (see DEISM). This resulted in a rationalistic and reductionistic form of theology in which the supernatural was largely if not totally eliminated. Julius A. L. Wegscheider and Karl G. Bretschneider represented this option. Third, there was an attempt to rethink theology in the light of romantic impulses. In practice this meant reinterpreting doctrines as verbal expressions of a noncognitive intuition of God. FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER was the outstanding representative of this tendency. The theological tensions were exacerbated by related political issues. Hegel's adult life spanned a revolutionary era, from the beginnings of the French revolution in 1789 to the European-wide uprisings in 1830. For the most part, these revolutionary movements aimed at introducing liberal-democratic reforms, which Hegel supported. Between these revolutions stood the reactionary Congress of Vienna (1815) that, upon the final defeat of Napoleon, restored to power the feudal aristocracies that had been dethroned as a result of Napoleonic reforms. The result of this political ferment in the Germany of Hegel's day was an increasingly conservative political climate that sought to return to the union of CHURCH AND STATE that characterized the prerevolutionary era. The effect was a renewed emphasis on orthodox theology and on the suppression of politically dangerous ideas. These trends meant trouble for Hegel in particular because he supported and was supported by the liberal reformers of politics, church, and education who increasingly found themselves out of step with the aristocratic power structure (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

Although Hegel proposed a philosophical resolution to the theological problems of the day, he believed that his philosophy was nonetheless grounded in the central tenets of Lutheran theology. This conviction is illustrated by an event in 1826. In the course of a lecture, Hegel made some disparaging remarks about the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER). Called to account by the educational authorities Hegel responded in a letter that justified his views on the basis of their faithfulness to Lutheran theology. Further, he declared his pride in having been baptized and raised a Lutheran and professed his intent to remain one. That Hegel's remarks were not merely defensive

posturing to avoid trouble can be seen from his affirmative remarks about LUTHERANISM and, more generally, Protestantism in his lectures on the philosophy of history and the history of philosophy.

However, in spite of his professed loyalty to and admiration of the Lutheran tradition, Hegel did not present his philosophy as simply a restatement of that tradition's theology. On the contrary, the relation between theology and Hegel's philosophy is complex and subtle. On the one hand he believed that Christian DOCTRINE is based on revelation and contains the truth about God. The content of theology and philosophy is the same, that is, the truth. On the other hand, he held that there are grave problems with the usual exposition of these doctrines, which conveys the true content of religion in a highly unsuitable and misleading form. The key to grasping Hegel's view is to understand the distinction he made between conceptual thinking (*begreifen*) and imaginative thinking (*vorstellen*) in theology.

Imaginative thinking is the typical form in which theological doctrine presents its subject matter. Although it is a genuine form of thought, in it we think by means of images drawn from sensation. For example, the doctrine of the Trinity employs the familial relation between father and son. In this case, the eternal divine life is portrayed with images drawn from daily experience. However, these images are wholly inadequate to the task of knowing the truth. The only possibility for obtaining knowledge, he believed, was to give doctrine a scientific form attained through pure conceptual thinking, that is, through philosophy.

Hegelian Dialectics

To understand why only conceptual thinking provides the adequate form for truth, it is necessary to come terms with Hegel's view of dialectics. Hegel was convinced that actuality is marked by movement that embraces unity and diversity. Organic life, for instance, is a process whereby a seed becomes a plant. There is a dialectical relation between the seed and the plant because although they are in an important sense distinct, there is also an important sense in which they are one. The oneness consists in the fact that seed and plant are two steps in a movement that encompasses them both. In our ordinary thinking we distinguish the seed from the plant as two things; that is, we focus on the distinction between the two. However, we miss the underlying movement (seed to plant) that is their unity and, if we think dialectically (i.e., conceptually), then we grasp the unity as well as the distinctions (seed, plant as well as the movement of seed to plant). Conceptual thinking is therefore itself a dialectical movement. In conceptual thinking we think according to the pattern of actuality. In it, the form of our thinking is identical with the form of actual being. In ordinary understanding and imaginative thinking, however, the form of our thinking does not match the form of actuality and therefore is inadequate to the truth.

What is true of organic life is true of all actualities, including God. (Hegel typically wrote of absolute spirit and not God. God is not identical to absolute spirit in Hegel's philosophy; however, for the sake of exposition, "God" will be used.) The eternal divine

life is a dialectical movement. The doctrine of the Trinity, with its affirmation of relations of origin among Father, Son, and Spirit, is a theological statement of that dialectical movement. Accordingly, the doctrine of the Trinity possesses the truth about God. Unfortunately theologians employ imaginative thinking and not conceptual thinking when they expound the doctrine. Just as, in the case of seed and plant, ordinary understanding puts the emphasis on distinctions and misses the movement that is the unity, so in the case of the Trinity theologians normally emphasize the distinctions of the Trinitarian persons (insofar as they regard them as individually existent personal beings) and miss the dialectical and unifying movement that encompasses the persons. So, although the doctrine of the Trinity contains the truth about God, its theological exposition has always been wholly inadequate. An adequate form for this doctrine requires conceptual thinking. Only this form of thinking is identical with the dialectical character of the divine life and can be said to state the truth in a scientific form.

Hegel's views about conceptual thinking help explain his irritation with the theological tendencies of his day. Although sympathetic with the rational approach of the ENLIGHTENMENT, Hegel scorned the proclivity of rationalistic theologians to reject doctrines such as the Trinity because of their supposedly irrational character. In doing so, Hegel charged, they were emptying religion of all content and thus forsaking the truth. They could do so only because the reasoning they employed was not conceptual thinking but in-stead merely ordinary understanding. Hegel was likewise dismayed by Schleiermacher (who lectured in the theological faculty at Berlin and with whom Hegel carried on a running public controversy) and the pietistic theologians. By emphasizing feeling and intuition and making them the source of theology, they too had emptied religion of content. In addition they gave the cause of science a bad name by deprecating human reason. Not surprisingly Hegel believed that he was rescuing the truth of religion from the depredations of contemporary theologians. As he once stated, not only was philosophy in his day orthodox—*only* philosophy (i.e., his philosophy) was orthodox.

Responses to Hegel

Hegel's estimate of his own orthodoxy was not universally shared. In particular his tenure in Berlin was marked by charges of pantheism and atheism. The basis of these charges was Hegel's understanding of God's relation to the universe. Hegel understood this relation dialectically. Just as seed and plant are best thought of, not as distinct things, but instead as two aspects of a larger movement, so God and the universe are not distinct entities but are dialectically related. The universe is, in some sense, an aspect of the divine life. God attains actuality through the world-process. Although Hegel was clear that God is not simply identical with the world, the qualified and dialectical identity he affirmed was still too much for conservative theologians.

However, not all theologians were opposed to Hegel. There were two influential theologians in particular who converted to Hegel's views and formed an important part of the Hegelian school of the 1820s and 1830s: PHILIPP MARHEINEKE (1780–1846, professor in Berlin) and Carl Daub (1765–1836, professor in Heidelberg). It was

Marheineke who, after Hegel's death, produced the first edition of Hegel's lectures on the philosophy of religion in an attempt to fix Hegel's meaning and settle differences in interpretation. Unfortunately, in the judgment of his peers Marheineke's editorial procedures were deficient; however, a revised edition by BRUNO BAUER also did not settle the disputes. Daub, Marheineke, and, initially, Bauer emphasized the side of Hegel's philosophy that affirmed the identity of content between theology and philosophy. In other words, they were, within the confines of Hegel's school, conservative. A radical application of Hegel's thought to theology emerged after Hegel's death when DAVID F. STRAUSS (1808–1874), LUDWIG FEUERBACH (1804–1872), and others began emphasizing the inadequacy of theology's imaginative thinking. It was the atheistic conclusions of this group that induced the Prussian government to call Schelling to Berlin in 1841 to combat the pernicious effects of Hegel's philosophy. At length it was not Schelling's lectures that diminished the influence of Hegel's philosophy but rather shifting philosophical tendencies as in the next generation Germany experienced the rise of scientific materialism and a revival of interest in IMMANUEL KANT'S philosophy. Nonetheless vestiges of Hegel's philosophy can be seen in the work of such contemporary Protestant theologians as JÜRGEN MOLTMANN and WOLFHART PANNENBERG.

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SAMUEL M.POWELL

HEIDELBERG CATECHISM OF 1563

Efforts to introduce the REFORMATION into the Palatinate began late, and their success depended on the cogency of a catechetical document that could avoid the controversies that had embroiled various parties in the early decades of the Reformation. In a region in which Lutheran and Reformed claimed a sympathetic presence, a CATECHISM appealing to both loyalties promised to be the most effective. For a number of reasons, there were far fewer catechisms than confessions in the sixteenth century (see CONFESSIO). They were meant for the LAITY and their rudimentary question-and-answer style provided little room for detailed discussion of semantic or doctrinal points. At the same time the simplicity and clarity demanded by the genre guaranteed that the successful catechism would gain broad acceptance indeed.

The Heidelberg Catechism was the work of a committee that included the Wittenberg graduate Zacharius Ursinus (1534–1583), JOHN CALVIN'S protégé Caspar Olevian (1536–1587), and members of the THEOLOGY faculty at Heidelberg. They sought to combine the best parts of a number of current catechetical texts, including Calvin's own 1545 GENEVA CATECHISM, a possible model despite the desire of the Palatine prince Frederick III for an instructional manual on biblical foundations that was visibly independent of Genevan influence. The Catechism accomplished several goals: in its simplicity it made the essentials of evangelical faith accessible to all, and it did this with a collage of biblical terms that instilled much of the sacred text into the youthful mind of the reader.

In 129 questions spread out over a cycle of a year of Sundays, divided into three sections on human misery, redemption, and thankfulness, the Catechism offers a succinct summary of evangelical FAITH. Intended for the theologically unsophisticated layperson, it presupposes little knowledge of the BIBLE or of the dogmatic TRADITION. Instead it appeals to the believer's awareness of original SIN; a sense of hopelessness before a righteous deity; and a divinely granted zeal to live a life of holiness, here termed thankfulness. Hence from the first question onward, Jesus Christ is termed a savior and redeemer of a radically sinful humanity, an agent of the Father's redemptive will, whose ATONEMENT for humanity is made certain for the regenerate by the work of the Holy Spirit.

The first part of the Catechism, "On human misery," identifies revealed law as the means to recognize one's sinfulness; the command to love God and neighbor reveals the total extent of original sin. The rudimentary level of discussion called for a simplicity that

suggests a more radical stance on many of the positions being articulated than one finds in contemporary confessions. The answers to questions about human sinfulness, for example, state with unequivocal clarity that humanity fell into a state of “hating” God and

neighbor (q. 5), not simply being disinclined or impeded in loving them, as lengthier or subtler expositions of faith during these years tended to hold.

The second section, concerning human redemption, similarly presents its affirmations phrased with a sometimes disarming simplicity. Continuity between the faith of the Old Covenant or Testament and the New is underscored in a number of ways. The promise of redemption that constitutes the gospel, for example, is described as having been revealed in Eden and preserved by the patriarchs and prophets, then finally and fully revealed in Jesus Christ.

In addition to filtering a great deal of scriptural language, the Catechism also adopts the terminology of classic creedal statements, ensuring the catechumen’s familiarity with part of the ancient tradition. The Nicene Creed in fact provides many of the questions of the second part of the Catechism; many of the questions ask for explanations of individual clauses of the Creed. In keeping with its intention of inclusiveness, the Catechism underscores the communion in Christ of the members of the church. It is Christ who gathers and preserves the members of the true church (q. 54), those who are justified solely by their faith in him (q. 60).

Under the third rubric, thankfulness, the Catechism provides precepts for the life of the regenerate Christian. In keeping with the Reformed doctrine of the role of Law in a life of SANCTIFICATION—that the justified Christian returns to the Law as a guide for a life—this final section is organized around the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer, the answers serving as a running commentary to those texts.

The rhetorical simplicity of the Catechism leaves unexplained certain points of DOCTRINE. Regarding the Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER), for example, the bread and wine are not said to be transformed into the body and blood of Christ, although they are called that in the customary use of sacramental language (q. 78). Given the intensity of controversies over the Eucharist during these years, such a facile explanation was sure to arouse, rather than quell, discord over the meaning of the terms “body” and “blood.” Several departures from contemporary Reformed symbolic documents are notable indications of the Catechism’s eclecticism, inclusiveness, or both. The doctrine of PREDESTINATION, also already a topic of intense dispute, is absent; in its place is an affirmation of God’s providential care for all creatures (q. 27).

Regardless of its conciliatory intentions, publication of the Catechism brought a flurry of controversy, especially from theologians like the Lutherans Tilemann Heshusius (1527–1559) and MATTHIAS FLACIUS (1520–1575) who saw “ungodliness” and “idolatry” in the use of ALTARS, baptismal fonts, crucifixes, and the like. They urged superintendents to monitor devotional life at the parish level to prevent the restoration of such deviations. It was partially in defense of his work that Ursinus composed a massive *Commentary* to the Catechism, which explained in great detail the positions stated succinctly in the original document. The clarifications of Reformed doctrine in the *Commentary* defined some of the enduring divisions between the Lutheran and Reformed confessions.

See also Calvinism; Lutheranism

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HELVETIC CONFESSION

The Second Helvetic Confession (1562) was in one sense the successor to the 1536 document, known as the First Helvetic Confession (sometimes also called the Second Confession of Basel), prepared at Basel under the aegis of HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575) and others. In more important ways, however, it stands with the Reformed confessional enterprise of the 1560s as another effort to consolidate doctrines in dispute and protect the church from internal strife and political threat. The dangers were all too real in the wake of religious wars, the proceedings of the stillsitting Council of Trent, and divisions within LUTHERANISM that threatened to undermine a branch of the REFORMATION that many Swiss Evangelicals still looked to as a model.

Anticipating the end of his active career as a Reformer in Zurich, Bullinger in 1561 began to prepare a "brief exposition" of the faith as a theological last will. The resulting CONFESSION was anything but brief, but it was clear and comprehensive, the mature work of an influential theologian's studies and pastoral experience. It would in time be embraced by churches in the Swiss cantons and beyond; and it earned endorsement in SCOTLAND, Holland, POLAND, Bohemia, and HUNGARY.

Affirming the necessity and sufficiency of scripture as DOCTRINE, and stating that the word of God is the preached word, the Confession acknowledges the guidance of the ancient Fathers in biblical interpretation, while dismissing from the church any purely human traditions, such as the use of images and the hierarchical ordering of clerical ranks. Thus the four christological creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries are accepted as valid confessions of faith, as are "all similar" symbolic documents, their truth being in their faith rather than the AUTHORITY of the assemblies that promulgated them. Ministers are called to the common service, as equals, to the work of PREACHING the word of God, administering the SACRAMENTS, and ensuring order within the church by means of suitable discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE).

The Confession's doctrine of God preserves traces of Bullinger's predecessor, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, whose Platonist affinities are found, for example, in the definition of God. Without abandoning the more anthropomorphic definitions grounded in biblical depictions of divine activity, the deity of the Second Helvetic Confession is a self-sufficient, eternal and infinite, necessarily (but inexplicably) existing highest good, manifested in three eternally distinct Persons, differentiated by their properties. Predictably, however, the THEOLOGY of the Confession is predominantly shaped by the exegetical tradition and centered on the doctrines of SIN and GRACE. The human

condition being one of sin, in which persons freely choose evil, reconciliation through Christ is the only path to God.

As with evangelical confessions generally, the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION is the core teaching here. In chapter 15 of the Confession, faith in Christ is the sole source of righteousness; it is given rather than earned; and it does not imply any sharing in Christ's own righteousness. The believer experiences CONVERSION, and in so doing understands that both conversion and absolution are divine gifts (ch. 14). The regenerate believer remains in a state of sin, but the freedom and temptation to do evil have been weakened, and the experience of grace replaces the condemnation of the law. Despite the insistence on righteousness being only imputed or reckoned, rather than granted or actually bestowed, the regenerate Christian's FAITH is an active one, and the believer is driven to works of piety and charity. Since the beginning of the Reformation opponents had read "faith alone" to mean that mere assent was sufficient for SALVATION. Bullinger takes pains to correct that impression.

The CHURCH, in the words of the Confession, is a truly catholic (or universal) communion of the faithful, although there may be members of a given congregation who are not part of this invisible church. Condemning the claim to "catholicity" of the Roman church, the Confession holds that the universality of the true church is not measured in tangible extent and numbers. Rather the body of true believers may at times be so marginal as to escape notice, and judgment, by the larger population of the unregenerate who may falsely imagine themselves the true church. In the light of continuing controversies and condemnations, identifying the Reformed churches as a minority threatened with persecution helped to brand their opponents as among the reprobate.

Few doctrines were more intractable to mediating efforts than that of the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER), but here Bullinger's conciliatory stance is most evident. Holding, in common with other evangelical confessions, that sacraments consist of a divine word of promise and an outward sign intended to seal and strengthen it, the Confession recognizes only the dominically instituted rites of BAPTISM and Eucharist as sacraments, and denies that they can be made holy by a priestly consecration or are able to communicate holiness to the recipient. Steering a course between the Real Presence of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches and the sacramentarianism of Zwingli and others, the Confession holds that the body and blood of Christ are consumed in the Eucharist, but in a spiritual rather than a physical manner. The eating of the bread and drinking of the wine are necessary parts of the rite, but the material elements are mere signs of the spiritual realities that make the Eucharist a sacrament.

The language of COVENANT plays a significant role in the Confession, in part to link the church to the people of the Old Testament. Although two peoples are acknowledged, they are described as being united within a single Messianic fellowship (ch. 17). Likewise, the Confession holds that the sacraments were given to both peoples, insofar as both received a word of promise and external signs to seal the promise, but that the signs of the ancient sacraments were replaced by baptism and the Eucharist. In emphasizing the continuity of the covenantal relationship with God, the Confession contributed to the federal theology of later decades and centuries.

See also Counter-Reformation

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HENRY VIII (1491–1547)

English king. The second son of Henry VII (1457–1509) and Elizabeth of York, Henry ascended the English throne on his father's death in 1509, his elder brother Arthur having predeceased them in 1502. Physically imposing and intellectually gifted, Henry devoted his early years as king to war, hunting, and the life of the court. He read and spoke several languages, including Latin, and was an able singer and dancer. Although he left the minutiae of government to his ministers (especially Cardinal Wolsey [1475–1530] in the 1510s and 1520s; and THOMAS CROMWELL [1599–1658] in the 1530s), he was always in control. He was initially devoted to his first wife, Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), but her sad sequence of ill-fated pregnancies (which left only one surviving child, a daughter, Mary Tudor, born in 1516), took its toll on his affections, though for a king he was but moderately unfaithful. Fiscal exhaustion after a decade of intermittent and largely fruitless war with FRANCE (1512–1524), combined with concern for the security of the dynasty in the absence of a male heir, put the succession and domestic policy at the head of his agenda from 1527 until 1540. With the succession secured by the birth of a son, Edward, to his third wife, Jane Seymour (1509–1537), in 1537, he was able to relive his youthful pursuit of glory in the 1540s with invasions of both SCOTLAND and France. There were no further children from his subsequent marriages, in which he experienced disappointment with Anne of Cleves (1515–1557) and betrayal with Catherine Howard (1520–1542), before finding contentment in old age with Catherine Parr (1512–1548).

Henry VIII and Protestantism

Henry VIII was no Protestant—a word that was barely entering the English language when he died in 1547, and was, in any case, hardly applicable to him. Zealous, if conventional, in his piety (he often heard several masses a day, especially when not hunting), he always took an educated interest in theology. Preachers of the highest caliber were summoned to his court, and throughout his life he enjoyed theological discussion with scholars such as John Colet (1466–1519), Thomas More (1478–1535), and HUGH LATIMER (1485–1555). His theological awareness led him to challenge MARTIN

LUTHER'S (1483–1546) *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* with a refutation, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (Assertion of the Seven Sacraments) published in 1521. Henry was thus one of Luther's earliest opponents, and he mobilized the scholars of England in the same cause, with John Fisher (1469–1535) and Thomas More the best known of those who wrote against the early Protestants at his behest. Henry's book (not entirely his unaided work, with Thomas More generally mentioned) was stylishly written, but held few surprises. It barely even touched on justification by faith alone, concentrating instead on the eucharist and the sacrifice of the mass, which always remained close to his heart. Luther's vitriolic reply left Henry with an abiding hatred of the German Reformer.

Although REFORMATION doctrines made some headway in ENGLAND in the early 1520s, mostly through the circulation of Latin works in educated circles, it was not until William Tyndale (1495–1536) published an English New Testament in 1525 that combating Protestantism at home became a pressing concern for Henry's government. Concern was heightened by the discovery of a suspected Protestant, Robert Barnes, at Cambridge University, and Henry appointed John Fisher to preach at his recantation in February 1526. Tyndale's first edition was mostly intercepted and burned (only two copies survive), but aided by sympathizers among the wealthy London merchants, he went on publishing and distributing his New Testament and began producing pamphlets advocating Protestant ideas. Henry's bishops began to find Protestants in their dioceses (scholars and clerics at first, but from about 1530 layfolk also), and Thomas More famously wrote against the new doctrines in English. When Henry appointed him Lord Chancellor in 1529, government action against Protestants intensified. Thomas More was personally involved in prosecutions, and in 1530 helped Henry and his bishops draft proclamations banning a growing list of dissident publications. Tudor justice was harsh, and the first of many Protestants to be executed in England under Henry was Thomas Hitton, burned at Maidstone in 1530 (the penalty of burning was already in force for the native heresy of Lollardy).

The fortunes of English Protestantism changed in the 1530s because of the king's need to separate from his first wife and remarry in the hope of begetting a male heir. Because ITALY was dominated by Emperor Charles V, Catherine of Aragon's nephew, it was impossible for Pope Clement VII (1478–1534) to grant the annulment of the marriage sought by Henry. In the early 1530s Henry began to consider unilateral action. He bullied the English clergy into supporting him, forcing them first to recognize him as their supreme head (which they grudgingly admitted in 1531 "as far as the law of Christ allows") and then to concede him a veto over ecclesiastical legislation (1532). This move led to the resignation of Thomas More, which took some of the edge off the English persecution of Protestants (although the bishop of London, John Stokesley, carried on the fight). What gradually improved conditions for Protestantism in England was the influence on the king of three people at the heart of "the king's great matter": Anne Boleyn (1504–1536), whom he married around January 1533; Thomas Cromwell, who emerged as the king's leading adviser in these years and masterminded the separation; and THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556), who in 1532 was recalled from Nuremberg (where he had been ambassador to Charles V) to be the new arch bishop of Canterbury, and who actually granted the "divorce" in April 1533. All three were, to varying degrees, interested in what at the time was often called the "new learning."

The break with Rome, which sealed Henry's separation from Catherine and remarriage, was enacted in a series of laws, most importantly the Act of Supremacy (1534), which recognized Henry in unqualified terms as the "Supreme Head on Earth under Christ of the Church of England." This change was implemented through an unprecedented program, of preaching and propaganda, which opened the door to Protestant influence. Even during the campaign for the divorce, Henry's government had canvassed support from English Protestant scholars who had fled abroad, such as Tyndale and Barnes. Now, the most enthusiastic preachers and writers against the papacy were precisely those who were attracted to evangelical doctrine: men such as Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Shaxton (chaplains to Anne Boleyn), Thomas Swynnerton, and Thomas Garrett. Shaxton and Latimer soon became bishops, and it is noteworthy that during Anne's three years as queen, all but one of the nine men made bishops were identifiably evangelical in their sympathies. Despite Anne's fall in 1536, Cromwell and Cranmer continued to nudge Henry in a Protestant direction. Cromwell certainly saw the potential of the Protestant Reformation for consolidating the royal supremacy. Lutheran themes of political obedience, first introduced to an English public by William Tyndale, were taken over wholesale by the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. In 1535 and 1536 there was talk of PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560) coming to England, and from then until 1538 the English government carried on negotiations for a political and theological alliance with the Schmalkaldic League.

Although Henry's hatred for Luther was undiminished, conditions for evangelicals improved. The stringent heresy laws were relaxed in 1534, and for some years no moderate evangelical Protestants were burned in England. Most importantly, official policy against permitting the Bible in English was gradually reversed. Cranmer was lobbying Henry VIII for this as early as 1534. Miles Coverdale's (1487–1569) first complete English Bible, printed abroad in 1535, was dedicated to Henry in real hope. In 1536 the first royal injunctions for the Church of England instructed parishes to obtain an English Bible, a message endorsed by the second injunctions of 1538. By this time an officially sanctioned version was in print, and 1539 saw the publication of Henry VIII's "Great Bible," with a programmatic Holbein woodcut on the titlepage depicting the king handing down God's word to his grateful people. Cromwell was given a monopoly license to enable him to control the Bible business, and during his ascendancy Protestant books were, for the first time, printed in England. Indeed, the AUGSBURG CONFESSION was translated and printed in 1536 with a dedication to Cromwell himself. The translator, Richard Taverner, made his way in royal service under Cromwell's patronage and a few years later dedicated to Henry a translation of the strongly evangelical *Commonplaces* of Erasmus Sarcerius. Cromwell and Cranmer protected and promoted evangelical preachers, and evangelical notes were even sounded in official statements on doctrine such as the Ten Articles of 1536 and the Bishops' Book of 1537.

While the boundaries of heresy had been shifted, they had not been torn down. Henry's deep devotion to the Blessed Sacrament meant that native Lollardy and the more radical teaching of the Sacramentarians (disciples of HULDRUCH ZWINGLI [1484–1531] and later JOHN CALVIN [1509–1564] who denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharistic host) remained anathema. Even more disturbing were the teachings of the Anabaptists, who began to appear in England after the collapse

of the kingdom of Munster in 1534. A dozen Dutch men and women were burned in various towns in 1535. In 1538, action against Anabaptists was intensified. Henry issued a proclamation ordering them to leave the country on pain of death, and set up a commission including both conservatives and evangelicals to search them out. At much the same time he became more concerned with the Sacramentarians. His proclamation against the Anabaptists was promulgated on the very day he presided at the show-trial of John Lambert. Lambert robustly defended his denial of the real presence (which broadly followed the teachings of Zwingli and John Frith), although under the circumstances he was doomed before he started. Henry himself argued against Lambert and, having urged him in vain to recant, personally pronounced the death sentence.

The Lambert case heralded a chill in the climate for English Protestants. Theological negotiations with the Schmalkaldic League, despite hopeful early signs, had foundered on Henry VIII's intransigence over, for example, the sacrifice of the mass and clerical celibacy. As a potential Catholic crusade seemed to loom in 1538, Henry responded by emphasizing the more conservative aspects of his religious settlement. These moves culminated in the Act of Six Articles (1539), which enshrined specific aspects of Catholicism in English law and laid down death by burning for those who denied TRANSUBSTANTIATION. As a result, although persecution was aimed chiefly against Sacramentarians and Anabaptists, moderate evangelicals had less room for maneuvering in the 1540s than in the 1530s. Many fled the country, and Protestant books once more had to be printed abroad. The King's Book of 1543 was more conservative in tone than its predecessor, the Bishops' Book; restrictions were placed on the reading of the English Bible; and censorship of Protestant literature was renewed.

Henry's personal religious beliefs after 1535 are somewhat enigmatic. Both Catholics and Protestants felt it worth dedicating books to him, and Cranmer tells us how the king dealt with these gifts. He rarely read them himself, but passed them to scholarly clerics around the court for comment, carefully soliciting views from representatives of both the (traditional) "old learning" and the (evangelical) "new learning." This self-conscious balancing of old and new in theology was typical of Henry's later years. It can be seen, for example, in his establishment of the six preachers in Canterbury Cathedral, where he chose three men of the old learning to balance three of the new; and more grimly in 1540 when, in a gesture of ecumenical intolerance, he despatched three Protestants to the stake for heresy, literally, side-by-side with three Catholics to the scaffold for treason. This idiosyncratic aspect of Henry's mature religious views and practices is best summed up in his will. Notoriously, this requested the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints, and provided for thousands of masses for his soul. It is less well known that its preamble was rich in the themes of evangelical theology.

Although the last years of Henry's reign are often described as a period of conservative reaction, not all Protestants found conditions intolerable. Sacramentarians and Anabaptists remained vulnerable to burning, but few evangelicals met this fate. There was a conservative attempt to turn the king against Cranmer by revealing how far he was promoting Protestantism in Kent, but it backfired. Meanwhile, Henry's last marriage, to Catherine Parr, brought him once more under the influence of a moderate evangelical, and he entrusted the education of Edward and Elizabeth to Cambridge scholars (such as John Cheke [1514–1557]) who stood at the evangelical end of the spectrum of permitted beliefs. Evangelicals were ensconced at Henry's court and held office in his church. If the

religious temper of the country as a whole was far from Protestant, the damage he had inflicted upon traditional Catholicism had at least opened a door to further change. Henry VIII was no Protestant himself, but his reign was the reason that Protestantism was in other people.

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RICHARD REX

HENRY, CARL F.H. (1913–)

Theologian, professor, editor, and writer. Henry is widely recognized as one of the outstanding leaders and intellectual spokesman for American evangelical Christianity of the twentieth century (see EVANGELICALISM). Born of German immigrant parents in New York City on January 22, 1913, and raised in Central Islip, Long Island, Henry overcame the religious indifference of his upbringing with an experience of a personal CONVERSION in 1933. This event led to his affiliation with a Baptist congregation (see BAPTISTS), the end of his brief newspaper career, and his decision to attend Wheaton College in Illinois. Earning two degrees (A.B. and M.A.) from that institution, he continued his studies at Northern Baptist Theological Seminary (B.D. and Th.D.) and Boston University (Ph.D.). His published dissertation, *Personal Idealism and Strong's Theology* (1951), showed him to be an astute critic of the turn-of-the-century Baptist theologian, Augustus Hopkins Strong.

Henry's academic career began with a teaching stint (1942–1947) at his alma mater, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, before being invited to be part of the founding faculty at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California. As professor of theology and philosophy at Fuller from 1947 to 1956, Henry was a pivotal part of an institution intended to engage critical modern theological scholarship while also reforming the fundamentalist aberrations of conservative Protestantism. To those ends, a flurry of writings from Henry streamed forth: *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (1947), *Remaking the Modern Mind* (1948), *Giving a Reason for Our Hope* (1949), *The Protestant Dilemma* (1949), *Fifty Years of Protestant Theology* (1950), *The Drift of Western Thought* (1951), and *Glimpses of a Sacred Land* (1953). In these varied works, Henry's concern for the rational articulation and defense of the Christian faith became evident, but also apparent (especially in *The Uneasy Conscience*) was his clarion call to awaken evangelical social consciences and overcome their separatist tendencies.

Having established himself in the evangelical world, Henry was invited by BILLY GRAHAM and Nelson Bell to give editorial leadership to the newly founded *Christianity Today*, intended to be something of an evangelical counterpart to the more mainline Protestant *Christian Century*. Consistent with his vision for an evangelical faith that was intellectually credible and in touch with the national pulse, Henry moved to Washington, D.C. to launch the new periodical. During his twelve-year tenure (1956–1968) at the magazine, Henry succeeded in making *Christianity Today* a major voice of American

evangelicalism and, in the process, also surpassed the *Christian Century* in paid subscriptions.

Henry resigned as editor of *Christianity Today* in 1968—as he later put it in his own autobiography, *Confessions of a Theologian* (1986), “an involuntary termination after twelve years of sacrificial labor”—after disagreements with the executive committee of the magazine and especially its politically conservative benefactor, J.Howard Pew. After a year of research and study at Cambridge University, Henry became professor-at-large at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, where he taught from 1969 to 1974. In 1974 he became lecturer-at-large for WORLD VISION, an evangelical social agency that helped provide an international speaking ministry. At that time Henry also began to serve as visiting professor of theology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois, and the World Journalism Institute.

Assenting Christian Truth

Henry’s early interest in ETHICS as demonstrated in *The Uneasy Conscience* was continued in additional publications in this field. *Christian Personal Ethics* (1957), *Aspects of Christian Social Ethics* (1964), and serving as editor-in-chief of *Baker’s Dictionary of Christian Ethics* all testify to his passion for evangelicals to make their social witness consistent with their piety.

Preeminently, though, these years were devoted to the writing of his six-volume magnum opus, *God, Revelation and Authority* (1976–1983). Convinced that “in every church epoch it is the fate of the Bible that decides the fate of Christianity,” Henry’s labor of love is single-minded in its defense of biblical authority and its response to all would-be detractors. For Henry, Scripture is no mere witness to divine revelation, it is itself God’s epistemic Word, a divine self-disclosure of truth given in propositional form, secured by the plenary verbal inspiration of the original (inerrant) texts, and entirely fitting for a God who “speaks” as well as “shows.” Thus, Henry contends that anything less than a full biblical inerrancy—that the superintendence of the Spirit in inspiring the original texts protected the human authors from error in all that they teach, be it theology and ethics or science and history—severely jeopardizes the foundations of the church’s faith and leaves it precariously poised above the slippery slopes of a relativistic quagmire.

Both Henry’s defenders and his critics acknowledge that his best work lies primarily in the areas of philosophy of religion and theological method. In following his mentor Gordon Clark in asserting that truth applies only to propositions, Henry’s work presents the case for revelational theism or evangelical rationalism as a cognitive disclosure of God’s will and purposes. Postmodern thinkers question, however, whether cognitive truth is the only or even primary kind of truth that Scripture intends to convey (see POSTMODERNITY). Thus, from their vantage point Henry’s theological methodology betrays an indebtedness to ENLIGHTENMENT thinking that is yet to be acknowledged.

Nonetheless, Henry’s influence in contemporary theological debates across the spectrum of Protestant camps remains formidable. His insistence on propositional revelation and the universal truth claims of Christianity in opposition to tendencies to

reduce FAITH to language of subjective experience command a hearing. Although all evangelical Protestants do not march to his beat, it is indisputable that Henry was a creative force in shaping the “new evangelicalism” that emerged from northern fundamentalism after World War II and that his spirit still broods over the movement today.

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STEVEN R.POINTER

HERBERT, GEORGE (1593–1633)

English cleric, poet, and younger brother of free thinker EDWARD LORD HERBERT of Cherbury. George Herbert was born April 3, 1593, in Montgomeryshire, ENGLAND. He died March 1, 1633, at Bemerton, Wiltshire, England, and was buried in the parish church in which he served as rector. Herbert was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving B.A. (1613) and M.A. (1616) degrees. Drawn to the study of theology and service to the church after completing his university studies, he held several posts at Cambridge, including University Orator after 1620, and served in Parliament (1624), before finally receiving ordination as deacon in 1624. While still a DEACON, he was appointed a canon of Lincoln Cathedral and prebend of Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire in 1626. Herbert was finally ordained to the priesthood in 1630, after which he received an appointment as rector of the parish churches at Fugglestone and Bemerton in Wiltshire, serving there until his death three years later. Herbert is best known for two posthumously published works, a collection of religious poetry, *The Temple* (1633), and a study of pastoral care, *A Priest to the Temple, or the Country Parson* (1652). Both works give evidence of Herbert's concern for maintaining high standards of Christian conduct and for grounding the Christian experience in the corporate life of the CHURCH. In the *Christian Parson*, Herbert laid out the rules that guided his ministry at Bemerton and Fugglestone in an idealized portrait of pastoral life. For Herbert, the priest's primary calling was to be a teacher, whose goal, whether through PREACHING, catechizing, or personal example, was to form parishioners into a community defined by obedience to God's will.

See also Literature

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R.D.CORNWALL

HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (1744–1803)

German philosopher. Born August 25, 1744, at Mohrungen (Morag, Poland), Herder is one of the most prominent and prolific German theologians, philosophers, and literary critics of the ENLIGHTENMENT. His major contributions to the history of Protestant thought lie in the fields of biblical interpretation, philosophy of religion, and universal history. Herder's theology centers on the diversity of human responses to the world as divinely created, and on processes of education through which human beings move toward their destiny, that is, true humanity. Herder understood the notion of humanity as a dynamic equivalent to the biblical notion of the image of God. Herder died December 18, 1803, in Weimar, Germany.

For Herder the Old Testament provides prime examples of poetic expressions of religious insight and inspires a concept of an original revelation that resounded in particular religious and philosophical traditions ever since the primeval age. The essential significance of the New Testament is seen in its presentation of Jesus as an authoritative teacher and a unique model of true humanity, and Herder is critical of any more sophisticated CHRISTOLOGY. As an exegete Herder advocates an approach to individual biblical texts irrespective of later innerbiblical or—Jewish or Christian—doctrinal developments. Following Robert Lowth, he shows considerable originality as a reader of the BIBLE who aims at a theological appreciation of the texts as religious documents from a specific culture in antiquity. Despite his emphasis on the diachronic as well as synchronic plurality of human ways of speaking about God, Herder does not take a relativist view but makes Genesis 1–3 and the figure of Jesus the standard of faith.

Herder's work is of little interest for a theology in which the notion of humanity is dismissed in favor of a doctrine of SIN and JUSTIFICATION, but it retains its value for a theology that engages with the concept of natural religion.

In the Lutheran church in GERMANY, Herder was a senior clergyman serving as the court preacher at Bückeberg (1771–1776) and at Weimar (1776–1803). As a student at the university of Königsberg (1762–1764) he had met with traditional doctrine and apologetics, represented by T.C.Lilienthal at the theological faculty, as well as with the challenge of contemporary critical philosophy, based on the work of writers like ISAAC NEWTON, Shaftesbury, DAVID HUME, and JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, and represented by IMMANUEL KANT at the philosophical faculty. In his writings of 1770–

1774 he distanced himself from an orthodox notion of revelation (*On the Origin of Language*), but also from a moralist strand of Enlightenment theology as represented in the work of Johann Joachimspalding in Berlin (*To Preachers: Fifteen Provincial Letters*). Encouraged by JOHANN GEORG HAMANN, he concentrated on an exegetical study of Genesis 1–3, which he wrote in an intriguing style at the peak of the German Storm and Stress (Sturm und Drang) movement (*Oldest Document of the Human Race*). Building on these seminal works he published a series of influential books during his Weimar years (*Letters concerning the Study of Theology*, 1780–1781; *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, 1782–1783 [English translation 1833]; *Ideas for the philosophy of the history of humankind*, 1784–1791 [English translation 1801]; *Christian Writings* [mainly on New Testament interpretation], 1794–1798).

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CHRISTOPH BULTMANN

HERESY

The word derives from the Greek *hairesis*, meaning choice, and was in the Jewish context initially used to denote those who departed from the Rabbinic tradition. It was used by Jews for the Christians, who in turn promptly used the term (see I. Cor. 11:18–19; Gal. 5:20; 2 Pet. 2:1) for those who deviated from the true (Christian) religion.

During the first two centuries of the Christian experience there was tremendous pluralism (much like the modern and postmodern periods) among Christians in their dynamic search for an appropriate response to the God revealed in Jesus the Christ. Heresy often preceded ORTHODOXY. In the fourth and fifth centuries, trinitarian, christological, and anthropological discussions in the ecumenical councils resulted in orthodoxy as an established formula (as seen in the Nicene and Chalcedonian creeds, for example). However, these adopted creedal standards required interpretation by someone or some entity to determine when they had been violated. Catholic Canon Law defined heresy as the “pertinacious” denial or calling into doubt of one of the truths necessary to Christian belief. Majority vote, power politics, and authoritarianism then became key ingredients in the definition of heresy and heretics.

From Arianism to Catharism and Waldensianism, the ancient and medieval countryside was dotted with renewal, dissenting, schismatic, and heretical movements as judged by the long arm of Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The “search and destroy” history of the medieval inquisition is seen repeatedly. The pages of Western religious history are stained with the blood of the heretics within these “heretical” movements.

Sixteenth-century western Europe was ripe in a number of ways for a major challenge to this kind of “closed orthodoxy” and abusive papal authority. Probably the greatest heretic in western religious history was MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) himself, the father of the Protestant movement. This observation raises another important point—the contextuality of heresy—for Luther considered himself to be far more orthodox in relation to the essence of the Christian faith than the church authorities who condemned him. Even in this most graphic of heretical movements, however, the inherent law of the institution again acted as a powerful braking element, and did not part with certain sociological forms such as retaining a formal state relationship. All the “magisterial” reformers believed in one church in one state. Luther, however, had opened Pandora’s pluralistic box with the principles of the priesthood of every believer and *sola scriptura* (scripture is the sole authority). Christians could now interpret scripture for themselves rather than always relying on authority figures.

Luther dramatically blazed the trail for the modern and postmodern periods in his openness to the judging and renewing activity of the living God in regard to the pilgrimage of the church. Although he affirmed: "It is not the end, but the way. It is not all glistening and shining, but it is all being swept," Luther did not

anticipate the kind of "sweepers" who would emerge. Just as the "free church" tradition (free from the state) would later be renewed by its own individual heretics, its own tradition was a heretical form of renewal for the established church tradition. Magisterial reformers were challenged by "radical" reformers who, for the most part, agreed upon the necessity of separating the reformed church from the authority of the temporal realm. They were more concerned with a people in covenant rather than a *corpus christianum*, and at times were more interested in the restoration of ancient Christianity than the reformation of medieval Christianity. They were opposed, as heretical movements, by both Roman Catholics and magisterial reformers. This heresy was often labeled as "sedition" and a crime against the state. Authority and majority vote continued to spell out their own definitions of heresy as creeds and scripture were interpreted.

The pluralism that Protestantism brought to the religious scene blurred the meaning of heresy. Hundreds of creeds and confessions were written in numerous Protestant circles and always interpreted within a particular context by authority figures. There was even variety within denominational families, especially in the United States, where principles of the *separation of church and state* and religious liberty nurtured even more pluralism. For example, by the twentieth century BAPTISTS alone expressed themselves in over fifty different groups. Even the ecumenical age with its briefer confessions and emphasis on unity did not solve the complexity of the meaning of heresy in Protestant circles. An accused heretic and his or her heresy in one denomination might only be considered a conservative and orthodox church-person in another. False simplifications of heresy by some evangelicals, especially fundamentalists, blurred the issue even more. The last decade of the twentieth century witnessed an active interest in heresy and heretics on both doctrinal and moral grounds. Heresy issues emerged in numerous denominational circles (for example, the militant fundamentalists and their political takeover of the Southern Baptist Convention resulted in a plethora of informal heresy trials), and a climate of hyperintolerance in doctrinal and moral issues resulted. Politics, jealousies, power struggles, anti-intellectualism, limits of knowing, grudges, personal animosities, and confusion of ethics with doctrine have all played roles in the decisions made concerning heresy in contemporary Protestant circles.

There is no universally accepted definition of heresy in the modern Protestant world, for there exists multifaceted pluralism and sometimes narrow contextualism. Austrian theologian Karl Rahner (1904–1984) suggested that hardening "the form in which the truth of the gospel is expressed is then itself nothing but the dangerous symptom of an indifference to this truth." If he is correct, perhaps we have returned to the first two centuries of Christian history when there were no doctrinal parameters as Christians struggled to express themselves on matters of ultimate concern. The British Congregationalist P.T. FORSYTH (1848–1921) once said that a "live heresy is better than

a dead orthodoxy.” Put another way, there is no heresy in a dead religion. In this case, once again, heresy precedes orthodoxy as the wheel continues to turn.

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GEORGE H.SHRIVER

HERRNHUT

Herrnhut, near Dresden in Saxony (central GERMANY), was one of the most important religious communities in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A center of German PIETISM, Herrnhut developed a distinctive social and religious life that was almost monastic in its discipline. Members of the community voluntarily gave up much of their autonomy in order to pursue the religious goals of the community. The cultivation of a relationship to their Savior led to an elaborate and joyful liturgical life that focused on the atonement. This Moravian piety was spread through the publication of hymnals and liturgy books.

Herrnhut also established numerous boarding schools, such as the one attended by FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1843), and sent out hundreds of tutors, teachers, and lay religious leaders who established Pietist cell groups throughout the Baltic, NETHERLANDS, and Scandinavia. Herrnhut remained the headquarters of the MORAVIAN CHURCH'S Unity Board and Board of World Missions until the disruptions of two world wars. The Moravians were so closely associated with Herrnhut that they were commonly called Herrnhuters.

Herrnhut was founded on the estate of Count NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF in Saxony in 1722 by a Czech émigré named Christian David (1690–1722). David had been converted during a Pietist revival, and he urged several Czech Protestant families to leave Catholic Moravia and Bohemia and seek refuge under Zinzendorf's protection. They named their new village Herrnhut, "under the Lord's protection." The refugees hoped to restore the old Hussite church known as the *Unitas Fratrum*, which had been virtually destroyed during the Thirty Years War. Zinzendorf already had plans to develop a Pietist complex similar to HALLE on his estate. As Herrnhut developed, both goals were pursued in a creative synthesis. Soon Herrnhut was attracting not only Moravians but also mystics, seekers, and various separatists. By 1727 there were about 300 residents, most of whom were members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches.

Dissent quickly developed because of diverse church traditions and theological perspectives. In order to establish principles for their life together, Zinzendorf drew up a covenant, called the Brotherly Agreement, which firmly established Herrnhut as an exclusive religious community within the Lutheran parish of Berthlesdorf. This agreement, among diverse Protestant factions, marks a milestone in the history of ECUMENISM. The Brotherly Agreement also allowed the Moravians to revive vestiges of the *Unitas Fratrum* without violating the Treaty of Westphalia. Soon after the signing

of the Brotherly Agreement, Herrnhut began training and sending out missionaries to non-Christian peoples (see Moravian Church).

Philipp Jakob Spener's (1635–1705) idea of the *ecclesiola in ecclesia* (little churches in the church) took a distinctive form in Herrnhut as the residents built a new Christian social order. The basic unit of their society was not the private family but the “choir” or religious group. By 1740 virtually every person in Herrnhut was a member of a particular choir (e.g., boys, girls, single men, single women, married men, married women, widowers, and widows). The choirs worshiped together, usually ate together, and provided mutual support and admonition. The single men and single women also established communal housekeeping and lived in large choir houses.

Theologically, the choirs were based on the conviction that the incarnation of Christ had already blessed all stages of human life. Devotions in the choirs related Jesus's experience as a child, adolescent, and adult to the life of the believer. The choirs also provided a way for the church to subordinate individual desires for the common mission. Young persons were raised in the awareness that at any time they might be asked to go into the mission fields or accept a teaching or preaching post. Even earthly marriage was brought under the control of the church at Herrnhut. Marriages were arranged according to the needs of the community, and for many years the final decision was submitted to the lot. The choir system and arranging of marriages continued until early in the nineteenth century.

In addition to the choir system, Herrnhut created an efficient social service system. Diaconal ministers were responsible for the care of orphans, the sick, and elderly. Zinzendorf and other nobles established institutions such as an apothecary, orphanage, and publishing house. Economic life was included in the overall Herrnhut system as the community took charge of apprentice training, the regulation of trade, and creation of new industries. Competition was discouraged in favor of cooperative enterprises, and labor was seen as an integral part of spiritual development. This intentional approach to economics was applied in all Moravian communities and furthered the mission enterprise. Moravians preferred to send artisans and craftsmen to the mission field rather than pastors because they could follow Paul's model of being a “tent-maker” evangelist. Herrnhut's products were prized throughout Europe, particularly after Abraham Düringer took charge of the economy and established his industries in the 1750s.

In 1736 the Saxon government examined Herrnhut in order to decide whether to disband the community on the grounds of religious and social irregularities. Because of its hardworking, law-abiding, and quiet lifestyle, Herrnhut was allowed to continue to exist under its own religious and social laws; however, Zinzendorf himself was exiled. This threat of expulsion encouraged the Moravians to found other religious centers in Europe and America. The most famous were Herrnhag, near Frankfort, Lamb's Hill in ENGLAND, New Herrnhut in St. Thomas, and Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. All of the Moravian communities were modeled on Herrnhut. Herrnhut's fame attracted many visitors, the most famous of whom was JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791), who was favorably impressed in 1738.

Several Moravian practices and observances were begun in Herrnhut during its early years. Among them were the love feast (or agape meal), the unbroken prayer watch, the singing service, the easter sunrise service, and the Daily Texts (*losungen*). The Daily

Texts continue to be chosen in Herrnhut and remain one of the most widely used devotional guides in the world, especially in Germany.

After Zinzendorf's death in 1760, the governing board of the church resided in Herrnhut, but in the mid-nineteenth century the American and British provinces were granted a measure of independence from German control. Herrnhut continues to serve as the headquarters for the Moravians in Europe and houses the extensive archives of the worldwide Moravian Church.

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CRAIG D.ATWOOD

HICKS, EDWARD (1780–1849)

American "Primitive" painter. Hicks was born April 4, 1780, in Attleborough, Pennsylvania, and died August 23, 1849, in Newtown, Pennsylvania. By profession Hicks was a decorative painter. By commitment and avocation he was a passionate Quaker, widely known for his preaching. He was deeply, often contentiously, involved in Quaker politics, admonished on occasion for the intensity of his public statements. He was widely admired for his presentation of Quaker principles, particularly that of obedience to the Inner Light rather than external authority.

Hicks came reluctantly to easel painting, reconciling himself to it only as an instrument of ministry. The charm of the "primitive" conceals a strong and original intelligence. He painted landscapes with Quaker farms, illustrating in their orderliness, simplicity of forms, and purity of tone, the Quaker way of life. The fruitful, serene, and orderly landscape exemplified the peace of God.

He is best known for his paintings of *The Peaceable Kingdom* (Isaiah 11:6–9). The landscapes are more natural but equally peaceful. Most contain in the background a scene of WILLIAM PENN concluding a peace treaty with the Indians, a human act fulfilling the intent of the pictures. The surface is taken up with the animals and the child or children. These deserve to be studied together because they are exegeses of the text. The distinctive personalities of the animals exemplify types of people, according to the doctrine of the humors. Inside the overarching peace there are various tensions in the presentation of the animals; God's peace is not a simple thing, being the reconciliation of powerful psychic and dramatic forces.

See also Friends, Society of

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HIGHER CRITICISM

The term Higher Criticism was first used by pupils of Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812; professor and librarian at Göttingen, 1763–1812) to distinguish two branches of the philological criticism of ancient texts (mainly Greek and Latin but also biblical). Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), who studied under Heyne and succeeded Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791) as professor of philosophy in Göttingen from 1788 to his death, asserted in the preface to the second edition of his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1790) that Higher Criticism was not a new term to any pure humanist.

The distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism was based on the ancient classical distinction between Great Philology and Little Philology as reported by Dionysius the Thracian, whose grammar remained influential into the eighteenth century. Eichhorn used the terms Great and Little Criticism in the paragraph on the Higher Criticism and its little sister, Lower Criticism, in volume 5 of his *Repertorium* (1779). The term “Higher” was meant to indicate that this criticism was nobler and more important than textual criticism. Friedrich August Wolf in his Göttingen lectures on philology of the winter semester of 1798–1799 referred to the term as current but repudiated the assumption that Lower Criticism was any less demanding. Eichhorn in his article of 1779 on Moses’ reports of the Flood argued that Higher Criticism showed that Moses either used or himself combined two ancient sources that sometimes intertwined and sometimes ran parallel. Eichhorn argued that Lower Criticism could work better when able to assume the results of Higher Criticism. Eichhorn later extended his source criticism of the Pentateuch and discovered that Jean Astruc (1684–1766), son of a Protestant pastor who converted to Catholicism on the revocation of the EDICT OF NANTES and devoted himself to the education of his sons, had in 1753 anticipated his original analysis. Eichhorn argued that Isaiah 40ff. was later than Isaiah 1–39.

Although FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER used the terms in his *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums*, he said that higher and lower so intermingled that they could not be separated. The term was used in Germany to characterize rationalistic criticism. Eichhorn was a rationalist, although the leading British and American higher critics argued that their criticism advanced true religion.

British and American Higher Criticism

From about 1857 onward, and particularly in the 1880s and 1890s, Higher Criticism was more talked about in the United Kingdom and America than it had ever been in continental Europe because Higher Criticism was the bone of contention in four famous actions for HERESY.

Samuel Davidson (1806–1898), an Irish Presbyterian who taught biblical interpretation at Belfast College (1834–1841), before leaving the Presbyterian ministry and being appointed professor at Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, in 1842, was compelled to resign in 1857 on denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He became a Unitarian. In 1862 he published *An Introduction to the Old Testament: Critical, Historical, and Theological* to supersede the earlier book that had forced his resignation. He reminded any who thought he had been occasionally too free “that there is a time to utter the conclusions of the higher criticism; that superstition should not enslave the mind for ever.”

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO (1814–1883), bishop of Natal in South Africa, was deposed by the bishop of Cape Town in 1863 for challenging the traditional authorship and accuracy of the books from Genesis to II Kings. He argued that they were edited by a Deuteronomistic editor. The Privy Council upheld his appeal on the grounds that Cape Town had no jurisdiction. He was excommunicated in 1866, but retained the cathedral and endowments of the see. All this brought Higher Criticism to public notice.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH (1846–1894), professor at the Free Church College in Aberdeen, was eventually dismissed from his post in 1881 over articles on the BIBLE (1875) and Hebrew language and literature (1880) in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He had argued in the *British Quarterly Review* (April 1870) that “the fundamental principle of the higher criticism lies in the conception of the organic unity of all history...an ancient writing which is no frigid product of the school, but is instinct with true life, must be the product of the age which contained the conditions of life it unconsciously reflects.” Deuteronomy put into the mouth of Moses “the highest and most spiritual view of the law...to expound and develop Mosaic principles in relation to new needs.”

Charles Augustus Briggs (1841–1913), professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York, was condemned by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1891 for denying that Moses wrote the Pentateuch and that Isaiah wrote Isaiah 40ff. He was ordained an Episcopal priest in 1899. He wrote *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* (1893).

The term Higher Criticism was little used after World War I. Robert M. Price revived it by founding *The Journal of Higher Criticism* (1994) with an effigy of FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR on the cover justly, although Baur himself spoke of historical criticism). Less controversy has surrounded the higher criticism of the New Testament. Eichhorn’s solution of the Synoptic Problem has been largely accepted, except for his view that the original documents were in Aramaic. W. Robertson Smith’s statement that John’s Gospel was “an unhistorical product of abstract reflection” was already current. Paul’s epistles have largely escaped analysis into sources, the only question being which were genuine and which not. E. Earle Ellis (1927–) has argued that Paul and his assistants

used five types of preformed traditions in compiling the letters. Higher Criticism as traditionally understood is not dead.

See also Baur, Ferdinand Christian; Bible; Colenso, John William; Heresy; Nantes, Edict of; Schleiermacher, Friedrich; Smith, W.Robertson

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HIGHER EDUCATION

Protestantism brought changes to higher education both by what it accomplished in itself, and by what it accomplished through those who reacted against it. Realizing there are many nuances and definitions of Protestantism—or indeed, Protestantisms—this article uses Protestantism in a broad definition, encompassing the later developments from the original Protestant and Reformed usage. As such, this article addresses higher education, particularly university education, as it was influenced by early and later developments of Protestantism. It looks at the introduction of Protestant universities in Europe, Asia, the UNITED STATES, and AFRICA and notes some of the effects these universities have had within their respective countries.

Universities are of medieval origin. Some of the first universities, defined as institutions with organized faculty and community of students, were found in Bologna, Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These began as gatherings around well known teachers. Often developing from cathedral schools, the universities were tied to the Catholic Church of the time. Only universities could bestow degrees, and their charter to do so had to be granted by a universal ruler, either the pope or emperor.

Universities became important centers of learning and culture with a common worldview, which reflected the current ideas of Christendom. The privilege of a doctor was to teach without further examination at any university in which his services should be rendered. Degree holders had their educational attainments recognized equally throughout the Christian Empire. In this way the education received at universities both reflected and perpetuated a common unity of knowledge throughout an extended Christendom.

Protestantism and Higher Education in Europe

The first Protestant leaders were often university educated, and many of them were university professors and educators as well. MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) was professor of biblical literature at the University of Wittenburg in Saxony when he posted his ninety-five theses on the Wittenburg church door. PHILIPP MELANCHTHON

(1497–1560) also taught at the University of Wittenburg and helped make it one of the most influential centers of Protestant theology in GERMANY. Protestant THEOLOGY sought to give precedence to biblical languages and the original text of the BIBLE over and against Catholic philosophically oriented scholasticism and Thomism.

Most German universities were Lutheran in theology. The first Protestant university to be established in Germany was the University of Marburg (f. 1527). It was also the first German university to have a charter granted by a princely ruler (PHILIP OF HESSE) rather than by papal authority. Other Protestant universities founded during this time were Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, f. 1544), Jena (f. 1558), and Helmstedt (f. 1575).

JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) moved to Geneva in 1536 and among other activities established the Geneva Academy in 1559 to train reformed ministers. Initially focused on the preparation of church leaders, the academy attracted students from throughout Europe. The GENEVA BIBLE was prepared and published by this institution, further enhancing its reputation. The academy would later become the nucleus of the University of Geneva. Calvin had a great interest in higher education, and as a result Protestant Calvinist universities were established internationally afterward in many cities including Leiden (1575), Edinburgh (1582), Amsterdam (1632), and Utrecht (1636).

In ENGLAND the universities of Oxford and Cambridge became centers for Protestant teaching. Because of this, many Catholic educators and students left, finding a more congenial atmosphere elsewhere. Yet Oxford and Cambridge vacillated between Protestantism and Catholicism in the early years according to the religion of the reigning monarch. Whatever the prevailing views, Protestant or Catholic, religious conformity was expected and enforced. Professors and students alike were made to swear their allegiance to confessional statements of ORTHODOXY subscribed to by each institution. Occasionally opposition brought death. In 1555 and 1556 three Cambridge University-educated Protestant leaders, THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556), HUGH LATIMER (1485–1555), and NICOLAS RIDLEY (c. 1500–1555), were burned at Oxford during the brief reign of the Catholic queen, Mary Tudor (1516–1558). The result of this action was a strong development of REFORMATION Doctrine over and against Catholicism with the ascension of the Protestant queen ELIZABETH I (r. 1558–1603). In this way Catholicism left its mark on the Protestant theology of Oxford as it defined itself for the future.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY played an important part in English Protestant politics. THOMAS CROMWELL (c. 1485–1540), chief minister to HENRY VIII, was also the chancellor of Cambridge for five years and emphasized the study of Greek, Hebrew, and biblical divinity there. Politics and Protestant theology were firmly entwined at Cambridge. William Cecil (1520–1598) also attended Cambridge and was Elizabeth's first minister from 1559 to 1598. The archbishops of Canterbury during this time, MATTHEW PARKER (1504–1575), Edmund Grindal (1519–1583), and JOHN WHITGIFT (1530–1604), were all from Cambridge as was Thomas Cranmer years before.

The effect of Protestantism on higher education was to immediately alter the relationship of the university to the Catholic Church. The nature of theology often became polemic toward Catholicism and Thomism, or at least oriented toward a self-sufficient biblical authority removed from TRADITION and a human representative of deity. Catholic monks and scholars who taught at universities or were students there left

for safer haven. By removing the universal authority of the pope, Protestantism may have paved the way for, or contributed to, an existential INDIVIDUALISM centuries later that acknowledged no central defining authority. Ultimately this individualism often led to a separation from the deeply religious identity that initiated the original institution.

Protestantism and Higher Education in Asia

The influence of Protestantism, although centuries later than in Europe, inspired many efforts of higher education in Asia. From a religious point of view important aspects of this education were CONVERSION and to prepare leaders for local ministries. An important aspect of many of these universities was the introduction of the education of WOMEN.

In China, Yenching University, later to develop into Beijing University, was founded in 1919 under Methodist influence. This university was a conglomeration of other educational institutions and afterward continued to expand into the arts and sciences. Yet much of the origins for the present-day Beijing University had their foundations in Protestantism. Other Protestant institutions of higher education include Fukien Christian University (1915); Ginling College, a Christian women's college (1915); Shantung Christian University (1902); University of Nanking (1910); and St. John's University (1879). These are only a few of the universities that began under Protestant influence.

In KOREA, once known as the Hermit Kingdom, higher education flourished under Protestant influence. Atypical in Asia, Korea has over 40 percent of the population claiming Christianity as their religion. Yonsei University, Korea's oldest Protestant university, was founded in 1885 under Presbyterian influence. It has grown to a student population of 30,000 and is influential as a multidisciplinary university. Ewha Women's University, which attained university status in 1945 but traces its roots to Ewha Girls' School that began in 1866, started under Methodist influence. Other institutions of higher education have proliferated as well, with many being started by Protestant groups.

In INDIA, Serampore College was founded in 1818 with WILLIAM CAREY as one of the leaders in beginning this institution. Although begun by those involved in the English Baptist Missionary Society (see BAPTIST MISSIONS), this institution was open to all persons regardless of their caste or creed. As either faculty or students, the college had Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and members of other denominations as well. Eventually this college became a part of the University of Calcutta. Protestantism founded other colleges, and by 1910 there were forty-six Protestant Christian colleges in the Indian territory of India, Burma, and Ceylon. Many of these institutions also had a significant positive influence on the role of women in the Indian society.

Protestantism and Higher Education in the United States

The first universities established in the United States began under Protestant auspices, although by this time Protestantism had developed well beyond Lutheran and Calvinistic beginnings. Harvard (1636) is the oldest university and was initiated under Congregationalist influence. William and Mary (1693) began under the influence of the Episcopal church. Yale (1701) was also established to serve the Congregationalists. The College of New Jersey (1746), which became Princeton, was America's fourth oldest university, established by the Presbyterian and Reformed churches. Rhode Island (1764), which later became Brown University, was established by the Baptists. The Charity School (1740), which became the University of Pennsylvania, and King's (1754), which later became Columbia University, were established by the Episcopalians. Queens (1766), which later became Rutgers, was established by the Presbyterian and Reformed churches. These early universities along with many others had strong ties to their respective founding churches. At the same time these institutions were neither ministerial training institutions nor exclusively for students from the founding Protestant denomination.

Protestant higher education had a favorable beginning in the United States. Denominations could start their college the way they believed best, without centuries of tradition to throw off. In this setting every major Protestant religious group sought to begin its own college or university. These institutions, although initially small, helped further galvanize religious sentiment. Each institution can claim educated national and international leaders. Yet as colleges grew and expanded their courses over time, they tended to lose contact with their initial affiliated religious heritage. Eventually little trace could be discerned of the distinctive founding heritage for the majority of the early American Protestant educational institutions. There has been renewed scholarly interest in this consistent cycle.

Protestantism and Higher Education in Africa

Protestant higher education was late in coming to Africa. Education was initially through mission schools. These schools served to teach literacy and serve as agents for conversion, and were the first Protestant educational institutions. As well, they prepared future leaders for serving in administrative and governmental capacities in the individual African countries. In 1827 the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, an Anglican missionary group founded with the original purpose of returning and advancing the cause of freed slaves, established Fourah Bay College to train Africans as educators, church leaders, and leaders in society. Located near Freetown in SIERRA LEONE, Fourah Bay is the oldest institution of higher education in West Africa. SAMUEL A. CROWTHER (ca. 1806–1891), a freed African slave who became an Anglican bishop and later did extensive and successful mission work in Nigeria, was in the first class of this new institution. Fourah Bay College exerted widespread influence in the areas of MISSIONS,

leadership, and higher education throughout West Africa and was affiliated with the University of Durham in England in 1876. With this move, African students could earn British degrees without leaving Africa. Eventually Fourah Bay College became a part of the University of Sierra Leone.

There are numerous reasons for the late appearance of Protestant institutions of higher education in Africa. Protestantism came with the trading companies and colonizing powers, which were not influential until the nineteenth century. Although missionaries came before and without the oversight of these capital and colonizing ventures, eventually the two often advanced in close relationship to one another. Because of this, many Africans saw Protestantism and education as a tool of control. Also for the colonizers, higher education was sometimes seen as a hindrance to their rule. Britain ruled by a policy of indirect rule, working through already established local leaders. Higher education had the potential to upset this arrangement by placing power in the hands of younger, though more educated, individuals. As well, both FRANCE and Britain as colonizing powers deliberately excluded Christian missionary efforts and therefore Protestant higher education from Muslim controlled areas. Recognition and utilization of Muslim traditional leaders in positions of colonial government and military leadership by colonizing powers enhanced the reputation of Islam and served to further the Muslim cause. Education was seen by these local Islamic leaders as tools of Western domination, and therefore avoided.

Conclusion

Higher education was influential in the spread of Protestantism internationally as well as locally. Because universities were an established institution throughout Europe, they developed and facilitated the Protestant message throughout Western civilization first. As the influence of the Western world eventually expanded into Asia and Africa it took along these institutions of universal knowledge.

As time went on, Protestant forces found and often centered in colleges and universities became more tolerant. Initially holders of both Catholicism and variations on the theme of Protestantism were often forced to flee universities that were Protestant strongholds and find a more congenial home elsewhere. Eventually antagonism faded and it was not unusual to find Catholics at Protestant universities and vice versa. Tolerance further developed until it became the norm to find believers of any religion enrolled in Protestant higher education (see TOLERATION).

One of the oft-repeated patterns of Protestant higher education has been a drift in educational purpose away from the originating ideal and religious motif. As decades or centuries pass by, the religious dimension in particular is separated from the university and pushed into the background. Eventually religious roots are ignored or denied. The continuing challenges for the relationship of Protestantism to higher education are to uphold a distinctive identity while sustaining a broad spirit of tolerance, to encourage independent thought and inquiry while preserving an effective reliance on Protestant

religious roots, and to maintain a vigorous academic debate regarding Protestant spirituality and the central place of the Bible in Protestantism.

See also Colonialism

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HIGHER LIFE MOVEMENT

Higher Christian Life was the name of a mid-nineteenth-century movement in Anglo-American Protestantism that stressed the possibility of a “higher” (or sometimes “deeper”) Christian experience than most enjoyed. Considering most Christians complacent about their spiritual state, “higher life” advocates insisted on the availability of a quality of piety, embraced in an act of faith, that brought one into constant, conscious fellowship with Christ and enabled the believer to live in a state of holiness and consecration. Those who identified with this movement often manifested more enthusiasm for religious experience than for theology. A principal text that helped shape their identity came from the pen of William Boardman, a peripatetic Presbyterian who published *The Higher Christian Life* in 1858. Boardman’s views had affinities for Methodist holiness teaching, and he moved in nondenominational circles that brought him into contact with prominent holiness leaders.

The principal features of the higher Christian life—rest, joy, peace, spiritual power—resembled those of holiness piety, but Boardman articulated a path to these blessings in this life that avoided much holiness jargon. He hoped to appeal more broadly to Christians whose social standing or religious predilections made them wary of Methodism. Influenced as well by evangelist CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY’S teaching on a second crisis experience as normative for the converted, advocates of the higher Christian life penetrated denominational boundaries with their message. Although the practical differences among holiness and higher life advocates were often minor, their distinct approaches and methods had enormous importance for their self-understanding. The ideal of knowing Christ in a personal, intimate, growing relationship that envisioned Christ as king of the believer’s life suggested a perspective that valued otherworldliness over engagement in this world’s concerns. It turned piety inward and judged harshly the alleged carnality of contemporary Christianity.

The higher Christian life was “higher” only in the sense that its advocates deemed the contemporary church deficient. They insisted that this higher Christian life was, in God’s scheme, the blueprint for ordinary Christian living. In the 1870s Boardman teamed with a Quaker couple, Robert Pearsall and HANNAH WHITALL SMITH, who shared his interests in this spirituality. Their efforts in England gave rise to the KESWICK MOVEMENT. From Smith’s pen came *The Christian’s Secret of the Happy Life*, the classic, enduring statement of the simple piety that was the goal of the higher Christian life.

See also Holiness Movement

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EDITH L.BLUMHOFER

HOBBS, THOMAS (1588–1679)

English philosopher. Hobbes was born just outside of Malmesbury, Wiltshire, England on April 5, 1588, prematurely and “a twin with fear,” as he said, both because of the impending invasion of the Spanish Armada and his lifelong timidity. His book *Leviathan* is widely considered the greatest work of political philosophy in English. He died at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire on December 3, 1679. Reputed by many to be an atheist, Hobbes’s long and prosperous life caused his enemies consternation. According to another view, Hobbes was, as he represented himself as being, a loyal member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. The opposition to him was attributed in large part to a variety of factors including his demythologizing attitude toward the BIBLE, his unsuccessful attempt to reconcile Christianity with modern science, and his defense after the English CIVIL WAR of absolute sovereignty and of the civil sovereign’s authority over the Church. This is not to mention his acerbic wit.

Hobbes attended Magdalen Hall, Oxford, from about 1602 until 1608, when he received his B.A. He then entered the service of William Cavendish as tutor to his son William, the future second earl of Devonshire. He served one or another branch of the Cavendish family for more than a half century. He toured the Continent with William in 1614. One result may have been his authorship of the essays that appeared in the anonymous *Horae Subsecivae*. The essay “Of Rome” reports the viewing of numerous Roman Catholic relics, including a piece of the Cross, a vial of Jesus’s blood, and “one of the thorns, which was in derision set upon our Savior’s head.” Although not accepting all the miraculous stories, the author implies that he thinks that some of them are true. He ends his essay with advice for members of the Church of England visiting Rome. Except for his translation of Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* (1629), Hobbes’s intellectual life was undistinguished until the 1630s.

Science and Christianity

Most of Hobbes’s time in the 1630s was devoted to the study of modern science, especially with a group associated with William Cavendish, later the duke of Newcastle. However, he probably visited the circle of Protestant intellectuals at Great Tew,

Oxfordshire, where the main topics of conversation were the Bible and the foundations of Christianity, topics that Hobbes later wrote about extensively. One of Great Tew's leading members, WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, wrote in *The Religion of Protestants*, "The Bible is the only true religion of Protestants," and Hobbes represented himself as sympathetic with that view.

Hobbes's political views dramatically altered his life in the 1640s. A decidedly nonstalwart royalist, he anticipated the Civil War and fled to FRANCE in late 1640. He feared for his life because of the views he expressed in *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic*, which circulated around the end of the Short Parliament (1640). In Paris he became a member of Marin Mersenne's circle, whose members focused on mathematics, science, and the problem of reconciling modern science and Christianity. One of them, his friend Pierre Gassendi, tried to hitch Epicurus to Roman Catholicism, and another, Thomas White, tried the same thing with a refurbished Aristotle. Hobbes's answer to the problem, which was made explicit in *Leviathan*, was to expound on a point made by Chillingworth, JOHN DONNE, and others. Christianity contains doctrines above reason but nothing contrary to reason. Hobbes separated faith and reason, and the realm of religion from the realm of science. Faith is trust in a person and yields belief. Reason is the calculation of consequences from propositions and yields science. When people become citizens of a state, they put their faith in their sovereign. Hobbes is content to let the sovereign define the content of faith; hence his easy acceptance of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

In 1642 his book *De Cive* was published in France. Its last part, "Of Religion," defends views that were broadly acceptable to English royalists. He argued that God rules over humans by nature and over the Israelites by the old covenant. At the Second Coming, Christ will rule over all people by the new covenant. The only belief needed to attain heaven is that Jesus is the Christ or Messiah. All the other Christian truths follow from that one. Most of his critics, Catholic and Protestant alike, wanted a stronger statement about dogma. Nevertheless, *De Cive* made Hobbes's reputation as a Christian political theorist. A second, expanded edition of *De Cive* was published in 1647, and a translation of it, *Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government and Society*, was published in London in 1651.

Free Will

In 1645, Hobbes debated fellow exile bishop John Bramhall on the topics of free will and PREDESTINATION in front of William Cavendish, then marquis of Newcastle. At Newcastle's request, Hobbes wrote out his view in *Of Liberty and Necessity*; Bramhall wrote his *A True Defence of Liberty* in reply. Neither work was intended for publication. However, Hobbes's work was published in 1654 without his knowledge. Bramhall's book was published the next year, and Hobbes replied to Bramhall in *The Questions Concerning Liberty, Necessity and Chance* (1656).

The will, according to Hobbes, is the last desire a person has before acting. Because that desire is itself caused by some preceding event either inside or outside the person,

according to natural laws, there is no such thing as a free will. Indeed, according to Hobbes, the phrase “free will” is incoherent, because only substances can be free or not. So a person is free when the cause of the person’s action comes from within, in contrast with having the action caused by a violent external cause like a wind blowing a person across a field.

Bramhall, like other defenders of free will, thought that Hobbes’s view undermined a necessary condition for responsibility. There can be no praise or blame, and hence no justified assignment of people to heaven or hell (see HEAVEN AND HELL), unless their actions are truly their own. So free will must exist. Bramhall in effect was defending ARMINIANISM. In contrast, Hobbes aligned himself with MARTIN LUTHER’S view. More generally, Hobbes’s view is Calvinistic (see CALVINISM). Because God is the cause of all things, God is the ultimate cause of all human actions also, including the sinful ones. However, God is not culpable because a person is culpable only when he or she breaks a law. Because God by his sovereignty is subject to no law, God breaks no law. As for praise or blame, praise belongs to those who keep the law, blame belongs to those who break the law.

Leviathan and Religion

After the institution of the Commonwealth in 1649, Hobbes decided to return to England. His magnum opus *Leviathan* was published in 1651, to a stormy reception. Many objected to views presented in the first two parts of the book: his argument that the natural condition of human life was “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short,” his claim that what is naturally good is whatever a person desires, and his belief that SALVATION in this world comes from the establishment of an absolute sovereign. Even more objectionable were the third and fourth parts of the book, “Of a Christian Commonwealth” and “Of the Kingdom of Darkness.” He was the first major author to argue in print that Moses was not the author of the entire Pentateuch. Also, he implied that God was material and that spirits are nothing but the imaginings of a fevered or demented brain. He undercut belief in revelation by saying that the sentence, “God appeared to me in a dream” means the same as “I dreamed that God appeared to me.” He undercut belief in prophets by adducing biblical evidence that showed that prophets are often wrong, sometimes deceived by other prophets, and sometimes lie, as God asserts in the book of Jeremiah. At best, true prophets can be identified only after their predictions come true, that is, after it is too late for people to derive any benefit from them. He undercut belief in miracles by observing that only people ignorant of natural science can witness them, and held, as many members of the Church of England did, that miracles were no longer important because they ended with the death of the last apostle. Not even his attack on Roman Catholicism, which described the papacy as “nothing other than the ghost of the Roman empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof,” pleased most Protestants because his criticisms could be understood as applying also to presbyterian and episcopal CLERGY (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS).

Although Hobbes's positions are arguably consistent with Christianity, his contemporaries, like most current scholars, thought that they proved he was intent on surreptitiously undermining Christianity. However, there is no consensus about whether Hobbes himself was an atheist, an agnostic, or a deist (see DEISM).

Some of Hobbes's views are Calvinist. He professes that God predestines humans for reward or punishment, that Jesus died only for the elect, and, as indicated above, that God, being the cause of all things, is the cause of sin. Like negative theologians Hobbes asserted that God is so great as to be incomprehensible. The proof is straightforward. Everything that humans know begins with sensation and is finite. God cannot be sensed and is infinite. The apparently descriptive language that Christians use about God is not literally true, but honorific. God is said to be simple, motionless, merciful, and all-seeing because to say such things honors God. God should be honored, not described, because God should be an object of worship, not science.

Hobbes did endorse a form of the First Cause argument for the existence of God. Every event in the world has a cause that is itself caused by something earlier, although it would be impossible for this chain of causes to extend infinitely because then the movement of nothing would be explained. Therefore, there must be a first cause, whom people call God. (The weak point in this argument is that by Hobbes's philosophy, every cause has a cause and hence God himself should need a cause.)

During the 1650s and 1660s Hobbes devoted most of his time to advancing his scientific and mathematical views, including various unsuccessful proofs that a circle can be squared. However, he defended his religious views in several notable works, especially *Mr Hobbes Considered in his Loyalty, Religion, Reputation and Manners* (1662) and *An Historical Narration Concerning Heresy and the Punishment Thereof* (1680). (The latter may have been a response to a failed attempt in 1666 to have him tried for HERESY.) Hobbes deflated heresy by describing the word's early use: any opinion. Christianity itself was originally a heresy, and it was only when it acquired political power that the church used the word as a term of abuse. English monarchs rarely used the charge of heresy to physically punish laypersons, the Catholic Queen Mary I being the notable or notorious exception. ELIZABETH I reversed Mary's policies. Heresy is also discussed in similar terms in an appendix to the Latin version of *Leviathan* (1668).

Hobbes continued fighting for his views into the 1670s when he was well into his eighties. In the 1670s he produced notable, if flawed, translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He died in late 1679 at the age of 91; he is buried inside the church of St. John the Baptist, Hault Hucknall, Derbyshire.

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P.MARTINIC

HOFMANN, MELCHIOR (1495?–1543)

Anabaptist leader. Melchior Hofmann was an Anabaptist leader noted for visionary and eschatological ideas. A Swabian, in the 1520s he preached Lutheran reform in the Baltics, Sweden, and Schleswig-Holstein, but this opposition to MARTIN LUTHER'S (1483–1546) view of the Eucharist, his radical ideas, and his claim of direct revelations from God created conflict with the authorities and Lutheran preachers. His 1526 *Exposition of the Twelfth Chapter of Daniel* predicted the end of the world in 1533. He moved to Strassburg in 1529, where he linked up with other visionaries and joined the Anabaptists. Some said he was the prophet Elijah. His *Exposition of the Secret Revelation of John* predicted the appointment of 144,000 apostolic messengers and named Strassburg as the site of Jesus's return and the expected spiritual Jerusalem. Arrested in 1530, he escaped and moved to East Frisia with some 300 followers, where he organized an Anabaptist congregation in Emden. Alternating between Holland and Strassburg, he continued his apocalyptic preaching but was rearrested in 1533. The Strassburg authorities, suspecting him of sedition, put him in prison, where he died in 1543. Hofmann published over twenty-five writings, including his important book on BAPTISM, *The Ordinance of God* (1530), and a book on Romans. Melchiorite ideas contributed to revolutionary Anabaptism at Münster, even though Hofmann would probably have opposed that undertaking.

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ROLLIN S.ARMOUR SR.

HOGG, JAMES (1770–1835)

Scottish romantic poet and novelist. A shepherd born near Selkirk, SCOTLAND, Hogg received little formal education, but taught himself and displayed considerable skill at versifying the pastoral scenes and stories of Lowland Scotland. Discovered early in his career by Sir Walter Scott, the “Ettrick Shepherd” moved to Edinburgh, where he interacted with the major figures of British ROMANTICISM. After five years, he returned to a dual career in rural Scotland, supporting himself financially through writing while unsuccessfully farming until his death.

Hogg’s most famous work, a psychological thriller, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), adeptly combined murder mystery with theological critique, using typically Romantic literary devices to produce a sardonic portrait of Calvinistic ANTINOMIANISM prevalent in rural Scotland. The novel depicts the ill-fated joining of Robert Wringhim Colwan with the DEVIL, who uses his protégé’s theological views to drive him to murder and insanity. His namesake and guardian, the Rev. Robert Wringhim, raises him to believe that Robert’s eternal SALVATION is irrevocably secure, while simultaneously asserting the reprobation of his older brother and father. Rapt in this knowledge, the young man meets with a mysterious BIBLE-toting (but never-praying) stranger, who agrees perfectly with all his views of PREDESTINATION and ultimately convinces him to smite the nonelect (see ELECTION). Caught between the theological rationale of the devil and purported devotion to God, Robert descends into madness and suffers the judgment that he so readily pronounces on others. Although some have read the novel as a blanket condemnation of religious dedication, Hogg remained a sincere Christian, whose writings criticized religious hypocrisy while championing the devotional piety and theological discernment of the common layperson.

See also Calvinism; Literature

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STEPHEN R.BERRY

HOLIDAYS AND FESTIVALS

Early Protestants took great pains to differentiate *holy day* from *holiday*, typically by insisting on the sacred nature (hallowed by God) of the former and the profanity (hallowed by men) of the latter. This distinction was not salient before the sixteenth century. Indicating a day or period when ordinary occupations are suspended, often but not always for festive purposes, holiday as a concept is a product of the Protestant REFORMATION. Over the course of several centuries, Protestant holidays took shape such that they partially resembled the festivals that had accompanied the many holy days of the Catholic Church (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). Closely associated with holiday, but distinct in meaning and function, festival has a long history in the Western world; the word is derived from the Latin *festum* (“public joy, merriment, revelry”) and *feria* (“abstinence from work in honor of the gods”). Although continuing to be a forceful concept for Catholic peoples, festival barely registers as a religious concept in regions dominated by Protestantism.

Early Protestant reformers succeeded in their attempts to rationalize holidays and festivals: both the numbers and duration of holidays have severely attenuated between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. However, indulgence, wastefulness, and materialism reemerged with a vengeance, threatening to crowd out the liturgical and religious messages of Christmas and Easter, essentially the only holidays that survived the reformation of the calendar. On the other hand, Protestantism suffuses civic holidays that commemorate the nation-state and its people’s sacrifices. Theological debates within Protestantism over holidays and festivals have received little scholarly attention; the study of the history of holidays themselves, however, is a cottage industry. This essay focuses on three moments in that history that intersect with major developments in Protestantism. It first addresses calendar reform between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; then turns to the ascent of the modern Christmas and Easter in the nineteenth century; and closes with the prominent place of civic holidays as keystones to the civil religions of modern nation-states in the twentieth century.

The Reform of the Calendar

In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, the same theological and moral objections to popular CULTURE that animated a range of Europeans also fed efforts to reform and reshape the religious calendars of Protestant countries. The numerous saints' days bequeathed by Roman Catholicism and the christological structure of the liturgical year (layered as it was over pre-Christian rites and festivals) each contained numerous pagan elements. Furthermore, the intermingling of profane practices with sacred observances was anathema to many Protestants. From a moral perspective, the popular culture to which the reigning calendar gave shape allowed for far too much debauchery, idleness, and neglect of work. As MARTIN LUTHER observed, "With our present abuses of drinking, gambling, idling, and all manner of sin, we vex God more on holy days than on others." He further decried the many days of work lost and the excessive spending engendered by a calendar rich with holy days, festivals, and feasts. Whereas Luther was far more moderate than many other Protestant reformers, his theological and moral critique of holy days became standard within the varieties of Protestant justifications for the reform of the calendar.

It was in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ENGLAND that an enduring divide within Protestantism concerning the calendar, and holidays, emerged. This divide can easily be summed up in the shorthand juxtaposition of Anglican against Puritan (see ANGLICANISM, PURITANISM). In 1536 Henry VIII limited the number of holy days, largely in the attempt to introduce a regular rhythm of work. Some feasts were kept as high holy days, including those of the Apostles, the Blessed Virgin, the Nativity, and Easter day; others were demoted to days to be kept holy; and others were banished altogether. The Parliament of Edward VI in 1552 restored some of the holy days that had been eliminated, such that twenty-seven holy days, in addition to fifty-two Sundays, were set aside from work for PRAYER and WORSHIP. Several years later the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER featured the holy days in red letters, thus the term "red letter day" came to connote holiday. Because Protestant theology insisted that SAINTS could not intercede on behalf of supplicants, the few saints' days that remained in the calendar, such as the feasts of St. George, St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael the Archangel, were occasions to honor the saints, rather than to pray to them.

Still, for Puritans and other reform-minded Protestants these Anglican alterations to the calendar were hardly sufficient because they perpetuated both Roman and pagan beliefs and rituals. In the 1570s successful attacks on the observance of Christmas and other holy days in SCOTLAND fed the zeal of reformers. They maintained that scriptural sanction for the observance of holy days was limited solely to Sabbaths. In 1640 nonconformists (including Puritans) who gained the upper hand in England abolished observance of Christmas and all the saints' days (see NON-CONFORMITY). At the same time, across the Atlantic Protestant reformers of various stripes (Puritans, BAPTISTS, Presbyterians, and Quakers) succeeded in establishing a calendar devoid of all holy days but the Sabbath (see PRESBYTERIANISM; FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). With the Restoration in 1660, Charles II revived the Anglican ecclesiastical calendar with its moderate round of holy days.

Although more research needs to be done, it seems clear that it was during the last quarter of the seventeenth century that theologians differentiated holy days from holidays, with some proclaiming the necessity, and indeed the beauty, of each, and others declaiming holidays as perversions and blasphemy. The Edwardian calendar, with slight alterations under ELIZABETH I, stayed in place through the eighteenth century. Over the decades the popular observance of saints' days and holidays (which had continued despite official injunctions) diminished in frequency and intensity, although ministers like COTTON MATHER could still be found decrying the "Mad Mirth, long Eating, hard Drinking, lewd Gaming, rude Reveling" of the Christmas season. By the nineteenth century, middle-class Protestants rarely celebrated holidays; deeply religious though they were, it was the Sabbath that provided the rhythm for their year. As one contemporary observed: "The *red-letter days*, now become, to all intents and purposes, *dead-letter days*."

Modern Holidays: Festivals of Consumption

Consumer capitalism, which began to take shape in the eighteenth century and was ascendant by the nineteenth, played the most significant role in reviving the two holidays—Christmas and Easter—that now demarcate the Protestant calendar. Although the wild and wanton celebration of the nativity waned in Protestant circles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the public festivities (above all, wassailing) and private customs (e.g., gift-giving) that accompanied New Year's did not. In seeking to transform the celebration of New Year's into a religious occasion for the renewal of Christian commitment, evangelical Protestants unwittingly rediscovered Christmas during the first half of the nineteenth century (see EVANGELICALISM). Christmas suited their purposes far better than did New Year's eve, in that it more easily fit into a Christian, domestic, and commercial framework. In terms of Christianity, Christmas provided the opportunity to revisit the birth of Christ, which was becoming more and more important in Protestant circles because of the rise of a liberal theology that in stressing the goodness of mankind was highly Christocentric (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). In the nineteenth century, a period when private domesticity gained powerful ideological force, Christmas became the preeminent moment for enshrining the FAMILY, and thereby constricting unruly public behavior. Above all, as a network for retailing and marketing spread, whetting the desires and appetites of Anglo-American, British, and Continental Protestants, Christmas became a sanctioned moment for indulgence, primarily in the form of gift-giving and feasting. At first it was the domestic and commercial aspects of Christmas that took hold of the LAITY'S imagination; in the late decades of the nineteenth century Protestant clergy introduced Christmas sermons, decorations, pageants, and HYMNS, which met the laity's expectations for consecration of the nativity of Christ.

With the exception of Anglicans and Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM), most Protestants did not celebrate Easter until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Here again, consumer capitalism was responsible for transforming an austere and somber

moment in the Christian cycle into an exuberant rite of spring. As creating beautiful church interiors assumed more and more importance among a range of Protestant denominations, holiday decorations were granted special importance in that they glorified God and uplifted Christians. One proponent of floral decorations at Easter explained: "The joy of our hearts at the Resurrection of our Saviour—the seal of the completion of His work on earth—must surely be even greater than on the festival of His birth. The festival, coming as it does in early spring, is best commemorated by the use of as many flowers as possible." The emphasis on church décor inevitably led to the "Easter parade" of hats and dresses, obtained in the marketplace along with confections, novelties, and cards made specifically for Easter. The Easter egg, an ancient symbol of fecundity, returned as a commodity, as did rabbits and chicks. Although Easter has never taken on the massive commercial powers of Christmas, it was again the admixture of domesticity, Christianity, and commerce that recast the liturgical moment as a holiday for Protestants in the late nineteenth century.

Although it is clear in hindsight that the commercialization of Christmas and Easter resuscitated the holidays for Protestants, theological and social critiques of the market-orientation of each celebration have been standard fare for more than a century. However, as the leading religious historian of American holidays, Leigh Eric Schmidt, has explained "a common feature of festivity is to overindulge, to eat, drink, or spend to excess, lavishly to use up resources otherwise diligently saved. The surfeit of gifts and spending associated especially with Christmas, but also with other holidays, gives expression to a kind of festal excess that is often fundamental to celebrations." It is then the admixture of commerce and Christianity that has allowed Christmas and Easter to flourish in a calendar that Protestants have otherwise purged of festivity.

National Holidays and Civil Religion

Just as the modern Christmas and Easter resulted from the interweaving of Christian and capitalist imperatives, a potent mix of Protestantism and patriotism has given shape to civic holidays that celebrate the modern nation-state. As the historian David Cressy has shown, the calendar of early modern England was "an important tool for declaring and disseminating a distinctively Protestant national culture." To the Protestant calendar were added national, secular holidays, such as royal accession day and Gunpowder Plot day: on these days the convening of religious services, the ringing of church bells, and the offering of prayers marked the festivities. Similar nationalist rites and cycles characterize the calendars of most nation states, regardless of their religious orientation. Nevertheless, Protestantism has energized the emergence of what sociologist Robert Bellah identified in 1967 as Civil Religion, that is a distinct set of religious symbols and practices that serves to solidify the political legitimacy of nation-states.

Nowhere has civil religion flourished more vigorously than in the United States. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the BILL OF RIGHTS are scripture for the civil religion of the United States; by the same token, the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving are the high holy days for this religion, with Memorial and Veterans Days

playing minor, though important, roles. Founding Father John Adams predicted that Independence Day “will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games and sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other.” Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, religious and political oratory on the Fourth of July has focused on the nation and its people’s divine mission and blessings. Thanksgiving Day, originating in the American CIVIL WAR, was according to one chronicler “originally regarded with almost the same reverence as was shown for Sunday. Religious services were held in the churches and after the services the families gathered around the table.” Today spectator sports join religious services, political oratory, and festive dinners. Although CHURCH AND STATE are separate in the United States, the material and rhetorical symbols constituting its civic holidays make it clear that it is a Protestant God’s country. Were it not for the reform of the calendar accomplished by a variety of Protestants animated by a variety of theological convictions, there would be no room for the civil religion, let alone the civic holidays, which with Christmas and Easter provide contemporary rhythms of work, rest, consumption, festivity, and thanksgiving.

See also Sabbatarianism

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ALEXIS MCCROSSEN

HOLINESS CHURCHES

See Holiness Movement

HOLINESS MOVEMENT

The Holiness Movement is a predominantly North American Protestant religious movement arising in the nineteenth century. It was characterized by an emphasis on the Wesleyan doctrine of SANCTIFICATION and focused on the postconversion experience of “entire sanctification.” The Holiness Movement was centered in a deeply emotional and experiential FAITH, with the result that quasi-Methodist sects were formed.

History

In the mid-nineteenth century, members of the Methodist Church, then the largest church body in the United States, became dissatisfied with the declining moral standards of their church. The Methodists’ DocTRINE of “Christian perfection” was believed to have been abandoned for spiritual and moral complacency. A distinct movement came into being, which sought to address these issues.

The Holiness Movement was officially founded in the “National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness,” which met in Vineland, New Jersey, in July of 1867 (see CAMP MEETINGS). Large crowds attended the meetings, where thousands claimed to have received the “second blessing” of sanctification. The “first blessing” was CONVERSION itself. The Association, which later became known as the National Holiness Association, reported to have over 200 full-time “holiness evangelists.”

The Methodist lay preacher and advocate of women’s ordination, PHOEBE PALMER, was a catalyst for the Holiness Movement (see WOMEN; WOMEN CLERGY). Palmer, later known as “the Mother of the Holiness Movement,” taught that perfection in love eliminated all sinful desires. She held “Tuesday Meetings for the Promotion of Holiness.” These were prayer meetings, beginning in 1839, that were influential in the spreading of the Holiness Movement. The Movement spread through house meetings similar to Palmer’s, sparking a larger revival. Characteristic of the Holiness Movement was its support as one of the first churches to accept women to ministry.

The revivalist CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY subscribed to the Holiness Movement's teachings. He and his colleagues at Oberlin College, Ohio, formed the Oberlin Perfectionism branch of the Movement. Advocates of the Holiness Movement included William Boardman, author of *Higher Christian Life* (1858); James Caughey, author of *Methodism in Earnest* (1850); and Asa Mahan, author of *Guide to Christian Perfection* (1839) and second president of Oberlin College. In America the journal *Guide to Christian Perfection* (1839–1845), later the *Guide to Holiness* (1846–1901), was founded by Timothy Merritt and edited by Phoebe Palmer. The journal's distinctive devotion to Holiness doctrine had the effect of bringing this doctrine to other denominations in North America and across the Atlantic to ENGLAND.

The Holiness Movement found an audience in Europe in the 1870s where the HIGHER LIFE movement held conventions during the time of the Second Great Awakening. *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (1875), by HANNAH WHITALL SMITH, was inspired by her personal experience with the holiness camp meetings. Her book increased the popularity of the Movement especially in England. There the KESWICK MOVEMENT originated from the Holiness Movement's teaching on sanctification, although taking a more expansive view of divine GRACE.

Theology and Issues

The Holiness Movement taught a modified form of JOHN WESLEY'S Arminian doctrine of grace, which emphasized a cooperation of the human and divine will in the granting of Christian perfection. The postconversion event of "entire sanctification" incorporated several aspects. Foremost, the experience resulted in a divine cleansing from the tendency to commit willful SIN. This became an unreserved consecration and surrender to the will of God. A divine enablement was given to the believer, which was an unconditional love for God and neighbor. This experience is commonly referred to as "entire sanctification," "holiness," the "second blessing," "the blessing," the "baptism with (or of) the Holy Spirit," "Christian perfection," or "full salvation." The divine enablement often coincided with the experience of avoiding worldly behavior, such as immodest dress, card playing, gambling, drinking, and association with secret societies.

Sectarian tensions had begun to form between supporters of the Holiness Movement and the Methodist bishops in the last decades of the nineteenth century (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). The "stay-inners" and the "come-outers" typified two divisions of the Methodist Church. Some, such as H.C.Morrison, later president of Asbury College and Theological Seminary in Kentucky, was a "stay-inner" who remained with the Southern Methodist Church. However, others left the Methodist church as early as 1843. The once exuberant and revivalistic Holiness Movement was waning by 1900, with the newly forming Pentecostal Movement on the rise (see REVIVALS; PENTECOSTALISM).

The Holiness Movement was reported to have several doctrinal eccentricities. *The Divine Church* (1883), written by John P.Brook, represented the radical ECCLESIOLOGY of the Movement. Brook was one of the more theologically astute of

the “come outers,” who argued that all human organizations of Christianity were “The Church of Sect.” Instead of his Methodist Episcopal Church being governed by episcopal oversight, Brook believed that Christ was to be the sole Ruler of the church.

Many within the Holiness Movement sought after the phenomenon of the “baptism of fire.” This sect of the Movement was led by Benjamin Irwin and originated in Iowa, in 1895. Irwin’s followers were characterized by their receiving a miraculous visitation of the Spirit after the “second blessing.” Those who received “the baptism of fire” would scream, shout, or fall into trances. The conservative teachers of the Holiness Movement rejected this splinter group, regarding the “second blessing” and the “baptism of fire” as one and the same.

Some twenty-three Holiness denominations arose between 1893 and 1900. Current denominations, formed in the period of the Holiness Movement, are the CHURCH OF GOD (1881), the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE (1908), and other denominations using “Holiness” as part of their names. The Church of the Nazarene is the largest of the Holiness churches, which has a strong presence in North America and the United Kingdom.

See also Arminianism; Awakenings; Methodism, England; Methodism, North America; Orthodoxy; Sectarianism; Wesley, John; Wesleyan Holiness Movement

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CHRISTOPHER M. COOK

HOLL, KARL (1866–1926)

German church historian. An influential church historian and a founding figure of modern studies on MARTIN LUTHER, Karl Holl was born on June 15, 1866, in Tübingen and died on June 23, 1926, in Berlin. He grew up in a religiously and politically liberal family. After studying THEOLOGY and philosophy in Tübingen (1884–1888), where he and many of his contemporaries were influenced by the theology of ALBRECHT RITSCHL, Holl experienced a religious crisis. From his study of original sources, he came to acknowledge that the truth of biblical revelation presumed by Ritschl was not unambiguously clear. A solution came in 1894 when ADOLF VON HARNACK secured him a position in Berlin as a scholarly collaborator with the commission of church fathers for the Prussian Academy of Sciences. Holl qualified to teach at a university in 1896, and in 1900 received a position in Tübingen as professor of church history. In 1906 he returned to Berlin as a professor. His scholarly work stood for years in the shadow of his famous colleague Harnack.

Faculty members praised Holl as an extraordinary scholar of the church fathers. In his countless works on the early church and on other periods of church history through his day, he brilliantly combined subtle philological criticism, sharp-minded analysis, and crucial philosophical-theological research of original sources. Holl made a broad impact on church history with the publication of his book on Luther in 1921. It appeared at the same time as the second edition of KARL BARTH'S commentary on the letter to the Romans and supported the turn away from liberal theology in German Protestantism. With the systematic examination of Luther's early works, Holl produced a new understanding of the reformer's theology that was far more extensive than previous versions. The nine essays in this volume focused on Luther's doctrine of JUSTIFICATION as well as his hermeneutics, ECCLESIOLOGY, ETHICS, and theory of the state.

Although Holl argued in strict historical terms, he was convinced that Luther's thought held direct relevance to the present. Thus he felt obliged to address contemporary issues, especially during World War I and the period after 1918. Unlike his colleagues, Holl did not distort Luther as a nationalist figure. He also valued JOHN CALVIN, although he considered Luther's theology superior. During World War I, Holl joined the right-wing German Fatherland Party, which militated against the peace accord ratified by the German parliament and for a continuation of the war. Holl had a very reserved relationship to the Weimar Republic. He hoped that Luther's religiously realized moral

idealism would lead to Germany's spiritual renewal. In 1933, many of Holl's students, among them Erich Vogelsang, Hermann Wolfgang Beyer, Hanns Rück-ert, Heinrich Bornkamm, Helmuth Kittel, and especially Emanuel Hirsch—thought that they could interpret and find this notion of renewal in the emergence of German nationalism. Such political-theological definitions sharpened the contrast between advocates of dialectical theology and advocates of the "Luther Renaissance."

See also Neo-orthodoxy

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

HOLOCAUST

The term “Holocaust,” from the Greek for “a burned offering,” has been used since the 1960s to refer to the murder of approximately 6,000,000 European Jews by Nazi Germans and their collaborators during World War II (1939–1945). Since the 1970s, the Hebrew word “Shoah” (catastrophe) has entered common usage as a synonym.

Hatred of Jews was the center of Nazi ideology. Hitler and his associates preached what the scholar Saul Friedländer calls “redemptive anti-Semitism”: the belief that Jews were the root of all evil, and Germany could be saved from collapse only by destruction of Jews and Jewish influence. Religious prejudices were just one element in Nazi ANTI-SEMITISM, with its pseudoscientific notions of “blood” and “race” and its paranoia about international conspiracies, but for many Christians in GERMANY and throughout Europe, old habits of Christian anti-Judaism helped normalize the new strain of hatred.

Debate continues over whether the label “Holocaust” includes persecuted groups other than Jews. Jews were the main target of Nazi genocide; against the Jews National Socialist Germany mobilized all of its resources: bureaucratic, military, legal, scientific, intellectual, and religious. But the Nazi German state also initiated systematic mass killing of people deemed handicapped and European Gypsies (Roma). These programs shared with the genocide of the Jews personnel, methods of killing, and goals of so-called racial purification. In these cases—Jews, Gypsies, and the handicapped—the perpetrators sought out children for killing, an indication that the intention was total annihilation.

National Socialist Germany also persecuted, incarcerated, and killed Communists, homosexual men, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and African-Germans, as well as many Polish gentiles and Soviet prisoners of war. Often members of these groups shared the torments heaped on Jews, Gypsies, and the handicapped. These cases are not usually included under the term “Holocaust,” however; they were either less massive in scope and less total in intention than the Jewish genocide—for example, Jehovah’s Witnesses, of whom about an estimated 2,000 were killed in German camps—or, as with the three million Soviet POWs killed or left to die of hunger and disease, those targeted did not include children.

It is difficult to determine when the Holocaust began, because a series of steps culminated in the slaughters Nazi jargon labeled the “final solution” to the “Jewish problem.” In January 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany. Within months his regime introduced measures to crush Communists, exclude Jews from public life, and sterilize supposed bearers of hereditary diseases. Hitler also began preparing for

war in search of *Lebensraum*—living space in eastern Europe for the allegedly superior “Aryan race.”

Only 37 percent of Germans ever voted for Hitler’s National Socialist German Workers’ Party, and in 1933 many Germans had misgivings. However, Hitler proved masterful at engineering foreign policy successes and organizing shows of public support that generated enthusiasm. Moreover, key elites—Protestant church leaders and many top Catholics, conservatives, university professors, and civil servants— welcomed the new regime. They applauded its hard line against “godless Bolshevism” and praised its pledge to honor “blood and soil” and break the supposed stranglehold on cultural life of Jews, “degenerates,” homosexuals, and liberals. Many Protestants hoped that the Nazi revolution would spark a revival of public Christianity and restore their church to what they believed was its rightful place at the center of German life. In March 1933, the Nazi government opened the first concentration camp at Dachau, near Munich.

By 1935, Nazi legislation defined “Jews,” and by contrast “Aryans,” a necessary step toward isolating, expropriating, and murdering Jews in the German Reich and the areas that it controlled. Although Nazi ideologues insisted that Jewishness was racial, their legal definition relied on religious distinctions. Germans with three or four grandparents of the Jewish faith counted as “non-Aryans,” that is, “Jews,” regardless of their own or their parents’ affiliations and beliefs. The laws also created categories for *mischlinge*, Germans of “mixed blood.” Both Christian German churches, Roman Catholic and Protestant (*Evangelisch*), cooperated by providing the baptismal certificates on which proof of “Aryan blood” depended.

The November 1938 pogrom, which came to be known as *Kristallnacht*, was the first widespread, violent public attack on Jews and Jewish property in the Third Reich, which by late 1938 included Austria and part of Czechoslovakia. Groups of Nazi thugs—stormtroopers, Hitler Youth, party elites—torched synagogues, smashed windows of Jewish shops, plundered Jewish homes, and assaulted Jewish women and men. Other Germans joined in the looting; some looked on or grumbled about disruption of public order. Some 20,000 Jewish men were incarcerated in concentration camps. In the wake of the pogrom, many Jews fled Germany. Between 1933 and 1939, the Jewish population of Germany dropped from around 500,000 (about 1 percent of the population), to between 200,000 and 300,000. Many sought refuge elsewhere in Europe—FRANCE, POLAND, the NETHERLANDS—where they fell into German hands again during the war.

It was not Jews, but rather people deemed handicapped who became targets of the first program of mass killing. Beginning in 1939 with an initiative to murder children, the euphemistically named “euthanasia” or T-4 Program involved doctors, nurses, bureaucrats, and social workers, as well as administrators of mental hospitals, many of them church-run, in the slaughter of 70,000 to 80,000 Germans considered “lives unworthy of living.” Despite efforts at secrecy, information leaked out. Public protest peaked in 1941 when private citizens and prominent churchmen—

Protestants as well as Catholics—denounced the murders. Although Hitler announced a halt, killings continued under cover.

In September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. The Holocaust was inextricably linked to the war. National Socialist goals of racial purification and spatial expansion made WAR not only necessary but desirable in the minds of Hitler and Nazi “true believers.” War delivered into German hands the large Jewish populations of eastern Europe—

Poland, Ukraine, ROMANIA, HUNGARY, and elsewhere—as well as the Jews of the west: France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. War hardened the perpetrators and numbed onlookers.

With the war, Nazi persecution expanded and accelerated. Ghettoization of Jews in Poland began in 1939; by June 1941, with Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, Nazi perpetrators began implementing total annihilation. Mobile killing squads, the *Einsatzgruppen*, accompanied regular German military into Soviet territory with orders to shoot high-ranking Communists and Jews. In killing fields and death pits, from southern Ukraine to Lithuania, the *Einsatzgruppen* shot more than one million Jews. They also murdered Gypsies and patients from mental hospitals. By late 1941, the killers sought more efficient methods and had begun experimenting with poison gases used in the T-4 Program. By 1942, the Nazi killing centers of Belzec, Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor, Majdanek, and Auschwitz-Birkenau were in full operation. The Nazis did not restrict attacks to religious Jews; they also targeted secular Jews and Christians who had converted from JUDAISM, as well as children and in some cases grandchildren of converts.

In 1944 and 1945, as Allied forces closed in, SS leader Heinrich Himmler ordered the killing centers evacuated and the remaining inmates killed or relocated to German-held territories. Death tolls on the resulting “death marches” were high; “liberation” came too late for many. Those Jews who survived found themselves without homes, families, or communities. As they struggled to begin new lives—in the displaced-person camps of Germany, in Palestine and later Israel, in the UNITED STATES, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, SOUTH AFRICA, and LATIN AMERICA—some tried to put the past behind them. Others vowed to remember.

The decentralized nature of Protestantism makes it almost impossible to draw comprehensive conclusions about its relationship to the Holocaust. On the one hand, examples of institutional failure are easy to find. Inside Germany, the pro-Nazi GERMAN CHRISTIAN movement (*Glaubensbewegung “Deutsche Christen”*) openly endorsed anti-Jewish measures. Its members controlled the governing bodies of most of Germany's regional Protestant churches and used their positions to attack Jews, Judaism, and so-called “non-Aryan Christians.” They also promoted efforts to purge all aspects of Judaism from Christianity. Even the CONFESSING CHURCH did little to protect the few “non-Aryan” pastors in its midst. Some North American Protestant Churches, particularly those with organizational or ethnic ties to Germany, propagated a positive view of National Socialism, at least until the United States entered the war.

On the other hand, however, institutional Protestantism also fostered heroism. Some Protestant groups in North America worked hard to learn about conditions in Europe and to lobby their governments to accept refugees. French HUGUENOTS in the villages surrounding Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, led by their pastor Andre Trocme and his wife Magda, saved the lives of many Jews. They were inspired at least in part by their Protestant faith and love of Scripture. In occupied DENMARK, an overwhelmingly Protestant country, church leaders publicly decried Nazi anti-Semitism and encouraged participation in rescues. Danes mobilized to protect their 8,000 Jewish fellow citizens, and almost every Danish Jew survived.

How have Protestants dealt with the complex legacy of the Holocaust? The answer depends on which Protestants and where. In North America, many Protestants, although

fascinated with the hero DIETRICH BONHOEFFER, tend to think of the Holocaust as irrelevant to their faith. In Germany, in contrast, the relationship between the Protestant Churches, their adherents, and Nazi crimes has been the subject of intense debates since late 1945, when German Protestant leaders, under pressure from the world ecumenical community, issued the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt. The declaration never explicitly mentions Jews or any specific crimes of Nazi Germany or the Protestant churches, but it does ask forgiveness “for not witnessing more courageously, for not praying more faithfully, for not believing more joyously, and for not loving more ardently.”

In the half-century since World War II, Jewish-Christian dialogue has moved beyond the tentative contrition of the Stuttgart Declaration. For example, the 1997 Apology of the French Catholic bishops begged forgiveness from the Jews of France for teaching contempt for Jews. Protestants and Catholics alike have benefited from Jewish thinkers who articulated some of the burning issues connected with the Shoah. Does the Holocaust demand that humanity adopt a relentless position of questioning toward God? Does it call for rejection of ideas of “covenant” and “chosen people?” Is the Holocaust a challenge to affirm Judaism so as not to hand Hitler a “posthumous victory,” as Emil Fackenheim argues? Is it, as Emmanuel Levinas writes, about “loving the Torah more than God,” experiencing the force of a God who hides his face through the intermediary of a teaching, the Torah? Protestant theologians, such as Franklin Littell, have posed these and other questions, although most of the discussion they generate—like that among their Catholic counterparts—still focuses on Christians as bystanders rather than perpetrators in the Holocaust.

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HOLY COMMUNION

See Lord's Supper

HOMESCHOOLING

Homeschooling represents an increasingly viable option for educating children in a family context, reflecting traditional and contemporary ideals about child development, parental responsibility, and social identity. For the greater part of human history, most children were educated at home, by relatives, in the subjects deemed most important by their families: subsistence skills and crafts, household accounting, and faith. Since the industrial revolution, most governments have taken charge of childhood education.

In the late nineteenth century in the UNITED STATES, many Roman Catholic families turned to parochial schools for the educational and faithful formation of their children, whereas most Protestants found public schools matched their denominational and ideological identity. As the twenty-first century progresses, however, a number of Protestants are finding that public education does not meet their parenting and pedagogical priorities. Homeschooling allows Protestant families to combine an appreciation of INDIVIDUALISM with a reconstruction of community; homeschooling can accommodate particular learning aptitudes and personalized instruction, while providing the time and opportunity for socializing and combining resources with other like-minded families. Homeschooling represents an alternative to institutionalized educational practices and a return to more particularized formation.

Protestant homeschooling families tailor their home education to fit their identity and their priorities. Many use homeschooling to counter the popular secularization and evolutionism (see DARWINISM) with curricula that feature CREATION SCIENCE, EVANGELICALISM, and FUNDAMENTALISM. Others highlight ties between CHURCH AND STATE (through curricula that emphasize God's work through democracy and capitalism) or resist such ties (by underscoring Christian identity over nation-state citizenship). Still others specialize in performing arts, academics, sports, or BIBLE, depending on their talents, interests, and convictions, while distancing themselves from unwanted indoctrination. In these ways, Protestant homeschooling enables families to reclaim the primary responsibility for childhood education, restore Christian formation to a prominent role in their children's lives, and reconstruct the social settings for learning and growing.

Homeschooling allows Protestant families to determine the context, content, and style of their children's education. Approaches range from the radically unstructured unschooling to the reproduction of a particular school setting in the home, and everything in between. Some families designate one stay-at-home parent as primary educator; some

split the educational activities more evenly; some single parents juggle work and education responsibilities, with or without the help of extended families and other community members. Families may assemble learning materials on their own or select from an extensive market of curricula designed for homeschooling. Homeschooling support groups all over the world offer families chances to team teach, share expertises, and exchange ideas.

Laws about government supervision of home-schooling families vary among countries, states, and provinces. In general, homeschooling families are responsible for providing their children with an education comparable to that provided by the government. The evaluation of homeschooled children's learning process ranges from standardized testing to certified individualized assessment to parental discernment. Most colleges and universities welcome applications from students who have been homeschooled through elementary and high school; homeschoolers generally adapt well to college settings.

See also Education, Overview

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HOMILETICS

See Preaching

HOMOSEXUALITY

Homosexuality was barely a topic of discussion within any Christian tradition between the origins of Protestantism in the sixteenth century and the middle of the twentieth century. The presumption of nearly all churches was that homosexuality was a perversion of God's created order. By the end of the twentieth century, however, the debate over homosexuality had become (and remains) one of the most divisive and disputed issues confronting most Protestant denominations. Debates over homosexuality have become a touchstone for fundamental disagreements over the interpretation and application of Scripture, the roles and functions of TRADITION, reason, and experience, and very different understandings of Christian identity and GENDER formation. Traditional presumptions about homosexuality have been challenged on all of these fronts, and although nearly all Protestant denominations remain officially opposed to homosexual expression, there has been significant movement by many in the Protestant traditions toward acceptance of gay and lesbian Christians in the church. This acceptance reflects developments in larger European and American society at the end of the twentieth century.

Debate over Scripture

The BIBLE serves as the springboard for virtually all discussion about homosexuality. Traditional interpretations of scripture have appealed to the creation story in Genesis 1–2, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in Genesis 19:1–9 (see also parallel stories in Judges 19 and Ezekiel 16:46–56), the prohibitions in Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, and the Pauline statements in Romans 1:26–27, I Corinthians 6:9, and I Timothy 1:10 as all pointing to divine condemnation of homosexual expression. From this perspective of biblical interpretation Protestant churches have viewed homosexuality as a sinful violation of God's created natural order. With a growing emphasis, however, on both ancient and modern contextual readings of the biblical accounts, these traditional interpretations have been increasingly challenged. Those advocating full inclusion of gay and lesbian people in the church have argued, for example, that the story of Sodom and Gomorrah has to do with sexual violence and rape rather than homosexuality. Similarly, the prohibitions from

Leviticus must be seen within the literary and historical context of the whole Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26), which contains a number of other prohibitions that have traditionally not been followed. Many interpreters of Paul's letters have called attention to Paul's Greco-Roman cultural context, in which pederasty and slave prostitution appear to have been the primary models of homoerotic expression in view.

Matters get more complicated by debates over the appropriate translation of biblical terms from the original Hebrew and Greek languages. In I Corinthians 6:9, for example, the Greek term *arsenokoitai* (literally “men who go to bed”) has been variously translated as “sexual perverts” (RSV), “homosexual offenders” (NIV), and “sodomites” (NRSV). Given that the term “homosexual” was not coined until the nineteenth century, scholars have increasingly agreed on the need to avoid anachronistic translations and interpretations of the Bible that read contemporary terms and conceptions back into the biblical texts. Beyond debates over biblical texts directly addressing same-sex relations, advocates of more traditional biblical interpretations have contended that scripture endorses heterosexual MARRIAGE as normative, whereas others have questioned whether this is a norm that necessarily excludes gay and lesbian unions.

Debate over Tradition, Reason, and Experience

Taking its lead from the plain sense of scripture, Protestant tradition in the late twentieth century was extremely cautious in changing its approach toward homosexuality. Conscious of the task of being a church *semper reformans* (always reforming), the leadership of most Protestant denominations took seriously the call by many to reconsider its traditional teachings on homosexuality. In the UNITED STATES, for example, the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U.S.A., the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH in America, and the EPISCOPAL CHURCH all engaged in multiyear studies of how to respond to the presence of gay and lesbian Christians in their congregations and in their church leadership. Such deliberations led to deep divisions in each of these denominations, as year after year some church leaders called for the church to change with the times and be more inclusive of gay and lesbian Christians, whereas others called just as strongly for the church to take a firm stand against endorsing any form of homosexual expression, especially by ordained clergy.

Those seeking inclusion of gay and lesbian Christians in the church have emphasized sexual *orientation* as a natural God-given predisposition that individuals discover as they mature. Those seeking to uphold traditional sanctions against homosexuality have emphasized centuries of church teachings against same-sex *practices* and, although not seeing homosexual orientation itself as a matter of personal SIN, have argued that such an orientation is a distortion of God's creative purposes. From this perspective homosexual persons can be welcomed into the church but are called to abstain from same-sex relations. Most Protestant churches in recent years have issued official pronouncements ruling against the ordination of non-celibate homosexual Christians, as well as against the blessing or recognition of same-sex unions. Still, significant and vocal

movements within the various Protestant denominations have continued to call for full acceptance of openly gay and lesbian clergy and for recognition of gay/lesbian unions and committed relationships. The United Church of Christ and the UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA have not prohibited the ordination of gay/lesbian clergy. In 2003, the Episcopal Diocese of New Hampshire elected as its bishop a priest who was in a long-term homosexual relationship. The national General Convention of the Episcopal Church subsequently confirmed the election.

Protestant churches have also sought to incorporate into their reasoning about homosexuality some of the more significant findings from the psychological and biological sciences, although these findings continue to be the subject of tremendous debate. In particular, churches have paid attention to the 1973 decision of the American Psychiatric Association to stop treating homosexuality as a pathology or disordered condition in need of treatment. Some controversial biological research has also suggested various genetic factors contributing to homosexual orientation. These developments have encouraged many to rethink the NATURAL LAW tradition and the degrees to which the formation of gender identity is a function of essential sexual identity and/or of changing social constructions. The significant debate that has ensued in the church has basically been between two camps. On the one hand the majority position advocates that heterosexual marriage has always been God's intended and exclusive norm for the expression of human sexuality (emphasizing the unitive and procreative functions of sex in marriage). On the other hand the minority position advocates that changing notions of gender roles are crucial in shaping all sexual identities, ancient and modern, and that there have always been various notions of sexual identity attributed to divine sanction: polygamy, CELIBACY, eunuchs, levirate, and monogamous marriages, for instance. Although homosexuality has been increasingly accepted as a normal and natural way to live in American and European societies at large, more traditional Protestant churches have called into question both the psychological and physical health of homosexual expression. A number of parachurch and controversial change ministries have arisen that seek to heal people of their homosexuality.

Perhaps the most important and difficult component to factor into Protestant attitudes toward homosexuality involves the ways people have experienced the presence of gay and lesbian Christians in the various denominations. The "coming out" of many prominent Protestant church leaders as gay/lesbian/ bisexual persons has forced churches to respond to the tension created by their effective ministries in light of traditional church teaching against homosexuality. The personal witness of successful and capable gay/lesbian Christian leaders has been a powerful presence that has convinced many to push churches to be more accepting of these leaders in particular and to encourage the larger society to be more accepting of homosexual persons in general. At the same time the traditional Protestant rejection of homosexuality has led many gay and lesbian Christians to leave the church completely or to find local congregations that have publicly embraced an inclusive attitude toward homosexual persons. The rejection of gay/lesbian Christians in several Protestant denominations also led to the formation of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, a denomination dedicated to the full inclusion of gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgendered Christians. In sum Protestant churches have often been of two minds in their approach to homosexuality. On the one hand many denominations have passed binding resolutions ruling against the ordination of

noncelibate gay/lesbian Christians and against same-sex unions. On the other hand most denominations have also passed resolutions calling on elected government officials to pass legislation that makes discrimination against homosexual people illegal.

Changing Views of Homosexuality

A significant factor in twentieth century debates over homosexuality in Protestant (and Catholic) churches can be traced in changing views about homosexuality in the larger society. Three general overlapping stages can be seen in popular attitudes toward homosexuality. At the beginning of the twentieth century homosexuality was viewed as a perversion of God's natural order and was punishable as a crime against God and society. As the century progressed and as general attitudes toward appropriate sexual behavior became more relaxed, a more accepting attitude began to develop toward homosexuality. The language associating homosexuality with "perversion" started to be seen as harsh and judgmental. In the latter half of the twentieth century the language of "sexual preference" began to be employed. This term still suggested personal choice in the realm of sexual activity, but same-sex "sexual preference" increasingly came to be seen as a relatively benign departure from societal norms. Toward the end of the twentieth century, in addition to the language of "sexual preference," the term "sexual orientation" gained prominence, which suggested that an individual had no real choice about gender identity and sexual attraction, and that such identity was more of a given. Because homosexuals were not personally responsible for choosing their sexuality, a movement developed that encouraged healthy and self-affirming homosexuals not to be ashamed of their identity, but to accept their homosexuality as a natural predisposition and orientation. This acceptance led, in the last decades of the twentieth century, to "gay pride" and to a sense of belonging to a gay community seeking and gaining acceptance from the larger society. Such acceptance has led to the tacit nonenforcement of most laws against homosexuality, to the decriminalization of many older laws against homosexual behavior, to the recognition of same-sex domestic partners by many businesses and some states, and to the wide depiction of gay and lesbian people as normal individuals through the vehicle of popular entertainment. These developments and changes in societal attitudes toward homosexuality have had a significant effect on most Protestant traditions, with the result that at the beginning of the twenty-first century many churches are more open than ever toward gay and lesbian Christians, while at the same time most official denominational pronouncements have ruled against the full inclusion of noncelibate gay and lesbian couples. This tension has led to serious debate in the churches about whether Protestant churches are behind the times and failing to follow the lead of God's reforming Spirit by including gay/lesbian Christians, or whether churches are most faithful in holding firm against recognizing any homosexual relationship as legitimate.

The Roman Catholic Church has also faced significant debate and discussion about homosexuality, although on somewhat different terms than those of the Protestant tradition. First, whereas Protestant churches have spent a great deal of energy addressing the issue of whether to allow the *ordination* of noncelibate gays/lesbians, this has not

really been an issue for the Roman Catholic church because all priests are by definition celibate, be they homosexual or heterosexual. In the Protestant tradition clergy are typically married, and this automatically raises the question of how gay or lesbian couples serve as models for Christian marriage, which has traditionally been envisioned in heterosexual terms. Second, in the Roman Catholic tradition the role of *procreation* in marriage has been central, although the unitive function of sexuality has also gained in importance. This has meant that, because homosexual unions cannot by themselves procreate children, homosexual unions cannot receive the blessing of the church. By contrast in the Protestant tradition the *unitive* function of sexuality has typically held slightly greater importance than procreation (hence the common use of birth control in the Protestant tradition and not in official Roman Catholic teaching). Thus critics of homosexual relationships have raised questions about the biological complementarity of same-sex couples. Those advocating the appropriateness of blessing same-sex relationships in the church argue that it is wrong to define sexual complementarity in exclusively heterosexual terms.

See also Sexuality

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JEFFREY S.SIKER

HOOKER, RICHARD (1554–1600)

Church of England theologian. Richard Hooker is considered a theorist of the Elizabethan settlement and a major contributor to the theology of the early CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Hooker took his B.A. and M.A. at Oxford in 1574 and 1577, respectively, before becoming a fellow of Corpus Christi College in 1579. His first sermon came at St. Paul's Cross in London in 1581 on the topic of soteriology (SALVATION). Hooker argued that, although God wished all humans to be saved, the process depended on the correct response from believers. Meant as an anti-Calvinist statement (see CALVINISM), Hooker delayed drawing the conclusions this view demanded until near the end of his life, just before the Arminians put forward views almost identical to Hooker's (see ARMINIANISM). In 1585 Hooker became master of the Temple Church in London, the church attended by members of the Inns of Court, the training institutions for common lawyers. At nearly the same time and with the backing of Archbishop of Canterbury JOHN WHITGIFT (?-1604), he engaged in a major polemic with the Presbyterian Walter Travers. His marriage in 1588 to Joan Churchman brought him a large dowry from her merchant tailor father, a fortuitous event in that Hooker displayed little ambition for higher office and spent the rest of his life on his writing and his priestly duties.

Building on the earlier work of JOHN JEWEL (1522–1571), his first patron, and Whitgift, Hooker's eight volumes *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (published between 1593 and 1662) took the new Protestant establishment back to first principles of divine and NATURAL LAW. The first four books of this work supported that establishment almost as soon as they appeared and provided a compelling argument for conformity. Gradually Hooker's work acquired more and more authority, until by the nineteenth century it was almost considered the foundational text of the Anglican church (see ANGLICANISM), and a comprehensive and coherent explication of it. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, scholars pointed out inconsistencies and contradictions in Hooker's writing, but these criticisms were largely overturned in favor of the coherence and unity of all eight books, although it has been generally admitted that Hooker wrote originally as a polemicist. (For just one of many references to current events, see VII. 18.7.) This realization has led to the further rejection as anachronistic of the notion that Hooker's work could have theorized an Anglican middle way. Historians of the late twentieth century agree that there was already a very broad theological consensus in an English national church and that it overlapped to a marked degree with the magisterial reformers on the continent, as did Hooker's work.

In 1593 John Windet, Hooker's cousin, published the first four books of the *Lawes*, perhaps because no other publisher was interested. The work had little commercial appeal, earning Hooker only £30. Until his death at his church of Bishopsbourne in 1600, Hooker worked on the rest of his volumes, but lived to see only the publication of book V by Windet in 1597. The remaining three books presented numerous textual and publication problems, but Hooker's friend John Spenser saved what now remains of them, although not in Hooker's autograph. James Ussher saw to the publication of books VI and VIII in 1648, but VII did not appear until 1662.

A Lawful Universe

Hooker made his purpose and his audience explicit in the preface to the *Lawes*, lending support to the interpretation that he designed the entire work as a unit and wrote it sequentially. He named Calvinists, Familists, and ANABAPTISTS as his target (later adding all separatists), but not Catholics. Claiming that he wanted ecumenical understanding, Hooker tried to reduce controversial points to first principles that could be broadly accepted. Hooker set out from an Aristotelian framework to argue that the universe was entirely governed by law according to a system of causes ordained by God. All law was therefore divine. Despite the weakness of human reason by comparison with the divine, humans could nonetheless attempt to discern these causes and thus know the universe's structure. They could be assured that God never broke God's own law. They could also be assured that the universe was strictly hierarchical, as was its mirror in civil society. Hooker used these basic principles to ground both civil and ecclesiastical governments.

How to resolve disputes and prevent them from destroying civil order was Hooker's initial problem. Instead of relying on coercion, Hooker turned to divine providence. Humans, who began as an almost Lockean "book, wherein nothing is," could gain virtue through education. The key point was learning how to deal with things in different, morally neutral actions that became good or evil through the combined force of knowledge and will. The will was free, but its right action depended on reason, which in turn depended on law. Humans had discovered law by natural reason and decided together to be eternally bound by its precepts. Positive law was made by the community and only by it, but once such law existed, the members of the community had to obey. The best manner of life was "to study which way our willing obedience both unto God and man may be yielded even to the utmost of that which is due" [III.9.3].

Like his humanist predecessors, with whom Hooker had much in common, his view of civil society was heavily indebted to Cicero and to Roman law. Unlike some of the humanists, Hooker also had a thorough familiarity with medieval canon law and sacramental practice, which he often put to good use, as for example when he adapted the doctrine of circumstances to his idea of church polity. Like most medieval thinkers and many of the humanists, Hooker borrowed most from Aristotle, especially the principle that any legitimate government demanded the consent of the governed. The way Hooker applied that principle, however, left the governed with very little recourse. The fact that

“corporations are immortal,” for example, meant that laws made hundreds of years earlier remained in force. Although insisting that kings required consent to their rule, Hooker gave subjects no protections against tyranny. The basis of Hooker’s notion of political obligation was St. Paul’s commonly cited letter to the Romans 13:1–5, which stated that subjects were obligated in conscience to obey civil AUTHORITY. Because Hooker also said almost at the outset that “my whole endeavor is to resolve the conscience” [Preface], making of his book an enormous manual of casuistry, it becomes clear that believers had little room for legitimate resistance to the established order. This led to a nearly complete “chieftly” or “principality” of church government inherent in the English crown. Although Hooker regularly criticized bishops for failing to take advice from their clergy and opined that the prince also needed counsel, he laid down no institutional machinery for providing it. The limits of his notion of consent emerge from his attacks on the presbyterians for playing to the crowd. In practice, consent meant little.

Curiously, despite his deemphasis of law’s coercive power, Hooker stoutly maintained that it needed “a constraining power,” to be supplied by human officeholders, above all the bishops. Ultimately, Hooker appealed to what became an almost distinctively “Anglican” concept of the mean, which he argued was “prelacy, the temperature of excesses” [VII.18.12]. Hooker strongly supported the bishops, including their dignity and their economic power, labeling them “receivers of God’s rents” and bitterly criticizing expropriation of ecclesiastical property. Bishops deserved “a state of wealth proportionable” to the “great jurisdiction” they exercised, at least at the present when power demanded wealth [VII.24.18].

A Liberal Conservative

Hooker combined liberal-sounding views in the abstract with their use in much more coercive fashion. Similarly, he swayed back and forth between institutionalized forms of power and vaguer, almost transcendent, notions of who exercised it. Both these oscillations arose from his primary concern with the community, not with humans nor their institutions. Such distinctions were of no importance, provided only that a proper Christian church had correct belief. As long as it did, there was no difference between the body politic and the mystical body of the church, both of which coalesced, after all, in the church’s external political form. Hooker’s emphasis on collectivity led him to reject PREDESTINATION and the gathered church Calvinists often deduced from it, and to offer in their place a strongly sacramental way of salvation, embracing all members of the visible church. Against the “Puritans” Hooker argued that no human society, not even the church as a political body, could lose its right to legislate, as it would if a permanent model of church government were really to be found in the New Testament (see PURITANISM). (He further criticized them by claiming that scripture provided only one kind of law, not the only source through which humans learned God’s intentions.) Hooker put some of his own most cherished principles under pressure in defense of the community: TRADITION, for example, was not immune to its will and reason. Hooker’s stress on finding the most comprehensive form of Christianity, the largest possible

community, led him to invoke the authority of general councils through which all Christian nations could be united. As he put it in book I, humans would find it easier to put into effect Christ's "heavenly precepts...concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient councils again renewed" [I.10.15].

No doubt one reason that Hooker's work proved so appealing was its eclecticism of both substance and approach. Thus, although Hooker drew heavily on the medieval Schoolmen for content, he used his humanist education when constructing arguments based on them. Instead of deploying the favored medieval device of the syllogism, he used the more rhetorically appealing enthymeme, a syllogism with one premise (usually the minor) left out. Hooker's work, despite its solid philosophical grounding, is at least as important for its rhetoric. Like some of his Henrician predecessors, perhaps especially Thomas Starkey (whose work Hooker could not have known), Hooker played with language, especially at critical moments, above all when discussing key terms for political society. Book VIII's treatment of sovereignty and related ideas brusquely turned its back on the kind of precision that Jean Bodin and other contemporaries had taken much care over. It may not be an accident that many critics have thought this the most "constitutional" part of Hooker's work, just as Starkey was for long regarded as the first modern liberal (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). In fact, both were confronted with the same problem—how to resolve the competing claims of community and ruler—and both solutions were distinctively time-bound. Hooker, whatever his long-term appeal, was also very much a man of his century in his selection of sources, stretching from the recently rediscovered Cyprian (a third-century father with a markedly ecumenical appeal in the sixteenth century, largely because of his notion of the papal office) to Hermes Trismegistus, then thought to be the source of a theology more ancient than Moses's and the patron of magicians, but really a mythical figure.

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THOMAS F.MAYER

HOOKER, THOMAS (1586–1647)

English-American Puritan. Hooker was born in Markworth, Leicestershire, England, in July 1586. He matriculated at Queens College, Cambridge, in 1604 but soon transferred to Emmanuel College, a hotbed of PURITANISM, where he first took baccalaureate and masters degrees, then served as fellow and catechist. He was silenced for NONCONFORMITY in 1629, and fled to the NETHERLANDS two years later, returning secretly in 1633 to ship out for the recently settled American colony of Massachusetts Bay, where he became first pastor of the congregation at Newtown (later Cambridge). Following a series of territorial, theological, and personal disputes, he led a migration to Connecticut in 1636, founding the church at Hartford, where he died on July 7, 1647.

Hooker gained transatlantic renown as an analyst of the CONVERSION experience, particularly the “preparatory” stages before GRACE, anatomized most thoroughly in his work *The Application of Redemption* (1656). Valued for his political advice and skills, he influenced Connecticut’s legal and constitutional structure, urging its founders to dissociate freemanship from church membership (unlike Massachusetts), and he twice moderated intercolonial synods, most notably the 1637 meeting that facilitated ANNE HUTCHINSON’S banishment. One of three New Englanddivines invited to attend the WESTMINSTER AsSEMBLY, he declined to serve, but attempted to influence its deliberations literarily in such works as *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline* (1648), which advocated a congregational over presbyterian polity, and *The Covenant of Grace Opened* (1649), which defended infant BAPTISM. Preacher, polemicist, civic leader, and, most of all, an acute pastoral psychologist, Hooker contributed as much as any firstgeneration American Puritan to constructing the culture of Reformed Protestantism that became known as “the New England Way.”

See also Conversion; Hutchinson, Anne; Nonconformity

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CHARLES L. COHEN

HOPKINS, SAMUEL (1721–1803)

Congregational minister, theologian, and abolitionist. Hopkins was born in 1721 in Waterbury, Connecticut, graduated from Yale College in 1741, and then studied at JONATHAN EDWARDS'S (1703–1758) “school for the prophets” in Northampton, Massachusetts. He pastored in Housatonic (later named Great Barrington), Massachusetts from 1743 to 1769, and at the First Congregational Church of Newport, Rhode Island from 1770 until the year of his death, 1803.

Hopkins was arguably the greatest student of Jonathan Edwards and the most significant theologian of late eighteenth-century New England. Along with Joseph Bellamy (1718–1760), he was a leading expositor of the New Divinity, the first indigenous school of American CALVINISM, and the initial and most significant stage of the New England Theology—the most enduring intellectual tradition in United States history. The term “new divinity” was originally a label of scorn devised by Old Calvinist ministers who complained that Hopkin’s theology represented a radical departure from traditional Reformed doctrine. The movement was also variously called Hopkinsianism or Hopkintonianism, although proponents of it preferred the names Consistent Calvinism or Edwardseanism. It attracted many of the most talented thinkers of Yale College and became a powerful force in New England CONGREGATIONALISM well into the nineteenth century.

Theology

Drawing upon the religious thought of Edwards—especially his *Freedom of the Will* (1754), *Original Sin* (1758), and *True Virtue* (1765)—Hopkins reshaped Reformed theology to address the challenges of ENLIGHTENMENT thinking, to demonstrate the rationality and moral accountability of Calvinist doctrine, and to combat the dual threats of ARMINIANISM and *antinomianism*. In so doing he creatively appropriated key Enlightenment concepts to make Calvinism more responsive to the intellectual and social changes of eighteenth-century culture. This is most notably seen in his effort to construct an apologetic that demonstrated the consistency of Reformed dogma with divine

benevolence and to explore the meaning and implications of benevolence for Christian living.

Hopkins rejected those principles that compromised traditional Reformed tenets of divine sovereignty, original sin, irresistible grace, human depravity, eternal punishment, and the necessity of supernatural revelation. His forceful and provocative restatement of Calvinist concepts—pushing them to their logical limits—gave his theology the distinctive qualities for which it is known. First, in order to reconcile divine providence and benevolence with a Reformed understanding of sin, he argued that God willfully permitted and superintended sin to produce the best possible universe. Second, in combating Arminian tendencies surrounding the practice of preparation for grace, Hopkins alleged that unrepentant “awakened” sinners who used the means of grace (i.e., church attendance, Bible study, prayer) committed greater evil than “unawakened” sinners who neglected those means. Such awakened sinners aggravated their guilt by resisting the gospel message. Third, in an attempt to eliminate selfish motives for seeking salvation, he developed the extreme, hypothetical position that the truly regenerate would so submit to God’s will that they would be willing to be damned if God’s glory required it. Finally, in advancing his theory of holiness as “disinterested benevolence” to being in general, he was so intent on curtailing the influence of British benevolist moral philosophy in New England—and its sanctioning of natural self-love as a basis for virtue—that he seemingly left little room for a genuinely Christian self-love. He typically used selflove as a synonym for selfishness—a condition that inflicts all unregenerate love—in order to set it apart from a proper regard for self that is consistent with regenerate or true virtue.

Hopkins’s lifelong theological work was summarized in his eleven hundred page *System of Doctrines* (1793), the most significant eighteenth-century American systematic theology. The *System* codified New Divinity teachings and became the basis for the theological training of future Edwardsean clergy. Written at a time when *deism* in America was reaching its heyday, and when doctrinal system building was being discredited by Enlightenment empiricists, Hopkins defended the place of scriptural, systematic divinity among the sciences. Here he articulated two doctrines that were hallmarks of the New Divinity: a governmental theory of ATONEMENT and a constitutional view of original sin that connected human sin to Adam not by means of a theory of imputation but by means of a divine constitution.

Slavery and Social Reform

Hopkins’s doctrine of disinterested benevolence, with its call to radical, self-denying Christian service, provided a morally rigorous basis for social reform and evangelism that inspired evangelical social activists, religious reformers, and missionaries of the early nineteenth century. In his own life, the implications of his teaching were most clearly seen in his opposition to SLAVERY. From the slave-trading port of Newport, Hopkins became one of New England’s earliest and most outspoken abolitionists (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Convinced that slavery and the slave trade were America’s greatest

sins, opposition to them was for him a litmus test of the ethical purity of the American Revolution. He was one of the few colonial leaders who consistently applied the libertarian rhetoric of the revolution to all of America's inhabitants. He also attempted to establish a mission colony of ex-slaves back in AFRICA in order to spread Christianity and promote the coming millennium (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM)—hoping that some greater good might arise out of the injustice of slavery.

See also Slavery, Abolition of; Millenarians and Millennialism

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PETER D. JAUHAINEN

HOUSE CHURCHES, BRITISH

During the late 1960s and 1970s in Britain, groups of evangelical Protestants began abandoning their churches to gather in houses; the term “house church” derives from this.

Their theological roots lie in the nineteenth-century Brethren movement and Catholic Apostolic Church, and in twentieth-century classical PENTECOSTALISM. Like earlier Pentecostals, adherents saw being “born again” as essential for entering the Christian community, and practiced believers’ baptism in water and “of the Holy Spirit,” this latter experience issuing in *charismata* (“spiritual gifts”) such as speaking in TONGUES, a feature they share with the charismatic movement, with which they are often linked.

Three distinctives set them apart from their Pentecostal forerunners. First, they believed denominations should not exist and must be replaced by the church or “kingdom.” The second distinctive is ECCLESIOLOGY. They aimed to “restore the church” to what they perceived as the New Testament pattern for church life, leading Andrew Walker (1985) to name them “Restorationists.” Their emphasis on and literal interpretation of the BIBLE share similarities with FUNDAMENTALISM. In their leadership structure men known as apostles, around whom church groups gathered, had responsibility for overseeing networks of churches, which were in turn led by elders. Third is the (often criticized) doctrine of discipleship or “shepherding,” in which Christians submitted themselves to leaders’ guidance and AUTHORITY.

From the mid-1970s two principal groupings emerged. Walker (1985) calls these R1 (the more conservative group including leaders Bryn Jones, Tony Morton, and Terry Virgo) and R2 (the more liberal group including the leader Gerald Coates). About a dozen networks developed during a period of rapid growth through the 1970s and early 1980s. From the late 1980s growth slowed and fragmentation increased. “R2” churches became more open and ecumenical, adopting the title “new churches,” whereas “R1” churches kept their original emphases. “New church” quickly also became an umbrella term for the whole house church movement. Most congregations now worship in public buildings rather than houses, but their emphasis on the local church as an extended family remains.

British “new church” membership stands at 120,000–140,000; attendance is double this. The largest network is Terry Virgo’s New Frontiers International, with 300 congregations worldwide, the majority in Britain.

See also House Churches, Asia; Restorationism

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KRISTIN J.AUNE

HOUSE CHURCHES, INTERNATIONAL

For three centuries after Christ, Christians met for fellowship and worship in private homes. The earliest known church building was found in Dura-Europos, dated to the mid-third century. It was apparently a typical house that was renovated for the meeting of Christians. At some point it ceased being used as a home and was dedicated entirely to church functions. After the introduction of the basilica in Constantinople, the church building became the primary meeting place for Christians. Nonetheless homes were often used for meetings such as the Cluny “cells” in Viking-dominated Gaul or JOHN WESLEY’S mid-week class meetings in eighteenth-century Anglican ENGLAND. These were exceptions to the rule; church ARCHITECTURE has been a central feature of Christianity since late antiquity.

An unexpected development for Christianity came in the mid-twentieth century with the meteoric rise of the house church movement to over 100 million participants worldwide by 2000. This was caused indirectly by massive religious oppression, especially under Communist authorities, and, most significantly, in CHINA. Although prayer and worship meetings were common long before 1949, the Communist authority’s attempts to curb or control religious practice made houses the only viable meeting place for many Chinese Christians. Nonetheless house meetings were highly dangerous and groups had to remain very small to avoid detection. Independent churches from the beginning met in homes, emphasizing personal EVANGELISM. Witness Lee’s Local Church, which typified these churches, would find its congregations shouting in unison “Denominationalism is a sin.”

These churches were better prepared for the brutality of the Cultural Revolution and remained quietly active from 1950 to 1980. After 1980, often in opposition to government-approved churches, the house churches, most led by poor farmers from Henan, began to grow rapidly and organize themselves. One unique feature of these churches is a pyramid structure where house churches at the grass roots level are unaware of similar churches in the same network. Western observers have consistently underestimated their numerical strength because their contact is limited to the lower levels of the pyramid. By the year 2000 the dozen largest of these movements, together with 300 smaller networks, numbered in excess of one million house churches. The leaders of the larger networks have met in recent years for fellowship and strategy. Paradoxically, rapprochement between these movements and government-related churches, in Protestant, Independent, and Catholic contexts, has been steadily growing.

Another significant house church movement is found among African churches, whether they are Protestant, Anglican, Catholic, or Independent. In these cases either church buildings were never built or the locus of weekly fellowship is found primarily in homes.

Partly because of the success of house churches in China and AFRICA, Christians on all continents have adopted and adapted many of its features into traditional models. The cell church model, a parallel development, is one of the more successful. In many cases there are few discernible differences between these two movements. Other countries with significant house or cell churches include BRAZIL, Cambodia, INDIA, INDONESIA, the PHILIPPINES, Singapore, South KOREA, and more modestly the UNITED STATES. The future of the house church movement in Asia and around the world appears to be bright as new movements continue to spring up and existing ones grow and mature.

See also House Churches; Wesley, John

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TODD M.JOHNSON

HROMÁZDKA, JOSEF LUKL **(1889–1969)**

Czech theologian. The most influential representative of Czech Protestantism in the twentieth century, Hromádka was born in Hodslavice, northern Moravia on June 8, 1889. As a Lutheran, he studied THEOLOGY in Vienna, Basel, Heidelberg, and Aberdeen. Affected by the tragedy of World War I, he gave up his original allegiance to the study of CULTURAL PROTESTANTISM and rediscovered the biblical message as the source of his theological orientation. As a pastor and professor of the United Church of Czech Brethren (since 1918), he struggled for a new orientation of Czech Protestantism in the newly founded Czechoslovak republic.

Hromádka identified himself with the new state and tried to enrich its democratic climate by making a genuine Protestant contribution. Philosophically, he was close to the democratic vision of T.G.Masaryk. Socially, he endorsed the socialist ideas in the tradition of the Czech Reformation (Hussites and Czech Brethren) as well as those of Swiss religious socialism (LEONHARD RAGAZ). Theologically, he moved in the direction of the dialectical theology of KARL BARTH, who became his personal friend. Thus in many respects, Hromádka was recognized as the “voice” of Czech Protestantism both in his country and ecumenically. Without compromising, he mobilized the resistance of his church and his state to the threats of fascist ideology.

After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939, Hromádka had to leave his country. He found refuge in the UNITED STATES, where he became an influential teacher at the Princeton Theological Seminary. After World War II, he returned to his home country, which in 1948 had become a communist nation. Hromádka tried to find place for his church under difficult conditions, avoiding the false alternative of an opportunistic cooperation with, or a rigid opposition against, the new system. Although often disappointed, he kept hoping that the oppressive totalitarian structure might be eventually changed in the spirit of true socialism. Thus he became one of the protagonists of a Christian-Marxist dialogue. The sovereign “yes” of the Gospel is valid even in the Christian approach to atheists. In this sense, Hromádka worked at home and in the international ecumenical movement. He was one of the “founding fathers” of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and served as vicepresident of the WORLD ALLIANCE OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES. Because of his socialist positions, he was often attacked. But even a justified criticism of some of his one-sided theses should

not overlook his basic theological integrity and his prophetic call for the churches to search for an unbiased witness even in adverse conditions.

Hromádka died on December 26, 1969 in Prague.

See also Neo-orthodoxy; Socialism, Christian

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JAN MILIC LOCHMAN

HUBMAIER, BALTHASAR (1480–1528)

Anabaptist reformer. Hubmaier, a student of John Eck, received a doctorate in THEOLOGY at the University of Ingolstadt. An effective administrator and preacher, he became prorector of the University of Ingolstadt in 1515 and then pastor and chaplain at the Regensburg cathedral. In 1521 he was appointed priest in the town of Waldshut, which although on the Swiss border was in Austrian-Habsburg territory.

By 1522 Hubmaier began to study MARTIN LUTHER'S writings and, with a group of friends, the Pauline epistles. In the midst of these studies, he received—and accepted—a call to return to the Regensburg cathedral. Within a year, however, he was back in Waldshut where he came increasingly under the influence of the reformer HULDRYCH ZWINGLI at a time when the latter and his close followers were beginning to grapple with the issue of BAPTISM. Probably through the Zurich group Hubmaier was led to Erasmus's paraphrases on Matthew and Acts where the prince of humanists presented his unique interpretation of Christ's Great Commission (Matthew 28:19–20), an interpretation with powerful implications for the interpretation of baptism. It was a time, Hubmaier asserted, in which even Zwingli agreed that “children should not be baptized before they [were] instructed in the faith.”

Hubmaier attended the Second Zurich Disputation on October 26–28, 1523, where the Catholic Mass and images were discussed. When, at the close of the disputation, Zwingli turned the implementation of reforms over to “my lords” of the town council, Hubmaier, along with other more radical followers of Zwingli, began to criticize the reformer.

Upon his return to Waldshut in the fall of 1523 Hubmaier began to implement his own reforms. He delivered his *Eighteen Articles* on the Christian faith, abolished the laws on fasting and CELIBACY, and married—all with the tacit approval of the town council. However, Waldshut was not autonomous, as were the Free Imperial Cities; its overlord was Charles V's brother, Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, an ardent Catholic. Therefore, some time between the end of October and December 11, 1523, the Austrian government in Innsbruck wrote a letter to the Waldshut authorities demanding, on the basis of the Nuremberg Imperial Edict of March 6, 1523, that Hubmaier reverse his reforms.

Nuremberg Edict

This Nuremberg Edict was the product of the “public policy” of Frederick the Wise vis-à-vis Luther’s reformation. It crystallized around ANDREAS RUDOLF KARLSTADT’S celebration of an evangelical mass on Christmas day 1521. Frederick, although he had gone to great lengths to protect Luther’s right to preach the “holy Gospel,” was adamantly opposed to introducing any innovations into the Catholic Church service until they were approved by Christendom. He therefore opposed Karlstadt’s innovations. When the Imperial Governing Council, on January 20, 1522, mandated the undoing of those innovations, Frederick prevailed on Luther himself to rescind the reforms. This policy eventually came to be embedded in the Nuremberg Imperial Edict, and like Frederick’s policy, the edict essentially mandated two seemingly contradictory things. First, no innovations were to be introduced into the Church’s liturgy, ritual, and so forth until a Christian Council could have resolved the problem of Luther’s teachings, given that the latter could lead to unrest or revolt in the realm. Second, only the “holy Gospel” should be preached, although it should be preached according to the “interpretation of those teachers approved by the Christian Church.” Who were the teachers approved by the Christian Church? The Church Fathers or the Scholastics? Humanists and Protestants chose the former; Catholics, the latter. There was, therefore, an immediate division of opinion on this matter, although it was the first stipulation that caused the real problem: if one began to preach “only the holy Gospel,” might one—in the process—discover the Mass to be “an abomination in the sight of God”? Moreover, if one did, would one have to continue to celebrate it Sunday after Sunday? Protestants used the edict to justify preaching of the “holy Gospel” whereas Catholics used it to attack Protestant “innovations.”

The Innsbruck government, therefore, in its late 1523 letter to the Waldshut authorities argued that Hubmaier was preaching a “heretical” version of the holy Gospel and introducing innovations clearly condemned by the Nuremberg Edict of 1523. The Waldshut town council, in its response of December 11, 1523 to this letter, referred specifically to the Nuremberg Edict, saying it had been read from the pulpits of their churches by two priests from Constance. They thus knew what it said and argued that they, as well as Hubmaier, were being obedient to it. The council defended Hubmaier’s preaching, saying that it was Hubmaier’s intention, as he had said from the pulpit after the promulgation of the edict, to preach the “pure and clear Gospel from here on out, which he has done according to our understanding. We even invited the dean and priests to see if he preached anything but the clear and pure Word of God.” If the Austrian authorities wished, the mayor and council continued, they could act in compliance with the edict and send several of the bishop of Constance’s theologians to check on Hubmaier’s ORTHODOXY. If these authorities could prove Hubmaier’s interpretation of the Scriptures wrong, Hubmaier would surely change his interpretation. To do this on the basis of Scripture alone was difficult, as Catholics had learned by this time, and so the Innsbruck government did nothing. In virtually every debate in the Reformation between the contending parties, if it was based on the BIBLE, the Catholics lost. Clearly, the two conflicting interpretations of the edict confronted one another in Waldshut. In the end, however, it was military might that carried the day, not biblical scholarship.

Issues of Baptism

By September 1, 1524, Austrian pressure forced Hubmaier out of Waldshut, so he went to Schaffhausen. There he wrote his pamphlet *On the Burning of Her-etics*, a ringing defense of religious liberty. His presence in the city caused problems, however, so he returned to Waldshut. Officially, Hubmaier still belonged to Zwingli's party, but on January 17, 1525, Zwingli and his followers met in a last attempt to resolve their dispute over baptism. Although the Zurich council declared Zwingli the official winner of the debate, the radicals refused to acknowledge either the decision or the persuasiveness of the reformer's arguments. On January 21 these followers proceeded to baptize one another upon their confession of faith, introducing "adult" or "believer's baptism" to the world of the sixteenth century.

At this point Hubmaier began to discourage parents from having their infant children baptized; but he still baptized children of parents who were weak in their new faith and wished their children baptized. On February 2, 1525, he published his *Public Declaration*, offering to prove—in public disputation—that infant baptism was without biblical foundation. With broad popular support, he also began to abolish the Mass, and on Easter 1525 was himself baptized upon his faith by Wilhelm Reublin.

Zwingli responded to these events in two ways. First, he enlisted the Zurich town council in his fight against the radicals; and, second, he began to write against them publicly. His first attack was entitled *Concerning Baptism, Rebaptism and Infant Baptism*. Hubmaier, now his most articulate opponent, replied with his *Concerning the Christian Baptism of Believers*, the best defense of believer's baptism written in the sixteenth century.

In Waldshut Hubmaier baptized large numbers of believers, so large some scholars have spoken of ANABAPTISM in WALDSHUT as a mass movement. However, with the defeat of the peasants in the great Peasant War of 1524–1525, in the summer of 1525—an event that Hubmaier was involved in, although as yet that involvement was not public—the Innsbruck government could impose its "Catholic interpretation" of the Nuremberg Edict of the German chief (1524) on Waldshut. On December 5, 1525, Hubmaier fled the city and sought sanctuary in Zurich; but Zwingli was now his enemy. Although the Zurich authorities refused to turn Hubmaier over to the Austrian government, they had him imprisoned after he "lost" a debate with Zwingli and forced him to recant his views. He did so on April 15, but under great qualms of conscience. The recantation did him no good with either Zwingli or the town council, however.

Hubmaier managed to escape Zurich, wandered about for a time, spent some time in Augsburg where he baptized Hans Denck, and, in the summer of 1526 arrived in Nikolsburg in Moravia. Here, under Leonhard von Liechtenstein, Hubmaier and the Anabaptists found sanctuary for a time. The Anabaptist congregation in Nikolsburg grew rapidly under Liechtenstein's protection, and with the arrival of the printer Froschauer, originally from Zurich, Hubmaier could publish his increasingly prolific writings. In late 1526, however, after the Battle of Mohacz, Moravia came into the hands of Ferdinand of Austria, Hubmaier's old nemesis. Because Nikolsburg was becoming such an Anabaptist sanctuary and Hubmaier such a powerfully attractive personality, it was only a matter of time before the Catholic Austrian government would seek to capture Hubmaier and

destroy the movement. In August 1527 Ferdinand cited the counts of Liechtenstein to appear before him and demanded the capture of Hubmaier. Four weeks later Hubmaier was in custody and taken to Vienna.

At the heart of the accusations against Hubmaier was his activity in Waldshut; thus, the Nuremberg Edict formed the legal basis for Ferdinand's execution of Hubmaier. Before that happened, however, Hubmaier was allowed to meet and discuss his plight with an old classmate, Johann Fabri, now a high official of the bishop of Constance. The meeting took place in late 1527 and lasted three days. The first day they discussed the Bible and infant baptism; the second day, they discussed the SACRAMENTS in general—the MASS, intercession of the SAINTS, and purgatory. On the last day, they discussed FAITH, good works, Christian liberty, free will, the worship of Mary, and a few other matters. At the close, Hubmaier presented a confession of his faith, called *An Account of [His] Faith*, which dealt with twenty-seven articles so worded that any Christian could subscribe to them. In matters of baptism and the Mass, the "two most important articles," Hubmaier was willing to await the decision of the future church council mandated by the Nuremberg Edict. However, the Austrian authorities wanted more, and they wanted it now, demanding an unconditional recantation. This Hubmaier could not give them; and so on March 10, 1528 he was burned at the stake.

Significance

Balthasar Hubmaier was one of the most important literary spokespersons for Anabaptism. His tracts on believer's baptism have never been surpassed. At the same time, he saw the reformation of the church from a context much larger than that of most of his Anabaptist brothers. He read widely, quoted Erasmus's interpretation of the Great Commission from his paraphrases, discussed the issue with him, and knew the arguments of all the contending parties. He was also the person who originated the argument that Anabaptists should not be persecuted by the Catholic Church because the latter itself regarded initiation into a monastery as a second baptism. As Luther himself observed, it was the Catholic Church that was the real "rebaptizer."

In 1527 Hubmaier addressed the issue of the church ban, arguing that nothing would ever be right in the church until proper church discipline would be exercised. The tract was a frontal attack on the emerging Protestant state churches. In the same year he wrote a tract defending "the freedom of the will." Borrowing arguments from Erasmus, Hubmaier insisted that man's spirit had remained good in spite of the fall, but that it was—at the moment—under the control of the flesh. Since Adam's fall, he argued, the flesh was useless although the spirit was willing to do good. The human soul was therefore caught between the warring factions. Once the soul had been healed by Christ, it could be freed and could once again obey the Spirit.

Hubmaier also wrote on communion (see LORD'S SUPPER), stressing that the bread and the cup were a memorial of Christ's broken body and shed blood. However, unlike most of the early Swiss Brethren, or Anabaptists, he was not a *Staebler* (nonresistant) and was not totally opposed to the use of the sword (see PACIFISM). He saw a legitimate

role for the use of the sword by the government, and he argued that the authorities had the right to demand obedience from their subjects in this regard. This more positive approach to government and its use of the sword has won him the approval of Baptist historians who nearly universally regard Hubmaier as the ideal Anabaptist. Although a powerful spokesperson, Hubmaier is therefore not entirely typical of early Swiss Anabaptism. At the same time, his attempts at theological compromise in Zurich and later in Vienna during his captivities have detracted from his legacy. However, he strongly opposed some of the influences coming from Saxony and Thuringia, especially the eschatological violence of Hans Hut.

The case of Hubmaier and Waldshut, and later Hubmaier and Nikolsburg, raise some interesting issues for early South German/Swiss Anabaptism because both centers present us with instances in which Anabaptists cooperated with the local political authorities. Are these cases of “Magisterial Anabaptism”? Indeed, for a brief period of time Hubmaier’s movement constituted the “official” church in both regions. Could Anabaptism, even while practicing believer’s baptism, become a “territorial church”? The argument has been made that even the Swiss Brethren, before their final break with Zwingli, sought to convince the latter that their form of Christianity would find great support among the people of Zurich. To what extent, then, did the fact that Zwingli and the Zurich authorities refused to go along with them, and forced them into an oppositional minority group determine their view of the church? It is clear that Luther as well as Zwingli—before they gained the support of the political authorities in their regions—defined the true church in terms of the “congregation of believers.” Yet when they gained political favor and support, they accommodated themselves to the inherited territorial church structure. Could Anabaptism do the same, as the case of Hubmaier seems to indicate? Whatever the case, Hubmaier’s Anabaptist experiment in Waldshut and Liechtenstein does raise some intriguing questions.

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ABRAHAM FRIESEN

HUDDLESTON, TREVOR (1913–1998)

English bishop. Huddleston was born in Bedford, ENGLAND, on June 15, 1913. Educated at Oxford, he participated in the Christian Socialist Movement and the ECCLESIOLOGY of the OXFORD MOVEMENT. It was from these beginnings that a pattern was formed whereby fresh exposures in his life would intertwine with, and build on, his verbal and written output; onto the Catholic brick would be placed a socialist brick, an antiracial brick, an anticlass brick, a multifaith brick, and so on. His work was his life.

Huddleston was ordained in 1941 and, attracted by their active missionary focus, became a monk at the Anglican Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, Yorkshire. He was appointed to the township of Sophiatown, near Johannesburg, SOUTH AFRICA, with a people he loved, and he became involved in setting up community cultural projects. In his work, Huddleston influenced many future political leaders of South Africa. Archbishop DESMOND TUTU tells of being inspired to his religious vocation when Huddleston doffed his hat on meeting Tutu's mother, an unheard of action by a white man to a black lady.

After witnessing government abuses in the detainment and relocation of townfolk and the threatened takeover of the local school through the Bantu Education Act, Huddleston became one of the leading figures in the campaign to end apartheid, arguing that such a system could be neither reformed nor collaborated with. In recognition of his work for oppressed South Africans, Huddleston was awarded the title "Isitwalandwe" by the Congress of the People.

In 1956 Huddleston was controversially withdrawn from South Africa just as his book *Naught for Your Comfort*, an international best-seller highlighting the abuses of apartheid on the black populous, was published. Back in England, he helped found the AntiApartheid Movement and was among the first to advocate economic sanctions and a sports and cultural boycott of South Africa.

In 1960 Huddleston returned to Africa as bishop of Masasi, Tanzania, and worked closely with President Julius Nyerere on the development of national independence. He was later appointed to a bishopric in London, then Mauritius, and finally as archbishop of the Indian Ocean. On retirement, he worked tirelessly as president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Although acknowledged by many who did not share his Anglo-Catholic churchmanship for attempting to create an effective Christian witness in the face of

injustice and oppression, Huddleston was criticized for expounding a political gospel message that distracted from the evangelical mission to proclaim a message of saving souls. He was also criticized for his advocacy of socially focused interfaith acts of worship.

Huddleston responded by saying that SIN is never just a personal matter, but has social consequences, and the CHURCH, as salt to the earth, has a responsibility to address these. This came out of an incarnational THEOLOGY, recognizing the image of God in each person as being the basis for fellowship. Alongside this was a conviction that God is concerned not with SALVATION of the soul, but rather with reaching the whole person and in breaking the oppressive bondage of social sin. The Gospel must be culturally relevant, and salvation is a social process shown both through BAPTISM as a point of incorporation into a community and through sharing communion as a sacrament of fraternity.

Huddleston died in Oxford, England, on April 20, 1998. A leading figure in the Anti-Apartheid Movement throughout the second half of the twentieth century, he is best known as a prophetic missionary bishop who highlighted social and racial injustices and as an advocate for a multifaith dialogue.

See also Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism; Socialism, Christian

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JAMES CHAPMAN

HUGUENOTS

Although the origins and meaning of the word remain obscure and the subject of continuing debate, Huguenot was the designation frequently attached to members of the French Reformed Church from the mid-sixteenth century through the end of the eighteenth. During the initial decades of the REFORMATION in FRANCE, the term tended to be used in connection with Protestant political and military efforts—the Huguenot party or the Huguenot military forces, for instance. Eventually, the expression enjoyed extensive application, a practice that was reinforced with the proscription of Protestantism in France toward the end of the seventeenth century. The immense Huguenot diaspora after the revocation of the EDICT OF NANTES in 1685 meant the spread of French Protestant refugees throughout Europe and the wider Atlantic world. These immigrants jealously guarded their Huguenot identity and, even today, their descendants maintain Huguenot societies from Europe and the British Isles to North America and South Africa.

Initial Persecution and Warfare

Protestant ideas circulated in France soon after MARTIN LUTHER issued his stirring call for the reform of Latin Christianity in the late-1510s. By the 1540s and 1550s the Calvinist or Reformed tradition (see CALVINISM) had come to dominate French Protestantism. At the same time harsh persecution by the crown and Catholic Church prompted many early followers to seek refuge in Geneva, whose reform the Frenchman JOHN CALVIN had guided. The city and its church served, in turn, as a springboard for the spread of Calvin's theological views and ecclesiastical polity. Significantly, a number of these French Protestant émigrés trained for the ministry at Geneva. They and others eventually returned to their native France and organized Reformed churches. Beginning in the mid-1550s, Calvinist churches took root at Paris and other important cities, and by 1559 Reformed pastors and elders secretly gathered at Paris in the first national SYNOD.

The growth of the Huguenot churches provoked strong Catholic and monarchical reaction, and in 1562 religious warfare erupted. The strife shattered France for nearly four decades and subsided only with King Henry IV's proclamation of the Edict of

Nantes in 1598. Organized and reasonably well-financed armies vied on the battlefield in a series of eight civilreligious wars. Even after 1598, fierce if less widespread conflict erupted on several occasions during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. Cardinal Richelieu's siege and destruction of La Rochelle in 1628 and the Peace of Alès the following year finally broke Huguenot military power and effectively ended the movement's political influence.

Beyond the clash of rival confessional armies, the assassination of individual political leaders and less premeditated, more spontaneous outbreaks of collective violence—murderous riots and brutal massacres—accentuated the bitterness of these religious wars. A series of clashes during the spring and summer of 1562 was the prelude to wider conflict. In March soldiers loyal to the ultra-Catholic duc de Guise massacred Huguenot worshipers at the eastern French town of Vassy. Over the next several months, Protestants and Catholics fought acrimonious street battles for control of urban areas everywhere in the realm. Thereafter, the disturbances only worsened. The Protestants of Nîmes in southern France massacred some one hundred Catholics, mostly priests and prominent laymen, in September 1567. The most famous and horrifying episode was the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre of August 1572. When Huguenot nobles gathered at Paris to celebrate the marriage of their young leader Henry of Navarre to the king's sister, the king and queen mother seized the opportunity to eliminate their political rivals. Fanatical Parisian Catholics quickly transformed the affair into a religious bloodbath. Over the course of three days they shot, stabbed, and drowned thousands of Huguenots. Eventually, the carnage spread to other major French cities.

The deadly violence finally came to an end with the Edict of Nantes of 1598. It created an intelligible and logical structure in which Catholics and Protestants could live together without violence and bloodshed. The arrangement permitted the exercise of the Reformed religion, but under restricted circumstances. Huguenots received guarantees of their civil and political rights, including the ability to defend many cities in which they lived and worshiped. The Reformed faithful were assured access to public and royal offices as well as admission to educational institutions. Protestants also feared religiously prejudiced Catholic judges, and in those regions where the Huguenots were especially numerous, the Edict created special bipartisan law courts, the so-called *chambres de l'Édit*. Equal numbers of Protestant and Catholic judges staffed the tribunals, which were competent to adjudicate any civil or criminal case in which at least one of the litigants was Protestant.

In the decades after the Edict of Nantes, a significant cultural flowering occurred within the Huguenot community. French Protestants established a series of institutions for higher learning; they offered seminary and to some extent university training. Other members of the Huguenot elite gathered regularly in provincial literary and scientific academies to debate political and religious questions, evaluate their own attempts at history and literature, and review the latest discoveries in science. At Paris they participated in salon society and wrote elegant poetry. Huguenot architects even designed important public buildings, including the Luxembourg Palace.

Demographic Realities and Organizational Structures

Despite these substantial, sustained efforts and encouraging initial successes in the religious sphere and wider cultural domain, the Protestant movement in France never advanced beyond the status of a permanent if vigorous religious minority. The Reformation clearly attracted a sizable following among the nobility and urban bourgeoisie. Many artisans and even persons from the rural agricultural world were drawn to Protestantism as well. Yet the protracted strife over the second half of the sixteenth century took its toll. Estimates of the Huguenot population vary widely. The ranks of French Protestants initially swelled to ten percent of the population, roughly 1.8 million in the decade between 1560 and 1570. During the same period there were perhaps 1,400 Reformed churches in France. More important, among the politically influential nobles, Huguenot strength may have been close to fifty percent. This early, rapid growth likely peaked on the eve of the Saint Bartholomew's Massacre of 1572. Thereafter, the numbers declined precipitously. By the end of the sixteenth century Huguenots were roughly seven to eight percent of the total population, accounting for about 1.2 million persons. Over the course of the seventeenth century, the Huguenot numerical strength waned further. The situation likely stemmed from gradual absorption into the Catholic majority through intermarriage and the monarchy's relentless pressure for conversion. When Louis XIV finally revoked the Edict of Nantes in October 1685, French Reformed society totaled 800,000 to one million persons.

The Huguenot presence was heavily concentrated in the western and southern portions of the kingdom. Protestants lived on the Atlantic coast at La Rochelle and were spread across the provinces of Normandy and Poitou. To the south, Reformed communities at towns such as Castres and Montauban, Montpellier and Nîmes became legendary. In addition, a dense network of Protestant villages permeated the rural mountainous region of the Cévennes. In many ways the Cévennes were and continue to be the southern backbone of French Protestantism. Roughly four-fifths of all Huguenots lived in the west and south. Here they established the churches and consistories, which, in turn, formed the basis for an extensive and uniform national ecclesiastical system.

Everywhere in France, the Huguenots organized their churches according to an energetic ecclesiastical POLITY developed by Calvin and his associates. The structure centered on the local church and its CONSISTORY, all the while maintaining an elaborate system of colloquies and synods from the regional to the national level. The consistory was a supervisory body whose members—pastors, lay elders, and lay deacons in the French Reformed churches—met regularly, usually once a week, to plan and direct the religious life of the entire congregation. These officials had primary responsibility for ecclesiastical administration, poor relief, and morals control.

The profound religious changes associated with the Reformation meant a reform of both belief and of behavior. The centerpiece in the latter effort—a reform of lifestyle—was a profound moral and social disciplining of the community (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). The Huguenots created elaborate mechanisms for the maintenance of moral order and supervision of the faithful. The pastors and elders energetically sought to encourage virtue and suppress vice. They offered guidance and religious edification with frequent sermon services and CATECHISM lessons. At the same time these church

authorities seated in the consistory worked arduously to identify SIN and impose penitential discipline through a graduated system of shaming techniques that included censure and admonition, private and public repentance ceremonies, and excommunication. In short, the church and its officials sought to mold proper Christian behavior and cement confessional identity.

In the political sphere, the Huguenots never enjoyed sustained support from the French monarchy or its governing officials. At best, they aspired to harmonious alliances with local secular authorities in the towns and regions, which they dominated. Accordingly, the Protestant faithful, their churches and the associated ecclesiastical institutions had a strained and ambivalent relationship with the political powers. They were, at best, grudgingly tolerated and, more often than not, actively oppressed. The continual strain and strife inevitably shaped, restricted, and blunted the ambitious Reformed effort to revive the pristine splendor of early Christianity.

The Great Struggle

The choices that Huguenots faced in 1685 when the crown abrogated the Edict of Nantes were few and unpleasant: they could abandon their Protestant faith, pretend to convert, go into exile, or actively resist. Some Protestants were, of course, celebrated in their defiance. They took refuge in the mountains and forests, or the anonymity of large cities; many among them were eventually arrested and punished. For most people, however, overt resistance and the prospect of prison, the galleys, or execution held little appeal. The vast majority of Huguenots had been coerced into abjuring already on the eve of the Revocation. Hence, Louis XIV and his advisors could offer the fiction that the Edict of Nantes was no longer needed. Yet these conversions were hardly sincere. At the same time, a fifth or more—150,000 to 200,000—of all French Protestants went into exile to the Swiss cantons, various German principalities, the NETHERLANDS, the British Isles, and eventually to North America, SOUTH AFRICA, Scandinavia, and RUSSIA. They, of course, carried their religion and culture with them. At the same time the departure of so many members of the social and intellectual elite, people who had traditionally led the Huguenot community, had a stunning effect on the faithful who remained in France. French Protestantism became less structured, and those who rose to positions of leadership tended to be less educated, as well as rustic, proletarian, and feminine.

Soon after the Revocation, Huguenots began to assemble clandestinely and illicitly in the *desert* or wilderness, a strong biblical image that underscored their determination. Rural artisans and others of lesser social and economic status dominated the earliest assemblies. Women also assumed a stronger, more conspicuous presence than they had previously enjoyed. They conducted religious services in secluded woods and private homes, directing the assembled faithful as they prayed, reading passages from Holy Writ, and singing psalms. Many women suffered long and painful incarceration. Those caught attending illegal religious assemblies or engaging in other dissenting and insubordinate acts were placed in Catholic hospitals and nunneries. Women whose offenses royal authorities judged particularly egregious went to prison. Some remained there half-

forgotten for years. The most celebrated among these courageous female resisters were the several dozen who were imprisoned for decades in the Tour de Constance at AiguesMortes. Marie Durand, for example, was confined at the age of fifteen and passed thirty-eight years in the tower prison before her release. Others died without the slightest expectation of discharge. Finally a number of young women and eventually young men became prophetesses and prophets. They protested the oppression of Protestants in a less confrontational yet unconventional and highly effective manner.

Prophesying was likely the most startling development associated with the Revocation and the disappearance of an educated pastorate and established ecclesiastical structures. The movement began in February 1688 when an illiterate teenage shepherdess from the rural Dauphiné began to sing psalms and preach in her sleep. Although previously unable to converse in anything other than the local dialect, she offered sermons in “perfect French” during her trancelike state. Other young women and men soon followed suit, giving voice to their apocalyptic inspiration and spiritual visions. In a series of illicit prophesying assemblies, they shook violently, wept, and cried out for repentance. Although explanations vary, these prophetesses and prophets appear to have taken psychological refuge in acting out biblical texts, thereby expressing their anguish over the disaster that had befallen their religious community.

The prophesying movement spread across southern France and eventually turned violent as the more zealous adherents sought to wreak God’s retribution on their Catholic oppressors. The murderous, protracted revolt of the Camisards—so designated for the white shirts that the insurgents often wore—began with the assassination of the abbé du Chaila, a much detested Catholic clergyman and royal agent in the Cévennes. When, in July 1702, he arrested a group of seven adolescent Protestants, three girls and four boys, who were fleeing to Switzerland, reaction was swift and furious. The prophet Abraham Mazel gathered fifty or more followers and liberated the young prisoners. In the melee, the abbé and three of his companions were killed. The act touched raw, exposed nerves on both sides of the bitter confessional struggle. Some Protestants turned to similar acts of vengeance, such as murdering priests and burning churches. Others waged better-organized, more lasting, and initially successful guerrilla warfare. Royal troops responded predictably with further repression and reprisals. The war dragged on for eight years and led to the death of numerous Protestants as well as Catholics.

Although the active persecution of Huguenots slowly eased, the restoration of civil status occurred only with the Edict of the Toleration in 1787 and the beginnings of the French Revolution two years later. Not surprisingly, the long ordeal of the *desert* has become the heroic age, eclipsing even the violent struggle of the sixteenth century. For modern descendants within and outside of France, the anguish of the eighteenth century, together with the great diaspora, defines the meaning of Huguenot, emphasizing religious perseverance and communal solidarity.

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RAYMOND A. MENTZER

HUMAN RIGHTS

The contemporary concern with human rights did not originate, as commonly supposed, with the emerging secular modernity of nineteenth-century Western society. Rather, the issue of rights and the wider consideration of the advancement of democratic institutions can be said to have largely been assisted by the REFORMATION or at least certain forms of Protestantism. This was most apparent with LUTHERANISM and English PURITANISM, which both pulled in the same direction with respect to the rights of the lay individual that was enshrined in the notion of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. Here, much was typified by the work of eminent seventeenth-century Protestant theologians such as PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER and AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE who taught that the Christian LAITY not only possessed the right to offer God the unmediated petition of PRAYER but should enjoy the liberty of interpreting scriptures as seen fit. However, the concern of the early Protestants with individual rights was not one that advocated a stringent moral or legalistic framework. Indeed, in the seventeenth century, largely as a reaction to Roman Catholicism, there was a broad refusal of ANTINOMIANISM—the rejection of an abstract moral law.

Structurally the developing correlation between Protestantism and human rights came, paradoxically, with the emergence of the secular society that it indirectly engendered. The key was the differentiation of religious and civic institutions. At a broad comparative level the advancement of issues relating to rudimentary human rights was historically observable in the developing Protestant countries (or at least those with sizable Protestant majorities). Religious pluralism and TOLERATION were strongly associated both with the stability of pluralistic democratic regimes and the struggle against religious monopoly. Protestantism, through its increasing fragmentation, added to the growing acceptance of pluralism, albeit fostering a tolerance in a narrow religious sense. In Catholic and Orthodox nations, by way of comparison, the characteristic symbiosis appears to have been absent and was, to a large degree, connected with the enduring relationship between church and state and the continuing ecclesiastical monopoly of the former (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN; CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM).

The link between early Protestantism and the concern with rights marked the congruency of political and religious revolutions. Evidence of this was the enactment of the Bill of Rights in ENGLAND (1689) and the ascendancy of Parliament over the monarch as a result of the so-called Revolution of the Saints. In the case of northwest

Europe, the issue of human rights was also in the context of nation-building shortly after the Reformation. This was even more the case in the UNITED STATES in the eighteenth century where the Puritan communities were also driven by the cause of religious freedoms—a call for liberty that ultimately became intertwined with the advocacy of political liberties and the Rights of Man as espoused by Thomas Paine and others. Indeed, it was in the United States where the religious culture of DISSENT became universalized and eulogized. Although the American constitution has the built-in guarantee of religious expression, and civil liberties generally, the constitution itself is discernibly in the form of a COVENANT comparable to those of God with man in biblical times.

The subsequent development of the relationship between Protestantism and human rights over the last two centuries, however, has not proved to be a straightforward one. Indeed, what has become a controversial area has frequently divided the Protestant constituency. Certainly, it has been the case that Protestant contingents developed their own sectional interests, which proved to have ramifications for how rights were interpreted. Frequently the issue of rights became linked to political moralizing at best or, at the worst, personal or collective expediency. This was certainly evident during the American CIVIL WAR. For Protestants in the North, the antislavery cause was accompanied by the conviction that victory would usher in a reign of religious righteousness. In contrast the matter of rights in the South was to some extent directly or indirectly related to the issue of slaveholding within Protestant churches (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

Sectional interests apart, Protestant attitudes over the last two centuries have largely been determined by theological persuasion, where liberal and conservative impulses and biblical interpretation have proved to have significant influence on orientations toward the secular world and broader civil issues. The area of rights was contested in England during the eighteenth century by conservative Protestant bishops who denounced the liberal politician's stress on the "natural rights" philosophy as a SIN because it suggested rebellion and undermined the security of CHURCH AND STATE. From the middle of the nineteenth century the emphasis on rights was perceived by conservative Protestants as reflecting the despicable development of modernity (see MODERNISM). This was part of a wider critique of INDIVIDUALISM and of the spirit of Arminian theology, which was held as placing too much emphasis on the private interpretation of scripture (see ARMINIANISM). For many conservative Protestants, the prevailing view at the beginning of the twentieth century was that democracy and all that it entailed, like SCIENCE and technology, was an evil of the modern world. An extension of rights, alongside the SOCIAL GOSPEL, came to be understood as part of the increasing influence of liberal theology (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Progressive reform was judged as Satan's way of lulling the world from God's impending wrath. Evident here was the influence of a prevailing gloomy premillenarianism that, at its extremist dispensationist pole, brought a cultural pessimism that bordered on world-rejection.

In contrast to these developments, there was also a sense in which Protestant EVANGELICALISM endorsed a human rights agenda on its own account. This can be

traced back to the eighteenth-century Calvinist vision of an all-embracing Christian CULTURE. Typified by CHARLES FINNEY, the idea was for reform through political institutions and social action. This vision was later to be commonly proclaimed by Arminian Protestantism in conjunction with social reform and reformist parties. An example of this was the link between nineteenth-century METHODISM and the emergence of the Labour Party in Britain. The emphasis here, however, was primarily on social and political rights, given that Protestant reformism did not breed a militant secularism or extreme Left-wing ideology.

Since the 1960s liberal Protestants have advanced the cause of human rights, which have continued to be extended and transformed. Many liberals allied themselves to the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and translated the concern with rights into pressure-group politics. Some Baptist churches, for example, advanced the cause of black people in the United States. Moreover, since the second half of the twentieth century the gradual revival of human rights issues can also be seen as a response to the weakening position of Christianity in Western culture. The key concern has been in being relevant to the modern world and to sharing in its spirit of progress. This has proved to also be a vision within liberal churches with the distinct agenda of rights including the call for WOMEN and gay clergy (see WOMEN CLERGY; HOMOSEXUALITY). Although conservative Protestants may lament such developments, their forays into such social issues as ABORTION and religious education reverberate with the discourse of "human rights" so perceived. In turn this indicates the cultural preoccupation with the ever-extending field of rights in Western societies and the need for Protestants of different theological persuasions to engage with the secular world on its terms.

See also Clergy; Dispensationalism; Ethics; Millenarians and Millennialism; Secularization

STEPHEN HUNT

HUME, DAVID (1711–1776)

Scottish philosopher. Hume is widely regarded as the founder of the modern philosophy of religion. A religious skeptic and an astute critic of both natural and revealed religion, he attacked the cosmological and design arguments for the existence of God, undermined the force of miracles as evidence for revelation, and sought to uncover natural causes of religious belief. Deeply concerned about the negative ethical and social effects of religious belief, he held that morality could be detached from religion and understood in purely naturalistic terms.

Biography

Hume was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, into a family with links to the staunchly Calvinist Evangelical faction within the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. As a youth, Hume examined himself according to the catalog of vices provided by *The Whole Duty of Man*, a popular devotional work, but became a religious skeptic after reading the rationalist works of JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704) and Samuel Clarke. After an unremarkable career at the University of Edinburgh, followed by a stint as a clerk, Hume turned to philosophy, publishing his first work in 1739. In 1744 he pursued a chair in moral philosophy at Edinburgh, but when both that chair and a chair at Glasgow went to others he recognized that his religious views precluded any academic appointment. Hume did succeed in winning a post in 1752 as librarian to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, but he was dogged by controversy, and the General Assembly initiated excommunication proceedings against him in 1756. Although liberal clergy derailed these proceedings, Hume felt unwelcome in Scotland and spent several years abroad. Paris received Hume with open arms in 1763, but Hume considered the atheism of Holbach and his associates yet another form of unwarranted dogmatism. Dying of cancer in his native Edinburgh, Hume impressed the Scottish biographer James Boswell (1740–1795) with his cheerful equanimity in the face of death.

The Treatise

Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40) revealed the metaphysical skepticism implicit in Locke's empiricism, while suggesting that the common affairs of life could continue undisturbed. The *Treatise* did not overtly discuss theological matters, but in reducing the soul to a bundle of perceptions and thus questioning its unity, Hume challenged philosophical arguments for the immortality of the soul. Further, in arguing that statements about causality are simply statements of observed regularities, Hume undermined the cosmological argument to God as First Cause. In suggesting that moral arguments, which derive prescriptive ought-statements from descriptive is-statements, involve an unwarranted logical leap, Hume discredited natural law theory, which drew normative conclusions about God's will for humanity from observations of the salient features of human nature. Hume's discussion of the virtues and vices in Book III of the *Treatise* made no appeals to divine laws or to divine design of human nature. In Hume's naturalistic ethics, a virtue is a character trait that is pleasurable or useful to the virtuous person or those affected by him or her. Our capacity to care about the welfare of others is explained by sympathy, and requires no reference to God's benevolent design of human nature.

The essay "Of Miracles" is thought to have been withheld from the *Treatise* in order to avoid offending Bishop JOSEPH BUTLER (1692–1752), whose approval Hume courted, but Hume included it in his next work, the more popular *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748). Hume argued that evidence for a miracle could never outweigh our accumulated experience of the regularities of nature, and thus it would always be more reasonable to deny than to accept the occurrence of a miracle.

The Dialogues

Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, which he began writing in 1751 but published only posthumously, is modeled after Cicero's dialogue *De Natura Deorum*. In this work, the skeptic Philo, who is generally recognized as Hume's spokesman, undermines the centerpiece of natural theology by showing that the design argument can lead at most to the conclusion that "the cause or causes of order in the universe probably bear some remote analogy to human intelligence" (Hume 1993:129). Those, like the character Cleanthes, who champion this argument as justifying a robust theism, have failed to proportion the inferred cause to the observed effect, and have illegitimately extended the ideas of cause and effect to the origin of the universe, beyond the realm of experience. When the orthodox Demea argues that we are led to God not by speculative reason, but by our sense of misery and dependence on God, Philo argues that the evil and suffering in the world imply rather that the deity lacks any recognizable moral attributes and is indifferent to human affairs.

The Natural History

Hume was not content solely to reveal weaknesses in arguments for religious belief; he also sought, notably in *The Natural History of Religion* (1757), to show that religious belief has purely natural causes. Far from emerging out of careful reasoning, as deists argued, or revelation, as the orthodox claimed, Hume suggested that religion had its origins in the fear of unknown causes. Polytheism, not philosophical theism, was the first form of religious belief. Theism emerged naturally out of polytheism, because believers hoped by flattery to achieve greater control over the gods, and thus elevated one god to absolute power. Theists are incapable of sustaining a conception of God that is adequate to their claims of divine infinity and perfection; in fact, they entertain contradictory conceptions of God as loving benefactor and as arbitrary tyrant, as utterly simple yet possessing changing thoughts and passions. Self-deception and zeal emerge to protect beliefs that cannot be defended by rational means, and theism is thus typified by intolerance.

See also Calvinism; Deism

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JENNIFER A.HERDT

HUNGARY

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Protestantism dominated Hungarian society, but then gradually lost ground in the face of the Catholic COUNTER-REFORMATION. Hungarian Protestantism was profoundly affected by the politics of central Europe, but the region's largest Protestant community survived the impact of Catholic persecution, revolts, and revolutions, the breakup of the Hungarian state, and a period of Communist rule.

The Hungarian Reformation

REFORMATION ideas spread to Hungary in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, during a period of profound political instability in central Europe. In 1526 the Ottoman army under Sultan Suleiman I "the magnificent" (approximately 1494–1566) had won a crushing victory at Mohács over the Hungarian king, Louis II. The Ottomans were later able to push even further north, and by the 1540s had established control over much of central and southern Hungary. The remaining areas of the Hungarian kingdom were divided into two. Royal Hungary, ruled by Habsburg kings, stretched from the Adriatic coast up to the mountains of modern Slovakia. The eastern part of the Hungarian kingdom, including Transylvania, was ruled by elected princes.

This catastrophic collapse of the Hungarian kingdom discredited the spiritual power of the Catholic Church and disrupted existing church structures. As ideas about reforming religion spread from the west, they were quickly accepted by many nobles and in towns. The Habsburg court encouraged the diet to pass antireform laws, but these had little impact. From the 1540s Lutheran ideas received support in the German-speaking towns of Transylvania and Upper Hungary, where a version of the AUGSBURG CONFESSION was adopted in 1544. The influence of Swiss reformers then gained ground among Hungarian speakers from the late 1550s. Although a sense of linguistic and ethnic community may have made some contribution to the outcome of the Hungarian Reformation, the role of the socially privileged elite of nobles and urban magistrates was generally decisive in the reception or rejection of different forms of Protestantism. In eastern Hungary the Reformed or Calvinist Church (see CALVINISM)

dominated the confessional landscape toward the end of the sixteenth century. The magnates, gentry, and market towns of counties beyond the river Tisza mostly adhered to a Calvinist confession drawn up by Peter Méliusz Juhász at Debrecen in 1567, and Reformed clergy also recognized the Second HELVETIC CONFESSION.

In the Transylvanian principality the Lutheran, Reformed, and Antitrinitarian (see ANTITRINITARIANISM) churches were all granted legal status in the 1560s (see also ROMANIA). The remarkably tolerant resolutions of the 1568 Transylvanian diet at Turda (Torda) devolved to clergy the task of preaching the word of God “according to their understanding of it.” On the whole the German-speaking community in Transylvania remained in the Lutheran Church (see LUTHERANISM). The Reformed Church in Transylvania was dominated by Hungarian speakers, as was the anti-Trinitarian or Unitarian Church, which emerged after debates in the 1560s between Hungarian clergy about the doctrine of the Trinity.

Although Protestants in the Transylvanian principality gained constitutional recognition, Protestant clergy in Royal Hungary remained entirely reliant on powerful noble families to protect them. Freedom for Protestants to worship was granted only to the small number of royal free towns. Despite this, around three-quarters of people living in Hungary and Transylvania were attending services in Lutheran or Reformed churches by the 1570s. The Habsburg court and Catholic hierarchy attempted to undermine this growth of Protestantism (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM). Attempts by Rudolf II to close down the Lutheran church in Košice (Kassa) in 1604 provided one of the sparks of Protestant rebellion against the progress of Counter-Reformation. A Reformed noble, István Bocskai, led his forces to victory over Habsburg armies in eastern Hungary, and was elected as Transylvanian prince. The terms of the 1606 Peace of Vienna, confirmed by the diet in 1608, extended freedom of religion to nobles, towns, and military garrisons in Royal Hungary, and the rights of the Lutheran and Reformed churches were guaranteed.

However, Habsburg kings continued to work together with the Catholic hierarchy and the Jesuits during the early decades of the seventeenth century to reconvert prominent Hungarian nobles and to curtail Protestant freedoms. The Habsburgs’ ability to promote Catholicism was checked by the need to retain the support of the nobles for defense against the Ottomans, and by the interventions of a series of Reformed Transylvanian princes. Prince György I Rákóczi’s entry into the Thirty Years War against the Habsburgs led to compromise between Ferdinand III and the decreasing number of Protestant nobles at the diet of 1646–1647. Some Protestant church buildings that had been taken over by Catholics were returned, and the religious freedoms agreed in 1608 were confirmed. However, Protestants in Royal Hungary soon faced new persecution as churches were again seized by Catholics and Protestant ministers were expelled from their parishes. Protestants living in Ottoman Hungary were in some ways in a more favorable position than those in Royal Hungary by the late 1650s. Although there were restrictions against renovating church buildings in Ottoman Hungary, there were many Protestant congregations and some active schools.

The Protestant Churches

The Lutheran and Reformed churches adopted a hierarchical form of government, with superintendents charged to lead church provinces and archdeacons in charge of regions within each province. The key issue that brought division between those in Hungary who favored church reform was understanding of the sacraments, and especially the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER). Reformed clergy could not agree with Lutherans that Christ was "really present" in the sacrament, and their confession argued that the Eucharist was merely a sign and pledge of salvation by faith. Protestant churches in western Hungary remained united until the beginning of the seventeenth century, but then this issue also saw them divide into distinct Reformed and Lutheran churches. Despite Calvinist opposition to religious imagery, there were almost no incidences of ICONOCLASM in Hungary during the Reformation.

Protestant ideas spread through preaching and printed literature. Protestants recognized the importance of improving the standards of the clergy, and made efforts to develop their education in local colleges. Because Hungary did not have a university, many Protestant student ministers were sent abroad to foreign universities from the late sixteenth century, particularly to Wittenberg and Heidelberg. Hundreds of Reformed students later traveled to study in the Dutch Republic and ENGLAND from the early seventeenth century. Protestants also developed printing presses in many towns. The first complete translation of the BIBLE into Hungarian was available from 1590 thanks to the work of Gáspár Károlyi, minister at Vizsoly in northeastern Hungary. Other printed books were produced by Protestants from the late sixteenth century, including CATECHISMS, creeds, statements of DOCTRINE, sermons, schoolbooks, and HYMNALS. The HEIDELBERG CATECHISM was translated into Hungarian by Dávid Huszár in 1577, and in 1607 Albert Szenczi Molnár rendered the psalms into Hungarian verses to the settings of the Genevan Psalter.

In the early seventeenth century Reformed clergy were inspired by contact with western Calvinist centers to produce practical theological literature for their congregations. Prominent figures such as János Tolnai Dali and Pál Medgyesi returned home from the Dutch Republic and England to attempt to improve popular piety and moral discipline. These so-called Puritans (see PURITANISM) also supported the development of Presbyteries (see PRESBYTERIANISM) to enforce higher standards of morality. Although the formation of presbyteries received some support in western and northeastern Hungary, the traditional form of church government by a clergy hierarchy was upheld by a national synod at Satu Mare (Szatmár) in 1646. At the beginning of the eighteenth century PIETISM gained support among Lutheran clergy, also aiming to encourage moral discipline and spiritual renewal.

From Counter-Reformation to Toleration

In Royal Hungary, Protestants faced growing Catholic persecution, which culminated in the 1670s when Protestant clergy faced trial on charges of treason. Some clergy converted, others resigned from the ministry, and those who stood firm were imprisoned and then forced to march to Italy, where they were sold as galley slaves to the Spanish. This incident became well known in the western Protestant world, and the Dutch admiral Michael de Ruyter eventually liberated twenty-three Protestant ministers off Naples in 1676.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Habsburg success in battle against the Ottomans extended their control over more territory, and by the early eighteenth century most Protestants in western and southern Hungary lacked access to a place of worship or a minister to conduct services. Contact with western Protestants was also hindered by the state authorities. Commissions were appointed to look into Protestant grievances, but the restrictions continued. Some relief for Protestants came with the decree of TOLERATION issued by Joseph II in 1781. The Catholic Church retained its privileged status, but all Protestant communities of at least 100 families were permitted to build a church, even if the law at first prevented these buildings from having a tower, bell, or entrance onto a main street. Protestants were also allowed access to public offices, could become members of guilds, and were no longer compelled to attend Catholic services. However, in mixed marriages, marriage law required that if the father was Catholic then all children must be brought up as Catholics; if the father was Protestant then only his sons could become Protestants.

Protestantism in the Nineteenth Century

Lutherans and Calvinists were granted basic freedoms of religious practice at the end of the eighteenth century, but the continuing inequalities that Protestants faced formed part of the agenda of Hungarian national reform in the nineteenth century. Indeed, Protestant communities, which had always been among those least supportive of Habsburg rule in Hungary, became central to Hungarian Nationalist movements (see NATIONALISM). During the 1848 revolution, legal equality was declared between four accepted churches: Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian. Protestant support for the revolution was enthusiastic, and the Transdanubian Reformed Church province even called on its ministers to take part in the fighting. In April 1849 Hungarian independence was declared at the Reformed college chapel in Debrecen, announced by the Lutheran Lajos Kossuth.

After the 1848 revolution was crushed, the Protestant churches faced renewed persecution. Religious freedoms were established again only after the 1867 Compromise with Austria. In 1881 the Reformed Church could hold its first national synod at Debrecen, the Hungarian Calvinist "Rome." This synod was able to lay down the foundations of a national church, with a synod to meet every tenth year to decide on church laws and a council that represented the church between these synods. The late

nineteenth century saw increased educational activity from all the Protestant churches, and concern for domestic mission from the 1880s in the face of declining church membership.

In 1895 a law accepting the free practice of religion was passed by the Hungarian parliament. This law declared that the practice of civil and political rights was entirely independent from religious faith. The full benefit of these laws was offered to the traditional religious groups: Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian, Jewish, and Orthodox (see JUDAISM; ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). These churches, synagogues, and their schools could receive state subsidies, their clergy were offered a minimum salary, and their religious teachers were given a state salary. A second category of religions, which included a Baptist Church that had emerged in the nineteenth century, was recognized. BAPTISTS also enjoyed full legal freedoms, but could not claim state subsidies. Finally, smaller tolerated denominations were allowed to function under rights of free association. These laws remained in place up to the end of the SECOND WORLD WAR.

Protestantism in the Twentieth Century

By 1910 the Reformed Church had recovered in numbers, thanks to considerable efforts at home mission and the relaxation of laws against Protestant churches. There were over two and a half million Reformed Church members before the FIRST WORLD WAR, served by over 2,000 clergy and over 3,000 teachers. The Protestant churches, and the rest of Hungarian society, faced the trauma of defeat in the FIRST WORLD WAR and then the reduction of Hungarian territory by over two-thirds in the 1920 Trianon peace treaty. One-third of ethnic Hungarians found themselves outside the borders of Hungary. The states that gained Hungarian territory, especially Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, all had many new Protestant subjects.

Within the territory of the new Hungarian state, a 1920 census revealed that 21 percent of the population were Reformed (approximately 900,000), with a further 6 percent Lutheran. The desire to recover territory lost under the Trianon treaty bred an intolerant nationalism in the interwar period. None of the Christian churches had a distinguished record in challenging the rise of fascism and ANTI-SEMITISM in Hungarian society. Reformed superintendent László Ravasz even supported a 1938 law that legalized the expropriation of Jewish property.

After defeat as Germany's ally in the SECOND WORLD WAR, the postwar Communist regime limited the role of all churches in public life. In 1947 the privileges offered by the state to the churches were revoked. In 1948 the Protestant churches agreed to a formal separation from the state. The last census to measure religious affiliation in 1949 found that 70 percent of the population were Catholic, 22 percent Calvinist, and 5 percent Lutheran. Among the smaller religious groups, Baptists were measured at 0.2 percent (approximately 20,000), and Unitarians at 0.1 percent. In 1951 the Church Affairs Office was established to organize policy toward all Christian churches, and the churches from that point became increasingly subordinated to the state (see CHURCH AND

STATE, OVERVIEW). The 1956 revolution brought religious instruction back into schools for several months, but this effort to break free from the Communist bloc was quickly overwhelmed by Soviet intervention.

By the time Communist rule softened in the years of “goulash-communism,” the numbers of active Protestants had decreased considerably, especially in Budapest and in other large towns. Only 18 percent of the population were Calvinist by this time, with 4 percent Lutheran, and almost 10 percent declared themselves outside any denomination. From the downfall of the Communists in 1989, laws have been passed establishing freedom of conscience and religious activity. The state surrendered its monopoly on education, the Church Affairs Office was closed, and some appropriated church property was returned by the state. The Reformed Church has developed its seminaries in Budapest, Debrecen, and Sárospatak, and all the Protestant churches have produced new religious books and undertaken some missionary work, especially among students. The historic Protestant churches face many challenges to establish their role in a post-Communist society, including competition from some new Christian movements.

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GRAEME MURDOCK

HUTCHINSON, ANNE (1591–1643)

American lay theologian. Called the “American Jesabel” by JOHN WINTHROP (1638–1707), governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony, Anne Hutchinson is one of the most notorious heretics in the history of American Protestantism (Hall 1968:310). Immigrating to Boston in 1634 with her large family, Hutchinson quickly assumed a position of religious authority within the community. The meetings that she held at her house to review the previous week’s sermon grew to an unprecedented size and attracted both women and men. When she began at these meetings to denounce all the colony’s ministers, except JOHN COTTON (1585–1652), for preaching a covenant of works, the ensuing controversy divided the colony into two opposing factions. In November 1637, after a very bold and articulate defense of her theological positions, the general court banished Hutchinson from the colony; in March 1638 she was excommunicated by the Boston Church. Moving first to Rhode Island and then to the New York frontier, she and several family members were killed in 1643 in an Indian raid.

Because the Massachusetts Bay ministers preached that sanctification, or good works, was evidence of JUSTIFICATION, Hutchinson accused them of legalism. Because she denied the necessity of works and maintained that assurance of salvation came through an immediate witness of the Spirit, they accused her of ANTINOMIANISM. In addition to this theological disagreement, historians have perceived in the controversy a class conflict, for the supporters of Hutchinson were disproportionately drawn from Boston’s rising merchant class. Historians have also explored the role of gender in the controversy. Acting to suppress not only a rival interpretation of the relation between faith and works but also the possibility of women’s religious leadership, the bay ministers established a link between heresy and female power that would persist in the religious imagination of Protestant America for generations.

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HUTTERITES

The Hutterites (also known as the Hutterian Brethren) were a group of Germanic religious dissenters that coalesced around the charismatic leadership of JAKOB HUTTER (after whom they were named), developing into a distinctive church around 1530 in Moravia (Slovakia). Committed to basic Anabaptist Practice and faith (see ANABAPTISM), they developed a unique attachment to a communitarian life (*Gütergemein-schaft*) in which all personal and family possessions were shared. Today the Hutterites number around 30,000, scattered among some 300 colonies (farming communities) mainly in western Canada and the mid-west and western United States. They have substantially maintained the faith and practice of their fore bears, making them the longest lived family-oriented communitarian movement in history.

History

During much of the sixteenth century, nobles in and around the region of Moravia were independent enough to allow a measure of religious freedom in their territories. The promise of religious tolerance drew thousands of dissenters to the area, most of whom were Anabaptists. Austrian Tirol (homeland of Jakob Hutter) also provided hundreds of pilgrims who made their way to what they often described as the “Promised Land” in Moravia.

Backed by a large contingent of Tirolian Anabaptists, Hutter was able to forge from various groups a united movement that became the Hutterites. Although Hutter was captured on a return visit to Tirol and executed at Innsbruck in 1536, the Hutterite church maintained its cohesion and commitment to their faith and practice. During the first half of the sixteenth century, the church endured periods of severe persecution at the hands of the Hapsburg Kings of Austria, at times being forced to take refuge in caves. However, by the mid-1550s the nobles again were able to resist the king’s repeated order to rid the land of dissenters (see DISSENT). In exchange for the economic benefits brought to their land by the industrious dissenters, the nobles allowed them to practice religion as they chose. The Hutterites referred to this time (1550s-1620) as the “Golden Years.”

Numbering as many as 20,000 scattered among some 100 colonies, they prospered enormously. Although they did not mix with the national population, living largely in their separated communitarian colonies, their numbers consistently increased because of an active mission outreach to Germanic lands in central Europe. In small and large groups, Anabaptists emigrated to Moravia, often bringing with them orphaned children whom local authorities had abandoned. They were organized under a single bishop over the entire church, with both a spiritual leader (*Diener des Wortes*, Servant of the Word or Preacher) and a leader responsible for temporal affairs (*Diener der Notdurft*, Servant of Temporal Concerns or Colony Manager) for each colony. Agriculture was an integral part of the Hutterite economy, although their main economic contribution was small industry. A broad range of crafts, including iron and copper works, carpentry, mill works, wagon building, leather works, wine production, farm management, and, perhaps the most important, their highly sought after ceramic works, made them almost indispensable for the local economy and its tax base. (Religious freedom included for a time allowance for the Hutterites to pay taxes and/or provide public service in lieu of military service and to exclude taxes directly related to military causes.) The communitarian economy allowed them to underprice competition, which often incited considerable resentment among the populace, which along with the religious dissent created a continually volatile existence. Nonetheless, under the direction of gifted and capable leaders, such as Peter Walpot and Peter Riedemann, both their economic stability and spiritual commitment were effectively maintained during this period.

At the outbreak of the Thirty Years War (1618–1638), circumstances changed abruptly. The Hapsburg dynasty again achieved the upper hand over the nobles and were able finally to rid their lands of the “Anabaptist menace.” The expulsion from Moravia was catastrophic for the Hutterites. Not only did they lose about half their number, but they were forced to leave their well-established economic base for the much less politically stable and economically depressed Hungarian lands. They also entered a no-man’s-land situation in which they were caught between the rival claimants of the Hapsburgs, local nobles, and Ottoman Turks, each of whom periodically sent troops into the area to support their respective claims. This, along with renegade marauding bands, wreaked havoc among the Hutterite settlements. At times entire colonies were exterminated. The end of the Thirty Years War brought no reprieve; in fact, the sociopolitical instability increased throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century.

In spite of the dire circumstances, the Hutterites experienced one of their greatest leaders, Andreas Ehrenpreis, often referred to as the movement’s second founder. Many within the church began to feel that the stringent organizational structures required by community of goods were no longer tenable under such difficult economic circumstances, and many began to leave the church to live as independent families in the nearby communities. Under his direction monumental efforts were undertaken to stem the tide of spiritual and temporal disintegration. Although the church had over the years produced numerous ordinances defining and directing the various crafts and requirements of craft foremen, as well as those for the spiritual leaders, they began to proliferate during the Ehrenpreis era. New and revised ordinances were written to enforce a greater allegiance to the concept and practice of community of goods, which under Ehrenpreis received an even greater emphasis than it had in the past. For him, it became the ultimate expression of Christian faith and practice.

Ehrenpreis's efforts were heroic but abortive. Soon after his death in 1662, the church decided to temporarily abandon community of goods, and soon thereafter most began to assimilate into the local culture. A remnant of nineteen people, however, remained loyal to the faith in Transylvania (central, northwestern Romania) and were later (1756) joined by a few Lutherans who were converted to their faith. A small group of sixty-seven faithful fled the Hapsburg suppression in this area and emigrated to Walachia (southern Romania) in 1767 and later to Russia in 1770 because of the promise of religious freedom. For the next century the Hutterites settled in Ukraine, where community of goods was sporadically practiced, although most families continued to maintain the spiritual and historical heritage of the movement. In 1870 the Czar declared universal military conscription, undermining the initial invitation of nobles for the Hutterites to live on their lands as pacifists (see PACIFISM). With a few exceptions, the church as a whole decided to emigrate to the United States, which they began to do in 1874. They settled in South Dakota because it reminded them so much of the Russian Steppes that had been their home for over a century.

In spite of their historical heritage and theological homogeneity, soon after the immigration long-standing differences resulted in a division into three distinct groups, *Lehrer-Leut*, *Darius-Leut*, and *Schmiede-Leut*. All three groups practiced community of goods, but carefully maintained differences that would not be easily discernible to outsiders. As a result of a very high birth rate, the church grew phenomenally from some 400 in the 1870s to nearly 30,000 in 100 years. Their economic prosperity was equally remarkable.

However, during WORLD WAR I a number of their young men submitted to the draft but nevertheless refused to bear arms, for which many suffered considerable hardships. In fact, two of their young men were so severely mistreated in a military camp that they died. Because of this, with the exception of one colony, the entire church moved to Canada, where they were granted exemption from military service. Since that time, the U.S. government has granted them conscientious objector status (see CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION) and many have returned and have spread throughout the north-central and western United States, where they continue to prosper.

Doctrine and Writings

Of all Anabaptist groups, the Hutterites were by far the most prolific in producing literature, including theological treatises, letters, HYMNS, and sermons. Their literature reflects a literalist interpretation of the BIBLE with an understanding that both FAITH and behavior contribute to SALVATION, in which the individual Christian is intimately bound to the life of the church. Their primary objective was to restore the New Testament church, which they felt the Roman Catholic Church had distorted through its traditions and the Protestant churches had not fully reformed. One of their first major works was the "Great Article Book" (*Die Fünf Artikel des Grössten Streitens Zwischen Uns und der Welt*, "Five Articles Concerning the Great Struggle Between Us and the World"), which contained the five primary principles of the Hutterite faith: a rejection of infant

BAPTISM for adult baptism, a rejection of the Catholic view of the reality of the elements of the LORD'S SUPPER in favor of a symbolic understanding, the necessity of community of goods as an expression of true Christian devotion (*Gelassenheit*), pacifism, and allowance for the DI-VORCE of a nonbelieving spouse (although remarriage after such a divorce was not allowed). One copy included, as a fifth point, the rejection of oath-taking. It is most likely that Peter Walpot composed the book around 1547.

Another work of great significance was the Great History Book (*Geschichts-Buch und kurzer Durchgang vom Anfang der Welt*, "History Book and brief Overview from the Beginning of the World") now translated as the *Chronicle I* (*Chronicle II* is a translation of the *Klein-Gechichtsbuch*, "Short History Book," in process). As was common to history books of the era, it began with creation but quickly came to the account of the rise of Ana baptism, and then concentrated on Hutterite history from 1528 to 1665. It also includes a condensed version of the "Great Article Book" and a number of letters by prominent leaders. *Chronicle II* continues the account of the Hutterite church from 1665 to 1947, including a number of interesting documents, diaries, and treatises.

The major theological work of the early Hutterites was the treatise written by Peter Riedemann called *Confession of Faith* (*Rechenschaft Unserer Religion, Lehr und Glaubens*). It includes the five principles but elaborates in greater detail many of the other ideas and practices of the Hutterite faith, systematically arranged.

The Hutterite church was a careful collector and preserver of its own literature, which it used extensively to maintain the faith but also put to use in more practical ways. In the larger church colonies boarding schools were set up that provided elementary EDUCATION in reading, writing, and arithmetic for both boys and girls before they were apprenticed to a craft around the age of 12. This was one of the most advanced elementary educational systems in Europe at the time. The numerous missionary letters, treatises, hymns, and later sermons served as the educational material used to teach reading and writing in the schools. There were hundreds of letters to and from missionaries and other church leaders that were shared among the colonies and archived to be made available for various purposes.

As noted, during the Ehrenpreis era both temporal and spiritual ordinances proliferated. In addition, a new genre of literature began to appear: the sermon. There are over 500 sermons from this period that are yet extant. In fact, these very sermons are the source of all preaching among the Hutterites today. Each Sunday, the preacher chooses selections from these sermons to read to the church. Only on the rarest of occasions will a preacher write a new sermon. Ehrenpreis also edited a number of collections of hymns, which together with the sermons make up the contemporary liturgy of the Hutterite church.

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WES HARRISON

HUTTER, JAKOB (c. 1500–1536)

Anabaptist leader, founder of Hutterites (Hutterian Brethren). Born around 1500 in Moos, a hamlet in South Tyrol, Hutter became a hatmaker by trade and received a rudimentary education. As early as 1527 Anabaptist teachings began to infiltrate Tyrol, an area already given to ideas of religious and social reform. Around 1528 or 1529 Hutter converted to ANABAPTISM and quickly became a recognized leader in the region. In 1529 he made the first of several trips to Moravia to investigate reports that “God had gathered a people in his name to live as one heart, mind, and soul, each caring faithfully for the other” (*Chronicle* 1987:84). Throughout the sixteenth century a few Moravian nobles were occasionally able to maintain religious freedom on their lands. These circumstances drew thousands of religious dissidents from all over Europe, most of whom were Anabaptists. Hutter united with a group in Austerlitz, being particularly attracted to their practice of community of goods (sharing all possessions as community property). This tenet of faith would become the cornerstone of the movement to which Hutter emphatically dedicated himself and his teaching. From 1531 to 1533 the church was severely plagued with controversies over leadership. Although Hutter was active during this time as a missionary in Tyrol, he was also indirectly involved with the leadership question. In 1533 he returned to Moravia for the fourth time and soon established himself as the sole leader of the group, called HUTTERITES or Hutterian Brethren, which now numbered about 1,000, including some 300 children. Hutter proved to be an indefatigable and resourceful leader, providing the practical and inspirational direction necessary to keep together such a large group.

The determination of the Hapsburg King Ferdinand I to rid all his lands of the Anabaptist “heresy” eventually caused Hutter to return to Tyrol. Having recently married, Hutter and his wife Katherine continued the same mission activity he had participated in before. Unfortunately, by this time his practices were too well known by the authorities, and he and his wife were soon arrested. Hutter was interrogated incessantly, tortured severely, and finally burned at the stake in Innsbruck in late February or early March 1536. His wife gave birth to a child while in prison, but later escaped. However, she was recaptured two years later and executed. Nothing further is known about the child.

Only eight letters from Hutter are extant. They are filled with pastoral expressions of concern and exhortations to remain faithful despite the ever-present threatening forces of evil. One letter was addressed to a local noble in Moravia as an apology of the movement

as harmless people who desired to live their faith in love to all people and as a charge to the nobles themselves to repent and join the true faith.

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WES HARRISON

HYMNS AND HYMNALS

Pre-Reformation Traditions

Vernacular religious song was not the invention of the REFORMATION era. There was a long European history of such songs, including English carols, Dutch *geestelijke liederen*, Italian *lauda spirituales*, and German *leisen*. MARTIN LUTHER knew of and utilized the para-liturgical German *leisen* that were closely associated with the LITURGY and the festivals of the church year (see HOLIDAYS AND FESTIVALS). Examples include the fifteenth-century *Wir glauben all an einen Gott*, based on the Nicene Creed, the fourteenth-century *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Christmas Day), the twelfth-century *Christ ist erstanden* (Easter Day), textually and musically related to the Easter sequence *Victimæ paschali laudes* and the thirteenth-century *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* (Feast of Pentecost), all of which, with others, Luther revised and expanded. But whereas previous generations had sung these *leisen* extraliturally, after mass on the respective festivals, Luther directed that the new evangelical hymns—whether reworkings of older material or newly created—should be sung intraliturally, that is, within the reformed mass by the congregation at large.

Luther's liturgical use of vernacular hymnody had been anticipated by the Bohemian Brethren, the followers of reformer Jan Hus (c. 1372–1415), who had sung Czech hymns in worship during the final decades of the fifteenth century. Germanspeaking Brethren translated many of these Czech hymns into their own language, issuing them in a hymnal published in Prague as early as 1501. Other collections of German versions of Czech hymns were *Ein New Gesengbuchlen* (Jungbunzlau, 1531), edited by Michael Weisse, and *Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Werherrn* (Nuremberg, 1544), edited by Johann Horn; hymns from both collections were utilized by Lutherans in Wittenberg and elsewhere.

The Latin hymns of the daily office were also influential in the development of Lutheran hymnody. Manuscript and printed *Hymnaria*, although designed for use by CLERGY and choirs, nevertheless provided a model for later Lutheran collections of vernacular congregational hymns, because many of these German hymns, like the earlier Latin office hymns, were intended to be sung during the primary seasons of the church year. But the Latin hymns themselves continued to be sung in Lutheran worship,

especially in those churches that maintained a choir made up of pupils from the local Latin school.

Lutheran Tradition

The theological imperative for congregational hymnody came from Luther's understanding of the DoCTRINE of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS, which stood in contradistinction to the particular priesthood of Catholicism. Although it took five years after the 1517 debate concerning indulgences for Luther to make the connection between doctrine and practice, once he had linked the two he saw that unison congregational song was a powerful demonstration of the doctrine of universal priesthood, because every member of the congregation was involved in the activity. But Luther was also aware of the practice of the early CHURCH. In the *Formula missae* of 1523, he wrote: "I also wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass, immediately after the gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. For who doubts that originally all the people sang these which now only the choir sings?"

Before the end of 1523, the year that the *Formula missae* was published, Luther and his colleagues began creating a basic corpus of congregational song for Reformation WORSHIP, both ecclesiastical and domestic. They revised and reworked old German *leisen*; translated Latin office hymns into the vernacular, and modified, where necessary, their associated plainsong melodies; created *contrafacta*, either by rewriting preexisting religious folksongs or by supplying folk melodies with new "evangelical" texts; and wrote newly created hymns, both texts and tunes. These "new" hymns were first published on broadsides, but, beginning with the so-called *Achtliederbuch* (a small hymnal of just eight hymns published in Nuremberg in 1524), an extraordinary number of hymnals—at least 500—were published, with and without music, in German-speaking lands over the next quarter of a century.

Even before he and his colleagues had really begun to assemble a basic corpus of vernacular congregational song, Luther saw the primary function of such singing in liturgical terms. In the *Formula missae*, following the passage cited above, he wrote: "Poets are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them (Col. 3:16), worthy to be used in the church of God (after the Gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, etc.)." Sufficient progress had been made over the ensuing two years so that when Luther drew up his vernacular liturgy in 1525—the *Deutsche Messe*, published in Wittenberg early in 1526—there was a sufficient number of hymns available in Wittenberg for congregational use. Thus Luther was not only able to refer to hymns, but also to include some texts, with tunes, within the document. The traditional structure of the mass was retained, but, as in the *Formula missae*, the content was theologically reinterpreted. The five parts of the traditional ordinary were retained, except that in the *Deutsche Messe* Luther developed the principle that the congregation could sing them in hymnic forms. Over the course of time, a complete sequence of "ordinary" hymns became customary: *Kyrie*, *Gott Vater in*

ewigkeit (Kyrie), *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* (Gloria), *Wir glauben all an einen Gott* (Credo), *Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah* (Sanctus), *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*, or *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig* (Agnus Dei).

The new congregational hymns were to be not only liturgical, but also biblical. In the initial months when Luther and his colleagues were writing their earliest hymns, the reformer created a new genre that was to have enormous significance for hymnic congregational participation in Reformation churches: the psalm-hymn, or metrical psalm, that is, the biblical psalm in the vernacular rendered into a strophic and rhymed form. Near the end of 1523, Luther wrote thus to a colleague Georg Spalatin:

Following the example of the prophets and fathers of the church, I intend to make vernacular psalms for the people, that is, spiritual songs so that the Word of God even by means of song may live among the people. Everywhere we are looking for poets. Now since you are so skillful and eloquent in German, I would like to ask you to work with us in this and to turn a psalm into a hymn as in the enclosed example of my work (Psalm 130: *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*). But I would like you to avoid new-fangled, fancied words and to use expressions simple and common enough for the people to understand yet pure and fitting. The meaning should also be clear and as close as possible to the psalm. Irrespective of the exact wording, one must freely render the sense by suitable words.

Luther wrote no less than five metrical psalms during this earliest period of writing (1523–1524): *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein* (Psalm 12), *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (Psalm 14), *Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein* (Psalm 67), *Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit* (Psalm 124), and *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir* (Psalm 130)—all in the same meter. He wrote *Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht* (Psalm 128) and *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (Psalm 46) later, in 1525 and 1528–1529, respectively.

Other Lutherans followed Luther's example and wrote metrical psalms, thus establishing the genre that was to become almost universal in the churches of the Reformation, especially those that were Reformed in their THEOLOGY.

Evangelical Tradition

The Reformation in Strassburg, the leading city of Alsace, situated on the borders between FRANCE and GERMANY, although influenced by Wittenberg Lutheranism, nevertheless charted a somewhat independent course with regard to theological and ecclesiastical reforms. These reforms were certainly “evangelical,” but not consistently Lutheran and not yet Reformed, in the sense of later CALVINISM. During the first period of hymn writing by Luther and his colleagues, 1523–1525, these German Lutheran hymns, especially the metrical psalms, were republished in Strassburg soon after their first appearance in Wittenberg. But there were two significant differences. First, the Wittenberg hymns were given new “Strassburg” tunes, composed or edited by Mathias

Greiter and Wolfgang Dachstein, cantor and organist, respectively, of Strassburg cathedral. Second, additional congregational songs written by various Strassburgers were added to those of the Wittenbergers. Congregational singing was taken seriously in the city and area of Strassburg. In his 1543 CATECHISM, MARTIN BUCER, the leading reformer of the city and surrounding area, included a whole section on the importance of participation in the *Kirchengesang* (congregational hymnody), which he saw as second in importance only to participation in corporate PRAYER in the worship assembly.

The contents of the Strasbourg hymnals published in the 1520s and 1530s demonstrate a growing marked preference for metrical psalms, a fact that was to have far-reaching consequences not only for the later hymnals and psalters published in Strassburg, but also for the development of Genevan psalters. This later Calvinist psalmody had its genesis in the metrical psalmody of Strassburg. In 1537, JOHN CALVIN was called by Bucer to minister to the relatively small group of French-speaking protestants in Strassburg. It was here that Calvin encountered German metrical psalms and was stimulated to create French metrical psalms to be sung to the same melodies used by the German congregations in Strassburg. These were published as *Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques* (Strasbourg, 1539), the first fruit of what was to become the French Genevan Psalter.

Reformed Traditions

The character of the Swiss Reformed churches was shaped in large measure by the two primary languages of the Cantons: German and French. The churches of the German-speaking Cantons were focused on HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (and later HEINRICH BULLINGER) in Zurich; those of the French-speaking Cantons, on Calvin in Geneva. Each language-group developed specific theological emphases, patterns of worship, and different conclusions with regard to the practice of congregational song.

Zwinglian

Probably the most musically gifted of the sixteenth-century reformers, Zwingli paradoxically excluded music from the churches in Zurich. A principal reason for this action was Zwingli's theological understanding of the nature of worship. He saw outward observances as of little value when compared to the inner spiritual life, which he regarded as the essence of Christianity. Outward rites and gestures with ceremonial music, such as in the Roman mass, obscured the essence of true worship. Although he did accept the principle of corporate speech, as opposed to corporate song, for the public worship of the churches of Zurich, introduction of this practice was disallowed by the Zurich magistracy. However, Zwingli's exclusion of corporate song and other music from public worship has been misunderstood as a prohibition of all music from all worship. On the contrary, music was important in his own devotional life, and Zwingli is known to have

written both words and music for at least three religious songs: the Pestlied, a metrical version of Psalm 69, and the Kappeler Lied. He also believed that music had important secular functions, especially in EDUCATION, and made provisions for the study of music in his reformed curricula for the schools attached to the Zurich churches. Although he gave a role to music in the secular sphere, and also in the realm of private devotion, he nevertheless excluded the possibility of music in public worship. Hymnody was therefore not generally admitted into the worship of those churches that were among the first to adopt Zwinglian theology and practice. In the churches of Zurich, all music was excluded from worship for the remainder of the century, Zwingli's nonmusical ecclesiastical agenda being continued by his successor, Bullinger. Thus in 1561, when drafting the Second HELVETIC CONFESSION (not published until 1566), Bullinger included the following somewhat defensive statement: "If there are churches which have a true and proper sermon (*orationem*=service of worship) but no singing, they ought not to be condemned. For all the churches do not have the advantage of singing." The reason for his defensiveness on the issue was the growing influence of Genevan psalmody, which caused the churches following the Zurich model to become exceptions rather than the rule in Reformed SWITZERLAND.

Calvinist

Calvin's 1539 Strassburg collection of congregational songs included nineteen metrical psalms, six of which were written by Calvin himself and the remainder of which were written by Clement Marot, poet to the French court, whose psalm versions had not hitherto appeared in print. Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541, and a year later issued his Genevan liturgy, *La Forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques* (Geneva, 1542), which also included an expanded version of his Strassburg psalter containing more metrical psalms by Marot. Calvin's goal was to produce the complete biblical psalter rendered into rhyme and meter, the principle being to render accurately the substance of the biblical text in vernacular verse. Marot continued to work with Calvin on the project; indeed, the French poet not only wrote more metrical psalms, but also produced other versifications that replaced Calvin's earlier examples. After Marot's death in 1544, Calvin turned to THEODORE BEZA to continue the work on a complete French metrical psalter. Within a few years, eighty-three psalms had been completed, and the important and influential edition of the French psalter could be published: *Pseaumes octante trois de David* (Geneva, 1551), for which Louis Bourgeois was the musical editor. The objective of a complete psalter was eventually realized in *Les Pseaumes mis en rime, par Clement Marot, & Theodore Beza* (Geneva, 1562). This contained all 150 psalms, written in 110 different meters, with 125 tunes edited by Claude Goudimel. It is difficult to overestimate the influence of these Genevan psalters, because virtually every European language group emulated them in one way or another by producing other vernacular collections of metrical psalms in the following century. Significant psalters following the French Genevan model were produced in English, Dutch, German, various East European languages, and even Russian in the early eighteenth century.

Anglican

The general European religious environment influenced the rise and development of English metrical psalmody. In ENGLAND, during the reign of HENRY VIII, Lutheran hymns and psalms were translated into English in the mid-1530s by MILES COVERDALE, who published them as *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* (London, 1535). Fifteen of the forty-one texts were metrical psalms, a foretaste of what was to come later. Coverdale's collection was ordered to be burnt, because its contents were "too Lutheran." Thus the promising beginning that the *Goostly psalmes* represented never matured, although one of its translations was later used, almost verbatim, by THOMAS CRANMER in drawing up the burial service for the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, and at least two of the melodies were later refashioned into English metrical psalm tunes.

Henry VIII's death in 1547 brought a new era of vernacular psalmody. Thomas Sternhold, a personal courtier to both Henry VIII and his successor Edward VI, wrote poetic versions of the psalms that were reported to have circulated in manuscript and at the English Court. Early in the reign of Edward VI, when the Reformation ideals were openly pursued, nineteen of Sternhold's metrical psalms were published as *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and Drawen into Englishe metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of ye Kynges Maiesties Roobes* (London, 1547). Sternhold continued work on-writing metrical psalms, with the intention of completing the psalter, but died soon after his psalms first appeared in print. After his death, an expanded edition of his psalms was edited by John Hopkins: *Al such psalmes of David as T. Sternhold didde in his life time draw into English metre, Newly emprinted* (London, 1549). An additional eighteen versions by Sternhold were included, and Hopkins contributed a further seven, making a total of forty-four metrical psalms. This small collection proved to be popular, and at least ten reprints, dated between 1550 and 1554, are extant, implying that they were widely sung, at least in London, during the reign of Edward VI.

During the Marian years, 1553–1558, when the English church reverted to Catholicism and the Roman mass, Sternhold's psalter was expanded in various English Protestant exile congregations in Germany and Switzerland. In Strassburg, the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms were augmented by English translations of Luther's *Vater unser im Himmelreich and Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*. In Wesel, a new edition of Sternhold and Hopkins was printed by Hugh Singleton, *Psalmes of David in Metre* (Wesel, 1555), an expanded edition that, in addition to the basic corpus of forty-four Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms, included seven psalm versions by William Whittingham, who had been in Frankfurt before moving to Geneva. The Wesel English psalter also included a number of metrical canticles: five anonymous, one by Whittingham, the Strassburg translation of Luther's "Lord's Prayer" hymn, and five by William Samuel, one of the two assistant ministers of the English exile congregation in Wesel. In Frankfurt, a split occurred within the exile congregation, with one party favoring Prayer Book worship and the other demanding a form more akin to the French liturgy of Calvin in Geneva. Ultimately the Prayer Book party remained in Frankfurt, while the others, including Whittingham and (later) JOHN KNOX, migrated to Geneva. Soon after arriving in the city, Whittingham published (in February 1556) the Calvinistic liturgy that had been drafted in Frankfurt. It included a modified and expanded version of

the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter with its own title page: *One and fiftie Psalmes of David In Englishe metre, whereof 37 were made by Thomas Sternholde: and the rest by others. Conferred with the hebrewes, and in certeyn places corrected as the sens of the Prophete required* (Geneva, 1556). The revisions were made in accordance with Calvinist ideals, with the biblical text of the psalm primary and poetry secondary. Rhyme and meter were acceptable, but poetic paraphrase was not. The versions of Sternhold and Hopkins thus had to be “conferred with the Hebrew” and corrected accordingly. At least three later editions of the AngloGenevan psalter were issued between 1558 and 1560, with additional psalms by Whittingham, Pullain, and Kethe. The no longer extant 1559 edition was probably the first to include Kethe’s version of Psalm 100, “All people that on earth do dwell,” the oldest metrical psalm (and also the oldest congregational song) in the English-speaking world that has been sung continuously since its first appearance.

Following the death of Mary in 1558, her half-sister ELIZABETH I succeeded to the English throne, and the Reformation in England began again. English exiles abroad were now free to return. Among other things, they brought with them their experience of continental hymn and psalm singing, as well as the psalters they had used in their exile congregations. Thus a complex pattern of psalter publication was embarked on in London between 1559 and 1562. The basic corpus of metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, in their revised Genevan versions, were supplemented by more psalms by Sternhold, discovered after his death, and more contributed by Hopkins (who had survived the Marian years), and a number of other Elizabethan writers. Various metrical hymns and canticles that originated in Strassburg, Wesel, Frankfurt, and Geneva were also incorporated at the beginning and the end of the evolving English psalter.

In September 1562, the first complete English metrical psalter was published: *The Whole Book of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre by T.Sternhold I.Hopkins & others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to synge them withal* (London, 1562). Apart from one or two adjustments made over the following year or so, the English metrical psalter was now complete. It then ran through an extremely numerous sequence of editions, being reprinted again and again, in some years several times, throughout the next three centuries. Indeed, the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, or, as it was later known, the Old Version, remained in print well into the nineteenth century in England. It proved to be the foundation stone on which the English tradition of metrical psalmody and hymnody was built.

Puritan, Presbyterian, and Independent

In SCOTLAND, under the leadership of John Knox, a Marian exile in both Frankfurt and Geneva, the Reformation developed in a Genevan direction. The Anglo-Genevan liturgy of 1556 was reprinted with only minor revisions in Edinburgh in 1564, and the complete metrical psalter issued with it was basically the eighty-seven psalms from the last revision of the AngloGenevan psalter of 1560, with the remainder taken from the English psalter of 1562: *The C.L.psalmes of David in English metre* (Edinburgh, 1564). The greater number of psalms from the Anglo-Genevan psalters made the Scottish psalter

closer to the FrancoGenevan tradition, especially with regard to tunes, than its English counterpart.

The more extreme Puritans found Elizabethan England too unsympathetic to their views. After the Dutch Calvinist Reformation at the end of the 1570s, many cities of the NETHERLANDS were more amenable, especially Middleburg, Leiden, and Amsterdam. In Middleburg by the end of the sixteenth century, a number of imprints of both the English and Scottish psalters were produced for these exile congregations. In the early seventeenth century, a new metrical psalter was produced for English-speaking Separatists abroad by Henry Ainsworth: *The Book of Psalmes, Englished in both Prose and Metre* (Amsterdam, 1612). Ainsworth's aim was to produce metrical versions that were more faithful to the biblical psalms than *The Whole Book of Psalms* of Sternhold and Hopkins, and written in as many of the meters of Calvin's psalter as possible, so that more of the rugged Genevan psalm tunes could be sung by English Puritans and Separatists. Some of the English Separatists in the Netherlands, together with others from England (later known collectively as "the PILGRIM FATHERS"), sailed to the New World on the Mayflower, arriving in the New World in December 1620. The psalms they took with them were those of the metrical psalter of Henry Ainsworth. Thus congregational song in English-speaking North America at this time was metrical psalmody, either the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, preferred by Anglicans and some Puritans (later known as Independents, and later still as Congregationalists), or the psalms of Ainsworth, the psalter of the Separatists.

In the congregations of the Bay Company, the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins were considered to be inaccurate renderings of the biblical texts, and the psalms of Ainsworth, with their many different meters, too difficult to sing. Thus the so-called "Bay Psalm Book" was created, the first book of any kind to be published in *British North America: The Whole Book of Psalms Faithfully Translated into English Metre* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1640). The key words on the title page, "Faithfully Translated," the equivalent of "conferred with the Hebrew" on the title page of Sternhold and Hopkins, expressed the Calvinistic concern for literal accuracy, and was expounded in the final paragraph of the preface to the *Bay Psalm Book*:

If therefore the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect; let them consider that God's Altar needs not our polishings: Ex.20. For we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase, and so have attended conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the Hebrew words into English language, and David's poetry into English metre; that so we may sing in Sion the Lord's songs of praise according to his own will; until he take us from hence, and wipe away all our tears, & bid us enter into our Master's joy to sing eternal Alleluias.

Over the following century, the *Bay Psalm Book* was revised, reprinted, and widely used not only in New England, but also in England and Scotland, where it was reprinted a number of times.

Radical Traditions

The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century (see ANABAPTISM), the representatives of the so-called Radical Reformation, were the forerunners of the later Baptist tradition (see BAPTISTS) and included such groups as MENNONITES, HUTTERITES, and Swiss Brethren. The Anabaptists were persecuted and treated with suspicion by Catholics and Protestants alike. Some of their members were summarily executed in particularly barbarous ways. To honor the memory of these Anabaptist saints, narrative songs recounting their sufferings and faith were written and sung by their coreligionists. The earliest song that Luther is known to have written was in the nature of one of these martyr songs. In July 1523, he received the news that two young friars from the Augustinian monastery in Antwerp had been burnt at the stake in Brussels as “Lutherans.” In response and in the narrative style of popular folk songs, Luther wrote a “new song,” *Ein neues Lied wir heben an*. In it the martyrdom of the two men is described and their faith and witness commended. There may be a connection between Luther’s martyr song and such songs of the Anabaptists, because they postdate Luther’s; at the very least, they share many common features with the then-current narrative ballad. A number of Dutch martyr songs were written by David Joris and his followers between 1529 and 1536 to celebrate the lives and deaths of executed Anabaptists. These were later collected together and issued by Joris as *Een Geestelijck Liedt-Boecxken*, perhaps published around 1540 or at some later date. The Swiss Brethren produced a hymnal in 1564, *Etliche schöne Christliche Gesang*, which was later incorporated into the *Aussbund* of 1583, the principal hymnal of the Anabaptist tradition, especially the Mennonites. It is still in use, textually unchanged, in some American Mennonite communities today.

Later Movements and Influences: Metrical Psalmody Renewed

At the end of the seventeenth century, three important factors led to a renewal of the singing of metrical psalms: the metrical psalms of the Poet Laureate Nathan Tate and Nicholas Brady (chaplain to King William III), the change to “regular singing,” and the radical psalms of ISAAC WATTS. These developments had far-reaching consequences in Britain and British America.

In England in the latter part of the seventeenth century, there was growing dissatisfaction with the poetic limitations of the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins. The Stationers Company of London not only held the copyright to the Old Version, they also had an effective veto on any other version of the psalms. To circumvent the Stationers Company, Brady and Tate applied for, and were granted, Royal permission to publish *A New Version of the Psalms of David in English Metre, fitted for Publick Use* (London, 1696). Their choice of “New Version” meant that the psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins would thereafter be referred to as the Old Version. But before the New Version could be established in public worship, its authors withdrew it in response to considerable criticism. Over the next two years, Tate and Brady reworked their psalms,

substantially revising some of them, and reissued them in 1698. But even some of these revisions were criticized, so the authors undertook one final revision before the definitive edition was published later that same year, 1698.

The first church at which these new psalms were sung was St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, in January 1699. Eventually the New Version of Tate and Brady became acceptable to many CHURCH OF ENGLAND congregations, but it never completely displaced the Old Version. By and large, in rural England the psalms of the Old Version continued to be the main form of congregational psalmody in the worship of the churches, in some places until fairly late in the nineteenth century, but in urban England the New Version was generally the preferred psalter. Although Tate and Brady accepted the Calvinist principle of rendering the biblical psalms in strophic verse, they were also concerned with doing so with a greater sense of poetry.

The bishop of London commended the New Version for use in the churches served by his clergy. Because his episcopal oversight extended beyond the boundaries of the diocese of London to include all Anglican churches of the British colonies, this commendation had far-reaching consequences. In particular, it was a major factor in the extensive use of Tate and Brady texts within and beyond ANGLICANISM in British North America throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Hard on the heels of these poetic concerns came a far-reaching musical revolution. Until this time, the performance practice of psalmody was “lining out,” that is, the congregation singing line by line, repeating them after the clerk or cantor. But this kind of call-and-response singing did not make too much sense when every line of every psalm was effectively sung twice, and where members of the congregation had to suspend their understanding while waiting for the next line that was essential to the meaning of the line they had just sung. Thus, at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a movement to displace “usual singing” (lining-out, singing line by line) by “regular singing” (stanza by stanza). With regular singing came two far-reaching developments. First was the production of new tune books that introduced new tunes, therefore expanding the basic repertoire of the old psalm tunes. Second was the rise of the singing master, who not only sold the new tune books but also created parish singing schools to teach the new way of singing, that is, by reading the notes in the tune book rather than echoing the lining out of the parish clerk. This development was to have far-reaching consequences on hymnic development in the eighteenth century, especially Methodist hymnody.

The singing school tradition had a longer life in America, influencing the emergence of New England composers such as William Billings, Lewis Edson, and many others, in the early national period of the United States of America, and continuing well into the nineteenth century.

ISAAC WATTS was brought up as a Dissenter or Independent, a denominational affiliation that became known as CONGREGATIONALISM, and he later became an ordained minister (see DISSENT; NONCONFORMITY). Early in life he had begun to write metrical psalms and paraphrases in the attempt to improve on what he was called on to sing on Sunday. Eventually these congregational songs were published. The first edition of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1707) included a number of metrical psalms, but these were withdrawn from later editions because by this time Watts was working on a metrical psalter, which was eventually issued as *The Psalms of David*

Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, And Applied to the Christian State and Worship (London, 1719). “Imitated in the Language of the New Testament” contrasted with “conferred with the Hebrew” of the title page of the Old Version, and represented a significant hermeneutical and theological shift. The authors of both the Old and New Versions strived to put the substance of the Hebrew psalms as accurately as possible into English verse. In contrast, Watts specifically interpreted these Old Testament songs by incorporating the substance of New Testament teaching into them. In his preface to *The Psalms of David Imitated* he explained his purpose and method:

I have not been so curious and exact in striving every where to express the antient [sic] Sense and Meaning of David, but have rather exprest myself as I may suppose *David* would have done, had he lived in the days of *Christianity*. And by this means perhaps I have sometimes hit upon the true intent of the Spirit of God in those Verses farther and clearer than *David* himself could ever discover, as St. *Peter* encourages me to hope. 1 *Pet. 1*: 11, 12.... In all places I have kept my grand Design in view, and that is to *teach my Author to speak like a Christian*.

Watts had been anticipated by Luther, who had introduced New Testament teaching into his psalm versions (such as Psalm 46, *Ein feste Burg*), but in the English-speaking world, this new hermeneutic was revolutionary. Although many voices were raised against “Watts Whims,” their perceptive poetry made it impossible to ignore them. Over time, they were not only widely accepted, but also frequently imitated.

The revolution that Watts brought about was his insistence that Christian congregational song cannot be confined to the Old Testament psalms, but must embrace the totality of Scripture. In doing so he laid the foundation on which later English hymnody would be built. At the same time he exposed weaknesses in the old metrical psalm tradition. The success of Watts’s psalms and hymns eventually brought about the disintegration of the almost monolithic tradition of English metrical psalmody, which, though it continued for a few generations, was almost finally stifled by the increasing volume of hymn and hymnal production of the nineteenth century. Watts’ success was in his use of an almost exclusively monosyllabic language to create epigrammatic opening lines and lofty thoughts in connected stanzas. He contributed numerous “classic” hymns to English hymnody, among them “I’ll praise my Maker while I’ve breath,” “Jesus shall reign where’er the sun,” “Nature with open volume stands,” “Our God, our help in ages past,” and “When I survey the wondrous cross.”

The hymns and psalms of Watts were widely sung by American Congregationalists and Presbyterians, among others, throughout the eighteenth century, a practice that continued after the American Revolution with the texts suitably revised (together with additional psalms and hymns) by Joel Barlow, TIMOTHY DWIGHT, and others.

Pietism and the Evangelical Revival

German PIETISM, which flourished at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, grew out of the combined influences of English Puritan devotional writings and the effects of the devastation of the Thirty Years War during the first half of the seventeenth century. *The Practice of Piety* by Lewis Bayly, published in the early 1600s, was widely read not only in English, but also in several other European languages, including German. Its spirituality caught the spirit of the era, especially in Germany, where the effects of warfare, famine, and disease created a subjective religious response, as can be seen in the poetry of Martin Opitz and the hymnody of Martin Rinckart (*Nun danket alle Gott*), Johann Heerman (*Herzliebster Jesu*), Tobias Clausnitzer (*Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier*), and especially Paul Gerhardt (*Befiehl du deine Wege, Nun ruhen alle wälder*, and *O Haupt voll Blut* ["O Sacred Head"]). The new hymns were set to new melodies that were lighter and more expressive than the older chorale tunes, which had become slow and ponderous by this time. Many of the new tunes were written by Johann Crüger and Johann Georg Ebeling, successively organists of the Nikolaikirche, Berlin, where PAUL GERHARDT was the pastor.

These subjective hymn texts and freer hymn tunes became the model for the hymn-writers and composers of later Lutheran Pietism, when its existence was formalized following the publication of PHILIPP SPENER'S *Pia Desideria* (1675). Under the leadership of Spener's successor AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE, the movement called for a continuation of what they saw as Luther's incomplete Reformation. All remnants of Roman Catholic theology and liturgy were to be eliminated from public worship, and private worship was to be exemplified by personal devotion built on fervent prayer and intensive BIBLE study. Further, the only music of public worship should be the newer type of hymns, with their subjective texts and livelier tunes, that these Pietists were already singing in their private worship. The Pietist hymnal was Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen's *Neues Geistreiches Gesangbuch*, first published in HALLE in 1704. It was reprinted numerous times, reaching its nineteenth edition by 1759; a second part issued in 1714 went through four editions by 1733; and the two parts, composed of some 1,600 hymns, were issued in one volume in 1741 and reprinted in 1771. This collection not only became the hymnal of German Lutheran Pietism, but also became a primary resource for the MORAVIAN CHURCH as reconstituted by Count NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF in 1722 and for METHODISM under JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY.

John Wesley encountered Moravian hymn-singing on board the ship *Simmonds* on his way to Georgia in October 1735 to February 1736. He translated some of these German hymns sung by the Moravian missionaries, and they were subsequently included in his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Charleston, 1737). After their experiences of CONVERSION (or assurance) in London in May 1738, the two brothers created and directed the continuing intensification of hymn singing in the emerging Methodist movement. Charles began writing what would prove to be an astonishing output of hymn texts in a variety of poetic forms, meters, and images. In common with the embryonic Moravian communities in England, the Methodists in the 1740s are reported to have sung the "swift German" tunes of the Freylinghausen type.

Beginning in 1738, the Wesleys issued many different collections of hymns, composed almost exclusively of texts by Charles, culminating in *A Collection of Hymns for the People Called Methodists* (London, 1780), which provided the basic anthology of hymns for later Methodism. Through these publications, the English-speaking world was introduced to a whole range of hymnody that has become part of the basic corpus of English hymns. Among these hymns are “Christ Whose Glory Fills the Skies,” “Hark! The Herald Angels Sing,” “Hail the Day That Sees Him Rise,” “Love Divine, All Loves Excelling,” “O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing,” “Rejoice the Lord Is King,” and “Ye Servants of God.” Such hymns were taken over in many other hymnals of the later eighteenth century, among the most influential being GEORGE WHITEFIELD’S *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship, more particularly design’d for the use of the Tabernacle Congregation in London* (London, 1753); Martin Madan’s *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, Extracted from Various Authors* (the Lock Hospital hymn book) (London, 1760); Augustus Toplady’s *Psalms and Hymns for Public and Private Worship* (London, 1776); and *A Select Collection of Hymns to be universally sung in all the Countess of Huntingdon’s Chapels* (“Collected by her Ladyship”) (London, 1780). Another influential collection was *Olney Hymns* (London, 1779), which contained only the hymns of John Newton and William Cowper and disseminated such hymns as “Amazing Grace,” “How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds,” “O for a Closer Walk With God,” and “God Moves in a Mysterious Way.” This remarkable hymnodic output of the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century laid the foundation for the developments of the following century, which were equally as remarkable but in different ways.

Nineteenth-Century Movements

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, several different influences and movements contributed to the ongoing development of hymnody in the churches that had their origins in the Reformations of the sixteenth century. First, there was the consolidation of the evangelical movement in CAMP MEETING revivalism that was the outgrowth of the Scottish Presbyterian practice of annual eucharistic celebrations. At these noneucharistic camp meetings, a new style of hymnody was developed. The evangelical hymns of the eighteenth century, especially those of Watts and Wesley, were extended by repetitive refrains added to the end of each stanza and/or to the end of each line within a stanza. A lighter musical style that could be picked up quickly at first hearing, was created for these expanded hymn-texts. Over time, a significant sequence of camp meeting hymnals was published. Ultimately the camp meeting hymn style would be incorporated into the later SUNDAY SCHOOL hymnals and eventually evolve into the gospel hymn.

Second, particularly in the southern states of America, folk hymns that had hitherto been transmitted orally began to appear in tune books, many of them in shape-notes, in the early decades of the century. Among them was *The Sacred Harp*, first published in 1844, which created a singing tradition that continues today. Although HENRY WARD BEECHER included some of these tunes in his *Plymouth Collection* (New York, 1855), it

was not until the twentieth century that these tunes entered into mainline denominational hymnals.

Third, from the second decade of the century, Lowell Mason undertook to reform congregational hymnody in the UNITED STATES. He was concerned that most congregations did not sing very much; the congregation tended to be replaced by the choirs of singing schools who sang fusing tunes in rural churches and by paid quartets of singers in urban churches. Mason saw that a musical reform was necessary if congregations were to be encouraged to sing. They needed simple and straightforward tunes, but not the light and sometimes extravagant tunes that had been generated by the evangelical REVIVALS of the previous century. Hymn tunes had to be “good” music, so he borrowed the philosophy and practice of William Gardiner, who had published *Sacred Melodies from Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven: Adapted to the Best English Poets* (2 vols., London, 1812–1815). Music from the “best” contemporary (or near contemporary) composers was adapted into hymn tunes. Gardiner was not the first to make such adaptations—some eighteenth-century tune books had included adapted versions of arias and choruses from the oratorios of Handel and Haydn—but he was the first to exploit the technique as a matter of principle. Mason, however, out-Gardinered Gardiner by producing an extremely large number of adapted tunes in a dazzling sequence of tune books. Beginning with *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (Boston, 1822), and ending with *Carmina Sacra Enlarged: The American Tune Book* (Boston, 1869), he issued some forty different collections of church music, mostly devoted to congregational hymnody, that were reprinted and revised numerous times. These tune books encouraged others, notably Thomas Hastings and William Bradbury, to produce other collections. They were also quarried by later hymnal editors, and a significant number of Mason’s tunes are still found in contemporary American hymnals.

Fourth, there was the discovery that, contrary to popular belief, hymns, as opposed to metrical psalms, were not illegal in the worship of the Church of England. A famous ecclesiastical court case was brought by the members of St. Paul’s Church, Sheffield, against their incumbent, Thomas Cotterill, who had produced an anthology of congregational song in which hymns outnumbered 150 metrical psalms by more than two to one. It was shown that the Church of England had never concluded that metrical psalms were the only legitimate congregational songs for Anglican worship. The aftermath of the court case was that, at the request of the archbishop of York, Cotterill produced a new edition of his hymnal in which the hymns approximately equaled the number of metrical psalms: *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for the Use of Saint Paul’s Church in Sheffield* (London, 1820). Included at the beginning of the small volume was a commendation written by the archbishop of York. The result of the court case, the archbishop’s commendation of the collection, and the fact that the publisher also made available editions with a generic title page that omitted reference to St. Paul’s Sheffield, ensured a wide dissemination of the *Selection* and encouraged the production of similar volumes. Many such locally produced hymnals appeared over the next generation.

Fifth, there was the OXFORD MOVEMENT, which was to exert an all-pervasive influence on the patterns and content of worship far beyond the boundaries of England or Anglicanism. This was essentially a reform movement with the aim of revitalizing the Church of England by examining its spiritual nature and historical roots, a movement that moved increasingly toward Catholic doctrine and practice. The principal leaders were

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, JOHN KEBLE, R.H. Froude, and EDWARD B. PUSEY, who together, from 1834, edited and wrote *Tracts for the Times*; hence the other name for the movement, Tractarianism. Many of the tracts were liturgical, and some specifically drew attention to Latin hymnody. Thus Newman's Tract 75, *On the Roman Breviary as Embodying the Substance of the Devotional Services of the Church Catholic* (1836), included fourteen Latin hymns in translation. Newman later published an anthology of Latin hymns from the Roman and Paris breviaries as *Hymni ecclesiae* (Oxford, 1838). The ideal of the Tractarians was for the English church to adopt, in translation, the Latin hymns of the liturgy from which the *Book of Common Prayer* was substantially created. Edward Caswall published *Lyra Catholica* (London, 1849), a collection of translations from the Roman missal and breviary, and John Mason Neale, with Thomas Helmore, produced *The Hymnal Noted* (London, 1851–1856), a comprehensive hymnal of translated Latin hymns, with plainsong notation, to be used in conjunction with the English Prayer Book services. Neale also published further translations of Latin hymnody and others from Greek sources, together with a few original hymns. Although the ideal of singing only translated Latin hymns in the English church was never realized, these translations were widely used, and a good many of them remain in current hymnals.

The Tractarian Movement also indirectly led to other translations. There were those who reacted to the Tractarian idealization of late medieval Catholicism and looked to European Protestantism instead. German Protestantism was in the public eye: Queen Victoria was married to Albert of Saxe-Coburg; Mendelssohn, whose music made significant use of the German chorale, was frequently in the United Kingdom; and there was a growing awareness of the music of J.S. Bach, who was seen as the quintessential Protestant composer. For those out of sympathy with the Catholic emphases of the Oxford Movement, the German Protestant chorale became a viable prospect. Thus Frances Elizabeth Cox published translations of German hymns in *Hymns from the German* (London, 1841; revised and enlarged in 1864), and Arthur Tozer Russell's translations appeared in two collections: *Hymns for Public Worship and Private Devotion* (London, 1848), published for the London German Hospital, and *Psalms and Hymns, Partly Original, Partly Selected, for the Use of the Church of England* (London, 1851). But the most significant translator of German hymns was Catherine Winkworth, who, between 1855 and 1869, published almost 400 translations of German hymns. Her first collection was issued as *Lyra Germanica* (London, 1855), and a second series followed in 1858. Five years later she collaborated with two musicians to produce *The Chorale Book for England* (London, 1863), and her last collection containing translations was *The Christian Singers of Germany* (London, 1869). Some of her translations have become classic English hymns in their own right, among them "Comfort, Comfort ye my People," "Praise to the Lord, the Almighty," and "Now Thank We all our God." Catherine Winkworth's translations of German hymns have been used more extensively in American hymnals than in their British counterparts, especially those produced by Lutheran bodies in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, when many congregations were beginning to move from German to English as the language for worship.

The most important hymnological outcome of the Oxford Movement was the creation of *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, the cooperative product of a number of Tractarian clergy. The editorial committee was chaired by Sir Henry W. Baker; John Keble and John Mason Neale were appointed advisers; and William Henry Monk, organist and director of music

at King's College, London, oversaw the music. After a number of trial compilations were given restricted circulation in 1859–1860, the words-only edition of *Hymns Ancient & Modern for Use in the Service of the Church* was published in time to be used on Advent Sunday 1860, with the full music edition appearing the following year. Between 1861 and 1868, when a *Supplement* was issued, four and a half million copies of the basic edition were sold. The original edition with its supplement also crossed the Atlantic, being reprinted at least fourteen times in New York and Philadelphia between 1866 and 1888. In 1869, it was decided that a revised and enlarged edition of the hymnal was needed. Theologically and ecclesiastically, the revision was much broader in scope than the original Tractarian hymnal had been, and it incorporated more of contemporary writing, thus proportionately reducing the influence of translated Latin hymnody. Similarly, the presence of John Stainer on the music committee ensured that the predominant style became the somewhat self-indulgent, chromatic four-part harmony, with a propensity for seventh chords, that has come to be recognized as “the Victorian hymn tune.” The revised and expanded edition was issued in 1875. A supplement was added in 1889, which further broadened the total content of the hymnal. *Hymns Ancient & Modern* thus quickly became the most important and influential collection of the nineteenth century. It was used extensively by hymnal editors throughout the English-speaking world and was the primary model for the many denominational hymnals published on both sides of the Atlantic in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, and continued to exert a marked influence on twentieth-century hymnals.

Sixth, there was the phenomenon of gospel hymnody. As indicated earlier, gospel hymnody developed from the camp meeting style as it evolved through the Sunday School movement. Between 1840 and 1870, an astonishing sequence of Sunday School hymnals was published. Among the most influential were those of William Bradbury, notably *The Golden Chain* (1861) and *The Golden Shower* (1862), which were frequently reprinted. The gospel hymn finally emerged as an identifiable genre during the final quarter of the century with the evangelistic enterprises of organizations such as the YMCA (see YMCA, YWCA) and of such individuals as DWIGHT L. MOODY. Although primarily an American phenomenon, gospel hymnody nevertheless had an important early British dimension. IRA SANKEY first published his gospel hymns *Sacred Songs and Solos* (London, 1873), a sixteen-page pamphlet, for use during Moody's revivalist meetings in Great Britain. The basic collection was expanded and continued to be available in Britain at the same time as its American counterpart, *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* (New York, 1875), an amalgam of Sankey's pieces in the genre and those of P.P. Bliss that had been published in *Gospel Songs* (Cincinnati, 1874). There were many imitators and numerous collections were published. The genre is probably best epitomized in the gospel hymns of the prolific FANNY CROSBY.

Twentieth-Century Developments

The Reformation churches in the twentieth century have continued the development of inherited hymnodic traditions in many and varied ways—as well as pursuing new

directions, such as the notable expansion from the narrow confines of monoculturism into the broader concerns of multiculturalism, the exploration of GENDER, and linguistic issues, and so forth—but space precludes a thorough investigation. Nevertheless, some of the major influences can be charted, at least in outline.

The first half of the century, devastated by two World Wars and disoriented first by the Wall Street crash and then the Great Depression, created a conservative mindset. The hymnody of the period was therefore characterized primarily by a conservation of the familiar. New hymnals were produced, but their orientation was a backward-looking continuation of the major strands of nineteenth-century traditions. That is not to say that new hymns were not being written and published, but these “twentieth-century” hymns were generally written in the older styles. There were exceptions, such as HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK’S “God of grace and God of glory,” but few gained entry into the regular hymnals until after the 1950s and 1960s. The themes of the hymns that were written during the first half of the century reflected various concerns of the age. In the aftermath of World War I, peace themes were prominent; the deprivations of the post-Depression years fostered the SOCIAL GosPEL of LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM reflected in many of the hymns of the period; the beginnings of the ecumenical movement that would eventually lead to the formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES gave rise to hymns that expressed the fundamental unity of faith of worldwide Christianity (see ECUMENISM); and after the testing of the hydrogen bomb in the late 1940s, it became painfully clear that humanity had the expertise to destroy itself. Hymn writers such as Albert Bayly expressed a new perspective on the need for the human race to depend on the providence of God.

The iconoclastic 1960s proved to be a watershed with regard to the creation of new hymnody. The last three decades of the twentieth century saw an unprecedented period of hymn writing in a variety of textual and musical styles, and an almost bewildering sequence of hymnal publication. On the one hand, there has been the British hymn explosion, whose leading writers and composers have been Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan, Brian Wren, Erik Routley, and Peter Cutts, among many others, and the American hymnal explosion, in which every major denominational grouping has already produced its own hymnals or has plans to do so. The former has already been described and analyzed, but the latter has yet to receive the attention it deserves.

One of the most (some would say *the most*) significant ecumenical developments of the twentieth century has been the liturgical movement. The Catholic Church played a leading role in this movement, which proved to be of catalytic importance with regard to its own reformation of worship initiated by the Second Vatican Council. But these reforms have had an impact on the older Reformation churches as well. For example, the introduction of the three-year lectionary outside Catholicism has materially effected a greater biblicism among those traditions that prided themselves on their biblicity! That is because the wider spread of the lectionary revealed whole areas that had not been covered hitherto in “Protestant” hymnody, especially in the English-speaking world, and this has stimulated hymn writing on these neglected biblical themes. But not only has much of contemporary hymnody become more biblical, it has also become more “liturgical” in its usage. Thus as Catholicism has been embracing the “Protestant” hymn in its worship, many Reformation churches have been singing their hymns within a “Catholic” liturgical structure. The latter part of the twentieth century brought a reinforcement of the insights

of Tractarian Anglicans, Genevan Calvinists, and Wittenberg Lutherans, who all, one way or another, saw congregational song not as incidental to worship but rather as part of its liturgical substance.

See also Anglican Chant; Music

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ICELAND

Iceland is a partly ice-covered (e.g., Vatnajökull, 8,400 square kilometers) volcanic island—astride the Mid-Atlantic Ridge, with over fifty active vents—of 102,973 square kilometers (or 39,699 square miles, compared to the state of Pennsylvania at 46, 058 square miles, and Ireland, 32,589 square miles) between NORWAY and Greenland, just south of the Arctic Circle. Less than one tenth of the island is habitable. Until recently agriculture was largely pastoral (with some fishing) and sensitive to weather, so that famine was not uncommon.

Iceland was settled by the Norse—with some Celts—after 870. The Alþing, the parliament of an aristocratic republic without an executive branch, was established in 930. In 1000 (or 999) the Alþing adopted Christianity as the national religion. In the early period, churches were proprietary: political leaders often functioned also as priests. Increasing disorder among very powerful families led to the acceptance of the rule of the king of Norway from 1262 to 1264. In the thirteenth century Icelanders produced one of the major bodies of medieval European vernacular literature, the Icelandic sagas. The Gregorian Reform, struggling for “*libertas ecclesiae*,” and canon law were also introduced, by St. Eorlákr, thus breaking the identity of political and spiritual leadership. There were two dioceses until 1796: the southern, at Skálholt, and the northern, at Hólar. Both sees, some monasteries, and some important farms (such as Oddi) had schools. A deteriorating climate (“the little Ice Age”), the virtual end of Icelandic shipping, and the transfer of power to Copenhagen contributed significantly to the isolation of Iceland in the fifteenth century. In that age Iceland was vulnerable to pirate raids, British fishing vessels, volcanoes, and pack ice.

The REFORMATION arrived in DENMARK, after a tentative generation, by right of Christian III’s victory in the civil war concluded in 1536. The new ways were introduced to Norway and Iceland by decree, the two countries redefined as provinces of Denmark. The Reformation in Iceland was therefore a “revolution from above” (Vilborg Auður Ísleifsdóttir). Until the end of the eighteenth century people lived in small groups on thousands of farms. The usual means of disseminating reformed ideas—towns, literate merchant classes, book fairs—did not exist. Nor did the usual audience: there was no pre-Reformation preparation, movement, or agitation; there were no heretics in the later Middle Ages, no active disenchantment with the church. Some visiting merchants may have brought ideas (in German), but among Icelanders only a small group of clerks in the offices of the bishop of Skálholt (some of whom had studied abroad) including Gizurr Einarsson and Oddr Gotthálfsson seemed interested in the Reformation. When the king sent his Church Ordinance to Iceland (probably 1538) it was ignored or rejected by the

bishops and CLERGY (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). In 1539 local authorities seized and dismantled the monastery of Viðey. Attempts to suppress more monasteries and to interfere at Skálholt led to the killing of the entire Danish administration—in fact only a few people. Skálholt's bishop Ögmundur Pálsson retired in 1540. He and the king sponsored as his successor his evangelical clerk Gizurr Einarsson, a choice Ögmundur came to regret and attempted to reverse. Gizurr appealed to the military authorities who restored Danish power in 1541. The Reformation was then installed in the southern diocese, which accepted the Ordinance. Gizurr worked hard to implement the new THEOLOGY and LITURGY, but without radical revolution. He encouraged the translation, printing, and use by priests of the Scriptures and evangelical books (see BIBLE TRANSLATION).

Jón Arason, bishop of Hólar, rejected the Ordinance in 1540. The government left him alone for some years. After Gizurr's death in 1548, however, Jón moved to reverse events at Skálholt, securing his own appointment as administrator of the see and the election of a candidate with good papal credentials. Supporters of Gizurr elected their own candidate, approved by the Crown, whom Jón kidnapped and held prisoner at Hólar. In 1549 he secured control of Skál-holt, although he overreached himself and was taken prisoner. He and his two sons were beheaded at Skál-holt on November 7, 1550. Revenge killings followed, by Jón's family and supporters, but the dispatch of two warships and troops ended all resistance to the Crown. The northern diocese accepted the Ordinance in 1552.

Monasteries were suppressed, the land taken by the Crown (see MONASTICISM). The bishops kept much of the land and part of the tithes, but lost other power (such as fines). The ecclesiastical transformation was complete in only fifteen years, yet many usages from pre-Reformation days continued, so that building a community of faith as the reformers understood it remained a challenge. The Scandinavian languages were passing through the same sort of revolution as that which created modern English; Icelandic did not. Danish books—such as were used in Norway—did not serve an evangelical church in Iceland. The first press in Iceland was not set up until mid-century; it later came into the possession of Þorláks-son, bishop of Hólar from 1571 to 1627. Therefore the first Icelandic translation of the New Testament, that of Oddr Gottshálfsson, was published in Denmark in 1540. Later, however, bishop Guðbrandr oversaw the printing of the complete translation of the BIBLE in 1584, and many pamphlets, translations of Hymn books, and other pious works (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The Bible helped stabilize the Icelandic language. The two sees continued their schools, now the only ones in the country. They also continued the tradition of scholarship, the study not only of Scripture but also of the history of Iceland, of the church, and of early Norse literature. Scholars such as Angrímr Jónsson, bishop Finnur Jónsson, Árni Magnús-son, and bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (who saved *Codex regius*) worked in the schools or were commissioned to write by the bishops. The church also undertook the task of extending literacy, so that all Icelanders could read Scripture.

The witchcraft hysteria came slowly to Iceland and was inspired from abroad. In the years between 1625 and 1685 at least 120 were tried and twenty-five executed, including two women.

A most moving voice of Lutheran Iceland is that of the poet Hallgrímur Pétursson (for whom the new and very large church in Reykjavík, Hallgrímskirka, is named), whose *Passíusálmur* (*Hymns of the Passion*) are still deeply cherished and widely read.

In 1796 the two sees and their schools were combined in a new see in Reykjavik. Their property was absorbed by the Crown, which undertook to pay the costs. In 1874 a new constitution was established by Christian IX. Following from that came autonomy of local congregations in many important matters, freedom of association and religious freedom for nonmembers of the state church. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there has been a growth of such groups as the Lutheran Free Church and spiritualists.

Iceland became independent in 1944. The population continues, at least formally, to be over 90 percent Evangelical Lutheran.

See also Lutheranism

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ICONOCLASM

Protestant Christianity is iconoclastic in two senses, the abstract and the concrete. An “iconoclast” [Gk. *eikon*=image+*klastes*=breaker] is someone who destroys images, especially those that carry special meaning to a specific culture. An iconoclast, in the widest sense of the term, is someone who identifies certain objects, institutions, or ideas as “false” and calls for their removal. Iconoclasts do not actually need to destroy images; someone who attacks images verbally can be called iconoclastic. This type of abstract iconoclasm that challenges cherished beliefs and institutions verbally is always broadly understood, and applied beyond religion. An iconoclast can also be someone who actually attacks physical images and sacred objects. Literal iconoclasm is understood less broadly, as religiously motivated, but is usually taken to mean the destruction of all holy objects, not just images. In the case of REFORMATION iconoclasm, altars, relics, chalices, consecrated hosts, holy water fonts, vestments, missals, lamps, windows, and organs could also be attacked as idolatrous.

Since the sixteenth century, all Protestants have been iconoclasts in the abstract sense, insofar as they reject many of the truth claims of the Roman Catholic Church, along with many of its rituals and symbols. However, not all Protestants have been iconoclasts in the literal sense. On the contrary, the question of whether the symbols of Catholicism should be destroyed became one of the most divisive issues separating the various major traditions of the Protestant Reformation.

From the very start of the Reformation, Protestants disagreed about iconoclasm. Although there are no hard and fast lines that can be drawn among the different Protestant traditions that emerged in the sixteenth century, and there are always plenty of exceptions to be found to any rule, the Lutherans normally objected to the wholesale destruction of images, and even allowed biblically focused art in their churches. The Anglicans also adopted an ambivalent attitude toward images and their place in the life and worship of the Church of England. The Reformed, for the most part, became the most vehement iconoclasts, and much of this article focuses on them. The Radicals tended to oppose religious imagery on biblical grounds, but they varied in their attitude toward iconoclasm. At one end of the Radical spectrum, pacifists such as the Swiss Brethren and the MENNONITES shied away from all violent acts, including the breaking of images. At the other end of the spectrum, militant revolutionaries, such as those who took over Münster in 1534, destroyed images along with anything else they deemed ungodly.

Perceptions of the significance of iconoclasm for the history of Protestantism vary widely. For some in the Reformed tradition, the iconoclastic heritage of the Reformation is very significant; for others in the Protestant tradition, it is just a blip on the screen, or worse, an embarrassment. For Catholics the subject has always been significant, although not always well understood. It is important to keep in mind that, although Protestants were at odds with one another when it came to their attitudes toward religious imagery and iconoclasm, Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended to think that iconoclasm was one of the chief distinguishing features of Protestantism. In fact, for many early modern Catholics, iconoclasm and Protestantism were inseparable.

History

Protestant iconoclasm began in earnest with ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT (c. 1480–1541), a colleague of MARTIN LUTHER (1484–1546) at the University of Wittenberg. Karlstadt agreed with Luther on many theological issues, but differed with him on the interpretation of the two key biblical passages that prohibit the use of religious imagery in worship (Exodus 20:4–6; Leviticus 5:8–10). Karlstadt was the first of the Protestant Reformers to argue that the prohibition of images was one of the Ten Commandments, and could not be ignored: “I say to you that God has forbidden images with no less diligence than killing, stealing, adultery, and the like” (*Abthung*, p. 22).

Luther never agreed with this position. To him, the command against images was no more valid for Christians than circumcision and the dietary laws of the Covenant of Moses. In March 1522 Luther forced Karlstadt to leave Wittenberg, largely because of their disagreement over this issue. This difference of opinion points clearly to a hermeneutical rift within the Protestant tradition, one that would evolve into a major watershed between Lutherans and most other Protestants. Although Luther and Karlstadt both agreed on the primacy of the BIBLE as the ultimate authority, and pressed for reforms in accordance with it, neither man could accept the other’s interpretation of the meaning of the commandment against images. This was no small disagreement. Although Karlstadt would vanish into relative obscurity, his position would be championed by HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, JOHN CALVIN, and other Reformed Protestants, and the rift among the opponents of Roman Catholicism on this issue would become deep and long. In the *Small Catechism* Luther does not mention the prohibition of images at all in his listing of the Ten Commandments. In the *Catechism of the Church of Geneva*, however, the Second Commandment reads: “you shall have no graven images...nor bow down, nor serve them.”

Reformed Protestants would make the rejection of images one of their central principles, along with a highly spiritualized interpretation of all symbols and sacraments. Consequently, the destruction of images and sacred objects became one of the earmarks of this tradition, as it spread throughout Switzerland at first, in the 1520s, and later, throughout Europe. In France, the Netherlands, Germany, and the British Isles, the

iconoclastic legacy of the Reformed tradition would cause widespread damage and, in some places, erase much of the artistic heritage of medieval Catholicism.

Discerning the relation between the ideology of iconoclasm and other factors that might have led to it—social, political, and economic—remains a difficult task, and a challenge for historians. It is always tempting to try to isolate grievances that might have led to iconoclasm, and also to distinguish some of these as a leading cause for the destruction of an entire symbolic code, but in the long run, it is unwise to avoid complexity when dealing with this subject. As the Protestant Reformation gained ground in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were perhaps as many reasons for iconoclasm as there were iconoclasts, and as many different types of iconoclasm as there were communities affected by it. Because symbols function on multiple levels of meaning, so do the actions taken against them.

Generally, Reformation iconoclasm can be divided into two major types, legal and illegal. Throughout Catholic Europe, the destruction of sacred objects was prohibited by law, and was punishable as blasphemy or sacrilege. Destroying images and holy objects, therefore, required challenging the law. Iconoclasm could be effected lawfully, after a local or national government had withdrawn its protection from sacred objects. Sometimes this destruction was orderly, such as in Zurich, in 1524; but it could also be disorderly, as in Bern in 1528; or it could be a combination of order and disorder, as in Scotland in 1559 and France in 1561–1562. Iconoclasm could also be an illegal act and a form of rebellion. Unlawful iconoclasm aimed not only to destroy specific objects, but also to call into question the legality of these objects. In many ways iconoclasm was a revolutionary tactic, employed at the local and national levels, as Reformed Protestantism made inroads into Catholic communities.

Theology

“Idolatry” is a relative, highly charged term that presupposes a definition of what is true and false in religion because idols are never universally recognized as such: rather, they are often identified as the deities of “the other.” Protestant iconoclasm was firmly rooted in the ancient condemnation of heathen idolatry found in the Hebrew Bible. In the sixteenth century, however, the definition of idolatry was applied to Christian rather than pagan worship, and extended beyond the veneration of images, or the worship of any physical object, to any form of devotion that was judged to be incorrect.

The way in which “idolatry” was defined by the leaders of the Protestant Reformation, therefore, depended on their exegesis of the Bible and on the theology of worship they developed from their interpretation of the sacred text. All in all, the Reformation critique of “idolatry,” and the iconoclasm produced by it, depended on four interrelated principles.

1. *Biblicism*. First of all, iconoclastic theology was firmly rooted in the principle of *sola scriptura*. A literal interpretation of the biblical texts that prohibit images can lead directly to an iconoclastic theology. However, iconoclasm was not derived so simply and purely from biblical injunctions. Protestant biblicism was also strengthened by a

sense of primitivism, or the notion that the early Christian past provided a true model for the reformation of Church and society. It was not just the prohibition of visual symbols in *Exodus* and *Leviticus* that convinced iconoclastic reformers of the need to wipe out Catholic symbols and rituals, but also the fact that, as they saw it, there was no evidence for the existence of much of medieval worship in the early Apostolic Church.

Of course, agreeing on *sola scriptura* did not necessarily lead to any agreement on how to interpret sacred texts. The biblical injunctions against images are a prime example of this hermeneutical rift among the Reformers. An interpretative framework had to be in place first for Reformed Protestants to arrive at the conclusion that the Bible prohibited images to Christians as well as Jews.

2. *Metaphysics*. The prohibition of images was interpreted as valid and reasonable by the Reformed because of certain key assumptions they accepted about the relationship between the natural and supernatural realms. The guiding principle of iconoclastic metaphysics—and therefore also of iconoclastic hermeneutics—is the incompatibility of spirit and matter. The iconoclastic theology of the Reformed was summarized in the *adage finitum non est capax infiniti*: the finite cannot convey (or contain) the infinite. This was a principle that Reformed Protestants applied to all ritual and symbols, and it was the very marrow of iconoclastic theology. This principle, in turn, was derived from three interrelated components.

- *God as radically transcendent*. The Reformed tradition assumed that the supernatural realm was radically “other.” All things divine, therefore, were above and beyond the natural and created order. Zwingli argued that the things of earth were “carnal,” and that they were “enmity against God.” He also argued that matter and spirit were as incapable of mixing as fire and water. John Calvin would expand on these arguments, and press further for an understanding of the spiritual and the material as antithetical poles. In Calvin’s words: “whatever holds down and confines the senses to the earth is contrary to the covenant of God; in which, inviting us to himself, he permits us to think of nothing but what is spiritual” (*CO*, vol. 24, p. 387).
- *Matter as inferior to spirit*. Reformed metaphysics proposed that since matter is incapable of bringing humans to the divine realm, there can be no physical relation between image and prototype, symbol and reality. Even worse, as the Reformed saw it, worship offered to any material object has a negative value. This notion of an inversion was turned into a practical equation by Zwingli, who went as far as to say: “the more you give to the material, the more you take away from the spiritual.” (*ZW*, vol. 8, pp. 194–195.) For these reasons, the Reformed denied the validity of the distinction between “veneration” (*dulia*) and “worship” (*latrid*) made by Catholics—the very distinction upon which much of the symbolic structure of Catholicism rested.
- *Teleology*. For iconoclasts, the commandment against images needed to be obeyed not only because it was the will of God, but also because it was reasonable. As the iconoclastic theology of the Reformed saw it, the very meaning of human existence was perverted by the “falsehood” of Roman Catholic rituals and symbols. This understanding of the nature and purpose of human existence rested on the assumption that the proper end of human life is to know God and to glorify him by

worship and obedience. Idolatry, therefore, not only subverts the meaning of human existence by making it impossible for individuals to reach their proper end; it also threatens the well-being of society as a whole.

3. *Anthropology*. Reformed iconoclastic theology was based also on the central Protestant belief in the total corruption of human nature. In Reformed theology, the cause for idolatry is not found in the material world itself, but in human beings. John Calvin would argue: “Every one of us is, even from his mother’s womb, a master craftsman of idols” (*CO*, vol. 24, p. 423). This understanding of the nature of idolatry is what made it impossible for the Reformed to regard any religious image as harmless: as they saw it, if given the opportunity, every human being will be naturally compelled to worship idolatrously.
4. *The social dimension*. Iconoclastic theology also had a social component. In the first place, images and symbols were attacked as dangerous because idolatry was believed to incite the wrath of God. Reformed theology tended to view the presence of idolatry in any community as pollution, and spoke of iconoclasm as cleansing. The GENEVA CATECHISM of 1545, for instance, devotes extensive attention to the divine punishments attached to the second commandment, particularly to the threat of having God’s punishments extend to the third and fourth generations in an idolatrous, polluted society. Second, iconoclastic theology also argued that the material resources “wasted” on idols were an affront to Christian charity. As the Reformed iconoclasts saw it, the wealth poured into the creation of Catholic symbols should be redistributed to the poor and needy. Third, opposition to Catholic “idolatry” was also based on animosity toward the educational system they represented. The medieval church had long argued that images were the *libri pauperum*, or books of the poor and illiterate. Protestant iconoclasts rejected this argument because it rested on the unscriptural assumption that images could teach anything. They also rejected it because, as they saw it, images served to promote and sustain a spiritual caste system: images were another way in which the Catholic clergy kept the laity under their thumb.

The Meaning of Iconoclasm

No single factor can fully explain the development of iconoclasm in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Iconoclastic theology is very complex, and so are the reasons for its appearance and acceptance. Moreover, iconoclasm itself is ultimately an act, or event, not just an idea. Although derived from ideology, iconoclasm does not necessarily depend on it totally. Protestant iconoclasm aimed not only to destroy the physical “idols” of Catholicism, but to abolish a complex symbolic system, and to remove the clerics who upheld it. Reformation iconoclasm was thus revolutionary on two fronts. First, it was a theological upheaval and a redefinition of the sacred. Reformation iconoclasts denied certain relations between body and soul, or heaven and earth, and redefined the meaning of symbol and ritual. Reformation iconoclasm was also revolutionary in a functional sense because it was an act of violence against the symbolic code of medieval Christianity and its guardians, the Roman Catholic clergy. The young

men who led the iconoclastic riot that turned Geneva into a Reformed city knew this, for they referred to the images they destroyed as “the gods of the priests.”

Iconoclasm is always an expression of discontent. In the case of the Protestant Reformation, iconoclasm was a forceful protest against the medieval past. It was a means of proving the “falseness” of Roman Catholicism, and of desacralizing its symbolic structure. In a positive sense, iconoclasm was also a means of affirming change and of calling for a thorough reform of religion and society.

See also Bible; Calvin, John; Geneva Catechism; Karlstadt, Andreas Bodenstein von; Luther, Martin; Mennonites; Reformation; Zwingli, Huldrych

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ICONOGRAPHY

Two dominant meanings lay claim to the term “iconography.” Among ART historians, the word designates a method of deciphering the meaning of an image by identifying patterns in the use of subject matter. Like the nomenclature designating many fields of inquiry, iconography refers both to a particular subject and to the method of studying that subject. Thus, just as “philosophy” is the study of ideas or thought as well as the particular set of ideas of one school of philosophical investigation, so iconography can refer both to the procedure for analyzing subject matter as well as the motifs of a particular image. Scholars will, therefore, examine a given image’s iconography by using the iconographical method to determine what the image’s subject matter may signify.

The other widely recognized significance of “iconography” is the ancient practice of painting Byzantine icons, or, more literally, of “icon writing.” Byzantine icons exhibit highly organized patterns or visual formulae that have been passed down over the centuries and carefully observed by icon painters. Accordingly, both senses of iconography apply to the study and creation of icons. This essay, however, focuses on the art historical use of the term because it is of greatest significance in the history of Protestantism. Part I examines the significance of iconography as an element in visual communication and the study of images. Part II considers prevalent examples of iconography in the history of European and American Protestantism.

I. Iconography as Art Historical Method

As a form of communication, images rely on patterns or visual formulae whose meanings are conventional, which means that they draw their meaning in large part from what amounts to a visual lexicon. In many instances, these lexicons actually exist in the form of emblem and pattern books. More commonly, however, iconographical traditions consist of conventional subjects handed down over time. According to one textbook definition,

Iconography is that branch of the study of art, which investigates works of art according to their conceptual contents. It seeks to examine ideas brought to expression in artistic products according to their subject matter, origin, and gradual evolution, and therefore to lead to the accurate comprehension of the language of images. [Künstle 1928:5]

Iconographical analysis proceeds by comparing a given image with its precedents to determine by virtue of consistency and variation what the image means. Meaning, by this procedure, is a function of adherence to or deviation from a tradition of signification. For example, beginning with the REFORMATION, Protestants in Northern Europe found the portrayal of Jesus blessing the children (Mark 10:16) a very appealing subject, and probably invented the iconographical theme (Christensen; Hofmann, 241). During the nineteenth century in the UNITED STATES the motif continued to enjoy wide appeal in popular prints. This appeal was likely attributable to the rise of a THEOLOGY and practice of domestic nurture, according to which mother shaped the formation of the child's soul while the absent pater familias worked outside the home. Mother and Jesus were often likened to one another in the illustrations of Christian instructional books and tracts. In the biblical text and in previous iconography the disciples were frequently shown attempting to free Christ from the attention of the children, only to suffer his rebuke. During the nineteenth century in the United States, however, portrayals of Christ blessing the children sometimes eliminated the disciples altogether, thereby paralleling the absence of the father from domestic scenes of maternal nature. The home was the sovereign sphere of the Christian mother, an ideal visualized in the popular iconography of Christian nurture.

The study of iconography has taken two directions among scholars since the eighteenth century: the classifiers and the contextualists. The first are those who assemble vast catalogues of visual motifs in the attempt to facilitate the identification of images. Such scholarship tends toward a scientific taxonomy, stressing description, rigorous classification, and exhaustive attempts at a comprehensive collection of variations. The knowledge produced by this method is indispensable in determining the significance of an image. However, historians interested in examining the broader relations of images to their historical epochs may prefer to use iconographical knowledge as a basis for further study, which consists of the contextualization of a motif in its historical moment. In addition to a taxonomy of the image, then, these scholars wish to understand the participation of images in the intellectual and imaginative life of an age.

In an enormously influential essay of 1939, art historian Erwin Panofsky distinguished these two analyses of images as different, but interdependent forms of study: iconography and iconology (Panofsky). Whereas iconography compares a motif with its predecessors and carefully describes its variation from as well as its continuity with this tradition, iconology seeks to explain why the differences and continuity occurred when and where they did. If iconography asks where a visual motif came from and what it shares with motifs that came before it, iconology seeks to discern the world of ideas and cultural values manifest in images. Iconology considers the relationship between an image and its cultural and intellectual milieu; iconography attends to the connection between an image and images similar to it in the past and at present. W.J.T. Mitchell succinctly summarized Panofsky's distinction of iconology and iconography as the difference between

interpreting “the total symbolic horizon of an image [and] the cataloguing of particular symbolic motifs” (Mitchell, 2). Whereas iconography *describes* an image by delineating its debt to and difference from a visual tradition, iconology *interprets* an image by discerning its relationship to a cultural repository of ideas. Influenced by his countryman and one-time colleague at the University of Hamburg, German philosopher Ernst Cassirer, Panofsky maintained that art was a symptom of CULTURE, a visual manifestation of underlying principles or “symbolic forms” that are also expressed in LITERATURE, ARCHITECTURE, philosophy, religion, and SCIENCE. The aim of iconology is to discover and interpret cultural artifacts as symbolic expressions of a culture’s underlying forms (Holly). The assumption is that art bears the same “mental habits,” as Panofsky put it, evident in other cultural expressions. According to Panofsky, the iconologist is one whose final object of explanation is the set of cultural structures that inform an image. Panofsky wished to explain a worldview, what amounted to the mind of a culture as it become apprehensible in individual works of art.

Throughout the twentieth century, iconology focused on the intellectual content and philosophical implications of artistic subject matter. As an art historical practice, therefore, iconology has tended to pursue the interpretation of an image’s conceptual signification, relying on the textual determination of an image’s meaning. Indeed, images were regarded as a kind of “language” that spoke an intellectual content. Thus, iconology regards art as a form of cultural thought, although some scholars found wanting in this approach the social analysis of art, that is, scrutiny of the ideological and other social functions of imagery. At present, scholars interested in the social nature of seeing have foregrounded the social and political operations of art and non-art imagery. This need not displace iconological study, as some studies have clearly demonstrated (Miller), but consideration of the social function of images attends more to visual practice, popular reception, and popular culture than traditional iconology has undertaken, since the primary assumption of iconology is that works of art are manifestations of thought rather than of social order and identity.

II. Protestant Iconography

To understand Protestant iconography and its interpretive potential for the scholar, it is instructive to reflect on certain conditions and features common to many Protestant uses of the image. Although it has sometimes been assumed that Protestantism led to a decline in the visual arts or even a proscription of imagery, the fact is that Protestant artists in Europe, North America, and around the world have made robust use of images, although often not in the same sacred spaces as Roman Catholic or Orthodox traditions (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). Even though the use of images in LITURGY and formal WORSHIP, located in the sanctuaries of church interiors, characterized visual piety in the Eastern and Western rites, Protestants have historically used images in the area of the pulpit and ALTAR rather sparingly. More common is the appearance of images in instructional spaces such as modern SUNDAY SCHOOL rooms, parochial school rooms,

and in public halls, where the devout gather for meals, meetings, and fellowship, although the most common location for sacred imagery among Protestants is the home.

A second important aspect of Protestant visual piety is teaching. Protestants have widely affirmed the ability of images to help teach and admonish principles of the faith as prescribed by scripture, creed, or sectarian theology. As a result, Protestant iconography has almost always operated with close ties to texts. Even though JOHN CALVIN objected that images were unable to teach anything about the Gospel, in practice Calvinist Protestants have availed themselves of the moral and instructional value of pictures and buildings (Calvin, 90–103; Finney). One thinks of the rich iconography of seventeenth-century Dutch painting and print culture, in which silent exhortations to pure living seek viewers of still life imagery and genre scenes, and where the compelling moral example of Jesus is visualized by Rembrandt in etchings as well as dramatic paintings.

MARTIN LUTHER explicitly endorsed the didactic role of images, even calling in one sermon on wealthy burgers to cover the sides of their houses with paintings of stories from the Hebrew Bible for the sake of public instruction (Luther, 99). Luther happily included woodcut illustrations in his German editions of the BIBLE (as did many translations produced in ENGLAND from HENRY VIII to James I) and both Catholic and Lutheran parties made avid use of visual propaganda to ridicule their opposition in the attempt to influence public opinion for or against the cause of the Reformation (Scribner; Pettegree). In colonial New England, primers and almanacs were illustrated with religious imagery, inculcating a textual as well as a cultural literacy of Protestantism. Primers were the most important educational text in addition to the Bible during the eighteenth century in North America. In the nineteenth century the mass production of print, including illustrated print, exploded in the UNITED STATES and Europe. Among the leaders in the United States of the new print culture were zealous Protestants who believed that a literate populace was the safeguard of republican government as well as of Protestant hegemony. Illustrated school books, children's newspapers, primers, tracts, almanacs, and Protestant classics such as JOHN BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS poured from Protestant presses and were widely circulated at very inexpensive prices (Morgan 1999). This print culture relied on an established range of iconography to serve its distinctly Protestant aims (see PUBLISHING MEDIA).

Linking images to texts may have appealed to Protestants because it helped clarify an image's meaning, ensuring its legibility, narrowing the act of signification from such open-ended processes as suggestion and allusion to a neater, more controlled semiotic operation. Images and words can be used to reinforce one another such that the image delivers a message that is primarily textual, preexisting the image and merely using it as a means of conveyance. Protestants have often accompanied illustrations with inscriptions, quotations, names, captions, or even longer passages of text to harness the image and prescribe its meaning-making. Protestant images often are organized in narrative suites, linked to a Bible passage, or are highly allegorical or emblematic, carefully encoded with an antecedent content that is first, and properly, textual. In fact, Protestantism is so far from being aniconic that it must be said that the highly textual nature of Protestant visual piety conforms quite naturally to the textuality of iconography as a system of visual communication. As many scholarly studies have shown, accordingly, there is no dearth of Protestant visual practice and iconography.

This strong reliance on the text derives from the **AUTHORITY** of the Bible as the revealed Word of God, which Protestants have traditionally regarded as the unrivaled authority in religious life, available to each believer for close study and devotional reflection. The deity, according to Protestants, chose to reveal itself in words. Words are, therefore, the principal, among some Protestants, even unparalleled avenue for coming to know God and receive God's message of **SALVATION**. Even though in practice words can be as fractious, as unstable, and as tendentious as images, they lend themselves to a religious practice that stresses the acquisition of discursive knowledge as the basis for redemption. The Protestant must know who God is, what the divine message for humankind is, and how one should respond to it to be saved. Protestant salvation consists fundamentally in knowing the right thing.

The stress laid on the proper contents of knowledge among Protestants shaped a highly dogmatic approach to all aspects of teaching in the early Reformation. This is evident in early Protestant art in **GERMANY**. Lucas Cranach the Elder, his studio, and his son produced several detailed altar paintings, which amount to elaborate visual compendia of Lutheran **DOCTRINE**. Often called "Law and Gospel," the central principle of Lutheran theology and homiletics, these pictorial programs compile central events in the scriptures that form a history of salvation from Adam to the resurrection of Jesus. If the didactic scenes were not enough, captions often identify the figures and indicate their theological significance (Schiller; Christensen; Hofmann).

CONVERSION or regeneration was not merely a rational process of acquiring the right information. Protestants have always regarded conversion as involving the entire, embodied human being, often summed up metaphorically as the "heart." The heart was the seat of the will, and therefore important in the Augustinian and Pauline anthropologies of both Luther and Calvin. In the Calvinist or Reformed tradition of Protestantism (see **CALVINISM**), regeneration was understood to be a protracted process of conviction, contrition, and conversion, a gradual operation in which individuals submit themselves to the work of the Spirit of God. Puritan preacher John Flavel (1627–1691) characterized the entire process of call and redemption as "Christ Knocking at the Door of Sinners' Hearts," the title of a set of his sermons published in 1689. According to Flavel, who based his discussion on Revelation 3:20, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock," the soul was "a magnificent structure" with "such stately rooms as thy understanding, will, conscience, and affections" (Flavel, 8). Staunchly affirming the Calvinist notion of human depravity and divine sovereignty, Flavel insisted that the will was unable "by its own power [to] open itself to receive Christ by faith" (Flavel, 55–56). God must convict the conscience, bend the human will to Christ, and remove the many natural barriers barring the soul from **GRACE**.

In seventeenth-century Germany the image of Christ knocking at the door of the heart was eroticized by a mystical tradition leading toward **PIETISM**. Lutheran poet and hymn writer Johann Franck (1618–1677) wrote the hymn "Soul, Adorn Thyself with Gladness" in 1649, which urges the soul to prepare itself for the lover who comes calling:

Hasten as a bride to meet Him
 And with loving rev'rence greet Him;
 For with words of life immortal
 Now He knocketh at thy portal.
 Haste to ope the gates before Him,
 Saying, while thou dost adore Him,
 Suffer, Lord, that I receive Thee,
 And I never more will leave Thee.

[*Lutheran Hymnal*, 305]

Regarded as a lover, the ravisher of the human heart, Christ knocks to court the soul, which is able to open the door. The relationship is not one of enmity and judgment, but longing and intimacy.

The motif acquired different meanings during the nineteenth century, when it was visualized in paintings, drawings, and prints that circulated throughout Europe, Britain, and the United States. In his vastly popular “The Light of the World” (1851–1853), British painter William Holman Hunt (1827–1910) created what eventually became a Protestant icon of Jesus. His picture, although criticized at first for its departure from precedent (Bennett, 31–34) seems to combine the erotic lover of the soul with the Puritan notion of human resistance to the knocking Savior, at least if one compares the image with what Hunt said about it years afterward. His notes read like a laundry list of carefully encoded symbols that evince the Prot

estant penchant for fastening images to texts, and recall the Puritan mix of divine goodness and humandepravity adumbrated by John Flavel:

The closed door was the obstinately shut mind, the weeds the cumber of daily neglect, the accumulated hindrances of sloth; the orchard the garden of delectable fruit for the dainty feast of the soul. The music of the still small voice was the summons to the sluggard to awaken and become a zealous labourer under the Divine Master; the bat flitting about only in darkness was a natural symbol of ignorance; the kingly and priestly dress of Christ, the sign of His reign over the body and the soul, to them whom could give their allegiance to Him and acknowledge God’s overrule.
 [quoted in Landow, 34]

The shift toward modern EVANGELICALISM, with its intensely “personal relationship” grounded in an individual calling from Jesus, is evident in the way Hunt turned Christ toward the viewer to create not only a representation of Christ’s summons at the heart of a third party, but a direct appeal to those who look upon Hunt’s picture. Flavel had taught that the “Behold” of Revelation 3:20 signified a “term of notification or public record,

wherein Christ takes witnesses of the most gracious offer,” public testament that will be reviewed on the Day of Judgment when each soul stands before God (Flavel, 11). Flavel construed the relationship of the soul to Christ in juridical terms, as part of a larger accounting the soul will have to make one day before the Great Judge. Hunt, by contrast, visualized the “Behold” as the savior’s inviting presentation of himself in the quintessential moment of evangelical “witness,” as if to endorse the modern practice of colportage and door-to-door EVANGELISM used by British and American evangelicals since the early nineteenth century.

The legacy of Flavel was not lost on nineteenth-century EVANGELICALISM. In 1826 the American Tract Society issued the Rev. John Scudder’s hard-edged sermon to youth, “Knocking at the Door,” in which the missionary feared that Christ’s knocking had not yet affected the heart of the “young friend” to whom he directed his remarks. Scudder used the motif of Revelation 3:10 with the full fury of the revivalist preacher, thrusting the reader toward conversion by means of an unmitigated appeal to terror. “Today! he is knocking, perhaps *for the last time*. If you reject him, I shall not wonder if he abandons you.... I shall not wonder if *this day* a seal is put in heaven to your everlasting damnation” (Scudder, 16; emphasis in original).

However, this was not the spirit recognized in Hunt’s picture and celebrated by those who admired it. Hunt’s image influenced several hymns, including some compiled by IRA SANKEY in his *Sacred Songs and Solos*, and the hymn by HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, “Knocking, Knocking, Ever Knocking” (1867; Maas, 78). Inspired by an image of Christ knocking at the door of the soul by German Nazarene painter, Philipp Veit, Hunt’s image, in turn, compelled numerous imitations (Vaughan, 225), perhaps the most widely reproduced of which during the twentieth century was Warner Sallman’s *Christ at Heart’s Door*, 1942 (Morgan 1996). A member of the pietistic Swedish Evangelical Covenant Church in Chicago, and someone who experienced a revivalist awakening as a teenager, Sallman intended with his picture to foster evangelical conversion at the personal behest of Jesus. His image, however, endorsed an Arminian view of human agency in conversion (see ARMINIANISM). Notes published with the picture pointed out that the door on which Christ knocked bore no handle or knob whereby the savior might open the door. “The door has no latch for it can be opened only from within, and the soul itself is the key” (*Series of Interpretations*). This had also been DWIGHT L. MOODY’S reading of Revelation 3:20. In the margin of his Bible the popular Chicago-based revivalist wrote: “The latch of the door is on the inside” (Moody 1895, 188). Flavel had identified “free-grace” as the “golden key” to the door of the soul (Flavel, 52), but the Arminian disposition of modern Pietism had come to think differently of the soul’s agency. Responsibility for the act of free acceptance lay with the soul itself, which possessed both the free will to reject the divine offer and the capacity to cast aside the barrier that Flavel had considered impervious to any but the Holy Spirit.

As if responding to a criticism of Hunt’s picture by Moody, who considered the lantern held by Christ in the British picture to be insultingly superfluous in that Christ himself is “the Sun of Righteousness” (Moody 1899, 149), Sallman eliminated the lantern and portrayed an incandescent Jesus projecting a heart-shaped radiance on the door and stone facade of the soul’s benighted dwelling. Once again, Moody might have prompted him in the matter (Sallman enrolled as a young man at the MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE). In a sermon, Moody instructed his listeners: “if you want the love of God

in your hearts, all you have to do is open the door and let it shine in. It will shine in as the sun shines in a dark room. Let him have full possession of your hearts” (quoted in Gaustad, 192). The legibility of the motif of Christ at the door of the heart was clearly paramount for both Hunt and Sallman given that Hunt combined (and Sallman preserved) multiple biblical references to anchor the image with semantic redundancy. In addition to Revelation 3:20, Hunt had identified several biblical texts as inspirational for his picture: Romans 13:12, “the night is far gone, the day is near,” accounts for the nocturnal lighting; Psalm 119:105 registers in the lantern: “Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path.” And the title of the painting comes from John 8:12, “I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life” (Parris, 117). The hortatory, evangelical implication is even clearer in the remainder of Romans 13:12: “Let us then lay aside the works of darkness and put on the armor of light.” Among conservative Protestants, hermeneutical ambivalence is no virtue. The most cherished Protestant image is often the most legible one.

Sallman’s devout admirers prized his images for their legibility. He retained the nocturnal setting and emblematic details (thistles and thorny vines blocking entrance to the heart) from Hunt’s conception, but the soft and luminous Jesus faces the soul he would save. Jesus inclines toward the door as if to whisper tender words through the tiny screen in front of him. The very words might be the intimate exchange cherished between the soul and the lover-savior in the 1912 hymn, “In the Garden:”

I come to the garden alone
 While the dew is still on the roses;
 And the voice I hear,
 Falling on my ear
 The Son of God discloses.
 And He walks with me,
 And He talks with me,
 And He tells me I am His own,
 And the joy we share as we tarry there
 None other has ever known. [Miles, 187]

The eros of this private union softens the Calvinist theology of depravity, lending humanity a humble, but real part to play in the regeneration of the soul.

Repugnant as it is to orthodox Calvinists, the Arminian claim for free will brought with it a recognition of the potential of the sanctified life, that is, life after conversion. Whereas the classical Reformed tradition situated the devout in an anguished uncertainty about their eternal welfare, which remained hidden behind the cloak of PREDESTINATION, other Protestant traditions stressed both the importance of personal decision in regeneration as well as the work of the Holy Spirit in the role of SANCTIFICATION in everyday life after conversion. The ongoing presence of God in comfort, encouragement, PRAYER, and guidance found important and widespread visual

expression in such images by Sallman as *The Lord is My Shepherd* (1943), *Christ in Gethsemane* (1941), and *Christ Our Pilot* (1950), in the work of other artists who produced such images as *Praying Hands* (after a drawing by Albrecht Dürer) or Eric Enstrom's much admired *Grace* of 1918, showing an aged man at prayer over his meal, or in any one of a dozen versions of Guardian Angels or Christ Blessing Children. Mottoes had been a standard part of Christian homes in the nine teenth century, typically familiar Bible verses or gnostic admonitions to live the godly life or preserve domestic bliss. Protestants often speak of these kinds of images and objects as reminding them of their commitments or the moment of their decision to follow Christ. They also regard such iconography as a kind of advertisement to and subtle influence over family members, friends, coworkers, and visitors to their homes.

Until the late nineteenth century in the United States, Protestants eschewed an existential relation with images. Images were forms of information—from the early doctrinal programs of Lutheran altar painting and print illustration to the American nineteenth- and twentieth-century millennialist charts and diagrams inspired by WILLIAM MILLER'S 1843 lithograph illustrating in a visual and numerical logic the second return of Jesus enciphered in the prophetic books of Daniel and Revelation (Numbers and Butler; Morgan 1999). Several changes late in the century, however, led to a shift in Protestant thought about images. Modern reproductive technology such as half-tone engraving and offset lithography made possible the inexpensive distribution of imagery. Clergy and educators realized that pictures could exert an affective influence on viewers and that the fine arts could contribute effectively to religious instruction and the nurture of children.

In a popular visual culture of celebrity and fame, Jesus emerged as teacher, hero, and contested historical figure whose likeness became a visual register of the needs and theological dispositions of diverse groups. His iconography among Protestants borrowed extensively from traditional Catholic fine art. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Protestant artists and viewers had settled on a very familiar physiognomy that was corroborated (more or less) both by the history of Christian art since the later Middle Ages and by a fascinating literary document in circulation since the fourteenth century. A letter purporting to be written by a contemporary of Jesus, Publius Lentulus, offers a brief description of the face of Christ in terms that Protestants easily recognized: high forehead, shoulder-length hair parted in the center, large eyes, a beard, and a solemn facial expression (Morgan 1999). The features of the face grew so familiar that they served as iconographical motifs in themselves. The image became a visual portrayal of the text that described the face of Christ. Currier & Ives and other popular lithography firms produced versions of the letter and its visual counterpart. In the twentieth century Warner Sallman produced what was very likely the most widely recognized version of the face. By Sallman's lifetime, Protestants were able to see in this face the very likeness of the historical Jesus, responding to it in a way that recalls Catholic response to the Veil of Veronica or the Shroud of Turin (Morgan 1996). Among Protestants who embraced what may be called a "CHRISTOLOGY of friendship," a view of Christ as the believer's intimate and closest companion, Sallman's "portrait" amounted to nothing less than a snapshot, a Protestant icon, of the incarnate Lord.

Sallman's image of Jesus appealed not only to evangelical and mainline American Protestants, but, although for different reasons, to groups as various as American

Catholics, MENNONITES, Mormons, and Copts. Moreover, this enormously reproduced picture of Christ, put into global circulation by Protestant missionaries, also appealed to Christians around the world. The broad appeal of the same image suggests the inadequacy of iconography as a method for determining the significance of an image, unless we take the unlikely view that this picture meant the same thing to very different groups. In fact, viewers tend to appropriate the image as well as the artist to themselves. Catholics made Sallman a Catholic artist; Protestants regarded him and his picture as manifestly Lutheran, Methodist, or Baptist, as the case may be. Some viewers saw Sallman's Jesus as gentle and comforting; others as a masculine affirmation of their need for a "manly" savior. Consequently, iconographical investigation must be supplemented by the study of reception because the meaning attributed to an image is not limited to whatever may be encoded in the image's motifs. The cultural "text" that one viewer reads in an image is not the same as the text another sees in the same picture. Inasmuch as this extra interpretation helps to discern the world of ideas and values that inform the image, the study of images pursues the iconological knowledge that Erwin Panofsky envisioned as the higher end to which iconography can make a fundamental contribution.

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DAVID MORGAN

INCULTURATION

Inculturation is a term emerging in (principally) post-Vatican II Catholic theology to denote the process by which local cultures and their values function in the proclamation and reformulation of the Christian message and in its embodiment in life. It presupposes an “incarnational” understanding of the Church in which Christ “takes flesh” in local cultures so that they become as appropriate a vehicle for the manifestation of Christ as was the culture of first-century Jewish Palestine. Inculturation theology was informed by the generally positive value accorded to local cultures in such encyclical documents as *Lumen Gentium*. It superseded terms such as “adaptation” and “indigenization,” which emphasized the agency of missionaries. Inculturation theology responds to the accusation that Christianity in Africa or Asia is a foreign implant, while recognizing that foreignness has too often been a feature of its church life.

Contemporary Protestant mission theology also struggles with problems of the interaction of gospel and culture, without developing any single interpretive concept or agreed terminology. (“Contextualization” has been a popular term in some quarters, again often with reference to missionary method rather than to the church’s experience.) Some social scientists have suggested “enculturation” as a neutral, nontheological term to indicate a process of exchange between elements of the Christian tradition and elements of local culture. The debates reflect the modern recognition of culture as constituting a coherent realm, not merely the agglomeration of “customs” recognized in earlier times. It also reflects a general acknowledgment that the positions reached by Western Christianity as a result of its own processes of cultural interaction are not necessarily normative for the rest of the world. The term “inculturation” is already used with a range of meaning, and there are signs that it is coming into general use to denote the Christian interaction with local culture or Christian embodiment within it. Accordingly it seems appropriate to use the term, if perhaps anachronistically, in considering approaches to the issues of cultural interaction in Protestant mission history.

Issues of culture have arisen recurrently in the history of Protestant missions, and indeed in all cross-cultural diffusions of the Christian faith. Protestants were not well placed to learn from Catholic missions, either in LATIN AMERICA, where Christianity in European form was imposed by force, or in CHINA, INDIA, JAPAN, or Vietnam, where circumstances required that missionaries find a niche within an alien society, and where some, notably Jesuits, achieved a deep level of identification with local cultures and churches arose that could not be readily dismissed as foreign institutions. Old

controversies over soteriology and popular images such as that of Jesuits as dissembling deceivers long diverted Protestants from weighing the experience of Catholic missions and into denouncing them. Early Protestant MISSIONS were influenced by the Pietist movement in Germany, by English PURITANISM in North America, and by the evangelical revival everywhere. All of these were movements of social criticism, developing a radical Christian lifestyle and rejecting many of the regular lifestyles associated with the nominally Christian societies in which these movements originated. On the one hand, this tended to predispose them to still harsher views of non-Christian societies, as being under the dominion of Satan; on the other, it preserved them from blatantly racial exaltation of their own societies. In common with their contemporaries, they also tended to hold a unitary and somewhat static view of civilization, identified with the intellectual, literary, artistic, and technological inheritance of the West since the Roman Empire, suffused with Christian teaching. Many Protestants believed the spread of this civilization to be a necessary precursor of any successful evangelization of the non-Christian world. Evangelicals and Pietists, although agreeing that Christianity and civilization were inseparable, for the most part saw civilization as a fruit of the Gospel rather than its harbinger.

As a rule, early Protestant missionary views of non-Western cultures tended to be severe. There were exceptions; DAVID LIVINGSTONE, for instance, seems to have been accepting from an early stage of African ways of life, finding their analogues among his own recent ancestors in the Scottish Highlands. It is not uncommon, however, to find missionaries whose first reactions were of dismay or even revulsion, coming to very different assessments as their acquaintance with the society and its people deepened. Without in any way diluting their sense of that society's need of Christ, they found not only admirable features within the culture, but sometimes also evidence of pre-Christian divine activity. These discoveries often emerge with deeper knowledge of language and traditions. This came more readily where there were written scriptures to be studied, and so generally sooner in India and China than in nonliterate societies. Protestant thought was undoubtedly partly shaped by theological and other intellectual currents in the West, and missionary activity helped to shape new social sciences such as anthropology. However, far more important in developing thought about cultural issues was the experience of living in other societies, and especially the experience of the development of churches there. A great variety of issues and approaches might be identified; here it must suffice to refer to five particularly influential models.

1. Civilization Models

The widespread views of civilization mentioned above took on special significance for missions in the light of the SLAVERY question. Until the nineteenth century, the Africans best known to Western Christians were those who had been brought to slavery in the Americas. Most of those in Britain, and many of those in America who supported missions, were strongly opposed to slavery. Slavery raised questions about the constitution of the African race. Evangelicals insisted on the unity of all humanity in

nature and in grace. The implication followed that Africans, far from being fit only for menial service, must, as recipients of God's salvation, be capable of the highest human attainments, those reflected in "civilization"—that is, Western civilization. Early missions among Africans, both in Africa and the Americas, stressed the growth of (Western) civilization as evidence of the power of the Gospel. The communities where this was most obvious—in the CARIBBEAN, in SIERRA LEONE, and among the Khoi (Hottentots) in SOUTH AFRICA—represented broken or uprooted peoples whose immediate connection with their land, their kin, and their past had been broken, and whose new identity was being formed with Christian and Western materials. The success of such civilization models challenged racist assumptions about African inferiority; Africans were clearly capable of all the attainments of the West, but it concealed the issue of the value of African culture in and of itself. In India the Scottish missionary Alexander Duff (1806–1878) set out to provide an entire Christian worldview that would include the whole encyclopedia of scientific knowledge and displace the Hindu system among India's intellectual leaders. He saw a brief period of success, where a number of young Brahmins, already disaffected with the old ways, responded; this movement declined, however, as other ways appeared of combining traditional ideas with Western scientific knowledge and social reform. Civilization models declined as the importance of the slavery issue declined, and evangelical thinking turned away from social to more directly "spiritual" issues; as acquaintance with African communities and their languages developed; and as confidence in the excellence and sufficiency of Western civilization waned.

2. National Church Models

By the middle of the nineteenth century mission leaders such as RUFUS ANDERSON and Henry Venn were urging the establishment of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches as the object of missionary endeavor, and recognizing that these were likely to deviate in some respects from the patterns of the churches of America and Europe. Indeed Venn invoked the Reformation doctrine of national churches: there could be national churches in India or Yorubaland that reflected the national peculiarities of their countries as the national Protestant churches of England, Scotland, Germany, and Scandinavia reflected theirs. A corollary was that missionaries should not stay as pastors of churches once they were established. In practice the situation was more complex. Some Anglican missionaries, among them bishop JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO in Natal, worked with the idea of the church influencing the whole organism of society, as notionally in England, rather than, like other missions, seeking to call out a church from its society. Traditional institutions, even (in a strictly delimited form) polygamy might be tolerated if not absolutely incompatible with Christian teaching. A number of German missionaries, inspired by the *Volkskirche* idea, worked for the conversion of the society as an organic whole. Bruno Guttmann, for instance, immersed himself in the community life of the Chagga of Tanzania, seeking not so much individual conversions as consensual response to the Gospel in clans and age-

sets. In this way a national leadership of the church and a Christian leadership of the community developed together. The experiment had started in a German colony; by the time Tanzania was advancing toward independence, there were complaints that this comprehensive but essentially conservative approach to traditional culture had left the community disadvantaged in such matters as secondary schools that other missions retained, often as a remnant of the civilization model. Christian Keysser and Georg Vicedom developed parallel approaches in Papua New Guinea. The French Protestant Maurice Leenhardt (1878–1954) found the structure of a national church already in place in New Caledonia and removed imported features to give it space to develop.

3. Fulfillment and Restorationist Models

These developed in India and China and other areas where ancient civilizations with developed literary traditions were still visible. Missions often took the view that these were now irrelevant to the great mass of the people who were largely unaffected by them; however, there were important elements in Protestant missions that saw them as vital determinants of Christian work. The Scot William Miller (1838–1923) realized that Duff’s dream of the displacement of Hinduism was impossible. What Christian education should now attempt was to awaken dormant tendencies already in Hinduism, so that the Christian message, so readily shrugged off as foreign, could be heard by Hindu intellectuals. K.M.Banerjea (see INDIAN THEOLOGY), converted through Duff, found an “Aryan witness” to Christ in the Vedas, the ancient Hindu scriptures that Duff had scorned. J.N.Farquhar (1861–1929), faced with the rising national movement and growing resentment at British rule, threw himself into the study of the religious literature of India, making it readily available, producing comprehensive guides to it that are still in use, and arguing that Christ is the fulfillment of its highest aspirations. In China JAMES LEGGE (1815–1897) devoted his life to the study and translation of the Chinese classics and argued that the ancient religion of China was monotheistic, a sort of primal revelation. Such approaches looked to Indian and Chinese appropriations of Christianity that would affirm the best glories of the past and move to a Christian future that would retain continuity with that past.

4. Modernizing Models

These models have been most noticeable in Japan and China. In Japan Protestant missionaries were welcomed for a time as agents of the Western education and technology that were needed for national advance. Groups of young Western-educated young men, often samurai, converted at Sapporo and elsewhere, leading to an expectation, not justified by the event, that Japan would turn to the religion as well as the technology of the West. In fact some Japanese Christians, such as Uchimura Kanzo

(1861–1930), set up a critique of the West and its lack of spiritual sensitivity, and propounded a Japanese version of Christianity. In China Timothy Richard (1845–1919), beginning as an evangelistic missionary, found himself deeply involved in famine relief, and from there moved to consider the structural causes of famine in China. These were all removable by the application of modern methods, and use of those methods would derive from a true doctrine of God and creation. Much of his later career was concerned with propagating these ideas through literature and other means, with a view to a converted and regenerated China, although always with deep respect for Chinese culture, history, and societal structures, and with an increasingly sharp critique of Western imperialism and militarism. Other missionaries linked Christian mission in China to modernization, especially in the period after the fall of the empire when Western values seemed to be attractive to rulers of China. Later developments led to the rejection of missions as part of a foreign imperialist enterprise, and thereafter to a major expansion of Christianity through Chinese agency.

5. Hospitality Models

The Norwegian Lutheran missionary K.L.Reichelt (1877–1952) realized that ordinary mission methods in China made no impression on Buddhist monks, although many of these were clearly sincere seekers after truth and often burdened by a sense of sin. He developed a meeting point, later formalized as a brotherhood, where Christians and Buddhists might pray and study the scriptures in an environment that was not threatening but welcoming. Although he remained at heart a pietistic Lutheran, he was accused by some of syncretism and by others of Romanism. His Tao Fong Shan Centre (eventually located, through the exigencies of war, in Hong Kong) is one of many examples of mission endeavors aimed at providing hospitality to people of faith in terms of a local culture.

These and other models adopted by Protestant missions indicate that issues of inculturation were arising, although variously described and very differently addressed, throughout the days of the Protestant missionary movement. The great international missionary conferences, from the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE at Edinburgh in 1910 to the International Missionary Council meeting at Tambaram in 1938, concentrated on issues raised by other faiths, rather than the cultures shaped by those faiths, which continued to shape the corporate minds of the churches for whose emergence missions had been the catalyst. Culture came to the center of discussion after World War II, following closer consideration of the nature of the church and in the wake of decolonization, the emergence of new nations, and a revival of confidence in the cultures of Africa and Asia.

The inculturation process was by then well established in many newer Protestant churches, and it has been the process in these churches, rather than particular policies of missions, that has determined the present situation. There have been reconstitutive models for the appropriations of Christianity, as in the cases of Sierra Leone and the Caribbean already considered. The sense of Christian identity here, and the adoption of

Western cultural models, was always clear; what was less clear was that African elements were also incorporated into the reconstituted identity to all. There were interactive models of appropriation in many parts of Africa, where the central institutions of a community were gradually brought into a mutually accepting relationship with Christian teaching, sometimes with reserved areas of autonomy where the power of ancestral consciousness was particularly strong. There have also been reinterpetive models, seen perhaps most clearly in many AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES, but not only there, where aspects and institutions of African life are reinterpreted and given new significance in the light of the Bible. The huge presence of the charismatic movement in Africa has given impetus to this process by the relationships it is forging between African worldviews and Biblical teaching. In none of these models of appropriation does it make sense to distinguish between “Christian” and “African” elements—they are fully integrated.

Meanwhile, new Asian theologies of culture are appearing. It is noticeable that, although missionary models of cultural interaction in India concentrated on the Brahminical Hindu tradition, the fact that the great majority of Indian Christians are Dalits, with their history of oppression, or Tribals with a non-Indic identity, is producing quite new interpretations of the relationship between past tradition and Christian identity (see Indian Theology and TRIBAL MOVEMENTS, INDIA). Ultimately most inculturation questions are about a satisfactory definition of the relations between local or national and Christian identity.

See also: Missionary Organizations; Pietism

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ANDREW F.WALLS

INDEPENDENT FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCHES

This organization is one of the oldest and largest fundamentalist associations in the UNITED STATES that emerged out of the interdenominational BIBLE conferences of the early twentieth century as a protest against the liberalism and MODERNISM in the larger Protestant denominations. Its formal beginnings can be traced to the formation of the American Conference of Undenominational Churches in 1923. This group joined a number of Congregational churches in 1930 to form the Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America (IFCA). While maintaining a strong stance on ecclesial separatism from denominations and religious apostasy, and critical of the neo-evangelical NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS, the IFCA left the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) in 1952 because the latter was too extreme in its separatism. The IFCA could not abide by the strict ACCC position on separation from other conservatives, including the more moderate National Association of Evangelicals, who did hold to a strict separatist position.

The association renamed itself IFCA International in 1996 in recognition of its global mission and diverse constituency, and to place less emphasis on FUNDAMENTALISM and its exclusionary position out of concern that “independent” and “fundamental” might be misunderstood. Churches, lay people, and ministers can become members of the association, which has its headquarters in Grandville, Michigan.

Consistent with the fundamentalist movement’s insistence on unwavering doctrinal fundamentals and purity, the IFCA International demands adherence to verbal plenary inerrancy of the Bible, total depravity of humans, the virgin birth and full deity of Christ, the sacrificial ATONEMENT, the CHURCH as the local and independent gathering of believers apart from denominational systems, and premillennial dispensational EsCHATOLOGY. The organization affirms the two ordinances of the LORD’S SUPPER and Believer’s BAPTISM and is strictly congregational in governance, informal in WORSHIP, and advocates expository PREACHING and the literal interpretation of the Bible.

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Congregationalism; Denomination; Dispensationalism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Millenarians and Millennialism

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TIMOTHY E.FULOP

INDIA

Before European Colonial Presence in India (until 1498)

The general assumption that the history of Christianity in India is as old as Christianity itself refers to its early beginnings in South India. Among the St. Thomas (or) Syrian Christians in South India, there is strong oral tradition that emphasizes the ministry of the Apostle Thomas, one of the twelve apostles of Jesus Christ (Matthew 10:3, Mark 3:18; John 11:16, 15:5, 20:25, 29), in South India. Accordingly, following the ancient trade route between South India and the Middle East, St. Thomas is believed to have reached Kudungalur (i.e., Cranganore) on the southwest Coast of the modern Kerala State. After an eventful ministry that succeeded in establishing a few local churches with Indian converts, he is said to have moved to Mylapore, currently a suburb of the city of Chennai (Madras). The same tradition points out that Indian religious leaders, who did not like the ministry of St. Thomas, killed him. Early European travelers (e.g., Pantanus in the second century, Marco Polo in 1288), Church Fathers (e.g., Ambrose, fourth century), and the apocryphal book entitled *Acts of Thomas* (early third century) make several allusions either to the tomb (supposedly) of St. Thomas on St. Thomas Mount in Chennai or to the Christian population in southern India. Historically convincing contemporaneous evidences of the life and ministry of St. Thomas the Apostle, however, are yet to be found.

Other traditions link the beginning of Christianity in India either with the Apostle Bartholomew (Matthew 10:3; Mark 3:8; Luke 6:14) in the region of Thana, near the city of Mumbai (earlier, Bombay), or to immigrations of Syriac-speaking Christians from Persia. According to the Jacobite Mar Thoma IV (1721) there were two migrations of Christians from Persia to Kerala: in 345 a certain Thomas of Cana led about four hundred families; in 823–825 Mar Sabriso brought another group of immigrants; both groups were welcome and were socially integrated into the prevailing culture. In the course of time they attained high social rank and political power. They owned large pieces of land, traded spices with business people from many parts of the world, and led a simple, but dignified life. From the fourth century onward, the Christians in India accepted the ecclesiastical authority of the Persian Church and used the Syriac liturgy. They were oriental Christians in India, belonging to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarch of

Antioch. Because of this Persian connection, they had Syriac liturgy, theology, and church administration, until the sixteenth century. Their metropolitan, the chief ecclesiastical head, appointed a Persian bishop to take care of the spiritual affairs of the Indian church and an Indian archdeacon to look after the civil life of the Christians. In consultation with the archdeacon, the bishop would ordain Katanars, the local pastors.

All the religious and political tensions, splits, and theologies of the patriarchate in Antioch influenced the Indian church directly or indirectly. The Indian Christians got integrated into the prevailing cultural and social context in India; by faith they were Christian, although by ecclesiastical affiliation they were Syrian. They made use of a flagstaff and a wooden gong. They went on processions, undertook pilgrimages, and observed days of fasting and feasting. They administered Qurbana (i.e., Eucharist) in two elements. Their priests were married. Despite their achievements, this community was inward looking. Lack of pastoral care and dependency on non-Indian bishops were bound to weaken this community.

During European Colonial Presence in India (1498–1947)

The Portuguese naval officer, Vasco da Gama (1469–1524) reached Calicut in 1498 and forced the Indian ruler of Calicut (1502) to sign a trade treaty. This event marked the beginning of a long presence of several European powers in India. With regard to church relations Vasco da Gama's arrival in India had far-reaching consequences: in 1494, Pope Alexander entrusted Portugal with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all countries in the Eastern hemisphere. Vasco da Gama's contemporary, Cabral, brought Franciscan missionaries to the city of Cochin in 1500. Franciscan missionaries strengthened their centers and began to expand their influence. In 1514 Pope Leo confirmed the Padroado missionaries the right to select, appoint, and maintain bishops and to build churches. After Goa, the Portuguese capital city in India, was established in 1510 and raised to an archdiocese covering all territories between India and China. By 1534, more European missionaries arrived in India: Dominicans (1503), Jesuits (1542), and Augustinians (1572). When the Portuguese met the St. Thomas Christians and discovered their involvement in the spice trade, they entered into a trade agreement with them. However, they soon found that the faith expressions and practices of St. Thomas Christians differed greatly from the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, especially after the anti-Protestant Council of Trent (1545–1563). In their efforts to counter Protestants in Europe and to gain new adherents in non-European countries, the Portuguese political authorities and the Padroado missionaries desired to establish the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church over that of the St. Thomas Christians in India. With the help of the Jesuit Francis Roz, Dom Alexis de Menezis, the archbishop of Goa, called for a synod at Diamper (i.e., Udayamperur, June 20–27, 1599). While he arranged for subjugating the St. Thomas Christians to Roman Catholicism, he opposed the unhealthy (Brahminical) practice of untouchability and the discrimination against women among the Christians. However, the St. Thomas Christians did not tolerate the imposition of the Latin rite; they wanted to have their Syrian tradition and liturgy in Syriac. On January 3, 1653, most of

them gathered at a church in the place of Mattancherry. They touched a rope tied to the cross of the church and vowed (i.e., Coonon Cross Oath) not to continue their relationship with the Roman Catholic Church any longer. This historical event marked the beginning of the major ecclesiastical split in India—those who rejected the Latin rite were known as the New Party, which later became the Jacobite Church. A small number of Christians, known as the Old Party, continued to be Roman Catholics. The representatives of the New Party not only ordained their archdeacon Thomas as Mar Thoma I, but also approached the Syrian Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch for help. Consequently St. Gregorius Abdul’Galeel, the Syrian metropolitan of Jerusalem, came to Kerala in 1665 and revived the Syriac tradition. During the seventeenth century Christians in Kerala had to encounter rival church leaders, traditions, and further splits.

During the years 1542–1773 (until the Suppression) the Jesuit missionaries toiled not only on the coastal regions, but also in the main cities of South India. Some Jesuits from the College of St. Paul’s in Goa accepted the invitation of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556–1605), the proponent of Din-i-Ilahi, and went to his court (1580–1583) to demonstrate the Christian message in word and deed. Although this type of mission work among the aristocrats lasted almost two centuries, it did not result in many conversions, although it influenced the Mughal art, literature, and history. The Jesuit mission to the common people had more success. The Italian Jesuit Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656), founder of the Madurai Mission, may perhaps be the greatest missionary of this time. From his arrival in the cultural city of Madurai in 1606 he learned the dominant South Indian languages (Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit), became well acquainted with the major literature of these languages, and studied the cultural specialties of the South Indians. In his attempt to study the worldviews and behavior patterns of the South Indians he tried to separate religion from social custom. He created many phrases to communicate the Christian message, and he managed to lead people of different caste groups to worship in one church building and to receive the sacraments from his own hand. He removed the derogatory name of Christians as Paranghis (i.e., a synonym for drinking wine, eating beef, and leading a morally loose life). His own contemporary, the Portuguese Jesuit John de Brito (1647–1693), preached the Christian message in and around the city of Madurai and adjacent kingdoms. The works of the Jesuit missionaries and two Dutch East India Company chaplains (Philip Baldaeus and Abraham Roger) in the seventeenth century need to be mentioned. They preached the Christian message and took the thought patterns of Indians seriously. Roman Catholic missionaries belonging to the Propaganda Fide (established in 1622) complicated the missionary work of the Protestant missionaries in India.

In the meantime the traders of East India Companies from ENGLAND (1600–1874), NETHERLANDS (1602–1798), DENMARK (1616–1845), and FRANCE (1664–1769) began to make inroads on the Portuguese sea power. Although in England there was a close link between state and church, the British colonial authorities in India were careful not to allow any Protestant missionary work in their territories in India. Because of the peculiar domestic and national situation, Frederick IV, king of Denmark (1699–1730), established a cross-cultural mission to Tranquebar, a small Danish colony (1619–1845) on the east coast of South India. At the recommendation of his counselors, in 1705, he sent two German Pietists, B. Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and H. Pluetschau (1677–1746) to Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg learned the Tamil language, studied Tamil literature, and

translated the New Testament and a few other works of German Pietists into Tamil, organized a church based on several South Indian social principles, educated less-privileged people to attain economic self-sufficiency, and prepared Indian Christians to shoulder responsibilities for their own church. Among his successors the linguist Benjamin Schultze (1689–1760), the Bible translator Johann Philip Fabricius (1711–1791), and the missionarydiplomat Christian Frederick Schwartz (1726–1798) were some leading figures whose multifaceted contributions to Indian society are remembered gratefully.

In 1758 John Zecharias Kiernander (d. 1799) reached Calcutta and pioneered Protestant mission work. He established schools and founded the Old Church. The Baptist missionary WILLIAM CAREY (1761–1834), who reached Calcutta in 1793, had to first work in an indigo factory for seven years before he was allowed to settle down in Serampore, a Danish colony (1755–1845) near Calcutta. His contributions to Protestant Christianity in India and Indian society are fondly remembered. Because of the change of the British public mind toward Christian missions, the works of C.F.Schwartz, Carey, and Charles Grant, an influential director of the English East India Company, a “pious clause” was inserted in 1813; in the following year the first Anglican bishopric was established in Calcutta. Few chaplains (e.g., Claudius Buchanan, 1766–1815) and residents of the East India Company (Sir Thomas Munro, 1761–1827) and bishops (e.g., Reginold Heber, 1783–1826) showed much interest in missionary work in India. After the reports of Buchanan and Munro on St. Thomas Christians, the CHURCH MISSION SOCIETY sent its missionaries to Kerala in 1815 to start a “Mission of Help.” Their efforts to translate the Syriac Bible and liturgy into Malayalam, the local vernacular language, had farreaching consequences and led to the separation of a reform group (1836) under the leadership of Abraham Malpan from other Syrian Christians. After the charter of the East India Company was revised in 1833 explicit provisions were made to allow Christian mission agencies from Europe, North America, and other countries to work in India (see MISSIONS; MISSION ORGANIZATIONS). Lutheran, Baptist, Anglican, Congregationalists, Methodists, and other denominations established their branches in India. In some places, mostly because of the efforts of Indian Christians, a large number of people came into the Christian church.

This sudden increase demanded new mission approaches. Despite some rivalries (e.g., regarding geographical territories of mission work and the types of missionary works), there were many meetings between different mission agencies (e.g., in Madras in 1900 with preceding conferences in the cities of Allahabad, Bombay, etc.). These meetings emphasized the need for united mission enterprise. V.S.Azariah (1874–1945) played an important role in establishing the Indian Missionary Society (1903) and the National Missionary Society (1905). His address at the Edinburgh Missionary conference of 1910 (see WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE) pointed out the need for Western missionaries to consider non-Western Christian leaders as their friends and partners. Two years later Azariah was ordained as the first Indian bishop. HENDRIK KRAEMER’S book, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, created much controversy at the International Missionary Conference held at Tambaram in 1938. Indian Christian leaders, both clergy and laity, reacted severely to Kraemer’s view that the faith of the non-Christian people did not possess (salvific) truth. The members of the Rethinking Group (A.J.Appasamy [1891–1975], V.Chakkarai [1880–1958], and P.Chenciah [1886–1956])

tried to express in Indian categories their understanding of Christian faith. In the context of rising Indian nationalism, Western and non-Western Church leaders in India realized the need for a united Christian witness. The National Christian Council of India was established in 1914 to represent all non-Roman Catholic churches in India. In 1927 all the Lutheran Churches in India established the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Anglican, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches found ways of uniting; representatives of these traditions inaugurated the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA (CSI) in September 1947 in Madras. The merger of these various traditions is considered to be “the second great miracle after Pentecost.”

After European Colonial Presence in India (1947–)

In 1947 India attained political freedom from British imperialism. Indian Christian leaders felt the need for authentic Indian expression of Christian faith, theology, education, pastoral training, and church architecture. The Ashram Movement gained popularity: in 1930 the Sat Tal Christian Ashram was founded in the place of Nainital by Stanley E. Jones. Soon other Christian ashrams (Christkula Ashram in Tiruppattur, Saccidananda Ashram in Santivanam) were established in parts of India. Ashrams became a place for Christians and non-Christians to transform personal and social life, “agree to disagree,” but to unite for love, service, and often East-West dialogue. Independent India offered an opportunity for renewed Christian social activity. P.D. Devanandan (1901–1962) and M.M. Thomas (1916–1996) showed how the Christian message could help in building the nation, especially in the context of poverty and religious pluralism. After the publication of the Niyogi Committee Report on Christian Missionary Activities (1956) and the passage of the Freedom of Religion bills by the governments of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Arunachal Pradesh (1968–1971), it became increasingly clear that the Indian “secular democracy” would not welcome non-Indian missionaries. Hence, Indian Christian leaders began their own missionary movements.

Today the Friends Missionary Prayer Band (FMPB) and Indian Evangelical Mission are two large indigenous mission agencies sending Indian missionaries from south and northeastern India to other parts of India. It is known that through the holistic work of FMPB, the Maltos, a people group in the State of Bihar and once on the verge of extinction, have now experienced a great transformation. In 1970 the Church of North India (CNI) was founded as a united and uniting church to witness to the words and deeds of Jesus Christ. Currently the CSI and CNI are trying to establish one church in India. Many decades of theological and secular education made available to the marginalized groups of Indian Christians have begun to yield results: at present the Dalits (“those who are broken”) claim their rightful share in formulating Indian Christian theology, administering church properties, and undertaking church leadership. Although the caste is addressed as a social and religious evil, effective functional alternatives have yet to be found. The Indian church has also slowly realized the need for the participation of women in the religious and secular life of Christians. However, the Indian church is involved in works for justice, social peace, and preservation of creation. The social,

educational, vocational, medical relief, and other humanitarian services rendered by Christians in India have not resulted in large numbers of conversions to Christianity, but function as “salt and light” by providing all interested people an alternative lifestyle. Some Indian Christian leaders have made significant contributions to the worldwide Church, its ecumenical partnership, and discussions on pluralism and dialogue. Indian Christian immigrant workers in the UNITED STATES, AUSTRALIA, and Western Europe significantly influence the life of churches in the West. The long history and experience of the church in India provides much opportunity for mutual learning and enrichment.

See also Indian Theology

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P.DANIEL JEYARAJ

INDIAN THEOLOGY

Protestantism first arrived in INDIA when the Tranquebar mission began work in 1706 among Tamil-speaking people. The considerable literature that survives from the church that resulted from this work is only now beginning to be catalogued and studied.

In the early nineteenth century the Baptist missionaries in Serampore, Bengal provided a spark that lit the fire of Indian Protestant theology. The first flames came from Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833), although he never became a Christian. Roy came from a Bengali Brahmin family. Study of Persian and Arabic led him to a deep appreciation for Islam and monotheism, and a desire to purge all religions of idolatry and superstition. He devoted his life to the abolition of *sati*, or widow immolation, and other social reforms. Roy's reformation of Hinduism was as much indebted to rationalists and Unitarians in the West as to Muslims and Trinitarian Christians in India (see UNITARIANUNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION). He settled in Calcutta in 1815, publishing Vedantic Hindu texts and agitating for social and religious reform. His view of Hinduism was that the original scriptures, the *Vedas*, had been corrupted by later writings, specifically the *Puranas*.

In 1820 Roy published a collection of extracts from the four gospels, especially Jesus' sermons and parables, *The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness*. This quickly led to a literary debate with the Baptist Joshua Marshman, who objected to a piecemeal approach to the New Testament. For Roy, Jesus was a great teacher and "messenger" of God who imparted teachings that were "more conducive to moral principles and more adapted for the use of rational beings" than any other. Claims about Christ's divinity were later additions by the church, as was the idea of Christ's DEATH as atoning sacrifice. The DoCTRINE of the Trinity was not only unnecessary to SALVATION, it was irrational and a reversion to the polytheistic trends in religion that Roy was fighting. The simple plan of salvation was to follow the precepts of Jesus. In 1828 Roy established a religious association of reformed Hinduism. However, Roy also expressed a vision of Christ and of Christianity that made sense within the Hindu world, while at the same time radically challenging that world. His legacy is not merely that of an outsider to the CHURCH; a number of Bengali Christians came to FAITH in Christ through their study of Roy's *Precepts of Jesus*.

Ram Mohan Roy died in ENGLAND in 1833. In terms of Indian Protestant THEOLOGY his most interesting successor was Keshub Chander Sen (1838–1884) who joined the *Brahmo Samaj* at the age of nineteen. Although Roy had been highly

rationalistic and regarded mystical spirituality with suspicion, Sen was a man of spiritual fervor and passion, open to *bhakti*, loving, ecstatic devotion to a particular god. Roy had rejected the idea of divine incarnation, believing that it compromised monotheism; Sen embraced the ideas of incarnation and avatar (temporary manifestation of the divine in human form). Sen was never baptized, but from his early years in the *Brahmo Samaj*, was an enthusiast for the life of Christ, and Christ increasingly became the center of his life and the focus of his thinking.

Sen, departing from the rationalistic unitarianism of Roy, also embraced the concept of God as Trinity. The trinity was conceived as *Sat, Cit, Ananda*, or Truth/ Being, Wisdom, and Bliss, a classical Hindu description of *Brahman* (God) corresponding in Sen's thought to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In a series of lectures, notably *Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia* (1866) and *India Asks, Who is Christ?* (1879), Sen developed his idea of Christ. Christ, who said "I and my Father are one," was divine humanity through *kenosis*: he was a human being who emptied himself, who utterly abandoned his self, so that Divinity filled the void. This union of Christ with the Father was not an ontological but a mystical one, and Jesus sought to extend to others that spiritual oneness with the Father: "As thou, Father, art in me, that they may also be one in us." The self-sacrifice on the cross is also exemplary for all humanity. Christ calls all to be filled with Christ. Later in life Sen moved closer to Christian ORTHODOXY in his understanding of Jesus, seeing his death as an atoning medium that brings God and humanity together, and using the language of sacrifice and substitution to describe Jesus' death.

Sen, although utterly devoted to Jesus Christ, was never attracted to the Christian church in India, which he believed was too Westernized. He led the *Brahmo Samaj* to establish the "Church of the New Dispensation," a new Christ-centered eclectic religion. Jesus corrected and fulfilled Hinduism, and indeed fulfilled the best in each faith. Christ was hidden in the Hindu religion, and was present in all that is good in every philosophy.

Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chander Sen were developing understandings of Jesus and the Christian God within the Indian religious context. A critique came from certain Indian Christian thinkers. The works of Krishna Mohan Banerjea (1813–1885), Lal Behari Day (1824–1829), and Nehemiah Goreh (1825–1895) form the core of this Protestant theological response, and the work of Goreh can be taken as illustrative. He was born Nilakantha Shastri Goreh into a Brahmin family from Maharashtra, but grew up in Benares. A missionary introduced him to the BIBLE. Goreh's grappling with the Bible eventually led to his conversion and BAPTISM in the Anglican Church in 1848, at which time he took the name Nehemiah. He had already gained a reputation as a Sanskrit scholar and exponent of traditional Hinduism. He continued in deep study of scriptures and religion, with periods of doubt and conflict. He was ordained into the Anglican priesthood in 1870.

In 1860 Goreh published *A Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems*, an apologetic work in dialogue with Hindu scholars. Goreh undertakes to prove that Hinduism is not coherent within itself. At the same time he puts forward Christian beliefs and doctrines as a rationally acceptable alternative. For example, the theory of creation underlying the *advaita* theological tradition in Hinduism ultimately denies the reality of creation, while at the same time it posits that creation is one with *Brahman*, who is real. In place of this self-contradictory doctrine of Creator and creation Goreh turns to the Christian doctrine of a Creator God who makes creation *ex nihilo*. Goreh goes on to argue

the irrationality of Hindu views on SIN, the human condition, and salvation, and the congruence of the Christian views of these matters. Goreh, who lived simply in Indian style, refusing even clerical dress, came to the conclusion that orthodox Hindus were prepared by their religion and philosophy to receive the gospel as no other people save the Jews had been. The Hindu belief in *avatar* was a preparation for the incarnation. Christ is a fulfillment of the longings of Hinduism.

A few Protestant missionaries seriously engaged Hindu thought in theological terms. The Scot, John Nicol Farquhar (1861–1929) arrived in India in 1891 to teach in Calcutta. After a decade he was able to devote himself to personal EVANGELISM and scholarly research and writing, his works including a theology of religion entitled *The Crown of Hinduism* (1913). Here Farquhar worked out a fulfillment theory of religions, first suggested by Keshub Chander Sen. Farquhar built his work on evolutionary assumptions, arguing that all social institutions can be placed on an ascending scale of value and effectiveness. The crown of all religions on this evolutionary scale is Jesus Christ. In him, Farquhar argued, all people can find the answers to all their religious questions, including human and social questions, which are given unsatisfactory or no answers in non-Christian religions. Farquhar's fulfillment theory fell out of favor after a couple of decades, but was picked up by Indian Roman Catholic theologians after the Second Vatican Council (1961–1965).

One of Farquhar's most prominent critics was another Scottish missionary, Alfred George Hogg (1875–1954), teacher and then principal of Madras Christian College from 1902 to 1939. Hogg argued that Christ fulfills, not Hinduism but the need of which India had begun to be conscious. Christ may bring a Hindu to realizations of new needs, which Christ manifestly fulfills. Hogg proposed that rather than being unfulfilled or incomplete, Hinduism presented to the people of India a well-integrated and complete system of belief. Christ made people aware that there were possibilities and potentials beyond their present system of belief, and Christ alone was the hope for fulfilling these. In *Karma and Redemption* (1909), Hogg argues that the doctrine of *karma* fits wonderfully into a system in which there is no other purpose in life than expiation. There is no possibility of true morality in the doctrine of *karma* because every good and every evil act must inexorably be worked out in the life of the soul; *karma* operates within a judicial system but without a judge. Mercy and even love are therefore not possible in this system; everything that happens to a person is a result of previous deeds. Christ and Christianity, on the other hand, propose a moral universe, governed by a moral God, where forgiveness, mercy, and love are not only possible, but demanded. Christ offers to the Hindu a new point of reference. Hogg was the outstanding missionary theologian in India during the first half of the twentieth century, who in his efforts to relate Christianity to Hinduism left behind a generation of students and admirers, both Hindu and Christian.

The missionary who had built up Madras Christian College, where Hogg served, was another Scot, William Miller (1838–1923). His influence underlay the work of a trio of outstanding South Indian Protestant theologians of the early twentieth century. Vengal Chakkarai (1880–1958), a lawyer, evangelist, and ardent nationalist, converted to Christianity in his twenties, and in 1927 published *Jesus the Avatar*. For Chakkarai, Jesus, who through *kenosis* became the Christ, is still today the *avatar*. However, unlike Hindu *avatars*, the incarnation of Jesus is not temporary and static but permanent and dynamic. Moreover, the Spirit is identified with the risen, living Christ at work in the

world today. Chakkarai also insisted that knowledge of God begins with a personal experience of Christ, and he formulated a doctrine of the “Christhood of God.” Because an experience of Christ was crucial for a true knowledge of God, the immanence of Christ (and God) was important in Chakkarai’s thought.

Chakkarai’s brother-in-law, Pandipeddi Chenchiah (1886–1959), another lawyer and the chief judge of Pudukkottai State, converted as a small boy from Hinduism along with his father, but retained his Hindu cultural heritage. He wanted Indian Christianity to shed its foreignness and focus on “the raw fact of Christ,” who is the “True Man,” the “New Man.” Becoming one with Christ makes believers “new creatures” and the beginning of the “new creation.” Chenchiah stressed the need to experience Christ, but a Christ who was permanently human, not an incarnation of God that has returned to God—in fact, not an *avatar* as Chakkarai argued. Christ as the New Man is the bridge between humanity and divinity, something absolutely novel. Believers are to become “Christ” themselves, as Sen had said. Chenchiah thus emphasized the resurrection and Pentecost: the Christian life is a “*yoga* [way of achieving union with God] of the Spirit,” the Holy Spirit being *mahasakti* (new cosmic energy), which abides on earth. Chenchiah argued that the Hindu *sastras* (scriptures) held an equivalent place in preparing India for the Gospel to that of the Old Testament for the early Christians.

Bishop Aiyadurai Jesudasan Appasamy (1891–1975) was brought up in a Christian home. As a bishop his attitude toward the church as institution was more positive than that of many Indian theologians, who saw it as inherently Western. Appasamy was immersed in the *bhakti* tradition, which seeks union with a personal God through intense personal devotion. In 1928 he published *Christianity as Bhakti Marga*, and in 1931 *What is Moksa?* These works expound John’s gospel in conjunction with Hindu Tamil *bhakti* poets.

Appasamy envisioned the Christian life as one of intense devotion to Christ, with the goal of *moksa* (salvation—in Hindu theology, salvation from the cycle of *karma* and *samsara*) and union with God, not absorption into the divine but loving personal union with Christ who said, “Abide in me.” The union of the believer with Christ models the union of Christ with God, which Appasamy interpreted as one where the Son perfectly conforms to the Father’s will. He argued (against the Chalcedonian formula as well as against Hindu *advaita* philosophy) that the union between Father, Son, and believer is not metaphysical but moral. Christian *bhakti*—which includes an ethical dimension of love toward neighbor—is the way to Christian *moksa*. A life devoted to the deep love of God, conforming to the will of Jesus, leads to eternal life. Appasamy conceived of the Logos as present or immanent in the world, both in creation and in humanity; the Logos is *antaryamin* (indweller). Jesus is Logos and also *avatar*; he is *avatar* not as theophany (as in the classical Hindu understanding) but as incarnation. Jesus breaks the bondage of the fear of *karma* for those who believe in him. In developing his Christcentered and God-centered theology of *bhakti*, Appasamy interpreted Christian dogma in the light of John’s gospel and the philosophy of Ramanuja.

The year 1947 was pivotal for India: the country gained its independence from the British Empire. Paul David Devanandan (1901–1962) saw that Christianity in postindependence India had to deal with a new factor, the secular state. Devanandan was born in Madras, the son of an ordained minister. Returning to India after study at Yale, he taught at United Theological College in Bangalore before becoming director of the

Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. Devanandan's pioneering work consisted in showing his Hindu friends how they could reform Hinduism from within to adapt to the new context produced by the secular state, and how some of their religious and philosophical struggles could be resolved only by Christ. For Devanandan, Christian theology was a product of dialogue with Hindus, and its evangelistic purpose was to change Hindu thinking about religion as it had been traditionally understood.

Devanandan sought to redefine some Hindu understandings according to Christian thinking. One was the understanding of the personality of God. In the most profound Hindu teachings, God is devoid of personality—*Brahman* is ultimately *nirguna* or without qualities. Yet Christianity believes in a personal God, and Devanandan proposed that the ancient Hindu concept of *purusa* (person) be used to rethink how God, for the Hindu, may be both personal and yet Ultimate Truth. Hindu understanding about creation might also be transformed. In classical *advaita* thought, creation is one with the Creator. Devanandan, in dialogue with Hindus and borrowing from Chenchiah, stressed that the Creator is not only differentiated from creation, but God is purposively moving to new creation because humanity's sin has marred the old creation. Talk of a new creation would help Hindus to participate in the difficult but exciting task of building a new India as a secular state. Other areas where Devanandan sought transformation through dialogue with Hindus were history, *maya*, and human community. He sought to redefine not only the Hindu worldview but also the terms in which Christian doctrine is expressed.

P.D.Devanandan's successor as director of the Christian Institute was Madathiparampil Mammen (M. M.) Thomas (1916–1996). M.M.Thomas, like so many Indian Protestant theologians, was a layman. He continued and developed Devanandan's emphasis on dialogue, which he believed should take place on three levels: how each religion can contribute to the general welfare of society and humanity; dialogue that grapples with the central theological issues of each faith; and dialogue between persons about their personal faith commitments. Thomas's interest was in the first type of dialogue. In *The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance* (1969) Thomas shows how the Christian faith, since the time of Ram Mohan Roy, has introduced new elements in India that have resulted in fundamental changes in the core of Hindu society and thought. This insight of Thomas's signals his interest in a theology that, like that of Devanandan, would inspire people to positive action in the building up of the new India.

Thomas admires Hindu reformers such as Ram Mohan Roy and Mahatma Gandhi, but finds their refusal to embrace Christian beliefs a hindrance to providing the proper answers to modern India's most pressing problems. The church, he argued, needs to participate in secular history for the purpose of increasing human dignity and developing human personality. These goals are not devoid of theological content because the secret of true humanism is found in the divine humanity of Jesus Christ: "the Gospel of Jesus Christ and his New Creation," as Thomas says, echoing Chenchiah. Thomas called for Christians to engage in nation building without in any way abandoning their distinctive Christian witness.

The work of interreligious dialogue was brought to a more global stage by Stanley Samartha (1920–2001) of Karnataka. Samartha was a pastor and educator before becoming the first director (1970–1981) of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES Subunit on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies. His theological contributions were related to the task of interreligious dialogue.

In the mid-1980s nothing less than a theological revolution began in Indian Protestant theology when Dalit Theology pushed aside two centuries of Christian thought expressed by means of the philosophy and religion of classical brahminical Hinduism. The term *dalit*, meaning “oppressed” or “crushed,” refers to the large numbers of Indians known as “outcaste” or “untouchable” or “harijan.” Because the majority of Indian Protestants come from *dalit* groups, Dalit Theology is first of all theological reflection based on the experience of most Indian Christians, and because *dalits* have been, and continue to be, oppressed by members of Hindu castes who draw on classical brahminical Hinduism for their self-understanding and their understanding of the socioreligious order, Dalit Theology is a challenge to the legitimacy of doing theology in terms of brahminical religion and philosophy. Dalit Theology has looked mostly to LIBERATION THEOLOGY to provide the hermeneutical lenses through which to undertake a theology of the oppressed in India. Thus the immediate future direction of Indian Protestant theology is far from settled. It is certainly not outside the realm of possibility that Dalit Theology and traditional Indian Christian theology will engage in fruitful future dialogue. Indeed it is difficult to see how Protestant theology in India can neglect either the experience of the majority of its church members or the religious and cultural milieu in which it finds itself, because the two are inextricably linked in India and the Indian church.

See also Conversion; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism; Mass Movements (India); Missions; Tribal Movements (India)

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ARUN W.JONES

INDIVIDUALISM

The first religious individuals are the renunciants bred by rejection of the world at the core of every salvation religion, according to MAX WEBER (1946). Renouncing the world represented within the framework of cosmological dualism crystallizes an other-worldly true self in constitutive relationship to God or cosmological equivalents of divinity in nonbiblical traditions such as the Buddhist Dharma. This enables the individual to transcend social membership embodied in kinship and political and economic institutions to live in but not of the world by congregating in distinctly religious communities of worship such as the Jewish synagogue, Christian church, and Buddhist sangha.

The ethos of the Christian Gospel calls for sanctifying the self for God through renouncing everything that disturbs communion with God and exercising everything that binds the self with God's will, as ERNST TROELTSCH (1960:999) summarizes it. It also demands a neighborly love that overcomes in God all the conflict and subordination of human law and social order, while it unites souls in a deep spirit of mutual understanding and self-sacrificing love made in the image of God and proclaimed by Jesus in the message of the KINGDOM OF GOD to come. This is an ideal that requires a new world order to be fully realized. It cannot be realized within this world without compromise, thought Troeltsch, so the history of the Christian ethos and its institutionalization becomes the constantly renewed search for this compromise, and fresh opposition to it.

Ecclesiastical Protestantism collapses the corporatist Catholic hierarchy of an ascent from NATURE to GRACE into the Lutheran ethic of the calling in the world of everyday work and householding God gives each individual. It gives rise to the activist sharpening of Christian calling in the this-worldly ASCETICISM of a Calvinist "Protestant Ethic" to order the holy community rationally and restore it within the life of the world. Ascetic Protestantism draws Christian sects away from radical opposition to the world in their efforts to live out the ideal of the Sermon on the Mount, and it resists the ANTINOMIANISM of modern mysticism in its celebration of individuals as free spirits in a purely inward communion with God and one another.

A peculiarly Protestant individualism stems from this soteriological shift away from a hierarchical structuring of both this world and the next. It revises cosmological dualism by bringing the two worlds into more direct confrontation through making SALVATION more immediate and open to all persons, less mediated by SACRAMENTS, special

ascetic and devotional practices, and priestly or monastic roles. Protestant reformers reemphasize the radical separation between divine and human. Yet they proclaim the world as the theater of God's glory and will, in which selves justified by FAITH instead of specifically salvific acts serve God in every walk of life. Conceiving the capacity of faith as a gift already received from God unifies human identity within individuals in relation to God and encourages their autonomous action in the world to do God's will. It also makes it necessary, notes Robert Bellah (1970:37), to "accept the ambiguity of human ethical life and the fact that salvation comes in spite of sin, not in its absolute absence." More autonomous selves more engaged in the world to work out their salvation nonetheless rely on strict doctrinal ORTHODOXY, ethical rigorism, and tightly binding though voluntaristic religious groups to sustain their identity as faithful Protestants. By replacing clergy-laity distinctions between two levels of religious perfection with the division between elect and reprobates, Calvinist Anglo-Protestantism in particular helps fuel the historic movement from hereditary kingship and feudal aristocracy to more democratic forms of self-revising, self-governing political order. These are based on more contractual and voluntary modes of association among persons seen as individuals in their roles as both citizens and church members within a PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. Because it so centrally shaped the moral character and convictions of Americans as democratic citizens, Alexis de Tocqueville concluded that religion should be considered as "the first of their political institutions." He also defined the danger of an individualism cut loose from its religious moorings, with all persons free to find their beliefs within themselves and to turn their feelings in on themselves. Once democracy breaks the hierarchical chain of reciprocal duties and virtues forged by traditionally fixed social stations and frees each link as an equal, then "Each man is forever thrown back on himself alone, and there is danger that he may be shut up in the solitude of his own heart" (1966:292, 506–508).

At its best, modern religious individualism draws from Protestant THEOLOGY since FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER an emphasis on the need for all doctrinal beliefs to receive personal reinterpretation, and all religious liberties to lead to both deeper self-understanding and greater social responsibility for the shared fate of humankind. The search for personal meaning and social relevance at the heart of the modern quest for salvation after HEAVEN, especially among the more educated, has led spiritual seekers to explore forms of ritual practice, artistic expression, therapeutic care, and social action well beyond the boundaries of traditional religious institutions. More open and flexible patterns of membership have in turn made for more permeable boundaries and fluid types of organization in most of the major Protestant denominations, and spurred conflicts within them over orthodox belief and faithful discipleship as well as church growth and decline across generations.

Recent works of moral and social inquiry in America probe the dangers of a this-worldly individualism severed from constitutive relationship to God and self-centered in utilitarian or expressive cultural terms. From this standpoint comes radical reconstrual of JAMES MADISON'S deist remonstrance (see DEISM), for example, that the sovereignty of individual conscience and conviction requires free exercise of religion precisely to honor its divine Creator and the lawful order of nature and nature's God because "It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage and such only as he believes to be acceptable to him" (1971:299). Freedom of conscience to worship God and follow

reason comes to be contested and recast as freedom of choice to pursue one's own interests and express one's own feelings.

Modern forms of utilitarian and expressive individualism, respectively attuned to the institutional arrangement of economic and bureaucratic life today and to lifestyle leisure, have long coexisted with religious and civic ideals of the dignity, indeed the sacredness, of the individual, defined by moral duties, virtues, and practical relationships within the traditions of biblical religion and classical republicanism in American CULTURE. The question posed by *Habits of the Heart* (1985:143, 243) and related cultural critics is whether an individualism centered on the self as a nexus of interests and feelings, and counted as a client-citizen of the welfare state, can actually sustain a public *or* a private life coherently. If not, they ask, can civic and religious forms of individualism be critically reworked through communities of shared moral practice and argument? Can we rebalance the moral ecology of private life and public institutions by renewing genuine individuality in relation to a larger social whole and cultural conversation? This challenge invites the Protestant denominations to pursue their own ongoing reformation in ways that balance the religious individualism inherited from Christian sects as ingathered elects composed of come-outers, and illuminated by the inward communion of modern mystics and spiritual seekers, with the social realism of the church as the Pauline Body of Christ, the fundamental sacrament that precedes and nurtures every faithful individual in redemptive relationship to God.

See also Calvinism; Denomination; Lutheranism; Sectarianism; Secularization

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STEVEN M. TIPTON

INDONESIA

History and Politics

Indonesia consists of five main islands and a number of island groups, totaling 800,000 square miles, in southeast Asia. The population of approximately 220 million is unevenly distributed between Western Indonesia, which includes Sumatra, Java, and Bali (85 percent), and the rest of the country. There are about 300 ethnic groups, with about 250 different languages. The Malay language, originally spoken by the coastal people of East Sumatra and Malaya who embraced Islam in an early stage and subsequently *lingua franca* in the whole Archipelago, has been adopted and developed as the official language of Indonesia. There are five religions recognized by the State: Islam, Protestant and Catholic Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism, constituting 87 percent, 7 percent, 3 percent, 2 percent, and less than 1 percent, respectively, of the population. Especially in Java, mystical groups (*kebatinan*) rooted in traditional Javanese CULTURE, are influential.

Hinduism and Buddhism came from INDIA in the first centuries B.C. and flourished in a number of kingdoms on Java and Sumatra, producing monuments such as Borobudur and Prambanan. Contacts with CHINA were much more transitory. Islam entered Indonesia about 1300 A.D. from the north and spread to most islands in a gradual process continuing until today. Only Bali and Southeast Indonesia including Irian, and the interior of Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi remained outside the sphere of Islam.

While this process was under way, Europeans, opening a direct route to the famous Spice Islands, found their way to Indonesia. In 1511 came the Catholic Portuguese. The Protestant Dutch arrived in 1596 and pushed their Portuguese rivals out of the Archipel. In the next three centuries the whole of Indonesia gradually came under Dutch rule, not without fierce resistance in many regions. In 1942 the country was occupied by the Japanese. After the capitulation of JAPAN independence was proclaimed (August 17, 1945).

The Republic of Indonesia is founded on the *Pancasila*, the Five Principles, which include the belief in God, humanity, national unity, consultative democracy, and social justice. So the Republic claims to be neither a Muslim state nor a secular state. Western INDIVIDUALISM was rejected as well as Marxism. However, the Pancasila state was

threatened from two sides. Communists tried to conquer the state, first through an armed insurgency, then through political mass organizations. After a coup in 1965 the Army took over and eliminated COMMUNISM both politically and physically, establishing the military dictatorship of General Soeharto (1967–1998), which claimed to be founded on the Pancasila. On the other side, extreme Muslims attempted to establish a Muslim state in West Java and South Sulawesi, and the Muslim political parties tried to strengthen the influence of Islam in a legal way. In the 1955 elections these parties got 45 percent of the vote. In the first free elections after the downfall of Soeharto (1999), after two decades of intensive Islamization, their share of the vote was still the same.

Until the 1980s, Christians occupied important posts in the successive cabinets, in the bureaucracy and in the armed forces. The Muslims, however, were making up for their disadvantage in the fields of education, economics, and politics, the effects making themselves felt in the 1990s.

Protestant Christianity

Possibly from the seventh century onward, Christian merchants from Persia and India came to Indonesia, but they left only very faint traces. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the Portuguese and Spanish brought Roman Catholicism to the Eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. This effort was hampered by the subordination of the mission to trade interests. After the Dutch took over, Catholic populations were Protestantized. Only in East Timor and Flores could the Portuguese maintain themselves and their religion.

The Dutch East India Company (VOC, 1602–1799) forbade Roman Catholicism in its territories. Missionary activities were restricted to regions where they served its interests, that is, mainly to Eastern Indonesia. Even there, they were concentrated mainly in areas that were vital to the VOC, like Ambon and the surrounding islands. Even though Java was the Company's power base, there was never a mission among the Muslim Javanese and Sundanese inhabiting the island. The church could do little to improve this situation because it depended completely on the Company for the transport and salaries of its personnel. This dependency also prevented it from becoming an indigenous church. The New Testament was available in Malay in 1668, the complete BIBLE only in 1733. The Church was led by Dutch ministers. Indonesians could only serve as unordained teacher-preachers without AUTHORITY to administer the SACRAMENTS. Church life had to conform entirely to patterns prevailing in the NETHERLANDS. In some centers Indonesians could be appointed members of the church council. At the end of the eighteenth century there were 55,000 Protestant Christians and a smaller number of Roman Catholics.

In 1799 the Dutch State took over all assets of the bankrupt VOC. Freedom of religion was proclaimed. As a consequence Catholic priests could again enter the country (1808). The existing Protestant congregations were organized into the Protestant Church in the Netherlands Indies. This church had no mission work of its own because it was financed by the state, which professed to be neutral in religious matters. However, the way was

now open to missionaries from the newly formed Protestant missionary bodies (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). Between 1811 and 1850, a number of British and American Missionaries worked in Java, Sumatra, and West Kalimantan. In the same decades the Dutch Protestant MISSIONS reached out to the neglected Christians in the outer regions, such as North Sulawesi in the Sangir archipelago, which had never been served by resident ministers or Protestant missionaries. At the same time, by the efforts of a number of lay people, Europeans and Eurasians, the Christian faith first put roots among the Javanese.

In the meantime, as a result of theological conflicts, in Holland a number of new missionary bodies came into being. These started work in New Guinea (Irian, 1855), North Sumatra (1857), the North Moluccas (Halmahera, 1866), Central Sulawesi (1892), and South Sulawesi (1852/1913/1930). Southern Central Java and Sumba became the mission field of the Calvinist Gereformeerde Kerken. In 1836 the German Rheinische Mission (RMG) started mission work among the Dayak in South Borneo, and in 1861 the first RMG missionaries arrived in North Sumatra. After World War I the BASEL MISSION took over work in Kalimantan from the RMG. These missions stressed the use of tribal languages instead of Malay, and (especially after 1890) endeavored to conserve indigenous culture and social structures, to the point of incorporating them into the incipient church. In the twentieth century several Anglo-Saxon missions entered the Netherlands Indies: SALVATION ARMY (1894), SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS (1900), CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE (1930). The Pentecostal movement was brought in from Europe and America about 1920 and first took root among Eurasians (see PENTECOSTALISM). Usually these missions refused to cooperate with the existing missions and churches, and founded churches of their own. In the same period the Protestant Church started missionary work in the South Moluccas and Timor. For these Anglo-Saxon mission bodies and for the Protestant Church, Malay was the vehicle of their mission work; they were not interested in conserving indigenous language and culture.

Among the Protestant pioneers and church founders were Joseph Kam (Ambon 1815–1833), the landowner C.L.Coolen (East Java 1827–1873), L.I. Nommensen (North Sumatra 1862–1918), A.C.Kruyt (Central Sulawesi 1892–1932), and R.A.Jaffray (South Sulawesi 1930–1945).

In colonial times missionary work was accompanied by the conviction that Western civilization and Western models of Christianity, and even Western humans, were superior. As a consequence, the congregations were kept under close supervision and church independence was postponed until a long nurturing process would have resulted in sufficient Christian maturity. Throughout the nineteenth century no Indonesians were ordained minister or priest except by the RMG in North Sumatra (first 1885). In the Protestant missions, and even more so in the Protestant Church, a functional hierarchy existed in which invariably Europeans held the top positions. Almost without exception Indonesian mission personnel worked as local teacher-preachers, with only a basic education. They served as the (essential) link between the “white” church government and the indigenous church members.

This is not to say that Indonesians did just receive the Gospel in a passive way. Those who became Christians did so by their own will, consciously, and for their own reasons, which mostly were not those expected and often assumed by the missionaries. Moreover

in all mission fields Indonesians played a decisive role in bringing their fellow-countrymen to the faith. Especially in the first stage of church founding, these native preachers often had no formal tie with the mission. In North Sumatra there were the Batak chief Pontas Lumbantobing (ca. 1830–1900) and Solomon Pakianathan (1881–1961, Methodist); in Java, Paulus Tosari (1813–1882), Tunggul Wulung (ca. 1803–1885), and Sadrach (1840–1924).

In the twentieth century things gradually changed. Between 1878 and 1886 theological seminaries had been founded in North Sumatra, Java, North Sulawesi, and Ambon. In 1934 a theological academy was established in Jakarta. A number of Indonesians were ordained and some of these worked on an equal footing with Europeans. A number of churches in North Sumatra, Java, North Sulawesi, and the Moluccas became independent. The Dutch HENDRICK KRAEMER (1922–1936 in Indonesia) was instrumental in bringing about this development. However, European influence remained very strong even in the independent churches, the general idea being that character, moral soundness, and organizational abilities of the Indonesian Christians still had to be brought up to European levels. In the meantime the number of Christians grew steadily; in 1941 there were about 1.7 million Protestants and 600,000 Catholics in a population of 60 million.

In 1942 Indonesia was occupied by Japan. In the confusion of the transition period there were bouts of persecution by fanatical Muslims in some areas. By the Japanese, Christianity was tolerated and to a certain point protected, even if among the Dutch-oriented Ambonese scores of congregation leaders were killed. However, the Japanese tried consistently to make the churches into channels for their war propaganda and confiscated almost all mission schools and hospitals. The churches were forced to join regional councils of churches (*Kiristokyo Rengokai*), which included mainline Protestants, Catholics, and other Protestant groups. Japanese CLERGY were sent to Indonesia and, within the narrow margins allowed them, succeeded in providing protection and practical assistance to the churches.

Because nearly all foreign missionaries were interned, the war proved that Indonesian Christianity was able to govern itself. Moreover the declaration of national independence in 1945 caused a quick progress in church independence. Most Protestant churches that had not been independent before the war became so between 1946 and 1949. After the war of independence theological education grew quantitatively and qualitatively. Christian universities sprang up in Pematangsiantar, Jakarta, Salatiga, and elsewhere. During the next decades leading Indonesian theologians were J.L. Ch. Abineno, P.D. Latuihamallo, and S.A. E. Nababan. The laymen T.S. G. Mulia and T.B. Simatupang were instrumental in founding and leading the Indonesian Council of Churches. In politics J. Leimena and A.M. Tambunan can be mentioned. The status of the missionaries changed from that of guardians to fraternal workers. The school system founded by the missions before 1942 could in part be maintained; the Protestant daily *Sinar Harapan* became one of the leading newspapers in the country; the Badan Penerbit Kristen was the leading Protestant publishing house.

After World War II the growth of the church accelerated, especially in tribal societies, but, in the aftermath of the 1965 coup d'état, also in Muslim Java. In 1952 the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION sent to Indonesia a number of its missionaries expelled from China (1952). At the same time an evangelical movement emerged (see EVANGELICALISM), stimulated from GERMANY and America. Leading figures were

Petrus Octavianus and Chris Marantika. In Batu(Malang, East Java) the Indonesian Missionary Fellowship (IMF) founded the influential Indonesian Bible Institute (1959). The movement spread among the traditional churches, where it often was a divisive element. As a result it gave birth to a number of new churches and Christian organizations.

The percentage of Christians (including Roman Catholics) is highest in thinly populated Eastern Indonesia, especially in the provinces of Irian (85 percent), NTT (75 percent), and North Sulawesi (55 percent). Between 25 and 50 percent is Christian in the Moluccas, North Sumatra, and West Kalimantan; 10 to 25 percent in Central Sulawesi, Central and East Kalimantan, and in the capital city of Jakarta; 5 to 10 percent in the Autonomous Region of Yogyakarta (Central Java) and South Sulawesi; 3 to 5 percent in Central and East Java and Southeast Sulawesi; 1 to 3 percent in Sumatra outside North Sumatra and South Kalimantan; under 1 percent in West Java, Bali, and West Nusatenggara. Of the total of Christians more than 25 percent are living in Java (mostly ethnic Javanese), more than 20 percent in North Sumatra (mostly Batak), less than 10 percent in Kalimantan (mostly Dayak), more than 10 percent in Sulawesi (mostly Minahasans and Torajans), and 30 percent in the rest of Eastern Indonesia.

Present Situation

Originally Christianity was planted by the Dutch Reformed Church. The RMG, which had a mixed Reformed-Lutheran background, brought a Lutheran strain to North Sumatra; the Dutch MENNONITES founded churches in Central Java and the Methodists in Sumatra (see METHODISM). In 1950, churches of these denominations founded the Council of Churches in Indonesia [*Dewan* (since 1984: *Persekutuan*) *Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia*, DGI/PGI]; in 2003 the PGI includes 80 affiliated churches totaling about 13.5 million members, of whom more than 3.5 million are in the BATAK PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH, the largest Protestant Church in Southeast Asia.

The Indonesian BAPTISTS (about 150,000 baptized members) are in part affiliated with the Indonesian Baptist Alliance (*Gabungan Gereja Baptis Indonesia*, GGBI). Most churches issuing from Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) mission work have united in the Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia, whose six member churches total about 500,000 members, more than half of which are in Irian Jaya. In 1979 the Indonesian Pentecostal Council (*Dewan Pentakosta Indonesia*, DPI) was founded. Tentatively the combined membership of the DPI member churches can be put at 1.5–2 million, of whom relatively many are of Chinese descent. Adventists (numbering about 200,000) and a number of independent bodies do not belong to any national church council. It should be noted that the lines between the denominations are not rigid. Among the PGI members now are churches of Baptist, C&MA, and pentecostal stock. The Indonesian Evangelical Fellowship (*Persekutuan Injili Indonesia*, PII), founded in 1971 by churches and organizations sprung from the evangelical movement, also counts many C&MA and pentecostal churches among its members. In 2003 according to a conservative estimate,

the total membership of the Protestant churches in Indonesia is 16 million (Catholics 6 million). The extreme fragmentation of Indonesian Protestantism (about 500 church bodies) must be attributed, apart from the vastness of the country and its ethnic variety, to the multitude of Western denominations that have felt compelled to enter the country and proclaim their variety of the Gospel.

After 1970 a theological reorientation in DGI/PGI circles and the increasing influence of American evangelicalism caused a growing antithesis between “evangelicals” and “ecumenicals,” which makes itself felt in evangelization, literature work, theological education, even if the Indonesian cultural and religious context does not seem to warrant such an American-style antithesis. Relations between Protestants and Catholics, which were strained until the 1960s, have improved. Generally the churches more or less follow Western liturgical, confessional, and theological patterns. In contrast with AFRICA, there are hardly any churches or groups consciously incorporating pre-Christian religious elements into Christian WORSHIP and practice. Also, there are hardly any theologians using Indonesian religious concepts in formulating an Indonesian Christian THEOLOGY. However, on a personal level a magical-mythical vision of reality may strongly influence the way church members perceive and express the faith.

After 1945 Christians earned their legitimate place as members of the nation by participating in the war of independence against the Dutch (1945–1949). Nevertheless their relation to the state is still determined by their minority position. The churches, of whatever denomination, tend to conform to the government policy of the moment. The Council of Churches in Indonesia even made Soekarno’s “revolution” a theological issue in the early 1960s and did the same with Soeharto’s “development” in the 1970s. In 1984–1985 all churches (in fact all religious organizations) had to insert a formula recognizing the *Pancasila* as sole foundation for the life of the nation into their church order or statutes. For daily matters the churches communicate with the government through the Ministry of Religion (*Departemen Agama*), which has departments for each of the five recognized religions; the minister is always a Muslim.

After the downfall of the Soeharto regime in 1998 the churches were no longer used as they regained their freedom of movement, but then the relation to Islam, always uneasy, became an acute problem. Islam has long considered Christianity the “religion of the Dutch,” and Muslim fears that the process of Westernization would bring Christianization in its trail were fueled by the numbers of Muslim youth in Christian schools converting to Christianity in the 1970s and early 1980s. Christians suspect Muslims of striving for an Islamic state and do not appreciate that they have to take a step back now that Muslims are making good their advantage in education, economics, and politics. In a minority situation Christians have problems in getting permission for church building; where they are a majority, the Muslim presence may be felt to be gratuitous. With the exception of converted Muslim theologians, very few Christians have a good knowledge of Islam and dialogue has hardly been practiced (Th. Sumartana). In its closing years the Soeharto regime tried to woo the Muslim majority: pupils in the state schools were no longer allowed to follow religious education according to the religious affiliation of their parents, and mixed marriages were rendered practically impossible; in this way important channels for Christianization were cut off. From 1996 onward Muslim extremist groups were left a free hand in attacking churches if it suited the regime. In 1999 open war broke out between Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas and in Central Sulawesi; here and in

the cities of Java hundreds of church buildings as well as several mosques were destroyed. However, Indonesian Islam is not a homogeneous solid mass. Traditional Islam, organized in the Nahdatul-Ulama (NU) under the leadership of Abdur-rahman Wahid (president of the Republic 1999–2002) accepts the Pancasila State and favors religious tolerance, whereas reformist Islam advocates Islamization of the state. Mixed groups like Dian/Interfidei, Institute for Interreligious Dialogue, are trying to build mutual understanding.

See also Asia; Asian Theology; Batak Protestant Christian Church; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism; Education

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TH. VAN DEN END

INDUSTRIALIZATION

The Industrial Revolution began in ENGLAND around 1780 with the mechanization of cotton spinning in Lancashire. From there, mechanization spread to other parts of the British textile industry, then to other British industries, then to other parts of the world—with immense economic, social, political, and religious consequences. In the 1830s Belgium and some regions of France WERE experiencing their own Industrial Revolution. GERMANY and the UNITED STATES followed soon after, and by the late nineteenth century southern and eastern Europe and Scandinavia were also industrializing. Since World War II there has been major industrial growth in Asia and LATIN AMERICA, whereas in Europe and North America the period since the 1970s has seen the decline of manufacturing and a large rise of employment in service-related enterprises.

The patterns of change in nineteenth-century Britain have been repeated in numerous countries since. There was a big shift of population from the countryside to cities and industrial regions, leading eventually to rural depopulation, and a sharp drop in the numbers working on the land. Landed wealth declined, whereas industrial and commercial wealth brought political as well as economic power. Cities like Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow grew rapidly under the leadership of a new aristocracy of factory owners and merchants. These cities were socially segregated, and in the crowded and often unhealthy factory districts there was a concentrated working-class population, with its own organizations, including trade unions and political parties. Industrialization also tended to mean increasing religious pluralism. In the nineteenth century Catholic and Jewish immigrants flooded into Protestant cities like London, New York, or Berlin. Since World War II Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs, as well as Christians of many unfamiliar kinds, responded to the demand for cheap labor, or sometimes the business opportunities, in industrialized Europe and North America. Classical sociology claimed that this great mixing of populations bred a sophisticated relativism. If this has happened, it has been a very long term process. At least in the short run, the mixing of populations of different backgrounds has more often strengthened ethnic and religious identities (see ETHNICITY). In nineteenth-century cities, Catholics and Protestants, Christians, and Jews, were frequently in conflict, sometimes violent. In the later twentieth century the large migration to European cities of Muslims from Turkey, North Africa, and south Asia led to similar tensions, although hostility to Islam was often justified in secularist or racist, rather than Christian, terms.

In the long term, industrialization revolutionized standards of living, lifestyles, and often mentalities. Britain again offers a model of how this happened. Whereas the first generation of industrial entrepreneurs were often devout and relatively austere, their children and grandchildren wanted to live the lives of gentlemen. The later nineteenth century saw many large employers moving out of the cities to country estates and a life increasingly dominated by leisure. Those who had been brought up as Dissenters (see DISSENT) were moving to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND or sometimes to agnosticism. For the mass of the people the benefits of industrial wealth and the possibilities of increasing leisure came more slowly. Not until the later nineteenth century were the better-off sections of the working class beginning to enjoy cycling, going to professional soccer and cricket matches and music halls, and making day trips to the seaside. In the 1920s and 1930s cinema and radio surpassed all older forms of leisure, although only in the 1950s and 1960s did former luxuries, such as televisions, cars, and foreign holidays become a possibility for the mass of the population. A new age of affluence had dawned, and with growing leisure opportunities a mental revolution was completed that had been developing slowly over several decades. One symbol of this revolution was the demise of the set-apart Sunday, which had been gradually eroded since the 1890s, but which survived into the 1960s before collapsing in the face of growing demands for leisure. Partly at stake was individual freedom and the repudiation of any attempt to regulate the moral standards of the community. Partly it was about the rejection of all forms of puritanism and the embrace of hedonistic values. In the relatively impoverished society of the later nineteenth century, churches offering low-cost facilities were major players in the field of leisure; by the later twentieth century commercial interests predominated.

Religion, like every other area of life, felt the effects of these dramatic changes, and in some countries Protestants played a prominent part in helping to bring them about. The following discussion looks at ways in which Protestants may have contributed to the Industrial Revolution, some of its consequences for them, and some of their responses to its consequences.

In looking at the contribution of Protestantism to industrialization, one must inevitably start with the “Weber Thesis.” Max Weber’s famous essay, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, first published in 1904–1905, was prompted by figures showing that in southern Germany, where the majority of the population were Catholics, Protestants were more likely than Catholics to be successful in business. He cited evidence that this was also true in other countries, and that these Protestant businessmen were especially numerous in the Calvinist churches and in various smaller denominations, such as METHODISM and The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (Quakers). He traced this back partly to the Protestant concept of “calling,” according to which every “secular” occupation is a vocation, through which one can serve God; partly to the disciplined lifestyle promoted by these religious groups. He linked the latter to their anxiety as to whether they were saved, and the consequent drive to live in a consistent way that would show that the GRACE of God was working through them. The combined effect of these factors was a tendency to sanctify work. This contributed to the early stages of capitalist development both because of the importance of capital accumulation and because of the need to break with “traditional” working habits. Later, when capitalist industry had become well established, religious motivation was no longer necessary, although inherited wealth usually was, so the majority of successful businessmen were descendants of the

successful businessmen of earlier generations, whose religion *did* contribute to their success. The Weber Thesis has been endlessly debated, and there is still no consensus. It seems that he is right in identifying a connection between Protestantism, especially in its sectarian forms, and early industrial entrepreneurship, but that he failed to find a fully convincing explanation. In predominantly Catholic states such as France or Bavaria, Protestants were heavily overrepresented among early industrialists. In mainly Protestant countries, such as England, some Nonconformist denominations, such as the Quakers, were also overrepresented (see NONCONFORMITY). Many other religious and ethnic minorities have distinguished themselves in business. However, some specific aspects of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Protestantism, especially in sectarian forms, may also be relevant, including high levels of literacy, skills acquired through lay office in the congregation, the ascetic lifestyle mentioned by Weber, and the role of nationwide sectarian networks. There is less evidence that Protestantism contributed directly to industrialization in Latin America or KOREA. The massive growth of PENTECOSTALISM since the 1950s has taken place mainly toward the lower end of the social hierarchy among such groups as small farmers, artisans, and service workers. Protestants have tended to improve their situation in a modest way, but most of them have started so low in the occupational hierarchy that major entrepreneurial success has seldom been possible.

The qualities and skills that favored success in business could also equip sectarian Protestants for leading roles in labor organization. In Britain the period from the 1840s to the 1920s saw a strong sectarian, especially Methodist presence in the trade unions, and when the modern Labour Party emerged in the early twentieth century, it was said to “owe more to Methodism than to Marx.” This claim has been almost as hotly debated as the Weber Thesis. However oversimplified it may be, though, it contains an important truth, that Dissenting Protestants of all kinds were heavily overrepresented among the early leaders of the modern British working-class movement. This was especially true of the miners, for long the largest occupational group in Britain, and it is appropriate that the most revered figure in British labor history, Keir Hardie, was both a miner and a member of a small Scottish Dissenting sect, the Evangelical Union. Protestants were also prominent in the American labor movement in the nineteenth century. The popular critique of capitalism drew heavily on the BIBLE, and especially the Prophets.

Early industrialization disrupted existing patterns of life, sometimes with devastating consequences. Migrants to new industrial districts were attracted by the hope of higher wages, but they could also face the loss of family support, harsh factory discipline, and frequent periods of unemployment. They might find it difficult to maintain traditional religious observances, whether because of Sunday work or because of a lack of churches and priests. Established churches, whether Catholic or Protestant, were usually slow to adapt to the rapid movements of population, and many of them never entirely recovered from the losses suffered during early industrialization. Sectarian churches, with their flexible organization, often adapted more readily. In many parts of northern England the Methodists took the place of the Church of England as the main form of organized religion in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lay preachers could take the place of ordained ministers, and small unpretentious chapels, or even private houses, could be used for worship. Baptist, Congregational, and Calvinistic Methodist chapels sprang up all along the mining and iron-working valleys of South Wales. In SWEDEN,

too, free churches flourished in new industrial settlements, whereas Lutheran congregations dwindled. Something similar happened when Latin American countries, such as BRAZIL and Chile, began to industrialize in the twentieth century. In mining and factory districts many workers turned away from the Catholic Church, which seemed too much linked with TRADITION and old social hierarchies. For some of them Socialism or COMMUNISM became a secular faith, although others found their SALVATION in pentecostalism. Since the 1960s one of the areas of fastest economic growth in the world has been East Asia. Here too, most notably in South Korea, rapid social change and the consequent weakening of traditional social structures and religious patterns have been conducive to the growth of Protestantism. By 1980 it was estimated that 20 percent of the South Korean population were Protestants, including not only members of the longestablished Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM) and Methodist churches, but also the newer pentecostals.

By no means did all Protestants welcome the growth of mechanized industry. In Europe the CLERGY of the established churches were often rooted in the countryside and accustomed to a regime of rural paternalism. They were especially critical of Sunday labor, although they often presented a more generalized critique of the relentless pursuit of profit and the neglect of the workforce by early factory owners. Political or religious differences might play a role here. For instance, Conservative clergy were especially alert to the failings of Liberal factory owners. However, these early doubts often changed to more favorable evaluations—both in Europe, and especially in the United States. In the “Gilded Age,” after the Union victory in the CIVIL WAR, many American preachers presented industrialists in a heroic light. Business success was seen as the logical consequence of faith in God and the practice of Protestant virtues. The famous Brooklyn preacher HENRY WARD BEECHER contrasted Europe and its hereditary elites and massive social inequalities with the free American Republic, and declared that “The general truth will stand that no man in this land suffers from poverty unless it be more than his fault—unless it be his *sin*.”

In the early and mid-Victorian years similar ideas were also common in Britain. The years around 1850 saw the emergence of a new breed of industrial paternalists—men who had survived the stormy years of the early 1840s when many of their rivals had suffered shipwreck, and who now felt secure enough to offer a capitalism with a human face. Many of them had close connections with a church, whether Anglican or Dissenting. Some of their wealth was poured into building churches and paying the minister’s salary, and the ministers were naturally grateful. The paternalism of these years tended to be two-edged: the churches, schools, houses with gardens, and sports fields went hand in hand with firm discipline and sometimes with the absence of what were seen as less desirable facilities such as pubs. Both in Britain and in the United States successful businessmen rose to positions of prominence within many Protestant denominations. Their business skills were valued, and their gifts of money were essential for the success of many denominational projects. A typical figure was Sir Robert Perks, the railway magnate and Liberal MP, who was one of the most powerful figures in British Methodism at the start of the twentieth century.

By this time, the influence of the “Christian businessman” was beginning to decline, as family firms were being absorbed into large corporations, run by professional managers. In the twentieth century the lay leaders of the British churches were

increasingly drawn from the professions, rather than business. Meanwhile, many Protestant preachers had become less sure of the benefits of industrial capitalism. The Christian Socialists, with their schemes for worker cooperatives, appeared in England as early as 1848, although the movement was short-lived (see SOCIALISM, CHRISTIAN). By the 1880s and 1890s unease was much more widespread. Christian Socialism had revived in Britain. The SOCIAL GOSPEL had emerged in the United States. In Germany, the Evangelical Social Congress, founded in 1890, acted as a focal point for a diverse band of Protestant critics of the existing social order, ranging from the Liberal Max Weber to the Social Democrat Paul Göhre to the anti-Semite Adolf Stoecker (see ANTI-SEMITISM). What all had in common was a recognition of the dangers inherent in the unfettered power of many great industrialists and of the need for the state to take a more active role in improving working-class living and working conditions.

These debates continue to the present day. In 1983 the main churches in AUSTRALIA published a report, *Changing Australia*, that criticized current trends toward privatization and deregulation, and that, although less specific about the alternatives, favored a more socialist approach. The Church of England's famous report of 1985, *Faith in the City*, focusing especially on the needs of impoverished "Urban Priority Areas," reached similar conclusions and provoked a furious counterattack by ministers of the free-market Thatcher government, who accused it of "Marxism." Meanwhile the "Prosperity Gospel" preached by many of the pentecostal churches both in the United States and in AFRICA returned to the mid-Victorian view according to which poverty is a SIN and the successful businessman is to be regarded as a model Christian. Indeed, according to this Gospel, economic success is the inevitable result of faithful adherence to biblical principles.

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HUGH MCLEOD

INFANT BAPTISM

See Baptism

INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

The Institutes of the Christian Religion is the classic sixteenth-century exposition of Reformed theology. JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) built on the work of such REFORMATION pioneers as HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and MARTIN LUTHER, whose work was often topical and polemical. Calvin had a systematic cast of mind, and his *Institutes* presented the theological insights of the Reformation as an organized whole. The work was first published in 1536. The author revised and expanded it until 1559.

Early Editions

The *Institutes* was Calvin's first major theological work. The Latin 1536 edition was essentially an introduction to, and a defense of, the Protestant faith. Its heart was an exposition of traditional catechetical texts: The first three chapters explained the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. The next two sections treated the controversial topic of the sacraments: The fourth chapter dealt with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the two sacraments Protestants affirmed; the fifth chapter demoted the five remaining Roman Catholic sacraments. The sixth and final chapter dealt with the outworking of the Protestant faith in life, under the headings of Christian freedom, ecclesiastical power, and civil government.

The purpose of the work shifted with Calvin's first revision in 1539: rather than an initial instruction in the faith, it was now presented as a theological textbook. He expressed the intention of writing biblical commentaries, and instructed that the two parts of his work should be read together. The *Institutes* would present summaries of biblical teachings, allowing him to avoid digression in his commentaries. The number of chapters was expanded to seventeen, and the discussion was amplified by scriptural, Patristic, classical, and contemporary references. Substantial new material was added on such themes as the knowledge of God and the knowledge of humanity, repentance, JUSTIFICATION, the similarities and differences between the Testaments,

PREDESTINATION, providence, and the Christian life. In 1543 a third edition with twenty-one chapters was published.

Later Editions

Calvin declared himself satisfied with the restructured edition of 1559, with its eighty chapters divided into four books. This included much new material, especially engagement with his theological opponents.

The first book treats “The Knowledge of God the Creator.” This includes discussion of the sin that prevents one from knowing God through creation, our consequent need for the BIBLE to find knowledge of God, the danger of idolatry, the Triune nature of God, the image of God in humanity, and God’s providential care for creation.

The second book is on “The Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ, First Disclosed to the Fathers Under the Law, and Then to Us in the Gospel.” Here he includes discussion of sin and its consequent damage to human free will, the COVENANT of God with humanity in the Old and New Testaments, the person of Christ, and the work of Christ.

Although the second book is specifically on the knowledge of the Redeemer, the third and fourth books considered implications of this knowledge. The third book is “The Way in Which We Receive the Grace of Christ: What Benefits Come to Us from It, and What Effects Follow.” This includes the working of the Holy Spirit, the Christian life, justification, PRAYER, and the doctrine of election.

The fourth book is “The External Means or Aids by Which God Invites Us Into the Society of Christ and Holds Us Therein.” The focus of this book is primarily the Church in its polity, its powers, its discipline, and its sacraments. He concludes with a chapter on civil government.

Other Latin editions with minor changes were published in 1545, 1550, 1553, and 1554. Translations came quickly, putting the *Institutes* into the hands of the less learned public. In 1541 Calvin published his own translation of the work into French. Further French translations followed the expansion of the Latin text, in 1545 and 1560. Sixteenth-century editions were published in Spanish, Italian, Dutch, German, and English. In the seventeenth century Czech, Hungarian, and possibly Arabic translations were published.

Place in Protestant Belief

There have long been more opinions on Calvin’s *Institutes* than readers of it. In theological education it has not always been prominent, even among Reformed Christians. It was early displaced in America by the work of FRANCIS TURRETINI. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century discussion of Calvin’s *Institutes* was present in the Princeton Theology and MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY. KARL BARTH and EMIL

BRUNNER both drew on Calvin's *Institutes* in their dispute over natural theology. By the late twentieth century the book was again used in introductory theology courses in some seminaries. The *Institutes* remains a subject of significant scholarly work, and its voice is still heard in many theological discussions.

Many nonreaders of Calvin believe that his text is dominated by the doctrine of double predestination. Scholars are aware that the doctrine of the knowledge of God shapes the work more prominently, that he presents predestination as a biblical teaching that provides assurance to troubled believers, and that methodologically his driving concern was to discern and present the clear, consistent teaching of the Bible as a whole.

See also Barth, Karl; Bible; Brunner, Emil; Calvin, John; Covenant; Justification; Luther, Martin; Mercersburg Theology; Prayer; Predestination; Reformation; Turretini, Francis; Zwingli, Huldrych

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GARY NEAL HANSEN

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

The Interchurch World Movement of North America (IWM) was a grandiose but short-lived (1919–1921) attempt by mainline Protestant missionary leaders to create a unified and aggressive interdenominational missionary agency. It hoped to mobilize all of Protestant America in rebuilding the postwar world according to “Christian” social principles. Despite the prominence and ebullience of its organizers, the IWM collapsed in surprising fashion due to financial indebtedness and declining support.

History

Organized in February 1919, the IWM adopted the motto “the giving of the whole gospel to the whole world by the whole church.” In fact, it represented about 30 American Protestant denominations and perhaps 25 percent of all Americans. Still, it saw itself as the “unofficial” American religious establishment, strategically allying top Protestant, business, and governmental leaders in “Christianizing” the globe.

A media-driven national fundraising campaign was launched in spring 1920, seeking \$176 million for denominational agencies and \$40 million for the IWM, which was to come from “friendly citizens,” identified as unchurched industrial and financial philanthropists with Protestant sympathies. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a member of the IWM Executive Committee, pledged \$5 million to get the campaign off the ground. A building was rented in New York City for a staff of more than 2,600 employees.

The Collapse and the Steel Strike Report

Initial public enthusiasm and national media attention could not keep the IWM from facing financial failure in summer 1920 and disbanding in April 1921. Although denominational giving went well, pledges from the “friendly citizens”—which the IWM

needed to cover its own operational expenses—did not. By the summer of 1920, the IWM leaders faced an \$8 million debt and public embarrassment.

Growing postwar isolationism played a role in the IWM's collapse, but vague objectives and reckless financing were probably more fatal factors. A contributing factor may have been conservative distrust of social liberalism within the IWM. In October 1919, the IWM Department of Industrial Relations launched a detailed investigation of the U.S. Steel strike (1919–1920) and labor conditions in the steel industry. Its report, written by Methodist Bishop and SOCIAL GosPEL advocate Francis J. McConnell, documented unjust working conditions and unfair labor practices, including company use of *agents provocateur* during the strike. The IWM deliberately postponed approving and publishing the controversial report until after the financial campaign, but the investigation itself likely caused potential donors fearful of postwar radicalism to withhold support.

These events revealed the fissures existing in modern American Protestant life and the increasing secularity and pluralism of society. They left the Federal Council of Churches, formed in 1908, as the leading agency of Protestant cooperative efforts in America.

See also Church World Service; Cultural Protestantism; Gladden, Washington; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Missions; Missionary Organizations; Mott, John Raleigh; National Council of Churches; Rauschenbusch, Walter

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WILLIAM M. KING

INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF THE FOURSQUARE GOSPEL

This Pentecostal denomination was established by AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON and incorporated in Los Angeles in 1927. Its headquarters church, Angelus Temple, opened as the centerpiece of McPherson's scheme for interdenominational worldwide evangelism on January 1, 1923, and the denomination commemorates this date as its anniversary.

A Canadian Salvationist, McPherson's first husband, Robert Semple, was an Irish immigrant who had recently embraced PENTECOSTALISM. Members of this religious movement thought that the end of the world was imminent. Its members prayed for an experience they called the baptism with the Holy Spirit and believed that this baptism would be manifested by speech in unknown Tongues (see TONGUES, SPEAKING IN). They expected tongues and other New Testament spiritual gifts (I Corinthians 12 and 14) to be part of their corporate worship, and they set out to announce to the world a message that had three primary components: (1) the imminent return of Christ; (2) the urgency of global EVANGELISM; and (3) the presence of Christ to do in the end times what he had done in New Testament days—especially heal the sick, meet every need, empower for service and bestow the Holy Spirit.

These convictions animated the Semples' choice to become missionaries, and in 1910 they left for Hong Kong. Widowed soon after their arrival, Aimee returned to the United States later that year. After a second marriage (to Harold McPherson) in 1912 she again began evangelizing in 1915, traveling up and down the east coast in ever larger tents to accommodate her growing public. In 1918 she moved to Los Angeles, without her husband from whom she had separated amicably. She traveled from there in evangelistic endeavors that filled huge municipal auditoriums, preaching to an adoring public that seemed to begrudge her nothing.

Her desire to have her own place led to the construction of Angelus Temple as well as to the initiation of a number of related efforts that enlisted partners and built her national constituency. In 1924 a radio tower was built atop the Temple, and McPherson began broadcasting on KFSG—Kall Foursquare Gospel. By then she had launched a Bible training school that came to be known as the Lighthouse of Foursquare Evangelism (LIFE), a children's church some 1,000 strong led by her own children, Roberta and Rolf, and the rudiments of a social program that responded to local disasters and pressing

social needs. Angelus Temple became famous as well for McPherson's illustrated sermons, lavish dramatic presentations that routinely packed the house. In sensation crazed Los Angeles, McPherson was indisputably a sensation. She took her cues from the creativity of the SALVATION ARMY and from her neighbors in nearby Hollywood and manifested unflinching resourcefulness in front of crowds, although her business instincts proved less dependable.

As McPherson's endeavors multiplied, it became necessary to organize and incorporate them. She oversaw the formation of an evangelistic association, which she envisioned as an interdenominational agency intent on spreading the gospel around the world. As her efforts grew she did not allow her early Pentecostal associations to alienate her from others intent on Revival (see REVIVALS) and evangelism.

Until her death in 1944 McPherson—with her son and successor, Rolf—dominated the church's small board of directors (rounded out by Aimee's mother and daughter until their separate nasty departures). Her poor health and the church's complicated financial state in the 1930s curtailed her U.S. outreach beyond Los Angeles. With the coming of World War II, she took to the streets to sell war bonds and appeared more often in her pulpit. When she died in September 1944 her son, Rolf, replaced her as the president of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. He served until 1988.

With the passing of its founder the ICFG adopted a polity that diminished family control. The denomination is governed by a president (elected to a four-year term), a board of directors, a Foursquare cabinet, and an executive council. The board of directors frames the philosophy of the corporation. The denomination is divided into nine districts (in 2001 it announced aggressive plans to establish a significant number of new districts), and the cabinet includes the district supervisors and representatives chosen by the ministers of each district. The executive council includes the cabinet and other local superintendents, and determines the agenda for the annual spring denominational business meetings.

The denomination has grown significantly since McPherson's death. It includes over 1,800 congregations in the United States where it numbers nearly 270,000 members. The first Foursquare Church abroad opened in the PHILIPPINES in 1927. Others followed quickly. Worldwide, Foursquare churches claim over 3.5 million attendees and estimate a constituency nearing 5 million. The missionary efforts of the Foursquare Church have been particularly successful in parts of LATIN AMERICA and in the Philippines. From small beginnings, missionary outreach has expanded to include 127 countries and nearly 50,000 pastors, teachers, and other workers. The ICFG holds membership in the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS.

In general the agencies that McPherson established have remained central to the work of the ICFG. Her Bible school became LIFE Pacific College and moved from its longtime home in Echo Park, Los Angeles to suburban San Dimas. The denomination also operates LIFE Bible College East in Christiansburg, Virginia, and Pacific Life Bible College in Surrey, British Columbia. The inner-city building that McPherson constructed for her first training school is now known as Angelus Bible Institute and serves a Hispanic constituency. Thirteen other certified Bible institutes, schools of ministry, and church-run educational efforts supplement the opportunities for practical ministerial training. The best known of these is undoubtedly King's College and Seminary, the schools founded by

the best-known ICFG leader, Jack Hayford, long-time pastor of The Church on the Way in Van Nuys, California, and prolific author, conference speaker, and broadcaster.

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EDITH L. BLUMHOFER

INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL HOLINESS CHURCH

The International Pentecostal Holiness Church (IPHC) is one of several denominations that had their origins in the nineteenth-century WESLEYAN/HOLINESS revival who, although retaining the revival's emphasis on Christian Perfection as a second work of grace subsequent to the believer's JUSTIFICATION, also came to expect a third work of grace, a personal BAPTISM with the Holy Ghost evidenced by speaking in other Tongues.

Two groups of churches born of the holiness revival contributed to its organization. The first was a group of congregations associated with the North Carolina Holiness Association founded in 1897 under the leadership of Abner Blackman Crumpler, a Methodist Episcopal Church South minister. Although his conference acquitted him of charges related to his holiness evangelism brought against him in 1899, Crumpler nevertheless left the Methodists. A year later, at Fayetteville, North Carolina, he held the first convention of what generally were called the Pentecostal Holiness Churches (PHC). From 1901 until 1909 the new denomination was known as the Holiness Church. In 1908 the denomination, influenced by the AZUSA STREET PENTECOSTAL REVIVAL of 1906 through the Pentecostal preaching of Gaston B. Cashwell, officially adopted the belief that the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire accompanied by speaking in other tongues (see TONGUES, SPEAKING IN) as its initial evidence was promised to every "fully cleansed believer" as the third work of grace subsequent to his or her justification and SANCTIFICATION. The church claims to have been the first body to officially adopt such a statement of faith. Consequently, Crumpler left the denomination. The word "Pentecostal" was restored to the name the following year.

Churches organized through the ministry of holiness evangelist Benjamin H. Irwin constituted the second group. It was the older and larger of the two with its origins in the Iowa holiness association. Irwin's movement, teaching that a "baptism of fire" followed the experience of entire sanctification, quickly attracted a significant following in the Carolinas and Georgia. In 1898 Irwin's converts among ministers from the holiness associations of the area joined him to form a national Fire-Baptized Holiness Association at Anderson, South Carolina in 1898. By 1902, after Irwin had left the movement under suspicions of moral turpitude, the association's churches led by Joseph Hillary King became the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church. In 1911 it joined with the Pentecostal

Holiness Church, both groups adopting the latter's name for the new Pentecostal denomination.

The Tabernacle Pentecostal Holiness Churches affiliated with Holmes Bible College in Greenville, South Carolina joined the new denomination in 1915. Three years before the union, the Fire-Baptized Holiness church had released twenty-seven black churches with 925 members to form their own Fire-Baptized convention under W.E.Fuller. Shortly after the merger the few black congregations that remained in the merged body were dropped from the conference rolls. After the 1970s the IPHC established agreements of affiliation with several of the continuing black churches that had their roots in the denomination.

The cardinal doctrines of the church include: justification by FAITH, entire sanctification, the Baptism in the Holy Ghost evidenced by speaking in tongues, divine healing, and the imminent premillennial second coming of Christ. Traditionally the church has considered these beliefs to constitute basic Pentecostalism. Subsequently it consistently resisted any efforts within the newly developing Pentecostal revival that it felt threatened the integrity of its Pentecostal confession and experience. This was most evident in its efforts to refute the "finished work" teaching espoused by some early Pentecostals that led to their rejection of the revival's traditional Wesleyan THEOLOGY and the eventual formation of a theologically more Reformed-oriented ASSEMBLIES OF GOD denomination in 1914. In 1921 a dissident group left the church to organize the Congregational Holiness Church. They opposed the PHC's strong stand against the use of any human means and medicines in conjunction with its reliance on divine healing.

A quadrennial general conference representative of the regional district conferences of local churches is the denomination's highest governing body, establishing the denomination's doctrines and polity. A superintending bishop elected by the general conference serves as the chief executive officer. The IPHC is a member of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS and the Pentecostal and Charismatic Fellowship of North America and was an active participant in their formation. Its educational department supports Advantage College (Sacramento, California), Emmanuel College (Franklin Springs, Georgia), Southwestern Christian University (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma), and affiliates with Holmes Bible College (Greenville, South Carolina). Its North American membership is over 200,000 and historically centered in the American south. Since 1960, through its overseas mission stations in seventy nations, it has developed into a world fellowship with almost two million adherents. The current denominational offices are based in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The church has fostered and shaped many ministries that have significantly influenced evangelical Protestantism. The most prominent of these is the healing and educational ministry of ORAL GANVILLE ROBERTS, the founder of Oral Roberts University. Another prominent member, church historian Vincent Synan, is a leading figure in a movement that has sought to encourage dialog between the traditional Pentecostal denominations and contemporary charismatic PENTECOSTALISM as well as between traditional Pentecostalism and traditional Wesleyan/Holiness groups.

See also Holiness Movement

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MELVIN E. DIETER

INTERVARSITY CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) is an evangelical Protestant interdenominational campus ministry in North America. Founded in 1928, IVCF advocates a broadly evangelical Protestant theology and emphasizes personal piety, Bible study, apologetics, EVANGELISM, and foreign MISSIONS. Involving an estimated 34,000 students and faculty in 1999–2000, the organization sponsors a variety of ministries, ranging from prayer meetings to foreign missions, on more than 560 college and university campuses in the United States.

History

IVCF traces its roots back to England when the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union formed as a result of the merger of several different conservative Protestant student organizations at Cambridge University in 1877. Soon evangelical unions spread to other colleges and universities. In 1919 various college unions in Britain held the first Inter-Varsity Convention. In 1928 Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions was established as a national organization and launched a ministry in Canada. In 1934 C.Stacey Woods, an Australian and Wheaton College graduate, became the general secretary of IVCF in Canada. Woods helped establish an IVCF chapter at the University of Michigan in 1939, and two years later helped organize an independent American branch of IVCF. In the aftermath of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the 1920s-1930s (see FUNDAMENTALISM), theologically conservative students often withdrew from campus ministries, such as the YMCA, because they had taken on a more liberal theological orientation (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM). Consequently, IVCF found a natural audience among conservative students. Since the emergence of the neoevangelical movement in the late 1940s (see EVANGELICALISM), which criticized fundamentalism for its anti-intellectualism, divisiveness, and lack of a social conscience, IVCF has experienced exponential growth. In 1941–1942 IVCF reported chapters on 46 different campuses, ten full-time staff members, and an operating budget of \$18,000. In

1970–1971 IYCF had 394 undergraduate chapters, 232 staff members, and a budget of more than two and a half million dollars. In 1999–2000 IVCF reported having more than 700 affiliate chapters, more than 1,000 staff members, and a budget of over 45 million dollars.

Theological Orientation

Attempting to steer a middle course between fundamentalism and liberal Protestantism, IVCF advocates a broadly evangelical Protestant theology (see EVANGELICALISM [theology]), which attempts to attract students from fundamentalist and mainline Protestant church backgrounds. IVCF's Statement of Faith, which every staff member, trustee, and student leader is required to sign, reflects this orientation. The statement affirms five doctrines: the divine inspiration, trustworthiness, and authority of the BIBLE; the deity of Jesus Christ; the necessity and efficacy of the substitutionary ATONEMENT and bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ for the redemption of the world; the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the lives of Christians; and the expectation of the personal return of Jesus Christ. IVCF is interdenominational in character. IVCF draws financial support from individuals and local churches. IVCF's board of trustees represents a wide range of Protestant traditions, including Assemblies of God, Methodist Church, and PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA). Both men and women have been involved in the leadership of IVCF. In 1948 IVCF's trustees passed a resolution denouncing racial segregation and instituting a nonsegregational basis for all IVCF activities.

Various Campus Ministries

One unique feature of IVCF undergraduate ministry is the fact that it is student-led. Paid staff workers serve as advisors to student leaders. In addition to undergraduate chapters, IYCF sponsors a number of specialized ministries, including groups devoted specifically to nursing students, graduate students, faculty members, fraternity and sorority members, and international students. In 1976 IVCF initiated a ministry to seminary students, the Theological Students Fellowship (TSF). In 1985 TSF folded because of a lack of support.

Urbana Missions Convention

From its inception, InterVarsity has encouraged student involvement in foreign missions. IVCF's first missions conference, held in Toronto in 1946, attracted 576 students from

151 colleges. Since 1948 this missions conference has been held almost triennially at the University of Illinois. The 2000 Urbana Missions Convention attracted more than 19,000 students as well as more than 240 mission agencies. The Urbana conference has attracted some of the most popular evangelical speakers, such as John Stott and BILLY GRAHAM, in the trans-Atlantic Protestant world.

In addition to the Urbana Missions Convention, IVCF sponsors a number of missions enterprises. IVCF coordinates urban mission projects to various American cities in which students work with urban churches during spring break or for an entire summer. In 2001 IVCF organized such projects in nearly 30 major American cities. IVCF also arranges student involvement in summer-long foreign missions projects through a number of different agencies.

Other IVCF Organizations

In 1947 IVCF launched a publishing program from Havertown, Pennsylvania, InterVarsity Press (IVP), to print and distribute Bible study guides and other books. In 1960 IVP moved to Chicago; in 1966 to Downers Grove, Illinois; and in 1995, to Westmont, California. IVP has enjoyed tremendous growth. In 1952 IVP sold an estimated 178,000 books and booklets. In 2000 IVP employed 65 people, offered an estimated 700 titles, and sold over 2 million works, including an increasing number of academic works by conservative theologians and biblical scholars. IVCF began publishing a monthly periodical, *HIS Magazine*, in 1941, which has been succeeded by *Student Leadership Journal*. Both IVP and the Urbana missions conference have served as key conduits in the influence of post-World War II English Evangelicalism's influence on conservative American Protestantism.

InterVarsity also operates four major conference centers where it holds weekend spiritual retreats, week-long student leadership development sessions, and a number of pastor seminars and family camps. In 1970 IVCF launched a multimedia communications division, TWENTYONEHUNDRED Productions. InterVarsity's national offices moved from Chicago to Madison, Wisconsin in 1969.

See also Atonement; Bible; Colleges; Evangelicalism; Evangelical Revival; Evangelism; Fundamentalism; Graham, Billy; Liberal Protestantism; Missionary Organizations; Missions; National Association of Evangelicals; Presbyterian Church; Universities; World Missionary Conferences; Youth for Christ

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P.C.KEMENY

IONA COMMUNITY

Founded in 1938 by Sir George F. MacLeod on the island of Iona, Scotland, The Iona Community originally had a two-fold purpose: (1) to unite unemployed workers with pastors in rebuilding the venerable Iona Abbey; and (2) to create an extended community of members committed to a discipline of prayer and social action. Because the rebuilding project was arduous, membership was at first limited to men. It was later expanded to include women and extended also to other Protestant and Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox believers. In 2002 there were 240 full members of the community, supported by more than 1,500 associate members and a like number of committed friends.

A small residential staff at the Abbey hosts thousands of retreatants during the year, but most members are scattered in many different locations. Its self-monitored discipline requires stated times of prayer and BIBLE study, work, sharing a percentage of income, social action, frequent local meetings, and three plenary meetings plus one week at Iona each year.

Iona is famed in Christian history as the site where the Celtic monk Columba (521–597), with twelve companions, landed in CE 563 to begin the conversion of Scotland. After the sixteenth-century REFORMATION, the Abbey was abandoned; its reconstruction was completed in 1965.

George F. MacLeod (1895–1991) was noted for his staunch pacifism, eloquent preaching, and engagement in controversial issues. Among his best-known books are *We Shall Rebuild* (1945) and *Only One Way Left* (1956), both often reissued. In 1956 he was appointed a chaplain to the queen, in 1957 elected moderator of the General Assembly of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, and in 1989 was awarded the prestigious Templeton Prize in religion.

The Iona Community is a leading example of church renewal in the post-World War II era. Its current activities include *Wild Goose Publications*, *The Coracle* (a bimonthly periodical), well-attended youth camps, and liturgical reform.

See also Bible; Church of Scotland; Reformation

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DONALD F.DURNBAUGH

IRELAND

The island of Ireland received Protestantism through two routes. From England, in the mid-sixteenth century, came the ANGLICANISM of HENRY VIII. The English settlers of the mid-eastern strip of Ireland (known as the Pale of Dublin) received it through the Irish Parliament's Act of Supremacy (1537), establishing the king as head of both church and state. In 1560 the Church of Ireland was established on the Anglican model, but developed permanently the CALVINIST PROTESTANT features promoted by ELIZABETH I rather than the ANGLO-CATHOLIC ones of her father Henry. Church of Ireland membership never extended much beyond English settlers and their descendants. The native Irish and some English settlers resisted attempts to impose Reformation, sometimes through war (1579–1583, 1595–1603).

From SCOTLAND came Calvinist PRESBYTERIANISM as interpreted by JOHN KNOX and others in the Scottish Confession (1560). In 1603 the Scottish king, James VI, became James I of England and Ireland. Although Anglican himself, he made it possible for Scottish migrants to settle in Ireland's northern province of Ulster, despite bringing with them their Presbyterian tradition.

Shortly after, English Protestant settlers began to arrive (1610) as part of James's plantation scheme. The English moved to the south and west, whereas the Scots stayed in the north and east, near to their Scottish homeland. At first the Scots and their ministers were integrated into the Church of Ireland, developing a strong presence during the Puritan English Republic under OLIVER CROMWELL (1649–1660). In response to a Catholic rebellion he finally crushed (1641–1650), Cromwell secured a more comprehensive Protestant plantation throughout Ireland. At the same time he disestablished the Church of Ireland and banished the bishops. With the collapse of the Republic the monarchy was restored (1660). The bishops then returned to a reestablished church and proceeded to expel Presbyterians from it. Presbyterians, some of whom were already organized into presbyteries, then developed their organization sufficiently to set up the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster (1690).

The forces of King William of Orange extinguished any further Catholic threat to Protestants by crushing the last Catholic rebellion (1689–1691). Ireland's Protestant aristocracy and farmers then prospered. Owning seven-eighths of all farming land, they were the backbone of the Church of Ireland. Beneath them in the social order were Presbyterians, who lived mainly in the north of the country and, below them, the much

larger Catholic population. All Protestants together made up twenty percent of Ireland's population, a proportion that has remained relatively constant up to recent times.

The American War of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) inspired "new light" or liberal Presbyterians to lead and participate in the Republican rebellion of the United Irishmen (1798). However, poor organization saw Irish Republicans pitted against Royalists in some areas and Irish Catholics against Anglo-Irish Protestants in others, and helped lead to the failure of the rising. Its sectarian violence also alienated Protestants from the movement. From here on, Protestants would remain mainly supportive of the English Crown as their protector. The Orange societies, established in the 1790s to defend Church of Ireland interests, would reemerge as a powerful religious political force in the late nineteenth century, dedicated to the Protestant dominance of at least part of Ireland and to the continuance of political union with Britain.

The nineteenth century began with the closure of Ireland's (Protestant) Parliament. Then Anglo-Irish hegemony collapsed altogether with the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland (1869) and the return of land to the mainly Catholic peasantry (1881–1903). The period also saw the rise of Irish nationalism, which nearly all Protestants opposed. The decisive national moment came in 1885, when it became clear that the British Liberals intended to establish a parliament for Ireland that would put the majority Catholic Irish in control. At this point Protestants settled their internal disputes and set up the Unionist Party, dedicated to maintain the union of Ireland with Britain. A compromise was secured in 1920 with the partition of Ireland. Northern Ireland (six of the nine counties of Ulster) remained in the United Kingdom, whereas the rest of Ireland achieved full independence (1922). From then on until the mid-1970s, the southern (Republican) state remained predominantly Catholic, and Northern Ireland a Protestant state for a Protestant people, but with its aggrieved Catholic minority subjected to significant institutionalized discrimination.

In recent times the number of Protestants living in the southern state has declined from ten percent (1911 *Census*) of the population to three percent (1991 *Census*), or to 104,000 out of 3.5 million. In Northern Ireland the number of Protestants has decreased from sixty percent (1951 *Census*) to forty-six percent of its 1.6 million population (1991 *Census*). Compared with the other parts of the United Kingdom, Protestants in Northern Ireland retain high levels of regular church attendance (forty-five to fifty-two percent for the main churches; *Northern Ireland Attitudes Survey* 1992–1993), while at the same time keeping alive the tradition of cross-denominational Gospel Halls.

Protestantism has strong traditional and anti-Catholic features as well as weaker, though significant, ECUMENICAL ones. The Church of Ireland retains its position on the Protestant-Calvinist wing of Anglicanism. The Presbyterian Church in Ireland remains controlled by its more conservative people rather than its more liberal clergy. The leadership of the small METHODIST CHURCH is conservative, yet, like the two larger churches, retains benign relationships with Roman Catholics. In all three, however, probably a majority still experiences strong anti-Catholic feelings and fundamentalist tendencies. These are even more prominent in the smaller churches and sects that make up twenty percent of all northern Protestants, such as BAPTISTS, Elim Pentecostals (who originated in Northern Ireland), Christian Brethren, the Free Presbyterians of the Rev. Ian Paisley, and some independent congregations. A modified COVENANT politics is still alive, and is arguably a factor in the street politics and marching of the Orange Orders.

Ecumenical features of Protestantism are limited to a minority that often combines their commitment to reconciliation with an equally firm one to evangelicalism. They have played significant roles in the development of the peace process in Northern Ireland from the very beginning of the Troubles (1968–1998), seeking ceasefires between paramilitaries, and setting up or participating in interchurch communities (such as Corrymeela, Columbanus, and Rostrevor), where opponents have met to share experiences and prayer. A number have participated in the Inter-Church Group on Faith and Politics and in the work of ECONI (Evangelical Contribution on Northern Ireland). Integrated Catholic-Protestant schools have also emerged, most of them now supported by the state. Protestants from overseas have also contributed, notably Mennonites from the United States, and an interchurch graduate and adult education school, the Irish School of Ecumenics, has survived and developed mainly on the basis of Protestant donations from abroad as well as from within Ireland.

See also Anglicanism; Anglo-Catholicism; Baptists; Calvinist Protestant; Covenant; Cromwell, Oliver; Elizabeth I; Ecumenicalism; Henry VIII; Knox, John; Methodist Church; Presbyterianism; Scotland

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JOHN FULTON

IRVING, EDWARD (1792–1834)

Presbyterian minister and founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Born in Annan, SCOTLAND on August 4, 1792 Irving studied mathematics at the University of Edinburgh and taught school at Haddington and briefly at Kirkcaldy before returning to Edinburgh to study theology in 1815. Four years later he accepted a call to assist THOMAS CHALMERS at St. John's in Glasgow. After his ordination in 1822 he was sent to Caledonian chapel in Hatton Garden, a shabby district of London. His magnetic personality and brilliant oratory soon attracted visitors, including George Canning, England's foremost statesman. Canning introduced Irving to members of parliament as "the most eloquent preacher I have ever heard." Thereafter, the 500-seat chapel could not accommodate the crowds. Plans were laid to build a larger church on Regent Square in a more fashionable part of the city.

Irving's fall from grace was as dramatic as his ascendancy. By the time the new church was built in 1827, he was charged with HERESY. He argued that in the Incarnation, Christ had taken on Adam's fallen nature. He was found guilty and expelled from the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND in 1832. Eight hundred members followed him to form what would become the first congregation of the Catholic Apostolic Church, popularly known as the Irvinites.

In the midst of his trial Irving had become interested in ESCHATOLOGY. Convinced of Christ's imminent return, Irving proclaimed that the gift of Tongues was about to be restored to the church (see TONGUES, SPEAKING IN). With it would come the restoration of the apostolic office. Several members of his church soon received this gift, although Irving did not; three who had were named apostles. Irving was recognized as an "angel," an inferior position in the emerging new church, thereby effectively removing him from power. He died two years later on December 7, 1834 in Scotland, a broken man.

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D.WILLIAM FAUPEL

ITALY

Historiography

The assumption that “Italians are Catholic” has deeply affected the way that historians have written about Protestantism in Italy. Ronald Keith Delph, for instance, notes Delio Cantimori’s tendency to explain the failure of Italian humanists to “go protestant” in terms of their personal Catholic piety, whereas Salvatore Caponetto notes the tendency of Italian historians to write the Valdesi (Waldensians), and thus a large part of the porous Franco-Italian borderlands, out of Italian history. Defining what “Italian” means and what content was appropriate to “Italian history” thus guided a significant proportion of postwar religious history, in the same way (as Giorgio Spini has shown) that Protestantism elsewhere was entangled in the German and Swiss national myths. This attitude to Italian Protestantism changed slowly through the 1970s and 1980s, with an increasing maturity of the Italian nationalist project leading to the rediscovery of a wider religious history.

Waldensian Origins

Typical was the attitude to the Waldensians. The “Valdesi,” fleeing a purge of heretics in FRANCE, entered the high valleys of northwestern Italy in the fourteenth century, and survived a number of attempts at extermination and suppression until after the movement identified itself with Calvinist Protestantism at the “Sinodo d’Angrogna” at Chanforan (1532). This has often been treated by historians as a Piedmontese sideshow, a view that (as Caponetto shows) is retreating in the face of mounting evidence of widespread (if often not very deep) Reformational influence in Italy. The Waldensians were not only important to Italian Protestantism because they were early (and so were to provide a continuing touchstone of identity for Italian Protestants), but because they would provide an important geographical conduit for Protestant ideas coming down from the north, and

for admirers of MARTIN LUTHER fleeing the Inquisition toward Geneva. Their determined missionary push (led by Bonello and Pascale, members of John Calvin's Venerable Company) after Chanforan was halted only by the execution of their leaders (1560) and the massacre of thousands of "ultramontane" peasantry in Calabria (1561) and mass assimilation in Puglia seemingly wiped out Waldensian influence in the south. Through the period of effective inquisitorial repression (1542-ca. 1800) the Waldensians created a "second front" for the House of Savoy (so contributing to the survival of Geneva), and in the longer run, provided the inevitable experience of living reluctantly in a multireligious state that the Savoyards would take into the combined Italian monarchy in 1861. Internationally, Waldensian resistance (and experience of events such as the "Holy Massacre" of the Valtellina in 1569) also provided important "martyrological" elements, "the Israel of the Alps," for the identity of anti-Catholic elements of Protestantism. OLIVER CROMWELL intervened to stop Catholic repression in 1655, leading to the "Patents of Grace" restoring the status quo introduced by the Treaty of Cavour (1561). After a gritty, bloody guerrilla war the Valdesi were saved by entry of Vittorio Amedeo II into the (largely Protestant) League of Augsburg formed to restrain Louis XIV's French imperialism. Protestant churches would send support and agitate for international representation of their case until after World War II when the Italian Republic was reestablished as a secular, religiously tolerant state.

Catholic and Counter-Reformation

The "other reformation" in Italy increasingly coming to light relates to the infiltration of Lutheran ideals and international thought into a putative stronghold of the Counter-Reformation that, because of Italy's fractured political, economic, and cultural life, proved almost impossible to isolate from modernizing trends. Renaissance commercial expansion created business and cultural networks for Italians all over Europe, networks that provided for the movement of Protestant ideas back into Italy, and places of refuge for those with the intellectual or financial capital to move their operations out from under the gaze of the Holy Office. The flood of humanist reforming publications into Italy was fostered by the presence of sympathizers in the church (such as the "spirituali" behind the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*, 1537, which included such leaders of the Catholic Reform movement as Reginald Pole, Gasparo Contarini, Gregorio Cortese, Giacompo Sadoleto, and Federigo Fregoso), the court (particularly through the della Rovere connections of the Gonzaga family, the patronage of Vittoria Colonna, and the influence of Juan de Valdes), scholarship (Marcantonio Flaminio, for instance, or the influence of LUTHERANISM in the Florentine Academy, and the cosmopolitan student base at the University of Padua), and the arts (of which Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel conceptualization is perhaps the best documented, but not the only, example—see for instance Jacopo Pontormo). Until their comprehensive defeat at the Council of Trent, following the collapse of discussions at Regensburg, this network of reforming, often Augustinian or Erasmian, and warmly spiritual people, provided an elite readership and protection for "Lutherans" in Italy. As Pole wrote in the 1530s, "Heretics be not in all

things heretics. Wherefore I will not so abhor their heresy that for the hate thereof I will fly from the truth" (Fenlon 1972:37), a sentiment he supported by providing in his see of Viterbo a temporary refuge from the persecution outside. Books and tracts by Luther, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, and the reformers filtered into the country, hand to hand, under wine bottles, wrapped in deceptive covers or anonymously under pseudonyms. Translations, paraphrases, and the rise of a vernacular press helped in the dissimulation, forcing the church to respond edition by edition and to devote enormous energies in pursuit of authors and readers—just possession of a BIBLE or works promulgating JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone (such as the widely influential *Beneficio di Cristo* by Benedetto Fontanini, ca. 1543) was enough to spark prosecution. In this way Protestant THEOLOGY spread among the educated classes—merchants, nobility, and especially higher artisans—particularly where, in places such as Venice or Lucca, traditions of local political independence and suspicion of papal territorial claims blunted inquisition. In other areas, such as Sicily, divisions between (largely Spanish) rulers on the one hand and merchants and professionals on the other, provided cracks through which reforming ideas could work.

The very successes of the REFORMATION in northern Europe, however, mobilized the Habsburg coalition dominating the South, resulting directly in the Council of Trent, and the rise of a rigidly Counter-reformational pope in the Theatine, Pietro Caraffa (Paul IV). He set about cleaning house with a vengeance ("the pope seems to be intending to fill his prisons with cardinals and bishops on behalf of the Inquisition," wrote Pietro Carnesecchi) (Caponetto 1998:308), breaking the resistance of secular authorities and turning the Holy Office into an effective arm of government supervision. This sort of reactionary, communally based oppression would remain a key conditioning element for Italian religious life until the 1960s, uniting church and local magistracy in a culture of suspicion and control, particularly in the poorer south. The ultimate effectiveness of this mechanism of control depended on relationships between state and church on the governmental level, however, and so periods of close control (under the Spanish, in Naples, for instance, or under Austrian control, and later, under the concordat with the Fascist regime) varied with periods of greater liberty of religious expression (in Savoy, for instance, under d'Azeglio, or during the period after unification when the pope became known internationally as the "prisoner in the Vatican"). Book burnings, the Index, and tridentine medievalism contributed to the rising belief (held in large parts of the British Empire, for instance) that Catholicism was unsuited to modernizing, industrial societies marked by religious pluralism, a concept given scholarly respectability in MAX WEBER'S work on Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism. It was a conception that would make Italian Protestants ever open to international links and influences, and dubious of Catholic intentions.

Italian Protestant internationalism found its first bases in the networks of emigrés and exiles that developed from the commercial cities of Italy, in particular from Lucca and Venice. Through Celio Curione, Pietro Martire Vermigli, and Aonio Paleario, Lucca's infiltration by Erasmian thought through its widespread mercantile interests turned gradually into widespread Protestantism, particularly through the Arnolfini family and among the Augustinians at San Frediano. Having shared Tuscany's turmoil with regard to Savonarola and French invasion, Lucca was unusual in producing a coherent stream of emigrants as repression of CLERGY intensified into a systematic rooting out of

nicodemist (those who outwardly conformed to Catholicism) influence. Paleario was arraigned by the Inquisition, which he called “a dagger poised against learning and the freedom of conscience.” Vermigli fled in 1542, along with the most famous Italian preacher of the day, Bernardino “Ochino” Tommasini. They were followed by an extraordinary efflux of leading laymen—the Arnolfini, Burlamacchi, Calandrini, Diodati, Micheli, Minutoli, and Turretini families, among others—who followed their commercial ties through France, Germany, Holland, and ENGLAND, before settling in and coming to play a central role in the life of Geneva and Basel. They—particularly those involved in the famed “Gran Bottega”—did well, intermarried, and their children went on to have an extraordinary impact on reformed Protestant theology and life, including defense of the rights of HUGUENOTS (Fabrizio Burlamacchi), BIBLE TRANSLATION and leadership of the Venerable Company (Giovanni Diodati), theology, and formation of the Formula Consensus (Francesco Turretini). Their wealth and “tough faith” played a significant role in allowing the survival of the “perfect school of Christ” that JOHN KNOX found in visiting John Calvin’s Geneva. In other places they joined seamlessly with the Huguenot exile, contributing pastors and leaders to such leading congregations as the French church in Threadneedle Street, London.

International Protestantism

This base in Geneva, with longstanding interests in the Waldensians, provided a base for the expansionary religious societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, first from Britain and then from the UNITED STATES. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, as Spini has noted, saw Italy in strategic terms, and undertook to supply the Valdesi with texts in their native French. A Waldensian Bible Society was founded about 1814, the first fruits of the BFBS’s long-term commitment to Italian tract and Bible distribution. Literary EVANGELISM was backed up by the missionary societies, seeing English Methodists working in Italy from 1859, and American Methodists from 1872 (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). The two groups joined in 1946 and merged with the Valdesi in 1946 to form the Waldensian Evangelical Church (constituting, at the time of union, some 30,000 members in Italy, and 15,000 in South America). The Methodist stream (which Bouchard estimated at about 6,000 members in thirty-six churches at the beginning of the 1990s), although it produced some dynamic individuals, was thus to be more important in terms of its ecumenical contribution than in numbers of conversions.

As Giorgio Spini has noted there are very few international Protestant movements that have not produced at least marginal offspring in Italy. From 1887 the SALVATION ARMY (about forty officers, and 2,000 adherents) began operations in Rome, although its uniformed presence and British origins attracted more attention than it perhaps wanted, suffering extensively under Catholic and Fascist regimes. English BAPTISTS began MISSIONS in 1863 and were particularly successful in the Central Southern part of Italy, where they are now organized under the UCEBI (Unione cristiana evangelica battista d’Italia). In 1992 Bouchard estimated some 10,000 members and adherents,

among whom the largest influence is now their connection to American Baptists, particularly the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. The swing to America is particularly evident from the 1870s, in part because of the rise of circular Italian migration and labor patterns embracing the United States as the prime option. American groups such as the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS have thus done well in Italy—presenting a total population of some 20,000 in the early 1990s, a phenomenon matched or exceeded by such groups as the Mormons (see MORMONISM) and JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES.

This internationalism, intrinsic to Protestantism from the 1790s, but intensified in Italy by Catholic host culture hostility often expressed through various levels of official repression, regularly made Protestants the object of suspicion. In times of hypernationalism they were considered fifth-columnists, whereas for the Catholic hierarchy they were a dagger poised at the heart of the carefully constructed social compact the popes had been building at least since the thirteenth century, or (as the forgery of the Donation of Constantine indicated) even earlier. From the sixteenth century Protestants were paralleled in Catholic and public sources with illuminism, FREEMASONRY, libertarianism, secularists, indifferentism, and every other enemy that threatened the Catholic compact. This became something of a self-fulfilling prophecy, given that Protestants did indeed pursue their hunger for religious freedom into support of Jacobin, Napoleonic, and later, Risorgimento forces. Spini, for instance, notes the persistent legend among Protestants that immediately behind the Republican bersaglieri as they burst into Rome on September 20, 1870, “came a colporteur, Luigi Ciari, with a Bible wagon pulled by a large dog who answered to the name of Pio Nono [Pius IX]” (Spini 1998:341). Political freedom inside a secular state held out the promise of religious freedom, a fact that Catholic functionaries well knew. As P.Cavalli, SJ. wrote in the review *Civiltà Cattolica* (April 3, 1948): “Protestants proceed from the law of liberty, Catholics from the law of truth. In the case of conflict between these two principles, truth must have supremacy, as even Protestants cannot deny.... Now, the Catholic Church, convicted of her divine prerogatives, of being the One True Church, must retain for herself alone the right of liberty, because this alone falls within the competency of the truth, and never in that of error.” The self-referential nature of majority Italian Catholicism made it, locally, and under its concordat with Mussolini's Fascist regime (1929–1945), institutionally, oppressive. The constancy of this element in Italian CULTURE has seen Italian Protestant leaders at the head of campaigns against official and unofficial religious bigotry. For this reason, Italian Protestants of all persuasions have been highly active both politically and socially, in the defense of minority rights, and the construction of orphanages, charitable institutions, schools, and the like. As Bouchard notes, this has meant that the divisions between fundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM) and SOCIAL GOSPEL followers have been more muted in Italy—first, because these Protestant factions are not in contention with one another for control of the public culture, and second, because all Protestant denominations need to maintain elements of both tough biblical faith and social presence.

Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism

This has been as true of pentecostals in Italy as it has of other Protestant groups. Although it is true that (as per Stretti) “the origins of Italian Pentecostalism lie in the United States,” it is also clear from oral testimony that the same sort of scattered indigenous experience of pentecostal phenomena seen in INDIA, the United States, AUSTRALIA, and AFRICA before 1900 was also seen in Italy. Giuseppe Beretta, for instance, was converted among Baptists in Sicily in 1900, and reported being told to keep quiet about his own experiences lest he be considered demon-possessed. There was greater freedom in the diaspora. In 1890 the Chiesa Evangelica Valdese, for instance, sent Filippo Grill to Chicago to care for Italian Waldensians and the growing number of Italians gathering in Methodist and Presbyterian churches, who were prepared to convert to Protestantism once outside the restraints of their home towns. Leaders of these small groups were swept up into the AZUSA STREET REVIVAL movement from 1907, with the return of William Seymour to Chicago. These rapidly spread the message of the baptism through Italian communities throughout the world, Pietro Ottolini and Giacomo Lombardi returning to Italy to evangelize and establish communities in Liguria, Rome, and the South; Luigi Francescon, on the other hand, went on mission to South America, where he established a movement that today numbers in the millions. They were supported by less-structured returns by people from the diaspora, spreading small holiness pentecostal communities in many small towns, particularly in the South. These survived under considerable pressure, despite prohibition under fascism, and consistent oppression from the local priest or “maresciallo.”

After World War II the Christian churches of North America, into which many of the diaspora congregations had gathered, was effectively trumped by the superior international bargaining power of the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, and so the mainline Italian pentecostal church developed as the “Assemblee di Dio in Italia” (ADI). Although effectively founded in 1928, therefore, the national convention of 1947 is widely seen as a “second founding” of the ADI in Italy. This development reflected the ambivalence that early Italian pentecostals had with regard to formal organization, and their literalistic readings of the Scriptures. Early and regular divisions occurred over issues of organization, the consumption of blood, the wearing of veils, and consumerism, for instance. The EVANGELISM of other pentecostal and Protestant movements such as the British-based Elim churches or American Four-square (see INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF THE FOUR-SQUARE GOSPEL) also provided options for individuals dissatisfied with ADFs organized holiness emphases, as did groups such as Jehovah’s Witnesses. The tight local congregationalism of the movement, however, ensured survival and postwar growth inside a fellowship closely linked through interpersonal relationships. This has raised fundamental questions over ADI’s relationship to other Protestant works. It did not, for instance, join the Federation of Italian Protestant Churches, formed in 1967, or the Federation of Evangelical Pentecostal Churches, emerging from intercommunal ministerial conferences held since 1983, to ecumenical initiatives and to the charismatic movement. The growth of numerous independent charismatic churches in Italy through the 1980s has relativized ADI’s dominance in the field, leaving it with about half the total number of Italian pentecostal adherents. In 1999,

symbolic of its institutional position as the largest of the Italian Protestant groupings (with around 950 centers constituting some 150,000 members and adherents), the ADI came to an “agreement” with the Republic “actuating” the religious liberty law of October 1988. With an independent charismatic church movement growing rapidly, the ADI has tended to retreat from engagement, out of the fear that “charismatic” churches represent less biblical, more “Catholic” options. Therefore, it tends to run parallel to rather than in leadership of Italian Protestantism, leaving it with the challenge of cultural isolation and decreasing relevance in an Italian culture that is more dynamic than at any time in the nation’s history.

Conclusion

Protestantism continues to grow in Italy, although institutionalization has proceeded rapidly in traditional denominations and in those groups that have been encapsulated by the Catholic presumptions of the culture. There is little evidence of “protestantization” as seen in other cultures (e.g., JAPAN) coming into modernity, although the creation of an “open religious market” is obviously advantageous to Italian Protestant churches. The sort of oppression, economic misery, and mass migration that created the background for Italian Protestantism over the past four centuries has retreated rapidly in the face of economic growth and European Community membership. This leaves new challenges of self-definition for Italian Protestants in the twenty-first century.

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ITINERACY

The term “itineracy” in Methodist usage (in its traditional and unique spelling) denotes the body of traveling preachers that “itinerate” under the supervision of a bishop who appoints them to serve particular places (or “charges”) and regulates their movement at various time intervals. If Conference is the body of Methodist preachers related to each other in time and space, itineracy is the skeleton that connects the pastors to church communities and animates the entire Methodist body. Some commentators have employed the image of itineracy as a “wheel moving within a wheel” to depict the machinelike nature of how Methodist preachers are deployed for the maintenance of existing churches, and the missional establishment of new churches.

As with many structures of ministry and POLITY in METHODISM, itineracy is rooted in Methodist origins as a missionary renewal movement within ANGLICANISM. Itineracy began with JOHN WESLEY’S own field PREACHING (from 1738 to 1791), intended to serve the growing desire of common people outside of the boundaries of the Anglican church to hear the Methodist message of assured and total CONVERSION. Moreover Wesley came to believe that other preachers who joined him in responding to this evangelical revival should be willing to itinerate not simply where they wanted to go, or even where there was need—but should rather go where they could do the most good. Over time Wesley gathered around him “traveling preachers,” or “helpers,” laypersons fully committed to the Methodist mission and Wesley’s discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). These preachers covenanted to submit to Wesley’s direction wherever and whenever they were needed, to serve “The United Societies of the People Called Methodist.” Over time these appointments took shape in “circuits.” Wesley felt that moving preachers frequently through these circuits kept the societies stimulated, and helped match the gifts of preachers to the needs of maturing Christians. Moreover itineracy was especially aimed to promote Methodist preaching deeper into Britian, “to spread scriptural holiness and reform the nation, especially the churches.” Wesley recaptured the sense of the wandering preachers in early and medieval church history—indeed calling this wandering essential to find the “wanderers from God.”

Historical Developments of the Itineracy in America

From the 1760s Methodist LAITY immigrated to the American colonies, and societies grew informally. Lay preachers converted under Wesley—such as Robert Strawbridge, Thomas Webb, and Philip Embury—began itinerating in America to establish and nurture Methodist societies. Once these societies successfully entreated Wesley to send full-time lay preachers from the British circuits from 1769, Wesley appointed superintendents to extend his AUTHORITY into America. This promoted regular iteration between the various centers of emerging American Methodism in Maryland, New York, and Philadelphia. The itinerant system became crucial to the missionary success of the movement in America, particularly because the continent's immense size required great movements of preachers across frontiers to establish connected Methodist societies.

With the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, Methodism in America became an independent church with a small cadre of ordained pastors, and no longer simply a connection of societies loosely related to Anglicanism as in Britain. FRANCIS ASBURY emerged as an important figure, who through force of his example and exhortation wove together a network of itinerant preachers (ordained and lay) across the entire Eastern seaboard. He was the first Protestant bishop to cross the Alleghenies. Although he made his endless Episcopal rounds, he faithfully met his preachers in conferences to keep order and movement among his largely young, single, and preferably celibate preaching corps. From the time of his arrival in America in 1771, Asbury insisted on stimulating his colleagues to move out from the cities. He led by example, traveling up to 270,000 miles in his ministry of forty-five years. For Asbury and the early Methodists a call to preach was a call to travel, without promise of even shelter for the night, much less a furnished parsonage in a church or "station charge." Yet a promise was made then as now: if accepted by the conference as a member, and if a pastor accepted Episcopal appointments and accountability, then a guarantee of a place to preach was offered. Both bishops Asbury and THOMAS COKE extolled the value of itineracy as reconstituting the primitive and apostolic plan of ministry.

The cost of itineracy was substantial. It successfully connected preachers with people in the far-flung communities and knit together both church and society, although attrition was high. Many preachers left the itineracy or "located," because of fatigued bodies, family stress, and the loss of earning potential during the prime of their lives. The system worked best with single preachers. Asbury regarded MARRIAGE as the prime enemy of the Methodist itinerant mission, and complained often that the DEVIL and Marriage were getting his preachers. After Asbury's death in 1816, and because of the growing wealth of Methodists, cultural and financial support increased for pastors to settle down and serve full time "station" pastorates. During the era of the CAMP MEETING (roughly 1803–1850) and the second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS), ever larger groups of Methodists and other evangelical Protestants gathered for large REVIVALS in central geographic areas. The emergence of these camp meetings meant that riding large circuits was no longer as critical to reach new converts. These factors combined so that Methodist iteration shifted in the first half of the nineteenth century toward pastors serving longer appointments in station churches, rather than the continual movement through circuits across a wide geographic area.

Examples of average lengths of itineration are instructive. When Asbury arrived in 1771, the Philadelphia and New York appointments were exchanged quarterly. During the 1770s until 1790s, preachers received new circuits on average of every six months. Asbury preferred no more than one-year appointments while he lived. Yet from 1794 to 1804, many pastors remained up to two years in a circuit, and apparently even Asbury could not prevent it. In 1804 it was stipulated that no preacher was to remain in the same appointment more than two years. This rule of thumb generally prevailed, but in the 1830s, with the growth of wealth among Methodist laity, bishops were often pressed (usually unsuccessfully) for longer appointments. The General Conference of 1844 granted that the bishop should not continue a preacher in the same appointment “more than two years in six, nor in the same city more than four years in succession.” Preferences for repeat appointments were apparently forming, and in 1856 these stricter limits were repealed. Once the southern branch (Methodist Episcopal Church South [MECS]) was established in 1845 they carried the two-year limit with them—except for New Orleans where it was felt that two years was a minimum to build up resistance to yellow fever. With an increased number of larger station churches, along with the increase of appointments to the growing national general agencies requiring specialized skills and longer tenures, pressure came to raise the overall limit for appointments in the MEC in 1864 to three years. An experiment with five-year limits was adopted in 1888, only to be repealed in 1900. On the Southern side after the CIVIL WAR, longer tenure was thought necessary for the rebuilding of the church. In 1866 a move was made to abolish limits in the MECS, but a compromise was reached with the adoption of a mandated move at four years. This four-year limit continued in southern appointments until the reunion with the MEC in 1939 formed the Methodist Church. The newly reunited Methodist Church carried no limits on itinerant appointments. Commentators have noted a direct historical relationship between the growing institutional wealth of METHODISM and the lengthening of itinerant appointments.

Disagreements among pastors with their bishops about appointments have occurred from the very beginning of Methodist history. In 1771 Asbury admonished his colleagues Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmore to leave the comforts of New York and Philadelphia to preach in the country. They complied somewhat reluctantly. Asbury was also at the center over disagreements concerning his absolute authority to make appointments. A schism on the matter developed at the first duly constituted General Conference in 1792, when Thomas O’Kelly and others walked out and formed The Republican Methodist Church. They did so on the view that preachers in a democratic country should have the right of appeal in an appointment, lest the movement smack of “popery.” Pressures toward more participation in the appointment process have thus been an important part of the American Methodist story.

The trend toward more participation in appointments has resulted in a type of localization of preachers and the marginalization of episcopal authority (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). Signs of this could be seen as early as 1830 in the major schism forming the Methodist Protestant Church, which abolished bishops and sought democratic accountability in appointmentmaking through conference-elected superintendents. Larger, richer, and more powerful congregations emerged in the late nineteenth century, which could subvert the itineration process and directly “call” their own pastors. Throughout the twentieth century, Methodist itineration has been slowly

modified through increased layers of consultation between district superintendents, congregations, laity, and pastors. Itineracy has thus clearly changed with America.

Present Challenges for Itineracy

As society has become increasingly mobile, and local churches tend to lose their experienced lay leaders more frequently, there is a perceived need for more continuity in pastoral leadership. Moreover, as the administration of larger churches becomes more complex, there is a corresponding requirement for more specialized leadership. In this sense the very success of the itinerant system as an organized missional form has set up tensions within it. Along with increasing numbers of WOMEN and two-clergy couples, bishops are responding to these trends and opting in favor of longer pastoral tenures with more local consultation. Appointments made through this consultation process are indeed often more sensitive to the needs of pastors and local congregations. Yet this has limited episcopal and conference authority in some cases to appoint as Wesley did—to go not where gifts and graces of pastors are needed, but where these gifts are needed most. The consultation process has localized the ministry of Methodist pastors to a degree, and modified the itinerant system away from a missional form toward the maintenance of existing congregations.

Indeed, Methodism in its earliest period was characterized by an itineracy committed to a mission “from center to circumference,” with the only reward a new circuit and new work in the frontier. Today itineracy often appears organized to support the consolidation of congregations existing for over a century, while delivering pastors on a career track from the margins to the larger congregations existing in the city centers of America. Although the itinerant system is under stress in an age of INDIVIDUALISM, consumer choice, and employment rights, the matching of preachers to congregations is still critical. Itineracy provides a less invasive and regularized possibility to move preachers when their work is done or gifts no longer match a congregation. For those committed to it, itineracy can create stronger, more flexible, and less insular churches in the long run. However, the system requires a very high level of commitment, cooperation, and trust in the process between preachers, their families, and their churches. Bishops and superintendents must also remain flexible in their approach to appointments and concede some power to local constituencies. For itineracy to continue playing a missional role in American Methodism all parties must continue to communicate in transparent ways concerning what is at stake in their appointment consultation decisions. If mutual accountability and a missional flexibility can be maintained, then the United Methodist itineracy can continue to animate vital congregations connected in this national and international Protestant church.

See also Circuit Rider; Methodism, North America; Women Clergy

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W.HARRISON DANIEL

J

JABAVU, DAVIDSON DON TENGO (1895–1959)

South African educator and writer. Davidson D.T. Jabavu was the son of John Tengo Jabavu (1859–1921), one of the most eloquent representatives of the educated African elite in SOUTH AFRICA in his generation. A Mfengu Methodist, John Tengo was South Africa's first black newspaper editor, and his paper *Imva Zabontsundu* reflected the outlook of those seeking African political, educational, and economic advance within a multiracial South Africa. He could irritate white opinion; the paper was closed for a time after it attacked British policy in the Anglo-Boer War in the matters of the concentration camps for Boer families and the treatment of Africans. At that time J.T.Jabavu left the Wesleyan Methodist Church in protest at its acceptance of such wartime excesses, and joined the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Davidson Jabavu was thus born into the African elite, and in Cape Colony in 1895, where, unlike the rest of South Africa, many of the African elite had the right to vote. The theoretical equality of "civilized men of all races" did not, however, translate into equality of opportunity; and Jabavu, after his education at the Lovedale Institution of the Scottish mission, found he could progress no further in South Africa. He therefore attended the Colwyn Bay Institution in WALES, and thereafter the Universities of London and (for teacher training) Birmingham. He also took some time in the UNITED STATES before returning to South Africa as the first African staff member of the Fort Hare Native College. He assisted the academic transformation of the college as it attained its later status as a university college. His own status rose to that of professor of Latin and Bantu languages, and head of the department of African studies.

As mission thinking developed and the missionary movement became more international in outlook, especially after the formation of the International Missionary Council, Jabavu was identified as an articulate spokesman of African Christianity. There had been no such spokesman at the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE at Edinburgh in 1910; but Jabavu was active at the Le Zoute Conference of 1926, which redefined the Christian mission in AFRICA, with EDUCATION as one of the major aspects of mission policy. He was also present at the meeting of the International Missionary Council itself in Jerusalem in 1928. He also made an impact, notably on the powerful Thomson Samkange, at the Southern Rhodesia Native Missionary Conference in 1931.

By this time Jabavu was a national figure for his defense of African rights. Having formed associations of farmers and teachers and a Cape Voters' Association, all

representative bodies of “civilized” Africans, he founded the All African National Convention. This body, established in 1935, arose to counter moves to prevent Africans from owning land (and thus, in the Cape, gaining the vote) or selling their labor freely. For a time the Convention united a broad spectrum in opposition to the erosion of African rights, but with the rise of the Nationalists and their triumph in 1948, it faded and was eventually disbanded. The ideal of “the equality of civilized men of all races” was irrelevant in an age of apartheid. Apartheid left no room in which to exercise Jabavu’s brand of multiracial constitutional politics and African advance by means of education on a European pattern. Black opposition was now radicalized, and his form of moderate Social Christianity had little appeal. Jabavu, disillusioned with politics, concentrated thereafter on his academic work at Fort Hare, leaving to a new generation of African leaders—such as Z.K.MATTHEWS and ALBERT LUTHULI, people nurtured like himself on mission education and imbued like him with Christian social ideas—to cope with the new situation. White domination was now underpinned by an ideology claiming a Christian and Reformed inspiration, and this posed challenges of a new kind.

Jabavu’s works on the changing political situation include *The Black Problem* (1921) and *The Segregation Fallacy and Other Papers* (1928). His principal academic treatise was *The Influence of English on Bantu Literature* (1943). He also wrote extensively in Xhosa.

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ANDREW F.WALLS

JACKSON, SHELDON (1834–1909)

American clergyman. Born on May 18, 1834, in Minaville, New York, Jackson was an itinerant missionary who is said to have traveled more than a million miles.

After graduating from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1858, Jackson taught Native American boys in Oklahoma, served as an army chaplain, and led a church in Minnesota, but he longed for a grander assignment. In 1869 he convinced his denomination to appoint him superintendent over a vast territory stretching from Iowa to Utah. Still restless, in 1877 he seized on a letter from an army private stationed in Alaska, who detailed that territory's degradation and begged for "a shepherd who may reclaim a mighty flock from the error of their ways." Jackson dove in, establishing churches and schools and using his connections to powerful fellow Presbyterians, including President Grover Cleveland, to fight corruption in Alaska's fledgling government.

Jackson attracted criticism for neglecting some areas of his ministry, notably the lower Rockies and work with whites, to focus on native Alaskans. He also found himself in the middle of an emerging church-state debate as disgruntled Alaskan officials questioned his dual role as missionary and, from 1885, educational agent for the federal government. Embattled, Jackson lost influence, but his legacy persists through such edifices as Sheldon Jackson College in Sitka, Alaska. A friend once said of Jackson that he could not resist "running ahead of the crowd, climbing a hill, scaling a mountain, following a valley, opening a schoolhouse...constantly searching out the land." Jackson died May 2, 1909, in Asheville, North Carolina.

See also Church and State, Overview; Missions, North American; Native Americans; Chaplaincy

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ELESHA COFFMAN

JAMES, WILLIAM (1842–1910)

American psychologist and philosopher. James was born January 11, 1842, in New York City, the first child of Mary Robertson Walsh and Henry James, Sr., and elder brother of novelist Henry James and diarist Alice James. James's father, a Presbyterian, studied for two years at Princeton Theological Seminary (1835–1837). Frustrated with orthodox CALVINISM and the church, and funded by his modest inheritance, Henry Sr. embarked on an eclectic career as a writer and lecturer of minor repute on religious and social subjects, influenced by EMANUEL SWEDENBORG and Charles Fourier.

Due to his father's liberal conception of individual development, William received an uncommon education at home and, during adolescence, in various European schools. After exploring a vocation as a painter, he enrolled at the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, studying chemistry, then comparative anatomy and physiology, then medicine; his sole earned degree of M.D. was conferred in 1869, though he never practiced. James began lecturing on physiology at Harvard in 1873, and spent his career there. He offered the first course in psychology proper in the United States in 1876, and set up one of the first two experimental psychology laboratories in America. In 1880 he was formally appointed in philosophy. He continued to teach in both fields until his retirement in 1907.

Works and Interests

James's intellectual contributions were manifold, spanning psychology, moral philosophy, religion, epistemology, and metaphysics, in addition to addressing public issues of his day such as anti-imperialism. He also had an enduring, if skeptical, interest in parapsychology. His writings exhibit an exceptional style—enlivened by image and metaphor—that is unparalleled; he is still one of America's leading persons of letters. *The Principles of Psychology* (1890) became an immediate classic for its comprehensive, engaging presentation of the then-new field, as well as its introduction of "the stream of consciousness." *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Philosophy* (1897) established James in moral and religious philosophy with its title essay, although the book is much wider in scope. *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) was and remains James's most widely read text, focusing on first-person accounts of religion and their fruits,

effectively launching (albeit inadvertently) the study of mysticism and contributing to the psychology of religion. James's innovations in metaphysics are forwarded within the posthumously published *Essays in Radical Empiricism* (ed. Perry, 1912), which date from 1904–1905 and delineate his notion of “pure experience.” *Pragmatism* (1907) popularized the theories of meaning and truth known by that name, as well as developed James's philosophy of religion, which is further advanced in *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909), a defense of “radical empiricism” against rationalism. *The Meaning of Truth* (1909), James's last completed essay collection, revisits pragmatic epistemology.

Trained as a man of science in a scientific age and committed to empiricism, James nonetheless continuously broached religious topics; indeed he is noteworthy for arguing that philosophies and worldviews must be judged by their ability, among other criteria, to account for and accommodate human beings' religious concerns. Not a member of any particular religious community, James saw himself as developing out of the tradition of liberal New England Protestantism (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). His own perspectives on religion, although routinely unorthodox, resonate with this lineage: he asserts the primacy of the will among other human faculties and emphasizes conduct and action in his psychology; he attends to individual experience, and contends that defensible knowledge comes by attention to fruits, not roots; he presumes the importance of understanding CONVERSION for getting to the bottom of what is distinctively religious; he understands God (or the divine) as sharing personality (the possession of interests) with us; and he justifies holding some beliefs ahead of evidence for them, within certain constraints.

This “will to believe” (or “right to believe”) doctrine is one of his most celebrated and enduring ideas. Focusing on cases demanding decision or action in which the stakes are momentous and the opportunity unrepeatable, James defends the value and rationality of logically noncontradictory belief as well as the potential efficacy of such belief in determining future facts. The “faith ladder” of reasoning that James constructs from this becomes crucial in his justifications of religious hypotheses and philosophical viewpoints, and responsive to human needs.

James's views on religion and the divine were not static through his career. His work from the 1880s through 1900 assumes a dualistic theism, specifying God as an independent “deep power” that shares in some intimate sense the better of our interests, and that may make for righteousness. From a moral perspective, the supposition of God enhances the claims we make on ourselves, opening out the infinite perspective and ensuring both the maintenance of our ideals and a maximal appeal to our moral energies. *Varieties* proves transitional for James's theism, interrogating the apparently active effects of the divine on individuals, and moving toward metaphysical questions. Working from empirical evidence, James seeks to assess the value of religious experience for humans and the potential for verifying the content of religious claims. His conclusions are stronger on the former than the latter, although he does suggest that evidence supports the plausibility of basic religious claims concerning the divine. In *Varieties* James extends his earlier assumption of supernaturalism, but specifies it as “piecemeal,” meaning that God's power and scope may be finite. This supports James's meliorism, the view that our voluntary efforts may be critical to the making of righteousness in conjunction with those of the divine. James also characterizes the divine as a “wider self through which saving experiences come,” rather than the radically transcendent being of

traditional theism, opening the door to both a real pluralism with regard to God(s) and a nonreductive psychodynamic account of religious experience through subliminal consciousness. After 1903 James modified his position further in connection with his developing radically empiricist metaphysics, referring to God no longer as a supernatural but rather a “superhuman” power. In his later works he emphasized the sociality and collaborative character of divine-human relations as understood from an empirical perspective, and developed his notion of experience into a panpsychical conception of all reality—natural, human, and divine. This later position, although not logically coercive for belief, is nonetheless presented as compelling because of its compatibility with commonsense religious belief and its consistency with the plural demands of our theoretical, moral, aesthetic, and practical rationalities.

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DAVID C.LAMBERTH

JAPAN

Protestant Beginnings

Japan's first experience with Christianity took place during the so-called Christian century that extended from the middle of the sixteenth century to just before the middle of the seventeenth. During these years Portuguese and Spanish Catholic missionaries raised a Christian community of nearly half a million people in a CULTURE that was already technically advanced and literate. However, for political reasons, the Tokugawa shogunate, which ruled Japan from 1603 to 1868, eradicated Christianity. In the late 1630s the shogunate felt so threatened by Christianity that it adopted a policy of national seclusion, which closed Japan to almost all foreign contact. Only a small underground sect, the *Kakure Kirishitan* (hidden Christians) in the Nagasaki region, was able to preserve their religion in secret. During the Tokugawa era, anti-Christian thought became both ingrained and broad based because attacks on Christianity were backed up by the prestige of Japanese TRADITION, by traditional thought that was intimately connected with established religion, and through the use of arguments for the defense of the fatherland and of Japanese religion. Various anti-Christian arguments with strong xenophobic undertones or spy conspiracy theories were put forward to justify its prohibition. These would resurface after 1859 in the face of the new Christian challenge brought by Protestant missionaries.

During the early nineteenth century Protestant missionaries had accompanied Western trade expansion into the Pacific and East Asia. In 1837 missionaries were on board the *Morrison* during its unsuccessful attempt to open American trade relations with Japan. In 1846 Bernard Bettelheim started missionary work at Naha, Okinawa. In 1853 the arrival of the United States squadron under Commodore Matthew C.Perry in Uruga Bay rendered useless the Japanese policy of national seclusion. However, it was not until the 1858 Harris Treaty, which opened commercial relations between the UNITED STATES and Japan and also allowed religious establishments, that the possibility of missionary residence in the treaty ports appeared. In 1859 the first resident American Protestant missionaries landed, including the Episcopalian Channing M.Williams; the Dutch Reformed missionaries, Guido F. Verbeck and R.S.Brown; the Presbyterian medical doctor, James C.Hepburn; and the Baptist Jonathan Goble, all of whom were destined to

become famous. Prohibited from propagating the Gospel to the Japanese, these first missionaries devoted their energies to language study, translation of the Gospels (see BIBLE TRANSLATION), and to the teaching of English in government schools, or, in the case of Hepburn, medical work. The opening of the American CIVIL WAR in 1861 retarded the growth of the missionary movement. Indeed before 1870 there were only some fifteen Protestant missionaries in Japan.

Understandably, during the 1860s very few Japanese became Protestant converts. Some like the Japanese Sam Patch, a shipwrecked sailor, or Nijima Jō, the founder of what became Dōshisha University in Kyoto, who had illegally left Japan to study overseas, were introduced to Christianity outside of Japan. In Japan itself converts were mostly Japanese language teachers, missionary servants, or young pupils at schools where missionaries taught. Among missionary achievements, there was the 1867 publication of Hepburn's superlative English-Japanese dictionary, and the opening of the first coeducational school in Japan by Mrs. Clara Hepburn.

Meiji Protestantism 1868–1912

The downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate with the 1868 Meiji Restoration brought no change in policy toward Christianity. The new Meiji government was loath to give ground to the Western powers on the issue of religious TOLERATION. It stood firm during its first major diplomatic crisis with the Western powers over its persecution of the Urakami Christians near Nagasaki in 1868–1869. In 1872 the Yokohama Band, the name given to the first major group of converts, formed the first Protestant church in Japan, the nondenominational Yokohama *Kirisuto Kōkai*, with James Ballagh, a Reformed missionary, as its pastor. Among its members were such famous Christians as Uemura Masahisa, Ibuka Kajinosuke, and Honda Yōi-chi. The Yokohama Band would play a crucial role in the spread of Protestantism by working as language teachers, evangelists, and helpers to missionaries. Later, many became ordained ministers.

Government attitudes toward religion were important to future Protestant growth. From 1868 onwards the government saw the importance of using autochthonous quasi-religious rituals and ceremonies to reinforce its power and control, and in helping to legitimize the modernization of the Japanese monarchy through linking the present with the mythical past. In 1873, at the instigation of the Iwakura Embassy, then visiting North America and Europe, the proscription edicts against Christianity were removed from public view. This was interpreted by Western missionaries as allowing the open propagation of the Gospel among Japanese, and led to a wide range of European and North American societies sending missionaries to Japan (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). Nevertheless, Christianity still remained officially banned, and the government lent support to Buddhist sects to counter its spread. In the late 1870s Christianity faced new evolutionary arguments imported from the West in addition to the traditional ones available to the opponents of Christianity (see DARWINISM). In the late 1880s Buddhist scholars began to attack Christianity on the grounds that Buddhist theology was superior to Christian THEOLOGY. In the 1889 Meiji Constitution religious

freedom was constitutionally guaranteed, although its meaning still had to be defined. This was especially true in terms of church-state relations at the governmental and bureaucratic levels, but also applied to issues surrounding the relationship between Japanese NATIONALISM and patriotism and Christian faith at the personal level. To the government, religious freedom came to mean that the role of religion in society was to serve the interests of the state, and it was prepared to act to ensure that religious freedom did not compromise those interests, particularly in education.

During the 1870s the Protestant movement experienced considerable growth. Convert bands coalesced around missionaries or Western lay Christians teaching in new schools of Western Studies in the treaty ports, and also in provincial towns and cities. Protestant bands were formed in Shizuoka, Hirosaki, Niigata, Osaka, Kumamoto, and Sapporo, as well as in the Tokyo area in Tsukiji, Shiba, and Koishikawa. These Christian bands developed along skeins of contact, friendship, family relations, and, in rural areas, family influence and economic power. The Kumamoto Band was particularly important because many future leaders of the *Kumiai Kyōkai* (Congregational Church) were members, including Kozaki Hiromichi, Ebina Danjō, and Yokoi Tokio. Uchimura Kanzo, the founder of the Non-Church Movement (*Mukyōdai*) was a member of the Sapporo Band, as was Nitobe Inazō, the author and educationalist. A large percentage of the early converts were ex-samurai attracted to Protestantism through the educational work of missionaries and the influence of leading intellectuals and educators like Nakamura Masanao, the translator of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, and Tsuda Sen, an agricultural expert. Personal loyalty to an outstanding leader, Japanese or missionary, provided a common pattern in Christian CONVERSION.

There was an assumption among early Protestants that Christianity was the basis of Western civilization and that Japan must become a Christian nation if it wished to be successful in adopting Western technology. Yamaji Aizan, an early historian of Meiji Protestantism, argued that samurai on the losing side in the Restoration turned to Christianity in an effort to regain lost status. However, conversion was not restricted to ex-Tokugawa samurai, and many converts, particularly in rural areas, were not samurai. Although Christian ideas were introduced into Japan through Chinese-language sources as well as through English-language and Western studies, the desire to acquire new knowledge to equip themselves better to changing times was common to most converts regardless of class.

The student population in the major cities became a prime target of missionary efforts and great emphasis was placed on educational work. During the 1870s and 1880s the mission school forerunners of Dōshisha University (Congregational) in Kyoto, and, in Tokyo, Aoyama Gakuin University (Methodist), Meiji Gakuin University (Presbyterian/Reformed), and Rikkyō University (Anglican) were established as missionaries strove to cater to the great demand for Western knowledge. During the same years schools for girls were founded, including the Ferris Joshi Gakkō (Reformed) in Yokohama and the Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakkō (Methodist) in Tokyo. Mission schools for girls made a vital contribution to the development of women's education. A vast network of Christian schools grew through the early twentieth century, reaching an important milestone with the postwar foundation of the International Christian University in Tokyo.

During the Meiji period Protestantism also exerted a significant influence on emerging popular movements for social and political change. Protestants were active in the Popular

Rights Movement of the 1880s, and a decade later Christians were among the leaders of the first major environmental protest over the pollution caused by the Ashio Copper Mine. Others like Tokutomi Sohō were active in journalism, and Tokutomi Roka and Arishima Takeo were important literary figures. A number of the first leaders of the Japanese socialist and labor movements were Protestants or influenced by Christianity.

Protestant Developments (1912–1931)

The Achilles' heel of Japanese Christians was the doubt that was cast in the minds of non-Christian Japanese about their loyalty to Japan and even their Japaneseness after they became Christians. The desire of Christians to prove themselves as loyal was expressed in broad support for Japanese imperialism and overseas expansion. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, Japanese missionary work began in Taiwan, KOREA, Manchuria, Singapore, and North America. By 1912 the desire for an independent Christianity in Japan was developing toward the creation of a Japanese Christianity (*Nipponteki Kirisutokyō*) distinct from that Christianity propagated by Western missionaries. There was also a strong desire among Protestants for Christianity to be recognized along with Shinto and Buddhism as one of the three major religions of Japan.

During the 1910s and early 1920s Protestants, like Suzuki Bunji, played an important role in the embryonic trade union movement. Yoshino Sakuzō, a Tokyo Imperial University professor, was one of the leading opinion makers in the political movement for democracy and universal suffrage. Protestant influence was also evident in the early development of both rural and urban movements, including the initial organization of the tenant-farmer association and also in the *Zenkoku Suiheisha*, an organization for the outcaste class. However, these activities met with considerable hostility from church leaders who did not wish Christianity to be seen as opposing the status quo. As a result, many Christian political and social activists either abandoned their Christian beliefs or moderated their political and social views. Missionaries also made important pioneering contributions to the development of social welfare work in the Tokyo slums, in the care of lepers, in opening schools for the blind and sanatoria for tuberculosis victims, and in prison work.

In 1922 the ecumenical movement in Japan reached a milestone with the formation of the National Christian Council (NCC) (see ECUMENISM). The NCC included most Protestant denominations, Christian schools, and social institutions. Although its actual power over individual denominations was limited to moral persuasion, the NCC did play an important role in coordinating the cooperative endeavors of the Protestant movement, including church union. It did much to help in supervising relief measures for Christian churches after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake, and, at the international level, presented reasoned Christian protests against the United States Congress's 1924 Anti-Immigration Bill. Increasingly the NCC also assumed the duty of representing the Protestant movement in its dealings with the government. Furthermore, it was deeply involved in supporting evangelistic initiatives. The most significant was the Kingdom of God movement begun in 1929. During the first half of the 1930s this movement's impact on

the direction of the evangelistic efforts of both Japanese Christians and Western missionaries cannot be overestimated. Under the leadership of KAGAWA TOYOHICO it was the largest interdenominational evangelistic endeavor in Japanese Christian history, and had the support of all the major Protestant groups and the missionary movement. The connection between this united evangelistic effort and the growing movement toward church union in the early 1930s also needs to be stressed. By the early 1930s the Protestant movement had some 300,000 adherents.

The Dark Age (1931–1945)

The years from 1931 to 1945 were a dark age in Japanese religious history, reminiscent of the witch hunts of medieval Europe. Religious groups were callously persecuted, especially new religions like Ōmo-tokyō, but also some Christian groups including the Holiness Church, PLYMOUTH BRETHERN, the SEVENTHDAY ADVENTISTS, the SALVATION ARMY, and the *Nihon Seikōkai* (the Japanese Anglican Church) because the authorities thought they held heterodox ideas or were too closely identified with foreign countries. During the early 1930s the Shrine Question—that is, the participation of Christians in state-sponsored Shinto ceremonies—emerged as a major problem for Christians because it touched the sensitive topic of their loyalty, patriotism, and attitude toward the emperor, as well as the issue of freedom of religion and the national Shinto system. To maintain the façade of freedom of religion, the government proclaimed that the ceremonies at state Shinto shrines were exercises in civil religion and beyond the control of religious sects. Protestants in Japan accepted this view, but those in Korea or Taiwan did not—with tragic consequences. The impact of the Shrine Question was particularly felt in Christian schools, which were already being forced to get rid of their foreign teachers and connections. During the late 1930s the nature of Japanese Christianity, under pressure from ultranationalism and emperor-centered militarism (*tennōsei*), changed to be a new nationalistic religion not only distinct from Western Christianity but also increasingly devoid of Western influences.

After the opening of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the government pressed for the union of religious groups, including Protestant denominations, to enhance its control. The Religious Organizations Law came into effect in early 1940. By late 1940 it was evident that the government intended to combine all Protestant denominations into a single church. During this time virtually all Western missionaries decided to withdraw from Japan. In December 1941 the union Protestant Church, the *Nihon Kirisutokyōdan* (the United Church of Christ in Japan), received government recognition. Among the major Protestant denominations, only a rump of the *Nihon Seikōkai* chose to stay outside the union church, and lost its standing as a religious organization. Although church union took place only because of government pressure, it is also true that the government was able to exploit the genuine desire of many Protestant leaders for Protestant union. Government demands for church union and for Christian participation in the national spiritual mobilization in support of Japan's war effort resonated with long-held Christian hopes not only for church union but also for leadership of the Protestant movement in

East Asia. For the most part Christian leaders were both willing, even enthusiastic, to throw their support behind the war effort because they were all sincere nationalists. During the Pacific War all Protestants suffered great hardships, and some were persecuted and imprisoned, but Christianity survived.

Postwar Protestantism

A new era in Japanese Christian history opened with the end of World War II in East Asia in 1945 and the beginning of the Allied occupation of Japan. The surrender of Japan brought about an end to *tennosei* and opened the way for a broader range of beliefs and practices under a new postwar constitution that guaranteed complete religious freedom. The occupation years between 1945 and 1951 saw a Christian boom and rapid growth. Although the *Nihon Kirisutokyōdan* remained the largest Protestant denomination, a number of Protestant groups left the union church to reform their own churches, including the *Nihon Seikōkai* and various Reformed and Presbyterian groups. Despite the plethora of Protestant denominations, the Protestant movement still faced great challenges. Some of these related to the internal character of the church rather than external conditions. During the 1950s and 1960s the question of the church's wartime responsibilities created internal tensions. Likewise the Western image of the Protestant church and its continued reliance on Western Christian help caused the church to be prone to swings in Japanese public opinion about the United States. In the 1970s and 1980s the identification with the Western approach to spirituality meant that the Protestant movement was not in a position to capitalize on the new religiosity among Japanese seen in the popularity of new religions. Although Japanese Protestants have played an important role in campaigns against the renationalization of the Yasukuni Shrine, against the censorship of textbooks, and for world peace, the church has difficulties in attracting young people. At the millennium, although Christian-founded universities play an important role in Japanese higher education, the number of Christians among their faculties has steadily declined and some denominations suffer from a shortage of candidates for the ministry.

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A.HAMISH ION

JEFFERSON, THOMAS (1743–1826)

Third president of the United States and eminent figure of the American ENLIGHTENMENT. Jefferson defended “pure” religion, but often attacked the major institutional manifestations of Protestantism in America. He especially targeted those churches that allied themselves with the power of the state, particularly the ANGLICANISM of his homeland of Virginia and the CONGREGATIONALISM of New England. In the first instance he moved in the earliest days of the American Revolution to disestablish the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and to enlist Virginians in a struggle for complete religious liberty. In the latter instance, he had less direct impact on the New England establishment, though his enmity toward it never weakened. By helping to destroy the Federalist Party, he removed the power base of a politicized Congregationalism.

Jefferson and Religious Liberty

Jefferson is readily and correctly identified as a passionate promoter of religious liberty. With his younger colleague, JAMES MADISON (1749–1812), he did all that he could to see that Virginia cleansed itself of all lingering taints of an alliance between church and state. In fighting a war against ENGLAND, few would defend the notion of continued official support for the Church of England. To some, however, this did not mean an abrupt, and perhaps even brutal, severing of all ties between the civil and the ecclesiastical orders. Patrick Henry, for example, thought it made good sense to establish Christianity in general, while conceding that one could not show any special favoritism to England’s national church. To Madison and Jefferson, however, this compromise represented a betrayal of the spirit of liberty for which the patriots had fought from 1776 to 1783. To maintain any kind of religious establishment would, in Madison’s words, warn the refugee “to seek some other haven,” for America would no longer be an asylum “to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion.”

Though Jefferson had composed a bill for establishing religious freedom in Virginia as early as 1777, it took a reluctant legislature almost a decade to declare “that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry

whatsoever.” On the contrary, “all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion.” When at last the bill became law in 1786, Jefferson took great satisfaction that his own state housed “the first legislature who has had the courage to declare that the reason of man may be trusted with the formation of his own opinions.” In Paris, at the time his bill passed, Jefferson like a proud father saw it translated into French and Italian and “sent to most of the courts of Europe.” England in particular, but much of Europe in general, thought that the newly independent states would soon collapse into anarchy, but this Statute for Establishing Religious Freedom was the best evidence, Jefferson asserted, that America was moving steadily toward greater enlightenment, not giving way to lawlessness and chaos.

Jefferson saw Virginia’s bold step as a giant one, but insufficient by itself, for the new nation as a whole had to adopt a similar stance. When Madison happily wrote to Jefferson in Paris at the end of 1787 that delegates in Philadelphia had drawn up an impressive constitution, Jefferson replied with compliments, but immediately asked about the guarantees for religious liberty and other civil freedoms. The result of his widely shared concern was, of course, a Bill of Rights: the first ten amendments to the Constitution adopted in 1791. The very first of those specified that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” As president, Jefferson in 1802 put his own powerful spin on those words by declaring in a public letter that Congress had thus erected “a wall of separation between church and state.”

In his two terms as president, as well as in the nearly two decades of his retirement, Jefferson continued to worry about any and all religion allied with or seeking to exercise political power. He worried about the Congregational clergy who had gotten a “smell of union between church and state,” and when, in 1818, Connecticut finally broke its ties with the church, Jefferson immediately wrote to John Adams of his delight that “this den of the priesthood is at length broken up, and that a protestant popedom is no longer to disgrace the American history and character.” When later he founded the first “truly modern” university, the University of Virginia, he set up every safeguard to keep sectarian influences out of his school. By the 1820s it was the Presbyterians, not the Anglicans (now identified as Episcopalians), who sought to frustrate his plans. In so doing, they won Jefferson’s harsh condemnation as “the most intolerant of all sects, the most tyrannical, and ambitious.” Such strong language could suggest to many that Jefferson was not only against religious power, but that he was against religion itself.

Jefferson and “Pure” Religion

This, however, was clearly not the case. Jefferson condemned dogmatism and what he called scholastic subtleties. He found Platonism or Neoplatonism the enemy of the simple religion of Jesus, and of CALVINISM he wrote that it “has introduced into the Christian religion more new absurdities than its leader had purged it of old ones.” Priests and preachers took refuge in mysteries and miracles, avoiding the “weightier matters of the law” such as good works and simple charity. The gospel that Jesus proclaimed, Jefferson

argued, was simple enough for any peasant to understand, but professional theologians were determined to make it difficult and obscure, as they spread darkness rather than light. “The metaphysical insanities of Athanasius, of Loyola, and of Calvin,” Jefferson concluded, “are to my understanding mere relapses into polytheism, differing from paganism only by being more unintelligible.”

But was it not possible to rescue the pure religion of Jesus? Inspired by scientist and educator Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) and others, Jefferson gave much energy and much thought to doing just that. In writing “The Philosophy of Jesus,” in providing an outline of a revised “Christian system,” and in compiling what came to be called the “Jefferson Bible,” the nation’s third president saw his time as ripe for completing the Reformation begun in the sixteenth century. Jefferson believed that reason and religion must be allies, not enemies, and that by rejecting mysteries and irrational dogmas it was possible—in the age of Enlightenment—to recapture a purified Christianity: “the most sublime and benevolent code of morals which has ever been offered to mankind.”

See also Church and State, Overview; Deism; Enlightenment; First Amendment; Priestly, Joseph.

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EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

Jehovah's Witnesses began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a small Adventist sect (see SECTARIANISM) of Bible students under the leadership of CHARLES TAZE RUSSELL. They adopted the name "Jehovah's Witnesses" in 1931 to emphasize their distinctive beliefs that the proper translation of the personal name of God in Hebrew Scriptures is "Jehovah" (Exodus 3:15) and that the correct name for believers is "witnesses" (Isaiah 43:10; Acts 1:8). Dedicated to the fervent proclamation of the belief that Jesus Christ will soon return to defeat Satan, the adversary of God's righteous rule, in the battle of Har-magedon and establish the millennial paradise on earth, Jehovah's Witnesses have grown to an active membership of nearly six million in 234 countries. Like other sectarian movements in American Protestantism, such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (MORMONS) and CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, the Jehovah's Witnesses regard their community and its teachings as the restoration of true Christianity from the apostasy of all other churches. Jehovah's Witnesses claim neither a new revelation nor an inspired founder, but insist that they derive their THEOLOGY and practices solely from a literal interpretation of the BIBLE and that they strictly follow the example of the first-century apostles. In imitation of their zeal, Jehovah's Witnesses devote themselves to distributing literature, conducting Bible classes, attending frequent congregational meetings, and closely regulating their personal and family lives by a rigorous moral code. Jehovah's Witnesses acknowledge the theocratic authority of the Governing Body and the administrative offices of the Watchtower Society.

Jehovah's Witnesses have gained adherents across the globe; over eighty percent live outside the United States, with concentrations in LATIN AMERICA and AFRICA. Many people are attracted by the vision of the KINGDOM OF GOD as paradise on earth, harmoniously integrating all ethnic groups in a perfect social order, free from prejudice and injustice, where war is unknown, lost loved ones are reunited with their families, and every individual experiences supreme happiness.

Origins

The nineteenth century in America was marked by religious enthusiasm, including waves of revivalism, proliferation of utopian groups, and the rise of Adventism (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM). Despite the failed prophecy of WILLIAM MILLER (founder of the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH) that the world would end in 1844, interpretations of biblical ESCHATOLOGY, especially in the books of Daniel and Revelation, remained popular among American Christians. The detailed chronologies inspired by the DIS-PENSATIONALISM of JOHN NELSON DARBY (British founder of the PLYMOUTH BRETHERN), and the elaborate calculations of the Adventists, heightened expectations that the study of biblical prophecy would disclose the future by deciphering the code of divine revelation. Among those excited by that prospect was Russell.

Russell was born into the middle-class home of a clothing store owner in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, in 1852 and raised in the tradition of PRESBYTERIANISM. However, as a teenager he became dissatisfied—like others alert to the spiritual possibilities of self-reliance—with the Calvinist doctrines of original sin, eternal hell, and double PREDESTINATION. He happened into the evening service of an Adventist Church and became newly convinced of the divine inspiration of the Bible. Despite the distractions of the family business from his formal education, Russell began his own earnest study of the Scriptures, assisted by several Adventist associates. From George Storrs, editor of *Bible Examiner*, Russell accepted the doctrine that the soul dies with the body and that immortality is a divine gift for faithful believers only. The unrighteous faced not eternal punishment, but annihilation. Russell learned from Nelson H. Barbour, editor of the Adventist periodical *Herald of the Morning*, that the invisible “presence” of Christ had already occurred in 1874, inaugurating a forty-year “harvest” of true Christians. The return of Christ, then, was a spiritual event intended not to destroy the inhabitants of earth but to bless them. Russell defended this interpretation in a pamphlet, entitled *The Object and Manner of Our Lord’s Return*, published in 1877. Russell never adopted the SABBATARIANISM of the Adventists, however, and soon broke with Barbour over the latter’s rejection of the substitutionary value of Christ’s death, a point Russell regarded as central to the vindication of God’s justice in the ATONEMENT.

In 1879 Russell began publishing his own monthly journal, *Zion’s Watch Tower and Herald of Christ’s Presence*. By 1880 Russell felt the need to draw groups of his readers into classes for study and fellowship. He regarded these small congregations as the beginning of the gathering of the true “body of Christ,” whose responsibility was to fulfill the role of the “faithful and discreet slave” who supplies spiritual food to the rest of the household of faith, according to Jesus’s parable in Matthew 24:45–47. In 1881 he declared that the “faithful and discreet slave” represented the collective ministry of those anointed by God’s “holy spirit” to share in messianic authority. In 1884 Russell formed Zion’s Watch Tower Tract Society to unify the scattered congregations of Bible students. They held their first convention in Allegheny in 1891.

Russell traveled constantly, wrote voluminously, and lectured with tireless energy. His was a dramatic presence, tall, with flowing beard, and histrionic gestures. His followers admired his dedication and modesty and gave him the honorific title “Pastor.” Russell’s

central passion was “publishing” his ideas in every possible form: itinerant preaching; teaching classes; contributing to newspapers and magazines (in 1913 Russell’s sermons reached fifteen million readers); and writing a small library of books, periodicals, and tracts over a period of thirty-seven years. He encouraged his students to serve as colporteurs, going door to door with literature, at one time even accompanied by phonographs or dioramas. One popular production, “Photo-Drama of Creation,” using motion pictures and slides synchronized with sound, had been shown to over nine million viewers in North America, Europe, and Australia by the end of 1914.

In 1886 Russell began an ambitious series of books titled *Millennial Dawn*, with the first volume called *The Divine Plan of the Ages*. He was convinced that he had discerned God’s intention in history through the study of prophetic Scriptures. The key was his calculation that the “seven times” of Daniel 4:16 referred to the period of foreign domination over Israel (Luke 21:24), begun in 607 B.C. and destined to end in A.D. 1914 with the coming of the kingdom. When World War I began, some “Russellites” were certain they would be taken immediately into heaven. By the end of 1915, however, Russell explained that the defeat of the Ottoman Empire signaled only the beginning of the end. He taught that the return of Christ would not occur suddenly, but would extend over “a period of presence, as was the first advent.” He translated the Greek term *parousia* as “presence,” rather than “coming,” and explained the arrival of the kingdom as a gradual “dawning.” In the meanwhile Christ was calling those chosen to reign with him in heaven, including Russell and the Bible students, as “spiritual Israel.”

In 1909 Russell moved the headquarters of his publishing operations to Brooklyn, New York, and named the complex “Bethel,” or house of God. Not long after, Maria Ackley Russell served him with divorce papers, ending a long period of contention over her role in the organization. To this day women do not hold governing positions nor serve as elders in local congregations. Russell died in Texas on October 31, 1916, returning from a speaking tour.

Organization

Russell’s successor as president of the Watch Tower Tract and Bible Society was Joseph Franklin Rutherford (1869–1942). Born on a farm in Missouri, Rutherford worked his way through college and after serving two years as an apprentice received his license to practice law at age twenty-three. He later served occasionally on the circuit court and was thus known as “Judge.” Rutherford had provided legal counsel to Russell in the purchase of land for Bethel and was a member of the board of directors of the Watch Tower Society. Like Russell, Rutherford was physically imposing and a charismatic speaker. His disposition, however, was far less irenic and his style of management highly centralized. Rutherford and seven other directors were imprisoned under the Sedition Act of 1918 for their polemical writing against participation in the war. After nine months they won release on appeal, but many Bible students became targets of persecution, and the organization was in disarray. Rutherford took the opportunity to challenge the election of several directors, whom he replaced by his own supporters. He introduced a monthly

“service sheet” to record in detail the evangelistic activities of members, increased the construction of Kingdom Halls, and began publishing a new monthly magazine called *The Golden Age* (later, *Awake!*). In 1919 he introduced the enthusiastic slogan, “Millions Now Living Will Never Die!”

Rutherford wrote extensively, beginning with *Harp of God* in 1921. He abandoned Russell’s Zionism, as well as his prophetic speculations based on the Great Pyramid. In his own attempts to interpret prophecy Rutherford identified “Babylon the Great” of Revelation 17 with the League of Nations (abetted by the Vatican), foretold the return of biblical patriarchs (and built a mansion for their residence in San Diego, called Beth Sarim, where he resided in comparative luxury from 1930 until his death), and set the date 1925, and later 1940, for the coming of the kingdom. At the annual convention of 1931 Rutherford declared that henceforth “we desire to be known as and called by the name, to wit, Jehovah’s witnesses.” Since then, the use of “Jehovah” as the personal name of God has become a major point of DOCTRINE. In 1935 Rutherford declared that most of the growing body of Jehovah’s Witnesses belonged to that “great crowd, which no man was able to number, out of all nations and tribes and peoples” (Revelation 7:9), who would not ascend to heaven, but live in the earthly paradise. Between the world wars Rutherford led the Witnesses through a series of court battles over freedom of speech and press, right of assembly, and distribution of literature. His death from colon cancer marked a major transition from charismatic to institutional authority.

Expansion

Nathan Homer Knorr (1905–1977) became the third president of the Watch Tower Society in 1942. Born in Pennsylvania, Knorr joined a congregation of Bible students as a teenager, was baptized at age eighteen, and promptly moved to Brooklyn to work in the Bethel headquarters, where he rose through the ranks to a place on the board of directors. Knorr’s long presidency was marked by increased organizational growth, more sophisticated promotional methods, and greater uniformity in the programs of local congregations, including training in public speaking through Theocratic Ministry Schools. Known as “Brother,” Knorr was more modest than his predecessors and in 1943 he established a policy of anonymous publications. In 1960 the Watchtower Society published the *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*. This version reflects the doctrinal vocabulary of the Watchtower Society and was largely the work of Frederick W. Franz.

In the postwar years Knorr traveled extensively, rebuilding branch organizations in Europe and establishing others in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Pacific islands. During the social tumult of the 1960s the Watch Tower Society intensified its defense of the divine inspiration of the Bible and tightened its discipline over sexual behavior (see SEXUALITY). As a result many young people were “disfellowshipped,” expelled from their congregations, and cut off from all contact with other Jehovah’s Witnesses, including members of their own family. This severe punishment was justified by reference to I Corinthians 5:9–11. At the same time, male workers at Bethel were

allowed to marry, reversing earlier views of marriage and children as distractions from kingdom work (following I Corinthians 7:32–34). In 1971 the board of directors of the Watch Tower Society reorganized into a Governing Body on the model of the original apostles, composed of eleven men, plus the president, all of whom belonged to the “anointed class.” The Governing Body issued binding directives, held all legal authority over the vast holdings of the Watch Tower Society, approved all publications, and was the final arbiter of doctrinal and behavioral questions. The Governing Body delegated many administrative duties to committees whose members it appointed. Knorr extended the apostolic model in 1972 by restoring to local Kingdom Halls the authority to elect their own ruling body of male elders. Near the end of his tenure Knorr, like his predecessors, became involved in controversy over failed prophecy. Beginning in 1966 many Jehovah’s Witnesses began to speculate that the 6,000 years of human history (based on biblical genealogies from Adam) would end in 1975. Despite official cautions about the tentativeness of the date, many disappointed members later defected. Knorr died of a brain tumor in 1977.

Consolidation and Reorganization

Frederick W. Franz (1893–1992) became the fourth president of the Watchtower Society at age eightythree. Born in Kentucky, Franz attended classes in biblical Greek at the University of Cincinnati. After studying Russell’s writings, he left school to work as a colporteur and joined the Bethel family in 1920. Under Franz’s leadership the Watchtower Society re-sponded to the decline in membership after 1975 with a flurry of publications, including a revised reference edition of the *New World Translation* (1984), a new commentary on the Book of Revelation (1988), and a two-volume Bible encyclopedia (1991). By 1992 the Society had 800 translators rendering the Bible into scores of languages. Franz also strengthened local programs of education and developed the Ministerial Training School to train single male missionaries. The ranks of pioneers nearly tripled and the number of congregations grew to, 70,000, many in Kingdom Halls that were constructed in a few days by special teams of builders. However, his tenure was not without controversy. The emphasis on greater dedication required stricter discipline, more weekly meetings for study and training, and more rigorous application of standards for disfellowshipping (resulting in the expulsion of his own nephew). Franz died at the age of ninety-nine.

Milton G. Henschel (1920–) became the fifth president of the Watchtower Society at the end of 1992. He served as secretary to Knorr, accompanying him on his travels, and rose to the presidency after decades of service at Bethel. His administration completed the transition from strong individual authority to corporate bureaucracy. Henschel belongs to the aging cohort of Jehovah’s Witnesses who believed that they would not all die until Christ returned to take them to heaven to rule with him over paradise on earth. Ironically it was during his tenure that the Watchtower Society abandoned this belief. In 1995 *The Watchtower* revised its interpretation of Jesus’s promise that “this generation will not pass away until all these things have taken place” (Matthew 24:34) to mean that

there will always be those who oppose the truth until the kingdom arrives. Claiming a “progressive” understanding of revelation, drawn from Proverbs 4:18, the Watchtower Society declared that Jehovah’s Witnesses are no longer to regard the generation of 1914 as “a rule for measuring time.”

The institutional effects of this change were momentous. Members of the Governing Body, including the directors of the Watch Tower Society, are chosen exclusively from the “anointed class,” whose membership Rutherford announced closed in 1935. (Some younger members had been recognized as “anointed” since then, but only as replacements for unspecified original members who had fallen away from the faith.) Thus the pool of available leaders was dwindling. In October 2000 the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, the parent corporation of about 100 Watchtower organizations, announced that its president and board of directors would henceforth be totally separate from the Governing Body and that its powers and assets would be divided among several corporations with their own presidents. All the members of the Governing Body resigned from the board. Milton Henschel was replaced as president by Don A. Adams, and all administrative positions were also filled by younger “brothers of the other sheep.” The Governing Body no longer has legal authority, nor will it be subject to legal action, but will continue to offer spiritual guidance.

Jehovah’s Witnesses worldwide remain organized into over thirty zones, which are in turn divided into branches; branches into districts; and districts into circuits, each composed of twenty congregations. A circuit overseer visits each of his congregations twice a year to guide the local body of male elders. When membership in a Kingdom Hall reaches 200, another congregation is formed. The 1999 *Yearbook* reported 89,985 congregations.

Teachings

Jehovah’s Witnesses derive their religious teachings from a literal interpretation of the Bible, except where a figurative meaning is obviously intended (e.g., “four corners of the earth”). Thus, they reject doctrines formulated by the early councils of the Christian church under the influence of Greek philosophy, such as the Trinity. For Jehovah’s Witnesses there is only one supreme “God of gods” (Psalm 136:2), who revealed his sacred name YHWH to Moses (Exodus 3:14). Whereas translators have substituted God and Lord for the divine name, Jehovah’s Witnesses insist it is properly rendered in English as “Jehovah” (Psalm 83:18, KJV). Jehovah created the entire world in six “days” (each lasting 7,000 years) as recorded in Genesis 1–2, with no process of evolution. God created all things through the agency of Jesus in his preexistent form as the Word of God, called “Logos” in John 1 and “Wisdom” in Proverbs 8. As Jehovah’s “master workman,” he is chief among the “sons of God” (Job 1:6) and is known in Hebrew Scriptures as Michael the archangel. Although Jesus is not equal to Jehovah, he was “with” God in the beginning and is properly called “a god” (John 1:1, NWT). Jesus is not eternal, but he was the “firstborn of all creation” (Colossians 1:15). Jehovah’s Witnesses pray to God in the name of Jesus, but deny that the Bible identifies him as a “person” within a triune

Godhead (see ANTITRINITARIANISM). They understand “holy spirit” as Jehovah’s “active force” in the world.

Among the heavenly beings serving Jehovah was one called Lucifer. But he rebelled against God and became Satan, the “adversary” of divine government. The DEVIL deceived Eve and Adam in the Garden of Eden into also defying God’s sovereignty. Jehovah created the first human couple perfect, but through their free act of disobedience they and all their progeny became subject to sin, sickness, and death. Satan continues throughout history to attack God’s rule not only by tempting individuals with selfish desires, but also by deceiving humanity through his control of false religions, unjust economic systems, and idolatrous NATIONALISM. Jehovah’s Witnesses separate themselves from the “world system” by rejecting all political activities (including voting), influences of popular culture, social associations with non-Witnesses, and alliances with other religious organizations. They are outspoken in criticism of the Roman Catholic Church and the United Nations as precursors of the one-world government controlled by the ANTICHRIST in the last days.

To rescue humans from sin and death, Jehovah transferred the life of Jesus to the womb of the VIRGIN MARY to be born as the perfect human, the “second Adam.” At his baptism Jesus was anointed by the holy spirit as Messiah. By remaining sinless throughout his life, Jesus could serve as the perfect sacrifice required to ransom humanity from the power of Satan, thus vindicating the authority of Jehovah’s rule over the earth. Christ’s obedience bought back what Adam’s disobedience had forfeited: the opportunity to live eternally in paradise on earth. According to Watchtower teaching, Jesus was executed on a single piece of timber, a “torture stake,” rather than a cross. God raised Jesus from the dead in a “spiritual body” and made him a “life-giving spirit” (I Corinthians 15:44–45; I Peter 3:18) with authority to rule over all other creatures as head of the messianic kingdom (Philippians 2:9–11). An “anointed class” of 144,000 believers, foreseen in Revelation 14, will assist Christ in his rule. They will not be resurrected, but will dwell in heaven as “spirit beings.” They are the subjects of the “new covenant” Jesus announced at his last meal on the eve of his death. They are also called the “little flock,” the “faithful and discreet slave,” the “bride of Christ,” and “a royal priesthood.” They are called by divine election, confirmed by inner conviction, and since 1918 have ascended to heaven as spirit beings upon death. From there they will administer divine government over the paradise on earth, ruling the “great crowd” of those who joined the faith after 1935. The present role of the “great crowd” is to assist the “anointed remnant” in bearing witness to Jehovah’s kingdom.

Although Christ’s rule began when he cast Satan out of heaven in 1914, his government will be established on earth only after a catastrophic battle with cosmic forces of evil at Har-magedon in the near future. Then Jesus will separate all people on earth into loyal “sheep” and rebellious “goats” (Matthew 25:31–34). The faithful will enter millennial paradise, a thousand years of peace and harmony in a restored earth. The reprobate will be immediately annihilated. Then the dead who did not have the chance to hear the gospel during their lives will be resurrected to join the “great crowd.” At the end of the millennium Satan will be released briefly to test all those on earth. Those who prove loyal to Jehovah will be rewarded with eternal life. Those who succumb to Satan’s temptation will suffer “the second death” (Revelation 20:14–15). Jehovah’s Witnesses believe that only those who persevere will be saved in the end. They do not teach that one

is eternally secure after an initial confession of faith (as do most evangelical Christians), but that one must continue to “exercise faith” through works of service to the kingdom.

Worship

Jehovah’s Witnesses meet several times a week in simple buildings with spare furnishings called “Kingdom Halls.” Services consist mainly of study of materials produced by the Watchtower Society, and of training in techniques of promoting their teachings in local neighborhoods. Worship also involves singing of hymns, written in a distinctive doctrinal vocabulary. Active members exercise their faith by devoting eight to ten hours a week in door-to-door witnessing. Those who spend considerably more time are designated “pioneers.” To supply them with literature the Watchtower Society invests heavily in the most advanced communications technology, from offset presses to phototypesetting computer software. Jehovah’s Witnesses distribute annually millions of copies of *The Watchtower*, translated into 130 languages, and of *Awake!* in 80 versions. Although Jehovah’s Witnesses have not used television, the Watchtower Society has recently launched an official site on the World Wide Web.

Jehovah’s Witnesses observe the two SACRAMENTS recognized by other Protestants: water BAPTISM and the LORD’S SUPPER. They baptize by immersion only those candidates who have completed lengthy preparatory study. Baptisms often occur at large conventions as a public sign of dedication to the work of proclaiming the kingdom. Jehovah’s Witnesses observe the “Lord’s Evening Meal” once a year, on Passover eve (14 Nisan on the Jewish calendar), in which only members of the “anointed class” partake of the “emblems” of bread and wine. In 1999 only 8,755 of this “heavenly class” survived. As the number of partakers dwindles, however, the Watchtower Society records a growing number of observers. The significance of the ritual today is to identify those who attend but do not participate as those with the “earthly hope” of paradise.

Practices

Jehovah’s Witnesses share with Christian FUNDAMENTALISM a restrictive sexual morality, condemning as “fornication” any instance of premarital sex, adultery, and HOMOSEXUALITY. ABORTION and some forms of birth control are forbidden. They abstain from tobacco and drugs, but follow the Bible in allowing limited use of alcohol. Gambling is deplored as an expression of greed. Magic, divination, and spiritualism are deceptions of Satan in which demons impersonate the dead and can even possess the living. Jehovah’s Witnesses do not celebrate Christmas or Easter because both involve pre-Christian customs. Neither do they acknowledge individual birthdays because the only examples of such celebrations in the Bible are by pagan rulers. Because Jesus died

on a “torture stake” Jehovah’s Witnesses do not use the cross in their worship; it is a symbol they associate with “ancient false religions.”

Jehovah’s Witnesses are well known for their refusal to pledge allegiance to national governments, for which dissent they have been imprisoned in many countries, including the United States during both world wars (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). In Nazi GERMANY Jehovah’s Witnesses were among the non-Jewish groups consigned to concentration camps. They do not practice PACIFISM, but maintain a neutral stance toward the state. Because all worldly governments are under the power of Satan, they refuse to participate in patriotic demonstrations or military service. In 1943 the Supreme Court, in the case of *Barnette v. West Virginia*, upheld the civil right of Jehovah’s Witness children not to salute the flag in schoolroom exercises.

Perhaps the most controversial of Watchtower Society policies is the prohibition of intravenous blood transfusion, first promulgated in 1945. Since then, Jehovah’s Witnesses have interpreted the apostolic command to “abstain...from blood” (Acts 15:20) as unconditional because any means of taking blood into the body violates the principle that the “life (soul) is in the blood” (Genesis 9:4; Leviticus 17:11). In 1961 *The Watchtower* announced that any member who accepted a blood transfusion would face disfellowshipping. Not even transfusions of one’s own blood are allowed because storage would violate biblical directions for disposing of blood (Deuteronomy 12:16). Kidney dialysis is permitted as long as the blood circulates continuously through the filtering apparatus and returns to the patient’s body. Since 1978 hemophiliacs have been allowed to choose treatment with blood components.

Future Challenges

Jehovah’s Witnesses have entered a new stage of their history by renouncing attempts to set specific dates for the coming kingdom and modifying their theocratic organization. It remains to be seen whether these moves will silence the recurrent criticisms of the Watchtower Society for issuing “false prophecies” and for exerting absolute control over its members. To date, there has been no organized internal feminist dissent from the patriarchal patterns of domestic life and congregational authority. Those who voice disagreement with the Watchtower interpretation of biblical teaching about the role of women find themselves in danger of being “disfellowshipped.” The challenge facing contemporary Jehovah’s Witnesses is how to retain apocalyptic fervor, moral discipline, and exclusionary group loyalty under the pressures on younger families to accommodate to prevailing cultural standards as the promise of the kingdom is extended into an indeterminate future.

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JEREMIAD

Jeremiads are Protestant sermons that generally emphasize the vengeful nature of divine justice, specifically enumerate the local or immediate transgressions warranting the deity's deserved wrath, reprovably point to present indications of divine disfavor, and direly forecast looming future judgments unless the offenders reform. The term derives from the name of the Old Testament exilic prophet Jeremiah, who grieved over the destruction of Jerusalem and the desolation of Judah.

The related jeremiad themes of divine displeasure and ensuing adversity inform several European Protestant works, including Thomas Vincent's *God's Terrible Voice in the City* (1667). However, as a developed rhetorical form narrowly focused on a single community of believers, the jeremiad prominently emerges in Puritan New England during the 1660s and 1670s (see PURITANISM). Typical is *The Day of Trouble is Near* (1674), INCREASE MATHER'S aptly titled rebuke of his fellow Puritans as idolatrous New Israelites hazardously worshiping material prosperity instead of God. Whether colonial Puritan piety had actually diminished or was only clerically perceived to be declining during the 1670s is open to debate. Also unresolved is the issue of whether the colonial jeremiad pessimistically prophesies doom at the hands of a frowning deity or optimistically reaffirms a Puritan identity that God never abandons. In the former view, jeremiads reflect a static world view in which God either supports or rejects; in the latter view, jeremiads subtly accommodate history by endorsing an ongoing process of divine censure followed by divine favor. Either way, this form of sermon exhibits a clerical desire to affirm TRADITION, including ministerial AUTHORITY, during an uneasy time of social, political, and economic change.

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WILLIAM J. SCHEICK

JESUS MOVEMENT

The Jesus Movement (JM) is a term developed by popular media in the 1960s and 1970s to refer to a movement among some relatively well-educated and affluent young people, originally mainly within the UNITED STATES, who were embracing a communal lifestyle based on variants of Christian Protestant THEOLOGY. Sometimes the terms “Jesus People,” or the more derogatory “Jesus Freaks,” have been employed by those referring to this phenomenon. Considerable attention was paid to early Jesus Movement groups, as debate swirled over whether they were “truly Christian.” Their well-publicized lifestyle that included long hair and very casual dress contributed to this debate, as did their exuberant efforts to share their beliefs and values.

The Movement gained considerable momentum and attention for about three decades, and also spread to other countries, becoming worldwide by virtue of actions by a few of the JM groups, particularly the Children of God (COG), which at one time had outposts in close to 200 countries. Some estimates by scholars suggest several hundred thousand participants at one time or another in the JM. However, the Movement lost momentum in the 1990s, and is survived now by a few of the better known Movement groups such as Jesus People USA, centered in Chicago, and The Family (formerly known as the Children of God). Many remnants of Jesus Movement groups also flowed into pentecostal-oriented nontraditional churches, such as Calvary Chapel, from which Shiloh, one of the larger Movement groups in the late 1960s, had come.

One major theological and cultural variation developed within the Movement involved linking experientialism with FUNDAMENTALISM, as young people embraced selected beliefs associated with fundamentalist Protestantism, while also engaging in such activities as glossolalia, or speaking in TONGUES (the COG were an exception; members did not practice glossolalia). Most participants in JM groups had histories of heavy experiential involvement with drugs, alcohol, tobacco, and premarital sex, but participation in the JM groups often led to significant changes in behavior, with “getting high on Jesus” seeming to serve as something of a substitute for previous activities. Thus some scholars have written about the Jesus Movement as serving a “half-way house” function for many participants who had become disaffected from normal society and were involved in experimental lifestyles of one kind or another. Participation in the Movement helped many of these young people return to more conventional society, even if that was not their original intent when joining a specific JM group.

Recruitment and Resocialization

Most Jesus Movement groups gained new members by street proselytizing, seeking converts among young people who were moving around society, having cut their ties with families and left their normal “social locations.” When large numbers of young people were adrift, especially during the Vietnam War era, such recruitment methods worked well. Outreach operated out of JM group communal houses located close to major transportation arteries and places where young people congregated, particularly in west coast urban centers in America. Some JM groups grew rapidly, especially if they established communal centers where converts could garner food, shelter, and friendship, along with the Jesus message. Later, as the “target population” of young people lessened, recruitment dropped off and other ways to attract new members were sought. This included holding “Jesus rock” concerts, opening “Christian coffee houses,” witnessing on college campuses, and developing promotional activities based on distribution of tape recordings of BIBLE studies or Jesus rock music. None of these methods was particularly successful, although they did on occasion attract considerable attention to a given JM group.

Resocialization took many forms, but tended, especially among communal JM groups, to involve efforts at total immersion of new recruits in the subculture of the group. Other JM groups were more casual at training new members, but often may have typically sent new converts on missions to gain more recruits or to establish an outpost far from friends and family, accompanied only by a group of fellow believers. The resulting isolation had an indirect insulating effect that would encourage the new convert to absorb the group’s CULTURE relatively quickly.

Growth and Outreach Activities Lead to Controversy

Most of the early recruits were single young people (indeed, most were males). This basic demographic fact contributed greatly to the early history of most JM groups being characterized by considerable geographic mobility. Members, few of whom were burdened with familial considerations, could be sent by group leaders to far-away places to engage in mission activities or in establishing a new communal outpost. Or an entire group could pick up and move, or decide to “live on the road,” as did the COG for a number of years. This much-publicized group drove their caravan of buses across America for a time, camping when they wanted to engage in street proselytizing or shame some traditional churches for being too materialistic. The COG then left America and went to dozens of other countries, eventually establishing a presence in a large number of them. Other JM groups, even if less attention-seeking, were nonetheless also quite mobile, expending considerable effort and resources at “spreading the Word” in America and elsewhere.

Thus literally thousands of energetic young people became involved in missionizing and proselytizing activities around the United States and eventually in dozens of other

countries, leaving the impression of a large and very active movement developing first among America's youth and spreading around the globe. This impression was fostered by major coverage by mass print and electronic media of the time, as America, during a time of considerable turmoil over the Vietnam War and race issues, initially celebrated the apparent "return to that old-time religion" by many young people. It seemed to many that participation of young people in JM groups was preferable to being involved with "sex, drugs, rock and roll" and the antiwar movement.

Later the mass media as well as the general public and policy makers soured on most Jesus Movement groups' efforts at recruitment, as some unsavory actions (such as the COG's "flirty fishing," which for a time used sex as a recruiting tool) were revealed, and as it became clear that most JM groups were "high demand" religions that expected participants to "forsake all" to "follow Jesus" and do the bidding of group leaders intent on converting others or developing the size and influence of their particular groups. Accusations of "brainwashing" and "mind control" were made against some JM groups, as some family members of recruits and others sought to exert control over the groups and to limit their ability to recruit new members. Such accusations were refuted by scholars studying JM groups and related "New Religions," although such claims persisted and led to much difficulty for some JM groups. Indeed, the first "deprogramming" ever recorded (the first of many thousands, in the United States but also in other countries) involved a member of the COG, the most controversial of the JM groups.

Families, Children, and Change

Although the first generation of participants in JM groups was predominantly single males, as time passed more females were attracted, facilitating the eventual establishment of families. This led in turn to the arrival of children, sometimes in very large numbers in JM groups that did not generally practice birth control, such as the COG and Shiloh, the two largest such groups. Recent membership figures on, for instance, The Family (formerly the COG) demonstrate the size of this "problem" that led to changes in JM groups that lasted more than one generation. As of about 2001, The Family had approximately 10,000 members worldwide, with well over half of them being children.

The presence of families, and especially large numbers of children, had a "domesticating" effect on JM groups. The mobility of the groups was stymied, causing them to become much more sedentary, and leading to some consolidation as mission activities in other countries were curtailed somewhat. Divisions of labor were established within the groups that had some members doing missionizing and traveling, whereas others stayed home to care for the children and find ways to support the growing families, as well as other activities of the group. Huge amounts of resources were needed to sustain such large families, and the attention of group members and leaders had to be focused on this matter.

The presence of many children also led to major controversies with public officials over care and schooling of the children. Some JM groups insisted on HOMESCHOOLING their children, claiming that to send them to public schools would

have a corrupting influence on them. Also, alternative schools were established in some groups, such as Shiloh, for a time, which became a drain on group resources and also allowed more governmental intervention. Child custody battles erupted in some groups, brought on by one parent deciding to leave the group and wanting to take custody of his or her children. Some JM groups, especially the COG, were accused of child sex abuse, accusations deriving from the rather libertine lifestyle led for a time by adult members of the group. These accusations led in the 1980s and early 1990s to large numbers of children being temporarily removed from Family homes in several different countries, including FRANCE, Spain, Argentina, and AUSTRALIA. In all instances the children were eventually returned; however, and in one major case in Australia, the government had to pay damages for the actions taken to gain control over the children.

In some groups the increase in familial responsibilities led eventually to a major shift of focus from one of outreach and recruitment to one focused internally, as the groups tried to support the new family-oriented culture and lifestyle that had developed. Instead of spending most time and resources sending out recruitment teams, ways had to be found to work for funds, or otherwise gather the resources needed for group sustenance and survival in a situation that involved many more “nonrevenue” members requiring support by those whose activities could generate revenue.

Many different methods of group support were tried, as most JM groups experimented with methods of raising money or engaging in activities that would help furnish needed material goods for the group. Street solicitation for money was one method tried by some groups, but this was by no means the most prevalent. The COG used this method, distributing their voluminous literature (the infamous “Mo Letters”) and asking for money in exchange, a method called “litnessing.” They also engaged in scavenging activities that sought out discarded fruits and vegetables from local markets, as well as other ways of maintaining the group that depended on the largesse of others. Shiloh used little direct solicitation, but instead relied on work teams in agricultural and construction industries for much of their support, as well as donations from members and their parents, and contributions from governmental agencies (i.e., federal surplus food programs). Shiloh and other groups also sold music tapes and put on concerts occasionally as others experimented with other ways to support themselves.

The Movement Dissipates

The Jesus Movement still exists in one sense because a few of the groups that began as part of the movement continue to function and even thrive, even if changed somewhat by the material concerns just discussed. However, the high point of the Movement occurred in the 1970s and early 1980s when there were JM groups operating in many different cities in America, in rural areas, in a number of other countries. From that point, however, the Movement lost momentum, caused by the lack of availability of ready recruits, shifting societal contexts, and internal problems deriving in large part from the maturing of the membership and the establishment of families by many of the participants. Thus the energy that had developed within the Movement groups was

dissipated, and former members went many different directions. Many of them flowed into nontraditional Protestant evangelical and pentecostal groups. Some remained a part of one of the groups that did not die out completely, and many just left the JM groups and reentered a more conventional lifestyle.

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JESUS, LIVES OF

Introduction

Understood in their broadest sense, the “lives of Jesus” are narratives constructed from the actions and words of Jesus of Nazareth. From this perspective the “lives” are not new, but date to the canonical gospels produced by early Christian communities. However, close readings of the gospels reveal that they are not objective histories, but documents carefully shaped by theological and confessional concerns. Although the gospels offer a portrait that explicates the meaning of Jesus as the Christ, they do not question that he is the Christ. It is this element that distinguishes modern lives of Jesus from the gospel accounts. That is to say, modern lives seek to understand, on grounds other than belief or theological conviction, what about the teaching, life, or internal makeup of Jesus suggested to his followers that he was indeed the Christ. In their more technical sense they are usually identified with the “Quest for the Historical Jesus,” a rubric derived from the English title to ALBERT SCHWEITZER’S monumental history of the nineteenth-century lives of Jesus, *The Quest for the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress From Reimarus to Wrede* (1910).

Considering the remarkable breadth and forms that “lives of Jesus” have taken and the fact that their authors cover a wide span of religious commitments, one cannot suggest that they are uniquely Protestant in either form or content. Nevertheless, there are certain trajectories that the lives have taken that show the influence of Protestant thought and inclinations. In particular one can note three of these influences. First, the focus on discovering the Jesus hidden among or by creedal statements follows from a fundamental Protestant tenet assigning prominence to scripture in matters of THEOLOGY and FAITH. Second, the lives shift the locus of AUTHORITY from ecclesial structures to personal forms of encounter. That is to say, many of the writers expect that the discovered Jesus confronts the individual directly, either through the power of his recovered teaching (e.g., RUDOLF BULTMANN) or his force as moral exemplar (e.g., Ernst Renan). Finally, the insistence that statements concerning the uniqueness or continuing importance of Jesus be demonstrated rather than simply claimed are an instance of the Protestant commitment to expressing religious claims in forms that are accessible to both ecclesial and secular publics. Thus, although the lives are not

specifically Protestant works, they are clearly connected to Protestantism's philosophical foundations and religious commitments.

Distilled to their essence, the lives of Jesus are attempts to answer two questions, "Who was Jesus?" and "Why is he significant?" The two questions are deceptively simple to frame, but, on closer inspection, they are deeply ambiguous and vexing. Behind them lie other difficult questions such as: What did Jesus actually say and do? How did he understand his relationship to God and to his contemporaries? What was the relationship of his self-understanding to that of his followers? These questions are not simple, and how one answers them dictates the shape and sense of the "life" one wishes to compose.

Three characteristics of the "lives" are typical. First, they are written from a historical rather than confessional stance. Second, they presume a distinction between the person of Jesus and the portraits of him found in the canonical gospels. Third, because of this distinction, the lives supply both a portrait of who Jesus of Nazareth was and reasons why he continues to hold significance. In this regard, "lives of Jesus" are simultaneously historical and hermeneutical endeavors, presenting both events of the past and distinctive interpretations of their current meaningfulness.

History of the Lives

The "lives" have their own peculiar history, and in some fashion they are as hard to classify as the object of their inquiry. It is best to differentiate them on the bases by which their authors establish the significance of Jesus. Usually this has been by one of four methods: reconstructing historical evidence, analyzing Jesus' self-consciousness, identifying philosophical or ideological ideals embodied in his life and teaching, or asserting his cultural significance. However, for heuristic purposes they can be divided into four periods: the Initial Quest (1750–1910), the period often referred to as "No Quest" (1910–1953), the New Quest (1953–1979), and what has been termed the "Third Quest," which began around 1980 and continues into the present.

The Initial Quest

The first modern "lives" were products of the ENLIGHTENMENT critique of external authority, the REFORMATION DOCTRINE of *sola scriptura*, and a reexamination of the relationship of human reason to divine revelation that is indebted to Deist philosophy (see DEISM). When these philosophical and cultural shifts were coupled to the already recognized fact that the gospel accounts offered conflicting reports of the time and motivation for Jesus' actions and teaching, the appearance of the "lives" became inevitable.

The initial quest had two goals: to rediscover the actual Jesus hidden under layers of dogmatic belief, and to reinterpret that Jesus for contemporary audiences. The authors of these lives believed that for the power of Jesus' teachings and actions to be unleashed and so transform modern society, they had to be liberated from the shackles of church dogma, particularly the belief that Jesus was both divine and human. HERMANN SAMUEL REIMARUS is often cited as the author of the first critical life of Jesus. Because deist interpreters such as THOMAS CHUBB had already produced critical works on Jesus, this is incorrect. Nevertheless, Reimarus added scholarly precision to the previous efforts and made evident their explosive nature. Reimarus wrote a manifesto "Apology, or Defense for the Reasonableness of Reverence for God" that ranged from the necessity of reason in matters of faith to the impossibility of accepting biblical accounts as historically true. Between 1774 and 1778 Reimarus's son-in-law GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING published seven portions of the work under the title, the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*. In the seventh fragment, "The Aims of Jesus and His Disciples," Reimarus argued that Jesus never claimed divine status, never intended to inaugurate a new religion, and did not desire to be worshipped. Rather he sought to bring about deliverance from the Roman occupation of Palestine. Thus, the disciples had corrupted Jesus' teaching, and to understand the true Jesus one must disclaim all doctrines of divinity.

Three important features for future lives were established by Reimarus's work. First, explaining the relationship of Jesus' teaching to later presentations by his disciples becomes a matter of historical and theological significance. Second, Jesus must be understood within the context of JUDAISM, which though itself ambiguous, is critical for an accurate life of Jesus. Third, a proper understanding of the KINGDOM OF GOD is crucial in any life of Jesus.

Reimarus wrote to expose the erroneous beliefs and doctrines of the Christian faith. Not a few scholars sought to refute such notions by employing the same historical means Reimarus used. However, the methods were employed to show that Jesus' initial followers did not corrupt his message, but maintained continuity with his teaching and purpose. The life written by Heinrich Paulus, *The Life of Jesus as the Foundation of a purely Historical Account of Early Christianity* (1828), is a good example. Paulus's life of Jesus typifies rationalist approaches to the life of Jesus. Paulus allowed that God could act within human history or the natural order, but that God's actions must follow the inherent laws of NATURE and human existence. Paulus also argued that the reported "miracles" actually happened, but that the term miracle was a misnomer used by gospel writers, because they did not know or understand the secondary historical or natural causes for the strange things they had witnessed. Hence, healings or nature miracles could be properly comprehended when a rational explanation could be offered. In his life of Jesus, Paulus sought to provide plausible understandings of the miracles and thus distill from them their true meaning.

The core of Paulus's work is devoted to explanations of the miracles, to discern from those stories the truths they sought to communicate about Jesus and his message. An example of his procedure can be seen in his treatment of Jesus' command that the sea become still. Paulus suggests that when Jesus is reported to have calmed the sea (Mark 4:35-41), the boat in which he was traveling was blocked from the wind at exactly the moment when he yelled his command to the sea. The disciples missed the coincidence and attributed to Jesus the power to command the elements of nature. This is repeated for

most of the miracle stories in the gospels. Oddly, Paulus does not suggest that Jesus ever attempted to correct these misperceptions or sought to provide explanations for the supposed miracles. Instead he seemed to have encouraged the misunderstandings. Paulus's explanations may have succeeded in saving the veracity of the disciples' accounts, but in doing so, Paulus inadvertently suggested that Jesus was perpetrating fraud and deception. Ironically, the miracles are saved at the expense of their performer.

Paulus's arguments and explanations, along with those of every other rationalist, were refuted completely by the powerful life of Jesus composed by DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (1845). Strauss's life of Jesus is the colossus of nineteenth-century lives, and remains one of the most important ever written. Translated by GEORGE ELIOT, the life is a monumental work of over 1,400 pages, the majority of which are devoted to demonstrating the inadequate and incoherent nature of previous explanations of the gospel materials. With an unrelenting and clear argumentation, Strauss exposes the philosophical difficulties in maintaining traditional dogmatic explanations of the reports. However, the efforts of the rationalists come in for even more criticism. Strauss repeatedly demonstrates that the rationalist explanations strain credulity even more than those of the supernaturalists. By the end of his analysis it is hard to conceive how anyone thought of these explanations as reasonable or rational.

In place of these explanations Strauss maintained that the gospels were mythological reinterpretations of traditions about Jesus derived from the Old Testament stories or actual events in Jesus' life. Following a Hegelian understanding of metaphysics and history, Strauss argued that the goal of the myths was to demonstrate that in Jesus the absolute meeting of the finite and the infinite occurred. Strauss did not believe that this had happened in the individual person of Jesus, but that "Jesus" as an icon represented the fact that all of humanity could participate in such an experience. Thus, Jesus was only unique by the fact that he was the first human to represent the possibility of the final union of Spirit and humanity, not by his actual nature.

Strauss's analysis was met with a firestorm of protest and challenge; to the present day his mythical recasting of the gospel material is continually challenged. Nevertheless his critique of the rationalist and the supernaturalist approaches to the gospels has never been answered adequately, and remains a desideratum for contemporary interpreters of the gospel materials.

Ernest Renan, who used his travels through Palestine and Syria to fill in the gaps of the gospel narratives, produced a countervailing life. His book *The Life of Jesus* was immensely popular throughout Europe. Appearing in 1863, it sold over 66,000 copies in six months. Renan's sketch is only a semblance of history. In fact, it is a romantic novel, with the gentle loving Jesus as its hero. Only after his rejection by religious authorities does Jesus become a revolutionary. Renan's depiction was complete down to the demeanor of the mule that Jesus rode, including the length of his eyebrows. Its popularity attests to the power of LITERATURE, but it has little of historical interest or accuracy.

A significant breakthrough in the "lives" occurs with the work of Johannes Weiss, whose *Preaching of Jesus Concerning the Kingdom of God* appeared in 1892. Although only sixty-seven pages, it sounds a critical note in the production of the lives by demonstrating that the Kingdom of God was not an internal spiritual disposition, a set of ethical demands, or a compendium of universal truths, as suggested by the liberal and

romantic lives, but a term used by Jesus to express his belief that the public earthly reign of God was imminent (see APOCALYPTICISM).

Schweitzer's portrait, presented in the last section of his history of the quest, builds on Weiss's understanding, and he too insists that Jesus was committed to an imminent eschatological expectation. Indeed, it is the extreme nature of the ESCHATOLOGY that elevates Jesus to cultural significance beyond his own. Schweitzer does not transform Jesus' eschatological PREACHING into modern-day spirituality or morality, but emphasizes its alien nature. Precisely because of his foreignness, he stands as a challenge to the morality of his own day and continues to stand as an indictment of every moral system since that time. However, it is not the content of Jesus' preaching that commends him, nor his mistaken Messianic self-consciousness. Rather it is the courage and commitment that he displayed in his self-sacrifice. Schweitzer posits that Jesus' initial belief in the coming Messianic trials did not materialize. As a result Jesus concluded that he alone could inaugurate the coming of the kingdom, forcing its inception by his sacrificial death. As Schweitzer describes it, Jesus therefore "lays hold of the wheel of the world to set it moving on that last revolution which is to bring all ordinary history to a close. It refuses to turn, and he throws himself upon it. Then it does turn; and crushes him. Instead of bringing in the eschatological conditions, he has destroyed them. The wheel rolls onward, and the mangled body of the one immeasurably great Man, who was strong enough to think of himself as the spiritual leader of mankind and to bend history to his purpose, is hanging upon it still. That is his victory and his reign" (Schweitzer 1910:370–371).

Repercussions of the Initial Quest

Strauss's investigation showed the futility of the rationalizing approach to the miraculous in the gospel materials while also demonstrating the force of the mythic language. Schweitzer's chronicle of the nineteenth-century lives was devastating, demonstrating that the "lives" were too often transpositions of their author's values onto the person of Jesus. They revealed, therefore, not what was distinctive about Jesus, but what the interpreter and his/her CULTURE understood to be of eminent value. When one coupled it with William Wrede's demonstration that the gospel of Mark could not be used as a historical framework for a portrait of Jesus, the façade of historical neutrality was demolished. Moreover, by following Weiss, Schweitzer had demonstrated that any understanding of the kingdom of God that ignored the kingdom's radically eschatological nature was in error. A historical understanding of the kingdom of God could not be reduced to an ethical ideal or to a set of timeless truths, but was a proclamation that the reign of God was about to occur on earth in a public manner.

As neutral histories, the initial lives must be considered as failures for three reasons. First, their imaginative substitutions for the gospels' integrative frameworks were deeply flawed. Second, the authors impressed upon Jesus a character that was the epitome of nineteenth-century reason and ETHICS, but bore little resemblance to that of an itinerant Palestinian teacher. Third, the writers substituted ethical and philosophical interpretations

of the Kingdom of God for Jesus' eschatological preaching about the imminent in-breaking of God's reign.

The Period of No Quest

The failings of the initial lives and the challenges of Strauss, Weiss, and Wrede brought the lives to a standstill. The difficulties in discerning and arranging the sifted gospel material while avoiding the pitfalls of modernizing Jesus made the task almost impossible. From this point lives of Jesus focused on the nature of Jesus' teaching and on reinterpretations of his eschatological message. In 1926 Rudolf Bultmann published *Jesus* [Eng. trans. *Jesus and The Word* (1934)]. In this work he assembled the core of Jesus' teachings and concluded that Jesus presented his hearers with a radical call to relinquish self-reliance and accept that they were completely dependent on God's benevolence for their existence.

Bultmann sought to explicate the fundamental preaching of the early CHURCH in terms that would communicate with contemporary audiences by exposing the mythic form of this preaching and translating it into a form that would be meaningful in modern settings. His mode of "remything"—called demythologization—expressed the essential nature of the gospel in existential terms.

Bultmann did not actually compose a life of Jesus because he believed neither that one could or should be written. In the introduction to his work he makes this clear:

This book lacks all the phraseology which speaks of Jesus as great man, genius or hero; he appears neither as inspired nor as inspiring, his sayings are not called profound, nor his faith mighty, nor his nature child-like. There is also no consideration of the eternal values of his message, of his discovery of the infinite depths of the human soul or the like (Bultmann, 1934:8).

Here is a dismissal of every solution proposed by the initial quest, replaced by attention "limited to what he *purposed*, and hence to what in his purpose as a part of history makes a present demand on us" (Bultmann, 8).

Bultmann maintained that his interpretation of Jesus' message demonstrated a link between the preaching of Jesus and the preaching about Jesus because just as Jesus had presented the crisis of God's immediate call, so too, his followers created the same moment of existential crisis in their claim that the crucified Jesus was indeed God's Christ. Bultmann's interpretation also allowed for another conception of Jesus' eschatological message about the end of the world's structures. According to Bultmann, this was actually a mythical expression of Jesus' existential challenge clothed in the conceptual garb of first-century Judaism, that is, the eschatological preaching was a mythic profession of the radical contingency of human existence. Once this was recognized a modern listener could comprehend the nature of Jesus' claims, and being confronted by them, experience the demands of faith.

The New Quest

Bultmann's dicta held sway for approximately three decades. Then, in 1953, a former Bultmann student, Ernst Käsemann, delivered a lecture questioning his claim that significant historical evidence for a life of Jesus could not be found. Käsemann maintained that not only could coherence between Jesus' message and that of the early church be established, but that coherency extended to the behavior of Jesus as well. Käsemann's essay, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," argued that if the message of Jesus could point to the message of Easter, then one could use the message of Easter to discern elements in Jesus' life that were historically feasible. He thus called for a reexamination of the historical Jesus, initiating a New Quest.

The quest, which includes the work of Gerhard Ebeling and Ernst Fuchs, follows Bultmann in recasting the nature of historical inquiry as existential inquiry, but departs from him in arguing for its theological necessity. It also expands his understanding of valid historical data by delineating three criteria for authenticating sayings and actions of Jesus. A minimum historical base would be created if one accepted only those sayings or actions that were dissimilar to those found in Judaism and were distinct from the desires and needs of the early church. One could add to this base by accepting other teachings that were consistent with the first group and, finally, by considering materials that had multiple attestation.

Only one New Quester, Gunter Bornkamm, wrote a life of Jesus. Bornkamm's *Jesus of Nazareth* (1960) provides a minimalist sketch that follows many of Bultmann's analyses and his understanding of Jesus' primary message. The work expands Bultmann's data by incorporating actions of Jesus that produce the same call to decision that could be experienced in his preaching, such as Jesus' eating with outcasts and his healing of sinners.

Two problems plagued the New Quest. First, the complexity of its philosophical conceptions of language and history led more to debate than historical inquiry. Second, the criteria for discerning authenticity were circular and sometimes in tension with one another. As a result the Quest remained more a form of methodological and theological protest than a source of more "lives."

The Third Quest

In the last twenty years, lives of Jesus have begun to appear with such regularity that this period has been referred to as a Third Quest. Although it shares many traits with its progenitors (and often some of their failings as well), three characteristics distinguish this quest from its predecessors. First, it employs not only historical means of investigation, but methods gathered from sociology, anthropology, archeology, and literary criticism. Second, there is a concerted effort to situate Jesus more accurately in his cultural context, both Hellenic and Jewish. By means of multiple analyses of the social culture in which Jesus lived, writers are attempting to construct better understandings of the social,

political, and economic factors that affected his teaching and activity. Third, the recent quest expands the materials considered as reliable sources for information about Jesus. In addition to the archeological and sociological data that are used, many lives also make use of the Gospel of Thomas and apocryphal gospels such as the gospel of Peter, and they place a significant emphasis on "Q" (the hypothetical source for material shared by Matthew and Luke, but not found in Mark).

The newest quest tends to take three paths. One traces lines of consistency between Jesus and the gospel accounts; another suggests that these do not occur; and a third relies on defining moments in Jesus' life and teaching to locate his social significance. The first group is typified by the work of N.T.Wright, A.E.Harvey, E.P.Sanders, and J.Meier. The second group is often identified with the Jesus Seminar, a collection of biblical scholars coordinated by Robert Funk who meet regularly to determine and isolate the authentic sayings of Jesus. Members of the seminar stress the noneschatological nature of Jesus' preaching, focus on his mission, and suggest that Jesus is better understood as an ancient Cynic or sage philosopher than as an itinerant eschatological prophet. Representative works include those of Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan.

Members of the third group include third-world interpreters, feminist scholars, and African American critics who maintain that many of the distinctive features of Jesus' preaching and actions, particularly as they reflected preference for the poor and the marginalized of society, were eliminated or diminished as the church became more a part of mainstream culture. The work of authors like Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Leonardo Boff, and Miguez Bonino are indicative of the approaches taken. Members of this group understand their work as a form of recovering Jesus' true message. In this regard they bear resemblance to the first quest, except for them Jesus must be freed from the confines of social conformity and not dogmatic creedal claims. The incisive nature of these lives attests to their importance in bringing to light significant aspects of Jesus' claims and actions.

It is clear that the lives of the third quest are as varied as those of the first. In fact, it may be misleading to refer to this most recent activity as a coherent or cooperative venture. In many ways there are similarities to the previous quests; both historical and interpretive issues are addressed, the challenge to find the Jesus underneath the traditional epithets is still present, and a recognition that the conceptions of truth that are regnant in the culture require response is also at the forefront.

Conclusion

This history of the lives shows a constant ebb and flow in their production and their significance. Sometimes there appears to be a premium on creating new investigations. At others there is almost complete silence. This oscillation is a function of two factors: one internal to the search itself, the other of the audiences the lives address. The historical data from which lives of Jesus are created is always incomplete. There are simply too many gaps in our knowledge of Jesus, his contemporaries, and his earliest followers to remedy this. Moreover, it is unlikely that this situation will be changed either by recourse

to other sources from antiquity or to more appeals to sociological and anthropological studies of Judaism or Roman culture. Further, because they seek to answer both historical and interpretive questions, as the significant values that are dominant in the culture shift, so too will the portraits of Jesus expand or contract to meet them. Finally, as long as Jesus remains a cultural icon as well as the fundamental figure of Christianity, lives of Jesus will continue to appear in the culture's media, be they critical histories, films, novels, plays, or musicals. To the degree that the authors of these new and different lives attend to strengths and weakness of their predecessors, they will succeed as interesting reinterpretations. To the degree that they fail to do this, they will fall prey to the same fate as those they seek to replace.

See also Bible and Literature; Bible Translation; Christology; Theology, Twentieth Century

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S.J.KRAFTCHICK

JEWEL, JOHN (1522–1571)

English theologian. John Jewel was born in the parish of Berimber, Devonshire, England, on May 24, 1522, and died at Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire, on September 23, 1571. He studied at Merton College, Oxford, and received his B.A. from Corpus Christi College in 1540. On the accession of Queen Mary in 1553, he lost his fellowship at Corpus Christi College and was forced to flee from ENGLAND. He was a Marian exile at Frankfurt in March 1555, but then joined Peter Martyr Vermigli at Strasbourg soon thereafter; the next year he followed him to Zurich. When Mary died in 1558, he returned to England. Jewel served as bishop of Salisbury from January 21, 1560, until his death.

Jewel was chosen to lead the literary offensive against the Roman Catholics who met at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), and to define the position of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND against Roman Catholic criticism. The Roman Catholic critics saw in Protestantism the multiplication of sects and gross immorality resulting from the Protestants' lawlessness and irreligion because of their doctrine of JUSTIFICATION OF GRACE by FAITH and their repudiation of the DOCTRINE of papal AUTHORITY. Protestants and members of the Church of England were seen as immoral, heretical, divisive, and schismatic. Jewel was commissioned to respond to these accusations, and in 1562 he published his *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*, which was the first systematic statement of the Church of England against the Church of Rome. It was translated into English as *An Apology of the Church of England*.

The *Apology* had a twofold purpose: to present the truth about and refute the rumors against the Church of England, and to show the errors of the papacy that prevented the English Church from joining the Council of Trent. He defended the Church of England as the true church, and insisted that the English Reformation was the restoration of the true church in England after Roman medieval abuses. He denounced transubstantiation, purgatory, the CELIBACY of CLERGY, and the worship of SAINTS and images as "trifles, follies and baubles." Using scripture and the first four ecumenical councils, Jewel defended the two sacraments of BAPTISM and Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER), communion with both the bread and wine, and the threefold orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. He insisted that the practices and beliefs of the Church of England were older and thus better than later Roman Catholic innovations.

See also Bishop and Episcopacy; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Clergy, Marriage of; Deaconess, Deacon

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DONALD S.ARMENROUT

JEWS FOR JESUS

The term “Jews for Jesus” has been used since the early 1970s to designate Jewish believers in Jesus, Jews who have embraced the Christian faith yet retained their identity as Jews. The group that has formally carried the name “Jews for Jesus” originated in 1970 in San Francisco under the leadership of Moishe Rosen, a missionary of the American Board of Mission to the Jews. The organization aimed to evangelize Jews who were influenced by the counterculture, adapting its evangelization messages and manners to the style of the new generation. Members of the group wore jeans and T-shirts, grew their hair, and embraced the musical trends of the day. Jews for Jesus also gave expression to the new emphasis in American CULTURE on ETHNICITY and the searching for roots. It advocated the idea that Jews did not have to give up on their identity as Jews, but rather could rediscover themselves as Jews at the same time that they embraced Jesus as their savior. The organization has used Jewish names, symbols, and expressions in its missionary literature. It also has emphasized its support for the State of Israel and has called its musical band “The Liberated Wailing Wall.” Starting out as a local group in the San Francisco Bay area, Jews for Jesus has grown to become one of the largest missions in the nation, with branches outside America as well.

In its THEOLOGY and style, Jews for Jesus has become part of a larger movement of Jewish Christians that came about in the 1970s and 1980s. Often calling themselves messianic Jews, or Jewish believers in Jesus, such communities have promoted the idea that Jews who embrace Christianity should not assimilate into the general Christian culture or join regular churches, but instead should create their own communities and retain their Jewish heritage. Jewish-Christian congregations differ as to the amount of Jewish TRADITION they choose to retain. The more “traditionalist” communities have introduced Arks and Torah scrolls into their assemblies, their members wear yarmulkes during services, and they celebrate Jewish holidays such as Chanukah and Purim. All Jewish-Christian congregations celebrate Passover, and most have chosen to conduct their prayer meetings on Friday nights or Saturday mornings. The notion that they have transcended the historical boundaries between JUDAISM and Christianity, overcoming old, seemingly irreconcilable differences and injuries to amalgamate the Christian faith with Jewish ethnicity, has served as a source of energy and a sense of mission for the movement’s members. By the early 2000s, there were about 300 congregations in America, as well as dozens more in Israel and throughout the Jewish world, and the movement is growing.

Jews for Jesus, and the movement of Jewish believers in Jesus in general, have advocated the faith and values of the conservative evangelical segment of Christianity. As such, they point to a great adaptability by evangelical Christianity in its relation to the cultural choices of the baby boom generation. They also reflect the growing appreciation of this segment of Christianity for Jews as the object of biblical prophecies and as a nation destined to regain its old status as the Chosen People.

See also Evangelicalism; Evangelism; Jesus Movement; Philo-Semitism

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YAAKOV ARIEL

JOHNSON, JAMES (c. 1839–1917)

African missionary. Johnson was born in the SIERRA LEONE colony, a settlement founded in the late eighteenth century as a Christian experiment and a haven for recaptured African slaves. By the time he was old enough to go to school, the colony was largely Christian thanks to the energetic efforts of evangelical missionary agencies like the Church Mission Society (CMS). Educated by the CMS and ordained in the Anglican Church, Johnson's illustrious career spanned the best part of six decades and included extended service in both Sierra Leone and Nigeria.

Throughout his career Johnson combined an effective pastoral ministry with extensive missionary labor. A penchant for crusading piety earned him the sobriquet "Holy Johnson." Remarkably influential in church and society, he had a seat on the Lagos Legislative Council from 1886 to 1894 and was made assistant bishop of Western Equatorial Africa in 1900.

Intrepid, energetic, visionary, and given to dogmatism, Johnson emerged as the prophet of the late nineteenth-century African Church movement. He decried the "foreignness" and foreign control of the emerging African church, and proclaimed the ideal of an autonomous "nondenominational" African church that was accommodated in all respects to the African heritage. Arguably ahead of his time, he remains a complex individual who advocated African names but never changed his own, and who remained unwaveringly loyal to the Anglican church even when his militant advocacy for independent African churches inspired an African independent church movement.

He is best remembered as one of the most significant transitional leaders in late nineteenth-century West Africa who embodied the tensions and dilemmas inherent in the "mission-to-church" process. Ultimately the ideals and ideology that he championed were destined—albeit in modified forms—to shape the future of African Christianity and set the stage for a new epoch in the history of Protestantism.

See also African Theology; Anglicanism; Missions

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JEHU J.HANCILES

JOHNSON, SAMUEL (1709–1784)

English scholar and literary critic. Born in Lichfield, ENGLAND in 1709, Samuel Johnson was a lay member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, writer, poet, literary critic, and theological and ethical commentator on church and society. Johnson's career was desultory and often disappointing. His Oxford education (Pembroke College) was interrupted by ill health, and his M.A. came to him only after the appearance of his best-known work, his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). His doctorate was an honorary Doctorate of Laws, conferred first by Trinity College, Dublin, and then by Oxford. He published much about Shakespeare, and on the works of other English poets (*Lives of the English Poets*, 1779–1781). His *Rambler* (1749–1752) and *Idler* (1758–1760) commented sharply on contemporary irreligion and superficiality. He saw a key to the religious state of the nation, in its weakness and possible rejuvenation, in the observance of the Lord's Day.

A staunch Protestant, Johnson insisted that the Roman Church had an underlying piety: "...there is no idolatry in the mass; they believe God to be there, and they adore him" (Boswell's *Life*, 1769). He encouraged a high regard for the English church and for its LITURGY. He persuaded his colleague and biographer James Boswell in *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* that "a form of prayer for publick worship is in general most decent and edifying. *Solennia verba* have a kind of prescriptive sanctity, and make a deeper impression on the mind than extemporaneous effusions, in which, as we know not what they are to be, we cannot readily acquiesce."

Johnson is best understood through his prayers in his *Prayers and Meditations*, published posthumously, as he had wished, in 1785. He fasted in Holy Week, and renewed his baptismal COVENANT at every Easter. He perceived the central issue of religion and all life as redemption (*Rambler*, No. 110): "Where there is no hope, there can be no endeavour. A constant and unfailing obedience is above the reach of terrestrial diligence; and therefore the progress of life could only have been the natural descent of negligent despair from crime to crime, had not the universal persuasion of forgiveness, to be obtained by proper means of reconciliation, recalled those to the paths of virtue whom their passions had solicited aside; and animated to new attempts, and firmer perseverance, those whom difficulty had discouraged, or negligence surprised."

Johnson died in London in 1784.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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DAVID H. TRIPP

JONES, RUFUS MATTHEW (1863–1947)

Quaker philosopher. Rufus Jones was a proponent of the mystical life and the leading voice in Quakerism for the first half of the twentieth century (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). Reared on a farm in South China, Maine, Jones taught philosophy for many years at Harverford College in Pennsylvania. He shared the liberal, pro-gressive, optimistic spirit of his age, but was no mere rationalist. A contemporary of EVELYN UNDERHILL and Dean Inge, he lived in an era of revived interest in mysticism. The ideas of RALPH WALDO EMERSON and WILLIAM JAMES had a powerful influence on his thinking.

Jones was both a scholar of mysticism and an experienced mystic, and wrote of the spiritual life with a vividness that was contagious. He was especially attracted to the fourteenth-century mystics Eckhart and Tauler, although the mysticism that he promoted for his own day differed. He distinguished negative from affirmative mystics. The former stressed withdrawal from the physical world perceived by sense and studied by reason, searching for God through ASCETICISM, and annihilation of the self, striving for the fleeting moment of ecstasy, the loss of individuality in the endless ocean of divinity. Affirmation mystics, however, valued the natural world as the place where divinity revealed itself. Union with God heightened rather than destroyed personality, driving the mystic back into the world for service. No longer reserved for the few, the mystical life was within the reach of all who could trust their intuition of the nearness of the God who dwelt within them.

Jones himself was a person of service, a founder and longtime chairperson of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, whose relief efforts in Europe after the two major wars of the twentieth century earned the agency the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947. The generation of Rufus Jones brought about a renaissance in Quakerism in study and practice. Jones reinterpreted Quaker history, portraying Quakers as heirs to the medieval continental mystics. Focusing on Quakers' inner experience, rather than on DOCTRINE, he labored to heal the nineteenth-century divisions among the Friends. He yearned to bring more than just Quakers into dialogue and was an active ecumenist. Through his gifts as a much-traveled orator and a writer of more than fifty books, he exerted a greater influence on other Protestants than any previous Friend.

See also Ecumenism; Emerson, Ralph Waldo; James, William; Society of Friends in North America

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MICHAEL BIRKEL

JOWETT, BENJAMIN (1817–1893)

Anglican cleric and biblical scholar. Jowett was born April 15, 1817 at Camberwell, ENGLAND and died October 1, 1893 at Balliol College, Oxford. Educated at Balliol he spent the remainder of his career at the college and university, where he served as a tutor and later master of the college, as well as vice-chancellor of the university. Ordained in 1845, Jowett was, by nineteenth-century Anglican standards, a theological liberal with affinities for JOHN LOCKE, GEORG W.F. HEGEL, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, and FERDINAND C. BAUER. A noted Greek scholar, he served as Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford and produced translations of Aristotle and Plato. As a biblical scholar he wrote important commentaries on Paul's letters to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans (1855), basing his commentaries on the German philologist Karl Lachmann's recently published Greek text. This text was based in part on the oldest known Greek texts, instead of the *textus receptus* that provided the basis for the authoritative King James Version of the BIBLE.

His essay "On the Interpretation of Scripture" appeared in the controversial, and by British standards, liberal *Essays and Reviews* (1860). In the essay he argued that readers of Scripture should read it as they would any other book. Yet, in spite of arguing for a scientific approach to Scripture, he made little use of historical critical methodologies. Instead he focused on literary and philological issues, approaching the text more as a classical scholar would approach Aristotle or Plato, seeking to discover the plain sense of the original authors. Still, he helped pave the way for later critical scholars, including B.F. Westcott and F.A. Hort. As a churchman Jowett worked to create a tolerant and comprehensive CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and as an educator he argued for allowance of divergent viewpoints and the admission of Protestant nonconformists to the universities.

See also Bible, King James, Version; Broad Church; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Nonconformity; Toleration

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R.D.CORNWALL

JUDAISM

For centuries the Christian Church joined governmental authority in restricting the legal and social standing of Jews and condemning Judaism. According to church teaching, Jews, since they had rejected Jesus as Messiah, were condemned to God's wrath, even as their suffering and plight since the destruction of the Second Temple were indication of divine rejection. Even though the REFORMATION placed many of the doctrines of the medieval church under scrutiny, this did not include the TRADITION of Christian hostility toward the Jews. Initially a number of Jewish scholars welcomed the Reformation, suggesting that the Reformation heralded the coming of the Messiah: some were encouraged by MARTIN LUTHER'S tract *"That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew."* Yet the subsequent writings of Luther and the other reformers concerning Jesus and Judaism hardly differed from traditional perspectives.

While the reformers' widespread disavowal of traditional affirmation and tenets might have entailed a new understanding of Judaism and Jews, there were nonetheless some reformers who adopted a more sympathetic attitude, even though they shared their coreligionists' contempt for Judaism and the Jewish nation. Justus Jonas, a companion of Luther, for example, stressed the missionary dimension of Luther's views. In his opinion Christians have a duty to lead Jews to Christ. Another Lutheran, ANDREAS OSI-ANDER, the reformer of Nuremberg and pastor at the Church of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, produced a work that refuted the traditional blood-libel charge. In his view it was ludicrous to believe that Jews should murder children and then use their blood for ritual purposes. Jewish law, he pointed out, specifies that Jews are forbidden to kill any human being, and to make the use of blood from animals, much less a human child. No Jew, he noted, had ever made such a claim about other Jews. The origins of this charge were no doubt attributable to the unsubstantiated claims of those whose children had died of neglect or unknown causes.

Other reformers emphasized the total depravity of humankind. In their view gentiles and Jews stood guilty before God. Thus it would be a mistake to insist that the Jews were particularly villainous. JOHN CALVIN, the Genevan reformer, for example, argued that when Scripture spoke of the Jews and their sinfulness, the Jews were seen as a symbol of all humanity. When Jesus spoke of the hypocrisy of Jews in building the sepulchers for the prophets they themselves had killed, Calvin noted that there was a contemporary parallel: "The world, in general, while not daring to scorn God utterly or at least rise up against Him to His face, devises a means of worshipping God's shadow in place of God:

just so it plays a game over the prophets.” Even though Christians might erect statues of Peter and other SAINTS, their treatment of the faithful in their own day illustrates how they would react if Peter were among them.

Unlike Luther, who believed that God’s special covenantal relationship with the Jews had come to an end, Calvin maintained that God often had to judge Israel. However, this does not mean that God’s COVENANT with the Jews has been broken. Commenting on Matthew 27:25 (“his blood be on us and on our children”), Calvin stated that even though God had avenged the death of Jesus with fearful means, he had left a remnant so that the covenant would not be destroyed: “God in their very treachery displays the constancy of his faith, and to show that his covenant was not struck with Abraham to no effect. He rescues those he freely elected from the general destruction. Thus his truth ever arises superior to all obstacles of human incredulity.”

During this period it was believed among the reformers that there would be a large-scale conversion of the Jewish people. Calvin’s successor at Geneva, THEODORE BEZA, revived Luther’s view that Christian churches were largely responsible for the current unbelief among the Jews: “Those who today call themselves Christians...are very certainly punished and will be in the future, because, solely under the guidance of wickedness and perversity, they have mistreated in every way these people, so holy in their forefathers, actually hardening them further (against Christianity) by settling before their eyes the example of an odious idolatry. As for myself, I gladly pray every day for the Jews.”

Beza went on to acknowledge the justice of divine anger against the Jewish people, but he pleaded that Christ would remember his covenants: “Grant that we (gentiles),” he prayed, “may advance in thy grace, so that we may not be for them (Jews) instruments of thy divine wrath, but that we may rather become capable, through the knowledge of thy words and the example of a holy life, of bringing them back into the true way by virtue of thy Holy Spirit, so that all nations and all peoples together may glorify thee for eternity.”

The early reformers thus reformulated previous Christian teaching about Jews. The traditional consensus that Jews exerted a pernicious influence on Christian society was restated. Some theologians, such as Osiander, Calvin, and Beza, despaired of the Jews’ refusal to accept Christ, yet basing themselves on Scripture they anticipated the eventual conversion of the Jewish people. Despite this shift in attitude among a number of Christian thinkers, anti-Jewish agitation that had inaugurated a series of expulsions from the latter half of the fifteenth century continued in intensity. Senior clergy as well as secular rulers were involved in frequent attacks on the Jewish population, and expulsions continued to the latter part of the sixteenth century.

There were, however, some Protestant figures who adopted a more positive appraisal of Judaism. The Huguenot scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger, who served as professor at the University of Leiden from 1593, for example, argued that it was only possible to establish the true text and meaning of Scripture by gaining an understanding of rabbinic sources. Jews, he maintained, should be permitted to return to western Europe not simply because of their economic importance, but because of their learning. In his view, Christians would be able to bring Jews to Christ if they understood Talmudic and post-biblical literature.

The seventeenth century brought a lively interest in Jewish learning among certain reformed circles. It was believed that the church’s future and the imminence of the Second Coming was bound up with the CONVERSION of the Jews. Some suggested that

the conversion of the Jews would not be an event toward the end of the age, but rather foreshadowed a time of blessing for the CHURCH on earth. Such a notion arose out of intense BIBLE study, particularly in connection with the Book of Revelation, which was seen as offering a detailed account of church history from Pentecost to the Day of Judgment.

The Cambridge scholar Joseph Mede held that the future millennium would be inaugurated or shortly followed by the return of the Jews to Christ in their ancient land. In his view, the Jews would be converted in a supernatural manner. Other scholars believed that Revelation 13–19 contained a divine promise of the overthrow of the enemies of the Gospel, interpreted as both the papacy and the Turks. This would be preliminary to a period of latter-day glory for the church, which would see the conversion of the Jews as part of the movement of the Spirit of God. Through this process earthly kingdoms would submit to the gospel so that they could be said to have become “the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ.”

Even among reformers critical of millenarianism, there was a widespread belief in the conversion of the Jews. Hence Robert Baillie, one of the Scottish commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, contended on the basis of Romans 11 that the Jews would eventually turn to Christ. In the NETHERLANDS Protestant theologians followed a similar line. In the marginal notes on Romans 11 the reformed translators of the 1637 Dutch version of the Bible argued that the “whole of Israel” in this epistle implies the fullness of the people of Israel “according to the flesh.” Thus, they maintained that the Jewish nation would eventually acknowledge Christ as Lord.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, as England was suffering from CIVIL WAR, it was suggested this tragedy was the result of God’s judgment for previous cruelty and indifference toward the Jewish people. Those who pleaded for Jewish readmission contended that if Jews were allowed back into Britain, they would hear some of the best gospel preaching on earth. This, they went on, would bring about their conversion to Christ, leading to a golden age for the church. To these religious arguments were added economic and political concerns. As part of this campaign OLIVER CROMWELL invited Menasseh ben Israel, an Amsterdam scholar and rabbi, to ENGLAND to argue the case for the Jews to be readmitted to England. This visit, however, stirred up considerable opposition from numerous critics such as the pamphleteer Willam Prynne and other Puritans who were skeptical about the mass conversion of the Jews (see PURITANISM). In their view the reference to Israel in Romans 11:25f. referred to the whole New Testament church of both gentiles and Jews. Other Puritans adopted a more welcoming attitude. Edward Elton, for example, remarked that Christians ought “not to hate the Jews (as many do) only because they are Jews, which name among many is so odious that they think they cannot call a man worse than to call him a Jew; but, beloved, this ought not to be so, for we are bound to love and to honour the Jews, as being the ancient people of God, to wish them well, and to be in earnest in prayer for their conversion.”

Such sentiments were not widely shared; throughout Europe Jews were viewed with contempt and hostility. These attitudes reached a climax with the publication of *Entdecktes Judenthum (Judaism Unmasked)* in 1711 by Johann Andreas Eisenmenger who served as professor of oriental languages at Königsberg. In his view, the best way to defend Christianity against the Jewish threat was to rehearse the traditional medieval

charges against the Jews. This work illustrated that despite the changing attitudes brought about by the Reformation, deep-seated Judeophobia persisted in the early modern period.

Undeterred by such an attack, the Jewish community believed it could curtail the distribution of Eisenmenger's treatise. Enlisting the support of the court Jew, Samson Wertheimer, as well as various German princes, they gained the support of the emperor Leopold. Although the book was eventually published after Eisenmenger's death by permission of the king of Prussia, the emperors retained their ban on the book because it was perceived as prejudicial to the public and to the Christian religion. The early modern period thus witnessed the continuation of the long tradition of Christian ANTI-SEMITISM alongside a growing awareness of the need to improve the position of Jewry. Voices were raised on different sides of this debate by leading figures of the Reformation. Yet even those Reformers who encouraged their coreligionists to adopt a more positive attitude toward the Jewish community shared many of the prejudices of previous ages.

The ENLIGHTENMENT, however, brought about a dramatic alteration in the condition of the Jews; nonetheless, a number of Christian writers continued to attack Jewry on rationalist grounds. In FRANCE, Protestants influenced by the Enlightenment sought to ameliorate the condition of the Jews, yet even they were unable to free themselves from Christian assumptions about Jewish guilt for killing Christ. During this period a number of major thinkers of the age sought to encourage Judeophobia. To escape from such denigration, enlightened Jews disassociated from Judaism and a number sought to gain social acceptance by banding together as a new Jewish-Christian sect.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the spirit of the Enlightenment encouraged Christian Europe to improve the condition of Jewish existence. With the establishment of the Napoleonic era, Jewish life dramatically changed. In France the summoning of the Great Sanhedrin heralded Jewish emancipation. In such a climate Jewish reformers attempted to adapt Jewish WORSHIP to modern conditions. Reform temples appeared throughout GERMANY, yet ironically many Jews influenced by the Romantic movement were indifferent to such alterations to Jewish practice. Instead of providing a basis for the improvement of Judaism, the Reform movement undermined traditional Judaism and intensified Christian antipathy to the Jewish faith.

In the nineteenth century a number of Jewish apologists endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the Jewish population. In England the Tory Prime Minister advocated Jewish emancipation; such activity provoked a hostile response from various critics who denigrated Judaism in terms reminiscent of previous centuries. In France the Dreyfus Affair stimulated anti-Jewish feelings and revived the medieval Christian charge of ritual murder, giving rise to widespread anti-Jewish sentiment. At this time the Christian legend of the Wandering Jew, who was destined to roam the earth for having rejected Christ became a major theme of French literature. French Judeophobia was further intensified by the writings of socialists. Similarly, in Germany advocates of racism as well as philosophers vilified the Jewish people and their traditions.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Jewish community suffered further outbreaks of hostility. In Germany various racist publications attacked Jews, and the researches of Christian biblical scholars undermined the traditional belief that the Torah was given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai. Similar attitudes were expressed in

France by a variety of Christian writers. At the end of the century the Dreyfus Affair in France raised fundamental questions about the viability of Jewish life in the diaspora. In the years leading up to World War I, Jews were viewed as scapegoats for the problems that beset German society. After World War I, economic problems related to war reparations and widespread unemployment led to the rise of Hitler and Nazism with its government-imposed anti-Semitic policies.

Following World War II, the devastation of Europe in general and the displacement of what remained of the Jewish population increased the desire among Jews to establish the state of Israel, which occurred in 1948. While many Christians favored this development, some evangelical Protestants and fundamentalists have strongly supported Israel owing to their millennialist beliefs in “end time” prophesy, the imminent return of Christ, and the importance of the conversion of the Jews in this view.

In modern times, ways are being sought to transcend the legacy of anti-Semitism. Various Protestant groups have issued decrees denouncing anti-Semitism and encouraging positive Jewish-Christian encounters in a broad ecumenical spirit. Pioneering Christian scholars have attempted to understand the Jewishness of Jesus—modern CHRISTOLOGY, they believe, should be purged of any anti-Jewish bias. God’s enduring covenant with the Jewish people has been emphasized, and various theories have been propounded to illustrate that Jesus’ death and resurrection do not replace God’s revelation on Mt. Sinai. In this context the traditional idea of Christian mission has been replaced by the notion of Christian witness. No longer do most Christians feel compelled to convert the Jewish people; rather, Judaism is affirmed as a valid religious tradition with its own spiritual integrity. These are signs of hope as Jews and Protestants stand together at the beginning of a new millennium.

See also Holocaust; Millenarians & Millennialism; Philo-Semitism

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DAN COHN-SHERBOK

JUDSON FAMILY

Adoniram Judson was one of the first American foreign missionaries and remains one of the most famous in mission, and especially Baptist, history. Judson was born in Malden, Massachusetts, and graduated from Brown University (1807) and from the first class of Andover Seminary (1810). He was one of the founders of the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM) in 1810, under whose auspices he and others sailed for India on February 19, 1812. He married Ann ("Nancy") Hasseltine (1789–1826) on February 5, 1812, and the two were commissioned on February 6, 1812. En route to INDIA, they became convinced of believer's BAPTISM by immersion and were baptized on September 6, 1812 by WILLIAM CAREY in Calcutta. The Judsons left the ABCFM, had to leave India, and then went to Burma (Myanmar). In 1814 the Baptist General Convention for Foreign Missions was established in the UNITED STATES to support them.

The Judsons won converts to Christianity and engaged in translation work. Adoniram produced a major Burmese dictionary (2nd ed., 1849) and a Burmese translation of the Bible (1834). Ann bore two children who died in infancy; in 1826 Ann died and was buried in Burma. Her heroism expressed through letters and publications made her one of the most famous female missionaries in American history. Both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a veritable flood of hagiographic literature on Ann Judson.

In 1834 Adoniram married Sarah Hall Boardman (1803–1845), the widow of George Dana Boardman, and also a missionary in Burma. Sarah was also a translator. She bore seven children with Adoniram, five of whom outlived both parents (Abby Ann became a Spiritualist in 1890, and Edward did pastoral work in New Jersey and New York City, where he established the Judson Memorial Baptist Church). When Sarah became ill in Burma, the Judsons sailed back to the United States. Sarah died en route and was buried on St. Helena.

In the United States for less than a year, Adoniram met and married in 1846 Emily Chubbock (1817–1854), who was a popular romance author under the pseudonym Fanny Forester. They returned to Burma. Adoniram became ill in 1850 and went to sea for his health, where he died and was buried. Emily bore two children, one of whom died in infancy; the other (Emily) lived to 1911. Emily returned to the United States in 1851 and prepared the materials for Francis Wayland's (he was president of Brown University) biography of Adoniram (1853). Emily died the next year.

See also American Baptist Church; Baptists; Baptist Missions, Missions; Bible Translation; Spiritualism

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DAVID M.SCHOLER

JUNGIANISM

Jungianism is the term given to theories of the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung and his system of depth psychology, which he called “analytical psychology.” It is similar to Freudianism, Sigmund Freud’s theory of psychoanalysis. In a pejorative sense, the terms refer to overly zealous followers who subscribe to a set of teachings that have become hypostatized into the equivalent of a religion. In a more benign, sociological sense, such terms can also mean the final stage of a movement that has become a recognized social institution.

It is not surprising that the constructs of depth psychology should have taken on a religious meaning, for analogies between Freud and Jung and the Old and New Testaments abound in the history of depth psychology. While Freud identified with his Jewishness, he maintained that he was an atheist and that psychoanalysis was a science and not a religion. However, his comments on religion, while pejorative, refer almost exclusively to images from the Old Testament. Jung, meanwhile, ranged throughout the Old and New Testament—his *Answer to Job*, for instance—but he was primarily engulfed in the *Imago Christi* of the New Testament, the Virgin Mary, and the aesthetic and moral struggle against evil as it was waged in the Gospels. Jung even embarked on a quest later in his life to analyze and unite the symbolism of the Catholic and Protestant faiths. He was also knowledgeable about the symbolism of different world religions and the iconography of preliterate cultures. Thus, analytical psychology was much more visionary, metaphorical, and cross-cultural than Freud’s system.

One reduced the symbolism of other cultures to fit the theory of psychoanalysis. The goal of Freud and his followers was to convert others not to Judaism, but rather to the analytic way of thinking. They did this chiefly by addressing the great problems of modernity—alienation, material attachment and loss, the importance of delayed gratification, and the threat of instantaneous annihilation. Jung’s analytical psychology, on the other hand, included the myth of the resurrection of Jesus, but now transmuted into a secularized psychology of transcendence. In this process, individuation was initiated by a confrontation between consciousness and the unconscious, leading to an expansion of consciousness. The end product was the integration of the opposites by means of the transcendent function, a condition that Jung considered a state of spiritual maturity. Jung was more interested in a shift of the center of personality from the ego to the self. For him, the outward details of a life were always preempted by the vicissitudes of inner spiritual transformation.

The religious analogy is made a little more complicated, however, by historical comparisons between theories of depth psychology and certain traditions of religious mysticism. In Jung's personal life, the religious influences appeared to have come from transformative visions experienced at an early age, growing up in a Protestant household where his father had been a minister stationed in an asylum for psychiatric patients, and other influences, such as an early exposure to Asian religions and other family members' involvement with the occult. This was to prove problematic for later interpreters, as we now have a growing corpus of works on Jung and Christianity, Jung and SPIRITUALISM, Jung and Shamanism, and Jung and Asian thought, all trying to understand Jung's connection to religion, organized or not.

The most scathing (and also, unfortunately, now the most well-known) exegesis on Jungianism has been the faulty scholarship of the clinical psychologist Richard Noll. In *The Jung Cult* (1994), Noll asserted that Jung was a Gnostic sun worshipper, his depth psychology was self-consciously launched as a religion, and his followers were the new acolytes of a worldwide spiritual movement whose purpose was to displace Christianity. Noll followed this erroneously conceived academic study with a widely circulated trade book titled *Aryan Christ: The Secret Life of Carl Jung* (1997). In it, he further maintained that Jung was not only a Gnostic sun-worshipper out to destroy the institutions of Christianity, but also a Nazi. Thus, Jung's followers were automatically also Nazi sympathizers.

The Jung historian Sonu Shamdasani was able to correct Noll's distorted and sensationalist interpretation by publishing *Cult Fictions: c.g. Jung and the Founding of Analytical Psychology* (1998). Nevertheless, the damage had been done. Noll's work was widely discussed in the public press, more so in the UNITED STATES than abroad, while Shamdasani's work, even though awarded the prestigious Gradiva Award of the psychoanalysts, had only a small circulation, mainly in ENGLAND.

It is of some historical note that the early Jungians in the United States were primarily women, while most of the key Freudians were men. Beatrice Hinkle, Kristine Mann, Constance Long, and Eleanor Bertine were among the early women physicians who formed the core of the first New York group. Francis Wickes and Christiana Morgan were other well-known early figures. Other Americans who spent long periods with Jung included Carol Baumann and Jane Cabot Reid. Today, according to the Jungians themselves, there are generally considered to be three centers of Jungian thought: the so-called Zurich school, which follows the writings of Jung's students, such as Marie von Franz; the object relations school of Melanie Klein in England, and the Archetypal Psychology of James Hillman in the United States. At the same time, Jung has had an influence in liberal religious circles, particularly in the work of such writers as Arnold Toynbee, Victor White, PAUL TILLICH, and Ann Ulanov.

Finally, Jungians may take some comfort in the fact that even as general interest in psychoanalysis has declined, the spread of Jung's ideas has increased. Jung's ideas have remained alive in the enclaves beyond science, particularly in religious circles, within the psychotherapeutic counter-culture, and also in popular movements such as those associated today with WOMEN'S spirituality. Jung's cross-cultural emphasis on world religions must be counted as part of this influence, as was the tremendous impetus of Joseph Campbell's views on world mythology, originally grounded in Jungian ideas. Campbell suggests that any new depth psychology of the future may look more Jungian

than Freudian, even though both the names of Freud and Jung will probably not be associated directly with such developments. Meanwhile, as the secularization of the religious impulse continues, Protestant denominations may either have to assimilate such new depth psychologies or else get left behind as outdated cultural institutions no longer able to speak to the breadth and depth of contemporary experience.

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EUGENE TAYLOR

JUNG-STILLING, JOHANN HEINRICH (1740–1817)

German author. Jung, called Stilling, one of the “Stillen im Lande” (of Psalm 35:20), had many occupations, but above all he was a religious author and is seen as the “Patriarch der Erweckung” (patriarch of the awakening movement).

He was born in pietistic family tradition in a small village of Siegerland (Western Germany) and tried many occupations (tailor, teacher, clerk, in various locations) until he studied medicine at Strasbourg (where he befriended JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE, who was studying law there). Between 1772 and 1778 he was a physician specializing in surgical ophthalmology in Elberfeld, and he continued his medical work for the remainder of his life, successfully treating many thousands of blind people. Between 1778 and 1803 he was a professor of political economy at Kaiserslautern, Heidelberg, and Marburg. He spent the final years of his life (1803–1806 at Heidelberg, 1806–1817 at Karlsruhe, where he died) without professional responsibilities, sponsored by the grand duke of Baden. He wrote religious books, engaged in extensive correspondence (he wrote about 25,000 letters during his life), and served as spiritual advisor to the grand duke.

Jung turned to religious writing in 1794–1795 and became known all over Europe through his religious novel *Das Heimweh* (*Homesickness*, 5 vols., 1794–1796, many translations) and several religious periodicals, especially *Der Graue Mann* (1795–1816, published in German in newspaper installments in North America, probably in Germantown, Pennsylvania). As a result, he became a central figure for nearly all religious groups of his times such as the Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft with its center in Basel and the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine/MORAVIAN CHURCH as well as many individuals belonging to the awakened people in GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, and other countries. Indicating and interpreting the signs of the time, he called for a return, in opposition to the ideas of the ENLIGHTENMENT, to the original Christian faith, based on Scripture and on Jesus Christ, and to penitence before the last judgment. His opponents saw him as a mystic dreamer.

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- GERHARD SCHWINGE

JURIEU, PIERRE (1637–1713)

French clergy. Jurieu was born in Mer near Orléans and became a leading French Reformed pastor and publicist during the reign of Louis XIV. He was Pierre du Moulin's grandson, Andre Rivet's great nephew, and was nephew to Pierre and Louis du Moulin. The latter taught him that the church owes its independence from secular AUTHORITY to popular sovereignty. Later Jurieu embraced Grotius's NATURAL LAW philosophy, but whether his writings furthered secularism, republicanism, and constitutional liberalism is a matter of disagreement among twentieth-century scholars. Some view Jurieu as antimodern, opposed to INDIVIDUALISM, only reluctantly relinquishing the strong attachments most HUGUENOTS had to ABSOLUTISM (G.Dodge, Q.Skinner, H.Kretzer). Others see him as a contributor to liberal political thought (F. Baumer, F. Knetsch, D. Spini). Jurieu disapproved of TOLERATION of SOCINIANISM or any secularism harmful to Christian ORTHODOXY.

Educated at Saumur, Jurieu succeeded his father as pastor at Mer. From 1674 he taught Hebrew and THEOLOGY at the Academy of Sedan until its suppression (1681). A refugee in Rotterdam, he taught theology at its Walloon academy (1681), exchanging polemics with Catholic historians (Bossuet, Maimbourg, Fénelon), the Jansenist Arnauld, and moderate Calvinists (Saurin, Bayle, Basnage, Jaquelot).

Admired by many, Jurieu was criticized for confessional rigidity and for prophesying Huguenot repatriation and Catholicism's demise (1689). These failing, he predicted their occurrence in the new century. Despite ridicule Jurieu pursued his political visions, promoting the Brandenburg alliance with the House of Orange. Disillusioned when the Peace of Ryswick (1697) failed to repatriate the Huguenots, he provided a sense of purpose and hope to exiles of the Huguenot diaspora.

See also: Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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BARBARA SHER TINSLEY

JUSTIFICATION

The doctrine of justification is one of the hallmark teachings of historic Protestantism. It emerged as one of the principal doctrinal differences between the Roman and REFORMATION churches—although by no means was it the only theological difference. Its significance for Protestantism is evident in MARTIN LUTHER’S insistence that this was the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae* (the article by which the church stands or falls) and likewise in JOHN CALVIN’S description as the “main hinge on which religion turns.” At the most basic level this distinctive Protestant DoCTRINE deals with the fundamental question of how a sinful human being can enter into a right and proper relationship with a God who is absolutely holy and righteous. The term “justification” is derived directly from the BIBLE (Romans 3–5), although the theological understanding of the biblical term has developed considerably over time. “Justification” is one of several terms in the New Testament, such as “salvation” or “redemption,” that deal with the soteriological question of how sinners enter into a right relationship with the righteous and holy God. In the course of the sixteenth century, this doctrine came to be one of the defining beliefs of historic Protestantism. Indeed, this question lay at the heart of the theological-pastoral concerns of the Augustinian hermit, Martin Luther.

The Protestant Understanding

If one is to gain an understanding of what Luther and other Protestants meant by justification, then one must consider the theological context of the later Middle Ages. Luther’s belief that all humanity possesses a will enslaved by SIN meant (or “led him to conclude”) that the sinner was unable to exercise genuine saving FAITH, against which Luther reacted. Like most others, Luther underwent considerable development in his understanding of justification. As a young Augustinian hermit, Luther was initiated into the *via moderna*, a school of thought in which the righteousness of God is manifested in the fact that God rewards the individual who does *facere quod in se est* (“to do what you are able to”) and punishes those who do not. The righteous God as expressed in the *via moderna* was an utterly scrupulous and impartial judge. According to this understanding,

the individual, not God, must take the initial step (no matter how paltry) in the process of justification by recognizing his/her own spiritual weakness and then turn with humility to God asking for GRACE. In accord with God's COVENANT with humanity, God treats this humility as fulfilling the pre-requisite necessary for justification. In response God bestows justifying grace upon the individual, enabling the performance of meritorious works, thus permitting a relationship with the righteous God. In this particular scheme justification had to do with *making* the individual inwardly righteous, thus entitling entrance into a relationship with the righteous and holy God. This understanding derives principally from Augustine, who misunderstood the term *iustificare* to mean "to make righteous." Augustine's misreading of the term became normative for the medieval church.

If Luther did eventually diverge from Augustine's definition of justification, he still drank deeply from Augustine's conception of the priority of grace in SALVATION. As early as 1515, while lecturing on Romans, Luther came to see that the individual, because of sinfulness, could not initiate this process of justification. Furthermore—again under the influence of Augustine—Luther concluded that the whole idea of *facere quod in se est* was in reality a Pelagian HERESY. By rejecting the notion that the individual has the inherent ability to initiate the process of justification, Luther moved inexorably to challenge the soteriological framework of the *via moderna*.

Although Luther's rethinking on justification probably began around 1515, it did not reach its definitive shape until 1518–1519. He came to understand that the righteousness of God (*iustitia Dei*) does not refer to a divine attribute but to a divine act of grace toward the hapless sinner. As he developed his understanding, distinctive features emerged. Perhaps his most distinctive idea was the concept of *iustitia Christi aliena* (the alien righteousness of Christ). Luther argued that justification is not based on one's own righteousness but on a righteousness that is alien or extrinsic to the sinner. He insisted that, because of the Fall, individuals have no righteousness in themselves and therefore, if one is to be justified, it must be based entirely on an external righteousness, by which he meant the perfect righteousness of Christ. This perfect righteousness of Christ belongs to the Christian (in an external not internal sense) because of his/her union with Christ. There is for Luther a "wonderful exchange" that takes place in this union between the Christian and Christ: individual sins are exchanged for the righteousness of Christ. It is notable that Luther does not initially employ the language of imputation, although it is clearly subsumed in the wonderful exchange.

One of the most characteristic features of Luther's view of justification is his understanding of the nature and place of faith. His belief that all humanity possesses a will enslaved by sin meant (or "led him to conclude") that the sinner was unable to exercise genuine saving faith. If there is to be true faith, it must come as a gift from God. Authentic faith is not mere assent (*assensus*) to the historic teaching of Christianity, but a grasping faith (*fides apprehensiva*) that takes hold of Christ and his righteousness. Thus Christ is not only the object of the individual's faith, Christ is also present in true faith. For Luther this grasping faith is not viewed as a human work and as such cannot be considered as the cause of justification; rather, faith is understood as the instrument by which one is justified. Above all, Luther's assertion that justification is by faith *alone* (*sola fide*) and the notion of the alien righteousness of Christ underscore one of the key

concerns for Luther—justification has everything to do with God’s grace and nothing to do with human merit.

Many fail to appreciate that Luther envisioned justification as both an event and a process. What later Protestants were inclined to separate, Luther kept together, at least initially. He was quite clear that there is a moment when the sinner is actually justified by faith, that is, when the alien righteousness of Christ has been transferred to him, although this is only the beginning of a process in which the Christian makes moral progress until the final resurrection, when he will possess a perfect righteousness created in him by the Holy Spirit. Especially in his early writings, justification is often conceived as a healing process in which God regards the sinner as totally righteous in anticipation of the perfect righteousness to come at the final consummation. At points, the relationship between justification and SANCTIFICATION is so closely drawn that Luther does not hesitate to use the rubric of justification to include the process of sanctification as well as the event of justification.

What is almost certainly the most misunderstood aspect of Luther’s doctrine is his concept of *simul iustus et peccator* (simultaneously righteous and a sinner). This concept points to the obvious tension between the imputed alien righteousness of Christ and the present reality of the sinful nature in the Christian life. Because of Luther’s belief that the Christian is not *made* righteous in the present life, but only in the final resurrection, he acknowledged an eschatological tension between the present sinful reality and the future promise of righteousness. By this phrase he does not mean that Christians are partly sinful and partly righteous in this life; rather that they are totally sinful in themselves and totally righteous in Christ through the gift of faith. This paradoxical language caused many Catholics and Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) to conclude that Luther’s conception of justification was bewildering at best and antinomian at worst.

In response to such accusations Luther replied that the justification of sinners in no way permitted a devaluation of good works in the life of the Christian. Good works, Luther insisted, were a necessary consequence but not a cause of justification. Such necessary good works, however, could not in themselves produce assurance for the Christian. The many years of struggle with *Anfechtungen* (spiritual anxiety) proved to Luther that if assurance is grounded in demonstrable human works, then full assurance will always be undermined by the unrelenting quest to determine whether one’s good works were adequate and whether they issued from genuinely virtuous intentions. Luther’s doctrine of original sin prevented any such assurance of salvation or justification if grounded on one’s deeds. True assurance could and should be found only in the faithfulness of God to his promises of mercy.

In the 1530s Luther’s close friend and colleague at the University of Wittenberg, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, made a fundamental refinement to Luther’s doctrine (initially in his *Apology*, 1530), which then became normative for both Lutheran and Reformed branches of Protestantism. Instead of viewing justification as “healing” as Luther earlier had maintained, Melancthon recast justification in a legal or forensic framework. Whereas Augustine and the medieval church taught that the sinner is *made* righteous in justification, Melancthon taught he is *declared* or *pronounced* righteous on the basis of the imputed righteousness of Christ. Melancthon drew a sharp distinction between justification (the event of being declared righteous) and sanctification (the process of being made righteous). This refinement of Luther’s doctrine represents a

further break from the teaching of the church up to this point. This forensic conception of justification was taken up by virtually all subsequent Protestant reformers and came to represent a standard difference between Catholics and Protestants.

The Reformed branch of Protestantism embraced substantially the same doctrine as Luther and Melancthon, but construed it differently and maintained a different emphasis. Calvin's view, which gained ascendancy in the later sixteenth-century Reformation, was formulated in the 1540s and 1550s. Calvin revived Luther's emphasis on the believer's union with Christ through faith as the means by which that union is achieved. This union has a twofold effect that Calvin called "double grace." The first effect of the believer's union with Christ leads directly to forensic justification. Through the imputed righteousness of Christ, the believer is declared to be righteous in the sight of God. However, there is a second simultaneous effect of this union with Christ, that is, that on account of the union with Christ—and not on account of his justification—the believer begins the process of being made like Christ through sanctification (or as he sometimes calls it, regeneration). Calvin seems to have undergone some development on this matter early in his Protestant career, but by 1540 the main lines of his distinctive configuration were in place. Instead of giving priority to either sanctification or justification, Calvin turned his attention to their common source, union with Christ, which granted them equal standing, distinct, but not separate. It has not escaped the notice of scholars that Calvin treats sanctification before justification in the 1559 edition of the *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*. This is not significant except to show that Calvin's real interest was the believer's union with Christ, and that justification and sanctification are merely two consequences of that signal event. For Calvin, where there is justification there also will be sanctification.

One of the important historiographical insights garnered from a historical analysis is the fact that the Protestant doctrine of justification was not static, but went through a process of theological development. To be sure, Luther set the course that others would follow, although a proper understanding of this period must recognize that Luther's initial insights provoked decades of Protestant refinement from both Lutheran and Reformed theologians. It also provoked one of the more interesting ecumenical attempts at reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics at the Colloquy of Regensburg in 1541 (see *REGENSBURG COLLOQUY*). Protestants, led by Melancthon, and Catholics, led by Gaspero Cardinal Contarini, actually reached agreement on a doctrine of "double justification," affirming two formal causes of justification—the external righteousness of Christ and the internal righteousness of the Christian. In the final analysis both Luther and the pope rejected this theological compromise and from that point on genuine dialogue ceased until the twentieth century. In the later years of the Reformation the theological trend in Lutheranism was to emphasize forensic justification, with the result that sanctification was often neglected. The Lutheran reformer ANDREAS OSIANDER rejected forensic imputation in favor of an "essential" justifying righteousness, which galvanized Lutheran opposition and significantly reinforced the forensic emphasis of the doctrine of justification.

Although the Reformed Church did not give the same prominence to the doctrine as did the Lutherans, the same general trajectory is evident also in the Reformed branch. The earliest Reformed conceptions of justification tended to place great emphasis on the close proximity of sanctification and justification, which for some meant that

sanctification was constitutive of justification. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, MARTIN BUCER, HEINRICH BULLINGER, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS all envisaged a close relationship between sanctification and justification. However, the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION did not follow this theological accent. The Westminster divines tended to be more linear in their soteriology, derived no doubt from their understanding of the *ordo salutis* (order of salvation). The effect of these later developments within the Reformed tradition was a tendency to drive a wedge between justification and sanctification to make a clear distinction between imputed and inherent righteousness. The main reason for the trend toward forensic justification lies in the fact that the Council of Trent obliged Protestants to define their own theology more distinctively. Just as Trent defined its doctrine over against Luther and early Protestants, so also later Protestants defined their doctrine over against Trent.

The Council of Trent

The Council of Trent was summoned in 1545 to formulate a comprehensive response to Luther. One of the more vital issues was the doctrine of justification. The sixth session of Trent reached its definitive conclusions regarding justification on January 13, 1547. Against Luther, Trent strongly defended Augustine's view that justification is the process of renewal that brings about a change in both the outer status and the inner nature of the sinner. For the theologians at Trent justification was not only "forgiveness of sins" but also "regeneration and sanctification" through the voluntary reception of grace. They strenuously argued that sinners were justified on the basis of an internal righteousness graciously infused or imparted to the sinner by God. Perhaps the key to understanding the reaction of Trent is their fear that Luther's view of justification would lead inevitably to ANTINOMIANISM. When Luther insisted that justification was by faith alone, Catholics understood him to say that one could be justified without any need for obedience, good works, or spiritual renewal. To these theologians, Luther's concept of justification undermined all morality. By the final session at Trent the doctrinal battle lines had been drawn.

The English Church

During the seventeenth century orthodox Protestants on the continent remained more or less in harmony with their sixteenth-century forebears when it came to the doctrine of justification. The Anglican Church was generally in accord with the Protestants on the continent, although some peculiar developments of its own were evidenced (see ANGLICANISM). The early English reformers seem to have been somewhat confused in their understanding of Luther's doctrine of justification. There was a decided tendency to embrace an Augustinian understanding of justification as *making* one righteous, but

following Luther, insisting this was by faith alone. After the return of the Marian exiles there was a renewed doctrinal conformity with the Reformed theologians on the continent. RICHARD HOOKER, one of the preeminent Anglicans, asserted the imputation of Christ's righteousness, that faith was not a work of man but a gift from God and distinguished (but did not separate) justification and sanctification. Seventeenth-century Puritans for the most part followed this trend, although some Puritans, such as RICHARD BAXTER, diverged from the mainstream by identifying faith as the formal cause of justification instead of the righteousness of Christ. Later Caroline divines departed substantially from Hooker and PURITANISM, favoring a concept of justification that spoke of inherent righteousness as the basis for justification, of faith as a human work, and a blurring of the distinction between justification and sanctification. With the restoration of Charles II, the Puritan view of justification was increasingly neglected.

In the eighteenth century, JOHN WESLEY developed his own brand of ANGLICANISM with distinctive implications for his doctrine of justification. In the early years of his ministry, Wesley adhered to typical late seventeenth-century Anglican theology of justification. At its core was his conviction that God does not declare righteous anyone who is not doing all they can to be righteous. For Wesley it was not faith alone, but faith and works that lead to righteousness. After his dismal missionary adventure in Georgia (1736–1738), however, his conception of justification underwent change. Wesley moved away from the Anglican version of justification, although he did not embrace a typical Lutheran or Reformed view without modification. Within his broad overarching concept of universal ATONEMENT and his self-described Arminian view of salvation (see ARMINIANISM), he recognized that justification was not about being made righteous, but a legal declaration made by God for the sake of Christ. Although he rejected the idea of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer, he maintained that justification concerns forgiveness and acceptance. Some have argued that Wesley identified imputation with antinomianism and thus rejected the idea. Wesley discarded the notion that one must first attain holiness before justification is granted, but he was careful to preserve his understanding of a prevenient grace given to all, thus enabling all to respond to the gospel call if they will.

With regard to the doctrine of justification, Wesley's main distinction centered on his idea of Christian perfection. For Wesley regeneration was especially significant because it endowed the believer with extraordinary spiritual power to love, trust, and hope. In place of the traditional Protestant idea of progressive sanctification *toward* holiness, he substituted growth *in* holiness. Having rejected the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the believer, he looked to the believer (in the power of the Holy Spirit) to advance in the righteousness already acquired in regeneration. Thus personal righteousness is about realization rather than progression. Full sanctification or Christian perfection, as Wesley termed it, is at the completion of regeneration and constitutes the final condition for salvation and entrance into the presence of God. Christian perfection comes by faith and occurs at some point (usually at the end of life) in the process of sanctification. Of course, with his Arminian convictions, this state of justification and the attainment of Christian perfection could be forfeited through a lack of faith.

Nineteenth-century England saw the emergence of the OXFORD MOVEMENT. In 1837 JOHN HENRY NEWMAN gave a series of lectures in the university church of St.

Mary the Virgin, Oxford, on the topic of justification. These lectures were published the following year as *Lectures on Justification* and represented his effort to articulate his understanding of the true Anglican position. In these lectures Newman attempted to steer a middle course between what he judged to be the doctrinal distortions of the classical Protestantism (especially the Lutheran tradition) and Catholicism. Newman argued that the essence of justification, which consisted in the presence of the Triune God within the soul of the believer, invariably brings certain spiritual consequences. These consequences entail both being *declared* righteous and being *made* righteous. For Newman justification and sanctification are bestowed simultaneously with the indwelling of God in the soul of the believer. Justification is therefore notionally distinct but not separate from sanctification, given that both derive from the same indwelling presence of God in the soul of the believer. Based on his understanding of the effectual power of God's word, what God declares about the sinner is necessarily brought into reality. Those who are declared righteous are actually made righteous. In sum, justification involves both a declaration of Christ's righteousness (through imputation) as well as being made righteous. Although Newman was at pains to critique the Protestant view, his understanding of justification appears to bear an uncanny resemblance to the view of Calvin.

Newman's understanding of the role of faith in justification is intriguing. As an Anglican he accepted the official declaration (article 11) that "we are justified by faith only," although he elaborates on the instrumental role of faith in justification. Faith is the sole *internal* instrument of justification, but he adds that the SACRAMENTS also serve as an *external* instrument of justification. In Newman's words, "justification comes *through* the sacraments; is *received* by faith; *consists* in God's inward presence and *lives* in obedience."

The Enlightenment

In the aftermath of the wars of religion in the seventeenth century, the European continent underwent a theological paradigm shift. No longer was the CHURCH or the BIBLE a sufficient guide to truth. Instead, ENLIGHTENMENT thinkers looked beyond scripture and orthodox theology to a new and more rational basis for spiritual direction. As a general rule the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century did not devote a great deal of attention specifically to the doctrine of justification. Yet it did undermine the orthodox understanding inasmuch as it ignored or simply rejected one of the indispensable presuppositions of justification—the doctrine of original sin. Historically, one of the pillars of the Protestant orthodox conception of justification, whether Lutheran or Reformed (or even Catholic), was the fundamental presupposition that every person enters this world alienated from God because of original sin. However, the exaltation of human reason and moral optimism so characteristic of the Enlightenment could not abide any doctrine of justification based on original sin, for such a doctrine violated both their tenets of rationality and morality. English thinkers such as JOHN TOLAND and JOHN LOCKE had little room for an orthodox understanding of original sin and thus little

interest in the doctrine of justification. English Deists (see DEISM) preferred a purely moralist conception in which divine pardon depends on an independent act of repentance, undoubtedly inspired by the moral example and teaching of Christ.

In GERMANY the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) followed the same general trend as the English Deists. Some early advocates formally retained the forensic notion of justification, but God's legal declaration of pardon, they argued, was based on an inherent righteousness within the individual. Later advocates of the German *Aufklärung* rejected completely any semblance to the orthodox Protestant understanding of justification. Christ's death, far from atoning for sin, serves as the supreme example and inspiration for humanity to emulate the outstanding moral character of Christ. Presupposed in this moralistic view is the autonomy of the individual, who is regarded as possessing all that is needed for justification. By the end of the eighteenth century the orthodox foundations of the Protestant doctrine of justification had been undermined by the rationalism and moralism of the Enlightenment.

Developments in Modernity

FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER reacted against the rationalistic and moralistic conceptions of justification espoused by the Enlightenment thinkers and moved in an entirely new direction. According to Schleiermacher, all Christian doctrine, including justification, was viewed as nothing more than individual consciousness of Christian religious feelings (*Gefühl*). Indeed, justification was not viewed as the objective pardon of sinners by God, but was instead the subjective consciousness of God (not knowledge of God) that is elevated and stimulated through the mediation by the supreme God-consciousness of Christ. Thus salvation is not an objective rescue from the consequences of sin, but a subjective alignment or attunement with the unknowable God through Christ's personal example of God-consciousness mediated through the Christian community. A number of key elements of the orthodox concept of justification are missing in Schleiermacher. Christ is not necessarily the only or unique mediator, and the orthodox conception of original sin is rejected as illogical. Justification or redemption thus became a radically anthropocentric conception, not only of religion, but of all its doctrines including justification. Schleiermacher's understanding of soteriology, although subjected to serious criticism, fundamentally reoriented the theological landscape.

One of the most significant theological developments in the mid-nineteenth century was the decline of Hegelianism. This prompted ALBRECHT RITSCHL to reformulate the doctrine of justification without the Hegelian interpretative framework and led to the recovery of the objective aspect of justification that had been lost in the *Aufklärung*. In 1870 he published his most famous work, *Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (*The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*). In this pioneering work he sought to break from the moralistic concepts of justification that came to dominate European thought of the early nineteenth century and to restore the objective dimension of the doctrine. In his effort to establish the objectivity of justification he particularly stressed the synthetic judgment of God in justification—that

is, he affirmed that justification is a creative act of the divine will in which the declaration of the righteousness of the sinner effects rather than endorses the righteousness of man. He thus eliminated any claim by the morally renewed man to be justified on that account.

Although restoring the objective dimension of justification, Ritschl nevertheless modified three critical aspects of the historic Protestant view of justification—the forensic nature of justification, the doctrine of original sin, and the function of Christ in justification. First, Ritschl argues that justification should be conceived as extrajudicial; that is, just as the ruler may relax the law for the greater public good, so Ritschl argues that God pardons the sinner for the greater good of the KINGDOM OF GOD. Second, he rejects the Augustinian doctrine of original sin as a rationalistically constructed doctrine that fails to account for the link between Adam and humanity as well as for the different degrees of sin among individuals. Finally the role of Christ seems to be reduced to a symbolic extension of God’s grace without any essential connection with that grace. Christ is therefore viewed as the one who reveals the real situation between God and man, rather than the one who by God-self established a new relationship between God and man. Ritschl, despite restoring the objective nature of justification, nevertheless reverted to a subjective understanding of the role of Christ and therefore exhibits a tendency to marginalize his death.

It should be noted that for Ritschl all Christian doctrine is not about facts but about value judgments, that is to say, doctrines are not so much about scientifically verifiable propositions but rather about the impact of God in a person’s life and the moral value of that impact for the highest good. The essence of Christianity and the focal point for the doctrine of justification concerns building the kingdom of God in meaningful and practical ways from a motive of love. This kingdom of God is not a metaphysical spiritual entity, but a religion of world transformation through ethical actions. Ritschl’s conception of justification, which combined the objective conception of the doctrine with a subjective influence of Christ, is generally representative of theologies of justification in the period from 1880 to the beginning of World War I.

Karl Barth

Generally considered the greatest theologian of the twentieth century, KARL BARTH’S view of justification warrants consideration, not because he fully developed a new understanding of the doctrine but because his theological outlook has important implications for this doctrine. In general Barth’s theology may be described as an extended reflection on the fact that God has spoken to humanity (*Deus dixit*) in Christ, thus overcoming the epistemological chasm separating them. Christianity therefore is not so much about justification by faith alone as about God revealing himself to the individual. As such, soteriological considerations are secondary to his focus on revelation. Indeed, it has been argued that Barth has placed the divine revelation to sinful humanity at precisely the point where Luther placed the divine justification of sinful humanity.

Second, Barth's conception of *gemina praedestinatio* (double predestination) has significant implications for his doctrine of justification. Instead of grounding predestination in the eternal will of God whereby some are elected to eternal salvation and some to eternal damnation, as the reformers did, Barth made Jesus the ultimate focal point of his understanding of double predestination. Christ, according to Barth, represents the ELECTION of all humanity and at the same time the reprobation of all. That is to say, in Christ all are elect and will share in eternal life, but Christ is also reprobated for all. Although Barth was reluctant to admit a doctrine of *apokatastasis* (universal salvation), this seems to be the logical trajectory of his doctrine of double predestination. Inevitably his doctrine of justification seems to relativize sin and divine judgment, which in turn diminishes any historic understanding of justification.

Ecumenical Theology

One of the most important developments within Protestantism since the Second World War has been the rise of the ecumenical movement, with its willingness to revisit past theological divisions with a view to overcoming them if at all possible. The new openness between Roman Catholic and Protestant churches may be partly explained by the progressive attitudes adopted by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) and the early work of the Swiss Catholic theologian Hans Küng. In his major study, *Justification: The Doctrine of Karl Barth and a Catholic Reflection*, he compared the view of the Protestant theologian Karl Barth with the Council of Trent and argued that there was a fundamental theological agreement. There were many dissenting voices, both Catholic and Protestant, centering on Küng's Thomistic interpretation of the theology of Trent and a selective understanding of Barth's ideas. Perhaps the most trenchant criticism to emerge was Küng's failure to take into consideration the historical context of the Council of Trent. Despite such criticisms Küng's book encouraged ecumenical discussions between Catholics and Protestants. It is no exaggeration to say that Küng inaugurated a new era of positive ecumenical discussions of a doctrine that had been viewed as an insuperable obstacle between Catholics and Protestants. In the later third of the twentieth century a significant number of dialogues took place, of which we will look at just three of the most important: the dialogue between Roman Catholics and their Protestant counterparts, Lutherans, Anglicans, and evangelicals.

In 1972 the Joint Study Commission of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION and the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity published the document now generally known as the "Malta Report," which laid the foundation for ecumenical discussions. These discussions bore fruit in 1983 with the publication of a document entitled *Justification by Faith*. This document undertook an analysis of the historical development of the doctrine as well as an assessment of the nature and significance of the controverted issues between Roman Catholics and Lutherans. Six areas of "convergence" were recognized in this document: the forensic nature of justification, sinfulness of the justified, sufficiency of faith, concepts of merit and satisfaction, and criteria of authenticity. The framers of this document noted that, despite differing theological

perspectives, similar concerns and foundational beliefs could be deciphered. The participants distinguished between misunderstandings and genuine disagreements. The document tried to resolve misunderstandings by identifying the common beliefs regarding original sin, the recognition that final salvation rests entirely in God's free gift of grace, that the ground of justification can only be God's grace, and that those who are justified will necessarily be renewed by the Holy Spirit and enabled to perform good works.

The document also recognized genuine areas of disagreement. Most important, both groups accepted the fact that there is a fundamental difference between a doctrine of justification based on the external righteousness of Christ and the intrinsic righteousness of the individual. The participants, however, explained these genuine disagreements as *complementary* rather than *contradictory*. That is to say, that although they fully recognized the difference between forensic justification and justification based on inherent righteousness, they nevertheless argued that these are essentially different ways of conceptualizing the same theological insight. On the crucial question of the formal cause of justification, the participants asserted that both answers are legitimate but different ways of conceptualizing the ultimate foundation of one's justification. One of the fundamental issues not considered by the participants is how the doctrine of justification was regarded as unacceptable by Trent in the sixteenth century but is now regarded as legitimate.

Further discussions between the Lutheran World Federation and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity achieved a "consensus on basic truths of the doctrine of justification." The crucial paragraph of the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification reads: "Together we confess: By grace alone, in faith in Christ's saving work and not because of any merit on our part, we are accepted by God and receive the Holy Spirit, who renews our hearts while equipping and calling us to good works." Despite extensive protest from Lutheran theologians that the document papered over continuing major differences, it was signed by representatives of the Lutheran World Federation and the Roman Catholic Church at Augsburg on October 31, 1999. Thus the doctrine of justification in itself is no longer a dividing point of theology between Lutherans and Catholics. It will be up to the Lutheran churches in the various countries to accept the statement.

The matter of justification was also discussed between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic theologians, the results of which were published under the title *Salvation and the Church* (1987). This ecumenical discussion stressed the points of agreement between the two communions: the first movements that lead to justification are God's working; that justification is an unmerited gift of God; that justification necessarily leads to good works; and that justification involves the communal life of the church rather than a solitary individual life of faith. Participants conceded the forensic nature of justification, but argued that this image must be complemented by other images. Some critics have argued that this joint commission "marginalized" the underlying disagreements, especially concerning the formal cause of justification, for the sake of ecumenicity.

What is perhaps one of the more surprising developments at the end of the twentieth century is the dialogue between Catholics and evangelicals. In 1997 a distinguished group of high-ranking Roman Catholics and prominent evangelical Protestants issued a

statement called *The Gift of Salvation* that focused on the doctrine of justification. Neither the document itself nor any of the participants officially represented their respective communions; rather the document was intended as a “good faith effort” of individual evangelicals and Catholics to speak to the issue of justification. Signatories intended this as a collaborative effort of individuals who speak from, but not for, their ecclesial constituencies. Remarkably the two groups reached agreement on “what the Reformation traditions have meant by justification by faith alone (*sola fide*).” Many other interrelated issues such as the Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER), BAPTISM, and Marian devotion were not addressed in this document. Discussions continue into the third millennium. Although many theological disagreements remain between Catholics and Protestants, the centuries have softened the rancor over justification, so that now, Lutherans, Anglicans, and some evangelicals are willing to dialog about the historical doctrine that was for the Protestant reformers the standard by which the church stands or falls.

See also: Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Dialogue, Inter-Confessional; Ecumenism

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FRANK A.JAMES III

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KAGAWA, TOYOHICO (1888–1960)

Japanese social reformer and evangelist. In the 1930s Toyohiko Kagawa was the most widely recognized Japanese Protestant in the Western world. Hailed by the U.S. press as “Japan’s Gandhi,” “Japan’s Schweitzer,” or “the St. Francis of Japan” because of his reputation for PACIFISM and selfless service to JAPAN’S poor, translations of his theological and economic writings were brought out by major publishers. He addressed over a million people in the United States and Europe on speaking tours in which he stressed his belief that the gospel demanded social and economic reform. *Brotherhood Economics* is the most concise expression of his vision of a world economy based on cooperative rather than capitalist enterprises. Especially admired by liberal Protestants, Kagawa delivered the Rochester Theological Seminary’s Rauschenbusch Lectures in 1936. A biography published in 1932 by the Protestant missionary William Axling was crucial in establishing the reputation that led Kagawa to such venues.

Kagawa was born in 1888 in Kobe, Japan. As a teenager he was introduced to Christianity by Southern Presbyterian missionaries, Drs. Charles Logan and Harry W. Myers. “It is not the Bible alone which has taught me what Christianity means, but the love of these two homes,” he later said. This concern with concretely following the gospel was dramatically expressed when, at age twenty-one, he took up residence in the slums of Kobe, preaching in the streets and turning his new quarters into a homeless shelter. Beginning with this intimate work with the poor, he went on to found schools, hospitals, orphanages, and cooperatives. His first major book, *A Study of the Psychology of the Poor* (Hinmin shinri no kenkyu) (1915), drew on his slum experience. He later used the royalties from a best-selling autobiographical novel, *Crossing the Death Line* (Shisen o koete) (1920) and other writings to fund his social programs. Extending his social concerns into the political realm, he also became a union leader and founding member of Japan’s socialist party.

On the eve of World War II Kagawa collaborated with the U.S. missionary E. Stanley Jones and other Protestant leaders in efforts to avert war that included international prayer vigils and lobbying government officials. After World War II his efforts centered on cooperatives and world peace. He died in 1960.

See also Liberal Protestants and Liberalism; Rauschenbusch, Walter; Schweitzer, Albert; Social Gospel

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ROBERT SCHILDGEN

KANT, IMMANUEL (1724–1804)

German philosopher. One of the major figures in Western philosophy, Immanuel Kant was born into the modest home of a Prussian harness-maker in the Pietist stronghold of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, RUSSIA). Notoriously, he lived his entire life in and around his hometown. Kant's close relationship with his devout mother served as his introduction to the Pietist emphasis on morality over doctrine and on the sincerity of inner personal conviction over appeals to external religious AUTHORITY, (see PIETISM). He never abandoned the basic features of this religious outlook. After his education at the university in Königsberg and a period as a private tutor, Kant assumed teaching duties at the university and remained there his entire career. A lifelong bachelor, Kant became a central figure in the ENLIGHTENMENT and was well known for the lively conversation and convivial atmosphere associated with mid-day meals he hosted in his home. His popularity and liveliness as a lecturer contrasted sharply with a writing style that Kant himself once characterized as "dry, obscure, opposed to all ordinary notions, and, moreover, long-winded."

For good reason Kant is sometimes referred to as the "philosopher of Protestantism." In a series of three great *Critiques* and associated writings on ETHICS and religion Kant attempted to secure the philosophical foundations of Newtonian SCIENCE while also emphasizing the centrality of human freedom in our understanding of the moral and religious life. His resulting legacy resides in several broad themes that have shaped modern Protestant thought in profound and lasting ways: an embargo against the claims of speculative metaphysics and natural THEOLOGY; an emphasis on the priority of the "inner" meaning of Christian FAITH, which, for Kant himself, meant its "moral" meaning; and a commitment to reconciling the potentially competing demands of biblical faith and the modern scientific outlook. Kant is thus the prototype of the "mediating" or "accommodationist" religious thinker who insists on an underlying fit or compatibility between religious faith and modern secular consciousness. The progressive, intellectually alert believer need not fear that faith will come into conflict with modern standards of intelligibility. Consequently, Kant is perhaps more accurately thought of as the "philosopher of *liberal* Protestantism" because his legacy is clearly evident in the traditionally liberal effort to disclose moments of continuity, compatibility, or overlap between Christian faith and natural states of human consciousness.

For two decades beginning in 1755 Kant wrote on a range of topics characteristic of the era's interest in science, natural theology, and logic, although it was only with the

publication of the *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781 (2d edition, 1787) that the so-called critical standpoint for which Kant is famous fully emerged. Against the background of interminable philosophical debates concerning the basic claims of metaphysics and natural theology, Kant insisted on an examination (or “critique”) of reason’s own powers as a necessary task before the demonstration of metaphysical claims, including claims about the existence of God. This reorientation of philosophical perspective—which Kant compared to Copernicus’s proposal to shift our perspective on the heavens by 180 degrees—resulted in a much more active conception of the knowing mind. From Kant’s new critical standpoint the knowing subject of experience shapes the object known, rather than the other way around. The radical nature of this point of departure is clearly evident in Kant’s claim that even space, time, substance, and causality are properties of the knowing mind’s rulelike activity, rather than features of the external world. The general lesson here—that what we know is fundamentally shaped by who we are—has deeply influenced subsequent Western thought, even as the details of Kantian philosophy have been called into serious question.

Kant’s critical standpoint had austere epistemological implications, given that valid knowledge claims were now limited to experience, or to the conditions of the possibility of experience. Kant eagerly displayed the subversive implications of this position by stigmatizing traditional speculative metaphysics as “dogmatic” rather than “critical,” by which he meant that metaphysics manufactured illusory knowledge claims out of the play of mere concepts. Such a result naturally suggests that metaphysics—including that part of it demonstrating the existence of God, freedom, and immortality—is no longer a useful partner for theology. In a famous section of the *Critique*, Kant himself dismantled the traditional proofs for the existence of God, thereby vividly spelling out the negative consequences for natural theology of the critical standpoint.

From the start, however, Kant indicated his intention to deny the pretensions of theoretical knowledge “in order to make room for faith.” With the publication of his *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* in 1785 followed by the *Critique of Practical Reason* in 1788, Kant made it clear that by “faith” he meant *moral* faith, grounded in practical, as opposed to theoretical, reason—that is, reason in its capacity to “prescribe” the world that “ought to be” rather than reason in its capacity simply to “describe” the world that “is.” Moral faith is what is necessarily entailed by one’s taking seriously an incorrigible sense of moral obligation that is a sheer “fact of reason” for any rational being. Just as Kant had taken for granted the validity of Newtonian physics, he took as given this fundamental sense of moral obligation, or duty. In turn, this sense of duty entails an awareness of freedom, given that (in a rational universe) one must be free to act if obligated to do so. Kant’s powerful vision of the *a priori* character of the sense of duty and the associated consciousness of freedom form the foundation of his religious philosophy.

In what is perhaps the key feature of his religious thought Kant demonstrated the necessity of moving from this incorrigible awareness of freedom to the “postulation” of the immortality of the soul and, ultimately, of God’s existence. At one point defining a “postulate” as a “necessary hypothesis,” Kant insisted that, as a postulate of practical reason, the existence of God enjoys a far greater degree of rational certainty than the older, traditional proofs could ever provide because the postulation process finds its point of departure in an incorrigible awareness of oneself as a free and morally obligated being.

The transition from this awareness to the postulates is effected in the *Critique of Practical Reason's* so-called moral argument, which is subsequently reaffirmed in the *Critique of Judgment* (1790). The argument is sustained by a teleological conception of reason itself, revealing “needs” and “interests” of reason requiring satisfaction. Chief among these interests is Kant’s concept of the “highest good,” which results when reason reflects on the total product of virtue. Kant defined the highest good as the proportioning of virtue and happiness—indeed, virtue itself is defined as “worthiness to be happy.” For Kant, immortality and God follow ineluctably from reflection on the highest good, insofar as reason has an irrepressible “interest” in the perfection of virtue (which clearly does not occur in this life) and in the rewarding of virtue with happiness (which requires a moral judge). In short, immortality and God *must* be postulated, for otherwise the incorrigible experience of moral obligation simply spins free in a metaphysical abyss—with no purchase on reality—suggesting the utter futility of moral earnestness. Precisely by making God’s reality as real and “close” to one as one’s sense of oneself as a being under moral obligation, Kant thus believed he had secured moral theism from the philosophical quarrels of the day.

Running through this argumentation as a powerful, subterranean current is Kant’s deep commitment to the notion that the universe is a reasonable place and that moral striving, however imperfect in this life, is ultimately redeemed. Kant thus deployed a set of arguments designed to rescue moral theism from the cold wasteland of merely theoretical reason. Kant’s first *Critique* may have secured Newtonian physics from philosophical doubts raised by DAVID HUME, but it provided no metaphysical comforts. Only with the shift to reason in its practical aspect—the shift, as Kant put it in a famous remark, from the “starry heavens above” to the “moral law within”—does human life regain its stature and intrinsic integrity. This implicitly dualistic perspective was reinforced by a further dualism enabling Kant to accommodate the competing tendencies of a deterministic Newtonian science and his emphasis on freedom. Here, Kant drew on a distinction between the world as it appears to us and the world as it is in itself—the world as “phenomenon” and as “noumenon”—which was a natural outcome of his initial emphasis on the active role played by the knowing mind in the fashioning of our experience of the world. The twin dichotomies of theoretical/practical and phenomenal/noumenal thereby underwrite the characteristically Kantian turn “inward,” to the private world of moral experience, as the true locus of the religious life. Faith is consequently freed from any dependency on the outer, public world of historical events in general and of putatively miraculous events in particular. Fatefully, Kant thus fashioned a safe and invulnerable space for faith on the very eve of a century that would witness the full force of historical criticism of scripture as well as the increasing momentum of the natural sciences.

After the completion of his three *Critiques* in 1790, Kant demonstrated that his constructive, creative thinking about the religious life had hardly drawn to a close. In the provocatively titled *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793) Kant surprised his followers by proposing an account of “radical evil” that seemed to betray the very spirit of the Enlightenment by locating the source of moral evil in the will rather than in ignorance. Underwritten by an overtly Pauline appeal to a natural—but not necessitated—“bent” or propensity toward evil, Kant’s theory of radical evil evidently called into question humanity’s ability to save itself from its self-made problem. In short

he appeared to be undercutting his own emphasis on freedom by proposing a theory suspiciously reminiscent of the one doctrine against which most of the proponents of “Enlightenment” had firmly positioned themselves: the doctrine of original SIN. In his own effort at a resolution of the problem, Kant offered striking yet ultimately elusive remarks concerning our possible need for “grace” and “supernatural cooperation” in the recovery from radical evil. He emphasized that, at most, we can have only the rational “hope” that such divine aid will be forthcoming—only religious “fanatics” and “enthusiasts” claim to have sure knowledge of God’s intentions and acts. However, in his related emphasis on doing our moral best to deserve or merit this potential divine assistance, Kant clearly courted an account of JUSTIFICATION far more Catholic than Protestant in nature.

Also in the *Religion* Kant devised an account of the moral value of the historical side of religion. The historical side—embodied in revelation, scripture, priesthood, and CHURCH—serves as the “vehicle” for pure moral faith. Such visible, tangible features satisfy a natural human demand for something “sensibly tenable” in the religious life, implying—among other things—an emergent Kantian theory of religious symbolism. Throughout, Kant emphasized that the historical aspect is a matter of complete indifference and, indeed, the source of needless stale quarrels if not viewed through the lens of moral concerns. His eagerness to avoid improper emphasis on the historical aspect is immediately evident in his rhetorical question: “I raise the question whether morality should be expounded according to the BIBLE or whether the Bible should not rather be expounded according to morality.” With this principle Kant helped to define modern biblical hermeneutics in terms of the principle that what is “written” is different from what is “meant,” and that the former should be judged in light of the latter. The text becomes meaningful only in the light of wider canons of intelligibility that are brought *to* the text.

Not surprisingly Kant’s moral emphasis would yield a CHRISTOLOGY based on the insight that Jesus is the personification of a moral disposition totally wellpleasing to God. As matters of sheer theoretical interest, the historical details of Jesus’s life are of no religious significance. The significance of Jesus resides instead in a moral essence that is, in fact, immediate to all rational beings in the form of an “archetype,” that is, the “archetype of the moral disposition in all its purity.” In effect Jesus is the embodiment of what all persons might ideally be. Even so, Kant attempted to steer away from the suggestion that we should “imitate” Jesus, given that sheer imitation potentially compromises the full exercise of freedom. Instead we should allow the example of Jesus to animate the moral archetype that dwells in our own reason and assume full responsibility for our moral destiny. Despite a provocative remark suggesting that Jesus breaks the “power” of radical evil to “hold” us against our will, Kant did not associate a traditional doctrine of ATONEMENT with Jesus because such a doctrine would too obviously undercut Kant’s prior emphasis on personal autonomy and, therefore, responsibility. Here, Kant’s tendencies were clearly Pelagian.

During the nineteenth century, Kant’s influence was readily evident in the several varieties of liberal Protestant theology that attempted to satisfy the intellectual and cognitive challenges of the day while also emphasizing the moral core of the Christian message, typically focused in christology. For such influential figures as ALBRECHT RITSCHL in GERMANY or H.T. Mansel in Britain, the Kantian suspicion of

metaphysics, combined with a heightened sense of “value” in human experience, provided fresh ways of understanding faith and revelation while simultaneously offering a welcome detour around the cognitive problems posed to Christian faith by an increasingly secular CULTURE. The explicitly moral element in Kant’s thinking would be maintained by the liberal Protestant effort to improve the world, based on a progressively immanent understanding of the KINGDOM OF GOD. Kant’s own sketch of an “ethical commonwealth” in the *Religion*, with its suggestion of moral progress based on a deepened sense of community, found strong echoes in the liberal emphasis on the “fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man” characteristic of ADOLF VON HARNACK and numerous others. One could even argue that the typically Kantian combination of moral earnestness and the priority of “practice” continues even today in numerous varieties Of LIBERATION THEOLOGY.

Finally for all Protestant thinkers eager to avoid associating faith with a sacrifice of the intellect, Kantian epistemology offered welcome strategies of compartmentalization. Neither revelation nor faith was based on theoretical claims, on metaphysics, or on appeals to “external” evidence. Instead revelation and faith were themselves viewed as a kind of valuing lodged in a privileged zone of interiority and, thereby, self-validating and not open to external criticism. Consequently the critical fires of historical criticism or Darwinian science could burn freely, without any threat to faith. Indeed the Kantian strategy of compartmentalization, warding off the negative implications of historical criticism, remained implicit even among those who explicitly repudiated the “moral” emphasis of Kant’s liberal tradition, such as the generation of neo-orthodox theologians of the post-World War I era. Despite its sustained polemic against Protestant liberalism, NEO-ORTHODOXY relied heavily on Kantian epistemology in such matters as the distinction between the “Jesus of history” and the “Christ of faith,” thereby carrying forward the strongly Kantian element in the earlier work of M.Kähler and W. Hermann. It is indeed an open question whether influential conceptions of faith as a kind of “self-understanding” (RUDOLF BULTMANN) or “the state of being ultimately concerned” (PAUL TILLICH) are simply existentialist variations on Kantian moral awareness. Likewise, recent developments associated with “postliberal” theology have raised serious questions about the very idea of “mediation” between faith and natural forms of human consciousness, bringing Kant’s legacy back into the theological discussion in fresh ways.

See also Higher Criticism; Jesus, Lives of; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism

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GORDON E. MICHALSON JR.

KARLSTADT, ANDREAS RUDOLF BODENSTEIN VON (ALSO CARLSTADT) (1486–1541)

German theologian. Karlstadt was one of the important and prolific early German reformers—he had over 85 publications with some 200 reprints—who is difficult to situate wholly into a theological tradition. Trained in scholasticism, but with strong mystical and humanistic interests, Karlstadt sided with MARTIN LUTHER early on, although his later views were more in line with those of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and HEINRICH BULLINGER. Even though he articulated many of the anticipated traditional theological emphases of the Anabaptist tradition (see ANABAPTISM), he himself cannot be counted an Anabaptist. (Among other reasons, he lacked a strong statement on believers' BAPTISM and never fully developed the notion of a believers' CHURCH.) Probably he is best regarded as a forerunner of PIETISM because his preoccupation with the “inner experience” of the divine in the believer’s “yieldedness” (*Gelassenheit*) to Christ was further developed by that tradition, particularly Gottfried Arnold and the HALLE Pietists.

Born in Karlstadt am Main, Andreas Bodenstein attended the University of Erfurt (1499–1503), the University of Cologne (1503–1505), and the new university at Wittenberg where he received his master’s degree in 1505 and his doctorate in THEOLOGY in 1510. (Perhaps because Luther received his own doctorate under Karlstadt in 1512, scholars until recently thought he was older than Luther, placing his birth in 1480 or 1481, or even 1477.) While teaching in the arts faculty at Wittenberg before the conferral of his doctorate, Karlstadt advocated a Thomism tempered by Scotism. From 1510 Karlstadt taught at Wittenberg, traveling to ITALY in 1515–1516 where he received a doctorate in civil and canon law, a degree that seemingly guaranteed quick ecclesiastical advancement. However, like Luther, Karlstadt returned to Wittenberg disappointed by the secularization of the city. Soon afterward he adopted Luther’s Augustinianism, claiming with Luther that the human will is wholly incapable of willing the good and is therefore completely passive with respect to divine GRACE.

Karlstadt and Luther stood together at the 1519 Leipzig debate against Johann Eck of Ingolstadt, the prominent defender of the Roman church. Karlstadt argued the proper relationship between faith and works, while Luther called into question the absolute authority of the pope and councils of the church. Returning to Wittenberg, Karlstadt

devoted himself to the study of the BIBLE and to his writing, producing a number of important tracts, including *De canonicis scripturis* in which he practiced early biblical criticism, arguing for the full canonicity of the Old and New Testaments (including, to Luther's displeasure, the Book of James). Assuming the leadership of the "Wittenberg Movement" during Luther's stay on the Wartburg in 1521–1522, Karlstadt quickly pressed for ecclesiastical reforms: celebration of the Mass in the vernacular, abandonment of VESTMENTS, communion of the LAITY in both kinds (bread and wine), abolition of private masses, elimination of monastic vows, the MARRIAGE of priests (he himself married Anna von Mochau in January of 1522), and the radical purging of worship images. (Karlstadt argued that reliance on such images could harm "weak consciences.") Luther's disagreement with these reforms prompted his return from the Wartburg to Wittenberg, where his *Invocavit Sermons* delineated a slower approach to actual reform.

From Luther's perspective, Karlstadt had erred in his insistence that change of external practices must precede an inner change on the part of the faithful and that WORSHIP should be purely "spiritual," without such external embellishments as clerical vestments. Elector Frederick the Wise supported Luther's stance and curtailed Karlstadt's preaching activities at Wittenberg. Karlstadt resigned his academic post in 1523 and went to minister to the congregation of Orlamünde. There he renounced his academic titles as unbiblical, abandoned the use of the organ and images in worship, rejected infant baptism, argued against the real presence of Christ in the LORD'S SUPPER, and established a nonhierarchical model of Christian community emphasizing the laity. In 1524 he was expelled from Saxony and with his family wandered from place to place, spending time in Rothenburg, Holstein, and Zurich, among other places. He may well have been involved in the revolutionary turbulence of 1524–1525. His widening chasm with Luther, and his uncompromising rejection of infant baptism and Christ's real presence in the Lord's Supper caused Karlstadt considerable difficulties over the next years. Finally, after serving as an archdeacon at Zurich for four years, Karlstadt became a professor of Hebrew at Basel in 1534, gradually modifying some of his earlier radical positions, for example, his opposition to infant baptism and the value of university education. He died from the plague in Basel on Christmas Eve in 1541.

Crucial in Karlstadt's theology is the influence of German mysticism. Karlstadt advocated that the believer must "let go" (*Gelasseri*) of attachments to temporal things, and must "be yielded to" (*Gelasseri*) the promise of God. The believer's *Gelassenheit* itself becomes the temple of God, for in detaching from the flesh of the world, the believer is filled with the spirit of Christ Himself. In his 1535 inaugural disputation at Basel, Karlstadt identified the mystic's divine spark of the soul with the *imago dei*. Whereas JUSTIFICATION effects a regeneration of this image, SANCTIFICATION outwardly displays that image through the transformation of the believer in his/her "yieldedness" (*Gelassenheit*). Karlstadt worked within the medieval understanding of the flesh/spirit distinction, claiming that GRACE empowers a fulfillment of the law. Although Karlstadt was polemicized by Luther and subsequent Lutheran theologians (and although Karlstadt was sometimes too aggressive and less than careful in his own polemics), it is difficult not to be moved by the intensity with which he described the Christian life of faith, mortification, repentance, love, and freedom.

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DENNIS BIELFELDT

KEBLE, JOHN (1792–1866)

English theologian. On July 14, 1833, John Keble gave a sermon on “national apostasy” that is generally credited with galvanizing the Tractarian, or OXFORD MOVEMENT in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Already a member of a group of like-minded Oxford University fellows, Keble joined their combination of protest against the Church of England’s alignment with the state to their conviction that the church’s apostolic ministry and WORSHIP must be recovered.

Keble was born April 25, 1792, in Gloucestershire, the son of a Church of England cleric. He was elected a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford in 1811 after receiving honors in undergraduate studies. After ordination in the church he served in various parishes, in the process becoming noted for writing hymns and poetry. He returned to Oxford in 1831 as professor of poetry and soon became associated with JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, Froude, EDWARD PUSEY, and the other Tractarians. Summarized in his pivotal sermon, and in the eight tracts that he authored, his theological view centered on the necessity that the Church of England emphasize its distinctive marks of identity that were threatened by Erastianism, the superiority of the state over the church. For Keble the CHURCH must be led by its bishops and priests, and its pastoral ministry must emphasize the necessity of CONFESSION and absolution, as well as the sacraments of BAPTISM and the Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER). To be a true Christian, he emphasized, one must be in communion with the church, and the church must be consistent with its apostolic heritage. Keble did not follow Newman and some of the other leading Tractarians into the Catholic Church. Instead he married Charlotte Clarke in 1835 and in 1836 became a highly regarded parish priest at Hursley, where he served for thirty years while continuing as a spiritual advisor and writer. He edited the words of the sixteenth century theologian RICHARD HOOKER. Over two dozen collections of his sermons were also published. Keble died at Bournemouth on March 29, 1866.

See also Bishop and Episcopacy; Clergy; Hymns and Hymnals

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WILLIAM SACHS

KECKERMANN, BARTHOLOMEW (c.1572–1609)

German philosopher and Calvinist theologian. Keckermann was born in Gdansk to a merchant family, and he attended school there between 1587 and 1590. As a recipient of a grant from the city council of his home town he went to GERMANY. He studied at Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Heidelberg, where he received his master's degree in 1595. In Heidelberg he taught philosophy, rhetoric, and Hebrew. In 1600 he was appointed to the chair of Hebrew at the university. Because of pressures from the Gdansk City Council, he turned down the offer of the chair in philosophy, and in 1602 he returned to Gdansk, where he took the position as co-rector of the Gymnasium (the high school) a position which he resigned after a short period of time. He obtained the chair of philosophy, which he occupied until his early death on July 25, 1609.

Broadly educated, particularly hard working, with international renown as an outstanding teacher, Keckermann had encyclopedic ambitions. His works included the whole range of contemporary knowledge. At the same time he sought to ground knowledge on a solid basis, which he found in Aristotelian logic. This explains why the methodological problems played such a key role in his works (for example, in his *Systema Logicae* of 1600 and his *Praecognita logicae* of 1603).

Keckermann's philosophy represents an attempt to link two traditions: the humanist tradition (PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, Jakob Sturm, Peter Ramus) and the neo-Averroistic tradition found in Padova, in particular the philosopher Giacomo Zabarelli who highly influenced Keckermann. Hence his work has an eclectic character but also a dogmatic flavor, stemming from Keckerman's teaching experience. As teacher he exposed his deep knowledge to his students—fairly but as *ex cathedra* monologue. On the other hand, didactic values accounted for the popularity of Keckermann's works in many European Protestant schools in the first half of the seventeenth century.

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LECH SZCZUCKI

KENYA

See Africa

KEPLER, JOHANNES (1571–1630)

Astronomer. Kepler was born in the Swabian imperial city of Weil der Stadt. His family moved to the Lutheran duchy of Württemberg, where his scholastic talents won him a ducal scholarship to prepare him for the ministry. In 1589 he began to study at the University of Tübingen. At that time PHILIPP MELANCHTHON'S (1497–1560) belief that mathematics and astronomy aided one's knowledge of the divine led to an emphasis on these subjects. Kepler studied them at Tübingen with Michael Maestlin, who taught him to accept the Copernican over the Ptolemaic system.

In 1594 Kepler was sent to Graz to fill a vacancy in mathematics. There he wrote his first book, *The Secret of the Universe*. Its main thesis suggested a relationship between the distances between the six planets in the Copernican system and the five regular solids, but it also set forth many of the issues that were to occupy him throughout his career. The book brought him to the attention of Tycho Brahe, and Kepler joined him in Prague in 1600. This gave Kepler access to the best observational data available, and he used them to come up with his laws of planetary motion, the first two of which—the elliptical orbits of the planets and the relationship between their velocity and distance from the sun—were published in his *New Astronomy* in 1609. While in Prague he also did important work on elucidating the process of vision.

The overthrow of Kepler's patron, Emperor Rudolf II, in 1611 led him to seek a new position. He was refused a post at Tübingen, possibly because he rejected the Lutheran interpretation of the Eucharist in favor of the Reformed, and ended up in Linz, where he was denied communion because of his beliefs. There he formulated his third law, showing the relationship between the mean distance from the sun and the period times of any two planets, which he published in *Harmony of the World*. He also published important work on mathematics. His superior planetary tables led to the study of his work in the years after his death in 1630.

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SHEILA J. RABIN

KERK, GEREFORMEERDE

See Dutch Reformed Church

KESWICK MOVEMENT

Animated by a trans-Atlantic Protestant fascination for a “higher” Christian life, the Keswick Movement takes its name from the site of its annual convention in ENGLAND’S picturesque Lake District.

The movement traces its beginnings to the determination of two American couples to promulgate abroad a particular conception of the Christian life. William and Mary Boardman, Presbyterians who spent years yearning for spiritual empowerment, believed they found it in what they termed the “higher” Christian life. William’s book, *The Higher Christian Life* (1858; republished in London in 1860), outlined his conviction that most Protestants failed to realize the potential of the Christian experience he found described in scripture. In a simple response of FAITH to Christ’s words, Boardman believed he had been empowered to live in more intense, conscious, momentby-moment dependency on Christ. The “higher” Christian life could be reduced to the simple appropriation of Christ as All. Boardman’s efforts helped extend so-called full salvation teaching within some Reformed settings. He carried his message to Britain’s Mildmay Convention in 1869. Between 1873 and 1875 he worked occasionally in England with Robert and Hannah Smith.

Finding Allies

The Smiths had come to similar conclusions by a different route. Well-to-do members of the Society of Friends from the southern tip of New Jersey, they embraced the systematic BIBLE study method associated with the PLYMOUTH BRETHERN and came into contact with proponents of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT. Both influences set them apart from their Quaker cohorts (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) and inclined them toward a particular spirituality. Gifted speakers and writers, they began in the 1860s giving their testimonies about practical holiness wherever they could gain an audience. Robert Smith took as his theme the phrase “Jesus saves me now,” emphasizing the conscious, ever-present, sin-cleansing work of Christ in the soul. As long as one kept “under the blood,” one was free from SIN. HANNAH WHITTALL SMITH summarized her views as *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life* (1875), a book that quickly became a Protestant

classic. Her secret was essentially the same as Boardman's message: Christian happiness came in letting go, in relying on the perfect moment-by-moment cleansing blood applied to the soul. "The rest of faith" followed abandonment of one's self to God. Stop trying, the Smiths urged, and start trusting Christ for all.

The Boardmans and the Smiths belonged to loose networks of people who pursued practical holiness and who saw in that pursuit the key to churchwide revival. They challenged Christians to experience in the present the spiritual truths they claimed to know and on which they staked their eternal hopes. Discernible progress in the Christian life was available for the asking. One would never be sinless, but one could know freedom from the inward struggle with sin by following clear advice:

Let in the Overcomer, and He will conquer thee; Thy broken spirit taken
in sweet captivity Shall glory in His triumph and share his victory.

Mission to England

In 1873, the Boardmans and the Smiths arrived in England eager to penetrate the CHURCH OF ENGLAND with their message. They discovered a convergence of indigenous influences that had prepared the way—reinvigorated WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT teaching; Quaker piety; Plymouth Brethren emphases on faith and scripture; Anglican EVANGELICALISM, especially as expressed in the spiritual aspirations of the annual Mildmay Conventions. Evangelists DWIGHT MOODY and IRA SANKEY were also in England 1873–1875, benefiting from the same impulses in their proclamation of their revival message. The people they attracted stood in the tradition of ROMANTICISM, with its emphases on love and purity. In his pathbreaking *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, historian David Bebbington notes that this movement found a place in "the most far-reaching cultural shift of the century."

The Smiths found receptive audiences wherever they went. They presided over a large Oxford Convention for the Promotion of Holiness in 1874. Smith then toured the Continent, finding remarkable resonance with his message in Berlin. He returned to a convention at Brighton that drew over 8,000 participants and more than 200 pastors from the Continent. Hannah Smith offered Bible readings that filled the largest venues. She was billed as a "chief speaker." For ten days, one journalist reported, the crowds "waited upon God" for the purpose of discerning "His will as to the possibilities of Christian holiness" for "quickenings of spiritual life in the Churches."

Later in 1875 Canon Harford-Battersby welcomed to his parish church in Keswick a much smaller group of people intent on holiness. This became the first Keswick Convention, and it initiated an annual tradition. It also unleashed a storm of opposition from Calvinists (see CALVINISM) troubled by the perceived popularity of instantaneous SANCTIFICATION. Over the next few years, Keswick proponents took heed and clarified their differences with those who urged a crisis experience of holiness. They concluded, rather, that freedom from sin—"the rest of faith"—became reality as the consecrated believer yielded moment by moment to the Holy Spirit who counteracted sin.

The Smiths' theme—by now set to music and sung by their followers in several European languages—“Jesus saves me now” meant just that.

Varied Audience

The first generation of Keswick leaders were Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM), although the audience and the convention preachers always represented a broader constituency. Frequent visitors from the Continent and the United States augmented the numbers and gave an international flavor. The Convention released *The Keswick Week*, a record of the activities and addresses of the annual conventions. By the 1890s speakers identified with the movement (known as Keswick missionaries) brought Keswick's version of practical holiness to other parts of the world in winter speaking tours. The Convention grew to include missionary appeals and to feature firsthand reports of Christian expansion abroad. Keswick recruited “Holy Ghost” missionaries—men and women convinced of the reality of full salvation here and now. (The first Keswick missionary was the Irishwoman Aimee Carmichael, who went to INDIA in 1893.) Annual conventions in other parts of the world soon worked to bring Keswick's particular emphasis into the movement.

A hymnal, *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, soon collected songs that nurtured the Convention's particular forms of piety (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). Frances Ridley Havergal proved particularly adept at giving hymnic form to Keswick yearnings. Compilers found other women's hymns especially appropriate, too—the prolific American FANNY CROSBY, Charlotte Elliott, and Jean Sophia Pigott. They wrote of consecration, submission, and surrender, and contributed to a refashioning of devotional practice. Collections of Keswick addresses and books by popular Keswick speakers such as the South African Andrew Murray, Baptist F.B.Meyer, G.Campbell Morgan, J.Hudson Taylor, and Handley Moule extended the audience.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, both the Welsh Revival and PENTECOSTALISM challenged the Keswick Convention to consider boundaries for its teaching. The emotion that characterized the Welsh Revival of 1904 and 1905 threatened to disrupt the decorum that had become a hallmark of Keswick. For a few years from 1907, devotees of the emerging Pentecostal movement brought their understanding of the baptism with the Holy Spirit to Keswick. Convention regulars embraced the same language with different expectations. Pentecostalism introduced tongues speaking as uniform evidence of Spirit baptism; Keswick proponents found evidence of the Spirit's empowering presence in holiness of heart and life. The convention moved into the 1910s having successfully excluded ecstatic behavior and utterance.

Once established, the Keswick Convention featured well-known interdenominational and international speakers, a popular program of Bible readings, and well-attended missionary rallies. Its roots in the broad trans-Atlantic late nineteenth-century pursuit of holiness meant that the preaching of Frenchman Theodor Monod, Andrew Murray, F.B.Meyer, or Anglican Evan Hopkins was equally well received. The Keswick Convention became the hub of an international interdenominational network bound by an earnest conviction about the centrality of practical holiness in the Christian life. Featuring

Christ-centered piety centered in “death to self” by the “counteraction” of the Holy Spirit’s reign within the soul (rather than by eradication of sin or struggle with sin), the core Keswick message is perhaps captured best in the lines of favorite Keswick hymns:

The victory has been purchased on Calvary’s cross for
me;
Sin shall not have dominion: the Son hath made me
free!
The temple has been yielded and purified of sin;
Let thy Shekinah glory now flash forth from within
Let all the earth keep silence, the body henceforth be
Thy silent docile servant moved only as by Thee.
Jesus, I am resting, resting in the joy of what Thou art;
I am finding out the greatness of Thy loving heart.
Hidden in the hollow of His blessed hand,
Never foe can follow; never traitor stand.
Not a surge of worry; not a shade of care;
Not a blast of hurry; touch the Spirit there.

Many of the early American supporters of Keswick were protofundamentalists (see FUNDAMENTALISM), and throughout the twentieth century, American conservative Protestants have been featured on Keswick programs. Smaller American Keswicks, meanwhile, feature similar teaching venues. From the formative years when Hannah Smith offered Bible readings that rivaled her husband’s PREACHING in popularity, WOMEN have occasionally found public voice at Keswick, although typically featured speakers have been men. The best-known woman speaker early in the twentieth century was Jessie Penn-Lewis, a prolific author, editor, and interpreter of the Welsh Revival.

Keswick teaching appeals across Protestant denominations because its focus is more on the quality of Christian life than on theological precision. It has influenced Protestantism in broad but often unrecognized ways, especially through the books of its proponents (staples on evangelicals’ bookshelves) and through its hymns (favorites in many collections). Wheaton College Archives and Special Collections, Wheaton, Illinois owns a substantial research collection of Keswick materials.

See also Higher Life Movement; Methodism Movement

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EDITH BLUMHOFER

KIERKEGAARD, SØREN AABYE

(1813–1855)

Danish theologian. Kierkegaard, whose surname in old Danish means “churchyard,” with all the familiar connotations of a graveyard, was born in Copenhagen in 1813. He was the youngest of seven children born to Michael Pederson Kierkegaard and his second wife Anne Sørensdatter Lund. Michael Kierkegaard (1756–1838) was born into an impecunious family in rural Jutland. As a young man, an uncle brought him into the dry goods business in Copenhagen. In a short while he owned his own store. He invested in real estate and stocks and soon was so well off that his children would never have to worry about making a living. On one level, Kierkegaard led a very privileged life, but on another it was psychological hardscrabble. His father was a difficult taskmaster who, Kierkegaard said, prepared him well for the life of faith but ruined his chances for worldly happiness.

The Early Years

Before Søren Kierkegaard was twenty-one, his mother, four of his siblings, and a number of in-laws had died. Kierkegaard’s father confided that the endless treks to the graveyard were divine punishment for the fact that as a very poor shepherd boy on the heaths of Denmark he had cursed God. Kierkegaard’s father told his remaining two sons that as punishment for his boyhood transgression he would live to bury all of his children. In both his melancholy and his peculiar understanding of faith, Kierkegaard’s father made a deep impression upon his famous son’s life and works.

In 1830 Kierkegaard entered the University of Copenhagen. At the behest of his father he matriculated in theology, but studied widely in the liberal arts. Many scholars regard Kierkegaard as having been in rebellion against his father during his early years at the university; however, in 1837 he reconciled with the patriarch, who died the following year. At the time of his father’s death, Kierkegaard had been studying at the university for eight years, but despite his father’s goading he had still failed to take his exams. Explaining that he could no longer argue with a dead man, he began to apply himself. In

1840 Kierkegaard finished and defended his dissertation, “On the Concept of Irony: With Constant Reference to Socrates.”

At the epicenter of Kierkegaard’s life was his forlorn relationship with Regine Olsen. In 1837 Kierkegaard fell in love with Regine. Three years later they became engaged. Almost immediately after the engagement, Kierkegaard began to have second thoughts. A little more than one year later he broke it off. Confiding in his diaries, Kierkegaard offered a number of reasons for this break, which was so brutal as to nearly sap Regine’s will to live. For one, he wanted to protect her from the terrible melancholy that afflicted the entire Kierkegaard family. For another, he did not feel that he could answer his calling to be a religious writer and a husband at the same time. Either way, she remained the wife of his soul and like his father, Regine is never far below the surface of Kierkegaard’s thought.

Two weeks after ending his engagement Kierkegaard left for Berlin, where, along with Karl Marx (1818–1883), he attended the lectures of the German philosopher Friedrich Schelling. There, in the crucible of the break with Regine, Kierkegaard came into his genius and his muse. In but a few months, in which he was also taking classes, Kierkegaard wrote the lyrical but sprawling *Either/Or* which, stylistically speaking, is one of the most peculiar philosophical tracts ever written. He also wrote his *Two Upbuilding Discourses*. Kierkegaard soon became disenchanted with Schelling, returned to Denmark, and began a period of astounding literary productivity. Over the next three years he penned *Fear and Trembling*, *The Concept of Anxiety*, the sharply chiseled *Philosophical Fragments*, the immense and somewhat uneven *Stages on Life’s Way*, and a shelf of edifying discourses. In 1844 Kierkegaard resolved that after one more book he would lay down his pen and take a pastorate in a rural church. His finale was to be the keystone of his philosophical writings, the *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. However, soon after the publication of this book Kierkegaard was drawn into a fray with the popular left-leaning Danish weekly the *Corsair*. Nearly everyone read the *Corsair* and many feared turning up in one of its political cartoons. Kierkegaard appeared in many of them and became something of a negative media star in Denmark. The battle with the *Corsair*, which ended in the editors resigning and in Kierkegaard having to resign himself to living a more private life, made it clear to Kierkegaard that he should continue with his authorship.

Published Works

In 1849 Kierkegaard published what may well be the most profound study of Christian psychology ever written, *The Sickness unto Death*. Between 1851 and 1855 came the black hole in Kierkegaard’s life. While writing a torrent of journal entries he published nothing, but in 1855 he launched a frontal assault on the Danish State Church. At the funeral of the Danish prelate and Kierkegaard family pastor, Bishop J.P. Mynster, the priest and theologian H.L.Martensen delivered a eulogy in which he described Mynster as “a witness to the Truth.” Throughout his authorship, Kierkegaard had argued that the likes of Mynster and Martensen had let the criterion for being a Christian slip so low that

people no longer had a useful barometer of what it meant to have faith. Bishop Mynster enjoyed great power and led an opulent lifestyle. For Kierkegaard being a witness to the truth would entail existentially mirroring the truth by imitating the person of Jesus Christ. As far as Kierkegaard was concerned, Mynster did not take a single step along this road and so Kierkegaard found the very idea of one of the leaders of the church calling Mynster “a witness to the Truth” woefully misleading. With Martensen’s hyperbolic encomium, Kierkegaard came to the end of his rope. Starting his own journal, *The Instant*, Kierkegaard attacked Martensen and the church establishment of which he was such an integral part. Kierkegaard was so angry that he stopped attending services, commenting that he would no longer participate in a process that “made a fool of God.” Throughout the period of the attack, Kierkegaard was fast becoming gravely ill. On September 25, 1855, Kierkegaard delivered his final fusillade in *The Instant*. A week later he fell unconscious on the street. On November 11, at the age of forty-two, he died of causes still uncertain. There was a minor riot at Kierkegaard’s internment at Assistance Cemetary in Copenhagen. During the last few months of his life, Kierkegaard not only refused the sacraments, he refused to see members of the clergy as well, including his celebrated brother, Pastor Peter Christian Kierkegaard. After Dean Tryde, a member of the clergy, performed the committal, Kierkegaard’s nephew Henrik Lund vigorously protested that having a clergyman at the head of the grave was contrary to all of Kierkegaard’s wishes. Lund’s lengthy graveyard comments received some applause and there were a few tense moments before the large crowd dispersed.

Kierkegaard wrote the bulk of his most celebrated works and certainly his most philosophical books under pseudonyms. There is much debate among Kierkegaard scholars about his reasons for taking this tack. While the use of pseudonyms was common in Denmark at this time, Kierkegaard offered a variety of explanations for his use of pen names. For one, he claimed that he wanted to present his readers with various life possibilities or perspectives quite different from his own. Once again, Kierkegaard held that he did not live in the same categories as expressed in some of his works, for example, *The Sickness unto Death*, and therefore could not pretend as though the positions taken in such books were his own. For still another reason, Kierkegaard wanted to deflect his reader’s interest away from his personality. Whatever the explanation, he took his noms de plume seriously, and in his journals and his non-pseudonymously written *From the Point of View of My Work as an Author*, he insisted that the opinions expressed in the pseudonymous works not be treated as though they were his own.

Conflict with Other Philosophers

Kierkegaard struggled both mightily and brilliantly against the ENLIGHTENMENT notion that faith was sub-servient to reason. His main antagonists were philosopher GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL (1770–1831) and the Danish Hegelians who, on Kierkegaard’s reading, would have us believe that faith was, in effect, a simplified version of philosophy to be consumed by the simple folk who could not understand the likes of German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Hegel. While he was not

an irrationalist, Kierkegaard argued, for the most part obliquely, that faith is beyond reason in the sense that reason cannot decide the question of faith. More than that, Johannes Climacus (pseudonymous author of *Philosophical Fragments* and *The Concluding Unscientific Postscript*) describes the object of faith as an absolute absurdity. The claim that, relative to his creation, God is an absurdity, has been the source of much debate among interpreters of Kierkegaard. Whereas some maintain that for Kierkegaard the object of faith is a logical contradiction (for instance, the eternal come into time, the immortal to die), others such as Stephen Evans contend that Kierkegaard, who upholds the law of noncontradiction against Hegel, did not believe that faith requires the willingness and ability to believe in self-contradictory propositions or nonsense.

According to Kierkegaard's most philosophical persona, Johannes Climacus, reason must either step aside before the object of faith or take offense. Taking up on Jesus's oft stated, "Do not take offense in me," Kierkegaard believed that the possibilities of faith and offense were inextricably tied to one another, so that when the thorn of the possibility of offense was removed, so was the possibility of faith. On Kierkegaard's reading, the rationalized and so volatilized idea of God peddled by Enlightenment theology removed just this possibility.

In his masterwork *Fear and Trembling*, Kierkegaard tries to restore both the difficulty and the primitivity of faith. He centered this book on the Genesis story of Abraham and Isaac, and in so doing strove to remind his reader that reason and revelation or faith may well conflict. Once more, now as in Kierkegaard's time, many believe that being faithful amounts to nothing more or less than being moral; that is, they believe that faith is somehow reducible to ethics. However, in *Fear and Trembling* Kierkegaard astutely notes that speaking solely from an ethical point of view, Abraham, the father of faith, was guilty of murder. Thus, we have Kierkegaard's strange apology in which he insists, albeit indirectly, that revelation is beyond reason and that the content of faith cannot be reduced to moral duties or a recipe of rules for the good life.

While he does not follow Schleiermacher in reducing faith to a feeling, Kierkegaard places great emphasis on the importance of passion. A critic of the epoch, Kierkegaard chides his age for its excess of reflection and lack of passion and decisiveness. Kierkegaard was nicknamed "Enten/eller" (Either/Or) and with good reason, as he tried to press people into deciding for or against God, rather than imagining that they could be born into the fold and at the same time act in no markedly different way from atheists. Kierkegaard stressed the significance of the will to the point where some Kierkegaard scholars have charged him with being a volitionalist, that is, someone who holds the untenable psychological thesis that we can will to believe whatever we wish to believe. Other Kierkegaard scholars have countered that far from being a volitionalist, Kierkegaard believed that faith is the result of sheer grace. Still other Kierkegaard scholars, such as Jamie Ferreira and Steven Emmanuel, have developed a compromise position, holding that for Kierkegaard faith involves both the will and grace.

Then what, according to Kierkegaard, is faith? *The Concluding Unscientific Postscript* teaches that faith is a clinging with the highest passion to an objective uncertainty. In Kierkegaard's more direct communiques, that objective uncertainty is marked as the person of Jesus of Nazareth. As already stated, Kierkegaard was a virulent critic of the Danish State Church and of the notion that one could, as it were, be born into the faith. In his *Fear and Trembling*, Kierkegaard admonished that a fire sale was in progress with

regard to faith. That is the criterion, for what it means to believe had been so diminished that many people wrongly believed themselves to be Christians. Kierkegaard looked to Socrates as a kind of secular saint and, like the gadfly of Athens, Kierkegaard wrote as though he were the gadfly of Christendom. While Socrates relieved many of his interlocutors of the idea that they had knowledge, Kierkegaard strove to extricate his readers from a false sense of their own faith. In myriad different ways, Kierkegaard taught that there is no believing in Christ without seeking to imitate his suffering, humiliation, hope, and love.

In his seminal *Works of Love*, Kierkegaard argues that there is only one form of love, love of God. Unless they are grounded in love of God, all other forms of preferential love (friendship and erotic love), are best understood as manifestations of improper self-love. In this book, Kierkegaard unpacks the New Testament, and comes to the conclusion that hard as it may be for the worldly individual to understand, and contrary as it may seem to the Kantian perspective to which Kierkegaard was otherwise sympathetic, love is best understood as an obligation that commands action. And yet, the author of this same book teaches that there is fundamentally only one action that we can perform to help our neighbors and that is to help them love God.

Kierkegaard is often called the father of existentialism. He had enormous impact on the philosophers Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), Miguel Unamuno y Jugo (1864–1936), Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), and Karl Jaspers (1883–1969). Kierkegaard was also much revered by genial analytic philosopher, Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951). Indeed, Wittgenstein's writings on ethics and religion owe much to the Danish philosopher. Kierkegaard also helped shape the thinking of the grand masters of twentieth-century theology, KARL BARTH (1886–1968), RUDOLF BULTMANN (1884–1976), PAUL JOHANNES TILLICH (1886–1965), and REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971). Finally, due to his views on authorship, concretely manifest in his pseudonymous writings, postmodern thinkers have found an ally in Kierkegaard.

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GORDON MARINO

KILHAM, HANNAH (1774–1832)

English educator. Hannah Spurr was born in Sheffield, England, on August 12, 1774, to a family well established in trade although not affluent (her father being a master cutler), which provided her a good education. She became known as an educator, philanthropist, and pioneer of African linguistics. Brought up an Anglican, she joined the Methodists in 1794, and in 1798 married Alexander Kilham, leader of the Methodist New Connexion, the first major division in METHODISM after JOHN WESLEY'S death. Kilham died the same year, leaving his wife with an unborn child (who died in infancy) and a stepdaughter (who was to be her biographer).

Disillusioned with Methodism, especially the gap between the professed sentiments of the hymns and the lives of those who sang them, Hannah joined the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS in 1803. She was active in charitable schemes for the poor in ENGLAND and IRELAND, and notably in BIBLE SOCIETIES, the antislavery cause, and EDUCATION among the poor. These interests combined to turn her interests toward AFRICA.

In 1820 she began the study of the Wolof and Mandinka languages, guided by two redeemed slaves from the Gambia area of West Africa. She produced Scripture passages and reading materials in the languages. In 1823, although nearing fifty, she organized and led a party, which included the language informants, on an agricultural and educational mission to Gambia. She also visited SIERRA LEONE, where she found that, although crowds of Africans drawn from many parts of the continent and rescued from slave ships were in school, they were all being taught in English, not in their vernaculars. She revisited Sierra Leone in 1827–1828, and for a longer time from 1830, when she set up a school in the liberated African village of Charlotte and developed her ideas of language study and vernacular teaching. Her assistant for Yoruba study was almost certainly SAMUEL CROWTHER. She was in the process of visiting LIBERIA when she died at sea on March 31, 1832.

Hannah Kilham's activities in Africa were carried out amid her many concerns elsewhere, particularly famine relief in Ireland. Indeed, it is possible that she had too many concerns for any one of them to be brought to completion. She was an advocate and pioneer of MISSIONS, albeit of a clearly defined character, in a denomination that had at the time somewhat distanced itself from the missionary movement—and in a period when female initiatives of the kind were virtually unknown. She was a pioneer in the study of African languages, at a time when this was a field outside the competence of the learned world. She envisaged an institute in London where the main languages of

Africa could be studied, with two native speakers of each language operating in a purpose-built (and specially heated) building. In her work for African vernacular education, she was far ahead of her time.

See also Bible Translation; Slavery, Abolition of

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ANDREW F.WALLS

KIMBANGU, SIMON (1889–1951)

African religious leader. Founder of the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth Through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu, Kimbangu was born in 1889 in the village of Nkamba in the lower Congo region of AFRICA. His early life and religious activities are shrouded in much myth and legend. As a young boy, Kimbangu came under the influence of the English Baptist Missionary Society missionaries, was baptized in 1915 along with his wife, MarieMivilu, and received his schooling at the Baptist mission school in nearby Wathen (although he was rejected for religious leadership).

When an epidemic broke out in Nkamba in 1918, Kimbangu reputedly received a calling to heal the sick through a voice from Christ, who told him that he, rather than Western missionaries, was chosen to convert his fellow Africans. Frightened, Kimbangu fled to Kinshasa (then Leopoldville) to work at an oil refinery for three years before returning to Nkamba in 1921. Again, Kimbangu received the call to heal, but this time he began a ministry that lasted from March until September and attracted many followers to Nkamba, which became known as the “New Jerusalem.” Alarmed that this mass movement might translate into political protest against Belgian colonial rule, the authorities ordered Kimbangu’s arrest on June 6, 1921, but he eluded arrest until voluntarily surrendering on September 12. Kimbangu was given the death sentence, which was commuted to life imprisonment by King Albert, and he lived out his life in the prison at Lubumbashi until his death on October 12, 1951.

Under the leadership of his son, Kuntima Diangienda, the Kimbanguist movement, with its emphasis on absolute dependence on God, divine healing and charismatic phenomena, and the rejection of polygamy, traditional magic, and fetishes, evolved into an indigenous church, the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth Through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu. This church was accepted into the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1969 and today counts upward of 5 million members.

See also African Instituted Churches; Baptist Missions; Faith Healing

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TIMOTHY E.FULOP

KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (1929–1968)

American churchman and civil rights leader. Martin Luther King Jr. was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, into a middle class black Baptist family with CLERGY on both his father's and mother's side. After skipping two grades in public school King entered Morehouse College in Atlanta at age fifteen. His call to the ministry led him to Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania (now Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School in Rochester, New York), from which in 1951 he graduated at the head of his class. His graduate education continued at Boston University where he received his Ph.D. in systematic theology in 1955 with a dissertation on the notion of God in the work of PAUL TILLICH and Henry Nelson Weiman.

After receiving several offers from academic institutions, King decided to return to his native South and became pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. Then in 1960 he became copastor with his father at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. He held this position as well as indispensable leadership in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT until his assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968. He was buried in Atlanta near Ebenezer Baptist Church, survived by his wife, Coretta Scott King, and four children.

King authored five books and scores of articles and delivered thousands of speeches and sermons in the UNITED STATES and abroad. In 1964 he became the youngest person to receive the Nobel Prize for peace. He is primarily known as a civil rights activist who, through nonviolent means, sought to correct social injustice.

Philosophy of Nonviolence

King's understanding of nonviolence was based on the Christian teaching of love found in the Sermon on the Mount and on Mahatma Gandhi's method of Ahimsa (noninjury). The spirit and content of nonviolence were from Jesus; the path and method were from Gandhi. This philosophy can be summed up in the following way: nonviolence was always the unvarying principle; noncooperation and civil disobedience were the two main

strategies; various tactics would be used from picketing, boycotting, demonstrating, parading without a permit, conducting sit-ins, and refusing to obey certain local discriminatory laws.

An account of King's pilgrimage to nonviolence is found in chapter 6 of his first book, *Stride Toward Freedom*. There, King outlines the bases of nonviolence. (1) Nonviolence is not a method for the weak or for cowards. It is not passive nonresistance to evil, but active nonviolent resistance to evil, often in the face of great odds. (2) Nonviolence does not seek to defeat or humiliate opponents, but to win them over by way of friendship and understanding. This is done to create the Beloved Community. (3) Nonviolence as a method of attack is directed against forces of evil and systemic injustice, rather than against persons doing evil. (4) Nonviolence is predicated on the willingness to accept suffering without retaliation. "Unearned suffering is redemptive." (5) Nonviolence avoids external physical violence but also internal spiritual violence. (6) Nonviolent protest is based on the belief that the universe is on the side of justice. "The moral arc of the universe is long, but it bends toward justice." King's leadership for civil rights in campaigns from Montgomery to Memphis saw the practice of these principles evolve with integrity and effectiveness.

Montgomery, Alabama: Segregated Public Transportation (December 1955-December 1956)

The catalyst for this campaign was Rosa Parks's refusal to stand for a white man who wanted her seat in a bus on December 1, 1955. Soon a bus boycott, under the inspiration of King, was organized with the help of E.D.Nixon, a local black labor leader, and the Woman's Political Council. For a year, black workers carpooled, walked to work, and otherwise avoided the buses. Their success was achieved near the end of 1956. The Montgomery Improvement Association was formed to coordinate the various tactics of the boycott, a form of noncooperation. Soon after the Montgomery campaign, in 1957, King, along with other young black clergy, formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to provide a new vision for the South and, in their words, to "save the soul of America." That organization exists today.

Birmingham, Alabama: Public Transportation (1963)

Selma, Alabama: Voting Rights (1965)

King faced these issues in Birmingham: (1) the desegregation of lunch counters, rest rooms, fitting rooms, and drinking fountains; (2) hiring and promoting of black workers

on a nondiscriminatory basis; (3) the dropping of all charges against jailed demonstrators and (4) the creation of a biracial committee for implementing a timetable to realize these goals. In Birmingham he ratcheted up the strategy of nonviolence from noncooperation to nonviolent direct action by way of several forms of civil disobedience. They ranged from picketing to marching to large-scale voluntary jailing, especially on the part of young people. Here demonstrators also met the most resistance from Eugene “Bull” Conner, the Commissioner of Public Safety, who ordered the use of electric cattle prods, police dogs, billy clubs, and fire hoses against them. In addition, there were bombings and burnings of homes and motels. The televised images of these events tapped the conscience of the United States and sufficient pressure was brought to bear on both houses of Congress by black and white citizens alike that within a year the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. It was also during this campaign that King served an eightday jail sentence and during his imprisonment on April 16, 1963, wrote his famous *Letter from Birmingham Jail*, one of the significant Christian documents of the twentieth century.

The Selma campaign was waged to ensure voting rights for black citizens, the majority population of Dallas County. In employing the same nonviolent direct action used in Birmingham, local black people and many northern whites met again with physical danger from local white citizens, led by Sheriff Jim Clark and the KU KLUX KLAN (KKK). This was particularly evidenced by events surrounding “Bloody Sunday,” March 7, 1965, one of the defining moments in the Civil Rights Movement. About 600 marchers, led by John Lewis, planned the fifty-mile walk from Selma to Montgomery. They had to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge as they left Selma and were met there with police on horses who beat and trampled the marchers. Several days later King led a successful march to Montgomery. The success of the Selma campaign led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The March on Washington, D.C. (1963)

Soon after the Birmingham campaign, the March on Washington was organized, culminating at the Lincoln Memorial for August 28, 1963. It was the occasion for King’s famous “I Have a Dream” speech in which he clarified his vision of the Beloved Community. The ideals expressed in the speech of human dignity, the worth of human personality, racial integration, and a society ruled by the law of love were based on the Western religious ideals of the Messianic Era and the KINGDOM OF GOD as well as on the political ideals of the nation’s founding documents, primarily the Declaration of Independence, which describe the American ideal of a “holy commonwealth.”

King's Opposition to the Vietnam War

His public stand against the U.S. policy in Vietnam in the spring of 1967 found King arguing the interconnection of what he called the three basic evils in America—racism, poverty, and WAR. He saw a disproportionate number of black soldiers and national resources being expended in what he perceived to be an unjust war. This was one of King's most controversial statements and he was criticized by black and white leaders alike for "mixing peace and civil rights." King's response was "justice is indivisible" and "I have worked too long and hard now against segregated public accommodations to end up segregating my moral concern."

The Poor Peoples' Campaign, Washington, D.C. (1968)

In his Christmas Eve sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1967, King revealed sorrowfully that his "dream" had turned into a "nightmare." To illustrate this he cited certain class issues as increased black poverty, white backlash, his rejection in the Chicago suburbs, and the urban riots in northern cities. This new content, centering on economic concerns of housing, education, health, and jobs, including all of America's poor—African American, Latino, Native American, and Appalachian whites—called for new tactics. As a result King's method of nonviolence as an agent for social change moved from noncooperation in Montgomery to nonviolent direct action in Birmingham and Selma (all three campaigns having to do with civil rights) to massive civil disobedience, nonviolent sabotage, and in King's words the need "to dislocate the functioning of a city [Washington, D.C.] without destroying it." The primary concern at this time was democratic socialism or *class*. King felt in 1968 that this tactic was more necessary, effective, and radical than the sit-ins, boycotts, and demonstrations of previous civil rights' days. The success of the Poor Peoples' Campaign was seriously compromised by King's assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968, where he was advocating a higher standard of living for garbage workers.

King as a Broker of Twentieth-Century Protestant Thought

Although King was a social activist, he was also a Christian thinker who unified major strands of liberal Protestant theology to undergird, philosophically, his campaigns for social justice. The central themes of liberalism he encountered at Crozer and Boston, such as emphasis on religious experience, the humanity of Jesus, a strong ethical orientation, confidence in human reason and in the goodness of human beings, the dynamism of history, and a respect for other points of view, easily found their place in King's mind and heart because he had heard much of this, in one form or another, from

the black church and from President Benjamin Mays and Professor George Kelsey at Morehouse (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). His most influential teacher at Crozer, George Washington Davis, introduced King to evangelical liberals such as William Adams Brown, to the SOCIAL GOSPEL of WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, and the Personalist philosophy of Edgar Sheffield Brightman, whose thought he would examine in depth at Boston. Because of his liberal belief in the capacity for human goodness, King was open to nonviolence as a method of social change practiced by Gandhi, who was also introduced to him by Davis. King was receptive as well to the lectures and writings of such pacifists as Mordecai Johnson and A.J. Muste, although the practical significance of these ideas would not be realized by King until the Montgomery bus boycott. King's liberal leaning, especially his interest in nonviolence, were challenged by his reading of the Christian realist, REINHOLD NIEBUHR, rigorously taught by Professor Kenneth Smith at Crozer. It was this liberal theology, validated by the prayers, sermons, spirituals, and devotion to God of the black church, that fueled King's desire to resist injustice.

The Beloved Community

This was a theme in liberal Protestantism from JOSIAH ROYCE (1913) to Walter Rauschenbusch (1917) to Lynn Harold Hough (1941). King began talking about the Beloved Community in his sermons in 1955–1956 and it was mentioned or implied in almost all his major addresses for the rest of his life. This ideal human society was the vision that fundamentally motivated his life and thought.

King's "brokering" of theology was most clearly seen in his understanding of this community. The social gospel provided a theological framework with which to articulate it. Nonviolence provided the means to establish it. Personalism provided the philosophical base for supporting the personal nature of the community, and Niebuhr's realism served to qualify King's optimism about its possible realization in history. King's dream for this community was one where "all barriers that divide and alienate humanity, whether racial, economic, or psychological" would be removed. This ideal was not limited to America. Toward the end of his life King's vision became global; he often spoke of "the world house," a world where "we must transcend our races, our tribe, our class, and our nation."

King showed how the Christian gospel of love could be used to transform a racist and unjust society into one well on the way to racial harmony and social justice.

See also Kingdom of God

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KINGDOM OF GOD

For much of Protestantism, the Kingdom of God is the central symbol of God's activity in the world. Often depicted in historical terms, the Kingdom represents God's influence on the social and political order. Although some Protestant theologians and leaders describe the Kingdom as present, most combine the emphasis on the present with an eschatological dimension. A few restrict the term to the future. In which case, the Kingdom of God may be identified with the millennial reign (Revelation 20:2). CHILIASM, millennialism, and millenarianism describe theological interpretations of this prediction (see MILLENARIANS and MILLENNIALISM). While these terms are often interchangeable, many contemporary scholars reserve chiliasm and millenarianism for theologies that predict a catastrophic break in history, followed by an earthly golden age. Some reserve the full and final conception of the Kingdom for a "new creation" that will transcend and transfigure current conceptions of time and space.

Biblical Background

Protestants derive their understanding of the Kingdom of God from the BIBLE. For centuries, Protestants read Scripture as a synthetic whole, and therefore their Kingdom doctrine systematized teachings from both the Old and New Testaments. Since about 1800, however, many Protestants have adopted a critically analytic approach that understands biblical concepts in their historical context and then insists on the need to restate ancient truths in modern form.

In the New Testament, the word "Kingdom" appears primarily in Mark, Matthew, and Luke. Mark and Luke use the "kingdom of God," while Matthew uses the "kingdom of heaven." The history of the Kingdom sayings is obscure. The earliest communities reinterpreted the sayings of Jesus in the light of their own situation. Later, unknown editors collected these sayings and between A.D. 65 and 110 the Gospel authors combined them with a narrative of Jesus' life. Nonetheless, a rough outline of the development of the Kingdom tradition is possible. Jesus drew heavily on the various Isaiah traditions. He believed that Isaiah's promise of a God who will comfort the poor and the maimed was fulfilled in God's ministry, but God's rule had not yet reached its

full extent. The parables of the wheat and the tares, the mustard seed, and the leaven contrast the Kingdom's humble beginnings with its glorious future. The disciples are, hence, to pray that God's Kingdom will come on earth "as in heaven." At some point, this earlier tradition was reinterpreted apocalyptically. Those with "eyes to see and ears to hear" understand the signs of the times as certainly as sailors see the signs of changing weather. God's act will be soon. It is uncertain how much of the apocalyptic outlook goes back to Jesus himself.

Although the Kingdom figures prominently in the synoptic gospels, the term is almost absent from the Fourth Gospel and Paul's letters. There are only seven references to the Kingdom in the letters attributed to Paul, and five of those passages (I Corinthians 4:20; I Corinthians 6:9; I Corinthians 15:50 and Galatians 5:21) contrast the righteousness of the Kingdom with the unrighteousness of the church. John's two references (John 3:3 and 3:5) associate the Kingdom with the mysterious movements of the Spirit.

Early Christianity

Many early Christians shared the Revelation hope for a millennium between A.D. 100 and 300. Saint Irenaeus (c.120-c.200) and Tertullian (died c.225) continued the chiliastic tradition, stressing the importance of God's earthly Kingdom. At a time when believers suffered social rejection and occasional martyrdom, the millennial hope helped them to retain their faith. In contrast, many Gnostic Christians interpreted the historical assertions of the Bible, including the millennium, as symbols of heavenly or cosmic realities.

Belief in an earthly millennium faded around the year 200. Many bishops repudiated millennial teachings when they excommunicated the Montanists, a millenarian sect that practiced ecstatic prophecy. Contemporaneously, Clement (died c.215) and Origen (c.185-c.254), two Alexandrine theologians, applied Greek philosophic and scientific methods to Christian teaching. For those who followed their lead, the Kingdom was spiritual: the believer's present obedience to God as the moral ruler. Millennial peace and justice were symbols of the concord of the heavenly realm.

The Imperial Church

The Emperor Constantine (c.288-c.337) and his successors, with the exception of Julian, made the Christian Church first the favored and then the exclusive religion of Rome. This turned matters of faith into matters of state, and tended to identify God's rule with the government. For the church historian Eusebius (c.263-c.340), Constantine's government was the climax of Christian history. In his *Life of Constantine*, Eusebius depicted the emperor as a new David, anointed by God. In effect, Christ exercised his rule on earth through the godly ruler.

In the Eastern Roman Empire, this theology promoted an exaltation of the emperor's person. In the West, the situation was more complicated because rulers often had to share power with ecclesiastical officials. Nonetheless, the royal theology thrived. Bishops crowned kings, anointed them with holy oils, and said prayers for their families at mass. In term, kings represented God's power on earth.

The identification of the earthly kingdom with God's reign has rarely monopolized Christian thinking. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) began his episcopate believing that God was Rome's protector and Christianity, the highest expression of Roman culture. The barbarian invasions of the West and, finally, of his own North Africa, however, led him to rethink this identification. In his *City of God*, Augustine argued that the city of God and the city of man coexisted together. The human city was ruled by pride, avarice, and other vices, and, hence, could never be the Kingdom, although it was necessary for human righteousness. The visible church was not the Kingdom either. Like the earthly city, the church was a mixed multitude of wheat and tares. Only in heaven would God rule directly. John's millennium, Augustine believed, was a symbol of the church and did not refer to an earthly reign of Christ.

Monastic movements represented another approach to the kingdom. Through such practices as prayer, fasting, voluntary poverty, and solitude, the monks attempted to make their communities obedient to Christ. Each monastery was, in effect, an outpost of the Kingdom of Christ.

Abbot Joachim of Fiore (1132–1202) taught that world history passed through three ages or reigns: the Kingdom of the Father, the Kingdom of the Son, and the Kingdom of the Spirit. The advent of this last kingdom, Joachim believed, was near. Later, Joachim's teachings were popular among the followers of Francis of Assisi (c.1182–1226). Francis established his order of brothers around the ideal of absolute poverty: they were to own nothing and to beg their meals. Although the order became less radical as time passed, a minority insisted on the literal fulfillment of Francis's example. These "Spirituals" believed that Francis had inaugurated Joachim's Kingdom of the Spirit and that they were the first fruits of God's millennial reign. Although the Spiritual Franciscans were suppressed, their ideas inspired many medieval millennial movements, some of whom advocated violent revolution.

The Reformation

The fifteenth-century invention of moveable type revolutionized learning by providing readers and professional scholars with uniform, easily readable texts. Printed book production made Europe a common market in ideas, with new works spreading across the continent rapidly. Simultaneously, Europeans launched a program of trade, exploration, and discovery. New routes to India were discovered, and Christopher Columbus accidentally landed in the Americas. Exploration in turn transformed everyday life as new products and foods, such as coffee (Arabia), sugar (India, later Americas), spices (Asia), chocolate (Americas), and tobacco (Americas) were introduced. To many, such changes were signs that God was about to begin the millennium. Spanish missionaries,

for instance, gathered NATIVE AMERICANS into self-sustaining communities that they believed were signs of God's New Age.

MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) followed Augustine in his doctrine of the Kingdom. In both his Large and Small Catechisms, Luther interpreted the petition "Thy Kingdom (*Reich*) Come" as the Christian's response to God's will. To pray for the Kingdom is, thus, to become obedient to revelation and its demands. Like Augustine, Luther distinguished between the two kingdoms, using his understanding of law and gospel to interpret the relation of CHURCH AND STATE. Man's *Reich* must use legislation and the sword to affect its will. In contrast, God's *Reich* directly rules the hearts of believers. Both kingdoms are, of course, ultimately rooted in God, and Luther speaks of the earthly kingdom as God's left hand and the heavenly kingdom as God's right.

Without intending it, Luther inspired millenarian speculations. Although he questioned Revelation's canonicity, Luther frequently identified papal Rome with the whore who sat on seven hills. Further, editions of Luther's Bible translation often featured woodcuts depicting the pope as Antichrist, being thrown from heaven. Such pictures spoke louder than words. When ordinary people read Luther's Bible, their eyes moved from the image of the pope's damnation to the text's prophecy of a coming millennial reign; the conclusion that the fall of Rome was a step toward the Kingdom was natural, almost inevitable.

By 1524, interest in establishing the millennial Kingdom had become common. The German peasants, who had long suffered injustice, carefully read the Bible and derived from it, as well as from an assessment of traditional law, a list of demands for social change. THOMAS MÜNTZER (1489–1525) and other preachers gave their demands an explicitly millennial interpretation that identified the peasants' cause with the Kingdom. Partially in reaction, Luther supported the opponents of the peasants, claiming that the princes were doing God's will in putting down the rebellion. Luther's extreme royal theology went in a different direction than his more balanced two kingdoms theology.

The South German and Swiss Reformers made the Kingdom a central part of their theology. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) believed that the Bible contained blueprints for society, and, hence, governments ought to adopt its teaching. At about the same time, the sectarian Anabaptists turned explicitly to the New Testament for their Kingdom teaching (see ANABAPTISM). Although the Anabaptists were not a unified movement, most taught that faith was a voluntary matter, a point reinforced by their insistence on believer's baptism. In addition, they hoped their churches might be holy commonwealths that renounced war, the oath, and economic injustice.

Radical Anabaptists, inspired by MELCHIOR HOFMANN'S (c.1500–1543) millennial speculations, attempted to establish a millennial Kingdom in Münster. Besieged by an imperial army, their commune practiced polygamy and the community of goods. Although the princes defeated the Münster rebels, as they earlier defeated the peasants, the Anabaptist hope for a new Kingdom did not vanish.

Although Geneva's JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) shared Zwingli's Old Testament passion, Calvin, a humanist and lawyer, understood that laws reflected cultural as well as divine mandates. Calvin knew that biblical injunctions could not replace the civil code, but he believed that disciplined people living in a well-regulated state were a social approximation of the Gospel. Under his leadership, Geneva was characterized by a practical utopianism. MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551), an older contemporary of Calvin,

used similar ideas in his *De regno christi* (1557), the first systematic Protestant study of the Kingdom of God.

Early Modern Protestantism

Although Johann Andreae's (1586–1654) *Christianopolis* (1619), which depicted an ideal society based on biblical materials, was an important exception, Calvin and Luther's understanding of the Kingdom dominated most Continental theology. In contrast, English Protestantism developed another approach to the Kingdom rooted in that country's history. John Wycliff (1330–1384) taught a simple biblicism that became commonplace, and the English people long believed themselves God's New Israel. Further, the English Reformation made England Protestant, then Catholic, then Protestant again. Whatever the archbishop said at the coronation, religious change fatally wounded the belief that the king was the viceregent of God. Each reign created martyrs whose deaths witnessed to God's direct power over conscience. In addition, ENGLAND was Europe's trader, and its ships carried books and ideas as well as cargo. Numerous refugees and foreign scholars taught in its universities.

English interest in the Kingdom and in the millennium developed rapidly after the ascension of ELIZABETH I (1533–1603). Elizabeth was a master of the new media of print, and her court writers depicted her as a new Deborah called to save Protestantism. The queen was blessed by shrewdness and luck. The defeat of the Spanish Armada, for instance, resulted from her careful, secretive building of the Royal Navy, Francis Drake's genius, and a massive storm. Although her ministers harried them, gagged their leaders, and prohibited their gatherings, Elizabeth was unable to silence the Puritans who believed that her church was not sufficiently reformed (see PURITANISM). If anything, persecution whetted their appetite for millenarianism. By 1600, English presses were churning out studies of the Revelation, including Thomas Brightman's *Apocalypsis apocalypseos* (1609, 1611) and Joseph Mede's *Clavis apocalyptica* (1627). Bishop James Ussher's (1581–1656) chronology, the *Annales veritas et novi testamentum* (1650), provided dates valuable to anyone calculating Christ's return.

James I (1566–1625) and Charles I (1600–1649) intensified Elizabeth's anti-Puritan measures. In the 1640s, when open war between Parliament and the Crown erupted, many English people believed that the Kingdom of God was at hand. These popular speculations were particularly strong in OLIVER CROMWELL'S (d. 1658) New Model army where the Fifth Monarchy Men, named after Daniel's prophecy, had a large following. Many Puritan leaders were also millennialists. Cromwell, for example, advocated the readmission of the Jews because he believed that their conversion was a precursor to the Second Coming.

Those Puritans who went to America were fascinated by the Kingdom and the millennium. Both JOHN COTTON (1585–1652) and INCREASE MATHER (1639–1723) studied Revelation carefully, searching for evidence of fulfilled prophecies. The conversion of the heathens, one of the signs, seemed at hand in the Indian missions, and

only a few prophecies remained to be fulfilled before the Kingdom arrived. Moving to a new land and establishing their own holy commonwealths reinforced these Puritan hopes.

Although Sir ISAAC NEWTON (1642–1727) spent his later years studying the various millennial prophecies, both English and American millennialism receded after the restoration of Charles II. Soured on enthusiasm by the excesses of the Revolution, JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704) and others identified religion with reason and morality. The appropriate eschatology was a belief in rewards and punishments after death and, perhaps, continuing confidence in England's special place in history.

Some late seventeenth-century interpreters offered a more rational view of the millennial tradition. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Daniel Whitby (d. 1726), and Moses Lowman (d. 1752) argued that the biblical description of millennium was symbolic. The spread of the Gospel would usher in an indefinite period of peace, justice, and economic plenty. While the millennium's approach could be charted through the usual prophetic signs, such as the fall of the papal Antichrist, the Kingdom would come through human action, not direct divine intervention. Christ's Second Coming would follow on the millennium.

This "postmillennial" theology supported the Christian activism of eighteenth-century pietists (see PIETISM). In Germany, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), supported by the Prussian ruling family, launched a major assault on Germany's spiritual ills. Francke sought to reform theological education, making it more biblically centered, established an orphanage, began a girls school, created a bible society, and sent the first Protestant missionaries to India. AngloAmerican evangelicals lacked such rich fiscal resources. Although evangelist GEORGE WHITEFIELD (1714–1770) dreamed of establishing an American HALLE in Georgia, he was unable to raise the needed funds. His friend, theologian JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758), advocated midweek prayer meetings for missions to hasten the millennium, and JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791) was a dynamo of Kingdom righteousness. He warred with alcoholism and slavery, carried out an active ministry to the poor and imprisoned, collected for charity, and, in doing so, managed to create a new denomination.

After Napoleon's fall, post-millennialism entered its classical age. Protestant missionary activity, secured by the Royal Navy and protected by the British Empire, carried Christianity to Asia and to AFRICA. Other Protestants joined the British in this missionary effort. Many American denominations, such as the Baptists and Congregationalists, formed their national denominations to support the cause. MISSIONS to the homeland also flourished. Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808–1881), a German pastor, established the Inner Mission to coordinate a number of Christian initiatives, and the Deaconess movement established the first school for nurses at Kaiserswerth. Traveling evangelists dotted the American west with churches. On the darker side, postmillennial theology contributed to modern NATIONALISM. Each Protestant nation saw itself as essential to the final triumph of the Redeemer's Kingdom, and often confused its own political goals with the divine plan.

Modern Protestantism

By 1800, many thoughtful observers believed that the modern world posed unique theological and ethical issues. Even those who opposed the newer directions of thought—and many did—found that they had to consider the implications of the new science for theology, but the issues were only primarily intellectual. Science, new techniques of manufacturing and communication, and a rising standard of living offered new economic and social possibilities. At the same time, these developments made such ancient evils as war and poverty more terrible.

Philosopher IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804) helped to define the modern period by investigating the limits of rational discourse. Although Kant did not accept religion's truth claims, he believed that religion provided symbols that enabled individuals and communities to live moral lives. In effect, "Christ," "forgiveness," and "atonement," reconciled the demands of moral law and actual human behavior. Kant used the phrase "philosophical chiasm" to refer to his belief that the Kingdom of God symbolized the hope for a world of truth and justice.

Theologian FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834), a founder of the University of Berlin, resolved to reconcile the thought of the ENLIGHTENMENT and the Christian faith. To do this, he shifted the theological center from God to the historical Jesus. As Schleiermacher understood Jesus, Jesus had a perfect consciousness of God that others might share through him. In so doing, believers became incorporated into God's Kingdom of Righteousness, which Christ's influence created and sustained.

Schleiermacher wrote just as the historical approach to the New Testament was becoming accepted. FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR (1792–1860) of Tübingen was an early representative of these new studies. His developmental approach to the New Testament stressed the ways in which the earliest churches had reinterpreted faith as the church moved from Palestine to Rome. In Baur's view, much of the New Testament was late in its composition, and he doubted the attributed authorship of many New Testament books. DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS (1808–1874), a follower of G.F.W. HEGEL (1770–1831), carried Baur's argument one step further. According to Strauss, the earliest churches gradually replaced Jesus with a mythological portrait that made Christ a divine man. The meaning of the Kingdom thus varied with the location of a particular passage in this longer development.

Theologian ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822–1889) used the new historical studies in creating his theology. According to Ritschl, the Kingdom of God was the core of the teachings of the historical Jesus, and, hence, should be the heart of present-day faith. By accepting Jesus's proclamation, Ritschl maintained, believers were placed in a new relationship to God that incorporated them into God's Kingdom. Through acts of love and obedience, the Christian brought the world into a new relationship with God, which in turn further advanced God's reign. After 1880, Ritschl's students occupied the important theological chairs in Germany, and representatives of his position were also found in Anglo-American theological schools.

Ritschl's Kingdom theology appealed to Christian activists who wanted to build a new society. In the United States, for instance, the Baptist WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH (1861–1918) saw the Kingdom as humanity organized according to the will of God.

Others joined him in advocating this SOCIAL GOSPEL, including the founders of the Federal Council of Churches. In Europe, LEONHARD RAGAZ (1868–1945), the translator of Rauschenbusch into German, taught a similar doctrine as did the editors of the influential periodical *Christliche Welt*.

The intellectual challenge to Ritschlean theology came from the historical study that helped to make it influential. In 1892 Johannes Weiss published *Die Predigt Jesus vom Reiche Gottes*. The book argued convincingly that Jesus' understanding of the Kingdom of God was typical of Jewish apocalyptic thought. ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S (1875–1965) *Quest for the Historical Jesus* (1906) built on Weiss's insights and argued that Christ died believing that his death would end history.

World War I and the Depression

While intellectual criticism did not destroy Ritschlian theology, human experience made it difficult to affirm. In 1914 a general European war erupted that was followed by a worldwide depression of epic proportions and yet another world war. In this context, the Ritschlian celebration of the Kingdom seemed naïve and irrelevant to social problems.

When the Great War began, many national leaders identified their country's causes with the Kingdom. The most effusive was Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), a master of Protestant rhetoric. The Great War, he argued, would end with a just peace and the establishment of a League of Nations that would make future wars impossible. Unprecedented carnage, shameless war profiteering, and a draconian peace exposed the hollowness of Wilson's words. In SWITZERLAND, a young Protestant pastor, KARL BARTH (1886–1968), published *The Epistle to the Romans* (1919), a commentary that stressed the discontinuity between God and human activity. Barth's new direction in theology quickly caught the attention of younger European theologians, including FRIEDRICH GOGARTEN (1887–1968), EMIL BRUNNER (1889–1966) and RUDOLF BULTMANN (1884–1976).

Many turned to the existential philosophy of SØREN KIERKEGAARD (1813–1855), FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844–1900) and Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) to address the post-World War I world. Existentialism was a philosophic stance or orientation that made few objective truth claims. Instead, existentialists recognized that science had made traditional metaphysics unbelievable. Knowledgeable people, after all, knew that atoms, not some ethereal substance, constituted reality, but the existentialists did not want to relinquish metaphysical language altogether because philosophy illuminated the deeper problems of human experience. Many theologians saw traditional Christian doctrine in the same way. Although few believed these teachings literally, they provided a fruitful way to understand human life. Rudolf Bultmann's (1884–1976) essay, "The New Testament and Mythology," suggested that contemporaries might best understand Jesus's eschatological Kingdom as a radical call to decision or commitment.

In Germany the defeat in World War I led to social disillusionment. The 1920 political struggles pitted different secular millenniums against each other. National Socialism, for example, promised to construct a new one-thousand-year Reich on the basis of racial

purity. This millennium would come after a titanic struggle between good and evil. The Communists, flush from their victory in Russia, pressed for an ideal workers' state that might restore prosperity and dignity. The German churches, which lost many legal and constitutional privileges after the war, had difficulty addressing these conflicts. However, the new eschatology enabled some church leaders, especially in the CONFESSING CHURCH, to protest against any identification of the secular and divine order (see GERMAN CHRISTIANS). The Kingdom was as powerful in its absence as in its presence.

The world war accelerated the UNITED STATES' loss of innocence. The Social Gospel movement declined. In its place, such American theologians as REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971) and H.RICHARD NIEBUHR (1894–1962) proposed a realist theology that stressed sin and ambiguity as part of life. American realism, however, was not European neo-orthodoxy, although it drew on similar sources. Much of the older Social Gospel interest in direct Christian action continued, even as the Kingdom language was critiqued.

Theologian H.Richard Niebuhr summarized the American theological tradition in his *Kingdom of God in America* (1937). Niebuhr described American Protestant thinking as moving from a Kingdom that was dependent on sovereignty (the Puritans) through a Kingdom within individuals and movements (EVANGELICALISM) to a more social Kingdom (the Social Gospel). Ever the careful dialectician, Niebuhr refused to privilege any of these positions. Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) and Walter Rauschenbusch were both part of the American dialogue.

During the 1920s American Protestant conservatives lost the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy, and many withdrew from their churches to establish their own institutions. Many advocated premillennial DISPENSATIONALISM, an interpretation of prophecy that had been popular in the nineteenth century. Dispensationalism began with the British millenarian, JOHN NELSON DARBY (1800–1882), whose teachings were modified in American prophecy courses, Bible study programs, and Bible schools. To stabilize this theology, Cyrus Scofield (1843–1921) asked a committee to help him edit the *SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE*. Reading Jesus' teachings about the Kingdom in a literal way, Scofield concluded that Jesus believed that the Kingdom would follow shortly after his resurrection. Instead, God inserted a great parenthesis into prophetic history that would end with the Rapture. After Jesus appeared to take his people home, the fulfillment of prophecy would resume and, after a great tribulation, the saints would reign with Christ in the millennium. The Kingdom was, like a Christian America, a hope radically deferred.

Late Modernity

Not surprisingly, the nuclear age has been a period of intense interest in eschatology. In Germany the two most influential postwar theologians were WOLFHART PANNENBERG(1928–) and JÜRGEN MOLTMANN (1926–), who published influential studies of the Kingdom in the 1970s. Although both began with an eschatological

understanding of Jesus' teachings, they diverged at significant points. In the *Theology and the Kingdom of God* (1969), Pannenberg stressed the intertwining of the present and future Kingdom of God. Thus, the coming Kingdom effects the present, which already contains the future. In contrast Moltmann, in the *Trinity and the Kingdom* (1980), saw the Kingdom as the work of the Trinity, which keeps the world's future open for the future Kingdom of glory.

In the United States, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (1929–1968), an African American civil rights leader, made important contributions to the discussion of the Kingdom of God. A complex thinker, King combined elements of American religious liberalism, African American religion, and his Baptist tradition. In addition, King believed that Gandhi's nonviolence was the way for an oppressed people to confront their opponents. King assumed leadership of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT during the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955), and his theology was contained in the documents that he prepared for that public task. His 1963 speech at the Washington monument, "I Have a Dream," summed up his vision of the coming Kingdom.

The theology of liberation was a theological response to the grinding poverty of the Third World (see LIBERATION THEOLOGY). Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutierrez's (1928–) *Teología de la liberación* (1971) was an attempt to bring together insights from Marxism, particularly as expressed through such thinkers as Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), the concrete situation in Latin America, and the need for political action. To further their understanding of the Kingdom, liberation theologians established *comunidades eclesiales de base* or base communities. These small lay-led communities provided a place for ordinary people to develop their religious and political concerns.

Among Roman Catholics, liberation theology has become less influential. In 1985, Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff (1938–) was summoned to Rome to explain his *Igreja: Carisma e poder* (1981). Boff was silenced and the pope's new appointments in Latin America were conservative. In North America, however, liberation theology sparked the development of a number of theologies concerned with human rights, including feminist and gay theology (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY; HOMOSEXUALITY). These new theologies began with the particular group's religious and theological insights as sources of action and reflection. Feminist theologians, although generally supportive of the broader liberation emphasis on the Kingdom, have critiqued that language as gender specific. In their place, they have suggested substitutes, such as the Dominion of God.

Popular religion, particularly in the United States, also saw an expanding interest in apocalyptic theologies. Unlike earlier dispensationalists, such authors as Hal Lindsey, who wrote *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970), pointed to contemporary events, including the threat of nuclear war, as signs that God was about to act.

Despite its popularity, many conservative theologians questioned dispensationalism. Fuller Seminary's George Elton Ladd, for instance, published a series of thoughtful conservative works, beginning with his *Blessed Hope* (1956), that questioned the doctrine's biblical basis. His colleague, Daniel Fuller, criticized the teaching from a more systematic perspective. Despite extensive controversy in the Evangelical Theological Society, Fuller Seminary and other evangelical schools rejected dispensationalism as an institutional norm, although those faculties continued to include some advocates. At

Dallas Theological Seminary, long the dispensational flagship, a younger generation of scholars moved toward a “progressive dispensationalism” that removed many of the harsher elements of the traditional system.

Present

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War has apparently coincided with the beginnings of another period in theology. Throughout the 1990s, both theology and popular faith moved away from the apocalyptic and social concerns of the late modern period. In their place there is a new interest in the personal apprehension of religion. Interest in mysticism, eastern religions, and nontraditional spiritual disciplines is common. There is increasing concern with how people will manage, not social deprivation, but the considerable economic blessings of current Western and American life. Perhaps this theology will allow the Kingdom to lie fallow for a season until a new band of prophets summons it again to deal with the perpetual crises of society.

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GLENN T.MILLER

KINGSLEY, CHARLES (1819–1875)

Anglican clergyman, Christian Socialist, and Victorian novelist. Son of a Devonshire vicar, Kingsley studied at King's College, London, and Magdalene College, Cambridge. While a student at Cambridge, Kingsley struggled with his own Christian beliefs and read SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, F.D. MAURICE, and others. He was not, however, a disciplined student, and he immersed himself in college sports. He graduated and was ordained to the priesthood in 1842, eventually obtaining appointment to a living at Eversley, Hants.

His reaction to the emergent OXFORD MOVEMENT was sharply negative; he dismissed ASCETICISM of any sort and was no admirer of the medieval church. A critical aside about JOHN HENRY NEWMAN led to the latter's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. Kingsley became a keen follower of Maurice and called for the church to address the needs of the poorer classes. Indeed, he became a leader of the Christian Socialist Movement for which he was often the target of harsh criticism. Kingsley tended, in fact, to be apolitical, seeking to improve the lot of the disadvantaged through education and cooperative reforms. Kingsley was not a systematic thinker but is considered one of the early leaders of the liberal BROAD CHURCH Movement within ANGLICANISM.

He was also a prolific poet and novelist, his most notable novels being *Yeast* (1850), *Westward Ho!* (1855), and the children's book, *The Water-Babies* (1863). By the time of his death, he had gained a degree of acceptance in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, serving as canon of Chester (1869–1873) and Westminster (1873–1875) and as one of Queen Victoria's chaplains in ordinary (appointed 1859).

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GILLIS J.HARP

KINGSLEY, MARY (1862–1900)

English missionary theorist. As a champion of West African CULTURE in the late nineteenth century, Mary Kingsley's contribution to the missionary project in that area is best known for her antipathy toward and criticism of the MISSIONS. Born October 13, 1862, in Islington, London, Kingsley died in SOUTH AFRICA on June 3, 1900, while nursing Boer prisoners. Her uncle was the famous CHARLES KINGSLEY, Christian Socialist and novelist. After the death of her parents Mary Kingsley went on two extended journeys to what are now Angola, Cameroon, Gabon, NIGERIA, and SIERRA LEONE. These journeys lasted respectively from August to December 1893, and December 1894 to November 1895.

Kingsley's travels resulted in three books: *Travels in West Africa* (1897), an ethnographical work; *West African Studies* (1899); and *The Story of West Africa* (1900), a historical overview of the area. However, it is Kingsley's first publication, "The Negro Future," a letter to the *Spectator* in 1895, that announced her sympathy for the West Africans and her hostility toward the missions. In this letter Kingsley refuted beliefs that the Africans were drunken idiots—a portrait she claimed was perpetrated by Protestant missionaries. In "The Development of Dodos," published in *National Review* in March 1896, she asserted that Protestant missionaries failed in West Africa because they tended to regard the African minds as so many jugs to be emptied only to be refilled with Protestant DOCTRINE.

Although Kingsley was opposed to Protestant missions, by which she meant Anglican, she made friends with French and American missionaries in Gabon and became an admirer of MARY SLESSOR, the Scottish Presbyterian who established a mission in the Okoyong region in Nigeria. Kingsley's attitude toward mission culture was unusual for a woman brought up very much with Victorian values, and certainly accounts partially for the originality in her writing.

See also Anglicanism; Christian; Colonialism; Missionary Organizations; Presbyterianism; Socialism

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MARIA NOËLLE NG

KIRCHENTAG

German Protestantism knows of three different movements that are called *Kirchentage*. Between 1848 and 1872 church notables met once a year to discuss questions of church policy or theological problems. In the Weimar Republic the *Kirchentag* was the highest official committee of the *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenbund*, which united the individual regional churches in a loose federation. Since 1949 the church conferences are lay meetings and a large public manifestation of Protestantism in Germany.

In view of the revolution of 1848, which threatened the traditional position of the churches and against the background of long-standing issues, the first *Kirchentag* took place in September 1848 in Wittenberg. The aim was to achieve a closer union of the individual regional churches and the splintered Protestantism. As a renewal and unification movement, it integrated large parts of Protestantism with the exception of the confessional Lutherans and die-hard liberals. However, the *Kirchentage* could not achieve its aims, and after the *Reichsgründung* (founding of the German Empire) in 1871 the movement came to an end.

Nonetheless, as a result of some sixteen conferences, important impulses for theological discussion and for the movement of church constitutions went out. The *Kirchentage* are connected with what is called Inner Mission, that is, evangelism and social work and their yearly meetings. The speech of Johann Heinrich Wichern at the *Kirchentag* in Wittenberg 1848 stands as the beginning of this charitable movement.

With the end of the *landesherrlichen Kirchenregiment* (territorial church government) and the beginning of the politics of separation of CHURCH AND STATE, the churches were forced to reorganize their constitutions. The first *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag* in Dresden in September 1919 initiated the process of reconstruction. The *Kirchentag* became an official institution of the *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenbund*, which was founded in 1921. Three times (1924, 1927, 1930) the church parliament met. Each time a special topic was the central point of the meetings: 1924 in Bethel (Bielefeld) the social question (*soziale Frage*), 1927 in Königsberg the patriotic or national question (*völkische Erage*), 1930 in Augsburg the denominational question. The adopted statements and the discussions can be regarded as important manifestations of Protestantism in the Weimar Republic.

In 1949 Reinold von Thadden-Trieglaff organized the *Deutsche Evangelische Woche* in Hannover, which originated the *Kirchentags* movement. In spite of the strong resistance of leading persons of the church in the beginning, the *Kirchentag* developed

into a public forum where religious, theological, social, and political challenges of the present could be broadly discussed. The topics, such as the relationship to DEMOCRACY, the problem of WAR and peace, the ecological movement, and Jewish-Christian dialogue, determined German Protestantism and were themes of the meetings.

These lay meetings, taking place every two years, became a sign of German Protestantism during the postwar period. Until 1961, the year of the building of the Berlin wall, the meetings were focused on the Cold War problem and German separation. Up to 650,000 persons have participated in the meetings. After a crisis in the 1960s the *Kirchentage* are today a fixed component of public life, in which young people in particular look for religious experiences and social challenges.

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NORBERT FRIEDRICH

KNOX, JOHN (C.1514–1572)

Scottish reformer. Born around 1514 in Haddington, near Edinburgh, Scotland, John Knox was probably educated at St. Andrews University before being ordained a Catholic priest in 1536. The date and circumstances of his CONVERSION are unknown, but by 1544 he was associated with George Wishart, whose Protestant ministry in SCOTLAND led David Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, to have him burned as a heretic in March 1546. Two months later Beaton was himself assassinated, and his murderers were besieged in the Episcopal castle at St. Andrews. There Knox joined them, and, in April 1547, he was persuaded that his vocation lay as a Protestant preacher. His ministry, however, had inauspicious beginnings, for in July 1547 St. Andrews' castle fell to the French, and Knox spent the next nineteen months as a French galley slave.

Released from captivity in March 1549, Knox settled in Edward VI's ENGLAND. It was there that he established his reputation as a leading light of the radical wing of the English church. His dogmatic biblicism, focused initially on the idolatry of the Catholic Mass, led him to oppose the stance of the moderate leadership of the Protestant establishment in England over kneeling at communion. This rift was to become more pronounced after the accession of Catholic Mary Tudor in 1553 and the flight of English Protestants to the Continent. Appointed minister of the English congregation at Frankfurt in 1554, Knox's hard-line stance on liturgical issues caused such bitter disputes that in 1555 he was forced to take refuge in Geneva.

Although Knox found his stay in Geneva a formative experience, it was initially short-lived, for in the winter of 1555–1556 he returned secretly to the north of England and from there embarked on a clandestine PREACHING tour of Scotland. Thereafter, his close identification with the English church and people was diluted by a reawakened concern for the fate of Scottish Protestants. His early writings from exile were addressed exclusively to his former English congregations, but by 1558, notably in his notorious *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, his vision was self-consciously British. Hence, when on the accession of ELIZABETH I in 1558 Knox was prevented from returning to England, his disappointment was allayed by the opportunity to effect radical reform in his native land.

On Knox's return to Scotland in May 1559, his iconoclastic preaching triggered a Protestant rebellion against the Catholic French regent, Mary of Guise, whose daughter Mary Queen of Scots had married the French dauphin in April 1558. While the rebellion was poorly supported, a Protestant settlement was eventually secured in 1560 through the

intervention of England. However, plans for closer union between the Protestant British kingdoms were dashed by the decision of the Catholic Mary Stuart to return to Scotland in August 1561. Knox's fury with the Protestant nobles who acquiesced in Mary's return, and who defended her right to practice Catholicism privately, proved fruitless. Knox was politically marginalized, and, although he railed against the queen's Mass from the pulpit, he played little role in the events that led to Mary's overthrow in 1567. While he preached at the coronation of the infant James VI in July 1567, and supported the anti-Marian party in the civil war that followed Mary's escape from captivity in 1568, age and ill health increasingly curtailed his activities. He died in Edinburgh on November 24, 1572.

Knox was not a systematic thinker and left no body of theological work. Although he helped shape the defining documents of the Scottish Reformation—the reformed *Confession of Faith* and the *First Book of Discipline*—most of his surviving writings are polemical tracts written in response to specific circumstances. Effectively sermons, distinguished by their pungent and often prophetic rhetoric, they display Knox's close identification with the Old Testament prophets on whom he modeled his public persona. This is particularly apparent during the period of the Marian exile, when Knox wrestled with the problem of finding scriptural AUTHORITY for resistance to Catholic tyranny. For all their prophetic fury, however, Knox's writings are less politically radical than is often assumed. While the *First Blast* was a sweeping indictment of female governance, his other key tracts of 1558—the *Appellation* and the *Letter to the Commonalty*—fall some way short of the revolutionary populism subsequently ascribed to them. Yet Knox did develop the remarkably powerful and enduring idea that, like Old Testament Israel, the peoples of Scotland and England were bound by a COVENANT with God to promote and defend the “true religion.”

It was fear and despair in the face of a broken covenant that both fuelled the abusive language of the 1558 tracts and shaped what was to be Knox's most lasting memorial, the *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*. The *History* began life as a record of the events of the Scottish Reformation of 1559–1560, but in the course of Mary Queen of Scots' short reign evolved into an extended sermon on Scotland's covenanted status and the folly of breaching God's law by tolerating a Catholic sovereign. Brilliantly written, and inevitably highlighting Knox's own role in contemporary events, the *History* is an invaluable source for historians of the Scottish Reformation. Above all, however, it provides unique insights into the mind of a self-styled instrument of God whose influence on the course of the British Reformation was profound and long lasting.

See also Calvinism; Presbyterianism

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ROGER A.MASON

KOELLE, SIGISMUND WILHELM (1823–1902)

Missionary linguist. Koelle was born in Kleebron, Württemberg, Germany, on July 14, 1823. He was one of many young Würtemberger Pietists recruited by the (Anglican) CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) through the Basel Mission Seminary. After study there he entered the CMS College at Islington in 1845 and was ordained DEACON in 1846 and priest in 1847. Having displayed exceptional academic gifts, he was sent to Tübingen to study Semitic languages under J.H.A.Ewald.

Developments in West Africa were opening the possibility of reaching the peoples of the interior, but this was conceivable only with the large-scale involvement of African missionaries, who must therefore be trained and equipped. SIERRA LEONE was the most eligible source of potential African missionaries, and its Fourah Bay Institution was the obvious place to concentrate their training. Koelle was accordingly appointed to the institution in 1847 to teach Hebrew and Arabic (the latter in expectation of encounters with Muslim peoples). He worked there until 1853 and, with the encouragement of the CMS Secretary Henry Venn, laid the foundations of comparative African linguistics. He identified well over a hundred languages, belonging to a vast area of West and Central Africa, that were still being spoken in Sierra Leone, and in his massive *Polyglotta Africana* produced materials for their analysis and comparison, as well as revealing something of their richness. He also produced substantial grammars of two of them, Vai (Liberia) and Kanuri (northeast Nigeria).

In 1853 Koelle returned to Britain to see his works through the press, and married Charlotte Elizabeth Philpot, daughter of a prominent clergyman. In impaired health, instead of returning to West Africa, he served briefly in Cairo, and then, from 1856 to 1859, in Haifa, employing his Arabic, and developing a learned but confrontational approach to Islam. In 1862 he was appointed to Constantinople, where K.G. Pfander (1803–1865), the best-known contemporary Christian apologist to Islam, was already stationed. Here Koelle turned his attention to Turkish and other Turkic languages, producing a large amount of material, much of it never published, both original and translated. Left as the sole missionary, heavily circumscribed by the authorities, he saw minimal response in terms of converts. In 1877 the CMS, in a financial crisis, closed the unviable mission and retired Koelle. However, he refused to leave Constantinople and worked independently on a Turkish translation of the Anglican prayer book. In 1879 he

and a Muslim scholar, Ahmed Tewfik, who was assisting him were the center of a diplomatic incident, where the British government made a robust response to their arrest. Koelle had to leave; Tewfik was banished, escaped, went to ENGLAND, and was eventually baptized there, the prelude to an extraordinary career. Koelle retired to England and continued to write, including the erudite but highly polemical *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (1889). He died February 18, 1902, in London.

Koelle, prodigiously learned, angular, and somewhat eccentric, remains a pivotal figure in African linguistics, which he always saw in terms of its relevance to the spread of the gospel. The *Polyglotta Africana* and the Vai and Kanuri grammars all appeared in new editions in the 1960s. Earlier they brought Koelle an honorary doctorate from Tübingen and the Volney Prize of the Institut de France. The same missionary dedication marks his later, less illustrious work on Turkish, Turkic languages, and Islam, and his theological and devotional volumes.

See also Africa; Basel Mission; Missions; Missionary Organizations

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ANDREW F.WALLS

KOREA

Introduction

Protestantism in Korea, which largely descends from North American Methodist and Presbyterian MISSIONS of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, has been typified since its inception by four characteristics: initial self-evangelism, an association with Korean nationalism and concepts of progress, a strong theological conservatism and pietism coupled with social involvement, and rapid and significant increases in membership. In spite of the presence of denominations, there is such general uniformity in Protestant practice and the structure of the denominations that a uniquely Korean Protestantism may be said to have emerged in which METHODISM and PRESBYTERIANISM have mutually influenced each other. Without question this Korean Protestantism was the most dynamic religious force in twentieth-century Korean society, having a significant impact on the development and growth of Roman Catholicism, Buddhism, and new religious movements in Korea. Its development has also been shaped in key respects by the core values of Korean society and CULTURE. Korea under the Chosun dynasty (1392–1910) became the most thoroughly Confucianized society of East Asia. Concepts and core values such as filial piety, loyalty, an emphasis on EDUCATION, concepts of AUTHORITY and social hierarchy, and the application of moral values in society and government have all come to shape the life and practical theology of the Korean Protestant community.

The Advent of Protestantism: 1882–1910

From the middle of the nineteenth century, there had been several missionary probes to the “Hermit Kingdom” of Chosun, which like JAPAN had closed itself to significant outside contact from the late seventeenth century. Early missionary explorations were conducted by the Dutchman Karl Friederich August Gützlaff (1803–1851), who

explored the Manchurian and Korean west coasts in 1832, by the Welshman Robert Jermain Thomas (1839–1866), who was aboard the American trading vessel the *General Sherman* in September 1866 when it ventured up the Taedong River to P'yŏngyang, and the Scotsman Alexander Williamson (1929–1890), who visited the customs barrier between Manchuria and Korea in 1867. None of these attempts had any long-lasting impact on the religious scene in Korea.

The first Protestant missionary who had an impact on Korea was John Ross (1842–1915) of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland mission to Manchuria who, with a group of Korean merchants in Manchuria acting as a team of translators, made the first translation of the New Testament into Korean. In 1882 the first portions of this translation were printed and circulated. The entire New Testament was translated, bound, and distributed as a single volume in 1887. The Ross Translation introduced key theological terms that are still in use, such as *Hananim* (Ruler of Heaven) for God, and—because it used exclusively the Korean alphabet *Han' gŭl*—was a significant factor in the revival and widespread use of this script.

Koreans who had been converted to Christianity through reading Ross's translation were responsible for the establishment of Christian communities in northwestern Korea, in the capital, and in the communities along the northern bank of the Yalu River, which was nominally Korean territory at that time. The existence of these communities before the arrival of the first foreign missionaries in 1884 and 1885 is an eloquent testimonial to Ross's conviction that Christianity was spread best by convinced converts rather than by foreign missionaries. Korean Protestantism was self-evangelized from the beginning—EVANGELISM through the distribution of Scripture.

From the mid-1880s foreign missionaries began to arrive, including Horace N. Allen (1858–1932) of the Northern Presbyterian Church in 1884, Horace G. Underwood (1859–1916) of the same mission, and Henry G. Appenzeller (1858–1902) of the Northern Methodist mission in 1885, followed almost immediately by several other missionaries. By the end of the ninth decade of the nineteenth century, a foreign mission enterprise was well under way, building on the foundations that had been laid by Ross's converts. By the end of the 1880s several of modern Korea's major institutions had already been established, such as three Western-style medical institutions including Severance Hospital and Ehwa Woman's University Hospital, and leading schools such as Paejae Boys' High School, and Ewha Girls' High School. At the same time the Religious Tract Society for the distribution of Scriptures and religious materials was created as the Tri-Lingual Press, the first Western-style publishing house (see PUBLISHING MEDIA).

The 1890s saw continual growth in the numbers of converts and the creation of Christian literature, including dictionaries, manuals of the Korean language, and translations of devotional works, such as JOHN BUNYAN'S *PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*. At the same time the question of how to create independent church institutions was also widely debated. In 1890 John L. Nevius (1829–1893), a Presbyterian missionary in Shantung, China, was invited to come to Korea to explain to the missionaries there his mission methods (now called the Nevius Method) for creating a self-propagating, self-governing, and self-supporting church, which became the universally accepted policy of Protestant missions in Korea. By the beginning of the twentieth century the prospects for Korean Protestantism seemed bright.

The rise of Protestantism in Korea must be set against the drama of the decline in political and economic power of the Chosŭn dynasty, the search by progressive young intellectuals for a way to revitalize their nation, and growing Japanese imperial encroachment on the Asian continent. Young, nationalist Christians saw in the model of institutional mission work—particularly education and the creation of schools—a way to restore Korea to its rightful place on the world stage. Today many Korean schools claim a Christian, but not a mission, foundation because of the efforts of these Christians during the first decade of the twentieth century. The success of the Protestant churches in the twenty-five years after the arrival of foreign missionaries was attributed to the association of Christianity with the “progressive” West, and the emphasis that the first generation of missionaries placed on the responsibility of local Christians for the growth and support of their churches. Kenneth Wells in *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-reconstruction Nationalism in Korea* stresses the importance of the mixture of religious faith and nationalism at a time when the nation was facing a political crisis.

The numerical growth in the churches’ membership in the decade before the annexation of Korea by the Japanese Empire in 1910, is often attributed to the Great Revival of 1907 in P’yŏngyang, the effect of which quickly spread throughout the peninsula, and into both the Korean and Chinese communities in Manchuria. Although the event has to be seen against the background of the political uncertainties of the time, it cannot be gainsaid that this revival, which combined a concern for personal purity and potential national demise, unleashed a great spiritual energy among Koreans for the evangelization of the nation. At the time of the annexation in 1910, 1 percent of the population adhered to Protestantism. The Japanese Protestant Church today, which is at least a generation older than the Korean church, has yet to equal this achievement.

By 1910 the institutional church was well established—the first SEMINARIES had been founded, the first seminarians had graduated, and the first Korean ministers had been ordained. In 1908 all Protestant missionaries, except the High Church Anglicans, had accepted a comity agreement that divided the peninsula into mission spheres, which would avoid unnecessary competition by authorizing the presence of only one DENOMINATION in a particular region. A vote taken among the missionaries at the same time to create a United Church of Christ in Korea was rejected by the home churches in North America. Nonetheless the comity agreement, the use of a single translation of the BIBLE, a common hymnal, and other pan-denominational activities have helped to create a sense of a common Protestant Christianity in spite of the contemporary presence of many denominations.

Colonial Subjugation: Korea under Japanese Rule, 1910–1945

Throughout the colonial era there was continual growth in membership, and the extension of social and political engagement. In 1914, in the first decade of Japanese rule, there were 196,000 Korean adherents representing 1.1 percent of the population. By the end of Japanese rule in 1945, Protestant adherence had quadrupled to 740,000 persons, representing over 3 percent of the population. This numerical growth was paralleled by

involvement in Korean society, the extent of which may be symbolized by four political events: (1) the Conspiracy Trial of 1912; (2) conflict over “patriotic” schools; (3) involvement in the March First Movement of 1919; and (4) the Shintō Shrine Controversy.

In 1912, 124 persons were accused of attempting to assassinate the governor-general, Terauchi Masatake (1852–1919), of whom ninety-eight were Christians, a sign that the colonial regime perceived Christians to be a section of the population that represented an organized challenge to their domination of Korea. In the end, the cases against all but six of the alleged conspirators were thrown out for lack of evidence. This trial, more than any other event, had the effect of creating a link in the popular imagination between Korean nationalism and Christianity. In Korea, imperialism was Japanese, not Western.

Korean Christians and Christian missions continued to found schools throughout Korea during the second decade of the twentieth century. To secondary-level institutions, the mission bodies added tertiary-level institutions such as Sungsil College (Union Christian College, 1905) in P’yŏngyang, and Ewha Woman’s College (1910), and Yŏnhŭi College (Chosen Christian College, 1915) in Seoul, forming a complete nonstate educational system. Conflict between the Protestant community and the colonial government became acute when the Government-General announced in 1915 that all private schools would be required to use Japanese as the national language, and also that they would be forbidden to provide religious instruction or conduct religious worship. These edicts caused great consternation among both the mission community and the Korean Christian community, and for the latter became one of the principal reasons for their involvement in the Korean Independence Movement in 1919.

The March First Movement, which effectively created the sense of modern Korean nationhood, was largely the work of Korean religious leaders. Thirty-three persons signed the Declaration of Independence from Japan, of whom fifteen signatories were Christians. The principal Christian influence they had on the character of the movement came from their insistence on nonviolent behavior during the demonstration. The Japanese colonial regime harshly suppressed the movement, in which thousands were killed and injured. Christians in particular were persecuted. Churches were burned down by Japanese troops, many Christians were executed, and in one spectacular incident villagers were herded into a local church that was then set alight. In spite of a Japanese news blackout, the suppression of the movement became known because a few missionaries went to CHINA and cabled their mission boards at home, which in turn lobbied Western governments to condemn Japanese brutality. Christian involvement in the organization of the movement, Christian suffering in the suppression of the movement, and foreign Christian condemnation of Japanese brutality strengthened the link made between Protestant Christianity and Korean nationalism in the minds of both Koreans and Japanese.

Two strands of Protestant Christianity emerged in the aftermath of the suppression of the March First Movement—a more theologically liberal and socially active strand, and a more theologically conservative strand concerned largely with “church” affairs. This split took root during the 1920s at a time when the Government-General took a more culturally (but not politically) permissive attitude toward its Korean subjects. Great numerical gains in church membership were made with the theologically more conservative strand coming to dominate the churches. However, during this same period,

the government of Japan itself came to be dominated by xenophobic groups supporting a Shintō-based nationalism that required the participation of all of the nation's citizenry in rites conducted at State Shintō shrines.

The erection in 1925 of the principal Shintō shrine for Korea, the Chosen Jingu, set the stage for a conflict with the church that was to last for twenty years and had ramifications far after independence from Japan had been achieved. Although attendance at Shintō rituals was said to be a "patriotic" rather than a "religious" act, Korean Christians saw participation in them to be both idolatrous and offensive to their own sense of nationality. After 1930 Japanese rule became increasingly harsh as the colonial regime tried to create a forced conformity with Japanese practices. Korean Christian resistance to shrine worship led the colonial regime to take increasingly harsh measures against the churches. In 1938 the colonial regime used force to make the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Conference of the Methodist Church, and other Christian bodies pass resolutions stating that shrine worship did not contravene Christian faith. Between 1938 and 1945 about 2,000 Protestants were arrested for noncompliance in shrine worship, of whom at least fifty people died as a result of their incarceration and torture. Missionaries were deported for their refusal to support the shrine edicts. The Presbyterian missions closed their schools rather than permit their students to attend shrine rituals. Methodists, on the other hand, turned their schools over to Korean control, which often meant compliance with government regulations.

The Government-General attempted to "Japanize" the denominations by merging them with their Japanese equivalent denominations, and by controlling the content of WORSHIP. In the dying days of the colonial regime in 1945, all Protestant churches were merged into a single institution that was a branch of the Japanese Protestant church, the *Kyotan*. The Government-General forbade the reading of the Old Testament or the Revelation of St. John the Divine in the New Testament because of the prophetic revelation in these books of God's condemnation of the powers of this world. Churches were closed, their property sold off, and on one occasion a church was made into a Shintō shrine. These actions demonstrated both the fear and scorn with which the authorities held the Christian churches, and further confirmed the link between Korean nationalism and Christianity. Although the Shintō Shrine controversy demonstrated the tenacity of Korean Christians in the face of political oppression, their movement was principally religious and not political.

Divided Nation/Industrial Nation: Korea after Liberation, 1945–

After liberation from Japanese rule at the conclusion of the Pacific War in August 1945, the Protestant churches faced three problems: (1) the different policies regarding religion in the American and Soviet zones of occupation; (2) questions of complicity with Japanese rule by church leaders; and (3) the legacy of the Japanese-imposed church union. In northern Korea, the Soviet zone of influence, Christians formed political parties including the *Kidokkyo sahoe minjudang* (Christian Social Democratic Party) and the *Kidokkyo chayu-dang* (Christian Liberal Party), which were soon suppressed. Conflict

arose in 1946 when Christian leaders wanted to commemorate the uprising of March 1, 1919, which was seen by the regime as bourgeois. There was yet another early clash of Christians with the Communist authorities over the holding of elections for a People's Assembly on a Sunday, which ran counter to the strong Sabbatarian views of many Christians.

Control or suppression of the Christian community in the north was important not only because Christians represented a separate voice on social and political matters, but also because of the size of the Christian community. In the late 1940s the center of Christianity in Korea was in the north, not the south, an irony of history considering the current size of the Christian Church in South Korea. Objections made by the Joint Presbytery of the still-unified Protestant church were countered by the authorities with the formation of the *Kidokkyo kyodo yunmaeng* (Federation of Christians), which all church officers were required by law to join. All those who refused to join were arrested for belonging to an illegal organization. Churches were confiscated and put to secular uses. Large numbers of Christians fled to the south, whereas many of those who had remained in the north were rounded up shortly before the onset of the Korean War in June 1950 and executed en masse. Little was heard about the state of Protestantism in the north until the mid-1980s when it was announced that a hymnal and a translation of the New Testament had been published in 1983 and a translation of the Old Testament in 1984. In the late 1980s delegations representing North American and European churches reported taking part in worship in the homes of individual Christians. In 1988 the government of North Korea announced that it had built and opened a new Roman Catholic and a new Protestant church for use by their respective religious communities. Subsequently officials designated as leaders of the Christian community in North Korea have met with various Western and South Korean church leaders to discuss national unification. However, the church organizations in North Korea are not freely formed associations but are the creations of the government, their representatives being government-approved personnel.

In southern Korea the *laissez-faire* policy of the American Military Government (1945–1948) left the church free to handle its own affairs. Two issues emerged: the continuation of the Japanese-created unified church, and the question of complicity by church leaders with the Japanese colonial regime. By late 1945 a bloc of Methodists had bolted from the union church to reform the Methodist Church, which effectively ended the union church. Conflicts over attendance at Shintō rituals, and the perversion of the use of Scripture were more difficult to resolve. In 1947 some Methodists claimed that those who wanted the union to continue in fact were the same people who had collaborated with the Japanese. The Presbyterians similarly were split when a group left the Presbytery to form the Koryū Group. This group, claiming descent from those Christians who had made a COVENANT against shrine worship, took a hard line against any one who had attended a shrine ritual. The split over shrine worship is one of the most significant and long-lived controversies in Korean church history and is indicative of the extent to which THEOLOGY has determined the course of the church's history.

During the Korean War (1950–1953) church institutions, such as the universities, were forced to seek a temporary location in the southeastern part of the peninsula around the port of Pusan. After the conclusion of hostilities in 1953 most of the churches' efforts were spent on the provision of social services to a war-weary population and on repairing

the material damage done to churches and church institutions. Housing, transportation for refugees, emergency medical aid, distribution of clothing and food, and the establishment of orphanages were all undertaken in the immediate postwar period. These activities were heavily supported by foreign church mission bodies. Mission support also was provided for the maintenance of Yonsei University, Severance Hospital, and Ehwa Woman's University. By 1957 the church had grown to 844,000 adherents representing 3.7 percent of the national population. Thus, although there had been significant numerical growth in church membership, the percentage of Christians within the national population had remained fairly constant over a twenty-year period.

Following postwar economic stabilization, the decade the 1960s stood at the threshold of the period of Korea's rapid urbanization and INDUSTRIALIZATION, and was also the time when the ideas of "Church Growth" (*kyohoe sùngjang*) became the theme for the evangelization of the nation. In the decade 1957–1968 the Protestant community both doubled in numbers of adherents to 1,900,000 persons, and doubled in percentage representation within the national population from 3 to 6 percent. The 1960s also saw greater social and evangelistic outreach in projects for people within Korea who were considered to be suppressed members of society, such as prostitutes and new industrial laborers, as well as international outreach through overseas missions and the provision of relief supplies to foreign nations. A new national evangelistic tool was created with the establishment of a nationwide radio network, the Christian Broadcasting System.

In the 1970s, after the proclamation of the Yushin (Revitalizing Reforms) Constitution, which entrenched President Pak Chùnghùi (Park Chung Hee, 1917–1979) in power, Christian political movements emerged, pressing for a more democratically based, representative system of government. This phenomenon represented a reemergence of the liberal, politically active strand of Protestantism, which had lain virtually dormant since the 1920s. It is important to note that it was politically liberal laymen and -women, not the leadership of the Protestant churches, who called for the restoration of democracy, for social justice, and for fairness in dealings with the workers of the new industrial state. Many Christians were imprisoned and tortured during this period for their political opinions. For nearly twenty years the political opposition to undemocratic government came largely from the Christian community, including Roman Catholic LATTY and CLERGY. During the same twentyyear period, Christians were also active in a variety of social movements, which may be typified by the movement for women's rights in terms of inheritance and marital relations. Led by Christian laywomen such as the Methodist Yi T'aeyùng (Lee Tai-young, 1914–1998), the battle was enjoined largely with the *Yudo-hoe* (Confucian Association) and conservative legislators who saw these developments as a threat to the Confucian moral structure of Korean society.

Although criticized for maintaining unnecessary Western cultural characteristics, Korean Protestantism has accommodated itself at certain key points with Korean culture, the most outstanding example of which is the practice of the *ch'udo yebae* (mourning ceremony) rituals. Filial piety (*hyo* in Korean), reverence for ancestors and obedience to parents, is one of the core values of Confucian thought and practice. Visible expression of this moral value was seen in the performance of the Confucian ancestral or *chesa* ceremonies. Korean Christians from the beginning emphasized the teaching of the fifth of the Ten Commandments to honor one's father and mother as a Christian reflection of this Confucian ethic. From at least the first decade of the twentieth century Korean

Protestants have performed Christianized ancestral memorial rituals called *ch'udo yebae*, which are now found in the liturgy books of every Protestant denomination. Normally performed for one's immediate relatives such as parents and grandparents, there is no formal prohibition against remembering more distant relatives.

Minjūng sinhak (Theology of the People), which emerged in the mid-1970s, is a further reflection of the indigenization of Protestantism in Korea. Parallel in some ways with Latin American LIBERATION THEOLOGY, *sinhak* uses two key concepts—the *minjūng* (the people) and *han* (enmity, grudge). *Minjung* theology says that the *minjung* are the proper subject of history and that to understand history one must understand how God has worked to overcome the *han* of the people. Using the example of the liberation of the Hebrew slaves from Egyptian bondage, these theologians argue that God acts in response to the suffering of the people. From the 1990s this theology, perhaps because it was perceived to be too intellectual, has ceased to be popular in Korea.

Other features of Korean Protestant practice reflect the indigenization and localization of Christianity. *Tongsūng kido*, joint congregational prayer conducted out loud in the middle of a service, is far more fervent than congregational prayers in other national churches such as in Japan or North America. In the post-Korean War period Protestant churches have adopted two American Protestant practices—the revival meeting (*puhūng-hoe*) and the retreat center (*kido wūn*, often mistakenly called a prayer mountain). Frequently the conduct of a revival meeting will move into being a gathering for healing by the evangelist in charge (see REVIVALS; FAITH HEALING). Likewise, the retreat centers often are not places for meditation, but venues for obtaining spiritual healing of physical ailments. Both of these practices reflect the role that Korean shamans played as the principal healer in traditional times.

A considerable degree of mutual influence of the denominations on each other can be shown in the great similarity in ecclesiastical practice. All churches in Korea have small group meetings of ten or so of their members (called *kuyūk-hoe* by the Presbyterians and *sūk-hoe* by the Methodists), which are modeled on Methodist class meetings. Likewise, Methodism, which elsewhere does not have lay elders appointed for life but stewards elected for a fixed term, in Korea has lay elders on the model of the Reformed churches. These features combined with the use of a common hymnal, a common translation of the Bible, and a similar liturgical format have created a common Korean Protestantism in spite of the existence of denominationalism.

Protestant Christianity has been the most dynamic religious factor in Korea during the twentieth century. Protestantism has influenced the development of modern medicine, modern education, concepts of equality between classes and genders, and also has had an impact on post-Korean War new religious movements. Thirty-one Korean universities claim a Christian origin, of which three are considered among the top five universities in the country. Unlike Japan where new religious movements are often a mixture of Buddhism and Shintō, Korean new religious movements are a mixture of Christianity and native traditions.

The 1995 Korean National Population Household Census, the last quinquennial census to ask for information about religious adherence, reveals some interesting characteristics about Korean Protestantism at the end of the twentieth century. First, 19.7 percent of the population claimed to adhere to a Protestant denomination. Second, of those people who self-identified themselves as belonging to an organized religion, 51.8 percent claimed to

belong to a Christian denomination (39.1 percent to a Protestant denomination) or 6 percent more than the 45.7 percent of the respondents who claimed adherence to a form of Buddhism. Third, Protestantism shows a slight female predominance in membership because 53.3 percent of Protestants were female compared with 46.7 percent who were male. Fourth, Protestantism is young. Of self-identified Protestants 72.5 percent are between the ages of fifteen and forty-four years. Fifth, the largest single group of self-identified adherents is found among the youngest group, persons aged between fifteen and twenty-four years, accounting for more than a quarter of all self-identified Protestants. Sixth, the census also revealed that nationally where Protestantism is strong, Buddhism tends to be weaker and vice versa. In the region of the nation's capital, Protestantism accounts for a quarter of the population, or 50 percent greater than the size of the Buddhist groups in the same area. That is, Protestantism is typically stronger in those areas that are more highly urbanized and undergoing the greatest social change, whereas Buddhism is strongest in the culturally more traditional regions.

See also Asian Theology; Bible Translation; Communism; Ecumenism; Evangelism; Missionary Organizations; Women Higher Education

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JAMES HUNTLEY GRAYSON

KRAEMER, HENDRIK (1888–1965)

Dutch scholar and missiologist. Kraemer was both an excellent scholar in linguistics and religious studies and an outstanding lay theologian and missiologist. In and outside the NETHERLANDS he came to the fore in the tumultuous transition period from colonialism to postcolonialism. In INDONESIA he paved the way for a process that is well described in the title of his book *From Mission Field to Independent Church* (1958). Moreover, he pleaded for the transformation of missionary work done by Western missionary societies into common missionary work done jointly by the churches in the East and West. Christian mission, he argued, is not the duty of Western “free enterprise” organizations but the responsibility of the universal instituted church as the body of Christ.

Kraemer was born May 17, 1888. After his stay in an orphanage in Amsterdam (1900–1905) and his training at the Mission House in Rotterdam (1905–1909), Kraemer studied Indonesian languages at Leiden University (1911–1921). Here the famous Islamologist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje supervised his Ph.D. study and awarded it cum laude. After a short stay in Egypt (1921) Kraemer served the Netherlands Bible Society in INDONESIA (1922–1937). Next he was appointed professor of the history and phenomenology of religion at Leiden University (1937–1947). Finally he moved from the Netherlands to SWITZERLAND to serve as the first director of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES’ newly established Ecumenical Institute at Château de Bossey, Céligny, near Geneva (1948–1955). After retirement he returned to the Netherlands. He died November 11, 1965.

In Indonesia Kraemer did Bible translation work, although he engaged himself in other work as well: theological education, visiting various mission fields, leading indigenous churches into independence, and studying Javanese culture, nationalism, Islam, and church growth. In 1928 he attended the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council and established cooperation with JOHN R. MOTT and other missionary leaders. In 1928–1933 he published two volumes of Islam studies in Indonesian language, which were banned by the government after Indonesia’s independence. In 1934 he established the major Indonesian theological seminary, *Sekolah Tinggi Theolo-gia (STT)*, at Jakarta. Kraemer’s book *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (1938), published with a foreword by the archbishop of York and thoroughly influenced by the dialectical theologians KARL BARTH and EMIL BRUNNER, pleaded for “biblical realism” as a tool to understand, approach, and

evaluate non-Christian religions. In opposition to William E. Hocking, main compiler of the influential inquiry *Rethinking Missions* (1932), Kraemer emphasized discontinuity between Christian faith and the non-Christian religions. His exclusivistic THEOLOGY of MISSIONS and religions was strongly opposed by both Western liberals and Indian inclusivists at the 1938 Tambaram (Madras) International Missionary Council meeting and thereafter.

In 1936 Utrecht University celebrated its 300th anniversary: Barth and Brunner as well as Kraemer were awarded honorary doctorates. A year later Kraemer moved to Leiden University. His inaugural address dealt with the problem of syncretism. He lectured on all religions but showed a special interest in Islam. His book *Islam as a Religious and Missionary Problem* (1938) is a good compendium of his view on Islam. It was heavily criticized by other scholars in religious studies because they disliked his connecting religious studies with missions. Before, during, and after World War II Kraemer engaged in the revitalization of his own church, the Netherlands Reformed Church. During the war he opposed the Nazi ideology, supported the Messianic Jews, and was temporarily imprisoned. In 1945 he participated in the establishment of the Socialist Party.

After retirement and return to the Netherlands, Kraemer published several books. The two major works of this period, *Religion and the Christian Faith* (1956) and *World Cultures and World Religions: The Coming Dialogue* (1960), are modifications of his 1938 views: the key issues of his prewar views are indeed maintained but the term “biblical realism” is no longer used and the term “dialogue” is introduced for the first time. His popular work *Why Christianity of All Religions?* (1962) makes it even more evident that his prewar and postwar views cannot be played off against each other. Other influential English books also translated into various languages are *The Communication of the Christian Faith* (1956) and *A Theology of the Laity* (1958).

From Tambaram (1938) to New Delhi (1961) Kraemer thoroughly dominated the missionary and missiological scene. Johannes Verkuyl and other Western and Eastern missiologists continued Kraemer’s thinking in one way or another, but Indian theologians such as Stanley J. Samartha pleaded for a “post-Kraemer theology.” In 1988 Tambaram was revisited and Kraemer’s heritage reviewed again. On that occasion Bishop J.E. Lesslie Newbigin opposed theological pluralists such as W. Cantwell Smith and Samartha, and found himself compelled to stand with Kraemer.

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JAN A.B.JONGENEEL

KRAUTH, CHARLES PORTERFIELD (1823–1883)

American Lutheran theologian. Krauth was born March 17, 1823, in Martinsburg, Virginia, and died January 2, 1883, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The son of a Lutheran pastor, Krauth studied at Gettysburg College and Seminary, and became a licensed missionary and then Lutheran pastor in and around Baltimore, Maryland. He also served in West Virginia, Virginia, the West Indies (for a Reformed congregation without a pastor), in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and finally in Philadelphia. Krauth resigned from his last parish to edit the *Lutheran and Missionary*, opposing the “Americanizing” of LUTHERANISM, a growing trend in his General Synod.

“Americanizing” was epitomized by SAMUEL SIMON SCHMUCKER, whose Definite Platform greatly minimized Lutheran confessional commitment in order to attain common ground with Reformed theology. Once more tolerant and irenic, Krauth’s studies of the Lutheran Confessions fostered a more conservative attitude, although he sought to balance firm theological conviction with a generous spirit on a personal level. When the General Synod opened its Philadelphia Seminary in 1864, Krauth became professor of dogmatics. There he helped organize the General Council, a new association reflecting a more traditional and conservative Lutheran stance.

Krauth wrote to address challenges in the increasingly complicated denominational scene in America. His *Fundamental Articles of Faith and Church Polity* formed the basis for the General Council’s constitution. Facing church fellowship questions, Krauth wrote fourteen articles for *The Lutheran*, material later recast as *Theses on Pulpit and Altar Fellowship*. For the sake of confessional THEOLOGY Krauth urged Lutherans to avoid unionism and syncretism, terms that especially connoted Reformed Calvinist theology in various forms, a theology that appeared similar to Lutheranism yet in Krauth’s eyes had significant differences. While serving on the seminary faculty Krauth also became a philosophy professor at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to works mentioned, he also wrote *The Conservative Reformation and Its The-ology* and edited Berkeley’s *Principles of Human Knowledge*.

See also Calvinism; Confession; Lutheranism, United States

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ROBERT ROSIN

KRÜDENER, BARBARA (1764–1824)

Latvian mystic. Born in Riga, Latvia, in 1764, Barbara Juliane von Krüdener devoted twenty-two years of her life to PREACHING, traveling, and prophesying throughout central Europe. She married a Russian diplomat at age 18, but separated from him a few years later. After briefly living in Paris, Krüdener published an autobiographical and sentimental romance novel entitled *Valerie* in 1804. Returning to Riga the same year, she was shocked by the DEATH of an acquaintance and sought comfort for her disordered nerves. Confiding in her shoemaker, a Moravian, Krüdener found spiritual peace after she converted to his faith. She once again fell ill upon his death. As remedy, her doctor ordered her to German spas for treatment. During these travels, she met Queen Louise of Prussia and a prophet of CHILIASM, a belief in the millennium. Throughout her journeys, Krüdener's religious development was influenced by the contacts she made on her travels.

After a short visit with the Moravians at HERRNHUT, Krüdener met a pietistic priest who instructed her in the mysteries of the supernatural world. She also sought instruction at the Protestant parsonage of Sainte Marie-aux-Mines, and she traveled throughout GERMANY and SWITZERLAND holding BIBLE classes and warning of the approaching millennium. She had identified Napoleon as the angel in the Book of Revelation (9:11). In 1815 her eccentricity and exuberance attracted the attention of Czar Alexander I of RUSSIA, who attended her meetings. Krüdener relocated to St. Petersburg, from where she was exiled in 1821 for promoting the cause of Greek revolutionaries and the formation of the Holy Alliance. After fleeing St. Petersburg, Krüdener joined a Pietist colony in the Crimea, where she died there in 1824.

See also Millenarians and Millennialism; Moravian Church; Pietism

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HOWELL WILLIAMS

KU KLUX KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is a secret, Anglo-Saxon terrorist organization begun after the U.S. CIVIL WAR (1861–1865) and continued into the twenty-first century. The Klan flourished briefly during the postwar Reconstruction period as an attempt by southern whites to undermine the political influence of blacks and Republicans. It resurfaced as a Protestant society in 1915 through the work of William J. Simmons, an ex-Methodist minister. The movement spread throughout southern society as a white, nativist (see NATIVISM) order with Protestant orientation in its many secret rituals. Promoting itself as the defender of American values, white supremacy, and traditional religion, the Klan offered violent opposition to the presence of “outsiders” including African Americans, Jews, and Roman Catholics (see ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS TO). Its most infamous symbol, the burning cross, probably originated from Thomas Dixon’s 1906 book, *The Clansman*, a novel promoting the inferiority of blacks. During the 1920s the order spread throughout the United States with a membership that may well have included one out of ten white Protestant males. The increasing use of violence led to a decline in its membership by the 1930s.

With the rise of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in the 1950s and 1960s, the KKK was revived in perhaps its most virulent forms. Civil rights workers, including MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were frequent targets of Klan threats and attacks. The Klan instigated violence against the Freedom Riders in Alabama in 1961, opposing integration and extension of voting rights. The society offered strenuous opposition to integration, the extension of voting rights, and all efforts to abolish “separate but equal” facilities in the South.

Although reduced in membership, the Klan has continued to function into the twenty-first century, promoting white supremacy and associations with the antigovernment “militia” movements.

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BILL J.LEONARD

KUTTER, HERMANN (1863–1931)

Swiss theologian. Kutter was born in Bern into a pietistic family. He studied Protestant THEOLOGY and philosophy, especially Plato and German Idealism, in Bern, Basel, and Berlin. After serving as minister of a Reformed congregation in a rural Swiss parish for eleven years, he was elected minister of the important Neumünster Church in Zurich in 1898 and remained there until he retired in 1926. He died in St. Gall, SWITZERLAND, in 1931. Kutter was one of the pioneers of the Religious-Social Movement in Switzerland and a forerunner of dialectical theology.

Incisive for his life and work was the influence of and contact with Christoph Blumhardt after 1889. He argued that the main task of the CHURCH was the proclamation of the KINGDOM OF GOD and the commitment to ameliorate the social situation of the working class. Besides many printed sermons, which often focused on social issues such as *Die soziale Frage (The Social Problem)* or *Geld und Geist (Money and Spirit)*, both published in 1906, and other publications on church history and systematic theology, after 1903 he published several polemical books on the foremost social, political, and religious issues of the time. Most of them appeared in more than one edition and also were translated in other languages (Chicago 1908, England 1910). Kutter's important books were *Sie müssen (They Must, 1903)*, *Gerechtigkeit (Justice, 1905)*, *Wir Pfarrer (We Clergy, 1907)*, *Die Revolution des Christentums (The Revolution of Christianity, 1908)*.

Kutter helped many young theologians to overcome the difficulties in their ecclesiastical duties. He was in contact with other contemporary representatives of religious socialism, such as LEONHARD RAGAZ, and he influenced younger Swiss theologians such as Eduard Thurneysen and KARL BARTH. Nonetheless he was a loner, as in his relationship with the Social Democratic Party, because of his radical and prophetic message to preach, first and exclusively, the gospel of the unrestricted presence of God in Jesus Christ among humankind.

See also Neo-Orthodoxy

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GERHARD SCHWINGE

KUYPER, ABRAHAM (1837–1920)

Dutch Reformed theologian. Kuyper, a Dutch Reformed theologian, church reformer, journalist, educator, and politician, was the major force behind the rise and development of a modern Dutch pluralist society in the twentieth century. In the mid-nineteenth century NETHERLANDS, the Dutch National Reformed Church and the Dutch state were still closely linked and governed by an elite group that enjoyed the privileges of a restricted franchise based on wealth. By law the affairs of the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH were regulated by a state bureau of religion. With the state paying ministers' salaries, the government demanded a say in the placement of clergy as well as in appointments to the faculties of theology in the state universities. Consequently Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants were effectively marginalized, especially in the nation's schools, which were increasingly dominated by a secular and liberal ideology. Although the new Dutch Constitution of 1848 permitted alternative schools, the bureaucratic obstacles placed in the way made it virtually impossible to establish them.

In response to this situation Kuyper led a sizeable group out of the National Reformed Church, founded a new independent Christian University (Free University of Amsterdam), started and led the first modern Dutch political party mobilizing the "common folk" into a politically significant group (the Antirevolutionary Party), formed a coalition government with Roman Catholics, and inspired a renaissance of Calvinist thought eventually known as neo-Calvinism.

Kuyper was born October 29, 1837, into a clerical family in the theologically liberal Dutch National Reformed Church and received his own education at the University of Leiden, completing a doctorate in 1862 with a dissertation on the Polish reformer Jan a Lasco. By his own account Kuyper's theology at this point was moderately liberal, a judgment echoed by his devoutly Calvinist peasant parishioners in the Reformed Church of Beesd, the small village in the southern Dutch province of Gelderland that was Kuyper's first pastoral charge. It was here in fulfilling his minister's duties that Kuyper was "converted" to a more orthodox version of CALVINISM and began to identify with the cause of the Reformed dissenters, particularly their protest against compulsory statecontrolled education (see ORTHODOXY, DISSENT).

Kuyper's reform work began with efforts to broaden the franchise in the church by giving greater authority to local church officials who could be selected and elected by the church members themselves. Beyond the formal, procedural challenges to the church authorities, Kuyper also led the protest against doctrinal indifference in the national

church, calling for a return of fidelity to the traditional confessions and THEOLOGY as established by the Synod of Dort (1618–1619). The culmination of these efforts led in 1886 to the second major secession from the National Reformed Church in the nineteenth century (the first took place in 1834). Important for the Dutch nation as a whole, the eventual union of these two groups along with their public legitimation played a significant role in establishing the Netherlands as a pluralist nation.

As Kuyper's efforts moved beyond church reform into the area of education he realized that an effective political movement required not only energetic and sophisticated organization but a public voice. From 1872 on, several years before the founding of the Antirevolutionary Party in 1879 or the establishment of the Free University of Amsterdam in 1880, Kuyper started and edited a weekly (*The Herald*) and daily newspaper (*The Standard*) as the voice of this new Calvinist movement. His tireless journalistic efforts and political organizing finally paid off in 1901 when the Antirevolutionary Party together with the Roman Catholic political party acquired a majority of seats in the Dutch parliament. Kuyper became prime minister of the new government, a position he held for four years. This cooperative alliance was the dominant governing party during the twentieth century in the Netherlands until the 1960s.

Kuyper's neo-Calvinist vision began with the conviction of divine sovereignty. This sovereignty begins with the grace of regeneration in individual believers but then extends organically to culture and society. In Kuyper's characteristic language, God is sovereign over all "spheres" of life—politics, business, labor, education, and the arts, as well as church and family. From this primordial principle Kuyper derived four secondary ones: antithesis, common grace, sphere sovereignty, and a distinction between the church as institution and as organism.

For Kuyper Calvinism was more than a churchly, confessional tradition. It was a *Weltanschauung*, a world-and-life-view, a life system antithetically opposed to other life systems such as paganism and, particularly, modernism. The spirit of modernism, captured in the French Revolution's slogan *Ni Dieu, ni maitre*, came to expression especially in the political sphere where an idolatry of the state replaced God's ordinances. Kuyper's political ideology was antirevolutionary as well as antistatist. However, Kuyper did not take his antithetical stance to imply a rejection of all non-Christian culture. Like Augustine's metaphor of Israel plundering the gold of the Egyptians, Kuyper too believed that there was much valuable even in pagan culture. This value was not to be credited to human cleverness or goodness but to the universal or common grace of God whereby God bestows gifts on all people indiscriminately and also actively restrains their evil, sinful impulses.

God was sovereign not only of the church but of the world. Kuyper's most famous saying is: "There is not a square inch of all creation over which Christ the Lord does not say, Mine!"

Kuyper drew important social implications from this doctrine. In his view divine sovereignty was seen to be exercised directly over such sovereign spheres as the school and the family rather than through the mediation of either the church or the state. This conviction led Kuyper to advocate a principled pluralism that honored both structural and religious diversity. One of his major political accomplishments was the eventual legal establishment of a religiously plural education system.

For Kuyper it was important that Christian communion come to expression not only in the institutional church gathered around Word and SACRAMENTS but as a unified organism in public life. His ambition was to inspire conservative Dutch Calvinists to leave behind pietist and sectarian withdrawal from civic, social, and political life and thus to re-Christianize the Dutch nation, not by maintaining institutional, ecclesiastical privilege but through the voluntary activity of Christians in free churches and distinctly Christian organizations. Hence his profound appreciation for the spirit of American voluntarism so eloquently described by ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE in his *Democracy in America*. Kuyper died November 8, 1920.

See also Calvinism; Ecumenism

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JOHN BOLT

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HANS J. HILLERBRAND
EDITOR

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LAESTADIUS, LARS LEVI (1800–1861)

Swedish reformer. Laestadius was born January 10, 1800, in Jakkvik, in the northern region of SWEDEN. His father was a Lutheran pastor. While still in high school (Gymnasium), he showed his interest in THEOLOGY and philosophy as well as in botany, the latter triggered by his half-brother Carl Erik. His industrious collection of specimen plants in Lapland during his summer vacations soon earned him a reputation as an outstanding botanist. A published report of one of his first field trips earned him the recognition of the Swedish Academy of Sciences and Letters, which supported his subsequent research.

In 1820 he matriculated at the University of Uppsala, where he studied theology, languages, and botany. He was ordained in 1825 and was appointed pastor in Kaaresuvando, where he continued until 1849. On the occasion of a ministerial visitation to Lapland he met a Sami woman after church on New Year's Day 1844 who not only impressed him with the need for personal religious regeneration as the hallmark of authentic Christian existence but also was instrumental in triggering Laestadius's own CONVERSION. From then on, Laestadius's PREACHING included similar exhortations to repent and be converted. He gained converts and worshippers from other towns and villages flocked to hear his sermons. A revival began to sweep over northern Sweden and, before long, over neighboring FINLAND as well. To deal with the consequences of an increasingly widespread awakening, Laestadius commissioned laymen to assist him in his work (see REVIVALS; AWAKENINGS).

Laestadius always affirmed his Lutheran orientation. The awakening, brought about by his preaching, therefore focused not so much on theology as on personal commitment, sobriety, temperance, devotional meetings, and Bible study—all hallmarks of eighteenth-century German Lutheran PIETISM.

Immigrants brought the Laestadian Lutheran revival to the UNITED STATES; the first Laestadian worship was held in Cokato, Minnesota, in 1863, among immigrants from northern NORWAY. Given the ethnic bifurcation of religious immigrant traditions in North America, the Laestadian immigrants to the United States soon evolved their own separate church structures, something that had not occurred in Finland. In North America the Apostolic Lutheran Church stands in the Laestadian tradition.

The use of the term "apostolic" denotes the principle that only the BIBLE is the source of AUTHORITY and that the Apostle's Creed—that is, the belief of the Apostles—summarizes the teachings of the Bible. The Lutheran confessional documents of the sixteenth century, such as the Formula of Concord or the AUGSBURG CONFESSION,

are not rejected but seen as belonging to a different category of authoritative sources. Laestadian theology is conservative, assumes the inerrancy of the Bible, stresses conversion, and insists on the sanctified way of life for believers who confess their sins to one another. This is understood as the faithful application of MARTIN LUTHER'S teaching on the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. In addition, again in close adherence to Luther's notions, Laestadians see the local congregation as the place of SALVATION and the living fellowship of believers. Laestadians emphasize missionary activity, education, and music, usually sung *a capella*.

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Sanctification

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

LAGARDE, PAUL ANTON DE (1827–1891)

German theologian. Lagarde was born Paul Botticher, the son of a classical secondary school teacher in Berlin on November 2, 1827. He studied THEOLOGY in Berlin and HALLE and received a doctoral degree in 1849 and the universal teaching license in oriental languages at the philosophical faculty. While he was a student Lagarde escaped the piety of his parents and became estranged from traditional Protestantism, which he would later criticize fundamentally. After research stays in London and Paris, where he copied particularly Eastern manuscripts, he worked for many years as a teacher in Berlin schools. After several attempts he became professor for Eastern languages in Göttingen in 1869.

Lagarde's most important field of work was in critical editions. He edited Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Arab texts of the church fathers and the BIBLE. His special attention was the publication of a critical edition of the Septuagint. Theological questions engaged Lagarde his entire life. He required a strict separation of state and church and an abolishing of theological faculties at state universities.

His ideal was a national church (*nationale Kirche*) and a national religion, in which the traditional denominations and theological disputes are removed. Lagarde was particularly critical of Pauline theology. Lagarde's opinion was that Paul had falsified the message of Jesus with the help of the Old Testament. His conceptions of a national church, the result of an exaggerated sense of nationalism, were connected with his ANTI-SEMITISM. Even if he was not a racial anti-Semite, his speeches and publications, which placed before the Jews the alternatives of complete assimilation or the deprivation of citizenship, exerted a long-term influence on the anti-Semitic movement. Lagarde asserted that JUDAISM prevented the internal unification of GERMANY. Thus the Nazis, *Nationalsozialisten* engaged the writings of Paul de Lagarde.

See also Church and State, Overview; Education, Theology: Europe

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NORBERT FRIEDRICH

LAITY

Biblical Origins

The term *laity* is a collective description commonly applied to those church members who are not part of the ordained CLERGY. Unlike the Greek noun *laos*, meaning "people," the derivative term *laikos* (Lat. *laicus*, "laity") is not found in the New Testament. Where the Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament uses *laos* to refer to Israel as the chosen people of God, the New Testament applies the term to the New Israel, the community of Christian believers. Although both uses presuppose a theocratic context, the New Testament term, at least in its early, Pauline form, lacks the institutional and cultic overtones found in Israelite worship. Instead the early Christians as the people of God constitute the CHURCH, which is regarded as an organic rather than an institutional entity. In the Apostle Paul's teaching (I Corinthians 12), the metaphor of the human body is used to demonstrate the conviction that each believer has a distinct yet essential function to exercise within the community of faith for the good of the whole and

under the headship of Christ. The human leadership of this new community is found within the *laos*. Its rudimentary distinctions appear to center more on functional matters than issues of status.

Both in the Pauline figure of Jesus as the heavenly intercessor and, more explicitly, in the image of the eternal high priest of the New Covenant presented by the Epistle to the Hebrews, the theology of some of the earliest Christian writings depicts Christ as the perfect fulfillment of the Israelite priesthood. Recalling the words of Jeremiah, all members of the new *laos* are seen as enjoying direct, personal knowledge of God. The new people of God, the *adelphoi* (“brothers”) or *kletoi* (“called ones”), whom Christ represents in heaven, are collectively called to act as prophets, priests, and kings in the service of God irrespective of whether they have a specific ministerial designation. As a redeemed and forgiven company of people they proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ to the world by means of word and deed, they intercede for mankind through prayer and self-sacrifice, and they exercise the privileges of royal status as sons and daughters of the living God.

The quintessential expression of early DOCTRINE concerning the laity is found in the Petrine epistles (I Peter 2:9–10) in the concept of the royal priesthood, or as it is more commonly known, the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. This doctrine of the corporate priesthood of the laity was carried decisively into the sphere of Protestant thought by the early theological writings of MARTIN LUTHER. In his 1520 address *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* he argued passionately against the prevailing understanding within the church of the laity as being restricted to a subordinate role in relation to the ordained priesthood.

Historical Development: Early and Medieval Church

The seeds of the subordination of the laity can be traced, even within the canonical writings, because the Pastoral Epistles afford evidence of an incipient hierarchy, although at that stage ecclesiastical leadership is still firmly located within the all-embracing concept of the *laos*. The earliest use of the more specialized term “laity” is found outside the future canon of scripture (c.96 A.D.) in the First Epistle of Clement (40:5). Writing from Rome, the author of Clement accepts an organizational pattern for the church that mirrors the religious structures of Israel, with a differentiated clergy analogous to the Old Testament priesthood. One hundred and fifty years later the correspondence of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, reveals the church in North Africa operating with a clear hierarchy of BISHOPS, presbyters, and DEACONS. Although the laity were still participating in church councils their contribution was rapidly being eroded. By the Middle Ages the emphasis had switched from the original common inheritance and calling of believers, including those with particular leadership responsibilities, to an understanding of the church where a strong juridical distinction was drawn between clergy and laity. Unlike the Eastern church, which maintained the possibility of an active and significant role for the nonordained, the Western church from the fall of the Roman Empire relegated its ordinary members to a position of marginal importance. As the function and status of the clergy became formalized so the laity came to be regarded in an increasingly negative

light, defined more by the areas from which they were proscribed, especially PREACHING and the administration of the SACRAMENTS, than by anything positive.

From the twelfth century the fortunes of the laity began to change with the growth of civic pride and the wider availability of education. Popular piety deepened, partly in response to the work of the newly founded mendicant orders. In this changing climate a mood of assertiveness appeared among sections of the laity encouraged by new theological ideas. In 1324 Marsiglio of Padua challenged the professional exclusivity of the priesthood, arguing that discipline and spirituality belonged to the whole church, not simply to the clergy, and that the claim of the latter to a hierarchical AUTHORITY had no scriptural basis. Fifty years later John Wycliffe went even further, rejecting the traditional feudal understanding of relationships within the church and arguing that by virtue of God's GRACE to the individual believer all Christians were equal, whether pope or layman, prince or peasant. Over the following century his lay followers, the "Poor Preachers," put this principle to the test by taking to themselves the right to propagate the teachings of the Bible read in the vernacular and publicly to attack those aspects of the late medieval priesthood that appeared to contradict scripture. By the dawn of the REFORMATION the laity were showing that they were no longer prepared meekly to accept their traditional passive role within the church. Their resistance took various forms, but was expressed most notably in the spread of lay-led HERESY, the general growth of dissatisfaction with the clergy, and the popular sense of grievance against tithe and other ecclesiastical exactions.

The Reformation

When Martin Luther launched his assault on the traditional distinction between the clergy and the laity his words resonated with this popular anticlericalism. With considerable adroitness he sought to enlist the support of the German princes, building on a rivalry between the secular and spiritual leaders of Western society that had troubled the Holy Roman Empire in varying degrees since the Lay Investiture Controversy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The essence of Luther's complaint against the church was that under papal leadership the Roman clergy had erected three defensive walls around themselves, thereby protecting the so-called spiritual estate against reform. These protective measures robbed the members of the temporal estate, whether prince or peasant, of any spiritual role, and reserved to the papacy the rights of pronouncing on the interpretation of scripture and of summoning a general council of the church. None of these measures in Luther's opinion had any justification. Appealing to scripture he insisted that all Christians belonged to the spiritual estate by virtue of their BAPTISM. Consequently all were consecrated priests and in the absence of ordained clergy could elect one of their number to preach and administer the SACRAMENTS. By the same token where the papacy was itself the cause of offense the temporal rulers as fellow Christians had a duty to convene a true reforming council of the church. Luther's 1520 analysis of the true position of the Christian laity was confirmed in still more striking terms the following year by the high degree of spiritual autonomy claimed for the individual believer in his famous appeal to the scriptures before the imperial Diet at Worms. Yet within four years he had begun to realize the less-attractive social

implications of the new doctrine of the laity, as popular unrest spread across GERMANY using ideas uncomfortably similar to his own. Although the mature Luther did not renege on the universal priesthood, preserving the new emphasis implicitly in his encouragement of lay understanding of FAITH and WORSHIP through popular hymns, vernacular preaching and LITURGY, and full participation in the sacraments, it no longer constituted a subject for discussion and was modified to suit the structures and norms of German princely and civic society. Elsewhere within the Reformation the role and status of the laity received varying degrees of attention. In general the Magisterial Reformers, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, MARTIN BUCER, and JOHN CALVIN, did not address the subject with the same directness as Luther, but they showed by their emphasis on assurance of faith, the work of Christ as sole mediator between the individual and God, and the centrality of the vernacular scriptures a similar concern to develop the spiritual life of all believers.

It was left to the Radical Reformers to implement most fully the essential equality of all Christians. In a conscious attempt to refashion the church according to a literal reading of the New Testament, the barriers created by sacramental theology disappeared and the concept of Christian leadership underwent a fundamental revision. In the most typical ecclesiological statement produced by the moderate wing of the Radical Reformation, the SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION of 1527, the division between clergy and laity was virtually eradicated. Article 5 of the CONFESSION depicts the pastor as a person of good repute chosen and supported by the congregation to teach, discipline, and conduct prayer and the breaking of bread “for the advancement of all the brethren and sisters.” Such a leader would be subject to discipline by the congregation if necessary (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE) and if he were removed by banishment or martyrdom another would immediately be ordained in his place for the preservation of the group of believers.

The direction taken by the Swiss and South German Anabaptists at Schleithem and by other contemporary Radicals by no means indicated a dramatic change for most early Protestants. The Radicals were a small and largely ephemeral force because of their social attitudes and the strength of the persecution that befell them. For the non-Radical majority the survival of the term “laity” into the post-Reformation era gives some indication of the power of theological conservatism when it came to the relationship between the Protestant communities of northern Europe and their religious leaders. It is perfectly possible to argue that the term “laity” as a juridical concept, which flourished under medieval Catholicism, had no place in the Reformation reconstruction of the church. However, the historical manifestation of Protestantism was broad-ranging, extending from the modified Catholicism of Luther and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, through the broad spectrum of Reformed churchmanship, which traced its origins to Zürich and Geneva, and arriving ultimately at the relatively simple congregational structure of ANABAPTISM and the later Separatists. In churches possessing an episcopal or quasiaepiscopal structure and a relatively high sacramental doctrine, the separation between clergy and laity, although diminished, continued to have practical substance. In the remainder the term “laity” was retained with varying degrees of emphasis as a convenient shorthand indicating differences in function within the overall body of church members.

Although the changes in the status and role of the laity proposed by Luther were by no means reversed, they were implemented only gradually over the succeeding centuries.

Many strands of continuity can be found between late medieval Catholicism and Magisterial Protestantism, especially in the century of religious upheaval after the Reformation. Many aspects of the former clerical mentality survived within the new ecclesiastical structures, to the extent that the new Reformed presbyters often appeared surprisingly similar to their medieval priestly counterparts as far as their relationship to the laity was concerned. According to the 1587 English “Book of Discipline” printed in 1644, active involvement in the church was a wholly clerical matter, with ruling elders and deacons counted as part of the body of ministers. Ecclesiastical hierarchy may have disappeared among the Reformed leadership but old professional attitudes appeared to be flourishing.

When the clerical leadership of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholastic CALVINISM is subjected to careful scrutiny, however, a different picture begins to emerge. In areas such as ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, where Calvinist ideas had begun to shape territorial churches, the empowerment of the individual believer was certainly subordinate to the need to fill the void left by the Roman clergy. A new and purified leadership had to be found—one that was confident of its calling and capable of arresting any slide into SECTARIANISM. From the outset the Reformed tradition set great store by clerical EDUCATION. Within the universities the continuation of the scholastic approach to theological studies reflected the need of the emerging national churches for ministers adequately trained in the skills of reasoning vital to the defense of Protestantism. Yet the availability of university-educated clergy, able to read the scriptures in their original languages and to expound them from a sound theological basis, was intended to aid the spiritual development of the laity rather than foster elitism. A succession of leaders like WILLIAM PERKINS and RICHARD BAXTER in England and Gisbertus Voetius in Holland combined significant scholarship with a strong pastoral concern for lay piety. Not only did the spiritual writings of Perkins and Baxter affect generations of English readers but, in translation along with the works of other Puritan writers (see PURITANISM), they provided a rich stimulus to lay development in Germany during the following century. More locally, individual Puritan ministers in England and in the early American colonies encouraged members of their congregations to keep journals in which they charted their own personal process of CONVERSION. These early signs of lay expression also manifested themselves in less conventional ways. Groups of Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) began to appear: men and women who pursued simplicity and truthfulness, and who sought guidance from the Inner Light rather than the customary authorities of scripture or church. With their egalitarianism and rejection of the ministry and sacraments they established considerable local influence in parts of England as well as the eastern seaboard of America.

In the Lutheran Church the impetus toward scholasticism had a less favorable outcome. After the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the end of the bitter three-sided religious conflict in Germany, many Lutheran clergy became entrenched in a formal professionalism whose fashion was to impress the largely passive congregations under their care with pedantic theological discourses. Against this trend the Pietist movement under the leadership of PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER began from the 1660s to discover a more active role for the laity. Spener’s *collegia pietatis*, his groups for private devotion, together with the Christian Institute founded by his disciple AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE at Glauchau near HALLE transformed the situation for the Lutheran laity.

The latter were encouraged in their active form of Christianity by a stream of Pietist clergy, which began to emerge after 1692 from the new University of Halle.

Popular Evangelism

In the English-speaking world the first appearance of an active lay leadership is widely, if not entirely accurately, associated with the work of the eighteenth-century clergyman JOHN WESLEY. Early METHODISM drew on Reformation, Puritan, and Anglican influences as well as the contemporary example of German PIETISM. Its cellular structure, which owed a strong organizational debt to Moravianism, provided an ideal setting for the employment of considerable numbers of lay Christians and for the development of their skills. As a movement outside conventional religion and directed at the neglected sectors of society it offered the freedom to experiment with new forms of lay leadership. Laymen and women became class leaders, exhorters, and SUNDAY SCHOOL teachers. Individual believers were expected to offer spiritual counsel to their peers. Still more revolutionary was the widespread use of men as lay preachers who had received neither seminary education nor ordination. During Wesley's lifetime the social scandal created by these novelties was made even worse by his willingness to overlook the crossing of the preaching boundary by certain gifted WOMEN such as Sarah Crosby and Mary Bosanquet. Wesley's friend and contemporary GEORGE WHITEFIELD showed a similar inclination to ignore the traditional barrier established by ordination in the interests of missionary religion, but in his case his relative disinterest in creating organizational structures among his converts meant that his empowerment of the laity was less obvious.

As opportunities for lay leadership began to diminish among British Methodists in the climate of conservatism that followed the death of Wesley, the rapid expansion of the movement in newly independent America created new scope for the gifted layperson. In the UNITED STATES the Methodist circuit system created by FRANCIS ASBURY soon employed hundreds of young unmarried men but the call of women to public ministry was not recognized (see CIRCUIT RIDERS; ITINERACY). Of the small number of white women deeply involved in the spread of early American Methodism most confined their activities to the semiprivate sphere of the class meeting. Yet for one small but significant group of black African American women, the coming of Methodism created an unprecedented opportunity for leadership. A handful of emancipated slaves and free-born women entered into a public itinerant ministry that defied the conventions of nineteenth-century society, challenging existing denominational structures and attesting to the dangerous and unpredictable force of a vocation attributed to the Holy Spirit. Although the focus in the new ecclesiastical structures created by EVANGELICALISM may have remained with the community of believers, increasingly the traditional practices of corporate Christianity appeared to be at variance with the expectations of post-Enlightenment INDIVIDUALISM.

Social Action

The increasing opportunities for lay involvement can also be seen in the church's handling of matters that extended beyond the narrowly religious. In the *Franckesche Stiftungen*, the network of facilities built around the orphanage at Halle, lay Pietists as well as theological students worked together to a degree unprecedented in earlier Protestantism, caring for widows and the poor, educating children across the social spectrum, printing and circulating a wide range of improving literature, and producing medicines. This German example provided a model for features that were subsequently reproduced elsewhere on both sides of the Atlantic.

A second great social impetus issued from JOHN WOOLMAN and his fellow American Quakers during the eighteenth century in their determined opposition to the institution of SLAVERY. In the British context the leadership of this struggle, initially directed against the degrading and cruel trade in human beings that operated between West Africa and the New World, was in the hands of a small but formidable group of lay Anglicans known derogatorily as the CLAPHAM SECT, whose parliamentary spokesman was WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. In this ultimately successful campaign, an interdenominational lay-led Christian movement pitted itself against entrenched economic interests, national policies, deep-seated social conservatism, and, in many cases, clerical complacency.

The third significant strand of lay action came with the massive expansion of the voluntary society system seen in Britain and America during the Second Evangelical Awakening (see VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES; AWAKENINGS). In both countries during the first three decades of the nineteenth century a host of national and regional societies came into being as an expression of the contemporary concern that EVANGELISM would be ineffective if practical action were not taken to alleviate prominent social ills. As single-issue agencies they addressed a range of serious deficiencies including extreme poverty, PROSTITUTION, exploitive employment practices, and lack of basic education. At all structural levels they used a range of lay talent in a way that permanently transformed expectations concerning the role of the ordinary church member. In America, building on Calvinist ideas derived from JONATHAN EDWARDS and SAMUEL HOPKINS as well as more general considerations of the nature of virtue, the influential evangelist CHARLES FINNEY taught a generation of converts to believe that the sincerity of their Christian conversion would prove itself in subsequent commitment to practical "benevolence."

Church Administration

Increasingly, involvement in the wider moral and practical issues of society led to a desire for a greater say in the administration of the church. The growth of this desire accompanied both extensions to the political franchise and the development of universal systems of education across the Western world. At the level of civic and political leadership, interference by the laity in the affairs of the church was as old as

Christendom. Nor did this change with the coming of the Reformation. Not only did Luther base his defiance of Rome on the baptized status of his princely supporters, and Zwingli require the consent of the Zürich burghers to introduce his *Sixty-Seven Articles* of religion, but also Calvin, as a second generation reformer, still found himself circumscribed in important ecclesiastical matters by what the city councils in Geneva were prepared to allow. In general, territorial Protestant churches had to accept their livings and pulpits being treated as tools of the social and political hierarchy, and the funds necessary for the maintenance of church and ministry being subjected to lay depredations and meanness. In the Reformed churches from the outset elders cooperated with the clergy in ecclesiastical government but, even if that eldership can be regarded as part of the laity, its presence within the higher courts until comparatively modern times was scarcely representative of the general membership.

By the nineteenth century lay ambitions began to extend beyond control of the church for selfish or essentially secular purposes. Nonordained members increasingly sought an active voice in policy determination and administration. Among the nonterritorial connexional churches the process of change was set in motion by the small Methodist New Connexion established in 1797, which, more than half a century before the mainstream Methodist denominations in either America or Britain, insisted that at every level its governing bodies should be composed of equal numbers of ministers and lay representatives, the latter being chosen freely by the membership. Within the bodies constituting the Anglican Communion the initiative was seized most boldly by the Church of Ireland, which from its unsought disestablishment in 1869 created a General Synod composed of twice as many lay as clerical representatives. Elsewhere within the Episcopal communion lay representation proceeded more cautiously. The mother church acquired a properly constituted House of Laity only in 1919 with the passing of parliamentary legislation that created a National Assembly for the Church of England.

Overseas Missions

In one final aspect the nineteenth century was to prove decisive for the laity: the expansion of the faith into parts of the world not previously exposed to Christianity. Protestant overseas interest had begun a century earlier with the establishment of Pietist and MORAVIAN CHURCH missionary groups in places as widely separated as Tranquebar, Surinam, and Georgia. The main phase of missionary growth commenced with the founding of a wave of new societies in Britain and America during the Second Evangelical Awakening. One of the earliest, the London Missionary Society, launched its South Seas operations using lay personnel from a predominantly artisan background but as the movement developed the general focus shifted toward a requirement for college or seminary training linked to ordination. Not until the rise of specialized medical MISSIONS after 1843 did absolute clerical dominance begin to lessen. As medicine became professionalized, staff in the new missionary hospitals became increasingly unwilling to defer to nonmedical missionaries whose principal claim to leadership was the possession of ordination. By the end of the century lay participation had been broadened still further by the appearance of female doctors and by the widening of the professional presence within missionary ranks to include teachers, engineers, and other

young people drawn from the burgeoning student volunteer movement. Through the subsequent influence of ecumenical cooperation this trend toward a full and active role for the laity has become a permanent feature of modern international Christianity.

Controversy: Absence of Major Conflict

Over the centuries few important aspects of THEOLOGY or ECCLESIOLOGY have remained untouched by disagreement. History is littered with religious debates that have proved serious and intractable. Yet, at first sight, the developing theory of the laity seems to offer a notable exception. Since the Reformation there have been no disputes in this area to match the divisiveness of the Sacramentarian Controversy between Luther and Zwingli. There has been nothing to approach the deep philosophical differences of the Deist debate within early Hanoverian Anglicanism, or the hatred that characterized the Fundamentalist-Modernist struggle in early twentieth-century America. Nevertheless until comparatively modern times the doctrine of the laity has afforded one of the most fertile breeding grounds within Protestantism for low-level tensions and undercurrents. In most cases the hostility generated has been limited to ridicule, polemical over-statement, and manipulation of influence. However, in one notorious period, that of the English Restoration, those who wielded ecclesiastical power applied a policy of penal legislation and imprisonment. During the reign of Charles II one of the most famous lay preachers of the seventeenth century, JOHN BUNYAN, spent much of the period 1660 to 1672 incarcerated in a Bedford jail. The same years also witnessed the deaths of perhaps as many as 450 Quakers. In parts of Germany and in SWEDEN, where Lutheran ORTHODOXY was strong, the early eighteenth century saw a similar if less severe pattern of repression and expulsion directed at groups of lower-class laypeople who sought to practice their own biblically based understanding of the Christian community. Although the punishments meted out in Restoration England, as later in Germany, stemmed from the unacceptability of religious DISSENT, the changing character of lay religion constituted an additional factor. The more the issue was debated, the more it exposed the complex relationship that existed between clergy, laity, institutional church, and Christian society. The debate ceased to have meaning only when organized Christianity was compelled for the sake of survival to come to terms with the secular, pluralist, and democratic forces of the new industrial age (see INDUSTRIALIZATION).

Hermeneutical Debate

Almost every historical dispute about the role of the laity has resorted at some point to New Testament hermeneutics. Not only did Luther justify his opposition to the Roman hierarchy in August 1520 with a general denial of scriptural support for its exclusivist pretensions and an appeal to the Petrine text concerning the royal priesthood, but also in his later tract entitled *The Freedom of a Christian* he expounded more fully the scriptural obligations laid on the individual believer. The Christian was both the perfectly free lord of all, who was subject to no other person, and at the same time the servant of all, who was, therefore, subject to everyone. Referring to various Pauline passages, Luther argued

that the believer's kingly freedom belonged like his priesthood to the spiritual sphere and consequently did not impinge on the province of kings, princes, and those set in positions of civil authority. Nor did the functions of true Christian priesthood—"to pray for others and to teach one another divine things"—trespass on the rights of the so-called clergy. Such titles as "priest," "cleric," "spiritual," "ecclesiastic," when they were erroneously applied to a minority within the Christian community, were manifestly unscriptural. The New Testament terms for the Christian leadership—"ministers," "servants," "stewards" (cf. I Corinthians 4:1)—all indicated a differentiation based on function rather than status. Although Luther's argument struck deep roots within Protestantism, some aspects of the medieval division between clergy and laity remained, and subsequent adjustments to this mode of thinking prompted further reference to the biblical text. As late as the nineteenth century opponents of lay evangelism argued from the Acts of the Apostles and the Pastoral Epistles for the absolute necessity of ordination. By way of contrast, those who advocated greater freedom in the deployment of lay personnel pointed to other scriptural passages that seemed to indicate the primary importance of spiritual gifts. As a means of resolving debates, appeals to scripture tended to be inconclusive and merely served to reinforce existing prejudices. Resolution came if anything from more practical considerations such as the need to bring greater flexibility into the ministry of the church.

Social Conservatism

Behind the allegedly scriptural resistance to an active laity there often lay considerable social conservatism: a concern that laypeople who found an independent voice would threaten the natural hierarchy based on birth, education, and wealth. Luther appears not to have been concerned about this possibility because of the clear distinction he drew between the Christian's spiritual realm and the temporal sphere where the normal conventions of social leadership operated; however, later spokesmen for mainstream Protestantism were not so sanguine. To the Lutheran consistorial authorities of the Electorate of Hanover during the 1730s the groups of radical Pietists, who publicly criticized their establishment pastors, blaming them for a lack of humility and brotherly love, and depicting them as spiritually unregenerate, far exceeded the liberty allowed by Luther's priesthood of all believers. The bounding self-confidence of these lower-class laymen offended the Lutheran hierarchy, eliciting condemnation and repression. Their popular restiveness also spilled over into the civil sphere where they found themselves in many cases struggling against their employers.

In Britain the public ministry of Methodists and other unauthorized lay preachers and catechists aroused the indignation and fury of those who sought to defend eighteenth-century patterns of deference. The interlopers were seen as manifestly unsuited to their self-appointed religious tasks, a point that often seemed to be supported by their relatively humble origins. Drawn predominantly from the ranks of tradesmen, they lacked significant education and were, their critics argued, forced to rely on a dangerous mixture of novelty and anticlericalism to attract attention. The parish clergy by contrast were trained in scriptural exegesis and the biblical languages and were charged with the welfare of every person within their bounds. The natural alliance between landowner and resident clergyman was seen to place the temporal and spiritual care of the general

population into the hands of those whose social position best fitted them to offer sound leadership.

In the spread of American popular religion during the same period the challenge to existing social conventions was extended still further by the issues of GENDER and race. The appearance of women in unauthorized leadership roles from the 1750s onward by no means proved generally acceptable, even among the independent churches to which many belonged. Some were seen as troublemakers: their work appeared to lead to scandal and division. Although many were praised for the quality of their prayers and testimonies, even at times by ordained clergymen, ambivalence remained. Despite the existence of considerable numbers of female preachers and exhorters at the end of the eighteenth century, the trend in the infant republic was away from female leadership. Similar problems arose in connection with race. In the context of reviving economic fortunes for the institution of slavery, the American churches in the pre-Civil War period enshrined leadership values that, although softening the old rigid boundary between clergy and laity, nevertheless reflected the contemporary secular focus on citizenship as something essentially white and Anglo-Saxon.

Political Fears

At certain strategic points in modern history the continuance of a stable Christian society has appeared to be threatened politically by the activities of the laity. In Luther's reforming career that point was reached very quickly. As early as the period of concealment in the Wartburg after the Diet of Worms it became obvious that some of his followers were steering the ecclesiastical reforms in dangerous directions. Armed rioting took place in Wittenberg in December 1521 in an attempt to enforce the new practices. Subsequent acts of ICONOCLASM coincided with the arrival of a group of lay prophets from Zwickau who claimed direct inspiration by the Holy Spirit and preached about the coming millennium. When Luther realized that these developments were threatening the stability of the infant reform process and were compromising the position of his own protector, the elector Frederick, he emerged from hiding and sought to end the violence. Part of the reason, however, for the success of Luther's church-reforming message lay in its resonance with deeper political aspirations among the German populace. Although he was able to calm the immediate circumstances in Wittenberg, he was powerless to stop the spreading wave of political unrest over the following months. He could neither restrain the maverick clergyman THOMAS MÜNTZER, who used apocalyptic passages from scripture to incite popular revolution, nor could he prevent a gathering such as the "Parliament" at Memmingen from incorporating biblical ideas into the *Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants*, which it issued in March 1525 against the unreasonable exactions of the landowners. When gentle rebuke failed, Luther resorted to a violent condemnation of the mounting popular rebellion in his notorious tract *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*. With the appearance of this work in May 1525 calling for draconian measures by rulers, even by those who would not "tolerate the gospel," he acknowledged the political dangers implicit in the popular appropriation of religious ideas and drew a veil of silence over his own earlier emphasis on the laity.

Later crises tended to revive this specter of the politicized layman. During the English Interregnum of the 1640s and 1650s the agents of several independent sects promulgated their innovatory ideas, challenging what remained of political stability in the wake of the Civil Wars (see CIVIL WAR, ENGLAND). Even in the comparatively tolerant climate created by Cromwell, where alternative religious ideas and lay initiative were able to flourish and there was an absence of strong clerical supervision, the behavior of groups such as the LEVELLERS and Fifth Monarchists was treated as being subversive of an orderly Christian society. With the return of the monarchy and the established church at the Restoration any such opportunity for lay improvisation disappeared entirely.

In Britain the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the threat of invasion produced one final period of tension in which the religious activities of laymen again aroused in establishment minds the fear of political machinations. Given the ideological potency of republicanism and the apparent willingness of Revolutionary FRANCE to export its values and institutions, the apparent threat was all too credible. The unfortunate individuals who were tried and punished for taking part in secular republican gatherings and demonstrations seemed to many church leaders in the 1790s to have their counterparts in the wave of unknown individuals who at much the same time began to conduct religious meetings in barns and cottages, to organize children into unauthorized Sunday schools, and to penetrate even the remotest villages. For a year or two political paranoia gripped the bench of English bishops as well as the General Assembly of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND but, when the leading politicians declined to act and the threat of invasion began to recede, this final political crisis involving the laity evaporated.

Heterodoxy and Ecclesiastical Order

The other major area in which arguments arose was that of religious belief and order. In the eighteenth century accusations against the laity ranged from heterodoxy to enthusiasm, but the latter caused particular concern to those who espoused the values of the ENLIGHTENMENT. With the decline of interest in formal theology the charge of heterodoxy was not widely employed against the emerging laity, but in orthodox LUTHERANISM the older preoccupations seem to have lingered longer than elsewhere. In a catalog of heresies compiled and published by Samuel Schelwig, a senior clergyman at Dantzic, the erroneous teachings of the Pietists, both moderate and radical, clerical and lay, were classified in the clear conviction that they formed a natural and interdependent corpus of error. More common, however, was the offense caused to contemporary clerical sensibilities by the pretensions of the new generation of publicly active laymen to "an extraordinary measure of the Holy Spirit's influence." To most critical observers of the evangelical Awakenings the dangerous and unseemly combination of enthusiasm and the uneducated mind was the inevitable outcome of laxity in the official control of popular religion.

Whereas the concept of ministry inherited from the medieval church centered on the sacraments, Protestantism was altogether more equivocal, emphasizing from the outset the fundamental importance of preaching. Traditionally the Christian sacraments had conveyed a powerful sense of mystery. Their celebration by the clergy had been surrounded by a mystique that was inseparably connected with ordination. Preaching by

contrast belonged to the realm of explanation and understanding, and as such was accessible to clergy and laity alike. The Protestant flexing of lay muscles in areas such as group leadership, exhortation, catechizing, and even preaching itself raised serious questions about the nature and distinctness of the church's ministry. Few if any of those who favored these developments wanted to see unsupervised activity; most emphasized the importance of careful selection based on the requisite spiritual and moral qualities as well as the recognition of God-given abilities. However, for those sections of Protestant opinion that were closest to the Catholic traditions of the past, any widening of the ministry to include individuals who lacked regular ordination endangered their belief in the sacramental basis of Christianity. Such actions threatened the unity of the church and raised the destructive possibility of schism. In practice mere encroachment on clerical prerogatives did not give rise to serious and lasting divisions within Protestantism. When schism came to a number of established churches in the nineteenth century its causes lay in the growing secularism and indifference of the modern state.

Rejection of the Clergy

One important response to changing circumstances was the development of entirely lay movements such as the Brethren, which—like the Quakers before them—rejected the concept of a professional and ordained ministry. The Brethren appeared in the late 1820s as a breakaway from Irish Episcopalianism. In their early polemic they accused the Irish clergy of opposing the work of God by refusing to work with laymen in the task of EVANGELISM. As an alternative to the complex structures of the traditional church, the new movement embraced a primitivist ecclesiology in a conscious attempt to re-create the forms of worship and relationship found in the New Testament. Yet even this restorationist approach was not immune from the natural tendencies toward elitism that the need for leadership encouraged. After the movement split into two wings in 1848, the Exclusive Brethren developed a structure that allowed for collective decision making at the level of the local assembly but at the same time looked to guidance from a leader who achieved overall prominence within the movement. Ultimately this led the Exclusives into the dictatorial period of leadership under James Taylor Jr. during the 1960s. Although the movement as a whole, both in Europe and America, resisted such blatant distortions of the democratic impulse, it relied on a system of eldership that, especially in its most developed form within the Churches of God, subordinated the original concern for the priesthood of all believers to the needs of a nonordained but nevertheless self-perpetuating oligarchy.

The Laity in Modern Protestantism

In the changing ecclesiastical landscape of the present day one of the most significant features affecting almost all traditional denominations is the general decline apparent in vocations to the ordained ministry. In some of the longer-established bodies the shortage of clergy is beginning to threaten the future viability of congregations and to prompt both the pooling of ministerial expertise and the creation of permanent teams that combine lay

talent of various types with that of ordained personnel. In some of the youngest and most rapidly growing churches the scarcity of trained ministers has reached the point where it threatens the ability to teach converts effectively.

Elsewhere in modern Protestantism other factors are eroding the traditional importance of the clergy. Within America's vast Southern Baptist community the theological emphasis on "soul competency" and belief in the spiritual autonomy of the individual has produced a climate where the Christian believer stands essentially alone in his relationship to God. The implications of this spiritual INDIVIDUALISM are various and far-reaching. Not only has the scriptural doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, with its appreciation of the corporate action of the Christian community, metamorphosed into the strikingly different concept of the "priesthood of the believer," but important challenges to ecclesiology have also ensued. The rise of the self-sufficient soul has been accompanied by a rejection of any form of mediation, whether human or divine. The new outlook has little place for a ministry concerned with anything beyond preaching and its related functions; nor are the corporate intercessions of the church given the importance once assigned to them. Most serious of all has been its challenge to historical orthodoxy in the practical relegation of Christ from his unique role as the mediator between man and God. In this strikingly individualistic vision of Christianity the lay believer seems finally to have come of age.

Since the 1960s the existence of the Charismatic Movement has appeared to challenge the hitherto subordinate position of the laity. Just as the moving frontier of charismatic practice has militated against other ecclesiastical conventions, so the centrality of the individual's encounter with the Holy Spirit seems to have rendered customary distinctions between clergy and laity irrelevant. Yet analysis of the movement by no means supports this conclusion. Although the charismatic approach has dramatically widened participation in worship and ministry, there is little evidence to suggest that professional leadership has declined in importance. On the contrary, the movement is well known for its propensity to throw up strong leadership figures who enjoy among their following an authority that is virtually episcopal. Charismatic worship may have given greater scope to the laity but any fundamental change to their status is probably more imaginary than real.

What then does the future hold for the laity? In an age when secondary education is almost universal and large numbers of citizens have access to university, the effect on the church is necessarily profound. Within its ranks the clergy no longer constitute the principal repository of educated opinion and this in itself raises important questions about the lay-clerical relationship. No longer can it be assumed that the leadership of the church is better equipped or more able than the general membership. Even in respect of theological expertise educated lay opinion is making an important contribution to many congregations. Although these trends are clear and the former state of impotence has disappeared for good, the nonordained majority of believers seems likely to retain its differentiation from the ordained leadership for as long as organized Christianity exists.

See also Ecumenism; Education, Theology: Europe/ United States/Asia; Higher Education; Missionary Organizations

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LAMBETH CONFERENCE

The Lambeth Conference is an international conference of the bishops of the Anglican Communion that meets approximately every ten years. The first such conference was called by Archbishop C.T. Longley, the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1867, and met at Lambeth Palace, the London residence of the archbishop, from which the conference takes its name. The 1867 conference included seventy-six Anglican bishops principally from ENGLAND, IRELAND, CANADA, and the UNITED STATES.

The desire for establishing the conference first emerged in North America more than a decade before the first meeting. The original impetus for such a conference came from the need for regular consultation among the bishops of an increasingly diverse, international church with very little centralized AUTHORITY. Before such a conference could be organized, the Canadian bishops appealed to the archbishop of Canterbury to convene the bishops to deal with the crisis precipitated by Bishop JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO, an English priest who had been appointed bishop of Natal. Serious concern developed over what was perceived to be the laxity with which Colenso dealt with ecclesiastical discipline in the cultural context of Natal, especially with respect to DIVORCE in a polygamist CULTURE (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). Colenso's critical biblical scholarship also made many uneasy. Attempts to establish the conference as an Anglican magisterial authority to establish and judge the DOCTRINE and practice of the

member churches met with strong opposition, however, and the conference adjourned after only four days.

A second conference was held in 1878, and a third conference met in 1888 at the call of Archbishop Edward White Benson. This third conference focused its conversations largely on matters of church unity both within ANGLICANISM and with respect to Anglicanism's role in the reunion of the churches. The major document that emerged from the 1888 conference is the LAMBETH QUADRILATERAL, more generally referred to as the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, one of the defining documents in the history of Anglicanism.

The four articles were first formulated and agreed upon by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States (see EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNITED STATES) meeting in Chicago in 1886, and were slightly revised and promulgated by the bishops at Lambeth two years later. The articles set forth the Anglican-Episcopal position on the nonnegotiable requirements for church union: "(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; (2) the Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith; (3) the two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's Words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him; (4) the Historical Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church." The Quadrilateral remains the definitive Anglican position statement with respect to ecumenical conversations (see ECUMENISM; DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL).

Church unity was among the major topics of consultation at all succeeding conferences to the present day. The early conferences of the twentieth century (1908, 1920, 1930) generally engaged the topic from the perspective of Anglicanism's role in world Christianity, while more recent conferences have been concerned with the unity of Anglicanism itself. Social issues began to take center stage in the conferences that followed World War II. MARRIAGE and Divorce, family planning, racism, WAR and peace, women's ordination (see WOMEN CLERGY), and SEXUALITY, particularly HOMOSEXUALITY, have been among the major issues considered.

A particularly important Lambeth Conference was that of 1968 when, in the wake of the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church, the world's Anglican bishops turned their attention to the renewal of the life and faith of the church and to new initiatives in ecumenical relations. By 1968, the number of bishops at the conference had grown to 462. Among the more important initiatives of the meeting was the establishment of the Anglican Consultative Council, a representative body of BISHOPS, CLERGY, and lay persons from the member churches of the Anglican Communion that acts as a source of communication, consultation, and mutual support among Anglicans worldwide.

The Anglican Communion is composed of 38 self-governing churches that share a common Anglican heritage and recognize the archbishop of Canterbury as the symbol of its unity. Because the member churches of the Anglican Communion are fully autonomous and have the full authority to establish their own WORSHIP, doctrine, and canon law, the Lambeth Conference, the Anglican Consultative Council, and the archbishop of Canterbury serve as important sources of Anglican unity but have no

legislative or executive authority to exercise over member churches. Resolutions and decisions of the Lambeth Conference are not binding on the member churches of the Communion, but are generally received as having significant moral and spiritual weight, because they originate from the bishops of the church.

A total of 749 bishops attended the 1998 Lambeth Conference. Although many important topics were before the assembly, the conference was deeply divided over issues of human sexuality. This conference also represented a turning point in the makeup of the Anglican Communion because of the large number of bishops from parts of the world other than Western Europe and North America. Reflecting the evolving realities of the Anglican Communion is a proposal that the 2008 Lambeth Conference be held not in England, but in Cape Town, South Africa, in conjunction with an international Anglican Gathering of clergy and laity.

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LAMBETH QUADRILATERAL

Part of the LAMBETH CONFERENCES, the periodic meetings of the bishops of the Anglican Church, the term refers specifically to the statement endorsed by the conference of the bishops of the Anglican Communion, held at Lambeth (the official residence of the archbishop of Canterbury in London) in 1888. At that conference the Anglican involvements in conversations with other churches about possible fellowship and union were discussed. A statement made two years earlier by the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North America was adopted in revised form and is known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral. It expressed the fundamental commitments of the Anglican Church under four headings. The Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament are declared to contain everything necessary for salvation and declared the rule and standard of the faith. The Apostles Creed and the Nicene Creed are affirmed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith. Two sacraments are affirmed—baptism and the Lord's Supper—accompanied by the words of institution and the elements of water, bread, and wine. Finally, the Lambeth Quadrilateral affirmed the historic episcopacy, that is, the unbroken succession of bishops from apostolic times to the present, albeit with the proviso that there may be local adaptations of how this historic succession is expressed.

See also Anglicanism

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

LASKI, JAN (JOANNES A LASCO, JOHN A LASCO) (1499–1560)

Religious reformer. Laski was born in 1499 to an aristocratic family in POLAND. His father Stanislas was palatine of Sieradz, while his uncle Jan was chancellor, archbishop of Gniezno, and primate of Poland. Destined to occupy a high position in the clerical hierarchy—his uncle obtained numerous advantages for him—Laski studied in Bologna between 1515 and 1518, and in Padova between 1518 and 1519. In 1524 he stayed in Paris and in 1525 traveled to Basel, where he came to know the philosopher Erasmus of Rotterdam. Erasmus exerted a great influence on Laski who helped him materially and even purchased his library, which he gave to Erasmus for lifelong use.

After his return to Poland in summer 1526, Laski occupied clerical positions. At that time he became close to the reformer PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, whom he met in April 1537.

In the second half of 1539 he left Poland, probably disaffected with Catholicism. During a stay in Louvain he approached the Brethren of the Common Life. Early in 1540 he married and moved to Emden in Eastern Friesland. The news about his MARRIAGE quickly reached Poland and led to his forced resignation from his clerical functions (see CLERGY, MARRIAGE OF). He returned to Poland in 1542 because of his brother's terminal illness, and on February 6 he abjured his Protestant beliefs. As a result, he was restored to his clerical functions. However, in May 1542 Laski returned to Friesland, definitively ending his relation with the Catholic Church. Probably his abjuration was a tactical maneuver that enabled him to take care of his interests in Poland.

In 1543 Laski was appointed head of the Eastern churches that were reorganized in the Reformed mode. At that time he gave evidence of his organizational skills and his irenic attitude toward MENNONITES and Spiritualists (see SPIRITUALISM).

In London King Edward VI appointed Laski super-intendent of the churches of foreign communities, the latter being organizationally independent from the English churches. The development of this well-organized and managed international community came to an end with the death of Edward VI and the effort to reinstitute Catholicism in

ENGLAND by Mary Tudor. The adherents of the foreign church—including Laski—were expelled from England and left in September 1553.

Whereas in DENMARK exiles were not given asylum because of the resistance of orthodox Lutherans, Laski managed to obtain asylum in Eastern Friesland. He again obtained his old office as superintendent, although his position was unstable because of Spanish pressures on one side and the attacks of orthodox Lutherans on the other. Laski was finally dismissed and left for Frankfurt am Main in 1555, where many English exiles resided. Here Laski vigorously quarreled with Lutherans, particularly with Joachim Westphal. In Frankfurt he published one of his main works: *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerii in peregrinorum...ecclesia, instituta Londini in Anglia...*, 1555 (*The Form and Principle of the Ecclesiastic Service in the Church for Foreigners Established in London, England*).

Invited to return to Poland by the leaders of the Calvinist church being established there, Laski arrived on December 3, 1556. Realizing that King Sigmund August did not actively support reform, Laski wanted to unify all Polish Protestants in order to efficiently oppose Catholicism. He counted on a victory during the next national diet to persuade the king to establish Protestantism formally as the religion in Poland.

His intentions were not realized because of the resistance of both Lutherans and the Czech Brethren to his unification plan and because of the lack of visible threats to the Reformed confession in Poland. Finally Laski's stay in Poland was too short to have enabled him to have a great impact. Laski died on January 8, 1560.

Laski was the only Polish figure of lasting significance in the history of the classical REFORMATION. Outstanding organizer, practical theologian, and efficient polemicist, he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of the leaders of the European Reformation, such as MARTIN BUCER, THOMAS CRANMER, JOHN CALVIN, and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON.

See also Calvinism; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Church of England; Lutheranism;

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LECH SZCZUCKI

LATIMER, HUGH (C.1485–1555)

English reformer. Latimer, a leading figure of the English Reformation, is best known not so much for his theological writings but for the sermons he preached between his CONVERSION to the Protestant cause around 1524 and his martyrdom in 1555. Latimer was born at Thurcaston in Leicestershire, the son of a yeoman farmer, and the plight of that class became a topic of his later sermons. Trained at Cambridge and ordained in 1515, Latimer was initially opposed to Lutheran ideas. Under the influence of Thomas Bilney, however, Latimer was converted around 1524 to the Protestant cause and began PREACHING in support of an English BIBLE and against the veneration of the SAINTS.

Latimer's fortunes over the next two decades rose and fell with the changing religious and political landscape in England. He was appointed bishop of Worcester in 1535 but had to resign in 1539. After the death of HENRY VIII in 1547 Latimer returned to prominence as a preacher at the court of Edward VI until 1550. Many of his best-known sermons stem from this period, during which Latimer also took a more distinctly Protestant position on matters of DOCTRINE, rejecting TRANSUBSTANTIATION in 1548. Latimer's lifelong interest in social welfare and economic injustice surfaced again in his later sermons, for which he has been counted among the "commonwealth" thinkers of his generation in ENGLAND. After the accession of Queen Mary, a Catholic, in 1553, Latimer became a target of the new regime and in 1555 was burned at the stake along with Nicholas Ridley. Immortalized by JOHN FOXE for his martyrdom, Latimer is widely acknowledged as the foremost preacher of his generation in the English Reformation.

See also Acts and Monuments; Bible Translation; Martyrs and Martyrologies

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LATIN AMERICA

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the religiosity of Latin America was in flux. The Catholic monopoly of colonial and early postindependence times, and even the

secure hegemony of the early twentieth century, were under threat in most countries. The traditional Catholic claim to be an essential part of Latin American identity had lost plausibility as pluralism increased and Protestantism became deep-rooted. Catholic structures were too tied to a rural Christendom mentality. The chronic shortage of national priests in most countries highlighted the gap between “official” churchly Catholicism and “popular” or “folk” Catholicism. LIBERATION THEOLOGY and Base Communities were important from the 1960s to 1980s but were then overtaken by phenomena such as the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. In many countries Afro-Latin American religions (far from limited to blacks) or revived indigenous Amerindian religions also competed for followers, whereas the main new phenomenon among the middle-class was esoterical and extrainstitutional.

In this context Protestantism rose to prominence, marked by a strongly “oppositional” identity in relation to Catholicism (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). It had entered Latin America in the nineteenth century as an effectively sectarian variant of the dominant religion, but in tandem with the political and economic liberalism brought by the Anglo-Saxon powers. Except in BRAZIL, growth was slow until the mid-twentieth century, but by the 1980s it was possible to talk of a regionwide phenomenon, attracting the interest of academics, the concern of Catholic hierarchs, and the puzzlement of the media.

In colonial times Protestantism was excluded from Spanish and Portuguese America by the Inquisition. The exceptions were temporary: failed colonization projects, whether reluctantly tolerated by the Iberian powers (German Lutherans in Venezuela from 1529 to 1546, linked to Spanish indebtedness to the Welser banking house) or in opposition to them (French HUGUENOTS in Rio de Janeiro, 1555–1567; the Dutch in North-Eastern Brazil, 1624–1654); and the occasional presence of individual Protestant laymen (pirates, merchants). A permanent presence was established only around or after independence in the early nineteenth century.

The first tolerated Protestant communities were composed of foreigners linked to the commercial interests of Protestant countries. To break the closed colonial system Britain had supported independence and made commercial treaties with the new republics (or, in Brazil, initially with the exiled Portuguese monarchy), which included freedom of WORSHIP for its citizens. Anglican churches were built in Rio de Janeiro in 1819 and in Buenos Aires in 1825.

More important than these tiny trading communities were the Protestant immigrants who arrived in several countries from the 1820s. Immigration as a means of peopling territories and Protestant immigration as a means of bringing progress and weakening Catholic political power were defended by liberal anticlerical elites. Brazil, the Southern Cone, and Costa Rica received such immigrants; the largest group were the German Lutherans of southern Brazil. Although Latin American constitutions still recognized Catholicism, Protestant churches could not have the external appearance of a temple and their services could not be in the vernacular. The religious impact of immigrants was therefore minimal, but their presence created a precedent that later helped the introduction of missionary churches. Although immigrant churches now represent a small minority of Protestants in Latin America, they are still important in areas such as southern Brazil; now using the national language and sometimes attracting members from

outside their ethnic group (see ETHNICITY), they contribute to the Protestant world with their solid institutions.

The first Protestant organizations to see Latin America as a mission field were the BIBLE SOCIETIES. The creation of mission churches was often preceded by circulation of the Scriptures; sometimes churches were founded autonomously, before the arrival of missionaries. The colporteur (itinerant Bible-seller) sometimes made no attempt at founding churches; mere BIBLE distribution was either seen as all that was politically possible, or was a strategy aimed at a reformation of the national church, with separation from Rome and doctrinal reform. Colporteurs were often initially well received by elites and even Catholic clergy, but this changed as the nineteenth century wore on.

Churches for Latin Americans appeared only from the 1850s onward, as a late fruit of the worldwide Protestant missionary effort. The delay was partly attributed to the legally dubious status of such churches, and also to the feeling among some Protestant sectors that Latin America had already been Christianized. Even at the famous MISSIONS conference at Edinburgh in 1910 (see WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE), the region was regarded as off-limits. (The reply to this was a congress in Panama in 1916, which defended the validity of Protestant missions in Latin America and planned their advance.) Thus, most missions were not European but American, and were linked to the PIETISM of FRONTIER RELIGION in the UNITED STATES. Denominations from the U.S. South predominated: revivalist, anti-intellectualist, and individualist. Protestant missions have often been regarded as carriers of a liberal critique of traditional Latin society, associated with Anglo-American economic interests and a civilizing pathos. However, some missionaries defended the rights of Latin American countries, as in the Mexican Revolution; and the belief that Protestantism meant EDUCATION and progress was common to many liberals among the Latin American elites. Protestants allied with liberals and Freemasons in many countries to gain freedom of religion and diminish Catholic political power.

The relative intellectual poverty of the missions made it difficult to win converts among the elite, even though many put their children in the considerable number of Protestant schools that sprang up (often with educational methods that were innovative in the region).

In Brazil the first Protestant church (Congregational) using Portuguese was opened in 1855. Presbyterians (1859), Methodists (1867), and BAPTISTS (1882) followed (see BAPTIST MISSIONS). Presbyterian work in Spanish began in Chile in 1868 (see PRESBYTERIANISM); METHODISM reached Argentina by 1867. Protestantism was only effectively introduced to Bolivia and Ecuador after the liberals gained power in the 1890s. As late as 1900 the only denomination working in Colombia were the Presbyterians. In Nicaragua, although the Moravians had worked on the Atlantic Coast among indigenous and blacks since 1847 (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), the rest of the country saw Protestant churches only after the liberals took power in 1894.

In a few countries liberal governments went further than TOLERATION. To restrict the enormous influence of the Catholic Church, the Juárez government in Mexico went beyond anticlericalism and encouraged a religious revolution in the 1860s, at first by supporting an independent national church and then by encouraging Protestant missions and Mexican non-Catholic groups. In Guatemala the first missionaries from the United

States were invited and escorted by the president in 1882. They were showered with privileges, but growth was slow.

Historical Protestantism (as the first mission churches are known) remained distant from the masses and achieved modest success only in Brazil. Protestantism became truly “popular” (numerically successful among the lower classes) only with the advent of PENTECOSTALISM. The rapid international expansion of pentecostalism was attributed to American missionaries in contact with home, and immigrants in the United States in contact with their homelands and with compatriots elsewhere. Chile, MEXICO, and Brazil illustrate these routes.

In 1907 a Methodist missionary in Chile, informed of the novelty by friends in the States and elsewhere, began to teach pentecostal DOCTRINE. His followers were expelled from the Methodist Church two years later and founded a denomination that later became Chile’s largest Protestant group. The same year saw conversions in Argentina through an Italian artisan from Chicago. In Brazil the same man inaugurated in 1910 the Christian Congregation among Italians in São Paulo. The early 1910s saw beginnings in Central America (through independent U.S. or Canadian missionaries) and in Mexico (partly by returning emigrants). The remaining republics were slower off the mark, the last being Ecuador (1956). Initial fortunes were modest, but by the 1950s Brazil and Chile had rapid growth, which by the 1980s covered virtually the whole of Latin America.

Latin American pentecostalism today is organized in a huge number of denominations, a few of which originated abroad (such as the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD), whereas the majority are homegrown (such as Brazil for Christ and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, from Brazil; or the Pentecostal Methodist Church and the Pentecostal Evangelical Church in Chile).

Pentecostalism shows regional diversity in denominational composition and degree of nationalization. Brazil’s first historical churches did fairly well, and some bred early movements for autonomy. The subsequent historical/pentecostal divide did not correspond to a missionary/nationalist one, although Chilean historicals never made a serious impact. The pentecostal schism in the Methodist Church of Chile marked the break between missionaries and nationals, between middle class cultural forms and the popular classes. Chilean pentecostalism is accentuatedly national in origin. Chile’s Protestantism is more pentecostal, and its pentecostalism more national, than anywhere else in Latin America.

Peru is different. Pentecostalism is a minority within Protestantism, and only really took off in the 1970s. It is dominated by the Assemblies of God, which resulted from American missionary work.

El Salvador differs again. Its large pentecostalism is divided between two large churches (Assemblies of God [AG] and Church of God) and a plethora of neo-pentecostal groups of American or Guatemalan origin. It was almost totally rural until recently. The main groups illustrate a pattern. The AG’s origins go back to an independent Canadian missionary in the 1910s; the American church took over in 1930. The Church of God began in 1940 by a similar process. This pattern, of groups started by independent missionaries or breakaway nationals later seeking affiliation to a U.S. DENOMINATION, is typical of countries where Protestantism was weak, but is unknown in Chile or Brazil.

The general picture is that most pentecostal churches (unlike historical ones) were founded by Latin Americans or by independent missionaries, and only rarely by a foreign pentecostal denomination. A different phenomenon is that of middle-class pentecostalized groups (known in some countries as “neopentecostals” and in others as “charismatics”). There were charismatic breakaways from historical denominations in the 1960s, although recent Protestant expansion in middle and even upper classes has been mainly attributable to charismatic “communities,” part of an international trend in which traditional denominations lose importance. They have been especially successful in Guatemala. A significant minority of the Guatemalan elite has converted to such churches (whether of U.S. origin, such as the Church of the Word, or local initiatives such as El Shaddai).

In the last decades of the twentieth century, Protestantism (especially in pentecostal forms) made considerable headway among Amerindian peoples in southern Mexico, Central America, and the Andes. Its initial context is often the breakdown of communities. It may deepen existing divisions or create new ones, or it may help to reconstitute community (voluntary, rather than ascribed). It is too early to say what new ecclesiastical and doctrinal forms may emerge from this large-scale adoption of Protestantism by indigenous peoples.

By 2000, Protestantism was the religion of perhaps 12 percent of Latin Americans. In the largest country, Brazil, the 2000 census showed 15.5 percent Protestant; growth in the 1990s had been especially quick. However, the highest percentage is probably in Guatemala (20 percent plus), although growth seems to have stagnated in the 1990s. The 2002 census in Chile showed 15.1 percent Protestant, up from 12.4 percent in 1992. At the other end of the scale, Uruguay is still below 5 percent. The middle range embraces the Andean countries at the top end and Argentina, Mexico, and Colombia at the lower end. David Martin gives as a rule of thumb that Protestantism’s chances of growth have been higher where the Catholic Church was politically weakened by liberalism in the nineteenth century but the culture remained unsecularized. Where secularization took hold, or where the Catholic Church retained great political power, growth has been slower.

Although studies have revealed a considerable number of nonpracticing pentecostals in Chile, in Brazil levels of practice among Protestants remain high (over three-quarters attend church weekly). With variations, one can say that Latin American Protestantism is characterized by being highly practicing and fast-growing, predominantly lower class, and organized in a plethora of nationally run and even nationally created denominations. Perhaps 60 to 70 percent of Latin American Protestants are pentecostals, and this percentage is increasing. Protestantism is most pentecostalized in Chile (perhaps 80 percent) and least in the Andean countries (under half).

In some countries there is still discrimination at certain social levels against Protestants as individuals, as well as legal discrimination against churches. Although official separation of CHURCH AND STATE, effectuated in some countries in the nineteenth century and in others only in the 1990s, is now almost universal (only Bolivia, Argentina, and Costa Rica still have an official religion), there are countries where Protestant churches do not enjoy the same legal rights as the Catholic Church. Even where tolerance and freedom of worship are secure, there is often some way still to go before full equality takes hold in public life and civil society.

In social composition, Protestants in most countries are disproportionately from the poorer, less educated, and darker sectors of society. However, there is growing social diversification (greater presence among, for example, entrepreneurs, sportsmen, artists, and policemen). Membership is predominantly female, although leadership positions are largely male (some pentecostal denominations, however (see WOMEN CLERGY), were founded by WOMEN and accept female pastors). Some recent authors have spoken of pentecostalism's reconciliation of GENDER values that serves the interests of poor women, resocializing men away from machismo.

Another focus of recent study has been the economic effects of CONVERSION. Latin American pentecostalism does not have the classic Protestant work ethic, and operates in a different economic context. Evidence for mobility is scarce, and for a macroeffect on economies, even scarcer (see ECONOMICS). At the individual level, however, the transformative effect on the disorganized lives of many poor (and not so poor) people is evident.

Political involvement by Protestants is not recent (they were disproportionately active in the Mexican Revolution), but since the 1980s this trend has increased, especially with the involvement of many previously apolitical pentecostal denominations. Two Protestant presidents have governed Guatemala, and there have been large Protestant congressional caucuses in several countries, notably Brazil. Over twenty political parties of Protestant inspiration have been founded in the Spanish-speaking republics, although none has achieved great success. Much Protestant political activity has been conservative and/or oriented to institutional aggrandizement, leading to a worsening of the public image of Protestants as a whole in some countries. Another factor in this is the lack, in most countries, of a strong representative Protestant body; an exception is in Peru, where the National Evangelical Council (CONEP) has had a notable role in the defense of HUMAN RIGHTS since the 1980s.

In the early twenty-first century, the multiple and highly fragmented Protestantisms of Latin America seem destined for further numerical growth and deeper penetration of their national societies. The social and political implications of this are debatable, as is the extent to which Latin America will eventually become Protestant. In Brazil and Chile, for which reliable data are available, only half of all those who cease regarding themselves as Catholics become Protestants. This suggests the region is becoming religiously pluralist rather than Protestant, and it may be hard for Protestants to become the majority in any Latin American country.

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PAUL FRESTON

LATITUDINARIANISM

Latitudinarianism is the term used to describe a collection of certain values held by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century clerics within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. The term “Latitude-men” was first employed by one of their number, Simon Patrick, in his “Brief Account of the new sect of Latitude-men” (1662), to describe some theologian-philosophers at CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, later termed the “CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS.” Such “latitude men,” claimed Patrick, stressed the importance of Reason, “a deduction from the light of nature, and those principles which are the candle of the lord, set up in the soul of every man that hath not wilfully extinguished it...” (Patrick 1662:10). The Latitudinarian Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), a theologian and historian, in his famous “History of His Own Time,” claimed that the early latitude men “studied to assert and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds and in a philosophical way...” (Burnet 1991:45). A belief in liberty of conscience along with an emphasis on virtue and a stress on the complementary nature of FAITH and works gave Latitudinarian THEOLOGY a strongly Arminian tendency.

However, the term “Latitudinarian” was in no sense complimentary. An affronted Edward Fowler (1632–1714) wrote that “very lovely” and “moderate divines” were “abusively” termed Latitudinarians (Fowler 1671:37). Such clerics were often criticized by their Anglican contemporaries for placing too much emphasis on morality in religion at the expense of GRACE and for their tolerant attitude toward other Christian denominations and relaxed, liberal outlook regarding “indifferent” rites and ceremonies.

The rational ARMINIANISM of RICHARD HOOKER (1553/4–1600) was a significant early influence on the formation of Latitudinarianism. His antivoluntarist “Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity” (1604) had proclaimed the glorious light of reason as a necessary aid to deciphering the truths inherent in Scripture. Other significant ideas originated from the Great Tew group, the pre-English Civil War Oxfordshire movement stressing reason and tolerant unity of Reformed Protestantism. Among the Great Tew group’s members were such early preachers of rational tolerance as John Hales (1584–1656) and WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH (1602–1644), whose “Religion of Protestants” (1638) was an important influence on Latitudinarian thought.

There appear to have been two distinct phases of Latitudinarianism. The first was that of the Cambridge Latitude men, the second was that of those “BROAD CHURCH” Anglicans whose influence reached a zenith during the 1690s when JOHN TILLOTSON (1630–1694) was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1691. Significantly the later group of Latitudinarians incurred royal favor because they were closely involved in the replacement of the Roman Catholic James II as king with William of Orange. Gilbert Burnet even acted as William’s chaplain on his journey to ENGLAND in November 1688. The earlier Latitudinarians, the more mystical Cambridge Platonists, are not always considered as fully part of the movement. However, Benjamin Whichcote (1609–1683) in particular, often described as the leader of the Cambridge Platonists and with his strong emphasis on reason, clearly displays many of the intellectual qualities strongly characteristic of Latitudinarianism.

Key Latitudinarian Tenets

Perhaps the belief most associated with the Latitudinarians is that of the role of reason in religion. All the Latitudinarians, and particularly the Cambridge Platonists of the mid-seventeenth century, considered it vital to highlight the complementary nature of reason and revelation. The contemporary background was one of extremes regarding reason; during the turbulent days of the English CIVIL WAR and Interregnum there existed on the one hand an irrational, spiritual “enthusiasm,” as expressed by the many radical sects such as the Ranters, and on the other hand the atheistic, calculative reasoning as espoused in THOMAS HOBBS’S “Leviathan” (1651). Hobbesian reasoning was particularly attacked by the Latitudinarians for its relativism rather than being anchored in the unchanging, objective reason of God. Therefore the Latitudinarians attempted to use reason to confront both extreme (sometimes heretical and antinomian) Protestantism as well as Hobbesian “atheism” (see HERESY; ANTINOMIANISM). HENRY MORE (1614–1687) confronted the former in his “Enthusiasmus Triumphatus” (1656), as did Simon Patrick in his “Friendly Debate betwixt...a Conformist (and) a Nonconformist” (1669), whereas Edward Stillingfleet’s “Origines Sacrae” focused on attacking the atheist threat he saw in the work of Hobbes and others.

The later Latitudinarians were especially conscious of the threat provided by DEISM. Ever since the publication of HERBERT OF CHERBURY’S (1583–1645) precursor to deism, “De Veritate” (1625), the deist idea of human reason as contrary to Christian revelation had become more and more prevalent as the century went on and as the eighteenth century dawned. Works by Latitudinarians, such as Edward Stillingfleet’s “Letter to a Deist” (1675), argued in reply to such beliefs the case for the compatibility of reason and Christian DOCTRINE. Reason, the Latitudinarians claimed, was of divine origin, and in fact was, in the words of Proverbs 20:27, the “candle of the Lord.” It was Benjamin Whichcote who most frequently employed this favorite phrase and also most impressively argued for the rationality of religion, claiming that “to go against Reason is to go against God” (Whichcote 1930:11). The candle of the Lord was the divine spark within one, through which it was possible to become united with God. Humans were fallen, but the candle’s spiritual reason enabled something of God to be discerned. The very fact that this divine reason was in all people fitted with the unchanging law of

morality, the universal tenets of which are known as a result of this NATURAL LAW from God. Therefore even rational “heathens” such as Plato and Socrates saw something of the divine, thanks to the “candle of the Lord” within them leading them toward God. In this way not only faith and reason, but also theology and philosophy became complementary.

The idea of the “candle of the Lord” within each person naturally led to the Latitudinarians’ espousal of human free will. This belief in the divine rationality in all complements the notion of individual free will. Such an Arminian view can therefore be contrasted with Calvinist PREDESTINATION.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century TOLERATION became a pressing issue confronting the English Church. The persecution of DISSENT in the early days of the Restoration was officially ended in 1689 by the Toleration Act, which applied to all Trinitarian Protestants. The Latitudinarians are considered to be a group espousing a tolerant stance in religious matters, but they would have held mixed feelings regarding this Act. Therefore it would be most accurate to describe the Latitudinarians as being in favor of comprehension, in which the church was broadened to accommodate various doctrines, instead of favoring the toleration of all dissenting groups outside the church. The 1668 Bill for Comprehension was unsuccessful, but it had been prepared by a group including the Latitudinarians John Tillotson (the future archbishop of Canterbury) and Edward Stillingfleet. Additionally Gilbert Burnet’s 1699 work “Exposition of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES” defended the idea of comprehension. For the most part then, Latitudinarians stressed the unity of orthodox, Trinitarian Christians within the Church of England, rather than the toleration of the many religious groups outside it. However, the Latitudinarian clerics were opposed to Roman Catholicism on the grounds of its “super-additions” as they saw it, to the plain Gospel truth, and because of its still-perceived political threat as a consequence of its allegiance to the pope.

The issue of ADIAPHORA was a significant one, and closely tied to toleration; were such “things indifferent” within religious rites and ceremonies to be prescribed by the state, or instead left to individual congregations to decide? Earlier in the century the Cambridge Platonists had witnessed much conflict and disagreement over matters such as bowing at the name of Jesus, kneeling at communion, and the wearing of VESTMENTS, during the widely unpopular and strict decrees by Archbishop WILLIAM LAUD. As a whole the Latitudinarians believed that such matters should not be prescribed, given that they had not been specifically appointed by God, but left to the individual conscience, for what was most important for them was the unity and moral goodness of Christians, rather than petty squabbling over outward affairs.

In the same attitude of simplicity the Latitudinarians considered that the Christian message should be presented in as plain and comprehensible style as possible, for the Christian faith as presented in Scripture was plain and sufficient for all people to gain SALVATION. Therefore Latitudinarian sermons were distinctive for their commonsense approach and application of images familiar to their congregations. Christianity’s saving message could be expounded simply in a few key doctrines, clear enough for all people to understand.

The third earl of Shaftsbury declared Whichcote to advocate good morals. Whichcote maintained religion to involve a “good mind, and a good life” (Whichcote 1930:50). All the Latitudinarians stressed the importance of morality and living a virtuous life in their

PREACHING, to such an extent that they were sometimes criticized for downplaying the importance of grace and revelation. However, in a somewhat Platonic vein, they believed that to know God one should try to be Godlike, or “deiform.” For them, grace was intricately entwined with virtue because there could never truly be one without the other. Therefore faith was entirely inseparable from works.

Gilbert Burnet reminded clergymen that the Christian religion called one to “great purity and virtue...humility and self denial, to a contempt of the world and heavenly mindedness, to a patient resignation to the will of God...” Christian clergy should be able to “state right the grounds of our hope, and the terms of our salvation...” (Burnet 1997:150–162).

Key Latitudinarians

Of all the Cambridge Platonists it was Whichcote who is most easily aligned with the Latitudinarians, given that he lacked the mystical strain found in Cambridge Platonist colleagues such as More and John Smith (1618–1652). Although he wrote nothing during his lifetime, some sermons were published posthumously, and his collections of “Aphorisms” clearly convey his rational, tolerant spirit. Whichcote entered the Puritan Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1626 where he became a fellow. His hugely popular lecture series at Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, began in 1636 and flourished for many years. Whichcote became provost of King’s College in 1645, and in 1650 he became vice chancellor of the University of Cambridge. After his ejection from King’s at the Restoration, and brief spells as a clergyman in Somerset, his career again flourished in London where he was vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry from 1668 to 1683. St. Lawrence Jewry was a highly significant center of Latitudinarianism, and Latitudinarians such as Tillotson and Stillingfleet were among Whichcote’s congregation there. Interestingly, the philosopher JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704), who himself had Latitudinarian tendencies, was a member of the church from 1667 to 1675.

Simon Patrick (1626–1707), a friend and contemporary at Queens’ College, Cambridge, of the Cambridge Platonist John Smith, was an early chronicler of Latitudinarianism, and he excellently displays the rational, spiritual, moral nature of the movement. In his “Sermon preached on St. Mark’s Day, 1646” he stressed reason’s importance, yet not merely as a natural, human faculty but as dependent on divine grace. After the Restoration in 1660 Patrick became the much-loved rector of St. Paul’s, Covent Garden, London where his unselfish dedication was particularly noted when he continued to minister to his congregation even during the Great Plague of 1665, when many other clergy left the city. His various PRAYER manuals, which contained special prayers for a variety of occasions, were widely read and highly useful aids in the furthering of private devotion.

Stillingfleet (1635–1699) was a key leader of Latitudinarianism during the latter half of the seventeenth century and was renowned for his learning. He entered St. John’s College, Cambridge, in 1649, and spent many years as a clergyman in London before eventually becoming bishop of Worcester in 1689. Stillingfleet’s “Irenicon” (1659), which stressed the need for a strong, united national church in which Anglicans and Presbyterians could worship in harmony, apparently contributed in the following century

to persuading JOHN WESLEY to remain in the Church of England. Work such as “*Origines Sacrae*” (1662) also highlighted the significance of universal, natural theology as a common TRADITION shared by all. Stillingfleet’s well-known criticisms of John Locke’s so-called unorthodoxy and Locke’s possible influence on the deist JOHN TOLAND (1670–1722), highlight his own ORTHODOXY regarding reason and revelation. Reason may be important, as his “Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion” (1665) showed, but it must never be elevated to the extent as to cast doubt on divine revelation and miracles.

Assessment

It is often considered that John Locke was a Latitudinarian. Certainly he had many links with the movement, was a friend of Tillotson and an admirer of Whichcote, and owned a considerable number of Latitudinarian works. However, his thought differed from that of the movement. In his “Reasonableness of Christianity” (1695), Locke called reason the “candle of the Lord” and wrote that the Gospel was full of clear, easily intelligible truths, and yet he cast Christ’s incarnation, resurrection, and miracles in a Socinian light (which discounted the divinity of Jesus Christ, see SOCINIANISM).

Latitudinarians have been variously attacked by their own contemporaries and in subsequent years for being teachers of morality instead of preachers of Christ’s incarnation and ATONEMENT. Association with men such as Locke and the Latitudinarians’ emphasis on reason led some Anglicans and Nonconformists (see NONCONFORMITY) to condemn Latitudinarianism for ANTI-TRINITARIANISM. Such charges are inaccurate. The Latitudinarians were not Socinians because their message was an orthodox Christian one. Their emphasis on reason and the moral life went hand in hand with a constant appreciation of God’s divine grace and Christ’s revelation and consequent gift of Salvation. Therefore reason and revelation, faith and works all coexisted in harmony, with problems arising only when one aspect was exalted too highly above the other.

Religion and SCIENCE were seen by the Latitudinarians to be mutually supportive, and many Latitudinarians had links with the emerging scientific interests of the day. Men such as Henry More and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) were fellows of the young Royal Society. John Wilkins’s (1614–1672) study on the classification system was published by the Society in 1668. EDUCATION was important too; later Latitudinarians, such as Thomas Tenison (1636–1715), became interested in furthering education particularly among the poor, and Tenison founded a number of schools.

During the eighteenth century the Church of England arguably lost the vital spirit and moral power of the latitude men amid dry High Church rationalism and emphasis on the beauty, ceremony, and rites of holiness. However, it seems that the irenic and spiritual candle of the Lord burned on in significant areas of theological thought, particularly that of JOSEPH BUTLER, bishop of Durham (1692–1752), and in the work of the natural scientist and archdeacon of Carlisle WILLIAM PALEY (1743–1805). The influence of the Latitudinarians on later ANGLICANISM has been on the whole underestimated, yet undoubtedly it is there.

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ALISON J.TEPLY

LATTER RAIN REVIVAL

The Latter Rain Revival was a phrase frequently used to describe the pentecostal movement during the early twentieth century. The term was found attractive because it linked PENTECOSTALISM both to the New Testament account of Pentecost and to the end-time revival that many American Protestants believed would precede the return of Jesus Christ. The phrase was drawn from the Old Testament, which mentioned two wet periods in the climate cycle of ancient Palestine. Interpreted prophetically, those two rainy periods were identified by pentecostal theologians with the original charismatic outburst on the day of Pentecost and with the reappearance of the baptism of the Spirit and spiritual gifts in the modern pentecostal movement.

Of the many pentecostal spokespersons who used the phrase, the most articulate was David Wesley Myland. His *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power* (1910) argued that, in addition to the symbolic foreshadowing of the pentecostal latter rain revival in the Old Testament, climate changes in Palestine during the late nineteenth century also paralleled the return of the Spirit's latter rain to the church. For him, the physical history of the world mimicked spiritual developments. Myland was also

attracted to latter rain imagery because it preached so well. He implored non-pentecostal Christians to put down their old umbrellas of theological ORTHODOXY and human inhibition and to let God's new cloudburst of Holy Ghost power soak them to the bone.

The use of latter rain imagery declined somewhat after the mid-century. About 1950 a spiritual protest movement emerged within pentecostalism that called itself the New Order of the Latter Rain—a title often shortened to simply the Latter Rain. The more well established pentecostal denominations, especially the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, denounced this new movement and since then the use of latter rain terminology has fallen into relative disuse within mainstream pentecostalism.

See also Assemblies of God

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DOUGLAS JACOBSEN

LATVIA

Latvia's location between East and West has made it geopolitically a natural battleground, and thus, determined its fate. So has its situation between the Roman and Orthodox churches. The REFORMATION introduced a third force of Protestantism, creating a three-point religious struggle.

By the twelfth century the Baltic was the only pagan region left in all Europe. The Christianization of Latvia occurred in three periods. The first, the eleventh-century Danish mission, had no enduring success. Second, the Orthodox mission accompanying Russian invasion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was likewise short-lived. Lasting influence was established with a German invasion in the twelfth century. Augustinian Meinhard of Holstein arrived in 1180, built a church in Ikšķile on the Daugava, consecrated a bishop in 1186, and set up a mission for the Livs. His successor Bishop Berthold employed a policy of militant proselytism and persuaded Pope Innocent III to mount a crusade against pagan Balts. The third bishop, Albert (1165–1229), consecrated March 29, 1199, an energetic leader, founded Rīga, made it his episcopal see in 1201, and persuaded Innocent to proclaim a crusade against Livonia. The pope established the Order of the Brothers of the Sword (1202) to help missionize the Baltic people. By 1230 the Roman curia decided to establish an ecclesiastical state in Livonia under papal jurisdiction. As the largest Roman church state, under the archbishop of Riga, Livonia was plagued by civil war among the archbishop, the city of Riga, and the Order. The

Christianization of the Latvians was superficial, formal, and slow, with minimum catechization, attributed to language and cultural barriers and the incompetence of the clergy, as well as the Germanization of local Christianity as a part of colonial efforts (*Drang nach Osten*). The result was a syncretistic mix of previous pagan practice with medieval Christianity. This colonization introduced a new socioeconomic structure and integrated the Balts into the western European civilization.

The violent Christianization allowed nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latvian authors and Marxists to criticize Christianity in tendentious ways for usurping political power and colonizing the people. Only after 1918 did Latvian history emerge as a history of the Latvian people and its church, not as a province of occupying cultures (mainly German).

Ecclesiastical Latin provided the basis for the Latvian alphabet. The Livonian state guarded Latvians against the Russian expansion, abolished tribal strife, and forcefully promoted the consolidation of the Latvian nation by a policy of not assimilating into the German upper classes so primitive in Latvia.

The Reformation

Latvia was the first country to accept the Reformation outside of GERMANY. It began in Rīga, more through converted priests than through MARTIN LUTHER'S writings. The chaplain at St. Peter's church, Andreas Knopken (1468–1539), studied Luther's teachings in Germany. He soon found followers among the city councilors. A public debate on June 12, 1522, over twenty-four theses prepared by Knopken at St. Peter's focused on JUSTIFICATION by FAITH and the critique of medieval ecclesiastical practices. The city council appointed him archdeacon of St. Peter's October 23, 1522, effectively introducing the Reformation among German merchants and artisans. Knopken published a commentary on Romans in 1524.

Sylvester Tegetmayer (d. 1552) arrived in Rīga in September 1522 and was placed in St. James' church. Luther wrote *To the Christians in Riga, Revell, and Dorpat* (1523), *Exposition of Psalm 127 for the Christians of Riga and Livonia* (1524), *A Christian Exhortation to the Livonians Concerning Public Worship and Concord* (1525), and fourteen letters to support his Livonian followers. Latvian preachers Nicolaus Ramm and Johan Eck established a Latvian Lutheran congregation in 1524; Riga's workers were the first Latvians to accept the Reformation. Wolter von Plettenberg, the master of the Livonian Order guaranteed toleration of the reform in 1525, which was reaffirmed by the Diet of Valmiera in 1554. In 1538 Rīga joined the German Protestant SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE. Representatives of the Order signed the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555).

Johan Briessmann (1488–1549), superintendent and pastor at the Rīga cathedral, composed a *Brief Order of Divine Worship* (1530). The first widespread book in Latvian was Luther's *Small Catechism*, published in 1586. Twenty-eight of his hymns were included in the first Latvian hymnal (1587). Apart from city dwellers, however, Latvians were little touched by the Reformation. From the partition of Livonia (1562), Courland and Semigallia in the west and Vidzeme in the north (after 1629) remained Lutheran under Swedish suzerainty; Latgallia under Poland became Roman Catholic.

The Counter-Reformation and Lutheran Orthodoxy

The last master of the Order, Gothard Kettler (1559–1563) abolished the Order, giving Vidzeme to the Poles (1562) and becoming a Polish vassal. King Stephan Batory gave two of Rīga's churches to the Jesuits, who arrived in great numbers, learned Latvian, and actively converted people. The Livonian constitution of 1582 tolerated LUTHERANISM but gave Roman Catholicism a superior position. In 1585 Canisius's Catechism was translated into Latvian. Germans in Rīga revolted in the "Calendar Rebellion" (1587–1591).

Kettler cultivated Lutheranism in Courland and Semigallia, restoring or rebuilding churches, building schools, teaching pastors Latvian, and publishing *Small Catechism* in Latvian. Georg Mancelius (1593–1654) edited it with supplements (1631) and composed a Postil (sermon book) in Latvian (1654). A notable Orthodox theologian and superintendent was Paul Einhorn (1636–1655). Christofer Fürecker (died c.1681) composed rhythmically accurate Latvian hymns.

Swedish Times

During the Polish-Swedish War, in 1621, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS took Rīga. Catholic services were forbidden. Swedish rule, considered the "brightest times" in Latvian history, supported Latvian peasants against the landlords and improved their legal and social situation and their education. Energetic Herman Samson (1579–1643) was placed in the position of superintendent of Vidzeme (1622). Swedish church law was introduced (1686). Pastors vigorously combated Latvian pagan traditions. Ernst Glück (1652–1705) translated the Bible into Latvian (New Testament 1685; entire Bible 1689).

Russian Times

The Swedish-Russian "Great Northern" War (1700–1720) destroyed Vidzeme. Peter the Great invaded Rīga in 1710; the peace of Niestadt (1721) awarded Vidzeme to Russia. The privileges of the German nobility were recognized, continuing peasant dependency on them. Swedish traditions and church law, which continued in force until 1832, helped perpetuate church life.

Both PIETISM and RATIONALISM spread their influence from the universities of Rostock and Königsberg. The faculty of theology at the University of Dorpat (founded 1632) was dominated by Rationalism from 1802. Latvians studied there but clergy had difficulty obtaining parishes within Latvia.

Pietism and the Brethren Movement (Hernhuter)

The clericalism, intellectualism, didacticism, and harsh discipline of the Orthodox period failed to foster peasant piety. The German pastor and the Latvian peasant were separated

socially and ethnically. The old mixture of Christianity and paganism lay barely below the surface.

The Brethren Movement among Latvians grew from the Teacher's College founded by Magdalen von Hallart (1738) and visitors from HALLE (Christian David, 1729–1730, 1738–1740; Count NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF, 1736), creating renewal in Valmiera and environs in 1739. The diet attempted suppression (1742); Empress Elizabeth's ban (1743) interrupted the progress of the movement, but ultimately its adherents multiplied, led by Latvians Šķesteris Pēteris (1702–1787) and Ķīšu Pēteris (c.1698–1771).

The Hernhuter (see HERRNHUT) movement brought Latvians into the evangelical faith through Pietism, strengthened Christian morality, promoted diligence, taught management skills, welfare, literacy, and a sense of nationhood but also produced sanctimoniousness. The Christianization of the Latvians was completed by the mid-nineteenth century.

The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

By 1890 Courland, Vidzeme, and Riga each had its own CONSISTORY and its own specific traditions (e.g., hymnals: Courland's in 1836, Vidzeme's in 1846; a common Agenda in 1843 and 1900). In 1839 a Teachers Seminary was established in Valmiera under Jānis Cimze. Native pastors were educated at Dorpat. Bishop K.Kr.Ullmann, vice-president of the general consistory, organized evangelical social help through Russia (1859). In 1897, 1,009,994 Latvians in 189 congregations and 113,011 Germans in eighteen congregations composed the Lutheran church in Latvia. Very few Latvian pastors filled higher offices, and the number of Latvians placed within Latvian congregations was limited.

Conversion to Russian Orthodoxy was seen as a way for peasants to eliminate the pressure of German nobility; in 1846–1847 some 120,000–125,000 Latvians converted, against the opposition of German nobles and pastors, who were in turn severely punished by the Russian government.

Nineteenth-century Latvian households had religious books, practiced daily prayer, and attended worship regularly. Christian upbringing of children and moral life became an organic part of Latvian life. Economic consolidation and an increase in the educational level of peasants and burghers created tensions with the German governing class. A nascent Latvian intelligentsia urged Latvians to move up the social ladder through education and cultivate their own culture. Awakened national consciousness demanded native pastors; however, the church remained the possession of the nobility, eliciting attacks on the nobility during the Revolution of 1905. The deep social and ethnic breach between Germans and Latvians was incurable.

The Latvian National Church

The conditions after World War I were difficult. The “nobility's church” disappeared with the collapse of the Russian Empire and the abolition of the nobility's privileges. A

theological faculty was begun in 1920 and followed prewar currents in German theology, leading to tensions between faculty and church leadership, which founded its own Theological Institute under Ādams Mačulāns (1923). In 1922 a synod elected a supreme Consistory, its president, and a bishop, Kārlis Irbe (1861–1934). A new hymnal appeared in 1922, a choral book in 1924, and an order of worship in 1928. The Foreign Mission started in 1924, with the work of Anna Irbe (1890–1973), daughter of K.Irbe, in South India; and in 1939 with the support of secretary Roberts Feldmanis (1910–) expanded through all of Latvia. In 1934 Teodors Grīnbergs (1870–1962) succeeded Irbe. In 1936 the church had 272 Latvian and 52 German congregations. The twenty years of Latvian independence (1920–1940) were a period of a productive work and a success in many respects.

The War and Occupations

The “Year of Horror”—1940—brought invasion and active sovietization of the nation and the churches, and deportation of 15,424 people on June 14. German invasion (June 22, 1941) prevented a second round of Soviet deportations aimed at destroying the nation’s spiritual and intellectual leadership. National Socialist (Nazi) control of the church limited theological studies and acted against those, like Rīga Dean Pauls Rozenbergs, who protested anti-Semitic policies. Archbishop Grīnbergs also publicly opposed the killing of Gypsies before his forced deportation to Germany (1944), although church life continued during the Nazi occupation.

Renewed Soviet occupation eliminated the leadership of the church, headed by Dean Kārlis Irbe, a nephew of the former archbishop, in 1946. One hundred five pastors were serving 305 congregations, and only sixty churches of 190 remained undamaged by the war. March 24, 1949, saw the deportation of 47,332 Latvians to Siberia, including many Lutheran laity. Thirty pastors were arrested and deported. Local Soviets took over twenty-two church buildings; in 1959 the Rīga cathedral was seized. By 1961 the church claimed 24 percent of the population (214 congregations, 115 pastors) and had twenty theological students. From 1963 oppressive taxation further undermined the church’s ownership of property.

Archbishop Gustavs Turs, known as the “red bishop” skillfully accommodated Soviet wishes while striving to maintain the integrity of the church against harsh oppression. In 1954 permission to conduct theological training was obtained; the academic standing of the program of the Theological Seminary was confirmed in 1969. The “Decree on Religious Associations” of 1975 reconfirmed all previous Soviet restrictions, depriving churches of all rights and limited their activities to public worship.

In 1987 a group of pastors organized “Rebirth and Renewal,” demanding that the church be made self-governing. One pastor was killed and two exiled. However, members were elected to the Consistory, and one, Kārlis Gailītis (1936–1992), was elected archbishop in 1989. In 1990 the seminary program became a faculty of theology at the University of Riga.

Throughout the Soviet period a significant church in exile had continued Latvian church life in Germany, Sweden, Australia, Canada, Latin America, and the United States. In 2002 it had 89 pastors in 132 congregations.

The Latvian Lutheran Church elected Archbishop Jānis Vanags, D.D., in 1993. One hundred twentyseven pastors served in 295 congregations. A Diaconia Center was started in 1994, St. Gregor's Christian Ministry School in 1995 (thirty students), Luther Academy in 1997 (sixty pastoral, forty-five pedagogical students), under Rector Dr. Hab.Reinhard Slen czka (as of 2002). Other denominations, such as Baptist congregations, first organized in 1860, currently united in the Union of Baptist Congregations of Latvia (seventy-six congregations, 6,200 members), under Bishop Jānis Šmits. Adventist churches have existed since 1896 (currently forty-four congregations, 4,000 members in the Union of Adventists of the Seventh Day, President Viesturs Reķis). The Union of Pentecostal Congregations, organized 1931, has seventythree congregations (6,000 members) under Bishop Jānis Ozolinkēvics. The Lutherans of the Augsburg Confession, organized in 1997, have nine congregations with 400 members. The United Methodist Church began work in 1910 and has ten congregations with 480 members under Superintendent Ārijs Vīksna (as of 2002).

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GUNTIS CALME

LAUD, WILLIAM (1573–1645)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud is probably the most controversial archbishop of Canterbury in the history of the Anglican Church. A favorite of King Charles I, he was hated by Puritans who opposed his religious policies. In later years he was admired by leaders of the OXFORD MOVEMENT like JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, who respected his attempts to restore Catholic liturgies and practices abandoned at the time of the REFORMATION, but denounced by such twentieth-century historians as Patrick Collinson, who called him “the greatest calamity visited upon the English church” (1984:90). He is the only archbishop to have been tried for treason and publicly executed.

Early Life

Laud was born on October 7, 1573, in the town of Reading, west of London. His father was a member of the merchant class, a relatively well-off clothier; because of this ancestry Laud was sometimes ridiculed in later life because he was not a member of the gentry. His mother’s relatives, the Webbs, were also clothiers, but several of them prospered and married into prominent families. One became a lord mayor of London.

Laud was educated at Reading Grammar School and at the age of sixteen proceeded to St. John’s College, Oxford, which had ties with the Grammar School. He became a fellow of the College in 1593, a year before he completed the B.A. In 1601 he was named a senior fellow and soon became a lecturer in divinity and a university proctor. In 1611 he was elected president of St. John’s, a position he held until being appointed a bishop. As president he beautified the college chapel, commissioned anthems from such composers as Orlando Gibbons, and took steps to improve the college finances. In later years he was responsible for the addition of a beautiful new quadrangle to the college. While at Oxford, Laud was greatly influenced by the distinguished scholar and theologian LANCELOT ANDREWES.

Preferment in the church came during the later years of the reign of James I (d. 1625). In 1621 Laud was named dean of Gloucester cathedral. The king had told Laud that “there was scarce ever a church in England so ill governed, and so much out of order.” Laud immediately undertook the repair of the edifice and “the redress of other things amiss” (*Works*, VI, Pt. 1, 239). It was at Gloucester that Laud’s concern for medieval TRADITION became manifest because he restored the high ALTAR to its original place at the east end of the church. During the reign of Edward VI stone altars had been removed from many cathedrals and other churches—smashed up or hidden away—on the grounds that they were superstitious reminders of the doctrine of the mass as a sacrifice, a Catholic view no longer accepted in the reformed church. Instead “honest wooden tables” had been set up “table-wise” (east and west), not “altar-wise” (north and south), and placed in the main body of the church, so that worshipers might see the actions of the minister and participate more directly in the service. The more moderate Elizabethan

Injunctions of 1559 returned the table to its traditional position against the east wall. Canons promulgated in 1604 anticipated Laud's insistence on traditional altars; in fact he was enforcing them, not bringing forth a novelty.

In 1621 Laud was appointed a prebend of West-minster Abbey. His hopes of becoming dean of the Abbey were thwarted, but in 1621 the king named him bishop of the Welsh diocese of St. David's. Here again he reinstated a stone altar.

The Reign of Charles I

With the accession of Charles I in 1625 Laud became the recognized leader of the English church because Charles respected his abilities and shared many of his views. In 1626 Laud became dean of the Chapel Royal and was translated to the English bishopric of Bath and Wells. In 1627 he was designated a member of the king's Privy Council. A year later he was named bishop of London; to make this place available the king promoted the previous bishop to the archbishopric of York. Here Laud worked with the dean of St. Paul's, JOHN DONNE, and the architect Inigo Jones to repair and restore the fabric of the cathedral, which had become ruinous. He also issued orders prohibiting the use of the cathedral for secular purposes, demanding that no business be transacted there and that children not be allowed to play in the church.

When the see of CANTERBURY became vacant through the death of George Abbot in 1633 Laud gained the position of archbishop and primate, a recognition of the influence that he had been exercising for nearly a decade. At Canterbury Cathedral he again refitted the choir with a high altar adorned with candlesticks and a rich carpet. Some other specific matters that concerned him were the buildings that encroached on the church, the fair that was held in the churchyard, and the necessity for multiple locks to the muniment room, as specified in the statutes. The archbishop's relations with members of the staff were not always pleasant; as he said, "one peevish difference or another" always seemed to be arising, generally caused by mere "spleen" (*Works*, VII, 215–216, 349–352).

Both Laud and Charles I are often referred to as Arminians. In fact they were not true followers of the Dutch theologian JACOBUS ARMINIUS, who is best known for his opposition to the doctrine of PREDESTINATION and his belief in free will (see ARMINIANISM). They did, however, agree that a number of meaningful beliefs and practices of the medieval church had been abandoned in England after the Reformation, at the urging of Archbishop THOMAS CRANMER and as a re-sult of the influence of Continental Calvinists and English Puritans. As Laud often said, he loved the beauty of holiness and the solemnity of church buildings and liturgies. In addition to restoring stone altars to their traditional locations and railing them in so that they could not be defiled by dogs, he favored elaborate music provided by trained choirs, genuflecting and kneeling, stained glass windows, and traditional VESTMENTS with a white linen chasuble as the minimum garb for the priest. He regarded the SACRAMENTS as being more important than PREACHING. He once complained that "'tis superstition now-a-days for any man to come with more reverence into a church, than a tinker and his bitch come into an ale-house" (*Works*, VI, Pt. I, 57). He curtailed the activities of the so-called Stranger Churches that ministered to Protestant immigrants to ENGLAND, especially the group of French

HUGUENOTS that met in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral, evidently because he thought, erroneously, that they were allied with the Puritan nonconformists. He was also concerned to improve church finances so that the clergy might receive reasonable stipends. He attempted to see that tithes were properly collected, especially in London, although his efforts were not very successful.

During the years of Charles I's personal rule without Parliament (1629–1640), Laud worked with the king and his chief minister, the earl of Strafford, to enforce a policy often characterized as “Thorough.” Laud sought to achieve unity in the church by strict enforcement of existing canons. He was determined to eliminate slackness and inefficiency, to see that churches were kept clean and in good repair, and to ensure that CLERGY not be allowed to neglect their duties. He was willing to use the law courts to secure obedience to the bishops and strict conformity to the services of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. He also proceeded against Puritan pamphleteers, including the notorious William Prynne, Henry Burton, and John Bastwick, who had their ears cut off for writing scurrilous tracts denouncing the established church.

The Growth of Opposition

It is not surprising that these policies were unpopular with both laymen and clergy, many of whom believed them to be popish and superstitious. Some said that Laud was moving in the direction of the Roman Catholic Church, despite his refutation of the views of the Jesuit John Fisher and his statement that he would not accept a cardinal's hat if one were offered to him. The tragedy of Laud's life, indeed a tragedy for the entire church, lay in his inability to appreciate the genuine piety of those who disagreed with his elevated views. He had few friends and little sympathy for common people.

Although he had no AUTHORITY over the church in SCOTLAND, Laud helped the king formulate the new service book, which so displeased Scots Presbyterians when it was introduced in Scotland in 1637 that a riot at St. Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh led to the outbreak of the Bishops' Wars and the English CIVIL WAR. These hostilities necessitated the summoning of the Short Parliament (1640) and Long Parliament (1640–1660), both of which were dominated by Puritan opponents of the religious policies of Charles and Laud.

In 1640 the Long Parliament impeached the archbishop on a charge of treason. He was sent to prison in the Tower of London in 1641 but was not brought to trial until 1644. After he presented a dignified defense of his actions before the House of Lords it proved impossible to obtain a guilty verdict, so in the end he was condemned by a bill of attainder, which like any other piece of legislation required only a simple majority vote in both houses of Parliament. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 10, 1645. Four years later, on January 30, 1649, the king himself would be executed.

William Laud's unmarked coffin was originally interred at the church of All Hallows, Barking, not far from the Tower, but after the Restoration of the monarchy and state church in 1660 it was moved to Oxford. The archbishop's remains now lie, appropriately, before the altar in the chapel of St. John's College.

See also Architecture, Church; Calvinism; Nonconformity; Puritanism

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STANFORD LEHMBERG

LAUSANNE COMMITTEE ON WORLD EVANGELIZATION

The Lausanne Committee on World Evangelization (LCWE) defines itself as “an international movement for the purpose of encouraging Christians and churches everywhere to pray, study, plan and work together for the evangelization of the world.” It is a global evangelistic movement that grew out of an initiative taken by the American evangelist BILLY GRAHAM. The motivation for its origins can be traced to the ecumenical movement and internal theological tensions that developed within Protestantism during the twentieth century. A series of missionary conferences were held during the twentieth century, starting with the 1910 conference in Edinburgh, Scotland (see WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE). The participants in the missionary conferences consisted of both institutional church representatives and representatives of para-church missionary organizations. The 1910 conference in Edinburgh established the International Missionary Council (IMC). The IMC provided a strong impetus for the formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) in 1948. The IMC was integrated into the WCC as part of its Division of World Mission and Evangelism (DWME) at the New Delhi Assembly in 1961. With the integration of the DWME, many missionary organizations that were not denominationally based lost their representation previously held in the IMC.

There was also a growing theological concern among some of the organizations and denominational representatives that the emphasis of the WCC had moved away from a central focus on EVANGELISM and mission. Some of these concerns were related to the theological split, particularly in North America, between those in the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement and those who held theological views more focused on the importance of

personal SALVATION. An organization called the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF) represented these concerns on a global level with the focus on personal salvation and conservative views of scriptural inspiration. The WEF also traces its roots to the first ecumenical initiatives formed as the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE in 1861 in London, England, which eventually led to the establishment of the IRM in 1910. Despite the existence and efforts of the WEF to which Billy Graham was sympathetic, he and likeminded people felt that a new global initiative for evangelism was needed to build a broader base of cooperation in evangelism. In 1960, Billy Graham assembled a group of Christian leaders in Montreux, SWITZERLAND, which led to the World Congress on Evangelism held in Berlin, GERMANY, in 1966. Several regional conferences were held leading up to the International Congress on World Evangelism (ICWE) in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1974. More than 4,000 delegates from 150 nations attended the ICWE in Lausanne, with more than half of the participants coming from third world countries. During the congress, a steering committee was struck under the leadership of John R.W.Stott to draft a document based on the proceedings of the congress. The draftees also included Hudson Armerding and Samuel Escobar, aided by Leighton Ford and Jim Douglas. This document, which became known as the Lausanne Covenant, was signed by congress leaders and delegates in a ceremony on the last day of the gathering. The Lausanne Covenant became an important document within evangelical circles; many organizations adopted it as an additional statement on evangelism. Even before the congress, arrangements were being made to harness the energy that would arise out of such a gathering. Out of this planning came the LCWE in 1976.

Initially, forty-three people were elected by the congress to continue arranging consultations under the leadership of Leighton Ford as chair and Gottfried Osei-Mensah as secretary. The LCWE focuses on being a motivational source and a clearinghouse for information on evangelization throughout the world. It continues to organize conferences, consultations, and publish newsletters worldwide. After the 1974 Lausanne Congress, the LCWE arranged to develop the ideas of the congress further through the Consultation on World Evangelization, which held a meeting in Pattaya, Thailand in 1980. This consultation resulted in an important series of occasional papers on issues concerning world evangelization. Between 1977 and 1985, many regional study consultations, focused on particular themes, were held. This process culminated in a full plenary conference held in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1989.

In 2004 the LCWE will be hosting the Forum for World Evangelization in Thailand. The LCWE and the Lausanne Covenant are important phenomena of current Protestantism. The organization has enjoyed strong participation from organizations and churches in the third world, and it represents a movement of evangelicals that is more broad-based than other organizations. Through the Lausanne Covenant, it is linked to a new emphasis on theological reflection within the evangelical movement on the place of social action and social justice in relation to the task of evangelism and mission. It also represents a commitment to unity and cooperation in action. DAVID BOSCH has argued convincingly that there has been an in-creased influence within the LCWE and its consultations on emphasizing social concern, as well as a growing awareness within the WCC of issues related to evangelism. There has also been a conscious effort by the LCWE and the WCC to coordinate conferences and themes. These are signs of

convergence despite clear differences between those represented by the LCWE and those involved in the WCC Committee on World Mission and Evangelism.

See also Ecumenism; Evangelicalism; Evangelicalism, Theology of; Missionary Organizations; Missions to Jews; Missions

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CHARLES J.FENSHAM

LAVATER, JOHANN KASPAR (1741–1801)

Swiss philosopher and writer. Lavater was born in Zürich to a well-respected family on November 15, 1741. After studying THEOLOGY and traveling through GERMANY (1763–1764), which increased his attraction to moderate forms of ENLIGHTENMENT thought, he worked as a writer in his native city.

In 1768 Lavater experienced a complete religious transformation. Christ became central to his thought and works, and Lavater wanted to demonstrate the imminence of Christ’s presence on Earth. Thus he sought contact with people who were gifted as mediums and “faith healers.” Lavater believed that through Christ, the divine powers inherent in every human being could be given an earthly presence, but that complete likeness to Christ could come only in the afterlife. Because he accepted these notions of manifest transcendental experience, Lavater was especially criticized by Enlightenment thinkers.

In 1769 Lavater became the deacon of the Waisenhauskirche, a church related to the orphanage in Zürich, and in 1775 became a minister there. He became the deacon of Peterskirche in 1778 and its minister in 1786. He explored theology and philosophy, poetry and art, psychology and pedagogy, and politics and societal issues. From his extensive literary output, three works are of special significance: *Aussichten in die Ewigkeit (Prospects for Eternity)* (1768–1778), *Geheimes Tagebuch (Secret Diary)*

(1771), and *Physiognomischen Fragmente (Essays on Physiognomy)* (1775/1778, published in numerous English editions). The great breadth of his interests and the aura of his personality, as well as his many travels to Germany, DENMARK, and western SWITZERLAND all provided him personal contacts and correspondence with many of his famous contemporaries, including JOHANN WOLFGANG, VON GOETHE, JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER, and JOHANN HEINRICH JUNG-STILLING. Many of these friendships he also destroyed. After the FRENCH REVOLUTION—which he at first heralded and later condemned—Lavater vigorously engaged political and patriotic issues in Switzerland. Because of his criticism of the Swiss Republic, he was deported to Basel. During the French occupation of Zürich (1799), he was wounded by a bullet that eventually took his life on January 2, 1801.

Lavater's ideas about physiognomy were incorporated in works of literature (e.g., Dickens) and art. His emphasis on sensitivity and subjectivity influenced PIETISM, as well as ROMANTICISM and early Idealism.

See also Transcendentalism

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HORST WEIGELT

LAW, WILLIAM (1686–1761)

English theologian. Born in 1686 in Northamptonshire, ENGLAND, William Law was a graduate of CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY in 1708; he subsequently earned an M.A. (1712) and was ordained in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By 1727 he had found stable employment as tutor to the Gibbon family, which had strong Tory connections.

Law's theological views became associated with those of the Non-Jurors, and he declined to take the oath of allegiance at the accession of George I. Re-reflecting a theological position characteristic of the High Church party, he wrote in aggressive defense of the Christian life as an embodiment of virtue. He confronted laxity in the church's leaders, and he attacked such popular amusements of the day as the stage. By the 1720s the distinctiveness of Law's out-look was becoming apparent. His noted work, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, appeared in 1728. Its appearance made plain his increasing interest in mystical writers and brought him to the attention of JOHN and

CHARLES WESLEY. As the Methodist movement gained momentum, the Wesleys and Law launched an intense and mutually respectful but ultimately brief conversation. Yet there were parallels between Law's intention and the Wesleys' achievement. In 1739 Law published *The Grounds and Reasons of Christian Regeneration, or the New Birth*, a work that early Methodists found congenial. He also founded a school at which he promoted a religious, disciplined life. Another immensely popular work of his was *The Nature and Design of Christianity*, published in 1748, which saw over fifteen editions.

Law died after a brief illness on April 9, 1761. As a teacher and author on the religious life, he influenced succeeding generations of religious reformers in METHODISM and in the OXFORD MOVEMENT.

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WILLIAM SACHS

LEADE, JANE WARD (1623–1704)

English writer. Born in 1623 in Norfolk, England, Jane Ward became a well-known Protestant visionary, millenarian, and spiritual autobiographer. When she was fifteen years old, a whispering voice urged her to turn from frivolity at a Christmas celebration to participate in a spiritual dance. This aural religious experience initiated an inner crisis, which ended three years later with a vision of pardon. At the age of twenty-one, financial circumstances necessitated her marriage to William Leade, a distant relative. Widowed at forty-six, she committed herself to a life of spiritual virginity, mysticism, prophecy, and prolific writing.

Introduced to the philosophy of JAKOB BOEHME in English translation, Leade was profoundly influenced by his work with its emphasis on mystic revelation and a feminine divine principle. Her four-volume spiritual autobiography, *A Fountain of Gardens* (1696–1701), records her visions, many focusing on Sophia or Wisdom, a figure central to Boehme's work. Leade published more than a dozen other books, including a spiritual guide, *The Heavenly Cloud* (1681), and a commentary on Apocalypse, *The Revelation of Revelations* (1683). Her following grew with the German and Dutch translations of her writings.

With her adopted son, Dr. Francis Lee (who later married her daughter Barbara), Leade founded the Philadelphian Society, a forerunner of the Theosophists. With Leade as its prophet, the society was active in England, GERMANY, and Holland.

Struggling financially in her old age and blind, Leade continued to write by dictating her material to Lee until shortly before her death in 1704. Her prose, often embedded with poetry, emphasizes the inner light of spiritual intuition that guides the soul to its divine origin. Although her work is generally unavailable in print except for excerpts in anthologies, much is accessible electronically at the website <http://www.sigler.org/shofar/janeleade>.

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FRANCES M. MALPEZZI

LEE, ANN (1736–1784)

English church reformer. Founder of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, or SHAKERS, Ann Lee was born in Manchester, England, in 1736. A millworker since her early teens, she came into contact with James and Jane Wardley, former Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), whose enthusiastic manner of WORSHIP had earned them the nickname "Shakers" and who prophesied the imminence of Christ's return. Against her will, Lee married Abraham Standerin in 1762 and gave birth to four children, all of whom died in infancy.

Convinced that her children's deaths were punishment for what she perceived as her own carnality, Lee began a life of ASCETICISM and became convinced that sexual relations were the source of all evil. She and the Wardleys began to spread her gospel of chastity and were twice imprisoned for desecrating the Sabbath. While confined in the Manchester Infirmary, Lee experienced a vision of Adam and Eve's original sin. She proclaimed that Christ was dwelling in her—a claim that her followers recognized as the Second Coming.

In 1774, "Mother Ann" or "Ann the Word," as she was now called, migrated to North America to proclaim her revelation in an environment more hospitable than Manchester. She and other Shakers eventually settled near Albany, New York, where a religious

revival had produced an audience receptive to her message that the millennium had already begun (see REVIVALS). Though her PACIFISM resulted in imprisonment for aiding the British in 1780, Lee attracted a considerable following and, after her release, she successfully proselytized throughout New York and into New England. Although she died in 1784, her labors laid the foundation for eleven Shaker communities, some of which endured into the twentieth century.

See also: Millenarians and Millennialism

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WILLIAM M. CLEMENTS

LEGG, JAMES (1815–1897)

Scottish dissenter. Born into a Congregationalist merchant family, James Legge was the last of four sons. As did his eldest brother, George, he graduated from King's College in Aberdeen, Scotland, and from the Congregationalist seminary in London, Highbury College. Both James and George became noted Christian leaders. After serving with the London Missionary Society among Chinese people in Malacca (1840–1842) and Hong Kong (1842–1873), Legge retired in SCOTLAND. Yet after he received international honors for his outstanding sinological achievements, supporters urged Anglican academics in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to take this nonconformist as the university's first professor in Chinese language and literature, a position he held from 1876 until his death in 1897.

Scottish Dissenter Orientation

In Aberdeen, Legge excelled in Latin and philosophy, being deeply impressed by the writings of Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), a second-generation philosopher of SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM. This NeoAristotelian empirical philosophy argued against DAVID HUME (1711–1776) for proofs of the existence of God by means of natural theology, an approach deeply influencing the American theologian, WILLIAM PALEY (1743–1805). In addition, it pressed on readers their duties first to God and then to humans, while also providing a wide-ranging account of various levels of warranted beliefs that common-sense understandings also supported. When added to the rigorous training Legge received as a child from the WESTMINSTER CONFESSIONS and the disciplined spiritual form of Congregational life that bordered on SABBATARIANISM,

this Scottish philosophy provided an intellectual framework for a comprehensive view of CULTURE and a flexible theistic worldview. Recognizing that there were other kinds of theism beside Christianity, Legge in 1835 began studying Christian scriptures seriously in his typically thorough manner and was quietly converted, joining a local Congregational church in 1836. One year later he applied for seminary studies, specializing in MISSIONS.

Other significant theological influences came from his elder brother's theological writings and the extensive publications of his future father-in-law, John Morison (d. 1858), a Director of the London Missionary Society and editor of that society's periodical, *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*. Both of these men supported a "moderating" CALVINISM, supported by a postmillennial view of salvation history. This particular form of millennialism promoted the belief that Christ's Spirit would use the efforts of Christians within the world to create a millennial kingdom; their creative efforts reaching a threshold, whole nations were expected to become filled with humane virtues and spiritual excellences informed by Protestant Christian values. Although not unaware of many ideological hindrances and intellectual challenges to this particular ESCHATALOGY, George Legge (1802–1861) in particular promoted a harmonious vision linking together a humble rationality, systematic scientific discovery, and Christian THEOLOGY. James Legge adopted all of these theological positions as his own, as manifest in his published sermons and more than four hundred extant sermon manuscripts.

Initial Chinese Cultural Challenges

Following in the trail of two notable Protestant pioneer missionaries to CHINA, Robert Morrison (1782–1834) and William Milne (1785–1822), Legge became the principal of the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca soon after arriving there. This small school he transferred to the newly established British colony of Hong Kong in 1842, teaching Chinese students there until the college closed in 1856. During this period, Legge built up a friendship with the slightly younger Ho Tsun-Sheen (1817–1871), first his Cantonese teacher and later a career evangelist and copastor under the aegis of the London Missionary Society. Together, these two men faced the immensely important problem of how to translate theological terms for "God," "Holy Spirit," "human spirit," and other terms into Chinese. Initially taking a position promoted by Morrison early in his career, Legge ploddingly pursued related studies and was profoundly influenced by Ho Tsun-Sheen's commitment, coming ultimately in 1848 to adopt an alternative position. Already critically informed through Protestant writings in comparative religious study produced by FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE (1805–1872) and Cambridge's Charles Hardwick (1821–1859), Legge became intensely involved in public debates over this translation problem. Using Scottish Realist philosophy and extensive studies in canonical and popular Chinese writings to argue for adopting terms found in the Ruist ("Confucian") scriptures, Legge's final book-length essay of 1852 manifested an informed awareness of much Chinese literature and a generally accommodating strategy for BIBLE TRANSLATIONS. Although for other historical and institutional reasons, his arguments did not convince the publishers of Chinese Bibles in the BIBLE SOCIETIES

in Britain or the UNITED STATES, this study became the intellectual foundation for his future missiological developments.

Other matters of basic cultural importance also had to be addressed among Chinese persons. The Chinese had no religious precedents for a “Sabbath culture” which Legge’s Scottish Dissenter background and training especially emphasized, so these concepts had to be addressed in sermons and pamphlets. In this realm, Legge remained a convinced Congregationalist in ecclesiastical POLITY, a Reformed Protestant in supporting the LORD’S SUPPER and BAPTISM as the main ordinances, accepting the BAPTISM of infants, and promoting a soberly reflective Christian experience of WORSHIP. With Ho Tsun-Sheen, Legge willingly adapted all of these elements of Sabbath culture into the Chinese context, filling it with Ruist-style terms and ritual sensitivities, and so together the two men promoted a Ruified form of Chinese Christian life.

Throughout his more than thirty years of missionary work, Legge never felt moved like JAMES HUDSON TAYLOR (1832–1904) to live among Chinese persons by assuming their style of life, even though Chinese students lived in Legge’s Hong Kong home and Legge was involved daily with Chinese people in their local settings. Nevertheless, the irony remains that Taylor’s missiology was based on confrontational apologetic methods that Legge grew to oppose, preferring instead an accommodationist missiology.

Protestant Literature in Chinese

Both Legge and Ho wrote and published in Chinese, with Legge developing a variety of Protestant LITERATURE in this linguistic media. This included evangelistic and Christian educational literature in several different linguistic ligatures and with different intended audiences: novellas about Joseph and Abraham in a fairly literary Chinese, more popular stories about the Prodigal Son and the Prophet Daniel’s companions written in demotic Cantonese, as well as sermon outlines for evangelists and spiritual handbooks filled with advice and guidance for coolies making dangerous trips on ship to work in gold mines. Regularly woven into the stories were moral and spiritual challenges, often highlighting important passages in the Ruist canon that supported Christian values.

Dissenter Challenges to British Imperialism and Victorian Values

British COLONIALISM had its unseemly side, which Legge, as a Dissenter, felt obliged to expose. Already in 1844, Legge and Ho had published their criticisms of the opium trade, a battle Legge continued to fight throughout his long life. In Hong Kong he took a public stand against mercantile greed and its excesses, challenged the legitimacy of the coolie trade as just another form of SLAVERY, and led a temporarily successful public campaign against gambling. Once settled in Hong Kong, he established with other missionaries a Union Chapel that sought to embody a Protestant ECUMENISM, while he remained a committed opponent to Roman Catholic traditions.

All of these prophetic stances were consistent with Legge’s understanding of the process of SALVATION: a person must repent from sins, be saved by divine GRACE

through an initial act of converting FAITH, and then be sustained through faith in pursuing the KINGDOM OF GOD by means of a regenerating practice of Christian virtues. This he taught in a series of sermons presented in Hong Kong in 1872 under a title borrowed from JOSEPH BUTLER (1692–1752), “The Four-fold State of Man.” Believing that the Christian life should be growing in sanctity under regenerating grace, Legge expected that this striving toward excellence in all realms of cultured life would be the human means by which the divinely intended millennium would be realized.

Once resituated in Oxford, Legge continued his association with Dissenter churches and missionary institutions. In addition to supporting anti-opium lobbying of Parliament and participating actively in seeking British responses to famine relief for Chinese victims, Legge also promoted educational developments reflecting Nonconformist values. He served on committees that created the first WOMEN’S highereducation institution at Oxford, Somerville College, and supported the establishment of a distinguished Dissenter institution there called Mansfield College.

Protestant Scholarship Engaging China’s Religions

Legge’s greatest missiological and scholarly contributions appeared in his extensive publications related to Ruist and Daoist canonical literature. While working extensively in Chinese original sources and their commentarial traditions, Legge not only addressed relevant sources in European sinological traditions, but also wove theistic and Christian evaluations in generally critical and prudential ways into his translations and interpretations. His initial evaluation of Master Kong (“Confucius,” 551–479 B.C.) in 1861 in the *Chinese Classics* was decidedly negative and uncharitable. But in the same year he publicly delighted in the philosophical debates on human nature promoted by Master Meng (“Mencius,” c. 372 B.C.—289 B.C.), comparing his doctrines favorably with those of JOSEPH BUTLER. Later he carefully weighed differences between “myths,” “legends,” “traditions,” and justifiable “historical facts” to decipher ancient Ruist historical texts and begin a process of relieving Master Kong from many damaging legendary claims against his character. Although textually a critical exegete, Legge could still admire certain heroic Chinese within Ruist scriptures and their commentators, but was only able to resolve his scholarly and religious criticisms of Master Kong after making pilgrimages in 1873 to the altar of Heaven in Beijing and to the sage’s home town.

Always a confirmed Christian advocate, Legge afterward formulated new ways to address religious themes in Ruist traditions, and so after 1877 he became a controversial advocate of an accommodationist missionary approach to that tradition. Once adopting this position after careful considerations, Legge maintained it to the end of his days, emphasizing it in his partially revised evaluation of Master Kong in the *Chinese Classics* of 1893.

In this regard, Legge also reflected on Christian Scriptures and their status as revealed and historical texts, particularly as he related comparative religious study to missiology. In an unpublished lecture of 1884 Legge, having been trained in biblical redaction criticism, still considered the BIBLE to be divinely revealed and inspired, comparing its

claims about Jesus the Messiah to be historical rather than mythical, especially in comparison to Ruist, Daoist, and Buddhist claims about their founders.

Legge's scholarly corpus of translations and commentaries of the Ruist canonical literature extends through eight volumes of the *Chinese Classics* and the first four volumes of *Sacred Books of China* (published between 1861 and 1885). In addition to these, Legge produced renderings in classical Daoism (1891) and a few minor Buddhist texts (1886–1888), always adding to them his reflective Nonconformist and critical Scottish realist assessments. His scholarly interest in “Nestorian” Christians who lived in China during the Tang dynasty (seventh to ninth centuries) was also addressed in an annotated translation and accompanied by an interpretive commentary.

The sum of Legge's assessment of Chinese religious traditions was summarily expressed in 1880 in the first university textbook that he published on Chinese religions, but some of its most important arguments were summarized and argued more concisely a few years later in a pamphlet dealing with “the whole duty of man” in Confucianism and Christianity. There he claimed that though there was much that was admirable in Ruist accounts of human morality, there were notably no similarly general claims related to humans' duties to the supreme being, and so the quality of even the human relationships was at times weakened by a lack of divine motives for sustaining and renewing these relationships. Ultimately Legge sensed that Ruist traditions would fail to survive the progressive encroachment of international foreign powers. Though disappointed at the end of his life that millennial hopes had not been realized, Legge remained faithful to his Christian calling. Calling the Chinese sage his “master” in the mid-1880s, Legge held Jesus Christ as his “master and Lord,” and so his missiologic aim remained essentially what it was in 1872: to lead Chinese persons to “look away from Confucius to another Teacher.”

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Dissent; Kingdom of God Missionary Organizations; Millenarians and Millennialism; Nonconformity;

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LEIBNIZ, GOTTFRIED WILHELM (1646–1716)

German writer and theologian. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz was a Lutheran philosopher, mathematician, and theological irenic who spent most of his career in the diplomatic service of the Hannoverian royalty. During his life, Leibniz spearheaded numerous efforts, all ultimately unsuccessful, to secure reunion between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and later between Lutheran and Reformed churches. In addition, Leibniz's philosophical views, popularized through the work of CHRISTIAN WOLFF (1679–1754), were a centerpiece of the German ENLIGHTENMENT of the early eighteenth century.

Leibniz was born into a noble academic family on July 1, 1646 in Leipzig, Germany. His father was professor of moral philosophy at the University of Leipzig, where Leibniz went on to study law and philosophy from 1661 to 1666. He completed his education in 1667, receiving his Doctorate of Law from the University of Altdorf.

After receiving his degree, Leibniz was offered a university post in Altdorf, which he refused in favor of a diplomatic position under the elector of Mainz, Philipp von Schönborn, accepted at the urging of the Schönborn's influential minister, Johann Christian von Boineburg. During this period Leibniz began an active intellectual career, publishing treatises in law, philosophy, the natural sciences, and mathematics. His primary diplomatic mission during the period, however, was to seek ways in which to diminish the unsettling military threat to GERMANY by FRANCE and its king, Louis XIV (1638–1715). To that end he was sent to Paris in 1672 to present a plan to the French king proposing a military conquest of Egypt. Leibniz was not able to present the plan and, after the deaths of Schönborn and Boineburg, returned to Hannover in 1676, where he entered into diplomatic service under Duke Johann Friedrich.

The remainder of Leibniz's career was spent in the service of a succession of Hannoverian rulers, concluding with Elector Georg Ludwig (1660–1727), later King George I of England. Initially hired to serve as the Hannoverian librarian, Leibniz was later commissioned as councilor to the duke, thus assuming oversight for a variety of projects. His primary official task during his years in Hannover was to compile a history of the House of Brunswick for his Hannoverian employers. Despite expending a great deal of effort on the project, Leibniz's efforts yielded only a single volume, much to the frustration of his patrons.

Although he published a number of essays in scholarly journals on a variety of topics, Leibniz published only a single book-length monograph during his life, the *Essais de Theodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal* of 1710. In this wide-ranging treatise in philosophical theology, Leibniz responds to the problem of evil by defending the thesis, famously satirized in Voltaire's *Candide*, that this world is the "best of all possible worlds." Leibniz's reasoning for the claim was grounded in his belief in the so-called Principle of Sufficient Reason. According to the principle, every event, including God's creation of the world, has a sufficient reason explaining why it occurs rather than not. When considering God's perfect goodness, Leibniz thought it clear that the only reason for God's choosing to create one world over another was its relative perfection, and thus, the world actually created must be the best of all possible worlds.

Leibniz's philosophical and theological ideas became influential in pre-Kantian Germany primarily by way of the popularizing work of Christian Wolff, professor of mathematics and philosophy at HALLE and Marburg.

Beyond Leibniz's philosophical contributions to the German enlightenment of the eighteenth century, he is widely noted for his irenic attempts at reunion, first between Protestants and Roman Catholics and later between Calvinists and Lutherans. Beginning in the early 1680s, the Hannoverian court assembled a panel including Leibniz, GERHARD MOLANUS, and Frederick Calixt, son of GEORGE CALIXT, to frame a proposal for reunion to present to the chief Roman Catholic reunion representative, Cristobal de Rojas y Spinola.

The key to Protestant reunion for Leibniz, as well as for Rojas and the theologians at Hannover, was finding an agreeable way to set aside the canons of Trent and to submit the disputed questions to a future council composed of clergy from both Protestant and Roman flanks. Leibniz argued that Trent was not properly an ecumenical council, and thus its declarations and any affirmations of it based on its status as an ecumenical council could be set aside.

The Hannoverians believed that such a position might be well received, especially among the French Roman Catholic clergy. Leibniz thus undertook to send a proposal for reunion directly to the influential French bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), Leibniz's hopes were buoyed when Bossuet responded initially in encouraging terms.

By 1691, however, the plans for reunion were failing. Bossuet had since made it clear that he was not to be moved on the matter of the ecumenicity of Trent. Leibniz realized that such a position was tantamount to bidding "adieu la réunion." With the death of Rojas, in March of 1695, any hopes of reunion were effectively dashed.

Shortly afterwards Leibniz took up in earnest the formidable project of reunion among Protestant sects. He contended that reunion would require three steps: civil unity, ecclesiastical toleration, and finally, unity of theological belief. Leibniz expressed some doubts about the prospect for this third step, noting that doctrinal differences on predestination and the Eucharist seemed to be especially recalcitrant.

Between 1700 and 1705 Leibniz and Daniel Jablonski, Brandenburg Court Chaplain, collaborated on a project that outlined a theological compromise based largely on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. In June of 1706, however, an unrelated political dispute flared between Hannover and Brandenburg, leading Georg Ludwig to order Leibniz to cease all negotiations on Protestant union.

Although no sustained effort was spent on reunion efforts after this point, Leibniz's mature writing shows a sustained interest in irenic theology. Leibniz died on November 14, 1716.

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LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM (1729–1781)

German playwright and author. Lessing was born on January 22, 1729, in Kamenz, Saxony, the eldest surviving son of an orthodox Lutheran pastor, one of the first translators of Tillotson. His mother was daughter of a pastor. Kamenz is near HERRNHUT, the estate of Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF who settled the Moravian Brethren there in 1722. Lessing's *Thoughts on the Moravians* (1750, posthumously published in 1784) praised the Pietist wish to take religion out of the head and put it into the heart (see PIETISM).

From 1741 to 1746 he attended the St. Afra boarding school founded by the duke of Saxony in Meissen in 1543. In September 1746 he went to the University of Leipzig to study THEOLOGY, which he soon neglected to devote himself to the theater. At Leipzig, he published his first poems and stories (1747). In 1748 he transferred to medicine, but abandoned that to go to Berlin, resolved to live by his pen. He completed his Master's degree at Wittenberg in 1752, in preparation for which he worked on his *Rettungen* (1753–1754), vindications of thinkers whose writings had been condemned as heterodox. Subjects included the natural scientist Hieronymus Cardanus (1501–1576), accused of atheism for comparing Christianity with Islam and Judaism; [of an *Ineptus*

Religiosus (1652),] whose book contained the famous sentence, “Read the Bible just as you read Livy”; and Johannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552), the strongest and most prolific Roman Catholic critic of MARTIN LUTHER, concerning what Lessing ironically called the “small matter” of indulgences. Later he published other vindications: Berengar of Tours’ lost reply to Lanfranc on the LORD’S SUPPER (1770), which to his amusement was welcomed by orthodox Lutherans; a defense of GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ on eternal punishment (1773); and a work on Adam Neusner, a Unitarian who fled to Constantinople to escape persecution and became a Muslim (1774). In 1756 Lessing translated *A System of Moral Philosophy* (1755) by Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), which extolled the moral sense, and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728) by William Law (1686–1761).

Lessing wrote four great plays: *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), the first German domestic tragedy; *Minna von Barnholm* (1767), the first truly modern German comedy; *Emilia Galotti* (1772); and *Nathan the Wise* (1779). He wrote a book on aesthetics, *Laocoon, An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766), and theater criticism, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767–1768).

In December 1769 Lessing was appointed librarian of the duke of Brunswick’s huge library at Wolfenbüttel, with permission to publish without censorship. In 1771 he became a freemason and was engaged to marry Eva Kšnig, widow of an old friend from his Hamburg days, but he could not afford to marry her until 1776. Thereafter followed a blissfully happy year, but on December 25, 1777 their son was born and died some hours later, and Eva herself died in January 1778.

In 1774 Lessing had published the first *Fragment of an Unknown*, which he pretended to have found in manuscript in the library but which was really part of a large *Apology or Defense for Rational Worshippers of God* by HERMANN SAMUEL REIMARUS (1694–1768), professor of oriental languages in the Hamburg Academic Gymnasium. The manuscript had been entrusted to Lessing by Reimarus’s daughter Elise. The first installment from the manuscript, or fragment, “The Toleration of Deists,” passed without comment.

In 1777, during the happiest year of his life, he published five further extracts (“On the Decrying of Reason from the Pulpit”; “On the Impossibility of a Revelation which all Men can Believe in a Well-Founded Way”; “The Passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea”; “That the Books of the Old Testament were not written to Reveal a Religion”; “On the Resurrection Narrative”). To these Lessing appended the counter-theses of the editor (including paragraphs 1–53 of *The Education of the Human Race* [1780] as though the work of someone else). Lessing argued that the fragments might embarrass the theologian, by knocking down the arguments with which he thought to buttress Christianity, but not the Christian. For Christians their religion is simply *there*: the paralytic does not care whose theory about the electric spark that cured him was correct. Objections to literal details and to the BIBLE were not objections to the spirit and to religion. Lessing warned against Bibliolatry (a term he found in English). He claimed to be following Luther’s spirit if not Luther’s writings. Revealed religion contained all the truths taught by reason, but supported them with different argumentation.

The orthodox reaction to the publication of the fragments was fierce. Lessing answered these attacks with a series of pamphlets: *On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power*, with an appendix *The Testament of John*, a dialogue in which the anonymous

author of the main pamphlet asks an objecto, "...which of the two is the more difficult? To accept and confess the Christian dogmas, or to practice Christian love?"; *A Rejoinder* to a defense of the resurrection story; and, in reply to Johann Melchior Goeze (1717–1786), a large number of pamphlets beginning with *A Parable*, followed by *Axioms, If There Are Any in Such Matters*, which provoked a reply from Goeze, who challenged Lessing to explain what the Christian religion would be if the Bible were lost. Lessing answered in *G.E.Lessing's Necessary Answer to a very Unnecessary Question of Herr Hauptpastor Goeze in Hamburg*, stating that the Christian religion was contained in the creeds of the first four centuries.

In 1778 Lessing published the longest fragment from Reimarus, "On the Intentions of Jesus and his Disciples," sharply distinguishing between the intentions of Jesus and those of the disciples. In July of that year the duke of Brunswick intervened to rule that Lessing would now have to submit his writings on religion to the censor, and in November 1780 Lessing was arraigned by an ecclesiastical court for publishing this pamphlet. Lessing turned back to the theater. In *Nathan the Wise* (1779) he pleaded for tolerance of all religions, provided they show love to all. He drew on his friend Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), whom he first met in 1753, for his portrait of Nathan, the Jew. This play initiated Germans into the world of theater for over a century.

Lessing made a contribution to the study of the Gospels in *New Hypothesis concerning the Evangelists regarded as merely human Historians* (1778, published posthumously). The first Christians, lawobservant Jews, collected narratives of Jesus written in Hebrew or Aramaic. Matthew extracted material from this collection and translated it into Greek; Luke made his own arrangement of order and translated it into Greek; and Mark drew on a less complete copy. John had to write his Gospel to prevent Christianity from dying away as a mere Jewish sect; he alone showed the Godhead of Jesus and gave Christianity its true consistency so that it would survive "as long as there are men who think they need a mediator between themselves and the Deity; that is, for ever" (para. 63).

The Education of the Human Race (1777; published in 1780, the year before his death) proved to be immensely popular among educated Germans, enabling the Protestant churches to retain the nominal loyalty of a high proportion of the population. The author (whom Lessing introduces as though he were another than himself) "has set himself upon a high eminence from which he believes it possible to see beyond the allotted path of his present day's journey." God (i.e., Nature, para. 84) has used revelation (as well as reason) to bring humanity from the age of the Old Testament, which taught the unity of God, to the age of the New Testament, in which Christ taught the immortality of the soul, to the age of the new eternal gospel, in which right will be done because it is right, not because of any reward. The doctrines of the Trinity (cf. *The Christianity of Reason* [1752–1753, published 1784]), of Original Sin, and of the Son's satisfaction could be given a rational reading. Finally, why should not every individual have been present more than once in this world? Dubious historical facts of alleged revelation have led to reasonable truth sooner than the necessary truths would otherwise have come to be understood. The ugly broad ditch, not to be leapt over by reason, from accidental truths of history to necessary truths of reason (*On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power*, written the same year), was bridged by the process of history in this best of worlds (Leibniz).

In 1785 F.H.Jacobi claimed that when he showed Lessing JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE'S unpublished fragmentary drama *Prometheus*, less than a year before

Lessing's death, Lessing said he concurred with Goethe's view as a result of his own reading of Spinoza: it was not possible to believe in the creator-God, for the Deity is One and All. Humans have no need of free will. Jacobi's book led to a lively argument in which Moses Mendelssohn defended Lessing against the charge of Spinozism.

Lessing died on February 15, 1781 in Brunswick. He influenced SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR, DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS, and SØREN KIERKEGAARD.

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LEUENBERG

See Ecumenical Agreements

LEVELLERS

In the heat of CIVIL WAR in ENGLAND and the destabilization that accompanied it, the Levellers emerged in the years 1644 to 1649 as one of the most conspicuous and noisy "left-wing" popular movements. (The derogatory label, apparently, was first coined by Charles I.) A great deal of their history is elusive—there are no membership lists of Leveller groups—although much is clear. Not exclusively plebeian—they had supporters higher up the social scale and their rank and file, it seems, was swelled with disgruntled, cast-off younger sons of the gentry—and not the most extreme of the radical wings of the 1640s, the Levellers drew their following primarily from London and the New Model Army. As references in their publications to trades and other occupations make clear, Levellers were chiefly an urban phenomenon. Leveller leaders like John Lilbourne

(1614–1657), Richard Overton (1642–1663), and William Walwyn (1600–1680) wrote prolifically about the inequalities of wealth, about the sovereignty of the people, about the reform of Parliament and parliamentary representation, the extension of the franchise, about the need for regular elections that would increase the dependency of members of parliament on the electorate, about reform of the legal system and the CHURCH, about free trade, and about religious TOLERATION. Trenchant Leveller voices were plainly heard in the famous Putney Debates of 1647 when army officers and ordinary soldiers came together to air their views on England's post-Civil War future. Leveller publications like *The Case of the Armie Truly Stated* and *An Agreement of the People* offered popular rallying cries. For a time they had their own “newspaper.” Levellers, in short, had a propaganda machine at their disposal.

OLIVER CROMWELL and other army leaders who had led these men into battle and admired their spirit and bravery for a time, found Levellers politically useful as a battering ram against both King Charles I and Parliament. Yet in truth Levellers were never as influential as they seemed. They were easily sidelined in the swiftly changing events of early 1649, when the king was put through a brisk public trial and then speedily brought to execution. Desperate but small-scale Leveller mutinies in London, Wiltshire, and Oxfordshire were, with no great effort, suppressed and the ringleaders put to death. (Burford church in Oxford was the most famous setting of Leveller defeat.) However, there were relatively few martyrs and that fact perhaps in itself is an index of their real weakness: a few executions were enough. Cromwell carried the day. Lilburne, Overton, and Walwyn were arrested and imprisoned but released after taking an oath of loyalty to the republic.

By the end of 1649 Levellers had clearly been overcome and although memories of their brief-lived successes of the previous few years may have provided models for the deployment of mass propaganda and mass movements after the Restoration, they soon went into eclipse. With isolated exceptions, they had to wait until the twentieth century to be rediscovered and widely celebrated by liberals and Marxists, the English and Americans, alike. Hailed as democrats ahead of their time, farsighted progressives, the first real socialists in England, protagonists of universal suffrage, Levellers and their leaders were emphatically rehabilitated, although such plaudits frequently went over the top. Levellers were indeed “democrats” but they believed firmly in a property-owning, not total, democracy in which the rights of small property owners were upheld against the oppressive claims of the rich and powerful. Those who had a *dependent* status—laborers, servants, apprentices, beggars, and all WOMEN (together constituting a numerical majority of the population of the day)—were pointedly excluded from the Leveller franchise. Moreover, Levellers held back from interfering with the rights attached to private property. Diggers, not Levellers, were the proto-communists of mid-seventeenth-century England.

Leveller politics—their manifestos, the tracts of their leaders, their contributions to the Putney Debates—have almost always tended to occupy center stage in discussions of the movement. Yet in a period in which politics and religion were inseparable, Leveller insistence on equity and equality clearly took shape within a Christian/Protestant framework. The historian Christopher Hill indeed has connected the Levellers with a trajectory of underground ideas going back to the Lollards of the fifteenth century (Hill 1979:49–66). Religious liberty and political liberty for them went hand in hand. For

Levellers the BIBLE, which spoke freely and directly to all people, provided overarching truths on all things. Leveller religion was a kind of “ARMINIANISM of the left,” which rejected the exclusivity of Calvinist DOCTRINE in favor of the encouraging belief in the universalism of God’s GRACE, demonstrated by believers in genuine social concern and good works. It helped underpin their convictions about the “natural rights” of humankind. What good was religion if it meant no more than formal observance, pious utterances, psalm singing, private prayer, listening to sermons, and keeping the Sabbath? “Pure and undefiled religion,” declared Walwyn—and he spoke for many Levellers—meant “feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting and comforting the sick, relieving the aged, weak and impotent [and] freeing a commonwealth from all tyrants, oppressors and deceivers” (McMichael and Taft 1989:80, 269, 324). For Levellers, many of the clergy were included among these entrenched “obstacles” to social justice. The very titles of Walwyn’s writings are eloquent expressions of his practical Christianity—“The Power of Love” (1643), “The Compassionate Samaritane” (1644), “Toleration Justified and Persecution Condemned” (1645/6), and “A Still and Soft Voice from the Scriptures” (1647). Christopher Chisman or Cheeseman, a Leveller soldier and later Quaker, echoed Walwyn and went even further in his claims for the necessity of “practical Christianity.”

The religion of the great ones of our age is a mere shadow, and all their pulpit-prattling is nothing; they are only wolves in sheep’s clothing; they are devils transformed into angels of light. But pure religion and undefiled is to visit the fatherless and widows, and to keep ourselves unspotted in the world, which the great professors of our time will not I am sure; for they add house to house, land to land, nay thousands to thousands, while the poor of the kingdom are ready to starve. (Chisman, *The Lamb Contending with the Lion*, 1649)

Such fundamental convictions underlay all that Levellers said and strove for in politics and for which they have become chiefly famous. For them reformed politics was the natural outcome of true religion. They had fought valiantly in the Civil Wars in the New Model Army—“God’s Army,” no less—to bring about both. Their experience of defeat after 1649 was thus all the more poignant.

See also Communism; Socialism, Christian

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LEWIS, C.S. (1898–1963)

A literary and cultural historian, theorist, and critic, a poet and novelist, a moral philosopher, and a Christian apologist, Clive Staples "Jack" Lewis is widely esteemed, especially among Protestants in the United States, for combining academic stature with an ability both to communicate to a wide and diverse audience and to advocate a Christian worldview in opposition to prevailing secular alternatives.

Lewis promoted continuities between post- and pre-war cultures, unlike many Protestant theologians writing after the First and Second World Wars, and he posited continuities between poets and critics and their social and cultural contexts, unlike many of his literary contemporaries. Lewis's principal achievement lay in bridging the gaps between his own culture and the past, between academic and popular cultures, between scholarly and creative writing, and between intellectual rigor and religious belief. He countered the negative mood of his own culture and of prevailing Protestant theologies by redeploying a Romantic interest in the reenchantment of the world, by advocating childlike attitudes as antidotes to contemporary despair, and by restoring joy, pleasure, and celebration as integral parts of a Christian worldview. His principal philosophical point concerned the relational character of human living, from which he argued for the continuity between subjective and objective aspects of human experience and the formation of cultural and religious identity primarily in and through relationships.

Born in Belfast, IRELAND, Lewis received his early education mostly in ENGLAND. He saw action in FRANCE during WORLD WAR I and then returned to University College, Oxford, to complete his education in philosophy, history, and English. He became a fellow and tutor of English at Magdalen College in 1925 and continued in that position until he moved to Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1955 as professor of medieval and renaissance literature. He lived from 1930 until his death in Headington

Quarry outside Oxford with his older brother Warren (d. 1973) and, first, with Mrs. Janie Moore (d. 1951) and then with Joy Davidman (d. 1960), whom he married in 1956.

Cultural Critique

As a cultural critic, Lewis addressed three dominant characteristics of MODERNITY. He argued that the cultural sense of a break with the past was caused not primarily, as many believed, by urbanization and war but by the increasing dependency of society on machines. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, he maintained, advances in technology, by which earlier machines are superseded, were shaping the culture's general attitude toward the past. He further argued that the disenchantment of the world was caused not so much by rationality, as many of his contemporaries believed, as by a shift in AUTHORITY from the external world to individual consciousness. Moreover, he argued that the pervasive feeling of alienation in modern literature and culture was created not by social and economic conditions but by the assumption of discontinuity between the mind and reality, values and facts, and individuals and society.

Lewis viewed bureaucracy as epitomizing the abstraction, depersonalization, and self-preoccupation that plague modern culture, and he viewed obsession with individuality (see INDIVIDUALISM) in the culture as a reaction to the pervasive force of bureaucracy in modern society. Bureaucracy, for example, provides the power structure of Hell (see HEAVEN AND HELL) in his *The Screwtape Letters* (1942) and shapes the political and academic authority in his dystopic narrative of England's future, *That Hideous Strength* (1945). In contrast to the reduction and homogenization of human relationships characteristic of bureaucracy, Lewis advocated the fulfillment of individual potential within a common culture that relates the present to the past and carries moral directives for the future.

Beginning with his return to Christianity in 1929, which he narrates in his autobiography *Surprised by Joy* (1955), Lewis articulated in poems, essays, novels, books, and radio broadcasts his belief that Christianity offers an account of the world that is more complex, capacious, and humanly satisfying than that offered by its primary secular rivals, materialism and narcissism. In such books as *The Abolition of Man* (1943), *Mere Christianity* (1952), and *The Four Loves* (1960), Lewis argued that religious worldviews in general and Christianity in particular meet the needs and desires of human life and actualize its potentials as secular alternatives do not. In *The Problem of Pain* (1940) and *Miracles* (1947), Lewis addressed the two principal modern objections to Christianity, its inability to answer the problem of human suffering (see EVIL) and its reliance on miracles.

Along with his standing as a religious advocate and Christian apologist, Lewis secured academic stature with work in medieval studies, such as *The Allegory of Love* (1936), in Renaissance studies, such as *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (1954), and in cultural and literary criticism and theory with numerous essays, such as *An Experiment in Criticism* (1961). In addition, Lewis achieved popular acclaim in the early 1940s with the publication of *The Screwtape Letters* and the radio broadcasts that, during the early years of the Second World War, recalled English people to Christian belief. This popular standing was extended during the next decade by the

success of his novels for children, the Narnia Chronicles, a set of seven separable but related narratives about an alternative world to which visitors from England, particularly children, are called to help in times of difficulty. The Chronicles narrate Narnia's history from its creation in *The Magician's Nephew* (1955) to its destruction in *The Last Battle* (1956). The novels, especially *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950), the first in the series, include figures such as Aslan the Lion as well as events that are similar to those basic to the Christian story. Lewis also gained popular recognition by the BBC production in 1985 of *Shadowlands*, a play based primarily on the relationship of Lewis with Joy Davidman and starring Joss Ackland and Claire Bloom. After its successful run as a stage play in New York City, *Shadowlands*, in an altered version, became a major Hollywood production in 1993 starring Debra Winger and Anthony Hopkins.

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WESLEY A.KORT

LEWIS, SIR SAMUEL (1843–1903)

West African statesman. Sir Samuel Lewis is best known for being the first West African to be knighted by the British Crown (1896). He was born on November 13, 1843, in Freetown, the capital city of the British colony of SIERRA LEONE, and grew up in the second generation under British rule. His upbringing was a successful fusion of native Aku virtues such as loyalty, persistence, and obedience to group hierarchy with Wesleyan METHODISM. Lewis studied law in London, and was the third native Sierra Leonean to become a barrister. He quickly acquired a reputation for fairness and objectivity, successfully arguing for the defense or prosecuting as Queen's advocate, as duty and conscience demanded.

Although reluctant to work for the Colonial Government, Lewis joined the Legislative Council in 1882. He supported the annexation of the interior of Sierra Leone, with the intention of spreading the Wesleyan Mission of civilization, SALVATION, and economic self-sufficiency to the unconverted and often economically exploited tribes. His already impressive reputation was enhanced when ENGLAND established the Protectorate from 1890 to 1896, which accomplished exactly what Lewis had envisioned. Following the dictates of his conscience he fought for the elimination of state subsidies for the Wesleyan and Anglican churches in 1892, on the grounds that it was unfair not only to other denominations, but also to the Protectorate's 26,000 pagans, and 9,000 Muslims.

For his unceasing public service and unquestionable integrity, Sir Samuel Lewis was knighted in 1896, and was the first West African Knight in Her Majesty's Empire. He

was elected mayor of Freetown in both 1895 and 1899. By 1900 ventures into coffee and kola farming had failed, forcing Lewis to return to the practice of law, where he took on many unpaid cases for the Wesleyan community. In 1901 he was diagnosed with cancer, but financial concerns kept him working until 1902. He sailed to London for surgery, but died on July 9, 1903.

See also Africa; Wesleyanism

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MARK C.DONAHUE

LIANG A-FA (LIANG FA, LEANG A-FA) (1789–1855)

Chinese churchman. Liang was born Gao He, in the region of Canton (Guangdong), and died in Canton. He came from a farming family and had four years of Confucian schooling. Poverty forced him to give up his education and move to Canton in 1804, where urban vices overcame him and he became a confirmed gambler. His work was cutting the wooden blocks for printing Chinese characters, and he was employed to cut those for the translation of the New Testament prepared by Robert Morrison. Impressed by his work, Morrison invited Liang to be the Chinese printer for the mission press in Malacca, where Christian literature was produced for distribution in CHINA at a time when missionaries could not normally operate there. Liang began work in Malacca in 1815.

Distressed at his moral impotence and decline from the Confucian moral teaching of his youth, Liang sought a remedy in Pure Land Buddhist practice, but in vain. Further study of the Chinese New Testament gradually convinced him of the truth of the evangelical message he was hearing from William Milne, who headed the Malacca mission. In 1816, Liang was baptized. Three years later, he visited his family in China and prepared a tract to explain Christian faith to them and their neighbors. He was arrested, imprisoned, and beaten, and the copies of his tract and the printing blocks were destroyed. After his release, Liang returned to Malacca eager to prepare himself for PREACHING, leaving for China again after Milne's death.

After further study with Morrison, Liang was ordained in 1823, becoming the first Chinese Protestant pastor. For more than thirty years he served as evangelist and pastor in Canton, Macao, Singapore, and Hong Kong. He was also a prolific writer; more than 20 books and tracts of his are listed, including a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews,

a paraphrase of the letter to the Romans, and an exposition of the Ten Commandments. His long tract with a title usually translated as “Good Words to Admonish the Age” was particularly influential, not least in introducing the leaders of the Taiping Movement to Christian teaching. The tract demonstrates that Liang never abandoned the Confucian moral teaching he imbibed in youth. For him, Christian faith, with its teaching of one fatherly God, divine Savior, and active Holy Spirit, provided a framework that made Confucian ideals attainable.

See also Asian Theology; Bible Translation; Missions

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ANDREW F. WALLS

LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM

“Liberal Protestantism” is a notoriously vague and loose designation for a broad range of Protestant Christian thought unified less by specific theological claims or doctrines than by a shared liberal approach to certain common themes that arose within Christian theology during the modern period (see MODERNISM). This shared spirit of liberalism is characterized by (1) an open-mindedness toward and respect for new modes of thought in human and natural science; (2) a confidence in the power of human reason guided by experience; (3) a radical emphasis both on freedom from traditional dogmas and creedal formulations and on toleration of doctrinal differences; (4) an ethical optimism and social idealism grounded in the benevolence of God and the social nature of human existence; and, finally, (5) a search, amid the ever-changing cultural and historical context, for the abiding essence of Christianity based in the life, teachings, and person of Jesus Christ.

Liberal Protestantism had its beginnings in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the thought of IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804) and FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) but reached its fullest expression in the theologies of ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822–1889), ADOLF VON HARNACK (1851–1930), and

ERNST TROELTSCH (1865–1923), and the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement exemplified by WALTER RAUSCHEN-BUSCH (1861–1918) in the United States. It continued to have significant influence within German, French, English, and American THEOLOGY until it went into decline during the decades immediately preceding the Second World War. Its eclipse was largely attributed to criticisms brought by KARL BARTH (1886–1968) and REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971) among others that it was too accommodating to modern CULTURE, too optimistic in its view of human nature and social progress, and too reductive in its account of the es-sence of Christianity. Although its enduring legacy remains a topic of considerable debate, especially in regard to its relationship with the REFORMATION, it continues to influence any contemporary theological movement that is interested in bringing the Christian faith critically into some degree of reconciliation with contemporary thought and culture.

Historical Development

Liberal Protestantism finds its roots in the critical philosophy of Kant and the systematic theological response to Kant by Schleiermacher. Kant's attack on classical metaphysics called into question the validity of much of the natural theology tradition, not only of the premodern period but also of the eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT. Traditional arguments for the existence of God, for knowledge of the nature of God's being or human immortality, and so forth, claimed—according to Kant—a knowledge of reality that was not sustainable under criticism, and thus for theology to have meaning, theologians must look for alternative ways of grounding theological claims than in traditional metaphysics. Kant proposed such a grounding in moral or what he called “practical” reason wherein claims for the existence of God and immortality functioned as the necessary postulates for ethics.

Schleiermacher, generally acknowledged as the father of Liberal Protestantism, took up Kant's theological challenge. Yet while agreeing with Kant's critique of speculative natural theology, Schleiermacher nevertheless sought to ground theological claims elsewhere—in what he called the “religious self-consciousness.” The essence of Christian piety, he argued, consists in particular religious affections based on humanity's awareness of its absolute dependency on God, the “Whence” of its original and continuing existence. Theological statements thus are read off these affections and represent their verbal, conceptual, and didactic articulation. This reorientation of theology's ground of meaningfulness from traditional metaphysics to an account of human consciousness allowed Schleiermacher to reinterpret his inherited Reformation faith in ways that both maintained continuity with the theological claims of the Reformation (e.g., an emphasis on the sovereignty of God and redemption in Christ) and yet allowed him to radically transform certain of these claims in light of his modern context (e.g., a social rather than biological conception of original sin and an understanding of the divinity of Christ as constituted not by a divine nature *per se* but by Christ's perfect God-consciousness).

Ritschl, although critical of Schleiermacher at points, maintained Schleiermacher's quest for the essence of Christianity and thereby established the basic outlines of Liberal Protestantism as it flourished from the 1860s to 1918 with the conclusion of World War I.

Following Kant, Ritschl argued that Christian theology should be freed from all metaphysical speculation and should rather be understood as an attempt to express judgments of value, especially of the saving significance of Jesus of Nazareth. As the archetypal human, Jesus, although threatened by hostile adversaries, trusted absolutely in God's love and power, and in so doing revealed to humanity through his moral perfection humanity's proper response to God. Through following Jesus' example, modern humans can overcome the threat of social and natural evolution, increased INDUSTRIALIZATION and SECULARIZATION, and impersonal, mechanistic NATURE by recognizing the infinite value or worth imparted to humanity by God through Jesus. Collectively those who follow Jesus constitute the KINGDOM OF GOD whose task is progressively to redeem and transform ethically the culture and society in which they exist.

Post-Ritschlian liberalism was thus characterized by an emphasis on the supreme moral and religious example of Jesus, the essential goodness or worth of humanity, and its seemingly infinite capabilities of growth in reason and freedom. This characterization amounted to what Harnack famously summarized in his *Das Wesendes Christentums* (*What Is Christianity?*) as the essence of Christianity: "firstly, the Kingdom of God and its coming; secondly, God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul; thirdly, the higher righteousness and the commandment of love." With this essence, moreover, came the duty of doing something to correct those conditions—whether through ignorance or social injustice—that stultified the full actualization of the Kingdom of God, of those capacities in humans that promoted human flourishing. For example, in the UNITED STATES, the religious education movement, strongly influenced by the philosophical liberalism and pragmatism of John Dewey, was an expression of the interaction of Liberal Protestantism with the growing religious ignorance of modern culture. Moreover, the Social Gospel movement became the most characteristic expression of Liberal Protestantism in North American Christianity. Its primary leader, Rauschenbusch, developed concepts of social SIN and social SALVATION, harking back to Schleiermacher, in rejection of the late-nineteenth-century tendencies toward INDIVIDUALISM at the expense of community and quietism in the place of social transformation. Thus a movement that was born out of modern challenges to old ways of thinking theologically reached its zenith in the quest to trans-form that very modern culture into the Kingdom of God.

Before turning to a discussion of the overarching characteristics of Liberal Protestantism, it is important to note a deep and important irony in its historical development. For although Liberal Protestantism came into its own during the late nineteenth century, few theologians during that time actually claimed to be "liberal." In fact, according to Hans-Joachim Birkner, the term "liberalism" was an ideological construct of the antiliberal theologians of the 1920s, who needed a clear picture of the trends in theology over the last century, so that they could put an end to liberalism's growth and perpetuation (Birkner 1976:33f.). For example, such leading exponents of Liberal Protestantism as ALBRECHT RITSCHL, along with his students Wilhelm Herrmann (1846–1922) and Julius Kaftan (1848–1926), claimed to be thoroughly orthodox and sought not to reduce Christianity to whatever an increasingly secular age could accept, but to maintain Christian truth in its integrity, as testified to by nearly four centuries of Protestant faith and piety. Thus, for Ritschl and his followers, the

Reformation's fundamental assertion of the right of the individual believer to judge religious truth for him- or herself under no external AUTHORITY but the Spirit's guidance was something that could never be wholly expunged by the unfortunate biblicism and dogmatism to which Reformation theology itself had succumbed, or so they argued, during the period of Protestant ORTHODOXY in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a sense, then, these "liberal" Protestant theologians understood themselves to be attempting both to regain the true spirit of the Reformation that had been muted by subsequent developments and to continue that spirit in a modern world quite different from its original, early-sixteenth-century context. Certainly, as they readily acknowledged, there were many differences between the Reformation and Liberal Protestantism—for example, the original Reformers often disparaged "natural" reason in light of their adherence to "scripture alone" and at times supported religious authoritarianism despite their initial resistance to Roman authority. Nevertheless, for theologians like Ritschl, the principle that the believer's own inward experience is a final criterion of FAITH provided the bridge of continuity (and not discontinuity) between the Reformation and Liberal Protestantism.

General Characteristics

Despite its theologically and culturally diverse historical development, Liberal Protestantism can be accurately described as exhibiting the following general characteristics.

1. Openness to New Modes of Thought

Liberal Protestantism maintained the organic unity of truth and thus pursued it wherever it was found. There could be no discontinuity between the truths of SCIENCE or the humanities, on the one hand, and the truth of Christianity, on the other. For example, as HIGHER CRITICISM emerged within the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Liberal Protestantism embraced its application to the BIBLE so that biblical narratives might be interpreted within the historical context in which they originated. Thus critics such as Schleiermacher's student DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS (1808–1874) in his famous *Life of Jesus* applied such higher criticism to the gospel narratives to separate out the historical or "natural facts" of the stories of Jesus from the nonhistorical, "mythical" material, which represented for him early church interpretations of Jesus' life and significance (see JESUS, LIVES OF). By the early twentieth century, the History of Religions School (*religionsgeschichtliche Schule*) emerged as yet another example of the way in which Liberal Protestants used the disciplines of history and the emerging social sciences to reconstruct the development of Christianity within the plurality of religions. Various strands of JUDAISM and Christianity were revealed in the biblical narratives and in subsequent religious history, so they claimed, and this pluralism of traditions indicated the radical degree to which Christianity was only one religion among others. Thus Troeltsch, one of the most articulate History of Religions critics, went so far as to entertain the possibility that Christianity might be superseded, as it had done to Judaism, by a higher form of religion.

2. Reason and Experience

Liberal Protestants held that Christianity, to speak to the modern world, must be willing to discard old orthodox forms if they were judged to be irrational in the light of modern knowledge or irrelevant to what was regarded as the central core of religious experience. Following the lead of Kant, Liberal Protestants were generally careful to acknowledge the limits to achieving certain knowledge of ultimate reality, yet this epistemic tentativeness was also accompanied by a strong suspicion of dogmatic theological formulations that did not also acknowledge their own tentative status. Moreover to the minds of most Liberal Protestant theologians, their criticisms of received orthodoxy were not only held to be more responsive to the needs of the present time but also more in keeping with the original spirit of the Reformation. The Reformer's insistence on the experiential roots of theological reflection (e.g., in John Calvin's dictum, "We shall not say that, properly speaking, God is known where there is no religion or piety" or Luther's *sola experientia facit theologum*, which stands alongside and informs his *sola scriptura*) was crucial for making theological claims living convictions, born of experience, rather than dogmas received on the basis of some external authority. In this respect, Liberal Protestantism acknowledged its debt to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century PIETISM.

3. freedom and Toleration

Perhaps one of the most fundamental characteristics of Liberal Protestantism was its insistence on freedom from all external authority in matters of thought, conscience, and religion. This freedom was grounded in the Reformation's claim to a universal priesthood (see PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS) and to the ever-reforming nature of the church. Thus the Roman Catholic sense of infallible and unchanging dogma was replaced by a more fluid, Protestant sense of DOCTRINE, and this in turn contributed to a general sense of tolerance of doctrinal difference that pervaded Liberal Protestantism throughout its history (see TOLERATION). Moreover this tolerance tended to minimize within Liberal Protestantism the relative importance of denominational difference from what it had been for the sixteenth-century Reformation. For most liberals, denominational differences were important for locating one's perspective in one's history but were no longer grounds for mutual recrimination and lack of cooperation. In fact many Liberal Protestants saw themselves as thinking, speaking, and acting for all of Protestantism, not just their own denominational tradition within Protestantism.

4. Ethical Optimism and Social Idealism

The ethical optimism and social idealism of the late nineteenth century grew with and was nurtured by Liberal Protestantism. From the perspective of the twentieth century, this optimism looks perhaps naïve. Nevertheless, the relative peace in Europe, the rapid industrialization and growth of trade, the rising standard of living, the emerging democratic forms of government, and notions of the progressive evolution of culture fit well in that time with various liberal emphases on the infinite worth of humanity, the goodness of creation, and the benevolence of God for God's creation. Moreover the renewed appreciation within Liberal Protestantism of the social or corporate nature of the Christian life (as found, e.g., in Schleiermacher) combined with an ethical focus to the

character of Jesus' teaching concerning the coming Kingdom of God (as, e.g., in Ritschl and Harnack) raised the consciousness of the Protestant church's responsibility for the righting of social wrongs and for bringing the social structure itself in line with the ideal of the Kingdom of God on earth.

5. Essence of Christianity and the Centrality of Jesus

Finally, as a response to the emerging historical consciousness of modernity, Liberal Protestants sought to define the perduring essence of Christianity amid the contingencies of history and culture. LUDWIG FEUERBACH'S *Das Wesen des Christentums (The Essence of Christianity)* (1841) and, a half-century later, Harnack's *What Is Christianity?* (1900) both represent such influential attempts at removing the layers of husk to get at the essential kernel, in Harnack's phrase. What emerged from this quest was a focus on the life and teachings of Jesus and his significance as the founder of Christianity as distinct from the layers of interpretation placed on him by subsequent generations of his followers. The goal, consequently, was to recover the kernel of Jesus' life and teachings and then to use that kernel as the standard by which all the doctrines of the church are to be judged. As Harnack put it, the essence of Christianity is nothing else than Jesus Christ and his gospel.

Assessment and Legacy

Soon after World War I, Liberal Protestantism as a movement went into decline as the ethical optimism and social idealism of nineteenth-century Europe collapsed. Theologians such as Barth in Europe and Reinhold Niebuhr in the United States began to challenge the credibility of Liberal Protestantism. Liberalism, they argued, was too accommodating to the modern culture in which it lived, too willing to reduce its account of the essentials of Christianity to the values and ideologies of modern society, and thereby, it sacrificed the prophetic voice that characterized Protestantism during the Reformation. This CULTURAL PROTESTANTISM, as it became known by its detractors, ignored the ways in which the Christian faith, with its doctrines of sin and God's judgment of it, calls into question the values of an age and any moral confidence humans might find in notions of social progress.

Whether these criticisms have merit, Liberal Protestantism has continued to decline as the basic assumptions of modernity have eroded. With the advent of POSTMODERNITY, very few theologians would wish to describe themselves as Liberal Protestants, at least not in the way that Harnack would have done a century earlier. Liberal talk about universal "religious experience," its concern for the rights of critical reason, and its belief in human civilization as itself an expression of the divine purpose have all come under attack as modernity itself has been criticized.

If this is so, then is Liberal Protestantism dead? Perhaps one could suggest that whereas Liberal Protestantism as an identifiable theological movement is dead (or at best on its last breath), its liberal spirit in theology still remains. It points to the fact that theologians must be keenly aware of the difficulties of adhering to the thought forms and language of traditional Christian belief within their particular times, cultures, and

conceptualities. What theologians say—liberal or otherwise—will inevitably be influenced by the assumptions of their day. What matters, however, is how they are taken up within theology, whether this is done reflectively and critically, with attention to possible losses as well as gains. The legacy of Liberal Protestantism thus might be its recognition that this difficulty must be faced if Christianity itself is finally to survive.

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JEFFREY HENSLEY

LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Liberation theology is often seen primarily as a Roman Catholic phenomenon, pioneered by Latin Americans in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This view has popularized two fundamental and pervasive misunderstandings of liberation theology, one historical and the other theological. Viewing liberation theology from a broader perspective that gives attention to Protestant contributions will therefore lead to a more appropriate understanding of the phenomenon.

From a historical perspective various liberation theologies emerged at the same time and independently of each other. Even the term *liberation* was used initially without

direct connection. One of the very first articles that made use of the term “liberation theology” in the UNITED STATES was authored in 1970 by Frederick Herzog, a white Protestant North American theologian whose work took shape initially in the context of the social tensions of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, focusing on political and economic forms of oppression. African American liberation theology, resisting oppression along the lines of race, was in the making at the same time. JAMES HAL CONE, an African American Protestant theologian in the United States, hit upon the notion of liberation in his own context and began to use the term in his publications. A book on liberation theology by Rosemary Radford Ruether, written in the United States from a feminist Roman Catholic perspective and adding more sustained attention to resisting oppression along the lines of GENDER in addition to matters of race and class, followed only a short time later. The work of these theologians runs parallel to the work of the Latin American priest and Roman Catholic theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez, commonly acknowledged as the “father of liberation theology.” The different strands encountered each other only later, not without serious challenges and questions.

From a theological perspective it is important to realize that liberation theology did not develop out of one center, as a great idea or a unified theological school that made its way from the top down. Liberation theology developed in specific settings, independently but simultaneously, from the bottom up where theologians began to reflect on the suffering and hope of people in poverty, of ethnic minorities, of WOMEN, and others, in relation to traditional and newly developing images of God. Even though specific dates can be given, from a theological point of view there is not much use discussing who was “really first.” These theologies are not written as accomplishments of individual scholars but in close relation with severe suffering and pressure in many shapes and forms.

The View from the Underside

Modern theology since the ENLIGHTENMENT has generated a new openness for the context of theological reflection. Rather than thinking about God in Godself, modern THEOLOGY explores God in relation to humanity, to the world, and to history and the major events of the time. Liberation theologies differ from this approach in that they pay attention not only to the context as such but also to its underside, its dark side. How does God relate to the large part of humanity that is never noticed by those in power? How does God relate to the world that is exploited and subdued? How does God relate to the histories of the excluded, the histories of minorities, of women, and of people living in poverty? Rather than searching for the correspondences between God and the often rehearsed achievements of MODERNISM, an approach that has usually led to the sanctification of the status quo in one way or another, liberation theologies are concerned about the ruptures and breaks and the forms of SIN manifested in them. Without addressing how God differs from the powers that be and without addressing the reality of sin no real change will take place.

In LATIN AMERICA close encounters with the reality of widespread poverty and economic oppression have set the tone of the debate. Together with their Roman Catholic colleagues, Protestant liberation theologians like José Míguez Bonino came to realize already in the late 1960s and early 1970s that large systemic structures of injustice cannot

be corrected by well-meaning efforts of either CHARITY or economic development. Those larger structures that maintain and even enlarge the gap between rich and poor are part of a theological crisis because they separate us not only from our neighbors but also from God. More recently Latin American liberation theologians have developed these concerns further, going beyond the dependency between North and South and pointing out that much of humanity is simply excluded from the gains that the global markets have created for the rich.

In a completely different setting, African American theologians realized that, long after SLAVERY was abolished, their people were still not free. Even well-meaning efforts to become color-blind were no longer an option in a situation where oppression is tied to the color line. The renewed struggle against racism continues in different forms all the way into the present, involving increasingly closer attention to resources from African American culture, as for instance in the work of Dwight N. Hopkins. The various forms of racism are also perceived as a theological problem because, as Cone has pointed out, “Christianity is essentially a religion of liberation,” and “any message that is not related to the liberation of the poor in a society is not Christ’s message” (Cone 1986:vii).

Feminist theologians, understanding themselves as partners in liberation theology, have reminded us of the ongoing discrepancy between the place of men and women in church and society. Theology is in crisis, they found, because it has not paid attention to God’s walk with half of humanity. Well-meaning efforts of integrating women into the world created by men will not change this situation. One of the pioneers in the Protestant camp, Letty M. Russell, points out that for this reason feminist theologians take “the *via negativa* and describe the contradictions of our past and present social, political, economic, and ecclesial experiences.” Out of this awareness of contradiction, women “live out of a vision of God’s intention for a mended creation” (Russell 1987:18). Womanist and *mujerista* theologians—women writing from the perspective of African American and Hispanic communities—have subsequently refined the feminist analysis, adding the unsettling experience of close encounters with issues of race and class because minority women often suffer from various forms of oppression. Mirroring the demographic profile of those communities, Womanist theologians such as Delores Williams are generally Protestant and most *mujerista* theologians, such as Ada María Isasi-Díaz and Yolanda Tarango, are Roman Catholic.

More recently Hispanic theologians have zeroed in on issues of identity and CULTURE. In the United States, they point out, Hispanic Americans are often marginalized on grounds of different cultural practices and racial difference. The standard North American image of the melting pot leaves no room for appreciating difference. In response Hispanic Protestant theologians have stressed the validity of a diverse set of Hispanic experiences and cultures and have shown how these perspectives from the margins contribute to a broader understanding of Christianity, God, and the world, promoting community in diversity. “Reading the Bible in Spanish,” a phrase coined by Justo González, leads to a specific Protestant way of engaging life and transforming the powers that be.

African and Asian theologians, going beyond typically Western perspectives, have broadened the spectrum of liberation theologies further. Choan-Seng Song, for example, a Protestant theologian born in Taiwan who is writing and teaching both in the United States and in Asia, has argued that theology is not complete unless it includes an account

of God's Spirit at work in the long suppressed stories of darkness, suffering, and hope told by the people of Asia. Merely translating traditional concepts into new situations without paying attention to God's presence with the people will no longer do. The liberating power of God will become manifest when the barriers between the sacred and the profane are transcended from the underside of Asian life.

God and the Option for the Excluded

Liberation theologies maintain a deliberate option for people at the margins. Latin American liberation theologians, for instance, have made famous the idea of a "preferential option for the poor," an option that needs to be made not only by those who are not poor but also by the poor themselves. Yet this and other preferential options have frequently been misunderstood. First of all, what is their basis? What motivates theologians to go against the grain of church and society and opt for those that are commonly overlooked by the powers that be? Second, does a preferential option for people at the margins comply with our commonsense understanding of fairness? Does an option for people at the margins mean that liberation theologies have nothing to say for those who are not marginalized?

In response to the first set of questions it must be pointed out that all liberation theologians agree in their own ways that opting for the poor and excluded is closely related to the nature and work of God. Such options are not primarily based on political or ideological assumptions but on theological reflection. Here we are at the very heart of the various theologies of liberation. The point of departure of liberation theology is not primarily social ETHICS—a moral appeal not to forget those who are neglected—or general political or economic assumptions of the common good, but a new vision of God.

Few liberation theologians have made this clearer than Frederick Herzog. Emphasizing that liberation theology starts with God's own walk with humanity, Herzog prefers to talk about "theopraxis," "Christopraxis," and "Spiritpraxis," rather than "orthopraxis," a term frequently used by others to express the practical concern of liberation theology. In this way Herzog addresses a specific problem with North American Protestantism where—on grounds of modern notions of agency and the self—it is often assumed that people can and should pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. God's work with the marginalized everywhere provides a different model: walking with God and with each other, people are enabled to overcome self-centeredness, to build new relationships, and to develop resistance to the oppressive structures of empire.

From the Latin American perspective Gustavo Gutiérrez has emphasized over and over again that liberation theology starts with the specific forms of God's love and God's GRACE manifest throughout the BIBLE. The preferential option for the poor is a theocentric option, centered on the theological conviction that God is at work in the liberation of the "least of these." Jose Míguez Bonino and other Protestant Latin Americans, although putting more emphasis on human commitment and responsibility for liberation, would agree.

James Cone's statements are equally strong. He maintains that the "sole reason" for the existence of black theology is "to put into ordered speech the meaning of God's activity in the world, so that the community of the oppressed will recognize that its inner

thrust for liberation is not only *consistent with* the gospel but *is* the gospel of Jesus Christ” (Cone 1986:3). This close relation between God’s work and the lives of the oppressed is supported by the biblical paradigm of the Exodus where God becomes known as the God of the oppressed, a pattern that is broadened in the New Testament by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, which is taken to indicate God’s commitment to all oppressed people.

Letty Russell points feminists to God’s future action, which is already present in the action of God through the people of Israel and through Jesus Christ. In this vision the marginalized have a special place. Mary McClintock Fulkerson, a Protestant feminist theologian of the second generation, has argued for what she calls the “theo/acentric character” of feminist theology. Unlike modern theology, this theo/acentric emphasis is not interested in defending the existence of God. From a liberation perspective the question of the existence of God has always been of lesser interest than the question of who God is and what God is doing. The feminist experience of God, not unlike the experience of God in most liberation theologies, grows out of encounters with God in the tensions of life and in new encounters with God that include those who have been marginalized in society and church.

Womanist theologian Delores Williams describes the encounter with God in terms of the situation of black women who are facing “near-destruction situations.” God is not an abstract category or ultimate principle but the one who is with the people. God is simply the one who helps them “make a way out of what [they] thought was no way” (Williams 1993:108). The focus of womanist liberation theology is on God: unlike modern middle-class people, the persons who face “near-destruction situations” point away from themselves.

In agreement with other approaches to the theology of liberation, Hispanic theology maintains that the fundamental theological question is what God we affirm. Protestant Hispanic theology, strongly based on biblical images, affirms God’s concern for those in need in its own ways. Justo González points out that “Scripture does not say that God can be found equally wherever we please to look.” Hispanic theologians agree with other theologies of liberation that “ours is a God who, having known oppression, shares with the oppressed in their suffering” (González 1990:93, 95).

From the Asian perspective Choan-Seng Song levels the charge that mainline theology has virtually forgotten that “God is a God full of surprises.” All liberation theologies would agree on this point. Immersed in the Asian context Song and others have become aware that God is present in the midst of the struggles of the people, and that “theology begins with God’s heartache on account of the world.” Theology is distorted, therefore, when it tries to think about God in a vacuum or only in regard to God’s glory. God needs to be seen first of all in confrontation with “the darkness that poses as a real threat to the birth, growth, and fruition of life” (Song 1991:10, 56). The biblical image that is at the core of this vision is God’s creation of the world as victory over darkness.

One more perspective merits to be added here. Vine Deloria, writing from the perspective of Native American religions and thus from beyond the Protestant-Roman Catholic divide, worries that “religion has become a comfortable ethic and comforting aesthetic for Westerners.” On the basis of the Native American traditions Deloria argues that God is different: “God is red.” This God is in touch with the realities that mainline America has repressed—nature, trees, animals, and birds, and the “voices and places of

the land” (Deloria 1994:284, 292). Deloria’s vision adds an important impulse to the spectrum of liberation theologies because its focus extends beyond oppressed people to the land and the cosmos as a whole.

In light of this common focus on God in liberation theology, the problem with the second set of questions becomes clearer and thus the response can be brief. In the encounter with God and those who suffer, abstract notions of fairness will no longer do. God is not a machine that distributes goods and services according to predetermined input but establishes relationships with humanity. Even where humans hurt each other and push large groups of people into oblivion, God does not forget about those who get hurt.

God’s option for the poor, the marginalized, the hurt—the fact that God does not overlook those rendered invisible by the powers that be—does not mean that God does not care about the wealthy and the powerful—those who inflict pain often without being aware of it, although the relationship takes on different forms. God’s care—not unlike parental care—also includes a challenge to those who destroy others and therefore also themselves. Jesus’s own ways of acting as portrayed in all four Gospels mirror such challenges in many ways. In addition, because the powerful defy relationships with people who are different, their own relationship with God is easily distorted. In this situation a call to restore relationship with nonpersons might help to find a way back into a more productive communion with God as well. Liberation theology is thus a challenge for all of theology to examine whether it opens up the worth of other persons. Respect for God and respect for others are closely connected.

Context Is What Hurts

On the cover of one of his books, Choan-Seng Song is characterized as “the master of contextual theologies.” In similar fashion liberation theologies in general are often classified as “contextual theologies.” From here it is only a small step to collate liberation theologies with modern liberal theology and the attempt to adapt theological reflection to one’s own personal setting, centering theological reflection around the personal interests of various groups. In this perspective liberation theologies are seen as nothing more than an ever-expanding set of special interest theologies, at best relevant to specific groups of people, at worst just another outgrowth of postmodern pluralism and relativism. The language of “advocacy scholarship” has at times contributed to the confusion. Liberation theologies thus are seen as catering primarily to the interest of specific groups of different ethnic, gender, or class origins. This view gives permission for the rest of theology to go on with business as usual.

Yet this has not much to do with the dynamic that created the theologies of liberation. Their themes were developed not in relation to the special and private interests of self-contained groups but in relation to deep suffering and pain that, although most strongly felt at the margins and the peripheries, also affects the centers. The point is to understand the deep roots of the common predicament in which both the marginalized and those in power share, without neglecting the obvious differences. Liberation theologies in their own ways embody Paul’s well-known insight in I Corinthians 12:26 that if one member suffers, all suffer together. Unlike the various perspectives of privilege that feel they can

afford to tend to their own context, the view from the underside of suffering always reflects the whole body. Suffering can ultimately not be limited to one member only. Liberation theologies thus search for the best interest of all, seeking the liberation of both oppressors and oppressed by paying attention to where the pain is greatest. If this is seen, the rest of theology can no longer continue with business as usual. All of theology needs to join in listening to the common pain.

Liberation theologies are therefore not special interest theologies but address the common good from new angles, which now include the underside of his-tory and a new vision of God. In this perspective the context of theology is not what is immediately obvious or closest to home: Context is that which hurts (Rieger 1998b:129–130). In taking another look at the underside of history, liberation theologies start to notice certain aspects of reality that modern liberal theologies will never see. This does not mean that modern liberal theologies are completely unaware of suffering, pain, and structures of oppression, although they tend to see those structures as exceptions, anomalies, merely deviations from the normal course of things. Liberation theologies, on the other hand, understand that suffering, pain, and oppression are not merely accidental but point to a deeper truth about the dominant context itself. Conflicts and tensions do not appear out of nowhere but are produced by the powers that be, and as such point to their unconscious truth that must be constantly repressed to preserve the way things are (Rieger 1998a:75–88).

The true nature of the contextual reality of the underside is not immediately self-evident, surprisingly not even to those who live there. It takes some effort to cut through the covers and to understand. Gutiérrez has insisted with good reason that even the poor must make the option for the poor—many make the option to be rich. At the beginning of the twenty-first century liberation theologies need to add more layers to their current understanding of context in terms of the underside of history. What are the concerns of people on the underside now? What progress has been made in the last thirty years? What are the setbacks? What difference do globalization processes make? There is a certain degree of consensus among liberation theologians that economic challenges will have to be analyzed more closely in relation to all forms of oppression (see the essays in Rieger 1998b).

Here a curious reversal takes place that has not yet reached the level of consciousness of mainline theology. Despite claims to universality, the approaches developed in the centers of theology shape up as special interest theologies if they pay no attention to the deeper malaise that affects us all, oppressors and oppressed alike. We need to realize that, rather than addressing the special interests of one group only, the suffering of people at the margins points to an important part of reality in which, even though often repressed and made invisible, we all participate. Liberation theology is therefore not special interest theology but poses a challenge to all of theology.

Implications

At this point the process of theological reflection changes profoundly. Theology as a whole benefits from listening more closely to voices on the under side. Theology is freed from its long-term captivity to the context of the modern middle class and from

traditionalist appeals to the biblical and traditional texts of the church that forget precisely about the suffering and pain of people on the underside. Liberation theologies serve as a reminder that theology cannot escape the pervasive narcissism of the modern and postmodern worlds without developing genuine respect for God, a project inextricably tied up with developing genuine respect for other persons as well.

Theology indeed begins with the relationship of God, humanity, and the world, as modern theology knows so well, although this relationship needs to be broadened so as to include those who are left out, those who fall through the cracks in a world that prides itself on moving closer together in global connectedness. Liberation theologies thus serve as an invitation to search for new encounters with God in places where theologians and church people hardly bother to look. At a time when theology is becoming more and more a matter of life and death—the poor become poorer, the rich become richer, and over 30,000 children are dying every day from preventable causes—new relationships with God and with humanity need to be built, from the bottom up. Where is God? This question will make a difference only if it no longer avoids the reality of dying children.

See also African Theology; Asian Theology; Black Theology; Ethnicity; Feminist Theology; Liberal Protestantism; Modernism; Native Americans; Political Theology; Postmodernity; Slavery, Abolition of; Womanist Theology

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JOERG RIEGER

LIBERIA

The predominance of Protestant denominations and the influence of the United States are characteristics of Christianity in Liberia. In the early nineteenth century, white Americans, concerned about the presence of free African Americans, formed a society to encourage African Americans to emigrate from the United States to a colony in West Africa. The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States (later known as the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY or ACS) was founded in 1816. The ACS was controversial because its members included both abolitionists and supporters of slavery who wished to rid the United States of free blacks (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

Many African Americans opposed the ACS because of its conservative stance on slavery and civil rights for freed people. However, some immigrants were motivated by a desire to return to AFRICA and escape racial oppression in the United States. Others believed that they were enacting God's plan for converting Africans to Christianity. According to a providential reading of history, God had allowed Africans to be enslaved and taken to the United States so that they could be converted to Christianity. The descendants of these Africans had the responsibility of bringing Christianity and Western civilization to their African brothers and sisters.

The first group of settlers arrived in Liberia in 1822. The settlers formed the independent republic of Liberia in 1847. From 1822 to 1866 approximately 12,000 people emigrated from the United States to Liberia. These immigrants included freeborn people, former slaves, and people who were freed by their masters only for the purpose of emigration. A steady stream of African Americans continued to immigrate to Liberia throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. These settlers formed the core of the ruling Americo-Liberian society.

Africans freed from slave ships also contributed to Liberia's population. In 1819 the United States Congress passed a law to resettle in Liberia Africans who were recaptured by the U.S. Navy from slave ships. Many of the recaptives, popularly known in Liberia as "Congoes," eventually assimilated into Americo-Liberian society.

The settlers brought with them their Protestant denominations, including the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (AME), the Baptist (see BAPTISTS), and Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM) Churches. Organizations associated with these churches, such as mutual aid societies, fraternal organizations, and charities, became

important parts of the Americo-Liberian culture. Many Americo-Liberians used Christianity and “civilization” as markers to distinguish themselves from the majority of indigenous Liberians.

Several of the prominent black clergy and intellectuals of the nineteenth century became associated with Liberia and considered the state an important symbol of black NATIONALISM. Reverends Daniel Coker of the AME Church and LOTT CAREY of the Baptist Church were among the first group of settlers. Both ALEXANDER CRUMMELL and Edward Wilmot Blyden worked in Liberia for several years.

Missions in Liberia

Despite the importance of Christianity in their lives, few Americo-Liberians worked as missionaries among indigenous Liberians. United States-based missionaries took up this task. Liberia was overwhelmingly a field for Protestant missionary work; the Roman Catholic Church did not establish a permanent mission until 1906 (see MISSIONS; MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). By the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries from the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Lutheran churches worked in Liberia. Many African American denominations, such as the AME Church, the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL Zion Church, and the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, also sent missionaries to Liberia. Missions provided schools and hospitals for indigenous Africans and promulgated new forms of economic, gender, and social relations among the converts.

Relations between the Americo-Liberians and the indigenous Africans were often uneasy. The Americo-Liberian government assumed the relationship of a colonizer to the indigenous Africans. Despite the significant division between Americo-Liberian society and the indigenous people, the groups interacted and shaped each other. Americo-Liberian families took in indigenous foster children as apprentices, and some Americo-Liberian men had indigenous wives and children in “the country.” As Mary Moran has demonstrated, many indigenous Liberians adopted the idea of being “civilized,” that is, being Western-educated and Christian.

Many Liberians became involved in the independent church movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. WILLIAM WADÉ HARRIS, an indigenous, mission-educated Liberian, was an important evangelist in West Africa. While Harris was imprisoned for opposing Americo-Liberian rule, he received a vision that compelled him to preach the word of God. He encouraged his listeners to abandon their traditional religions, be baptized, and become active Christians. Harris was active in Côte d’Ivoire and the Gold Coast. After French officials expelled him from Côte d’Ivoire in 1915, he continued to preach in Liberia and SIERRA LEONE.

Throughout the period of Americo-Liberian political dominance, which lasted until 1980, the Protestant churches’ ministers and institutions largely supported the social order. Many of the ruling elite were leaders within their churches. For example, President William R. Tolbert Jr., who ruled from 1971 to 1980, was also the president of the Liberia Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention.

By the twentieth century, many of Liberia’s churches were self-supporting. However, a steady flow of missionaries, largely from the United States, continued to flow into

Liberia. In addition to missionaries from mainline churches, missionaries from evangelical churches also worked in Liberia. The missions established radio stations, schools, hospitals, and other social services in the country.

The military coup, which brought Samuel Doe to power in 1980, broke the close relationship between the Protestant churches and the ruling institutions. Paul Gifford has noted that many of Liberia's Protestant churches, unlike churches in other parts of Africa, criticized neither the unequal social order before the coup nor the wide-scale abuse of human rights during Doe's regime. During the 1980s the number of Liberians espousing Christianity and the number of missionaries increased dramatically. Many of the missionaries preached a form of FUNDAMENTALISM and used technology such as video broadcasts to spread their teachings (see PUBLISHING MEDIA).

From 1989 to 1997 a brutal civil war engulfed Liberia. Charles Taylor, a guerilla fighter during the war, became president in 1997. Some preachers interpreted the chaos of the war as a sign that Liberians had to choose between the forces of God and Satan. Other Liberians turned to Christianity as a source of healing and rebirth after the ravages of warfare.

See also African American Protestantism

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MODUPE G.LABODE

LIDDON, HENRY PARRY (1829–1890)

English theologian. Born in Hampshire on August 20, 1829, Liddon greatly influenced nineteenth-century Protestant life and thought. At seventeen, he attended Christ Church, Oxford, returning there in 1859 as vice-president of St. Edmund Hall after having been forced by the bishop of Oxford, SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, to resign as vice-principal of Cuddesdon because of his Romish practices. Anglican ordinands at Cuddesdon were being trained to confront theological Liberalism, so-called Germanism or NEOLOGY. Liddon influenced undergraduate religious life at Oxford with his New Testament

lectures, Sunday evenings “tea-and-toast-and-testament” soirées that attracted devotees, including the Victorian Jesuit poet, Gerard Manley Hopkins. Liddon challenged the growing liberalism centered at Balliol under BENJAMIN JOWETT. His Anglo-Catholic influence—“Liddonism”—was unrivaled. Students crowded St. Mary’s to hear Liddon’s Bampton lectures, along with his inspiring sermons published in *Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford* (1864) and *Some Elements of Religion* (1872).

Neglecting a literary career, Liddon devoted himself to teaching, pastoral care, and church life. His notable publication is *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (1867), eight Bampton lectures defending the divinity of Christ under assault from Renan, DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS, and Seeley. A distinguished theologian he assailed *Essays and Reviews* (1860) and *Lux Mundi* (1889), which questioned the CHRISTOLOGY and historicity of the Old Testament. Liddon’s abiding interest in the Anglican priesthood occasioned *The Priest in His Inner Life* (1856), and his Assize Sermon of 1869 refuted Disraeli’s move to legislate ritualism. An EDWARD PUSEY protégé, Liddon chronicled the *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (1893–1894), celebrated leader of the OXFORD MOVEMENT, canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Liddon helped to found Keble College, named for JOHN KEBLE, in 1870 and Pusey House in 1884, institutions he saw as fundamental to maintaining Oxford’s historical ties to ANGLICANISM. He was elected three times to the hebdomadal board, Oxford’s governing body.

Liddon was appointed canon of St. Paul’s (1870–1890), where he reformed the role of the minor canon, supervised the construction of the largest crucifix in an Anglican church, rejected modern settings of old HYMNS, and excluded female choir members (he also opposed WOMEN matriculating to Oxford). Under Liddon’s leadership, St. Paul’s became synonymous with high churchmanship. He was also named Dean Ireland Professor of Exegesis at Oxford (1870–1882). In “The Place of the Senses in Religion,” a sermon preached at St. Paul’s in April 1882, three days after the death of Charles Darwin and published as “The Recovery of St. Thomas, with a Prefatory Note on the Late Mr. Darwin,” Liddon wanted to accommodate SCIENCE to Anglicanism, an accommodation manifesting a deep anxiety with rather than an acceptance of DARWINISM. An inveterate traveler, Liddon vacationed in SCOTLAND, ITALY, and the Continent; RUSSIA (accompanied in the latter by the mathematician turned novelist C.L. Dodgson, known as Lewis Carroll); Egypt and the Holy Land, copiously recording geography, architecture, and impressions of people and religious practice. Near the end of his career Liddon was denied a bishopric because his supporter and Tractarian sympathizer, prime minister W.E. Gladstone, presumed that he would not have received the support of the Queen. Liddon became ill in July, died on September 9, 1890, and was buried at St. Paul’s.

See also Germany; Liberal Protestantism; Theology

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JUDE V.NIXON

LIGHTFOOT, JOSEPH BARBER (1828–1889)

New testament scholar and bishop of Durham. Lightfoot was born at 84 Duke Street, Liverpool to an accountant father. The family moved to Birmingham where he was educated at King Edward's School with E.W. Benson, later archbishop of Canterbury, under the headmastership of James Prince Lee who taught the Greek New Testament. BROOKE FRANCIS WESTCOTT, another product of this school, became Lightfoot's tutor as an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1847.

Lightfoot taught at the UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE for many years as fellow, tutor, and professor. He became Hulsean professor of divinity in 1861 and Lady Margaret professor in 1875. His lectures on the Pauline epistles were so widely attended that the hall of Trinity College had to be used. He published commentaries on *Galatians* (1865), *Philippians* (1868), and *Colossians* and *Philemon* (1875). The first of these contained a celebrated essay on "The Christian Ministry" and its development in the early CHURCH. In company with Westcott and F.J.A.Hort he gave English New Testament scholarship a high international standing. His work on the postapostolic writings in *Clement of Rome* (1869, 1890) and *Ignatius* (1885, 1889) caused the prevailing theories of the Tübingen school of New Testament scholarship to be revised, and he also established the authenticity of all of the Ignatian letters previously questioned. In 1879 he was appointed bishop of Durham.

Lightfoot showed himself to be practically effective as a bishop, securing the division of his very large diocese in 1882 to make it more manageable, and raising large sums of money for church building and the development of parsonages and church halls. He encouraged the use of lay ministries and evangelists of the Church Army. He strengthened the ordained ministry in the diocese by using Auckland Castle, the bishop's residence, to train a number of men for ordination at his own charge. He was a supporter of the entry of WOMEN into HIGHER EDUCATION and into the church's ministry. A portrait by Richmond hangs in Auckland Castle where he is buried in the chapel.

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TIMOTHY E. YATES

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM (1809–1865)

United States president. Lincoln was born near Hodgenville, Kentucky, the son of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, who were farmers. Lincoln's parents were members of the ultrapredestinarian Separate Baptist Churches. From them the young Lincoln picked up a strong sense of the absolute divine control of all human events, as well as a suspicion of formal religious institutions. His increasingly distant relations with his father helped alienate him even from the Separates, and when Lincoln settled in New Salem, Illinois, in 1832 as a clerk and farm laborer, his reading of Thomas Paine, Volney, and other ENLIGHTENMENT critics of Christianity gave him a reputation as an "infidel." In 1837, after a period of self-study, he began practicing law in Springfield, Illinois, where his friends recalled that he "was Enthusiastic in his infidelity." He married Mary Todd in 1842, but neither of them developed a strong religious identity.

After the death of his second son, Edward, in 1850, and his father in 1851, Lincoln showed a noticeable softening in his criticism of Christianity. Partly because of political calculation and partly because of being genuinely "perplexed and unsettled on the fundamentals of religion," Lincoln became willing to acknowledge "a simple faith in God," and the Lincoln family rented a pew in Springfield's First Presbyterian Church (although Lincoln himself was infrequent in attendance). He remained, however, convinced of "the doctrine of necessity" and described himself as a "fatalist" who believed more in the mechanistic necessity of all events rather than divine ordination of them.

His election as the sixteenth president of the United States in 1860 and the outbreak of the American CIVIL WAR in 1861 at first brought little change in this. By 1862,

however, the frustrating course of the war forced Lincoln to deeper speculation on the personality of God and God's intervention in human affairs. Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862 was prompted in part by a conviction that God had deliberately prevented the war from coming to a quick conclusion so that Lincoln, as president, would have to confront the need for abolishing SLAVERY. Lincoln's last great speech, delivered at his inauguration to a second term as president in March 1865, stressed in eloquent terms the inscrutability of God's purposes and the need for personal humility and mutual charity on the part of humankind in discerning those purposes at the close of the war. He was assassinated in Washington, D.C., by John Wilkes Booth, one week after the surrender of the major rebel army, on April 15, 1865.

Lincoln represents a blending of the skepticism of the late Enlightenment, the predestinarian sensibility of radical sectarian Protestantism, and an ethical uprightness that survived the washing away of its Protestant theological substance. Like many other Protestant Victorian doubters, he could not believe, but could not be comfortable in his unbelief. Although never a member of a church, his public utterances are informed by greater depths of religious speculation than any other American president. As a Republican, he broke with the refusal of Democratic presidents to give public sanction to religious practices by issuing calls for public PRAYER and thanksgiving and dramatically expanding the United States military CHAPLAINCY during the Civil War.

See also Baptists; Slavery, Abolition of

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ALLEN C. GUELZO

LITERATURE

In several ways Protestantism is responsible for the rise of vernacular literature. First, Protestants are people of the book in ways that Catholics are not. That is, the BIBLE is the centerpiece of the Protestant faith, and Protestantism encourages both individual and communal readings of biblical stories. Second, the REFORMATION was accompanied by a rise in literacy in Europe. As indicated by its very etymological roots, literature is possible only when people are literate. Although numerous oral tales, legends, and poems

circulated before the Middle Ages, individuals depended on poets and storytellers to tell these stories in various gatherings. In addition, the number of extant texts of these stories, such as *Beowulf* (eighth century) and the “Dream of the Rood” (date unknown), was small so that access to the written texts would have been limited. Third, the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century made it possible for a greater number of texts to be disseminated to the population at large. Simply put, the printing press gave rise to a reading public. Fourth, by the time of the Protestant Reformation, literary texts—foremost among them the Bible—began to be translated in vernacular language. Now, for the first time in history, individuals in GERMANY or FRANCE could read their own copies of the Bible in a language they could understand rather than having the Bible read to them in a language they no longer understood. Thus, not only did the Protestant Reformation revolutionize the religious landscape of Europe but it also gave birth to literature.

To be sure, many of the poems, plays, and tales that circulated before the late sixteenth century had religious themes and some even arose explicitly out of a church setting. Poems such as the “Dream of the Rood” represent the early Middle Ages’ fascination with the heroes of pagan religions. At the same time, the poem places Christ and Moses in the guise of these heroes. In Caedmon’s “Hymn” (657–680) the poet, most likely a lay worker in a monastery, depicts God as his prince whom he obeys. In the “Hymn” Caedmon also depicts a pilgrim, St. Helena, who journeys to the Holy Land in search of the true cross. The motif of the search for Christ’s true cross will also dominate Middle English literature and will find its most famous expression in Sir Thomas Malory’s *Morte D’Arthur* (1405–1471), the retelling of the King Arthur legend of the search for the Holy Grail, or the cup of Christ. In addition the poet who wrote *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1375–1400) also produced one of the finest early religious poems in *Pearl*, an eloquent elegy for a child that probes the differences between HEAVEN and earth. “The Vision of Piers Plowman” by William Langland (1330–1387) introduces the method of allegory in dealing with the themes of sinfulness—“The Confession of Envy,” “The Confession of Gluttony”—and pilgrimage, “Piers Plowman Shows the Way to Saint Truth.”

As the dominance of the church began to be challenged in the late Middle Ages, a religious literature flourished that enabled the populace to interpret the mysteries of their religion in their own way. Whereas the church retold the death and resurrection of Christ in its annual Passion Plays, the LAITY developed cycles of mystery plays that they would perform every year around the times of the festivals of Whitsuntide or Corpus Christi, both of which came seven to eight Sundays after Easter. These plays—the most famous of which are the Wakefield Cycle and the Chester Cycle—emphasized the mystery of Christ’s redemption of humankind. Because this redemption had been prophesied in the events of the Old Testament, the action of such plays moved in a cycle from the Creation and the Fall of Humankind to the Flood and to New Testament events such as the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. Rather than being performed in churches, these play cycles were performed in streets, and various trade unions or religious guilds often performed one of the plays in the cycle as the cycle moved from one town to the other. The mystery play cycles indicate the desire of the laity to move away from the dominance of the church and to begin to interpret these religious mysteries in their own way.

The most famous collection of religious tales of the fourteenth century is Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1386–1400). The setting for the telling of the tales is a pilgrimage to CANTERBURY. Although Chaucer completed only twenty-two of the projected 120 tales, the tellers represent a wide spectrum of society from the elite to the poor. The pilgrimage seems merely an excuse to tell these tales, and the trip turns into a carnival in which these pilgrims' world is turned upside down. During this trip they have the opportunity to be their own religious authorities and to question the ways of the church. *The Canterbury Tales* was one of the most popular poems of its time, and more extant manuscripts of Chaucer's poem exist than of any other poem of the time. Chaucer's creation of a vernacular poem that questions much of the church's teachings indicated how deeply the church's AUTHORITY was eroding and how strongly the laity wanted to have their own authority for reading and understanding religious ideas.

Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) had already paved the way for Chaucer, however, in the early fourteenth century in ITALY. The Italian poet's *Divine Comedy* (1308) followed the pilgrimage of Dante the pilgrim from the depths of Hell to the pinnacles of Paradise. He wrote his poem in Italian in rhyming couplets so that his audience would have access to his religious and political message. Although Dante himself was exiled for his work, the *Divine Comedy* received an enormous popular response. The poem was recited in taverns and public rooms by ordinary Italians, who were no doubt eager to learn the fate of various members of the church and certain political parties whom Dante had placed in various circles of Hell. Although Dante's poem takes its structure from the theology of Thomas Aquinas, his *commedia* functions essentially as a political commentary on his society and the church.

The Sixteenth Century

In 1517 MARTIN LUTHER drafted his ninety-five theses in Wittenberg. Seventeen years later in England HENRY VIII had established himself as the head of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and as the primary religious authority in that country. By 1603 King James I had commissioned a new translation of the Bible to replace the standard Catholic translation of the Bible. In the sixteenth century the religious tide had begun to turn, and the monolithic authority of the Catholic Church began to crumble as Protestantism slowly made its way through Europe. In addition the sixteenth century continued the era of great exploration that had begun with Columbus in the late fifteenth century. By the time of Shakespeare's late plays in 1611, Spain, FRANCE, and ENGLAND had begun to colonize the New World. The sixteenth century also witnessed the flowering of Renaissance, a rebirth of letters and arts focusing primarily on the recovery of ancient Greek and Latin texts. Renaissance values focused on the dignity of human life and the value of earthly society. The art of Botticelli, Michelangelo, and da Vinci emphasized the beauty of the human body, as Greek art had done, as well as the potential of humankind to discover the secrets of the universe and God. SCIENCE and philosophy flourished in the Renaissance, and the literature of the age, influenced by the Reformation, focused on topics ranging from politics to education.

Christian humanists of the sixteenth century focused on EDUCATION and classical learning. Whereas they emphasized writing in Latin and translation into English, these

writers and teachers also used Terence's plays, Virgil's and Horace's poems, and Cicero's rhetoric to teach philosophical and moral truth. Some of these teachers—chief among them Roger Ascham (1515–1568), who was PRINCESS Elizabeth's tutor, and Sir John Cheke (1514–1557)—taught at Cambridge and influenced writers from Edmund Spenser to JOHN MILTON. The emphasis on vernacular languages that arose with the Reformation and the reverence for Latin and Greek classics gave rise to eloquent translations during this period. The most famous are George Chapman's translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which John Keats would later immortalize in his sonnet, "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer." In addition to producing these distinguished translations, these humanists also produced the first treatises of literary criticism since Aristotle, Horace, and Longinus. Philip Sidney's (1554–1586) "The Defence of Poesie" offers a powerful apologia for the beauty and utility of poetry.

Trained at Cambridge, Edmund Spenser (1552–1599) produced the greatest poem of the sixteenth century, *The Faerie Queene*. Like much other poetry of the time, Spenser's poem celebrates the sensuous beauty of NATURE and the glorious splendor of the physical world. Yet, the poem is also virulently anti-Catholic, and depicts the Roman Catholic Church as a villain in the poem (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). *The Faerie Queene* functions as a moral guidebook for its readers. An allegorical tale of quest and discovery, each of the poem's six books teaches the reader the way to learn a particular Christian virtue: holiness, temperance, chastity, friendship, justice, and courtesy.

Drama also takes center stage in the sixteenth century. Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) retells the well-known story of a doctor who sells his soul to the devil to possess more knowledge in "The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus." Marlowe's tale of good and evil offered theatergoers a dramatic portrait that transcended the mystery play cycles of an earlier era. Faustus told a cautionary tale about the consequences of pride in everyday life, and although his play drew on the church's teachings, it did not have to reenact them explicitly to teach its message.

The greatest poet and playwright of the sixteenth century was William Shakespeare (1564–1616). He was a master of the English language, and his plays, along with the King James Version of the Bible, introduced more new words into the English vocabulary than had ever been present in the language before or since. His plays have been divided into the categories of histories, comedies, and tragedies. Shakespeare was primarily concerned in many of his plays not with religion but with politics. In the histories he offers a dramatic retelling of British history by focusing on the lives of the kings. The comedies, such as a *Midsummer Night's Dream*, provide a sly retelling of ancient stories in a modern setting. Like Spenser, Shakespeare glorifies nature in many of his comedies, and in both his comedies and his sonnets he is a poet of love. In the tragedies Shakespeare turns his attention to the shortcomings of human nature and the consequences of human pride, ambition, and hatred. Although not a religious play, Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1604–1605) offers one of the greatest in-depth examinations of the power of redemptive love as it overcomes hatred born of pride and overweening ambition.

The other great literary achievement of the sixteenth century was the King James Bible (see BIBLE, KING JAMES VERSION). This version of the Bible used the original Greek and Hebrew of the Old and New Testaments to produce a more reliable and

accessible translation than previous English translations. The Bible's stylistic and linguistic influence can be traced from Milton to twentieth-century poets such as Randall Jarrell and James Dickey. The historical and literary achievements of the sixteenth century opened the way for the enormous flowering of literature that occurred in later centuries in the Protestant era.

The Seventeenth Century

If England changed rapidly during the sixteenth century, the pace of change increased from the ascension of James I in 1603 to the CIVIL WAR of 1642 to the Restoration of political order in 1660. During these years, increasing religious conflict between Anglicans and Puritans drove many Puritans to seek refuge in the New World. John Winthrop and others had visions of the New World as a new Jerusalem, a "city set upon a hill," which would enable them to begin a new life in a new holy place. Two issues dominated the world during the seventeenth century. One focused on how far the reformation of the church should extend. For most people the extent to which this reform was carried out was almost limitless. Another issue focused on the limits and authority of government. As the monarchy and the Parliament debated about their respective realms of authority, more and more of the populace supported the version of representative government that Parliament offered. In their eyes the monarchy should have no authority independent of the Parliament. Just as the seventeenth century stressed diversity and TOLERATION in religious matters, a tremendous diversity of literature appeared during this century.

Ben Jonson (1572–1637) continued the dramatic tradition begun by Marlowe and Shakespeare. Many scholars still contend that Jonson had a hand in writing some of Shakespeare's plays. Chiefly Jonson's plays, or masques, are political satires and have little to do with religion. Jonson was also a poet who is commonly associated with a group of poets—known as the Cavalier Poets—that included Robert Herrick (1591–1674) and Richard Crashaw (1613–1649). The theme of these poets' works is often expressed in a line taken from Herrick's "To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time": *Carpe diem!* "Seize the day!"

Another group of poets commonly called the Metaphysical Poets examined religion and religious themes in their works. JOHN DONNE (1572–1631) and GEORGE HERBERT (1593–1633) are the most famous of this group. In his early career Donne wrote satirical poems on topics ranging from MARRIAGE to sex. In 1615 Donne became an Anglican priest and the subjects of his poetry changed dramatically. He produced a series of Holy Sonnets in which he announces his total devotion to God and declares his repentance. However, even in his religious poems Donne retains some of his sensuous imagery. In the holy sonnet 14, Donne uses the sexual imagery of ravishing to describe his request to God to take over his heart and soul completely. George Herbert's poetry, unlike Donne's, captures the mystery of the church's LITURGY and DOCTRINE in the form of the poetry as well as in its content. In his book of poetry, *The Temple* (1633), Herbert conducts the reader on a tour of a church in poems like "The Altar" and "The Windows." The physical temple becomes the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit in poems such as "Discipline" and "Denial." Herbert emphasizes the topic of his poems by

structuring the poem itself in the shape of the object of study. Thus in “The Altar” the poem’s words are shaped like a church ALTAR. Herbert’s poetry had its greatest influence on the American Puritan poet Edward Taylor (1642–1729), whose poems are his preparations for taking Holy Communion.

The Metaphysical Poets’ concern with religion and religious themes culminates in the magisterial combination of classical and Christian learning found in the poetry of John Milton (1608–1674). Milton found himself embroiled in the politics of the Civil War in the mid-seventeenth century, and his many poems and pamphlets offer a glimpse of the tremendous diversity of his writing. He produced a treatise on the relationship of CHURCH AND STATE, *Areopagitica*, that took its name from the hill in Rome where Paul of Tarsus argued for the virtues of Christianity against the power of the state. His sonnets, at least one of which was addressed to OLIVER CROMWELL, range over political topics and meditations on his blindness. His tract on DIVORCE illustrated his struggles with his own marriage, and the poems on sadness (“Il Penseroso”) and happiness (“L’Allegro”) offer his ruminations on human nature. Out of his great range of writing, Milton wrote the greatest Christian epic poem of all time, *Paradise Lost* (1674). In the poem Milton retells the biblical story of the Fall of Humankind. Adam and Eve struggle with God’s command not to eat from the tree of knowledge. In Milton’s poem Satan is depicted as one of God’s angels who is ousted from Heaven in a great battle. Satan realizes that God loves Adam more than Satan, so Satan forms a plan to invade Eden and trick the first humans. *Paradise Lost* presents Satan as an attractive creature whom humans cannot help but follow in their misguided state. Milton’s epic poem introduced the idea into THEOLOGY that Satan fell from heaven, a view that many Protestants attribute to a mistranslation of Isaiah 14:12 in the King James Bible.

JOHN BUNYAN’S (1628–1688) THE PILGRIM’S PROGRESS combines the pilgrimage theme of Dante’s *The Divine Comedy* and the allegory of Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* to depict the journey of a soul (Pilgrim) struggling to reach the Celestial City (Heaven). As with any quest narrative, Pilgrim must overcome great obstacles on his journey. The difference between a standard quest narrative and Bunyan’s work is that the obstacles arise out of Pilgrim’s own sinfulness and that God providentially directs Pilgrim’s journey. Bunyan’s work expresses the Protestant notion of the responsibility of every human for sinfulness and the inability of our works to save us from despair. Only God’s providence and our faith in God, in Bunyan’s little morality tale, can lead us to the Celestial City.

In the New World, literature was beginning to take shape in the seventeenth century. Although much of the colonists’ reading came from England, new voices rose in the colonies that expressed the religious sentiments of the colonists as well as the frustrations and challenges of this new geographical setting. The poets ANNE BRADSTREET (1612–1672) and Edward Taylor carried forth much of the work of the Metaphysical Poets in their own work, although Taylor’s work was not discovered and published until the twentieth century and Bradstreet was reluctant to have her work published in her own lifetime. Bradstreet’s poems offer glimpses of a Puritan woman struggling to live her faith in a new setting and to express her faith through poems devoted to everyday events in her life. Taylor’s poems reflect the life of a minister striving to incorporate his faith into his professional life. Michael Wigglesworth’s (1631–1705) poem “The Day of Doom” casts an apocalyptic glance at the souls of New England who refuse to accept

Christ (see APOCALYPTICISM). Perhaps the most effective ways of transmitting faith in seventeenth-century New England were the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640) and *The New-England Primer* (1683). The Book of Psalms provided solace and comfort to colonists confronting the dangers and challenges of the New World. The *Primer*, on the other hand, offered a way of inculcating religion and morality in children as they learned the alphabet through various didactic tales about people who failed to follow the virtues of the Christian religion. The primer teaches religious lessons as the child learns each letter of the alphabet: “In *Adam’s* fall, We Sinned All.”

A literary genre peculiar to colonial America first appeared in 1682. The Indian captivity narrative presented stories of men and women who had been captured by local tribes of NATIVE AMERICANS but who had eventually been saved by God’s gracious providence. The most famous of these narratives is Mary Rowlandson’s “A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.” She tells the story of her captivity as a series of removes from her town. These removes are not only physical moves away from her family and friends but also signify her being removed from God. As she retells the story, the Indians are mostly vicious irreligious savages who have no hope of redemption. By the end of the tale God providentially restores her to her husband and her town, and she has a new view of God in light of her experience.

Another American writer, COTTON MATHER (1663–1728), a theologian and preacher, produced a theological history of New England, *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England*. Mather’s primary purpose was to indicate the ways in which God had delivered the Puritans to this new Christian kingdom and how this new experiment had worked.

Literature of all kinds flourished in the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century literature produced by Protestants was much less visible than it had been in the previous centuries.

The Eighteenth Century

Very little literature in the Protestant tradition remains from the eighteenth century. The eighteenth century in Europe and America was dominated by political and philosophical revolution. As in the Renaissance, the ENLIGHTENMENT emphasized classical learning and the poetry, drama, and fiction of this century modeled itself on the writings of the Greeks and Romans of antiquity. Because of the various political revolutions occurring in Europe and America, the pamphlet and the newspaper became major literary forms. The eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of the novel in English, and many still argue whether Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* or Henry Fielding’s *Tom Jones* was the first English novel. Apart from Defoe’s novel, though, the fiction of the eighteenth century transmitted genteel ideals and secular virtues in their pages. Although Samuel Richardson’s *Clarissa* involves the education of a young woman, her education is conducted not according to religious ideals but according to philosophical truths. In general the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of philosophy as a way of thinking about the world that did not include religion. Philosophy challenged religion on all fronts, and Protestant Christianity was especially challenged with some of the early lives of Jesus that questioned the historicity of Jesus (see JESUS, LIVES OF). In the eighteenth

century the world was changing for Protestant Christians, given that no longer was their impetus to reformation the most important idea on the Continent. The rights of persons, equality, liberty, and reason became paramount concerns in the eighteenth century. Reason, not revelation, became the primary way of talking about the human capacity to think about the world. Religion took a back seat to philosophy, a circumstance that would change literature for centuries to come.

The English literary scene was dominated by SAMUEL JOHNSON (1709–1784), the periodicalists Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729), the poet and critic Alexander Pope (1688–1744)—who remarked that the “proper study of mankind is man”—and novelist and social satirist JONATHAN SWIFT (1667–1745). The focus of these writers’ works was strictly literary and social; if religion ever came into the discussion, it was because someone wished to make fun of it.

In America, literature reflected much of what was happening in England. DEISM had taken hold both in America and in England, so the view that God’s providence ruled the world God created was being challenged by a view of God as a watchmaker who started the world going and was letting it wind down on its own. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) was the most vocal American proponent of this position, and Franklin wrote about his position in various works, including his *Autobiography*. There he developed a chart of virtues that he told himself he must follow every day. His dictum, “Imitate Socrates and Jesus,” indicated the influence of both rational and religious thought on his life.

Perhaps the most famous American Protestant writer of the eighteenth century was JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758). A pastor in Connecticut, Edwards participated in a number of AWAKENINGS around the Connecticut Valley in which he urged those who had fallen away from PURITANISM to return to their faith. His most famous sermon, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,” depicts sinful humankind dangling like a spider over the flames of hell. No human works can save us, Edwards writes, only God’s GRACE. Apart from Edwards’s sermons and his account of the Great Awakenings, little in the way of literature from a religious perspective exists in America in the eighteenth century.

The focus on rationalism of the eighteenth century gives way by the nineteenth century to a renewal of a focus on the workings of the supernatural in the natural world.

The Nineteenth Century

If the eighteenth century seemed devoid of any focus on religion, the nineteenth century brought religion back into cultural discussions. ROMANTICISM led the way in reintroducing the supernatural to the natural world. FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) contended that religion imbued all of CULTURE, and SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (1772–1834) argued that the human imagination replicated the act of God’s creation in this world. Moreover the natural world was imbued with God’s supernatural power, and God was revealed through the book of nature just as strongly as God was revealed through the Bible. By the end of the nineteenth century—in the period known as the Victorian Age—religion still functioned as a guide to human life and as an animating force in the natural world. However, the late nineteenth century witnessed more conflicts between religion and culture than in the Romantic Age, with poet Matthew

Arnold (1822–1888) declaring the end of religion and the replacement of religion with poetry. In fact, according to Arnold and others, the close of the nineteenth century will mean the end of Christianity, a prophecy that literature and religion in the twentieth century did not fulfill.

Foremost among the major writers of the early nineteenth century are Coleridge and WILLIAM WORDS-WORTH (1770–1850). Each in his own way rejected the artificial poetic style of the eighteenth century and tried to demonstrate that poetry reflected the organic whole that the natural world showed forth. The two poets agreed to work together to establish some principles for poetry, and Wordsworth announced his in his “Preface” to his *Lyrical Ballads*. Coleridge announced his principles in his critical work, *Biographia Literaria*. Wordsworth believed that the subject and language of poetry should be simple; thus he writes about rustic settings and simple people. For Wordsworth “poetry is the powerful overflow of spontaneous emotions.” Coleridge argued that the poet is like God, and that the imagination is the primary human faculty. Many of Coleridge’s poems deal with the supernatural. Each of these poets believed that nature was infused with the supernatural and poetry provided a way of gaining access to the supernatural. Coleridge more than Wordsworth participated in the work of organized religion and wrote a series of lay sermons on theological topics.

By the later part of the nineteenth century England had begun a series of changes once again. The Industrial Revolution had altered the economic landscape of the country and the gap between rich and poor had widened (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). The pastoral rural settings that the Romantics could talk about so freely were changing with the advent of the railroad and the cities were becoming choked with immigrants from the countryside. In 1859 Darwin’s theory of evolution challenged the religious view of creation and offered a new way for humans to think about themselves.

Into this setting came GEORGE ELIOT (1819–1880), an educated woman who had translated DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS’S biography of Jesus, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, and LUDWIG FEUERBACH’S *The Essence of Christianity*, both of which challenged traditional Protestant notions of biblical history and theology. Eliot’s novels captured an England that was changing and the effects of those changes on various classes of people. In *Scenes of Clerical Life* (1858), Eliot’s first novel, she struggles to preserve what she views is the best of Christian religion even as she searches for a religion that overcomes the Christian religion. In her finest novel, *Middlemarch* (1871–1872), Eliot presents a woman whose idealism finds no outlet in marriage to an idealistic man. As Dorothea Brooke searches to fulfill her own ideals in Mr. Causabon’s plan to gather all the world’s myths into one book, she realizes that she lacks the emotional fervor to sustain the marriage. When he dies she marries his cousin, Will Ladislaw, and is able to fulfill her ideals only through his work. At best, Eliot’s work offers an important critique of the role of Protestantism in the late nineteenth century.

The Twentieth Century and Beyond

What role has literature played in the development of Protestantism in the twentieth century and beyond? The century has witnessed some of the world’s greatest poets and novelists—James Joyce, Marcel Proust, Thomas Mann, William Faulkner, Ernest

Hemingway, F.Scott Fitzgerald, John Updike. The literature of the twentieth century has been developed against a backdrop of wars and suffering, political upheavals, religious uncertainty, and unprecedented scientific advances. Some of these novelists have used religion mainly as a target for their criticism. Others, like Updike, have depicted Protestant ministers and laypeople trying to come to terms with the inadequacies and the strengths of their religion.

One of the most interesting developments in the Protestant use of literature in the twentieth century has been the emergence of Christian fiction. Beginning in mid-century, a number of books by romance writer Grace Livingstone Hill were published. These genre novels contained simple situations involving people of the Protestant faith who were called on to make decisions about their faith. Generally, they were intended to be uplifting books that could inspire women, primarily, in their daily walks with God. By the latter part of the century, around 1980, some evangelical Protestant religious publishers began to publish fiction modeled after the novels of Hill. The novels were successful, and the publishers had found a new literary product to sell to their readers. The most famous of these Christian novelists is Janette Oke, a Canadian author who sold well over two million books between 1995 and 2003. For the most part, these Christian novels are didactic and depict situations in which one sinful character must find God. However, various genres of this fiction have been developed so that readers can choose from Christian romances, biblical fiction, apocalyptic fiction, mysteries, and thrillers. The evolution of this popular writing represents the most significant development in the Protestant use of literature in the twentieth century and beyond. The authors writing these novels are attempting to be faithful to the visions of Protestants of the Reformation who desired to present the message of the faith in a form accessible and understandable to individuals and communities.

See also Bible Translation; Literature, German; Publishing, Media;

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LITERATURE, GERMAN

The relationship of German literature to the Reformation begins with the spread of humanism, an influence found throughout Protestant literature from the beginning of the modern era to the present day.

Fourteenth-century Humanism was a fundamental precondition for the German REFORMATION. Humanism opposed the dogmatic views of church scholasticism and embraced ancient literature and philosophy (Plato, Cicero). Originating in Italy this movement is closely associated with such figures as Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Petrarch (1304–1374), and Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406). Humanism braced itself against the political disintegration of the northern Italian city-states and through its profound engagement with the literary achievements of ancient Rome fought the church's rigid scholasticism. With the decline and fall of the eastern Byzantine Empire in the first half of the fifteenth century, Byzantine scholars fled the newly established Ottoman state and turned to the West. They influenced the development of humanism and expanded its study of Greek literature. In GERMANY, where there existed a close relationship to ITALY during the Middle Ages, Humanist circles were more explicitly Christian in orientation than their Italian counterparts but also tended to be more anti-clerical. A number of authors contributed significantly to the growth of sixteenth-century humanism. Erasmus of Rotterdam (known after 1496 as Desiderius Erasmus; 1466–1536) wrote *Encomium moriae (In Praise of Folly)*, a satire directed against the scholasticism and worldly materialism of the church. He also published the first Greek edition of the New Testament (1516), which was the basis for MARTIN LUTHER'S translation of the BIBLE into German. Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), an opponent of the papacy after his stay in Rome between 1515 and 1517, wrote *Gespraech Buechlin Herr Ulrichs von Hutten* (Dialogue of Master Ulrich von Hutten, 1521), which denounced the CLERGY and outlined an anti-Roman reform program. Hutten also played an important role in the publication of *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of Obscure Men), an anonymous polemic that defended the humanist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) against the Dominicans of Cologne.

The movement of Renaissance humanism brought a surge of popular forms of literature, aided—as was the polemical literature of the Reformation—by the invention of movable type printing. Among these were books such as *Ein kurtzweilig Lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel geboren uss dem Land zu Brunswick* (The Interesting Story of Till Eulenspiegel, from the Regiae of Brunswick, 1515) by Hermann Bote (ca. 1465–1520), “a mirror of human stupidity” that depicted the lives of “ordinary people,” and the

anonymous *Historia von D.Johann Fausten: Dem weltbeschreyten Zauberer und Schwartzkünstler* (History of Dr. Johann Faust, the World-Famous Magician and Master of Black Art, 1587), a work that inspired JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE's *Faust*.

Beginnings

The Reformation initiated by Luther in 1517 contributed two decisive factors toward the development of German literature. The translation of the Bible (New Testament, also called the September Testament, September 1522, the complete translation—*Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Schrift, Deusch. D.Mart. Luth.*—1534) gradually spread the official language of the early High German-speaking area of Saxony and made it the standard for written and spoken German. Luther enriched the German language with new word constructions and phrases drawn from common speech. Moreover his German-language sermons and biblical exegesis were essential in overcoming long-standing regional language barriers. In addition to translating the Bible, Luther contributed to the first hymnbook of the Reformation, *Geystliches gesangk Büchlein* (Spiritual Song Book) by Johann Walter (1496–1570). This invigorated hymnody, derived its tunes often from folk music, and was also one of the century's most important achievements in poetry.

These achievements in language and literature had an indirect influence on Protestantism in that they facilitated the development of CULTURE in the homes of the Protestant clergy. No less than half of the great German cultural figures—that is, those included in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (published by the historical commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Leipzig, from 1875 to 1912)—were sons or daughters of Protestant ministers. Among them are important poets like Andreas Gryphius, Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, Jeremias Gotthelf, Gottfried August Bürger, and Gottfried Benn. The clerical profession afforded individuals the opportunity to rise socially and so had a way of attracting talented youth, and the atmosphere of learning and meditation fostered their talents. By the middle of the sixteenth century Protestantism had already had a decisive influence on German literature. Representative of this trend are Nikolaus Manuel (c. 1484–1530), who performed comic Shrovetide plays during the Swiss Reformation; Hans Sachs (1494–1576), the *Meistersinger* and dramatist from Nuremberg; and Jörg Wickram (ca. 1595-before 1562), a Protestant forced to leave his birthplace in the Catholic city of Colmar who published collections of farcical tales and anecdotes in addition to Swiss Shrovetide plays. The flourishing of such plays demonstrates that they were well received by the common people.

Gradually the Shrovetide plays turned into pedagogical theater. Sixtus Birck (1501–1554) wrote the first German-language plays in this literary genre. Paul Rebhuhn (c. 1505–1546), a school principal, performed pieces in classical verse form. The content eventually expanded, and historical elements were added to religious and moral themes. In 1579 Philipp Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590) performed *Frau Wendelgard: Ein new Comedi oder Spil, ausz glaub-würdigen Historien gezogen* (Lady Wendelgard: A New Comedy or Play, Drawn from Credible Historical Chronicles), a play that presented characters from the lower social classes. The development of social realism on the stage was furthered by Johannes Stricker (1540–1598) with the everyman drama *Die deutsche*

Schlömer (1584) and by Georg Rollenhagen (1542–1609) with the didactic epic *Froschmeuseler*, featuring animal characters, a play that was heavily indebted to the ancient *Betrachomyomachia* (c.500 B.C.E.). At the time of the COUNTER-REFORMATION in the mid-sixteenth century, pre-Baroque literature first appeared in court theaters, influenced by the Italian commedia dell'arte and the English theater troupes. The most celebrated author was Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1564–1613).

Narrative also shed the traditional style of the Middle Ages. *Das Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) (1494) was a satire of contemporary life and customs written in rhyming couplets by Sebastian Brant (1458–1521). Prose emerged as a narrative art form in the early sixteenth century. Johann Fischart (1546–1590) filled his novels, verse satires, and treatises with a Calvinist ethos, and his powerful prose made him the most popular writer of his day. His novel *Affenteurliche und ungeheurlche Geschichtschrift...* (1533) marks a further development in pre-Baroque literature.

Baroque

Associated with the image of literature that is disordered, free from style, and contrary to rules, the term “Baroque” has become the standard description of seventeenth-century literature. The attributes of the Baroque were first defined in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they reflected the tripartite division of Germany, where Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics were the three established forms of religion. A series of tensions characterize the Baroque style: the conflict between order and chaos, between lust for life and fear of DEATH, between affirmation of the world and nostalgia for the passing of time, and between a divine plan for human SALVATION and human sinfulness. The trauma of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), a religious and political war fought on German soil, thoroughly scarred seventeenth-century cultural life and contributed to the tension.

During the Reformation the hymn changed significantly. Luther had emphasized in his compositions the communal world of Christians, and so the Jesuit Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld (1591–1635) adopted in the hymn both the form of popular song and the emotionally intense natural spirit it contained. In the 1994 edition of the *Evangelische Gesangbuch*, the hymnal of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany, one can still find many of the hymns from his collection of songs *Trutznachtigal* (posthumously published in 1649), including the well-known *O Heiland, reiss die Himmel auf*. The most important composer of Protestant hymns in the seventeenth century was the Lutheran PAUL GERHARDT (1607–1676). He wrote hymns of devotion and prayer intended to be sung by the individual. His Passion *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* (Oh, Sacred Head, Now Wounded) can be found in both Catholic and Protestant hymnals. In other hymns, such as *Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud*, NATURE is portrayed as the creator’s picture book in which one can find the soul of Christ. The hymns and brilliantly formulated epigrams of the *Cherubinischer Wandersmann* (Cherubic Pilgrim) (1657/1674), written by the mystic Angelus Silesius (actual name, Johannes Scheffler, 1624–1677), who converted in 1635 to Catholicism, emphasized the relationship of the individual to God. Similarly the hymns of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689), a

minister's son who popularized Jewish mysticism in his Latin translation *Kabbala denudata* (*The Cabala Unveiled*, 1677/1678 and 1684), were also heavily influenced by the mystical literature of the age.

During this century lyricists concentrated on refining popular German language. Martin Opitz (after 1627 known as Opitz von Boberfeld, 1597–1639), who came from the Protestant middle class, introduced a poetic innovation with his *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (*The Manual of German Poetry*, 1624). It enabled poets to apply ancient verse forms to the German language. Instead of measuring meter by long and short stresses, he called for the counting of accented and unaccented syllables. The majority of poets were also scholars, and in the wake of Opitz's book many of them also published books on poetics. Among these were Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689), a son of a Lutheran minister, who published *Hochdeutscher Helikon oder Grund richtige Anleitung zur hochdeutschen Dicht- und Reimkunst* (1640); Johann Klaj (1616–1656), who published *Lobrede der Teutschen Poeterey* (1645); and Georg Philipp Harsdörfer (1607–1658), who published *Poetischer Trichter* (three volumes, 1647–1653). The impact of Opitz's poetics was also felt in the scholarly societies that set out to cultivate the German language by purifying it of foreign words and by establishing a standard orthography. In 1617 Ludwig Fürst von Anhalt-Köthen founded the first of these organizations, *Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (*The Fruitful Society*), also known as the *Palmenorden*. The most famous was *Löbliche Hirten- und Blumenorden an der Pegnitz*, founded by Harsdörfer and Klaj. They emphasized the cultivation of poetry in society over the standardization of the German language. The richness and diversity of lyric poetry from the Baroque period—by writers such as Friedrich von Logau (1604–1655), Simon Dach (1605–1659), Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664), and Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau (1617–1679)—usually confuse the reader of today, but closer examination reveals a lyric that follows strict poetic rules. The sonnet was refined, Alexandrine verse was modeled from Roman verse, and rhetorical forms of argument and ornamental phrasing were used. The epigram also achieved its first flourishing moment in German literature. The epigram had a deliberate and formal structure and usually pronounced at its climax a thoughtful, antithetically formulated conclusion. This poetic form stood in contrast to the period's inclination for contradictory formulations, found, for example, in the sonnet. A typical element in Baroque literature is the emblem, an art form constructed of both image and text that contains an (allegorical) image or icon, a title (lemma, motto, or inscription), and a caption (usually an epigram). It reveals a hidden meaning that often concerns a moral, religious, or erotic theme. Without an understanding of the emblem, one can hardly make sense of Baroque dramas and novels.

The most broad-ranging dramatist of the Baroque period was Andreas Gryphius, the son of a Protestant archdeacon. He wrote martyr plays such as *Catharina von Georgien* (1657), historical tragedies such as *Ermordete Majestät oder Carolus Stuardus König von Gross Britannien* (1657 and 1663) and *Grossmütiger Rechts—Gelehrter/Oder Sterbender Aemilius Paulus Papinianus* (1659), and comedies such as *Absurda Comica: Oder Herr Peter Squentz* (1658) and *Horribilicriifax: Teutsch* (1663). In Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century there were no permanently established theaters or theater ensembles as we know them today, and amateurs performed plays only on special occasions. English theater troupes came to Germany for the first time in the 1680s and began to popularize Shakespeare. They also brought the notion of the professional

theater. This development was useful to Gryphius, as were his studies and the experiences he gained from his numerous travels throughout Europe.

In the seventeenth century the novel underwent a distinct development. The history of the novel in Germany begins with the reception of foreign-language novels translated by Opitz, von Zesen, Harsdörfer, and Johann Michael Moscherosch (1601–1669). Among these works were *Amadisroman* (probably of Portuguese origin), *Daphnis und Chloë* by Longos (third century B.C.), *Satyricon* by Petronius (first century B.C.), and *Aithiopika* by Heliodorus (third century B.C.). In contrast to these earlier romantic novels, the courtly historical novel arose in Germany in the seventeenth century. The plots in these novels usually involve the protagonist in many entanglements and temptations in the imperial court, which he in the end influences to the benefit of all its subjects. The most formally well-knit novel of this type is *Grossmütiger Feldherr Arminius* (two volumes, 1689) by Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (1635–1683), and the last great expression of its kind is *Die Asiatische Banise oder das blutig—doch mutige Pegu* (1689) by Heinrich Anshelm von Zigler und Kliphausen (1663–1696), one of the most famous works of the age, which by 1766 had gone through nine printings and countless serial editions, reworkings, and dramatizations. It plays a role in Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meister*. Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen (1622–1676) had an even more powerful impact with his *Der abentheuerliche Simplicissimus teutsch* (1668–1669), the first important picaresque novel in German literature. It was based in large part on the author's life and describes the world of the Thirty Years' War with rich observations, knowledge, and fantasy. Heroic, political novels of court affairs and picaresque novels continued to be published from the turn of the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century. A late form of the courtly novel was refined by Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690), also a minister's son; with this came the so-called gallant poetry, a transition from the Baroque to ENLIGHTENMENT literature. In addition to the short form of the lyric, this new poetic expression gave rise to the gallant novel that emphasized a love story over the political and heroic plot; the creator of this new genre was August Bohse (pseudonym Talander, 1661–1730), and its premier example was the novel *Amor am Hofe* of 1689.

The Eighteenth Century and the Enlightenment

In 1719, when *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* was published (in Germany as *Das Leben und die gantz ungemeynen Begebenheiten des berühmten Engelländ-ers Mr. Robinson Crusoe*, 1720), the literary genre of Robinson stories spread throughout Europe, the most important of which was *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer*, published in four parts from 1731 to 1743 by Johann Gottfried Schnabel (1692–1760), also a minister's son. Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) published a new form of this kind of novel with the title *Die Insel Felsenburg* (1828), which expanded the utopian theme. Johann Christian Günther (1695–1723), who had attended a newly founded Protestant high school in the city of Schweidnitz, was in his day the only true poetic genius, a forebear of the Sturm und Drang literary movement, although he tends to be treated in literary histories as a wastrel student of poetry. His poems combine biography with poetry and were influenced by the formal structure of the Protestant hymn. The Old Testament here replaced Mount Olympus as poetic inspiration.

In the eighteenth century court culture lost its importance as the center of literary activity. Protestant states in Germany assumed leadership of literary culture, just as a cultural rift began to appear between the progressive Protestant north and the Catholic south. Central to this development were the universities in Leipzig, HALLE, and Heidelberg as well as intellectual social circles in Hamburg, Bremen, Zurich, and Berlin. In Hamburg, Barthold Hinrich Brockes (1680–1747) composed his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (nine volumes, 1721–1748), a collection of poems inspired by the Christian spirit of the Enlightenment that praised the perfection, beauty, and purposeful design of God's creation, and Friedrich von Hagedorn (1708–1754) wrote fables and Anacreontic lyrics in the ranging and worldly spirit of Horace. After 1770 Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803) also lived in Hamburg. Inspired by JOHN MILTON'S *Paradise Lost*, he composed the verse epic *Der Messias* (1748–1773) in an attempt to create a German national epic. In Leipzig, Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) wrote fables, comedies, and hymns (which are still sung to this day) that combined Pietistic religiosity with didacticism (see PIETISM). Also in Leipzig was the literary reformer Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1760), who in the spirit of the early ENLIGHTENMENT attempted to transpose onto German literature the aesthetic principles of French classicism. In Bremen his followers were associated with the newspaper *Neue Beyträge zum Vergnügen des Verstandes und des Witzes* (1744–1748). In Zürich, the city of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) and Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701–1776) formulated a literary theory heavily influenced by *Paradise Lost* that placed primary importance not on the imitation of the real but on the representation of the possible. In Berlin the writer and bookseller Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) developed an antireligious form of Enlightenment thought, a tendency traceable to his upbringing in an orphanage at Halle that estranged him from religion. In his novel *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker* (1773–1776) he discusses the question of eternal damnation. Karl Philipp Moritz (1756–1793) also suffered through a pietistic-quietist upbringing, which he describes in *Anton Reiser: Ein psychologischer Roman* (published in four parts from 1785 to 1790).

One of the most important writers of the eighteenth century was Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), a minister's son. His novel *Die Abderiten* (1774) is a satire of the simpleminded narrowness and righteousness of SECTARIANISM. Sophie von La Roche (1731–1807), a close friend of Wieland's, chose a different path and became well known as the writer of sensitive epistolary novels, the most famous of which is *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771). Counted among these authors of the preclassical era is the art theorist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) from the Protestant city Altmark, who converted to Roman Catholicism in 1754; he saw in Greek art the perfect imitation of nature's beauty. The greatest achievements in German literature of the Enlightenment era are found in works by GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING.

From the Sturm und Drang Period to the Romantic Era

The literary revolution initiated in 1770 is called Sturm und Drang. The theories of JOHANN GEORG HAMANN and JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER had a formative influence, and the works of the young Johann Wolfgang von Goethe stand as

the central poetic achievements of the movement. The era is characterized by increasing secularization as well as greater personal sensitivity and secular pietistic devotion. The most important representatives of the Sturm und Drang movement were Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg (1737–1823), a dramatist and Anacreontic poet of occasional poems, and the writer JOHANN HEINRICH JUNG-STILLING (1740–1817)—both influenced by Pietism. Also significant were the dramatist Heinrich Leopold Wagner (1747–1779), the poet Gottfried August Bürger (1747–1794), and the poet Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hölty (1748–1776), the son of a minister, whose sensitive lyrics were set to music by composers such as Johannes Brahms. Friedrich Müller, also called Maler Müller (1749–1825), wrote poetic idylls, and Johann Heinrich Voss (1751–1826), whose Protestant cast of mind in old age took on a pugnacious demeanor, translated Homer. Also counted among the important figures of the period are the dramatist Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz (1751–1792), the son of a Baltic general superintendent; Johann Anton Leisewitz (1752–1806); Friedrich Maximilian Klingler (1752–1831); and JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH VON SCHILLER. Nearly all came from Protestant families. During the Sturm und Drang period German literature underwent a decisive transformation in which the poet's subjectivity, not knowledge drawn from outside of literature, determined the truth of a poetic creation. Poetry thus shed its 2,000-year-old ties to philosophy and THEOLOGY. The years between 1779 and 1787 (the year Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* was published) on through to 1805 (the year of Schiller's death) show this very clearly. Because of its orientation toward ancient Greece, it is also called the classical period under the dominant influence of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller. Today this epoch is generally considered the high point in German literary history.

At the same time, in 1793–1795, ROMANTICISM emerged as a protest against the rigid rationalism of the Enlightenment. Its philosophical roots lie in the idealism of philosophers such as IMMANUEL KANT, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), FRIEDRICH ERNST DANIEL SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH WILHELM JOSEPH VON SCHELLING, and GEORG W.F. HEGEL, whose thought is Protestant in origin. The movement began in Jena among the circle of friends surrounding the sons of a minister—August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845) and Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829)—that included Schelling, Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Novalis (actual name, Georg Philipp Friedrich von Hardenberg [1772–1801]), who was deeply influenced by Pietism. The Romantics' point of departure is the central experience of disunity between the self and the world. The individual seeks identity with himself or herself, often at night, while sleeping and dreaming, and ultimately finds it in death. The Romantic movement spread quickly. During this time two friends born in the Protestant city of Berlin, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773–1798) and Ludwig Tieck, who had studied theology, brought to light the art of the German lyric in the Middle Ages (*Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Kloster-bruders*, 1797), which would come to influence the emerging literary culture. The mixing of literary genres is typical of the poetic and theoretical identity of the movement. For example, Friedrich von Schlegel called for “a progressive, universal poetry,” and the poetic genius of Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776–1822) brought together the musical and the painterly; among Hoffmann's notable works are the collection of fairy tales *Undine* (1812–1814) as well as the novel *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr* (two volumes, 1820–1822) and the narrative cycle *Die Serapionsbrüder* (1819–1821). Hoffmann also had an interest in medical

questions and in the doctor Justinus Andreas Christian Kerner (1786–1862), whose research on SPIRITUALISM and occultism surfaces in Hoffmann’s fiction (for example, in *Die Seherin von Prevorst*, 1829).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the fascination with folk poetry—a genre that first attracted Herder and Goethe—greatly increased. Achim von Arnim (1781–1831) and Clemens Brentano (1778–1842) published the collection of folk songs *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806–1808); the brothers Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Karl Grimm (1786–1859) published their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812–1815). The Romantics—in painting as well as in literature—cultivated a yearning for the infinite in both a temporal and a spatial sense. They discovered the dream and the power of intuition. The novel *Ahnung und Gegenwart* (1815) and the novella *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* (1826) by Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788–1857) have these typical characteristics. Romanticism valued the Middle Ages, and this led in late Romanticism to the so-called romantic CONVERSION: Friedrich von Schlegel became Roman Catholic in 1808 and Clemens Brentano in 1817; Brentano’s close friend Luise Hensel (1798–1876), daughter of a minister and author of the famous *Müde bin ich, geh zur Ruh*, converted in 1818. Counted among the Romantics is the Jewish lyricist, satirist, and essayist Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), who converted in 1825 to Protestantism and as an exile in Paris (after 1831) worked to mediate hostilities between Germany and FRANCE.

Three of the most important poets from the turn of the nineteenth century are difficult to describe as either classical or Romantic. The minister’s son Jean Paul (actually Johann Paul Friedrich) Richter (1763–1825), a writer rooted in German idealism, combined in his novels influences from Laurence Sterne and Henry Fielding with elements of sentimentalism and the rococo. Johann Christian Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), who befriended Hegel and Schelling while studying theology, is considered the originator of a new understanding of ancient Greece and was one of the most important poets of German idealism. Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811), second only to Schiller, is seen as one of the most important dramatists of his age. In his story *Michael Kohlhaas* (1810), Kleist created one of the few convincing characters modeled on Martin Luther in the literature of the Napoleonic era and also stylized the reformer as a forerunner of German nationalism. The Catholic convert Zacharias Werner (1768–1823) wrote the drama *Martin Luther oder die Weihe der Kraft* (1807), a work now fallen into oblivion.

The Restoration and the Biedermeier Period

With the end of the Napoleonic age in 1815 and the Vienna conference of 1814–1815, the era of restoration began and signaled the transition from the Romantic to the Biedermeier period in German culture. The Karlsbad resolutions of 1819 attempted to turn back nationalizing and liberalizing efforts with strict censorship measures. For historians this period is significant because of the importance of Romanticism and the emerging NATIONALISM of the time. The poet Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862) from Protestant Swabia, himself a politically engaged liberal, describes these changes in his ballads. In literature the Protestant theologian Wilhelm Hauff (1802–1827), inspired by Sir Walter Scott, wrote *Lichtenstein* (1826), the first German historical novel. Also at this time the

Swiss minister Jeremias Gotthelf (actually Albert Bitzius, 1797–1854) gave moral and didactic depictions of peasant life (for example, *Die schwarze Spinne*, 1842; and *Uli der Knecht*, 1846). The Protestant minister Eduard Mörike (1804–1875) is important as a poet of musical and pictorially vivid lyrics and as a writer of such works as *Maler Nolten* (1832) and *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag* (1856). Other writers, such as Heinrich Heine and the dramatist Georg Büchner (1813–1837), were inspired to provide penetrating social and political criticism of the restoration before the Revolution of 1848. Büchner's play *Dantons Tod* (1835) presents a historically pessimistic interpretation of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, and his fragmentary tragedy *Woyzeck* (posthumously published in 1878) combines the social and pathological perspectives of naturalism. In this period of transition from idealism to realism appeared the work of the dramatists Christian Dietrich Grabbe (1801–1836) and Christian Friedrich Hebbel (1813–1863). In his theory of *Pantragismus* Hebbel develops a secularized form of original SIN, and he enriched the historicism of the nineteenth century with biblical and historical-mythological plays. Making keen observations in works critical of society and of the period (for example, *Die Epigonen*, 1836; and *Münchhausen*, 1838–1839), the writer Karl Leberecht Immermann (1796–1840) also pointed new directions for the novel.

The hymn of the eighteenth century—most famously represented in the poetry of Gellert and Klopstock—was considered a form of moral instruction, although these songs were never as popular as hymns from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The decline of the hymn continued through the nineteenth century, and only a few Romantic poets, such as Novalis, created spiritual poetry in the form of traditional folk songs, but no hymns by any standard definition. The Biedermeier period often had a tendency toward sentimentality, exemplified by such works as *Psalter und Harfe* (1833) by Philipp Spitta (1801–1859), a minister from a Huguenot family (see HUGUENOTS). Interest in history during the nineteenth century did inspire a number of hymn collections that even now are considered important sourcebooks; exemplary of these is the work of the hymnologist Philipp Karl Eduard Wack-ernagel (1800–1877) *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (*The German hymn from ancient times to the beginning of the seventeenth century*; five volumes, Leipzig, 1864–1877).

Realism and Naturalism

At mid-century, with the failure of the Revolution of 1848, there arose in Germany a poetic, bourgeois realism already dominant in other European countries. The most important representatives of realism are Theodor Storm (1817–1888); Gottfried Keller (1819–1890); Theodor Fontane (1819–1898); and Wilhelm Raabe (1831–1910), who was born a Protestant but became a self-described convert to philosophical materialism, measured agnosticism, and human skepticism. An exception to this trend is the Calvinist poet and novelist Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1825–1898), whose ballads and stories are set in the Renaissance and in the period of religious warfare during the Thirty Years' War. In the decades between 1850 and 1900 the novella (for example, Keller's *Die Leute von Seldwyla*, 1856, and *Das Sinngedicht*, 1882; and Storm's *Der Schimmelreiter*, 1888) and the novel (for example, Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich*, four volumes, 1854

edition/1879 edition; Fontane's *Effi Briest*, 1895, and *Der Stechlin*, 1899; and Raabe's *Der Schüdderump*, three volumes, 1870, and *Das Odfeld*, 1889) achieved a high point. In literary history, epic works of poetic realism found in lyrics by Keller, Storm, and Fontane are too often overlooked. This was also a rich period for the ballad, a genre initiated by Gottfried August Bürger and Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hölty in 1770, one that reaches its zenith with Goethe and Schiller and is continued by Ludwig Uhland and Heinrich Heine. Fontane created ballads in the realistic mode.

Reacting to the triumph of scientific positivism, INDUSTRIALIZATION, and the creation of an industrial proletariat, Dichter Heinrich (1855–1906), Julius Hart (1859–1930), Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–1946), Johannes Schlaf (1862–1941), Arno Holz (1863–1929), and Max Halbe (1865–1944) embraced the epic and dramatic naturalism of the French writer Emile Zola (1840–1902) and the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906). Naturalism created a style that called for social analysis written in the language of the lower classes; it is based in precise description of sensually experienced reality and the economic and moral suffering of people, which is combined with a criticism of bourgeois society. The literature of naturalism was inspired no longer by theological problems but by scientific theories, physiology, the theory of evolution (see DARWINISM), philosophical positivism, and theories of environmental determinism. However, in many works from this period one can recognize impulses associated with Protestantism, especially in the ethical sincerity of criticism that targets the moral decline of the bourgeoisie and in early works by Hauptmann (*Der Apostel*, 1892; *Hannele*, 1894), which were influenced by the MORAVIAN CHURCH.

Modernism

In 1890, with the prime of naturalism over, literary modernism begins. Its characteristic features are the reception of the literary and philosophical works of FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE and a pluralism of various and competing styles. Among these are symbolism, *Jugendstil*, decadence, regional art, neo-Romanticism, impressionism, and, after 1910, expressionism. Many of the important authors in the years from 1890 to 1914 came from Protestant backgrounds, including Richard Dehmel (1863–1920), Frank Wedekind (1864–1918), Stefan George (1868–1933), Heinrich Mann (1871–1950), Thomas Mann (1875–1955), and Hermann Hesse (1877–1962); others from assimilated Jewish families converted to Christianity, such as Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931) and Stefan Zweig (1881–1942). The SECULARIZATION of religious questions was typical in works published in the years around 1900. Authors no longer sought religious confession and theological interpretation to answer the problem posed by death; they considered mortality within concrete, isolated instances of dying. Many novels deal with problems of schooling and family upbringing as well as suicide, such as *Buddenbrooks* (1901) by Thomas Mann, *Unterm Rad* (1906) by Hermann Hesse, and *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törless* (1906) by Robert Musil (1880–1942). If clergymen appear in novels from this decade, they are usually treated very critically. This stems from the conviction that religious forms of devotion have had their day and are no longer believable. Many works of the early twentieth century often contain secularized mysticism, especially those written by Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), and

Musil (*Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, 1930–1942), a mysticism that provides an alternative form of life and consciousness within the anonymity and mechanization of the modern world. With the advance of industrialization and the alienation of urban populations from religion, the culturally formative power of the Protestant minister's house recedes, and literature completely renounces religious themes. Individual fate and the dialectic of life and death step into the foreground. An example of this trend is Gottfried Benn (1886–1956), one of the most important poets of the twentieth century, in whose work religious and metaphysical questions abound but remain unanswered.

In the novels of Max Frisch (1911–1991) the insistent question of self-identity can be seen as a late form of the Protestant questioning of conscience, for example, in *Mein Name sei Gantenbein* (1964). Friedrich Dürrenmatt (1921–1990), the son of a Swiss clergyman, takes this one step further in his dramas (most famously, *Der Besuch der alten Dame*, 1955) by using a radical but logical style to represent the moral destruction caused by two world wars. An exception to this is Mann, the most significant novelist of the twentieth century, who in his later work presented Lutheran religious convictions behind a mask of irony and humor (for example, in *Joseph und seine Brüder*, 1926–1942; *Doktor Faustus*, 1947; and *Der Erwählte*, 1951). The World War and the Nazi dictatorship inspired a few authors to write Christian poetry, for example, Jochen Klepper (1903–1942) and Johannes Bobrowski (1917–1965), an author greatly influenced by Hamann. Nevertheless, the Bible in Luther's translation remained a source of linguistic and poetic power, as shown in the work of the Marxist author Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) and in younger poets like Günter Eich (1907–1972), Eva Zeller (born in 1923), and Reiner Kunze (born in 1933). After poetry reached a high point in the works of Rilke and Stefan George, it gained renewed importance after 1945. At the same time the second half of the twentieth century witnessed a renaissance of the Protestant hymn, the full appreciation of which is still to come.

See also Calvinism; Literature; Lutheranism

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ULRICH KARTHAUS

LITURGY

The term “liturgy,” derived from the Greek *leitourgia* (*laós*, people, and *érgon*, work), referred originally to public services performed on behalf of the people. By New Testament times, however, the word was used to describe acts of Christian WORSHIP. In contemporary parlance, it is used most commonly by Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, and Lutheran churches to refer to the words and acts of worship. Other mainline Protestant denominations sometimes employ the term as well, but FREE CHURCH traditions do not usually speak of their worship practices as liturgy. Among Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians, the term may be used to describe a particular order of worship, a collection of worship services or rites, or the eucharistic (or communion) service alone. Protestant usage of the term refers to the words and acts that constitute the public worship of God, as well as to written services that are provided in officially sanctioned books of worship. Liturgy, then, may refer to the whole pattern of a service of worship, including the specific words said and the acts performed, or it may refer to the printed texts used in those services.

Ranges of Meaning and Use

All assemblies gathered for worship have a liturgy, or a pattern that they follow, but not all churches use the term liturgy to describe what they do in worship. Although Quakers adhere to a set of expectations about what happens when they gather, they would not describe what they do as a liturgy; nor would Baptists, Pentecostals, historically African American churches, or other free church traditions usually use the term. Likewise, those churches are less likely to use liturgical books, placing high value instead on extemporaneous PRAYER and holding to a particular understanding of the movement of the Holy Spirit in worship. In some cases, however, ministers may consult manuals in conducting services of BAPTISM, communion, MARRIAGE, and funerals.

On the other hand, Protestant denominations with traditions of using written texts in their services of worship often describe their worship patterns as liturgies. Churches in the Anglican Communion around the world follow the order for worship set forth in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER or similar prayerbooks that have been adapted in content and/or language for other cultural contexts. Fairly strict adherence to the texts and rubrics (directions) provided is expected. Similarly, congregations in the various Lutheran churches throughout the world make use of liturgical books such as the North American *Lutheran Book of Worship*.

Churches with Reformed and Methodist roots are provided with books of worship services that are officially sanctioned by their denominations and recommended, but not required, for use. These churches exercise a balance between form and freedom, following a pattern for weekly worship that incorporates both written texts from service books as well as locally written and spontaneous prayers. In the UNITED STATES, for

example, the *United Methodist Book of Worship* and the Presbyterian *Book of Common Worship* provide liturgies for congregations to use or adapt. Denominations that are the result of mergers between denominations, such as the UNITING CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA and the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA, also provide service books that may be used as local congregations see fit. In some churches it is considered appropriate to use experimental liturgies or prayers produced by individuals or groups other than denominational officials. Other churches depend most heavily on hymnals, which may include brief orders of worship, ecumenical creeds, and/or services for communion, baptism, and ordination, to provide some measure of liturgical uniformity.

Elements of Liturgy

Generally speaking, Christian liturgy is understood to include prayers spoken by a presider (worship leader) as well as those said by the people, the reading of scripture, the PREACHING of a sermon or homily, congregational singing, baptism, and the LORD'S SUPPER. Liturgical texts provide an outline of a worship service and include the prayers, blessings, and other elements such as calls to worship and declarations of forgiveness. In some cases guidelines are given for extemporaneous prayer, instructions regarding gestures, movements, and the performance of ritual acts. The use of symbols (such as candles or crosses, for example), visual art, processions, dance, and other forms of MUSIC are also understood to be part of liturgical celebration.

Many Protestant churches provide resources for daily prayer as well as for the weekly assembly. These liturgies center around the reading of scripture, common prayer, and the singing or reading of psalms and canticles. Orders of worship may also be provided for services of healing.

Development of Protestant Liturgies

Although the last five centuries have seen a broad emergence of liturgical practice among Protestants, many contemporary denominations can trace their roots to one of the major reformers, most of whom held to the use of some sort of printed form of worship. In his *Deutsche Messe* (German Mass) of 1526 MARTIN LUTHER adapted the Roman mass by putting it into the vernacular and including German hymns along with other sung parts of the liturgy. The basic word-table structure of the mass was retained, although he did make significant changes to the eucharistic prayer to reflect his rejection of the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

JOHN CALVIN sought to retain the basic pattern of the Roman mass in the liturgy he created for the Reformed churches in Strassburg and Geneva, the *Form of Prayers* (1540 and 1542). His order offered a selection of prayers from which the presider could choose and also made provisions for extemporaneous prayer. Calvin, too, championed congregational song in the form of metrical psalmody.

THOMAS CRANMER'S liturgy for the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549 and 1552), most closely followed the form and content of the Roman mass, although the eucharistic theology expressed in the liturgy showed the

influence of other Reformation thought. Nearly two centuries later, JOHN WESLEY would commend THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER to the emerging Methodist church, although American Methodists would soon adopt a less formal liturgical program, relying instead on a brief outline of worship and extemporaneous prayer. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw Reformed churches follow the same trend, in spite of the intentions of Calvin. The heirs of the Anabaptist traditions perpetuated their Reformation ancestors' aversion to ceremony, sacramental objects, and the liturgical year, shunning formal liturgies in most cases.

In the twentieth century the liturgical renewal movement inspired a broad range of Protestant denominations to rediscover worship practices of the early church and to study anew the liturgical instincts of the reformers, resulting in the production of new liturgical resources. Consequently, a number of Protestant traditions have adopted liturgies that reflect the word-table pattern of the historic CHURCH, and many have returned to using denominationally sanctioned service books. At the same time, a broad approach to the use of liturgical resources prevails across Protestant denominations, and even traditions that historically have adhered strictly to prescribed liturgies have expanded the sources from which material can be drawn. This approach to worship stresses a high level of participation among worshipers through word, ritual, and song, thus recapturing the sense of liturgy as the "work of the people."

See also Anabaptism; Anglicanism; Baptists; Friends, Society of; Hymns and Hymnals; Lutheranism; Methodism; Orthodoxy, Eastern; Pentecostalism; Presbyterianism

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KIMBERLY BRACKEN LONG

LIVINGSTONE, DAVID (1813–1873)

Missionary-explorer, scientist, abolitionist, and geographer. Livingstone was born in Blantyre, SCOTLAND to a deeply religious but impoverished family. About age eighteen he experienced personal CONVERSION and embraced the novel idea of becoming a medical missionary. Studious and resourceful, he funded his own medical education at Anderson College (Glasgow) and gained acceptance for missionary service with the nondenominational London Missionary Society. He sensed a call to go to AFRICA, and arrived there in 1841.

A few years after his arrival, he rejected a sedentary missionary life and embarked on extensive explorations of the unevangelized African interior. His “discoveries” and exploits—notably the epic transcontinental journey from Luanda to Quelimane (1853–1856)—earned him fame and a brief consulship. Then followed an exploration of the Zambezi-Shire region (1858–1864) and the search for the source of the Nile (1866–1873). Livingstone was impelled by an allconsuming vision of missionary expansion and a passionate conviction that opening up Africa to the twin benefits of legitimate commerce and Christianity was the most effective solution to the pernicious slave trade and key to the continent’s material development. His celebrity served as a useful platform for his unflagging antislavery campaign, and his lofty idealism galvanized a new phase of Protestant missionary effort in central and east Africa. An indomitable personality and a remarkable capacity for physical endurance fostered a myth of indestructibility, and his famed meeting with H.M.Stanley in 1871, having been presumed dead, did nothing to reduce it.

At his death Livingstone was extolled as “the greatest man of his generation” and for long his life and legacy were enshrouded in legend. With access to new material, recent scholarship has focused sharply on his failures (as a missionary, explorer, geographer, husband, and father), his personality flaws, and his contribution to British imperial expansion. However, few did more to advance the cause of Protestantism in Africa. By the time of his death, in the village of Chitambo (in present day Zambia), he had preached the gospel to more African tribes than any previous missionary and transformed European views of Africa and Africans. Still, he remains a complex figure, perhaps best thought of as a giant with feet of clay.

See also Slavery; Slavery, Abolition of

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JEHU J.HANCILES

LOCKE, JOHN (1632–1704)

English philosopher. Locke was born at Wrington, a village in Somerset, to an Anglican family with Puritan sympathies. Though his father fought in the parliamentary army during the CIVIL WAR, Locke himself welcomed the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Much of Locke's work can be read as a reaction to the religious and civil strife that gripped ENGLAND in the late seventeenth century.

Career

Three years after graduating from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1656, Locke was appointed tutor there, later receiving a dispensation that would allow him to keep that position without being ordained. Locke's chief interests at this time were experimental science and medicine. Although lacking a degree in medicine, Locke became the personal physician of Lord Ashley (later the first earl of Shaftesbury) in 1666, and soon became Shaftesbury's advisor on political, personal, and business affairs. The two shared interests in a Protestant succession, TOLERATION in religion, and economic expansion. When Shaftesbury became involved in trade with the American colonies, Locke helped to draft a constitution for Carolina that included freedom of worship for all except atheists.

Locke's personal fortunes ebbed and flowed with those of Shaftesbury. After Shaftesbury's fall from the position of Lord High Chancellor in 1675, Locke spent four years in FRANCE, coming under the influence of Gassendi's empiricism and hedonism. Upon return to England Locke became associated with Shaftesbury's attempt to exclude the Roman Catholic James II from the succession to the throne. In 1683 Locke followed Shaftesbury into exile in Holland where he formed friendships with many of those preparing the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION. When the Protestant William of Orange seized the English throne from the Catholic James II in 1688, Locke himself crossed back to England in the party of the new Queen Mary II. Locke spent the last fifteen years of his life publishing the works that would give him a significant place in the development of Western thought.

Thought

The breakdown of consensus on government and religion in the seventeenth century compelled Locke to focus on epistemology. Locke believed that establishing the limits of human knowledge would make claimants to truth more modest and therefore more tolerant. His *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) can be read as an attempt to secure agreement and tolerance against what he considered the excesses of Puritan SECTARIANISM and enthusiasm. Locke held that limited human reason must be supplemented by belief in propositions revealed by God, but reason must determine the probability that a given proposition really is a revelation of God. Locke's *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) is thus dedicated to showing that God's revelation in Scripture is consonant with what human reason can know immediately, although revelation is still necessary to deliver what could not be reached by reason alone. As a good empiricist Locke gathered bits of evidence to support, for example, belief in Jesus's miracles, based on the credibility of the apostles, whose chief function was to gather data to support Jesus's claim to messiahship. If Locke thus sought to counter the fanaticism of unsubstantiated belief, he also stressed the limits of human faculties and our failure to apply them, thus making toleration of others' views imperative. In his famous *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), Locke defined the CHURCH as a voluntary association and advocated the toleration of religious practice that does not impinge on the duty of the state. Excluded from this toleration, however, were atheists and those who owed obedience to a foreign power, by which Locke meant Roman Catholics. Locke's epistemology and views on toleration were one with his political vision of a united nation-state whose chief purpose was the defense of individual property rights and not the enforcement of theological truth.

Locke believed in an established church that allowed for a broad range of practices and beliefs. Like the LATITUDINARIANS, with whom he was acquainted, Locke sought to achieve peace by reducing the requirements for being a Christian to the simple and reasonable propositions that God exists and Jesus is Messiah. Locke was accused of SOCINIANISM, although he published a defense of himself against this charge. Nevertheless, Locke steadfastly refused either to affirm or deny the DOCTRINE of the Trinity. In his day Locke was also accused of DEISM, a charge he also denied. He claimed that his *The Reasonableness of Christianity* was written to refute Deists who believed either that revelation was unnecessary or that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were contrary to reason. However, many historians consider Locke a forerunner to Deism.

Influence

Locke was not an orthodox Christian by the standards of his day, and he found his theological views shared by very few of his contemporaries. He explicitly denied the doctrine of original SIN, and was at the opposite pole from MARTIN LUTHER'S and JOHN CALVIN'S emphasis on the need for God's GRACE to overcome the depravity of

the human person. Locke used the Scriptures extensively but opposed those Protestants who relied on the unexamined AUTHORITY of the BIBLE. Nevertheless, Locke has exerted an enduring influence on Protestant thought and practice in several indirect ways. Locke's insistence that religious belief should answer to standards of evidence external to religion itself appears both in liberal Protestant efforts to demythologize religious belief and correlate it with findings of the natural and social sciences, and in conservative Protestant efforts to find scientific proof of the historicity of the biblical narratives. Locke has also influenced the general Protestant acceptance of religious toleration, and the definition of the church as a voluntary association essentially distinct from the interests of the state and commerce.

See also Anglicanism; Church and State, Overview; Puritanism

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WILLIAM CAVANAUGH

LÖHE, WILHELM (1808–1872)

German Lutheran pastor. Born on February 21, 1808, in Fürth near Nuremberg, Löhe took his theological training at the University of Erlangen and was appointed to the Neuendettelsau parish near Nuremberg in 1837. While serving this village parish, he supported a mission to German immigrants in North America, founded a DEACONESS community, and led many efforts to renew the church. He served there until his death on January 2, 1872.

Löhe's theological and pastoral work focused on the CHURCH, its life and mission. Influenced in his early years by a Pietist movement (see PIETISM), Löhe became a leader in the struggle to establish a confessional Lutheran church in Bavaria. He called his developed perspective "sacramental Lutheranism," a theology and practice characterized by the centrality of the LORD'S SUPPER. Based on his study of Lutheran and early church sources, Löhe worked to restore historic forms of WORSHIP. His work

parallels that of other churchly movements in the nineteenth century such as the MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY and the OXFORD MOVEMENT.

Beginning in the early 1840s Löhe organized the preparation of pastors and schoolteachers to serve German immigrant communities in the American Midwest (see LUTHERANISM, UNITED STATES) and encouraged a mission to NATIVE AMERICANS. This work expanded after Löhe's lifetime to include similar efforts in BRAZIL and AUSTRALIA as well as a mission to New Guinea (see MISSIONS, GERMAN). In 1854 Löhe founded a deaconess house that, in its common life, its worship, and its service of those in need, was to model the apostolic community the whole church was called to be.

Löhe's extensive writings include an ecclesiological treatise, *Drei Bücher von der Kirche* (1845), a manual on pastoral life and practice, *Der evangelische Geistliche* (1852–1858/1866), orders for worship in his *Agende* (1844/1853–1859), and numerous devotional works.

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THOMAS H.SCHATTAUER

LORD'S SUPPER

During the Reformation era, the second of the two “evangelical” SACRAMENTS instituted (it was supposed) by Christ became the subject of endless controversy. The various names by which the sacrament was called, most of which could claim biblical warrant, reflected the diversity of interpretation, or at least of emphasis, in the rival doctrines; besides “Holy Communion,” it was “the Mass,” “the sacrament of the altar,” “the Eucharist,” “the Lord's Supper,” or “the breaking of bread.” The Protestant reformers were agreed in their rejection of the medieval mass but were divided over the true meaning of the rite. MARTIN LUTHER and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI defended sharply opposed views of the sacrament as, respectively, an oral reception of the body and blood of Christ, or a remembrance of his DEATH on the cross. A mediating view

championed by JOHN CALVIN and others represented the sacrament as an efficacious sign of communion with the ascended Lord: that is, a sign by which the Holy Spirit actually brings about the communion, or increases it. The inner-Protestant divisions and the Protestant critique of the Roman Catholic mass have remained controversial to this day. The history of the sacrament in the Protestant churches has been marked in particular by both a drift toward a simple memorialism and repeated attempts to retrieve the more cryptic meanings discovered in the holy communion by the critics of memorialism. Despite the legacy of acrimonious polemics, recent ecumenical pronouncements and new or revised service books have shown a measure of convergence between what were once supposed to be mutually exclusive views of the sacrament.

Holy Communion in Luther and Zwingli

In LUTHER'S first extended treatment of the sacrament, *A Treatise Concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ* (1519), Luther took it to be a sign of incorporation, by which believers are made one body with Christ and the SAINTS. He understood the conversion of the elements of bread and wine into Christ's natural body and blood (TRANSUBSTANTIATION) as an analogue of the conversion of believers into his spiritual body, the CHURCH. Although he wanted the cup as well as the bread to be given to the LAITY and stressed the need to receive the sacrament in faith, there was nothing here to suggest that at this time, two years after the outbreak of the indulgences controversy, Luther considered the medieval mass to be an abuse. But in his next thoughts on the sacrament, in *A Treatise on the New Testament: That is, the Holy Mass*, published soon afterward (1520), a remarkable change called for a frontal assault on the Roman Catholic mass. "Testament" replaced "incorporation" as the cardinal term, and to say that the mass is a testament means, Luther concluded, that it is *not* a priestly sacrifice. By "testament" he understood a promise made by someone who is about to die (cf. Hebrews 9:16–17). At the Last Supper, Christ declared his last will and testament to his disciples; he promised them forgiveness of sins and added to the promise, as a sign and seal of his testament, his own true body and blood under the elements of bread and wine.

Luther's *Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, which appeared the same year (1520), repeated and broadened his case against the medieval mass. The Church of Rome, he now said, had subjected the sacrament to three captivities: the withholding of the cup from the laity, the theory of transubstantiation, and the interpretation of the mass as a good work and a sacrifice. For Christ's body and blood to be included in the bread and wine, it is not necessary to imagine that the elements undergo a change of substance. But a much worse error is the misrepresentation of the sacrament as a priestly sacrifice; for a sacrifice is something we offer, a promise, something we receive—by faith. Luther's critique of what he took to be Roman Catholic errors did not lead him to abandon descriptions of the sacrament, when rightly understood, as "the mass" or "the sacrament of the altar." But his rejection of the sacrificial mass was complete, and it had far-reaching consequences for the WORSHIP and ministry of the church.

Other reformers who were in agreement with his critique found Luther's own view of Christ's bodily presence in the elements no improvement over the dogma of transubstantiation. Some of them saw the best clue to the sacrament's true meaning, not

in Christ's words, "This is my body," but rather in his directive, "Do this in remembrance of me." Luther's colleague ANDREAS RUDOLF BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT argued that the Lord's supper is an occasion for recollection or remembrance, in which the worshiper meditates on Christ's death. In Luther's eyes, this was another variety of the Roman Catholic error: turning the Lord's gift into a human work, this time not a priestly sacrifice, but rather a devotional exercise. Zwingli, too, in his *Commentary on True and False Religion* (1525), understood the sacrament as an activity of remembering. For him, however, it was more than an occasion for private devotion: it was a public celebration, in which the church returned thanks for the one and only redeeming sacrifice of Christ on the cross. To eat Christ's flesh (John 6:51–59) is to believe in his saving death, and his words "This is my body" must mean "This *signifies* my body." The very term "eucharist" shows what the Lord's supper is: "the thanksgiving and common rejoicing of those who declare the death of Christ" (*Latin Works*, 3:200). In the last year of his life, in his *Exposition of the Faith* (published in 1536), Zwingli did suggest that the outward eating of the elements parallels an inward "feeding" on Christ by faith. But he could not speak of God as *giving* the inward *through* the outward without jeopardizing his fundamental principle that the Holy Spirit works directly, not through means. Sacramental signs, for Zwingli, were not instrumental but indicative or declaratory; and their proper subject—the subject that does the signifying—was not God or Christ, but rather the Christian or the congregation. Zwingli liked to point out that a *sacramentum* in ancient Roman military usage was an oath of allegiance to the commander-in-chief. Just as in BAPTISM the Christian takes his or her stand with the church and pledges to be a soldier of Christ, so in the Eucharist the entire congregation declares its commitment to Christ and the SALVATION he won on the cross. In a series of impassioned treatises (1526–1528), Luther denied that he meant a crude, local presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements of bread and wine. As God, Christ is present everywhere, and his divine nature imparts its supernatural presence to his humanity; but in the sacrament he is there—by his word—*for me*. Zwingli, Luther thought, missed the point of the sacrament, which is, by offering the communicant Christ's body and blood, to apply to the individual the promise of forgiveness proclaimed generally and to all in the preached word. Indeed, Zwingli reduced the sacrament to a sign of something absent—Christ's body on the cross. But Luther did not attempt to counter Zwingli's mistake with a sounder view of signs. In Luther's view, the bread does not strictly signify Christ's body; rather, the words of Christ bring a single new entity into being out of the bread and the body—"fleshbread"—and to speak of either one separately is to speak improperly. Hence even the wicked receive the body and blood of the Lord into their mouths, although they do it to their own destruction.

Calvin and the Mediating Position

The MARBURG COLLOQUY (1529) seemed to demonstrate that the Lutherans and the Zwinglians had arrived at a final impasse. But a different, more Augustinian conception of signs opened up the possibility of a mediating position, which, in essentials, came to be held in common by MARTIN BUCER, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Calvin, and others. Zwingli thought of a sacramental sign as a pointer to a GRACE that lies in the past;

Luther, accordingly, was suspicious of any attempt to distinguish sign from reality in the sacrament of the ALTAR. But a third alternative was to argue that although the signs are not the reality, they are bearers of the reality, which is communion with Christ or participation in his life-giving flesh. The broken bread and the poured wine are not empty signs (*nuda signa*), but efficacious (*signa exhibitiva*). The consecrating words bring about a change in the elements—not of substance, but of use. And Calvin could ask: “Why should the Lord put in your hand the symbol of his body, except to assure you of a true participation in it?” (*Institutes*, 4.17.10). The sacrament is an actual means or instrument by which the Holy Spirit imparts or nurtures union with Christ, raising us up and overcoming the distance between the ascended Lord in HEAVEN and ourselves below, so that we receive the power or virtue of his life-giving flesh. Calvin did not profess to understand how this elevation of the believer works but was content to leave it as a mystery. “In his Sacred Supper Christ bids me take, eat, and drink his body and blood under the symbols of bread and wine. I do not doubt that he himself truly presents them, and that I receive them” (*ibid.*, 4.17.32).

The mediating view differed sharply from the main lines of Zwingli’s sacramental THEOLOGY. Holy Communion, in this view, is the actual giving of a gift, not recollection of a gift. The “reality” (*res*) of the sacrament, for Calvin, was not a past event to which believers have access through memory, as they call to mind the benefits Christ’s death won for their salvation. He certainly agreed that the LITURGY as a whole includes the thankful response of the congregation for the gift of Christ’s benefits. This is the true eucharistic sacrifice, which defines the entire life of Christians—also outside of the liturgy. But the first movement is from the living Christ to the congregation; *he* is the primary subject of the sacramental action, offering them his crucified and risen body. Moreover, what was at stake for Calvin was not just the correct interpretation of the sacrament, but a total conception of how believers are related to Christ. Zwingli explained that “eating” is simply “believing.” But Calvin felt, and argued forcefully, that there is more than that to feeding on the bread of life: being a Christian is a matter not solely of beliefs about Christ, but also of a mystical (that is, mysterious) union with Christ by which we become “flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones.”

Obviously, the mediating view, as Calvin represents it, was not free from difficulties of its own. HEINRICH BULLINGER, Zwingli’s successor in Zurich, told Calvin bluntly that he could not see how Calvin’s doctrine differed from that of the papists, who taught that the sacraments actually confer grace. But patience and determination led eventually to the Zurich Consensus (1549), which brought harmony between the French- and German-speaking reformed churches of SWITZERLAND. Sadly, the consensus lost Calvin much of his support among the Lutherans, who had previously believed him to be on their side. No doubt, very few of the evangelicals in GERMANY or Switzerland were able to grasp the intricate polemics that followed between Calvin and his Lutheran critics. But it must not be overlooked that at the practical level of congregational worship the Lutherans and the Calvinists had between them brought about radical changes that were evident to the eye and the ear. The medieval mass was from beginning to end a priestly action conducted in Latin. The people were urged to “communicate” (receive the wafer) once a year, at Easter. But their presence at the mass was not essential; if present, they were left to their private devotions, save when the host was elevated and the bell sounded to indicate that the miracle of transubstantiation had been effected. In contrast, for Luther,

Zwingli, and Calvin, despite their differences, reception of the elements by the people was essential to the meaning of the sacrament. Calvin in particular insisted that the sacrament is a *banquet*, and he faulted the medieval mass for robbing the holy banquet not only of its character as a gift, but also of its essentially corporate nature: “[The Lord has] given us a Table at which to feast, not an altar upon which to offer a victim; he has not consecrated priests to offer sacrifice, but ministers [i.e., servants] to distribute the sacred banquet” (*Inst.*, 4.18.12). It followed for Calvin that no gathering of the church should take place without partaking of the Lord’s Supper, and he called for communion once a week at the very least.

Holy Communion in the Protestant Churches

Alongside the types of eucharistic doctrine represented by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were others that relativized, diminished, or rejected the place of the Holy Communion in Christian worship. Zwingli had already discarded the idea of a means of grace and retained the word “sacrament” only in an unconventional sense. The Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM), who shared his memorialist interpretation of the Lord’s Supper, spoke of the sacrament as one of Christ’s “ordinances.” Belief in the inwardness of the Spirit’s working led others to abandon the outward ceremony altogether, as the Quakers did in ENGLAND (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). The Socinians, though they believed Christ intended the rite to be a perpetual memorial of his death, so denuded it of the old meanings that it lost importance for them, and the English Socinians, too, were chided for not observing it at all (see SOCINIANISM). But the Quakers and the Socinians stood outside the mainstream of the English churches.

In sixteenth-century England, the influence of the mediating eucharistic theology prevailed: THOMAS CRANMER and RICHARD HOOKER both described the holy communion in language that has clear affinities with Calvin’s. In the following century, echoes of Calvin can still be heard not only in Puritan writings on the sacrament (see PURITANISM), but also in the writings of Anglican divines who had no taste for Calvin’s predestinarianism (see PREDESTINATION). Across the English Channel, in the heyday of Protestant ORTHODOXY, Lutherans and Reformed continued to define themselves in conscious differentiation from each other. But in the eighteenth century sacramental theology throughout Protestantism had to contend with the Enlightenment mentality, which saw in the very concepts of a “means of grace” and a “real presence” idle, if not dangerous, superstitions. In such a world of thought, a simple memorialism had an obvious advantage over CALVINISM and LUTHERANISM alike. The “high church” movements in the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican communions during the nineteenth century took the form of protests against apostasy, not least in the DOCTRINE of the holy communion. When the Mercersburg theologian John Williamson Nevin (see MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY) picked up the fallen banner of the Calvinist doctrine of the real presence, not only the Presbyterians, but Episcopalians and Lutherans, too, decried his efforts to revive old “superstitions.” Nonetheless, continuing efforts at liturgical renewal in the twentieth century have combined with greater openness between the churches to maintain an interest in the classical types of eucharistic THEOLOGY, to supplement them where they seem lacking, and to stress agreements between old

adversaries. The revised service books of the main-line Protestant denominations and such ecumenical statements as the much-discussed document *Baptism, Eucharist & Ministry* are among the fruits of recent reflection on liturgy and the holy communion.

See also: Presbyterianism; Anglicanism

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- B.A.GERRISH

LUTHER, MARTIN (1483–1546)

German reformer, professor of Bible at the University of Wittenberg, regarded as the initiator of the Protestant Reformation.

Luther as Student and Professor

Luther was born November 10, 1483, in Eisleben, the son of a copper processor on the rise out of the peasantry, Hans Luder, and his wife, Margarete, nee Lindemann, who was from an Eisenach bourgeois family. Luther began his schooling in Mansfeld, the family residence since 1484. In 1497 his secondary school commenced in Magdeburg, in circles related to the Brethren of the Common Life, and continued in Eisenach. At the University of Erfurt he earned a B.A. in 1502, an M.A. in 1505, and in accord with his father's aspirations, began the study of law. His sensitive conscience drove him into a spiritual crisis, however, after lightning terrified him as he returned to Erfurt in June 1505. He entered the Observant Augustinian monastery there despite parental objections. He dedicated himself totally to the strict regimen of monastic life, from which he hoped to gain merit in God's sight and thus SALVATION. Against his own wishes, his superiors promoted his monastic career, requiring further study in theology, which led to his doctorate in Bible (1512) and his ordination as a priest (1507). The terror of God's presence in his first celebration of the mass was but one sign of his continuing spiritual crisis. His professors taught "in the modern way"—the "via moderna" or nominalism, as represented by Gabriel Biel (c. 1413–1495). Although he rejected Biel's teaching that good works must merit grace, Luther never abandoned certain fundamental presuppositions of his nominalist teachers. His order's vicar for Germany, Johann von Staupitz, recognized his abilities and moved him to the infant university of Wittenberg (founded 1502) to teach (1508–1509, 1511–1546).

His doctoral oath pledged Luther to search the Scriptures and defend their truth at all costs. He began his biblical lecturing with the Psalms (1513–1515), developing his theology through lectures on Romans (1515–1516), Galatians (1516–1517), Hebrews (1517–1518), and Psalms (1519–1521). Later lectures treated Deuteronomy (1523–1524), the Minor Prophets (1524–1526), Ecclesiastes (1526), I John, Titus, Philemon, and I Timothy (1527–1528), Isaiah (1528–1530, 1543–1544), Song of Solomon (1530–1531), Galatians (1531), Psalms (1532–1535), and Genesis (1535–1545). His students also used his postils and several published sermon series as commentaries (e.g., Genesis, 1523–1524; John, 1528–1529, 1530–1532, 1537–1538; I Peter, 1522). Scholars disagree on his precise relationship to biblical humanism, but from his first lectures on he employed linguistic aids and commentaries of humanist scholars such as Johannes Reuchlin and Jean Lefevre d'Etaples. PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, a leading representative of humanist scholarship, became his Wittenberg colleague in 1518 and profoundly influenced Luther's interpretation of the biblical text.

Although his PREACHING always employed "allegorical" illustrations, Luther led a hermeneutical and exegetical revolution in biblical studies as he laid aside the fourfold analysis of Scripture practiced throughout the Middle Ages and sought always to determine the "literal-prophetic" sense of the text. For him that meant that prophecies concerning Christ formed the heart of the Old Testament. His interpretative principles centered on the distinction between the condemning law and the life-restoring gospel, centered on salvation in Christ.

The Beginnings of Luther's Reformation

A variety of duties fell to the able young monk. He represented his monastery on a mission to Rome (1510–1511), served as preacher in the Wittenberg town church (from 1514) and vicar of the Saxon Observant Augustinians (1515–1518). His reading of Augustine and the mysticism of Heinrich Tauler and the *Theologia Deutsch* shaped his developing thought, although he soon abandoned the spiritualizing aspects of their theologies. As professor he composed disputations for academic promotions or supervised students' preparing their own theses for such debates; those of Bartholomew Bernhardi (1516) and Franz Günther (1517) advanced Luther's new ideas regarding sin and grace and the use of Aristotle in theology. In October 1517 abuses connected with the sale of indulgences to raise funds for Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz provoked Luther's protest. Unaware of the intricate financial context of the indulgence sale, he was moved by pastoral concern for those who believed they could purchase release from purgatory for themselves and others and thus failed to take seriously the remorse and trust in Christ that Luther defined as the heart of penance. Therefore he called for public disputation on the practice through his "Ninety-five Theses." Although the first thesis, that the whole life of the Christian is a life of repentance, summarizes an enduring element of his thought, these theses are theologically insignificant. Written for public disputation, they did not necessarily reveal the author's convictions but rather posed critical questions for debate. However, their printing and distribution to large audiences in Germany and beyond constitute the first modern media event and propelled Luther to center stage in European Christendom.

Albrecht and his indulgence preacher, Johann Tetzel, reported Luther's remonstrance to Rome. Tetzel's fellow Dominican, Sylvester Prierias, an important advisor of Pope Leo X, pursued charges of heresy against Luther. A fierce polemic against him erupted from the papal court. In April 1518 Staupitz had him present his views to fellow Augustinians at the regular meeting of the order's Saxon province in Heidelberg. The theses of Luther's "Heidelberg Disputation" sketched his "theology of the cross." Although he abandoned use of this term, the concepts of the Hidden and Revealed God, the bondage of the sinful will, and the centrality of Christ's cross (I Corinthians 1:18–2:16) mark his teaching throughout his career. The distinction between *Deus absconditus*, God in his glory, beyond human grasp, whose wrath is perceived as sinners seek to define God, and *Deus revelatus*, God revealed in Scripture and especially in Christ, emphasizes total human dependency on God's self-disclosure and Christ's self-sacrifice to atone for sin.

In October 1518 papal legate Thomas de Vio (Cardinal Cajetan) met Luther at the imperial diet in Augsburg and attempted to elicit Luther's recantation of his views without a real exchange of ideas. Luther fled after unfruitful meetings with Cajetan, fearing a repetition of the imperial-papal execution of another reformer, John Hus, a century earlier. Subsequent political maneuvering between Luther's prince, Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, and papal diplomats also produced no settlement.

The leading German Roman Catholic theologian of Luther's generation, John Eck of Ingolstadt, challenged Luther's doctoral supervisor and colleague, ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT, dean of Wittenberg's theological faculty, to debate the critical issues raised by Luther's call to reform (Leipzig, June-July 1519). Luther also

came to the podium, and Eck led him to confess his conviction that popes and councils could err, that both stand under the authority of Scripture. Controversy over these ideas swirled around the reformer, who in 1520–1521 issued five treatises detailing his proposal for reform of the church: (1) *On Good Works* introduced his faith-based ethic: good works flow from trust in Christ; (2) *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* called for the nobility (and implicitly city councils) to institute many specific reforms in church and society; (3) *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* assessed the church’s sacramental teaching and life, proposing a return to biblical teaching regarding Word and sacrament; (4) *On the Freedom of the Christian* sketched Luther’s understanding of salvation through faith in Christ and its implications for daily living under two theses: God’s pronouncement of righteousness in the forgiveness of sins frees believers from all enemies (Satan, sin, the law, death, hell) and binds them to love their neighbors; (5) *On Monastic Vows*, an affirmation of the Christian life as the fruit of faith apart from monastic religious exercises (considered to be a preferable way of life in medieval theology) performed to merit salvation on the basis of vows.

By 1519 Luther had developed the core of his thinking in his concept of the justification of sinners before God through faith in Christ. Nominalist presuppositions regarding the power of God’s Word and the complete dependency of sinners on God’s revelation shaped this doctrine. It presupposed the distinction between passive righteousness in God’s sight (the righteousness given without condition by God, consisting solely in God’s favor, which regards his chosen people as beloved children) and active righteousness toward other creatures (the performance of love in obedience to God’s commands). Key elements of this view of salvation included:

1. Justification as an action of God’s Word, whereby the Creator creates a new child of God out of a sinner through the promise of the forgiveness of sins, which bestows Christ’s righteousness on believers.
2. Faith as trust in Christ and his death and resurrection as the source of forgiveness.
3. Assurance for believers of their salvation on the basis of the promise contained in the means of grace (God’s Word in oral, written, and sacramental forms).
4. Recognition that God’s Word makes believers completely righteous in God’s sight even though they experience their sinfulness throughout their lives (*simul justus et peccator*).
5. Application of this Gospel only to the repentant (with corresponding application of the crushing, condemning law to the unrepentant).
6. A life lived according to God’s commands in the fruits of faith.

Throughout the twentieth century scholars debated the precise time and nature of his “evangelical breakthrough” and formulated various explanations of his “tower experience,” a reference to the tower in the cloister where his study was located. In 1545 (preface to volume 1 of his Latin works) Luther dated his breakthrough 1518. By that time he had come to understand faith as *fiducia* (trust), the distinction of the two kinds of righteousness, and the proper distinction of law and gospel as a hermeneutical and pastoral tool.

Emperor Charles V summoned Luther before the imperial diet in Worms in April 1521. Already excommunicated by Pope Leo in January, he was outlawed by a rump

session of the diet after his appearance, in which, according to reports a generation later, he said, “Here I stand. I can do no other.” Reports from 1521 recorded his words, “I am bound by the Scriptures...and my conscience has been taken captive by the Word of God, and I am neither able nor willing to recant since it is neither safe nor right to act against conscience.” After he left Worms, knights in the employ of Elector Frederick seized and brought him to the Elector’s castle, the Wartburg, where he remained for ten months. In his absence his Wittenberg colleagues proceeded with reforms, thereby arousing popular unrest. Luther returned in March 1522 to preach his “Invocavit” sermons, urging pastoral sensitivity in dealing with the consciences of adherents of the old faith.

Guiding reform demanded a variety of competences, and Luther rose to the challenge, assisted by able co-workers and by the rapidly developing printing industry. At the Wartburg he had prepared his translation of the New Testament, the first German version based on Greek manuscripts, from Erasmus’s new edition, which he used along with the Latin text. Over the following twelve years he completed translation of the Old Testament. Recognizing the need for pastors to have model sermons for proclaiming the Gospel, Luther also began the first of a series of sermon collections on the pericopes for the church year at the Wartburg. These “postils” provided a program of continuing education for priests wanting to incorporate Luther’s reform into parish life; most people came to Luther’s way of thinking through oral proclamation of the message. In treatises over the following years Luther treated various doctrinal and practical topics—justification by faith, the sacraments, marriage and family, schooling, obedience to governmental authority and rulers’ responsibilities, trade and usury—and also prepared popular devotional literature. In 1523 his revision of the Latin liturgy, the *Formula Missae*, appeared; in 1526 he completed the *Deutsche Messe*, a service that replaced traditional Latin chants with German hymns while retaining the Catholic form of worship.

The Maturing of Luther’s Reformation

Four critical episodes between 1524 and 1525 determined vital features of Luther’s Reformation. Younger biblical humanists provided the “shock troops” for his cause, but in 1524 the leading northern European humanist, Desiderius Erasmus, acceded to Rome’s pressure and attacked Luther, choosing the issue of the freedom or bondage of human choice in relation to God as the crucial difference between them. In 1525 Luther replied to Erasmus’s *De libero arbitrio* with *De servo arbitrio* (On Bound Choice). Written largely on Erasmus’s philosophical turf, and thus not completely clear on his own pastoral, law/ gospel approach to the disputed questions, this work, counted by Luther among his best, defended his belief that human salvation rests alone on God’s gracious decision to choose his own and that sinners cannot trust and obey God apart from the Holy Spirit’s turning and re-creating the human will.

Luther also clearly distinguished his program from a tradition of old-style reform, embodied in different ways by his colleague Karlstadt and a former student, THOMAS MÜNTZER. Karlstadt embraced Luther’s call for reform enthusiastically but could place it only within the framework of a conceptualization of protest against the ecclesiastical establishment a half millennium old. This approach to reform was biblicistic, moralistic,

anticlerical, antisacramental, and millennialistic. Luther and Karlstadt differed in each of these areas, particularly on the literal interpretation of Christ's Words of Institution of the LORD'S SUPPER.

Luther's objections to the mystic spirituality of Müntzer focused on the student's denial of God's working his saving will through the external means of the Word in written, oral, and sacramental forms. The revolt of peasants in many German regions (1524–1525) afforded Müntzer opportunity to pursue his aspirations as an apocalyptic prophet but ended with his execution by victorious princely forces. He remained a symbol for Luther of theological and civil disorder.

Luther's role in the Peasants Revolt was determined by the horror of civil disorder he shared with most Germans with societal responsibilities. His *Admonition to Peace, a Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants* (May 1525) sharply criticized princely tyranny as well as the peasant appeal to Scripture on behalf of temporal goals. Throughout his career his call to government officials to repent of various abuses belie his reputation as a "toady of princes." As he heard accounts of peasant atrocities and experienced himself the rowdy mob while touring his native Thuringia to calm troubled waters, he also attacked the peasant leadership and its use of Scripture. Convinced that Satan was using peasant violence to discredit and damage the Reformation in what he believed to be the final days before Judgment Day, he called on the inactive Saxon government to take action against the peasants in *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*. His harsh words earned him much criticism, although evidence seems to support the minority of scholars who appraise the loss to his Reformation from peasant resentment because of this stand as relatively minor.

In October 1524 Luther laid aside his monastic garb, probably not anticipating that a step taken by many of his monastic followers would also take place in his own life. The next June, Luther married a former nun, Katherine von Bora. This marriage provided a lasting model for Christian marriage and life in the parsonage. Käthe and Martin came to love and exercise spiritual care for each other. She managed their household efficiently and offered theological insight and counsel to her husband and the students who lived with them in the Augustinian cloister given to them by the elector. Of their six children (Johannes, Elizabeth, Magdalena, Martin, Paul, Margareta) two died young. Particularly poignant are Luther's expressions of sorrow at the death of Magdalena at age 13 in 1542.

In May 1525 Duke John assumed the electorate of Saxony at the death of his brother, Frederick the Wise. Admiration and friendship bound Luther with John and his son John Frederick, who succeeded to the throne in 1532. Under John's direction Luther and Melanchthon assumed leadership of a visitation of Saxon parishes in 1527; with Luther's suggestions at hand, Melanchthon issued *Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors*, a handbook of pastoral care, in 1528.

Encountering the disorder of peasant life on the visitation, Luther and Melanchthon reacted theologically with an increased emphasis on preaching repentance through the crushing force of the law. This aroused protests from their former student, Johann Agricola, school rector in Eisleben. He attacked Melanchthon for views both Wittenbergers held; Luther negotiated a settlement, but Agricola's refusal to take seriously Luther's distinction of law and gospel led him a decade later to reassert his view that the law has no place in the Christian life and that the gospel works repentance

for believers. That dispute (1538–1540) led to a final breach between teachers and student.

Agricola's publication of his views in catechetical works (1527) moved Luther to assume a task he had long urged colleagues to undertake, composition of a children's CATECHISM. Since 1518 he had followed the medieval practice of preaching on the fundamental elements of the church's ancient program of instruction, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; in 1528 and 1529 he held three series of catechetical sermons. From them he published in 1529 a wall-chart catechism, his *Small Catechism* for parents' use in instructing children, and his *German or Large Catechism*, an instructors manual for pastors and parents. The *Small Catechism* placed the traditional catechetical elements in a new order, introducing children to the law (Ten Commandments) before the gospel (Creed) so that they could understand why they needed Christ as Savior. After the response of faith (the Lord's Prayer) came brief treatments of BAPTISM and the Lord's Supper (supplemented by instruction on the conduct of CONFESSION and absolution), followed by biblical direction for daily meditation and PRAYER and for the conduct of the godly life within the social structures of the time, the household (family and economic activities), the political community, and the church. As a handbook for Christian living, this primer shaped the lives of Luther's followers to the present.

Luther's piety called for the practice of biblical virtues within the responsibilities to which God calls his people in the household, the state, and the church on the basis of God's gift of new life through God's Word. Inherited in part from his nominalist instructors and formed by his study of the Old Testament, Luther's concept of God's Word led him into conflict with fellow reformers as well as with theologians of the old faith. Against the latter he argued that God's Word does not function *ex opere operato* (automatically, as a magical incantation), but that it operates as a Word of promise that is valid as God's pledge but effective only through faith. Against biblical humanists such as the Swiss reformers HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS, whose views of reality had been shaped by platonic presuppositions, Luther argued that God's Word in Scripture, preaching, absolution, and the sacraments creates the reality of which it speaks. God actually changes sinners into his faithful children through his Word.

Luther's teaching on the sacraments (baptism and the Lord's Supper, occasionally also absolution) reflects this ontology of God's Word. His nominalist presupposition that God could form reality in any way God pleases according to God's absolute power led him to believe that God had endowed human words that convey the Gospel of Christ with the power to save (Romans 1:16), that God's baptismal promise creates a new child of God (Romans 6:3–11), and that the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper convey Christ's body and blood for forgiveness of sins (Matthew 26:26–29). He insisted that this body and blood are received through the mouth by all who receive, whether believers or unbelievers, because the presence of Christ's body depends on the Word of God, not on the faith of the recipient; thus, unbelievers also receive, to their judgment (I Corinthians 11:29). (See especially *That These Words of Christ, "This Is My Body" etc. Still Stand Firm* [1527] and *Confession concerning Christ's Supper* [1528].) In 1529 one of Luther's princely patrons, Philip of Hesse, brought him and some of his supporters together with Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and others who shared their position in a colloquy at Marburg. The two sides agreed on fourteen of fifteen doctrinal articles but remained in

disagreement over the Lord's Supper. MARTIN BUCER of Strasbourg led attempts to reconcile the two in the 1530s. In 1536 Melancthon composed the "Wittenberg Concord," to which both Bucer with other mediating southern German reformers and Luther and his Wittenberg colleagues agreed. It taught that "with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially present, distributed, and received." In 1544 Luther reasserted his teaching against Zwingli's successor Heinrich Bullinger and others in his *Brief Confession concerning the Holy Sacrament*.

The teaching of Luther and his Wittenberg colleagues was brought together in a public statement of faith in 1530 when Melancthon composed the AUGSBURG CONFESSION as an explanation of the Lutherans' catholic teaching and the reform measures they had undertaken. Melancthon's work reflected Luther's influence, and he used several items to which Luther had contributed. These included the third section of his 1528 *Confession concerning Christ's Supper*, the "Marburg Articles," the "Schwabach Articles" (a confession issued by several Evangelical governments in 1529), and memoranda regarding reform of ecclesiastical practices (dubbed since the eighteenth century the "Torgau Articles"). From 1536 to 1537 Luther prepared his own confession regarding issues separating him from Roman Catholicism, his SCHMALKALDIC ARTICLES. Composed for use in presenting Evangelical teaching to the papally called council, which finally met in Trent 1545 at the behest of Elector John Frederick who wanted the reformer's doctrinal last will and testament in print, this summary of Luther's thought served to guide his followers' public teaching, along with the Augsburg Confession, its *Apology*, and his catechisms.

Illness, increasing irritability, but also productive work marked Luther's last fifteen years. His second lectures on Galatians (1531; printed 1535) presented in clear, dramatic fashion his doctrine of justification by the forgiving Word of God, which creates and elicits the believer's faith in Christ. His lectures on Genesis (1535–1545) are filled with discourses treating the whole range of biblical teaching. In polemics against Roman Catholic theologians and princes he delineated his doctrine of the church as a creation and agent of God's Word (*On the Councils and the Church*, 1539; *Against Hans Wurst*, 1541).

His writings against the Jews in this period reflect an ugly aspect of medieval culture. Although he had hoped to win Jews to the gospel, a goal outlined in *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* (1523), the absence of Jewish conversions led him to give credibility to anti-Jewish slanders and join in the common critique of Jewish religion and the call for their exile from Christian society in his last years.

As counselor of princes he offered advice and criticism to many governing officials. His grudging approval of the bigamy of Philip of Hesse (1540) rested on pastoral as well as political concerns. An invitation to mediate a dispute among the counts of his native county of Mansfeld in early 1546 drew him back to his birthplace, where he fell ill and died February 18.

At the beginning of Luther's career none other than Zwingli had heralded him as a prophet sent by God to restore the gospel. His students and adherents used his opinions as a secondary authority, replacing popes and councils as the authoritative interpreter of Scripture. After his death his writings proved to be too extensive and varied to continue exercising such authority, but Luther remained, along with the BOOK OF CONCORD, a source for teaching and also a symbol for Lutheran doctrine and the Reformation itself.

Succeeding epochs made different uses of his person and thought. The initiation of a model modern edition of his works, the *Weimar Ausgabe*, in 1883 set the scene for intensive research into his life and work throughout the subsequent century, much of it focused in the “Luther Renaissance” of Karl Holl and others in the first half of the century. Luther’s theology continues to provide inspiration and provocation to further theological exposition by theologians in all churches.

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ROBERT KOLB

LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD, THE

Constituted on April 26, 1847, in Chicago, Illinois, as The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, the synod was a thoroughly German body. In 1911 The English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States joined the synod as a nongeographical district. During World War I the synod omitted the title “German,” and in 1947 changed its name to The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. From twelve pastors and four lay delegates representing fifteen congregations with approximately 3,000 members at its inception, it grew to number 1,564 pastors and 1,986 congregations with 687,334 members by the end of the nineteenth century. At its sesquicentennial in 1997 it numbered 2.6 million members in 6,145 congregations served by 8,389 pastors. It also has a large system of parochial schools served by 9,951 teachers.

As its name implies, the synod’s area of greatest strength in its early history was the American Midwest. The Rev. F.C.D. Wyneken (1810–1876) arrived in northeastern Indiana in 1838 and discovered that many German immigrants were either going without Lutheran pastoral care or were leaving LUTHERANISM for other denominations. He later issued a call for help from GERMANY for more Lutheran pastors and missionaries, which captured the attention of the Rev. WILHELM LÖHE of Neuendettlesau, Bavaria, Germany. Löhe supplied pastors for the American field and, with the aid of Wyneken and Dr. Wilhelm Sihler, established Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1846. In 1844 Wyneken became aware of a group of Saxon Lutheran immigrants who had settled in the St. Louis and Perry County areas of Missouri. In 1838–1839 this group had followed their bishop, the Rev. Martin Stephan of Dresden, Saxony, Germany, out of the Saxon state church, which they viewed as irredeemably corrupt because of rationalism, to the UNITED STATES to form a pure Lutheran Church. They established a log cabin college in Altenburg, Missouri, in 1839, which later grew into Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri. In the spring of 1839 Stephan was deposed and the colony struggled with the question of identity, eventually adopting a DOCTRINE of church and ministry formulated by the Rev. CARL FERDINAND WILHELM WALTHER (1811–1887) that affirmed both the divinity of the pastoral office and the priesthood of all believers. Its polity ensured the right of the local congregation to choose its own pastor. Walther vigorously asserted that this doctrine was based on the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions. This perspective on Lutheranism, which the Saxons circulated in their paper, *Der Lutheraner* (first published on September 7, 1844), appealed to Wyneken and, when other Löhe colonies in the state of Michigan (Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust, and Frankenlief) also sought a relationship with Wyneken and the Saxons, things quickly moved toward unity. Meetings in 1845 and 1846 solidified newly formed alliances, and in 1847 the synod was formally constituted.

The new synod devoted itself to “the preservation and furthering of the unity of pure confession,” stood against separatism and SECTARIANISM, sought to protect and preserve the rights and duties of pastors and congregations. Its POLITY was democratic in form, and the synod was advisory in nature in matters not touching doctrine. Yet, the synod required unconditional subscription to the BOOK OF CONCORD (1580) of its

pastors, teachers, and congregations *quia* (“because”), they believed, the Lutheran Confessions were the faithful exposition of the Holy Scriptures (see CONFSSION). This vigorous confessional subscription, coupled with an insistence on uniformity in doctrine and practice before union, led to tension with other Lutheran bodies throughout its early history, and made it difficult for it to enter into the Lutheran union movements in the twentieth century. At its founding Missouri critiqued what it saw as extremist positions on either side of itself. On the one hand it rejected the “American Lutheranism” of SAMUEL SIMON SCHMUCKER (1799–1873), professor at the Lutheran Seminary at Gettysburg and leader in the Lutheran General Synod, which subscribed only to the AUGSBURG CONFSSION and that insofar as it taught the “fundamental doctrines of Scripture in a manner substantially correct.” Missouri rejected this moderate form of confessional subscription as having accommodated itself to American evangelical Protestantism. On the other hand Missouri rejected what it believed were the “romanizing tendencies” of J.A.A.Grabau and his Buffalo Synod (a synod formed by Prussians in 1845), as well as the Iowa Synod, founded by their former colleague Wilhelm Löhe. Walther and the Missourians feared a return to the “tyranny” of their hierarchical colonial experiment under Stephan.

Later controversies erupted between Missouri and other confessional Lutherans regarding the doctrine and practice, for example, of ELECTION and CONVERSION and pulpit and ALTAR fellowship. In the 1880s divergence of opinion ultimately led to a rupture within the Synodical Conference, which had been formed in 1872 largely under Missouri’s lead. Consisting of immigrant midwestern synods that shared a *quia* subscription to the entire Book of Concord, Missouri had hoped that the Synodical Conference would provide the means to achieve Lutheran unity in the United States.

Even in the midst of controversy, however, the synod grew. By 1872 the synod had a membership of 72,120 baptized members, 485 congregations, 428 pastors, and 251 teachers. Between 1887 and 1932 membership grew from 531,357 to 1,163,666. Immigration drove this growth, as the synod worked hard to meet the spiritual needs of the arriving German immigrants.

The twentieth century, with its limited immigration and two world wars, forced the Missouri Synod to grapple with the issue of its German character. World War I forced the synod to anglicize more rapidly than might otherwise have been the case. Yet the transition to English occurred simultaneously with another period of significant growth. By 1962 the synod had 6,192 pastors and 2,456,856 baptized members. Through the radio ministry of Walter A.Maier, the *Lutheran Hour* reached thousands (see MASS MEDIA; PUBLISHING, MEDIA) and the lay-oriented organizations devoted to EVANGELISM, the Lutheran Laymen’s League (1917) and the Lutheran Women’s Missionary League (1942), enabled the synod to reach previously unreached populations.

Controversy continued, however, this time both with other Lutherans, as well as within the synod. With the language shift, Missouri was increasingly drawn out of what many perceived to be its overly narrow parochial boundaries. In the 1930s the synod explored fellowship with the newly formed AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, which consisted of several of Missouri’s nineteenth-century adversaries, including the Buffalo, Iowa, and Ohio Synods. A fissure began to emerge within Missouri as it struggled anew with the question of Lutheran identity. One group urged faithfulness to the synod’s historic doctrine and practice. A second group called for more openness to Christians

within other traditions. In 1945 a group of forty-four leaders in the synod, representing this second perspective, issued *A Statement*, arguing that “fellowship is possible without complete agreement in details of doctrine and practice which have never been considered divisive in the Lutheran Church.” Beginning in the 1950s the synod’s seminary at St. Louis added to the tensions by introducing certain elements of HIGHER CRITICISM. The combined issues of ecumenical posture, biblical AUTHORITY, and biblical interpretation ultimately brought the controversy to its peak in 1974 when most of the faculty and students “walked out” of Concordia Seminary and formed Christ Seminary in Exile, or Seminex. During the next few years the synod suffered a schism as slightly more than 100,000 of its members withdrew to form the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC), which soon became the catalyst in the formation of the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH in America (1988), the largest Lutheran denomination in the United States.

Nevertheless, membership in the synod has remained relatively stable since the 1970s. The synod continues to support its two SEMINARIES, along with a university system that features schools in Ann Arbor, Michigan; Austin, Texas; Bronxville, New York; Irvine, California; Mequon, Wisconsin; Portland, Oregon; River Forest, Illinois; St. Paul, Minnesota; Selma, Alabama; and Seward, Nebraska. CLERGY and lay delegates representing the synod’s congregations meet together triennially in convention to conduct the church’s business. Its current president, the Rev. A.L. Barry, has served since 1992.

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LAWRENCE RAST

LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

The Lutheran Church in America (LCA) was formed in 1962 by a merger of the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA), the AUGUSTANA EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (Augusta Synod), the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod), and a Danish body, the American Evangelical Lutheran Church. From its offices in Philadelphia and New York, the LCA's membership extended from the East Coast and the CARIBBEAN to CANADA, Alaska, and Hawaii, combining Lutherans of German, Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Slovak, and African descent. Twenty-five years later, in 1988, the LCA merged with the AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH (ALC) and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC) to form the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ELCA). At its height in 1967, the LCA contained 3.2 million baptized members. By 1988, when it became part of the ELCA, membership had declined to 2.9 million.

Institutional Life

In its POLITY, the LCA balanced the more centralized experience of its Swedish, Danish, and Finnish founders with the more regional expression characteristic of the predominantly German ULCA. In its theology, standard generalizations describing the LCA as the more liberal branch of American Lutheranism, as opposed to the orthodox LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD (LCMS) and the more moderate American Lutheran Church are only partially accurate, although as a body the LCA did stand committed to ECUMENISM, further Lutheran unity, and the findings of modern biblical scholarship.

Early in its history, the LCA became a member of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION, the Lutheran Council in the USA (LCUSA), and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, and stood as the only American Lutheran member of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. The LCA's choice of former ULCA president Franklin Clark Fry (who provided significant active leadership in many of these organizations) as its first president from 1963 to 1968 both reflected and encouraged these wider commitments. Under Fry and his successors, the Rev. Robert J. Marshall (president from 1968 to 1978), and the Rev. James R. Crumley (1978 to 1988), the LCA continued long-standing dialogues with the Reformed tradition and Roman Catholics, developed guidelines for interim sharing of the Eucharist with Episcopalians, and reached out to the leaders of the Orthodox communion. In 1980, the LCA Convention changed the title of its President to "Presiding Bishop."

A "Comprehensive Study of the Doctrine of the Ministry" in 1970 recommended after careful study that LCA bylaws be amended to substitute the word "person" for the word "man" in its description of the qualifications for an ordained minister. Unlike the bitter experience of some churches, the LCA Convention that year approved the ordination of

WOMEN by a simple voice vote (see WOMEN CLERGY). Elizabeth Platz became the first woman ordained in the LCA on November 22, 1970.

The LCA responded to the tumultuous events of its time with both theological reflection through its many “social statements” and direct action through its many agencies. Outreach in the area of mission eventually moved from the traditional home and foreign fields to newer fields among the poor and marginalized in society. Two particularly significant efforts included the World Hunger Appeal, which raised nearly 65 million dollars by 1987, and the work of the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service. Both of these efforts continued into the ELCA.

As part of the long-standing commitment of Lutherans to an educated CLERGY and LAITY, the LCA supported a number of denominational colleges and SEMINARIES (see HIGHER EDUCATION; CHRISTIAN COLLEGES). While the LCA actually warned of an over-supply of clergy as late as 1980, by the late 1980s seminary enrollments illustrated the clear trends of other mainline denominations: a decline in the overall number of candidates and a student population including more women and second-career candidates (see EDUCATION, THEOLOGY: UNITED STATES).

The Lutheran served as the official magazine of the LCA, and during most of the life of the LCA, it reportedly stood as the most widely circulated denominational periodical in North America. Circulation peaked at 601,000 and dropped slowly to just over 536,000 by 1987.

Congregational Life

In 1964, the LCA Parish Education Curriculum created a coordinated curriculum for use across all ages and programs of the church. This ambitious curriculum also introduced an entire generation of congregational teachers to the findings and contributions of contemporary biblical scholarship, perhaps helping the LCA avoid the schisms experienced in other denominations over issues of biblical literalism. At one time, over 90 percent of all LCA congregations used the program. The *Word and Witness* curriculum, introduced in 1977, combined in-depth adult BIBLE study with EVANGELISM and provided new energy in many congregations.

In 1970, the report of the Joint Commission on the Theology and Practice of Confirmation recommended a fundamental shift in long-standing Lutheran practice, urging that reception of first communion be lowered to approximately grade five and that this reception no longer be tied to the rite of CONFIRMATION, a rite renamed the “Affirmation of Baptism.”

The LCA began its congregational life using the *Service Book and Hymnal*, a worship resource developed in the 1950s by several Lutheran bodies, including the ALC and the four churches that ultimately formed the LCA. The 1978 introduction of the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (LBW), also used in the ALC, led to an increased emphasis on the role of BAPTISM in the life of the believer, the increased use of lay men and women in positions of worship leadership, and a gradual increase in the frequency of communion, or LORD’S SUPPER. By 1981, 85 percent of LCA churches used the LBW.

Of the three traditional auxiliaries for men, youth, and women, the church-wide women’s group proved most active and enduring. At the church-wide level, Lutheran

Church Women (LCW) increasingly redefined its traditional mission to encompass the realm of social justice. The church ended its church-wide auxiliaries for men in 1966, and, in a controversial decision in 1968, also eliminated its youth auxiliary in an effort to emphasize a more holistic approach to youth ministry. A number of significant “youth gatherings,” including inter-synodical Lutheran gatherings in 1973 and 1976, drew thousands of Lutheran young people together for Bible study, WORSHIP, and fellowship.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

The Canadian synods of the LCA completed longstanding plans to merge with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada in 1986. Responding to the invitation of the AELC, a group that split off from the LCMS in 1976, the LCA (2.9 million members), ALC (2.3 million members), and the AELC (109,000 members) came together in 1988 as the ELCA. The new church officially began its life on January 1, 1988, with 5.3 million members, 11,000 congregations. and 16,600 pastors.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Episcopal Church, USA; Lutheranism; Lutheranism, United States; Orthodoxy, Eastern

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SUSAN WILDS MCARVER

LUTHERAN SYNODICAL CONFERENCE

Called the Lutheran Synodical Conference when it disbanded in 1967, this federation of American-based synods began in 1872, changing name and membership along the way. As Lutherans, especially Germans, came to America, some confessional-minded sought to gather to maintain THEOLOGY and deal with practical issues held in common, especially MISSIONS and EDUCATION. To sort through theological variations transplanted from Europe and developed in America and to be sure of a common theological position, various Lutherans held free conferences from 1856 to 1859.

Free conferences presumed no official representation, only open discussion using Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions as a benchmark. The General Council took in

some groups in 1866, but others considered it lax on altar-pulpit fellowship, lodge membership, and millennialism. The Missouri, Ohio, and Norwegian synods declined participation, whereas the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Michigan synods joined but then withdrew. Subsequent discussions by these synods brought some bilateral fellowship agreements, and in 1871 talks began for multilateral cooperation. In 1872 these resulted in the Lutheran Synodical Conference, officially the Evangelisch-lutherische Synodal-Conferenz. Members pledged themselves to the Scriptures and confessions in the BOOK OF CONCORD to promote FAITH and true DOCTRINE and to avoid error as they worked together. Only an advisory body, this federation proposed a common seminary and a common teachers college but abandoned those plans.

Other efforts included work among African Americans in American and Nigerian missions and through colleges. PUBLISHING was sometimes done jointly, as with hymnals, for example. Over the years members left: the Ohio Synod (1881–1882) over PREDESTINATION, and the Norwegian Synod (1883) with internal dissent. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod (Norwegians) and the Wisconsin Synod broke with the Missouri Synod over fellowship and worship issues in 1955 and 1961 and withdrew from the Conference in 1963. The Conference dissolved in 1967.

See also Christian College; Hymns and Hymnals; Lutheranism, United States; Millenarians and Millennialism

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ROBERT ROSIN

LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) was founded in Lund, SWEDEN in 1947 by forty-nine churches, all but two of which were in Europe and North America. It is the result of earlier efforts, at first national—the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America (1867) and the General Evangelical Lutheran Conference in GERMANY (1867)—and then international to bring together churches that have a common confessional allegiance. These efforts led to establishing the Lutheran World Convention (LWC) by an assembly of Lutheran personages in Eisenach in 1923. At its third session, 1935 in Paris, the LWC laid the groundwork for a more permanent confederation of churches. World War II did not stop continuing efforts to realize the Paris plan; indeed efforts toward fellowship intensified in caring for orphaned missions and aiding European Lutherans to overcome the war's devastation. That effective relief

program for Europe shaped the work of Lutheran World Service that involves a major portion of LWF staff and financial resources.

Member churches subscribe to Lutheranism's confessional basis as stated in the LWF constitution (revised in 1990): "The Lutheran World Federation confesses the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the only source and norm of its doctrine, life and service. It sees in the three Ecumenical Creeds and in the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, especially in the unaltered Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism of Martin Luther, a pure exposition of the Word of God" (Art II).

The constitution also states the functions of the LWF: "The Lutheran World Federation:

- Furthers the united witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and strengthens the member churches in carrying out the missionary command and in their efforts towards Christian unity worldwide;
- Furthers worldwide among the member churches diaconic action, alleviation of human need, promotion of peace and human rights, social and economic justice, care for God's creation and sharing of resources;
- Furthers through cooperative study the self-understanding and the communion of member churches and helps them to act jointly in common tasks" (Art III).

By 2000 membership in the LWF had increased to 131 churches (including three associate members) and twelve recognized congregations in seventy-three countries, with churches in AFRICA accounting for the greatest growth. Approximately 60 million of the 64 million Lutherans across the globe are included. It is the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in the UNITED STATES and some of its associated churches that remain outside the LWF.

Periodic international assemblies are the highest authority of the LWF, and their official reports archive the Federation's history: 1947 Lund, 1952 Hannover, 1957 Minneapolis, 1963 Helsinki, 1970 Evian, 1977 Dar es Salaam, 1984 Budapest, 1990 Curitiba, 1997 Hong Kong, and the tenth assembly 2003 Winnipeg.

Although the ecclesial nature of world LUTHERANISM was already being debated, the LWF in Lund followed the lead of the LWC and described itself as "a free association of Lutheran churches." As the debate intensified, churches increasingly found themselves in pulpit and altar fellowship. This heightened sense of church manifested itself at Dar es Salaam when the LWF took the step of declaring *status confessionis* regarding the effects of apartheid at the LORD'S SUPPER. Then at Budapest two African white churches were suspended because of their attitude toward apartheid, a suspension lifted at Curitiba, BRAZIL. Increasing ecumenical involvement repeatedly put the ecclesial question to world Lutheranism, adding to the pressure to go beyond the "free association." This led, in Budapest, to two precedent-setting assembly actions: (1) amending the constitution by adding "The member churches of the LWF understand themselves to be in pulpit and altar fellowship with each other," and (2) adopting statements on self-understanding and unity, both of which used the terminology "Lutheran Communion."

In Curitiba the assembly adopted a new constitution that embodied a more ecclesial self-understanding of the LWF. It defines the LWF as "a communion of churches which confess the triune God, agree in the proclamation of the Word of God and are united in pulpit and altar fellowship." A council of forty-eight persons was established to carry

responsibility for the Federation between assemblies. Reflecting the concept of communion, membership on the council is divided equally between representatives of member churches from the northern and southern hemispheres, and at least 40 percent of its members are WOMEN.

Communion language is also consonant with the fundamental ecumenical commitment of the LWF. It is engaged bilaterally with other Christian World Communions (CWCs) but is also fully committed to multilateral ECUMENISM as exemplified in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC). This ecumenical priority finds typical expression in the Institute for Ecumenical Research, established in Strasbourg in 1963. Strasbourg research professors have been key participants in both multilateral and bilateral dialogues. The LWF has or has had bilateral dialogues with the Anglican Communion, the BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE, the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL, the Orthodox churches (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN), the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES, and the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH. In many cases these bilateral relationships extend also to joint efforts in witness and service.

The oldest LWF bilateral relationship, begun in 1957, has been with the Roman Catholic Church. In view of REFORMATION history, this dialogue has enjoyed a high priority, and at the turn of the century it had all but completed four phases, producing many joint study papers. At a 1999 ceremony in Augsburg the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification*, one of the most significant documents of consensus Ecumenism, was signed by official representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the LWF. In addition to affirming a basic consensus on JUSTIFICATION, the document declares the mutual condemnations of the sixteenth century to be no longer applicable and thus not church-dividing. Subsequently the two bodies are in conversations with various Christian World Communions in the hope that the effect of the Joint Declaration can be broadened.

The LWF staff is divided among three programmatic departments: World Service, Mission and Evangelism, and Theology and Studies. The secretariat includes offices dealing with ecumenical relations, political affairs and human rights, and communication services. In 1995 the LWF and the WCC together formed Action of Churches Together (ACT) to enable them to respond more immediately and effectively to major global emergencies. The LWF shares the Geneva headquarters of the WCC and other CWCs, and presently has regional offices in AFRICA, Asia, Europe, and North America. The Geneva staff numbers approximately one hundred persons and there are approximately 4,000 field staff in service, relief, and development projects.

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EUGENE L.BRAND

LUTHERANISM

The term refers to the churches that stem from MARTIN LUTHER'S reform efforts. His study of Scripture and struggle with guilt focused Lutheran thought and life on concern for proper, clear biblical teaching; effective pastoral comfort and care; disciplined intellectual work across the spectrum of learned disciplines; and appreciation and use of Music and LITERATURE.

The Reformation

With his colleague PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, Luther guided a REFORMATION centered on doctrinal reform, in contrast to earlier medieval renewal efforts that sought moral and institutional change. These Wittenberg theologians created a paradigm change for Western THEOLOGY in the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) by defining the question of the sinner's identity in God's sight as the center of a biblical teaching (although inferior) church within the German Empire.

Their prince, Elector John of Saxony, enlisted Luther and Melanchthon in a princely led equivalent of a medieval episcopal parish visitation in 1527–1528. Their Visitation Articles cultivated pastoral care through the distinction of law (God's commands for human life, which condemn SIN) and gospel (the restoration of life through forgiveness in Christ) and guided the organization of parish life in line with Luther's reform. Luther was willing to permit Christian princes to take a leadership role in church life as "emergency bishops" in the absence of bishops committed to reform. The organizational principles of the Wittenberg Reformation spread to other cities and principalities as those won to Luther's cause composed constitutions or church orders (*Kirchenordnungen*) for WORSHIP, EDUCATION, social welfare, and other areas of church life. Especially influential were those drafted by the Wittenbergers' colleague JOHANNES BUGHENHAGEN.

Luther's Reformation preserved the structure of the medieval LITURGY, removing the canon of the Mass, which Luther regarded as a perversion of the LORD'S SUPPER. He retained the pericopal system. Postils on the traditional Sunday and festival texts,

modeled after Luther's own, became important tools for continuing education of CLERGY and family devotion. Followers, beginning with Johann Spangenberg (1484–1550) in 1541, took Luther's advice to develop further tools to supplement his CATECHISMS. Among the most popular pattern was that created by student Joachim Mörlin (1514–1571), who copied Luther's outline of law, gospel, and godly living to provide fundamental instruction in the faith. Family use of devotional literature supplemented PREACHING and catechesis for LAITY. Ethical instruction occurred in homiletical and other forms, including imaginative *Teufelbücher* (devil books), which used personification to promote Christian virtue through calls for repentance of specific sins.

Luther and Melancthon skillfully employed the printing press; however, their students and others disseminated their message by preaching, in GERMANY, Scandinavia, central Europe, ENGLAND, and FRANCE. In the latter two countries, independent reform movements developed, but Danish and Swedish monarchs were won for Lutheranism by pastors from their lands, some of whom were former Wittenberg students. Christian III employed HANS TAUSEN and Bugenhagen to introduce the Reformation in DENMARK in 1536. Opposition remained strong in Danish-ruled NORWAY for more than a generation before preaching and catechesis cultivated a strong Lutheran popular piety. In SWEDEN the independence movement led by the nobleman Gustav Vasa and Lutheran reform led by former Wittenberg student OLAVS PETRI, his brother LAURENTIUS, and Laurentius Andreae, found mutual support. In Swedish-ruled FINLAND, MICHAEL AGRICOLA, also a Wittenberg student, established Lutheran reform as publicist, school rector, and bishop. Beginning in the 1520s, German students from central European domains as well as Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, and others also brought the Wittenberg message back from the university to their own lands, where printed works had kindled commitment to Luther's ideas. In Latvia and Estonia, Lutheran preachers were using Luther's *Small Catechism* in the native languages by 1550. After 1550 some in HUNGARY and POLAND became Calvinists and some of them in turn Anti-Trinitarians, but strong Lutheran churches re-mained in Siebenburgen, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland into the triumph of the COUNTER-REFORMATION in the seventeenth century and beyond.

Confessionalization and Orthodoxy

The process by which the Reformation was consolidated and adapted to political, social, and ecclesiastical structures has been called CONFSSIONALIZATION by scholars since about 1980. For Lutheranism this process began soon after Luther's death (1546) when controversy arose among his and Melancthon's students over the proper interpretation of their legacy in an atmosphere embittered by the imperial defeat of Lutheran princes in the War of Schmalkald (1546–1547) and Emperor Charles V's attempt to force their people back to Roman Catholic obedience. Melancthon's efforts to save Saxon pulpits for Lutheran preachers were regarded as betrayal of the gospel by some of his best students; his feeling that they were betraying him in turn led to bitter recriminations. A quarter century of contention ended with the Formula of Concord

(1577) and BOOK OF CONCORD (1580), which brought two-thirds of the German Lutheran churches together in doctrinal agreement.

This period witnessed fruitful intellectual activity in the Wittenberg circle. Italo-Croatian student and colleague MATTHIAS FLACIUS (Illyricus), who broke with Melancthon over a series of doctrinal issues, synthesized Protestant hermeneutics in his ground-breaking *Clavis Scripturae sacrae* (*Key to the Sacred Scriptures*, 1567) and planned the first Protestant church history, the eight-volume *Magdeburg Centuries* (1559–1574), actually written by Johannes Wigand (1523–1587) and Matthaeus Judex (1528–1564). Braunschweig pastor Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586) issued a four-volume *Examination of the Council of Trent*, a sharp critique of Tridentine theology and clear presentation of Lutheran thought. It is important for its emphasis on (1) the AUTHORITY and reliability of Scripture as the sole source of teaching and the proper use of the Christian TRADITION, especially patristic writings; (2) the “excluding expressions,” such as “by grace alone,” “by faith alone,” and “apart from the works of the law,” in defining the JUSTIFICATION of sinners; (3) Luther’s understanding of original sin as “a turning away from God and hostility toward him”; (4) the SACRAMENTS as forms of God’s Word that convey God’s favor; and (5) the necessity of the good works that faith produces. These accents are also found in Chemnitz’s commentary on Melancthon’s master work on biblical teaching, *Loci communes theologici* (editions 1521, 1535, 1543), one of many such formulations of DOCTRINE by Melancthon’s students. Chemnitz’s *Loci* provided a bridge to and model for later Lutheran dogmatic textbooks. Rich devotional literature arose in the period as well, from Frankfurt/Oder professor Andreas Musculus (1514–1581), Silesian pastor Martin Moller (1547–1606), and many others. Nikolaus Herman (c.1500–1561) and Philip Nicolai (1556–1608), among others, continued the hymnodic tradition begun by Luther (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS).

After the publication of the Book of Concord the established churches of Lutheran Germany and Scandinavia experienced a long period of societal dominance. “Orthodox” theologians set the tone for church life from 1580 to 1700, synthesizing the thought of Luther, Melancthon, JOHANNES BRENZ, Chemnitz, and other Lutheran predecessors with patristic theology and elements of medieval scholasticism as they addressed the issues of their day in massive dogmatic works. Jakob Heerbrand (1521–1600) and Matthias Haffenreffer (1561–1619) at Tübingen and Leonhard Hutter (1563–1616, Wittenberg) composed doctrinal textbooks that led to the work of Johann Gerhard (Jena), the master of Lutheran dogmatists, with his *Loci theologici* (nine volumes, 1610–1622) and *Confessio catholica* (1634–1637). His contemporaries Cornelius (1568–1621) and Jakob (1570–1649) Martini had introduced Aristotelian metaphysics into Lutheran theology at Helmstedt and Wittenberg. Thus, Gerhard constructed his dogmatics on an analytic basis, abandoning Melancthon’s philological-rhetorical synthesis of biblical materials, presented with the help of patristic insights and Aristotelian logic; Gerhard adopted the Aristotelian metaphysical approach of J. Zabarella. Gerhard defended biblical authority on the basis of Scripture’s divine verbal inspiration. He made fruitful use of the ancient church fathers. The doctrine of justification by GRACE through FAITH in Christ alone remained the center of his teaching, along with God’s working his saving will through the “means of grace.” Gerhard directed his tightly argued analyses of doctrinal topics toward their “practical use” in parish life. His devotional handbook, *Sacred*

Meditations (1606), demonstrates that these dogmaticians preached and taught a warm piety at the same time they constructed their Aristotelian-biblical theology. Like Melancthon, Gerhard and other Orthodox theologians incorporated ethical instruction into their dogmatic works (see ETHICS).

Gerhard's provided the framework for the systems of Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1603–1666, Strasbourg); Abraham Calov (1612–1686, Wittenberg), whose opus embraced biblical exegesis as well as dogmatics; Johann Andreas Quenstedt (1617–1688, Wittenberg), whose *Didactic-Polemical Theology, or System of Theology* (1685) served as a comprehensive summary of his predecessors' insights and his own biblical study; and Johann Wilhelm Baier (1647–1695, Jena and HALLE). Johann Musaeus (1613–1681, Jena) initiated the Lutheran critique of Enlightened thinkers such as HERBERT OF CHERBURY and Bernard Spinoza. Sebastian Schmidt (1617–1696, Strasbourg) contributed to Talmudic studies and wrote massive biblical commentaries. At Copenhagen, Hans Poulsen Resen (1561–1638), Cort Aslakssen (1564–1624), and Jesper Rasmus Brochmand (1585–1652) represented Lutheran ORTHODOXY effectively. With the work of Pomeranian pastor David Hollaz (1648–1713) and Ernst Valentin Loescher (1673–1749, Wittenberg), a fierce critic of PIETISM, the age of Orthodoxy came to an end.

Although widespread agreement in teaching marked this era, controversies did arise. Wittenberg colleagues Samuel Huber (1547–1624) and Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603) contended over Huber's view of universal ELECTION; Hunnius nudged Orthodoxy in a "synergistic" direction with his view that election takes place "on the basis of foreseen faith." Danzig pastor Hermann Rahtmann's (1585–1628) spiritualizing views of the Holy Spirit's work provoked new treatment of God's Word as the means of grace that effects God's saving will from outside the believer. Theologians from Tübingen and Giessen disputed over Christ's *kenosis*, "emptying himself" (Philippians 2:7), in the 1620s. Helmstedt professor Georg Calixt aroused criticism from Calov and others with his call for Protestant reconciliation on the basis of the "consensus antiquitatis" of the first five centuries (Vincent of Lerin) in the "syncretistic controversy." His opponents believed his proposal abandoned the integrity of the Lutheran CONFESSION.

The Orthodox era also witnessed further development of Lutheran catechetics, in the theory and actual catechetical texts of Giessen professor and pastor in Ulm, Conrad Dietrich (1575–1639), who incorporated elements of Aristotelian analysis into his questions and answers that interpreted Luther's catechisms. Gerhard's *Sacred Meditationes* and JOHANN ARNDT'S (1555–1621) *Four Books on True Christianity* (1605–1610) and *Garden of Paradise* (1612), among others, enriched popular devotional life. Lutheran hymn-writers, including Paul Gerhardt, enlivened parish life. Württemberg court preacher Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654) cultivated social concern and piety.

General Baroque developments shaped modest Lutheran contributions in ART and ARCHITECTURE in this era. Lutheran composers, including MICHAEL PRAETORIUS, Heinrich Schütz, Johann Hermann Schein (1586–1630), Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654), DIETRICH BUXTEHUDE, and JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH, appropriated Italian developments to create new standards for organ and chorale, cantatas, and the like.

Like their Roman Catholic and Calvinist counter-parts, early modern Lutheran secular rulers pursued absolutist ideals in attempting to extend their powers over the CHURCH,

usually with success, although the often-ignored Lutheran tradition of defiance of and resistance to governments bent on undermining the church's integrity continued into the seventeenth century (e.g., in the resistance to Calvinist princes in Anhalt, Lippe, and Brandenburg where Paul Gerhardt opposed Elector Frederick William's anti-Lutheran program in the 1660s). More typical of the attitudes of theologians and governmental officials is the defense of ABSOLUTISM by the ducal Saxon counselor Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf (1626–1692), author of a skillful defense of Lutheranism, *Historical and Apologetical Commentary on Lutheranism* (1688–1692), who affirmed that princes held power as God's stewards for society in *The German Princely State* (1656) and *The Christian State* (1685).

SAMUEL FREIHERR VON PUFENDORF, professor of law and princely counselor, defended Lutheran positions against CALVINISM and forged a theory of NATURAL LAW that defined it as rational, agreeing with Christian revelation because it stems from God's design, but not dependent on revelation. With Christian commitment declining at European courts, he formulated a view of church POLITY that challenged the "Episcopal" theory (that God had given princes the responsibility to care for the religion of their people), which had supported princely administration of churches, largely through consistories (see CONSISTORY), since the Reformation. Pufendorf and Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), professor of law in Leipzig and Halle, advanced the increasingly predominant view, "territorialism," holding that by natural law princes bear responsibility for all institutions that support the welfare of the state, including the church (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). Christoph Matthaeus Pfaff (1686–1760, Tübingen and Giessen) and JOHANN LORENZ VON MOSHEIM (1694–1755, Helmstedt and Göttingen) advanced a third definition of church polity, "collegialism," that characterized the church as a community formed by the free association of individuals with the same rights as other institutions within society; princely administration of the church is conducted in behalf of this community.

In the seventeenth century, Roman Catholic authorities harshly persecuted Lutheran and other Protestant communities in central European lands, attempting to exterminate them as churches. Pastors were sentenced to life imprisonment in the galleys, churches confiscated, Lutheran worship and literature forbidden. In Slovakia and other areas the Lutheran percentage of the population was reduced from 85 to 15 percent during the century of suppression. In Hapsburg territories the Patent of Toleration (1781) restored minimal rights to the congregations of those who had preserved their faith with the BIBLE, catechism, and hymnbook.

Pietism

The need for renewal, particularly within established Lutheran churches charged with religious care and supervision of the entire population of a country, became ever clearer in spite of strong programs for cultivating piety in the preaching and devotional literature of Orthodoxy. Several programs for improving church life have borne the label "pietist" since the late seventeenth century. They reflected concerns of sixteenth-century Lutheran theology as well as Arndt's and Gerhard's, and English Puritan and Dutch Reformed devotional literature, with variations introduced in focus and formulation. PHILIPP

JAKOB SPENER launched an influential renewal movement. As pastor in Frankfurt/Main he composed a preface for Arndt's sermons on gospel pericopes that became a separate publication, *Pia Desideria*, an effective call for active lay and clerical discipleship. He organized small groups, the *collegia pietatis*, to foster pious living in the midst of the established congregations, with their indifferent majorities, through emphasis on Bible study, the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS, the practice of obedience to God, and improved preaching and theological education. From the Saxon court (Dresden) and later in cooperation with Brandenburg's government, as pastor in Berlin, Spener encouraged the growth of PIETISM.

Its chief organizer was AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE, whose *Stiftung* in HALLE, centered around an orphanage, modeled provision of social services, influenced theological students at Halle's university, distributed Bibles and devotional literature, and supported the first serious Protestant attempts at mission outside Europe, among non-Christians in INDIA (Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg [1682–1719] and Heinrich Plütschau [1677–1746], 1706, Tranquebar) and German emigrants (HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG, Pennsylvania). NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF founded the ecumenical Herrnhuter Community (see HERRNHUT) with the aid of persecuted Moravian refugees and influenced Lutheran preaching and piety in central Europe and many foreign lands. Württemberg pietism, focused on biblical study, the practice of discipleship in daily life, and eschatological speculation, is aptly reflected in the work of biblical scholar JOHANN ALBRECHT BENGEL (1687–1752), particularly his New Testament commentary, *Gnomen Novi Testamenti* (1742).

German Pietist influences combined with native traditions of piety to create a series of Bible-centered movements for godly living in Scandinavia and central Europe. In Sweden, Henrik Schartau (1757–1825), pastor in Lund, combined a strong commitment to the Lutheran confessions with concern for pious life and a rejection of SECTARIANISM. His use of confession and absolution and his printed sermons shaped popular Swedish piety for generations. Among the important nineteenth-century Swedish revival preachers were lay preacher Carl Olof Rosenius (1816–1868) and pastor Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861), whose followers in Sweden and Finland, sometimes given to ecstatic experiences, rely largely on lay leadership and therefore use Absolution as their chief sacrament (see REVIVALS). Other Swedish pietists with spiritualizing tendencies separated from the established church. In Denmark and Norway they remained largely within the established churches. Danish court preacher, bishop, and professor Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764) directed pietistic renewal, composed an explanation to Luther's *Small Catechism* that remained in use for two hundred years in Scandinavia and North America, and issued a new hymnal. Lay preacher HANS NIELSEN HAUGE traveled across Norway organizing CONVENTICLES and cultivated both a pious life, on the basis of a certain CONVERSION, and economic growth through his preaching. His criticism of rationalistic and immoral church leaders, as well as their fear of separatism, earned him imprisonment. His influence spread far beyond the groups he formed.

His reading of Luther and SØREN KIERKEGAARD moved Johan Vilhlem Beck (1829–1901) to found an Inner Mission society that brought a biblically based proclamation of Christ and encouragement for pious living to the Danish population.

Lutheranism in the Enlightenment

Pietists and Orthodox alike resisted Enlightened thought, which grew out of Orthodox metaphysics in part but increasingly set aside fundamental elements of Lutheran theology, including original sin, Christ's vicarious ATONEMENT, and sacramental teaching. Some early ENLIGHTENMENT thinkers regarded themselves as Lutherans; for example, GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ worked for reconciliation of the Lutheran churches with others, particularly the Reformed, but abandoned central concerns of Lutheran theology. The transitional thought of post-Orthodox theologians, Pfaff, Mosheim, and Johann Franz Buddeus (1667–1729), physicotheology (Johann Albert Fabricius [1668–1736]), Wolffian theology (SIGMUND JAKOB BAUMGARTEN), and NEOLOGY (JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER), represented differing approaches to reconciling reason with Scripture, setting aside specific aspects of Luther's thought while heralding him as an apostle of freedom and enlightened thinking. In Sweden, Orthodox theologians, such as Petrus Munck (1732–1803), worked to counter those influenced by German Enlightenment thinkers (e.g., Nils Vallerius [1706–1764], Uppsala).

The Confessional Revival

Reaction grew to "Enlightened" thinkers' shallow approaches and critical attacks on biblical authority and traditional Christian teaching. In 1817 Claus Harms (1778–1855), pastor in Kiel, posted a new "Ninetyfive Theses," calling for renewed commitment to biblical authority and the theology of the Lutheran confessions, with emphasis on the use of the Lord's Supper and Confession and Absolution. From his work and other factors grew a Confessional Revival and "Neo-Lutheranism."

Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III's imposition of a union of Reformed and Lutheran churches in 1817, reinforced in 1830, aroused a strong Lutheran consciousness that resulted in fresh expressions of traditional Lutheran emphases within the United Church (e.g., by Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg [1802–1869]), and in the organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Prussia (1841) by followers of Breslau professor Johann Gottfried Scheibel (1783–1843).

Within other Lutheran churches the Confessional Revival grew. When Bavarian King Ludwig I commanded that all soldiers kneel before the sacramental elements, the opposition of Erlangen professor Gottlieb Christoph Adolf Harless (1806–1879), a leader of renewal of confessional theology, cost him his position. After teaching in Leipzig and serving as Saxon court preacher he returned to Bavaria as president of the Lutheran Consistory. His program for theological renewal included certainty of personal rebirth through the power of the gospel and commitment to Scripture and the Lutheran confessions. The school that followed him and his colleague Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Höfling (1802–1853) strove to adapt the theology of the Lutheran confessions to nineteenth-century thought and refute the liberal theology of ALBRECHT RITSCHL and others (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). It included Luther scholar Theodosius Harnack (1817–1889), exegete (*Heilsgeschichte*) Johann Christen Konrad von Hofmann (1810–1877), and dogmaticians Gottfried Thomasius (1802–1875)

and Franz Hermann Reinhold Frank (1827–1894). The confessional tradition at Erlangen continued in the twentieth century with Ludwig Ihmels (1858–1933), Werner Elert (1885–1954), Paul Althaus (1888–1966), and Hermann Sasse (1895–1976), the latter moving to Australia in the early 1950s.

Close connections and parallels existed between the Erlangen faculty and that in Leipzig under the leadership of Karl Friedrich August Kahnis (1814–1888) and Franz Delitsch (1813–1890), who also encouraged a strong commitment to the Lutheran confessions within their disciplines and the life of the church. Delitsch's engagement for Jewish mission was shared by his fellow Old Testament scholar, the Jewish convert and Orientalist Carl Paul Caspari (1814–1892), who propagated Lutheran confessional theology alongside his colleague Gisle Johnson (1822–1894) at the University of Christiania/Oslo.

In Hesse, Marburg professor August Friedrich Christian Vilmar (1800–1868), influenced by Romantic Roman Catholic views, especially of JOHANN ADAM MÖHLER, minimized the priesthood of all believers and saw the gospel guaranteed through the pastoral office, instituted by God for the church, "Christ's body in its glory." He countered Enlightenment thought with a clear proclamation of Christ's atoning work as "objective fact," which gives life. His clear distinction of Lutheran teaching from that of the Reformed church caused conflict with Heinrich Heppe. Some other leaders of the Confessional Revival shared his strong advocacy of monarchical government.

The Confessional Revival was also promoted in principalities (Theodor Kliefoth [1810–1895], Mecklenburg) and parishes (Ludwig Adolf Petri [1803–1873], Hannover). In Denmark, Kierkegaard and Nicolaj F. Grundtvig sharply criticized the Enlightened church of their time, Grundtvig through an educational and sacramental-liturgical movement that reshaped Danish society and church. In Finland, Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg's (1811–1893) strong emphasis on preaching Christ called Lutherans back to the doctrine of justification.

Hedberg's efforts bore fruit in the forming of a society dedicated to overseas mission. Parallels are found throughout Scandinavia and Germany. In the Bavarian village Neuendettelsau, pastor Wilhelm Löhe provided a model for pastoral care through the use of the Lord's Supper, Confession and Absolution, and small-group Bible study, created a social welfare institution around a home for the elderly and a DEACONESS motherhouse, and founded a mission that first sent pastors to German emigrants in North America (later AUSTRALIA and BRAZIL) and in the 1890s began work in Papua New Guinea. The Christ-centered preaching of Ludwig Harms (1808–1865) in Hermannsburg created a popular revival in the Lüneburger Heide and led to the organization of a mission that, under the direction of Ludwig's brother Theodor (1819–1885), used settlements of German settlers in SOUTH AFRICA as missionary base communities for converting non-Christian native populations like Löhe's initial work among NATIVE AMERICANS in Michigan (see MISSIONS, GERMAN).

Lutheranism Outside Europe

Lutheran churches exist today in one hundred lands because of European emigration and active mission work. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Germans left lands

plagued by French invasions for North America; Muhlenberg's organizational efforts, above all the formation of the Pennsylvania Ministerium (1748), formed an institutional basis for the church. In the nineteenth century the Muhlenberg synods and newly established churches met the greatest wave of German emigration (1850s-1880s). Löhe's efforts produced the Iowa Synod; his "*Sendlinge*" also helped organize the Missouri Synod, which under the leadership of CARL FERDINAND WALTHER became the largest German Protestant church in America. From his position as pastor and professor/president at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Walther organized an ecclesiastical subculture around parishes with an emphasis on preaching, education in parochial schools, publications for laity and CLERGY, and social welfare agencies, such as orphanages. The Ohio and Buffalo Synods and others reproduced this model to some extent. Walther led in the organization of a "Synodical Conference" in 1872 that divided in 1881–1883 because of a dispute over PREDESTINATION.

One member of the Synodical Conference, the Norwegian Synod, represented the wing of Norwegian emigrants strongly committed to the Lutheran confessions, the Lutheran liturgical tradition, and Walther's strong doctrine of PREDESTINATION. Followers of Hauge were grouped together in at least two other synods; three other Norwegian synods held mediating positions. Nearly all these churches united in 1917 in the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Swedish immigrants who remained Lutheran formed the Augustana Synod (1860); others founded the Mission Covenant Church (1885). Danish emigrants, divided among followers of Beck and Grundtvig, established two churches, as did Slovaks and Finns, along lines of their understanding of commitment to the Lutheran confessions.

Merger efforts led to the formation of the United Lutheran Church of America from churches of the Muhlenberg tradition (1918), the German-American American Lutheran Church (1930), and, after intensive negotiations, to the AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH (German, Norwegian, Danish churches, 1960) and the United Lutheran Church (German, Swedish, Finnish, Danish churches, 1962). These two bodies, with dissident members of the Missouri Synod, the Association of Evangelical Lutheran churches, formed the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (1987).

German emigrants to southern BRAZIL began organizing congregations soon after their arrival in the 1820s. Wilhelm Rotermund (1843–1925) formed the first lasting synod in 1886. Four synods united in 1954 as the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil; the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Brazil (founded 1900) has held a more confessional position. German settlers and North American Lutheran missions have also organized congregations and church bodies elsewhere in South America.

A.L.C.Kavel (1798–1860) led Lutherans protesting the Prussian Union to Australia in 1838. Mergers in 1921 and 1966 brought together most Australian Lutherans in the Lutheran Church of Australia.

Until the Revolution of 1917, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German emigrants to RUSSIA and Finns in lands occupied by the Czarist government around 1700 had active congregations across the empire.

Lutheran missions, beginning with Ziegenbalg, have established churches in more than seventy nations. Lutheran missionaries worked with British missions in the early nineteenth century (see MISSIONS, BRITISH), but increasingly Lutherans organized their own training centers at home and new churches abroad. North American

denominations have traditionally conducted their own extraterritorial mission work; European churches have relied on mission societies to bring the gospel to unchurched peoples. Among the numerically most fruitful of these mission efforts are the several Batak churches on Sumatra, which composed their own confession of faith (1951) modeled on the AUGSBURG CONFESSION and Reformed confessions, and churches in India, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Namibia, and Madagascar.

Ecumenical Lutheranism

Pressures of nineteenth-century society fostered desires for contact among German Lutheran churches; Harless, Kliefoth, and others organized the General Evangelical-Lutheran Conference in 1868. Under leadership of that conference and the American National Lutheran Council, Lutheran churches from around the world came together in the Lutheran World Convention (1923), reorganized in 1947 as the LuTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION.

Historic differences between Reformed and Lutheran definitions of the Lord's Supper were declared insufficient to prevent church fellowship in the *Leuenberg Concord* (1973) between those churches in Germany. The *Porvoo Agreement* established ALTAR and pulpit fellowship between the Anglican Church and most Nordic and Baltic Lutheran churches in 1993. In 1999, against widespread protest from theological faculties, the Lutheran World Federation reached agreement with the Roman Catholic Church that the historic condemnations of the other's doctrine of justification are no longer valid in the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* and its "Annex."

Lutherans have made important contributions to the wider ecumenical movement (see ECUMENISM). Swedish bishop NATHAN SODERBLOM helped organize Life and Work in 1925. Initial commitment to the Movement for Faith and Order (1927) from Elert and Sasse turned to disappointment when deeper interest in serious doctrinal discussion seemed lacking. William Lazareth (1928–) and Günther Gassmann provided leadership to Faith and Order in the critical period of the "Lima Document," *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* (1982).

Twentieth-Century Lutheranism

Twentieth-century Lutheran theologians have represented a wide spectrum of theological viewpoints (see THEOLOGY, TWENTIETH-CENTURY). Specifically Lutheran accents were brought into theological exchange by Werner Elert, Paul Althaus, and Hermann Sasse at Erlangen and by Peter Brunner (1900–1981) and Edmund Schlink (1903–1984) at Heidelberg as well as by a group of Swedish theologians, including Gustaf Aulén (1879–1977), ANDERS NYGREN (1890–1978), Gustaf Wingren (1910–2000), Bo Giertz (1905–1998), and Bengt Hägglund (1920–).

Twentieth-century Lutherans have confronted hostile governments and societies repeatedly, suffering much at their hands. Lutherans reacted in various ways to the rise of National Socialism. Initial support by some for Adolf Hitler turned to opposition by the mid-1930s in some cases, such as Elert and Althaus. Sasse's early criticism of Nazi

racism was reinforced by the activities of German CONFESSING CHURCH leaders, including DIETRICH BONHOEFFER. The martyred Danish pastor Kaj Munk (1898–1944) and Norwegian archbishop EVIND BERGGRAV (1884–1959) led resistance to the Nazi occupiers.

Siberian imprisonment or execution removed all the pastors of German and Finnish Lutheran churches in the Soviet Union by 1940. Lay leadership maintained small groups of believers against sometimes intense persecution. Emigration weakened these churches further after perestroika, but they have begun to gather those seeking religious faith into old and new congregations. In Soviet-dominated central Europe lands, the degree of the oppression of the church varied. Estonian and Latvian churches suffered severe restrictions and pressures; Communist authorities there conducted periodic active campaigns against the Christian faith (see COMMUNISM). Some leaders tried to preserve church life through accommodation and compromise; others met the Communist despotism with confrontation. In Hungary, for example, Bishop Lajos Ordass (1901–1978) was abandoned by many clergymen and jailed by the Communist government in his battle for the integrity of the church. Members of some West African Lutheran churches have suffered death and destruction of churches at the hands of Muslim countrymen in civil wars in the 1980s and 1990s.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century Lutheran churches in northern and western Europe are in crisis because the indifference of earlier generations is producing significant demissions from church membership. Central and eastern European churches are struggling to reestablish their place in their societies. In AFRICA, above all, and in Asia and LATIN AMERICA mission churches are growing, some rapidly, and seem destined to exercise leadership in world Lutheranism.

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LUTHERANISM, GERMANY

LUTHERANISM originated in sixteenth-century GERMANY in the aftermath of MARTIN LUTHER'S excommunication from the Roman Catholic Church and the REFORMATION. Several princes, mostly in northern and central Germany, as well as magistrates of various free imperial cities, supported Luther's reform proposals and established "Evangelical" or "Lutheran" churches in their territories. At first an outlawed movement, Lutheranism came to be a legally recognized form of Christianity in the Holy Roman Empire by the middle of the sixteenth century. Lutheranism often benefited from the support of secular rulers as it was becoming established in Germany, but later faced a continuous struggle to avoid being manipulated by the state.

The Reformation

The initial controversy that led to the establishment of Lutheranism concerned the Catholic practice of issuing indulgences. In 1517 Luther, a priest and Augustinian friar teaching at the University of Wittenberg in Electoral Saxony, raised theological and moral questions about indulgences in his Ninety-five Theses. This ordinary call for an

academic debate surprisingly escalated into a major controversy between 1518 and 1520. When Luther was subjected to interrogations by his monastic order and theological representatives of the papacy, his dissatisfaction with church teachings broadened to include issues regarding papal AUTHORITY and the role of good works in the process of JUSTIFICATION. In 1520 he wrote three major treatises calling for extensive reforms of the church's hierarchical POLITY, sacramental piety, and synergistic THEOLOGY. The emperor, Charles V, gave Luther one last opportunity to defend his views at the DIET OF WORMS in 1521. When he refused to recant, he was declared an outlaw as well as a heretic (see HERESY).

Luther's prince, Frederick the Wise, rescued him and hid him away for ten months. In 1522 he returned to Wittenberg to reclaim leadership of a reform movement that, in his absence, had fallen under the influence of ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT and other impatient iconoclasts (see ICONOCLISM). Luther proposed to implement changes in church practices more slowly and cautiously than his radical rivals and urged his coworkers to persuade rather than force people to accept the new teachings he derived from the BIBLE alone. Luther published a German translation of the Bible (see BIBLE TRANSLATION) so that the laity could more easily read it for themselves and gradually introduced changes in WORSHIP. He stressed PREACHING as well as the celebration of the SACRAMENTS and made German the language of the LITURGY. Both bread and wine were once again offered to the LAITY when the LORD'S SUPPER was celebrated. Luther retained private CONFESSION as a preparation for participation in holy communion, but stopped assigning penance. He also abolished MONASTICISM and the requirement of clerical CELIBACY (see CLERGY, MARRIAGE OF).

In 1529, after a systematic visitation of all the parishes in Electoral Saxony had revealed widespread ignorance of basic doctrines and disturbingly low levels of morality, Luther prepared the Small and Large CATECHISMS (1529) to instruct both CLERGY and laity. To promote further improvement in communal life he expanded public EDUCATION for both boys and girls and established a common chest to provide stable funding for churches, schools, and poor relief.

Beyond Saxony, Lutheran territorial churches were established in Mansfeld (1525), Anhalt (1526), the four Braunschweig principalities (1526–1542), Hesse (1526), Holstein (1528), Pomerania (1534), Württemberg (1534), and Brandenburg (1536). Nuremberg (1525), Hamburg (1531), Lübeck (1531), and Strassburg (1536) were the most important imperial cities that became Lutheran. In the church orders prepared for these territories by Luther's coworkers, most notably JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN, the princes assumed the jurisdictional power formerly held by bishops but delegated the details of church administration to a CONSISTORY and to pastoral officers known as superintendents.

Luther did not pay much attention to matters of church organization, but expressed his general thoughts about church-state relations in a 1523 treatise, *On Temporal Authority* (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). Although he clearly differentiated between spiritual and worldly governance, Luther urged princes to rule in a Christian manner and protect the CHURCH. He also told citizens they were obligated to obey secular rulers as long as there were no infringements of the practice of true religion. The Peasant's Revolt of 1525 put this theoretical stance to the test. Luther acknowledged that the peasants had legitimate grievances against their rulers but rejected their use of violence to rectify

social injustice. In the end he authorized the princes to suppress the rebellion to maintain essential law and order.

At the DIET OF SPEYER in 1526, the emperor, Charles V, agreed to let each German ruler temporarily handle religious affairs for his own territories. Luther's princely sympathizers in Germany created the League of Torgau to protect their interests but were unwilling to ally themselves with other Protestant reformers in SWITZERLAND because Luther, at the MARBURG COLLOQUY, had rejected HULDRYCH ZWINGLI'S view of the Lord's Supper. When the second Diet of Speyer in 1529 curtailed the freedom of the Evangelical rulers, they filed an official protestation, which earned them an enduring designation as "Protestants." The emperor agreed to address disputed religious issues again at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, but when he was presented with the AUGSBURG CONFESSION as a conciliatory summary of Lutheran theology, he rejected it. After Charles V ordered the Protestants to conform to the theology and practice of the Catholic church, they formed a broader military alliance known as the SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE. With some reluctance Luther now condoned armed self-defense against the emperor.

The Interim Crisis and Subsequent Controversies

In 1546, within a few months of Luther's death, the emperor moved to suppress Protestantism in the Schmalkaldic War. After capturing the elector of Saxony and PHILIP OF HESSE, the key Lutheran leaders, he attempted to restore some elements of Catholicism in their territories through a temporary settlement known as the AUGSBURG INTERIM. MATTHIAS FLACIUS and some other church leaders responded with a campaign of uncompromising resistance, but more conciliatory Lutherans led by PHILIPP MELANCHTHON drafted the Leipzig Interim as a counterproposal. Melanchthon was willing to accept the reintroduction of some Catholic practices to keep the emperor from completely eradicating Lutheranism. In 1552 the princes of the Schmalkaldic League managed to regroup and force the emperor to retreat. In the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 Charles V ratified a new policy according to which each prince would determine the religion of his own territories. With this recognition of Lutheranism as a legal option, religious pluralism now became a permanent feature of German social life (see TOLERATION).

For several decades after the Interim Crisis, strife continued within the territorial churches between the supporters of Philipp Melanchthon, called Philippists, and their critics, known as GNESIO-LUTHERANS. These two parties differed not only in their judgments about which strategy would ensure the survival of Lutheranism but also about issues of belief such as the place of good works in the Christian life, the role played by the human will in the process of SALVATION, and the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper. Doctrinal disputes proliferated until a mediating party led by Martin Chemnitz and Jakob Andreae restored unity in 1577 by convincing most of the Lutheran churches to accept a more detailed confessional statement known as the Formula of Concord (see BOOK OF CONCORD).

Orthodoxy and Pietism

In the seventeenth century the Lutheran churches of Germany concentrated on the conservative tasks of defending their doctrinal consensus and enforcing conformity to established norms of belief and practice. University professors such as JOHANN GERHARD and Johann Quenstedt combined the use of philosophical argumentation and scriptural exegesis in their comprehensive systematic theologies to demonstrate continuity between the Bible, the creeds of the early church, the writings of Luther, and the official confessional documents of Lutheranism. Their inclination to accent how Lutheranism differed from Roman Catholicism and other forms of Protestantism was reinforced by the religious distrust that ongoing political conflicts provoked. Lutheranism was on the defensive in several regions of Germany, most notably Hesse, the Palatinate, and Brandenburg, because rulers there had converted to CALVINISM. The devastating effect of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) especially perpetuated bitter feelings toward Catholics.

There were, however, other important developments during this Age of Orthodoxy besides the refinement of polemical theology. Writers of devotional literature provided practical instruction in Christian living for lay people. Some of them, such as JOHANN ARNDT and his disciple, Christian Scriver, were more inclined to focus on defects within the Lutheran churches than on the errors of other religious groups. They perceived a widespread lack of commitment to spiritual growth among the laity and often blamed church theologians for failing to show how the beliefs they argued about were significant for the fostering of holy living.

Themes introduced by the seventeenth-century devotional writers provided the foundation for the reform movement known as PIETISM, which is most closely associated with the work of PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER. In his 1675 manifesto, *Pia Desideria*, Spener proposed a greater role for the laity in the church, in keeping with the Lutheran notion of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. He also advocated the use of small group meetings to promote spiritual CONVERSION through practical study of the Bible. During the early eighteenth century, AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE expanded the influence of Pietism in northern Germany through numerous institutions he established in the city of HALLE. Pietism also gained much popular support in southwest Germany, in Württemberg, especially through the leadership provided by JOHANN ALBRECHT BENGEL, a noted biblical scholar.

Supporters of the Orthodox dogmaticians were generally critical of the Pietists, charging them with indifference to DOCTRINE, excessive emotionalism, improper emphasis on good works, and the promotion of separatism. Some radical Pietists did willingly sever their ties with the Lutheran churches. Other groups who wished to retain a connection to Lutheranism, such as the Moravians led by Count NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF, were eventually forced by their critics to reconstitute themselves as separate churches (see MORAVIAN CHURCH).

Post-Enlightenment Theologies

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the critical questioning of traditional Christianity associated with the ENLIGHTENMENT became more widespread in Germany. The way had been prepared by the philosopher GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ, who, in contrast to the strict confessionalism of Lutheran ORTHODOXY, worked for the reunion of Catholicism and Protestantism. Advocating an even broader toleration, GOTTHOLD LESSING circulated the skeptical biblical criticism of HERMANN REIMARUS. Interest in theological rationalism spread among the Lutheran clergy, but, at the end of the century, the philosopher IMMANUEL KANT posed a new challenge by arguing that pure reason could not establish even the most basic religious truth, such as claims as to the existence of God. Although Kant and the idealist philosopher GEORG W.F. HEGEL rejected key elements of Lutheran theology, they were more interested in constructing a new basis for religion than in discarding it altogether.

This intellectual revolution, combined with hostility toward organized religion stimulated by the social revolutions of the early nineteenth century, eroded the influence of Lutheranism in the lives of many Germans. The traditional theological identity of Lutheranism in Germany also seemed threatened when the king of Prussia decided to merge the Lutheran and Reformed churches in his territories in 1817, the tercentenary of the Reformation. Claus Harms inspired a resurgence of conservative Lutheranism by publishing a new set of ninety-five theses against this PRUSSIAN UNION and Enlightenment religion in general. Efforts to retain a confessionally precise Lutheranism developed elsewhere in Germany, especially in Bavaria through the work of WILHELM LÖHE and theologians at the University of Erlangen. Additional, more pietistic, efforts to reassert Lutheran influence in German society were carried out through theologians such as AUGUST THOLUCK and the founder of the Inner Mission movement, J.H. Wichern.

Other Lutheran theologians were more deeply influenced by Kant's moralistic philosophy and the new liberal theology of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER. By the 1870s ALBRECHT RITSCHL had established a school of thought that focused on Jesus as preacher of the KINGDOM OF GOD and on the role of the church as an ethical influence in society. ERNST TROELTSCH and ADOLF HARNACK, the most influential liberal Lutherans of the early twentieth century, supported the application of modern historical-critical methods to the analysis of the Bible and characterized the significance of Jesus in new ways to sustain the relevance of Christianity in the modern world (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). The dialectical theology, or NEOORTHODOXY, of KARL BARTH inspired a widespread critical reaction to Liberal Protestantism after World War I, but questions about how the Jesus of history relates to the Christ of faith continued to be a predominant theological concern in subsequent decades in the diverse theologies of Lutherans such as RUDOLF BULTMANN, PAUL TILlich, FRIEDRICH GOGARTEN, and WOLFHART PANNENBERG.

Church-State Relations

Conquest by FRANCE at the beginning of the nineteenth century had stimulated German national consciousness. After the defeat of Napoleon, Prussia orchestrated the consolidation of the multitudinous states of the former Holy Roman Empire until a unified Germany was finally formed in 1871. Conservative Lutherans generally favored the new authoritarian government because of its commitment to blocking the influence of Catholics, Marxists, and anticlerical socialists in society. Even the leading theological liberals supported the German emperor's military assertiveness in World War I. After Germany's defeat and the formation of the Weimar Republic, the Protestant churches were partially disestablished. For the most part, church leaders did not welcome this new development. When the Nazis came to power in 1933 the churches were invited once again to work more closely with the state. Adolf Hitler pushed the previously autonomous territorial churches (fifteen Lutheran, twelve Prussian Union, one Reformed) into uniting as one Protestant folk church, and the GERMAN CHRISTIANS, a movement sympathetic to the Nazi political agenda, managed to get their candidate elected as its first bishop. Various countermovements quickly emerged. MARTIN NIEMÖLLER created the Pastor's Emergency League in 1933. The CONFESSING CHURCH formed in 1934 and pointedly asserted the incompatibility of Christianity and Nazi ideology in the BARMEN DECLARATION, written by a Reformed theologian, Karl Barth, and two Lutherans, Hans Asmussen and Thomas Breit. Many Lutheran church leaders continued to have reservations about engaging in united resistance to an established government, but there were some notable exceptions. The Nazis executed DIETRICH BONHOEFFER for his involvement in a plot to assassinate Hitler.

After World War II, the various Protestant churches attempted to make a fresh start by working together in a new federation known as the Evangelical Church of Germany (EKD). In 1948 most Lutheran churches also began to coordinate their efforts through the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany (VELKD). After the section of Germany under Russian occupation became the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in 1949, the Lutherans in the East faced a new struggle with a government that proposed to replace Christianity with COMMUNISM. OTTO DIBELIUS and other bishops continuously protested against efforts to limit the independence and influence of the churches. After 1968 it was no longer possible for these church leaders to maintain contact with Lutherans in West Germany, so they reluctantly created their own church federation. Some Lutherans attempted to cooperate with the government as a "church within socialism," without surrendering uncritically to all of its dictates. In the 1980s, however, the churches began to shift away from a strategy of coexistence toward support for the growing protest movement that eventually caused the demise of the DDR. In 1990, the year of national reunification, the churches of East and West Germany were also reunited in the EKD.

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ERIC LUND

LUTHERANISM, GLOBAL

Lutheran churches have their roots in the sixteenth-century REFORMATION centered in Wittenberg, a movement that spread quickly from Germany to central Europe and Scandinavia. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries emigrants from these countries established Lutheran churches in North America. This article deals with the 18.5 million Lutherans in the churches of AFRICA, Asia, LATIN AMERICA, and the Pacific who account for more than 30 percent of the 63 million Lutherans worldwide. These churches have their origins in both immigrant communities and the missionary movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They are part of the global Lutheran Communion served by the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION (LWF) whose members include all but about four million of the world's Lutherans, almost all of whom have close ties to the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD (LCMS).

Africa

Cape Town was the site of the first immigrant Lutheran congregation in Africa (1780) but whereas other immigrant Lutheran churches came to dot the continent, the real

establishment of Lutheranism in Africa is the result of missionary movements. Because of their dependency on foreign churches and MISSION-ARY SOCIETIES and, as they became autonomous, their partnership with those groups, churches in Africa have been strong advocates of the movement in world Lutheranism from federation to communion. Africa is the most rapidly growing part of the Lutheran communion.

Southern Africa

Lutheranism in southern Africa is the result of efforts to bring together churches rooted in the work of various missionary societies and groups of immigrants. The Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (FELCSA, 1966) was founded to realize the policy proposed by the LWF of one Lutheran church in the region that would include the MORAVIAN CHURCH. However, the effort was undercut by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (UELCSA, 1965), formed by three white German churches in Namibia and SOUTH AFRICA that were equivocal about apartheid. The majority black churches countered by constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA, 1975) while leaving FELCSA operational. After an unheeded admonition at its Dar es Salaam Assembly (1977) and at the recommendation of ELCSA, the Budapest Assembly of the LWF (1984) suspended membership of the UELCSA churches, declaring their attitude toward apartheid a *status confessionis*. Upon evidence of a changed attitude toward their black counterparts, the UELCSA churches were restored to LWF membership at its Curitiba Assembly in 1990, clearing the way for the formation in 1991 of the Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa (LUCSA).

Namibia was also affected by the internal apartheid struggle because its German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (GELC) belongs to UELCSA. Even more important was the participation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia (ELCRN), heirs of Finnish and German missions, respectively, in the struggle for Namibian independence. The churches were assisted in their struggle by an advocacy and leadership training program begun jointly in 1986 by antecedent bodies of the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ELCA). Since Namibia gained independence in 1989 the black and white churches have striven for a united Lutheran church in Namibia. The Namibian population is 95 percent Christian, with Lutherans claiming about 58 percent.

In addition to the churches noted above, LUCSA (near 1.8 million), the legal successor of FELCSA, includes the black Evangelical Lutheran churches in Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe together with the UELCSA churches and the Moravian Church in South Africa.

Central and Eastern Africa

The Evangelical Church of Eritrea (1923), whose roots go back to nineteenth-century Swedish missionary efforts, is the oldest autonomous Lutheran church on the African continent. Early missionaries to Eritrea and Ethiopia endeavored to work within the ancient orthodox Church (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN), but the evangelical

movement triggered initially by the distribution of bibles in Amharic could not be contained. In 1959 the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) was founded at the Mekane Yesus (Jesus' dwelling place) Church in Addis Ababa and became the first church after the Orthodox Church to be recognized by the government. That recognition survived the 1974 revolution whose socialist government turned its back on Ethiopian Christians, and it enabled EECMY to shelter other Christian groups in its churches. In 1974 the Bethel Synod, supported by the then United Presbyterian Church in North America (see PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U.S.A.) merged with EECMY, making it a united church. From the beginning EECMY depended heavily on lay leadership in its evangelization efforts and, at the turn of the century, was the fastest growing Lutheran church in the world: 3.35 million members.

This region also contains the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT), the second largest African Lutheran church: 2.5 million members. The terminology of its inner organization—twelve dioceses and five synods with a presiding bishop—reflects its background in missions from GERMANY (see MISSIONS, GERMAN), the Nordic countries, and the UNITED STATES that promoted both episcopal and synodal forms of government. Makumira Lutheran Theological College (1954) has developed into a theological center for the region. The evangelistic zeal of ELCT is evidenced by a “reverse evangelism” project that brings Tanzanian pastors and teachers to Europe and North America where they have become missionaries to their secularized fellow Christians.

The Malagasy Lutheran Church (MLC, 1950) also numbers more than a million members. Half of the island's Christians are Roman Catholics, and other Protestants came together in the union of 1968 that became the Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar.

In 1993 these and the evangelical Lutheran churches in Congo, Kenya, and Rwanda formed the Lutheran Communion in Central and Eastern Africa (LUCCEA) that has 7.6 million members.

Western Africa

Lutheran churches in this vast part of Africa are mostly small and have their roots in missionary work of the twentieth century. The largest is The Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria (1954) with roots both in DENMARK and among Danish Lutherans in the United States. Its sister church, The Lutheran Church of Nigeria, has close ties with the LCMS. The churches of the Cameroon constitute the second largest group of Lutherans, having their roots in the missionary work of the Church of the Lutheran Brethren in the United States. The church in Chad stems from the same mission as does the church in the Central African Republic. The church in Angola has close ties with the Lutherans in northern Namibia, having become independent when the border with Namibia was closed in 1979. Lutherans in Zaire are part of the government-initiated Church of Christ in Zaire, a federation formed in 1972. The roots of the Lutheran Church in Liberia (LCL, 1965) reach back into the nineteenth century when missionaries from the United States began work. LCL has encouraged the small church in SIERRA LEONE, a country that shares LIBERIA'S history as a haven for freed slaves.

In 1993 twelve Lutheran churches from the above-mentioned countries founded the African Communion in Western Africa (LUCWA) with 1.2 million members.

African churches have made good use of radio as an evangelism tool (see MASS MEDIA). Two examples from many are the *Radio Voice of the Gospel*, established in 1963 in Addis Ababa, but shut down by the socialist government in 1977. Christians in Shaba, Zaire, sought Lutheran affiliation because of its broadcasts. Another example is Eternal Love Winning Africa, a transmitter of the SUDAN INTERIOR MISSION used by LCL to broadcast worship services and evangelistic programs to the jungle-bound peoples of the country.

Asia/Pacific

The 6.7 million Lutherans in Asia are to be found in most parts of this vast area with its ancient and highly developed cultures. Most churches are quite small, although with assistance from the LWF they often carry on works of education, development, and welfare far beyond what size may suggest. All but 100,000 of Asian Lutherans are in churches belonging to the LWF including some, such as the Lutheran Church in the Philippines, that maintain close ties with LCMS. The BASEL MISSION and Rhenish Mission were especially instrumental in planting Lutheranism in Asia, although in the twentieth century their work was supplemented and sometimes supplanted by missionaries from Scandinavia and the United States.

India

Lutheranism in INDIA reaches back to 1706 and the arrival of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg who founded what has become the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church. It is now one of twelve Lutheran churches, ten of which constitute the United Evangelical Church in India (UELCI, 1975) with 1.6 million members. Member churches have developed from mission work carried on by German, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, American, and Latvian societies and boards. Conversations with the united Protestant CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA (1947) led to doctrinal agreement, but the UELCI has not joined. By contrast the small Lutheran church in Pakistan helped form a united Church of Pakistan. After a period of supporting ecumenical theological education, especially in Bangalore, UELCI has concentrated on expanding its own training center, Gurukul Theological College and Research Institute in Madras.

Indonesia

By far the largest Lutheran presence in Asia/Pacific is the Lutheran community in INDONESIA, whose ten churches account for 3.9 million members. The BATAK PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH (HKPB) with its 3 million members mostly in Sumatra is the mother church with its own confession developed in 1951. The LWF judged that the Batak confession agrees in substance with the AUGSBURG CONFESSION (its confessional basis) and granted HKBP membership. That judgment remains unique in the Lutheran communion. Six of the other Lutheran churches are

outgrowths of the HKPB, which also has congregations in Malaysia and Singapore. Under Indonesian philosophy based on the five principles—belief in a unitary deity, nationalism, democracy, humanitarianism, and social justice—Lutherans have learned to coexist with other Christians and with the large Islamic population. Lutherans are founding members of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (1950).

Papua New Guinea

The late nineteenth century saw the arrival of missionaries from Neuendettelsau and the Rhenish Mission on this island. When German missionaries were excluded during World War I, missionaries from AUSTRALIA and the United States took over the work. Presently two Lutheran churches constitute the largest Protestant presence in PNG with close to a million members. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (815,000) has been autonomous since 1956. Although the smaller Gutnius Lutheran Church-Papua New Guinea has ties with LCMS, both churches are members of the LWF.

Australia/New Zealand

As immigrant churches, the Australian churches are unique in this part of the world. Although a small Lutheran mission to the aborigines began in 1838, later that year the first contingent of German Lutheran dissenters from the Prussian Union gathered in Adelaide for worship. Another group arrived in 1841 and formed its own church. These were the roots of two parallel church bodies, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA, 1921) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA, 1944). The former was a founding member of the LWF and the latter maintained close ties with the LCMS. A precondition of their 1966 union to form the Lutheran Church in Australia (LCA) was giving up these external relationships, although in 1994 the LCA became an associate member of the LWF. The LCA numbers 94,000 members. Another 1,300 form the Lutheran Church of New Zealand, a district of the LCA.

Hong Kong, China, Taiwan

Lutherans began mission work in CHINA in the mid-nineteenth century, and the former Lutheran Church of China was formed in 1920. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China and the closing of existing churches, an interdenominational Protestantism has arisen on the mainland. The focus of Chinese Lutheranism has shifted to the five churches of Hong Kong (42,800) and the six on Taiwan (16,500). Seven of these are members of the LWF. Until 1985 the LWF maintained a Hong Kong office to coordinate Lutheran approaches to China. Since then contacts have been made directly to the China Christian Council.

Other Lutheran churches in Asia are found in Bangladesh (11,400), JAPAN (32,500), Jordan/Israel (3,000), South KOREA (3,000), Malaysia (88,600), Myanmar (1,500), Singapore (3,000), Sri Lanka (1,200), and Thailand (1,700).

Latin America and the Caribbean

Well into the twentieth century, because of the over-whelming Roman Catholic presence, mission boards did not regard Latin America as a mission land. As in North America and Australia, it was German immigrants who formed the first Lutheran congregations. Not until after World War II, stimulated by the arrival of displaced persons from Europe, did they break out of their linguistic and cultural isolation and reach out not only to them but also to indigenous populations, gradually adopting the Spanish and Portuguese tongues. Even so they have maintained cordial relations with the Roman Catholic churches, not least because of the post-Vatican II Lutheran-Roman Catholic ecumenical dialogues. Lutheran churches of the CARIBBEAN, by contrast, are largely the result of missions of predecessor bodies of the ELCA and the LCMS.

Church leaders have joined in the popular struggle for liberation from poverty and exploitation and the establishment of a just social order, and Latin America is the birthplace of LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Among Protestants these concerns led in 1982 to the formation of the Latin American Council of Churches (CLAI). Sixteen of the Lutheran churches are members.

Together all seven Caribbean churches count 57,200 members and only El Salvador and Honduras are large enough to qualify as members of the LWF. Costa Rica, Ecuador, and Guatemala have “recognized congregation” status. One of the four Mexican churches is also an LWF member (see MEXICO).

The Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (ECLCB) with over 700,000 members is the largest Lutheran church on the continent and exemplifies how since World War II the largely German churches are becoming multicultural. ECLCB maintains in Sao Leopoldo the only major Lutheran theological faculty on the continent. ECLCB’s sister church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brazil (217,800) was until 1980 a district of the LCMS and maintains close ties with that body. The Evangelical Church of the River Plate (ECRP), based in Argentina but found also in Paraguay and Uruguay, is with 47,000 members the third largest Lutheran church in Latin America. On the same territory is a parallel church that until the mid-1980s was a district of the LCMS. A Spanish-speaking Lutheran seminary founded in 1956 in Buenos Aires merged in 1970 with the older Union Seminary to form the Evangelical Institute of Advanced Theological Study (ISEDET), the premiere Protestant faculty in the area. Unlike Africa and parts of Asia, the LCMS-related churches in Latin America are not members of the LWF.

These churches of BRAZIL and Argentina typify the other emerging multicultural Lutheran churches in Latin America: Bolivia (18,700), Chile (15,000), Colombia (3,300), Guyana (11,000), Nicaragua (3,800), Paraguay (ECRP 3,800+), Peru (2,600), Suriname (4,000), Uruguay (ECRP), and Venezuela (5,100).

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EUGENE L.BRAND

LUTHERANISM, SCANDINAVIA

Lutheranism has been the dominant form of Christianity in Scandinavia since the sixteenth century. Facing little competition from other religious groups, the Lutheran churches have maintained their vitality primarily through internal reform movements. Most Scandinavians consider themselves Lutherans, but in modern times the forces of secularization have significantly reduced the extent of regular participation in ritual religiosity. As Scandinavian societies have become more pluralistic, the Lutheran churches have needed to reevaluate their roles as folk churches and adjust their relationships with state governments.

The Scandinavian Reformation

In 1397 the Union of Kalmar brought all of the Scandinavian countries together under the rule of DENMARK. The coming of Lutheranism to Scandinavia coincided with the breakup of this union and the creation of modern territorial monarchies. King Christian II of Denmark's failure to suppress a Swedish uprising against his rule in 1520 led to the formation of an independent kingdom of SWEDEN and FINLAND. When Gustavus Vasa, a leader of the rebellion, was elected king in 1523, he took measures to ensure the independence of Sweden by also diminishing the power of the Catholic church in his realm. He chose Laurentius Andreae, a reform-minded archdeacon, as his chancellor, and OLAUS PETRI, who had studied with MARTIN LUTHER in Wittenberg, as preacher to the city of Stockholm. In 1528 the king pressured a Catholic bishop to consecrate several new bishops who were sympathetic to his efforts to create an independent national

church. As a result of this event the Swedish church has always claimed to have a historic episcopate in apostolic succession, even though it broke away from Roman Catholicism.

Because of a lack of popular support the Swedish king was cautious about implementing other changes in religious practice, but LAURENTIUS PETRI, who was named archbishop of Uppsala in 1531, and his brother, Olaus Petri, gradually moved the church toward Lutheranism. The reformers briefly lost favor with the king in 1540 for resisting his efforts to control the church completely, but by 1544 the Diet of Västerås was prepared to commit Sweden officially to Protestantism. Nevertheless the confessional character of the church remained vague until a Lutheran Church Order was approved in 1571 and the Uppsala Resolution of 1593 required adherence to the AUGSBURG CONFESSION. As a province of Sweden, Finland concurrently experienced a religious transformation, under the leadership of another Wittenberg-educated bishop, MICHAEL AGRICOLA.

King Christian II was deposed from the Danish throne shortly after he lost control of Sweden and the Danish nobility elected his uncle, Frederick I, as king in 1523. During Frederick's reign, popular support for Protestantism developed in Denmark. HANS TAUSEN, a Wittenberg-educated priest, advanced the movement from the town of Viborg, although Malmö, in Danish-controlled southern Sweden, was also a significant center of reform. In 1526 Frederick made Tausen his chaplain, and the Diet of Odense supported a breaking of ties with Rome. In 1531 the deposed king, Christian II, attempted to reclaim power with the help of Olav Engelbrektsson, a Catholic archbishop in NORWAY, but the insurrection failed. After the death of Frederick I, his strongly Lutheran son, Christian III, completed the establishment of a Lutheran church. In 1536 the Diet of Copenhagen dismissed the Catholic bishops and named Lutheran superintendents to lead the church. Luther's German coworker, JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN, helped draw up a new Church Order for Denmark in 1537. Peder Palladius, another Wittenberg-educated reformer, supplied valuable theological leadership in the following decades and was consecrated as a bishop (superintendent) along with Hans Tausen. In 1536 Norway was reduced to the status of a province under the full control of Denmark and thus became subject to the same religious policies. By 1541 all four of the bishops of Norway were Lutherans. At the same time Denmark established a national Lutheran church in ICELAND.

Orthodoxy and Pietism

After the Reformation era the Scandinavian monarchs continued to consolidate their power and insisted on adherence to Lutheranism to preserve unity in their kingdoms. Denmark and Sweden aspired to be major powers in Europe and, as a result, they become entangled in religious and political controversies that first developed in Lutheran GERMANY.

In the late sixteenth century the kings of both Denmark and Sweden were strictly anti-Catholic but did not require much doctrinal precision in the state churches. King Frederick II of Denmark did not endorse the Formula of Concord, the more elaborate confessional document developed by German Lutherans in 1577. The Swedish church put more stress on correct liturgical forms than on doctrinal details. Sympathy for the

theological positions advocated by PHILIPP MELANCHTHON and his Philippist followers was strong, especially in Denmark and Norway.

At the start of the seventeenth century, however, Scandinavia, like Germany, shifted toward strict Lutheran ORTHODOXY. Niels Hemmingsen, the foremost theologian in Denmark, was dismissed from his professorship at the University of Copenhagen in 1579 under suspicion of teaching a Calvinist view of the LORD'S SUPPER (see CALVINISM). New theological leaders such as Hans Poulsen Resen and Jesper Brochmand emerged and had extensive influence throughout the Lutheran world as defenders of orthodoxy. King Charles IX, who ruled Sweden after 1609, also manifested a new zeal for the clarification of correct doctrine.

When the Thirty Years' War broke out on the Continent, the Scandinavian kings came to the defense of their coreligionists in Germany. Christian IV of Denmark mounted a campaign in support of the Protestant Union but was defeated in 1626. GUSTAVUS II ADOLPHUS of Sweden won important victories throughout Germany after entering the war in 1630, but the Protestant forces suffered a major setback when he was killed at the battle of Lützen in 1632.

Near the beginning of the eighteenth century, PIETISM began to spread from Germany to Scandinavia. In 1705 King Frederick IV supported missionaries sent out from HALLE, the north German center of Pietism, to the Danish colony in INDIA. This was the first involvement of Lutherans in overseas mission work. The next king, Christian VI, was called the "Pietist on the throne." He made CONFIRMATION compulsory in 1736 to strengthen religious devotion. His court preacher, Erik Pontoppidan, later a bishop in Norway, published an explanation of Luther's Small Catechism in 1738, which had a long-standing influence on popular religious life (see CATECHISM). The so-called Pleiades, a group of seven pastors in Romsdal led by Thomas von Westen, also nurtured Pietism in Norway and got royal approval to begin missionary work among the Lapps (Sami).

Swedish students who were educated at Halle returned to their homeland as Pietists, as did many thousands of Swedish soldiers who had experienced spiritual renewal while imprisoned in RUSSIA during the Great Northern War of 1713–1721. The growing influence of the MORAVIAN CHURCH, however, and other, more radical Pietists who were critical of Lutheranism prompted the authorities to pass the Conventicles Act of 1726. Henceforth all private religious meetings were prohibited if they were unsupervised by the CLERGY.

Nineteenth-Century Revivals

The critical spirit of the ENLIGHTENMENT began to change religious life in Scandinavia in the late eighteenth century. In 1781 an Edict of Toleration granted religious liberty to all residents of Sweden, although a new constitution in 1809 still obligated native Swedes to adhere to "pure evangelical faith (see TOLERATION)." In Denmark some of the leading cultural figures were openly critical of traditional Christianity. A new constitutional law also granted religious liberty in Denmark in 1849, although the state continued to support the church. Although Lutheranism faced new challenges during these times, one of the most notable features of nineteenth-century

Scandinavian religious life was the development of various AWAKENINGS that prolonged the influence of Pietism.

In Norway HANS NIELSEN HAUGE experienced a CONVERSION in 1796 and became an inspirational traveling lay preacher. Despite being a loyal Lutheran he was imprisoned for more than ten years for failing to obey the Danish Conventicle Act of 1741 that prohibited the kind of informal religious meetings he held (see CONVENTICLES). In the long run, however, efforts to suppress Hauge's movement failed. Some Haugeans became forceful representatives of peasant interests after Norway became independent from Denmark in 1814 and succeeded in repealing the Conventicle Act in 1842. The Norwegian awakening movement was renewed in the second half of the nineteenth century and drawn closer to the state church under the guidance of Gisle Johnson, who influenced many clergy through his long career as a lay theological professor in Christiania (Oslo).

In Denmark a strong Pietist movement developed in South Jutland in reaction to rationalism. By the middle of the nineteenth century many Lutherans who were attracted to the stress on penitence, conversion, and SANCTIFICATION found in such groups became associated with the Church Home Mission Society under the leadership of Vilhelm Beck. This organization conducted evangelization and social welfare programs from various inner mission houses that were intended to supplement the official activities led by parish clergy. Some participants eventually split off to form a separate Free Church, but most remained associated with the state Lutheran church.

In Sweden Henrik Schartau, dean of the cathedral in Lund, inspired a revival movement in the early nineteenth century that encouraged catechetical training and strict morality but strongly disapproved of conventicles and other lay activities conducted apart from the clergy (see REVIVALS). Another, more ecstatic, renewal movement developed in northern Sweden, in the 1840s, under the leadership of Lars Laestadius. The Laestadian revival especially influenced the Lapps. Carl Olaf Rosenius, a lay preacher from the north who had also interacted with Methodists (see METHODISM), nurtured another revival movement, based in Stockholm, that became institutionalized in 1856 as the Evangelical National Foundation. As with the Danish and Norwegian inner mission movements, separate meetinghouses developed, although this association remained loyal to the Lutheran church. Later, however, in 1878, some Pietists influenced by Paul Peter Waldenström broke away and formed the Mission Covenant Church. Finland experienced its own revivals, most notably under the leadership of Paavo Ruotsalainen.

Grundtvig and Kierkegaard

Religious life in Scandinavia was also deeply affected in the nineteenth century by two controversial Danes who were fervent Christians but had complicated relations with the state Lutheran churches. NIKOLAJ F.S. GRUNDTVIG, a pastor who was also a noted educational reformer, attempted to revitalize both the church and his country by emphasizing the important role that congregational life should play in developing and sustaining the distinctive CULTURE and national identity of the Danish people. Although he favored the existence of a state Lutheran church, he was also a champion of personal freedom who criticized laws enforcing religious uniformity and compulsory

participation. The new constitution of 1849 moved Denmark closer to his ideal of an inclusive church with a freer relationship to the state (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW).

SØREN KIERKEGAARD, a theologically trained layman, was a noted critic of Grundtvig and other church leaders whom he thought distorted the true nature of Christianity by offering people a comfortable existence in a nondemanding state church. In 1854 he began an "Attack upon Christendom" that emphasized the difficulty of Christian existence and the contrast between Christianity and worldly culture. Kierkegaard offended many of his contemporaries but became more influential in twentieth-century Protestant theology through his numerous philosophical, psychological, and religious writings.

Social Change and Secularization

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Scandinavian nations underwent extensive social changes. Finland was conquered by Russia in 1809 and became a separate nation in 1917. Norway passed from the control of Denmark to Sweden in 1814 and attained full independence in 1905. Absolute monarchies evolved into democracies, and governments began to tolerate other expressions of religion besides Lutheranism. Overpopulation and changes in land usage in the countryside forced many to immigrate to North America or move to urban areas. The rate of INDUSTRIALIZATION accelerated in the early twentieth century, drastically disrupting traditional social bonds and patterns of folk piety. In the minds of many, the churches did not adequately respond to the social needs created by these changes and so their attachment to the state churches weakened. Anticlericalism became commonplace in the labor movement and among many intellectuals. SECULARIZATION increased markedly from 1850 onward, although indifference to organized religion was more common than hostility. At the end of the twentieth century, between 90 and 95 percent of the citizens of the Scandinavian countries still identified themselves as Lutheran, but only 3 to 5 percent attended church on a weekly basis.

Continuing Vitality

Although many Scandinavians seemed content with a church involvement limited to major religious holidays and sporadic transitional ritual events such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals, those who were more active in the churches continued to have an impact on their societies and worldwide Lutheranism.

At the start of the century there were deep divisions in the churches of Denmark and Norway between Pietists associated with the inner mission movements, Grundtvigians, and liberal Lutherans. In Norway the tension was so great that the conservatives created their own independent school to train pastors, the *Menighetsfakultet* (Congregational Faculty), in 1908, as an alternative to the theological education offered at the University of Oslo. During World War II, however, Ole Hallesby of the *Menighetsfakultet* and EIVIND BERGGRAF, the bishop of Oslo, brought all factions together to form a Joint

Christian Council to work in opposition to the occupying Nazi forces and their collaborators. In 1942 all of the bishops in Norway resigned from the state church in protest. Almost all of the clergy supported them, even though it meant the loss of state salaries, and a self-governing folk church was organized for the duration of the war. In Denmark many pastors and active lay people also gained respect during the war for supporting the resistance movement and helping Jews to escape to neutral Sweden.

Sweden produced a number of internationally influential theologians during the twentieth century. NATHAN SÖDERBLOM, archbishop of Uppsala from 1914 to 1931, made major contributions to ECUMENISM by founding the Life and Work Movement after World War I. It later became a building block in the formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. ANDERS NYGREN became the first president of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION in 1947. Together with other professors at the University of Lund, most notably Gustaf Aulén, he helped stimulate a renaissance in Luther studies in Sweden and pioneered an influential theological methodology known as motif research.

Organizational Changes

During the twentieth century, the administrative structures of the state Lutheran churches in Scandinavia were also changed to allow for more representative decision making and greater self-government. The churches created parish and diocesan councils through which lay people became more involved in the planning of local activities and the selection of clergy. All of the churches introduced the ordination of WOMEN and, in the 1990s, female bishops were elected for the first time in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden (see WOMEN CLERGY). The Norwegian parliament debated the possibility of disestablishing the church in 1981, but ultimately voted to maintain a state church while granting it more autonomy. In Sweden, on the other hand, the church became an independent legal entity in 2000. The clergy are no longer considered civil servants and the government plays no role in the election of bishops.

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ERIC LUND

LUTHERANISM, UNITED STATES

Lutheranism is the most widespread and influential form of Protestantism in Germany and Scandinavia, although Lutherans who came from Europe to North America faced a difficult struggle to find their place in a new religious and social environment. Some of their theological commitments, liturgical forms of WORSHIP, and cultural orientations were out of the ordinary compared to the dominant types of Protestantism in early American society. Differences in ethnic origins (see ETHNICITY) expressions of piety, and theological emphases among American Lutherans kept them divided into many different synods for over two centuries. After a long and complex process of adaptation, Lutheranism has come to be one of the major mainstream Protestant traditions in the UNITED STATES. Although unified into fewer church structures than ever before, contemporary American Lutherans are still dispersed in several dissimilar denominations and face the additional challenge of coping with internal diversity within their churches.

The Colonial Period

Lutherans from the NETHERLANDS, GERMANY, Scandinavia, and POLAND came to the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam as early as 1643 but were not allowed to hold their own worship services or call their own clergy until the English took possession of that territory in 1664. Beginning in 1638 Lutherans from SWEDEN and FINLAND also came to the Delaware Valley where they enjoyed greater religious freedom, even after the region passed from the control of the Swedes to the Dutch and eventually the English. In 1708 large numbers of German Lutherans from the region of the Palatinate started to arrive in New York and the Carolinas, but after 1720 Germans increasingly favored settlement in Pennsylvania. Salzburgers, fleeing religious persecution in Austria, established an additional Lutheran presence in Georgia in 1734.

Widely scattered and served by few ministers, the colonial Lutherans continued to depend on support and guidance from Europe. In 1734 a delegation from Pennsylvania, where Lutherans were most densely settled, made a special appeal for help to HALLE, the center of PIETISM in Germany. Hoping to counteract the influence of NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF'S MORAVIAN CHURCH among Lutherans in America, Halle sent out a young missionary-pastor, HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, in 1741. He established the first formal governing body for Lutherans in 1748, the Ministerium of North America and, until his death in 1787, also promoted greater cooperation between German and Swedish Lutherans. He helped regularize Lutheran religious life in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York by devising a common LITURGY and the first church constitution. In keeping with Mühlenberg's own inclinations, American

Lutheranism in this period was dominated by the spirit of Pietism. Modes of worship, clerical VESTMENTS, and church adornments were all kept simple, and more emphasis was placed on PREACHING and catechizing (see CATECHISMS) than on the celebration of the SACRAMENTS. The LORD'S SUPPER was administered only one to four times a year.

Americanization and Reconfessionalization

During the period when the new American Republic was being formed, Lutherans also reorganized themselves into several associations of congregations within state boundaries. Now, in addition to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, synods were founded in South Carolina (1787), North Carolina (1791), New York (1792), and Maryland-Virginia (1820). The difficulty of maintaining contact with the expanding population beyond the Appalachian mountains led to the creation of additional synods in Ohio (1818) and Tennessee (1820).

In this rapidly changing world American Lutherans also faced new challenges to the maintenance of their traditional identities. Synods debated whether English should be adopted as the language for worship. Among the educated the influence of rationalistic thought at times eroded interest in the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran TRADITION. Living as a minority in a world of denominations more diverse than they had ever experienced in Europe, Lutherans also began to consider the possibility of uniting with other religious groups, especially the EPISCOPAL and German Reformed churches (see REFORMED CHURCHES IN AMERICA). Several synods acted independently to resist extensive adaptation of Lutheranism to American CULTURE, but there was also growing interest in the creation of a broader organization that could promote synodical cooperation and foster a common Lutheran consciousness.

In 1820 four synods held a convention to set up the General Synod. Several of the regional synods hesitated to relinquish regulatory power to this new organization, but it functioned for many decades as an important advisory body for Lutherans along the East Coast, primarily because of the strong leadership provided by SAMUEL S.SCHMUCKER. While serving as a professor at the seminary founded by the General Synod at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in 1826, Schmucker wrote extensively in defense of Lutheran theology. He was also quite open to making adjustments in thought and practice to help Lutherans fit better into American society. Schmucker favored the formation of SUNDAY SCHOOLS and was not entirely opposed to the use of the "new measures" developed by American revivalists to promote religious conversions (see REVIVALS). He authored a formal appeal for the creation of a union among various denominations, to make sure that America would remain a Protestant nation. This openness to acculturation reached its most controversial expression in 1855 when Schmucker circulated the Definite Synodical Platform, an anonymous pamphlet that proposed a new rescension of the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, omitting what had been taught by European Lutherans about the ceremonies of the mass, private confession, sabbath observance, baptismal regeneration, and the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

At this time about two-thirds of all American Lutherans were affiliated with the General Synod. There had been some orthodox Lutherans all along who were concerned

about the orientation of the synod's "American Lutheranism," but the new proposal to alter the most basic Lutheran confessional consensus created an even greater storm of protest. Several state synods severed their ties with the General Synod. The "Old Lutheran" opposition established a new seminary in Philadelphia in 1864 and created a rival General Council in 1867. Its leading spokesperson was CHARLES PORTERFIELD KRAUTH whose influential book, *The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology*, published in 1871, finalized the trend back to a more traditional and strictly confessional Lutheranism.

Around the same time additional tensions within American Lutheranism developed as a result of the CIVIL WAR. Most Lutherans did not express much concern about the issue of SLAVERY, but there were some notable exceptions such as the strongly abolitionist Franckean Synod, which had been organized in New York in 1837 (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). After the formation of the Confederate States in 1861, five southern synods separated from northern and western Lutherans to form the General Synod, South. This body continued in existence after the war as the United Synod, South (1886).

The Influence of New Immigrants

The movement to maintain traditional Lutheranism in America was enhanced by the arrival of waves of new immigrants from Europe from the 1830s onward. This development also began to shift the center of American Lutheranism away from the East toward the Midwest. In contrast to the Lutherans who came during the colonial era, later immigrants from Scandinavia and Germany generally settled in ethnically homogeneous clusters in frontier areas where they felt little immediate pressure to adopt a new set of cultural patterns. Not all of the Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Icelanders, and Finns who came to America retained their Lutheran identity, but those who did mostly formed separate synods related to their ethnicity, such as the Norwegian Synod (1853), the Augustana Synod (1860), the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (1872), and the Suomi Synod (1890). Differences in piety also disunited the Scandinavians. Pietists often lived in tension with the state Lutheran churches in Scandinavia, and when they came to America, they tended to go their own way. Elling Eielson, who emigrated from Norway, produced the earliest of these synods in 1846, and followers of HANS NIELSEN HAUGE, the foremost lay preacher back in NORWAY, formed the Hauge Synod in 1876. Pietists associated with the Inner Mission movement in DENMARK also created their own Lutheran church in America in 1894.

Germans who settled in the Midwest formed new synods in Wisconsin (1850), Texas (1851), and Iowa (1854). A few other groups specifically left Germany to escape trends in religious life there. Some Lutherans opposed to the union of Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia (see PRUSSIAN UNION) settled in New York State and founded the Buffalo Synod in 1845. A larger group from Saxony with strong commitments to Lutheran ORTHODOXY settled in the area around St. Louis and organized the Missouri Synod in 1847. C.F.W. Walther (1811–1887), the eventual leader of this latter group, became the most forceful defender of strict confessional Lutheranism in the Midwest.

The LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD took the lead in forming a new federation of synods called the LUTHERAN SYNODICAL CONFERENCE (1872). Through this organization Missouri exercised considerable influence among Midwest Germans and also on the Norwegian Synod. For a while many Norwegian congregations depended on Concordia Seminary in St. Louis for the training of their ministers. A series of controversies, however, blocked any moves toward fuller cooperation among the Midwest synods. Buffalo and Missouri disagreed about the role of ministers and other issues of church POLITY. Estrangement developed between Missouri and Iowa over the AUTHORITY of the Lutheran confessions and the degree to which there must be doctrinal agreement to have church fellowship (see CONFESSION). The Norwegian and Ohio synods distanced themselves from Missouri in the 1880s when disagreements emerged about the doctrine of PREDESTINATION.

Forms of Church Work

Despite their inability to overcome differences in ethnicity, piety, and THEOLOGY, the various American Lutheran groups were effectively engaged in many forms of church work by the end of the nineteenth century. Most synods still confined their home MISSIONS work to helping immigrants from their own ethnic backgrounds adjust to America and retain their ties to Lutheranism. There was some modest outreach to African American and NATIVE AMERICAN communities. American Lutheran foreign mission work began in INDIA, Madagascar, CHINA, and JAPAN. Most synods maintained their own SEMINARIES, and over fifty Lutheran church colleges were founded before the start of the new century (see CHRISTIAN COLLEGES). The Missouri Synod also created an extensive parochial school system. Some synods were active in establishing charitable institutions, and William Passavant of the Pittsburgh Synod was especially notable among American Lutherans for his work in founding hospitals and orphanages. Following a European model he instituted the DEACONESS movement in American Lutheranism. WOMEN also played increasingly active roles as lay contributors to local church programs and provided important financial support for church work abroad through women's missionary societies. The Walther League (1893) and the Luther League (1895) became national Lutheran youth organizations.

Twentieth-Century Mergers

Lutheran emigration from Europe peaked in 1882. As the twentieth century approached, American Lutherans, with the exception of some churches along the East Coast, were still worshiping predominantly in a language other than English. However, new incentives to merge synods and integrate more fully into America society soon appeared. Patriotic fervor during World War I inspired many Lutherans to put less emphasis on their ethnic backgrounds, particularly if they were of German heritage. The year 1917 marked the four hundredth anniversary of the start of MARTIN LUTHER'S Reformation, which also inspired new efforts to promote synodical cooperation. The National Lutheran Council was brought into existence in 1918, linking many synods in the Midwest and the East,

with the notable exception of the Missouri Synod. The three largest Norwegian synods came together in 1918 to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. In the same year East Coast Lutherans associated with the General Synod, General Council, and United Synod, South combined as the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA). In 1930 several German synods in the Midwest merged to form the AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Insistence on the total inerrancy of Scripture (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY) and the necessity of doctrinal agreement as a condition for fellowship or cooperation between churches kept the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods apart from these mergers (see WISCONSIN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD). Some Other Midwestern Lutheran groups were more flexible on these issues but were still suspicious in the interwar period of liberal tendencies among East Coast Lutherans (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). In 1930 Norwegian and German Lutherans in the Midwest created a new American Lutheran Conference as a kind of protest against the theological views of the ULCA. After World War II, however, more church leaders across the country began to accept the HIGHER CRITICISM pioneered by Lutheran biblical scholars in Europe and to commit themselves to ECUMENISM. American Lutherans made important contributions to the formation of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION (LWF) in 1947. Franklin Clark Fry, longtime leader of the ULCA, became president of the LWF in 1957 and also encouraged American Lutheran participation in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

The next important step toward Lutheran unity took place in 1960 when a new church based in Minneapolis, the American Lutheran Church (ALC), brought together most of the Norwegians, Danes of pietistic background, and the Midwest Germans who had been part of the old ALC. In 1962 the LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (LCA), based in New York City, united the East Coast Lutherans of the ULCA with Grundtvigian Danes (see NIKOLAJ F.S.GRUNDTVIG) and most Lutherans of Swedish and Finnish background.

The Missouri Synod's (LCMS) initial willingness to explore relations with the ALC caused the conservative Wisconsin Synod (WELS) to suspend fellowship with it. Then, the decision to ordain women as clergy, approved by both the ALC and the LCA in 1970, and active engagement by the two denominations in ecumenical Dialogue with the Reformed, Episcopal, or Roman Catholic traditions prompted increasingly negative responses from the Missouri Synod (LCMS) (see DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL; WOMEN CLERGY). In 1969, after J.A.O.Preus was elected denominational president, the LCMS strongly buttressed its conservative inclinations. It rejected participation in the Lutheran World Federation and began to scrutinize the type of theology being taught at its seminaries. At its 1973 convention the majority of delegates reaffirmed the inerrancy of Scripture, and charged the faculty of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis with failing to teach correct doctrine. Most of the faculty and students left Concordia to form SemineX, a seminary in exile. In 1976 some congregations withdrew from the LCMS to establish the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC).

The AELC sought further collaboration with the ALC and the LCA, which led to the creation in 1982 of a Commission for a New Lutheran Church. In 1988 the three churches united as the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ELCA), which,

with more than five million members, became the fourth largest Protestant denomination in the United States at that time.

At the end of the twentieth century the ELCA continued to wrestle with issues such as the appropriate polity of the CHURCH, the direction it should take in its involvement in the ecumenical movement, and its responses to religious and cultural pluralism. Embracing Lutherans of diverse persuasions, it also struggled to articulate a unified stance on controversial social issues such as ABORTION and HOMOSEXUALITY. The LCMS and WELS, with a combined membership of approximately three million, firmly rejected the reshaping of Lutheran identity favored by the ELCA and defended an alternative vision of Lutheranism that emphasized what differentiated it from other forms of Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic.

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ERIC LUND

LUTHULI, ALBERT JOHN (1899–1967)

South African HUMAN RIGHTS leader. Luthuli was born near Bulawayo (now in Zimbabwe) in 1899 to a Zulu chiefly family in the area of Groutville, Natal. His father was a SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST evangelist in what was then Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Groutville as a child, Luthuli attended Adams College, established by the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM), achieving such distinction that he was appointed to teach there, one of the first Africans to do so in 1921. He emerged as a leader in the community, being elected chief in Groutville in 1934, and in the church, where he became chairman of the Bantu Congregational Church.

In the former capacity he was a modernizing and progressive chief, concerned more with agricultural and social and educational development than with political advance, and supporting institutions, such as the Institute of Race Relations, which were espoused by moderate whites. On the church front he was sufficiently eminent to be chosen as a South African representative at the conference of the International Missionary Council at Tambaram, Madras, in 1938. It was a transforming experience. He traveled to INDIA with Thompson Samkange (1893–1956), a Southern Rhodesian delegate who was to become a close friend and a leading African voice in church and public affairs in his own country. At the conference he encountered Asian Christians whose outlook and engagement sharply contrasted with the social and political passivity characteristic of the churches of Southern Africa, and he came into contact with the ideas of Gandhi and Nehru.

On his return he became increasingly concerned with the rights and dignity of black people in SOUTH AFRICA. He joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1945, and in 1952 became its president-general. With the election of the Nationalist Government in 1948 and the steady implementation of apartheid, Luthuli became a leading figure in the civil disobedience movement, urging nonviolent resistance to oppression on explicitly Christian grounds. This made him a target for the government. He was deposed from the chieftaincy (although popular sentiment ensured that he was saluted with the title of chief for the rest of his life) and was put under several banning orders and twice imprisoned. In 1957 he was one of the many defendants in a celebrated treason trial. He was acquitted—imputations of violent intent or communist sympathies were patently unsustainable—but banished to Grootvlei. By now he was a figure of international interest, as the Sharpeville massacre and similar events helped to focus world attention on apartheid South Africa. In 1961 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the first African to receive it. He died in Stanger, South Africa, on July 21, 1967, after being struck by a railway train.

Throughout his life Luthuli drew the inspiration for his public activity from his understanding of the Christian faith. Some white church leaders who had seen him in his earlier years as the pattern African leader became disturbed as his stance became more radical, and especially lamented his identification with the ANC. However, his racial attitudes remained inclusive (“As an African I worship the God whose children we all are”). He was an enthusiast for Zulu CULTURE, but sought no specifically African form of CHURCH or THEOLOGY. A product of Protestant missions himself, he wanted the widest possible sharing of such institutions as Adams College that the missions had brought. His complaint against white church leaders was their acceptance of domination by the secular state. As for his own people, “The road to freedom,” he said “is via the Cross.”

See also Church and State, Overview

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ANDREW F. WALLS

M

MACHEN, JOHN GRESHAM (1881–1937)

American Presbyterian controversialist and New Testament scholar. John Gresham Machen was born July 28, 1881, the son of a prominent Baltimore family. In the 1920s he emerged as the foremost critic of LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM. In popular works such as *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923) and *What Is Faith?* (1925) he argued that liberalism abandoned the central tenets of historic Christianity. What is more, Machen contended that liberal views about Christ, the BIBLE, SIN, and SALVATION reflected the general intellectual decline of American CULTURE and EDUCATION. On this basis he called for a separation of conservative and liberal Protestants.

Although Machen based these arguments on his own Presbyterian convictions, he also marshaled support from his own teaching and study of the New Testament, which extended from his days as an undergraduate at Johns Hopkins University through to his duties at Princeton Seminary from 1906 to 1929, and then at Westminster Seminary until the end of this life. In his two scholarly books, *The Origin of Paul's Religion* (1921) and *The Virgin Birth of Christ* (1930), both of which defended the Bible's truthfulness and traditional Protestant interpretations, Machen earned the reputation as the foremost conservative biblical scholar in the UNITED STATES. Furthermore, his scholarship provided much of the substance for the argument that liberal Protestantism was a severe departure from Christian teaching.

Machen was a popular speaker who many identified as FUNDAMENTALISM'S lone scholar. In the northern PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (PCUSA) his views were the object of much scorn. Over the last decade of his life Machen fought losing battles in trying to preserve older Presbyterian teaching. His combativeness eventually prompted Presbyterian officials in 1935 to bring Machen to trial and suspend him from the ministry. In 1936, only six months before his death on January 1, 1937, he responded by forming the Orthodox Presbyterian Church.

See also Orthodoxy; Presbyterianism

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DARRYL G.HART

MACKAY, JOHN ALEXANDER (1889– 1983)

Presbyterian church leader. Mackay was born in Inverness, SCOTLAND on July 5, 1889, of a Scottish Presbyterian family. He studied philosophy and THEOLOGY in Aberdeen and in Princeton, New Jersey, although his philosophical formation was clearly developed in Spain under the mentorship of Miguel de Unamuno, who shaped his mind and soul with the flavor of Iberian existentialism. This study gave him a unique perspective into the Latin American soul and cultural realities. Mackay married his wife, Jane Logan, before his appointment as a missionary educator in Lima, Peru, by the Free Church of Scotland.

Mackay is one of the most important figures in the early years of the Ecumenical Movement and in the Committee for Cooperation in Latin America (CCLA). In the Ecumenical Movement, Mackay was the chairperson for the commission on “The Universal Church and the World Nations” of the Oxford Conference in 1937; a member of the emerging central committee from 1946 to 1948; chairperson of the International Missionary Council from 1947 to 1957; member of the central committee of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, 1948–1954; chairperson of the commission on “The Church’s Witness to God’s Design” of the Amsterdam Conference of the World Council, 1948; and chairperson of the joint committee of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches from 1948 to 1954.

During this period of ecumenical involvement and contribution Mackay wrote numerous articles in ecumenical journals focusing on ecumenical ECCLESIOLOGY. His work on this area is best articulated in his book *Ecumenics: The Science of the Church Universal*. While involved in the Ecumenical Movement, Mackay was appointed professor of ecumenics at Princeton Theological Seminary (1932–1936) and became president of this institution from 1936 to 1959. His legacy as president of Princeton Theological Seminary is clearly seen in the library collection of this institution, one of the best in the field of Latin American religion in the world, and in the creation of the international journal *Theology Today* (Princeton, New Jersey).

Mackay’s theological maturity was nourished and shaped by a rich and challenging experience as a missionary in Peru and as a critical figure in the CCLA. His participation in many important ecumenical and missionary meetings in the continent provided grounding for his missiological contributions. Three important books in the history of Latin American Christianity—*The Other Spanish Christ, That Other America*, and *Christianity in the Frontier*—and his contributions to the CCLA’s journal, *La Nueva Democracia* (New York: 1916–1960s), represent Mackay’s cross-cultural struggles to

understand the place and function of Protestantism in the Latin American continent. His missiological approach, particularly his critical assessment of Christ's images as used by Latin American writers and novelists, has become a rich method to grapple with issues of the gospel and cultures in the Latin American context.

Mackay died in Princeton, New Jersey, on September 6, 1983.

See also Culture; Ecumenism; Latin America; Missiology

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CARLOS F.CARDOZA ORLANDI

MACKENZIE, JOHN (1835–1899)

British missionary. Mackenzie was born August 30, 1835, in Knockando, SCOTLAND. In 1855 he joined the London Missionary Society, which three years later sent him to SOUTH AFRICA, the Cape province. He promptly got into conflict with the Boers of the neighboring Transvaal. Various travels throughout the southern and southeastern part of AFRICA followed. Mackenzie became, by the late 1860s, a determined advocate of further British expansion in Botswana, both to retain a British access to central Africa and to stem the influx of European settlers. In 1878 he became the spokesman for the European settlers and was offered, the following year, the post of British commissioner for Bechuana, although he did not receive the permission of the London Missionary Society to accept the offer.

His vigorous involvement on behalf of British political interests continued all the same. Larger political issues, significantly influenced by the appearance of German interests in Namibia, prompted the London Missionary Society eventually to give its approval for Mackenzie's political involvement in Bechuana. Mackenzie died in Kimberley, South Africa, March 23, 1899.

Mackenzie exerted considerable influence through his prolific pen. He is a classic example of the convergence of missionary impulse and political imperialism, undoubtedly the outgrowth of his experiences in South Africa.

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

MACLEOD, GEORGE FIELDEN (1895–1991)

Scottish church leader and ecumenist. MacLeod was born June 17, 1895, in Glasgow, of a family distinguished in service of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. He was educated at Winchester, Oxford, and Edinburgh Universities, interrupted by service in World War I in Salonika and Flanders where he won the Military Cross. He served as minister in parishes in fashionable Edinburgh and depressed Glasgow. His radical pacifist views and his challenges to the establishment led to frequent clashes with the Church of Scotland authorities.

In 1938 he acquired an interest in the ruins of Iona Abbey, which he rebuilt over 27 years with the help of rich benefactors and a group of working theologians and supporters. The community had a particular concern for young people in trouble and the poor of Scottish cities, a work that continued the efforts of THOMAS CHALMERS a century earlier. *Govan Calling* (1934) and *We Shall Rebuild* (1944) were MacLeod's vision of the new social order represented by the IONA COMMUNITY.

MacLeod made intercommunion a passionate concern, which horrified some PRESBYTERIANS, as did his catholicity in worship. He became the first nonAnglican to preach in St. Paul's London, greeted as "a modern prophet." Even in his year as moderator of the General Assembly, he excited opposition with his address "Bombs and Bishops." In 1963, the 1,400th anniversary of the foundation of Iona by Columba was marked ecumenically and its significance in the movement recognized.

MacLeod engaged in the dialogue of religion and politics, as well as the quest for Christian unity, expressed in his book *Only One Way Left*, with his espousal of the causes

of peace and justice, hunger, and the environment. On resigning from leadership of the Iona Community in 1967 he became a life peer, created Lord MacLeod of Fuinary. He died June 27, 1991.

See also Ecumenism; Pacifism

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TIM MACQUIBAN

MACLEOD, NORMAN (1812–1872)

Scottish theologian. Macleod was born at Campbeltown, Argyllshire, in SCOTLAND and educated at Glasgow College and Edinburgh University. While at Edinburgh he studied under, and was highly influenced by, the renowned theologian THOMAS CHALMERS. After a short career as a tutor and teacher he was ordained in 1838 and gained a reputation as a great orator, preacher, and as one particularly zealous in his parochial duties. Indeed he is remembered as one of the most influential parochial Scottish ministers of the nineteenth century.

In 1851 he was made minister of Barony parish, Glasgow, where he did much to serve the local community, especially the poor, and became keenly interested in foreign MISSIONS. In 1857 he was appointed chaplain to Queen Victoria, whose respect and admiration he had quickly gained. In 1860 his literary career was launched when he became editor of a monthly religious magazine entitled *Good Words*. The magazine was immensely popular, and several of the pieces he wrote for it later appeared in book form. In 1864 he was made convener of the India mission for the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND and in the same year traveled to Egypt and Palestine. Three years later, in 1867, he embarked on his journey to INDIA to visit mission stations throughout the country. On his return to Scotland he did much to encourage further effort in foreign missions. In 1869 he was elected moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Macleod never fully recovered his health after traveling to India and, after a steady decline, died in 1872. He was the author of many books, the best known of which is his *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish* (1867).

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ALEC JARVIS

MADISON, JAMES (1751–1836)

American statesman. James Madison was the fourth president of the United States and a major architect of American constitutional government and advocate for religious liberty. He was a leading figure in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which produced the U.S. Constitution, and in the First Federal Congress, which drafted the U.S. BILL OF RIGHTS.

Born in Virginia, the eldest of twelve children, Madison was baptized in the Anglican Church. He received his early education from Presbyterian ministers at home and at a boarding school. He traveled north to the evangelical Calvinist College of New Jersey (Princeton), where he was mentored by the College president and Presbyterian clergyman, Dr. John Witherspoon. This education produced one of the most theologically informed of all American statesmen.

When he returned home, he was discomfited by the persecution of dissenting clergy in central Virginia and moved to the cause of religious liberty. Elected to the state legislature in 1776, his first important public act was to propose replacing the language of “toleration” in George Mason’s draft of the Virginia Declaration of Rights with the concept of absolute equality in religious belief and exercise. Religious liberty was thus enshrined in the fundamental law of Virginia. In the mid-1780s Madison led the opposition to Patrick Henry’s proposal for a “general assessment” or tax to support “teachers of the Christian religion.” He orchestrated the defeat of Henry’s bill by delaying legislative action on the measure and mobilizing popular opposition to the tax with his trenchant “Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments.” He also reintroduced in the Virginia legislature THOMAS JEFFERSON’S “Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom” and shepherded it to passage in 1786. Drawing on the innovative church-state arrangements worked out in revolutionary Virginia, Madison proposed in the First Federal Congress the tentative “first draft” of a measure eventually shaped into the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Madison championed the idea that all citizens are equally entitled to the natural right to exercise religion according to the dictates of conscience. He rejected the popular notion that religion’s survival required the sustaining aid of civil government and that civil government was dependent on an established church to promote social order and

stability. Throughout his public career in both Virginia and the nation, he pursued the policies that civil government must not favor one religious sect over others or take cognizance of religion in state actions.

See also Bill of Rights; Jefferson, Thomas

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DANIEL DRIESBACH

MALAWI

A land-locked country of 45, 747 square miles in southeast AFRICA, the former British Protectorate of Nyasaland, Malawi became a republic within the Commonwealth on July 6, 1966. Hastings Kamuzu Banda served as life president from its beginning until 1994 when multiparty elections were forced on the country by world opinion. Malawi boasts fifteen identifiable languages with English and Chichewa as the official ones.

DAVID LIVINGSTONE is credited with opening Malawi to "Christianity, civilization, and commerce" in 1859. Accepting his appeal for missionaries to come and fight the slave trade, the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) arrived in 1861. The Free CHURCH OF SCOTLAND established the first permanent mission station at Cape Maclear in 1875 and the Blantyre Mission was founded a year later.

Anglican and Presbyterian missionaries from SCOTLAND and SOUTH AFRICA dominated early Protestant mission work. When Catholics and other Protestants appeared, they were deemed as intruders. Three Presbyterian mission groups merged in 1926 to form the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP). With the life president being an ordained elder in the Church of Scotland, the CCAP became both the largest and de facto "official" church. Much of the early population growth in both the Protestant and Catholic churches was the result of establishing primary schools.

An extensive health-care ministry is maintained by the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH. The ASSEMBLIES OF GOD has recently mushroomed to more than 400,000 members. Although there are the usual varieties of evangelical, charismatic, and Pentecostal groups, AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES are increasing. Religious statistics greatly vary according to the publication, but the population is approximately 50 to 55 percent Protestants, 20 percent Catholics, and 20 percent Muslims and others.

See also Slavery; Slavery, Abolition of

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WARREN B. NEWBERRY

MARANKE, JOHN (1912–1963)

African church leader. Born Muchabaya Momberume in the Bondwe Mountain region of the Maranke Tribal Trustland of Zimbabwe, John (or Johane) Maranke received a spiritual injunction to establish a church after a near-death experience in 1932. He started the church with the help of his elder brothers and his uncle. The first official ceremony took place on July 20, 1932, near the Murozi River in the Maranke Tribal Trustland. Maranke documented his spiritual awakening and vision in the *Humbowo Hutswa we Vapostori* (“New Witness of the Apostles”). Other practices established by Maranke included a Saturday Sabbath ceremony (*Kerek*), healing sessions, a Eucharist or Passover ceremony, and mountain prayer retreats.

The Apostolic Church of John Maranke consists of a leadership structure of twelve members located in ZIMBABWE and more than 500,000 members, called Apostles (*Vapostori* or *Bapostolo*), in several African countries. The most dominant congregations are located in the Shona areas of eastern Zimbabwe and in Botswana, MALAWI, Zambia, Angola, and Mozambique. Apostles usually possess the spiritual gifts of prophecy and healing. WOMEN also occupy the venerable positions of prophetesses, healers, and ceremonial song composers and leaders. Apostolic congregations observe Saturday Sabbath ceremonies in local languages and dialects. The emphasis on FAITH HEALING is very strong within these congregations. Apostolic beliefs incorporate indigenous customs, especially MARRIAGE and healing models derived from the Shona, with Christian practices.

Maranke was able to create a movement that was able to adapt to changing conditions in many African nations. In the 1980s, some members of this church movement were actively involved in the *chimurenga* (Zimbabwean liberation struggle). There is no gainsaying the fact that the Apostolic Church is a compelling case of doctrinal and ritual revitalization in African Christianity.

The religious movement established by John Maranke also underscores the importance of indigenous creativity in African Christianity. Any serious study of Christianity in AFRICA must recognize the spiritual initiatives and genius of African church founders. It is from this vantage point that one can credibly capture the astonishing range of expressions and modes of Christianity in Africa.

See also Africa; African Instituted Churches; African Theology

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AKINTUNDE E.AKINADE

MARBURG, COLLOQUY OF

One of the most important religious issues about which MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) presented differing convictions was the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist (*praesentia realis*). In 1525 this theological controversy erupted into outright hostilities. In order to resolve them, reformers, primarily from Suebia and the Upper Rhine regions, advanced the idea of a theological conference. Instrumental in bringing it about was Philip, Landgrave of Hesse (1504–1567), who wished to unite the Protestant estates of the empire in a political alliance; this project appeared endangered by conflicting theological views. His first attempts to arrange a meeting in 1528 and 1529 were unsuccessful. After the Second Imperial Diet held at SPEYER in March and April of 1529 he tried again. On April 22, the very day the Diet was closed, he urged the elector of Saxony and the imperial cities of Strassburg, Nürnberg, and Ulm to intensify their combined efforts to reach an agreement. He was afraid that those estates that upheld the old faith might succeed in undermining the mutual understanding of the Protestants by means of theological quarrels over the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The obstacles were great: Luther disclaimed any common interest between religion and politics; PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560) warned that Zwingli's followers, who constituted a powerful pressure group, might open an even greater rift in the church and threaten peace within the empire. It was the elector of Saxony who urged Luther and Melanchthon to attend the meeting and, having secured their agreement, commissioned theologians of the University of Wittenberg to draft the so-called Articles of Schwabach to serve as a basis for the talks.

The foremost advocate of the conference continued to be Landgrave Philip. On July 1, 1529, he signed the letter of invitation, which was to be sent to Luther, Zwingli, JOHANNAS OECOLAMPADIUS (1482–1531), Johannes Sturm, ANDREAS OSIANDER (1498–1552), JOHANNES BRENZ (1499–1570) and—apparently at some later date, Urbanus Rhegius (1489–1591). The conference was scheduled at Marburg on September 29, 1529, and would begin the following day. To secure a positive outcome, these discussions were to abandon the usual rules of academic disputation in favor of a “friendly dialogue without formal arguments”; neither a chairman nor a mediator was appointed. Landgrave Philip, eager to achieve visible success, offered his best services to avoid conflict.

The representatives from the Helvetic Confederation and the city of Strassburg arrived two days early. The theologians Zwingli, Oecolampadius, MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551), and Hedio were joined by Rudolf Collin and Ulrich Funk, magistrates from Zürich, and Felix Frei from Basel. Luther and Melanchthon did not arrive until September 30. Even later, arriving October 2, were Osiander, Brenz, and MICHAEL AGRICOLA (1509–1557), who represented towns of Southern Germany, with Agricola substituting for Urbanus Rhegius, who had fallen ill. They all took up quarters in the landgrave's castle at Marburg.

On October 1, the discussions began. Zwingli was paired with Melanchthon and Luther with Oecolampadius for initial talks. Some progress was made concerning peripheral questions. The core of the dissent, the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, became the topic of the main discussions of October 2 and 3, which took place in the landgrave's private chambers with the prince himself and some distinguished guests attending. Johann Feige, the landgrave's chancellor, gave the welcome address at 6:00 A.M. on October 2, thus formally opening the conference. Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, to whom above all the success was entrusted, sat at the table facing each other. Luther pointed out a number of errors of belief that he had observed in the teachings of the others and advanced his own conviction concerning the topical issue of the Eucharist. His opponents responded, denying vigorously the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. Luther again quoted the decisive passages from the Bible, which he had written with chalk on the table: "*Hoc est corpus meum*" (this is my body). There followed a lively debate, rather quickly leading to stalemate. Wellknown arguments taken from relevant literature were exchanged, but no new aspects put forward.

There were three main questions that dominated the discussion. First of all, there was the correct understanding of Jesus's words spoken at the Last Supper, which Luther considered of paramount importance. Then there was the question of whether it seemed possible that Christ's body should be present in heaven as well as in the sacrament. Finally, relevant patristic writings were examined. In the end there evolved a somewhat better understanding in several aspects, but no common ground was achieved concerning the basic issue. When the landgrave insisted that a middle road should be found, the Lutherans presented the draft of an article of consensus, and Melanchthon pointed to the writings of the fathers as a possible source of unanimity. There were Swiss delegates, however, who steadfastly refused to compromise on the question of the *praesentia realis* (real presence).

Due mostly to the landgrave, a complete failure was avoided. He prompted Luther to formulate fifteen articles, which stated, based on the Articles of Schwabach, what agreements had been reached. The controversial points of view of the Swiss and Strassburg delegates were referred to the future. Luther avoided antagonizing his opponents in any way, and finally his text was signed by all. Articles 1 through 14 contain the essence of common belief. In article 15 Luther summarizes the common basis of Protestant teaching concerning the question of the *praesentia realis*, and states, in a brief and concise manner, the remaining points of dissent only in the end. Thus Luther succeeded in formulating a document of basic understanding between the different groups on reformatory creed at a rather low level, but still clearly defining the border with the dogma of the old church.

Modern literature offers no unanimous answer to the question of whether this is the *concordia* attempted at the time. There can be no doubt that in a practical way a consensus was reached (H.Bornkamm). Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the foster father of the conference, reaped from it the chance of once more presenting, on October 4, his project of a political alliance. It was thwarted by the outbreak of an epidemic on October 5, which demanded a hasty departure from Marburg.

In the end, the outcome of the Marburg talks seems to have satisfied everyone. Each theological persuasion believed itself to have carried the day, and somehow this is correct. Much of the previous religious excitement was diminished in importance, and the personal contacts established allowed a more pragmatic approach and reduced strife and stress. A foundation for further endeavors was laid; Bucer, above all, took advantage of it, working toward greater consensus on the questions of how to understand and celebrate the Lord's Supper. The Concordia Wirtembergensis of 1534 and the Concordia Wittenbergensis of 1536 proved attainable. Landgrave Philip did not hesitate to implement it in his primary goal of a political alliance. The elector of Saxony, nevertheless, found reason to criticize the Articles of Marburg, demanding instead universal adherence to the Articles of Schwabach. With the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach joining forces, his attitude doomed further discussions that took place at Schwabach and Schmalkalden. Therefore, it would not appear justified to overestimate the historic import of the Articles of Marburg. The evolution of Protestant theology, however, undoubtedly owes much to them. The *Confessio Marpurgiana* stands as a first attempt at unifying the different Protestant factions and is to be considered a notable landmark on the road toward the *Confessio Augustana*.

See also Helvetic Confession; Lord's Supper

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ALOIS SCHMID

MARHEINEKE (MARHEINECKE), PHILIPP KONRAD (1780–1846)

German Lutheran theologian. Marheineke stood in the tradition of mediating and speculative THEOLOGY and was professor of theology at the University of Berlin from 1811 until his death, May 31, 1846. He was a colleague of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER at Berlin and preacher at Trinity Church in Berlin, representative of the Protestant clergy as member of the Supreme Consistory. Marheineke was born in Hildesheim, GERMANY, May 1, 1780, the son of a merchant and city council member. He attended the Gymnasium Andreanum and began his university studies in Göttingen in 1789 with G.J. Planck, C.F. von Ammon, C.F. Staudlin, and J.G. Eichorn before going on to study at Erlangen. In 1805 he published a book on the influence of IMMANUEL KANT on Christian ETHICS. After briefly returning to Göttingen he accepted a professorship at Heidelberg where he worked with C. Daub, W. De Wette, and G.F. Creuzer.

Marheineke was influenced by Schleiermacher, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and FRIEDRICH VON SCHELLING and moved naturally among the circle of Romantic thinkers at Heidelberg. He published his *Christian Symbolic Theology* (1811–1813), which challenged aspects of the work of I.A. Dorner, and was called to the newly founded University of Berlin. There he began a cordial relationship with GEORG W.F. HEGEL and found himself trying to provide a more conceptually oriented understanding of the meaning of Christianity as a form of the Absolute Ideal, organized on the basis of a history of thought encompassing Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Socinian dogmatic topics rather than Schleiermacher's emphasis on the expression of consciousness based on the feeling of dependency. When the split between Schleiermacher and Hegel widened, Marheineke found himself in the Hegelian camp, interpreting Hegel's philosophy and its influence on Christian theology. He succeeded Hegel as rector of the university after Hegel's death. Less materialistic than the left-wing Hegelians, he continued his efforts toward a rationalistic understanding of meaning in the Christian life, accepting orthodox doctrinal structures like the Trinity while offering a Hegelian interpretation of their meaning.

His view of the importance of reason and history as forces in theology would not endear him to the Barthian movement (see KARL BARTH; NEO-ORTHODOXY), limiting his acknowledged influence for much of the twentieth century. His prominence as a Prussian theologian and churchman did not translate easily to the English-speaking world.

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 [Marheineke's students, S.Matthies and W.Vatke, published his lectures in 1847–1849; in addition there are collections of his sermons.]

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G.W.MCCULLOH

MARPECK, PILGRAM (c. 1495–1556)

Anabaptist theologian. Marpeck was a lay German burgher and civil magistrate who became a social radical and Anabaptist leader. Born into a politically prominent family in Tirolean Rattenberg on the Inn, he resigned his mining magistrate's office a few days after the execution of the Anabaptist preacher Leonhart Schiemer (see ANABAPTISM). Forfeiting a substantial estate, he and his wife, Anna, traveled to Bohemia, where he was commissioned an Anabaptist elder.

In 1530 Marpeck, employed as Strasbourg's wood and mining administrator, led a group of Anabaptist refugees, and wrote and sponsored the publication of Anabaptist pamphlets. In his *A Clear Response...*, *A Clear and Useful Instruction...*, and "Confession of Faith," he articulated a theological position between the spiritualist positions of Hans Bänderlin, Christian Entfelder, and MELCHIOR HOFMANN and the magisterial position of reformer MARTIN BUCER.

Expelled from Strasbourg in 1532, Marpeck resided in southwest GERMANY and SWITZERLAND before settling in Augsburg in 1543/44. There he served as city engineer, supervising lumbering and the city's water works. While living on municipal property, he corresponded with Anabaptist groups in Alsace, Switzerland, South Germany, and Moravia, and subsidized a number of Anabaptist publications, including his own *Response...to CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD*, with whom he had a protracted disagreement.

Although he influenced the Mennonite, Hutterite, and Amish Traditions, Marpeck held a somewhat less sectarian theological position. He supported the civil oath and the

payment of taxes, while criticizing the exploitation of the poor and the use of deadly force.

See also Amish; Hutterites; Mennonites

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STEPHEN B. BOYD

MARRANT, JOHN (1755–1791)

African-American clergy. Born free in New York in 1755, John Marrant grew up in South Carolina, where he was converted by GEORGE WHITEFIELD and taught a clandestine SUNDAY SCHOOL for slaves, and organized black churches. After fighting with the British during the American War of Independence, Marrant resumed a charismatic PREACHING career in London. On May 15, 1785, he was ordained into the Huntingdon Connexion, a network of Calvinist evangelists founded by LADY SELINA HASTINGS. Marrant subsequently traveled to Nova Scotia to minister and organize churches among exiled black Loyalists; at Birchtown, a settlement of 2,000 blacks, he established a congregation and organized a school.

Marrant developed a Calvinist COVENANT THEOLOGY declaring blacks to be a chosen people. He announced himself a prophet sent to gather blacks into COVENANT communities and prepare them for exodus to Zion, and he contended against the ARMINIANISM of rival Black Methodists. In 1789 Marrant left Nova Scotia for Boston, where he chaplained and delivered a *Sermon* to the African Lodge of Freemasons. He returned to London in 1790, published his missionary *Journal*, and died in 1791.

In 1792, Marrant's Birchtown congregation immigrated to Sierra Leone, where a Huntingdonian chapel operates to this day.

See also African-American Protestantism; Black Methodism

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JOANNA BROOKS

MARRIAGE

What Is Marriage?

The CHURCH OF ENGLAND'S Common Worship Marriage Service (2000) describes marriage as "a gift of God in creation through which husband and wife may know the grace of God. It is given that as man and woman grow together in love and trust, they shall be united with one another in heart, body and mind, as Christ is united with his bride, the Church." It is also said to bring "husband and wife together in the delight and tenderness of sexual union and joyful commitment to the end of their lives," and to be "the foundation of family life in which children are [born and] nurtured and in which each member of the family, in good times and in bad, may find strength, companionship and comfort, and grow to maturity in love." Very similar descriptions are found in the liturgies of other Protestant churches.

A comparison between this contemporary LITURGY and the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER of the Church of England (1662) reveals the extent of the change to marital THEOLOGY in the Anglican Church, replicated throughout Protestantism. There is no mention of love, human or divine, in the prefaces of the earlier work. The threefold purposes of marriage are "the procreation of children"; "a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry..."; and "the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other...." In the new liturgy the connection between marriage and children is considerably attenuated. Marriage supports something else, "family life," and the liturgy is consistent with the intention of a growing number of marrying couples to remain childless. St. Paul's

estimation of marriage as a reluctant concession to passion (I Corinthians 7) disappears. The positive acceptance of sexual intercourse within the couple's experience may be compared, in theology and in linguistic tone, with the warning of the earlier liturgy that marriage is not to be undertaken "to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding." The newer work also states that marriage "enriches society and strengthens community." Protestants have integrated romantic love into their doctrine of marriage, and, well in advance of Catholicism, come to regard loving sexual experience as analogous with, or a finite expression of, the love that is God's own being. That marriage enriches society is a reflection of a generation that has seen the ravaging social and economic effects of DIVORCE, particularly on children.

Protestant Emphases

The Protestant reformers all denied that marriage was a SACRAMENT. It is more commonly called an "ordinance." Nonetheless, it is "a gift of God" that mediates God's GRACE. Erasmus pointed out in 1516 that the "great mystery" of Ephesians 5:32, where the author compares the union of man and wife in "one flesh" with the unity of Christ and the church, had wrongly been translated as *sacramentum* in the Latin Vulgate. All the reformers agreed that the original Greek term *mustèrion* offered no biblical warrant for treating marriage as a sacrament. The reformers disliked the requirement of priestly CELIBACY on several grounds. It made marriage look inferior to celibacy. Celibacy, unless God bestowed it as a rare gift, was thought to be a vow that was almost impossible to keep, and which led to immorality and frustration among the CLERGY, and scandal in the CHURCH. Erasmus also pointed out a theological inconsistency. If marriage really is a sacrament, equal to all the others, as the Catholic Church had taught since the Council of Verona in 1184, why deny this sacrament to priests? To Protestant eyes, canon law encouraged promiscuity. A marriage was recognized as valid if consent was exchanged in the present tense by persons of marriageable age (14 for men, 12 for women) before at least two witnesses. Parental consent was not required, and betrothal vows, which were revocable, were thought to encourage premarital sexual experience. Protestants also challenged the jurisdiction of the church over marriage. Marriage was a matter for civil, not just ecclesiastical, law.

Historical "Models of Marriage"

John Witte (1997) has helpfully depicted dominant "models" of marriage in Western Christendom. He identifies LUTHERANISM with the model of social estate; CALVINISM with the model of COVENANT; and ANGLICANISM with the model of commonwealth. MARTIN LUTHER, following St. Paul, thought marriage was God's remedy for sexual SIN, but was positive about its social goods. A family would be ordered by the husband or *paterfamilias* whose AUTHORITY over his household was divinely appointed and exercised. The family would be the place where Christian FAITH and love would be taught, and discipline and hospitality exercised. God ordains marriage to be the bringer of community and social cohesion, and Luther found no contradiction

between denying that marriage was a sacrament, and affirming its many divinely appointed goods. His doctrine of the Two Kingdoms led him to regard marriage as both divinely ordained and *worldly*. It was to be subject to civil, not ecclesiastical law, but because God is the author of civil authority, the divine institution of marriage is still upheld.

The “covenant model” of marriage, developed in JOHN CALVIN’S later theology, anticipates contemporary Protestant and Catholic teaching (since the Second Vatican Council). The idea of covenant or testament is basic to biblical theology. Just as God enters into a holy covenant with God’s own people, so husband and wife enter a holy covenant with each other, with God as guarantor and witness. Calvin based his covenant model of marriage on Malachi 2:14. In his *Commentaries* Calvin teaches that God has three purposes for marriage: the mutual love and support of husband and wife, the mutual procreation and nurture of children (see CHILDHOOD), and the mutual protection of both parties from sexual sin. These purposes are echoed in the Anglican theologian Thomas Becon, a contemporary of Calvin. Although the covenant model is popular in contemporary Protestantism, the same cannot be said for the “commonwealth model.” A “commonwealth” is a political body, having a legal basis, which claims to promote the “common weal” or “common good.” Anglican theologians were swift to associate marriage with the common weal, given that the health of the institution of marriage had obvious implications for the health of the wider society. State, church, and family were regarded as separate commonwealths, or as a single interlocking commonwealth, all instituted by God for the common good. It is easy to envisage how the commonwealth model also engendered a hierarchical understanding, with God, the king, the archbishop and the *paterfamilias*, heads respectively of their divinely appointed spheres (Witte 1997:76, 96, 243). The statement that marriage “enriches society and strengthens community” is characteristic of the commonwealth model.

Social Change

Because marriage is a civil and social as well as a religious institution it is particularly susceptible to social change. Because social change generally occurs quicker than religious change, enormous tensions arose in the second half of the twentieth century, a period in which social changes were particularly rapid. Most Christians were divided among themselves about how to understand and respond to these changes, and the tension was perhaps most keenly felt in the area of SEXUALITY and marriage. The changes are too numerous to list, but they might include (in so-called developed countries) the rise in affluence, the increase in personal freedom, the cultural elevation of romantic love, lack of respect for traditional authorities, growing INDIVIDUALISM, moral relativism, SECULARIZATION, the dominance of economic values, the availability of contraception (especially the pill), the rise of modern feminism and its onslaught on patriarchy, and the liberalization of divorce laws. There can be little doubt that the liberalization of divorce laws was made easier in Protestant countries because of the removal of the sacramental status of marriage, thereby also removing one of the grounds for assuming its indissolubility. The acceptance, with conditions, of contraception by the

LAMBETH CONFERENCE of the Anglican Communion in 1930, and followed generally by Protestant churches, led to a further Catholic-Protestant clash.

In Europe and formerly colonial countries mainstream Protestantism is generally much weaker at the start of the twenty-first century. It is also badly divided across its denominations between Christians who identify themselves as conservative, evangelical, or even fundamentalist, and Christians who identify themselves as liberal, progressive, or inclusive. This divide is at its most obvious in sexual ETHICS. Conservatives generally insist on heterosexual marriage as the only and divinely given institution within which sexual relations are permissible, whereas progressives would extend marriage to lesbian and gay people or else abandon the marital framework altogether in the search for a contemporary sexual ethic. The topic of marriage therefore generates intense controversies, and it is with some of these that the rest of this article is concerned.

Marriage and Sexual Experience

Particular strain is currently placed on the traditional expectation that young persons should not have sexual intercourse before they are married. The very framing of the problem in these terms indicates the long historical centrality of marriage in legitimizing sexual experience in Christianity. Protestants and Catholics alike moved against widespread promiscuity in the sixteenth century by controlling the entry into marriage more strictly. One consequence of reform, in both parts of Western Christendom, was the assumption, quickly becoming normative, that marriage begins with the ceremony within which consent in the present tense is expressed. The distinction between marriage and nonmarriage, which had earlier been blurred by the practice of betrothal, became reinforced, and has remained so until this day, giving rise to precise senses of “before” and “after.” This strain is expressed in popular movements such as Promise Keepers and sex education organizations operating under the umbrella term “Abstinence Education.”

However, the average age at which men and women first marry continues to rise, and in 2000 in Britain, it was 30 and 28.9 years, respectively, whereas the numbers of people saving sexual experience until marriage was less than 1 percent. There are educational, social, and economic reasons for the rise in the average age of marriage, which are unlikely to be reversed, and the availability of cheap, reliable contraceptives reduces (but by no means eliminates) the likelihood of pregnancy. Although abstinence until marriage may remain an honorable and achievable goal for some Christians, there are reasons for thinking the emphasis on abstinence is insufficient. The Protestant tradition is suspicious of involuntary celibacy, believing it is impossible, except for those few who receive it as a gift, to achieve. Yet many Protestant organizations are in danger of insisting on it for a new generation that not only does not have a vocation to celibacy, but finds most of the old restraints that aided the practice of chastity (social stigma against premarital sex and single-parent families, supervised dating, the separation of the sexes in schools and universities, fear of pregnancy, etc.) have been dismantled. The desire for sexual experience is also likely to be at its height during this period.

There is presently no concerted campaign by the churches in favor of reducing the age of first marriage. Luther’s commendation of marriage was based in part on his realism about the near inevitability of sexual experience. Perhaps the way forward here is the

recovery of the virtue of chastity. Chastity is not the same thing as virginity, celibacy, or abstinence, but appropriate restraint. Perhaps the bottom line here is the love of children. Because all Christians agree that it is wrong to conceive unwanted children, the appropriate moral rule might be “Never have sex, whether or not with contraceptives, unless you are committed both to your partner and any child you might conceive.” In this respect sexual practice might borrow the insight of Aquinas who taught that “Simple fornication is contrary to the love we should bear our neighbor, for...it is an act of generation performed in a setting disadvantageous to the good of the child to be born” (*Summa Theologiae*, 2a. 154.2).

Some Protestant denominations in the 1980s and 1990s were in danger of abandoning marriage altogether as the norm for sexual experience. The best-known example is probably the document of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA), *Keeping Body and Soul Together*, which was presented to the 1991 General Assembly of that denomination but not passed. Perhaps there has never been a more positive church sexuality report for advancing a self-critical understanding of the GENDER inequalities, sexual violence, homophobia, and other malign influences that can be found within Christianity, but it scarcely mentioned marriage. Marriage was not found in the table of contents, and only three and a half pages out of nearly 200 were devoted to it. Browning et al. in their aptly titled *From Culture Wars to Common Ground*, detect in the 1990s how in the UNITED STATES “the family” has become a liberal as well as a conservative issue because of the evidence of declining well-being of children, the impoverishment of women, and the rise of male detachment from families (1997:31). The weakening or even virtual collapse of the concept of marriage in liberal theology from the 1970s onward can now be seen, at the start of the new century, to have been a serious mistake.

Because almost all forms of Protestantism have valued marriage it is difficult to see how a sexual ethic that discounted marriage could ever take hold. Does this mean that ever larger numbers of Protestants will simply disregard their churches’ teaching about sexuality, rather as large numbers of Catholics have disregarded their church’s teaching about contraception? Not necessarily. Monti (1995) carefully argues the distinction between treating marriage as a norm for Christian sexual teaching, and treating it as a rule. Although the marital norm remains deeply embedded in the TRADITION, if it is imposed as a literal rule for all sexual experience, it is misunderstood. To recover marriage as a norm, he argues, would be to come to regard marriage not simply as a venerable and historical institution, but to appreciate it for the values it embodies, such as steadfast love, commitment, trust, and so on. Furthermore these marital values are to be appreciated even beyond the real marriages where they are found.

Same-Sex Marriages?

This issue will divide Protestants for some time to come. Whereas the major obstacle to the full recognition of HOMOSEXUALITY in Catholicism is the place of the human body within NATURAL LAW, Protestants are more focused on particular biblical passages. In each case the issue is one of both authority (of papal teaching, or Scripture) and interpretation (e.g., whether either Scripture or tradition deals with the precedent of committed same-sex couples who wish to live together until death parts them). It is

argued (Thatcher 1999:299–302) that if the covenant model of marriage is selected as normative, life-long covenants between same sex couples are marriages. This solution avoids the awkward dilemmas posed by legal recognition or “blessing” of same-sex relationships. If they are not marriages, then what are they, and what degrees of commitment do they presuppose? The “covenant solution” is undoubtedly a Protestant one, although it would hardly please Calvin. Again, Luther’s warning against the dangers of involuntary celibacy would seem appropriate in a different context. If lesbian and gay people are to refrain from sexual experience, then celibacy, contrary to the deepest instincts of Protestant traditions, is being imposed on them. This is not only theologically dubious, it is a failure of neighbor-love and is increasingly attacked as a crass case of unequal treatment. If heterosexual men and women are given marriage, which has the function of legitimizing sexual experience, while homosexual men and women are denied the relief that that institution brings, discrimination on grounds of orientation clearly arises.

Cohabitation

A further area of controversy is the increasingly common practice of people living together before, after, or instead of marriage. Because about seven in every ten couples in Britain and the United States who marry, live together first (and in some countries the proportion is higher still), tension exists (often in the same families) between those who condemn and those who condone (to varying degrees) the practice. It is argued that the churches are able to extend marriage not simply to lesbian and gay couples, but to some couples living together before marriage (Thatcher 2002). There are two crucial steps in this suggestion. First, two kinds of cohabitators need to be distinguished, best expressed by the terms “prenuptial” and “nonnuptial.” Prenuptial cohabitators intend to marry (proceed to the nuptials) at some time in the future, whereas nonnuptial cohabitators live together without reference to marriage. Second, biblical and premodern practice, East and West, expected couples to enter marriage by betrothal. Mary and Joseph are the most obvious example. The name of the marriage service in some Episcopalian churches, “the solemnization of matrimony” is reminiscent of earlier times when the marriage was believed already to have begun. What we now think of as the marriage service is in fact the final phase of a process when vows in the present tense become irrevocable. Protestants inherited the practice of betrothal but regarded it suspiciously, not least because it led in some cases to false promises of marriage that in turn produced promiscuity and unwanted pregnancies.

Relics of ancient betrothal liturgies are found, generally unrecognized, in many Protestant marriage services. The future tense question “Will you take...?” and the answer “I will,” belong originally to the spousals rather than the nuptials, and these two events were once separated in time. “Engagement” is a modern, informal, and inadequate replacement of betrothal. Because there is now widespread sexual experience before marriage, the argument that betrothal would further encourage it lacks conviction. Its reintroduction would allow the passing from singleness to marriage to be negotiated as a process, with liturgical “markers” on the way, and its availability would provoke due pastoral reflection among people informally living together. Whereas betrothal has never

been strong in Protestant traditions, Protestant attentiveness to Scripture may yet revive it. St. Paul compares the Corinthian church to a bride betrothed but not yet presented to Christ her “true and only husband” (II Corinthians 11:2–3). Moreover it is likely that the story of Jesus at the well with the Samaritan women (John 4:1–42) is to be understood as a betrothal story because it relies on the conventions found in the betrothals of Rebecca (Genesis 24), Rachel (Genesis 29), and Zipporah (Exodus 2).

Marriage and Power

All parts of Christendom now assert the human love of the partners for one another to be fundamental to marriage. Within Protestantism there has always been tension between men and women being equal partners in mutual love, and being unequal partners in the sharing of power. This tension became acute with the rise of feminism, and the increasing realization that women in the Scriptures are almost uniformly subordinate to men. In particular the “household codes” of the New Testament (Ephesians 5:21–6:9; Colossians 3:18–22; I Peter 2:18–3:7; I Timothy 2:8–15; Titus 2:1–10) all enjoin the submission of wives to husbands and the authority of husbands over wives. Fundamentalist and conservative evangelical Christians understand these texts to teach “male headship,” whereas more liberal Protestants either identify the GENDER hierarchy as a contingent historical matter, no longer relevant, or set these texts against others (chiefly Galatians 3:28 and Ephesians 5:21), which seem to express gender equality. A standard way of neutralizing the sexism of these texts is to assume a radical equality of the sexes in the earliest Christianity, which, in the absence of the parousia and as the political implications of the revolutionary ethic became known, was soon overlaid by more familiar and worldly conventions (Ruether 1998). FUNDAMENTALISM in all the world’s religions is an extreme, dogmatic phenomenon. In its Protestant versions it manifests itself in male headship and homophobia that are increasingly seen in the secular community as evidence of the failure of Christianity to come of age.

Domestic violence against WOMEN is sufficiently shocking and prevalent for some women to argue that marriage is an unsafe institution. The extent of violence against women and children is only slowly becoming known, and it is a fair assumption that a majority of it always was, and probably still is, unreported. Alongside the practical questions about how to reduce male violence toward women universally are uncomfortable research questions: whether Christianity among the religions has a poorer record in the treatment of women; and whether the negative attitudes toward women that were an undoubted feature of historical theology remain influential, even if they live on in secular forms. Although some marriages are violent, the incidence of violence in heterosexual relationships that are not marriages is considerably greater. Because fundamentalism is based on submission to authority, and authority is associated in Protestant fundamentalism with maleness, the possibility exists that the belief system into which marriages are set predisposes to male-female conflict (Cooper-White 1995).

“Critical Familism” and the “Critical Culture of Marriage”

Don Browning and his coauthors influentially advocate “critical familism” and a “critical culture of marriage.” These, they say, “entail a full equality between husband and wife and a commitment to the reflection, communication, and openness needed to implement it” (Browning et al. 1997:2). They examine “power relations” within the family and advocate a “restructuring of the ecology of supports for families so that extended family, church, civil society, government, and market can be helpful to the conjugal couple and their children.” The equality of the sexes will require theological explication, given that the assumption of gender equality in early secular liberal humanism lacks theological weight. A theological case for the equality of the sexes might constitute several strands. One is the conviction that women and men alike bear the image of God. Another, derived from renewed Christian Trinitarian thought, sees God as a Communion of Persons-in-Relation, so that human personal relations potentially reflect in a finite way the divine relations between the Persons of God. These analogies are more developed in Catholic and Orthodox thought, largely because they deploy a language that is not obviously biblical. However, Protestantism may have much to learn here, and an implication for the area of marriage is that the *divine* Persons really are fully equal (subordinationism is a clear HERESY). Another strand is the realization that God in Christ became *human*, not merely male flesh.

Christians commending marriage will be critical also of the CULTURE surrounding it. Linda Waite (2001) has shown convincingly that married people generally enjoy happier, healthier lives than unmarried people, and research on children of broken marriages, although contested, indicates significant problems that, in many cases, are preventable by married couples staying together. Given that marriage may be favorably contrasted with its alternatives, and divorce is not a panacea for the resolution of marital difficulties, Christians do not need to rely solely on theological arguments in their support for marriage. There is, however, a powerful and positive convergence of theological and social thought toward the view that marriages are good for couples, children, and the wider society. In this respect the purposes of marriage stated in countless marriage liturgies stand completely vindicated.

“Rereading” Marriage?

Whatever happens to Protestantism, the emphasis on the BIBLE will remain central to it. Article 12 of the thirty-nine ARTICLES OF RELIGION of the Anglican Church might stand prototypically of the Protestant tradition: “Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man...” Because loyalty to Scripture exceeds loyalty to the Protestant reformers it is possible that Protestants will reread Scripture, taking to it a different agenda from that of the reformers. It may become increasingly clear that the New Testament does not endorse marriage with the enthusiasm, say, of Luther. For example, Jesus in Luke’s gospel (20:34–36) warns that “The men and women of this

world marry; but those who have been judged worthy of a place in the other world, and of the resurrection from the dead do not marry, for they are no longer subject to death.” More familiar are the warnings of St. Paul that marriage is a “worldly affair,” and that spouses would be “pulled in two directions” (I Corinthians 7:34), finding it impossible to please each other and please the Lord. Marriage in the thought of Augustine and Chrysostom replicates the suspicion of marriage that Paul himself confides to the Corinthians. Marriage is just not normative in the way the early Protestants, anxious to disassociate themselves from priestly celibacy and marital sacramentality, may have supposed. Of course, a recovery of the strangeness (i.e., to us) of biblical marital teaching may not have predictable consequences for a growing theological understanding. It may, however, lead to a more honest recognition of the dissatisfactions of marriage, and a more effective way of dealing with these pastorally. Further, because in many Western societies only half of adults are married, it may lead to an increasing recognition of holiness amid the unmarried complexity of much personal and social life.

A cursory reading of the Gospels also yields a vision of the family that is spiritually, not biologically, constituted. The family of the church is almost always placed above the biological family in spiritual importance; Jesus identifies everyone who “does the will of God” as his mother and brothers (Mark 3:31–35). The happiness of “those who hear the word of God and keep it” exceeds the happiness of Jesus’s mother in bearing and suckling him (Luke 11:27–28). The poor and disabled are invited to dinner in preference to family and friends (Luke 14:12–14). The birth of the “children of God,” through trusting God’s Word become flesh, are said to be “born not of human stock, by the physical desire of a human father, but of God” (John 1:13). Although these sayings must be read alongside “the elegant and powerful affirmation of marriage and family that is to be found in the words of Jesus” (Post 2000:45), they have hardly been influential in Protestant history, and are capable of challenging conventional assumptions about the content of biblical teaching about families. Christians are having to devote as much attention to their reception of the biblical text as they are to uncovering its “meaning.” Perhaps the first step in receiving the teaching of the gospels (and the Fathers) on the ambivalence of marriage and family is to recognize that the church’s appreciation of it is partial, and the recovery of its strangeness may prompt new insights from God’s Spirit in a postmodern world.

Doctrinal and moral issues cannot be separated from basic questions about how the Bible is read, and about how, and indeed whether, reformed traditions of Christianity continue to reform themselves. If the reign of God in the teaching of Jesus overthrows worldly assumptions in the name of self-giving love, there is warrant here for regarding one’s spouse and children as first among “neighbors.” This is the priority that the hallowing of marriage in all Christian traditions seeks to protect, although if “agapic” relations are learned and practiced there, they do not end there, because the circle extends outward, even to our enemies (Matthew 5:44).

See also Anglicanism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Clergy, Marriage of; Covenant Theology; Evangelicalism; Lutheranism; Orthodoxy, Eastern; Secularization

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ADRIAN THATCHER

MARTINEAU, JAMES (1805–1900)

English Unitarian, philosopher, and theologian. Born in Norwich, ENGLAND, in 1805, James Martineau was educated at the Norwich Grammar School and at the Lant Carpenter school in Bristol. Following this, he spent some time as an apprentice under the civil engineer Samuel Fox, but, having had a CONVERSION experience, abandoned his pursuit of engineering at the age of 16 to pursue what he felt was his calling to the ministry.

Martineau enrolled in Manchester College, York, in 1822 to begin his ministerial studies. After completing his studies, he took up a pastoral position at the Eustace Street Chapel, Dublin, and later, in 1832, a position as pastor at the Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool. In Liverpool, Martineau's academic interests came to fruition with the publication of his first book, *Rationale of Religious Enquiry* (1836), in which he advocated the AUTHORITY of reason over Scripture. His reputation as a scholar persisted, and in 1840 he became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Manchester New

College. During this time he maintained his pastoral position in Liverpool, but in 1857, when the college moved to London, he left his Liverpool congregation to dedicate himself fully to academic life.

Martineau was highly influenced by German Idealism and spent a year studying in GERMANY from 1848 to 1849. In 1869 he was made principal of Manchester New College, a position he held until his retirement in 1885, and gained the respect of many prominent intellectuals. He is perhaps best known for his arguments in support of theism on the grounds of an ostensible moral law intuited from, and built into, the structure of the universe, and for his support of the authority of human conscience. His published works include *A Study of Spinoza* (1882), *Types of Ethical Theory* (1885), *A Study of Religion* (1888), and *The Seat of Authority in Religion* (1890).

See also Unitarian Universalist Association

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ALEC JARVIS

MARTYRS AND MARTYROLOGIES

Derived from the Greek *martyria*, “testimony, witness, confession [of faith],” the designation of human beings as “martyrs” quickly became limited in the early Christian church to those who gave witness to their faith in Jesus Christ by sacrificing their lives in the face of persecution. Modern Western scholars have expanded this usage, applying the term to all who die for any belief system. Some Hebrew prophets were killed for their proclamation (Matthew 23:30–37), and the period of the Maccabees produced martyrs as Jews resisted the attempts of the Greek-Syrian monarch Antiochus Epiphanes to impose Hellenistic CULTURE on them and eradicate their religion (168 B.C.). From its inception Christianity has encountered opposition in cultures into which it moved and even in which it had an established history, and it has produced adherents in these situations who were willing to die for their faith. Reports on the deaths of martyrs have been used as devotional literature throughout much of the Christian CHURCH.

Martyrs in Ancient and Medieval Christianity

The Christian claim that Jesus was “Son of Man” elicited almost immediate persecution because this claim, referring to the vision of Daniel (7:13–14), where “One like a Son of Man” had the characteristics of God, was interpreted as blasphemy by Jewish leaders (Matthew 26:64–65: cf. the case of Stephen, Acts 6–7). Christian claims that the church

had exclusive knowledge of the true God, the public perception that as outsiders Christians threatened the public good, and Christian resistance to the required religious sacrifices of imperial Rome created widespread persecution and many martyrs between the 60s of the first century A.D. and the legalization of Christianity within the Roman Empire in the early fourth century. Roman officials used a variety of methods of execution in efforts to stamp out those whom they regarded as atheists and traitors because they refused to sacrifice to the emperor for the benefit of the society. Although persecutions generally reduced the number of adherents of the Christian faith temporarily, Tertullian's observation that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church" is true because the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the faith impressed and attracted those outside the church into its midst. The heroic deaths of these witnesses became one basis for the veneration of the SAINTS and their relics in early Christendom because the merit of their sacrifice was regarded as having earned special effectiveness for their prayers and powers.

Christian missionaries have often suffered martyrdom as they sought to preach their message to non-Christian peoples. Earliest examples outside the Roman Empire include executions in Persia, Armenia, and Georgia in the third and fourth centuries. Arian persecution of orthodox Christians produced martyrs especially in North Africa in the fourth and fifth centuries. Resistance of northern and eastern European peoples to the Christian mission led to the killing of many, especially monks, for example, Boniface and fifty-two companions in Frisia (754), or Adalbert of Prague in Prussia (997). Although Islam provided for limited toleration of "people of the Book," that is, Jews and Christians, its advance across North Africa into Spain and into the Byzantine Empire in the seventh and eighth centuries produced Christian martyrs.

Martyrdom declined in Europe in the Middle Ages as Christianity had become the established religion in most parts of Europe, but the advance of Christianity into pagan areas in central and eastern Europe met resistance to Christian CONVERSION, often in the generation after the initial large-scale conversions, in pagan reactions. Defiance of colonization by neighboring Christian powers also resulted in death for monks and other missionaries. The medieval church believed it only right and proper that heretics be executed to protect the faithful from their false ideas, and through-out the Middle Ages some were. Particularly Waldensians in ITALY and followers of John Wycliffe in ENGLAND and Jan Hus in Bohemia who had been slain for their deviant teaching were later heralded as martyrs in Protestant martyrology.

Martyrs in the Reformation

Suppression of calls for reform from humanists and others had begun before MARTIN LUTHER'S appearance on the European stage, particularly in Spain in the fifteenth century. When the Protestant reformers began introducing proposals for change in the church's teaching and moral life, Roman Catholic officials used laws against heretics to try to restore the old order. The execution by burning of two of Luther's followers, the Augustinian monks Johann van Esch and Heinrich Voes, in Brussels on July 1, 1523, elicited Luther's comment in a tract, the first attempt at Protestant martyrology, and a hymn (the first he composed) dedicated to their memory. He rejected the medieval view

that dying for the faith was a heroic human effort that won merit in God's sight. Instead he viewed martyrdom as a gift from God, the opportunity to give witness to Christ, even though it was at the same time an assault by the devil against God's people. Although his specific definition of martyrdom as God's gift did not prevail among his followers and other Protestants, they did not return to the medieval interpretation of dying for the faith as meritorious in God's sight. Instead they viewed martyrs as casualties in Satan's war against God's truth and as instruments for spreading Christ's gospel. Thus Protestant reports generally viewed martyrdom less as an occasion to relate gory details of human suffering, and more to highlight confession of the biblical message.

Because adherents of the Lutheran REFORMATION often lived in lands controlled by sympathetic princes and municipal governments, Lutherans suffered relatively less persecution in the sixteenth century than did Calvinists under the French establishment and the Dutch under the Habsburg government's Inquisition. Nonetheless Luther himself used accounts of executions and assassinations of Protestants, in German lands (e.g., Heinrich von Zutphen, Leonard Kayser, Georg Winkler) and elsewhere (the English ROBERT BARNES), to proclaim his message in print. Others did the same, including his colleagues PHILIPP MELANCHTHON and JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN, and MARTIN BuCER'S associate in Strasbourg, the humanist Spaniard Francisco de Enzinas (ca. 1520–ca. 1552), who chronicled the martyr's deaths of Spanish confessors of Protestant THEOLOGY in GERMANY and other lands.

Persecution of humanist and Protestant reformers began in the 1520s and 1530s in FRANCE. King Henry II revived the prosecution of heretics through the reinstatement of a HERESY court, the *chambre ardente*, in 1548. With the massacre of a group of HUGUENOTS at WORSHIP in Wassy in 1562 by the zealous Roman Catholic duke of Lorraine, François de Guise, religious war broke out in France. The murder of Calvinist believers climaxed with the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre of August 1572, in which the leadership of the Huguenots, including GASPARD DE COLIGNY (1519–1572), the admiral of France, and many adherents throughout France (estimates vary from five to ten thousand) were killed by Roman Catholic officials and partisans. More Huguenots died for their faith in the quarter century thereafter, until TOLERATION was secured by the EDICT OF NANTES (1598). With its revocation in 1685, persecution broke out again, and more than one hundred Reformed pastors were executed by Roman Catholic authorities as King Louis XIV sought to enforce religious conformity. Under Habsburg rule in the NETHERLANDS, Protestant movements, above all the Calvinist, also produced an estimated 1,300 martyrs between 1523 and 1566, and in the wars that followed during the subsequent half century the government continued to pursue the eradication of Calvinist and Anabaptist churches through violence.

The regime of HENRY VIII had executed Protestant dissidents in England before and after the king's break with Rome (1534). Sir Thomas More, who had as Henry's lord chancellor sent Protestants to the stake, was himself executed for treason because of his refusal to acknowledge Henry as head of the English church (1535); the Roman Catholic Church canonized him as a martyr in 1935. Henry's daughter Mary Tudor, alienated from Henry by his treatment of her mother, Queen Catherine, and herself, was eager to reverse the Reformation instituted by her father and particularly her brother Edward's government (1547–1553) and restore England to papal obedience. Under the guidance of her counselors, including bishop Stephen Gardiner (c. 1497–1555) and archbishop

Reginald Pole (1500–1558) as well as priests in the company of her husband, Philip of Spain, she launched a persecution of Protestants that took a toll of more than three hundred men and women between late 1555 and her death in 1558. Among those burned for their faith on charges of heresy were the Protestant bishops John Hooper, HUGH LATIMER, Nicholas Ridley, and archbishop THOMAS CRANMER. The government of Mary's half-sister ELIZABETH I (ruled 1558–1603) executed approximately the same number of Roman Catholics for sedition, especially after Pope Pius V pronounced the queen's deposition. The Roman Catholic church regards many of them, for example, Edmund Campion (canonized 1970), as martyrs.

Anabaptists in the sixteenth century inherited the “outsider” status of their spiritual ancestors, the antisacramental, anticlerical, millenarian protest groups of the Middle Ages (see ANABAPTISM). Their contempt for infant BAPTISM earned them death by drowning instead of the burning normally used to execute heretics. Because they refused to take part in certain aspects of society, they were often persecuted as seditious rather than strictly speaking as heretics, particularly by Lutheran and Calvinist governments that normally rejected the execution of those whom they regarded as false teachers because of their belief that only God's Word and not the temporal sword could correct error and heresy. Beginning with the drowning of the Anabaptist Felix Manz in HULDRYCH ZWINGLI'S Zurich (1527) and the executions of most of the sixty who took part in the meetings called “the martyrs synod” in Augsburg (1527), repression of Anabaptists continued throughout the early modern period, with as many as three thousand martyrs' deaths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most in Roman Catholic jurisdictions.

Martyrdom in the Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries

Continued efforts in Roman Catholic lands to repress Protestant movements brought about some martyrdoms in seventeenth-century central Europe. The eradication of Hussite and other Protestant churches in Bohemia and Moravia during the Thirty Years' War involved executions of committed members of these groups as well as extensive exiling of their clerical and lay leadership. As the Habsburg government forcibly returned Lutheran and Reformed congregations in Silesia, Slovakia, and HUNGARY to papal obedience in crackdowns between 1610 and 1670, many of their pastors were condemned to life sentences in the galleys.

Throughout the early modern period Christian missionaries and their converts were laying down their lives for their faith in Asia and AFRICA. In some cases martyrdom resulted from religious and cultural reaction to missionary activity as a foreign and thus threatening element being introduced into society, sometimes in connection with colonializing efforts. In other cases local political forces used Christians as scape-goats to advance their own power. In yet others the church's leadership involved itself in tribal and territorial politics with the result that believers suffered persecution as members of the church but within a larger social context.

Widespread conversion by Franciscans and Jesuits in the second half of the sixteenth century aroused opposition from the traditional culture of JAPAN; beginning in 1587 a half century of persecution brought the martyr's death to several dozen European missionaries and thousands of Japanese believers, many by crucifixion. Similar

persecutions produced thousands of martyrs in CHINA in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in KOREA during the nineteenth century.

In East Africa around 1885 bloody persecution of Anglican and Roman Catholic converts broke out as local political forces within the kingdom of Buganda and produced missionary and native martyrs. Such persecution has been often repeated in the confusion of postcolonial Africa. In Uganda in the 1970s dictator Idi Amin put thousands of Christians to death for their faith. Thousands also testified to their faith with their lives in other parts of Asia and Africa, including both missionaries and native believers. Mission Covenant missionary doctor Paul Carlson (1928–1964) and ASSEMBLIES OF GOD missionary J.W. Tucker (1915–1964) were shot in the midst of civil war while working to bring healing and the gospel to the Congo. Presbyterian W. Don McClure (1906–1977) perished at the hands of rebels in Ethiopia, where he had worked for a half century.

Martyrdom in Modern Repressive Societies

Secularizing forces in Europe first turned to violence against Christians during the FRENCH REVOLUTION, as successive ruling factions in Paris sought to establish the religion of reason and eradicate the church. Roman Catholic priests and lay people were executed for their defense of the faith. These events foreshadowed the massive persecutions of Christians in the twentieth century, which produced more Christian martyrs than those of the nineteen previous centuries.

Karl Marx's conviction that religion, above all Christianity, had led to the suppression of the masses stands behind the anti-Christian stance of Marxist parties (see COMMUNISM). The brutal suppression of the Christian church in RUSSIA begun soon after the Bolshevik Revolution included crucifixion of Orthodox clergy (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). In addition to an estimated seven hundred thousand Orthodox Christians who became victims of persecution under the Soviet regime, thousands more Protestant and Roman Catholic martyrs laid down testimony to Christ through their deaths when Communist officials in the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent in satellite states, killed believers by direct sentences to death or through fatal conditions in labor camps, the gulags, to which they were sentenced. The entire ministeria of German and Finnish Lutheran churches in Russia were eliminated by immediate capital punishment or sentences to labor camps, and after Soviet occupation of Estonia and Latvia (1940, 1944/45) Lutheran (see LUTHERANISM), Baptist, and Roman Catholic pastors and other church leaders from those countries were also eliminated by Communist authorities. Police action and officially condoned vigilante violence continued to be directed against BAPTISTS and Pentecostals in the Soviet Union throughout the Communist period, from 1918 into the 1990s (see PENTECOSTALISM). Chinese, Indochinese, and North Korean Communists also employed brutal tactics in the suppression of Christian churches after 1949. The deaths of thousands of martyrs in China did not bring about the end of the church but instead generated the phenomenal growth of underground congregations.

Under the National Socialist regime in Germany and the areas it conquered, Christians gave their lives for their faith from the early 1930s to 1945. Nazi policy planned ultimately to eliminate the Christian churches, but in the twelve years of the Thousand

Year Reich it aimed at the submission of the church to its governance and the subversion of the churches through the GERMAN CHRISTIANS movement, with imprisonment and execution used when deemed appropriate. Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders were arrested, and some were put to death by Nazi officials in concentration camps. Many of those who led the resistance to Hitler did so on the basis of Christian convictions and, although executed for treason, earned death in carrying out the dictates of their faith. The German DIETRICH BONHOEFFER (1906–1945), the Danish Kaj Munck (1898–1944), and the Polish Maximilian Kolbe, O.F.M. (1894–1941) typify the roles and spectrum of resistance to the antichristian ideology and practice of National Socialism found among Christians.

Muslim groups have increased significantly the number of Christian martyrs at the end of the twentieth century. The government of Turkey slaughtered Armenian Christians (1894–1896 and 1914–1915) in attempts to cleanse their state of non-Muslim elements; Greek and Syrian Christians within the Ottoman Empire also felt the brunt of this policy. In INDONESIA, Pakistan, NIGERIA, Sudan, and other Asian and African nations, large-scale official or unofficial persecution of local Christian groups was tolerated or implemented by Muslim governments in the postcolonial period, especially after 1970. Tribal warfare and civil violence in west African states, including Nigeria, LIBERIA, and neighboring lands, in the 1980s and 1990s frequently involved attempts by Muslims to eliminate Christian forces in their nations by massacre and assassination. Victims of the violence of Hindu fundamentalists begun in INDIA in the 1990s must also be counted among the most recent Christian martyrs.

The nature of the Christian message, which creates criticism of all cultures and demands public testimony regarding Jesus Christ, invites persecution from those who do not share its understanding of human life and society, and thus, martyrdom is a constitutive element of the history of the Christian church.

Martyrologies

Accounts of the deaths of martyrs circulated in Christian churches by the second century in epistolary form (e.g., on Polycarp [executed c. 167] and on the martyrs of Vienne and Lyon [c. 177]) and became a part of early Christian devotional literature and historical writing, for example, by Eusebius (c. 265–c. 340). Such reports were integrated into the legends of the saints and often elaborated with descriptions of miracles effected by the martyrs or their relics by the early Middle Ages.

With the Protestant Reformation the recounting of the deaths of martyrs took on importance as an instrument of polemic against Roman Catholic persecutors and of the cultivation of Protestant piety. The Protestant stories of dying for the faith focused more on the content of the martyrs' testimony than on their sufferings, and thus served as means of propagating the call for reform and the fresh interpretation of the Christian tradition issued by the reformers. In the mouths of the martyrs were recorded both harsh criticism of the false teaching and superstitious practices of the medieval church and simple presentation of the evangelical message of SALVATION by God's mercy in Christ's DEATH and resurrection. Calls for steadfastness of faith against the devil's forces in the apocalyptic battle of the Last Days accompanied these CONFESSIONS of

faith. Luther's published comments on the burning of his Augustinian brothers van Esch and Voes (1523) initiated the use of such accounts as part of the propagation of his views. A number of other such published reports appeared over the next quarter century throughout western Europe.

In late 1549, Luther's former student Ludwig Rabus (1524–1592) lost his position as pastor of the cathedral in Strasbourg as the recatholicizing religious policy of Emperor Charles V associated with the so-called AUGSBURG INTERIM of 1548 was imposed on the city. Only partially employed in the years immediately thereafter, Rabus turned his energies to the creation of a collection of martyr stories, beginning with a Latin volume on biblical martyrs that appeared in early 1552. In 1554 he issued the first of eight volumes of such stories in German, the last of which appeared in 1558; he recast the entire collection in two folio volumes in 1571/1572. Apart from short introductions Rabus did nothing but reprint accounts he had found in other published sources. He intended to place contemporary martyrs in the long context of the struggle of God's people against Satanic attack (see DEVIL). God's providence guided all of world history, particularly the history of his church, Rabus was convinced, and therefore he viewed the martyrdoms he presented as elements of God's combat against the false belief that deprived people of salvation. Because he defined his subject in this eschatological encounter of truth with deception and error (see ESCHATOLOGY), he did not restrict his definition of "martyr" to those executed for their faith and included some who gave dramatic testimony of the Christian message in his compilation. Chief among them was Luther himself. Rabus began with biblical and patristic martyrs, included a few Wycliffites (although not Wycliffe), Hus, and Jerome of Prague, and placed the major emphasis on reports of German, English, French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish witnesses of Protestant expressions of biblical teaching, most of whom died at the hands of ecclesiastical officials. In fact, in the absence of intense persecution in most Lutheran lands, other forms of pursuing polemic against Roman Catholic attempts at suppressing Lutheran teaching and of recounting the history of the church overshadowed Rabus's preferred genre, and the martyrology did not occupy an important place in LUTHERANISM.

That was not the case among French, Dutch, and English Protestants. Both in Anglican, especially Puritan, circles and among Calvinists in France and other lands, these works inspired resistance to Roman Catholic threats and provided inspiration for personal piety for generations.

The Genevan publisher Jean Crespin (c. 1520–1572) released the first edition of his book of martyrs in 1554. He had become an adherent of JOHN CALVIN after legal studies in Louvain. He established a large printing operation after fleeing to Geneva in 1548 to avoid prosecution, having witnessed the public burning of another Calvinist in Paris, and he produced a variety of academic and religious books, many of them Calvinist, in several languages. His own *History of Martyrs*, issued in ever-expanding editions through 1619, grew as he and his successors added more accounts to their narrative. He used published sources, including Rabus (whose later volumes copied material from Crespin), and also unpublished reports that he gathered as more and more Huguenots were killed for their profession of faith. He provided readers more narrative and interpretation than did Rabus. Crespin began his unfolding of the history of martyrdom in the late Middle Ages, referring to the suffering of Christ and the execution

of Stephen but not developing the biblical and patristic roots of the phenomenon in detail. He, too, found the stories of the martyrs to be examples of God's providence and rule over his church because he was confident that their deaths contributed to the defeat of Satan and his forces of deception. The Genevan church leader Simon Goulart (1543–1628) continued Crespin's work after his death. German editions appeared from the pens of Christoph Rab (1590) and Paul Crocius (1608); excerpted and edited versions were printed in French, German, Dutch, Polish, and Romansh into the early eighteenth century.

Depending on the previously published works of JOHN FOXE (1517–1587), Crespin, and Rabus for his source material, the Calvinist pastor from Antwerp Adriaan Corneliszoon van Haemstede (1520–1562) incorporated many of their accounts with his own reporting of martyrs for the faith from the NETHERLANDS into his *History of the Martyrs Who Shed Their Blood as Witnesses of Evangelical Truth*, published in 1559. He composed the work while living under the threat of arrest in the Netherlands; only after its publication did controversy within the Antwerp Reformed circle drive him to England. His more polished narrative presented details of heresy trials and executions along with the confessions of faith they elicited. He thus provided a book of devotion and instruction that shaped Dutch Calvinist piety. Anonymous editors expanded his volume, which was officially commended to the church by the Synod of Dordrecht of 1578.

Foxe's massive *Book of Martyrs* (as it was popularly designated), first published in 1563 under the title *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days* on the basis of an earlier Latin work, his *Commentary on Events in the Church* (1554), exercised an inestimably strong influence on English Protestant piety. Building on Foxe's desire to demonstrate the catholic roots and nature of Protestant theology he focused on the persecution of Mary Tudor that drove him from England to Rabus's Strasbourg in 1554. His *Commentary* supplemented his early research with other sources, including Crespin, John Bale, and MATTHIAS FLACIUS'S *Catalog of Witnesses of the Truth* (1556). Sharp scholarly debate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries over his historical method and the accuracy of his reporting of cases has largely substantiated his careful and conscientious practice of research in archival and printed sources and of recording his narratives. His literary skill, along with the popular reaction against the Marian persecution, and the threat against England from the papacy and Spain in the later sixteenth century contributed to making his work a major factor in determining the texture of English piety.

Annals of individual Anabaptists' sufferings or of the persecution of their congregations were published throughout the sixteenth century, but the first attempt to gather several into a single work came with *The Sacrifice of the Lord*, edited by Hendricks van Schoonrewoerd, printed in Emden in 1562. This work strove to provide comfort and encouragement for its readers, using hymnody or poetry to present accounts of suffering and confessions of its largely Dutch martyrs. They had served as God's instruments in the battle against Satan. Dutch Anabaptists divided over which representatives of their position were truly worthy martyrs and which was the proper edition of the *History of Martyrs* produced under the leadership of the Haarlem pastor Jakob Outermaan and his associates Joost Govertsz and Hans de Ries in 1615. The Anabaptist martyrological tradition came to its climax in the work of Dordrecht preacher Tileman Janszoon van Braght (1625–1664), the *The Bloody Theater* of 1560, reissued under its popular title, *The Martyrs' Mirror*, in 1685. It contained a rehearsal of earlier

martyrs who had rejected infant baptism and then told the stories of over eight hundred such martyrs, largely Dutch, from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It appeared in Dutch, German, and English into the nineteenth century.

Accounts of sacrifice of life for the sake of Christ have continued to appear in print throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The classics, particularly Foxe's, as well as new popular collections, treating also twentieth-century martyrs, continue to serve as devotional and inspirational literature in some Christian circles.

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ROBERT KOLB

MARY, VIRGIN

The role of the Virgin Mary in theology and religious life has been a contested point between Catholics and Protestants from the early days of the REFORMATION. The primary theological issues of JUSTIFICATION by faith alone and SALVATION through Christ alone, as well as the reformers' insistence on the normative AUTHORITY of scripture, necessarily touched issues concerning the veneration of Mary and the SAINTS,

and the role of the saints in the economy of salvation. Although the early reformers rejected many aspects of the medieval Marian cult, in general they retained a devotional attitude toward Mary and accepted the statements of the early creeds and councils concerning her titles and significance: Mary remained the *Theotokos*, the God-bearer or Mother of God, and her status as “ever-virgin” was also reaffirmed. Within several generations, however, a number of factors led to the almost complete disappearance of Mary from Protestant THEOLOGY and a marked decrease in pious devotion to Mary and the saints. Interest in Mary among Protestants was revived with the papal proclamation of the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception (1854) and the Assumption (1950), and Mary again became a topic of debate in ecumenical dialogues. There have been small movements toward a renewal of Marian piety among Protestants (e.g., the Ecumenical Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary), but in general apart from those with high-church interests, Mary has remained a foreigner to Protestant theology and piety.

Martin Luther and the Early Lutheran Tradition

MARTIN LUTHER was raised in a culture steeped in the tradition of veneration of Mary and the saints. He recounted later in life how he was taught to fear Christ, the angry judge, and to rely on Mary as a merciful mother. Luther’s initial problems with indulgences led him eventually to reject a role for human merit in salvation, relying instead on Christ as the one mediator before God who provides all the GRACE required for justification. His insights had strong consequences for Marian devotion: Luther rejected any aspect of devotion or piety that in any way led people away from a focus on Christ as loving, sufficient savior. In this light he rejected Mary’s roles as intercessor, mediatrix, and co-redemptrix. He criticized certain Marian devotions, such as the *Salve Regina* (“Hail, Queen”), which addresses Mary as “mother of mercy” and calls her “our life, our sweetness, and our hope.” He also condemned excessive speculation about Mary, preferring to rely on scriptural witness and the pronouncements of the early CHURCH. Thus he accepted Mary’s perpetual virginity, and her title of *Theotokos*, adopted at the Council of Ephesus (431) both as a christological statement and to honor her. He was less clear about whether Mary’s conception was maculate or immaculate, although he did agree that Mary was purified of SIN at some point before Christ’s conception. Of the Marian festivals, Luther suggested that only those directly pertaining to Christ and with a scriptural basis be retained—that is, the festivals for Mary’s conception and assumption should be discontinued.

Despite his concerns about the abuses associated with the Marian piety of his day, Luther felt affection for Mary and insisted that she receive due attention and respect. In his treatise on the Magnificat (521) Luther views Mary as a great exemplar of the faith. She reveals the true relationship between grace and merit: rather than counting her “humility” as a meritorious virtue, Luther instead reads the term as “low estate” because her lowliness only highlights God’s gracious action in her. Mary herself gives all the praise to God, and her blessedness (“all generations will call me blessed”) consists in God’s regard of her. She becomes the Mother of God by bearing God’s Son, not because she has some special virtues that merit the role. She does not serve as the “mother of

mercy” who intercedes with Christ and God for humankind, but rather for Luther her most important role is as a prime example of the faithful Christian.

PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, author of the AUGSBURG CONFESSION and the *Apology* to it, spelled out the Lutheran position toward the saints and Mary: the saints are to be remembered to strengthen one’s faith; their good works should serve as examples, but although they (following Scripture) pray for Christians, they are not to be invoked. Invocation of the saints exists neither in the BIBLE nor in the early TRADITION. This view of the proper place of Mary and the saints in the lives of the faithful is codified for Lutherans in the BOOK OF CONCORD (1580); these confessions also include the reaffirmation of Mary’s perpetual virginity (in Luther’s SCHMALKALDIC ARTICLES of 1537) and her title of *Theotokos*, and praise her as “the most blessed virgin” (Formula of Concord, 1577).

Huldrych Zwingli

Despite his differences with Luther, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI held similar views on Mary. His theology, however, was far more influenced by Erasmus than by Luther. Zwingli’s humanism led him to intense study of the BIBLE, as well as Greek and Hebrew, and he was influenced by Erasmus’s new biblical translations, his christological focus, and his disgust with the excesses and abuses in the Marian cult. Unlike Erasmus, however, Zwingli’s christological focus led him to reject any invocation of Mary and likewise any intercession or mediation on her part. The proper attitude of Christians toward Mary is one of praise and meditation; in this context, in a 1522 sermon on Mary, Zwingli approved the use of the *Ave Maria* because, he insisted, it is not a prayer, but a greeting and praise. Like Luther, Zwingli affirmed her title of *Theotokos*—her role as Christ’s mother is the basis of her praise—and her perpetual virginity. Although Zwingli did not explicitly state a belief in Mary’s immaculate conception, he did emphasize her sinlessness and her role in the stainlessness of Christ’s conception. Mary remained a model for imitation in her holy life despite her poverty and suffering, particularly because she often meditated on divine mysteries.

HEINRICH BULLINGER, Zwingli’s successor in Zurich, also preached sermons in praise of Mary. He not only accepted Mary’s title of *Theotokos*, but held to her virginity *ante, in, and post partum*. He seems also to have held to her bodily assumption, relating it to the biblical story of the prophet Elijah.

Calvin and Calvinism

JOHN CALVIN, already a second-generation reformer, expressed far less Marian devotion than either Luther or Zwingli. His strong concern that idolatry must be avoided led him to be very cautious when discussing Mary. In particular his concern was to protect the sovereignty of God against any encroachment: veneration of the saints and calling on them for intercession was tantamount to idolatry for Calvin, and revealed the dangers in following another authority outside of Scripture. Much of Calvin’s writings concerning Mary and the saints is in fact in the context of anti-Roman polemic. He

rejected what he considered to be excesses and superstitions, but—like Luther and Zwingli—he retained the notion of Mary’s perpetual virginity, although he did not believe that she had taken a vow. Calvin was readier to believe that Mary was subject to the ordinary forms of human sin, and seemed uncomfortable with the title *Theotokos*, preferring to call her the “Mother of the Son of God.” Calvin, like Luther, felt Mary to be a great example of faith who confessed her lowliness before God. Her “blessedness” does not in fact belong to her, but is rather the grace of God. Calvin stressed that Mary’s greatest blessing was not to be mother to Jesus Christ, but rather that she was a member of the body of Christ. He calls Mary both a “mirror of faith” and a good teacher.

To help Christians avoid idolatry, Calvin and his fellow pastors recommended removal of images from churches and discontinued the festivals for Mary and the saints. His sober, minimalist approach to Mary is reflected in the later Calvinist tradition: she appears only briefly in the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563) in the context of the creed; in the Second HELVETIC Confession (1566) she is called “ever-virgin,” and again mentioned in the context of Christ’s birth.

Orthodoxy, Pietism, and the Enlightenment

In its final days the Council of Trent decreed that invocation and veneration of saints (including their relics and images) were both profitable and fitting, while denouncing abuses against legitimate piety. Mary began to be a special focus for Catholic piety and theology in the period after Trent (e.g., the mariological works of Suarez and Canisius, the spread of marian sodalities, the use of the rosary). Protestant interest in Mary decreased, especially as the cult of Mary became associated with “Catholic superstition.” Protestant ORTHODOXY, primarily interested in dogma, touched only incidentally on Mary, reiterating the dogmatic formulations of the sixteenth century and rejecting the veneration and invocation of the saints. Pietists (see PIETISM) also paid little attention to Mary in their writings, although they were more interested in the practice of religion and had more knowledge of Catholicism. Many scholars have suggested that rationalism and the ENLIGHTENMENT eliminated any residual interest in the cult of Mary among Protestants, even affecting Catholic theology. Devotion to the Virgin remained more common in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and Anglicans continue to be closer to Roman Catholics on this issue than Protestants of other groups.

From the Nineteenth Century to the Present

The Confessional movement and a liturgical revival contributed to a greater interest in Mary and marian devotion among Protestants, particularly under the leadership of August Vilmar (1800–1868) and WILHELM LÖHE (1808–1872). Löhe published a liturgical calendar that contained three Marian festivals, affirmed Mary’s perpetual virginity, and emphasized the role of saints as examples. Even greater interest in Mary was renewed with the affirmation of the Immaculate Conception in 1854; Protestants in general opposed the dogma (Karl von Hase and Eduard Preuss), although a few expressed reserved support (W.O. Dietlein).

In the early twentieth century the German “High-Church Movement” (under Friedrich Heiler) focused on liturgical renewal and ECUMENISM, taking a positive stance toward Marian devotion and celebrating Marian feasts. In 1931 the “Brotherhood of Saint Michael” was founded in Marburg, which recognized Mary as the foremost of all the saints, and promoted the three biblical Marian feasts (which became part of official Lutheran liturgy in GERMANY in 1956). The French ecumenical community of Taizé, with roots in the Reformed tradition, also practices devotion toward Mary. Much of the twentieth-century Protestant thought concerning Mary was, understandably, negative, and those theologians influenced by the search for the historical Jesus in particular began to question long-held assumptions about Mary, including her perpetual virginity, and the virgin birth (e.g., PAUL TILLICH, EMIL BRUNNER).

With the proclamation of the dogma of the Assumption (1950), Protestants again reacted in strong opposition. They especially took issue with the dogma’s unbiblical nature, and stressed that it was a blow to ecumenism. The conservative approach of Vatican II toward mariology helped to heal the ecumenical breach, and from the 1950s Protestants again gave new—and more positive—attention to Mary. Several ecumenical dialogues have focused on Mary and the saints, including the U.S. Lutheran-Catholic dialogue, whereas the *Groupe des Dombes* in FRANCE published a two-part study on the issue in 1997 and 1998. These dialogues and study groups have relied on the flowering of biblical scholarship with respect to Mary. Mary has also been the focus of some attention from feminist theologians (e.g., Mary Daly, Rosemary Ruether). Despite the increase in interest in Marian devotion and ecumenical discussions concerning Mariology, the majority of Protestants pay scant attention to Mary and often equate attention to Mary with Roman Catholic “superstition” or as challenging the authority of Scripture.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Jesus, Lives of

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BETH KREITZER

MASCULINITY

As used in the humanities and social sciences, the term “masculinity” highlights the ways in which societies define roles, behaviors, and character traits deemed appropriate for men. From this perspective masculinity is not seen as simply the result of an unchanging biologically determined male nature, but rather as the changing product of historical conditions and belief systems. Not only has Protestantism played a significant part in the generation of ideas about masculinity, it has itself been influenced by attitudes to GENDER derived from other sources. This interaction can be illustrated by examining a number of key periods of transition. The first was the era of the REFORMATION, which resulted in a reconfiguration of existing Catholic beliefs about the role of men in society. Then in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, under the impact of PIETISM, EVANGELICALISM, and economic change, a more domesticated and in some ways less stern Protestant ideal of masculinity evolved. By contrast, the second half of the nineteenth century saw a preoccupation with male military and sporting toughness and competitiveness. Finally in the late twentieth century, rapid economic and social change and the growth of feminism resulted in widely divergent Protestant understandings of what constitutes a desirable model of masculinity.

The Reformation

The rejection by all the reformers of celibacy and of the monastic life as the highest calling for men, led to a new emphasis on their God-given role as husbands and fathers. In the commonly named “house father literature” written by German Protestant clergy and in American and English PURITAN MARRIAGE guides, we find a common ideal of the Christian man as the head of the household responsible for both the spiritual and the temporal welfare of his family. Men were regarded as God’s representatives within the family to whom servants, children, and wives owed a duty of obedience.

It should not be forgotten, however, that Protestant writers also attached great importance to the fatherly nature and responsibilities of Christian manhood. Men were not to be domestic tyrants but were to love their wives and children. However, we need to be wary of supposing that conduct books and sermons neatly mirrored the realities of family life. Such evidence as survives suggests that in the past, as now, men’s relations with their wives and children encompassed a wide range of emotional registers.

In Reformation thought, men had public as well as domestic duties and powers. The divine ordering of the family, with its pattern of male headship, was considered equally applicable to the wider social and political order including the church. The Protestant erasure of both the Virgin Mary and of female saints from religious discourse and symbolism further emphasized the masculine nature of the new Protestant faith. Protestant writers also underlined a man’s responsibility for providing for his family as part of the duty of care that men owed to their dependents. Work was to be regarded as a part of a man’s religious calling. In this way Protestantism contributed powerfully to a pronounced feature of all Western societies: the definition of masculine selfhood in terms of a man’s occupation.

Revivalism and the Domestication of Masculinity

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestant revivalist movements such as Pietism, METHODISM, and the GREAT AWAKENING redrew traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity. With the decline of CALVINISM, less stress was placed on God as a stern masculine judge and more on his tender loving qualities. At the same time women were no longer regarded as potentially more sinful than men. Increasingly it was men who came to be seen as less naturally religious than women. Economic and social changes also contributed to the sense that masculinity was problematic in religious terms. Industrialization and capitalism led to a separation of home and workplace, and wealth creation and competition were felt to expose men to moral dangers to which women in the home were not subject. As a result, women rather than men came to be regarded as the primary providers of religious instruction for their children, a trend that was reinforced by men's increasingly long absences at their place of work.

Muscular Christianity

If the early nineteenth century witnessed what has been called the feminization of Protestantism, then the second half of the period saw a reaction in favor of what the English clergyman CHARLES KINGSLEY labeled "muscular Christianity." Theologically this involved an emphasis on what were deemed to be Christ's manly qualities of heroism and toughness. It also led to a growing cult of athleticism and sport in which male physical and moral strength were increasingly conflated.

Masculinity in Question in the Late Twentieth Century

In the course of the twentieth century both the feminist movement and the decline of industries requiring male physical strength undermined traditional definitions of men as sole breadwinners and dominant partners within marriage. Gay liberation movements further challenged traditional understandings of theologically acceptable forms of masculinity. In some respects Protestantism has proved more responsive to these changes than some other forms of Christianity, for example, in the willingness of many denominations to relinquish exclusively male patterns of ministry. However, in the second half of the twentieth century deep anxieties and divisions emerged over the extent to which Christian theology should resist or participate in the process of reshaping masculine identities and behaviors. History would suggest that none of the participants in this debate can realistically hope to establish his or her own ideal as the one unchanging definition of masculinity within Protestant thought.

See also Calvinism; Evangelicalism; Feminist Theology; Gender; Great Awakening; Kingsley, Charles; Methodism; Pietism; Puritan Marriage; Reformation

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SEAN GILL

MASS MEDIA

Early Protestantism and Mass Media

It can be argued that a major factor in the development of the Protestant movement was the rise of the first mass medium of the Western world in the form of print. The first printing press in the Western world was developed by Johannes Gutenberg in 1440. By means of print the middle class in Europe gained access to books that in turn led to the proliferation of new ideas and challenges to traditional views. The Protestant Reformer MARTIN LUTHER translated the BIBLE into vernacular German and the printed version of these Bibles reached 100,000 copies in his lifetime. Protestantism spread by means of printed tracts and books and became a phenomenon of the literate middle class.

Marshall McLuhan (1911–1980) was one of the most important media critics of the twentieth century. He developed a theory about the radical impact of new technological media on human CULTURE. “The Gutenberg Galaxy” was his term for the era of print as the new mass medium of the fifteenth century. This is followed by the “electronic age.” The focus in this article is on the electronic age and the electronic mass media and their relationship to Protestantism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The electronic and digital technologies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are making a radical impact on the development of all religion including Protestantism. McLuhan coined the phrase “the medium is the message,” which described the inextricable link between the medium used to communicate and its influence on the message itself. Electronic mass media present Protestantism with unique challenges in the areas of integrity of communication, ETHICS, and, values.

Radio

The Christian religion and the rise of electronic media were from the very beginning closely linked. In one of the earliest trials of wireless telephony, the inventor Reginald Fessenden read passages from the Bible on Christmas Eve 1909.

One of the earliest religious broadcasts in the UNITED STATES was in 1921 when an Episcopal church service was broadcast over the first commercial radio station, KDKA, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The first Christian Broadcasting Station, WJBT (Where Jesus Blesses Thousands), was established in Chicago in 1922. Christian broadcasting kept pace with the growth of radio stations throughout the United States with a tendency for more conservative and fundamentalist groups to form the vanguard of this movement (see EVANGELICALISM; FUNDAMENTALISM). With the development of the broadcasting networks, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), there was a move to make special time available to Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish groups. Other religious groups had to make special local arrangements or buy time on local stations to enable them to broadcast. In 1934 the Federal Communications Act mandated noncommercial public affairs programming on all broadcasters, which led to the flourishing of religious radio broadcasts in the United States in the 1930s. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was established in 1934. By 1941 the FCC issued the Mayflower Decision, which established that a broadcaster cannot be an advocate. After World War II the Mayflower Decision was relaxed, which led to further growth in religious broadcasting. The proliferation of religious radio broadcasts in the United States made it a leader in the early development of religious broadcasting in the electronic media.

With the inception of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the United Kingdom, various Christian denominations were invited to participate in a committee to coordinate religious broadcasts. John Reith, the first director general of the BBC, was an active Protestant Christian. He believed that religion should play an important role in public broadcasting and encouraged ecumenical cooperation. At first Reith encountered resistance from church leaders who were concerned that faith would be trivialized by the new mass medium. Soon the church service broadcasts from St.-Martin-in-the-Fields Anglican Church, London, became popular, which led to a music recording tradition that lasts to the present.

The use of radio broadcasting as a mass medium for Protestant communication was limited by the number of receivers in different countries and populations. By the 1930s the leading countries in radio broadcasting were the United States, GERMANY, and the United Kingdom, with other countries such as FRANCE, ITALY, Holland, DENMARK, CANADA, and SOUTH AFRICA following closely behind.

Television

With the rise of television in the United Kingdom the BBC at first attempted the same approach as with radio. It appeared that with this new mass medium some kinds of

religious services were more aesthetically pleasing than others. The first television broadcast of a church service was a Roman Catholic Mass from the Abbey of St. Denis in Paris, France, in 1952. This event raised the ire of Protestants in the United Kingdom and caused much debate about religion and public broadcasting. In the mid-1950s, after some controversy, the American evangelist BILLY GRAHAM'S service was broadcast from Glasgow and this event enjoyed an unusually wide audience. The BBC also tried particular religious productions in the early stages of television, like the film *Jesus of Nazareth*, produced in 1956.

In the United States the policy of noncommercial public affairs programming was not successfully transferred to network television because of the high cost of air time and production. Early attempts at religious television broadcasting include the Lutheran Church-sponsored television series of short morality plays featuring animated clay figures with the title *Davey and Goliath*. The show, which started in 1961, enjoyed more than sixty-five episodes. Another classic religious animated show, *A Charley Brown Christmas*, was created by Charles Schulz in 1965. This show is still rebroadcast every Christmas. The National Religious Broadcasters (NRB) association was formed in 1944 to further Christian broadcasting. In 1960 the FCC gave television networks permission to fill their public service slots with paid programming. However, religious broadcasts were also made exempt from the FCC "fairness doctrine," which required equal time for opposing views on television. The television industry and commercial interests started to shape religious broadcasting and the kind of religious values presented in public broadcasting. The result was that the liberal Protestant DENOMINATIONS, which relied on access to networks in radio, became marginalized in the television medium.

It was particularly evangelical and fundamentalist preachers who successfully used the television medium in communication. Billy Graham emerged as an early leader in Protestant television broadcasting when he switched from radio to television with the commencement of the broadcasts of *The Hour of Decision* in 1951. His broadcasts are based on edited versions of public appearances.

In his landmark work on television and religion, William F. Fore (1987) identifies the rise of a new religious phenomenon in television that he describes as the "electronic church," which has since become known as TELEVANGELISM. Such programs are characterized by individual charismatic leadership, expensive production, the use of computers and telephones to personalize contact with audiences, and solicitation of donations from the audience. Seminal in this development has been the influence of religious broadcaster PAT ROBERTSON, who purchased a UHF television station in Portsmouth, Virginia, in 1961 and started the program featuring the "700 Club," which moved to syndication in the 1970s. An important court case, based on an attack by the televangelist Billy James Hargis on journalist Fred Cook, went to the U.S. Supreme Court with a decision in 1969, which found that religious broadcasts were subject to the same rules as political speeches and network commentaries.

During the 1970s televangelism became one of the main features of Protestant broadcasting in the United States. This led to the proliferation of successful televangelist networks such as the Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) of Paul Crouch, and Praise the Lord (PTL) of Jim Bakker. During the 1980s the development of cable networks led to an increase in Protestant religious programming on television. The activities of televangelists came under public scrutiny during the late 1980s with several scandals and

controversies that affected such prominent figures as the faith healer Peter Popoff, Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, and Jimmy Swaggart. The result of the scandals was a radical drop in income for many televangelist and Christian Broadcasting channels. In response the NRB launched its Ethics and Financial Responsibility Com-mission in 1988. In the same year Vision Interfaith Satellite Network (VISN) was launched in the United States. In 1992 this organization changed its name to the Faith and Values Channel (F&V) and claims twenty-six million viewers by satellite. Broadcast networks such as TBN and PTL have responded to their financial decline in the United States by expanding globally on satellite.

Religious broadcasting on television in many countries is regulated by government and functions with particular restrictions and rules imposed by a particular jurisdiction. Thus, for example, in Canada, religious channels have to provide a certain amount of time for religions other than the one that operates the channel. These kinds of developments have been increasingly hard to enforce by governmental jurisdictions because of the proliferation of global satellite television delivery.

Photocopy, Computer, and Internet Media

In 1937 Chester F. Carlson obtained the patent for photocopy technology. The first automated photocopier was produced by the Rochester U.S. company Haloid (later Xerox) in 1959. As photocopy technology became more affordable many church denominations and local congregations were able to purchase the technology and to produce locally their own newsletters, sermons, and papers.

Between 1975 and 1981 the personal computer became available to the public through the work of Apple Computer and the International Business Machine (IBM). The introduction of the personal computer and increasingly powerful software packages made it possible to digitalize texts, to construct databases, and to produce searchable documents. For theological inquiry this caused a revolution in research and production of studies. Thus, in the field of biblical study, as the biblical text became available in the original languages on computer, word search studies and comparisons became possible at a much higher speed than before. Bibles, commentaries, and book collections were published on disk and allowed quick and effective digital access to resources. Within Protestantism the influence of the personal computer became apparent within church offices where local publications proliferated in conjunction with photocopy technology and desktop publication software.

Parallel to these developments was the birth of the Internet. Internet technology originated as a military research project in the United States that sought to create a network of computers, thus decentralizing and safeguarding information by means of multiple storage and access points. In 1968 the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency was created and by 1970 the first network of five university computers was established. As personal computers and computer workstations multiplied and became more powerful during the 1980s, software developed and became compatible, and federal and governmental agencies provided funding and infrastructure access, it became possible to connect more personal computers to a network of computer technology that spread around the globe. Through new open and compatible technologies, connected to

phone lines, cable, and satellite, it became possible to communicate by text (known as E-mail), graphics, voice, music, and live video images. This global interconnection of computers became known as the World Wide Web (WWW). On this web it became possible to post text, pictures, music, movies, and virtually unlimited amounts of information accessible from personal computers. Live text-based communication between individuals and among groups also became possible. Search tools, which allowed one to enter a phrase or subject and search for information, became increasingly powerful and became known as search engines.

These developments were not lost on religious organizations, and Protestant groups became active in posting information and making research and E-mail interaction possible. Most Protestant denominations and institutions presently have information Web sites nationally and internationally. Classic and new religious texts have become readily and freely available on the Internet. The volume of Protestant and other religious material, music, and images on the World Wide Web is staggering. Some Protestant organizations have also started to use E-mail as a form of mass communication. Unsolicited mass mailing over the Internet is known as spam, and is usually not well received. Not all religious sites and not all the information provided are of equal integrity, which raises the issue of Protestantism, mass media, and ETHICS.

Electronic Mass Media, Protestantism, and Ethics

From the time of the inception of electronic mass media, religious leaders have posed questions about these media, and their compatibility with religious values. The scandals of televangelists raised particular questions of temptation and financial ethics in the use of electronic media. Conflicting and controversial material on the Internet raises questions of integrity. A more fundamental question deals with the very nature of the electronic media and their impact on the perception of reality. Marshall McLuhan's conclusion that the medium is the message underlines the inescapable link between the mass medium used and the kind of message that people receive when they are impacted by the medium. William F. Fore points out that it is particularly the hidden assumptions of media and communication that might lead to inadvertent expressions of unintended values. His research points out that mass media tend to select and distort what they mediate. Every subject and image selection represents a judgment with ethical dimensions. By using myth, symbol, image, and fantasy, media create a commonality of perception in society. Other theorists such as the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard argue that perception mediated by the mass media screen can be described as a form of hyperreality. This means that the presence of the camera and the observer changes that which is being observed or filmed, creating a new sense of reality. Such theories challenge Protestant Christians to consider the ethical implications of their attempts to use electronic mass media. The growing interest in examining inter-connections between popular culture, media, and religion should contribute to a more profound understanding of these issues. One of the central questions becomes: "Is what is filmed and broadcast enacted in a way that challenges the authenticity of its message and experience?" As technologies develop and multiply, such fundamental questions will require reflection and response.

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CHARLES J.FENSHAM

MASS MOVEMENTS (INDIA)

Mass movements in India refer to localized processes, usually involving people from lower social strata, in which groups, not individuals, adopted another religion. Since the sixteenth century, mass movements to Islam occurred among peasant classes in rural Bengal and to Sikhism in the Punjab. Into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, “mass movements” most often designated CONVERSION to Christianity among Dalits (formerly called “untouchables”) and among other low-ranking groups of the Indian caste system. The advent of Protestant MISSIONS to INDIA during the early nineteenth century served as a catalyst for some of these movements, although mass conversion to Catholicism predated the arrival of Protestant missions. Much of the literature on mass movements addresses socioeconomic, religious, and political motives for conversion along with reactions by local elites and national leadership.

Some have described the Syrian Christians as the first instance of a mass movement in India. These Christians trace their origins to the Apostle Thomas, who allegedly came to India and converted a number of Brahmins along the Coromandel Coast near Mylapore. Unlike participants in most mass movements, however, the Syrian Christians professed

high caste (Brahmin) status and avoided efforts to propagate their religion for fear of compromising their status.

In 1540 the first Jesuit missionaries arrived in India. Francis Xavier oversaw what many regard as the first mass movement of conversion in South India. More than 15,000 low-caste fishermen, coming from the Mukkuva and Parava castes, converted to Catholicism and were drawn, as groups, under the authority of the Portuguese crown. Xavier was said to have founded forty-five churches in Travancore state, primarily among these two caste groups.

In contrast to Xavier, the Jesuit Robert de Nobili targeted the upper castes and attempted to keep his missionary efforts outside the dominion of the crown. De Nobili identified himself in dress and lifestyle with various ascetic and ritual practices of Brahmin priests of Madurai. After his death the Madurai mission adopted his models for missionary work and established mission stations in Ramnad, Padukottai, Mysore, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, as well as in areas within the Arcot district. When John de Britto (d. 1693) arrived in Ramnad he adopted de Nobili's strategy of dressing like a *sannyasi* (or world renouncer), but included in his missionary labors the warrior elite castes of the Maravas and Agamudaiyans of Tinnevely.

Several notable Protestant mass movements occurred in North India toward the end of the nineteenth century. During the 1870s the Chuhras, a Dalit community of sweepers, leather workers, and agricultural laborers, began converting en masse to Christianity. As a result of their conversion, the Indian Christian population in the Punjab rose from 3,912 in 1881 to 395,629 in 1931 (Webster 1996:39). Other mass movements in North India include the conversion of the Mazhabi Sikhs and of the Bhangis and Chamars in Uttar Pradesh. Although indigenous agents most often were the ones who led mass movements, Methodist, Anglican, and Presbyterian missions were involved in these North Indian movements.

The first large-scale conversion movement in South India occurred among the Nadars (who were previously known as Shanars, and had worked as toddy drawers) of Tirunelveli. As a result of their conversion the Nadars enhanced their social and economic status dramatically. From the middle of the nineteenth century the London Mission Society (LMS) conducted its work within the so-called Tamil Field of South India. Under the influence of the LMS, large numbers of persons from Dalit castes, such as the so-called conch shell and green bangle pariahs and Chuklas of Erode, and from Criminal Tribes such as the Kuruvars of Salem became Christian. Under the auspices of the CHURCH MISSION SOCIETY (CMS) and the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG) Dalit groups such as the Chakkiliyans, Pallans, and Shanars of Tinnevely and Tajore also converted.

Converts within Telugu districts also came predominantly from Dalit castes. Within the Krishna Godavari delta, these included Malas, who worked the land, and Madigas, who were leather workers. In addition to Roman Catholic missions, the Church Mission Society (CMS), American BAPTISTS, Lutherans, and Anglicans all witnessed mass movements of conversion among the Telugu-speaking Malas and Madigas (see LUTHERANISM; ANGLICANISM). V.S. Azariah, the first Indian bishop of an Anglican diocese, over-saw the conversion of low-caste Telugus within his Dornakal Diocese. Azariah defended the legitimacy of mass movements in the face of rising criticism from Hindu nationalists.

Debates over mass movements were centered on the issue of motives. Defenders of mass movements within the church interpreted them as an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which would lead to the eventual conversion of India. They also viewed group conversion as a way for Indians to become Christian without breaking from their families or cultural heritage. Critics, however, described mass converts as nothing more than “rice Christians,” implying that they converted for material incentives linked to services provided by foreign missionaries. Other critics have pointed to the coincidence of famine, sociocultural changes created by colonial rule, and caste oppression as causes of mass movements.

During the 1930s debates over the legitimacy of mass movements in India prompted the National Christian Council to commission J. Waskom Pickett, a Methodist minister and social activist, to conduct a nationwide sociological study of mass movements. His published findings in 1933 compiled the results of 3,947 interviews with Christians from mass movement regions. On the basis of these interviews, he concluded that 8.1 percent had converted for nonreligious reasons (education, social status, medical and other assistance from missionaries, legal protection), 34.8 percent for “spiritual” reasons, and 22.4 percent for familial reasons (i.e., because family and friends had converted). The remaining 34.7 percent said they became Christians because they were born into Christian families (Pickett 1933:160–168).

Although heads of mission societies and ecumenical bodies hailed Pickett’s study as a vindication of mass movements, criticism from Indian nationalists remained trenchant. Mohandas K. Gandhi, leader of the Indian National Congress, viewed Pickett’s findings as grossly exaggerated. Gandhi insisted that Christian conversion occurred primarily for material reasons and denationalized Indians by causing them to despise their own traditions. Other more radical Hindu voices sounded alarms of “Hinduism in danger.” This awareness resulted in more aggressive relief efforts by Hindus among the depressed classes. The Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission, and other reformist organizations worked among the lower castes, in part, to stem the tide of conversions to Christianity and Islam.

Similar concerns have led Hindu organizations in postcolonial India to call for stricter measures against conversions. These include anticonversion laws in Arunachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and, more recently, Tamil Nadu. These laws prohibit conversion by “force or allurement or by fraudulent means” (Tamil Nadu Ordinance, No. 9, p. 223). Such measures show how the history of mass movements continues to shape the rhetoric surrounding conversion and national identity in India.

See also Colonialism; Missionary Organizations; Post-Colonialism

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CHANDRA MALLAMPALLI

MATHER, COTTON (1663–1728)

New England clergyman. Mather, the best-known New England clergyman of his generation, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on February 12, 1663. He entered the world with the burden of expectations that came with being the descendant on his father's side of Richard Mather and on his mother's side of John Cotton, for whom he was named. Both of those men were revered as being among the architects of the Puritan way of belief and church POLITY in New England. Cotton's father was no less prominent. The Reverend INCREASE MATHER was pastor of Boston's North Church and president of Harvard College. Increase had spent the 1650s in IRELAND and ENGLAND during the time of Puritan control there, and had made strong and lasting contacts with the men who became the leaders of English NONCONFORMITY after the Restoration of 1660 led to the collapse of the Puritan regime (see PURITANISM) and the exclusion of Puritans from the restored CHURCH OF ENGLAND. These connections would later be of assistance to his son as Cotton sought to engage in the religious life of the broader Atlantic community. Two of Increase's brothers, Samuel and Nathaniel Mather, were prominent dissenting CLERGY in the British Isles during the decades after the Restoration (see DISSENT).

Cotton entered Harvard in 1674, shortly before his twelfth birthday. His youth, combined with a stammer that afflicted him throughout his childhood, led to his being hazed by fellow students. Despite this he excelled in his studies, demonstrating a love of learning that would be one of the central features of his life. He graduated in 1678 and received his M.A. three years later. He was determined to enter the ministry and preached in various Boston area churches. In 1686 he was chosen by his father's North Church to

assume a ministerial position. He shared that pulpit with Increase until the latter's death in 1723. In the early years of the new century the congregation numbered around 1,500, with over a third of that number in full communion.

In 1686 Cotton also entered the first of three marriages, which would see the birth of fifteen children. Shortly thereafter he was thrust into public affairs. His father departed on a mission to England to seek redress from the Dominion of New England, a centralized supercolony that had been imposed on the region by King James II. The GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in England ousted James from his throne. Informed of the rebellion by Increase Mather, the colonists saw opportunity, which they quickly seized. Cotton was one of the key figures behind the April 1689 uprising against the Dominion and its governor general, Sir Edmund Andros. Cotton aided in the interim reestablishment of the old Massachusetts charter government, and he wrote the *Declaration of the Inhabitants*, which justified the rebellion. Meanwhile, Increase successfully lobbied the new monarchs, William and Mary, to restore the separate identities of the New England colonies.

This political turmoil had subsided when the Mathers found themselves immersed in the Salem witchcraft episode (see WITCHCRAZE). In the summer of 1688 Cotton had been much acclaimed for his cure of the afflicted thirteen-year-old Martha Goodwin through months of quiet, nurturing pastoral care. This successful approach was disdained by the authorities in the Salem case. Instead the accusers were given a public legal forum to make their claims, and questionable rules of evidence were adopted by the court. Mather was privately critical of the proceedings, but felt compelled to publicly support the magistrates. The unwillingness of this young man who was not yet thirty to challenge the colony's leadership is understandable, but publishing a justification of the proceedings, *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1692), tarnished his reputation then and for future generations.

Mather devoted much time to private religious devotions. His faith had a strong mystical element in it, and on a number of occasions he claimed to have been visited by angels. This spiritual orientation made him appreciative of the writings of German Pietists (see PIETISM). He encouraged members of his congregation to engage in pietistic exercises. He preached often on the need for personal piety and its expression in good works. *Bonifacius: Essays to Do Good* (1710) was a call to a new piety as well as a manual of good conduct. Benjamin Franklin, the colonial statesman who grew up in Mather's Boston, later recognized the influence that work had on his own beliefs.

Cotton hoped to become, as his father had, a major figure in the transatlantic Puritan community, but his knowledge of England was derived from correspondence alone and not from personal experience. He frequently led with his wrong foot in offering advice to and seeking favors from English dissenters. He came to accuse them of refusing to take colonists seriously and in the process did much to implant a truly provincial outlook in eighteenth-century New England. This should not, however, obscure his incredible learning and prolific output of over four hundred published works.

His most important work was his monumental history of New England, *Magnalia Christia Americana* (1702), which was designed to commemorate the Puritan errand into the wilderness and rekindle a devotion to the ideals of the founding generation. However, he also wrote extensively in other areas, including a scriptural commentary, the massive and never published "Biblia Americana"; natural theology, *The Christian Philosopher*

(1721); medicine, *The Angel of Bethesda* (not published until 1972); and scores of sermons and religious tracts. He communicated observations of natural phenomena to the Royal Society, leading to his election as a Fellow in 1713. His controversial propagation of inoculation (based on reading a contribution in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*) during a smallpox epidemic in 1721 represented a turning point in medical practice.

Mather died on February 13, 1728. A man of intense personal piety, he was also one of the best read and most inquisitive men of colonial America. Although his personality prevented him from exercising the leadership in New England for which his intelligence qualified him, he came to be the epitome of the New England Puritan of the early eighteenth century for contemporary religious leaders in Europe and for Americans of later generations.

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FRANCIS J. BREMER

MATHER, INCREASE (1630–1723)

American theologian. Born on June 21, 1630, in Dorchester, Massachusetts Bay Colony, Increase Mather became an influential CONGREGATIONALIST minister in Boston, a president of Harvard College, and a colonial ambassador to the English royal court. A prolific author of more than 100 diverse writings, Mather combined Puritan religious tradition and progressive thought as he engaged the theological, historical, political, and scientific issues of his day.

Mather's career began with *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669), intended to reaffirm the Puritan mission during the English Restoration. His *Life and Death of That Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather* (1670) was the first colonial biography. Writing these two works quelled Mather's youthful discontent and established his voice.

During the 1670s he wrote defenses of the controversial Halfway Covenant and penned several model JEREMIADS, all designed to preserve PURITANISM.

In *A Narrative of the Miseries of New-England* (1688) and *New-England Vindicated* (1689), Mather vigorously defended the compromised rights of his Protestant colony. Politics and history coalesced in both his 1676 account of providential deliverances during settler conflicts with Indians and his 1692 examination of the Salem WITCHCRAZE. Science was added to this mix in *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684), designed to reveal God's majesty in NATURE. Scientific information, in relation to God's direct intervention in history, informs both *Kometographia* (1683) and *A Discourse Concerning Earthquakes* (1706). In 1721 Mather published a pro-gressive defense of inoculation against smallpox. When Mather died on August 23, 1723, his manuscript autobiography served as a source for his son COTTON MATHER'S biographical *Parentator* (1724).

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WILLIAM J. SCHEICK

MATHEWS, SHAILER (1863–1941)

American theologian. Mathews was born in Maine in 1863 to a middle-class Baptist family with an evangelical and pietistic heritage. He graduated from Colby College in 1884 and Newton Theological Institution in 1887. He then taught at Colby from 1887 to 1890 before studying at the University of Berlin from 1890 to 1893, where he encountered ADOLF VON HARNACK and became committed to liberalism. Mathews was appointed to the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1894, became dean of the Divinity School in 1908, and remained there until retiring in 1933. During his career, Mathews wrote more than thirty books and served as editor of several periodicals and reference works.

Mathews was Baptist (licensed, but never ordained, as a Southern Baptist and a president of the Northern Baptist Convention), but his theological work was ecumenical. His influence dominated the Federal Council of Churches of Christ. Because Mathews sought to incorporate critical biblical scholarship and SCIENCE into theological education, he became a leader of LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM and a modernist in the early twentieth century's fundamentalist controversies. Thus, he was on the witness list for the defense at the Scopes "Monkey Trial." The study of sociology convinced Mathews that Christianity was a social movement distinguished by its practices but not its doctrines. He rejected the DOCTRINE of the second coming of Christ because he

believed that this doctrine undermined the social mission of the church. Although he was committed to the SOCIAL GOSPEL and was labeled a social activist, he rejected Socialism and advocated altruistic capitalism.

See also Darwinism; Ecumenism; Fundamentalism; Higher Education; Modernism; Socialism, Christian; Sociology of Protestantism; Theology, Twentieth Century

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THOMAS E. PHILLIPS

MATHIJS, JAN (c.1500–1534)

Dutch Anabaptist. Mathijs, a millenarian Anabaptist who seized temporary control of the city of Münster in northwest GERMANY, was a baker from Haarlem and a disciple of the Anabaptist preacher MELCHIOR HOFMANN. Like Hofmann, Mathijs held strong eschatological beliefs but was willing to express them violently. After Hofmann's arrest in Strasbourg, Mathijs announced that he was the prophet Enoch and began preaching that the millennium was dawning. In January 1534 Mathijs sent emissaries to Münster and they found a warm reception in BERNARD ROTHMANN and Bernard Knipperdolling, the leading clergy and civic leader, respectively. Consequently Mathijs believed that Münster was the site of the New Jerusalem. In February 1534, elections to the city council brought an Anabaptist majority. Mathijs arrived in Münster and during February to April of 1534 Münster turned Anabaptist. Those who were not baptized upon CONFESSIOIN of faith had to leave the city. Mathijs appealed to Anabaptists everywhere to come to Münster, the New Jerusalem, in anticipation of the imminent return of Christ.

On April 4, 1534, in response to a revelation, Mathijs led an assault against the Catholic bishop's troops who besieged the city. Mathijs was killed in the attack. Leadership in the city passed to Jan of Leiden who was captured and executed when Münster fell to the bishop's forces in June 1535.

Mathijs represented arguably the most radical protest of early Protestantism, one that formed an intense eschatological anticipation.

See also Apocalypticism; Eschatology; Millenarians and Millennialism

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MICHAEL BIRD

MATTHEWS, ZACHARIAH KEODIRELANG (1901–1968)

South African churchman. Matthews was born in Barkely West District, near Kimberley, Cape Colony, SOUTH AFRICA on October 20, 1901, and died in Washington, DC, in 1968. A South African academic, HUMAN RIGHTS leader, and ecumenical churchman, Z.K. (as he was commonly known) was the son of a former migrant miner from Bechuanaland (now Botswana) who had opened a café and under the franchise laws of Cape Colony was entitled to vote. The distinguished writer Sol Plaatje was a cousin. Matthews attended the Scottish Mission's Lovedale Institution and the Fort Hare University College, becoming in 1923 the first black South African to gain a B.A. in South Africa. In 1925 he became the first African principal of Adams College, where the young ALBERT LUTHULI was teaching. In 1928 Matthews married Frieda Bokwe, daughter of the prominent minister John Knox Bokwe. After taking a law degree by private study, he became an attorney in Johannesburg, but in 1933 broke off to study at Yale (M.A. 1934) and the London School of Economics (where he worked in anthropology with Bronislaw Malinowski). For the next few years Matthews was essentially an academic and educator, one of the black elite concerned with the "uplift" of their people.

In 1936 Matthews became lecturer in social anthropology and native law at Fort Hare, eventually succeeding JOHN TNEGO JABAVU as head of African studies there. He served on various public bodies including a Royal Commission on Higher Education in British East Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and from 1942 the Native Representation Council (NRC). Although always a forceful exponent of African rights on the Council, Matthews realized, particularly as the policy of the Nationalist Government unfolded, that his political home lay in the African National Congress (ANC). He resigned in 1950 from the now useless NRC. He proposed, and did much to draft, the Freedom Charter of 1955 "to instill political consciousness in the people and encourage their political activities." He was not, like Luthuli, arrested in the ensuing government action against the promoters of the Charter and of the Defiance campaigns of civil disobedience; perhaps his prominent academic position protected him. At the mass treason trial of 1957, however, he became a target. Although released the next year, he was again arrested in 1960 after calling, with Luthuli, for a national day of mourning for the Sharpeville massacre. He resigned from Fort Hare in protest against new restrictions.

He was involved in the Cottesloe Conference that helped to crystallize the official policy of most of the South African churches against apartheid.

Matthews had combined his political and public activity with open identification as a Christian, and had attracted attention within the ecumenical movement associated with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Already in 1952–1953 he had held a visiting professorship at Union Theological Seminary in New York. In 1961 he became Africa Secretary of the Department of Inter-Church Aid, Refugees and World Service, based in Geneva. He took up the position of refugees in AFRICA (then a little-noticed issue), and succeeded in drawing the attention of the United Nations to it. He was also much involved with the war in Sudan (which he had first visited as a member of the Royal Commission in the 1930s) and the population displacement it caused. He participated in the formation of the All-Africa Conference of Churches. In 1966, with just a short time to live, he identified with his father's country, and became Botswana's ambassador in Washington, DC, and its permanent representative at the United Nations.

The three phases of Matthews's life reflect a transformation in black Southern African Protestantism in the middle decades of the twentieth century, as the extent of white oppression in the region made it a touchstone for the genuineness of Christian, and especially white Christian, professions. In his early days Matthews embodied the aspiration for African development and progress and harmonious race relations with a model based on Western ideas of "civilization." His growing involvement in politics—forced on him rather than self-chosen—represented a new Christian vision in which justice, rather than harmony, was paramount. In his lifetime and since, there were those who thought him too cautious and willing to compromise; but he can now be seen as one of the architects of the new multiracial South Africa. The early decades of the World Council of Churches strengthened the consciousness among Protestants of belonging to a world Christian community. Z.K. Matthews was recognizable as a powerful voice for Africa within that community, socially engaged, challenging racial and political assumptions on Christian ethical grounds, with a THEOLOGY and ECCLESIOLOGY not yet distinctively African, but belonging to the mainstream of Western Protestantism.

See also African Theology; Ecumenism

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ANDREW F. WALLS

MAURICE, FREDERICK DENISON (1805–1872)

Anglican theologian. Born in 1805 in Normanstone, ENGLAND, Maurice was an Anglican cleric and theologian. His prolific writing, which included many essays, letters, sermons, and commentaries, was marked by the balancing of theological oppositions, a strong interest in social concerns, and a critical receptivity to secular philosophies. He contributed to the short-lived but important movement of Christian SOCIALISM. Over the course of his life, he held academic posts in London and Cambridge, where he died in 1872.

Early History

Maurice's father was a Unitarian minister, although his mother ultimately embraced CALVINISM, a family split that troubled Maurice until, in 1823, he went as an agnostic to CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY to study law. Ineligible for a degree because he refused to subscribe to the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, he moved to London and wrote tracts in favor of social reform, a concern to which he would later return. He eventually embraced the faith of the Church of England and in 1830, went to Exeter College, Oxford. After ordination and a brief curacy, he returned to London in 1836 to become chaplain of Guy's College.

Early Writing and Christian Socialism

It was in London that Maurice wrote *The Kingdom of Christ* (1838). In it, Maurice claimed that all forms of Christianity express accurate, if partial truths, because all arise from the basic structure of human nature: the longing for a universal society to which they all give broken witness. Conscious, however dimly, that to be members of family, church, and nation they must also be members of something greater, the KINGDOM OF GOD is manifested when these entities work together to inculcate self-giving relationships to others. Tracing this longing for relation through the Scriptures, Maurice saw in Christ the ultimate revelation that we are already in relation with God, in whom this universal society is joined. The second edition of *The Kingdom of Christ* (1842) highlighted six marks of the spiritual society that manifests this relation that is both nature and destiny, marks that Maurice found in the Church of England, although haunted there, too, by a partisan spirit. His resistance to "partyism" steered between the OXFORD MOVEMENT members who vigorously defended the Church of England and Protestants who called for more official tolerance of religious dissent (see TOLERATION). Along with Quakerism, LUTHERANISM, Calvinism, and Unitarianism, Maurice included secular philosophies in *The Kingdom of Christ* because he believed they, too, could display the impulse toward universal society. His affirmation both of the capacity of secular philosophy to manifest human relatedness and of the mission of the church to

manifest the divine source in which that relatedness comes fully to ground made him appear to H. RICHARD NIEBUHR as an example of “church transforming culture.”

In 1848 Maurice became professor of theology at King’s College, London. With CHARLES KINGSLEY and others, he produced a series of tracts articulating Christian Socialism. Maurice was not a political activist, however; he believed that the members and classes of industrial Victorian society would live together more cooperatively if only their proper nature as relational beings were revealed to them. Although this may seem naïve from the perspective of the catastrophic evil of subsequent centuries, he felt this was the appropriate avenue to social reform for a theologian. Although Christian Socialism did not survive as a movement, the concerns Maurice expressed during its brief activity influenced later figures including BROOKE Foss WESTCOTT, STEWART HEADLAM, WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, and WILLIAM TEMPLE.

From London to Cambridge

King’s College, uneasy with Maurice’s Christian Socialism, ultimately dismissed him because of his *Theological Essays*. Published in 1853, they displayed a mind seeking honest congruence between human experience and Christian DOCTRINE. Several of the essays deepened Maurice’s earlier orientation to the Incarnation as the key to our nature and reflect his resistance to beginning theology from the Fall. His controversial essay “On the Atonement” was an attempt to widen soteriology beyond penal substitution, locating Christ’s significance for humanity in the whole of his life. His position was criticized as Abelardian, whose soteriology was out of favor in Maurice’s time, although the charge is probably not fair to the essay. His rhetorical query in this essay—“How can God have removed a separation unless there is some One in whom we are bound more closely to Him than our evils have put us asunder?”—anticipates KARL BARTH’S CHRISTOLOGY of a century later, although their motivations were rather different. Most troubling for King’s College, however, was Maurice’s “Concluding Essay on Eternal Life and Eternal Death,” in which he suggested that the biblical term “eternal” referred not so much to an interminable state after death as to the fullness of life in God. This claim was taken by Maurice’s detractors to amount to his denial of divine judgment. Despite his attempt to clarify his meaning, he was dismissed by King’s College over the issue.

After his dismissal Maurice established the Working Men’s College in London, which was congruent with his sense of the theologian’s contribution to social reform. There he delivered his lectures on *The Epistles of St. John* (1857), which signaled the turn of his attention primarily to moral theology. This he continued as Knightbridge professor of moral theology at Cambridge from 1866 on. In dialogue with JOSEPH BUTLER and JEREMY BENTHAM he explored *The Conscience* (1868) as a faculty neither immutable nor merely utilitarian, but as a flexible internal expression of moral AUTHORITY developed in relation with others; in *Social Morality* (1869) he returned to the theme of family, empire, and society as developments of the divinely given human propensity for relations and, in the second lecture on universal morality, linked that propensity for relation to the enactment of Christian worship.

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JAMES FARWELL

MAYHEW, JONATHAN (1720–1766)

American theologian and preacher. Mayhew was born in the village of Chilmark on the island of Martha's Vineyard in the colony of Massachusetts on October 8, 1720. The original English grantee of Martha's Vineyard and adjacent islands was Thomas Mayhew, whose presence in colonial affairs dates from 1641. His son inaugurated some of the earliest evangelical efforts among Native Americans who resided there, and after his death at sea in 1657, the elder Thomas adopted the cause of Indian missions as his own. Jonathan's birth represented the fifth generation of Mayhews associated with colonial proprietorship and religious activities, beginning with that first Thomas, then Thomas Jr., John, and Experience, Jonathan's father, who was also a clergyman and missionary. Moving from the isolation of an insular home, Jonathan entered Harvard College with its more cosmopolitan atmosphere and exciting swirl of ideas. In 1744 he graduated with honors, and for the next three years studied theology at his alma mater, occasionally teaching school to meet expenses. In 1747 he was ordained and became minister of the West Congregational Church in Boston, a position that he occupied for the rest of a rather short life. During that nineteenyear career his eloquence and zeal drew a great deal of attention, both favorable and unfavorable.

In the controversies of his day Mayhew was decidedly on the liberal side of every issue, approaching debates with an attitude that never accepted orthodox positions for their own sake and that insisted on pursuing questions with a dogged insistence on reasonableness. Arguing chiefly against staple Calvinist doctrines, his intellectual independence was so pronounced that several ministers in Boston feared that he would preach unsound beliefs and replace orthodoxy with questionable tenets. From their perspective, which relied on routine ideas and comfortable habits, he did go too far.

Possessed of zeal and an ardor that sometimes bordered on harshness, Mayhew did not shrink from threats of ostracism, but rather set the tone in his day for rational religion. Along with his colleague Charles Chauncy, Mayhew acknowledged the Bible as infallible, but insisted too that human reason must coincide with and validate the essentials of revealed truth. Assuming that scriptural teachings were clear and easily understandable, he argued that people could realize which truths had intrinsic value and which claims were muddleheaded. There was no need to browbeat modern thinkers with references to theological traditions in an attempt to lend ideas greater authority. Christianity without mystery, ethical standards with practical benefit, preaching from common sense, these were notable characteristics of rational religion that became increasingly common among those who represented the Age of ENLIGHTENMENT.

In his effort to free minds from the despotism of old dogmas, Mayhew challenged several traditional beliefs. One had to do with the godhead, and in this regard the young Boston clergyman stands as a prototype of what later came to be called Unitarianism. He rejected Trinitarian thinking as unreasonable and superstitious. God was, he declared, a single, sovereign unit. Jesus could not be equated with God because that would threaten both supremacy and monotheism. However, Jesus was nevertheless to be regarded as higher than all other creatures and still revered as savior of those who sought divine aid in their efforts to be virtuous. In true Arian fashion, Mayhew extolled Jesus as a preexistent mediator between heaven and earth, a moral exemplar whose teachings engendered moral improvement and vindicated the inherent dignity of God's law. His sermons on such matters were widely read on both sides of the Atlantic, some of them prosaically entitled *Seven Sermons* (1749), *Sermons* (1755), *Christian Sobriety* (1763), and *Sermons to Young Men* (1767).

Another traditional viewpoint that Mayhew could not accept concerned the issue of free will, or rather the Calvinist denial of it. He blasted the doctrine of reprobation because it was both unscriptural and blasphemy against a God whom he viewed as eternally benevolent. He decried all notions that painted humanity as deprived and helpless, in need of some all-powerful grace to effect salvation. He deplored references to God as arbitrarily saving only a chosen few, damning all the rest because human nature was utterly devoid of goodness. Mayhew's defense of human agency in spiritual affairs paralleled his reliance on free inquiry and private judgment in pursuit of truth. In Arminian terms, he never tired of championing each person's reliance on free will and personal initiative in their search for salvation. Moreover, this redemption was achieved not through a dramatic sense of rescue but rather through good works and virtuous habits. Whether debating traditionalists of the New Divinity such as SAMUEL HOPKINS or GREAT AWAKENING preachers such as GEORGE WHITEFIELD, Mayhew held his own in debates about human ability, and his eloquence persuaded a growing number of followers in the city. His gospel was one in which free will was part of God's created order, and true religion one of sober effort, preferable to anything that portrayed divine power as vengeful and paralyzed efforts at moral reform.

Representative as he was of liberal tendencies in Christian thought, Mayhew was also fiercely attached to the freedom found in Congregationalist churches, which permitted him to develop such ideas. He identified with congregational polity and strongly criticized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) for sending missionaries into New England. The SPG had been created in 1701 by the

Church of England to conduct evangelical work among African Americans and Native Americans. Within a few decades, however, most British missionaries relinquished those objectives, focusing on white colonists instead of slaves and Indians. These Anglican agents usually supported the combined interests of monarchical government and episcopal polity, and so when they sent missionaries into territory already settled with Congregationalist churches, Mayhew and others protested quite vigorously. He attacked the presumption that Congregationalists were not proper Christians already and that they still needed evangelizing. In a notable pamphlet of 1763, entitled "Observations on the Character and Conduct of the [SPG]," he charged that the real purpose of Anglican activists in Boston was to introduce bishops into the American colonies. English bishops in colonial America would, he warned, pave the way to further political subservience to royal power. Freedom from interference in church management was as important as open inquiry in theology, and he wanted no outside meddling with ulterior motives hidden behind pious cant.

Consistent with his support for the causes of intellectual and ecclesiastical independence, Mayhew was also an outspoken advocate of political freedom. His 1750 sermon, "Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers," attracted a great deal of attention because it articulated convictions held by a broad segment of the population. Men were, he acknowledged, bound to show allegiance to a legitimate monarch who ruled justly, but political obedience had its limits. Civil authority could become tyrannical, and in those aberrant circumstances it was a citizen's duty to disobey those in office, preferring to follow God's law rather than wrongful human oppression. This sermon, preached when Charles I was executed by parliamentarians during the English CIVIL WAR, nurtured incipient patriotism in the American colonies. Many declare Mayhew to be one of the champions of liberty who laid the theoretical groundwork for the later movement for independence. As a more immediate result of this short treatise, in 1751 the University of Aberdeen bestowed the Doctor of Divinity degree on this earnest clergyman who pursued virtue in the secular realm as well as the sacred.

Mayhew's political theories, which justified taking over the reins of government in the face of unjust laws, coincided with his religious affirmations. Both of these elements displayed a personality devoted to freedom of action and inquiry, chief principles of the Enlightenment. Although no one knew it at the time, one of his last sermons was "The Snare Broken," which celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act and yet again emphasized moral integrity in civil conduct. A cerebral hemorrhage unexpectedly felled the spirited controversialist, and he died from its attendant complications on July 9, 1766. Most of the city mourned the loss of this young liberal, one whose theology pointed to the eventual rise of a new denomination and whose political philosophy came to fruition a decade later.

See also Civil War; Congregationalism; Enlightenment; Great Awakening; Hopkins, Samuel; Unitarian-Universalist Association; Whitefield, George

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HENRY W.BOWDEN

MCFAGUE, SALLIE (1933–)

American theologian. For more than thirty years Sallie McFague taught at Vanderbilt Divinity School in Nashville, Tennessee. She completed her career there as the Carpenter Professor of Theology where she had been dean and was named distinguished theologian in residence at the Vancouver School of Theology in Vancouver, British Columbia. She earned her B.A. from Smith College and her B.D. and Ph.D. from Yale University.

The author of seven books, McFague has spent her career developing a groundbreaking ecological THEOLOGY that asks Christians to take seriously their relationship to the environment. To do this McFague has revamped traditional religious language and models of God.

Her first book, *Literature and the Christian Life* (Yale 1966), published under the name Sallie McFague Teselle, focused on the ways that Christian theology could profitably converse with literature. She tends to keep literature and religion in separate realms, examining the integrity of novels and plays in themselves while at the same time asking in what ways those works of art are relevant to the Christian. Both literature and Christianity celebrate the dignity and beauty of human life even as they confront its profundities and intricacies.

Almost a decade later McFague built on these initial studies in literature and theology to establish what was to become her lifelong work in religious language, models of God, and ecological theology. In *Speaking in Parables: A Study in Metaphor and Theology* (Fortress 1975) she argued that the task of theology is to proclaim the themes of the gospel and that Jesus' parables provide the best model for theology in undertaking this task. The parables are extended metaphors that hold together belief and language and address their hearers in their context. Parables invite open-ended theological reflection and demonstrate the ways that God is in the midst of our temporal and all too human world. McFague later uses her study of parables as the foundation for her metaphorical theology.

According to McFague the Protestant tradition and sensibility are metaphorical, whereas the Catholic tradition is symbolical. The latter, she argues, tends to see similarities and connections between God and creation. The Protestant tradition, however, recognizes the differences and dissimilarities between God and nature and thus emphasizes God's transcendence and the finite nature of creation. Metaphors help us to experience that God is in NATURE but God is not more than nature; thus metaphor shows us what is and is not.

McFague uses her metaphorical theology to construct models of God for an "ecological, nuclear age." In the final pages of her *Metaphorical Theology* (Fortress

1982) she challenged the irrelevance of the traditional model of God the Father. Besides the patriarchal character of that model, it also depended for its vitality on a medieval view of the world of vassal and liege. McFague proposed that we now think of God as Mother, Lover, and Friend, for such models acknowledge the relational character of our world. Her models of God challenge the traditional orthodox Protestant notion of God, espoused most clearly by KARL BARTH, that emphasizes the otherness, or transcendence, of God. Instead McFague constructs models of God that emphasize God's immanence and that stress the social and ecological nature of human existence.

McFague expands these models of God in her later work to construct a planetary theology that offers both a rethinking of Christians' relationship to the environment and the economy, and a revision of classical theological topics such as Christ and SALVATION and life in the Spirit.

See also Ecology; Literature; Theology, Twentieth Century

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HENRY L. CARRIGAN JR.

MCGUFFEY READERS

William Holmes McGuffey's series of graduated reading textbooks, originally called the *Peerless Pioneer Readers* and later *McGuffey's Eclectic Readers*, began to appear in 1836. Their compiler wrote the first four in the series while serving on the faculty of Miami University in Ohio. The volumes, which ultimately included six readers and a speller, went through several copyrights and were issued by seven publishing houses by the end of the nineteenth century. Sales of the McGuffey Readers has been estimated at well over a million copies during the 1800s, making them among the best-selling textbooks in American history.

Born in 1800, McGuffey spent his life in HIGHER EDUCATION: as professor at Miami University; then as president successively of Cincinnati College, Ohio University, and Woodward College; and finally as Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Virginia, where he served from 1845 until his death in 1873. McGuffey was also an ordained Presbyterian minister, and his religious vocation informed the passages chosen for the Readers, which represented mainstream Protestant values. McGuffey drew from established literary figures such as Shakespeare and JOHN MILTON, contemporary

writers whose ethos reflected his own Protestantism, and occasional Scripture passages. He also employed phonics as the basis for early reading instruction, and many of the passages in the textbooks were brief enough to allow memorization, which McGuffey believed to be important mental discipline.

Although the Readers disappeared from most public school curricula during the early 1900s because their selections did not represent American pluralism and were insufficiently topical to engage students' attention, home-schoolers later in the century showed renewed interest in McGuffey's textbooks. They admire the series' clearly demarcated age and reading levels, the brevity of the passages, and those passages' clear reinforcement of conservative Protestant values.

See also Education, Overview

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WILLIAM M. CLEMENTS

MCINTIRE, CARL (1906–2002)

American theologian. McIntire has been called the “P.T. Barnum of American Fundamentalism” because of his colorful theatrics and larger-than-life presence. McIntire, however, was no mere entertainer. One of the twentieth century's most outspoken fundamentalists, McIntire remained steadfastly serious in his mission to rid North American Protestantism of MODERNISM in all its forms.

Shortly after McIntire's birth in Ypsilanti, Michigan, on May 17, 1906, his family moved to Oklahoma where he eventually received his teaching certificate from Southeastern State Teachers College. Later, after earning his B.A. from Park College in Missouri, he enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1927, which was in the throes of the fundamentalist versus modernist controversy. He fell under the influence of biblical scholar J. GRESHAM MACHEN, a Presbyterian fundamentalist who taught McIntire the principle of separatism—the demand for purity within a DENOMINATION and the refusal to compromise with theological liberalism. McIntire's refusal to associate with liberals went beyond Machen's, fueled by dispensational premillennialism and the accompanying belief that the church had to remain absolutely pure awaiting the imminent return of Jesus Christ. Machen left Princeton in 1929 to start Westminster Theological Seminary, and McIntire went with him. They both eventually took their battle from Princeton to the DENOMINATION as a whole and were eventually ousted from the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. McIntire joined with Machen in forming the fundamentalist Presbyterian Church in America and eventually separated further to form

his own Bible Presbyterian Church with its flagship communion in Collingswood, New Jersey, which McIntire used as his base of operation for his fundamentalist activities.

In the early 1930s McIntire began building his fundamentalist empire that eventually came to include Faith Theological Seminary, two small Christian colleges, a radio program called *The Twentieth-Century Reformation Hour*, a newspaper called *The Christian Beacon*, the Christian Beacon Press, and a retreat center in Florida. All these institutions were defunct by the end of the twentieth century, except his Bible Presbyterian Church and Faith Theological Seminary, which survived in a church basement in Philadelphia.

In 1941 McIntire formed the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) in direct opposition to the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the ecumenical organization formed by mainline Protestant churches. Through the ACCC he opposed the ecumenical movement and liberal theology, as well as a host of liberal political causes like COMMUNISM (he supported McCarthy in his anticommunist crusade), socialism, feminism, Vietnam War protests, and the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. For McIntire, RUSSIA was the symbol of atheism, communism, and evil, and the UNITED STATES was the symbol of all that is good, its key values being unregulated free enterprise, private property, liberty, and INDIVIDUALISM. In 1948 he made his mission international and formed the International Council of Christian Churches in direct opposition to the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, founded that same year.

McIntire is a tragic figure in American religious history who took separatism to the extreme, eventually becoming a “second degree separationist,” removing himself not only from liberals but from those evangelicals who refused to separate entirely from liberals. He eventually added to his list of enemies not only modernists, but the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS, BILLY GRAHAM, ORAL ROBERTS, and even his most famous student, Francis A. Schaeffer. Slowly but surely his empire fell apart. In 1999 McIntire was asked by his board of elders to leave the pulpit of his Collingswood Bible Presbyterian Church.

Statistically McIntire’s impact was minimal. His organizations never developed a significant formal following. However, many looked to McIntire as the twentieth century’s foremost “fighting fundie.” He was key in the development of American Protestantism because he made the link between FUNDAMENTALISM and right-wing politics explicit. His active participation in Barry Goldwater’s failed 1964 presidential campaign presaged the rise of the new CHRISTIAN RIGHT and activist fundamentalism in the 1970s and 1980s. McIntire died March 19, 2002.

See also Dispensationalism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Millenarians & Millennialism; Socialism, Christian

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KURT W.PETERSON

MCPHERSON, AIMEE SEMPLE (1890–1944)

American evangelist. McPherson was born near Salford, Ontario, Canada, on October 9, 1890, and died September 27, 1944 in Oakland, California. The daughter of James and Minnie Kennedy, she was reared in the SALVATION ARMY. In 1908 she embraced PENTECOSTALISM and married an Irish immigrant evangelist, Robert Semple. In 1910 Aimee and Robert Semple left CANADA and sailed for Hong Kong to serve as Pentecostal missionaries. Ten weeks after their arrival, Robert died of dysentery and Aimee lay desperately ill of the same disease in a mission hospital. That fall, recovered and accompanied by her newborn daughter, Aimee sailed for the UNITED STATES.

In 1912 she married Harold McPherson. They settled in Providence, Rhode Island, had a son, and seemed on the road to a typical middle-class life. Then Aimee rediscovered her call to preach, took her children, and hit the sawdust trail. Before long Harold joined her. She began evangelizing in 1915 and first gained public notice during her barnstorming up and down the east coast from 1916 to 1918. Although Aimee proved a resilient preacher, Harold decided against devoting his life to itinerant EVANGELISM, and the couple parted amicably in 1918.

She edited a monthly periodical, *The Bridal Call*, to galvanize support and interest, and late in 1918 she moved with her mother and her children to Los Angeles. The city became Aimee's hub for the rest of her life and the site of Angelus Temple, a 5,300-seat Pentecostal church that opened January 1, 1923. The same year she opened a Bible school to train evangelists (see BIBLE COLLEGE AND INSTITUTES). She began broadcasting on her own radio station KFSG in 1924 (see MASS MEDIA). McPherson called her message the Foursquare Gospel. It focused on Christ, the savior, healer, baptizer in the Holy Spirit, and coming king.

McPherson's citywide evangelistic crusades routinely overflowed the largest auditoriums across America. Dubbed "the female BILLY SUNDAY" by the press, she was the first Pentecostal to enjoy a wide following beyond that movement's boundaries. Her crusades resembled the revival meetings to which Americans were accustomed, manifesting her Pentecostalism primarily when she yielded to public pressure to pray for the sick. Her maternal style and narrative preaching endeared her to her audiences. Noted especially for her elaborately illustrated sermons, McPherson made Angelus Temple rival nearby Hollywood in attracting audiences.

McPherson's mysterious disappearance for six weeks in the spring of 1926 inaugurated six months of highly charged national publicity. Several died searching for her, and thousands of tearful followers participated in memorial services. When she surfaced in southern Arizona, some challenged her claim that she had been kidnapped. A grand jury convened to investigate but was unable to prove wrongdoing. Her following remained loyal, but some reporters now questioned the naïveté many had previously found engaging.

McPherson's 1931 decision to remarry caused a deeper rift among her supporters. Divorced from Harold McPherson in 1921, she married David Hutton, an aspiring musician eleven years her junior. They divorced in 1934 after months of separation, but by then her remaining supporters from the evangelical world beyond Pentecostalism had turned from McPherson. McPherson had two children, Roberta Semple and Rolf McPherson.

The institutions McPherson created became the INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF THE FOURSQUARE GOSPEL, a Pentecostal DENOMINATION with headquarters in Los Angeles and a missionary outreach around the world.

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EDITH L. BLUMHOFER

MEGA-CHURCHES

Protestant “mega-churches” (churches with 2,000 or more attendees per week), have multiplied across North America in recent history. Although there were only about a dozen such churches in 1970, there were over 300 by 1990, and 500 to 700 by 2000. Churches with 2,000+ attendance are not without precedent in Protestant history; CHARLES SPURGEON in London and HENRY WARD BEECHER in Brooklyn, for instance, preached to several thousand people per weekend in the nineteenth century; but the spreading use of electronic microphones and automobiles in the 1930s supported the proliferation of mega-churches, and the 1970s move to larger “full service” schools, supermarkets, and malls, for instance, conditioned many people to expect a range of ministries within a church. North American Protestant Christianity has no monopoly on such churches; AFRICA, Asia, and LATIN AMERICA (combined) have far more Protestant mega-churches than North America. Furthermore the Roman Catholic Church

has far more “mega-parishes” in North America than all the mega-churches of the Protestant traditions combined.

John Vaughan, of www.megachurches.net and the quarterly *Church Growth Today*, frequently publishes updated lists of the one hundred largest churches in North America and the fifty largest churches in the world. About 70 percent of America’s mega-churches are in the West or the South. About one-third are “independent” churches; the other two-thirds are (quietly) denominational.

There are essentially two types of mega-churches, with very contrasting agendas. Because the mission of many European Protestant churches was once to make Catholics into Protestants, so some mega-churches attract many transfers from other churches. The other mega-churches regard their community as a secular mission field, their “apostolic” mission targets pre-Christian people, and most of the people who join have no church from which to transfer. The mission statement of the Chicago area’s Willow Creek Community Church dramatizes this apostolic agenda: “Our mission is to help irreligious people become fully devoted followers of Jesus Christ.”

The latter (“apostolic”) mega-churches, which are driven to reach and disciple populations with no Christian memory, realized that they would have to reinvent the way they “do church” to achieve their mission. The most influential innovations emerged, historically, in the JESUS MOVEMENT, and in several mega-churches—like Willow Creek and Southern California’s Saddleback Church. These bellwether churches influence many other churches through their teaching conferences, publications, and networks—such as the Willow Creek Association (<http://www.willowcreek.com/>).

Mega-churches, however, are widely misunderstood. Most observers view them through old para-digms, and therefore fail to perceive what they observe.

For instance, when people notice the absence of pipe organs and the presence of “praise bands,” they see “opposition to tradition” or “trendy” Christianity; actually, the church is probably attempting culturally “indigenous” ministry, as effective churches do on any mission field. Again, people typically see a megachurch on a Sunday morning, without understanding that such churches are “seven-day-a-week churches” (Schaller). Still again, people often identify a megachurch with a specific community, and are later astonished at the range of its global involvement; or often they identify the church with the social class they see attending a service, and are later astonished by the church’s diversity, often including several ethnic-language congregations (see ETHNICITY).

Or, when people see a congregation of several thousand, they attribute the crowd to “great PREACHING.” Actually, most mega-churches put fewer of their eggs in the “preaching” basket than traditional churches. The preaching is only part of a planned experience. The WORSHIP service, whether “SEEKER-sensitive” or “seeker-driven,” begins where people are, engaging their questions, issues, and hopes. The service introduces Christianity’s truth claims and lifestyle. The service’s music, or a drama, or a video clip, or a testimony, or a prayer time may be as prominently featured as the “message.” The message engages an issue in people’s lives, from Scripture, in the people’s language in a conversational style. The whole service reflects a more casual, contemporary, culturally relevant, celebrative style than one would likely experience in the smaller traditional church.

When people casually observe a church of thousands, they have no idea that most mega-churches “grow larger by growing smaller.” The most important feature of many

apostolic mega-churches today is the small group, sometimes called the cell group. Most mega-churches involve thousands of people each week in group life—such as neighborhood groups, BIBLE study groups, nurture groups, support groups, prayer groups, recovery groups, groups for seekers, sports teams, and many groups with some ministry beyond the group. Many mega-churches are no longer churches “with” small groups; they are “metachurches” (George, 1994) of small groups. In metachurches, most people first join a group, and then the church; most people learn, in their small group, to be in ministry with other people, and to converse meaningfully about their faith. Ralph Neighbor claims that nineteen of the twenty largest churches on earth are “cell churches.”

When people learn about a mega-church’s large staff, they have no idea that, actually, the church shepherds and grows its people, and attracts seekers and new members through the ministries of LAITY. A typical apostolic mega-church features a hundred or more lay ministries; most of the members are involved in a ministry for which they are gifted, and many of the lay-led ministries are “outreach ministries” to non-Christian people. The strongest and most reproductive mega-churches are essentially local lay movements.

Although most churches will not, and should not, become mega-churches, the mega-church is a relatively new, important, and multiplying type of church on North America’s religious landscape. They now include more within a church’s domain—such as Christian schools, sports leagues, fitness centers, food courts, and much else—than ever before. With this trend, however, many mega-churches may be unwittingly planting the seeds of decline. More Christian kids in church schools means fewer Christian kids in the public schools; more Christians pumping iron at church fitness centers means fewer Christians meeting non-Christians at public gyms. The very churches originally reinvented to reach non-Christian people, by preparing and sending the laity into the world as salt and light, could, over time, become evangelical ghettos within the secular city.

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GEORGE G.HUNTER III

MELANCHTHON, PHILIP (1497–1560)

German reformer. Melanchthon was author of several highly influential Lutheran texts, among them the *Loci communes* (1521, 1535, 1555), the AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530) and its *Apology* (1531) (see AUGSBURG CONFESSION, APOLOGY OF), as well as the “altered” or *Variata* version of the *Augsburg Confession* (1540). Philip Schwartzerd (who took the Hellenized name Melanchthon as a boy; in both forms the name means “black earth”) brought a rare combination of strengths to the reform movement centered in Wittenberg: linguistic facility, mental and expository clarity, and prodigious energy. A prolific author of textbooks and commentaries, Melanchthon helped extend the intellectual scope of Protestant learning beyond scriptural dogmatics. In so doing he drew suspicion for betraying the more closely focused biblical teaching of Luther.

Humanism

A humanist with interests in the natural sciences and classical literature, Melanchthon was called to teach Greek at the University of Wittenberg. Arriving a year after MARTIN LUTHER posted his Ninety-five Theses, Melanchthon quickly joined the new program, bringing philological and theological acumen to bear in explicating biblical texts. Early on he added the bachelor of Bible degree to the B.A. and M.A. he had earned at Heidelberg and Tübingen, respectively, but to the end of his days he remained a member of the Wittenberg arts faculty. He was an indefatigable proponent of humanistic studies, issuing textbooks and editions of ancient texts and helping to organize both the German humanistic Gymnasium and the Protestant university system. For these efforts he became known as the “Preceptor of Germany.”

Drawn to the classics by early immersion in Greek and Latin, Melanchthon promoted the study of classical literature in various ways, among which his virtually single-handed stewardship of the classical canon is possibly the most important. By means of editions and commentaries, Melanchthon brought such authors as Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lucian, Cicero, and Virgil within reach of a readership for whom they might otherwise have been barely more than names. Convinced, like most humanists of the era, that refinement in languages was necessary for any refinement in manners, Melanchthon was a forceful advocate of imitating the foremost models of Greek and Latin prose. He reinforced his efforts with manuals of grammar, logic, and rhetoric that sought, by precept and example, to train the young in the best mental habits. Learning and eloquence being especially valuable for pastors, Melanchthon insisted that evangelical clergy have some humanistic training.

Active as Melanchthon was in promoting humanist learning, the canon of ancient authors he helped shape was clearly determined by religious concerns. Notable by their absence from the pedagogical curriculum are works that might have been taken as glorifying pagan religion. Hence Hesiod’s *Works and Days* is a poem Melanchthon promoted, with editions and commentaries, whereas the mythological epic *Theogony* is hardly even mentioned. The more moralistic Euripides is Melanchthon’s favorite Greek

tragic poet, judging from translations (into Latin verse) of all surviving plays; but Sophocles appears seldom and Aeschylus almost never. Among philosophers, Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* receive attention, whereas the *Metaphysics* is ignored. Plato is mentioned only as the teacher whom the superior Aristotle surpassed. Notwithstanding such selectivity Melanchthon energetically promoted the study of history (which he saw as "philosophy taught by example"), the natural sciences (as evidence of divine majesty and order), and medicine, as a way to fulfill God's command to care for creation.

Theology

Melanchthon was an early and powerful supporter of the REFORMATION cause in its early years, offering lectures on biblical books as part of his Wittenberg teaching repertoire. Academic lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, begun in 1519, became a commentary and the basis for the first edition (1521) of *Loci communes*, a modest but influential manual of evangelical DOCTRINE. In its simplicity and clarity the *Loci* set out in schematic form what Luther had developed in exegetical and polemical writings. In Melanchthon's own terms the categories of Christian experience are reducible to law (which serves to make one aware of sinfulness), SIN (and the corresponding despair at being able to fulfill the law), and GRACE (or the divine reconciliation between a righteous God and a sinful humanity). The ordering of experience in the *Loci* accurately depicts the Reformers' adaptation of the Pauline message of freedom from bondage: the bondage to Jewish Law in the first century is recreated as the penitential-sacramental "Law" of latemedieval Catholicism, and the Pauline gospel of Christian freedom is reinstated in the Lutheran doctrine of the ATONEMENT as liberation.

Such liberation, the necessary condition for a truly pious life—that is, one of gratitude for the Atonement—does not entail disobedience to the laws of civil government. On the contrary the believer fully aware of divine goodness in creating and ordering human society will see the civil order as a manifestation of that goodness, and will accordingly be more loyal and obedient than the impious individual who may need the restraint yet balks at its demands. In so doing, the Christian obedient to the law acts as an instructor to neighbors, and thus serves as a model of conduct within the well-ordered society. In Melanchthon's view, God's will is perfectly expressed in the Decalogue, of which each precept contains both a pious and a moral dimension. The pious aspect of the moral laws is fairly obvious: one refrains from adultery, theft, murder, and the like out of obedience to the divine intention. The moral aspect of the First Table is more subtle, but it implies that acts of piety, being just as "external" as acts of the Second Table, instruct and inspire similar behavior in others.

Reverence toward civil institutions as a form of divine governance, although not incompatible with Luther's doctrine of two kingdoms, may have reflected greater optimism than Luther expressed about the possibility of godly rulers. For Melanchthon a Christian monarch was as much obligated to create a society supportive of true DOCTRINE as the lowliest subject was to obey the ruler. Moreover Melanchthon—who considered the classical literature of statecraft, especially Aristotle's *Politics*, instructive for rulers in his own time—was prepared to support these sovereigns' work with visitation protocols, ordination examinations, and renewed emphasis on the study of law,

at Wittenberg and elsewhere. Melanchthon's diplomatic work was penetrating and wide-ranging, and thousands of surviving documents attest to his efforts to cooperate with rulers of territories large and small.

Some of this cooperation brought suspicions of being too much of a conciliator, willing to make concessions in faith in the interest of the unity of the CHURCH. His participation in most of the major colloquies and Diets of the time indicates that he was considered, both home and abroad, a skillful theological dialogue partner. Although Melanchthon was generally a more effective negotiator than some of his contemporaries, the image of an irenicist is pushed too far if it suggests that he was willing to compromise on essentials to avoid conflict between the confessions. Research into the interconfessional meetings of the 1530s and later has shown that Melanchthon remained resolute on the doctrines of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH, the AUTHORITY of Scripture over church TRADITION, and the relation of law to gospel.

Melanchthon's doctrine of ADIAPHORA became the point at which he was thought to deviate farthest from original Lutheran teaching. After Luther's death the Schmalkald War of 1547, and the attempted imposition of a Catholic-dominated "Interim" in Protestant churches, Melanchthon found himself torn between acknowledging the permissibility of restoring Catholic practices and denying the authority of the ruler behind the Interim, Elector Maurice of Saxony. He resolved this dilemma by granting that the practices could be returned, but only as *adiaphora*, or "indifferent things," not in themselves detrimental to faith. In this Melanchthon was echoing statements by Luther in his eight Wittenberg sermons of 1522, in which Luther considered many practices of the Catholic tradition valid so long as they were free of idolatry or works-righteousness. Melanchthon's critics of the late 1540s and 1550s, however, saw this concession as nothing but the return of idolatry and works-righteousness, and denied the possibility of any nonscriptural practice being at all "indifferent." Controversy over this issue would continue for decades.

Similar controversies surrounded the later Melanchthon's view of the law in the life of the Christian. Holding from early in his work that the law was not wholly transcended in the embrace of the gospel, Melanchthon held that the pious believer would turn to the law as the expression of the divine will for humanity, not relying solely on love of neighbor as the controlling norm of human action. Such a position was shared by Luther and Melanchthon equally, especially in the wake of the Peasants' War and other forms of radical ANTINOMIANISM, but the directness with which Melanchthon defended the Third Use of the Law—revelation for regulating the Christian life—drew comparisons with JOHN CALVIN and contrasts with Luther. If the doctrine of the Third Use is implicit in Luther, then Melanchthon has not departed from Lutheran teaching; if it is absent from Luther, Melanchthon may certainly be seen as a bridge between Wittenberg and Calvinist Geneva. Like Luther, Melanchthon asserts that a life of works necessarily follows from justification; but the clarity of his assertion, and the question of whether these works are dictated by love or law, make him appear to contradict Luther's insistence that the justified Christian lives a life of spontaneous loving deeds.

Influence

The controversies of Melanchthon's final decades cast a shadow over his reputation in the following centuries. Struggles within LUTHERANISM, and skepticism toward Melanchthon's attraction to pagan thought, led to his being labeled a rationalist and the inspiration of the Lutheran Scholasticism of Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) and GEORGE CALIXT (1586–1656) in the seventeenth century, the Pietist reaction to that being a self-conscious recovery of “true” Lutheranism. Likewise Melanchthon's concessions to secular authority, exemplified by his supposed capitulation to Maurice of Saxony, were thought to lead to the ABSOLUTISM of the seventeenth century. His engagement in the religious dialogues of the period, especially his apparent affinities with “moderates” like Erasmus, Georg Witzel, and MARTIN BUCER, brought him an enduring reputation of a conciliator, long before that term acquired the positive attributes it gained in the second half of the twentieth century.

Melanchthon's posthumous reputation, if not based on caricature, has at least been sufficiently shaped by simplifications and polemical distortions to obscure his relation to Luther and the originality and coherence of his own thought. Ecumenically minded scholars in the 1960s and 1970s approaching Melanchthon as a forerunner of their own work began to recognize the limits of “ECUMENISM” as a rubric for interpreting his work; and somewhat later work on the relation of his humanism (including his support of scientific learning) to THEOLOGY uncovered a complex coherence rather than the dual-career model of earlier views. In addition recent research on the development of confessional communities has uncovered dynamics far too intricate to allow any single thinker to be held responsible for the rise of absolutism.

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RALPH KEEN

MELVILLE, ANDREW (1545–1622)

Scottish academic. Andrew Melville introduced major university reforms and helped establish PRESBYTERIANISM in Scotland. Melville was born at Baldovy and was an exemplary student, demonstrating excellent facility with languages. He graduated from St. Andrews at age nineteen and proceeded to gain a wide-ranging education at Paris, Poitiers, and Geneva with THEODORE BEZA. Melville returned to SCOTLAND in 1574 to become principal of the languishing Glasgow University, which he revived through fundamental changes in the curriculum that he patterned after the educational methods of French humanist Petrus Ramus. Melville later extended similar reforms to Aberdeen and St. Andrews, where he became principal of St. Mary's College in 1580. He also worked to eliminate the remainder of the Episcopal system and helped draft the Genevan-styled *Second Book of Discipline* (1578), which passed the General Assembly under his leadership.

Melville firmly rejected the ecclesiastical supremacy of the monarch and frequently clashed with James VI, whom he famously dubbed "God's silly vassal," on account of the king's hindrance of PRESBYTERIANISM. In 1584, Melville was charged with treason and left for ENGLAND. He eventually resumed teaching at St. Andrews in 1586, but experienced continued confluence by removing him as rector of St. Andrews (1597) and excluding him from the General Assemblies with the king, who worked to curb Melville's bly. In 1606, Melville was summoned before the English Privy Council and confined to the Tower from 1607 to 1611. He spent the remaining years of his life in exile in the University of Sedan, FRANCE. His writings include a commentary on Romans and much well-received Latin poetry.

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SCOTT MCGINNIS

MENNO SIMONS (1496–1561)

Anabaptist leader and theologian. Menno Simons, a former Catholic priest of Friesland, became, after the late 1530s, the most prominent leader of the peaceful Anabaptists in the NETHERLANDS and Northwestern GERMANY. Gradually his influence came to predominate many Anabaptist groups elsewhere in Europe, who then called themselves MENNONITES.

Menno, son of Frisian farmers, was ordained a priest in 1524, but was quickly influenced by the Reformation to doubt the traditional Catholic teaching of the mass, and embarked on his own study of the Bible. Even so, he remained the vicar of Pingjum, and then of Witmarsum, Friesland, throughout the most tumultuous period of the early REFORMATION in the Netherlands (1524–1535). He read the works of the church fathers, the Dutch humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Protestant leaders such as MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546), MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551), and HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575), and his sermons become increasingly evangelical. By 1533, however, the Reformation in the Netherlands followed the Anabaptist teachings of MELCHIOR HOFMANN (1500–1543), who preached purification of believers and the church for the imminent return of Christ. At the height of this popular reform movement Menno watched as the apocalyptic crusade spun wildly out of control; in the spring of 1535 his younger brother, Peter, who had joined the Anabaptist kingdom in Münster, Westphalia, was killed in the authorities' crushing of the Anabaptist occupation of the Frisian monastery Oldeklooster. In response, Menno wrote a tract against the Münsterite kingdom and its king, Jan van Leyden, but with its capture on June 25 he decided against publication.

Despite his growing unease with his own Catholic office and his conviction that the Anabaptists were right about the sacraments, Menno did not quit his position and side with them until January 1536. For the rest of his life, he lived a peripatetic existence, hounded by the authorities, protected by followers or noble friends, moving first to East Frisia, then to the archbishopric of Cologne, and finally to Schleswig-Holstein. No haven was entirely safe, and many of his supporters died hiding his whereabouts from the authorities. Finally, on January 13, 1561, at his last refuge on a noble estate near Oldesloe, Holstein, Menno breathed his last. However, the church he reformulated from the Anabaptist movement endures today in the Mennonite churches around the world.

Throughout his reform career, Menno not only fled the persecution of the Catholic authorities, but also was forced to defend his ideas against the attacks of Lutheran and Reformed theologians, who condemned Anabaptists and Mennonites as inextricably linked to the notorious Münsterites. Menno's case was not helped by his continued adherence to Hofmann's unusual incarnation doctrine, which stipulated that Christ had not received his humanity from Mary but had brought it with him from heaven. In early 1545 Menno and Johannes a Lasco (1499–1560), the Polish superintendent of the Reformed church in Emden, debated this and the other doctrines that divided Mennonites from the Reformed: Menno's depreciation of original sin, his emphasis on salvation as a

life-changing act, his rejection of infant baptism and adherence to believer's baptism, and his insistence that ministers be called by God rather than be hierarchically appointed on the basis of formal theological training. In his numerous writings Menno defended the Mennonite position on these issues, striking a middle position between Catholic penitential practice and the Protestant's justification by faith.

Menno also had to fight against some Anabaptist leaders, such as David Joris (1501–1556), who depreciated the external elements of religious practice and allowed infant baptism to avoid detection by the persecuting authorities. Menno insisted on a visible church, distinct from the world and from what he saw as the apostasy of the mainstream churches. In this believers' community, Christians were to live in love and obedience to the gospel, and the ban, or shunning, was used to ensure that all members lived accordingly. The practice proved controversial, for some of Menno's associates wished to apply it within families, and while Menno generally opposed such rigor, in the end his reputation as a hard-liner was established.

Following the Anabaptist approach to salvation, Menno stressed a third path to reform, one that combined identification with the suffering of Christ, Christian discipline, and the communal and personal ethics of late medieval Catholicism with the pacifistic piety of Erasmus and the Reformation's emphasis on *sola scriptura* and justification by faith. The result was a process of discipleship leading to the "new person in Christ." The most notable distinction between Mennonites and Protestants was the former's absolute insistence on believers' baptism. Menno also defended the Anabaptist/Mennonite insistence on nonviolence for the Christian and refusal to swear an oath of allegiance to the state or in any way participate in civic government.

Menno's central work was *The Fundament of the Christian Life*, published first in 1539. In its importance for the Mennonite community, it compares to JOHN CALVIN'S (1509–1564) *Institutes* for the Reformed Church. Baptism was administered only to adults who had already repented from their hearts, experienced the rebirth, and who had committed themselves to inner spiritual renewal and identification with the true people of God. After baptism, believers were to assist each other in the difficult process of discipleship, for Menno conceived of the Christian faith as a public commitment to Christ and his people. Hence, his church was a visible one, where together the people of God sought to follow the apostolic church and renounce the world.

See also Anabaptism; Hofmann, Melchior; Mennonites.

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GARY K. WAITE

MENNONITES

This term is presently used to designate most of the churches descending from sixteenth-century ANABAPTISM. Because the rise of Anabaptism predates MENNO SIMONS'S association with the movement by some ten years, not all groups have adopted the term. Communal Anabaptists, or HUTTERITES, are named after their most important leader, JAKOB HUTTER (1500–1536). The AMISH are named after their most important leader, Jacob Ammann (c.1644–c.1730). Since 1796 Menno's Dutch followers have called themselves *Doopsgezinde*; Swiss Anabaptists still prefer the term *Taufgesinnte*. Under the influence of Ludwig Keller (1849–1915) and his writings, German Mennonites in the late 1800s toyed with the idea of calling themselves *altevangelische Taufgesinnte*. The term *Menist* was first used in an edict of 1545 issued at Emden by Countess Anna of Oldenbourg, which recommended TOLERATION for the followers of Menno. Based on a theological judgment by John a'Lasco, it distinguished the peaceful followers of Menno from the Spiritualist followers of David Joris, and the revolutionary followers of Jan van Batenburg. To divorce themselves from the Münsterite stigma and get out from under the condemnation of an edict promulgated by the Second DIET OF SPEYER in 1529 that declared rebaptism a capital offense and referred to all persons baptized upon their confession of faith as *Wiedertäufer*, other Anabaptists also adopted the term. These factors, together with the overriding similarities between Menno's theology and that of the Swiss Brethren (or Anabaptists), and the translation and dissemination of his 1539 *Fundamentboek* into German in the 1580s made Menno known far and wide and so his name gradually came to be adopted for most of the movement.

Origins of Anabaptism

Anabaptism emerged in Zurich, SWITZERLAND, on January 21, 1525, when a number of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI'S (1484–1531) radical followers, led by CONRAD GREBEL (1498–1526) and Felix Mantz (1498–1527), baptized one another upon their confession of faith in the Zurich home of Mantz's mother, forming the first "believers' church" of Early Modern Europe. Based not so much on Zwingli's teachings as on those of Desiderius Erasmus (1469–1536), whose writings influenced both groups, these radicals took as their theological point of departure Erasmus's interpretation of Matthew 28:16–20—Christ's "Great Commission." Beginning with the Council of Nicea (325) and its quarrel with Arianism, Church Fathers, seeking a Trinitarian baptismal formula (which they found in Matthew 28:18–20), had begun to associate this passage with the baptismal passages in the Acts of the Apostles (2, 8, 10, and 19) because the apostles, in every one of the passages that narrated a baptismal event, had always baptized only in the

name of Jesus. To explain this apparent discrepancy became the concern of virtually all scholars.

The Matthew and Acts passages had therefore come together long before Erasmus dealt with them in his paraphrases of the Gospel of Matthew (1522) and Acts (1523). Erasmus, however, broke with church TRADITION in this instance and interpreted the Matthew passage very differently. Ignoring the baptismal issue and concentrating instead on the interpretation of the entire passage, Erasmus argued that the apostles had themselves interpreted the Great Commission in these baptismal passages, especially in St. Peter's "Pentecost Sermon" contained in Acts 2. That interpretation focused on two kinds of teaching, one before and another after the CONVERSION of the listener. It began, said Erasmus, with the proclamation of the Gospel—and here the Acts 8 passage featuring Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch with its central emphasis on Christ, was especially exemplary—proceeded to the response of the hearers in repentance and conversion, and culminated in the BAPTISM of the converted where the baptizand took an oath of obedience to Christ. This was then followed by a second kind of teaching—"teaching them to obey everything I [Christ] have commanded you." It was under this second kind of teaching that Christian discipleship was taught. This interpretation of Christ's Great Commission was adopted by the Swiss Brethren—and by Menno Simons some ten years later—and can be seen explicitly in Mantz's *Protestation* of December 1524, BALTHASAR HUBMAIER'S (c. 1480–1528) *Old and New Believers on Baptism* (1526), BERNARD ROTHMANN'S *Concerning the Two Confessions* (1533), Menno Simons's *Meditations on the 25th Psalm* (1537) and *Fundamentboek* (1539), Thomas van Imbroik's *Confession* (1559), Peter Walpot's *Artikelbuch* (1577), and the Swiss Brethren's 1585 *Einfaltiges Bekantnus*. Other documents, too numerous to mention, contain an implicit replication of the Erasmian interpretation. Indeed a group of Moravian Hutterites under the leadership of Joseph Hauser informed the Elbing (Prussia) city council as late as 1603 that they read the biblical interpretations of only one writer—those of Desiderius Erasmus.

The discovery of this connection between Erasmus's paraphrases of the Great Commission and the Anabaptist/Menno core theological perspective is important for a number of reasons, not least of all because it establishes a separate intellectual origin for the Swiss Brethren but also because it explains the similarities between their position and that of Menno Simons. Furthermore it distinguishes these two branches very clearly from the revolutionary and mystical branches of the Radical Reformation, as well as from MELCHIOR HOFMANN (1495–1543) who was so influential in the beginning of the Dutch Anabaptist movement. The beginning of Dutch Anabaptism has therefore to be seen as a conflict between the Hofmann heritage and the teachings of Menno Simons, with the latter emerging victorious after the Münster revolution (1534–1535).

Influence of Melchior Hofmann

Hofmann is regarded as largely responsible for introducing a version of Anabaptism in the northern regions of the Holy Roman Empire. He began his reformation work as a Lutheran lay minister in Livonia in 1523, but his tendency to cater to the masses quickly alienated the ruling elites. In 1525 he was forced to have his ministry validated by

MARTIN LUTHER himself, but his certificate of ORTHODOXY did him little good. City after city continued to expel him until he finally found temporary sanctuary in Stockholm. There, in 1527, he published his commentary on Daniel, demonstrating his predilection for apocalyptic thinking. Later in Lübeck and Kiel he, for a time, enjoyed the goodwill of the king of DENMARK. As DEACON of the Nikolai Church in Kiel, he acquired a printing press that he used mostly to attack Luther's surrogates in the region. This brought him the opposition of Luther as well as that of the local authorities. When ANDREAS RUDOLF BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT—alienated from Luther ever since the latter's return from the Wartburg in March of 1522—himself came into the region, Hofmann joined him. Together they attacked Luther's doctrine of the real presence. Little wonder that Hofmann's teaching was condemned at the 1529 Flensburg Disputation.

Forced to flee the region, Hofmann made his way to Strasbourg where Luther's eucharistic enemies lived. When his reception there was no friendlier, he made contact with outsiders like Hans Denck and the "Strasbourg Prophets." From them he absorbed his later emphasis on the "inner Word" and other heretodox positions. His views on the incarnation he took from CASPAR VON SCHWECKFELD (1489–1561). Referring to Christ's physical body as "heavenly flesh," it argued that Christ had passed through Mary like water through a sieve, thus avoiding being contaminated with original SIN. His apocalyptic thinking also took a more radical turn here. No longer satisfied, along with so many other sixteenth-century thinkers, with merely proclaiming the imminence of the end of the age, Hofmann now began to argue that Christ's return had to be prepared for by a great cleansing of the godless in the world. Once that had happened, the new Elijah promised, Christ would return in 1533 in the city of Strasbourg.

In the meantime, in 1530, Hofmann returned to Emden. There, in soil prepared by the Sacramentarians and the Brothers of the Common Life, he quickly baptized some 300 persons. As elsewhere, such a public and dramatic break with the past brought persecution in its wake. Leaving a disciple, Jan Volkerszoon, in charge, Hofmann once again took to the road. However, he could not stay away from the scene of such success for long and so, a year later, he returned, baptizing another group of persons. However, when on December 5, 1531, Volkerszoon and ten others were executed at the Hague for rebaptism, Hofmann—perhaps on the advice of Schwenckfeld and SEBASTIAN FRANCK—ordered a halt to all baptizing. PREACHING and admonition, however, were to continue.

Like a magnet, Hofmann was drawn back to Strasbourg again. The authorities were not pleased when they discovered his presence, and so he was expelled. Restless and unsettled, he turned his steps to the north again, this time to Hesse and eventually to Leeuwarden where his follower, Obbe Philips, was located. The approach of 1533, however, drew him back to Strasbourg to witness the prophesied return of Christ. The authorities, fearing that his prediction of the cleansing of the godless would lead to revolution, thought it best for him to witness his predicted events from behind prison walls, so they had him incarcerated. There he died ten years later, declared by his own Dutch followers to have been a false prophet.

Bernard Rothmann's Reform

While the Hofmann saga was running its course, Rothmann, another erstwhile follower of Luther, began a reformation movement in the Westphalian city of Münster. Having studied at the universities of Cologne and Wittenberg, Rothmann nevertheless soon came to be attracted to Zwingli's teachings and then to even more radical positions. In 1531 he, too, made the pilgrimage to Strasbourg where he met with MARTIN BUCER and WOLFGANG CAPITO, Strasbourg's two magisterial reformers, but also with Martin Cellarius and Schwenckfeld. Like Hofmann, he may also have encountered Cellarius's apocalyptic thinking here, although it does not appear to have had any immediately apparent impact on him. Within the year he returned to Münster and began to reform the city in earnest. The arrival of Hendrick Roll in August 1533—one of the so-called Wassenburger Predikanten—accelerated the radical direction of the movement.

The Münster Colloquy of August 1533 between Rothmann, his followers, and some Lutheran and Catholic clerics, was a watershed event in the reformation of the city. Nor did it find Rothmann unprepared: his thoughts on the two major topics of debate—baptism and the Eucharist—had already been laid out in his *Bekentnisse van beyden Sacramenten, Doepe vnd Nachmaele* (Confession Concerning the Two Sacraments). In the tract he categorically rejected the concept of objective grace in the SACRAMENTS. Unable to defeat Rothmann on the basis of *scriptura sola*—a principle laid down as the foundation for theological debate within the empire by the 1523 Nuremberg Imperial Edict—his opponents were forced to fall back on tradition and the development of church history.

Whereas Hofmann's theology contained elements of apocalyptic violence, Karl-Heinz Kirchoff has confirmed Rothmann's own argument that the reformation movement in Münster was initially of a peaceful nature. Unlike the Swiss Brethren, however, Rothmann posited a greater parity and parallelism between the Old and New Testaments that left the door open for a later emphasis on Old Testament violence. He argued that the Old Testament consisted of types of the reality that had appeared in the New. These types, although superseded by the reality contained in the New Testament, nevertheless constituted a kind of archetypal foundation of what had come.

Rothmann's emphasis on the importance of the Old Testament increased with the arrival of Jan van Leiden and Gerard Boekbinder in the city on January 13, 1534. On February 24, JAN MATHIJS—the new prophet who had superseded Hofmann the false prophet—himself appeared in the city, declaring Münster to be the New Jerusalem and the site of Christ's imminent return. The appearance of a new prophet meant that Hofmann's ban on baptism could be rescinded. Consequently Rothmann, his followers, and even Gerhard Westerberg—Karlstadt's brother-in-law—were quickly baptized. Rothmann's emphasis on the restitution of a suffering apostolic church could also be sacrificed because the "time of harvest" had arrived and the KINGDOM OF GOD on Earth was about to be inaugurated. This was justified by a new emphasis on the Old Testament clearly present in Rothmann's 1534 *Restitution* where the author argued that the Old Testament was not as irrelevant to the Christian as some had earlier thought, especially because this had been the only Scriptures known to Christ and the apostles.

Rothmann's attitude toward the use of violence changed with the transition of his emphasis from a suffering church to that of the kingdom of God and the arrival of the "time of harvest." Already before the kingdom's inauguration the elect were permitted to defend themselves; after its arrival they would go on the offensive until the entire world would be conquered. They set out on the road to this kingdom by gaining control of the city in early 1534 through the support of the guilds, but it was not until after Mathijs's death in the summer of 1534 that Jan van Leiden began to transform Münster into the New Jerusalem. By August he had had himself proclaimed a second King David. Rothmann became his royal orator, and Berndt Knipperdolling—a former city mayor—his chief minister. Community of goods was introduced along with a severe form of Old Testament justice, to be followed shortly by polygamy itself.

Under siege from summer 1534 to June 24, 1535 by the combined forces of the Protestant duke of Hesse and Franz von Waldeck, Catholic bishop of Münster, food gradually became scarce and rumors of cannibalism surfaced. Inhabitants sought to escape, only to be cut down by the besieging forces. In early June 1535 enemy soldiers were informed how entrance to the city might be obtained. They entered at night, and when dawn broke a great slaughter ensued. Jan van Leiden, Berndt Knipperdolling, and Bernard Krechting were taken alive. Bernard Rothmann, however, was never found—dead or alive. The captured leaders were interrogated, tortured, and finally executed. Their bodies were placed into three separate cages and raised up the spire of Lamberti Lambert's church. There they remained until the nineteenth century as a warning to all who would revolt against church and state. In January 1536, some six months after Muenster's collapse, Menno Simons left the Catholic Church and cast his lot with the erstwhile followers of the discredited movement.

Early Development of Menno Simons

Menno Simons (c. 1496–1561) was born near Witmarsum, in the small Frisian village of Pingjum. Little is known of his early life. Ordained into the priesthood by the bishop of Utrecht in 1524 at the age of twentyeight, he appears to have been fairly well educated, knowing Latin and some Greek and possessing some knowledge of the Church Fathers. Appointed priest at Pingjum in 1524, Menno soon came to doubt the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist (1525) and then infant baptism (1531), but nevertheless remained in the church. In 1532 he was transferred to Witmarsum where, in 1534, he encountered emissaries from Münster. His brother Pieter's involvement with the revolutionaries in their aborted attempt to take over the Old Cloister near Bolsward in early 1525, leading to his execution, occasioned Menno's attack on Jan van Leiden (1536) in his unpublished (until 1627) *Een gantz duidlijcke end klaer bewijs... Tegens de grouwelijcke end grootste blasphemie van Jan van Leyden* (Against the Blasphemy of Jan of Leyden). Menno experienced a profound conversion of his own while writing the piece, a conversion that eventually led to his leaving the Roman Catholic Church. He wrote about his conversion in two subsequent semiautobiographical tracts: the "Spiritual Resurrection" of 1536 and "The New Birth" of 1537.

Menno followed up his two tracts on conversion in 1538 with his "Meditations on the 25th Psalm," which clearly reflects the Erasmian "Great Commission" influence. Then, in

1539, he wrote his most important book, *Een Fundament vnd klare Anwisinge, van de heylsame vnd Godtsellyghe Leere Jesu Christi...* (The Foundation of Christian Teaching). Known as the *Fundamentboek*, it became the book around which Menno built his church. As a motto he chose I Corinthians 3:11: “For no man can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ.” He repeated the motto in all his other works. It was a motto that pointed to the Christ-centeredness of his theology. A person “converted” from a Münsterite—or even a Melchiorite—position could not have written such a book only three years after the cataclysmic demise of the revolutionary movement. It took a man who had been studying the BIBLE for some fourteen years to do so. Menno, therefore, cannot ever have belonged to that movement—revolutionary or pacific. It was precisely because he had remained untainted by it that he could become the leader of a new movement, one that stood in conflict with it.

Emergence of “Menno’s Church”

Through his writings and itinerant preaching Menno now began to build a new movement on the ashes of the old, ashes that clearly demonstrated the bankruptcy of the Melchiorite/Münsterite ideology. Based on conversion and peaceful suffering, Menno established congregations that his followers clearly labeled as “Menno’s church” in contradistinction to the earlier movement. If former revolutionaries wished to join that church, they had to be reformed. If they entered without being reformed, they had to be excluded through the application of the ban. So successful was he that already in 1542 an imperial edict singled him out and placed a price on his head. The edict forced Menno to move first to Frisia, then up the Baltic coast at least as far as Lübeck, if not Danzig itself. Upon the recommendation of John a’Lasco to Duchess Anna of Oldenbourg only two years later, as we have seen, Menno’s followers were distinguished from those of David Joris and Jan van Batenburg—that is, from the Spiritualists and the revolutionaries. This is remarkable, coming only seven years after Münster. It points to the fact that others besides Menno and his followers—indeed outsiders—recognized the nascent “Mennonite” church to be different from the previous movement.

Along the way, Menno spent some time in Cologne until it also became too dangerous. Eventually he was allowed to settle in Oldesloe, near Lübeck, under the protection of the count of Ahlefeld. Here he was permitted to have his own printing press and to publish his writings in relative peace.

Menno appears not to have known much—if anything—about the Swiss Brethren, and never mentions such names as Felix Mantz or Conrad Grebel. Yet his theology—because of the two groups’ common dependency on the Erasmian interpretation of the Great Commission—bears striking similarities to that of the Swiss Brethren. He did differ from them on the Incarnation and on the strict use of the ban, but the essentials were strikingly similar, although these were differences that crept into his theology after his conversion.

Establishing the Church

After Münster, Menno was forced to work on two fronts: to build a church cleansed from the Münsterite influence and to defend that church against attacks from without. The latter were severe because, with few exceptions, opponents chose to associate the movement with revolution and excesses such as polygamy to discredit it. Menno himself came repeatedly to be called a “Münsterite” simply because of his brother’s execution. He was called on to justify himself and his movement in debates with John a’Lasco in 1544 and Martin Micron in 1554. Yet as an accused Münsterite, Menno was forced, internally, to move against those very remaining Münsterite sympathizers in the person of Jan Batenburg and his followers. He was also forced to take issue with and reject the Spiritualist David Joris and his followers. In 1547 Adam Pastor, ordained by Menno and Dirk Philips in 1542, had to be excommunicated for denying the preexistent divinity of Christ. As early as 1540, Obbe Philips—overcome by doubts about his own “calling,” which had come through the Münsterites—left the movement.

It is important, in assessing the relationship of the Dutch “Mennonites” to the Swiss movement, to note that Rothmann’s *Confession Concerning the Two Sacraments* plays an important role in Menno’s thinking as well as the thinking of South German Anabaptists such as PILGRAM MARPECK. For Menno the document demonstrated the extent of Rothmann’s apostasy as manifested in his later tracts. Such apostasy, combined with the fact that the Münsterite movement before the arrival in Münster of Jan van Leiden and Jan Mathijs in January/February 1534 had been peaceful in nature, convinced Menno that the movement had been derailed by men like Jan van Leiden. Hence his attack on the latter rather than on Rothmann in his *Blasphemy*. The fact that the Anabaptist leader Marpeck could incorporate Rothmann’s *Confession* nearly verbatim in his own 1542 *Vermannung; auch ganz klarer gruendlicher vnd unwider sprechlicher bericht zu warer Christlicher puntsvereynigung* (Admonition and Clear, Fundamental and Incontestable Account), makes it clear that, even though there were differences between the various parties involved, the similarities between Swiss/South German Anabaptism, Menno Simons, and the pre-Melchiorite Rothmann were great.

Seeds of Division

It was alien ideas—such as the Melchiorite doctrine of the incarnation and the strict application of the ban in the Dutch churches resulting from the Münsterite past—that gave rise to future conflict. These differences became contentious issues when the Dutch and Swiss/South German movements made contact and began to talk to one another. One of these was the “question of the origin of Christ’s flesh.” It was discussed at a conference held August 24, 1555, in Strasbourg only some six years before Menno’s death. That conference rejected the Dutch position, deciding that it was more important to observe Christ’s commands than to speculate about the mystery of how Christ had become flesh. In 1557 a second conference took place in Strasbourg; this time the issues were the doctrine of original sin and the severe application of the ban, the latter having

become a problem in the NETHERLANDS. The first, an internal Swiss and South German problem, was resolved amicably, but the second, which was directed at the Dutch, remained divisive. Menno, who had sought to win the High Germans to his views in the spring of 1557, was rejected, although the conference expressed the hope that an outright rupture between the two groups might be avoided. This was not to be, however, because Menno and his partner, Leenaert Bouwens, rejected the proffered hand, and in 1559 the Dutch elders pronounced a ban on the High Germans.

Menno, who died in 1561, regretted having agreed with Bouwens in favor of a severe application of the ban in their congregations. Already in 1555–1556 the “Waterlanders” separated from Menno, Bouwens, and Dirk Philips over precisely this issue. They took their name from the lakes and river region north of Amsterdam in which they lived. By 1568 they began to hold their own church conferences and call themselves “Doopsgezinde.” Another separation from Menno’s group took place in 1567 when Flemish Anabaptists who had fled persecution in what was to become Belgium and settled among the Frisians decided to go their own way. Cultural and other differences exacerbated attempts to resolve the disputes, and even Dirk Philips’s intervention could not heal the rupture. These internal divisions had a ripple effect and spread over northern Europe, creating conservative and more moderate groups. Even among the Flemish themselves a division occurred between conservatives and moderates in 1594, with the conservative group calling itself “Old Flemish.” Only four years later a similar split divided the Frisians.

Yet in spite of these internal divisions more and more of the groups outside of the Netherlands adopted the name “Menist” for themselves. They did so because—even in Danzig in the late fifteenth century—the name came to denote a legally tolerated religious group different from the *Wiedertäufer*, which were regarded to be revolutionary. In other words, Anna of Oldenbourg’s 1544 recognition of the “Menists” as a peaceful and productive, nonrevolutionary religious movement became a kind of legal precedent by which “Anabaptists” could be granted toleration. One scholar has called the “Menist” name a *Schutzname*—a name that protected the Anabaptists, and so wherever possible it was adopted. When religious toleration became established, however, many of these same groups reverted back to their original names, except in North America where the term “Mennonite” encompasses most of the groups deriving from the Radical Reformation.

Not everyone accepted the increasing divisions within the Dutch Mennonite church, however. Some members left the churches; others sought ways of healing the ruptures, sometimes through the creation of new Mennonite confessions of faith that were to be adopted by the rival factions. Especially the more moderate groups—in spite of the opposition of the “Old Flemish” and “Old Frisians”—insisted on reunion. In 1591 the so-called Young Frisians and High Germans united on the basis of the “Concept of Cologne,” an agreement reached before the attempt at merger. Soon a number of Waterlanders, under the leadership of Hans de Ries, joined the union, although an invitation to the Old Flemish and Old Frisians in 1603 was not accepted. Nevertheless the attempts at reuniting the various groups of Dutch Anabaptists did have some success in the early years of the seventeenth century.

Long-term Changes

It was another development within the seventeenth century, however, that fundamentally changed the nature of the movement for many years to come. In the process of being granted toleration under what is known as *Schutzbriefe* (letters of protection), Menists were generally forced to promise to lead unobtrusive lives, hold their religious services in private homes so as not to attract attention, and to avoid all proselytizing. The first of such *Schutzbriefe* appears to have been issued in East Friesland in 1626. It was soon followed by one issued for the German territories of the Danish king and another by the Count Palatine of the Rhine. All of these documents contained a proselytizing prohibition. Many of them also demanded sizable sums of “protection” money from the “heretics.” Combined with the merciless persecution during the sixteenth century, such *Schutzbriefe* of the seventeenth century completed the transformation of an originally aggressive missionary movement that so irritated sixteenth-century rulers and establishment churchmen. Mennonites, more and more, now became “the quiet in the land.”

In the following centuries other influences reconfigured the internal relationships in the Anabaptist/ Mennonite movement. South German Mennonites came increasingly under strong Pietist influences (see PIETISM), whereas Dutch and north German Mennonites came under the influence of rationalism. This led, in the nineteenth century, to three major regional Mennonite centers in Europe: the *Verband* of Mennonite churches in the south; the *Vereinigung*, representing most Mennonite churches in northern GERMANY and Prussia; and the *Doopsgezinde* of the Netherlands. Furthermore, the creation of nation states gradually, and the Napoleonic Wars suddenly, eroded the Mennonites’ ability to retain their exemptions from military service. Thus their time-honored principle of nonresistance came under attack. When their ability to purchase land in Prussia came to be tied to military service in the 1780s, large numbers of Prussian Mennonites decided, in 1789, to migrate to New Russia at the invitation of Empress Catherine II. Other groups followed in 1803 and 1835. Still others departed for the UNITED STATES.

Because of a revival in the Russian Mennonite churches in the late 1850s, another split occurred when the Mennonite Brethren Church was created. This was followed by the Russian government’s attempt, in 1873–1874, to remove the Russian Mennonites’ military exemption granted them on their entrance to the country. The exodus that followed cut across any internal divisions, with the more conservative migrating to CANADA’S prairie provinces—especially Manitoba—and the more progressive moving to the plains states of the United States. Here they joined Swiss Mennonites, who had arrived from the Palatinate much earlier, to form the three largest groups of Mennonites: the so-called Old Mennonites (Swiss and German origin); the General Conference of Mennonites (largely made up of Dutch/Russian Mennonites); and the Mennonite Brethren. The post-World War I period brought another great exodus of Mennonites from RUSSIA. These settled primarily in Canada. Aside from these larger groups are the Amish, the Hutterites (sixteenth-century communal Anabaptists), the Holdemann people, and a number of other groups scattered across Canada and the United States. Since the 1920s some of the conservative Old Colony Mennonites of Manitoba have settled in MEXICO; others, like the Bergthalers, moved to Paraguay where they were joined by

Mennonites fleeing Russia in 1929/1930. A later exodus of Mennonites from Russia during World War II brought another wave of settlers to Paraguay and BRAZIL, whereas about 100,000 more have come from Russia to Germany since the late 1970s.

Global Identity

Beginning in 1925 with the first Mennonite World Conference held in Basel, Switzerland, to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the birth of Anabaptism in Zurich, Mennonites from around the world have gathered periodically to celebrate a common faith but a growing racial and ethnic diversity. MISSIONS programs, beginning with that of the Dutch *Dooptsgezinde* in the nineteenth century in Dutch colonies, have, during the twentieth century, led to the establishment of indigenous Mennonite churches in INDONESIA, INDIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, JAPAN, and other countries so that today Mennonites of non-European origin outnumber those of European origin. Institutions of higher learning, especially in Canada and the United States—but increasingly elsewhere as well—have, and are continuing to be, established. Often beginning as BIBLE INSTITUTES designed to foster the faith, they have gradually been transformed—like similar institutions of other denominations earlier—into liberal arts colleges and eventually into universities with theological seminaries as their counterparts (see CHRISTIAN COLLEGES; HIGHER EDUCATION). At the same time, aside from the more conservative groups, Mennonites have become increasingly active politically, become business entrepreneurs, and moved into the professions in ever-greater numbers, with many holding down prestigious university positions especially in Canada and the United States, but not only there. Through the North American relief agency, Mennonite Central Committee, established to assist suffering Russian Mennonites after World War I, they have established a worldwide presence to aid—irrespective of political or religious affiliation—all peoples suffering under conditions of war or natural disasters. At the same time, as a positive extension of their pacifist principles of nonresistance (see PACIFISM), they are actively involved in conflict resolution and offender reconciliation programs in the United States and Canada that are finding ever-expanding application. Like the Dutch Mennonite *Heeren* depicted in some of Rembrandt van Rijn’s paintings, Mennonites are no longer “the quiet in the land” they once were presumed to be.

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ABRAHAM FRIESEN

MENNONITES, GENERAL CONFERENCE OF

The General Conference (officially General Conference Mennonite Church) was founded in 1860 and is composed of Mennonite congregations in the UNITED STATES and CANADA.

Mennonites from Europe began immigration to Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century. The churches were isolated and all used some form of the German language, although the inroads of English soon began. John H. Oberholtzer (1809–1895), a young minister from the Swamp Mennonite congregation in Bucks County, led a progressive group that wanted to bring Mennonites into the mainstream of American religious life. In 1847 he and ten other ministers and deacons were expelled from the larger church group. They formed the East Pennsylvania Conference of Mennonites and introduced the new practices of SUNDAY SCHOOLS, written constitution, and mission work. To reach out to similar-minded Mennonites he set up a print shop and began publication of a Mennonite periodical, *Religiöser Botschafter*.

The General Conference organizational meeting was May 28–29, 1860, at West Point, Iowa with Oberholtzer as chairman. The conference Plan of Union invited all American Mennonites to unite for fellowship and common church work but did not prescribe any creed or practices other than fellowship based on the BIBLE and the teachings of MENNO SIMONS (especially believers BAPTISM and nonswearing of oaths). Orthodox Christian DOCTRINE was no doubt assumed. Later statements of belief called for salvation through faith, nonresistance and PACIFISM, non-conformity to the world, CHURCH DISCIPLINE, and avoidance of secret societies. The Plan of Union permitted freedom and autonomy for all congregations (and by implication, for individual Christians) to follow their own consciences and practices, within this loose framework.

According to H.P.Krehbiel, the first historian of the conference, dogmatism and “non-essentials” were to have no place. They believed: “In essentials unity, in nonessentials liberty, in all things love.”

Growth and Conference Work

The General Conference grew modestly through the years. In the late nineteenth century a large immigration of Prussian and German-Russian Mennonites, settling in the Great Plains, joined. By 1896 there were seventy-six churches with 8,886 members. In 2000 there were 397 North American churches with 59,915 members (United States 35,333 and Canada 24,582), with additional churches in South America. It was the second largest Mennonite conference in North America, ranking behind the Mennonite Church (MC). The main areas of General Conference membership are eastern Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa (of Swiss and German descent); and Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, California, and the provinces of Canada (of Prussian and German-Russian descent). In 1946 a group of Illinois churches, the Central Conference of Mennonites, joined as a group. The area churches are organized into six district conferences (Eastern, Central, Western, Northern, Pacific, and the Canadian Conference of Mennonites). The U.S. headquarters is at Newton, Kansas, and the Canadian at Winnipeg.

The conference has focused on three areas of conjoint work: (1) home and foreign MISSIONS; (2) publication; and (3) EDUCATION. In 1880 Samuel S. and Susie K. Haury began missionary work among Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians in Oklahoma. Overseas work began in INDIA by Peter A. and Elizabeth Penner and John F. and Susanna Kroeker in 1900. Other early conference work concentrated in CHINA and the Belgian Congo. The longest-running periodicals were *The Mennonite* and *Der Bote*, in English and German. The conference publishing house for books is Faith and Life Press of Newton (see PUBLISHING, MEDIA).

The conference desired an educated leadership and encouraged schools, sponsoring the Wadsworth Institute of Wadsworth, Ohio (1868–1878); Witmarsum Seminary of Bluffton, Ohio (1921–1931); and Mennonite Biblical Seminary at Chicago, founded in 1945, which later moved to Elkhart, Indiana, where it collaborated with Goshen Biblical Seminary to form the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary. The General Conference relates to (but does not own) the following colleges: Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas; Bluffton College; Freeman Junior College (1903–1985); Conrad Grebel College; Rosthern Junior College; Canadian Mennonite Bible College; and Columbia Bible College (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES; CHRISTIAN COLLEGE).

During World War II the conference cooperated with other Mennonites to sponsor a program of civilian public service. Worldwide relief activities are coordinated by the Mennonite Central Committee, which the conference helps to sponsor. After World War II the church began efforts of social justice, disarmament, and broadening the membership to become a multicultural, multiethnic church.

The General Conference Tradition and Identity

Rooted in the Mennonite tradition, General Conference people tend to see their church as the voice and vanguard of progressive Mennonitism. H.P.Krehbiel referred to them as the “progressive part” of Mennonitism (1898). C.Henry Smith called them tolerant, liberal Mennonites with the spirit of progress (1941). S.F.Pannabecker said they are characterized by cooperation, congregational independence, and tolerance of wide diversity (1975). General Conference historians developed an approach to history and identity (somewhat different from the Goshen school) that actively engaged the world and CULTURE. A portion of General Conference Mennonites, however, eschew the label of progressivism and identify with FUNDAMENTALISM. Moreover, some Mennonites from other groups question the General Conference tradition as being too open and individualistic.

Merger and Cooperative Future

In the 1980s the General Conference began exploring cooperative steps and merger with the larger Mennonite Church (MC), and in 1995 the two conferences voted to merge, not without opposition. The merger was completed in 2002. The name of the united denomination is Mennonite Church USA. The joint periodical is *The Mennonite*. Both groups adopted a united statement of doctrine, “Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective” (1995). Concurrent with the U.S. merger, the sizable Canadian Mennonite component formed an independent entity called Mennonite Church Canada.

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KEITH L.SPRUNGER

MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY

In his classic work, *America. A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character* (published by Scribners in 1855), PHILIP SCHAFF wrote:

In the United States German philosophy and theology come into living contact with the whole Anglo-American form of Christianity, and thus become essentially modified. While they act upon the latter, they undergo themselves a process of transformation. From the collision, the mutual attraction and repulsion, of these two elements there has arisen...a theological movement, which...has kept the whole German Reformed communion...for the last ten or twelve years, in an almost constant agitation, the end of which cannot yet possibly be seen (p. 163)

The “theological movement” of which Schaff wrote has been called “the Mercersburg Theology” because it was centered in the small south-central town of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. There it is still possible to see the beautiful grounds and Gothic chapel of the Mercersburg Academy, successor on the site of the college and theological seminary of the German Reformed Church that served as host to this theological movement in the nineteenth century.

Origins

Schaff did not see fit to note that the two most prominent figures enlisted in the cause of the Mercersburg Theology were JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN and Schaff himself. As Schaff already suggested in 1855, the development of this theological movement was aided, at least in part, by the “German philosophy and theology” of the time. The thought of GEORG W.F. HEGEL, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, and IMMANUEL KANT was implemented and supplemented by the historical perspectives of Isaac Dorer and JOHANN AUGUST NEANDER. However, it is necessary to understand the formation of this movement as a reaction to the increasing subjectivization of American religion in the nineteenth century. The work of the Mercersburg thinkers has not substantially arrested that process; that is, because the process has gone hand in hand with the democratization of American life, the creation of a mass society in which knowledge is one-dimensional.

It was, of course, natural that Mercersburg should have been hospitable to the influence of German thought. It was after all the educational center for many German-speaking Americans who had resided in Eastern Pennsylvania and the Cumberland and Shenandoah Valleys for perhaps a hundred years. The German Reformed Church, like its sister Lutheran and Moravian denominations, was to fashion a folk culture known as Pennsylvania Dutch (more accurately, Pennsylvania German). Along with their

Anabaptist Mennonite and Amish cousins they provided a cultural refuge in an English-speaking world (see MENNONITES; ANABAPTISM; AMISH). This sense of ethnic separation, however modest it may have become, was certainly a nurturing factor in the response of the Mercersburg thinkers to the American penchant for revivalistic and pietistic religion (see ETHNICITY).

John Nevin's Development

John Nevin was born on February 20, 1803 (see ETHNICITY) in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania and spent his early years on the farm of his parents in Franklin County. Nevin later recognized with great favor the influence of his family, the common school, and the Presbyterian Church of Middle Spring. He was brought up in Old School PRESBYTERIANISM, which represented an orderly catechetical system that entailed the use of biblical questions, a work called the *Mother's Catechism*, and the *Shorter Catechism* of the Westminster Assembly (see CATECHISM).

When Nevin entered Union College in Schenectady, New York, in 1817 he encountered a religious life in contrast to his Old School Presbyterianism. His sense of living in the orderly life of the church, from birth to DEATH, was challenged by the revivalistic emphasis on subjective CONVERSION experience recited by narrative testimony (see REVIVALS). When he completed studies at Union College in 1821 he was uncertain about his future and plagued by the anxieties that had been generated by the revivalistic threat to his sense of well-being and religious harmony. After two years spent at home on the farm Nevin enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary, the institution very much at the heart of the Reformed tradition in America.

Charles Hodge took leave of his position at Princeton to study in Europe just at the time of Nevin's graduation and the latter spent the following two years assuming Hodge's teaching responsibilities. By 1828 Nevin was licensed as a minister by the Carlisle Presbytery and selected as a professor of biblical literature for the new theological seminary being established near Pittsburgh. While at Western Theological Seminary he began the study of German scholarship in church history and THEOLOGY, discovering there a source of healing for the intellectual distress caused by his earlier encounter with the pietistic subjectivism of revivalistic EVANGELICALISM. His work came to the attention of those responsible for the oversight of Marshall College and the German Reformed theological seminary located at Mercersburg, not too far from Nevin's ancestral home. In 1840 he joined Friedrich Rauch at Mercersburg and began a theological career that was to create an American movement very much at odds with what to Nevin and Schaff was a "new religion"—an American Christianity out of continuity with the historic church.

Rauch was a native of Hesse Darmstadt and educated at Marburg, Giessen, and Heidelberg before coming to America in 1831. He became ill and died on March 2, 1841, but not before he had assisted Nevin in his study of German philosophy and theology. Rauch certainly deserves attention in any serious encounter with the formative stage of the Mercersburg movement. The influence of Hegel found its way into Rauch's book *Psychology*, which was probably the American introduction of the Hegelian philosophy of mind in the English language. That philosophy also enabled Nevin to develop a

doctrine of the CHURCH that rejected the Puritan distinction between visible and invisible churches in favor of a full-bodied historical church as the manifestation of the Incarnation, the Body of Christ.

The Anxious Bench was published in 1843 (revised and enlarged in 1844) as a polemic in opposition to “new measures” revivalism. In it Nevin established the position that was to occupy most of his scholarship for the rest of his life and set up the themes of “Bible and private judgment” as characteristic of Nevin’s critique of the American religion in the making. The contours of an Evangelical Catholicism were taking shape as he published his lectures on *The Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*. Some scholars suggest that this direction in Nevin’s work places him among the neoconfessional thinkers of the nineteenth century. This is to disregard the manner in which Nevin interprets the *Catechism* as an irenic and reconciling work, transcending Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Tridentine confessionalism.

Partnership with Philip Schaff

Nevin’s status as an important American religious thinker and controversial scholar was enhanced by the appointment of Schaff as a Mercersburg colleague in 1844. Schaff’s skills as a church historian were to complement Nevin’s work as a historical theologian. The young Swiss-German Reformed historian had been educated at Tübingen, HALLE, and Berlin. Influenced by F.C.Baur, Dorner, Neander, FRIEDRICH THOLUCK, and Julius Muller, he had just begun his career as a lecturer at the University of Berlin. A month after Schaff arrived in America, he heard Nevin preach a sermon on “Catholic Unity” at Salem Church in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania at a joint convention of the German and Dutch Reformed denominations. Schaff was delighted to hear the church portrayed not as a collection of believing individuals, but as a new creation manifesting the gift of the incarnate Christ. He and Nevin had obviously posted similar scholarly agendas.

Schaff’s inaugural address was published in 1845 under the title *The Principle of Protestantism*. The address itself immediately plunged the Mercersburg schools further into the controversy generated by Nevin’s *Anxious Bench*. The two professors were going against the grain of the individualistic and pietistic moralism that was becoming generally characteristic of American Christianity. Influenced by a not uncritical deference to Hegel’s theology of development, Schaff anticipated the advent of an age in which the concrete reality of the Church Catholic would rise above the subjectivism of post-Reformation Protestantism. The revolutionary nature of Schaff’s view of church history was that the REFORMATION did not represent a radical disjunction with medieval Christianity, as many Protestants claimed, but was rather “the legitimate offspring” and “greatest act” of the Catholic Church—the revealing of “the Evangelical dimension inherent in the true catholic nature of the one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.” Neither the Roman Catholic Church nor the REFORMATION heritage could be dismissed. Later in his life, after becoming America’s leading church historian and a member of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, Schaff seemed to translate his view of organic historical development into a kind of eclecticism that anticipated the ecumenical age. Perhaps he should have been less sanguine of what the future synthesis of Roman and Protestant elements would be like. It may have been

sufficient for Schaff and Nevin to espouse their advocacy of a Reformation Catholicism while waiting to observe what form would emerge in the future. They were realistic in their mission to return the Reformed Church to its Germanic context as a response to the revivalistic and pietistic spirit of American denominationalism. Schaff at any rate was not willing to translate that same sense of tradition into his later encounter with romantic ecumenicity.

In 1845 Schaff and Nevin were in essential agreement. Their historical and theological views formed the justification for Schaff's HERESY trial in the same year and a gradual schism in the German Reformed Church. The controversy was advanced by the publication in 1846 of Nevin's *The Mystical Presence. A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*. Although the title may seem to imply a confessional posture, the book readily attempts to place Calvin's understanding of mystical real presence in a reconciling position between Lutheran and Tridentine theologies on the one hand, and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI'S notion of memorial and sign, on the other. Again, Nevin's interpretation of the Eucharist engages the whole of church history rather than a one-sided evangelical or Roman history. Christian WORSHIP is centered in the Eucharist, said Nevin, because it is not mere subjective or memorial action. Christian worship is incarnational; it is the objective presentation of the Incarnation combined with the communal response of the faithful. Just as the Incarnation presents the divine as God-man, in contrast to an abstract notion of an absolutely transcendent divine, so the central act of human response reflects the divine-human encounter. We have to do therefore with *presence* that is not static location or substantiation, but dynamic and inexhaustible (mystical). What is communicated is the presence of the Incarnation, not the localized presence of a singular other preconceived being. Nevin's *Mystical Presence* is probably one of the most important, although largely ignored, works in American theology, ignored because it was not compatible with the rationalizing inclinations characteristic of nineteenth-century thinkers like WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, Hodge, and HORACE BUSHNELL. It is a work deserving the attention of American intellectual historians.

Liturgical Influence

Nevin's theology of the Eucharist and Schaff's *Principle of Protestantism* led the two professors to become involved in the effort to find liturgical foundations for the German Reformed Church in the United States. In 1849 Nevin was appointed chair of a committee assigned to evaluate historical liturgical forms that might serve as guidelines for use in American congregations. Nevin turned over the chairmanship of the liturgical committee to Schaff in 1851, at the same time that he resigned his position at Mercersburg and moved to Lancaster. For Nevin the necessity of an altar liturgy, with a text of common prayer and action, making possible the mystical presence of the Incarnation, was in contrast to the expectations of many of the Americanized leaders of the church, who simply wanted an anthology of prayers with a pattern of WORSHIP for optional use.

Schaff remained at Mercersburg after Nevin's resignation until 1863. By 1866 Nevin had again become active in the Reformed Church and had become president of the

successor to Marshall College of Mercersburg, Franklin and Marshall College. American Protestantism continued its advance away from the Evangelical Catholicism envisioned by Schaff and Nevin. To Nevin's despair of the Protestant failure to embrace the wholeness of Christianity was added the failure of Roman Catholicism to recognize its Evangelical dimension when it permitted the promulgation of papal infallibility in 1870. By the time of Nevin's death in 1886 the Mercersburg theology had lost its vigor. Its rigorous theological and historical critique of American religion had become somewhat domesticated, its ideas left for research into the early writing of Nevin and Schaff, the work of a provisional LITURGY, and the pages of *The Mercersburg Review*, a quarterly journal begun under Nevin's editorship in 1849. Many of the ideas of the Mercersburg theologians left their mark on subsequent church history and in the liturgical life of many clergy and congregations of the Reformed tradition in America.

Assessment

It remains for us to summarize several basic themes at work in the Mercersburg movement. Nevin and Schaff both maintained that the "church question" was the most profound and essential issue facing American Christianity. They resisted the unchurchly spirit that reduced the Christian tradition to mere idea, to subjective experience, or to a moral and ethical platform. The church is the visible means whereby the divine-human encounter is a dynamic presence in the world.

This meant, second, that the church is an article of faith, not a mere organizational and utilitarian project conducive to private conversion. The ancient verbal symbols of the church, the creeds, recognized this by affirming: "we believe in the Holy Catholic Church" (Apostles) or "we believe in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic church" (Nicene).

Further, the individual exists as individual-in-community, one whose existence is never individualistic, but part of the Body of Christ in the world. The priesthood of believers is an organic reality; one is part of the priesthood, not a priest unto himself or herself. The individual exists both as part of the priesthood of Christ and is nourished in and by that priesthood. The mystical presence of the Incarnation is celebrated and received in the holy Eucharist. The church is the priesthood of Christ and is present in history. It exists not merely as an assembly of believers in this moment, but throughout time. This means that the church lives in communion with the "living and the dead," and the prayers of the church are those of the members of the Body of Christ, past and present. One lives in and by the church not by subjective experience, even when that experience is motivated by private use of the Bible.

The Incarnation is the presentation and representation of what St. Paul called "a new creation." To be human is to live in this new creation, just as one is born into the old creation. Again, as a new creation the Incarnation is the fulfillment of our humanity *in this* world. This makes the Mercersburg theology a public theology. The events of history find their meaning by Eucharistic reflection on what is happening. Without the general confession of our failure to be receptive to the divine-human encounter and our gratitude (Eucharist) for that encounter we are left with the narcissistic vision of human judgment by itself.

It is not difficult to see the manner in which this theology resists the mainstream of American religious and cultural life. The Mercersburg theology is at once churchly and political. Although its fundamental affirmations may seem to constitute a complicated pattern of thought, they only seem so if they are not understood from within their own frame of reference, and instead are judged by criteria derived from the presuppositions of modernity and experiential religion. Neither fundamentalist nor secularist can take comfort from Mercersburg.

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RICHARD E. WENTZ

MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, JEAN HENRI (1794–1872)

Swiss historian. Merle D'Aubigné was a leader of the Swiss *réveil* and a popular church historian. Born of Huguenot ancestry in Geneva (see HUGUENOTS), Merle D'Aubigné was converted to Calvinist ORTHODOXY through Robert Haldane. After ordination in 1817, he studied under FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER and JOHANN A.W.NEANDER in Berlin, before becoming pastor to the French Reformed Church in Hamburg (1818–1823) and then court preacher to the king of the NETHERLANDS in Brussels. In 1831, back in Geneva, he became a leading figure, with Leon Gausson, in the establishment of the *Société Évangélique*, which claimed to be part of the National Church. However, the authorities treated Merle D'Aubigné as a schismatic, suspending

him from his position as a minister in November. In 1832, he became the first president of the Society's new *École de Théologie*, serving as Professor of Historical Theology until his death. Only with the constitutional changes of 1848 did Merle D'Aubigné accept his separation from the National Church, and join the Free Evangelical Church of Geneva.

Dissatisfied with the nationalist interpretation of the REFORMATION expressed by the Germans with whom he had celebrated the tercentenary of 1517, Merle D'Aubigné was unashamedly committed, in his writing, to JOHN CALVIN'S theology. His main work was a massive history of the REFORMATION. Although his work was originally written for French readers, it had a rapidly growing appeal for English Protestants, especially after 1838, when Princeton awarded him a doctorate. He was an active supporter of the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, YMCA, and Red Cross.

See also Calvinism; YMCA/YWCA

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C.F.STUNT

METHODISM

Methodism originated as a renewal movement within the eighteenth-century CHURCH OF ENGLAND. It developed a distinctive ethos and distinctive practices that were in tension with the traditions of the Church of England. By the end of the century Methodism had separated from the parent church and become a distinct DENOMINATION. In the nineteenth century it spread rapidly in the English-speaking world. Through missionary work it also became strong in some parts of AFRICA and Asia. Today there are over seventy million Methodists and nearly a hundred separate churches in the Methodist tradition.

Origins and Early Development

Methodism developed from the evangelistic initiative of the Anglican clergyman, JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791). Always deeply serious and utterly methodical (hence the name of the movement, originally a derisive nickname), Wesley underwent a deeply moving spiritual experience on May 24, 1738, after which he felt called to preach in the open air in areas where there was little pastoral provision afforded by the contemporary church and where the people were effectively unchurched. This “field preaching” began at Kingswood, near Bristol in 1739.

In 1740 some of Wesley’s converts requested his help in developing a disciplined Christian life. As a result he formed the first Methodist societies whose members agreed to abide by the rules he gave them. These rules specified a very high level of commitment both to the official worship of the Church of England and to the devotional exercises of the societies. Central to Wesley’s work was the belief that the movement had been raised up “to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land” and to restore belief in the call to Christian holiness as a vocation for all. The members of the societies were pledged to “do no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind,” “to do good of every possible sort and, as far as is possible, to all men,” and “to attend upon all the ordinances of God.”

In 1742 Wesley began the innovation of recruiting lay preachers to assist him in his work. They were sent out into various circuits (patterns of travel) to preach. The societies multiplied rapidly and by 1791 there were over 70,000 Methodist members in Britain (see METHODISM, ENGLAND).

Wesley maintained a strict, even autocratic, control of the movement until his death. After 1791 the annual Conference of Traveling Preachers, which he had instituted in 1744, exercised corporate control over the movement, now already almost a separate denomination.

Spirituality and Ethos

Wesley was insistent that the Methodists use all the means of GRACE, both the *instituted means*, those specified in Scripture, such as PRAYER and reception of holy communion (see LORD’S SUPPER), and the *prudential means*, that is those that had developed later in the church but had been found fruitful in promoting spiritual growth. Among the latter were the practices that developed within Methodism, such as the meeting in class and the annual Covenant and Watchnight services.

Wesley was particularly insistent that all the members meet weekly in classes, small fellowship groups where they prayed together, confessed their faults to each other, and shared their spiritual experience and trials, all under the direction of the class leader appointed by the traveling preacher. This system of mutually accountable discipleship has continued within parts of Methodism to the present, although class meetings are no longer compulsory. They are now usually less frequent and less concerned with discipline and correction, although the principle is still treasured (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE).

Wesley wanted all Methodists to attend both the regular services of the parish church and the preaching and other services in the society. His brother CHARLES (1707–1788) set the Methodist doctrines and experience to verse and became the most prolific hymn writer in Christian history, producing about 9,000 HYMNS in all, of which about 200 are still in the British Methodist hymnal and over fifty in the U.S. hymnal. About thirty to forty are more widely used in other denominations. It was largely through the Wesleys that hymn singing became established more widely in the British Protestant churches.

The ethos of Methodism was, and has continued to be, one of warm fellowship. The Methodists, in their societies, took the injunction to “bear one another’s burdens” seriously, and the interdependent “connectional” nature of the movement reinforced a strong sense of identity.

The Split from the Church of England

The joyful and intimate ethos of Methodism contrasted with the very formal worship of the Church of England. Many of the clergy distrusted what they saw as the Methodists’ emotionalism and subjectivity, even accusing them of teaching “justification by feeling.” In some cases they repelled Methodists from their churches. In return many Methodists increasingly felt that the ANGLICANISM they encountered was not true religion and, despite Wesley’s wishes, they much preferred their own distinctive style of WORSHIP to that of the official church. Wesley had hoped to “provoke the ordinary ministers to jealousy,” that is, to emulate his activity, but he increasingly found that they resented his breaking of the rules by PREACHING in their parishes. He continued to believe that the Methodists should remain within the Church of England and both he and, even more, his brother Charles warned against any separation. However, circumstances eventually forced him to take a course that led directly to a breach in America and, indirectly, in Britain.

In 1771 Methodist work began in America. At the time there were very few Anglican clergy there and thus no possibility of the Methodists receiving the SACRAMENTS from them as they could in ENGLAND. Wesley failed to persuade the Church of England bishops to ordain CLERGY for America. In 1784, believing there was no alternative and that, as a presby-ter, he had the AUTHORITY to do so, he set aside THOMAS COKE as “superintendent” for America and he gave the new American church a service book and a threefold order of ministry based on the Anglican model. This was a clear breach of Anglican discipline. Immediately the Americans at the BALTIMORE CONFERENCE organized themselves as the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. Coke and his successors took the title of “bishop.” In Britain the turning point came when, after Wesley’s death, the societies demanded that those preachers who had not been ordained as Anglican clergy be given the right to administer the sacraments to them. In 1795 the Conference acceded to this request under the Plan of Pacification.

Ecclesiology and Organization

The organization of Methodism developed piecemeal and in reaction to practical needs, leaving a legacy of missionary pragmatism for Methodism alongside a deep sense of its providential ordering. Wesley always insisted on the interdependence of all societies in his movement. He opposed any idea that each congregation should be independent; rather, they should all share resources as determined by the global needs of mission. The societies, and the preachers, were in connection with him. When he died the authority he had exercised personally in British Methodism passed to the annual CONFERENCE of the preachers, which was responsible for stationing the ministers, that is, assigning them to their areas of work and for the rules and discipline of the Connexion. In America the bishops did the stationing, but the conference retained the overall control of the rules, called *The Discipline*, and policy.

To this day the *Connexional Principle* remains fundamental to Methodist ECCLESIOLOGY. The Conference is still the final authority and exercises episcopal oversight over each Connexion.

An important difference between U.S. and British practice has been that, from the nineteenth century onward, British Methodism has granted complete autonomy to its original overseas missionary districts, whereas the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH has given control of local affairs over to regional conferences (e.g., in Southern Europe), but has kept the regional churches concerned linked to the quadrennial General Conference of the United Methodist Church, in which they are represented. For churches in the British tradition, connexionalism is national. For the United Methodist Church it is a global principle.

The WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL, dating back to the first Methodist Ecumenical Council of 1881, represents nearly a hundred churches in the Methodist tradition. It meets every five years for fellowship and mutual consultation but only has moral authority and it cannot bind its member churches.

Developments and Divisions

The flexibility of the Methodist system and the energy of the CIRCUIT RIDERS and traveling preachers meant that Methodism spread very rapidly on the frontier in America (see FRONTIER RELIGION), and by the midnineteenth century became the largest of the denominations—a position it held until the 1920s. In Britain Methodist membership increased fivefold until the 1840s. The energy of the local preachers, lay preachers who were unpaid, staying in their everyday jobs and evangelizing near home, helped spread Methodism into most small towns and many villages.

All later Methodist churches stem—whether by imitation, missionary endeavor, or schism—from either the Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1784, or the British Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. In Britain the PRIMITIVE METHODISTS, starting in 1812, and the Bible Christians (1815) aimed to revive the original field preaching of the Wesleys and to reach out to the poor at a time when they felt the Wesleys were

becoming too settled and respectable. The Primitives were more successful than any other nineteenth-century British Protestant church in attracting the support of the rural poor and miners.

All branches of British and American Methodism were vigorous in overseas missionary work and between them worked especially intensively in sub-Saharan Africa, in southern Asia, and in CHINA. Partly through returning migrants, partly through MISSIONS, small Methodist churches were established in most continental European countries (see METHODISM, EUROPE).

Methodism suffered many splits from the 1790s onward. Some of these, for instance the Protestant Methodists in the UNITED STATES and the Methodist New Connexion in Britain, were occasioned by resentment at the exclusive representation of the ministers in the conferences and thus in key decision making. These and other churches gave lay people a key role in decision making at every level. Discrimination against black people led to the setting up of the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH and the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH ZION in the United States (see also BLACK METHODISTS). In both the Methodist Episcopal Church (1872) and the British Wesleyan Connexion (1878) laymen were eventually admitted to the Conference. In America some new churches in the Wesleyan tradition, such as the WESLEYAN HOLINESS CHURCH and the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, represented a conservative reaction on the part of those who felt the main Connexion was diluting the strength of original Wesleyan teaching and becoming too "liberal." In Britain most of the smaller connexions reunited with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1932 to form the Methodist Church of Great Britain. In America a split in the Methodist Episcopal Church occasioned by the CIVIL WAR was ended in 1939. In 1968 that church united with the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN, a church of German immigrant origin that was thoroughly Wesleyan in ethos and THEOLOGY, as the United Methodist Church.

Sociology/Social Involvement

Wesley's aim was to go "not to those who need you but to those who need you most" and he made many converts among the poor, particularly in the rural industrial areas of Britain. A consequence of the Methodist emphasis on self-discipline and thrift was a degree of upward social mobility in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although Methodism continued to appeal to many among the poor, especially in rural and urban industrial areas. By the mid-twentieth century the average Methodist both in Britain and the United States tended to come from the lower middle classes, with few adherents among the very poor or the highest social classes.

Wesley placed great emphasis on social holiness and was active in campaigning against many social evils, including the slave trade (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Methodists played a prominent role in most places in the TEMPERANCE Movement. Some later enthusiastically endorsed the SOCIAL GosPEL. In Britain in the early and mid-twentieth century, under the leadership of people like Henry Carter and Edward Rogers, the Conference produced a series of impressive statements outlining the Christian attitude to many social problems. In the 1960s and

1970s most branches of Methodism opened all levels of ministry and office to both sexes (see WOMEN CLERGY).

The Theology of Methodism

Wesley claimed that Methodism was “the old religion, the religion of the BIBLE.” He placed great emphasis on the Trinity and orthodox CHRISTOLOGY. He argued that his teaching was in strict conformity with that of the Anglican reformers, although not all contemporary Anglicans agreed with him. He regarded the doctrines of JUSTIFICATION by grace through FAITH and of Christian holiness as central to Christian experience and living. He was above all concerned with what he called practical divinity.

Wesley was frequently locked in controversy with CALVINISM because his theology was Arminian (see ARMINIANISM). He believed the offer of SALVATION was open to all. He opposed any idea of limited ATONEMENT for the elect only, citing Psalm 145, “His mercy is over all his works.”

Within the general framework of trinitarian Protestant ORTHODOXY, Wesley emphasized what have been called the four “alls,” that all people *need* to be saved, that they all *may* be saved, that they may be saved to the *uttermost* (the doctrine of perfect love), that they may *know* they are saved (the doctrine of “assurance,” regarded as the privilege of the believer and based on the “witness of the spirit,” Romans 8:15).

Wesley’s doctrine of Christian perfection (see SANCTIFICATION) was the most controversial. Calvinists, who believed that sin would always remain in the believer, contested it sharply. Wesley had to hedge it around with limitations. He believed that Christians could be saved from conscious sin, but accepted that sin through ignorance could still occur and that what he called “sinful tempers,” unrecognized as such, could remain in believers.

Wesley accepted the primacy of Scripture as the ultimate authority in practice and DOCTRINE, but also took TRADITION, reason, and experience as secondary authorities. Today the four are sometimes called the Wesleyan Quadrilateral. His “Forty-four sermons” (a selection from a larger corpus) became acknowledged as setting a standard for Methodist preaching. His “Twenty-five articles” (based on the original Anglican THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES) and his “Notes on the New Testament” were also seen as setting standards. Throughout the nineteenth century Methodism remained within the Arminian evangelical tradition. In the early twentieth century, large numbers of Methodists on both sides of the Atlantic came under Liberal Protestant influence to the extent that LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM is, arguably, now dominant in the main British and American Connexions. In recent years there has been an impressive revival of Wesley scholarship in the United States and Wesleyan insights have been fruitfully applied to many contemporary problems.

Liturgy

Methodism has a dual heritage in both liturgical and extempore worship stemming from Wesley's commending of the traditional Anglican offices and his use of the "preaching service" and extempore prayer. In recent years both U.S. and British Methodism have been deeply influenced by the Liturgical Movement and have produced new and enriched eucharistic rites. Many Methodists, however, greatly prefer the extempore prayer services that prevailed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Others, recovering Wesley's strong emphasis on "constant communion" and perceiving the heritage of the Revival to be eucharistic as well as evangelical, want to restore the Eucharist to a central position in Methodist worship.

Ecumenism

Wesley was deeply appreciative of a wide range of spiritual traditions within Christendom, and, in his sermon, *The Catholic Spirit*, he commended good relationships with all, but without any theological indifference. The British Conference in 1820 called on the Methodist people to "ever maintain the kind and catholic spirit of primitive Methodism," and Methodists such as William Shrewsbury, JOHN R. MOTT, Albert Outler, Pauline Webb, and Geoffrey Wainwright have contributed to the ECUMENISM. In CANADA (1925) and AUSTRALIA (1977) Methodists have entered into united churches with others in the "reformed" tradition, and in the Indian subcontinent into unions involving Reformed and Anglicans (1947, 1970) (see UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA and UNITING CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA). The British Methodist, Rex Kissack, maintained that the search for unity was an "ecclesial consequence of the doctrine of Christian Perfection."

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DAVID CARTER

METHODISM, ENGLAND

The Methodist movement arose out of the evangelical revival started in America and experienced in continental Europe in the 1720s (see REVIVALS; EVANGELICALISM). It became centered in ENGLAND on the itinerant preaching ministry of JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, Anglican clergymen ordained in Oxford. The Holy Club they founded while at the University attracted GEORGE WHITEFIELD and other sympathetic supporters of the revival. The group received the nickname “Methodists” as a derisory description of the methodical approach they adopted to holy living, including regularity of PRAYER and BIBLE study and celebration of the SACRAMENTS, as well as regular visiting of prisons and workhouses in the city.

In WALES the movement was Calvinistic, under the influence of Howell Harris (see CALVINISM). John and Charles quarreled with Whitefield and distanced themselves from the Moravians, despite earlier cooperation. A Moravian group who journeyed with them to Georgia greatly influenced the spirituality and POLITY of the movement. On their return from the Americas where their missionary efforts were unsuccessful, the Wesleys found in their spiritual confusion comfort from Peter Bohler and the fellowship of the group at Aldersgate in London. These conditions, and the reading of MARTIN LUTHER’S *Commentary on Galatians* by Charles and the *Preface to the Romans* by John, led to their CONVERSION experiences in May 1738 with an assurance of the forgiveness of sins and the experience of the New Birth. These led to a decision in 1739 to take up an itinerant preaching ministry after Whitefield’s departure for Georgia (see ITINERACY). This was primarily among those untouched by the church, either in pulpits opened to them by sympathetic and enlightened clergymen like William Grimshaw (1708–1763) of Haworth or in the open air, among the miners of Kingswood and other common people. Societies were formed in London, Bristol, and Newcastle as the major urban centers from which the Methodist mission spread. Through open air PREACHING and in meeting the societies the experience and practice of justifying and sanctifying GRACE at the heart of Wesleyan THEOLOGY was shared.

The 1740s witnessed the distancing of the Methodist movement from the Moravians to whom they owed much of their inspiration (see MORAVIAN CHURCH). John Wesley quarreled with the Fetter Lane Society over the question of quietism or stillness. The

followers of the Wesleys experienced persecution from the hands of hostile mobs stirred up often by unfriendly Anglican clergymen or local gentry, such as those in Wednesbury in 1743. Many of the upland industrial parishes of northern England proved to be fertile ground for the growth of the Methodist groups. Local societies were divided into bands and classes for prayer and Bible study (the principal means of grace) for whom rules were devised. The *Character of a Methodist* (1741) set out guidance for followers of the Wesleys' doctrine of Christian Perfection. Such societies were grouped under circuits established after the first quarterly meeting held at Todmorden, Yorkshire, in 1748 to which preachers were assigned by Wesley for EVANGELISM and mission by annual stationing.

From 1744 John Wesley gathered the ordained Anglican clergymen and his lay helpers or assistants together for an annual CONFERENCE. They and the societies and circuits they served were "in connexion" with Wesley, the basis for all subsequent Methodist church polity, made distinct by its connexionalism. The consolidation of preaching rounds and circuits served by a growing number of itinerant preachers and an army of self-taught local lay persons (using Wesley's fifty-four-volume *Christian Library* and numerous pamphlets) ensured the rapid spread of Methodism in areas where ANGLICANISM and Old Dissent were weakest (see DISSENT), particularly the North, Wales, and the West (especially Cornwall) and in the growing industrial towns. From the 1760s chapels began to supplant the earlier domestic location of worship in barns and rooms. To secure the continuance of the movement, John Wesley prepared the *Deed of Declaration* (1784) establishing the annual conference as the constitutional and legal entity holding all Methodist property secured on a model deed and passing all legislation binding on all members and congregations in connexion. In this same year Wesley reluctantly ordained two men to a ministry of word and sacrament for the American work in defiance of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, which was unable to do so. This and further ordinations for SCOTLAND and then ENGLAND, Wales, and IRELAND, ensured that the growing breach with the Church of England was widened, although the Wesleys always protested their allegiance to the church and denied they were dissenters. The provision of a *Sunday Service* for the use of Methodists in America (1784) underlined the breach, although it was based on the Anglican BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, which Wesley prized highly. Wesley's hymnal of 1780 and the extralitururgical services for covenants, love feasts, watchnights, and vigils, established a different mode of worship far freer and more varied than that of the Established Church.

Solidification and Division

By 1791, the year of John Wesley's death, Methodism was established throughout the British Isles, including a dependent connexion in Ireland where a separate conference was held, and elsewhere in the English-speaking world. There were 72,476 members and 470 meeting houses, governed by a connexional organization headed by the annual conference, adhering to a body of doctrine based on Wesley's selected sermons and *Notes on the New Testament*. Methodism's development as a DENOMINATION gained pace despite the disruptions after Wesley's death as different personalities struggled for control. Bureaucratic structures emerged to replace his personal leadership. Connexional

officers (secretary, book steward, editor) were selected from among the ministers. An annual president was elected from the Legal Hundred to preside over the Conference. Chairmen of newly formed districts acted as dispensers of discipline and administration in between (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). Such centralization proved the strength and weakness of Methodism. It could not prevent schisms that were caused more on issues of church polity and where power lay than on any doctrinal grounds.

With Alexander Kilham, a radical in an age of revolution, challenging clerical domination of the Conference, the Methodist New Connexion was created, after his expulsion, in 1797. Wesleyan Methodism set its face against radicalism and revivalism at a time of social and political unrest, fearing the loss of privileges for its preachers. The Primitive Methodist Connexion (see PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH) was created in 1811 from one such division, through the influence of Lorenzo Dow and CAMP MEETINGS at Mow Cop (1807) and elsewhere. Bourne and Clowes were its leaders after their expulsion from the Wesleyan Connexion. Independents Methodists, Tent Methodists, Bible Christians, and Protestant Methodists were among the many splinter groups divided from the mainstream of Methodism in the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless Methodism continued to grow apace with spectacular increases in membership up to the 1840s. Under the strong leadership of Jabez Bunting, who dominated the expanding work in MISSIONS and educational affairs, and the theological expertise of Adam Clarke and Richard Watson, whose books influenced generations of ministers, a more professional and educated ministry emerged around a concept of the pastoral office, to teach and discipline the Methodist people. From 1835 theological colleges sprang up to meet the needs of training for a more upwardly mobile membership, requiring preaching informed by more formal education.

This contributed, in reaction to the OXFORD MOVEMENT of Catholic revival, a more hostile attitude to the Church of England, with a vigorous chapel and school building program to rival the Established Church in the towns and cities. Two teacher-training colleges were established in London, at Westminster and Southlands. Nineteenth-century Methodism tended to emphasize the latent nonsacramental and anti-Catholic sentiments of many of Wesley's followers. The need for proselytism through Sunday schools and MISSIONS work at home and overseas (the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed in 1814) highlighted denominational rivalry, as did the building of grander chapels, first in the classical style and later in the Gothic aping Anglicanism. The Victorian era was the age of the great pulpit orators and public lectures, with men like Morley Punshon drawing vast crowds to popular chapels and Exeter Hall in London.

The 1851 Census revealed that the Anglican monopoly of religion in England and Wales had been broken. There were as many Methodists and Roman Catholics in a nation divided between a growing number of denominations. The Wesleyans represented the most socially advanced of the Methodists, a privileged shopocracy and labor aristocracy of the increasingly wealthy, who fled town centers for villas in the suburbs where new chapels were built, leaving the ministry to the poor to the few. The Primitive Methodists in contrast consisted of many coal miners in the North East and agricultural laborers in Eastern Britain. Wesleyan Methodism was torn apart by internal dissent in the 1840s in revolt against a perceived centralized clerical autocracy, leading to the creation of the United Methodist Free Churches (UMFC) in 1857. Only gradually over the next seventy-

five years was Methodism reunited, with the union of the UMFC, Bible Christians, and Methodist New Connexion (MNC) in 1907 to create the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, and its union with the Primitive and Wesleyan Methodists to create the Methodist Church of 1932. The Independent Methodists and the Wesleyan Reform Union stayed out.

Return to Roots

The late nineteenth century saw an attempt by Methodism to connect with its original mission alongside the poor, stung by the defection from the MNC of one of its ablest evangelists, WILLIAM BOOTH, who created the SALVATION ARMY. Through the establishment of central halls as preaching places and social action in a new initiative spearheaded by Hugh Price Hughes in London in the 1880s, and other new work such as the establishment of the National Childrens' Homes by T.B.Stephenson, towns and cities found Methodism at their heart once more from the 1890s. The Bermondsey settlement of John Scott Lidgett was indicative of the way in which late nineteenth-century Methodists abandoned the earlier no-politics rule and became involved in local and national politics. Social Christianity became a byword for mission and EVANGELISM. The number of Methodist MPs and local councilors, particularly in the Liberal and nascent Labor parties was very significant before the Second World War, contributing to the development of the Welfare State.

At the time of union in 1932, the Methodist Church had nearly one million members and over 4,000 ministers. By 2002 this was fewer than 350,000 with half the number of ministers, many retired and nonstipendiary. The heavy reliance on local preachers to serve Methodist pulpits and Sunday schools has not reduced, even though numbers have declined from over 34,000 to fewer than 10,000. This still represents nearly three times the number of ordained ministers.

The demographic changes of the twentieth century meant that decline was felt more in the industrial heartlands of the north and rural areas where many chapels were closed in a process of rationalization (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). New growth in the coalfields lasted only fifty years but growth in new housing areas, particularly in the South, shifted the emphasis on ministries from inner city work to thriving suburbia and new towns. Methodism's survival in the face of a general decline in churchgoing has been secured by its vigorous youth work, its commitment to change in worship and preaching styles, and its place in the ecumenical movement. Its stance on social responsibility issues has ensured its continuing place in the social and political framework of the nations.

Although traditional SUNDAY SCHOOLS have declined in numbers and importance, Methodism's commitment to youth work, particularly through uniformed organizations such as Boys' and Girls' Brigades, the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs, and Methsocs' work among college and university students is reflected in the strength of lay leadership within the church.

The worship and preaching of twentieth-century Methodism has reflected the impact of the Liturgical Movement. A mixture of formal and free worship is now general with the use of two books authorized by the Conference, the *Methodist Service Book* (1975) and the *Methodist Worship Book* (1999), reflecting changes in the use of more inclusive

language and the adoption of patterns of worship more in common with Anglicanism, with formal prayers and music used freely in more frequent services of holy communion, or LORD'S SUPPER. All-age WORSHIP is regularly experienced in many larger churches where services focused on the sermon are less common. More participatory worship has supplanted the hegemony of preacher and organ. The *Methodist Hymn Book* (1933) gave way to *Hymns and Psalms* (1983), which included much twentieth-century hymnody, notably by Fred Pratt Green, while retaining a significant number of Wesley hymns (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS).

Mission and Ecumenism

The ecumenical century brought unions of churches overseas but none involving the Methodist Church in Britain. Talks with the Church of England (which failed in the 1970s) and the United Reformed Church are moving toward a possible covenant. On the ground many ecumenical partnerships have been formed with shared churches and worship. Missionary agencies are working more cooperatively than in the previous fierce denominational competition. A joint Anglican-Methodist United College of the Ascension in Birmingham prepares people for mission and works with mission partners over the world. In ministerial training, too, the ecumenical imperative and financial pressures have created a number of joint colleges, courses, and federations, particularly in Manchester, Birmingham, Cambridge, and Salisbury. The trend toward more nonresidential training has led to the closure of all the nineteenth-century colleges. Methodist scholarship, once strong there and in university theology departments, is now more thinly spread. Nevertheless the contribution of Methodists to biblical scholarship in the past century has been considerable, particularly the work of A.S.Peake, Vincent Taylor, Kenneth Grayston, and Morna Hooker in Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, and Cambridge (see HIGHER EDUCATION; EDUCATION, THEOLOGY; EUROPE).

The nineteenth-century preoccupation with moral welfare, drinking, and gambling issues has developed through the Christian Citizenship department and its successor the Division of Social Responsibility, to include more concern for international issues, of poverty, peace, and justice. Work at home in the health, EDUCATION, prison, and industrial sectors through CHAPLAINCY and political awareness has continued these emphases in Methodist outreach.

Although the Conference has reduced its size and slimmed its structures to reflect changes in a more collaborative mode of working within a connexional team, the Methodist emphases underlined in the recent *Our Calling* statements remain: in worship, to increase awareness of God's presence; in learning and caring, to help people grow as Christians through mutual support and care; in service, to be good neighbors to all in need and challenge injustice in God's world; in evangelism, to make more disciples of Jesus Christ. In these, British Methodism seeks to be alert to the challenges of the twenty-first century, offering the wider church the benefits of its Wesleyan legacy of free worship and the pursuit of social holiness in a spirit of personal and corporate renewal.

See also Methodism, Europe; Methodism, Global; Methodism, North America;

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TIM MACQUIBAN

METHODISM, EUROPE

Methodism has spread all over the European continent. Beginnings came more often by laypersons than by missionaries and reached from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Everywhere on the Continent, Methodist presence has developed in a context of long-standing established churches, including Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox (see ORTHODOXY EASTERN). The initial aim was sometimes to renew the established church, sometimes to deliberately build up an independent, or free church. Methodism has remained a minority church in all countries.

Early Missionaries

The first who brought Methodism to various places on the Continent came from Great Britain. In Gibraltar a Methodist society was established by laypeople as early as 1769. In 1804 a missionary was sent. The work focused on soldiers and English-speaking inhabitants. In the 1820s attempts were made to work in Spanish, leading to the establishment of a school a decade later. Hampered by the political situation, missionaries tried to distribute Bibles in Spain. Regular visits to several Spanish cities were possible only after the revolution of 1868. Work developed particularly well in Barcelona and

from there to the Balearic Islands. In 1871 a first missionary was stationed in Porto, Portugal. As in Gibraltar and later in Spain, schools were the most important enterprises of the Methodist mission in Porto.

Gibraltar was a bridgehead for the Methodist presence on the Iberian Peninsula, as were the Channel Islands for FRANCE. METHODISM came to the Channel Islands in 1775 and developed in English and French. In 1790 a Methodist tradesman from Guernsey made a trip to France and realized the need to help French Protestantism. A year later THOMAS COKE made a prospect visit to Paris and designated a missionary for Normandy. The mission in France came on a more prosperous footing thanks to a new missionary sent in 1818. The mission aimed at bringing revival to the Reformed Church while maintaining Wesleyan ARMINIANISM. It had its strongholds around Nîmes in the southeast, but spread to many French cities with Protestant minorities. It also reached out to French-speaking SWITZERLAND (1840–1900), struggling with the presence of Darbyism, named after JOHN NELSON DARBY. French Methodism was among the first British mission fields that gained a large autonomy (1852). Its self-understanding remained ambiguous between a society for the renewal of the Reformed Church and an independent free church.

In SWEDEN a British Methodist engineer asked the Swedish Missionary Society to send a preacher for his workmen. A first missionary arrived in 1826. His successor became instrumental in the conversion of later leaders of free churches and in the establishment of societies for welfare and revival within the Lutheran State Church. On a fund-raising campaign in the UNITED STATES, he urged U.S. Methodists to send missionaries to Sweden, but criticized also the spiritual life in the State Church within which he developed his Methodist societies. Back in Sweden he came under violent attack for his criticism and was forced to leave the country in 1842. He was not replaced. More than a decade later, U.S. Methodists would begin a mission.

In GERMANY a Methodist layperson from Britain went to see his sick father in Württemberg in the South in 1830. He shared his Christian experience and returned to ENGLAND. The new converts requested the Missionary Society to send him as a missionary. He went to his homeland and established Methodist societies within the Lutheran State Church. In 1870 the mission reached out to Vienna, Austria, where no public worship was allowed. Since 1848 a U.S. branch of Methodism had also taken up a mission in Germany. Talks about a union of the two branches soon developed, but it lasted until 1897 when the British Methodists in Germany and Austria merged into the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC).

During the nineteenth century, there was much poverty in most parts of Europe. Toward the end of the century thousands of people left Europe each day to seek a better life in the United States. The MEC began to develop foreign-language missions within the United States. Norwegian/Danish, Swedish, and German-speaking domestic missions grew particularly fast. Up to the 1920s more Methodists spoke these languages in the United States than in Europe. They supported the mission initiatives in continental Europe and received new members by migration.

Mission initiatives from the MEC to Scandinavia were strongly linked to the seamen's mission (Bethel Ship) in New York, which had been led by a Swede since 1845. Converts of the Bethel Ship mission went back to NORWAY (1849), Sweden (early 1850s), DENMARK (1857), and FINLAND (1859). Methodist societies were being established.

First missionaries were officially sent to Norway in 1853, to Denmark in 1858, to Sweden in 1866/67, and to Finland in 1883. On both sides of the Atlantic, Scandinavian Methodists opposed the mission of MORMONISM and were in a competition with followers of HANS NIELSEN HAUGE or NICOLAJ FREDERICK GRUNDTVIG. All converts of the Bethel Ship mission stressed a Holiness message shaped by PHOEBE WORRALL PALMER and implemented it also in its social consequences (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT). Methodism expanded particularly quickly in Sweden where it reached its peak of growth around 1910 with about 16,000 adult members. However, Sweden has suffered by far the greatest decline to 4,000 adult members in 2000.

Mission initiatives from the United States to German-speaking Europe in the nineteenth century covered a territory much larger than what today constitutes Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The MEC took up its mission directly after the revolutions of 1848. It wanted to take profit from the new religious tolerance and hoped to work independently of the state churches, but it was still not possible in all German territories. The first missionary sent to Germany had been born a German Jew. He started in Bremen, the seaport for emigrants to the United States. He planted the Methodist presence in major cities and from there on to the surrounding regions. In Saxony Methodism spread by a private initiative of a layperson in 1850 and was soon united with the rest of the German mission. In 1856 the MEC mission started in Protestant regions of Switzerland where it grew rapidly.

Among German immigrants in the United States, two other branches of Methodism came into being around 1800: the United Brethren in Christ (UBC) and the Evangelical Association (EA). In the United States the two churches merged in 1946 to form the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH (EUBC). The larger one, the UBC, was the smaller one on the European continent. The UBC came to Germany in 1869, never developed very strongly, and merged with the MEC in 1905. The EA sent its first missionary to Germany in 1850. Ministry began in Württemberg close to where the British Methodists were established. The mission had to remain within the state church and the possibility to organize as a dissenting church was given only in the 1870s. In 1866 the EA expanded to Switzerland and in 1868 to the Alsace, which was still part of France at that time. Up until World War I, the EA spread to most parts of the German empire. Whereas the EA and the MEC had started their missions in different parts of Germany and with different ecclesial identities, they came to work side by side in many regions by the end of the nineteenth century. In some regions of Germany and Switzerland the EA became numerically almost equal to the MEC. In 1914 it had 16,600 adult members in Germany and 7,000 in Switzerland (including the Alsace). The MEC had 29,000 in Germany and 10,000 in Switzerland.

Expansion Up to the 1920s

The strong growth of Methodism in Scandinavia and in German-speaking countries in the 1870s and 1880s was favored by the discontent with liberalism among people in the state churches and by the Holiness revival movement, which swept from the United States to segments of European Protestantism (see REVIVALS). Methodists had always focused on SANCTIFICATION and now felt strengthened. In Scandinavia the holiness message

had stronger social implications and around 1900 Methodists in Denmark were particularly involved in building up Central Missions in the big cities. In the German Empire and in Switzerland the holiness movement was more individualistic and conservative, influenced by Robert P. and HANNA W. SMITH. The major diaconal thrift in German Methodism was linked to a strong DEACONESS movement. It became a major European contribution to U.S. Methodists at the end of the nineteenth century.

Beside these major regions of Methodist presence in Europe, mission was also taken up in other countries. Toward the end of the nineteenth century European Methodists, particularly within the MEC, dreamed of conquering Catholic, even sometimes Orthodox, countries in Europe. The euphoria of expansion remained until the mid-1920s when it was shattered first by shrinking funds and finally by the worldwide economic crisis. The vision of expansion to the Catholic West and South of Europe and to the Orthodox East grew out of earlier experiences in such countries and of the growth in Scandinavia and German-speaking Central Europe.

Quite astonishingly, Orthodox Bulgaria was among one of the older Methodist mission fields. The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS was already present in the Ottoman Empire when requests came to work in its Bulgarian part because of the first Bulgarian translation of the BIBLE. The American Board asked the MEC for cooperation. The former began in the southern part in 1858, the latter in the northern part in 1857. At first they aimed at bringing a spiritual renewal to the Orthodox Church. In the 1860s they realized the difficulties and began to build up congregations. Progress was slow. "Bible women" played an important role in bringing biblical knowledge and basic educational skills to women in villages. Schools were established. In between the Balkan wars before World War I, the MEC organized aid for the suffering people and gained recognition.

Around 1900 Austrian Methodists (MEC) were asked to send a preacher to the Voyvodina (today Serbia) where Germans had settled. From there, the Methodist presence spread to other parts of HUNGARY and of what later became Yugoslavia. After World War I the American Board handed over its work in Macedonia to the MEC. The government of Albania, a Muslim country, asked the MEC to build up HIGHER EDUCATION in the country. For a short period the MEC thought that Bulgaria could become the base for a strong development of Methodism in the whole Balkan region and to the southern parts of the Russian Empire. However, with the economic crisis even the established mission hardly survived.

In the northern parts of the Russian Empire, Methodism entered the field toward the end of the nineteenth century. From the Grand Duchy of Finland, which belonged to the Russian Empire, a preacher was sent in 1889 to St. Petersburg for a ministry among the Finnish and Swedish people. In 1907 a superintendent was appointed to St. Petersburg and the mission expanded to the surroundings and to five different language groups including Russians. In the Baltic States, which also belonged to the Russian Empire, the MEC had been involved in mission partly coming from the German Empire to the west and partly coming from St. Petersburg to the east. Preachers were sent to Lithuania in 1905, to Estonia in 1907, and to Latvia in 1911. When the EA had reached the eastern part of the German Empire, it also planned to cross the border to the Russian Empire. Visits to Latvia since 1908 led to the sending of a preacher in 1911. During World War I the Baltic States were in the midst of the battle lines; after the war they became

independent. The MEC (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) and the EA (Latvia) continued their ministry and experienced a steady growth up to World War II and the Russian occupation.

After the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 only a deaconess remained in St. Petersburg. She bravely ministered to people in need. In the early 1920s the Central European bishop of the MEC planned a large program of support to RUSSIA with diaconal, educational, agricultural, and theological implications. He aimed not only at building up a Methodist presence but also at supporting the suffering Russian Orthodox Church. American fear of working together with “Bolsheviks” and the economic crisis prevented the implementation of the plan with the exception of some support for reconstructing Orthodox theological schools. The Methodist work in St. Petersburg was extinguished in the 1930s.

The expansion to Catholic countries in western and southern Europe was promoted by the history of Italian Methodism. With the establishment of the new kingdom of ITALY in 1861, the British sent their first missionaries to Italy. Many well-trained, liberally minded Catholic clergy left the Roman Catholic Church. Some were influenced by Protestants in the country, specifically Waldensians and PLYMOUTH BRETHREN, and joined them or the British Methodists. The same happened in the MEC when it began its Italy mission in 1871. Many leading Methodists, especially in the MEC, misinterpreted the rejection of anti-modernist Catholicism by the intelligentsia as the beginning of the collapse of Catholicism. The Italian mission received abundant financial support and built chapels, central missions, and schools, but the membership was never particularly high. In the 1920s under the Fascist government, which favored the Catholic Church, and under the economic crisis the dream of a powerful Italian Methodism was shattered.

When the Italian mission began with good prospect, the MEC leaders pushed a strong mission to Catholic countries. In 1905 the MEC opened a new field in France. It chose to work in a region where the British Methodists had no churches and that was close to Switzerland and Italy. The work made good progress, albeit not as strong as in German-speaking areas. A large reconstruction project began after World War I north of Paris, but could not be completed because of the economic crisis. On the Iberian Peninsula, the MEC was offered the opportunity to take over the churches and schools of the American Board. In 1909 the MEC was forced to decline because of lack of money. A decade later it took over two independent schools in Spain.

Another expansion occurred after World War I. The Methodist Episcopal Church South wanted to bring help to a devastated Europe. It chose war-torn countries without any Methodist presence: Belgium, POLAND, and Czechoslovakia. With strong support of the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society, relief work was taken up in each capital and in major cities in 1920. Together with social and diaconal work, a religious component was proposed with distribution of Bibles, Bible studies, and evangelistic preaching. The latter was particularly successful in Czechoslovakia where hundreds of thousands of Catholics were leaving the Roman Church, some of them joining Protestant churches. Among the lasting achievements in Poland were the English-language schools in Warsaw and other cities.

Crises and Difficulties

Crises and difficulties came from outside and inside Methodism. Problems from within were heavily linked to personal issues and church policy whereas theological, economic, and political challenges were linked to the context. The largest Methodist body in continental Europe, the MEC, also had to face the heaviest internal difficulties. In the late 1880s a new leadership in Italian Methodism criticized the pioneers for their adaptations of Methodist rules and reinforced total abstinence from alcohol. In the beginning of the twentieth century one of the superintendents in Norwegian Methodism was among the strongest advocates of the Pentecostal revival and a split occurred within the church (see PENTECOSTALISM). In the 1920s the former leader of the Central Mission in Copenhagen and then bishop for Northern Europe was taken to court for misuse of funds at the Central Mission and finally had to resign.

Economically all Methodist missions needed financial support from their mother churches. They managed to survive the crises in the late nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century the larger Methodist churches in Scandinavia, Germany, and Switzerland were close to being self-supporting with the exception of debts on property. They also contributed in money and personnel to the mission overseas. The smaller Methodist churches to the west, south, and east, whether from the British or the U.S. tradition, remained heavily dependent on subsidies. The MEC and the MEC South had launched a Centenary campaign in 1919 and wanted to expand their worldwide mission. After a tremendous start the income dropped and the first cuts in programs had to be made even before the severe global economic crisis of 1929.

Financial pressure hastened structural changes. British Methodism, on the forefront of ECUMENISM, urged its missions on the Continent to unite with other Protestant churches. In France there was such a union in 1935, in Spain in the mid-1950s, and in Italy a union of the two Methodist branches, or what was left of them, in 1946, and a federation with the Waldensian Church in the 1970s. The EA had limited its mission essentially to German-speaking Europe and had developed a strong enough basis to survive. The MEC South wanted to retreat in the 1930s, but the Methodists in all three countries were determined to continue—even against their mother church—and won. Under different circumstances Belgian Methodists entered a union with other Protestants in the late 1960s. Between the two world wars, the MEC pushed the larger Methodist churches in Scandinavia, Germany, and Switzerland to become self-supporting. These larger churches eventually helped smaller missions that were threatened to be closed down. Finally the retreat hit the missions in western and southern Europe. The schools in Spain had to be closed because of the civil war and in France the Reformed Church was offered the opportunity to take over what they could and would after the total abandonment by the MEC.

The political changes led to additional difficulties. Fascism with its support of the Catholic Church made survival difficult for the small minority of Protestants in Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Albania. Hitler's regime in Germany wanted to control social and youth work. Methodist churches had to give up their own organizations or adapt. Church activities were restricted. The German Methodists were not prepared to relinquish control

and did not realize the totalitarian character of the National-Socialist government. With limited success, they tried to safeguard their activities, but did not speak out against injustice or the treatment of Jews. Stronger prophetic words and acts are known among Methodists from the MEC South in Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia or from personal initiatives of Methodists like the Swiss consul in Budapest.

The rise of COMMUNISM smashed the Methodist presence in Russia in the 1930s and in the Baltics during World War II, with the notable exception of Estonia where Methodism experienced revival in the midst of persecution. After World War II several central European countries came under Communist governments. In almost all countries a Methodist presence continued, but the situation was different in each country and often changed from open persecution to hidden surveillance. In Bulgaria the leadership of all Protestant churches was taken to public trial for treason and espionage and condemned. The Methodists were no longer allowed to organize the church according to its own rules.

Recent Developments

After the breakdown of communism a Methodist presence returned to all countries where it had been destroyed with the exception of Albania, Bulgaria (1989), Russia (1990), Latvia (1991), and Lithuania (1995). From Russia, new initiatives have developed in Ukraine (1994) and Moldova (2000). At present the European Methodist Council unites the British and the Irish Methodists; the autonomous or united churches in Italy, Portugal, and Spain; and the United Methodist Church. The latter is divided into four episcopal areas: Northern Europe (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden), Eurasia (Moldova, Russia, Ukraine), Germany, and Central and Southern Europe (Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Hungary, Macedonia, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Switzerland). In central and eastern Europe Methodist churches have experienced a decade of growth after the fall of communism. In many parts of western Europe the churches have declined, mostly since the 1960s.

Methodist bodies have come to Europe and developed small churches. Some of their missions have reached countries without a previous Methodist presence: the Korean Methodist Church in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, ROMANIA, and Tajikistan, and among Methodist Holiness churches, the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE in the NETHERLANDS and the Free Methodists in Greece.

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PATRICK STEIFF

METHODISM, GLOBAL

Methodism began in the 1730s as a spiritual revival and renewal movement—termed a “society”—within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND under the leadership of JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, both Anglican clergy. Originally based in Oxford and London, METHODISM soon extended beyond those cities to the far reaches of the realm and across the English border to IRELAND, SCOTLAND, and WALES through the efforts of itinerant lay preachers, enthusiastic society members, and sympathetic Anglican and Dissenting clergymen. Parish boundaries were disregarded in the compulsion to “spread scriptural holiness,” although normally the regular hours for worship in parish churches were not to be infringed upon. “I look upon all the world as my parish,” wrote John Wesley in 1739. Always mission-oriented, Methodism grew in the British Isles and beyond through the organized efforts of administrative “conferences” and by more spontaneous EVANGELISM. By the twenty-first century, Methodism could boast a “world parish” consisting of numerous Methodist, Wesleyan, and united church denominations in over one hundred countries, with most of those denominations linked informally through the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL.

Methodism of the “First Generation”

Methodists in Britain and in Ireland were organized as a “connexion” or an affiliation of Methodist societies bound by common regulations and governance, with John Wesley as their head. As such they supported the expansion of Methodism at home and abroad: to SWITZERLAND (native land of preacher John Fletcher); to “His Majesty’s Dominions” in the West Indies, Bermuda, the Maritime Provinces, and parts of Upper CANADA; and to the American colonies that became the UNITED STATES. After Wesley’s death in 1791 the connexion continued under the direction of an annually elected president (British and Irish Methodism have no bishops) along with, in Britain, the “Legal Hundred” that had been established in 1784 as the supreme legislative body. Debates soon arose regarding governance, relations between the LAITY and the preachers, and Methodism’s legal and ecclesiastical ties with ANGLICANISM—in particular, Methodist ordinations and the desire of Methodists to receive the SACRAMENTS at the

hands of their own ministers. Over the next century the connexion fragmented as groups claiming to be Wesley's true successors formed their own alliances. The predominant Methodist body in Britain was the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, later named the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Others included the PRIMITIVE METHODIST Connexion (1811); and the Methodist New Connexion (1797), the Bible Christians (1815), and the United Methodist Free Churches (1857) that in 1907 merged to constitute the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH. All of these bodies united in 1932 as the Methodist Church. Methodism in Ireland was not nearly so fissiparous, with only the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Connexion separating from the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion in 1818; reunion was achieved in 1878 with the creation of the Methodist Church in Ireland. All of these bodies were committed to the proclamation of the heart-warming gospel overseas, sometimes even establishing mission outposts before the arrival of commerce or representatives of the expanding British Empire, both of which usually had the effect of easing missionary access.

Methodism first crossed the Atlantic in the 1760s: to Antigua, where planter and lawyer Nathaniel Gilbert preached to slave and colonist in his own home; and to the American colonies and Newfoundland when immigrants and "traveling" preachers formed Methodist societies (see ITINERACY). In 1784 the Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in the United States at the so-called Christmas Conference in Baltimore (see BALTIMORE CONFERENCE), and to the ongoing work of lay preachers and leaders was added a ministry ordered as deacon, elder (presbyter), and superintendent (renamed "bishop"). All men, lay or ordained, who were entrusted with the task of PREACHING were expected to itinerate, thus enabling the gospel to be carried to new settlements and to established communities that either had not yet heard the Christian story or had become lukewarm in their commitment to it. Evangelistic outreach and mission (domestic and foreign) by CLERGY and laity, men and (in a more circumscribed sense) WOMEN, was a priority for the Methodist Episcopal Church (1784–1939) and for the other Methodist bodies that emerged in the United States through separation or merger. These denominations, some of which took an episcopal form of government whereas others opted to elect presidents of conference rather than bishops, had a significant role in planting Methodism around the globe. Among them should be noted: the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1816); the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH (1821); the Methodist Protestant Church (1830); the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (1843), later named the Wesleyan Methodist Church; the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1844); the Free Methodist Church (1860); and the Colored (later changed to Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church (1870). The Methodist Church came into being in 1939 through the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Methodist Church joined with the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH in 1968 as the United Methodist Church.

In 1801, 196,502 white and "colored" Methodists were accounted for in Europe (almost exclusively Britain and Ireland, a venture into FRANCE being unsuccessful), Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Canada, the United States, and the West Indies (see CARIBBEAN). During the next fifteen years Wesleyan Methodists in Britain looked to other areas, notably SIERRA LEONE (first visited in 1795), SOUTH AFRICA, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Java (INDONESIA), INDIA, and AUSTRALIA, largely under the

leadership of THOMAS COKE, who died on shipboard while crossing the Indian Ocean. By 1816 over one hundred missionaries were listed by the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion; two years later, the Connexion officially constituted the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (see MISSIONARY SOCIETIES). During this same period, attention in the United States focused on Methodist expansion with the nation, and for the Methodist Episcopal Church, the establishment of societies in Upper and Lower Canada. Relations between British and American Methodists soured because of conflicts regarding the Canadian missions, and the War of 1812 exacerbated the situation. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1828 granted independence to the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada that existed alongside Wesleyan Methodists organized according to the British plan, although friction continued. The influx of British immigrants who brought with them the practices and politics of the smaller British denominations also added to the mix. Eventually most of the groups that originated in Britain, along with the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, united in 1884 to establish the Methodist Church that in 1925 merged with Presbyterians and Congregationalists to constitute the UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA.

Factors in the Spread of Methodism

The circumstances that gave rise to Canadian Methodism, or aspects of it, have been repeated in other places throughout the world. First of all, Methodist missionary efforts in a single country, especially work before the twentieth century, may be traced to denominations in the United States or in Britain and Ireland, or both. Over time, often after a period of tension, some of these groups merge, whereas others choose to remain separate. Thus some Methodist denominations of the second generation may follow the POLITY and practices of the parent DENOMINATION, they may choose or adapt one style of governance among those offered by the founding denominations, or they may blend different styles together. For this reason some second-generation Methodist denominations have presidents of conference, some have bishops, and some have both.

Second, the spread of Methodism may come from organized missionary efforts, it may result directly or indirectly from patterns of immigration, and it may be a consequence of the establishment of military bases abroad. Emigration by British Methodists and the posting of British forces exerted an impact on the development of Methodism in Canada as well as in South Africa, Australia, and India. In a reversal of these patterns, non-Methodist immigrants or visitors who embrace Methodism may, on return to their native land, take Methodism with them; in such a manner Methodism was introduced to parts of continental Europe and Scandinavia from the United States.

Third, history has shown that disputes within Methodist denominations sometimes lead to divisions, a tendency perhaps attributable to Methodism's weak ECCLESIOLOGY. Such fissiparousness has given birth to new ecclesiastical families with their own mission identities, such as the SALVATION ARMY and the Pentecostal movement (see PENTECOSTALISM). In spite of this unfortunate attribute Methodists have also shown a willingness to unite with others of the Methodist family and to enter into broader church unions. Like the United Church of Canada, the CHURCH OF

SOUTH INDIA, the CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA, and the UNITING CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA each include a Wesleyan component.

Finally Methodist denominations launched by missionary work soon adopt the priority of evangelism and mission and begin their work alongside groups from the first generation. Methodism in CHINA can be traced, for example, to work by Methodists from the United States, Britain, and Canada. Korean Methodists (see KOREA), whose origins are in Methodism from the United States, are in the twenty-first century sending missionaries to the United States where Methodism, along with much of mainline Protestantism, is in decline. Singaporean and Malaysian Methodists, with spiritual roots both in Britain and in the United States, have helped to open new mission fields in Cambodia and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

The histories of European, African, Asian, and South Pacific Methodism are therefore integrally tied, but often not exclusively so, to the stories of Methodism in Britain, Ireland, and the United States. The introduction of Methodism into Central and South America came, not surprisingly, principally from the United States. Methodism in the Caribbean and the South Pacific is of the British type. Methodist out-reach at first was predominantly to those nations where the gospel had not yet been heard. Only later, because of what was perceived as ineffectual “gospel” ministry by other Protestants, the Roman Catholics, and the Orthodox (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN), did Methodists move into countries where those churches were already present. The establishment of places for preaching and the building of churches have not been the only tasks of Methodist missionaries. In most countries great attention has been given to the development of institutions for EDUCATION and for social services.

Representatives of “Second-Generation” Methodism

Although it is not the “state” church, the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga claims the membership of the royal family, several of whom have served as local preachers and avid supporters of church work. Methodism arrived in the “Friendly Islands” in 1822 through the labors of British Methodist Walter Lawry, who departed after fourteen difficult months. John Thomas and John Hutchinson were sent from Sydney in 1826 to resume the mission, joining two Tahitians whose work had been fruitful in Nuku’alofa. Other missionaries soon arrived. By the 1850s most of the islands were nominally Christian and Methodist, a result aided by the CONVERSION of the ruling chief who would become King George Topou I and by the work of native Tongans who themselves would also participate in missions to Fiji, Samoa, and Papua New Guinea. Dissension over the connectional relation between Tongan Methodism and Methodism in Australia that fractured the church in 1885 was only partially healed in 1924. The Free Wesleyan Church became truly autonomous in 1977, although it maintains missiological links with the Uniting Church in Australia. The denomination is responsible for much of the secondary education in the kingdom and through its mission board oversees the work of Tongan congregations in other countries.

Methodism was introduced into BRAZIL in 1835 when Rev. Fountain E. Pitts of the Methodist Episcopal Church arrived in Rio de Janeiro and soon formed there a society for English-speaking persons. Although Pitts returned to the United States, others continued

and expanded his ministry until 1841 when the South American missions were suspended. Work resumed in 1867 when Junius E. Newman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was authorized to establish a Methodist presence in Rio and in the state of São Paulo where hundreds of Confederate sympathizers had immigrated after the CIVIL WAR in the United States. Under Newman's direction the first Methodist church in Brazil opened in 1871, and by the 1880s native Brazilians were actively forming congregations. Although the Methodist Episcopal Church sent representatives in the 1870s, it was the work and financial support of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South that dominated and from which, in 1930, the independent Methodist Church in Brazil was born. The Methodist Church was the first church in LATIN AMERICA to become a member of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Since the late 1920s the Free Methodist Church has also been at work in Brazil, its first missionaries coming from JAPAN.

The first Methodists in NIGERIA were Africans: a group from Sierra Leone who in the late 1830s settled in Abeokuta; and an ex-slave living in Badagry. With requests for assistance from both these areas, British Wesleyan Methodist THOMAS BIRCH FREEMAN and two helpers came to Nigeria in 1842. Wesleyan Methodism spread west and north; eastern Nigeria was the focus of the Primitive Methodists beginning in 1893. The churches of each British denomination existed as separate districts until 1962 when they formed the Methodist Church Nigeria. In a variation on the usual patterns of Methodist organization, a prelate oversees the six archdioceses that constitute the Methodist Church Nigeria. There are other Methodist denominations in Nigeria, among them the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; the Zion Methodist Church in Nigeria; and the Nigeria Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, created in 1992, that owes its origin to the missionary enterprises of the Evangelical United Brethren and its ecclesiastical predecessors whose work began in 1905.

Whereas in Nigeria the denominations that arose from British and American roots have remained separate, in GERMANY, to which had come a Wesleyan Methodist lay evangelist in the 1830s (to Württemberg) and a Methodist Episcopal clergyman in 1849 (to Bremen), there was a merger of the two groups (1897). Additional unions with United Brethren (1905) and the Evangelische Gemeinschaft (1968) created the Evangelisch-methodistische Kirche, which is a part of the United Methodist Church. German Methodists were instrumental in spreading Methodism to other German-speaking countries, to German-speaking communities in Eastern Europe, and to the Baltic region.

Missionaries to Korea were affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church (from 1884) and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (from 1895) and principally engaged in education and medical work. Evangelism occurred, at first secretly and subtly, and later, as Korean worries about foreigners dissipated, more openly. Translation and publication of the BIBLE (see BIBLE TRANSLATION) and of Christian literature was given priority. A Korean Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was formed in 1908; one for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was organized in 1918. These merged in 1930 (nine years before their parents in the United States did so) to form the autonomous Korean Methodist Church. Political tensions inside and outside of Korea have troubled the denomination, yet its membership has steadily increased, and it has been intentional in evangelistic outreach, such as in RUSSIA and in Central Asia.

See also Methodism, England; Methodism, Europe; Methodism, North America

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METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA

Methodism has been one of the most influential religious movements in North America, both in CANADA and especially in the UNITED STATES. Some historians of American religion believe that METHODISM has not received the attention it deserves for its shaping of American CULTURE. Two of them have commented, "...Methodism rivals PURITANISM in its force and intensity, its ability to mobilize followers, to generate new modes of communication and organization, and to instill habits of industry, sobriety, and mutual accountability" (Hatch and Wigger 2001:11). Methodists have effected the minds and behavior of the nation's people not only by their sheer numerical strength, but by their conviction that divine SALVATION is available to all and that personal Christian commitment must be demonstrated socially.

Beginnings in North America

Methodism began as a lay PREACHING movement in North America about 1760 under the leadership of Robert Strawbridge (c. 1732–1781), an Irish immigrant farmer in Maryland. Philip Embury (1728–1773) and his cousin Barbara Heck (1734–1804), also Irish immigrants, were responsible for the early founding of Methodist work in New York City in 1766. As the movement took root in the colonies, Methodist founder JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791) dispatched a few of his British preachers to America to nurture and direct its societies and their component small groups called classes. One of these lay missionary preachers was FRANCIS ASBURY (1745–1816), who arrived in Philadelphia in 1771 and became the foremost leader of early American Methodism.

In the years after the American Revolution, it was increasingly apparent to Wesley that his followers in the New World required a formal ecclesiastical organization that would solidify their identity, stabilize their ministry, and provide for the administration of the SACRAMENTS of BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER. In December 1784 at its "Christmas Conference" in Baltimore, Maryland (see BALTIMORE CONFERENCE), the American Methodist preachers under Wesley's instructions formed a new church, which they named the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC). They chose an episcopal form of church government with Asbury and THOMAS COKE (1747–1814) as their first superintendents (bishops). Some of their lay preachers, including Asbury, were ordained, and a worship book called *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America...*, which included Articles of Religion, was adopted. The new church had approximately 110 preachers and 20,000 members, one-tenth of whom were African American.

The MEC experienced rapid growth. The Wesleyan conviction that all people are loved by God and may be forgiven of their sin attracted many despite Methodism's rigorous spiritual and moral discipline (see ARMINIANISM; CHURCH DISCIPLINE). Circuit-riding preachers, appointed by the bishops, fanned out across the country proclaiming the message of salvation and organizing new congregations (see CIRCUIT RIDING; ITINERACY). By 1825 MEC membership reached 340,000.

Struggles with Division

The DENOMINATION experienced severe difficulties during the earlier decades of its life. Perhaps the first major problem was caused by James O'Kelly (1735–1826), one of those ordained in 1784. At the church's first General Conference in 1792, O'Kelly challenged the final AUTHORITY of the bishops to appoint the preachers to their circuits and congregations (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). He proposed that any preacher unhappy with a proposed appointment be able to appeal it and, if sustained by his fellow preachers, the bishop must give him a different appointment. When his proposal failed, O'Kelly and his followers walked out of the MEC and formed the Republican Methodist Church. The Republican Methodists later joined the Congregationalists.

Two other serious schisms in the MEC were tied to the issue of race. Although African Americans were part of the MEC from its beginning, they experienced the harsh reality of racial discrimination. When an MEC African American preacher, RICHARD ALLEN (1760–1831), and some of his Methodist friends encountered problems because of their race at the predominantly white St. George's MEC in Philadelphia, he led them out and eventually in 1816 founded the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (AME). Allen was its first bishop. Similar mistreatment of African Americans, initially at the John Street MEC, New York City, prompted James Varick (1750–1827), Christopher Rush (1777–1873), and others to leave the MEC to form the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH (AMEZ) in 1820. Varick and Rush were its first bishops. Both the AME and the AMEZ were Wesleyan in THEOLOGY and comparable to the MEC in organizational structure.

A fourth division in the MEC occurred in 1830. In the early years of the nineteenth century there was growing sympathy to give local preachers, who did not possess full CLERGY rights, and lay people broader participation in the life of the church. A reform

party emerged in the 1820s that agitated for change. After a few years of intense negotiation, which created severe animosity, the reformers' cause was brought to the 1828 MEC General Conference, its governing body. When their position was rejected, the reformers met in Baltimore in November 1830 and organized the Methodist Protestant Church (MP). Their initial membership numbered approximately 5,000. The new church did not have bishops and gave lay people representation in its policymaking bodies.

Although the membership of the MEC was diminished by the departure of those who became members of the AME, AMEZ, and the MP, overall growth in church membership continued to soar. By 1843 the MEC numbered 1,069,000 members. This growth was concurrent with the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS), a wave of evangelical revivalistic religion that engulfed much of the nation in the years preceding the CIVIL WAR. During this era popular revival techniques were developed and CAMP MEETINGS were widely and effectively employed by many American Protestants, including Methodists.

Slavery and War

The issue of SLAVERY was divisive among Methodists as it was among the BAPTISTS and Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM). Wesley vehemently condemned slavery in his 1774 tract *Thoughts Upon Slavery* and considered it "the sum of all villainies." At its organizing Christmas Conference, the MEC adopted legislation to eliminate slave holding and trading among its members (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). However, the antislavery rule was short-lived because of regional pressures, and by the early nineteenth century antislavery sentiment had grown considerably. In 1843, after it became clear that the MEC was not yet ready to deal fully with the issue, abolitionist leaders Orange Scott (1800–1847), Luther Lee (1800–1889), and Lucius C. Matlack (1816–1883) led a group of lay and clergy dissidents to form the Wesleyan Methodist Church (now WESLEYAN CHURCH).

No longer able to avoid the issue that many suspected would further split the church, the MEC's 1844 General Conference directly confronted the slavery question. Much of the debate centered on Bishop James O. Andrew (1794–1871), one of the church's five episcopal leaders, who was a slaveowner by marriage. When the delegates voted to suspend Andrew from exercising his episcopal duties, the southern delegates drafted a Plan of Separation that resulted in the formation in 1845 in Louisville, Kentucky, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS). The new denomination had a membership of approximately 450,000.

Just before the Civil War, another group in the MEC expressed dissatisfaction over the church's adoption of more formalized WORSHIP, the decline of camp meetings as evangelistic gatherings, and Methodism's accommodation to middle-class worldly values. Led by John Wesley Redfield (1810–1863) and Benjamin T. Roberts (1823–1893), these reformers formed the FREE METHODIST CHURCH in 1860.

The Civil War was especially difficult for the MECS. Between 1860 and 1865 its membership fell from 750,00 to 500,000. Many of its churches were destroyed or badly damaged. Its future was in question. However, the 1865 Palmyra Manifesto, which

originated in the Missouri Annual Conference of the MECS, affirmed an intention that the denomination retain its identity and continue its ministry. A few years later the MECS settled the issue of the future of its black membership by encouraging the formation of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (CME), a new denomination formed in 1870. In 1956 the CME changed its name to the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

Growth and Mission

During the period of Reconstruction through the early decades of the twentieth century, the MEC and MECS enjoyed spectacular growth. By 1920 MEC membership was approximately 4,000,000, the MECS membership 2,000,000. The denominations strengthened their national and overseas mission work, which had begun before the Civil War. They continued their commitment to education through SUNDAY SCHOOLS and the founding of many more institutions of HIGHER EDUCATION such as Rust College (1866), Syracuse University (1870), and West Virginia Wesleyan College (1890).

The Wesleyan emphasis on holy living (SANCTIFICATION) gave birth to an important movement in the nineteenth century. PHOEBE WORRALL PALMER (1807–1874), an MEC laywoman, was an early advocate for this HOLINESS MOVEMENT. Toward the end of the century there was intense theological debate concerning how Wesleyan sanctification led to Christian perfection, the believer's being made perfect in love, a prominent idea developed in Wesley's theology. Was Christian perfection something gradually attained by divine GRACE, or was it instantaneously granted as a "second blessing," the "first blessing" being the sinner's JUSTIFICATION or forgiveness? Those who stressed the latter approach promoted their views through REVIVALS, camp meetings, and publications. When it became obvious that the mainstream of Methodism preferred the gradualist approach, the instantaneous "second blessing" advocates separated from Methodism and eventually formed "holiness churches," such as the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE (1907) and the Pilgrim Holiness Church (1913). From these holiness roots came the modern Pentecostal movement, one of the most significant Protestant developments in North America in the twentieth century (see PENTECOSTALISM). Among the larger Pentecostal churches are the CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST (1907) and the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD (1914).

Nineteenth-century Methodists promoted mission work in their cities and countryside as well as overseas. Although Methodist WOMEN were not granted full clergy rights until the next century (see WOMEN CLERGY), they were at the forefront of denominational mission work forming organizations, collecting funds, recruiting workers, and serving on the mission field. Methodist women were also prominent in the TEMPERANCE movement, which advocated abstinence from alcoholic beverages. FRANCES E. WILLARD (1839–1898), MEC laywoman, was one of the movement's outstanding leaders. By the end of the nineteenth century women could also participate in some of the Methodist denominations as DEACONESSES who provided educational and health care ministries as well as services to immigrants.

The churches of Methodism provided support to their nation during both World Wars I and II. They also survived the Great Depression that began in 1929. Through the first half of the twentieth century church memberships continued to grow.

The twentieth-century ecumenical movement had a profound effect on much of North American Methodism. After several decades of negotiation the MEC, MECS, and MP decided to reunite in 1939 to become The Methodist Church (MC) with 6,560,000 members. In 1968 the MC entered into a union with the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN (EUB), a church with historic ties to Methodism, to form the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH (UMC). At union the UMC had 10,220,000 members making it not only the largest Methodist denomination in North America but also its largest Protestant denomination. The UMC also had regional groups, called Annual Conferences, in North America as well as AFRICA, Asia, Europe, and LATIN AMERICA.

Methodist preaching in Canada began as early as 1765 in Newfoundland with Lawrence Coughlan (?– 1785), one of Wesley's Irish itinerant preachers. Work expanded in Nova Scotia as well as Upper and Lower Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Subsequently, a number of Methodist denominations were formed. A union of churches in 1884 brought almost all Canadian Methodists into The Methodist Church of Canada, a church that exerted considerable influence on the nation until in 1925, when it had approximately 400,000 members, it united with Presbyterians and Congregational churches to form the UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA.

Future Issues

There are a number of issues facing North American Methodism, especially the largest of its denominations. Declining membership is one of the most serious problems. By 2000 UMC membership had fallen to 8,400,000 from its high in 1969 of 10,872,000, a loss of 2,472,000 or 23 percent. The AME, AMEZ, and CME denominations also experienced losses in membership although in more modest proportions.

The UMC has also been troubled by theological and social controversy. Although the UMC is a multiracial church, it is predominantly white. It has struggled for decades with the issue of racism and the role of ethnic persons in its pastoral and lay leadership. There are also continuing disputes between the theologically conservative and liberal parties in the denomination concerning the nature and authority of the BIBLE, and the place of EVANGELISM in relationship to social action ministries. Some have been concerned that traditional DOCTRINE and doctrinal standards in the denomination have been ignored. Furthermore, one of the most debated issues has been whether homosexual persons should be ordained and appointed to serve in pastoral ministry. This has been a most contentious issue at the denomination's General Conferences.

Because many of the Methodist denominations have congregations and missions in nations outside North America, each of them has questioned how best it may relate to its people in other lands. The predominantly North American churches have wrestled with the manner in which they should assist their members in other nations to adapt traditional theological, structural, and ministerial work to their own native cultures (see CULTURE).

Many of the Methodist denominations have strongly supported a connectional system of church government in which each local church belongs to a regional, or annual, conference of other churches presided over by a bishop or other official. Within this connectional relationship clergy are appointed to their congregations, denominational programs are promoted, and funds are collected for the support of the denomination's

ministries and institutions beyond the local church. There has been some question whether the connectional system is outmoded and should be replaced with a system that gives more power and authority to the local congregation.

North American Methodism remains vital and exerts an important influence on local, regional, and national life.

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METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH CONFERENCE

The concept of CONFERENCE is perhaps the central feature of Methodist POLITY and identity. The construct of conference has had many forms as it developed in the Methodist Episcopal Church in America (1784–1939), the Methodist Church (1939–1968), and continuing in the present United Methodist Church (1968–). Yet throughout American METHODISM, the conference has referred to a body of preachers (and later LAITY) who exercise various legislative, judicial, and executive functions of the church.

Conference has defined the Methodist movement in political ways resembling the branches and roles of the federal government. It has been shaped by its sociopolitical context, but has often functioned as an embodiment of intensely held theological notions of Methodist mission. Conference seeks to balance creative tensions at the heart of Methodist notions about ministry: that representative ministry has obligations to the local parish and its laity, while also having missional obligations to the entire Methodist church in wider geographic settings for the sake of the world. Toward this end, the conference is an organization that administers and deploys pastors to local parishes. It also seeks to link those local churches administratively to wider geographic, national, and international bodies of Methodism in a chain of regularized interaction: with other conferences on the regional level (in bodies known since 1939 as Jurisdictional Conferences); and on the national and international level as well (through a body known since 1792 as the General Conference).

Methodism has regarded its conference structures historically as the primary body through which ministry and ordination are regulated. Methodist ordination is conferred only through conference membership and Episcopal oversight (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). This is in contrast to some Protestant churches, which authorize ordination in relation to local church boards or national accrediting agencies. Methodist ministry is defined through the processes of debate and organizational AUTHORITY vested in the annual conference. Conferences meet annually in each designated geographic area to decide matters of policy, and to confirm appointments of pastors to respective local churches.

Historical Development of Conference

From the inception of the Wesleyan revival in Britain, JOHN WESLEY found gathering his lay preachers or “helpers” in a regular conference served the missional needs of revival. Wesley described Methodist organizational forms as ad hoc, secondary to the mission of revival. Wesley borrowed the concept of a conference from his history as priest within the connective Anglican parish system. Yet from 1744, Wesley transformed the Anglican notion of connected geographic parishes to focus on the preachers themselves, creating a covenant body to ensure “the spread of holiness and the reform of the nation, especially the churches.” In conference Wesley was able to set policy, engage in supervision and training of his largely uneducated pastors, and deploy ministers to take advantage of local revival AWAKENINGS. Wesley transferred such features to the American scene, when he sent lay preachers to serve the fledgling but spontaneously growing lay movement from 1769 until the Revolutionary War.

Even before there was a Methodist Episcopal Church in America, conference was a key organizing concept for the movement. Methodist preachers traveled far across the colonial American landscape, PREACHING regularly in numerous public settings and chapels (see CIRCUIT RIDERS). As persons were spiritually awakened, they were invited to join small Methodist classes while also directed to partake of the SACRAMENTS through Anglican parishes. Wesley designated his representative superintendents in America to meet quarterly to ensure preachers continued to proclaim a

conversionist message of Wesleyan assurance and holistic transformation, as well as stimulating the necessary movement of preachers along their preaching circuits.

FRANCIS ASBURY presided over the first quarterly conference of the Methodist preachers in America in 1772. The first annual conference in America for which we have documentary record was held in 1773, overseen by Thomas Rankin, a Scot who had served under Wesley. As a tool of governance, conference adapted as the fledgling movement grew in numbers and geographic distance: first through quarterly meetings (1769–1773), then through a single annual conference as the limited size of the movement allowed (1773–1779), and then through multiple sessions of a theoretically single conference held across various geographic areas (1779–1792).

In the aftermath of the Revolution and its disruption of the Anglican ministry, Wesley responded to calls from the Methodist societies for a sacramental ministry and consecrated a limited episcopacy to ordain pastors for the American mission field. By this action Wesley effectively recognized the emergence of an independently constituted Methodist Church. The founding of The Methodist Episcopal Church in America subsequently occurred at the so-called Christmas Conference in 1784 (see BALTIMORE CONFERENCE). As the Methodist Episcopal Church launched its early mission to America, ordained pastors (“presiding elders”) and their more numerous lay pastors met quarterly, with all coming together annually with their bishops. The first two bishops consecrated for America were Asbury and THOMAS COKE.

For Methodists in America, missional needs, rather than regularities of church order, have been primary in the historical development of the conference concept. Asbury, more than any other figure, decisively shaped the conference to reflect both democratic and missional ideals. His own personal charisma and political ambitions transformed the conference from a mere administrative meeting of preachers for appointments and supervision into the single most important ecclesial form shaping Methodist identity. The conference idea under Asbury’s leadership from 1784 to 1816 became a highly integrated network of moving preachers. This system of ITINERACY matched preachers to Methodist communities organized in small classes, arranged in a linked hierarchy of circuits, districts, and—from 1796 onward—in annual conferences dedicated to geographical areas. Conference carefully balanced Asbury’s own authority in regulating the pastors, with emerging democratic ideals.

Asbury fought to retain exclusive power to deploy his preachers to ever wider and marginal areas of the American frontier. Yet at the same time conference allowed preachers some measure of democratic participation, adapting policy, structure, and ecclesiastic identity to the growing demands for representation and rights in the early American Republic. While Asbury lived he oversaw almost all of the various annual conferences—some 224 of them. He exercised almost absolute episcopal authority over policy and appointments, based on his experience derived from a lifetime traveling and preaching across America. From his death in 1816, successor bishops could not, or would not, operate in such an authoritative manner. The first native-born bishop, William McKendree, instituted the policy in 1816 that appointments would be made through a more collaborative process with the assistance of presiding elders over districts. The Methodist Episcopal Church conferences after Asbury repeatedly faced the need to adapt to changes in the political and social culture of a rapidly westward growing America.

The Methodist Episcopal Church held competing views within it about the proper relationship of episcopal authority to democratic principles in conferences, which twice erupted in schism in 1792 and 1830. These schisms formed the Republican Methodists and the Methodist Protestant Church, respectively. With these splits many members inclined toward more democratic processes in conference were drained away from the Methodist Episcopal Church. One could read the history of the church and its schisms as a referendum on the conference ideal and its oscillating emphases between centralized authority and democracy. The split of American Methodism into its northern (Methodist Episcopal Church) and southern branches (Methodist Episcopal Church, South) occurred in part over regional apprehension that slave-owning southern bishops might be assigned by General Conference to preside over antislavery conferences in the North (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Additionally southern bishops feared interference with their strong authority in southern conferences—particularly on the sensitive subject of slaveholding—by centralized legislation coming out of the national General Conference pressing the historic disciplinary antislavery commitments of Methodism. The split into northern and southern Methodist branches, enacted by the Plan of Separation adopted in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1845, had an immediate effect on the relationship between episcopal authority and conferences. The separation enshrined a regionalism in annual conferences, tying bishops to a particular set of conferences in closely related areas of CULTURE. It only entrenched patterns of regionalism already held before the split, and further isolated each region from the influence of the other. The results were that the Methodist Episcopal Church tended to have a stronger national General Conference and more democratically minded episcopal leadership, whereas the southern branch attempted to protect its regional segregation and culture through authoritarian bishops controlling relatively weaker annual and general conferences.

After the conclusion of the CIVIL WAR, the northern church increasingly followed the culture on a number of fronts: organizing conferences more effectively on the lines of emerging business practices and rules of order; and moving toward more inclusive lay representation at General Conference. It granted General Conference representation to laymen in 1872, but resisted inclusion of laywomen there until 1904. The northern Methodists allowed both men and WOMEN to participate as lay delegates to annual conferences in 1932. (Southern Methodists by contrast promoted earlier lay representation for men in annual conferences, stemming from the necessity to rebuild the church quickly in the post-Civil War era.) In the late nineteenth century, both northern and southern churches resisted initial attempts by women for ordination and membership in the conferences. Only in 1956 did women finally win the right to membership in full connection to the conferences of the Methodist Church, the essential condition for ordination (see WOMEN CLERGY).

Reunion of the two branches into a newly constituted Methodist Church (1939–1968) was predicated on a diplomatic balancing of powers that still shapes the conferences today. A Judicial Council was created as appellate power to moderate the two old antagonists—the northern-dominated General Conference and the strong southern episcopacy. Also six Jurisdictional Conferences were created in five regions, segregating African American Methodists into one separate Central Jurisdiction. These institutions were designed to protect annual conferences as they sought to serve the political and cultural agendas of their constituencies. The ironic results of these actions only

entrenched regional and racial division in the church—the status quo ante bellum condition of 1845 that prompted the split. Moreover the effect of this regional and racial segregation was to render the annual conferences themselves increasingly weaker in the face of the Judicial Council.

Power also slowly flowed toward other national agencies such as the Board of Mission and the Board of Church and Society, reflecting mid-twentieth-century cultural commitments to the concept of big business and franchise. Since 1968 and the creation of the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH through union with the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH, conferences have continued to lose power on a number of fronts. First, conference legislation and episcopal actions have been increasingly subject to appeal to the Judicial Council. Also, since the 1960s, the role of caucus groups in Methodism has strengthened. As in larger society, these special-interest advocacy groups have grown in institutional influence and organizational sophistication, using media effectively to lobby annual conferences and General Conference for the passage of policy reforms on select issues.

Finally, annual conferences and their episcopal leadership have found their political and appointive powers weakened in the face of growing local congregational and lay powers. In particular, more decisions are being made by the laity at the local church level with regard to appointments. In the last thirty years, bishops have exercised their greatest power not so much through annual conferences, but through reclaiming their teaching office to the church (in some ways mirroring the caucus trend), and through their leadership on the boards of national and international Methodist church agencies. These appear to be trends that will continue to reshape the role of conference in Methodist mission and ecclesial polity for the foreseeable future.

Interpretative Significance of Conference

The historian Russell Richey has noted that conference is the defining body of Methodist identity and historical narrative. Methodist history unfolds in relation to annual conferences from year to year (with General Conference policy decided every four years). Despite Methodism's distinctive commitment to the conference concept, Richey has argued convincingly that conference has an extremely flexible range of meanings. Conference regulates Methodist pastoral identity, shaping the connection between preachers and their congregation in both space and time. Indeed with every annual conference, the shape of the conference changes geographically with the reading of the new appointments, remaining in effect for one year. The language of conference has developed an ecclesial term—conference—with its focus on the mechanics of church order. There is also a more dynamic and ineffable term: "The Connection." When Methodists speak of "The Connection," they hearken back to the more familial-based usage of John Wesley to his "connexion" of preachers. Frank Baker, the British Methodist scholar, has argued that connectionalism is one of the greatest contributions made by Wesley to Protestant ecclesiastical polity.

The notion of connection is invested in the annual conference, but is not coextensive with it. Connectionalism in the annual conference guards each individual parish from becoming inwardly focused, isolated, or completely dominated by its local culture or

concerns. The notion of connection stresses that the missional sum of the Methodist body worldwide is greater than its conference or church parts. At conference, pastors and laity come together in a binding fashion, to “speak freely what is in their hearts.” Conference seeks to gather representatives of “The People Called Methodist” to extend Christian witness, service, and sacramental presence for a fixed time to the parishes of the geographically bounded conference—all with a view toward transforming the entire world. When Methodists speak of “being in the connection,” this takes the construct of conference polity and invests it with a more spiritual, theological, and sacramental nature. Such usage is rooted in Wesley’s idea that conferencing is an ordinary channel of God’s presence—a means of GRACE to the world. Thus, the real power of conference remains its capacity to stimulate and sharpen its members through mutual obligations found in connection to one another and to God. Taken at its best the connection found in conference shifts the focus from political and organizational aspects of the Conference body to its missional and sacramental nature in forming Methodist identity and practice. As of the year 2000 there were sixty-four U.S. annual conferences and fifty-five others around the world, according to the official Web site of the United Methodist Church (<http://www.umc.org/>).

The conferences of the present-day United Methodist Church still find themselves significant bodies for determining Methodist identity and policy, although there are challenges. Conferences are facing issues of globalization that often strain local identity. Moreover, they face acute limits to their authority, in an increasingly litigious, pluralistic, antiauthoritarian, and individualistic culture (see INDIVIDUALISM). Despite its various permutations historically and culturally, conference will most likely remain an essential ecclesial form through which Methodists understand themselves, their encounter with American culture, and the world.

See also Methodism, Europe; Methodism, Global; Methodism, North America

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MEXICO

As a stream of religious DISSENT, Protestantism in Mexico can be said to constitute several tributaries that have followed contours unique to the Mexican landscape, ebbing and flowing in response to internal and external factors and events. In terms of spiritual lineage the works of exiled Spanish priests in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries served as a longsuppressed cultural and theological fountainhead. These combined with liberal French and Anglo-American thought to provide the headwaters of reform in the fledgling Republic. The subsequent engineering by U.S. missionaries and their sponsor agencies certainly shaped much of the infrastructure of early Mexican Protestantism; however, the later inflow of Pentecostal revivalism carried the stream over and far beyond the limited banks of the mainline project. The charting of that process requires careful historicization; otherwise, our view of the contemporary muddied waters of Mexican dissident religiosity would remain clouded indeed.

Iberian Antecedents

As Spain proved key to the defense of Roman Catholicism in the sixteenth century, so too did it water its own seedbeds of Erasmian humanism, *alumbradismo*, and theological reform. Cardinal Francisco Ximenes's *Complutense Polyglot Bible* (1514–1522) represented the apex of the former movement, whereas Teresa de Avila (d. 1582) and Juan de la Cruz (d. 1591) successfully channeled the mystical tendencies of the second. Twelve Jeromian monks of Seville's St. Isidore monastery, imbibing too freely of smuggled Lutheran and Calvinistic wine, fled the Inquisition's grasp, and found refuge in SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, ENGLAND, and the NETHERLANDS. Of these, Casiodoro de Reina (d. 1594) and Cipriano de Valera (who studied and taught at CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY and Oxford University) proved the most prolific in Scripture translation (see BIBLE TRANSLATION) and pamphleteering. Their joint opus, the *Reina y Valera Bible* of 1602 (Valera consummated Reina's earlier work), heralded Spain's literary Golden Age, and endured to foment and nourish later movements of religious dissent in Spain and its former colonies in LATIN AMERICA.

Castille and Aragon's political union and successful military routing of Moorish Grenada (1492) further emboldened a national church bent on expelling the Jewish presence from the Iberian Peninsula. The contemporaneous discovery of new lands in the looming shadow of northern European HERESY beckoned Spain to unprecedented prominence as the "savior of Rome, evangelizer of the globe, and hammer of heretics." The pastoral care of the expanding flock in the new territories required continued vigilance against *converso* and *marrano* subterfuge as well as Lutheran heresies and indigenous "idolatry." A review of Inquisitional records in New Spain and Peru demonstrates the care with which church and crown sought to extirpate religious—and political—dissent.

National Independence

In a sense the story of Protestant origins and growth in Mexico is as much a story of Roman Catholic privilege, dominance, declension, and struggle over against an emergent state. During the young nation's decade-long War of Independence (1810–1821) and later Wars of Reform (1858–1860) and French Intervention (1861–1867), the hierarchy aligned itself perennially with royalist and conservative parties. Rural priests such as Miguel Hidalgo and José Morelos, however, opted to lead the populist revolt for independence. The young Republic's original guarantee of a religious monopoly for the Catholic religion at the price of the secularization of many church-owned missions and properties set in place a template of perennial struggle and accommodation between CHURCH AND STATE. The conflict flared into full-scale civil war under the presidency of Benito Juárez (1858–1872), whose Laws of Reform divested the Catholic Church of its monopoly over religious services, and secularized control of MARRIAGE and cemeteries. The titanic dueling usually found Protestants and other liberals cheering on the latter protagonist. Under the patronage of Mexico's most revered executive, a group of dissident priests known as the "Constitutionalist Fathers" severed ties to Rome and reconstituted themselves in 1861 as the *Iglesia de Jesús*, a proto-Anglican church movement, which soon sought succor from the U.S. Protestant Episcopal Church (see EPISCOPAL CHURCH, USA).

Although British and U.S. BIBLE SOCIETIES took advantage of brief post-Independence interludes to introduce Bibles into the country, broader dissemination of these did not occur until the arrival of missionaries in the latter half and final quarter of the eighteenth century. The Wars of Texas Independence (1835–1836) and American Intervention (1846–1848), justified by ideologues of Manifest Destiny, permitted U.S. Protestant denominations and agencies to establish beachheads deep into former Mexican lands now situated along Mexico's new northern border. With the floodgates of Catholic privilege weakened considerably, Protestant missionary incursion flowed freely up until 1910. Presbyterian Melinda Rankin sponsored BIBLE colporteurs and other outreach into Nuevo Leon state from her Brownsville, Texas base. Baptist James Hickey arrived into that state's capital, Monterrey, in 1862. In 1864 he established the Thomas Westrup family, formerly immigrant English Anglicans, as pioneer converts in the region. Other denominations and movements soon followed: Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), and Northern BAPTISTS (1871); Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM) and Northern Presbyterians (1872); Northern and Southern Methodists (1873); Southern Presbyterians (1874); Associate Reform Presbyterians (1878); Southern Baptists (1880); Brethren and SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS (1891); and CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE (1903).

Several patterns soon emerged. With an overwhelming advantage in tactical, financial, and educational resources, missionaries were able to overwhelm the scattered nascent nuclei of Mexican Protestants, and established themselves as the primary interlocutors vis-à-vis state and federal governments. Early Protestantism built on existing networks of Masonic and other liberal political clubs, with whom they shared strong antipathies toward the Catholic Church. Converts represented the middling commercial and artisan

classes, and benefited enormously from the educational enterprise of the missions. Their mestizo background reflected Protestantism's inability—in spite of great efforts—to realize substantial inroads into elite Mexican society and its indifference (lamented by Benito Juárez, a Zapotec from Oaxaca state) toward the country's significant indigenous minorities. A division of labor soon developed, with missionaries remaining in urban areas increasingly tied by railroads, and Mexican ministers fanning out to smaller towns and rural settlements. Generally in the case of splintered U.S. communions, U.S. Southerners flourished in the Mexican North, whereas U.S. Northerners prospered in the Center and West. By 1905 Mexico's *evangélico* (the term more accurately reflects the nomenclature for Latin American Protestantism) community numbered about 22,000, with half of these belonging to Methodist communions.

Revolution

The long rule—initially democratic and then dictatorial—of Porfirio Díaz (1877–1911) saw an increasing rapprochement between his government and the Catholic Church. The great INDUSTRIALIZATION realized under his regime, however, required immense flows of capital from the UNITED STATES and Britain. Thus the restrictions of the 1857 Reform were kept in place, albeit honored more in the breach than otherwise. Díaz's increasingly despotic rule fed a growing opposition that broke out into armed rebellion in 1910 upon the fraudulent denial of the presidency to Francisco Madero, a Liberal landowner from the northern state of Coahuila. The revolt quickly deposed Díaz, as military chieftans throughout the country swore allegiance to Madero. However, palace intrigue resulted in Madero's assassination in 1913 and the implosion of his reformist project. The Mexican Revolution soon engulfed the country in a conflagration that cost one million lives (a tenth of the population) and uprooted another million persons northward or to other points in the Republic. Far from remaining immune to the state of affairs, Mexican Protestants, representing by this time a second generation of leadership, threw in their lot with the insurgents, providing key military and civilian leadership and support at critical junctures. The conflict drove missionaries northward to the United States, from whence they lamented their would-be progeny's engagement with the revolutionary project and their own prior ambivalence toward the Díaz regime. Mexican Protestantism's clear commitment to the emergent revolutionary regime carved out a valuable space in Mexican society, as many took up prominent state and federal government positions in the Venustiano Carranza and subsequent administrations. Key pedagogues such as Moisés Sáenz left an important imprint on the educational system. Protestants generally assented to the harsh anticlerical strictures of the 1917 Constitution, aimed as these were against Catholic CLERGY. As a result Catholic counterrevolutionary *cristero* rebels (1926–1929) in the West targeted *evangélicos* as often as they did agrarian reformers, socialists, soldiers, and government teachers.

The Revolution debilitated several Protestant institutions, draining native talent from evangelization efforts, and further constricting foreign clerical prerogatives. Two other developments, however, proved equally definitive in the future trajectory and growth of Protestantism: missionary intromission and Pentecostal revivalism.

In line with developments elsewhere, U.S. missionary strategists sought to minimize competition and maximize resources. A cooperative conference held in Cincinnati in 1914 carved up Mexico into confessional territories, assigning one or several to each U.S. denomination, and transferring properties and, presumably, Mexican personnel and converts. The absence of Mexican voices at the conclave complicated the Cincinnati Plan's implementation on the ground during the following decade, and heightened nationalistic sentiments among Mexicans, many of whom felt betrayed in their longstanding confessional loyalties. The plan produced mixed results. On the one hand, Congregationalists failed to maximize their new franchise in Guadalajara and Jalisco, contenting themselves with small middle-class cul-de-sacs. On the other hand, Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM) began substantial incursions into indigenous nations in the South, especially Chiapas. (The South also saw gains for Seventh-day Adventists.) Southern Methodists (see METHODISM; METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA) continued their growth in the northern states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Sonora, and Tamaulipas, in tandem with great progress in border conferences in Texas and New Mexico, whereas their northern (U.S.) counterparts tended central Mexico (Mexico City, Puebla, and Hidalgo) and southern California. In tandem with the Revolution's nationalism, Mexican Protestants agitated for autonomy, with the biggest communion, the Methodists, achieving this in 1930, when both branches combined into the Mexican Methodist Church. By that year the national census counted a nationwide Protestant population (including foreigners) of 130,322. Soon thereafter, Lázaro Cardenas, arguably Mexico's most leftist president (1934–1940), welcomed missionary linguists affiliated with the WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS and Summer Language Institute (SLI) to points throughout the country to work among indigenous nations and help realize Benito Juárez's long-stymied dream.

Pentecostalism

While mainline Protestants consolidated their place in Mexican society and negotiated the new territorial divisions, revival embers arrived, borne by returned refugees, direct and indirect participants in Los Angeles's AZUSA STREET REVIVAL (1906–1909) and its aftermath. The first of these, Romana Carbajal de Valenzuela, returned to her native Villa Aldama, Chihuahua, in 1914 to usher her Catholic family into the Pentecostal movement. Other evangelists soon followed, sweeping down from Mexican American communities in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, and taking advantage of the ecclesiastical vacuum created by the Revolution. Valenzuela's conversion of Rubén Ortega, the sole remaining Methodist pastor in Chihuahua City, and her CONVERSION of several Methodist and Baptist families in Torreón, Coahuila, proved emblematic of the upstart movement's penchant for building on older seedbeds of *evangélico* belief. Yet, Pentecostals found the vast majority of their converts among Catholic peasants, laborers, artisans, and small vendors, and realized important initial inroads into northern indigenous peoples like the Ceri of Sonora. The class location of the new believers brightened Protestantism's prospects. As much a movement of labor and migration as of religious belief and practice, PENTECOSTALISM successfully rode the crests of the many back-and-forth tides of human movement precipitated by macro political and

economic events of the twentieth century (e.g., Revolution, Repatriation, Bracero Guestworker Program, Operation Wetback, Immigration Reform Acts of 1965 and 1986, etc.). Mobility and scarcity bred solidarity and fecundity. Pentecostal churches provided significant opportunities for the assertion of autochthonous leadership and cross-border collaboration. Among the flagship denominations to emerge by mid-century were the *Iglesia Apóstolica* (tied to a sister Mexican American denomination in the United States, the Apostolic Assembly), the *Asambleas de Dios*, the *Iglesia de Dios en la República Mexicana*, and the *Luz del Mundo*. Ecclesiastical polities run the gamut from congregational to episcopal to prophetic, with a decided preference for the religious equivalent of the military *caudillo* or chieftain, that is, with elements of strong, charismatic, and often autocratic personalism in leadership. Doctrinal variety and heterodoxy also characterize the movement, especially in those sectors far removed from missionary control. For example, the *Iglesia Apóstolica* and *Luz del Mundo* churches and a wider constellation of smaller groups espouse a Oneness theology; indeed, *apóstolico*s may constitute fully one-third of Mexican Pentecostalism.

In spite of their religious dissident status, Pentecostals proved adept in appropriating elements of popular Mexican culture, especially musical idioms. Thus, they recaptured the *fiesta* of Mexican culture, and suffused it with affectivity and corporeal sensation. They created new sonic spheres that resonated in the ears and bodies of would-be converts. The liturgical reform proved infectious. By the last quarter of the century pneumatic Christianity emerged as the majority expression within Mexican Protestantism and a strong minority one within Catholicism (by the post-Vatican II Charismatic revival).

Late Twentieth-Century Growth and Issues

The reconfiguration of late twentieth-century Protestantism also came with a price: the loss of political coherence. The corruption and decrepitude of the governing party (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional* [PRI]) left Protestants increasingly bereft of a traditional ally in the newly competitive universe of Mexican national and state politics. The 1990 diplomatic rapprochement with the Vatican and the 1992 reform of the Constitution's articles on religion "leveled" the field of religious competition in favor of the stillhegemonic Catholic Church. The ascendancy of the Catholic-based party, the *Partido de Acción Nacional* (PAN), augured renewed vindications of long-lost *cristero* wars and a muscular Catholicism's recapture of the public square. A militant leftist splinter from the governing PRI, the *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) found great difficulty in shedding its congenital antireligious bias inherited from earlier Marxist progenitors. In the end, Protestants split their votes equally among the presidential options in the 2000 elections. Although Roman Catholic prelates were customarily quoted in the weekly and daily press on a variety of issues, Protestant voices were generally sought out only on matters of religious intolerance. Ideological commitments represent the gamut from traditional to liberationist positions. Opponents from both ends of the political spectrum found ironic common ground in their critiques of Protestantism as a witting and unwitting tool of U.S.-led capitalist expansion. Catholic apologists fretted over the fracturing of a national religious identity (Mexico as Guadalupan and

Catholic), and anthropologists decried the splintering of ostensibly previously homogeneous indigenous communities. In 1979 Mexican anthropologists succeeded in having the Education Secretariat sever a nearly four-decades-long working relationship with the SLI.

Growth continued apace, nevertheless. At century's end, the 2000 Census counted a Protestant population of 4,897,104 (including Seventh-day Adventists), or 5.8 percent of the country's total population, ages five years and higher. (JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES were reported at over a million and Mormons at over 200,000.) The religious minorities kept pace with and even superseded national population growth, achieving a notable demographic presence. More telling, though, were the regional and local variations. Protestants were reported to constitute 22 percent of Chiapas's population, 19 percent of Tabasco's, 18 percent of Campeche's, 16 percent of Quintana Roo's, 11 percent of Yucatan's, and 10 percent of Oaxaca's and Morelos's—rates as high as almost quadruple the national figure and matched only by those of Baja California and Chihuahua states. Clearly geographical proximity to the country's Protestant northern neighbor cannot explain the surge in the south. Indeed Mexico's other northern border states ranked closer to the national average. Accordingly scholars of religious change have been compelled to examine more closely regional and historical particularities; among these: globalization, migration, economic vicissitudes, cultural flux, religious remittances, indigenous aperture, and Catholic division and fatigue.

The case of Mexican Protestant history and experience presents several issues for further examination. The relative success and failure of its varied streams—mainline and Pentecostal—among varied social classes prompt a query into the agency of converts and practitioners, into the efficacy of missionary leadership and intromission, and into the “mexicanization” of religious dissent. The expanding religious pluralism in the indigenous South presses the point over tolerance and competing legal regimes (communitarian consensus vs. individual rights of belief), and over compatible cosmologies and religiosities. Finally the exclusion or retreat of *evangélicos* from the public square in the latter half of the twentieth century suggests that the diverse internal composition of the movement has had profound social and civic implications.

See also Anti-Trinitarianism; Baptist Missions; Calvinism; Evangelism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Lutheranism; Missionary Organizations; Missions; Missions, North American; Mormonism; Revivals

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DANIEL RAMÍREZ

MIDDLETON, THOMAS FANSHAW (1769–1822)

First Anglican and Protestant bishop in INDIA. Middleton was born in Kedleston, Derbyshire where his father was rector. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, where he was contemporary with Charles Lamb and SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, and Pembroke College, University of Cambridge (see CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY). He was ordained in 1792 and served as curate of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire. In 1808 he published a scholarly work on the Greek article in the New Testament, which ran to five editions. After two incumbencies he was appointed prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral in 1809. In 1811 he moved to London as vicar of St. Pancras and served as archdeacon of Huntingdon, also joining in the work of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

In 1814 he was appointed first Anglican bishop of Calcutta with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the territories administered by the East India Company and their chaplains. Confronted by missionaries belonging to a voluntary society like the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, without formal links to the ecclesiastical legal framework, he wrote "I must either licence them or silence them." He strengthened church life and founded Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1820, with the aim of creating an educated ministry, aiding missionaries on first arrival, educating Muslims and Hindus, and translating the Scriptures and publishing Christian tracts (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). His friendliness to BAPTISTS like WILLIAM CAREY was appreciated. In 1817 Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) was added to his diocese and he ordained a DEACON in Colombo in 1821.

Middleton did his best to lay firm and secure foundations for the church in India, from which his successors might benefit. His anxiety to earn respect for his office caused him to appear remote, and he suffered from contrast with the charm of his immediate successor, the poet and hymn writer Reginald Heber (1823–1826), and the lengthy and masterful episcopate of Daniel Wilson (1832–1858). He was a conscientious and

scholarly bishop with impossibly large and ill-defined responsibilities. He died in Calcutta and is buried in Calcutta Cathedral.

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TIMOTHY E. YATES

MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM

“Millennialism” and “APOCALYPTICISM” are two terms often misused. They are terms many historians use with a clear sense of what they mean but perhaps a less firm grip on what others hear. As a result, much of the discussion of millennialism has wandered, sometimes wildly, from assertions of its centrality to its dismissal as marginal. The millennial dimension of the REFORMATION and the development of Protestantism should be explored less in the specific identification of any given individual as an apocalyptic or millennial thinker and more in the dynamics of apocalyptic time and its impact on the thinking of various figures, both in their formal theological reflections and in their polemical and activist pronouncements. Few periods in history reflect more strikingly than the Reformation two of the basic principles of millennial and apocalyptic dynamics: (1) *one person’s messiah is another’s Antichrist*; and (2) *wrong does not mean inconsequential*. It is therefore necessary to begin this essay with a set of definitions.

Millennialism

“Millennialism” is defined as the belief that at some point in the future, a messianic era of peace, prosperity, justice, and fellowship will commence and last for 1,000 years. “Millenarians” are those who subscribe to this belief. The term “millennialism” derives from the bracketed detail peculiar to Christianity (Revelation 20:1–7), but the crucial issue, something noted by church fathers as well as modern anthropologists, is the notion

that God's justice will manifest itself on Earth, in public, in a radical transformation of social and political norms. In its secular forms, we have come to call this idea "revolution." Millennialism's this-worldly orientation makes it politically subversive by nature (Daniels 1992), and accordingly most religious elites prefer to substitute a more apolitical ESCHATOLOGY, in which the advent of cosmic justice puts an end to the physical world entirely, with rewards and punishments meted out in spiritual realms (HEAVEN AND HELL).

Millennialism has two major tensions, between hierarchical and demotic, and between restorative and progressive. Hierarchical millennialism expects a world-conquering or world-ruling emperor to establish the one true way and impose its peace upon the world; it views the cosmic enemy as chaos (Cohn 1993) and seeks the messianic solution in order. In the form of myths about the "last emperor," hierarchical millennialism played a critical role in the politics of the Middle Ages, undergirding the most ambitious political agendas from Constantine onward, including many of the "Holy Roman emperors" who attempted to rule over ITALY and GERMANY.

Demotic millennialism views the messianic kingdom as a kind of holy anarchy in which transformed individuals live just lives without need for a state or other overarching coercive AUTHORITY. Here the empire represents the cosmic enemy, and the messianic solution comes from a world in which aristocracy vanishes and each commoner gets to enjoy the fruits of his honest labor undisturbed. "And each shall sit under his fig and vine, and none shall make him afraid" (Micah 4:3). Most of the more radical forms of millennialism, or those most frequently alluded to as such, reflect this demotic tradition, which, not surprisingly, many ecclesiastical elites consider anarchic and dangerous.

Both of these forms use mixtures of rhetoric from two further orientations: the restorative, in which the messianic kingdom returns the "saved" to an earlier, pristine state that time and man have corrupted, and the progressive, in which mankind will step into a world never before seen, one that will create new forms and (often) new technologies. The former appeals to those with conservative attitudes and tendencies toward magical thinking in which the restoration will arrive as the result of divine intervention. The latter, the progressive, tends to welcome and encourage innovation and to see in social and political change paths to a messianic future.

Apocalypticism

The critical issue, however, concerns the question of timing. Only with great difficulty can one identify or observe the impact of millennial beliefs during "normal time"—that is, during periods when most millennial believers think that this fallen world will long endure. Under such conditions, even the most subversive demotic millennialism tends to have largely conservative effect. Paul could council slaves to "obey your masters" (I Ephesians) and subjects to "obey the powers that be" (Romans 13:1), not because such political structures were just, but because "you know how long the night is gone, how soon the dawn" (Romans 13:11–12). Only when believers become convinced that the advent of the kingdom is imminent do they become active, creating a millennial movement. This apocalyptic sense of urgency transforms quiescent beliefs into a range of passions all the more intense because of the immediacy of these final cosmic

transformations. The term “apocalyptic” here designates both the sense of the imminent transformation whereby this world ruled by evil will become the messianic kingdom and the scenario whereby such a transition will occur. (Note that this differs fundamentally from the more common definition of millennial, which is both imminent and this-worldly [Cohn 1957]. One can be apocalyptic without being millennial [e.g., MARTIN LUTHER and probably Paul], and one can be millennial without being apocalyptic [Hippolytus and Ussher].)

In the apocalyptic we find two major tensions, between violent and peaceful transition, and between active or passive human roles. In the first set of tensions, on the one hand we find cataclysmic scenarios in which vast devastation purifies the world to make way for the messianic kingdom. On the other hand, we find transformative scenarios in which, through a turning of the heart and will, humanity changes its ways and converts the paths of justice. “And they will beat their swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor study war any more” (Isaiah 2; Micah 4).

The second major tension, between active and passive, opposes on the one hand those who believe that humans have no significant role in the process, that God, the stars, the ineluctable forces of history and the cosmos carry out this work and humans can at best prepare, repent, and hope that they will be among the “saved” and on the other hand those who believe that the believer becomes not the recipient, but rather the tool of the transformative will of these cosmic forces. Almost all secular millennial movements tend toward activism (no God on which to rely), whereas religious institutions most often favor passive scenarios (we must await God).

Apocalyptic scenarios can lead either to millennial outcomes here on Earth or to eschatological resolutions beyond the physical plane. Millennial believers tend to favor active apocalyptic scenarios, whereas eschatological believers tend to favor passive apocalyptic scenarios. Only with the advent of weapons of mass destruction has the possibility of active cataclysmic eschatological scenarios—the destruction of the world by man—become a possibility.

Finally, the apocalyptic represents one of the few religious beliefs subject to disconfirmation. Every apocalyptic believer in history has been mistaken, but not inconsequential. The impact of apocalypticism on history, therefore, is that of the unintended consequences of actions undertaken in mistaken anticipation of events that did not occur. Unlike apocalyptic beliefs, however, millennial beliefs cannot be falsified. The disappointment of expectation may sour believers in a specific apocalyptic timetable or scenario, but the belief in an eventual messianic era proves far more durable. Apocalyptic time comes episodically, bringing millennial beliefs, hidden in normal time, into the public sphere.

One cannot emphasize enough that all of these options—millennial and apocalyptic—remain fluid, that believers, especially during periods of apocalyptic expectation, can run through a kaleidoscope of possibilities. Indeed, disappointment often provokes a dazzling display of apocalyptic “jazz,” whereby the believers rewrite the scenario of imminent transformations and millennial goals to keep their faith alive. In cases where the apocalyptic movement has achieved significant power before disappointment, failure can lead to “upping the ante” and still more extravagant displays of apocalyptic commitment (Baumgarten 2000).

Pre-Reformation Apocalyptic Millennialism

Using these definitions, we can make the following general remarks about pre-Reformation Europe. From the thirteenth century at least, once Joachim of Fiore had revived in ecclesiastical circles the millennial traditions of the early church banished by Augustine, Latin Christians had an intensely varied range of millennial options, from the hierarchical salvation that some thought would come from a last emperor or angelic pope to the demotic ones that moved peasants and townsfolk alike to imagine a world without aristocracy. Moreover, late medieval CULTURE seems especially susceptible to apocalyptic outbreaks, although that may be more the illusion created by an increasingly developed documentation that permits us to identify moments that were no less plentiful in earlier eras.

The emergence of an aggressive form of demotic millennialism constitutes perhaps the most portentous development in the later middle ages. Starting with the Shepherd's Crusades (1250, 1321) and Fra Dolcino's revolutionary Spiritual Franciscanism (1300–1307), we find an active cataclysmic scenario aimed at destroying the powerful—ecclesiastics, the rich, the aristocracy. The impact of the Inquisition in particular, which had proved relatively effective against Catharism, seems to have aggravated the problem of millennialism, inspiring even radically passive groups (Franciscans) to take up violence (Dolcino at the execution of Sigarelli in 1300). In the aftermath of the Black Death, which at once seemed to fulfill the most horrific of passive cataclysmic scenarios (only to disprove it by passing from the scene) and to generate some of the most active forms of passivity (flagellants, pogroms against the Jews), we find a range of commoners' revolts (Jacquerie in 1358, English Peasants War in 1381), inspired by millennial visions denouncing the corruption of lay and ecclesiastical courts (John of Rupescissa), and invoking some of the most demotic biblical exegeses (“When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the Gentleman?”). These millennial revolts seem closely linked to biblical translation into the vernacular, and commoners' more direct access to the contents of the BIBLE.

Nowhere can one see the full range of these at work better than in the impact of biblical translation and dissemination, including a vernacular Bible, on Czech society (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). Czech millennialism began with a biblically inspired demotic reform of the Czech Church inspired by Jan Hus in the early fifteenth century. It shifted to more radical and millennial expectations after Hus's betrayal and execution at the Council of Constance (1415), producing the Taborites, an active transformative group that, under the pressure of both external enemies and disappointment at the failure of passive apocalyptic timetables (February 1420), turned into active cataclysmic apocalypticism. The Hussite reform demonstrates a characteristic tendency among Christian renewal movements to split between more conservative “reform” (Utraquists) and more radical, indeed revolutionary, egalitarian movements. The Adamites then split from the Taborites, forming a restorative millennialism that sought to re-create Eden on the antinomian premise that they had become divine and transcended all human and legal restraints. They mixed, according to one chronicler, free love (primarily and typically for men) with a merciless violence against outsiders whom they considered of an inferior race (St. Clair 1992).

It is difficult to guess whether the advent of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century had a stimulating effect on apocalyptic beliefs (as it would in the early sixteenth century) or again whether it merely increased the historian's documentary base and awareness of a phenomenon that was already at a fever pitch. But certainly the fall of Constantinople to the Turkish Muslims in 1453 stimulated widespread apocalyptic concerns in both the East and the West of Christendom. The end of the fifteenth century again (or still?) represents a period of intense apocalyptic expectation, as well as some extraordinary new millennial developments including:

- The emergence of a new kind of gnostic science (*magus* tradition), which shows a particularly empirical bent (Franciscan postapocalyptic in origin) toward a slow transformational apocalyptic process involving the acquisition of knowledge by which man could transform the earth (postmillennialism)
- The perceived discovery of a new world by Columbus (inspired by prophecies of both Joachim and Pierre d'Ailly), and the expulsion of both Muslims and Jews from Spain in 1492
- The advent of 7000 Annus Mundi according to the Greek *era mundi*, which according to some calculations came in 1492; in the most common, in 1500. This created a "Y7K" Easter Table crisis among Russian Orthodox ecclesiastics and inspired special paintings from both Botticelli and Dürer in 1500.
- The common resort of major rulers of the day, especially Francis I of France and Charles V, to the last emperor.

The combination of apocalyptic speculation and new and rapid sociopolitical change made the advent of the sixteenth century one of intense expectation that moved rapidly from disappointment to new date. In particular, the year 1524 stands out as a date that, designated both for religious and astrological reasons, had wide ranges of people actively concerned. Indeed, the early sixteenth century constitutes one of those rare public apocalyptic moments simultaneously detectable in Mediterranean Islam, Christianity, and JUDAISM.

Luther, Apocalyptic Time, and Thomas Müntzer

Martin Luther, trained as an Augustinian canon and relatively conservative in his social attitudes, never became a millennialist. One might argue that behind his decision to translate the Bible into German and make it, through printing, available to untold masses of readers and listeners lies a kind of technological Joachitism whereby the printed vernacular would serve as the vehicle for the Holy Spirit to enter each individual, thereby transforming the world at the approach of the end. But his introduction to Revelation, whose very canonicity he suspected, makes it clear that he disapproved of explicitly millennial beliefs. But whatever one argues about Luther's millennialism, there is considerably more evidence that he at least entertained apocalyptic notions of the imminence of the end of time (Modalsi 1983). The evidence is at best ambiguous, however, with some clearly apocalyptic statements in the early years when Luther broke decisively with the Roman Church, called the papacy antichrist, and identified openly with Jan Hus (1520). Luther voiced the fear in the early 1520s that he might not complete

his translation of the Bible before the end, and in his violent denunciation of the rebels invoked apocalyptic urgency. But in the aftermath, he distanced himself from any such speculation. At the end of his life, his *Supputatio annorum mundi* (1540) placed the present in the year 5500 from the creation, thus (implicitly) giving a 500-year buffer according to a traditional millennial scheme of the ages of the world, at the same time he made less formal and more apocalyptic remarks (Klaassen 1992).

From the standpoint of millennial movements, Luther's importance lies only partially in what he said and did, and far more in how others perceived him and understood him and his writings. Like John Wycliffe and Hus before him, Luther's attacks on the church and embrace of a vernacular Bible set off a dynamic whose consequences went far beyond his intentions (Hillerbrand 1988; Edwards 1975). Indeed, as Luther found himself forced rapidly into the status of heretic, he reconsidered Hus (whom he had assumed, as he was taught, was a madman) and by 1523 wrote that "we are all Hussites." As with Hus, Luther found that others took his teachings still farther. In particular, his translation of the Bible in the age of printing made available to commoners a text full of millennial hopes and prophecies (previously minimized by an antimillennial CLERGY), triggering a wide range of millennial beliefs and movements. Luther's attack on the church, both because it rapidly devolved into the most apocalyptic name-calling (the church as the "whore of Babylon," the papacy as the "Antichrist"), and because it seemed to contemporaries that this constituted an unprecedented, world-shattering struggle, placed Luther himself at the center of apocalyptic speculation—in particular the notion that Luther was one of the "two witnesses" who marked the end of time (Peterson 1993). Nothing better illustrates the autonomous nature of apocalyptic expectation than whatever actors in such times say or do. These deeds register on a semiotically aroused audience in ways far different from what their authors originally intended. Indeed, once Luther's more conservative views became apparent, more radical figures did not hesitate to accuse *him* of being the antichrist.

The first explicitly millennial movement in the Reformation came from THOMAS MÜNTZER, a parish priest who, inspired initially by Luther, quickly joined more radical Christians, plunging into millennial beliefs with a circle of activist apocalyptic prophets in Zwickau. Müntzer eventually became the leader of a commoner uprising that, like the English Peasants' Revolt of 1381, invoked the Adam and Eve narrative to call for the abolition of the aristocracy. The ensuing war of 1524–1525 illustrates the explosive mixture of apocalyptic prophecy, millennial notions, and access to the biblical text by commoners (Blickle 1981). Luther's role as failed mediator and eventually enthusiastic supporter of the nobles' slaughter of the peasants drew critical lines between politically acceptable reformers (who could count on the support of princes) and radical millennialists who did not spare Luther the title of ANTICHRIST any more than Luther had spared the pope. These events recapitulated the dynamics of the Taborites in their split with Hus, illustrating how easily, especially under conditions of aristocratic exploitation, a passive, transformative apocalyptic movement can become active and violent.

Anabaptists

Luther, therefore, walked a tightrope across apocalyptic falls as he tried to avoid slipping either into the millennial fanaticism of the radicals or into the mystified institutions of the Catholic Church. But others went much farther. The most radical were generally grouped under the rubric “Anabaptists” (see ANABAPTISM) in that they rejected infant BAPTISM (and the ecclesiastical order that insisted on its efficacy) and insisted that the believer undergo baptism as part of a conscious, adult CONVERSION, a turning to the Lord. This produced highly self-conscious salvific communities that were, by definition, voluntary and radical. These imitators of the apostolic life formed classic millennial “cells” and lived in a proleptic perfection that anticipated an imminent apocalypse. Such beliefs, steeped in millennial lore and expectations, found adherents among people of all social standings, but had a particular appeal to commoners. They also had a very high incidence of WOMEN (characteristic of active transformative groups) who played prominent roles in the Anabaptist communities. As with most radical demotic millennialists, the Anabaptists had no central organization, but rather constituted a wide-ranging assortment of acephalous communities and individuals whose religious convictions and affiliations could change with great speed and intensity.

Almost all of these Anabaptists began (as far as we can reconstruct) in extremely pacific forms, refusing to participate in any aspect of state coercion and avoiding among themselves any signs of hierarchy, manifesting all the signs of a zealous active transformative apocalyptic leading to a demotic millennial kingdom. One might imagine that people for whom “love thy enemy as thyself” and “forgive seven times seventy” would remain radical pacifists (see PACIFISM), but under the conditions in which they spread, at least some of them became active cataclysmic apocalyptic zealots and hierarchical millennialists. According to Norman Cohn (1957), they prefigure modern totalitarian fascism.

This turn to the violent derives in part from the deeply hostile reception that Anabaptists got from both Catholics and other Protestants, especially in the late 1520s. Both the Catholics and the reformers who had control of the levers of power attacked these radicals as the worst kind of heretics and, whenever possible, burned them at the stake. True to the pacifist martyrdoms of the early church, they met their fate with great courage and resolute faith. This hostility, however, undermined transformative apocalyptic scenarios and increased the appeal of passive cataclysmic ones. Apocalyptic delirium fed violent imagination, and when God failed to intervene, triggered a shift toward active cataclysmic transitions to the millennial kingdom.

The Heavenly Jerusalem at Münster

Apocalyptic prophecies circulated with increasing intensity among Anabaptists who, fleeing persecution, became increasingly mobile. The Anabaptist MELCHIOR HOFMANN prophesied about the advent of the millennial kingdom in 1533 (Depperman 1983), as did French Protestants in the circle of Marguerite of Navarre (Crouzet 2001). At

its approach, German-speaking Anabaptists became increasingly active, first focusing on Strasbourg as the site where the Heavenly Jerusalem would descend to earth, then on Münster, where, in a dramatic election in 1533, they won control of the city council. BERNHARD ROTHMANN, a preacher at least in part inspired by Hofmann's prophecies, provided the key shift from 1533 to 1534 as an apocalyptic date, and upped the ante from passive to active cataclysmism: God will come, he assured his listeners, "but vengeance is a prior task of the servants of God.... We have to be his tools and must attack the godless on the days that the Lord will determine" (Vogler 1988:107). The Anabaptist city council expelled all unbelievers, including the bishop; Catholic and Protestant troops, unable to agree on anything else, allied to free the city from such fanatics. With prophecy redated to Easter 1534, Anabaptists from all over North Germany and the NETHERLANDS set out for the city to participate in the advent of the millennial kingdom. After several changes in leadership, from JAN MATHIJS (d. 1534) to "King" Jan van Leiden (d. 1535), the starving inhabitants finally were routed by the enemy. Punishments were swift and thorough.

The drama at Münster displays a wide range of characteristic dynamics of apocalyptic millennialism:

- The gathering represents an apocalyptic activation of a previously radically passive religiosity.
- The high number of women (probably 70 percent or more), illustrates the prominence of women in demotic movements.
- Their claims to universal sovereignty, including the minting of coins intended to be valid throughout the world, reflect a characteristic megalomania.
- The growing aggressiveness with which the Anabaptists, once majoritarian, treated Catholic and Protestant citizens illustrates the ways in which access to power brings on more coercive forms of religiosity.
- The royal, even imperial, forms that the messianic kingdom took illustrate how apocalyptic power-holders can shift from demotic to hierarchical millennialism, prefiguring the emergence of totalitarian movements in the modern world.
- Their use of cannons to shoot propaganda tracts to the soldiers besieging the city (first recorded case of aerial pamphlet bombing) illustrates the ingenuity with which apocalyptic groups use information technology.
- Their reaction to the failure of apocalyptic expectations displays—for the first time in documentary detail—the kinds of "upping the ante" brought on by the desperate effort to deny prophecy failed: authoritarianism, patriarchal ANTINOMIANISM (polygamy but not polyandry), violence, including public executions of dissenters, and ever more elaborate street theater intended to reignite hope (Midelfort 2001).
- The decision of authorities, once the Anabaptists had fallen to the sword, to keep the bodies of the condemned leaders in iron cages hanging from the Lambertskirche illustrates the profound hatred that the *Schärmerei* (fanaticism) of the millennial enthusiasts can inspire in others.

Along with the Peasants' War, the debacle at Münster became a byword for the excesses of the radical Reformation, giving ammunition to the conservatives who wanted to limit the dynamic of reform and forcing the Anabaptists back into a profound quietism (Melchiorites, HUTTERITES, MENNONITES, Familists, and others). This ability to

survive the apocalyptic catastrophe of Münster suggests the underlying commitment of Anabaptism to pacific demotic religiosity.

Calvin and the Puritans

One of the more opaque chapters in the millennial history of the Reformation concerns the fate of CALVINISM, especially in ENGLAND and SCOTLAND. JOHN CALVIN, with his thoroughgoing Augustinianism and double PREDESTINATION, could hardly be accused of engaging in the kind of popular millennialism of the Anabaptists and the peasant revolutionaries. Indeed, one might argue that his THEOLOGY represents a specific repudiation of both their apocalyptic errors and their millennial errors so manifest in 1533 (Crouzet 2001). However scrupulous Calvin's theology, at a more practical level his experiment with a godly city of Geneva based on the "utopian" mosaic blueprint represents a particularly chaste (and therefore more successful) form of millennialism. In any case, his theology produced some of the most vigorous and effective forms of millennialism among Anglo-Christians, the English Puritans (see PURITANISM), and the Scottish followers of JOHN KNOX (Hotson 2000).

Certainly more pragmatic elements mark the culmination of Puritan millennialism both in England and in North America in the seventeenth century, which, one might argue, laid some critical foundations for modern democracies. The Mayflower charter represents a particularly good example of a demotic "millennial" constitution. And the English CIVIL WAR (1640–1660), in which a king was, for the first time in European history, executed by a revolutionary regime that sought to establish a commonwealth, sees a florescence of demotic millennial movements—Diggers, LEVELERS, Fifth Monarchists, Ranters, Quakers—unmatched since the early Reformation (Hill 1990). The Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) exhibited the same millennial fervor, the same dynamic that led a follower of GEORGE Fox to break with Calvin and declare himself messiah (Naylor's messianic entrance to Bristol in 1656), and the same ability to return, after the failure of activism, to radical forms of pacifism that characterized the Anabaptists.

Millennial themes continued to appear in many forms of Protestantism, both postmillennial (activist transformational) and premillennial (passive cataclysmic), which seem to alternate periods of ascendancy, apparently as a repeating trip switch that reverses with disappointment. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, great outdoor revival movements (see REVIVALS) swept though whole regions in Anglo-Christian lands (the two Great AWAKENINGS). These movements share much in common with the medieval revivalist "peace movements" like the French Peace of God (990s–1030s) and the Northern Italian Great Alleluia of 1233. According to millennial scholars, postmillennialism plays a central role in the emergence of many modern characteristics—science and technology, radical social reform, democratic institutions, emancipation—while premillennialism became the trademark of the antimodern "fundamentalists" who today play a significant role in American life (O'Leary 1994; Gorenberg 2000). Among the more consequential shifts in millennial thinking wrought by AngloChristians, we find a strong philo-Semitic theme (see PHILO-SEMITISM; JUDASIM) that, rather than the dominant medieval scenario whereby Jewish messianic behavior revealed the work of

Antichrist, embraced Jewish messianic hopes to return to Zion as a positive contribution to the apocalyptic scenario. This shift not only encouraged and supported the emergence of Jewish Zionism from the nineteenth century onward, but also encouraged extensive periods of positive-sum interactions with Jews.

Conclusions: Historians and Unintended Consequences

In many ways, the history of millennialism in the Reformation, or rather the millennial history of the Reformation, still awaits composition. For so long, theological and scholarly agendas have shared the horror and repulsion toward the excesses of active cataclysmic apocalyptic millennialism. Historians, in synthesizing the Reformation, have characteristically dismissed the pervasive nature of the phenomenon and tried to restrict its discussion to the most flagrant examples (Ozment 1991). Norman Cohn may have contributed to this tendency by associating these fanatical revolutionary movements with twentieth-century totalitarianism. But Cohn also emphasized the radical egalitarianism of these groups, as did Christopher Hill in his study of English millennialism of the seventeenth century. In conclusion, consider four major areas worthy of further investigation: demotic religiosity, religious violence, and philo- and anti-Judaism, and modern capitalism.

Demotic Religiosity

Demotic religiosity emphasizes the following essential themes: equality before the law, the dignity of manual labor, direct access to sacred scripture and to God on the part of all the faithful, and ICONOCLASM. These themes can and do exist outside of millennial and apocalyptic frameworks, but the essential demotic millennial dream—swords into plowshares, all enjoying the fruit of their honest labor—imagines a world where such values rule, the egalitarian messianic kingdom. From the earliest stages of the Protestant Reformation, the link between this demotic religiosity and apocalyptic time played a central role, especially notable in a work by Luther's close friend Lucas Cranach, the *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, an illustrated pamphlet aimed at and very popular among the simplest (and largely illiterate) population. Here Christ appears as a modest and poor man, of the people, while the antichrist appears as the Pope surrounded by ecclesiastical pomp and splendor. Luther's own identification of the papacy (rather than any single pope) with Antichrist produced a more elastic apocalyptic framework at the same time as it identified hierarchy with Antichrist, a central theme among the most radical millennialists from Anabaptists to Quakers. The multiple ways in which this brand of millennialism injected demotic themes into both the religious and social life of Reformation Europe deserves attention.

Religious Violence

The most consistent failure of the Reformation by modern standards was the way in which groups that had all begun with a discourse of religious tolerance (see TOLERATION) and voluntarism consistently turned to religious coercion when they took power. In the words of one historian, “tolerance, in the Protestant Reformation, was a loser’s creed” (Grell and Scribner 1996). Having emphasized voluntarism when they were minorities, group after group of reformers took their accession to power as a mandate from God to impose the “true” religion. The behavior of the Münster Anabaptists offers a startling example of what has become a plague of fledgling democracies—the electoral rise of a regime that puts an end to the institutions that allowed it to come to power. The ferocious religious wars that plagued Europe from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries resulted partly from the basic intolerance of long-standing Christian claims to a monopoly on SALVATION, partly from the justified fear of allowing “other” (especially millennial) forms of Christianity to take hold, partly to the warfare between commoners and elites that informed so much of post-plague European society.

And yet the more quietistic forms of demotic religiosity, with their active transformational attitudes, their emphasis on free will in conversion (both among Christians and Jews), and their radical egalitarianism, also produced some of the most tolerant forms of religiosity. The Puritan Commonwealth began with the removal of (almost) all censorship in 1640, a policy change that had an electrifying effect both on English printing and more broadly on the emergence of a “public sphere” that laid one of the central foundations of modern democracies—free speech and public media of communication (see PUBLISHING, MEDIA). JOHN MILTON’S notions of tolerance (*Aereopagitica*) found a broad audience among English Christians, attitudes that survived into the Restoration. In an important sense, the American Revolution represents the first time in Christian history that tolerance became a winner’s creed, and no small part of that shift occurred by mutual consent among various religious denominations, many of them millennial, that church should not avail itself of state power. With this division of CHURCH AND STATE, the UNITED STATES managed to harness the zeal of demotic millennialism to the demands of democratic culture, allowing its voluntaristic dimensions to flourish while pruning back the temptation to coercion.

Philo- and Anti-Judaism

Luther’s relationship with Jews illustrates a pattern that characterizes much of the apocalyptic interaction between Jews and Christians over the last millennium. In the enthusiasm and optimism of early stages of expectation, with a sense of assurance that God is about to intervene on their side, apocalyptic believers tend to approach Jews favorably, at once because their voluntary CONVERSION is a necessary element of all Christian apocalyptic scenarios, and because their demotic religiosity has more in common with Jewish religiosity than with that of the hierarchical church. But with the

failure of apocalyptic expectations, Luther, as many disappointed hopefuls before and after him, turned against the Jews, making them the apocalyptic scapegoat whose failure to convert prevented the *Parousia*. This pattern of Philo-Semitism in the early, optimistic stages of apocalyptic hope followed by ANTI-SEMITISM in the aftermath of failure may account for many of the outbursts of anti-Jewish violence in Christian history over the last millennium. Nonetheless, sustained periods of good relations between Jews and Christians have contributed significantly to both economic development and the emergence of a tolerant civil society. The Anglo-Christian rewriting of the apocalyptic scenario to favor Jewish autonomy (at least temporarily) derives from the philo-Judaic tendencies of demotic millennialism.

Modern Capitalism

MAX WEBER'S *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* represents one of the most famous and neglected historical works of the twentieth century. In it Weber argues an important role for the unintended consequences of Protestant theology. His most detailed focus concerns the effects of predestination on subsequent generations of Calvinists, especially of English Puritans. But his broader concerns include the importance of VOCATION with its intense emphasis on the dignity—indeed, the divinely willed nature—of manual labor. All four of the denominations that Weber points to as particularly contributive to the “spirit of capitalism”—Puritans, Quakers, Quietists, and Methodists—represent the most demotic of the forms of Protestantism, all with important millennial aspects, some that periodically surge forward at apocalyptic moments. Weber describes believers whose extraordinary religious discipline and commitment to the dignity of manual labor enabled them to make a great deal of money, but whose demotic values restrained them from “selling out” and joining the aristocracy. The question deserves reconsideration, with attention to the role of demotic millennialist responses to disappointed apocalyptic expectation as a significant factor in the emergence of so powerful an egalitarian discipline. Similar dynamics seem probable in the emergence of both science and technology. It will take several generations of research before scholars can assess the impact of millennialism in all its varieties on the course of the Reformation and Protestantism and its contribution to the emergence of the modern West.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Chiliasm; Fundamentalism; Politics; Rapture; Tribulationism

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RICHARD LANDES

MILLER, WILLIAM (1782–1849)

American theologian. Miller founded the Millerite movement on the basis of his prediction that Jesus would return to Earth about the year 1843. Born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, February 15, 1782, Miller wandered into DEISM briefly in his youth. Later he studied the BIBLE and became persuaded that he was called to preach, and he traveled to share his message in the 1830s and early 1840s. He preached to thousands of people across the northeastern UNITED STATES and, in concert with Joshua V.Himes, created an energetic millennial movement (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM). When the year 1843 passed, Miller and other leaders of the movement reconsidered but did not renounce their predictions. First they looked for Jesus by the end of the Jewish year 1843, which ended in March of 1844 on the common calendar. Finally Miller followed others in his own movement in focusing on the precise date, October 22, 1844. When the clouds did not "burst asunder" on that day it came to be

known as the Great Disappointment. Miller himself gave up revisions of his prophecy. He continued to believe in the imminent appearance of Jesus until his death in Low Hampton, New York, in 1849. Some of his followers, on the other hand, took the Millerite message as their foundation for what became the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS.

Bible Facts

William Miller shared a common Protestant impulse to return to the Bible, and only the Bible, for understanding of past, present, and future. When Miller returned from fighting in the War of 1812 he studied his Bible with the aid of only a concordance to reach his own conclusions about the message of scripture. Like many residents of the United States in his generation, Miller believed that the Bible was open to reading by all Christians. He asserted that it was the duty of believers to reject traditional and hierarchical authorities and to use their own common sense to approach the clear truths of the Bible. What Miller found in the Bible were “facts.” The words of the Bible, and the details of Scripture, had the AUTHORITY of scientific data for Miller. Again taking an approach common in his generation, Miller saw his reading of the Bible as a kind of exercise in Baconian induction (see BACON, FRANCIS): the facts were there on the page, the reader could assemble the facts, and out of the accumulation of facts conclusions could be drawn. Most significant for the dating of the end, numbers in the Bible became facts to plug into a holy arithmetic. According to Miller anyone could see that the 2,300 days of Daniel 8:14 pointed to the end in 1843—assuming, of course, that the 2,300 days should count as years and that the count should begin at the fall of the Persian Empire in 457 B.C. Similarly, the reign of the Roman Catholic Church, which Miller dated at 583 A.D., began the count of the 1,260 days—counted as years—of Revelation 11:3 and 12:6. Again, the numbers pointed to 1843. Supernatural wonders constituted the end, but empiricism provided the method for dating the end.

Camp Meeting Revivalism

Miller had only to look around him to find an effective technique for spreading his message in the 1830s. In both the United States and the British Isles, Protestants had developed ITINERACY, outdoor preaching, and mass ceremonies of religious commitment. In the United States, Methodists especially, but also Presbyterians and Miller’s own BAPTISTS, had refined these traditions into the CAMP MEETING. Christians and potential converts assembled at a meeting ground, sometimes prepared to stay for days to listen to emotional PREACHING, pray, sing, and hope for profound religious experience. At least since the famous Cane Ridge camp meeting in Kentucky in 1801, American Protestants had the camp meeting available as a means to spread their message and experience.

Although Miller often preached in individual congregations, he and his fellow Millerites had their greatest impact in camp meetings. Camp meetings allowed them to reach larger numbers of people; more important, camp meetings remained available as

existing denominations and congregations became more hostile toward Millerites. In the 1840s Millerites even built their own Great Tent to carry from place to place so that they could hold meetings in inclement weather—and perhaps as an attraction in itself, to draw in the curious. Not neglecting urban populations, Miller and his compatriots preached in large halls and tabernacles to inspire REVIVALS in cities, including New York.

Evangelical Conversion

The main goal of camp meetings, and often the first goal of Millerite lecturers, was to bring individuals to the dramatic religious experience of CONVERSION. Millerites, like their evangelical neighbors, understood conversion as a moment of receiving the grace of God in the heart and thus the beginning of a life as a committed Christian.

At the moment of conversion, the convert might experience the “heart strangely warmed” of JOHN WESLEY, exhibit uncontrolled physical manifestations such as convulsive movements, and even lose consciousness. After conversion revivalists hoped that converts would read the Bible, seek to lead a moral life, and join a community of Christians in a congregation.

Miller’s message of the hoped-for return of Jesus Christ connected to the conversion experience in two ways. First the nearness of the return of Christ impressed listeners with the seriousness of their religious state. If Christ were to return immediately, all people would be judged. The Millerite message left little room for delay, and thus heightened the pressure for immediate conversion. The effectiveness of Millerite preaching as a means to bring individuals to conversion was a major reason that non-Millerite preachers invited Millerites to speak to congregations and camp meetings.

For Miller and his compatriots, however, the more significant connection between the Millerite message and conversion ran the other way. Miller and Millerite lecturers hoped that they could persuade people to become converted both to a Christian life and to belief in the imminent return of Christ. Conversion was but the first step; adherence to the anticipation of Christ had to follow or Miller’s success remained incomplete. For some converts, in fact, the acceptance of the anticipation of Christ’s return either gave specific content to the conversion experience or became a second religious experience in itself—the functional equivalent, perhaps, of the experience of holiness in Methodist traditions (see SANCTIFICATION).

Come Out of Babylon?

Miller always believed that his message added to, but did not displace, evangelical Christianity. After all, he shared the conversion orientation, the Bible-centeredness, and the mission impulse of his evangelical contemporaries (see EVANGELICALISM). Much as preachers in existing denominations appreciated the conversions that Miller and his fellows inspired, though, they became increasingly impatient with Millerite insistence on focusing on the end times. Individual congregations and specific camp meetings began to exclude Millerite lecturers and to seek to silence persistent Millerite converts who sought to bring their message to the center. The more they found themselves asked to be silent,

the more aggressive Millerites became in their insistence on having their message told; the more aggressive they became, the more they were silenced. As had happened repeatedly from the very origins of Protestantism, those who thought that they would act as reformers became schismatics.

Although he expressed skepticism about existing churches, Miller himself did not lead the call to leave the existing denominations. The leadership of the Millerite movement was no longer exclusively in his hands by the early 1840s. Those who had risen to leadership in the movement began to call all existing denominations Babylon. The next step followed easily: the Bible gave a specific injunction to “come out of her, my people” (Revelation 18:4). Millerites, therefore, began to leave their churches. Millerite leaders insisted that they were not creating a new DENOMINATION. Denominations were, after all, part of Babylon. Instead, Millerites adhered to a loosely organized movement that had as its purpose watching for the end of the world.

The Return of Christ and the Burning of the Earth

Miller himself sketched the chronology and images of the end of the world to which Millerites adhered. He placed most of the events predicted by the Bible in the past. The central event to come, and the center of all of Miller’s thinking, was Christ’s breaking through the clouds to return again to earth:

The clouds have burst asunder. The heavens appear. The great white throne is in sight—Amazement fills the universe with awe—he comes—he comes behold the savior comes, lift up your heads ye saints he comes!—he comes!!—he comes!!! (Miller to Truman Hendryx, March 26, 1822)

Miller adhered to premillennialism—the belief that Christ would return before the millennium—rather than the increasingly popular postmillennialism—the belief that the millennium could be achieved before the return of Christ. The meaning of the return of Christ did not rest in simple chronology for Miller, however. Miller saw the dramatic, personal, imminent return of Christ as the central symbol of—the central promise which made true—the reality of a transcendent, supernatural power that governed the universe. Miller’s neighbors may have seen in canals, railroads, the establishment of the American republic, and a host of other changes signs of the improvement of humankind and thus reasons to focus on this world as the locus of Christian promise. Miller viewed his neighbors’ hopes as a distraction and a delusion. If Christ came once miraculously, personally, and physically, then Christ would come again and in the same way. If God’s word about the first coming was true, then God’s word about the second coming—as Miller understood it—had to be true. The image of Christ breaking through the clouds meant to Miller the truth of God’s very being.

If Miller sought to turn the attention of his contemporaries from this world to another, he did so dramatically in the further details of his eschatological interpretation (see ESCHATOLOGY). After Christ’s return through the clouds, Miller expected the burning of the earth. He imagined in one depiction of the end,

a flame more pure,—a searching, cleansing, penetrating flame of fire,—that searched every nook and corner of the globe;...and thus destroyed all that had life, and all on which the curse of sin was found.... The monuments of man... The works of art... The cities, villages, and towns...the vain philosophy of former generations...the more modern customs and fashions of the day...—these all did melt away. (Bliss, *Memoirs*, 406–412)

At the time of the burning of the earth, Miller anticipated that the saved among the dead would rise and that they, along with the faithful living, would be caught up with Christ. Thus spared the terrible purification by fire, the saved could witness the introduction of the millennium: the age of perfect peace at the end of all time. Although Millerism falls under the category of millennial and millenarian movements, it was not the millennium itself on which Miller focused his imagination. His anticipation always centered on the return of Christ, whether or not his hopes were fulfilled in 1843.

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RUTH ALDEN DOAN

MILTON, JOHN (1608–1676)

English writer, poet, and theologian. John Milton was born in London, England, on December 9, 1608. He spent most of his life in the same city, where, sixtyeight years later, he died and was buried. Extraordinarily well-educated, especially in classical and scriptural languages, Milton was destined by his parents for religious service. Far from the stereotypically dour exponent of English PURITANISM, Milton nonetheless

steadfastly supported Puritan opposition to the Protestantism of the Anglican establishment. An early ally of the Presbyterians in their polemical attacks on the oppressive and corrupt prelatical hierarchy (1641–1642), he later became sharply critical of the Presbyterians' own attempts to curtail intellectual and religious freedom, for reasons he articulates most memorably in *Areopagitica* (1645). By the end of the 1640s Milton had further distanced himself from the Presbyterians and indeed the majority of his countrymen by advocating the people's right to remove their monarch, and even put him on trial as subject to law. Appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues after King Charles's trial and execution, he successfully defended the English regicides against their outraged Continental detractors, Catholic and Protestant. Once OLIVER CROMWELL (1599–1658) died, however, and the government fell into chaos, Milton failed to persuade his countrymen to establish a republic. A target of disdain and derision during the Restoration (1660–1688), the blind outcast nevertheless composed *Paradise Lost* (1667), with its attempt to justify the ways of God to humans, at the same time that he was suffering through the collapse of all that he had fought for. He later published the two other masterpieces for which he is best remembered, *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes* (1671).

Family Life and Education

The poet's parents, Sara and John Milton, resided with their growing family on commercially affluent Bread Street. Their house stood in the busy heart of the city, destined for utter destruction in the great fire of 1666. Cheapside was adjacent, massive old St. Paul's Cathedral and its grammar school (which Milton attended) loomed a short walk away, and the Mermaid tavern—frequented at that time by dramatists Ben Jonson, William Shakespeare, Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher—served refreshment in the vicinity. The Milton family inhabited rooms above the father's scrivener's shop. Apprentices and servants also occupied the bustling household, and the Miltons prospered through the scrivener's shrewd real estate transactions as well as through the economically indispensable though morally controversial practice of usury.

Frank Kermode, in what has become a commonplace of Milton scholarship, described young Milton as “his father's chief investment,” and some have construed the scrivener's scrupulous cultivation of his son's talents as an early instance of MAX WEBER'S (1864–1920) Protestant Ethic. While Weberian elaborations of Milton's development have proven ponderous, anachronistic, and indiscriminating, religion was undoubtedly the senior Milton's main motive in lavishly providing for the poet's education. A long-awaited first son, he was set apart by his parents, like the biblical Samson, for service to God. To attain knowledge of God through Scripture seems also to have been a personal spiritual imperative for the father. Early biographers prominently record that Milton's father had, as a boy, been disinherited by his Roman Catholic father after he found an English Bible in his son's chamber. If we may judge by the weight given this patriarchal narrative in early biographies of the poet, the father's disobedience in the pursuit of scriptural knowledge, and consequent alienation from his father, became a foundational family story. Young Milton thus pursued his studies, or was induced to pursue them, as if he were on a mission from God. Tutors instructed him in classical and scriptural tongues,

and even as a child he often toiled past midnight, attended by a nurse appointed by his father. So began the long history of eyestrain and headaches that culminated in the total blindness suffered by the poet in his forties.

Despite these studious labors, life in the Milton household ran counter to the stereotypical depiction of Puritans as opposed to music, merriment, and fiction. Milton's father, though primarily a businessman, was also a habitual artist—a musician who when disinherited, supported himself by singing, and whose adult compositions ranged from solemn religious madrigals to rollicking court entertainments. Instructed by his father, the poet played the organ throughout his life and sang skillfully. Heavenly bliss, as depicted in *Paradise Lost*, consists of angelic singing, dancing, and lovemaking. Deviating sharply from received traditions, the monistic-materialist epic poet put bodies, food, and sex in Heaven as on Earth.

Protestant Versus Puritan

Milton is nonetheless better described as a Puritan than as a Protestant. The term “Protestant” in its most general and primitive sense is a negative one, signifying a Christian who does not belong to the Church of Rome. Among the English during the seventeenth century, the term “Protestant” also had a more pointed and roughly opposite meaning, one relevant to local religious and political controversies. At the time, “Protestant” often referred to contented worshippers in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as opposed to separatist sects or NONCONFORMISTS like the Puritans. “Puritan” thus indicated a believer disgruntled with the established orthodoxy, while “Protestant” indicated an orthodox believer. In the polemical terms of his specific historical situation, Milton was a Puritan who believed that English Protestants had left the work of REFORMATION unfinished.

Milton's protest against English Protestant orthodoxy depends on a progressive model of truth, memorably set forth in *Areopagitica* (1645), the most revered and influential of Milton's prose works. The first printed work devoted to advocating freedom of the press, it includes or anticipates every major argument that has ever been advanced in support of such freedom, including, prominently, its instrumentality to religious liberty and the pursuit of truth. At the time of its publication, Milton was dissenting from efforts to achieve religious conformity sponsored by the newly dominant PRESBYTERIAN faction, which had itself been deemed unorthodox (not Protestant) by the previous, Episcopal regime. Milton's career as a religious controversialist had in fact begun with tracts that supported Presbyterian attempts to reform or undo Prelatical Episcopacy (1641–1642).

To explain the doctrinal uncertainty with which Christians must cope, Milton in *Areopagitica* claims that the truth expressed by Christ and his apostles became fragmented and scattered in subsequent generations. Christians are duty-bound to seek the pieces and restore truth's original form, a task that will not be completed until doomsday: “we have not found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall doe, till her Masters second coming.” The ongoing search for truth requires us “to be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it.” This conscientious, unceasing labor Milton opposes to Presbyterian complacency: “it is not the

unfrocking of a priest, the unmitering of a bishop, and the removing him off the Presbyterian shoulders, that will make us a happy nation” (Wolfe 1953–1982:2, 549–551). Unlike Milton, the Presbyterians did not see truth as the apocalyptic goal of an incessant, temporal quest and would have been content simply to replace the previous church hierarchy with their own system. Provoked in part by Milton’s writings promoting divorce as a remedy for failed marriages (1643–1645) and fearing that tolerance of diverse beliefs would foster social disorder, they looked to prepublication licensing as a way of squelching heretical opinions before they could be heard.

For Milton, however, HERESY could mean “only the choise or following of any opinion good or bad in religion or any other learning” (Wolfe 1953–1982:7, 246). In this neutral sense, heresy is not a dangerous intellectual contaminant that calls for quarantine, but instead a dynamic moment in an intellectual and spiritual process, a moment that instigates further exploration. As a consequence, new schools of thought and deviations from existing ones will inevitably occur. As the Presbyterians’ own recent history illustrated, what was once deemed heresy may become ORTHO DOXY, from which new heresies will eventually depart, “ev’n to the reforming of Reformation it self” (Wolfe 1953–1982:2,553). The believer who knuckles under, following fixed doctrines without confirmation of conscience, “only because his pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines,” Milton describes as “a heretick in the truth” (Wolfe 1953–1982:2,543). The conscientious heretic thus appears in Milton’s presentation as the only praiseworthy Christian, while the complacent exponent of customary orthodoxy takes on the aspect of a contemptible timeserver. Milton himself, as his Latin theological treatise, *De doctrina Christiana* (undiscovered until 1823) details, was by the end of his life variously, and by orthodox standards criminally, heretical in his beliefs. Though doctrinally he must be deemed a sect of one, his theology includes heresies that fall under the following rubrics: ANABAPTISM, ANTI-TRINITARIANISM, ANTINOMIANISM, anti-Sabbatarianism, Arminianism, millennialism, vitalist materialism, mortalism, polygamy, and Quaker spiritualism.

Secretary for Foreign Tongues

As exemplified by *Areopagitica*, the prose works Milton published in the 1640s track his increasingly heretical divergence from the Presbyterian orthodoxy with which he had allied himself early in the decade—an orthodoxy itself deemed heterodox under the previous Episcopal system. Although subsequent generations took inspiration from them, these religious and political tracts had little contemporary effect. True, the bishops were undone in the 1640s, but they were restored with the monarchy in 1660. Marriage law long remained unchanged despite Milton’s arguments for divorce. *Areopagitica* failed to persuade Parliament to repeal the Licensing Order. Finally, Milton’s arguments against monarchical ABSOLUTISM in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649) also went largely unnoticed, but that tract’s publication on February 13, 1649, two weeks after King Charles’s execution, does seem to have drawn the attention of the new government, for Milton was soon appointed its secretary for foreign tongues.

Cromwell’s council charged Milton with defending the English regicides from their outraged detractors at home and abroad. The first opponent was Charles I himself.

Charles justified himself and royal prerogative in a posthumous book entitled *Eikon Basilike* (The Image of a King), which elicited public sympathy for the beheaded monarch by portraying him as a Christ-like martyr. In *Eikonoklastes* (The Image Breaker), Milton responded by exposing Charles's treachery during the civil war, including his willingness to open England to Roman Catholic powers in return for military assistance. The sentimental appeal of Charles's pamphlet met with more success than Milton's matter-of-fact exposure of the monarch's treachery. Milton enjoyed better fortune in the court of European public opinion. Shortly after Charles's trial and execution, the reigning intellectual powerhouse of mid-seventeenth-century Europe, the celebrated Claudius Salmasius, was hired to condemn the English regicides. He produced a weighty, pedantic tome that predicted bloody vengeance would light on the English for killing their king. Charged with replying quickly, Milton, then virtually unknown in Europe, composed a light-footed, point-by-point refutation of Salmasius's attack, replete with devastating satiric abuse. *Pro populo Anglicano defensio* ("Defense of the English People") exalted Milton's continental reputation to almost Cromwellian proportions.

Milton's greatest contemporary celebrity occurred in the same decade as his greatest losses. The strain of rapidly replying to Salmasius cost him the remainder of his already failing eyesight by 1652, a loss his enemies deemed divine punishment for his impious attacks on King Charles. Also in 1652, Mary Powell died after giving birth to a third daughter, Deborah. Their son, John, born less than a year previously, perished only a few months after his mother. Milton's eyesight, wife, and only son—all gone in the same year. He married a second wife, Katherine Woodcock, in 1656, and with her he seems to have found wedded happiness; but she died only two years after their marriage, also because of complications from childbirth. Two of his best-loved sonnets—"When I consider how my light is spent" and "Methought I saw my late espoused saint"—date from this period and seem to reflect the trauma he underwent because of his blindness and his second wife's death. By the end of the 1650s, he was a lonely, blind, twice-widowed father of three, who, after the death of Cromwell in 1658, had to endure the rapid disintegration of the English Commonwealth he had labored so intensely to defend.

In repeated, futile publications that argued in favor of establishing a republic, the once-celebrated defender of the English people pleaded with his countrymen not to restore the monarchy, though he seems to have foreseen his arguments would go unheeded. With the Restoration looming, Milton's fame quickly translated into calumny, and he became an object of scorn and insult among the people he had defended. Derided as a "blind guide," he was mocked for having "scribbled [his] eyes out" to no effect, berated for having "thrown [his] dirty outrage on the memory of a murdered Prince as if the Hangman were but [his] usher" (Masson 1965:661). Royalist Roger L'Estrange commented that Milton had "resolved one great question, by evidencing that devils may indue human shape" or, allowing that Milton might indeed be human, L'Estrange observed that he gave "every man a horror for mankind when he considers [Milton is] of the race" (Masson 1965:690).

It would be difficult to overstate the desire for bloody vengeance among some Royalists at the Restoration, or the narrowness of Milton's escape from it. Although they were already dead and buried, the corpses of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were disinterred for the anniversary of Charles's execution in 1661 and then subjected to gruesome public abuse and display. Spectacular capital punishment for the stillliving

Milton was eagerly anticipated by some and was indeed inflicted on those regicides who had not had the sense to flee or die before the Restoration. Though theories abound, no one has been able to explain exactly how he managed to survive unscathed to complete and publish the three great poems for which he is now chiefly remembered. *Paradise Lost* was perhaps half finished in 1660 and remained unpublished until 1667; *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* came out in 1671.

In *Paradise Lost*, the epic composed during the period of this devastating defeat and disappointment, Milton declares his intention to tell of humanity's fall and yet "justify the way of God to men" (1, 26). Some modern readers have construed his epic as an exercise in punitive Protestant didacticism, and consider his theodicy to be an entrapping ruse. Considered in its specific historical situation, however, the epic and its declared purpose appear instead to be testimony to the author's resolute religious faith and indomitable spirit.

See also Anabaptism; Anti-Trinitarianism; Antinomianism; Arminianism; Millenarians and Millennialism.

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MISSIOLOGY

Missiology is the academic study of all dimensions of the Christian mission: biblical and theological foundations; history of Christian expansion since the founding of the church; and contemporary practice, theory, and strategy. The basis for the scientific study of MISSIONS was laid in the nineteenth century, although mission studies became

established only in the twentieth century. The term “missiology” was first introduced in Europe. Although the term appears in English by 1924, in the Anglo-American world the preferred term was “mission studies” or “philosophy of missions.” After 1965 “missiology” gained wide acceptance in North America. In contemporary usage missiology and mission studies are more or less interchangeable.

Background

Already in the first phase of the Christian church, leaders reflected on the process by which people were recruited and incorporated into the CHURCH. These reflections and debates constitute important strands of the New Testament. In the seventh century Pope Gregory the Great followed closely the evangelization of the “Angli,” the English, and advised on appropriate methods and standards. Occasionally missionaries or theologians wrote treatises on aspects of missionary work, but the notion of a theory of mission was not put forward until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—for example, Roman Catholics José de Acosta, Thomas a Jesu, and Cardinal Brancati; Protestants Hadrianus Saravia, Justus Heurnius, Gisbertus Voetius, and Johannes Hoornbeeck—as missionary activity was increasing. Even so, a comprehensive theory was not attempted until late in the nineteenth century. The introduction of the concept of a general theory of mission gave an indispensable impetus to a new stage in mission studies in the twentieth century and contributed to the emergence of missiology.

In 1811 German theologian FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER broke new ground when he included “missions” in his *Brief Outline of the Study of Theology*. This was apparently the first time any theologian saw fit to introduce missions into the theological syllabus. In Schleiermacher’s scheme, missions belonged with practical THEOLOGY. He had family ties to the Moravian missionary movement and was personally sympathetic to missions. Schleiermacher and several of his colleagues had begun offering courses of lectures in the history of missions to their students, although the theological curriculum was resistant to innovation and the attitude toward missions cool. Inadvertently Schleiermacher contributed to the problem by the ambivalent tone of his proposal: “*Conditionally* [sic], the *Theory of Missions* might also find a point of connexion here; a theory which, up to the present time, is as good as altogether wanting.” The tentativeness of this proposal provided grounds for setting it aside indefinitely.

Anthropology and linguistics were beginning to develop as academic fields; but as these new disciplines gained academic respectability the antagonism between them and missionaries grew. This was the period when “scientific racism” was on the rise and missionaries initially registered opposition to these new ideas. The scientific community regarded missionaries as intellectual inferiors and adversaries of SCIENCE. On the other hand mission societies wanted candidates to have practical training and it was assumed that the missionary training institutes sponsored by the various missionary societies best understood the kind of preparation required (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). Fueling the tension was the fact that missions bore a certain social and intellectual stigma.

The modern mission movement slowly gathered momentum during the nineteenth century. However, mission leaders found themselves preoccupied with the practical

issues involved in missionary work rather than theoretical questions. Occasionally a mission leader spoke of the need for critical reflection on the mission process. In 1829 William Orme, a secretary of the London Missionary Society, called for the development of an empirically based understanding of missions: "What we want is, not an increase of reports of yearly proceedings and of arguments derived from Scriptures...but a condensed view of the knowledge and experience which have been acquired during the last thirty or forty years." Orme believed this kind of information drawn from experience would lead to improved training of missionary candidates and more efficient and effective deployment of personnel and financial resources.

The call for development of a "science of missions" would be heard regularly in the future. A Congregationalist pastor with direct ties to the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, Edward A. Lawrence, wrote in *Modern Missions in the East* (1895): "...there is a Science of Missions. By an inductive study of the facts and experiences of the past and present, the near and the remote, it discovers the underlying principles." Similarly, Robert E. Speer, Presbyterian Church Board of Missions secretary and a major missions thinker, argued in his *Missionary Principles and Practice* (1902) that the materials were now available to spell out "a science of missions." For Speer this science would consist of basic principles of missionary action derived from careful research of the experience of missions over the previous century. Throughout his long tenure Speer himself engaged in research and writing on the history and practice of missions.

Emergence of Missiology

After several abortive attempts in the UNITED STATES (Princeton, 1838), GERMANY (Erlangen, 1864), and SCOTLAND (New College, 1867–1872) to include mission studies in the theological curriculum, the first permanent professorship in missiology was established at the University of HALLE in 1896 with Gustav Warneck (1834–1910), generally regarded as the founder of missiology, the incumbent. Joseph Schmidlin (1876–1944), a protégé of Warneck's, began lecturing in missiology in the Roman Catholic Faculty of Theology at Münster in 1910 and was appointed to a chair in missiology in 1914. The crown of Warneck's pioneering scholarship was the publication of his five-volume *Missionslehre* (1892–1903). Schmidlin produced a Roman Catholic counterpart with his *Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss* (1919; Eng. trans., *Catholic Mission Theory*, 1931).

Several clusters of developments account for the emergence of missiology at the beginning of the twentieth century. First, as early as 1830, missionary leaders were calling for the scientific study of the missionary process and this conviction grew in intensity over time. To be credible, intellectual inquiry had to conform to the model and standards set by science. Mission leaders believed that scientific knowledge would ensure missionary effectiveness. Second, the founding of the Student Volunteer Movement in 1886 presaged a period of rapid missionary expansion based on recruitment of large numbers of new missionaries educated in colleges and universities. Missions now looked to colleges and universities as allies, and this called for academically acceptable course offerings in missions (see HIGHER EDUCATION).

A third development was the growing emphasis being placed on empirical studies. The large international missionary conferences, including the 1900 Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York and the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE held at Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1910 underscored the importance of historical and statistical studies of missions. Stimulated in part by the work of sociologists, mission researchers compiled massive amounts of data on the social impact of Christian missions on the cultures to which missions had gone. The goal was to demonstrate the power of the Christian message to eradicate “social evils”—alcoholism, opium addiction, subjugation of WOMEN and children, footbinding, infanticide, inhuman prison conditions, poverty, blood feuds, unsanitary living conditions, caste, SLAVERY—and improve the quality of life. For example, James S. Dennis’s three large volumes, *Christian Missions and Social Progress* (1897, 1899, 1906), cataloged the ameliorative impact of missions in Asia and AFRICA on social problems.

At Edinburgh in 1910 three decisions were taken that contributed directly to the development of missiology. It was agreed to (1) institute research centers such as the Missionary Research Library in New York where comprehensive data would be assembled and made available for research, (2) establish the *International Review of Missions*, and (3) encourage the founding of chairs of mission studies and the introduction of a missions curriculum in SEMINARIES and faculties of theology. From the beginning mission studies have been marked by a high degree of international and ecumenical cooperation (see ECUMENISM). These steps were essential to the progress of the worldwide Christian movement.

Multidisciplinary Character

During the nineteenth century, mission studies were concerned primarily with the history and practice of missionary work. Mission activity was conceptualized in terms of *plantatio ecclesiae*, that is, implanting the church as it was known in the West in other parts of the world where it was not yet established. It was assumed this posed no special theological questions and the theology of the Western Christian tradition was universally applicable. The study of CULTURE from the perspective of the sociological and anthropological disciplines was not yet established and linguistic science lay in the future. It made sense, then, to approach missions in terms of historical experiences.

Not everyone was satisfied with this approach, however. Karl Graul (1814–1864) became director of the Leipzig Mission in 1844. This mission’s largest program was among the Tamils in Southeast India. Graul was determined to promote the “scholarly development of missions as a discipline.” He set out to do this by going to INDIA in 1849 where for the next four years he immersed himself in the language, literature, and culture of the Tamils. Graul remarked that he made “East India to be my university for studying the discipline of missions.” He mastered both classical and colloquial Tamil and wrote several books dealing with the Tamil language and culture. One of his goals was to formulate “a general theory of missions.” In 1864 Graul was appointed lecturer in missions at Erlangen University but died shortly after delivering his inaugural lecture. Thus, Graul was not allowed to complete the program he had set for himself. His work,

nonetheless, informed as it was by the seminal years he spent in India, contributed directly to defining missiology as a multidisciplinary field.

Starting with Warneck and Schmidlin, missiology has been conceived as a field of study that draws on biblical studies, THEOLOGY, history, the social sciences, and the subfields of each in order to do its work. In this sense missiology is a synthetic discipline that depends on resources developed by other specialists that can be used to illuminate the issues raised by missionary action. However, this has also been a source of continuing criticism from other disciplines as well as self-doubts on the part of missiologists. In 1971 James A. Scherer characterized American missiology as being “generally immature and underdeveloped” so far as scholarship is concerned, although subsequent developments to be noted below have altered this.

Missiological Traditions

Within the field of mission studies, various traditions have developed. Broadly speaking these can be grouped under three heads: Continental, Anglo-American, and Roman Catholic. The Continental tradition has emphasized the importance of missiology as an autonomous academic discipline adhering to the highest scientific standards and theoretical rigor. It answers to the university rather than to the church.

Anglo-American missiology has remained close to the church and mission agencies, and has been marked by a spirit of pragmatism and openness to experimentation. It has been less concerned with academic respectability. The Anglo-American penchant for statistics and strategies has been criticized by Continental missiologists as far back as Warneck, who in 1900 derided the slogan of the Student Volunteer Movement—“The evangelization of the world in this generation”—for its triumphalist activism and naïve optimism.

Roman Catholic missiology reflects the importance of Canon Law in the unfolding witness of the church in the world, the role of the hierarchy in guiding the work of the missionary, and in establishing the church in new places. Vatican Council II modified Catholic missiology in important ways but not in terms of ecclesiastical relations. At the same time there are recognized differences among Roman Catholic missiologists based on national and cultural particularities. German Catholic missiology was influenced by Joseph Schmidlin with his emphasis on the dogmatic foundations of missions. In 1923 the Belgian Jesuit Pierre Charles established an annual seminar, *Semaines de Missiologie*, the proceedings of which were published, that was widely influential. Charles emphasized the traditional Catholic teaching of *plantatio ecclesiae* as the basis for missionary work. Spanish missiology that focused on the extensive history of the missions has been the hallmark of Spanish Catholicism whereas French missiologists have concentrated on the theological foundations of missions. In addition to these varied national and cultural streams, Rome exerts influence on all Catholic missiology. In 1919 Pope Benedict XV instituted the teaching of missiology at the Pontifical Urban University and in 1932 the Pontifical Institute of Missionary Science was authorized to grant the doctor in missiology degree. The same year the Gregorian University also began granting the doctorate in missiology.

Among Protestants another set of polarities in missiology have developed: conciliar and evangelical. The distinctive theological views of each of these traditions on a range of issues—*inter alia*, the theology of other religions, the nature of SALVATION, the content of evangelization, the relationship between word and deed, the meaning of the KINGDOM OF GOD, ESCHATOLOGY—have been active ingredients in shaping the missiological response.

Major Theoretical Ideas

Notwithstanding the recognition that for mission studies to be carried out effectively a proper theoretical framework is required, mission theory has remained incomplete. The following four themes represent essential elements in the development of mission theory since the mid-nineteenth century.

1. *The goal of mission.* By 1850 certain elements of a theory of mission had begun to be identified. Two of the most influential theoreticians in the nineteenth century were mission secretaries who enjoyed long tenures with their respective mission societies and exerted wide influence on mission thought and practice. Henry Venn (1796–1873) was honorary clerical secretary of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, the largest Anglican missionary society, from 1841 to 1872. RUFUS ANDERSON (1796–1880) was appointed to the administrative staff of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1826 and from 1832 to 1866 he served as administrative secretary. Founded in 1810 as the first American foreign mission, the ABCFM was the largest American mission agency throughout the nineteenth century.

Working independently of each other Anderson and Venn arrived at remarkably similar ideas concerning the goal of mission and the means of achieving it. Indeed, their contribution lay not in the originality of their thought so much as their ability to formulate comprehensively and clearly ideas that had been present in policy statements and official pronouncements for at least a generation but needed to be brought together in a workable form. Anderson and Venn held that the goal of mission was the establishment of an indigenous church, rather than a church that was permanently dependent on foreign support. A church could be said to have become indigenous when it demonstrated that it was self-governing, self-financing, and self-propagating. The task mission agencies faced was to formulate policies in each of these three areas that would assist the fledgling church to move from dependency on the mission to independence. Anderson and Venn were critical of missionary policy and practice that subverted the achievement of this fundamental goal. Ironically, the strongest opposition to their attempts to translate these ideals into program policies came from their own missionary colleagues.

2. *The foundation of mission.* The modern mission movement long lacked a firm theological foundation. Academic theologians largely ignored missions and missionaries understood their role to be that of reproducing the kind of church they were familiar with in the homeland. Since 1800 missions were understood as attempts to carry out the Great Commission based on the appropriate motivation.

Historical studies have identified at least a dozen motives that have guided Protestant missions since the seventeenth century. When European governments issued charters for trading companies in the seventeenth century, typically a provision was included that

required these companies to evangelize the “natives” along with providing CHAPLAINCY services to the European community. A so-called prudential motive was invoked in seventeenth-century New England when the British saw the possibility of using the Puritan missions to the Indians as a protective shield against both Roman Catholic missions and French influence from Canada. The Puritans (see PURITANISM) appealed to *gloria Dei* and Christian compassion for perishing souls as a motive. From within this Calvinist tradition, SAMUEL HOPKINS in the late eighteenth century developed a theology of “disinterested benevolence” and humanitarianism that provided powerful motivation for the first generation of American foreign missions. Obedience to the Great Commission was introduced in the eighteenth century along with an appeal to eschatology. The nationalist motive in various guises—manifest destiny, American benevolence, guardianship of less-fortunate peoples—ebbed and flowed throughout the past three centuries. What is noteworthy is that missionary motivation remained in flux throughout these three centuries. The focus on motivation emphasizes human initiative and responsibility.

Challenged by KARL BARTH’S emphasis on *actio Dei* as before all else, the theology of mission began to be developed after 1950 based on the *missio Dei*. The foundation of mission is God’s saving initiative. Authentic missionary work is always a response to the *missio Dei* and human motives must be judged in light of God’s mission. This way of speaking about the foundation of mission has been widely accepted by missiologists as an important clarification. It has contributed to the development of a vigorous theology of mission.

3. *Church growth*. In 1955 Donald A. McGavran, DISCIPLES OF CHRIST missionary to India, published *The Bridges of God*. McGavran had been studying missionary strategies and methods for more than two decades in India and had become profoundly critical of the results of the classical mission method—what has been called the “mission station” approach—and proposed that mission strategy start from careful observation of the social unit within which people live. McGavran drew on the pioneering studies conducted by J. Waskom Pickett of “mass movements” in India over the previous century (see MASS MOVEMENTS, INDIA). It was observed that wherever large numbers of people had become Christian they did so as groups. This reflected the fact that these people came from group-oriented cultures. If missions were to be effective, McGavran argued, they must respect the cultural dynamics of these people groups. Starting with a theology of individual conversion, missions had insisted on “extracting” individuals from their culture with the result that such people became alienated from their kith and kin. McGavran held that missions must adopt a strategy that worked with the cultural grain to minimize the cultural dislocation people experience when they become Christian. He conducted extensive surveys of existing missions and the resulting churches to demonstrate the actual results of the work being done and taught his students how to do similar studies. McGavran believed that the classical methods inevitably resulted in static mission stations rather than vibrant churches. Although Church Growth theory was criticized both theologically and methodologically, it became the main source for revitalizing American missiology in the 1960s and 1970s.

4. *Contextualization*. By the eve of World War II in 1941, the churches in Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific that had been established through missionary agency were deeply frustrated. Whereas missions professed to be committed to the emergence of *indigenous*

churches, missionaries and mission structures showed little evidence of being ready to hand over responsibility and control. By the end of World War II two unrelated developments pointed to imminent and fundamental change. First, it was becoming clear that the nationalist movements among the people colonized by European powers could not be stopped. Missions were subject to the same forces as were colonial powers. It was only a matter of time until all colonies would gain their political independence. The day of COLONIALISM—political and ecclesiastical—was rapidly ending.

A second development was less evident but of great consequence for missions. During the 1940s a dynamic new influence had entered the world of missions: anthropology and linguistics. Increasingly, the nineteenth-century concept of the “indigenous church” had to be questioned. It was not a matter of challenging the insights of Venn and Anderson; rather the difficulties stemmed from the way their ideals had been consistently violated by their contemporaries and their successors. The Anderson-Venn program had not been given a fair trial. Wherever one turned the story was the same: missionaries did not trust local leadership and successfully maneuvered to maintain their control. After several generations the missions remained in charge. Those few missionaries who did break rank to pursue another course—for example, John Nevius and ROLAND ALLEN—were roundly criticized. Missionary practice had nullified the Anderson-Venn formulation.

Cultural anthropologists laid the foundation for a new theoretical construct. The theory of *contextualization* shifted attention from foreign structures to the discovery of the resources within the culture that were indispensable to a viable Christian faith in that particular culture. Instead of starting with foreign forms and structures, the new church ought to be allowed to strike root in its own cultural context and develop in response to that environment. Theologically, the incarnation provided the basis for contextualization theory. In cultural terms contextualization theory minimized the role of the outside broker and maximized the role of indigenous leadership.

Professional Publications and Associations

Critical study is foundational to any academic discipline. In the modern academic world professional associations assist by carrying out several important functions, including (1) establishing scholarly standards for a field, (2) sponsoring meetings where members meet for scholarly exchange, (3) encouraging publication through sponsorship of scholarly journals and monographs, and (4) certifying those who qualify as members of a scholarly guild. Although the process was long and arduous, by the 1970s missiology could claim to have developed the necessary mechanisms to be recognized as a scholarly guild.

Publications

Study of the Christian mission has been fostered by the convening of periodic gatherings of missionary leaders and scholars to address timely issues and the publication of specialized journals and monographs. The earliest initiatives took the form of the publication of periodicals and monographs. In 1813 Josiah Pratt, secretary of the Church Missionary Society, established *The Missionary Register* as a private venture. This

monthly journal provided remarkable comprehensiveness coverage. Pratt compiled and published statistics on all Christian missions, including Roman Catholic, worldwide, thus creating a prototype for future mission publications. As was typical of many of these early periodicals, Pratt's journal had an international circulation. At the time of the first international missionary conference held at Liverpool, United Kingdom, in 1860, a bibliography containing dozens of items was compiled. Although much of this material would not meet twenty-first century standards of scholarship, it indicates something of the publishing industry that had grown up around the missionary movement (see PUBLISHING MEDIA). In 1874 Gustav Warneck established a journal, *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, for the purpose of fostering the scientific research and writing on mission topics. Warneck set a high standard both in terms of the quality and quantity of his own work as well as in stimulating others to develop as scholars. Royal G. Wilder founded the *Missionary Review of the World* in 1878. *MRW* became the leading monthly journal published in the United States. From 1888 to 1911 A.T. Pierson, an energetic interpreter of missions, served as editor (1888–1911).

In 1912 the *International Review of Missions* was launched and quickly established itself as the foremost Protestant scholarly missions journal published in English. During the period 1920–1960, North American contributions to the *IRM* were nurtured by an annual gathering of mission executives and professors in New York. This off-the-record and unofficial gathering was devoted to brainstorming and vigorous discussion of priority concerns. Kenneth Scott Latourette, Yale University missions historian, served as secretary and would report the results of the meeting to the editor of the *IRM* and suggest topics and writers. This proved to be a highly productive process that fulfilled some of the purposes of a professional society.

Schools of Mission and Study Centers

In Europe and in North America long-standing mission study programs were in crisis in the 1960s. Both Roman Catholic missionary orders and Protestant mission agencies that had been at the forefront of the modern mission movement since early in the nineteenth century were experiencing a steady decline in the number of missionaries in service. They could no longer justify maintaining training programs and these were now being curtailed or closed down. In North America, university and seminary administrations were even phasing out long-established programs in mission studies with endowed chairs. The prestigious Kennedy School of Missions of Hartford Seminary Foundation, founded in 1917 and a major training center, closed its doors in 1967. All of these programs had been based on the Anglo-American tradition of mission studies.

This was also a period of change and reorientation for Roman Catholic SEMINARIES and institutes. In the aftermath of reforms set in motion by Vatican Council II the number of vocations dropped precipitously. Catholic seminaries in the United States reorganized and consolidated their mission training at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago in 1969–1970.

However, during this time a countermovement was taking shape. In 1965 Fuller Theological Seminary founded the School of World Mission and Institute of Church Growth. That same year Trinity Evangelical Divinity School organized its School of

World Mission and Evangelism. Both schools were committed to offering programs in *applied missiology* and were at the forefront of a new phase in mission studies. These new schools of mission were enrolling far more students than had studied in the former mission studies programs.

The renewal in mission studies in North America can be linked to several facts. First, the Church Growth Movement, stimulated by the initiative and vision of Donald McGavran, provided a clear and fresh focus for missions. McGavran was not interested in mission studies in general. He insisted the study of the Christian mission concentrate on church growth. Although mainstream Protestant missions rejected Church Growth, Evangelicals welcomed McGavran's views, especially his confidence that a challenging new stage in missions lay ahead. Rejecting talk of crisis he argued that this moment was "the sunrise of missions," not the sunset. Convinced that conventional missions had reached the end of their usefulness McGavran was especially interested in assisting midcareer missionaries to get retooled and reoriented for the next phase of ministry. It soon became evident, however, that leaders of the churches of Asia, Africa, and LATIN AMERICA were eager for advanced training and by 1980 their numbers surpassed that of midcareer Western missionaries in the burgeoning schools of world mission in North America.

Missiological Associations

In the nineteenth century Gustav Warneck (1834–1910) organized mission study conferences in GER-MANY. These laid a foundation for later professional associations dedicated to mission studies. One of the earliest professional missiological societies was the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Missionswissenschaft founded in Germany in 1918. A main purpose was to sponsor publication of the prestigious monograph series, "Missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen."

In the United States, the Fellowship of Professors of Missions of the Atlantic Seaboard was formed in 1917 by professors teaching missions in universities and seminaries in the Northeast. The group met two times each year. In 1952 a new Association of Professors of Missions was founded as a North American organization serving professors teaching in graduate schools accredited by the American Association of Theological Schools. Later the APM amended its rules to allow those teaching missions at the college level to affiliate.

In 1968 and 1970, European missiologists met to lay plans for an International Association for Mission Studies. When the new organization was formally inaugurated in 1972 it included members from North America and immediately set out to make its membership truly global. Over the years IAMS has held several of its assemblies in Latin America and Africa. It publishes the journal *Mission Studies*.

In 1972 a meeting was held in Nashville, Tennessee, to explore the possibility of founding a professional missiological society for North America. The following year the American Society of Missiology was formally organized. The purpose of the ASM is to provide academic and professional support to scholars in the field of mission studies. In contrast to the several antecedent organizations and activities, the ASM has fulfilled all the functions of a professional society. From the beginning the ASM welcomed into

membership scholars from all Christian traditions and has incorporated into its procedures mechanisms to ensure that the three main streams—conciliar Protestant, evangelical Protestant, and Roman Catholic—are represented in all boards and committees. In contrast to predecessors' organizations that restricted membership to academics only, ASM has welcomed field missionaries, agency administrators, and students into its ranks.

ASM meets annually in June. The Association of Professors of Mission continues as a separate organization but meets annually in conjunction with ASM. Since 1973, ASM has published *Missiology: An International Review*, a leading scholarly quarterly. In addition, ASM cooperates with Orbis Books to publish a scholarly monograph series that by 2001 numbered thirty titles. ASM also sponsors a dissertation series that is published in association with University Press of America. The ASM was active in several international bibliography projects in the 1990s dedicated to developing both general and specialized bibliographies accessible electronically to scholars throughout the world.

In 1990 the Evangelical Missiological Society was founded. This represented, in part, a reorganization of the Association of Evangelical Professors of Mission. The EMS adopted the theological framework of the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association, Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, and Fellowship of Frontier Missions. Membership is limited to those who subscribe to the doctrinal standards of these agencies and is open to professors, missionaries, and administrators. The EMS sponsors an annual meeting, held in conjunction with other evangelical associations, including the Evangelical Theological Society. Regional meetings of the EMS are held each year. EMS regularly publishes monographs and volumes of its proceedings.

Academic Status and Degrees

In Canada and the United States the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) has approved graduate programs in missiology since the 1970s. The following doctoral degrees have been awarded for work in missiology: Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), Doctor of Missiology (D.Miss.), Doctor of Theology (Th.D.), Doctor of Education (Ed.D.), and Doctor of Ministry (D.Min.).

Conclusion

Missiology was established during the period when mission was understood as the extension of Christendom to other parts of the world. The collapse of Christendom and the emergence of new centers of Christian vitality in the non-Western world requires that missiology be rethought in light of this emerging future.

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MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

The Christian church may be called missionary by its very nature. Thus, when defining mission, one may well characterize everything that the church does as "missionary." Understood in this manner, the church as such exists as a missionary enterprise. There is much that is valid about this perspective, although the emphasis in this article is *not* on *all* the church's mission activities. The "missionary" emphasis will be on doing mission across specific boundaries. Formal church or voluntary associations (see VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES) that conduct mission and create special structures to carry out those activities across boundaries (e.g., language, geography, culture, race, tribe, etc.) will be our focus. Thus our first distinction involves the functional character of a missionary organization.

The second distinction is theological and points to the difference between mission and mission(s). "Mission" will be used as a theological term to refer to God's activity in the world (the *missio Dei*). MISSIONS, on the other hand, refer to how the church participates in God's activities. In this article "missions" points to particular missionary activities of churches and Christians through their specific structural and legal organizations.

Missionary organizations throughout church history can be divided into five general groups: Catholic, Ecumenical Protestant, Evangelical Protestant, Orthodox, and Pentecostal. Each stream of missionary activity has its own genius, its own history, and its own charism. Some mission organizations have had great prominence in the history of the Christian mission. The Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), for example, founded by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola in 1534, accepted the old monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience in service to the papacy. This Company of Jesus went forth into the world to spread the orthodox faith and to fight against religious HERESY or revolt. Jesuit missionaries included such famous figures as Francis Xavier, Apostle to the Indies; Robert de Nobili, the Christian Brahmin; Matteo Ricci, who opened the door to CHINA; the founders of the Reduction of Paraguay; and Eusebius Kino, builder of missions in MEXICO and the American Southwest. The Jesuits built on the revival of mission organizations in the thirteenth century with St. Francis of Assisi, the "Father of the Poor,"

together with the “brother preachers” of the Dominicans who formed the “Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum inter Gentes” (The Company of brethren dwelling in foreign parts among the heathen for the sake of Christ). Most Protestants trace the modern history of mission societies back to WILLIAM CAREY’S amazing accomplishments in INDIA and to his creation of the “Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen” (1792). Carey’s principle “Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God” has become an important guiding light for many Protestant mission societies around the world.

Other mission organizations have worked for decades with little notoriety. These organizations are nevertheless a fascinating reminder of the relationship between church and mission. The Women’s Missionary Movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encompassed millions of WOMEN. Indeed it was probably the largest mass women’s movement up to that time. Like other missionary movements, the Women’s Missionary Movement was born out of a fervor for missions; however, it was also born out of the desperation of women—especially single women—who felt called to be missionaries but were rejected because of GENDER. The tenacity of these “called” women, however, won the day. Beginning in 1861 with the women’s Union Missionary Society, the Women’s Missionary Movement began while birthing at least another forty such organizations by the turn of the century. Observing the success of these missionary organizations, denominational churchmen gradually opened their mission societies to single women. Eventually the women’s boards merged with the denominational boards, and the oncevibrant Women’s Missionary Movement faded from the scene. Gone was the golden era of “female agencies.”

As early as 1782 former black slaves in the United States such as David George, Amos Williams, and Joseph Paul sought to transplant their church from South Carolina and Georgia to Nova Scotia, SIERRA LEONE, Jamaica, and the Bahamas. These men became the first unofficial African American missionaries before the American foreign missionary movement had been solidly launched (see AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM). A notable black mission society dating back to the late nineteenth century is the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention founded in 1897. By studying this one particular mission society we can better grasp how the idea of mission played itself out within one segment of the black Baptist American experience over a period of one hundred years.

Thus, whether Catholic or Protestant, large or small, distinguished or stealthy, church or parachurch, black or white, European or non-Western, male or female, the history of Christian mission is well told through the story of missionary organizations.

Roman Catholic

Catholic missions, viewed over the course of history, were performed mostly by monks, religious orders, and congregations. Although Roman Catholic missionary organizations have differed considerably in ideals and methods from Protestant missions, it is possible to discern a certain parallelism both in terminology and ideas among them all. The orders seemed to be predestined for missionary work by their spirituality, organization, TRADITION, and vast experience.

In the Middle Ages it was the religious who were the missionaries: Benedictines, the Celtic missionaries, Cistercians, Trinitarians, and eventually the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians. Other orders followed including the Jesuits and many recent congregations such as the Picpus Fathers, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Marists, Pallottines, Holy Ghost Fathers, Salesians, Scheut Fathers, White Fathers, Divine Word Missionaries, Sacred Heart Missionaries, and Holy Family Missionaries. Following the model of the Paris Foreign Missionaries various missionary societies of secular priests were founded: the Milan Foreign Missions Seminary, the African Missionaries (Lyons), the Mill Hill Fathers, and the Maryknoll Fathers. In addition, there have been a large number of women's missionary orders in the course of history, especially since the last century, although it is only recently that they have been recognized within missiological literature.

The organization of Roman Catholic mission across the world appears, at first, to function in ways that are too complicated to outline in any simplistic fashion. Nevertheless Catholic missions proceeds organizationally along two very broad tracks. First, missions are carried out primarily by religious orders and congregations that are usually characterized by specific "charisms." The second track involves church AUTHORITY. The bishop in his diocese has proper authority over missionary activities. All missionaries and missionary orders are subject to this authority in all the various activities that have to do with the exercise of the apostolate. This stipulation means that every religious order and congregation enters into a contract with the local bishop to secure ecclesiastical rights to do missions.

There are, finally, numerous organizations and coordinating agencies besides religious orders in which Roman Catholics cooperate with social, governmental, or religious partners for implicit or explicit missionary purposes. These organizations include trade unions, political movements, social and developmental agencies, and associations of laypersons. All of them contribute to the content and work of Catholic missions.

Ecumenical Protestant

With the increase of missionary awareness in the Protestant world beginning with PIETISM in eighteenth-century Europe, independent missionary organizations came to promote the bulk of the missionary agenda. Missionary societies began to take shape across the emerging Protestant world, even if their origin, relationship to established churches, and theological motivation were quite varied in nature. Thus Protestants, after over 150 years of mission dormancy, came to reflect more and more the organizational genius for missions developed earlier by Roman Catholics. When the REFORMATION rejected monastic societies, one of the best organizational tools for missions was discarded. Scholars claim, nevertheless, that the ancestral roots for the new Protestant mission societies of the eighteenth century were monastic communities, Catholic religious orders, the "religious societies" in ENGLAND, and the revival movement of the Moravians (see MORAVIAN CHURCH). Missionary societies were seen as a direct expression of the dynamism of the community now needing a specific organizational tool to carry out its work.

The dynamism for foreign mission, therefore, took shape outside the established churches and inside the newly formed missionary societies. This development was promoted by the tendency in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to form associations. With the founding of the Particular Baptist Missionary Society by William Carey (1761–1834), mission became the responsibility of well-organized groups. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was founded followed in 1796 by two Scottish missionary societies and in 1797 by the Netherlands Missionary Society. In 1799 the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY was founded by Anglicans who had withdrawn from the London Missionary Society. In the German-speaking world, the German Christianity Fellowship (*Christentumsgesellschaft*) was founded in 1780. The forerunners of all these mission societies, however, were the great mission organizations of the eighteenth century: the Danish-Halle Mission (1705) and the Moravian Mission (1732).

The “great century” of Protestant missions is often associated with the nineteenth century. European churches continued to play the dominant role during this time in regard to mission and church expansion. Nevertheless Protestant churches themselves were unable or unwilling to initiate, administer, or support foreign mission. Within this void, voluntary mission organizations increasingly came into being throughout Europe and the UNITED STATES. Societies that organized early in the nineteenth century included the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (1804), the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (1804), the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (1810), the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (1814), the American Baptist Missionary Board (1814), the BASEL MISSION (1815), the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY (1816), and the Berlin Society (1824).

Protestant Christianity never developed a global center of missionary administration. The fragmentation of mission has, in fact, been labeled “typically Protestant” from its nineteenth-century beginnings until today. Societies divided at a minimum along national and confessional lines, and generally present a picture of competition. Successful attempts at making Protestant mission more cooperative in recent years has, happily, also marked some of contemporary Protestant missions.

The development of missionary organizations in the nineteenth century developed in three distinct stages. First, missionary societies arose with the express intention of avoiding confessional “wars” so as not to transfer European ecclesiastical battles into new church communities around the world. Nineteenth-century Germany itself is a great example of this trend. Among the newly formed “united” mission societies in Germany were the Basel Mission (1815), the Berlin Missionary Society (1800), the Rhenish Missionary Society (1828), the North German Missionary Society (1836), and the Gossner Mission Society (1836).

A second wave of missionary societies emphasized confessional adherence and ecclesiastical structure. Parochial concerns now took precedence over the lofty idea of Christian unity. Confessional renewal caused doctrinal splits within already existing mission societies. Thus in 1836, for example, the Dresden Mission Association broke away from the Basel Mission, regarding itself as a mission “in the spirit of the Lutheran Church.” In 1848 the society transferred to Leipzig, becoming known as the Leipzig Lutheran Missionary Society and, as such, as the continuation of the Danish-Halle Mission.

Finally a third wave of “faith missions,” especially under Anglo-Saxon influence, provided further impulses for the creation of independent mission societies and/or faith missions. Inspired by J.H.Taylor and the CHINA INLAND MISSION (1865)—one of the largest missionary societies at that time—there arose a large number of similar foundations all over the world. These faith-based missionary organizations, functioning with a minimum of hierarchy and authority, form a significant portion of missionary activity today.

Whereas nineteenth-century mission was dominated by European mission societies, American Protestant missions became the strongest force in the twentieth century. The United States was considered a mission field by the European missions until the middle of the nineteenth century for Protestants, and until 1907 for Catholics, although the United States soon became the major source of mission energies. This trend has continued until the present day. Missionary organizations in the United States became more organically linked with their churches by 1914. A direct connection between mission societies and their respective Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Brethren, and Lutheran churches, for example, became more apparent than what had existed in Europe.

Although this general trend in North American and European mission will probably continue well into the first part of the twenty-first century, one of the newest and most significant developments is the increase in missionaries sent out by “non-Western” nations. The average growth rate of Third World Protestant missionaries during the 1980s and 1990s was over 13 percent, with India, NIGERIA, Congo, Myanmar, BRAZIL, PHILIPPINES, Ghana, and KOREA leading the way. Over 60,000 Protestant missionaries were sent out from the Two-Thirds World nations in the early 1990s. If this trend continues in the twenty-first century, more Protestant missionaries will be sent from or within Two-Thirds World countries than from the West by 2010.

Evangelical Protestant

Evangelicals are hard to classify. They do not represent an institution but a movement that exists in practically every church tradition worldwide, including some churches labeled Ecumenical Protestant. Their ranks vary from Fundamentalists to Neo-Evangelicals, from Confessional Evangelicals to Charismatics, from Pentecostals to Catholic Evangelicals. In terms of numbers, evangelical mission organizations are formidable and growing. Their numbers in missionary personnel are significantly larger than Ecumenical Protestants. What distinguishes Evangelical Missions is a particular balance of the following theological teachings: the absolute authority of Scripture as the Word of God, the necessity of FAITH in the ATONEMENT of Christ for SALVATION, an existential saving encounter with Christ through the Holy Spirit, a devout regenerate life, social engagement, and the obligation to evangelize non-Christians.

The swift expansion of Christianity in the nineteenth century was attributed in part to the work of many Protestant mission societies representing the Evangelical Awakening (see AWAKENING). It was this awakening that brought fresh missionary enthusiasm to the whole mission endeavor. The resistance to rationalism and MODERNISM was pivotal, as was reaction against moribund ecclesiastical ORTHODOXY.

A strong stimulus to evangelical missionary renewal in North America came at the turn of the twentieth century from the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM, 1888) together with the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF), founded in 1895. The SVM, with the watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation," produced pioneers of the twentieth-century ecumenical movement like JOHN R. MOTT, J.H. Oldham, and W.A. VISSER 'T HOOFT.

Evangelical mission societies after 1910 organized themselves into various associations. Evangelicals and Ecumenicals worked together within the framework of the International Missionary Council (IMC, 1921) until a "separation of minds" occurred with the "marriage" of the IMC with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1961. At that time new umbrella organizations were formed and older ones were strengthened, such as the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (EFMA) and the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA). The IFMA had been formed in North America (1917) to strengthen the "faith missions" that were independent and largely pro-dispensationalist. In 1945 the EFMA (formerly the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association) was formed to perform a similar service for North American denominational missions affiliated with the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS (NAE). Separatist fundamentalist groups formed the Fellowship of Missions (FOM) in 1972 as a breakaway movement from the Associated Missions, organized in 1948 by the International Council of Christian Churches. In 1985 the Association of International Mission services (AIMS) was founded by charismatic leaders "to further world evangelization through a consortium of member church, mission agencies and training institutions." These, and other associations of evangelical mission organizations, testify both to the great vibrancy and entrepreneurial nature of evangelical missions, and to their great toleration for division.

Many evangelical missions do not seek to participate in associations. They remain fiercely independent. These include mission societies like the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN'S Christian Missions in Many Lands, the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD, and the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, the largest Protestant mission in North America with over 4,000 missionaries serving in 113 countries.

WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS, Campus Crusade for Christ International, and Youth with a Mission (YWAM) are examples of the evangelical trend for huge parachurch mission organizations with thousands of workers all across the world.

The most effective fellowship in fostering collaboration among Evangelicals is the World Evangelical Fellowship, formed in 1951 and The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism created by BILLY GRAHAM in 1974. The Lausanne Movement has been instrumental in rallying Evangelicals for missiological discussion and missionary action.

Besides evangelism and church planting, "development cooperation" and diaconal concerns are undertaken by EVANGELICAL mission organizations. On the international level WORLD VISION and the Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund (the TEAR fund) are examples.

Orthodox

Variations in doctrine, national character, and historical events have greatly shaped how missions have been understood, organized, and carried out by individual Orthodox churches (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). From an early date we have evidence of how rapidly the church spread throughout the East. Churches existed in Persia, Armenia, India, Georgia, and Ethiopia. Special missionary activities were manifested by the church in Persia as monks from this church pressed forward as far as India and Turkestan.

The missionary zeal that characterized missions in the first millennium can be witnessed only in pockets after 1054. The reasons for this slowing of missions are complex. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 certainly condemned the church to a defensive posture. In the Orthodox churches from the seventeenth through the twentieth century, missionary activity was confined almost exclusively to Russian initiatives. The “great captivity” of the ancient churches of the Middle East under the Islamic rule of the Ottoman Empire made most mission efforts difficult if not impossible. In Russia the tradition of mission expansion by “colonist monks” was stifled from 1682 to 1796 by strict imperial controls. The basis then of most new missionary work, although difficult to compare with Catholic and Protestant trends, was found primarily within the monastic communities. From 1828 until the Russian Revolution in 1917, various Orthodox mission ventures were undertaken not only to reverse the trends of apostasy to Islam among the eastern Russian but also to plant new churches and construct and maintain numerous charitable and educational institutions. The Russian Revolution (1917) brought a sudden close to the missionaries’ work.

Today a number of societies in the Orthodox Church have accepted the mandate of missions in foreign places such as Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, and Sudan, not to mention Western nations like the United States. Participation in the ecumenical movement along with the care of Orthodox living in countries without traditional Orthodox presence are high priorities. Another concern touches “foreign” missionary societies moving into “traditional” territories to do missions among peoples that Orthodox communities have seen for generations as their own.

Pentecostal

Since the beginning of the twentieth century PENTECOSTALISM has come to represent one of the most energetic forces of mission in the history of Christianity. The dizzying array of Pentecostal movements, churches, and organizations makes any attempt at categorization impossible. David Barrett tries to label some of these movements with headings such as: Classical Pentecostals, Black/Non-White Indigenous Pentecostals, Neo-Pentecostals, Isolated Radio Pentecostals, Chinese House-church Pentecostals, Charismatics, Catholic Charismatics, and Cryptocharismatics. However they are labeled, it is obvious that tens of millions of Christians worldwide identify themselves with renewal movements, and these movements are rapidly growing. Without doubt, Pentecostal Christians, since the initial revivals in Topeka, Kansas (1901), and the

influential AZUSA STREET REVIVAL in Los Angeles (1906–1909), form one of the largest segments of the Christian church today. The growth of Pentecostalism in LATIN AMERICA, for example, must be termed as nothing less than explosive. Recent statistics suggest that two-thirds to three-fourths of all Protestants are Pentecostals. Of the 66 million “Classical Pentecostals” in the world, fully half are in Latin America. Brazil, which is the largest Roman Catholic country in Latin America, also has the largest population of Classic Pentecostals, Charismatics, and NeoPentecostals numbering 79 million, according to the *New Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Pentecostal movements in Latin American countries have strong ties to North America and Europe. Renewal movements in Africa and Asia, in contrast, often claim independent origins apart from their American or European counterparts; however, no matter where their origins may be located, global Pentecostalism reflects a zeal for mission that affirms that every believer is directly responsible for mission.

Pentecostal missionaries have always been more adept at practice than theory. Nevertheless Pentecostal missiologists are starting to articulate more forcefully the theological distinctives that make them Pentecostal. It can be affirmed, however, Pentecostals and Evangelicals share conservative doctrinal views regarding the Bible, humankind without Christ (“lost”), and salvation.

The diversity of global Pentecostalism does not make possible any talk about “a” Pentecostal theology. Six factors are important in grasping the nature of Pentecostal mission.

1. The spiritual foundation for all mission is a relationship with Jesus and “second” experience or baptism in the Spirit.
2. The authority for mission is the Bible.
3. The imminent Second Coming of Christ compels mission activity now.
4. The gospel of God’s kingdom should be proclaimed with the expectancy of signs and wonders confirming the truth of the message.
5. EVANGELISM and healing take priority over social and/or political action.
6. Organizational flexibility is the norm.

The primary mission genius of Pentecostals is that each believer being empowered by the Holy Spirit is a missionary. This belief has led to both dynamic and divergent forms of outreach locally and globally. It raises the question, however, about how Pentecostals structure their communal witness, maintain continuity over time, and interact with other Christian churches. Mission efforts usually follow five basic organizational patterns: episcopal, presbyterial/congregational, congregational, individual, and parachurch.

When many mainline churches were struggling or declining in the 1980s and 1990s the Pentecostal movement grew by over 8 percent worldwide. The myriad of ecclesiastical structures and parachurch ministries within the Pentecostal movement underline the vitality and pragmatism of their efforts at contextually relevant ministries. Many scholars maintain that Pentecostal spirituality is the most viable form of Christianity in a postmodern, post-Western, and postcolonial world (see POSTMODERNITY; POST-COLONIALISM).

Conclusion

Because of the great variety and number of mission societies still active today, two pressing questions must be debated as Christians redefine the nature of mission and missions. First, with the ongoing shift in global Christianity to the East and South, do we still need missionary organizations to send missionaries to Third World countries? Are foreign missionaries a theological necessity for a church's obedience to the gospel or, rather, a negotiable historical contingency? Second, with so many competing mission societies and church agendas vying for their niche in the world's religious marketplace, what missiological role does Christian unity play?

Concerning the future role of missionary organizations, responses range from renewed calls for moratoriums against missionaries to calls for more missionaries to carry out the expansion of the church. What is clear in all these debates is that no church can survive by being strictly a "sending" or a "receiving" church. In an age of globalization the church catholic needs to use its gifts wisely to respond to the world's needs. Mission organizations can serve as those places where Christians pose the stewardship question concerning how to best distribute the church's resources, human and otherwise. Mission organizations like the United Evangelical Mission (VEM) in Germany are experimenting with new organizational forms to carry out this mission. They have transformed themselves into the mission arm not only of their traditional German congregations but also of their partner churches worldwide.

Christian unity will remain the greatest mission challenge in a fragmented world, with fragmented Christians promoting fragmented views of missions—but what does "unity" mean? Does it demand organizational unity or merely unity of purpose? At Edinburgh in 1910, mission organizations courageously affirmed their unity of purpose. That unity soon waned, however, under the pressure of modernity and World War I. The integration or organizational marriage of the International Missionary Council into the WCC at New Delhi (1961) has also been hailed as both a great ecumenical leap forward for mission and, likewise, "the funeral of mission." Christian missions should never be reduced to an entrepreneurial enterprise where the strongest organizations win. Competition may reflect present practice but history teaches that it undermines God's mission. Jesus's prayer for unity, "that they may be one," still has force as churches continue to organize themselves to do God's mission in the world.

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RICHARD H.BLIESE

MISSIONS

Spreading the Christian message across cultural and ethnic boundaries has been one of the primary activities of Protestantism since the late eighteenth century. Small groups of Protestants engaged in missions before then, although it was not until after the ENLIGHTENMENT that evangelical theology, voluntarism, entrepreneurial capitalism, European expansionism, and ideas of human choice converged to propel Protestantism outward. The nineteenth century, called by historian Kenneth Scott Latourette the "Great Century" of Protestant missions, saw the organization of VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES, both denominational and ecumenical, through which Protestants raised money to send crosscultural missionaries around the world. In witnessing to the gospel missionaries engaged in BIBLE TRANSLATION, PREACHING, teaching, PUBLISHING, healing ministries, charitable works, and movements for social justice. Cooperation among mission organizations gave birth to twentieth-century ecumenical movements. Despite ethical questions about the relationship among missions, Euro-American imperialism, and the globalization of modern capitalist CULTURE, the effectiveness of Protestant missions was demonstrated by the existence of a thriving, non-Western majority church by the end of the twentieth century.

Early Protestant Missions

At the time of the REFORMATION in the sixteenth century, cross-cultural mission was a defining feature of multinational Catholicism. Concerned with building national European churches, Protestant reformers did not place a high priority on missions, especially be-cause they rejected the chief mission agent, the celibate priest. The Reformation nevertheless laid the groundwork for the development of Protestant missions

with the principle that each nation deserved the BIBLE in its own language. Consumed by religious wars and the growth of theological systems, the principle of vernacular bible translation had little impact beyond Europe in the 1500s. The idea that loyal subjects should practice the religion of their rulers deterred early Protestants from undertaking cross-cultural missions beyond their national borders.

As the first Protestants engaged in overseas exploration, the Dutch were the first to develop a substantial interest in cross-cultural missions. Hadrian Saravia (1531–1613), of mixed Spanish and Flemish blood, was the first Protestant theologian to argue that Jesus’s postresurrection command to teach all nations applied to the present-day church. Chaplains accompanying Dutch trading and military parties were the first Protestant missionaries in Dutch territories of Formosa, BRAZIL, the East Indies, Ceylon, and New Amsterdam (see CHAPLAINCY). They learned the native languages and catechized and baptized indigenous inhabitants. By 1688 Dutch chaplains had translated the New Testament into Malay, the first translation of the Scriptures into any southeast Asian language.

As groups of Protestant colonists began leaving Europe for the New World some of them felt responsible for evangelizing the NATIVE AMERICANS. When the English Puritans (see PURITANISM) entered Massachusetts in 1630 they carried with them a charter giving them the responsibility to evangelize the Indians. Puritan minister JOHN ELIOT (1604–1690) became the most important Protestant missionary in the colonial period. Congregational pastor in Roxbury, Massachusetts, Eliot began preaching to the Indians in 1646. He translated prayers, instructional materials, and ultimately the Bible into Algonquin, publishing the first New Testament in America in 1661, and the Old Testament in 1663. By 1674 he had gathered eleven hundred Christian “praying Indians” into fourteen Puritan-style Indian villages. Despite the persecution of Christian Indians by English colonists during King Philip’s War of 1675–1676, they persisted in their faith. In 1698 there were thirty-seven full-time Native American preachers and teachers serving thirty churches in New England. By the time of the American Revolution at least 133 Indian pastors had served in southern New England. The most famous was Samson Occom (1723–1792), a Mohegan Indian who spent twelve years as a missionary among the Montauk Indians of Long Island, New York.

The rise of PIETISM stirred mission interest among Lutherans in the late 1600s. The reformers’ emphasis on translating the Scriptures, combined with Pietism’s good works and reliance on Bible study for spiritual sustenance, shaped a distinctive Protestant stance that differed from Catholic missions. When King Frederick IV of DENMARK decided to send missionaries to his colony of Tranquebar, INDIA, he found volunteers among the pietistic Germans studying with AUGUST HERMAN FRANCKE (1663–1727) at the University of HALLE. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and Heinrich Plutschau (1677–c. 1746) arrived in Tranquebar in 1706. Despite persecution from the Danish soldiers, they learned Tamil and Portuguese and founded schools and churches among mixed-race peoples. They translated the Lutheran CATECHISM, prayers, and hymns into Tamil, and made converts both from Catholicism and low-caste Hinduism. Ziegenbalg translated the New Testament into Tamil. Additional recruits from Halle University continued the mission, and by the end of the century it counted between eighteen and twenty thousand converts.

The most important group of early Protestant missionaries were the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravians (see *MORAVIAN CHURCH*), who in the 1730s sent missionaries to African slaves in the *CARIBBEAN*, Indians in North America, and the *KhoiKhoi* in *SOUTH AFRICA*. As the persecuted remnants of the followers of Jan Hus, the Moravian Pietists sent out families who established self-supporting communities among oppressed peoples. Embodying peaceful Christian principles through their communitarian lifestyles, the Moravians have supported the highest percentage of missionaries in proportion to their numbers of any Protestant group. They saw themselves as leaven rather than trying to convert whole societies. By their use of family units and unmarried *WOMEN* as missionaries they introduced the family as the normal agent of Protestant missions.

The Modern Missionary Movement

In 1792 British shoemaker *WILLIAM CAREY* (1761–1834) gave a paper challenging Calvinistic fatalism and arguing that Jesus's postresurrection command to go into all the world was still binding on his followers. Aware of the work of the Moravians and the Puritan missionaries, Carey saw the mercantile expansion of western Europe as an opportunity for spreading its religion as well. Convinced by his "Enquiry," *BAPTISTS* organized the Baptist Missionary Society (1792) to send Carey and his family as missionaries in India. Carey and his associates translated parts of the Bible into forty-four languages with the assistance of native language-helpers. Sharing Carey's vision, different denominations began organizing missionary societies to raise money and send missionaries abroad (see *MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS*). The London Missionary Society (*LMS*, 1795), intrigued by the voyages of Captain Cook, sent Congregationalist missionaries to the South Pacific. In 1797 the *LMS* opened a mission in *SIERRA LEONE* and in 1799 it opened one in Cape Town, *SOUTH AFRICA*. With a strong evangelical abolitionist base, the *CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY* (*CMS*, 1799) sent Anglican missionaries to West Africa in efforts to fight the slave trade (see *SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF*). Through the transatlantic evangelical revival mission enthusiasm spread to North America and back to Europe. The first North American missionary society to organize for overseas missions was the *AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS* (1810), which sent missionaries in 1812 to India. American Baptists founded their mission society in 1814 and started work in Burma. British Methodists organized in 1818 and American Methodists in 1819. On the Continent, the voluntary impulse took form in the founding of the *BASEL MISSION* (1815) and the Berlin Society (1824). By the end of the century mission societies of all denominations were operating around the world.

Motivated by millennial fervor, concern for the *SALVATION* of non-Christians, desires to glorify God, hopes of benefiting humanity, and the spirit of progress, Protestant missionaries set out with optimism to convert the non-Western world to Christianity. With Enlightenment ideals of free human agency that challenged the religious fatalism of earlier generations, missionaries believed that educating people about the Gospel would cause them to choose to follow Jesus Christ. Following the precedent of the early Lutheran pietistic missions, the new Protestant mission societies focused on Bible translation as their first priority. To convert individuals and gather them into churches

required making the Scriptures available in the vernacular languages. Along with translation and preaching by ordained males, missionary wives assisted their husbands and engaged in teaching and in home visitation. Indigenous helpers were essential partners in the tasks of EVANGELISM and Bible translation from the beginning. Usually the first converts to Christianity worked with the missionaries. In West Africa, for example, SAMUEL AJAYI CROWTHER (1807–1891) helped translate the Bible into Yoruba, and eventually became the first African Anglican bishop and supervisor of missionaries (see ANGLICANISM).

The nationality, denominational affiliation, class, and GENDER of the missionaries influenced their attitudes and policies in the mission fields. Because most Continental missionaries came from the economic ranks of craftsmen and farmers, they carried agrarian ideals to their new contexts. Anglicans and Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM), themselves members of state churches, often saw their missionary goals to include building national churches that mirrored preexisting social structures. Missionaries from SCOTLAND and ENGLAND, products of the industrial revolution (see INDUSTRIALIZATION), saw themselves as agents of EDUCATION and progress. Scottish missionaries, led by Alexander Duff (1806–1878) in India, placed a strong emphasis on schools up to the college level. Promoting the “3 Cs”—“Christianity, commerce, and civilization”—came to characterize the social attitude of British missions in AFRICA. American missionaries often saw themselves as spreading democracy among peoples trampled by oppressive governments. In the mid-nineteenth century the reigning mission policy of Britain and the UNITED STATES was that of “three-self theory,” formulated by Henry Venn (1796–1873) of the CMS and RUFUS ANDERSON (1796–1880) of the American Board. The goal of missions was to make converts and gather them into churches characterized by self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. By the late nineteenth century, social services and support for HUMAN RIGHTS had become central aspects of missions. Medical missionaries founded hospitals and clinics, and educational missionaries in Asia were pushing their best schools to collegiate levels. Perhaps the most significant new feature of late nineteenth-century missions was a powerful women’s movement, in which voluntary societies run by women sent unmarried women into the field as teachers, doctors, evangelists, and social workers. The influx of unmarried women missionaries meant that female missionaries outnumbered males by two to one, and women’s issues became important for missions.

Although missionaries usually saw their work as nonpolitical, their presence often promoted European expansion. With British control of India it became the major nineteenth-century mission field of the British mission societies. After CHINA was forced open to western trade by the mid-century opium wars, missionaries began working in treaty port cities under the infamous “unequal treaties.” Fascination with East Asia and concern for the SALVATION of “China’s millions” made China the other major mission field of Protestantism by the end of the century. By the late nineteenth century, the United Kingdom and GERMANY were competing for global empire. In 1885 Europe held the Berlin Conference and carved Africa into sections under the control of different European countries—Britain, Germany, FRANCE, Portugal, ITALY, and Belgium. The scramble for Africa disrupted missions, as missionaries of the “wrong” nationality were put under the control of alien powers, or forced out of their traditional areas. By the end

of the century, Protestant missions were operating under colonial governments all over the world (see COLONIALISM).

The Twentieth Century

The twentieth century began with approximately 16,700 Protestant foreign missionaries in the field. As partners in the monumental task of world evangelization, yet as scattered minorities in non-Christian contexts, missionaries felt the need to overcome denominational divisions for the sake of their work (see ECUMENISM). The ecumenical WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in Edinburgh in 1910 stood as a monument to missionary visions of unity that began with William Carey's unrealized hopes for global missionary conferences every ten years. At Edinburgh, missionaries from Europe and North America systematically discussed the emerging issues of world Christianity, such as the rise of nationalism, the persecution of Asian Christians, and the growing nonWestern churches. After the conference, American mission statesman JOHN R. MOTT (1865–1955) traveled through Asia organizing regional and national Christian councils consisting of missionaries and local Christian leaders. The various missions and councils of churches created the International Missionary Council (IMC) in 1921 to guide the transition from missions to “younger churches.” Church unity movements in different countries resulted in the formation of Protestant union churches such as the Church of Christ in China (1927); the Church of Christ in Thailand (1934), and the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA (1947). The peak of the ecumenical movement came with the founding of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1948, into which the IMC merged in 1959.

Another major trend in twentieth-century missions was the rise of NATIONALISM among colonized peoples. With European brutality and vulnerability revealed in the two world wars, wholesale rejection of European colonialism grew rapidly during the century. As providers of Western education, missions in many cases trained the nationalist leaders who began challenging Western control. Starting with India in 1948, nationalists succeeded in throwing off the yoke of colonialism, a process that continued into the 1970s (see POST-COLONIALISM). Many of the first presidents of new African countries had been mission-educated. The antimission rhetoric of nationalism was another blow to Western missionaries who had suffered impoverishment, internment by the Japanese, and even death during World War II. Communist victory in China in 1949 resulted in the expulsion or imprisonment of Western missionaries (see COMMUNISM). During the 1950s and 1960s civil wars often took on anti-Western and anti-Christian tones, as in Algeria, the Congo, and Kenya. By 1971 Christian leaders in the PHILIPPINES, Kenya, and Argentina, as well as the All Africa Conference of Churches a few years later, called for a “moratorium” on Western missionaries. Missionaries should “go home” so that non-Western churches could stand on their own feet. Although some missionaries assisted in nationalist struggles, the mission movement was branded a tool of imperialist forces and was rejected by new governments in Asia, Africa, and LATIN AMERICA. By the early 1970s the numbers of Western missionaries from mainline denominations were steadily dropping in response to antimission currents both at home and abroad.

Yet a new wave of theologically conservative evangelical and Pentecostal missionaries began outnumbering those of older denominations. As Protestantism declined in Europe the United States became the largest provider of missionaries. In 1974 evangelistic missions created the LAUSANNE COMMITTEE FOR WORLD EVANGELIZATION (LCWE), a network of Christian groups attempting to evangelize the world and plant churches among all “unreached peoples.” The LCWE and its partners held over thirty international consultations and numerous regional conferences. Freed from the burden of Western paternalism by the end of colonialism, non-Western Christian movements, many of them Pentecostal, entered a period of rapid growth. By the end of the twentieth century an estimated 4,800 mission-sending agencies were sending hundreds of thousands of missionaries from all parts of the world to other cultures, including to “post-Christian” Europe. Although the mission impulse among churches of the European Reformation waned, the youthful vigor of churches in Asia, Africa, and Latin America breathed new life into Protestant missions.

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MISSIONS, BRITISH

From the late eighteenth century, British foreign MISSIONS generated wide-ranging Christian proselytizing and institution building throughout the world, but focused in AFRICA, Asia, and Oceania. Supported in Great Britain by extensive public contribution of funds and drawing significantly on WOMEN’S support, British foreign missions, predominantly evangelical in inspiration, grew rapidly from the 1830s, peaking in worldwide reach and domestic social power by the end of the century. Until superseded by American missionary activity in the twentieth century, British missions led the

modern Protestant missionary expansion, contributing at the turn of the twentieth century some 10,000 Protestant missionaries, or about 60 percent of the European and North American total, and some £1.5 million annually (US \$8 million), or about 50 percent of funding expended to support all Protestant foreign missions (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). British missions operated at the forefront of the vigorous nineteenth-century missionary movement that transformed Christianity into a global religion.

Growth in British foreign missions was linked to the eighteenth-century rise of EVANGELICALISM, but was also significantly shaped and driven by Britain's emergence as an industrial and imperial society with power and influence that extended far beyond the bounds of the formal British Empire (see COLONIALISM). The transnational, and particularly transatlantic, nature of Evangelicalism generated an ambitious cooperative vision in British missions that extended EVANGELISM and church building beyond the nation and the empire in a broadly unified cultural vision. Yet by the 1840s growing evangelical missionary success inspired denominational competition between churches both in Britain and the colonies, and emulation in nonevangelical British religious traditions, particularly High Church ANGLICANISM. As a socially diverse set of Nonconformist churches challenged the political and social privileges of the national church—the CHURCH OF ENGLAND—missionary enthusiasm was further stirred by waves of revivalism from the 1840s to the 1890s (see REVIVALS) and the complex dynamics of denominational and theological competition and controversy between Evangelicalism and ANGLO CATHOLICISM as well as Anglicanism and NONCONFORMITY.

Operating in an emerging age of modern voluntary religious associational life, British missions balanced between the ECUMENISM encouraged by common evangelical reformist assumptions and the competitive SECTARIANISM characteristic of the Anglo-American religious world. Throughout the nineteenth century British foreign missions were consistently associated with largely evangelical humanitarian projects for social reform, most notably the abolition of SLAVERY (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). The commercial and industrial societies of northern Europe and the Atlantic world, where growing national identities emphasized the legal rights of free citizens and free labor, reinforced the evangelical culture of independency and social reform through spiritual regeneration. In this wider culture of religious reformism, British missions were responsible over the nineteenth century for a significant channeling overseas of the British charitable impulse.

From the 1870s British missions experienced a second wave of growth, fueled by the emergence of “the new imperialism,” continuing evangelical revivalism, new High Church Anglican missions inspired by the OXFORD MOVEMENT and emerging Anglo-Catholicism, and an increase in missions to women and by female missionaries. By the early twentieth century, however, British missions faced new challenges from emerging colonial NATIONALISMS abroad and changing conceptions of empire and imperial engagement at home. British foreign missions, although arguably at their most influential overseas in the early decades of the twentieth century, began to lose social power and support at home in the face of the SECULARIZATION of British society and emerging crises of war and nation, brought on first by the South African War (1899–1902) and later by World War I (1914–1918). Decolonization in the mission field and the rise of

autonomous indigenous churches changed the focus of British missions in the twentieth century from proselytizing and European trusteeship designed to build “Christianity and civilization” abroad to an emphasis on partnership and development in areas of historic British missionary concentration—INDIA, AFRICA, Oceania, and CHINA.

Throughout the nineteenth century, British missionaries and mission theorists debated philosophy and method, including the nature and organization of indigenous churches, the connection between Christianity and Western culture, and questions of race, particularly as they related to indigenous leadership and self-governance. Missionaries also disagreed over whether primacy should be given to proselytizing and itinerancy or to EDUCATION and church and institution building. Generally speaking, British foreign missions shared with most Protestant missions a broad ENLIGHTENMENT outlook that emphasized human rationality, humanitarian action, and faith in the ability of human societies to progressively improve themselves through individual initiative. They were also conditioned, however, by Western imperialism and particularly by their extensive operation within, and varied responses to, the British Empire. Despite often being vehicles for Western, paternalist, and racial biases, missions also transmitted the fundamentally egalitarian principle of the equality of human souls, which indigenous Christians often generalized to the creation of independent churches and anticolonial initiatives.

The first attempts to construct missionary histories were colored by Victorian biases: beginning in the 1840s and carried through to the 1950s, a celebratory tradition tended to hagiography and exhaustive accounts of British-based missionary agencies that emphasized the heroic efforts of selfless religious men to bring relief and regeneration to “heathen” societies in the grips of degenerate social and belief systems. From the 1960s new studies have redefined our understanding of British missions. Decolonization, economic and social approaches to history, and postmodernism (see POST-MODERNITY) have generated more critical approaches that investigate the “cultural imperialism” of missions and that bring the local experience of missions and indigenous voices to the fore. Study of British missions has increasingly detailed the relationship of imperial power to missionary activity, yet also has sought to explain a worldwide range of individual missions in terms of their unique denominational circumstances, religious motivations, gendered projects, and social, political, and personal alliances. Indigenous responses to what was in effect a highly diverse international proselytizing effort have also drawn attention. Indigenous cultures, languages, and social and ethnic identities differed enormously, generating a wide variety of outcomes in a missionary encounter where European aims toward CONVERSION, education, and institution building—themselves interacting either in concert or opposition to imperial or local governance—were often subverted by local interests, both colonial and indigenous. Thus, despite the frequent complicity of missionaries with imperialism, it becomes difficult to construct any clear and meaningful characterization of a generic “missionary imperialism,” for religious dynamics and uses proved fluid and unpredictable across the diversity of denomination and locality in a worldwide “mission field” where rapidly changing cultural and political circumstances meant missionaries and the communities they initiated could not be uniformly co-opted to imperial purposes. Thus, generalizations that hold for one mission field often do not hold, in theory or in practice, in others.

Origins

Before the 1790s British missions were sporadic and limited to areas of direct imperial engagement in North America and India. When compared to extensive Roman Catholic missions associated with the sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese Empires, the British came late to missionary activity. Until the eighteenth century, with the extension of the British Empire, the emergence of an evangelical theology emphasizing engagement with the world, and the growth of voluntary religious associations supporting reform and CHARITY, Britain lacked the political, theological, and organizational foundations for vigorous missionary activity. Crown-sponsored colonial expansion movements to revive Anglican piety inspired the earliest organized British attempts to advance Christianity overseas: in 1699 and 1701, respectively, the Anglican SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE (SPCK) and the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG) were created under crown charters, supplemented by the creation of the Scottish SPCK in 1710. Although theoretically committed to propagating Christianity throughout the world, the SPCK and the SPG, until the nineteenth century, devoted their attention almost exclusively to providing Anglican colonial CLERGY in settlements in North America and British garrisons throughout the Empire.

The extensive British missions of the nineteenth century had their origin and impetus in the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. Drawing on German pietistic strains (see PIETISM), such as the community of the Moravian Brethren, emphasizing a theology of personal religion and responsibility, the evangelical revivalism of the Methodist movement led by JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY popularized an ATONEMENT-based Arminian theology with an emphasis on activism, PREACHING, and conversion (see ARMINIANISM). Over the course of the eighteenth century Evangelicalism shifted many Anglicans away from sacramentalism and many nonconformists away from rationalistic CALVINISM to a vision of social transformation achieved through individual conversion. With its strong military metaphors of fighting idolatry and formalism, emerging evangelicalism had a universalistic social agenda at home of reforming aristocratic immorality and lower-class “depravity” that also fueled a growing movement to abolish slavery from the 1780s.

British evangelical thinking and organization to support foreign missions first emerged in the 1780s and was tied intimately to abolitionism and a growing insistence on the responsibility of the LAITY to actively engage the world. Some historians, in accounting for the emergence of the British missionary movement at this time, emphasize transformations in theology as the single most important causal element. New theological formulations such as the Baptist Andrew Fuller’s *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* (1785) argued, following JONATHAN EDWARDS’S moderate Calvinism, that human responsibility provided a channel through which God’s sovereignty could spread Christianity. This approach was developed by the famous Baptist missionary to India, WILLIAM CAREY, who with the publication of *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (1792), became the most influential theorist of the Anglo-American missionary movement. Here Carey emphasized the necessity of voluntarism to secure mass lay and clerical support and insisted that missions should advance “the spread of civil and religious liberty.”

reinforcing the calls of other advocates of missions, such as the Wesleyan Dr. THOMAS COKE and Anglicans associated with the East India Company like Charles Grant.

Missionary appeals led to the founding of missionary societies in the 1790s. The Baptists, led by Carey, formed the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in 1792; interdenominational evangelicals, led by Congregationalists, formed the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795; and Evangelical Anglicans, led by CHARLES SIMEON and John Venn, a leader of the influential CLAPHAM SECT, formed the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) in 1799. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, formed in 1818, organized Coke's missions of the 1780s under a national organization. Similarly, Scottish societies rapidly sprang up (Glasgow and Scottish Missionary Societies in 1796), whereas many local Scottish associations sent contributions to a Congregationalist LMS, also extensively supported in WALES and Ulster. The parallel founding in the 1790s in North America of local committees to evangelize indigenous populations, followed by their organization under the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSION (ABCFM) and the establishment of several American denominational societies, demonstrated the interconnectedness of Anglo-American religious culture. The General Assembly of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, fearing the possible association of overseas missionary supporters with political radicalism, only organized to support missions in 1824 and saw this effort split with the secession of the Free Church of Scotland (see FREE CHURCH) in 1843. Over the course of the nineteenth century virtually every British denomination, from Presbyterians and Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) to Primitive Methodists and Strict Baptists, established independent missionary societies that were generally willing to accept state aid, but not state control.

Although religious determinants are central to explaining the origins of the British missionary movement, many historians suggest that other crucial, if not paramount, factors connected to British exploration and imperial expansion underpin the missionary movement. British missionary expansion began at the end of a century in which European knowledge of the world expanded enormously, from the founding of the Indian Empire in Bengal in the 1750s and the rise of "orientalist" scholarship to the exploratory Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook beginning in the 1760s. These developments focused attention on India and the South Seas as two of the earliest British missionary fields. Additionally, Parliamentary debates over the right conduct of the British Empire in the 1770s and 1780s, influenced by the rebellion in the American colonies, featured arguments advancing the moral exercise of imperial power for the benefit of indigenous populations. Debates over slavery emphasized parallel themes, drawing, in particular, evangelical Anglicans led by WILLIAM WILBERFORCE into advocacy for the application of Christian influence to British overseas power. The age that saw the rapid INDUSTRIALIZATION of Britain also experienced an attendant rise in an independent middle class determined to redefine British society at home and abroad. Growth in support of overseas missionary projects was further reinforced by conservative reactions to the FRENCH REVOLUTION in the 1790s, which helped direct evangelical reformism overseas, away from suspect work among potentially radical lower-class domestic populations. Both a general British Christian sense that expanding "atheistical" French influence in the age of Napoleon must be opposed and a growing millennialism in an age of extended warfare fueled the evangelical missionary impulse (see MILLENARIANS

AND MILLENNIALISM). Thus, by the early nineteenth century, missionary enterprise became one of several forces to ideologically support and condition imperial power and expansion.

The First Wave: British Missionary Development to 1870

From their foundations until the 1830s, British missions received lackluster support. Evangelical supporters of missions, Nonconformist and Anglican alike, faced opposition from High Church Anglicans and critics like Sydney Smith, whose 1808 *Edinburgh Review* article labeling missionaries “little detachments of maniacs” reflected more general conservative suspicions that mission supporters were tainted by association with radicalism and thus represented a danger to political and social order, both at home and abroad. General evangelical successes of the age, such as the creation of the Crown Colony SIERRA LEONE in 1806 as a settlement of ex-British slaves, the 1807 abolition of the slave trade, and the insertion of promissionary clauses in the renewed East India Company charter in 1813, must be balanced against suspicion in government circles where officials, although supporting Anglican ecclesiastical expansion when it supported colonial authority, shrank from the “enthusiasm” of evangelical culture. Nevertheless, the general observation by British officials of neutrality toward religion, at home and abroad, ensured general freedom of development to missions and emerging Christian communities of all denominations.

Early missions were also troubled by difficulty recruiting missionaries. The Anglican CMS, for example, resorted to German missionary recruits, most famously Johann Ludwig Krapf, sent to Ethiopia in 1837. Like nonconformist societies, the CMS relied heavily on artisanal and lower middle-class recruits because the more “gentlemanly” regular CLERGY were unwilling to volunteer for missionary service. Furthermore, early difficulties establishing control over missionaries in the field led to controversies raised by commercial trading or missionary liaisons with local women. From the 1820s increased bureaucratic control over missions addressed these problems, including stricter vetting and training standards for recruits (mirroring training for home ordination) and general acceptance of the principle that missions would support themselves primarily through voluntary contributions, resisting direct involvement in local or colonial commerce.

In the decade of the 1830s foreign missions grew rapidly, boosted by antislavery agitation, particularly controversies surrounding Nonconformist missions to West Indian slaves. The 1834 achievement of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies was tied to currents of middle-class political reform that had brought democratic extension of the franchise in the Reform Bill of 1832. Progressive humanitarian optimism was further forwarded by the campaigns of Wilberforce’s successor, Thomas Fowell Buxton, to create a government-sponsored humanitarian development expedition to the Niger River. Missionaries were central to this plan to regenerate a West Africa despoiled by “illegitimate” slave trading with legitimate commerce in cotton and other agricultural goods produced by independent Africans. As public debate increased over these issues, missionary support grew, buttressed by the return to Britain in the late 1830s of well-known missionaries, notably ROBERT MOFFAT of SOUTH AFRICA and John William

of the South Seas, who, martyred in 1839, was subsequently constructed as one of the first great iconic missionary “heroes.”

In several spheres missionaries now emerged as participants in debates over “native rights” against planter, settler, and trader interests, as in the West Indies, West and South Africa, and the Pacific Islands. Missionaries offered a range of solutions to the problem of native rights, but all involved advancing legal protections that would, reinforced by free labor and Christian literacy, encourage Westernized, self-sufficient, indigenous settlements. Characteristically the plans of Nonconformists to transform slave communities in the West Indies were strongly gendered, dependent on the creation of Westernized patriarchal families and villages as the necessary basis for economic development, settled residence, and respectable pious community. Crucial to support for projects of this nature were the “domestic” concerns of British female supporters in education, childcare, and domestic economy outside of the home and nation. By the 1840s the dominant “modernization” strategy of British missions had emerged, founded in education and training, relying on the building of churches, schools, hospitals, and printing houses and based in a reflexive assumption of the superiority of Western culture and European economic, social, and political organization taken as standards of “civilization.”

Most missionaries accepted the general idea of the British Empire as a providential force for good, although many remained willing to criticize imperial authorities and brave ill will in Britain when larger humanitarian interests were compromised. This is evident in the highly public careers in the 1830s and 1840s of Nonconformists like William Knibb in the West Indies and JOHN PHILIP in South Africa, who championed their particular vision of indigenous interests when white planter, settler, black Christian, and tribal interests clashed. British missionaries took the advancement of the gospel as their principal goal, and collaboration with imperial and colonial governments varied significantly in different mission fields depending on whether cooperation seemed to help or hinder central proselytizing and humanitarian goals. In the 1830s and 1840s public and Christian attention was focused on areas of imperial friction in the CARIBBEAN, Africa, India, and China, particular interest growing in the large populations and sophisticated ancient cultures of Asia. In India the “age of reform” under the influence of evangelical Anglican administrators and missionaries, Hindu reformers like Rammohan Roy, and Utilitarian East India Company officials led to the abolition of Hindu ritual practices like *sati* (ritual self-immolation by widows) and female infanticide, and also ushered in the opening of India to missionaries without license in 1833. In China, although missionary agencies unequivocally opposed the destructive opium trade, they nevertheless welcomed the “providential” opening of China to missions established by the “free trade” imposed after the Anglo-Chinese (opium) Wars (1839–1842; 1856–1860). Whereas in both India and China the major British and American societies rapidly founded mission stations, Christian converts remained a minuscule proportion of large Hindu, Islamic, Buddhist, and ethnoreligious populations. Missionaries instead had their largest impact in catalyzing indigenous religious traditions to renewal and reform movements, such as the Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj movements in India.

Translation of the BIBLE into native vernaculars, supported by Bible and tract societies like the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (1804), remained a mainstay of missionary practice from the time of “pioneer” missions in Africa, the South

Seas, and India (see BIBLE SOCIETIES). Emphasis on literacy and preaching had powerful long-term effects including the foundation of thousands of schools and dozens of colleges and the transformation of previously oral languages, particularly in Africa and the South Seas, into written forms. Missionary schools also provided increasingly coveted educational opportunities for indigenous groups to advance their interests in a rapidly transforming colonial world. Education became a favored strategy from the 1840s as hoped-for mass conversions upon the proclamation of the gospel failed to materialize. English education supported colonial administration, but also provided a *lingua franca* in areas of diverse indigenous cultures, most notably exemplified in India, where higher education designed for upper-caste Indians was pioneered as a settled mission strategy in Scottish missions under the leadership of Alexander Duff. Educational strategies, dovetailing in particular with assumptions underlying Indian imperial governance, forwarded a broader approach of “leavening” foreign cultures with Western and Christian ideas. Yet, in general, missionary theorists did not foresee perpetual British control of missions, rather in the 1850s leaders like Henry Venn at the CMS and RUFUS ANDERSON at the ABCFM argued for the goal of “self-supporting, self-governing, selfextending” indigenous churches. Thus, the strong cultural biases of much missionary practice were tempered by visions of independence for slowly emerging indigenous Christian communities.

Institutional strategies, such as educational work, were expensive and required that missions develop into nationally extensive and powerful charities. By the 1840s evangelical missionary societies, demonstrating the health and vigor of their denominations, innovated new forms of domestic support: national public meetings (most famously held in Exeter Hall, London), local missionary unions and work parties, missionary fairs, pageants, and exhibitions, door-to-door collections (often by children), extended church-to-church deputation lecturing tours by paid fundraising agents and returned missionaries, and extensive mass publication of periodicals and books disseminated in Britain by the millions through a national network of local parish and chapel associations. High Church Anglicans, shaken by political and church reforms of the 1820s and 1830s, were inevitably drawn into Victorian voluntaristic religion as the SPG, in competition both with Nonconformists and evangelical Anglicans, abandoned state aid in the 1830s to rely entirely on voluntary support. By 1860 the largest of the British missionary societies, the CMS, was collecting approximately £250,000 per year (about a quarter of the British total) and had sent out 423 missionaries in sixty years. Foreign missions had grown to be the third largest Christian charitable cause in Britain, falling only behind church building and education in fund-raising success.

The growing work and its financial needs inevitably shaped the message the societies transmitted in Britain, with audiences responding to tales of savagery and ignorance, reinforced by the widespread missionary representation of non-Europeans as goodhearted but ignorant children in need of education and paternalistic guidance. Domestic presentations of foreign fields often emphasized both the destructive effects of western trade and settlement and the violence, superstition, and ignorance purportedly bred of “heathen” religions. Missionaries invariably argued for the desperate need of non-Christians for European religion and tutelage. In this way missionary societies rapidly became the most widely influential representation of foreign cultures and imperial conditions throughout the British Isles.

The support for missions and recruitment of missionaries crossed class lines, but missionary recruitment was strongest among the “respectable” mechanic classes—artisans, tradesmen, and clerks (often firmly undenominational in outlook)—whereas financial and political support relied on the urban manufacturers and professionals making up the middle classes (often firmly denominational in identity). Educated middleclass men provided the bulk of leadership, especially in Britain, although the societies depended heavily on activist women both as organizers and financial supporters who often marshaled the charity of children, operating through the channels of the SUNDAY SCHOOL movement.

The rapid growth of British missions peaked in the early 1840s but could not be sustained in the face of the economic downturn of the “hungry forties” and a series of setbacks in several mission fields. Among these were the collapse of the Niger Expedition in 1842, the failure to establish successful communities of former slaves in the West Indies, and, despite enthusiastic expectations for success, the intensely antiforeign reaction of the Chinese to missionaries who entered the country under unequal treaties enforced by gunboat diplomacy. Isolated missionary triumphs—such as the return of the explorer and missionary DAVID LIVINGSTONE from Southern Africa in 1856, reemphasizing the message that “Christianity and commerce” could save Africa from the ravages of slavery, or the opening of the interior of China to missions in 1858—were counterbalanced by further troubling events such as the Indian rebellion in 1857 and the Jamaican Morant Bay rebellion in 1865. Colonial rebellions led to negative attitudes in government, literary, and anthropological circles regarding the potential of “subject races” to achieve “civilization.” Although missions continued to operate in India, Africa, the South Seas, and elsewhere, missionary enthusiasm, always most vigorously advanced by a minority of British Christians, waned through the 1860s.

The Second Wave: British Missions 1870 to 1914

From the 1870s British missions entered a “new era” of expansion, coinciding with the “new imperialism” of the late century, which peaked in the 1890s. From a modest number of ten denominational societies in 1840, new missionary societies proliferated, numbering over fifty by 1890. The emergence of interdenominational, evangelical “faith missions” and of AngloCatholic missions both contributed to the growth of new societies and set a continuing trend toward smaller size and diversity in missionary agencies. New patterns of missionary practice also came to challenge and supplement the prevailing strategy of evangelical missionary modernization of earlier decades. Both Anglo-Catholic and faith missions fed on the rapid rise of lay involvement, most notably that of women and university students. Some new missions also challenged older practices that tied missions clearly to imperialism, Westernization, and assumptions of European cultural and racial superiority.

Late-Victorian missionary expansion was inaugurated by a number of high profile missionary “martyrdoms,” including in 1871 the death of Anglican bishop J.C.Patteson in Melanesia and in 1873 the death of Livingstone in the African interior. Livingstone’s 1856 visit to England had inspired the founding of the first independent Anglo-Catholic mission, the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in 1859. Anglo-Catholic

missions, which operated under episcopal leadership, grew in number, to include the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, and missionary efforts in overseas dioceses from South Africa to Melanesia. The murder of the UMCA's first bishop, C.F. Mackenzie, on the Zambesi River in East Africa in 1862, generated a reaction in Anglo-Catholic missions against both commerce and the transmission of "civilization" as missionary ideals. Developing a strategy that sought to retain only the essentials of the Christian faith while building indigenized mission communities around Christian families and the church, High Church missions of this sort drew on a romantic medievalism, which made them more sympathetic to "primitive" forms of culture.

Evangelical missions saw similar developments. More widely influential than the Anglo-Catholic pattern, faith missions grew with the spread of the revivals of the Second Evangelical Revival, influenced from the late 1850s by American revivalists like D.L. MOODY and IRA SANKEY, who cultivated an impatient desire for large-scale, instantaneous Christian conversion. The CHINA INLAND MISSION (CIM), founded in 1865 by JAMES HUDSON TAYLOR, was the first faith mission, growing by 1899, with over 800 missionaries, to rival the largest denominational societies. Faith missions proliferated in the 1880s by drawing on charismatic evangelicals across denominations and sending out, without assured financial support, all willing missionary candidates, female or male. Emphasizing itinerant preaching and adoption of indigenous dress and language, faith missions flooded missionary fields with enthusiasts, an example followed by other revivalistic agencies, like the SALVATION ARMY, which from the 1880s sent often lower class, lay missionaries overseas in enormous numbers. Anglican circles were drawn into the movement through the annual KESWICK CONFERENCES from 1875, which provided a more "respectable" expression of revivalistic religious enthusiasm. Because the "holiness" theology that characterized these movements emphasized SANCTIFICATION beyond conversion that could elevate the consecrated above the sinful world, this "higher life" culture embraced missionary work as an ultimate act of sanctification (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT; HIGHER LIFE MOVEMENT). This orientation was further reinforced in the movement by premillennialist convictions that impending divine judgment required immediate evangelistic action.

Victorian revivalism invigorated British missions in the 1880s, but also unleashed criticisms that denominational missions had become too worldly and bureaucratic, charges that were reinforced by secular critics who attacked poor records of conversion in many established missions. Notably, holiness-inspired missionaries not only often criticized traditional institutional strategies as dry and unspiritual (in favor of direct proselytizing for immediate conversion) but also criticized Western cultural elements such as European dress and Westernization strategies such as HIGHER EDUCATION), support of trade, and insistence on settled agriculture. Nevertheless, certain denominational societies, particularly the CMS, were able to harness the new enthusiasms, seeing significant growth in recruits and funds. In particular support grew in the British universities, especially Cambridge (see CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY). The resulting wave of university-educated, middle- and upper-class missionaries significantly influenced late-Victorian missions through the Student Volunteer Missionary Union (SVMU, a wing of the Student Volunteer Movement) and the YOUNG MEN'S and YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS (YMCA/YWCA).

By the 1890s a growing international Christian student movement, born of charismatic Evangelicalism but increasingly influenced by ECUMENISM, focused on creating a unified and “scientific” missionary project from Anglo-American Protestant foundations. As British missionary enthusiasm peaked, international student leadership emerged in the missionary movement. International missionary conferences dating from the 1860s, and growing through the 1880s, built a sense of momentum in foreign missions. Inspired by American student leaders like JOHN R. MOTT, the SVMU ambition to achieve its famous watchword, “the evangelization of the world in this generation,” seemed realistic in the 1890s, given the expansion of missions in the previous decade.

The holiness movement significantly increased lay involvement and influence in missions, giving lay activists new sanction to move beyond traditional clerical leadership. This was most significant in the case of women, who, reacting to expanding female social roles in late-Victorian society were able to draw on religious justifications, both in holiness Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism, to act on the inspiration of faith to embrace missionary careers, both at home, as in the DEACONESS movement, and abroad. From the 1880s single female missionaries, in particular, grew in numbers and influence, representing over one third of the missionaries supported in the field by the major British denominational societies by 1899. Married and unmarried women taken together made up over half of the British missionary force and provided the majority of funds and fund collectors at home. However, despite the emergence of female missionary heroic figures such as MARY SLESSOR, the contribution of women has been largely ignored in traditional accounts of missions.

Missions to women also grew in this era, particularly in India where, in the wake of the Indian rebellion of 1857, missionaries sought new strategies to influence an Indian society largely resistant to Christian proselytizing. The development of *zenana* (female home) visitations by female missionaries as a strategy designed to change Indian society at the level of the family justified women’s public activity. Throughout the mission fields similar strategies emerged. Social transformation through the evangelization of women and education for girls was bound up with efforts at social amelioration like medical missions, which paralleled developments in the late-Victorian domestic response to urban poverty. British women increasingly developed a sense of international responsibility for non-Western women and children in an age of rising imperialistic fervor, emphasizing a “maternalist” strategy for “civilizing” foreign cultures through the domestic transformation of women, families, manners, and morality. In missions British women often found considerable freedom to teach, preach, and engage in professionalizing social service.

British missions were forced ever more insistently in the late nineteenth century to confront or accommodate the rising tides of political, economic, cultural, and popular imperialism. In part, growing missionary interest among university men can be attributed to growing concepts of “muscular Christianity” advanced in the public schools and ideas of “England’s mission” to the “younger races” articulated in university circles. The celebrated departure for the CIM in 1885 of the “Cambridge Seven,” university athletes led by upper-class cricketer C.T.STUDD, reinforced growing university recruiting in holiness circles by the CIM and CMS through the 1890s. Missionary responses to the age of high imperialism, however, were neither uniform nor simple. Denominational societies, like the CMS, WMMS, and SPG in particular, showed themselves willing in

many circumstances to cooperate with imperial authorities; however, other societies such as the UMCA and CIM found themselves, for varied reasons, in conflict with imperial culture and purposes.

In the age of the “new imperialism” many missionary societies leaned more heavily toward advocating British imperial expansion, such as the annexation of Fiji as a Crown Colony in 1875 at the urging of WMMS missionaries, the declaration of a British protectorate over southern Bechuanaland in 1884 at the urging of LMS missionaries like JOHN MACKENZIE, the creation of a Nyasaland (MALAWI) protectorate in 1889 at the urging of Scottish missionaries, and the declaration of a full protectorate over Uganda in 1894 at the urging of the CMS and its supporters. East and Central African missions in particular grew in the context of the European scramble for territory in Africa, fed on the reports of explorers like Henry Morton Stanley and the example of sacrificial missionary deaths like that of JOHN ALEXANDER MACKAY. Rivalry with the French and Germans as well as with Roman Catholics and Muslims helped to drive missions to vigorously pro-imperial stances. In some cases, such as that of the High Church missions under the direction of the SPG, a vigorous “missionary imperialism” was forwarded in the late 1890s that foresaw a close and direct integration of Church and Empire. Proimperial attitudes, however, could still be combined with criticisms of the destructive influence of colonists and settlers, the destructive effects of colonial trade and labor practices, and a questioning of particularly exploitative imperial practices.

Positive attitudes to the empire, or to imperial annexation and subsequent Westernization processes were widespread, but not universal. Whereas in many missions faith continued in commerce, properly directed, as a providential force supporting Christianity, debates over the value of Western commerce and civilization divided missionaries, leading some to question the legitimate goals of missionary cooperation with imperialism. Late in the century the Church of Scotland mission at Blantyre, Nyasaland (Malawi), for example, in contrast to the Free Church of Scotland mission 350 miles north at Livingstonia, resisted the commercial drive of Cecil Rhodes’s British East Africa Company in favor of a British protectorate that would maintain the authority of indigenous chiefs. Despite the debates over the nature of imperial governance, however, more than any other missionary sending culture, British missions came to be suffused with pro-imperial attitudes. Enthusiasm tied to Westernization did, however, generate criticism from other national missionary cultures, particularly in German missions, where theorists like Gustav Warneck argued for an “internationalist” approach designed to temper the enthusiasms of eager Anglo-American students in favor of encouraging indigenous churches.

Rejection of Westernization or imperial collaboration as missionary strategies did not necessarily mean rejection, in theory or in practice, of the hardening “scientific” racism that characterized late Victorian Britain. From the beginning of British missions, as well as British antislavery agitation, evangelical insistence on the equality of souls had operated in dynamic tension with broader cultural assumptions of the superiority of Western culture and white Europeans. Racist assumptions and behavior, especially regarding the African “dark continent,” remained widespread, and grew in the late-Victorian period. In the Niger mission in the 1880s, for example, holiness influenced CMS missionaries, in the name of doctrinal purity and discipline, undermined the Anglican church’s first black bishop, SAMUEL CROWTHER. Western prejudices grew

with improved imperial communications as missionaries more frequently traveled the steamship lines between Britain and the mission field. Although the majority of missionaries rejected the scientific racism of Victorian anthropology, thus rejecting the genetic inferiority of non-Europeans, they still generally assumed indigenous cultures to be evil and inferior, often acting to eliminate indigenous “superstition” to allow the “child races” to attain civilization. As indigenous Christian congregations grew rapidly, especially in Africa and India, British missionaries often found themselves struggling with resentful converts to maintain European control.

The heyday of British missions in the 1890s ended rapidly, however, as the Chinese Boxer Rebellion of 1899, with its violent antiforeign sentiment, the difficult South African (Boer) War of 1899–1902, and increasing colonial nationalisms brought imperial anxiety and a dropping off in the growth of funds, recruits, and confidence. The student movement, with its increasing emphasis on professionalization, grew in influence, advancing the academic study of missions, or **MISSIONOLOGY**, and advocating more sophisticated training of missionaries in the language and culture of receiving societies. Emphasizing the ecumenical potential in transnational evangelistic Christianity, and the social conscience of the emergent **SOCIAL GOSPEL**, student leaders increasingly embraced a “fulfillment” theology, which saw non-Christian religions as vehicles through which dialogue with Christianity would fulfill divine purposes in the evolution of faiths. Through the student movement, Christian **MODERNISM** with its questioning of the inerrancy of the Bible (see **BIBLICAL INERRANCY**), and **LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM**, both evangelical and otherwise, led some missionaries to question traditional proselytizing strategies. Perhaps most famous among these was **CHARLES FEER ANDREWS**, who left his educational mission in India to collaborate in the religious, social, and nationalist reforming of Indian leaders like Rabindranath Tagore and Mohandas K. Gandhi.

Missionary ecumenism led to religious amalgamation, such as the union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in South India in 1908, and the influential **WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE** in Edinburgh in 1910, which, although still dominated by European concerns, for the first time saw significant addresses from “native” clergy. Twentieth-century ecumenism, championed by **JOSEPH H. OLDHAM** through the Continuation Committee of the Conference, began as an effort to unify Protestant missions and advance ideals of humanitarian trusteeship in colonial and imperial policy. Through the student movement and the World Missionary Conference the evangelical missionary movement flowed into the foundation of ecumenical institutions in the twentieth century, such as the International Missionary Council in 1921 (chaired by Mott and Oldham) and ultimately the **WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES** in 1937.

Despite the trends toward unity inherent in missionary ecumenism, neither faith-based missions nor Anglo-Catholicism could be comfortably reconciled to the ecumenical movement. Conservative Evangelicals, both inside and outside of the student movement, increasingly attacked liberal Protestantism as a betrayal of faith in the inerrant Bible and the transformative power of preaching and **PRAYER**; High Church Anglicans resisted efforts at ecumenical union as a congregational betrayal of apostolic church order. Vigorous conservative evangelical resistance to these trends, which developed into full-fledged **FUNDAMENTALISM** in the 1920s, rapidly opened persistent cleavages in British missions in the twentieth century.

British Missions since 1914: Indigenous Churches, Decolonization, and Mission

From the late nineteenth century an increasing number of mission stations spawned indigenous churches, raising the challenge both of transferring leadership and confronting colonial nationalisms that understandably interpreted missions as part of a rejected colonial complex. Indigenous Christians persistently faced clerical, cultural, and racial prejudice from missionaries who often insisted converts conform to European standards of behavior and education. One response, as in the West African missions of the CMS, where heavily Africanized missions and pastorates under African Christian leaders like Archdeacon DANDISON CROWTHER and JAMES JOHNSON resisted European missionary racism and control, was the founding of independent churches (see AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES). In Africa the so-called Ethiopian churches usually emerged as the result of schism with Western missionaries over leadership and the acceptability of African traditional practices such as polygamy, faith healing, and exorcism, producing a great diversity of Christian communities, most numerous in NIGERIA, the Congo, Kenya, and South Africa.

British missions now faced the dilemma of determining the relationship of Christianity to CULTURE—the question of which Western cultural forms were necessary to non-European expressions of Christianity. Although the majority of British missionaries, with notable exceptions, retained belief in the natural and appropriate association of Western cultural forms to the spread of Christianity and the progress of “civilization,” indigenized forms of Christianity, especially in Africa rapidly emerged (see AFRICAN THEOLOGY). Similar processes resulted in independent, federated, and amalgamated churches emerging at different rates in different areas: in JAPAN in the 1870s and 1880s, in China in the 1920s and 1930s, and India in the 1940s. In addition, the churches in the so-called white-settlement colonies, like CANADA and AUSTRALIA, developed their own independent missionary agencies, making the idea of “British missions” appear antiquated as British denominations, Anglicanism in particular, became world communions increasingly distanced from British leadership and control.

The challenge of facing colonial independence movements was exacerbated by World War I, which seriously strained European resources and confidence in the superiority of Western civilization and morality while throwing local churches more fully on their own resources. In the postwar period, the divide between liberal developmental ecumenism and conservative faith-based evangelism also widened. By 1930 previously high levels of evangelical unity had been shattered. Overall, despite continuing loyalty from traditional constituencies, British domestic support for foreign missions in the opening decades of the twentieth century declined, missionary giving as a percentage of consumer spending decreasing after 1914. After 1929 economic depression and the rise of fascism in Europe undermined the foundations of Victorian progressive optimism, leading to absolute declines in income and recruits through the 1930s, despite the continuing resonance of popular imperialism in the interwar period. American leadership in world missions emerged rapidly, displacing British. At the same time indigenous independence movements expanded, reliant on a leadership often trained in mission schools, where Westernizing educational programs inevitably transmitted concepts of liberal, nationalist independency.

Particularly in the Indian fields the interwar era saw conflict between those missionaries who insisted on a conservative imperial vision of continuing “trusteeship” and control, and those who sympathized with progressive transformation to national independence. Missionaries were drawn into and divided by the conflicts of the era of decolonization. The ordination, for example, of V.S.AZARIAH (1874–1945) as the first South Asian Anglican bishop in 1912, a natural outgrowth of initiatives toward indigenous church leadership set by the YMCA, raised opposition from traditionalist missionaries focusing on higher caste conversion, particularly over Azariah’s attempts to advance mass conversion from the lowest castes. In China problems arose more intractably, where missionary education and influence advanced rapidly during the era of pro-Western reforms after the Boxer Rebellion of 1899. Churches grew rapidly, Protestant Chinese membership rising to about 250,000 in 1915, whereas by 1925 some 8,000 Protestant missionaries, 50 percent American, flooded the country. Yet missionaries, protected since 1842 by unequal treaties, found themselves strongly implicated in left-leaning Chinese circles as “cultural imperialists,” and all were ultimately expelled by 1952 after Chinese Communist rule. Similar difficulties arose in Africa, with missionaries dividing in the 1920s over the morality of supporting the practice of forced labor, the activities of African nationalist political groups, and the wisdom of proscribing traditional African practices. British missions thus found themselves challenged in complicated ways by the politics of nationalism and decolonization and forced to decisions on issues that could and did set them at odds with nationalists. Notably, whereas many missionaries criticized more brutal forms of exploitative colonialism that betrayed traditional paternalist assumptions of missionary practice, virtually no missionaries—even J.H.Oldham, the most progressive ecumenist defender of humanitarian colonial “trusteeship” and critic of racism—believed Christianity, despite its core impulse to spiritual equality, was incompatible with colonialism.

After the Second World War decolonization resulted by 1970 in widespread national independence in South Asia, Asia, and Africa. The accustomed environment in which British missions had operated shifted irrevocably with the collapse of the British Empire, the growth of nationalist Islam, and the emergence of an anticolonial and antimissionary nationalist communism, especially in Asia. Additionally, British missions were diminished in political, social, monetary, and popular support in a Britain itself declining in adherence to Christianity. Postcolonial realities were perhaps most clearly acknowledged in the speeches and publications of Max Warren, former General Secretary of the CMS, and Anglican bishop STEPHEN CHARLES NEILL, who argued that missions need to shed cultural arrogance and racism and come to terms with their colonial past (see POST-COLONIALISM). The emergence of postcolonial political turbulence, however, particularly in Africa, meant missions, churches, and often authoritarian nationalist governments clashed. Nationalist and Marxist indictments of Christianity as an alien colonial imposition became common in the 1970s, especially in formerly Portuguese Africa and in South Africa where the apartheid regime attracted criticism and resistance.

Nationalist and indigenous Christian responses to the perceived ongoing “cultural imperialism” of Western theology led to calls for a moratorium on Western mission, which in Britain reinforced a postcolonial reorientation of missionary strategy. Although

many British missions remain oriented to faith-based gospel proselytizing, traditional denominational societies, themselves retrenching, amalgamating, and renaming since the 1960s, have increasingly embraced a vision of “partnership” with churches traditionally associated with their missions. British and British-influenced missions (such as those based in Canada and Australia) are more strongly characterized by mission “partnership” than are American missions, which, drawing more heavily on conservative evangelical support, retain a greater emphasis on charismatic evangelism. Late twentieth-century British missions have expanded, under the impetus of charismatic renewal movements, from about 7,500 missionaries in the 1970s to almost 19,000 in the year 2000, yet remain dwarfed by American missions, fielding nearly 120,000 missionaries at the turn of the century. As with all modern Protestant missions in the final decades of the twentieth century, British missions have been increasingly drawn into worldwide missionary fellowships and international charitable aid activities, but have also seen the persistence in the number of small, independent missionary agencies under the influence of charismatic evangelical growth.

Since the end of World War II, Britain and Western Europe have seen a significant decline in Christian belief and activity. The diminishing support for British missions in the postwar period is undoubtedly linked to waning religious practice in Britain, the passing of the British Empire, and the adoption of many of the missionary movement’s social relief efforts by international nonprofit humanitarian charitable relief agencies, the twentieth-century heirs to many of the currents of nineteenth-century humanitarian missionary interest. This decline, however, is also linked to the growing vitality of the churches that have emerged out of historic British missions, which now exist in communion with British congregations, or as part of the growing stream of late twentieth-century postdenominational Christianity (see THEOLOGY, TWENTIETH-CENTURY, GLOBAL). British missions, then, have played a significant, if at times ambiguous, role in the transformation of Protestant Christianity from a largely European faith to a diverse part of a world Christianity embraced by close to two billion adherents at the turn of the twenty-first century.

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STEVEN S.MAUGHAN

MISSIONS, GERMANY

History of the German Missionary Societies

Missions were—at the outset—not significant features of the German Protestant churches. In fact, a statement written by the theological faculty of Wittenberg in 1651 can be considered a rejection of efforts of an explicit missionary character by the Lutheran orthodoxy. Nevertheless the congregational dimension had a missionary orientation from the very beginning.

No one personifies the contradiction between determination and objection to missions as evidently as Baron Justinian von Welz (1621–1668). The way that the imperial estates in Regensburg handled his plans to establish a missionary society speaks for itself. Welz, who was devoted to ascetic ideals, was convinced that God could also call laymen—besides the consistorial statutes—into mission. After his proposal encountered violent objections and refutations, Welz left for the Dutch colony of Surinam after he was ordained an apostle of the gentiles by Friedrich Breckling in Holland. His further fate in Surinam remains unknown.

After two hundred years of lack of involvement, interest in participation in mission arose in Germany. AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE assigned two missionaries to the Danish King Frederick IV for his Indian subjects living in the Danish colony of Tranquebar in INDIA. These two missionaries, ZIEGENBALG (1682–1719) and PLÜTSCHAU (1675–1752), signalled the beginning of a continuous interest in missions in Germany. Ziegenbalg had five principles for his work: Because everybody should be able to read the gospel, EDUCATION was an unalterable requirement for the mission; therefore the BIBLE should be made available in the native language. For the sermon, complete knowledge of the thoughts and the religious and cultural traditions of the people was of fundamental importance. The missionary work aimed at a personal

CONVERSION. Last, an Indian church with its own clergy should emerge as soon as possible. Subsequently the first Indian pastor, Aaron, was ordained in 1733. Ziegenbalg was succeeded by missionaries, whose work was of similar significance, for example C.F.Schwartz (1724–1798), whose diplomatic and political activities were supported by a close friendship to Haidar Ali, or Fabrizius (1711–1791), who was distinguished by his great translation work. As a result of rationalism, the mission in Tranquebar disappeared and was eventually continued by the Leipzig Mission Society.

At the same time as the Tranquebar-Mission started out, the Moravian Brethren of HERRNHUT (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), founded by NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF, also began their missionary activities. At first the Moravian mission focused on the Danish West Indies (August 21, 1732, on St. Thomas, later also on St. Croix and St. Jan), then it continued in Greenland (May 20, 1733) and in Surinam (1738). The Moravian missionary Georg Schmidt began working with the Hottentots in SOUTH AFRICA in 1737; Rauch founded the mission to the North American Indian tribe of the Mohicans in 1740; Zeisberger went to the Iroquois in 1749 and after 1770 to the Delawares. Between 1801 and 1838 Moravian missionaries also worked with the Cherokee Indians. Additionally the Brethren missionaries established missions in Egypt, Persia (medical mission by Hocker), on Sri Lanka, the Gold Coast, the Nicobar Islands, and in India (“Brethren’s Garden” near Tranquebar and Serampore in Bengal). Attempts to begin missionary activities among the Samojesdes in RUSSIA and the Danish Lapps were unsuccessful. In the later years missions started on Jamaica (1754), Antigua (1756), Barbados (1765), St. Kitts (1777), Tobago (1790), and in Labrador (1751 and 1764).

The missionary THEOLOGY of Zinzendorf corresponded with his other theological thinking, which was radically Christocentric. For him the actual missionary was Jesus Christ, the missionaries were only his helpers. The recipients of his work were the despised people, to whom “nobody else would go” (black slaves, Inuit, American Indians, Hottentots) and who were the “predisposed first-born” by the Holy Spirit.

Both important missions of the eighteenth century laid the foundation of a rapidly increasing spectrum of German missionary efforts. On February 1, 1800, Johannes Jänicke (1748–1827) opened up a missionary institute in Berlin, which his son-in-law Rückert continued as Berlin Missionary Society (*Berliner Missionsgesellschaft*). One of the most famous representatives of this missionary society is Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851), missionary to CHINA and founder of the “Christian Union for the Promotion of the Gospel in China through Chinese.”

In 1815 the Basel Missionary Society (*Baseler Missionsgesellschaft*), or BASEL MISSION, began its activities by establishing a missionary institute, which was at first directed by C.G.Blumhardt (1779–1838). The new missionary society was supported by many charitable unions throughout GERMANY. In 1821, missionaries of Basel took over its mission territory within the Swiss and German colonies along the Volga-River. The work in RUSSIA had to be suspended in 1835 because of a ukase of the Russian Czar. Nevertheless the Basel Society continued its pastoral presence in the Caucasus with its missions in Georgia up to the twentieth century.

The Basel Society was the first of a group of large missionary societies that deliberately refrained from emphasizing denominational differences and took precautions not to transfer them from Europe into their new congregations. Aside from the Basel Society, the Berlin Society, the Rhenish Mission Society (*Rheinische*

Missionsgesellschaft), the North German Missionary Society of Bremen (*Norddeutsche Missions-gesellschaft*), and the Gossner Missionary Society (*Gossnersche Missionsgesellschaft*) belong to this group. In complement to the scientific education in the missionary institution in Basel, the pilgrim's mission of St. Chrischona was founded in 1840. Figures such as Samuel Gobat (1799–1879) and Ludwig Schneller (1820–1896) originated from this missionary society.

The reconsideration of the church and its confessions, which determine the appearance of the church, triggered a second wave of missionary societies. Some of them were founded by secession from a previous society. In 1836 the Dresden Missionary Union dissolved its ties to Basel, regarding itself from this time on as the mission of the Lutheran church (see LUTHERANISM). In 1848 the headquarters were transferred to Leipzig, and the name was changed to Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Leipzig (*Evangelischlutherische Mission zu Leipzig*). Hereafter the mission society considered itself also as successor of the Danish-Halle Mission in Tranquebar. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 the Leipzig Society tried to carry on its tradition and reactivated its work in regions, which were in the meantime in the care of the Leipzig Mission West, which eventually had become a part of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Lower-Saxony (*Evangelisch-lutherisches Missionswerk in Niedersachsen*).

The Evangelical Lutheran Mission, also known as the Hermannsburg Mission Society, was inaugurated in 1849 by Ludwig Harms (1808–1865). This missionary society was a branch of the Bremen Society. Because of an ecclesiastical schism the Mission of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Churches, also called Bleckmar Mission, separated eventually from the Hermannsburg Mission Society. Today the Hermannsburg Society is mainly connected with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hannover, whereas the Bleckmar Mission is tied to the *Selbstständige Evangelischlutherische Kirche*. The Neuendettelsau Mission Society regards itself also explicitly as part of the Lutheran church, as does the Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society of Schleswig-Holstein, which was established by Jensen in Breklum in 1876.

Denominationalism led to the establishment of many missionary societies, but these groups were outnumbered by the missionary societies that were established as a result of the Neo-Pietism. The work of JAMES HUDSON TAYLOR and the CHINA INLAND MISSION of 1865 led to the founding of the Alliance Mission of Barmen in 1889, the Liebenzell Mission in 1892, and the Neukirchen Orphan's and Missionary Institute (*Waisen- und Missionsanstalt Neukirchen*) in 1878. In addition, the number of missionary societies focusing on special assignments increased noticeably.

Even before the colonial age, however, German missionary societies could be found on every continent on Earth. The Basel Society worked in West Africa (between 1827 and 1831 in LIBERIA, between 1828 and 1883 on the Gold Coast), and the Bremen Society (between 1847 and 1884) was active on the Slave Coast. SOUTH AFRICA was the location of the Moravian Mission (Cape Colony, Kaffraria), the Rhenish Society (Cape Colony, Namibia among the Namaquas and the Hereros), the Berlin Society (Cape Colony among the Korannas, Kaffraria, Natal, and Transvaal), and the Hermannsburg Society (Natal, Transvaal, and among the Zulu and the Bechuanas). In India the Basel Society worked on the east coast (between 1834 and 1885), the Leipzig Society in Tamil Nadu, the Hermannsburg Society among the Telugus mainly in Andra Pradesh, the Breklum Society in Jeypur, the Gossner Society along the Ganges and among the Kols,

and the Moravian Mission in Himalaya. Missionaries of the Gossner Society were also active in INDONESIA, the ones of the Rhenish Society also worked on Borneo, on Sumatra among the Batak (Nommensen), and on Nias. After the failure of Gützlaff, the Basel Society, the Rhenish Society, and the Berlin Society remained in China. America was mostly the work of the Brethren missionaries, but the Hermannsburg Society soon started to send missionaries as pastors for the German immigrants to North and South America. In AUSTRALIA the large German missionary societies (Gossner Society, Leipzig Society, Moravian Mission, Hermannsburg Society, Neuendettelsau Society) all established stations. Missionaries were sent out to NEW ZEALAND by the Bremen Society, the Hermannsburg Society, and the Gossner Society, which was additionally operating in New Guinea.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Near and Middle East also became a domain of the German societies. In 1852 the Berlin preacher Friedrich A. Strauss (1817–1888) and the former mission inspector to the Basel Society Christoph Hoffmann (1815–1885) founded the Jerusalem Union to support Gobat's missionary activities in Jerusalem. Previously, in 1846, Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782–1867) and the St. Chrischona Mission, named after a village near Basel, Switzerland where, since 1840, missionaries were trained, established a "brethren's home," which Gobat took over in 1854 as a preschool of the Abyssinian Mission. In 1854 the Kaiserswerth Institutes started working in Palestine, at first in the German hospital and in the Girl's Institute "Talitha Kumi," after the massacre among the Christians in the Lebanon in 1860, also in Beirut (girl's orphanage), and later in Smyrna. Keffenbrink-Ascheraden founded a leper asylum called "Jesus Aid," which was continued by the Brethren in 1881. The Pilgrim's Mission undertook a mission to Ethiopia by proposing a pilgrim's route called "apostle route," which would connect Jerusalem and Gondar over twelve stations. After 1875 the Hermannsburg Society operated in the Urmia region in the northwest of Persia but limited the efforts to spreading the gospel among the so-called Nestorians (Assyrians).

The beginning of the colonial age led to the establishment of many more missionary societies in Germany. Liberal theologians recognized mission as a Christian duty (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). The society that represented the liberal interests best was the General Protestant Missionary Society (*Allgemeiner Protestantischer Missionsverein*), inaugurated in 1884. All large missionary societies began working in the German colonies. In Togo the Bremen Society was active; in Cameroon the Basel Society as well as the Baptist Missionary Society had missions, and after 1912 also the Gossner Society. German South-West Africa (later Namibia) was the place for the Rhenish Society. The German African Society, which later changed its name to the Bethel Society worked in German East Africa along with the Bavarian Missionary Society for East Africa (later a part of the Leipzig Society), the Neukirchen Society, the Leipzig Society around Mt. Kilimanjaro, the Moravian Mission, the Berlin Society, and after 1914 also the Hermannsburg Society. In New Guinea, the Rhenish Society and the Neuendettelsau Society were active; the Liebenzell Society worked on the Caroline Islands and the Admiralty Islands; the city of Tsingtao in China was the place for the Berlin Society and the General Protestant Missionary Society. In general, China played an important role for the missionary societies. Besides the three societies already operating in the country and the German Mission to the Blind of Hildesheim, missionary activities were started by the Alliance Mission of Barmen, the St. Chrischona

Mission, the Liebenzell Society, the Kiel Mission to China, the Sisters of the Berlin Women's Union in Hong Kong, the Berlin Women's Missionary Society for China, and the Silesian Deaconesses of the motherhouse "Friedenshort." Additionally, the General Protestant Missionary Society worked in JAPAN according to liberal theology.

In the Near East the already established societies were joined by the Auguste-Victoria Foundation on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and the Mount Carmel Mission, which is still working in Lebanon today. At that time the Sudan Pioneer Mission, the later *Evangelische Mohammedanermision Wiesbaden*, started its mission. As a reaction to the persecution of the Armenian people, Ernst Lohmann (1860–1936) and Schuchardt founded the *Hilfsbund für christliches Liebeswerk* (Support League for Christian Charity), which continues to operate in Armenia and Lebanon today. Additionally the German Orient Mission, which was set up by Lepsius, started working in east Turkey and the northwestern part of Persia, later also in Syria. Although the efforts of a German mission to the Jews around Lake Urmia came to a wretched end, the branch of the Hermannsburg Society working in this area made itself independent in 1907, calling itself hereafter "Union for Lutheran Mission to Persia." This union started missionary work among the Kurds in Mahabad in 1913, which was brought to a sudden and somewhat violent end in 1940, eventually leading to the dissolution of this union.

The attempts made by Ernst Jakob Christoffel (1876–1955) turned out to be more successful. In 1909, his mission to the blind began in Malatia in Turkey. After World War I, operating within the Turkish borders became impossible for the mission, but the work of Christoffel could be successfully continued in Tabriz and Isfahan.

World War I resulted in a great breakdown for the German missionary societies. The missionary work in the German colonies, which was pursued during the colonial age and which was desired and supported by Wilhelm II, came to a complete end, despite all efforts to retrieve the colonies that went on even in national-socialistic times. In addition, the development toward independent churches was promoted because the German societies faced difficulties in refilling the vacant positions and because many missions had to be assigned to local personnel due to the war.

Even after the collapse of the colonial empires and after the development of independent churches, the missionary societies stayed in touch with the regions in which they previously worked. Since then, the German missionary societies and the independent churches that emerged as a result of their work have created numerous partnership agreements.

Methods of Missionary Work

The missionary interest of Justinian Ernst Welz (1621–1668) was evidently influenced by his monastic ideals, thus placing him in the tradition of the early church. However, the principles of the mission of Ziegenbalg already focused on the enculturation of the gospel in the Indian civilization. Even though standard missionary methods gained acceptance by all German missionary societies during the nineteenth century, the methods differed considerably between the individual societies. The following standard methods can be distinguished: schools, with a controversy over whether non-Christian students are invited or not; hospitals, especially after the great increase of the medical missions;

evangelization of the rural population, starting with short preaching trips to establishing Bible study groups, usually aiming at a personal conversion; work of missionary aid organizations, for example concerning crafts or industry, trade, or art; publications, for the supporters in Germany as well as in the native language. Regarding translation work, German missionaries, such as Hermann Gundert, whose research on Malayalam is still most important for this southern Indian language, made notable progress in many languages.

Besides these standard methods, some missionary societies developed certain peculiarities. The Hermannsburg Society practiced at first an early communism among its missionaries and colonists. The General Protestant Missionary Society, which changed its name to “German East-Asia Mission” in 1929 and which is today a member of the Association of Churches and Missions in South West Germany (*Evangelisches Missionswerk Südwestdeutschland*), not only referred deliberately to the “elements of truth already existing” in the non-Christian religions and civilizations, but also recorded in its statutes as a major goal to promote the general cultural development in the non-Christian civilizations. As a result many representatives of this missionary society became professors of their corresponding subjects after their return to Germany, for example Richard Wilhelm who worked as a sinologist.

Because WOMEN could often not be reached by the missionary societies because of the cultural situation on the site, the large missionary societies developed special branches for the mission to women. Additionally, independent women’s missionary societies started their work: The Berlin Woman’s Missionary Society for China (*Berliner Frauenmissionsverein für China*) in 1850, the oriental work of the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Motherhouse in 1851, the German Mission to the Blind of Hildesheim in 1890, the Woman’s Mission of Malche in 1898, and the German Woman’s Missionary Prayer Union in 1900. The most important women’s missionary society was the Women’s Society for Christian Education of the Female Sex in Eastern Countries (*Frauenverein für Christliche Bildung des Weiblichen Geschlechts im Morgenlande*), also known as “Woman’s Oriental Union” which was started in 1842.

The medical mission was a significant component of all missionary effort from the time of the Danish-Halle Mission in Tranquebar, where five missionary physicians were continuously on duty between 1729 and 1791. Although it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that special societies for medical mission were founded: Union for Medical Mission of Stuttgart in 1898; the Bern Union for Medical Mission in 1904; the Gossner Aid Union for Nursing in the Mission Stations; and the Rhenish Union for Medical Mission, both in 1906; the Berlin Union for Medical Mission; the Bavarian Union; the Leipzig Main Union; and the Halle Union for Medical Mission, all in 1908; the Hermannsburg-Hannover Union; and the Bremen Union in 1909; the East Frisian Union for Medical Mission in 1910; and in 1911–1912 also the corresponding unions in Kassel, Marburg, and Herrnhut. The last special union established was the Missionary Medical Union of the Brethren and their Friends (*Missionsärztlicher Verein der Brüdergemeine und ihrer Freunde*) in 1912. As early as 1909 the ten unions existing at that time decided to set up an umbrella organization, which was constituted on October 19, 1909 as “Federation of the German Unions for Medical Missions.” Of particular significance was the German Institute for Medical Mission (*Deutsches Institut für ärztliche Mission*) in Tübingen that originated from the work of Paul Lechler (1849–

1925). This institute began working in 1909 and included a medical school and a hospital for tropical diseases.

Like the medical mission, the diaconal mission was also methodically determined by the humanitarian aid that was to be given. The humanitarian aid enabled the missionary society such as the Christoffel or the Hildesheim Mission to the Blind or the societies working with leprosy patients to combine elements of a medical mission with elements of the diaconal and evangelistic mission.

After World War II the classical methods, which are still employed today, were supplemented by new methodological aspects, such as questions on partnership, enculturation, and contextualization. The methods of missionary work are today mostly contextual. Before 1918 most missionary methods suffered from the assumption developed under the influence of an ideology that equated spreading Western civilization with promoting Christianity. After World War II the missions could free themselves from this ideological captivity. Today they are trying to determine their relationship to globalization.

Federations

The German Evangelical Missionary Council (*Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsrat*) was founded in 1885 as Missionary Committee and later became the executive body of the Conference of German Protestant Missionary Societies (*Deutscher Evangelischer Missionstag*). This organization, at first called *Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund*, was established in 1922 with the purpose of improving the coordination between the joined missionary societies. In 1933 the name was changed to Conference of German Protestant Missionary Societies. It was a federation of thirtyfour Protestant missionary societies that were regularly sending out missionaries, and eight organizations in Germany keyed to world mission. The general assembly of this Conference met annually. The contact with the German church was maintained through the Protestant Liaison Board for World Mission (*Evangelische Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Weltmissionen*), which was set up in 1963. In 1964 the Association of Evangelical Missionary Societies in the German Democratic Republic left the listed organizations and stayed independent until 1991, when it became part of the Association of Protestant Churches and Missions in Germany (*Evangelisches Missionswerk in Deutschland*). The Conference of German Protestant Missionary Societies was dissolved in 1976 because the missionary societies were to a large extent integrated into the churches.

However, the dissolution of the Conference of Missionary Societies was preceded by the fiercest controversy in its history which dealt with the question if the focus of mission work should be restricted to outside Europe. The controversial understanding of the mission led in 1974 to the foundation of the Association of Evangelical Missions (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Evangelikaler Missionen*). This association has its headquarters in Korntal-Münchingen and is joined by thirty-four regular members and twenty-three extraordinary members, whereas only twenty-four regular members belong to the legal successor of the Conference of Missionary Societies, the Association of Protestant Churches and Missions, which additionally maintains special relationships with ten

partner organizations. All German missionary societies and their domains are listed in the annually published Yearbook of Mission.

The Association of Protestant Churches and Missions in Germany was founded in 1975 and acts as umbrella organization for all missionary affairs in Germany. The headquarters are located in Hamburg; its work concentrates on missionary theology, research, public relations, support of ecclesiastic activities in matters of mission and evangelization, theological education in the countries traditionally in care of German missionary societies, and cooperation with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and its Commission on World Mission and Evangelism.

Mission Studies

The scientific study of missionary methods started in Germany early in the nineteenth century (Flatt, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, Friedrich Ehrenfeuchter (1814–1878)) and was at first considered as a part of practical theology as well as of church history. Still, it took until 1896 before Gustav Warneck (1834–1910) was appointed to the first professorship especially occupied with mission studies. On the base already laid, Warneck emphasized the increase of knowledge, which was brought to practical theology and church history by mission history. Beginning in 1908 professorial chairs for mission studies were established, the first one in HALLE. Also, mission studies became a regular subject at the theological faculties of the German universities. Sometimes this subject was even taught outside of theological faculties, as was the case with Walter Freytag (1899–1959), who taught at the philosophical faculty of Hamburg, because a theological faculty did not exist, while the colonial institute wanted to study the effects of the missions in the German colonies. In his *Evangelische Missionslehre* of 1892–1903 Warneck emphasized the church-planting function of the mission and underlined the concept of identity between church and people. To him the intention of the mission to completely Christianize the entire world was yet unquestioned.

Today chairs for mission studies have been established at the theological faculties of the universities of Heidelberg, Berlin, Wuppertal, Hamburg, Erlangen, Neuendettelsau, and Munich. Since 2000 the University of Göttingen has had a special institute for oriental church and mission history. In 1957 the Academy of Mission at Hamburg University was founded, which is now jointly sponsored by the Evangelical Church in Germany, the Association of Protestant Churches and Missions, and the faculty of Evangelical Theology of the University of Hamburg. The mission seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Hermannsburg remains as the only place for an independent ecclesial missionary education in Germany. Apart from that, training of the missionaries is a supplement to the regular study of theology.

The programs, models, and goals of missions were always controversial issues, but some of the controversies have gained great importance. One of these issues is the idea of Warneck, that the transplantation of the church would simultaneously mean the “planting” of the church into the religion and the civilization of the nation, thus implanting the church into the people’s tradition. With his concept, which was later carried on by Bruno Gutmann (1876–1966) and Christian Keysser (1877–1961), Warneck did not only think about integrating pre-Christian values and customs, but also

about a reaction that would stimulate and enrich the German congregations. Another concept that originated from the sphere of the German mission studies was the idea of the “*Missio dei*,” which was contributed by Karl Hartenstein (1894–1952). After the missionary conference at Willingen in 1952 the concept of the *Missio dei* became a crucial issue of mission studies. In Germany a programmatic example of this notion, which reconsiders the understanding of mission as fundamentally new, was Georg F. Vicedom. Unlike the church-centered missionary conceptions, the concept of the *Missio dei* sees the triune god as the subject of the mission. God is the one who sends out as well as the one who is sent. The church is included in God’s universal SALVATION plans; mission therefore becomes the paragon of divine actions. Thereby the church loses the burden of enlightening a godless world. This concept opens up new perspectives for the church in regard to its devotion to the world, its solidarity with the poor, and its coexistence with people of different faiths.

Mission as a venture that especially depends on dialogue was the subject emphasized by Hans-Werner Gensichen, who was preceded by Hendrick Krämer (1888–1965) with his idea of mission as communication. The dialogue has its final reason in the incarnational principle of Christianity. Experiencing the community with Christ simultaneously spins off a dialogue with other experiences of community previously made, such as family, tribe, or caste. It is the solidarity of the Christians that qualifies all previous experiences of community as preliminary to the new experience. The testimony is surrounded by dialogue, and within the dialogue both partners are entitled to bear witness; thus the dialogue is not used for the testimony. The frankness of the dialogue is not to be limited. Thus dialogue in this conception means a living devotion to the other.

JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN sharpened this conception further with his thesis about *Bi-Identität*, which deliberately tries to bear the tension between the two religious poles during the missionary process. Another development within this conception is the model of *konvivenz* (convivence) introduced by Theo Sundermeier, which emphasizes the mutual life as foundation of all reason. This model correlates the impulses that were previously initiated in Germany with the reception of LIBERATION THEOLOGY of LATIN AMERICA, the Minjung theology of KOREA, and the Dalit theology of India. In this process convivence is the fundamental requirement for a change in perspective. Context is decisive. The missionary stays listening and learning all the time. The church as a community explains the biblical texts, unfolding them anew each time in a new context, knowing that the text came into existence under its own contextual circumstances. One of the Christocentric starting points of this theological thinking is that Jesus lived *with* the people, not *for* the people. Convivence today is tied to the convivence of Jesus.

A special case within mission studies is represented by the research on mission history, which contains the critical examination and theological reflection of the history of missions as well as the search for new descriptive models. The first Protestant compendium of mission history in Germany was written in 1743 by the theologian Friedrich Samuel Bock (1716–1786) of Königsberg. Bock was especially interested in the effect of missions on his homeland. His book concluded with principles of missionary methods for successful evangelization. Evidently Bock focused not only on historical questions, but also on finding a historical and theological judgment. For the sake of a better practice, the theologian Friedrich Lücke (1791–1855) of Göttingen demanded in

1840 a “more truthful” mission history and a new mission theory based on this knowledge. Since the year 1800 evangelical theologians increasingly occupied themselves with mission history: in 1800/01 Flatt (Tübingen), in 1825/26 Krafft (Erlangen) and Lücke (Bonn), in 1852 Wuttke (Halle). Later representatives are Sack (Bonn), Nitzsch (Berlin), Wiggers and Schliemann (Rostock). Epochal was the book by Blumhardt, *Attempt of a General Mission History of the Church of Christ*, written between 1828 and 1837. The first large studies on mission history followed in the seventies of the nineteenth century: Friedrich Nippold (Bern), Gustav Plitt (Erlangen), Christlieb (Bonn), and Carl H. Plath (Berlin). In Plath’s description, *The Choosing of the People in the Light of the Mission History*, presented in 1867, a strong undertone of COLONIALISM was already noticeable. At that time Germany was about to enter the circle of the colonial powers.

After World War II many attempts were made to renew the nature and the appearance of mission history, such as: mission history as profane history, or as church history (Heinz Frohnes), as history of extra-European Christianity instead of the classic approach (Klaus Koschorke), as history of border crossings (Andreas Feldtkeller), or as history in the sign of Bi-Identität Ulrich (Schoen). Much of this work is still in progress.

In recent times growing attention has been drawn to the fact that not only foreign religions but also Christian churches of Africa have started missionary activities in Germany. In view of the circumstance that a considerable percentage of the German population does not have any religious ties, the missionary efforts seem to be justified. The old distinction of Lücke between foreign and inner mission gives way to the perception that mission is an enterprise that is to be undertaken everywhere.

See also Evangelism, Overview; Inculturation; Missionary Organizations; Missions; Protestant Christian Church of Indonesia

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MARTIN TAMCKE

MISSIONS, NORTH AMERICAN

North American Protestantism has typically been missionary at heart, although numbers and effectiveness of missionaries have ebbed and flowed over three centuries. In 2002, North American Protestant foreign missionaries in all categories numbered about 136,000, or 32 percent of the world total.

Birth of North American Missions

Immigrants to North America in the 1600s and 1700s were mostly Protestants from ENGLAND and Europe. Whatever the motivations of the earliest colonists—discovery, conquest, or trade—Christian mission was part of the mix. Puritan settlers in New England saw themselves as part of God’s mission to transform the wilderness into a garden paradise. Evangelizing the heathen was written into the charters of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and Virginia colonies.

Earliest Protestant mission efforts among American Indians began in 1642 on Martha’s Vineyard, off the Massachusetts coast, by Puritan Congregationalists. The most prominent early missionary was JOHN ELIOT (1604–1690), “Apostle to the Indians,” who from 1646 worked successfully among the Pequots of Massachusetts. By 1674 Eliot had gathered 3,600 Christian Indians into fourteen self-governing villages. Eliot published an Algonkian translation of the Scriptures, the first BIBLE printed in North America. Christians in England organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England to support Eliot’s work, the first Protestant society organized exclusively

for foreign missions. Eliot's pattern was followed elsewhere. By some estimates approximately 20 percent of the Native American population of New England was converted, although the work rapidly disintegrated after 1675 because of warfare between colonists and Indians.

JONATHAN EDWARDS served as missionary to the Housatonic Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, for six years in the 1750s. In the wake of the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) Edwards set forth a thesis that in various forms has been argued by North American Protestants from CHARLES FINNEY to Kenneth Scott Latourette: Missions and revival are intimately linked. God renews the CHURCH through successive waves of revival that, despite setbacks, extend the mission outreach of the church and will lead finally to the full coming of God's Kingdom (see KINGDOM OF GOD).

Edwards' prospective son-in-law, DAVID BRAINERD (1718–1747), who died young after modestly successful mission work among Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, inspired others to missions by his self-sacrifice. An agent of the Scottish Society for Propagating of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), Brainerd kept a journal that was published and, together with a heroic biography by Edwards, had wide impact. Henry Martyn and WILLIAM CAREY were among many inspired to missionary service by Brainerd's example.

Some European Protestants came to North America primarily as missionaries to the native population or to work among colonists. Moravian Brethren established communities at Salem, North Carolina, Nazareth and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, partly to reach American Indians. The Anglican SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG) sent JOHN WESLEY and others to America in the 1730s to minister to colonists and convert the Indians. Although largely ineffective in Indian EVANGELISM, the SPG had considerable success in converting African slaves (see SLAVERY).

After the disruption of the Revolutionary War, the Second Great Awakening, much more widespread than the first, renewed churches in New England and the South and spread revival fires along the frontier in Kentucky and elsewhere (see REVIVALS). This renewal birthed the CAMP MEETING movement and gave fresh impetus to missions and to abolitionist and social reform movements (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

Missions and North American Expansion

As the frontier shifted westward, so did missionary efforts. Presbyterians and Congregationalists formed the American Home Missionary Society in 1826 to evangelize New England settlers in western New York State. Methodist CIRCUIT RIDERS and Baptist farmerpreachers planted congregations along the shifting frontier. Methodists and other groups sent missionaries to California and Oregon Territory. Missionary work continued among NATIVE AMERICANS but was often undermined by encroachment upon and expropriation of Indian lands. In Idaho Territory, Presbyterian missionary Sue McBeth in the 1870s effectively trained leaders among the Nez Perce Indians, a tribe that in turn evangelized others.

The Rise of Foreign Missions

Even before the frontier reached the Pacific Coast, Protestants set their sights on foreign lands. The first American-born foreign mission societies (see MISSION ORGANIZATIONS) arose in the early 1800s: The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM, 1810), the American Baptist Missionary Union (1814), the African Baptist Missionary Society (organized by Black Baptists in 1816), and the United Foreign Missionary Society (1817). Foreign mission societies were formed also by the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH (1832), Methodist Episcopal Church (1833), FREE WILL BAPTISTS (1833), PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in the U.S.A. (1837), and Southern Baptists (1845) (see SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION).

The ABCFM arose in part out of the famous student “Haystack Prayer Meeting” at Williams College in 1806. Founded by Congregationalists, the ABCFM soon included Presbyterian and Reformed supporters. In 1812 the ABCFM sent out its first five missionaries, including Adoniram and Ann Judson and Luther Rice, all bound for INDIA (see JUDSON FAMILY). En route Rice and the Judsons changed their views on BAPTISM, leading the Judsons to become the first American Baptist missionaries to Burma and prompting the organization of American Baptist missions in 1814.

“The Great Century”

During what Kenneth Scott Latourette called “The Great Century” (1815–1914), U.S. and Canadian foreign mission societies increased from three to about one hundred. North American Protestantism became the dominant force in world missions, by 1910 contributing about \$13 million annually, 43 percent of the world total.

Revival in 1857–1858 gave fresh impetus to foreign missions. New missionary societies were formed. Many were initiated by WOMEN, including the Women’s Union Missionary Society (1861), Woman’s Board of Missions (1869), and the (Methodist Episcopal) Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society (1869). During the 1870s women formed new mission societies or “auxiliaries” at the average rate of one per year, launching a major women’s missionary movement.

As sending agencies multiplied, hundreds of missionaries served overseas, particularly in India, Burma, and AFRICA. In 1900 North American missionaries totaled 4,891, including 400 from CANADA, constituting 27 percent of the global Protestant mission force. By the end of the century CHINA emerged as the major North American field; in 1910 some 1,784 North American missionaries were serving there.

Through most of the nineteenth century the majority of North American missionaries served in America, evangelizing the frontier in outreach to Indians, blacks, Hispanic Americans, and new urban immigrants. This changed, however, as the frontier reached the Pacific and as North Americans became increasingly globally conscious. Josiah Strong’s books *Our Country* (1886) and *The New Era; or, The Coming Kingdom* (1893) popularized the view that America was key in civilizing and Christianizing the world.

North American missionaries planted growing churches in many lands. In 1853 Presbyterians John and Helen Nevius went to China where they ministered for forty

years. In 1885 John Nevius began advocating a “new mission method” of establishing self-propagating, self-supporting, and self-governing indigenous churches, an approach that proved increasingly fruitful. Nevius shared his vision with Presbyterian missionaries in KOREA in 1890, sparking extraordinary growth in the Korean Presbyterian Church, which reported 100,000 members by 1933.

The Student Volunteer Movement

Missionary activity expanded greatly with the formation of the STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT for Foreign Missions (SVM) in 1888, sparked by a missionary awakening among college students. A group of women students at Mount Holyoke College in 1878 formed a secret association, pledging their lives to missions. Grace Wilder, a member of this band, helped awaken missionary interest in her brother, Robert. For months Robert and Grace prayed together for a missionary awakening, asking God for 1,000 volunteers. Robert Wilder helped form a student missionary society at Princeton University in 1883.

Robert Wilder carried his missionary passion to DWIGHT L. MOODY'S Summer Conference at Northfield, Massachusetts, in 1886 and was instrumental in getting Presbyterian ARTHUR TAPPAN PIERSON (1837–1911) to promote foreign missions there. Pierson's stirring addresses in 1886 and in subsequent years prompted the organization of the SVM in 1888.

The SVM was the fruit of the revivalism of Moody (1837–1899), of student missionary awakening, and of Pierson's missionary vision. Pierson, later editor of *Missionary Review of the World*, had been influenced by British Baptist mission leader Joseph Angus and the ESCHATOLOGY of GEORGE MÜLLER. In 1879 Pierson shifted from a postmillennial to a premillennial understanding of history, convinced that world conditions would worsen until Christ's return, which probably was imminent (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM). The work of proclaiming Christ was urgent. Christian missionaries were to spread the word and “speed the coming” of Jesus Christ.

Pierson promoted the famous SVM watchword: “The evangelization of the world in this generation.” At the 1886 Northfield Conference, Pierson urged, “All should go, and go to all.” One hundred volunteered; the next year 2,100 (1,600 men; 500 women) enlisted, and thousands more later. Early volunteers included Methodist JOHN MOTT (1865–1955) and Presbyterians Robert Wilder and Robert Speer; all became lifelong missionary leaders. “The missionary enterprise in the UNITED STATES was entering a period of enormous vitality with a crusading spirit...fueled by duty, compassion, confidence, optimism, evangelical revivalism, and premillennialist urgency” (Anderson 1988:98). The motive of love for and obedience to Christ merged with a growing sense of America's “Manifest Destiny” to be a civilizing light to the world.

Pierson supported the organization of the interdenominational Africa Inland Mission, one of the earliest so-called faith missions, founded in 1895. Meanwhile Baptist pastor ADONIRAM JUDSON GORDON, “father of faith missions,” founded the Boston Missionary Training Institute in 1889 to supplement denominational missions by training “lay” men and especially women missionaries.

Other premillennialist mission leaders were Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843–1919), founder of the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE, and Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843–1921), who founded the Central American Mission in 1890 and whose influential SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE was published as a resource for missionaries.

Simpson was a Canadian Presbyterian. In 1881 he resigned his pastorate in New York City and shortly thereafter formed his independent Gospel Tabernacle to reach the poor and train missionaries. In 1883 Simpson founded The Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World and a year later a missionary training college in New York City that eventually became Nyack College and Alliance Theological Seminary. Simpson's organization sent its first missionaries to Congo in 1884. Simpson stressed a "Fourfold Gospel" based on Jesus Christ as "Savior, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King." Although not Pentecostal, Simpson's theology had much in common with later PENTECOSTALISM, particularly the Foursquare Church. In 1887 Simpson organized the Christian Alliance and the Evangelical Missionary Alliance, later merged as the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE.

Women played a key, if often underrecognized, role in the rapid increase of missionary personnel in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Magazines such as *Woman's Work for Women* (Presbyterian) and *Woman's Missionary Friend* (Methodist Episcopal) multiplied, feeding a growing network of prayer, study, and financial support. Discrimination against single women as missionaries prompted the formation of many "female agencies" between 1860 and 1900, such as the Woman's Union Missionary Society (1861) and the Women's Board of Missions (1869). By 1900 forty-one American women's agencies were supporting over 1,200 single women missionaries in dozens of countries. Together with married women serving under other boards, women constituted 60 percent of the American Protestant missionary force in the 1890s.

Most women's missionary activity was carried out under the rubric of "Woman's Work for Women"—a recognition that in many lands only women missionaries could evangelize women, but also often a limitation on women's ministries. After 1910 most women's agencies were merged into existing denominational boards, losing their autonomy and dynamism.

Mott effectively promoted missions in his role as intercollegiate secretary for the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA) after graduating from Cornell in 1888. In 1900 Mott reaffirmed the SVM watchword but reinterpreted it in less millennialist terms in *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation*. Mott reported in 1892 that through SVM inspiration over 500 volunteers were serving on foreign fields and thousands more were preparing.

U.S. annexation of the PHILIPPINES after the Spanish-American War (1898–1899) awakened Protestant missions interest there. Because the Philippines had long been under Spanish control, American anti-Catholicism combined with a sense of national purpose as added motivations for Protestant missions (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). "God marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world," said Senator Albert Beveridge after visiting the Philippines.

Some Protestants demurred, sensing a coming shift in global missions. Theologian William Newton Clarke said the world was entering a time of "crisis in missions"; it was

“quite impossible that within the lifetime of a generation Christ should become intelligently known by all men.” Mott disagreed, saying the SVM watchword did not imply the CONVERSION of the world and calling for an increase in Protestant missionaries from some 15,000 in 1900 to 50,000.

The Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York City (1900) marked a high point in interdenominational missionary cooperation (see ECUMENISM). The gathering attracted 3,100 “delegates and missionaries” from 200 North American, European, and British missions, and crowds totaling 200,000. Participants included mission personnel (predominantly North Americans) from the larger denominations but also from smaller groups like the MENNONITES and Free Methodists (see FREE METHODIST CHURCH OF AMERICA). U.S. President William McKinley opened the conference, speaking of “the missionary effort which has wrought such wonderful triumphs for civilization.” The conference recognized the growing contribution of women and held a mass women’s missionary rally. The conference published statistics on world missions and was a precursor of the influential WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in Edinburgh in 1910.

For nearly half a century, Robert E. Speer (1867–1947) gave stellar leadership to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Influenced by Moody, Pierson, and the SVM, although never ordained, Speer became a prominent interpreter of foreign missions. Under his leadership Presbyterian missionaries increased from 598 in 1891 to a peak of 1,606 in 1927, making the Presbyterian board the largest American missionary agency of the time.

North American Protestant missions seemed to be riding a swelling tide. Foreign missionaries increased from 2,176 in 1890 to 4,159 in 1900, then to over 9,000 by 1915. Mott said in 1910 that a worldwide “rising spiritual tide” meant that “victory is assured if the present campaign be adequately supported and pressed.”

The “Great Century” of Protestant missions ended, however, with the crisis of World War I. The broadly ecumenical Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 celebrated the great missionary achievements of the previous half-century and remarkable Protestant consensus about foreign missions, but the North American Protestant missionary enterprise was already in a time of transition.

Nearly 13,000 SVM volunteers reportedly entered foreign missionary service between 1886 and 1936, but by the 1920s the movement was in decline and underwent major theological reorientation that paralleled the shift in mainline Protestantism. At the 1927 SVM convention in Detroit, influential missionary Sherwood Eddy publicly repudiated the watchword, “The evangelization of the world in this generation.”

Three Streams after 1900

Early in the twentieth century the apparent North American Protestant missionary consensus began to fragment. Three distinct streams shaped the course of missions in the 1900s: Ecumenical Protestantism, FUNDAMENTALISM, and Pentecostalism.

Ecumenical Protestantism

The Ecumenical Movement grew directly out of the 1910 Edinburgh Conference and the formation of the International Missionary Council (IMC) in 1921. Many theologically conservative mission leaders initially supported the Ecumenical Movement but abandoned it when in their view the growing concern with church unity began to undercut missions and church extension. By 1925 North American Protestant missionaries numbered 13,608, nearly half the worldwide total. Most were serving under mainline Protestant boards, but a growing number—nearly 20 percent—were now serving with newer “faith” missions or other groups.

Wars and the Great Depression disrupted the missionary enterprise to some extent, but the biggest change proved to be theological. In 1932 the Rockefeller-funded Laymen’s Foreign Missions Inquiry report, *Re-Thinking Missions*, polarized the missions movement. The report seemed to undermine faith in the uniqueness of Jesus Christ and proposed that missionaries work cooperatively with other major religions toward one uniting world faith. Although most mission leaders rejected the report, the Protestant missions consensus evaporated. The 1938 meeting of the IMC (in effect the first major ecumenical council of churches) shifted attention from traditional mission work to social issues and interchurch relations.

Mainline Protestant missions soon accepted the more liberal view of missions—which in reaction gave added impetus to fundamentalist missions. The theological shift was soon reflected in the mainline missions force, which dropped from about 10,500 in 1925 to 6,800 in 1970 and 2,600 in 1985. Yet during this period the total number of American Protestant foreign missionaries rose from 13,100 to 37,803.

Mainline missions increasingly focused on interchurch cooperation and ecumenical efforts. Most mainline mission boards endorsed the integration of the IMC with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES at New Delhi in 1961. In theory this union signaled that mission was integral to the church’s being. Similarly, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America became the Division of Foreign Missions of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1950.

Debate about the nature of mission continued within ecumenical Protestantism. The role of the church as a missionary agency was questioned, particularly in the 1960s when some theologians argued that God was more at work in secular liberation movements than in Christianity; thus “the world should set the agenda for the church” (see LIBERATION THEOLOGY). Bishop STEPHEN CHARLES NEILL cautioned, however, that “if everything is mission, nothing is mission.” Meanwhile the preponderant North American foreign missions thrust shifted to fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and evangelical groups.

Fundamentalism

Tensions latent at Edinburgh 1910 surfaced with the rise of fundamentalism, whose leaders included prominent premillennial missionary statesman Robert Speer. Fundamentalists were increasingly concerned with the impact of theological liberalism on missions (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM). The fundamentalist versus modernist

controversy raged as fiercely on the mission field as at home. In China BAPTISTS and Presbyterians organized the Bible Union of China to counter theological liberalism.

In 1917 fundamentalists formed the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association of North America (IFMA), a fellowship of nondenominational faith missions. Member agencies included CHINA INLAND MISSION, Central American Mission, and Africa Inland Mission. Henry Frost of China Inland Mission was the first IFMA president.

As faith missions flourished, new agencies such as the Latin America Mission (1921) and India Mission (1930) were formed. Bible institutes such as MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE in Chicago and others in Toronto and Los Angeles supplied a steady stream of mission candidates. By 1990 nearly 100 agencies were affiliated with the IFMA, representing over 8,000 North American missionaries.

Pentecostalism

As the twentieth century dawned, a new movement arose that eventually produced the largest Protestant missionary force. Pentecostalism was born with missionary passion. When Agnes Ozman (1870–1937) was baptized with the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues on January 1, 1901, at Bethel Bible College in Kansas (often seen as the birth of modern Pentecostalism), she viewed the experience as empowerment for witness. So did virtually all early Pentecostals. A former Methodist who in 1894 enrolled in Simpson's training institute in New York, Ozman engaged in city missionary work and later with her husband traveled in Pentecostal evangelistic work. In 1917 she and her husband affiliated with the newly formed ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, soon to become the largest U.S. Pentecostal denomination.

Key to the rise of Pentecostal missions was the 1906–1909 AZUSA STREET REVIVAL in Los Angeles. An interracial movement led initially by African American Holiness preacher William Seymour, Azusa Street became known for the phenomena of speaking in TONGUES, prophecy, and healings (see FAITH HEALING). People baptized in the Spirit felt this was God's latter-day gift for world evangelization. Thousands from around the world made their way to Azusa Street; many returned home as Pentecostal missionaries. Azusa Street's monthly paper, *The Apostolic Faith*, reported prophecies that God would send out missionaries "to preach the full gospel in the power of the Spirit." Speaking in tongues was God's gift for evangelism in all the world's languages. "God is solving the missionary problem," said *The Apostolic Faith*, "sending out new-tongued missionaries." By 1910 over 185 North American Pentecostal missionaries had ventured overseas in the wake of Azusa Street.

Many early Pentecostal leaders had roots in METHODISM or the HOLINESS MOVEMENT. In some cases whole denominations, such as the CHURCH OF GOD (Cleveland, Tennessee), accepted glossolalia as God's latter-day gift and became Pentecostal. Pentecostal denominations soon organized mission boards; the Pentecostal Holiness Church formed its foreign mission board in 1911 and the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) three years later. World evangelization was a major motive for founding the Assemblies of God in 1914.

Earliest Pentecostal missionaries were of three types. The largest and most effective group consisted of those already serving with other boards who after Spirit-baptism became Pentecostals. The second group were untrained, inexperienced folk who in

Pentecostal zeal went to foreign lands without financial resources, believing God would provide. Although some proved effective, many returned home when resources failed to materialize. The third group consisted of men and women who received BIBLE COLLEGE or institute training before venturing overseas. More than a dozen Pentecostal Bible institutes were formed in the two decades after the Azusa Revival. As new denominations and missions were formed, the number of Pentecostal missionaries rose dramatically. By 1987 North American Pentecostal denominations had deployed well over 2,600 foreign missionaries and reported nearly 20,000,000 overseas constituents.

From Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism

Three major mid-twentieth-century shifts significantly influenced the course of North American missions, and the first was the growth of EVANGELICALISM. Although fundamentalism continued as a strong current within North American Protestantism, the emergence of evangelicalism out of fundamentalism toward the end of World War II was important for foreign missions. Evangelicals founded many missions agencies, such as Missionary Aviation Fellowship (1944), Far East Broadcasting Company (1945), and Greater Europe Mission (1949). Some of these, notably WORLD VISION (1950), were primarily evangelical relief agencies. The Evangelical Foreign Mission Association (EFMA), organized in 1945, networked evangelical agencies from Reformed, Wesleyan-Holiness, and Pentecostal traditions, although in practice most missions worked fairly independently. Beginning in the 1960s the EFMA and the IFMA worked cooperatively, particularly in publishing.

Renamed the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies in 1992, the EFMA in 2001 had 90 member agencies representing approximately 15,000 North American missionaries. It included not only denominational boards but also interdenominational ministries and independent groups such as the Mission Society for United Methodists, which were formed as evangelical alternatives to mainline denominational boards. By 1973 evangelical mission agencies accounted for 85 percent of the personnel and two-thirds of the funding of North American Protestant foreign missions.

By the late twentieth century many evangelical missions (with notable exceptions) came to see Roman Catholics as partners in world evangelization, feeling more at home with theologically conservative Catholics than with liberal Protestant agencies. One result was the founding of the American Society of Missiology (ASM) in 1972, which brought together conservative evangelical, “conciliar” Protestant, and Roman Catholic scholars. The ASM quarterly *Missiology* promoted missiological research and facilitated growing recognition of missiology as an academic discipline.

In the evangelical missions resurgence, a key role was played by the BILLY GRAHAM Evangelistic Association (BGEA). The BGEA supported several international missions conferences, including the seminal 1974 International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, SWITZERLAND, that produced the Lausanne Covenant. The Lausanne Conference prompted increased evangelical missions cooperation, greater concern with social justice, and a theological consensus (the Lausanne Covenant) that provided the doctrinal basis for many new missions organizations (see LOUSANNE COMMITTEE FOR WORLD EVANGELIZATION).

From Pentecostalism to Charismatic Christianity

In the 1960s the Charismatic Renewal in both Roman Catholicism and mainline Protestantism emerged through Pentecostal influence. The resultant popularizing of Pentecostal experience sparked increased interest in missions and greater cooperation between Catholics and Protestants. Pentecostal leaders such as DAVID DU PLESSIS and Vinson Synan promoted “charismatic bridges” between Pentecostals and Charismatics and across the Catholic-Protestant divide.

The Charismatic Movement gave fresh impulse to North American missions and led to the formation of new agencies and new groups such as Vineyard Christian Fellowship. Vineyard now supports many missionaries around the world, often through independent charismatic missions agencies.

Missionary-sending Agencies

The third significant twentieth century development was the rise of missionary-sending agencies in many nations where North American and European missionaries evangelized successfully during the nineteenth century. These new missions multiplied rapidly in the late 1900s. By 2000 the number of missionaries sent out by these newer agencies probably had surpassed those deployed by North American missions; many came as missionaries to America. Relatedly, reflecting the globalization of missions, by 2001 many North American agencies such as World Vision, WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS, and Youth With A Mission (YWAM) had internationalized in both structure and personnel.

Increasingly North America came to be recognized as a mission field. In 1984 influential missiologist J.E. LESSLIE NEWBIGIN entitled his Warfield Lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary, “Can the West Be Converted?” Newbigin termed this the “crucial question” and called for “an effective missionary encounter” with North American CULTURE. These shifts set the scene for North American Protestant missions at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Over the previous century fundamentalism reluctantly gave birth to evangelicalism and evangelical missions; Pentecostalism joyfully, but with some surprise, birthed the Charismatic Movement; and Protestant missions served as midwife at the birth of multiplying Two-Thirds World mission agencies.

Missions in the Twenty-first Century

In 2000 U.S. Protestantism had approximately 118,700 missionaries working abroad (28 percent of the world total) and Canada had 16,500 (4 percent of the world total). Thus the North American foreign missionary force was approximately 135,200, 32 percent of the total worldwide. In addition to career missionaries, this total included a growing number of short-term and “non-residential missionaries” who, often for political reasons, did not take up official residence in their nation of service. Although the numbers of North

American missionaries continued to rise, they were becoming a proportionately smaller segment of the world total.

The North American missionary force changed dramatically during the twentieth century, reflecting trends and dynamics noted above. At the beginning of the century the great majority of North American Protestant missionaries were affiliated with historic mainline denominations. The number of mainline missionaries peaked at about 14,000 in the mid-1920s. Because of rapid increase in fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and evangelical missionaries, by 1968 the combined total of IFMA- and EFMA-affiliated foreign missionaries surpassed that of mainline agencies. Most of the increase since 1968 has come, however, from new evangelical, Pentecostal, and charismatic agencies, many unaffiliated with IFMA or EFMA.

In 2000 the North American Protestant overseas missionary force counted approximately 40,000 U.S. and 3,000 Canadian full-time missionaries (excluding short-termers) working in some 200 countries. These missionaries served under 814 North American mission agencies (693 U.S. and 121 Canadian). By 2000 these agencies were also sponsoring some 3,500 nonNorth American missionaries, plus some 73,000 national workers.

A major trend evident by 2000 was the peaking of the numbers of full-time “career” missionaries and a dramatic rise in short-term missionaries, “tentmakers,” nonresidential workers, and nationals sponsored by North American agencies. By 2000 U.S. mission agencies were annually deploying nearly 100,000 short-term (two weeks to one year) workers, although the total number of short-termers, including those sent by local churches and other organizations, may have been as high as 500,000.

Of the 693 U.S. mission agencies identified in the 2001–2003 *Mission Handbook*, only 56 were founded before 1900. The number of U.S. mission agencies increased steadily from the 1930s on; the forming of new agencies peaked in the 1980s, when a total of 141 were founded. By far the largest growth was in mission agencies not affiliated with any denomination. Thus the twentieth century saw a dramatic shift from denominational to nondenominational, interdenominational, and independent societies. By 2000 agencies not denominationally affiliated outnumbered denominational ones nearly five to one.

As of 1998 the five largest U.S. mission agencies were the Southern Baptist International Mission Board (4,562 U.S. workers deployed outside the United States), Wycliffe Bible Translators USA (2,930), YWAM (1,817), Assemblies of God Foreign Missions (1,543), and New Tribes Mission (1,514). The largest Canadian agencies were Wycliffe Bible Translators of Canada (415 workers serving outside Canada), Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada (210), Brethren Assemblies (192), New Tribes Mission of Canada (187), and the Pentecostal Assemblies (165).

These data reflect four trends in North American missions at the beginning of the twenty-first century: (1) decreasing denominational and increasing nondenominational agencies and missionaries; (2) decreasing numbers of long-term, full-time missionaries and increasing numbers of short-term, bivocational, and other mission personnel; (3) relative increase in Pentecostal and charismatic missionaries; and (4) growing internationalization and globalization of mission agencies. By 2000, for example, Wycliffe Bible Translators International was the coordinating structure for over thirty national Wycliffe sending agencies and a dozen affiliates around the world.

As the twenty-first century began, some observers warned of a looming financial crisis for North American missions attributed to an aging donor base, retirement of “Baby Boomers,” and the increasing debt load and (perhaps) isolationism of the rising generations.

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HOWARD A. SNYDER

MISSIONS TO JEWS

Protestant interest in evangelizing the Jews started with the REFORMATION. MARTIN LUTHER, during his early career as a reformer, believed that the Jews would join his new brand of Christianity, and made attempts at missionizing Jews. Protestant attempts at evangelizing Jews continued in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a major Protestant mission to the Jews came about in the eighteenth century in GERMANY in the

wake of the Pietist revival (see PIETISM). Pietist thinkers such as AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE and PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER took special interest in the Jews, considering them to be heirs to biblical Israel. In 1728 Pietists established in HALLE the Institutium Judaicum, a missionary center that trained evangelists and produced literature specifically for Jews. Although Pietist missionaries considered the Jews to be morally and spiritually doomed without the ameliorating gospel, they approached Jews expressing appreciation for their role in history. Evangelizing the Jews, they believed, was a manifestation of love and goodwill toward that people. The Institutium Judai-cum closed down in 1791 as Pietist interest in the Jews declined.

19th Century Expansion

A strong impetus for evangelizing the Jews arose in Britain in the early years of the nineteenth century. Inspired by Messianic hopes, which included an expectation for the national restoration of the Jews as part of the End Times events, British Evangelicals saw a special calling in evangelizing the Jews. The largest of the British missionary societies (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS) was the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews. Established in 1808 the LSFPCATJ enjoyed the support of the official church, as well as the Nonconformists (see CHURCH OF ENGLAND; NON-CONFORMITY). The London Society operated in dozens of Jewish communities around the world, including in the Ottoman Empire, in czarist RUSSIA, and among the Falasha in Ethiopia. At the peak of its activity in the late nineteenth century it employed more than 200 missionaries.

The London Society served as a model for a number of missionary societies in Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, the UNITED STATES, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, and SOUTH AFRICA. Among them were the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews (established in 1816), the Berlin Society for the Promotion of Christianity Among the Jews (established 1822), and the London-headquartered Mildmay Mission to the Jews, which subscribed to a dispensationalist messianic outlook and was, like the LSFPCATJ, also active in a number of countries. The missionary movement in America grew considerably in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century as a result of the influence of the dispensationalist messianic faith of American Protestants, which brought about a growing interest in evangelizing Jews (see DISPENSATIONALISM). From one small society in the 1870s, the number of missions grew by the 1920s to more than forty societies employing hundreds of missionaries. Among the more prominent missionary societies in America in the twentieth century were the Chicago Hebrew Mission (called since 1953 the American Messianic Fellowship) and the American Board of Missions to the Jews, which changed its name in 1983 to the Chosen People Ministries. In addition, a number of Protestant denominations, including the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U.S.A. and the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, established special departments for missionary work among the Jews.

New missionary societies appeared constantly on the scene, using new techniques for targeting new groups in the Jewish populations. In 1970 Moishe Rosen established JEWS FOR JESUS in San Francisco to evangelize Jewish members of the counterculture. Noted for its innovative methods, Jews for Jesus, originally an arm of the American Board of

Mission to the Jews, soon broke away from its mother organization and became the predominant organization in the field.

Focus on Palestine

Of special importance for Protestant missions has been evangelizing among the Jews in Palestine. Beginning in the early nineteenth century Protestant missions sent evangelists to propagate the gospel among the small Jewish population there. By the mid-nineteenth century, it became evident that there was a surplus of missionary activity among the Jewish population of Palestine and missions began shifting their attention from the Jews to the Arab population. The strong missionary presence in the country made an impact on the educational, medical, and economic infrastructure of Palestine. In the twentieth century the Israeli government chose to tolerate the missionary presence, and Protestant missionary activity persisted after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, which many evangelical Christians saw as preparing the ground for the events of the End Times. However, the large missionary presence stirred some hostile reactions, especially among members of the Orthodox Jewish community, including unsuccessful attempts at passing legislation intended to put a stop to the missionary activity in the country.

Jewish Reaction

Not only in Israel, but in other parts of the world as well, the extensive missionary activity aroused negative reaction among Jews. Jewish leaders have seen such attempts as a manifestation of long-term hostile Christian attitudes toward JUDAISM and a refusal to accept the legitimacy of the Jewish existence outside of the church. At the same time many poor Jews took advantage of the medical, educational, and relief services that the missions were offering. Unable to organize an effective Jewish boycott of the missions, Jewish community leaders tried to counter the missionary influence by providing the same services the missions were offering. The Christian missionary efforts have ironically served as an incentive for Jews to enlarge the scope of educational activities and philanthropic work among their disadvantaged brethren.

The geographic focus of missionary work shifted throughout the years. In the 1920s the Soviet authorities closed down all missionary stations in Russia. In the late 1930s and early 1940s the Nazis banned missions in Germany as well as in other countries in Nazi-occupied Europe. The German missionary societies never reopened. With the opening of the exSoviet bloc to Christian missionaries in the late 1980s, missions to the Jews have been active there, as well as among Jewish immigrants from Russia in Israel, the United States, and Germany. In the 1950s–1960s a new movement of interfaith dialogue gained momentum and mainline Protestant churches decided to stop their efforts at missionizing among the Jews. The field of missionary work among the Jews became exclusively the realm of conservative Evangelicals, many of whom view the Jewish people as destined to play an important role in the messianic age (see PHILOSEMITISM). In addition to evangelizing the Jews, evangelical missions have promoted the idea of the centrality of

Israel among evangelical Christians who have become ardent supporters of Israel in the American political arena.

The appreciative attitude Pietists and evangelical missions have shown toward the Jewish people, and their claim that the acceptance of Christianity made Jews fulfill their Jewish destiny rather than betray it, gave rise to a community of Jewish converts to Christianity that continued to view themselves as Jews. In the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, some missions even attempted to establish Hebrew Christian congregations. The Jewish Christian community received a strong boost in the 1970s with the rise of Messianic Judaism, a more assertive movement of Jewish converts that gave expression to the new emphasis on ethnic pride and a search for Jewish roots. Missions to the Jews were first suspicious of the new movement, but soon came to appreciate the effectiveness of the Messianic Jewish centers in attracting new converts. Missions such as the Chosen People Ministries and Jews for Jesus have moved to establish Messianic Jewish congregations themselves, thus turning Messianic Judaism into the central arm of the missionary movement.

Conclusion

In sum, Protestants have seen the propagation of the Gospel among the Jews as an important mission. In relation to the size of the Jewish community, missions to the Jews have been among the largest and best funded among Protestant missions, and their activity the most extensive. The Protestant missionary attempts have brought about a large and vigorous movement of converts to Protestant Christianity, the largest Jewish movement of voluntary converts to Christianity in modern times. They have also left a strong mark on the development of Jewish-Christian relationships and indirectly influenced the charitable and educational infrastructure of the Jewish community.

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YAAKOV ARIEL

MODERNISM

Modernism is a conceptual term encompassing variously related (but also divergent) cultural movements and trends beginning in the late nineteenth century and evolving through the mid-twentieth century. Although primarily a set of Western phenomena, it also affected events throughout the world because of colonial and other hegemonic

relations, and was sometimes influenced in turn by cultures under the sway of the West. As historical data its various components had earlier forms that continued to manifest themselves in diverse pockets and guises even into the twenty-first century. In general they can be assessed as reactions to nineteenth-century developments in bourgeois CULTURE under the nation state, and an attempt to (re)appropriate and (re)situate the Western tradition in novel contexts in continuous as well as disjunct ways. In more philosophical terms one could say that Modernism was a particular crisis of humanism (cf. Edmund Husserl) and an attempt to address that crisis. Chief motifs and forces of this crisis included anxiety and disillusionment; industrialized SECULARIZATION; disorientation and melding of the individual; horror of war and domination; failure of representation; and the emergence of new consciousness and voices. Historiographically Modernism is also tied to Postmodernism or POSTMODERNITY, which succeeds and presupposes it. The relation of Modernism to Protestantism is deep and varied, involving give and take between the two, challenges and oppositions.

As a torrent of events chiefly projected in ART and thought, Modernism intersects with but does not equal “modernity” of the said period. Accordingly this essay focuses on that intersection and relates it to Protestant religion. Rather than a summary history in strict chronological order or a catalog of acts and events, the approach adopted here is thematic and suggestive, with the aim of catching in interlocking themes some salient crosscurrents of Modernism, its times, and Protestant concerns. When possible, treatment is also given to the internal dynamics in different realms.

Death, Malaise, Horror, and Disintegration

The apprehension of DEATH invading the palpitations of life had been a recurrent theme in times past, but its latest return in ROMANTICISM did not go beyond thematization and certain stylistic oddities in artistic expression here and there. This was attributed to the grounding strength of Western metaphysics since Plato and Aristotle, and of teleological thinking that gave human beings a sense of purpose (high or low) in life, history, and the world. Even GEORG W.F. HEGEL'S *Phenomenology of the Spirit* did not—any more than the FRENCH REVOLUTION—remove these pillars from Western consciousness. Rather, metaphysics and teleological thinking were given a more dynamic, historical (political) spin, and were thus able to overcome or at least withstand temporarily the latest onslaughts of skeptical and pessimistic thought. The latter, moreover, did not cast doubt on the legitimacy of representation as such, but only its objectivity. Finally the practical force of theistic belief, as opposed to its truth or necessity, was rarely put into question.

As the nineteenth century rolled on, this state of affairs began to unravel. Already in Giacomo Leopardi, Francisco de Goya, and SØREN KIERKEGAARD dislocation of the individual from the divinely sanctioned scheme of things was becoming manifest. As had occurred in the Mannerist poet Ronsard during the crisis of humanism in the sixteenth century, WILLIAM JAMES was able to say in 1868 that he sensed a “horrible fear of [his] own existence”—a horror enlarged in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Jekyll and Hyde*. It was a sort of malaise symptomatic of what FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE would characterize as the DEATH OF GOD, the end of a robust role for FAITH in God in

human society and thus also the end of coherence of meaning and value. The poet Charles Baudelaire, having caught a sense of the horrific from Edgar Allan Poe, would give striking expression to this in his rebelliously psalmic *Fleurs du mal*. Even the pantheistic sentiments of earlier Romanticism evaporated in the Symbolist verse of Paul Verlaine, Arthur Rimbaud, and Stéphane Mallarmé, despite its inclusion of figures from classical myth. Instead NATURE is depicted without an ulterior spiritual sense, in an opacity reflected in the later Italian painter Giorgio Morandi's works, and what remains is the reflection of an ambiguous self. As Gertrude Stein would later put it: "There is no there there." Ezra Pound and T.S.ELIOT, with their often opaque free verse were both heirs to and innovators on this Symbolist dislodgment of affect, although in it the absence of divinity still allowed for a cryptic symbolic force that led deeper than the words to the veiled abyss of the human psyche perhaps, but not to discursive sense. Claude Debussy, Aleksandr Scriabin, and the early Maurice Ravel provided the musical analog to this Symbolist trend, whereas the lack of narrative immediacy in the paintings of Jean Renoir and Claude Monet led the way in its pictorial sibling called, then pejoratively, impressionism. It may seem odd that this novel style should have arisen at a time when Charles Peirce was working out his theory of signs, which he called semeiotic, but built into his triad of object, sign, and interpretant was an implicit nexus of referentiality consistent with the pragmatist dispensing of any prior metaphysics, and anticipatory of Ferdinand de Saussure's structural linguistics and Albert Einstein's relativity.

If representation was eliminated in painting (and other arts) as much by lack of a metaphysical order as by the establishment of photography as the new pictorial art, form itself was also emancipated as a result. Just as line and color were freed from obeying higher calls, so syntax and sound in the poetic art underwent their autonomous fragmentation in Ezra Pound and Eliot. In the case of James Joyce's *Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man*, in which the casting off of faith in God constituted the moment of freedom, the novelistic structure also assumed the logic of serial photographic moments frozen in time bearing no responsibility to each other. Yet the discrete moments still added up to the impression of a whole. In *The Dubliners* the same effect obtained between the short stories, but in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce took the (nonsensical) fragmentary freedom to such transgressive lengths that constant microscopic change still added up to a monumental valedictory to sense with neither an external narratorial coherence and wholeness nor the fault of incompleteness.

Whereas the Anglo-Francophone avant-garde and their followers were coming away from discursive rhetoric and sense, some Austro-Germans, in another face of Modernism, were mourning more openly the passing of an age. What Nietzsche diagnosed as the advancing nihilism of the age became the terminal (sometimes manic but often opulent) melancholy of Gustav Mahler, Gustav Klimt, and Rainer Maria Rilke on the Austrian side and the sparer Thomas Mann and Stefan George in GERMANY, whereas in Egon Schiele and Oskar Kokoschka the naturalism of the nineteenth century converged with *verismo* opera of ITALY in their shared social realism. At the same time, however, the abandonment of tonality in French painting and music was pushed further, first by the free atonality (with no key) of Arnold Schoenberg and his pupils as well as the bitonality (two simultaneous keys) of Béla Bartók, and then recodified into the system of dodecaphonic composition, in which all twelve pitches of the chromatic scale are given equal status and priority. Wassily Kandinsky, originally Russian, led the way in pictorial

abstraction, using geometry and color as constructive elements in a painting free from representation.

New Voices, Consciousness, and Perspectives

The disintegration of *fin de siècle* bourgeois society triggered, then, not only a dismantling of forms, but also a clearing of space for new paths, forms, and voices. The aesthetic practice of Monet, Debussy, Pound, and F.L.Wright all drew inspiration from the Far East, yet it was within the West itself that deeper transformations occurred. Just as the seventeenth century saw the establishment of the male bourgeoisie, emancipated from the nobility in the nineteenth century not only as an autonomous but also a dominant force in cultural politics, so also the Modernist “period” helped solidify the appearance of other political and cultural subjects hitherto emarginated. Children and youth, who had been featured in the fiction of Charles Dickens, now received broader attention (see CHILDHOOD) in the production of children’s books and comics, child labor legislation, the urbanistic thought and actions of a Jane Addams, the fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S.LEWIS, and the autobiographical voice of a Dylan Thomas.

In Europe and America, WOMEN, with significant Protestant contribution, gained suffrage after persistent struggle, and Henrik Ibsen’s explorations notwithstanding, female writers such as Virginia Woolf and Simone de Beauvoir sought to stake out a permanent place for women with their own views of themselves, of men and the world, of human relations, with their own uses of language and form. The bitonality of GENDERS explored in Woolf’s *Orlando* and *A Room of One’s Own* also resonated with the multiple, interdividual voices of *The Waves*, whereas the difficulty of an “aristocratic” Joyce or Eliot would meet its counterpart in the writing of a Gertrude Stein, inspired as it was by Cubist painting. However, participation in public life for women would not be restricted to mental and artistic pursuits, but would extend to the new frontier of athletics and, eventually, access to public office. By contrast, the hypostasis of the terse, rough, and lone male hero had its narration in Ernest Hemingway and the emerging Westerns of Hollywood cinema (see MOVIES). In the midst of these developments tension between the sexes found explosive venting in the fiction of D.H.Lawrence and in Tennessee Williams’s *A Streetcar Named Desire*, extending earlier critique of the bourgeois family by Ibsen and August Strindberg, Americanized by Eugene O’Neill. At the same time, love between men and between women became more visible, already codified in Sigmund Freud’s quasimetaphysical “HOMOSEXUALITY” and increasingly a matter of public contention (see FREUDIANISM). Marcel Proust devoted a tome to it, Oscar Wilde suffered for it, Stein enjoyed it, and Woolf and Anais Nin, although married, had their episodes with it. The latter, even more than Vladimir Nabokov and Marguerite Duras, pushed the bounds of “permissible” love in her life and art, erasing—almost—the borders between the two.

In America an enslaved black population gained tentative freedom before being ghettoized by segregation and poverty (see SLAVERY; AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM). Nevertheless the contributions of African Americans to SCIENCE, the arts, and political conscience grew, along with greater mobility, to the blossoming of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. As Langston Hughes took the lead in black letters,

instilling in his poetry the earthy dignity, rhyme, and rhythm of the black vernacular, the musicians of ragtime, blues, and jazz would also make their mark on the world map and, moreover, energize the popular and high art traditions not only of the Americas but also of Europe as well. The effects of this are traceable in the rags of Erik Satie and Igor Stravinsky, the jazzy compositions of Leonard Bernstein, and even in the aleatory techniques of high Modernism. Indeed, the trailblazing of Louis Armstrong and Ethel Waters would see its reward in the ensconcement of Thelonius Monk and Charles Mingus, with their searching compositional and improvisational procedures, as exponents of a new high American musical culture. These transformations invite comparison with developments in the burgeoning of Yiddish literature, theater, and music, and their effects on the mainstream of Modernist culture. Between the Jewish and black cultures stood the Gershwin (George and Ira) and Marx brothers as figures of cross-fertilization.

Farther south Modernism was charged with political force from the start. It was in the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío that the term had its beginning in 1890: as a manifesto of cultural release from Spain. “Postcolonial” from the outset (see POST-COLONIALISM), then, practitioners of Modernist culture there sought to reappropriate Western traditions in their own context. The poets Pablo Neruda and Ernesto Cardenal mingled their love with politics, whereas Miguel Ángel Asturias and Jorge Luis Borges carved out for themselves a mythopoeic world that harked back to the pre-Columbian past, interpenetrating with the historic one. In French Antilles, on the other hand, the resistance to colonial dominance took the form of direct critique and analysis in Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon. In these ways the formerly colonized joined rebels from the West itself in fashioning an alternate world. In this connection the “primitivism” of Stravinsky’s “Rite of Spring” and Pablo Picasso’s use of African masks added (somewhat disingenuously) to self-critique of the West.

Underlying the emergence of alternate worlds in both Europe and the Americas was the play between consciousness and what Freud called the unconscious. Even as James conceived of consciousness as a stream, Freud was engaged in probing the unconscious and its relation to the former. Dreams became important as playground of the unconscious, where the conscious passed off what it could not openly express. Picking up on the trail of the Romantics, expressionism, then Dada, surrealism (led by André Breton and Giorgio de Chirico)—like jazz at its improvisatory best—all became artistic conduits for that unconscious, not only in the life of the individual but of society and the world as well. Techniques of automatic writing and stream of consciousness flourished, pushing beyond what rational thought and creation were capable of, but also commenting on the strange state of things. Even more explicitly than Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway*, Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake* is perhaps the most ambitious and compendious work on the precarious and multivalent nocturnal side of human culture and life, a guide to the Modernist, nonmetaphysical cosmos straddling between sanity and madness.

Apocalypse, Progress, and Alienation

Although Joyce in his *Portrait*, and Vincent van Gogh in his landscapes were capable of atheological ecstasy, most Modernists were less prone to joyous revelations. The Italian futurists were in the artistic minority in aligning themselves unproblematically with the

march of technological progress, and although they did open up a new material universe for art, their sanguine plunge into the future was matched perhaps only by that of the Marxist revolutionaries and their inimical capitalist industrialists. Already Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* and Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Lord Chandos were signaling their horror of violent domination, and Joseph Conrad's exposé on the Belgian Congo made that horror concrete. Within the industrializing West, concern with suicide as an early subject of Emile Durkheim's sociology was followed by presentiments of societal collapse in Edvard Munch's "Scream" and William Butler Yeats's "Second Coming." Within half a century of the horrifically novel American CIVIL WAR and the Franco-Prussian War, that unthinkable apocalypse burst in World War I.

Whatever illusions remained of *fin de siècle* societal order evaporated, and yet returned under different guise. As Eliot's *The Waste Land* was registering the shattered cultural and spiritual landscape, Schoenberg was constructing his new Serialist system; and the Empire State building and Bauhaus were each exalting in its way the new constructivist AESTHETICS worked out in the collage and montage of a Kurt Schwitters or Sergey Mikhaylovich Einsenstein; Benito Mussolini was steadily mounting his apparatus of fascism, the newest technology of state and society; and Joseph Stalin, his communist variation (see COMMUNISM). In other words a new totality was being hammered out whose form was also its content. In it the archetypal heroes of Carl Jung (see JUNGIANISM) found their incarnations equally on messianic newsreels, comic strips, and cartoons. In this way politics and art shared in a self-justifying form, a sort of text with its own context, and partly because of this homology, the mighty machinery of TOTALITARIANISM was attractive to not a few artists and thinkers. Whereas a film of Fernand Léger's could still celebrate the dance of machines in the rolling 1920s, Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator* together constituted a double critique of the economic and political trends of the ominous 1930s, and called into creative question the Nietzschean foray beyond good and evil, explored in Joyce's *The Exile* and Andre Gide's *L'immoraliste* in a still bourgeois context, and given up by Simone Weil under the industrial regime. The drama of Bertolt Brecht turned the alienation of Marxian analysis into a reverse aesthetic principle that was at once pedagogic: to alienate the consumer of art and thus provoke thought.

Although cultural critics of the Frankfurt School were intent on negating everything, and existentialists such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus would radicalize the alienation of the individual, it was Samuel Beckett's postwar theater of the absurd that pushed the problem the furthest. What he offered as the crisis of humanism was the posthuman: a postholocaust, postatomic answer to Nietzsche's superhuman, drained of every vim. In this way the apocalypse of World War II had its postmortem in High Modernism, a vision of posthistory without meaning, but also without end. Yet even against the postconsumerist burial in Beckett's *Happy Days* that coincided with the beginning of the Postmodern, a trace of meaning insisted on being examined. The voice of the victim in HOLOCAUST literature, commencing with Elie Wiesel's *Night* (but already presaged by the uncanny Franz Kafka), was a reminder that whatever else was abandoned, memory could not be erased. The broken, fragmentary nature of that memory relinquishing the privilege of a grand narrative became a condition of Postmodernity, both in art and cultural politics.

Modernism and Protestantism

The relation of Protestantism to Modernism as discussed above is complicated by two historiographic problems: terminological and chronological. First, what Protestants (and Catholics) meant by Modernism had more to do directly with the religious liberalism of the time than with the Modernist cultural vanguard (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Second, many of the encounters between Protestants and Modernism, although begun around the first half of the twentieth century, would continue or develop more fully later, sometimes with a time lag. Examples of this include questions of SEXUALITY, ordination of women (see WOMEN CLERGY), and use of spirituals in mainstream hymnody (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). Still, neither of these poses insuperable difficulties in historiography. The first can be solved by examining root concerns underlying both kinds of Modernism, whereas the latter is both a function of secularity and the lingering potential of historic forces.

In his analysis of capitalist society at the turn of the twentieth century, MAX WEBER traced its spiritual inspiration to Protestantism, especially CALVINISM. Rationalist thinking and a pious work ethic were pinpointed as decisive factors, although it may be said that the humanist side of the REFORMATION was also operative in that cultural thrust. The Emersonian version of it was amplified by James (see RALPH WALDO EMERSON; TRANSCENDENTALISM). Notwithstanding the irreducibility of ambiguity to which he held (cf. the French Symbolists), James believed—aptly in the age of robber barons—in the Promethean human subject, the proverbial self-made man later denounced in its grossest instance in Orson Welles's films. Yet it was this sort of protean, autonomous individual that constituted the bourgeois subject of the (earlier) Modernist landscape. Even Nietzsche's and Kierkegaard's radical anthropologies bore an ambiguous relation to it.

Within the ambient political economy, the Promethean bourgeois individual was such by relying on one thing: knowledge, or science, in its latest cultural form. In the Protestant world, as in classics, science had taken the guise of HIGHER CRITICISM in biblical interpretation. The plain sense of Lutheran exegesis, stripped of allegorical elaborations, now yielded to literary, historical, and form criticism, resulting in the construction of metanarratives threatening to replace any integral biblical account. CHRISTOLOGY split, then, into a symbolism of humanity (see DAVID FRIEDERCK STRAUSS) and a quest for the historical Jesus (see ALBERT SCHWEITZER; JESUS, LIVES OF). The liberal theological lineage of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, including ALBRECHT RITSCHL, ERNST TROELTSCH, and ADOLF VON HARNACK, accepted this path, and extended its methodologies into THEOLOGY and church history. Albrecht Ritschl opposed natural theology as bridge to Christian faith, yet rested content with Christianity as a subjective appropriation. His pupil ERNST TROELTSCH proposed a philosophy of religion that would, through its historical study of religious consciousness, place Christianity—as a science—in concurrence with other ideologies of the time, like materialism and aestheticism. ADOLF VON HARNACK'S search for an essence of Christianity was a dehistoricizing phenomenology anticipating Husserl's "science" of noetic analysis. On the social front, humane and charitable action were a frequent concomitant to the theological enterprise of Liberal Protestantism. In this, even evangelical associations such as the YMCA, YWCA (see YMCA/YWCA), and the

SALVATION ARMY joined more liberal reformers in promoting wholesome Christian life and the “progressive” agenda of a SOCIAL GOSPEL. As these societies piggybacked on the force of Western powers, they were able to bring their version(s) of Protestant Christianity and modern culture to countries throughout the globe.

Although much of this Christianity was symptomatic of the same conditions underlying postmetaphysical Modernism in the arts, it had its opponents in the church. The Roman church issued stern admonitions against any erosions of churchly TRADITION, AUTHORITY, and autonomy because the “Modernist” movement had gained followers within her own ranks. In Protestant churches the dissent bore diverse types of critical response. One was in the intense fragmentation of ecclesial form into more denominations and subdenominations in the UNITED STATES. Some of these movements were meant to unify all churches, but fell quickly into their own SECTARIANISM. Some arose out of the historical rift between the North and South and the institution of Jim Crow segregation. Later, however, the opposite occurred in the creation of such larger denominations as the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH or UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. Even transchurch cooperation began in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES on the model of the United Nations. In CANADA most Protestant churches merged under the aegis of a UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA. In South India all Protestant churches united after Indian independence, ending the colonial existence of those churches (see SOUTH INDIA, CHURCH OF). In ENGLAND even bolder gestures of ECUMENISM took place in the St. Alban’s Fellowship, which brought together the Orthodox and Anglicans in dialogue and common study (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN; ANGLICANISM). As churchly fragmentation had a complex relation to the lack of firm doctrinal unity, it was also that same fragmentary pliancy that allowed for recombinations of fellowship previously unconceived.

Just as in secular Modernism, the lack of a viable spiritual life was a concern to Protestants. The decay of both PIETISM and liberal Christianity meant that other points of spiritual grounding had to be found. Although occultism, theosophy, and anthroposophy were common in the Modernist spiritual landscape, most Protestants other than Unitarians (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION) had to refer to the Catholic tradition. Here the CHURCH OF ENGLAND provided much leadership. By the 1920s EVELYN UNDERHILL had distinguished herself by her scholarship on the mystics and her spiritual counsel. Aided by previous decades of Anglican patristic scholarship and a Catholic spiritual director, she was able to reintroduce the wealth of the Catholic tradition to her fellow Anglicans, beginning with the Desert Fathers and through the medieval mystics. Into this study she also blended the insights of psychology, thus setting a trend of strong Anglican interest in that field. Bolstering Underhill’s work was the liturgical research of Dom Gregory Dix, an Anglican Benedictine who devoted his life to recovering the grammar and form of Catholic and Orthodox LITURGY, in a Christian search for symbolism that Modernist culture was also groping toward. What began thus as the labor of Anglicans in spirituality and liturgy then became the cornerstone of the wider Liturgical Movement among Protestant churches.

In America, where liberal Protestantism and the SOCIAL GOSPEL often went hand in hand, a revolt occurred. While H.RICHARD NIEBUHR contemplated historic models of relations between Christianity and culture and C.S.Lewis was scrutinizing the contemporary scene, H.R.’s brother REINHOLD took the lead in what came to known as

the NEO-ORTHODOXY Movement. Critical of the meliorist attitude of liberalism rejected also by Modernists, Niebuhr reminded his public of the reality of SIN. In this he had the agreement of the Anglican T.S.Eliot and the Presbyterian psychiatrist and analyst Karl Menninger, but to this realization Niebuhr would wed the “combative” praxes of SOCIALISM and PACIFISM, inspiring such activists as those of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN in the 1930s. Less accommodating toward the secular vanguard, however, was FUNDAMENTALISM, born in the early 1910s as an evangelical reaction (see EVANGELICALISM) against the encroachments of science and liberalism in biblical interpretation. Against historical criticism and DARWINISM, BIBLICAL INERRANCY and substitutionary redemption by Jesus’ death were proclaimed. In their millenarian outlook, fundamentalists shared in the anxious APOCALYPTICISM of the secular Modernists, although with literalist prospects of triumph (soon secularized by the Hitlerites). As in Modernist aesthetics, the fundamentalists’ Bible was its own interpreter, providing its own context and justification. In this ironic way fundamentalism became the most staunchly Modernist Protestant movement.

More sophisticated than both Niebuhr and the fundamentalists was KARL BARTH’S own Neo-orthodoxy—European style. With wine in hand and Mozart in the ear, Barth sought the recovery of narrative in Christian theology. Eschewing the conceptual enclosure and artificial unity of systems then still present (even in the more engaged Modernist PAUL TILLICH), Barth espoused a grand biblical narrative at odds with Modernist preferences and claims—lost in the abstract designs of church stained glass. Yet his own narrative strategy was influenced by the spiraling style of some Modernist writing. Even more striking is his advocacy, against the more moderate position of EMIL BRUNNER, for autonomy of the Christian faith and the Word of God—a commonality with the fundamentalists that earned him the label “fideist” from his critics, although he did not go as far as to repudiate historical criticism. It must be noted, in any case, that his entry into the mythopoeic world of the Bible was politically targeted at the violent seduction of Nazism, and stylistically related to the literary procedures in Modernist LATIN AMERICA. On both counts Barth was resisting the mimetic force of a liberal society being subverted into a base narrative, but also trying to recover for the Bible what W.Benjamin would have called the “aura” of the work of art.

If disillusionment with the old metaphysical world was sidestepped both by liberal Protestantism and its critics, it was openly confronted by others. DIETRICH BONHOEFFER, in speaking of “the world come of age,” was acknowledging the maturity of humanity in sloughing its reliance on comforting doctrines and knowledge. However, instead of turning from faith and the church and proceeding toward an atheological openness and indeterminacy in aesthetics and ethics, as Modernists and their existentialist associates were wont to do, Bonhoeffer proposed—in a world that had already known both Mrs. Dalloway and Hitler—a Kierkegaardian naïveté in faith and an analogy of the I-Thou relation between God and human being amounting to a radicalization of contingency. PROCESS THEOLOGY tried to convert this into philosophical terms, whereas Death of God theologians have problematized it in various existential and ethical ways, sometimes in concert with FEMINIST THEOLOGY. The deinstitutionalizing ECCLESIOLOGY suggested in such expressions of Christianity had already found an experiment in JAPAN’S Mukyokai (Nonchurch) movement, but its

fuller philosophical articulation awaited the invention of Postmodern theology. In the interim it was the streams of the spirituals and gospel music of black BAPTISTS—even more than the fine collaborations of W.H.Auden and BENJAMIN BRITTEN—that bathed Protestant Christianity in a childlike eagerness for God.

See also Anti-Semitism; Bultmann, Rudolf; Confessing Church; Coffin, Henry Sloane; Ecology; Economics; Ethics; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Hymns and Hymnals; Nationalism; Political Theology; Rauschenbusch, Walter; Sociology of Protestantism; Sports; Sunday School; Theology, Twentieth-Century

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DAVID U.LIU

MODRZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ FRYCZ (ANDREAS FRICIUS MODREVIUS) (c.1503–1572)

Polish theologian. Modrzewski was born in Wolborz (Sieradz), POLAND, to a minor aristocratic family. He studied at the University of Krakow between 1517 and 1519 and in Wittenberg between 1532 and 1553, where he befriended PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. From 1536 to 1550 he traveled to many European countries.

Modrzewski began his writing career in 1543 with the publication of his first work *De poena homicidii* (*About the sentence of homicide*), in which he objected to an unjust and

discriminatory law. *De Republica emendanda* (*About the Improvement of the Republic*) gained him international renown. The first edition, incomplete because of clerical censure, appeared in Krakow in 1551, with two later editions published in Basel in 1554 and 1559. In this work he presented a program of regime reforms, which generally sought to abolish the primacy of the aristocracy in society, strengthen the power of the monarchy, and improve the situation of townspeople and peasants. Modrzewski also proposed religious reform measures, such as the abolition of clerical CELIBACY, Holy Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER) under two kinds, and lay involvement in decision making in the CHURCH. Moreover, he proposed that representatives of all social classes were to participate in the elections of bishops (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY), whereas the pope should be elected by representatives of all churches for a one-year term.

Modrzewski's notions, not exempt from utopian radicalism, triggered negative reactions within the Catholic hierarchy, for whom Modrzewski was a dangerous heretic (see HERESY). On the other hand, Calvinists appreciated him, even though he never submitted his official membership to the Calvinist Church (see CALVINISM). In the mid-1560s the paths of Modrzewski and the Calvinist Church diverged, Modrzewski having shown support for the radical Italian theologian Francesco Stancaró, who argued that the Christ was mediator according to his human nature, an opinion the church vigorously opposed. At the request of King Sigmund August, Modrzewski tried to mediate the conflict over the Trinitarian dogma and Christ's divinity. He presented his views in the work *Silvae quattuor*, published posthumously in 1590. In this work he took the position of nonconfessional UNIVERSALISM, perceiving religion, defined as a few core truths involving SALVATION, mostly as moral doctrine. Although critical toward the traditional Trinitarian dogma, he also kept Anti-trinitarians at a distance because they did not accept the eternity of Christ and infant baptism (see ANTI-TRINITARIANISM). Modrzewski's exploration of these inextricable "forests" (*silva* means forests, brushwood, or thicket) of the most complicated theological problems confirmed his opinion that chances for an end of religious conflict were small. In this situation he believed the monarch carries a specific responsibility. The monarch should try to bring unity among Christians but also guarantee the same rights in religion and freedom of WORSHIP for all dissenters.

See also Calvin, John; Dissent; Toleration

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LECH SZCZUCKI

MOFFAT, ROBERT (1795–1883)

British missionary. Born in Ormiston, SCOTLAND, December 1, 1795, Moffat was trained as a gardener. He was recruited by the London Missionary Society and in 1817 was sent to southern AFRICA. After gaining fame for converting the notorious frontier freebooter, Jager Afrikaner, he and his wife, Mary, settled at Kuruman among the Tswana where they created a green oasis in semidesert land.

Robert from the beginning sought to master the Tswana-Sotho language so as to translate the BIBLE. The mutually understandable Tswana-Sotho family of languages are understood widely across southern Africa. In 1840 he was able to publish the complete New Testament, a vital contribution to the spread of Christianity over a vast area. Moffat, by this time the father-in-law of DAVID LIVINGSTONE, completed the translation of the Old Testament in 1857 and the complete Bible in Tswana was published the same year.

Moffat also established a close relationship with Mzilikazi of the Ndebele. Mzilikazi had led his people in a breakaway from Chaka's Zulu empire and, after many adventures, established his Sparta-like kingdom beyond the Limpopo in what is now ZIMBABWE. Moffat made three long treks to visit this military kingdom and established a very close relationship with Mzilikazi. This opened the way for the entry of Christianity into Zimbabwe and also aided Livingstone's work farther north.

In March 1870 the Moffats left Kuruman for the last time and returned to Britain. Moffat's *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, published in 1842, was a most popular and effective propaganda tool for the missionary cause—a cause for which, although deeply affected by Mary's death in 1871, Moffat maintained until 1878 an exhausting program of speeches and lectures. He died in Leigh, ENGLAND on August 10, 1883.

See also Bible Translation

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ANDREW C.ROSS

MOFFATT, JAMES (1870–1944)

Scottish biblical scholar. James Moffatt was born in Glasgow, SCOTLAND, in 1870 and graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1889 with a degree in classics. He then studied THEOLOGY at the United Free College of Glasgow, where he was introduced to biblical criticism by A.B.Bruce, and graduated in 1894. After ordination in the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND in 1896, he served as pastor at Dundonald, Ayrshire. He married Mary Reith of Aberdeen in 1896. In 1901 he published the erudite encyclopedic work *The Historical New Testament*, for which he received a doctorate from St. Andrews in 1902. In 1911, he became minister of the Broughty Ferry Free Church, and later that year he published *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*.

From 1911 to 1915 Moffatt served as Professor of Greek and New Testament at Mansfield College, Oxford. In 1913 he published the first edition of his translation of the New Testament. The translation of the Old Testament followed in 1924. He returned to Glasgow as Professor of Church History, serving there from 1915 to 1927, and continued to be a prolific writer of lectures and scholarly articles. In the process he became a recognized expert on all of the traditions of Scottish PRESBYTERIANISM.

In 1927, Moffatt was invited to the Washburn Chair of Church History at Union Theological Seminary in New York. His primary publication of the period was *The First Five Centuries of the Christian Church* (1938). Moffatt served as editor for a 17-volume biblical commentary published between 1927 and 1949. He retired in 1939 and lived in New York, often in bad health, until his death in 1944. During those last years, he served as secretary to the committee that developed the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

See also Bible Translation

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DAVID BUNDY

MÖHLER, JOHANN ADAM (1796–1838)

Roman Catholic church historian and theologian. Möhler was born May 6, 1796, in Igersheim in Württemberg. Educated at the seminary at Erlangen and in the Catholic theological faculty at the University of Tübingen, Möhler was then appointed to that faculty after ordination. He was strongly influenced by F.W.Schelling and August Neander, and his first book, *Einheit in der Kirche* (1825), showed a marked debt to FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER. He later became more critical of Schleiermacher, especially on Trinitarian issues. Between 1832 and 1838 he published five editions of *Symbolik*, his comparison of confessional statements of the Catholic and various Protestant churches. Several Protestant theologians wrote replies, most notably FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR. The debate with Baur (including Baur's *Der Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus*, Möhler's *Neue Untersuchungen*, and lengthy articles by both) remains the most important exchange on the theological significance of the Reformation in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1835 Möhler joined the faculty of the University of Munich, but failing health allowed him to lecture there for only one term. He died April 12, 1838, in Munich.

Möhler's *Symbolik* influenced Catholic ecclesiology and the understanding of tradition into the twentieth century. Starting in the 1920s, a revival of interest in his *Einheit in der Kirche* influenced both Catholic and Orthodox theology. He is especially notable as a nineteenth-century Catholic theologian who gave sometimes appreciative, sometimes critical, but always serious attention to his Protestant contemporaries.

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MICHAEL J.HIMES

MOLANUS, GERHARD WOLTER (1633–1722)

German theologian. Molanus was a German Lutheran theologian and church politician who advocated a Protestant monachism and participated in reunion conferences which sought ecclesiastical unity with Rome. Molanus was born in Hameln, North Germany, on November 11, 1633, and died on September 9, 1722, in Hannover. After studying in Helmstedt (1651–1655), he taught at the University of Rinteln (1659–1674), first as a professor of mathematics and after 1664, as a professor of THEOLOGY as well. In 1671 he became a conventual of the monastery of Loccum, in 1674 consistorial director of the duchy of Calenberg (Hannover), and in 1677 abbot of Loccum. Molanus lived a celibate life. He emphasized that only certain excesses of MONASTICISM were non-Protestant and anti-Christian. The reformers fighting against a degenerated monkhood had emptied out the baby with the bathwater. He rejected any curtailment of the ecclesiastical order that was related to a pious believer.

Molanus's significance as a theologian is based on his participation in the efforts for religious reunification, which were initiated by Cristobal Rojas y Spinola. Beginning in 1676 Rojas regularly visited the Guelphic courts on behalf of Habsburg imperial politics and religious reunion. The decisive conference took place in 1683, the year in which Vienna was freed from Turkish siege.

For Molanus the innovation in his reunion strategy was that reunification between Catholics and Protestants should occur despite the divergent principles of the two sides. Whereas Rojas aimed for an authoritarian uniformity, Molanus insisted on free space for specific Protestant positions. As a first step toward agreement, he proposed that the controversial tenets should be formulated as clearly as possible. Therefore Molanus divided the controversies into two categories: those of first rank (communion theology and practice, JUSTIFICATION, MARRIAGE of the CLERGY, validity of Protestant ordination, responsibility of the Protestant estates according to Imperial Law) and those of lesser importance. The first-rank issues had to be settled in internal Protestant agreements and clarifications, eventually replacing the reformation confessions by a series of indispensable doctrines. The pope should accept the Protestants as true members of the church; the Protestants should agree to submit themselves to the pope. In Molanus's opinion, it was not a question of negotiating between two different churches, but whether disagreements could be settled, or allowed to exist within one church.

Thereafter, the discussion should focus on other controversial issues such as TRANSUBSTANTIATION, cults of SAINTS and relics, purgatory, prayers for the dead, papal AUTHORITY in matters of faith, Mary's immaculate conception (see MARY, VIRGIN), and indulgences. Molanus insisted that this discussion be conducted not on the basis of any condemnation of Protestant affirmation, but exclusively on the basis of Holy Scripture. The reunified church had to provide freedom for the indispensable positions of Protestantism.

See also Clergy, Marriage of

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MARTIN TAMCKE

MOLTMANN, JÜRGEN (1926–)

German theologian. Moltmann is widely considered the most influential Protestant theologian during the last three decades of the twentieth century. He was born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1926 and was professor of theology at Tübingen University from 1967 to 1994.

During his time as a prisoner of war in England (1945–1948), Moltmann was converted through an experience of God's presence in the midst of despair. Upon his return to Germany he studied at Göttingen, where the theology of KARL BARTH was in ascendancy. Convinced that Barth's theology could not be surpassed, he was initially an historical theologian. His first publications were on early modern Reformed theology and DIETRICH BONHOEFFER. But his Göttingen teachers, Otto Weber, Ernst Wolf, and Hans Joachim Iwand, provided him with new perspectives: an eschatological view of the church's mission in the horizon of the kingdom of God (Weber and the Dutch theologian A.A. van Ruler), the church's engagement with the new and urgent questions of the postwar world (Wolf), and a dialectical interpretation of the cross and resurrection (Iwand). At an early stage Moltmann's thought entered a lifetime dialogue with Marxist humanists, particularly Ernst Bloch, whose *Principle of Hope* was instrumental in the origination of Moltmann's theology, and with Jewish philosophers and theologians, such as Franz Rosenzweig and Abraham Heschel. From the beginning Moltmann's thought evidenced an openness to the East (Eastern Orthodoxy and Eastern Europe) and to the ecclesial and political *oikoumene* (ecumenism). He would later be in significant dialogue with theologies throughout the developing world, often visiting churches and theological centers in the Third World while maintaining a periodic presence in theological and ecclesial communities of the United States and Britain.

Moltmann became known throughout the English-speaking Christian world upon the English publication of his *Theology of Hope* in 1967. This was followed by *The Crucified God* in 1972. These first two major books seem very different from each other, although the difference is the key to his whole theological career. The appearance of *Theology of Hope* was announced on the front page of the *New York Times*, which was struck by Moltmann's ability to open Christian theology to the new sensibility of the time in which people were encouraged by possibilities of shaping a humane future and at the same time frightened by the new realities of nuclear and environmental destruction. *Theology of*

Hope interpreted the resurrection of the crucified Christ in terms of promise, hope, and mission within an eschatological horizon. Moltmann's project of rehabilitating a futuristic EsCHATOLOGY went against the grain of twentieth-century liberal theology, which had attempted to remove all eschatological/apocalyptic elements from a "modern" faith. This new eschatology, however, made the biblical God plausible to a future-oriented time.

In *The Crucified God* Moltmann worked against what he thought was a too optimistic interpretation of hope in Europe and North America by focusing on the cross of the risen Christ. Here Moltmann deals with God's relation to sin, death, and evil in terms of the power of suffering love and solidarity. The massive inhumanity of twentieth-century systems of domination and the suffering of their victims comes to the fore. In 1975 *The Church in the Power of the Spirit* completed the trilogy of books that set forth Moltmann's new theological vision. This book focuses on the mission of the Spirit emerging from the event of the cross and resurrection, entering the godforsaken world in sacramental presence, and preparing for the coming kingdom in which the world will be transformed in correspondence to the resurrection.

After these programmatic studies, Moltmann developed his systematic theology, which he preferred to call "systematic contributions to theology," in six volumes: *The Trinity and the Kingdom* (1980), *God in Creation* (1985), *The Way of Jesus Christ* (1989), *The Spirit of Life* (1991), *The Coming God* (1996), and *Experiences in Theology* (2000). As was already clear in *The Crucified God*, the dialectic of cross and resurrection requires a trinitarian mode of thought. The crucifixion and resurrection are not external to the Trinity, rather they constitute the relationships of the Triune community. Thus Moltmann's mature theology is structured by the theme of the trinitarian history of God with the world. This history in which God both affects and is affected by the world is also the history of the divine persons whose communion includes the world within their love.

Moltmann's praxis-oriented eschatology led to what he and Johannes Metz called "Political Theology," which attempts to undermine the religious idols and ideologies that undergird the humiliation and subjugation of people and the exploitation of the earth. The focus on the resurrection leads to a desire for radical historical change, but the cross as the center of Christian theology insists that such change be rooted in solidarity with the victims of society in a common struggle for freedom through the realization of human rights. These reflections proved crucial for opening the way to various LIBERATION THEOLOGIES.

One of Moltmann's lasting contributions is his reconception of the doctrine of God. He offers a fresh treatment of the relationship of divine sovereignty and human freedom by expanding and making more consistent the tradition's understanding of God as trinitarian love. We know God through the narratives of Jesus and the Spirit, but because God is as God reveals Godself, we may speak of the intersubjective relationships of the divine persons. Thus Moltmann criticized the separation of the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity. Opposed to monarchical and monotheistic concepts of God, Moltmann conceptualized the unity of the divine persons in relationship by retrieving the ancient doctrine of *perichoresis*, according to which the persons of the Trinity are related to each other by coinherence. They are both three and one in their mutual indwelling. He argued against much of the tradition that, because God is so involved in creation that God can be affected by God's creation, theology must speak of God's receptive suffering as well as

action. God is conceived in terms of freedom and mutuality instead of the traditional terms of domination and subjection. The resulting social doctrine of the Trinity provided Moltmann's thought structure for new interpretations of the relation of the individual person and community, God and the world, and the church and the world.

Moltmann's messianic ecclesiology is strongly pneumatological. It seeks to free the church from the civil religion of society toward an open friendship modeled on Jesus's solidarity with the poor. In *God in Creation* Moltmann addressed the ecological crisis with a renewed theological understanding of nature and human beings as God's creation. The nonhuman creation is included in the trinitarian history of God. In the course of developing his doctrine of creation Moltmann created a distinctive doctrine of the Spirit according to which the Spirit suffers with the creation's bondage to decay, keeping it open to God's future. While refusing pantheistic conceptions of God, Moltmann stressed a "pantheistic" view of God's immanence in creation through the Spirit. God's relationship to God's creation is one of mutual indwelling. Human beings are not owners and dominators of nature, but belong with nature in a community of intricate reciprocal relationships. Moltmann's doctrine of creation and the Spirit also issued in a new Christian appreciation of bodiliness with important implications for SEXUALITY and communal life.

Moltmann's messianic CHRISTOLOGY led to new perspectives on Christian discipleship in the awareness that all life on this planet stands now literally in an apocalyptic end-time situation. Moltmann's theology, however, typically strikes a more contemplative chord as well. Faith is not just a modality leading toward action, but is also doxology, the praise of God in joy. Similarly, theology is not just a theory of practice but is also the enjoyment of God rooted in God's freely given love in creation and redemption.

See also Barth, Karl; Bonhoeffer, Dietrich; Christology; Eschatology; Liberation Theologies; Sexuality

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M.DOUGLAS MEEKS

MONASTICISM

The First 1500 Years

The word “monasticism”, “monk,” “monastery,” and “monachism” derive from the Greek *monos*, alone, referring to someone who lives alone or apart from others. Although somewhat similar practices occur in JUDAISM, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, it was the action and teaching of Christ that inspired women and men to undertake the particular form of life known as Christian monasticism. This was a phenomenon of massive significance in the first one and a half millennia of the Christian era. It was seriously challenged in the Protestant REFORMATION. It continued in the less affected parts of Europe and was revived in some Protestant contexts and spread with missionary expansion, though subsequently further diminished by secularization.

Christian monasticism had an early beginning. Some historians have argued that the Pentecostal experience of a common life (Acts 2:44, 4:32) was so revolutionary that it could be safely contained only in discrete communities at a remove from the normal processes of society and politics. Additionally, the practice of Jesus in “going apart” has to be noted, also his call, “If you wish to be perfect, go, sell your possessions, and give the money to the poor,...then come, follow me,” and his words about those “who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.” St Paul, likewise, was influential; see, for example, I Corinthians 7, where he assumes that most men and women will marry but advocates the single life. Each of these elements played a part in the birth of this movement, whereas the phrase “Seven times a day do I praise Thee” in Psalm 119 later determined the monastic pattern of prayer, with its intensive use of the psalter.

The movement as such began in A.D. 271, when a young Egyptian, Antony, heard Jesus’ words about being perfect and withdrew to live alone in a desert place, dedicated to PRAYER and manual work. His lifelong commitment inspired a remarkable development as thousands of Christian women and men in Egypt followed his example, living initially as hermits and practicing what became known as “the solitary warfare of the desert,” but gradually associating in groups embracing a common life. In the fourth century, the movement added the ideal of surrendering personal choice in obedience to a community leader. Thus, although the eremitic ideal of “solitary warfare” persisted, and has persisted to the twenty-first century, the notion of a praying community united in a common life under the three vows—of poverty, chastity and obedience—came to characterize Christian monasticism in its dominant form.

The movement spread throughout the Mediterranean world from the fourth century. Important for its consolidation was the propagation of the spiritual teaching of the Egyptian monastics by John Cassian (c. 360–435). His writing was influential for the best part of a thousand years and carried the early spirituality of the desert ascetics across much of western Europe, reaching Europe’s outermost, Celtic fringes in the sixth century. In its Celtic form in IRELAND and the British Isles, it was marked by extreme

penitential austerity, a strong missionary impulse, and great art embodied typically in the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels. The powerful abbess Hilda of Whitby exemplifies the role of WOMEN in Celtic monasticism.

An important landmark was the *Rule of St. Benedict*, written in ITALY in the early sixth century. This practical, moderate and flexible distillation of the monastic ideal won its way throughout the monasteries of western Europe.

After the time of Benedict, monasticism evolved from countercultural phenomenon to central social and religious institution of pre-Reformation Europe. From small communities of ten or twenty men or women simply housed, monasteries came to comprise communities often of several hundred, with imposing buildings and large landed estates and fulfilling a range of social functions (medical and legal, for example) and uniquely important for both learning and the arts. Exemplifying the musical aspect of the tradition in the twelfth century was the gifted Hildegard of Bingen in GERMANY, underlining the intense focus of the Benedictine rule on WORSHIP. A community might sing and pray the seven canonical hours of the divine office in their abbey for up to eight hours of the day. The abbots were often powerful territorial leaders in the church, and this ecclesiastical as well as economic and social preeminence, although compromised by a system known as *commendam*, which put many monasteries under the control of secular authorities, was characteristic.

The monasteries tended to develop in distinctive groups. Thus, the great abbey at Cluny in FRANCE was by the eleventh century the center of inspiration and authority to sixty-seven others within the Benedictine tradition in ENGLAND, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, all marked by sophisticated worship, scholarship in THEOLOGY, biblical study, and spiritual instruction. In medieval Europe, a series of developments and reforms followed, creating other new groups. For example, a movement to recover the eremitical element in the tradition culminated institutionally in the Grande Chartreuse in SWITZERLAND, where the life of a hermit was combined with elements of common life in the Carthusian order. Similarly, the Cistercian order was founded at Citeaux in France at the end of the eleventh century to recover an extreme austerity and simplicity of life, avoiding some of the feudal ties of the Cluniac tradition and practicing pastoral farming with the help of lay-brothers. By the fifteenth century, there were more than 900 Cistercian communities of women and 700 of men throughout Europe. Observing the three vows of monasticism, but replacing the settled, property-owning community with itinerant PREACHING and dependence on alms (hence “mendicant”), were orders of friars, founded in the thirteenth century by St. Francis and St. Dominic, also the Augustinians and the Carmelites, all immensely influential in pre-Reformation Europe.

There is another extensive story of monasticism, continuous from the earliest Christian centuries to the modern period, associated with the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Churches (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). With its strong early consolidation in the Byzantine Empire (so that there were, for example, eighty monasteries in Constantinople by the sixth century), Eastern monasticism developed on lines quite different from those in the west. In its Oriental forms, it carried the Gospel to the easternmost limits of the Eurasian land mass. It attracted large numbers of women and men and developed rich traditions of mystical prayer and theology in, for example, its Greek and Russian forms. This Eastern monasticism was almost entirely untouched by the Protestant Reformation, however.

The Protestant Critique

Reform had been characteristic of the monastic movement almost throughout its history. Thus, St. Bernard called on the Cistercians in the twelfth century to follow their rule “to the last dot,” and later St. Francis created an order renouncing even commonly owned property.

By the fourteenth century, although reform was continuing, there was growing internal uncertainty about the value and purpose of monasticism, with increasing criticism of abuses. Among the latter, in England, was Langland’s poem *Piers Plowman* (c. 1360–1370), where the self-indulgent ease and luxury of some monks and friars is contrasted with the “pure faith” of “simple ploughmen and shepherds and poor common labourers,” a view that anticipated the Reformation theme of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. Also in England over the next two decades, Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* appeared, with searching comic portraits of a prioress, a monk, and a friar. More systematic if less memorable was the criticism by the priest and theologian John Wycliffe, an acquaintance of Chaucer. His fierce objection to “all orders which hold property” was a developing theme by this time, and his advocacy of the state’s seizure of such “haughty possessions” under certain conditions made him something of a forerunner of the Reformation. Wycliffe’s ideas influenced Jan Hus (1370–1415) in Bohemia, where his followers forcibly closed numerous monasteries.

As the Reformation was breaking, monasticism had a number of humanist critics, including **François** Rabelais in France, initially a Franciscan, Ulrich von Hutten in Germany, a Benedictine, and the Dutch scholar, Desiderius Erasmus, an Augustinian. His *In Praise of Folly* (1511) has a section titled “Monks” in which, alongside his specific criticisms, he observes that “all men detest them to the height.” This great humanist made this observation just six years before the appearance of the Ninety-five Theses, and it indicates the fate facing monasticism within the ambit of the Reformation.

MARTIN LUTHER was himself a monk, and even continued to wear his Augustinian habit for many years after initiating his protest. In his writings the Protestant critique of monasticism finds its definitive form. He wrote only one long work on the subject, *The Judgement of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows* (1521). In this tract, his fundamental insight of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone is applied to the issue of lifelong vows, “Though a monk be chaste, obedient, poor, and full of all virtues, and doing all the works you like to name, yet without faith will he not be condemned in spite of the works?” In five parts, the tract repeats this key test relative to “the Word of God ...faith...evangelical freedom...the commandments of God...and common sense and reason.” Luther’s purpose was not polemical, but to help those at that time abandoning monastic life to “return to the road all other Christians take and follow Christ in a confident and good conscience.” He honored the great historic figures of the movement (e.g., Anthony, Bernard, Francis) and extolled poverty, chastity, and obedience when they serve the kingdom of heaven. When, however, these virtues are believed to “earn” the kingdom or to elevate their practitioners above ordinary Christians, they are “a terrible mistake.” Luther’s treatment of the question here is spirited and deeply engaged. In addition to this tract, there are some 1,500 other references to monasticism, some quite substantial, scattered throughout his writings. Strikingly, among them are numerous comments on married life as a “far severer training in faith, hope, love, patience and

prayer, than there is in all the monasteries,...a place among the highest levels of spiritual life.”

Other reformers also developed a theological case against monasticism, including Luther’s friend PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI in Zurich, and JOHN CALVIN in Geneva, though none as thoroughly as Luther. Thus there developed an agreement in the northern European states where Protestantism was in the ascendant that monasticism was a mistaken form of Christian life.

The vigor with which monasticism was suppressed varied. In Germany, in the prevailing princely anarchy, the suppression of some monasteries was relatively orderly, with pensions provided for monks and nuns and resources redirected to educational and charitable ends. But in other cases, as Luther deplored, “the nobles...[the] monasteries.” In Switzerland, the process was orderly but severe; in SWEDEN, NORWAY, and DENMARK, it was much more gradual. In England (and Ireland slightly later), the process was shame-lessly political. Although pensions were provided, the state carried through a systematic suppression between 1535 and 1540, seizing all monasteries and their assets for its own ends. In SCOTLAND, the process was comprehensive but slower.

The fate of the thousands of monks and nuns in northern Europe varied considerably. At one extreme, some of the terrible violence that marks the Reformation was visited on them, as in the case of those Carthusians in London who refused to take the oath of Royal Supremacy. Others fled to countries where Roman Catholic princes ruled, or, as in the Low Countries, moved from Lutheran to Roman Catholic districts. Some (in England, for example), evicted from the great monasteries, continued discreetly in small communities. Others were “re-educated,” as in Zurich. Some communities of women in Germany adopted the Lutheran faith but continued to live together by their vows. Monks in many places became parish CLERGY, observing the reformed faith. Some married, like the nun Catherine von Brora, who married the monk Martin Luther.

Inevitably, the heritage of the continuous round of monastic prayer and worship was largely lost in the churches of the Reformation. Lutherans, however, adapted the old services of Matins and Lauds from the monastic Breviary. Archbishop THOMAS CRANMER followed this example in England, reducing the seven canonical hours to morning and evening offices in a BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER suitable for a literate LAITY.

Continuing Monasticism

Estimates suggest that the number of men and women continuing in the monastic life in Europe in the later sixteenth century was just short of half of the preReformation total. The great majority of these were in continuing Roman Catholic countries, France, Italy, southern Germany, Portugal, and Spain, with others also in eastern Europe.

This continuing monasticism was characterized by further reform and development, partly in response to the challenges of Protestantism. During the COUNTER-REFORMATION, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) called for enhanced discipline. New orders appeared, including the Capuchins, with strong social concerns, a characteristic also of a new women’s order, the Ursulines. Brotherhoods and sisterhoods of prayer and pastoral work, eschewing the tradition of withdrawal from the world, and known as

“oratories,” also appeared at this stage. The most striking sixteenth-century innovation was the formation by Ignatius Loyola of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits (1540). Ignatius decreed that there should be no common participation in the monastic pattern of prayer, thus dispensing with one of monasticism’s oldest features, and stressing such activities as countering Protestant teaching and ministering to unbelievers and the poor. The Jesuits and numerous other orders were energetically missionary in INDIA and the east and the Americas from this time.

The subsequent story of this continuing monasticism has been one largely of ebb and flow, with secularizing forces and state hostility especially evident in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, revival in the nineteenth century, and further strong expansion outside of Europe. Decline was marked in the second half of the twentieth century in Europe and North America, but further expansion occurred in Asia and AFRICA. More than one million (four-fifths of them women), were participating in the monastic life among Roman Catholicism’s more than one billion members at the beginning of the third millennium.

In a small way and as a distinctly minority VOCATION, monasticism returned to the Protestant churches after the Reformation period. Sometimes, this took a modified form, as in the Anabaptist Jacob Hutter’s *bruderhof* communal villages in sixteenth-century Moravia (see ANABAPTISM), responding to the text about having “all things in common,” and Nicholas Ferrar’s seventeenth-century Anglican familycommunity at Little Gidding in England, while the Anglo-Catholic revival in the nineteenth century (see ANGLO-CATHOLICISM) saw the founding of numerous Anglican variants on traditional Roman Catholic orders, these expanding with the missionary movement. Some of these took interesting contextualized forms, like the women’s community, *Chama cha Mariamu Mtakatifu* in Tanzania, a series of ashrams in India such as the *Christa Seva Sangha*, and the missionary order in the Pacific, the Melanesian Brotherhood, where young men take vows for an agreed limited number of years before turning to married life. To a lesser extent, Lutherans have resumed the monastic life, with ventures in Europe and the UNITED STATES in the later twentieth century, including a version of the Bruderhof movement, starting in Germany. Other communities with a family dimension are the IONA COMMUNITY, starting among Presbyterians in Scotland, and a radical Methodist group, the Ecumenical Institute, Chicago. Others have Marxist elements, such as the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, and Johan Devananda’s Devasarana Collective Farm in Sri Lanka. With over one hundred members, both Roman Catholics and Protestants, the monastery founded at Taize in France in 1940 has attracted many young people by its deep devotion and its counter-cultural orientation, suggesting new, ecumenical possibilities for the future.

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DANIEL O'CONNOR

MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE

This school in the heart of Chicago was established in 1886 to implement evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY'S vision to provide practical training for lay EVANGELISM. From modest beginnings it has become a degree-granting institution with a variety of graduate and distance-learning programs. Since the 1890s its graduates have influenced EVANGELICALISM around the world.

In the 1880s Dwight Lyman Moody was at the height of his fame as a transatlantic evangelist. He had begun humbly in Chicago, and despite a schedule that left him little time to focus on that city's needs, he remained deeply committed to the church he had established as well as to the efforts of the Chicago YMCA. Tireless and practical, Moody surveyed American Protestantism and concluded that SEMINARIES could not keep up with the demands of America's bustling cities. Demographic changes and swelling immigrant populations demanded a new approach from the churches. Moody worried that many Americans might never hear the gospel. Although he did not oppose seminary training, Moody thought that seminaries often educated people away from the masses. For Moody (who was uneducated and unordained), facility in Greek mattered far less than familiarity with the King James Version of the BIBLE. He thought the times demanded "gap men"—people who could communicate effectively in the gap he identified between the educated clergy and the teeming unchurched masses. Chicago seemed the ideal laboratory in which to test this idea. Its swelling immigrant population made it America's fastest-growing metropolis, and intersecting railroad lines justified its boast to be a national transportation hub. Moody could work through his existing networks, and students could combine study and outreach in one of the country's principal cities.

Chicago offered another advantage in the person of Emma Dryer, a teacher at the Illinois State Normal University when she first met Moody in 1870. With Moody's encouragement, Dryer soon turned her teaching skills to Christian education. Moody urged her to consider a home and school modeled on deaconess training schools. Its purpose would be to train female lay Christian workers. Dryer countered with a proposal for a training school for men and women, but Moody hesitated. His unexpected successes in Europe in the next few years propelled him to fame, and not until the mid-1880s would he carry forward the plans he had discussed with Emma Dryer a decade earlier. Dryer, meanwhile, supervised a growing array of training classes. She appointed students to city neighborhoods for house-to-house visitation and cooperation with local churches. In 1879 she spent a few weeks at a deaconess home run by some of Moody's friends in England. She saw firsthand an impressive training program for home and foreign missionary work.

At a meeting on city evangelization in 1885 Moody challenged his Chicago friends to raise funds to build a permanent Bible institute in the city, and soon money began to

come in. In 1886 Moody outlined his expanded vision. His modest commitment to educating female city missionaries had evolved into a broader plan to train men and women who would study in the mornings and apply their studies in afternoon evangelistic outreaches. On January 23, 1886, the *Chicago Tribune* reported Moody's modest curricular intentions: "Never mind the Greek and Hebrew, give them plain English and good Scripture." On Moody's birthday, February 5, 1887, Moody and a group of prominent Chicagoans adopted a constitution for the Chicago Evangelization Society. A week later, they had a charter. Year-round classes at the Training Institute of the Chicago Evangelization Society began in September 1889.

Because the Institute emerged over many years, people have advanced different dates for its founding. The school (which became Moody Bible Institute after Moody's death) recognizes 1886 (the year in which Moody outlined the vision the Institute ultimately implemented) as its founding date. Its first full-time superintendent, REUBEN ARCHER TORREY, assumed his post in 1889. Within a few years the Institute sponsored evening classes and organized its offerings in three clusters: practical work, music, Bible.

Bible institutes like Moody played an important role in post-CIVIL WAR Protestantism. In Britain and the United States, such schools trained lay people as well as clergy in what Moody liked to call "applied Christianity." Moody Bible Institute was not the first Bible institute planted in the United States, but Moody's energy, reputation, and inspiration gave his school immediate national prominence. The institute owed an enormous debt as well to Emma Dryer whose efforts between 1871 and 1886 cultivated the network and organized forms of outreach that ensured the Institute's success. The inspirational Moody and detail-oriented Dryer parted ways shortly after the Institute opened.

After Moody's death in 1899, Moody's three children, Will, Paul, and Emma Moody Fitt, carried forward their father's efforts in markedly different ways. As more American Protestants overtly accommodated faith to culture, Moody's sons continued their father's tradition of welcoming to the summer conferences Moody had established in Northfield, Massachusetts, people of varying theological views. Moody Bible Institute (where Moody's son-in-law, A.P.Fitt had influence) laid claim to Moody's most conservative legacy. Moody Bible Institute faced the emergence of theological MODERNISM with a staunch affirmation of Moody's evangelistic message and a renewed commitment to education that assumed the verbal inspiration of Scripture. In the first half of the twentieth century, Moody Bible Institute stood squarely in the fundamentalist camp. It cherished the cluster of beliefs that came to be dubbed "the fundamentals"—among them the virgin birth, the substitutionary atonement, the physical resurrection, the premillennial return of Christ, and the verbal inspiration of Scripture. After 1909, Moody students studied their Bibles through the lens provided by C.I.Scofield in the notes to his famous SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE. This text reinforced a growing tendency to limit women's public ministry roles, and it also supported the inclination to distance Moody Bible Institute from PENTECOSTALISM.

In the early 1890s, Moody Bible Institute began publishing a twice-monthly bulletin that lasted just over a year. It returned in 1900 as the *Institute Tie*, a monthly magazine intended primarily for Moody alumni and supporters. In 1907 it broadened its scope and audience, offering book reviews, religious news, Bible study helps, and inspirational articles. From 1910 a new title, *The Christian Worker's Magazine*, reflected these

changes. In 1920 this magazine became *The Moody Bible Institute Monthly*. Since 1938 *The Moody Monthly* has become a major conservative Protestant magazine that effectively extends Moody Bible Institute's international influence.

The radio voice of Moody Bible Institute is known as WMBI. It first went on the air in Chicago in 1926. After World War II the Institute began purchasing additional stations to create the Moody Radio Network. Its programming is broadcast around the world, and the radio studies at the Institute offer state-of-the-art facilities to train students as Christian broadcasters.

In 1946 the Institute expanded its offerings to include a program in missionary aviation. Like much of what was done at Moody Bible Institute over the years, this program became a model for others to emulate.

One of Moody Bible Institute's most influential endeavors, the Moody Institute of Science, began in 1945 with an agreement between the Institute and Irwin Moon, a pastor and amateur scientist who by 1945 had demonstrated an ability to engage crowds with narrated science experiments. Moon joined Moody Bible Institute's Extension Department in 1938. In 1939 he presided over a Sermons from Science pavilion at the San Francisco World's Fair. His experiments met with such success that he took his program on the road. During World War II he produced two films using time-lapse photography. With these achievements in hand, he asked Moody to sponsor a laboratory to enable scientific studies that featured God as creator. The first film, "God of Creation," was released in 1946 and showed that Moon intended to use cutting-edge technology to make his point. More than twenty science films followed, each between 30 and 60 minutes long. By the late 1950s church rentals exceeded 15,000 per year. With the advent of video and CD technology, the audience expanded exponentially. The success of Sermons from Science made it inevitable that other types of films would follow. Videos for children, for family viewing, and for devotion and teaching as well as films designed for home educators took their place in the 1980s beside the popular science films.

Also related to Moody Bible Institute is the Moody Press. A major publisher of popular Christian literature, Moody Press evolved from the Bible Institute Colportage Association. Moody believed in mass production of inexpensive Christian literature, and from the 1890s the Bible Institute (through what became Moody Press) issued an expanding line of Bibles, missionary biographies, helps for Christians, Bible study aids, and Christian education materials. Moody Press reaches around the world, and its revenues help fund the Institute's educational programs. In addition the Institute has produced innumerable tracts, pamphlets, and other literature for free distribution.

Within twenty years of its founding, Moody Bible Institute began extension programs that quickly found their niche and gave the Institute a presence in every state, generally through conferences and special series focused on equipping lay people for practical Christian work. Distance learning and online studies extend educational opportunities ever more widely. In addition to reaching out with cutting-edge technology, the Institute invites people in for events that have gained a place on conservative Evangelicals' calendars. Founder's Week has become an Institute tradition. The Institute sets aside the week that includes Moody's birthday (February 5) for services featuring prominent conservative Protestant leaders. Thanks to the Moody Broadcasting Network, Founder's Week has a national audience. Other Institute-sponsored annual events that draw enormous registrations include a pastors' conference and a church musicians' conference.

Moody Bible Institute is accredited by the American Association of Bible Colleges. Its tax-exempt land on Chicago's near North Side abuts the city's gold coast, but a few blocks to the west students still find evidence of the desperate human need that first attracted Moody to the site.

See also Bible; Bible Colleges and Institutes; Civil War; Evangelicalism; Evangelism; Modernism; Moody, Dwight Lyman; Pentecostalism; Scofield Reference Bible; Seminaries; Torrey, Reuben Archer; Young Men's Christian Association

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EDITH L. BLUMHOFER

MOODY, DWIGHT LYMAN (1837–1899)

American revival preacher. Moody was born on February 5, 1837, in Northfield, Massachusetts, a hamlet on the banks of the Connecticut River in the northwest corner of Massachusetts. Northfield was a very attractive place, which Moody viewed as "home" during much of his adult life. The juxtaposition of this sylvan spot so dear to Moody's heart with his career as America's greatest urban revivalist of the late nineteenth century reflected well the ambiguities of national life in the same period as the country rapidly transformed itself from a largely rural to a largely urban society.

Early Years

In 1854 Moody left home to go to Boston. There he began to be drawn directly into the world of nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism. He joined the Boston YMCA (see YMCA/YWCA), created by Evangelicals specifically to appeal to young people new to the city like himself. He also began to attend one of the best-known evangelical parishes, Mount Vernon Congregational Church. The historical record suggests young Moody's woeful initial readiness for church membership, but nurtured by parishioners and his own enthusiasm, Moody eventually became a church member in May 1856. At the same time, he was also entering the world of business. He became a salesman in his uncle's retail boot and shoe business, one of the key industries that shaped the economy of Boston. Thus by accident or personal choice, the young man was aligning himself with economic and cultural forces that fundamentally shaped both his life and the nation's history throughout the last half of the nineteenth century.

In 1856 Moody decided to move to Chicago, one of the newest, yet most promising metropolitan centers of the nation. Quickly he established himself as an enterprising young businessman, again as a boot and shoe salesman. However, religious interests steadily drew his attention away from economic concerns. He joined the Chicago YMCA, and within a short time had become its president. This put him in almost daily contact with many of the up-and-coming young businessmen whose personal wealth could be turned to evangelical missionary enterprises, especially among the poor and unchurched within the city. By 1860 Moody had organized a small nondenominational sabbath school for poor children who lived in the rundown areas of the near-North Side of Chicago. The pietistical, individual-conversion orientation so characteristic of EVANGELICALISM was at the center of Moody's work now, and the noticeable nondenominationalism of the YMCA and the little sabbath school were also clear precursors to his work after 1875 as a national revivalist.

In the late 1860s and early 1870s, Moody was readying himself for his new endeavors. He hired a young singer and harmonium player, IRA B. SANKEY, to aid him in his religious services. Sankey's music was to be a binding force in Moody's great REVIVALS of the 1870s and after. In 1867 the evangelist ventured overseas to ENGLAND for the first time, indicative of his widening personal horizons, and of the transatlantic nature of Evangelicalism, which nurtured the new aspects of his work. After a time of personal travail in 1870, a powerful religious experience struck him, perhaps his first deeply felt "conversion experience." This event helped to focus and reenergize his life. Finally, in 1871 the great Chicago Fire destroyed all the physical aspects of his life—his home, his sabbath school, and the YMCA's building. To rebuild would be a daunting task. Characteristically, when faced with such challenges, Moody decided to strike out anew in another place. In June 1873, with Sankey at his side, the evangelist left for England.

Sojourn in England

The two years spent in Great Britain were a crucial time for Moody as an urban revivalist. He was adapting revivalism, formerly a key expression of Evangelicalism in small-town and rural America, into a larger, more formal and institutionalized structure that met the spiritual needs of people moving in massive numbers into the new urban industrial centers of America. Ironically, England was the laboratory in which he developed most of the techniques and practices used later in his urban "campaigns" in the UNITED STATES. This included religious services multiple times a week for extended periods in a large auditorium in the downtown area of a city. These urban "tabernacles" were simply secular buildings seating thousands of people. The service utilized massed choirs as well as Sankey's sweet tenor voice (destroyed after a few years because of the absence of modern sound systems). This was mass urban revivalism, far more like the revival work of BILLY SUNDAY and BILLY GRAHAM in the twentieth century than the smaller, more intimate efforts of CHARLES FINNEY just a few years earlier. Moody's simple message of God's transforming love, his storytelling ability (always helpful when focusing on biblical materials), and his image as a clearly religious person possessing the aura and demeanor of a contemporary businessman were all characteristics

and key ingredients in his work. Careful analysis of statistics published at the time regarding CONVERSIONS at the mass revivals suggest that Moody did draw many people into the church's orbit (he always referred people to local churches as they left his "inquiry rooms"), but that in the long run the revivals did not affect church membership to any large degree. Beginning in 1875 and continuing into the early 1880s, Moody conducted mass revivals in most of the principal urban centers of the United States, in Brooklyn, New York, and in Manhattan, Boston, Chicago, and eventually smaller cities such as Indianapolis, Louisville, and places on the West Coast. They seemed to be important and spectacular manifestations of religious interest and enthusiasm, but historical perspective also suggests that these revivals had become highly organized, routinized creations of men, not the unexpected "showers of grace" that appeared suddenly from on high according to earlier accounts extending back to New Testament times.

Shift in Focus

By the mid-1880s there were indications that "fields white for the harvest" made possible by mass revivalism were less and less in evidence. Moody sometimes shifted his own work into a different mode: revivals centered in local churches, lacking the mass appeal of previous efforts but perhaps rooted more firmly in local communities and therefore more closely aligned with, rather than in competition with, local pastors and their congregations. Moody also sought to develop other avenues by which to carry on the work of the churches.

In 1875 he returned to his birthplace in Northfield, Massachusetts, to live permanently. Especially there he developed new approaches to EVANGELISM. Concerned about the commonly named "unchurched masses" of the new urban industrial centers, who seemed largely impervious to the blandishments of his revivals, Moody searched for a way to create a new cadre of religious "gapmen." These were to be young people knowledgeable in urban ways and trained to reach out on a more intimate and personal level to the "unsaved" in the slums of America's cities. In the mid-1880s he established two schools in Northfield, one for women and one for men, a traditional approach to education in New England. The Northfield School for Women and Mt. Hermon School for boys never fully achieved his evangelistic goals, although they eventually evolved into two excellent private secondary academies animated by Moody's spirit and frequent physical presence. Given their location, the schools were less effective in preparing young people as revivalists or dispensers of evangelical tracts among city dwellers.

A seemingly more promising effort in Chicago paralleled the work in the East. In 1886 the Bible Institute arose on the near-North Side with the specific intent of training people for work in the teeming working-class neighborhoods close by. Moody found it difficult to provide constant leadership there, although he raised the money to run all three schools until his death. Gradually the Bible Institute was taken over by other evangelical leaders and became MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE, a well-known evangelical educational institution today.

Final Years

In the 1890s Moody's life seemed a mixture of pluses and minuses. Conservative theologically all his life (he was a biblical literalist and believed in premillennialism), Moody's irenic temper nevertheless enabled him to maintain good relations with theological liberals from evangelical backgrounds such as William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago, and preachers WASHINGTON GLADDEN and Lyman Abbott. Moody might be called a cautious "prefundamentalist" because he died before the major controversies in this arena erupted just before World War I. Clearly, though, he was buffeted by the ideological conflicts that were developing in American Protestantism.

His personal life, centered around his family at his beloved home in Northfield, seemed to blossom in his later years. He became greatly overweight, however, and his demanding schedule of revival campaigns and traveling put constant stress on his body. In November 1899 the evangelist suffered a series of small heart attacks in the midst of a revival in Kansas City, and he was forced to return home suddenly. Slowly his heart gave out, and he died in Northfield, surrounded by his family, on December 22, 1899.

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Fundamentalism; Millinarians and Millennialists

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JAMES FINDLAY

MOON, SUN MYUNG (1920–)

Korean church leader. Born to a Presbyterian family in North Korea on January 6, 1920, Sun Myung Moon is known as the founder of the UNIFICATION CHURCH, whose followers are also known as the "Moonies." Moon began his public ministry in South Korea in 1945, claiming to be God's messenger for a new age. In 1951 Moon began to write his teachings called the *Divine Principle*. Four years later Moon founded the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity in Seoul. In 1972–1973 he moved his headquarters to Tarrytown, New York, where his movement took on a world-evangelizing emphasis. He soon became surrounded by controversies over fundraising, tax evasion, and indoctrinating techniques. Moon was convicted of tax evasion in 1982, fined \$25,000, and sentenced to eighteen months in prison. In the 1990s he and his church moved to BRAZIL and purchased large regions of rain forest.

The central tenets of Sun Myung Moon's teaching, found in his *Divine Principle*, announce Moon as the messenger sent by God to bring about the originally intended restoration that Jesus Christ was supposed to bring. God is understood as a duality (much

like yin and yang), and creation is seen as an emanation of God. The divinely intended purpose for humanity to reach perfection and form a perfect society oriented around the family was thwarted when Eve was tempted by Lucifer into forbidden love, thus causing the spiritual fall of humanity, and entered prematurely (i.e., before they had attained perfection) into MARRIAGE with Adam, thus causing humanity's physical fall. Although Jesus redeemed humanity spiritually, another Messiah (who was prophesied to come from KOREA) was needed to bring about its physical SALVATION through the example of holy marriage and the procreation of perfect children. Moon proclaimed himself as this second Messiah and with his movement announces the aim of unifying of all religions and God's intended universal salvation.

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JIN PAK

MORAL MAJORITY

The conservative political action group Moral Majority burst onto the American political scene during the campaigns and elections of 1980, when it mobilized thousands of conservative voters and augmented the Republican landslide that carried Ronald Reagan to the White House.

A group of five men—Baptist minister JERRY FALWELL foremost among them—founded Moral Majority in June 1979. Cofounder Paul Weyrich, the son of German Catholics, played an instrumental role in giving the group its ecumenical flavor by convincing fundamentalist pastors to cooperate with political conservatives from across the theological spectrum. The new group included Evangelicals, Catholics, Mormons, and even atheists—all of whom subscribed to the notion that they represented a “moral majority” among America's citizenry.

This political cooperation marked a departure for fundamentalists, who for most of the twentieth century had espoused separatism from nonfundamentalists to preserve ORTHODOXY. Whereas previous fundamentalists stressed doctrinal purity, Falwell and his “cobelligerents” temporarily set aside theological disagreements in their pursuit of the broadest possible political constituency. Televangelists like Falwell and Texan James

Robison used their airtime to deliver politically charged messages to the millions of Americans who watched them each week. They also utilized their enormous mailing lists to distribute the “Moral Majority Report,” the group’s newsletter.

Leaders described Moral Majority’s political platform as “pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, and proAmerican.” The group fought ABORTION, pornography, HOMOSEXUALITY, and feminism. Moral Majority endorsed the traditional two-parent family structure, a strong national defense, and American support for Israel. This final point reflected the dispensational heritage of the group’s fundamentalist leaders, who believed Israel would play a critical role in the events of the end times foretold in the Book of Revelation. They supported the Jewish state enthusiastically.

Otherwise, Moral Majority concentrated its agenda on domestic (or, as they put it, “moral”) concerns. Leaders decried liberal developments—the elimination of school prayer, the legalization of abortion, and the rise of secular humanism in public schools—that threatened to destroy the United States’ “Judeo-Christian heritage.” Moral Majority poured its efforts and its money into politically conservative campaigns dedicated to stemming the tide of moral erosion sweeping the country. And the group succeeded to a remarkable extent; even conservative estimates of the Moral Majority’s influence in the 1980 elections reveal massive impact at the polls. Moreover, Moral Majority managed to mobilize the vote among conservative Protestants, a group many liberal Protestants and secularists considered politically dormant (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

The heady optimism that dominated the first years of Moral Majority’s existence waned, and Falwell decided to fold the organization in 1986. But subsequent developments suggested that Moral Majority had effects that lasted far longer than its seven-year lifespan. Televangelist PAT ROBERTSON made a credible run at the White House in 1988. Republicans wrested control of Congress away from Democrats in 1994 owing largely to the mobilizing power of groups similar to Moral Majority, such as the Christian Coalition. Moral Majority paved the way for conservative Protestants to embrace ecumenical cooperation in the political arena—cooperation unthinkable to a previous generation of separatists.

See also Christian Right; Dispensationalism; Fundamentalism; Politics; Televangelism

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SETH DOWLAND

MORAL REARMAMENT

Created in 1938, Moral Rearmament (MRA) is an association of activists committed to improving public life through personal moral change. The primary idea driving this international movement is the belief that complex social problems are the outgrowth of individuals' failure to live up to their full potential as moral-spiritual beings. MRA's founder was Frank Buchman (1878–1961), a Pennsylvania-born Lutheran minister who began his ministry with college students in the UNITED STATES and ENGLAND, but redirected his energies to the reconciliation of sociopolitical conflicts in the 1930s. Buchman stirred controversy almost everywhere he went, warning of sexual perversion on university campuses, attempting to befriend high-ranking Nazi officials, intervening in labor strikes, and denouncing COMMUNISM with vehemence. Controversy aside, Buchman helped resolve a myriad of conflicts around the globe, encouraged the belief that moral perfection is possible (see PIETISM), and played a key role in the growth of the twelve-step groups that have helped millions overcome their personal addictions. A seemingly ordinary man on the surface, Buchman's extraordinary influence grew from his investment in a small circle of individuals who themselves invested in others, spreading his vision like seed.

Buchman's Early Career

Frank Buchman discovered the power of forgiveness at a conference for evangelical Christians in Keswick, England, in the summer of 1908. At the time he was bitter about a falling-out with his Lutheran overseers in Philadelphia, but decided to write letters of apology to each of the individuals involved. The experience gave Buchman a tremendous sense of liberation and, with a newfound enthusiasm, he took a position in 1909 as a campus minister with the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (see YMCA/YWCA) at the Pennsylvania State College. His time with the YMCA would have a formative influence on him, giving him the resources to build his own ministry in the future. Under the tutelage of YMCA leaders, Buchman became even more committed to the ideal of absolute moral purity, began the practice of morning quiet times, and learned to build his ministry one person at a time through careful listening and dialogue. He also learned how to coordinate large outreach events modeled on the nineteenth-century tent meeting, was exposed to an international network of evangelical Christians, and met many of the people who would work for him for decades to come.

Although culturally American in his penchant for cleanliness, his sociability, and his affinity for big events, Buchman was a committed Anglophile his whole life through. This love of England was mutual to some extent because Buchman had the greatest following in England, and to a lesser extent other English-speaking countries like the United States, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, and SOUTH AFRICA. For years Buchman was active on the campus of England's Oxford University such that

people called his circle of men the Oxford Group, a name they embraced until changing it to Moral Rearmament in 1938. The reason for this change was Buchman's contention, at a time when the world was on the brink of yet another cataclysmic war, that social problems were fundamentally the outgrowth of individuals' unwillingness to compromise. With almost three decades of success showing young people how to make peace with God and with others, Buchman was ready to apply his method of reconciliation to labor strikes, political disputes, and other conflicts needing mediation. To widen its appeal and effectiveness, MRA decided to downplay its Christian roots and presented moral reconciliation between people as its central tenet.

Buchman's Later Career

This new direction was one Buchman had already been moving toward for some time. During the mid-1930s, for example, he repeatedly tried to open a dialogue with the Nazi Party in GERMANY, a fruitless endeavor that unfortunately earned Buchman the reputation of a fascist sympathizer. Although he was willing to engage the Nazis, one group Buchman made no attempt to reach was the Communist Party, anathema to MRA's message of class cooperation and religious freedom. During World War II, MRA supported the Allied war effort through patriotic films, conferences, and plays. After the War's end the MRA invited representatives from dozens of nations to its retreat centers in Michigan and Caux, SWITZERLAND, to heal the wounds caused by war. MRA also helped rebuild industry in Britain and in areas of Western Europe and was particularly active in keeping Communism out of the industrialized region of Germany known as the Ruhr. In the mid-1950s MRA launched a world tour of plays criticizing the extremes of both Communism and capitalism, one of the last major projects Buchman undertook before his death in 1961.

MRA's Influence

During his life Buchman influenced many people who took his ethos of radical reconciliation in new directions. In 1935 it was an Oxford Group chapter in Akron, Ohio, that helped a man named Bill Wilson overcome his dependency on alcohol. Wilson went on to found Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and incorporated the Oxford Group's ideas of self-examination, acknowledgment of character defects, and restitution for harm done into his new movement; AA then became the blueprint for all other twelve-step groups to come. MRA also set into motion the traveling youth show *Up With People* in the mid-1960s before it ventured on its own in 1968. Again in the 1980s MRA held the Caux Round Table, which produced the Caux Principles, a standard of business ethics in many university business programs. Currently MRA has chapters in the United States (also called Initiatives of Change), the United Kingdom, Australia, INDIA, BRAZIL, Kenya, and JAPAN.

See also Evangelicalism; Keswick Movement

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TYLER FLYNN

MORAVIAN CHURCH

The Moravian Church, also known as Unity of Brethren or *Unitas Fratrum* (Czech: *Jednota Bratrská*, German: *Brüdergemeine*), is one of the oldest Protestant denominations. It traces its roots back to the fifteenth-century Czech Reformation, but owes its modern character and organization mostly to its renewal under the leadership of Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF (1700–1760) at HERRNHUT in 1727. As a result of its pioneering mission work, the Moravian Church is now an international body, consisting of nineteen provinces, with about 800,000 members in twenty-five countries.

The Ancient Unity

The first period in Moravian history is known as the time of the ancient Unity and stretches from 1457, when the early Brethren first organized themselves as an independent group, to the 1620s, when the reCatholicization of the Czech lands led to the Unity's institutional extinction there.

The formation of the Unity in the wake of the Hussite revolution was directly related to feelings of dissatisfaction with the worldliness of the ecclesiastical *status quo* and the desire to return to the purity of the apostolic era. Prompted by the prophetic preaching of the archbishop of Prague, Jan Rokycana, a group under the leadership of Rokycana's nephew, "brother Rehor" (Gregory, d. 1474), moved to Kunvald, a small village in rural northeastern Bohemia, where they established their first congregation in 1457–1658. Calling themselves "Brethren of the Law of Christ" (*fratres legis Christi*) the community accepted the Sermon on the Mount as their guiding principle, embraced a disciplined and simple life removed from urban centers, and rejected civil obligations such as oaths and military service. The belief that only worthy clerics are able to administer the SACRAMENTS effectively persuaded the Brethren in 1467 to separate completely from the established CHURCH by electing three priests. Desiring to connect their new clerical order to the apostolic tradition, one of the priests obtained consecration from a

Waldensian elder (although historians consider it doubtful whether this step really provided the Unity with a valid claim to apostolic succession). Despite persecutions the Unity soon gained a considerable following throughout Bohemia and Moravia, although it always remained a minority, never representing more than 5 percent of the whole population.

With the advent of a new generation of leaders in the 1490s, notably Lukás of Prague (1458–1528), the Unity's original stance of withdrawal from the world softened. Membership now became open to town dwellers and nobles, the church was organized on the basis of a synodical government, and Lukás provided a sophisticated interpretation of its THEOLOGY. His central theological principle was the distinction between essential, ministrative, and incidental matters. Essential for SALVATION, according to Lukás, is God's saving work in Jesus Christ and the human response in faith, love, and hope. Ministrative matters include scripture, the sacraments, and the church and its discipline. Incidental, finally, are matters such as church government or forms of WORSHIP that can be changed according to circumstance. Although Lukás gave soteriological primacy to GRACE rather than works, he maintained that FAITH must express itself in obedience to God's will. Accordingly, the Unity continued to place great emphasis on strict CHURCH DISCIPLINE, but it did not regard itself in an exclusive sense as the only "true" church.

From 1522 on, the Unity's ecumenical openness showed itself in numerous contacts with other REFORMATION groups. The Brethren sent several delegations to Wittenberg and gained MARTIN LUTHER'S friendly approval of their confession *Apologia verae doctrinae* (1538). It also had cordial relations with PHILIPP MELANCHTHON and MARTIN BUCER, who like Luther admired the Brethren's practice of church discipline. After 1540 the Brethren turned increasingly to the Reformed tradition, corresponded with JOHN CALVIN and THEODORE BEZA, and sent many of their theological students to Reformed universities. Still, the Unity maintained in some points its own position, for example, by rejecting the idea of the *jus reformandi* that placed the responsibility for the reform of the church into the hands of the secular government.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Unity experienced further persecutions but also the growth of a branch in POLAND and a German-speaking branch in Moravia. It produced the first Protestant Hymnals (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS) (1501, 1505, 1519), published numerous confessions and CATECHISMS, and worked on a Czech BIBLE TRANSLATION, the six-volume Kralice Bible (1579–1594), which came to be regarded as a classic of the Czech language. Ecumenical deliberations designed to strengthen the political position of the Protestant side resulted in 1570 in an agreement between the Polish branch of the Unity and the Polish Lutherans and Calvinists, known as *Consensus of Sendomir*, and in 1575 in the presentation to Emperor Maximilian II of a common confession supported by all Protestants in Bohemia, the *Confessio Bohemica*.

The seventeenth century brought the Unity a brief moment of legal recognition (1609), but after the defeat of the Protestants at the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) the Brethren again faced severe persecution, some being exiled, others forcibly converted to Catholicism. Several thousand members left Bohemia and Moravia, including the young priest Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670), and mostly settled around Lesho (Lissa) in Poland. The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which put the Czech lands under Habsburg control, definitively burst any hopes of restoring the Unity in its homeland. The

distinguished career of Komenský as bishop, scholar, and educator marks the end point in the history of the ancient Moravian Unity, although remnants of the Polish branch continued to exist until the 1940s.

The Renewed Moravian Church

The renewed Moravian Church regards itself as standing in continuity with the ancient Unity, although strictly speaking the Moravian tradition has only one formative influence besides German PIETISM and the leadership of Zinzendorf. Moreover, until the 1760s the Moravians are more accurately characterized as an interdenominational renewal movement than as a church. Today its rich history, its liturgical and devotional tradition, and its lively sense of fellowship, rather than a specific confessional stance or ethnic origin, defines Moravian identity.

The formation of the renewed Moravian Church until 1760 is inseparably intertwined with the life and leadership of Count Zinzendorf, who permitted a group of Protestant refugees from Moravia, in part descendants of the ancient Unity, to settle on his estate Berthelsdorf in Upper Lusatia (Saxony) in 1722. The village, named Herrnhut (“under the Lord’s watch”), soon attracted numerous Pietists and religious seekers from other places and grew into a colony aspiring to be a true community of awakened believers according to the example of the apostolic church. Inner tensions caused a severe crisis in 1726 that required Zinzendorf’s active intervention. In May 1727 he introduced two sets of *Statutes*, which outlined his vision of Herrnhut as a community based on fraternal love, as communal COVENANT. On August 13, 1727, the community was ready to celebrate Holy Communion (see LORD’S SUPPER) at the Lutheran parish church at Berthelsdorf and experienced a profound moment of spiritual renewal and reconciliation. With a new sense of unity and purpose, Herrnhut was now on its way to become the center of an evangelistic renewal movement of international scope.

The community’s inner development showed itself in the emergence of a set of distinct practices and customs: the members addressing each other as “brother” and “sister” (hence the name *Brüdergemeine* or Brethren’s Unity), the use of the lot to discern God’s will for important decisions, small circles (“bands”) for devotional conversation, the division of the community into groups according to age, sex, and marital status (“choirs”), a continuous PRAYER watch, and specific liturgical forms such as the Lovefeast (an *agape-meal*), the *Singstunde* (a hymn service), and WASHING OF FEET. In 1728 Zinzendorf began to give out short scripture passages as “watchwords” for every day, a tradition continued from 1731 to the present in printed form as *Moravian Watchwords* or *Daily Texts*. Instrumental for the community’s external development was the cultivation of a large network of contacts and friends and the decision to begin MISSIONS in places where no one had yet proclaimed the gospel. The first Moravian missionaries, Leonard Dober and David Nitschmann, were sent in 1732 to the slaves on the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies (see SLAVERY). Other ventures followed rapidly: Greenland (1733), Suriname (1735), SOUTH AFRICA (1737), and Pennsylvania in North America (1740), among others. At the same time, the Moravians organized numerous societies throughout Europe, including the Fetter Lane Society in London, which proved instrumental for JOHN WESLEY’S conversion.

Although Zinzendorf had originally envisioned the Moravian community to be part of the Lutheran state church, it gained some measure of ecclesiastical autonomy when the last bishop of the ancient Unity, Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, passed on the Moravian episcopal succession to the Herrnhut Moravians by consecrating David Nitschmann in 1735 and Zinzendorf in 1737. In 1742 Frederick the Great granted the Moravians ecclesiastical privileges for Prussia, and in 1749 the English parliament recognized the Moravians as an “ancient Protestant Episcopal church.” From 1738 on additional settlement congregations were established in GERMANY, ENGLAND, the NETHERLANDS, and Pennsylvania. Another important development during the 1740s was the so-called Sifting Time (cf. Luke 22:31), a time of intense religious fervor and liturgical creativity in which Zinzendorf’s “blood and wounds theology” was carried to the extreme. The Moravians attracted large numbers of followers but also became the object of public controversy with hundreds of books and pamphlets being published on both sides.

By the 1750s the Moravian Brethren formed a vibrant international community, united by a tight net of contacts, a shared sense of commitment to Christ, and a distinct liturgical culture. Although the Moravians emphasized personal CONVERSION and SANCTIFICATION, they understood the Christian life in terms of Luther’s *simul justus et peccator* and believed in “sinners’ holiness” rather than Christian perfection as propounded by the Wesleys. The core of Moravian spirituality was the inner experience of Christ’s presence and the joyful recognition that his death on the cross had paid for one’s sins. The spiritual life of the Moravian communities, marked by a strong emphasis on fellowship and simplicity, involved an elaborate rhythm of liturgies and worship, yet it expressed itself also in specific styles of Music and ARCHITECTURE and even in particular work and business ethics. Laypeople, including WOMEN, shared much of the responsibility for the numerous pastoral and administrative tasks.

Zinzendorf’s death in 1760 confronted the Moravian community with the enormous challenge of having to establish new structures of leadership. Three general synods (1764, 1769, and 1775) adopted a constitution and set up a central governing board at Herrnhut, the Unity Elders’ Conference (UEC). The Moravians in England and IRELAND, in Germany and neighboring countries, and in the North American colonies were organized as provinces. The responsibility for the mission fields lay in the hands of a central mission board attached to the UEC. August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704–1792) now emerged as the leading figure, toning down the more radical features of Moravian piety to lessen the tension with the established Protestant churches. His biography of Zinzendorf (1772–1775), his doctrinal compendium *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (1779), and the 1778 hymnal prepared by Christian Gregor effectively shaped Moravian theology and worship for the next hundred years. Discouraging growth at the expense of other denominations, the Moravians maintained a large network of nonproselytizing ministries to members of the confessional churches (“diaspora-work”). New missions were begun in South RUSSIA (1768), Egypt (1768), and Labrador (1772), whereas numerous boarding schools flourished in the congregations at home. FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER spent five formative years in Moravian schools (1783–1787) and later credited the Moravians with having revealed to him the importance of religious feeling.

The most important development in the nineteenth century was the demand of the North American and British provinces for more autonomy. “Home rule” was gradually

implemented between 1818 and 1857 and allowed the American Moravians to expand at the Western frontier and to adapt to the American Protestant mainstream. New mission work commenced in Nicaragua (1849), South Australia (1849), Tibet (1853), British Guyana (1878), Alaska (1885), and East Africa (1891). Evangelistic outreach in Bohemia and Moravia was begun in 1862. The general Synod of 1869 initiated steps to lead the established mission fields gradually toward more independence, a development that gained further momentum when World War I forced many German missionaries to withdraw.

The political events of the twentieth century placed a considerable strain on the Moravian Church, especially in Europe, as nationalistic sentiments threatened to undermine its interprovincial unity, and World War II resulted in the devastation of many Moravian congregations and institutions. Singularly important for the development of the modern Moravian Church was the general Synod of 1957 in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which affirmed the church's continuing unity, adopted a new Church Order with the doctrinal basis "The Ground of the Unity," and prepared the way for the transformation of the mission fields into self-governing provinces. Accordingly, fourteen new provinces were recognized between 1960 and 1988: Alaska, Costa Rica, the Eastern West Indies, Guyana, Honduras, Jamaica, Labrador, Nicaragua, South Africa, Suriname, Tanzania Rukwa, Tanzania South, Tanzania South-West, and Tanzania West. Most of these provinces have membership in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and other ecumenical bodies. In addition the Moravian Church maintains congregations in North India, operates a home for handicapped children near Jerusalem, and carries out mission work in Zambia, Siberia, and Albania.

Like many other Protestant denominational families, the contemporary Moravian Church has become very diverse ethnically, culturally, and theologically. More members now live in AFRICA (ca. 510,000) and South and Central America (ca. 194,000) than in Europe (c.30,000) or North America (c.53,000). The common council and highest AUTHORITY in matters of DOCTRINE and church order is the international Unity Synod, which meets every seven years and includes elected delegates from each province. Common to the whole Unity is also the threefold order of deacon, presbyter, and bishop (see CLERGY); the use of the *Daily Texts* (now published in about 45 languages); and its Church Order. Although the Moravian Church does not possess its own confessional statement, the "Ground of the Unity" affirms that faith in the triune God, the confession of Jesus as Lord, and fraternal fellowship between the believers form the basis for the worldwide Unity. The ancient creeds and various Protestant confessions are acknowledged as important testimonies of faith. The musical and liturgical traditions, especially the celebrations of Christmas Eve and Easter Morning, remain at the heart of Moravian piety and have in some cases also enriched the life of other Protestant denominations.

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PETER VOGT

MORE, HENRY (1614–1687)

English theologian. The seventh son of an established family of Lincolnshire gentry, More was born at Grantham in that county in October 1614, and then educated at Eton and Christ's College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. After his graduation and ordination, in 1641 More became a Fellow of Christ's College, a position he held until his death, rarely leaving his rooms at Christ's, except to visit London or stay with his friend, the philosopher Anne Conway at her estate in Warwickshire.

More's first publication, the *Psychodia Platonica* of 1642, was an important early manifesto for what was to be later known as Cambridge Platonism. A unique synthesis in Spenserian stanzas of early Protestant mystical illuminism and patristic and classical Platonism, these poems also revealed the poet's preference for the new philosophy of Galileo and Descartes and his decisive rejection of both the CALVINISM of his upbringing and the philosophy of the scholastics. This characteristic blend of rational Platonic THEOLOGY and broadly Cartesian natural philosophy appealed to a generation that had reason to question the dogmatic certainties of an earlier age, and was powerfully influenced by the discoveries and methods of the new experimental philosophy.

The most prolific of the CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS, with over thirty works published in his lifetime, More is now remembered mainly for his natural theology, notably the tracts against "Enthusiasm" and "Atheism" of the 1650s. However, it was also his many theological writings and millenarian commentaries published after 1660 that helped establish his role as one of the leading voices of a moderate "Latitudinarian" party (see LATITUDINARIANISM) within the Anglican Church. After the publication

of his Latin *Opera Omnia* in 1675–1679 his earlier English works were made available to a wider Continental audience.

More's contributions to Protestant theology and its philosophical presentation were considerable, if not always easy to categorize. Greatly influenced by Origen and the Neoplatonists, More was a necessitarian, believing that God's goodness was preeminent among his attributes. A follower of Calvin's humanist opponent, SEBASTIAN CASTELLIO, More was a perfectionist, holding that Christ's sacrifice allowed the faithful to achieve a species of spiritual perfection or illumination in this life. This theological optimism and illuminism was the logical foundation of his rational theology, ETHICS, and Platonic psychology and metaphysics. His more controversial defense of the DOCTRINE of preexistence, and lifelong fascination with "evidences" for the world of spirits, were both corollaries of this rational philosophical theology, as was a skeptical epistemology that led him to emphasize the fundamental necessity of religious tolerance, a view that was not always shared by his more dogmatic contemporaries in the church.

See also Anglicanism; Toleration

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ROBERT CROCKER

MORMONISM

Mormonism was a response to the Second Great Awakening of Protestant revivalism in New York State (United States) in the 1820s. In this “burnedover district,” named to describe the converting fire of the Holy Spirit, Mormonism shared that widespread premillennial outlook typified by WILLIAM MILLER and SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISM. It exhibits a form of religious protest against existing churches believed to have departed so far from divine truth that they were no longer vehicles of salvation. Accordingly, the church describes itself in terms of restoration, indicating that the Protestant REFORMATION was radically insufficient to cope with the errors of the ages. Shortly after Christ’s resurrection, and because of human sin, God removed crucial rites and teachings from the earth; without these, salvation, in its distinctive Mormon form of exaltation, would no longer have been attainable. These ritual and doctrinal truths were restored, along with the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods, through visions and divine personages to the founding prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805–1844). In 1830 he published *The Book of Mormon* and inaugurated this new church. Since that time, Mormonism has successfully developed into a distinctive form of Christianity that is difficult to equate with any of the major orthodox traditions, especially not the Protestant world of its origin.

Restoration Churches

Smith’s original group was called the Church of Christ; this name changed to The Church of the Latter Day Saints in 1834 before assuming—by divine revelation—its final designation as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in 1838. This is not, however, the only group within the broader realm of Smith’s restoration, for after his death in 1844, about half the membership lapsed and a crisis was averted in the 1840s and 1850s only with the addition of many emigrant British and European converts. Several groups emerged, each headed by a prophet-like leader claiming to be Smith’s authoritative successor.

James J. Strang (1813–1856), a recent convert, claimed the prophetic role and, followed by perhaps a thousand saints, including one of the twelve Apostles and Joseph Smith’s mother, was crowned king at Beaver Island, Michigan. He further developed polygamy, baptism for the dead, and endowment rituals and, although he was killed in 1856, this movement continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries largely in Wisconsin and New Mexico (Quinn 1994:209–12). Sidney Rigdon (1793–1876), a close associate of Smith, headed a smaller group that collapsed in 1876 after a flurry of prophecies of vengeance and polygamous commitments.

The extant Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) was established in 1853 on the belief that the true restoration movement should be led by a lineal descendant of Smith. After much deliberation Smith’s son, Joseph III, was ordained as its prophet on April 6, 1860. As greatly averse to polygamy as his mother, he would not join the Utah Church and hardly even accepted that his father had introduced and practiced plural marriage. Accordingly, the RLDS Church rejected polygamy, temple

ritual, baptism for the dead, and the rites of endowment that were already distinguishing the evolving Utah-based church. RLDS commitment to continuous revelation remained deep, with notable revelations in 1985 permitting the ordination of women and in 1968 and 1984 prompting the building of a new temple at Independence, Missouri, near its church headquarters. This was deeply symbolic for all Mormons because Smith's earliest prophecies affirmed that Zion, the New Jerusalem, would be established at Independence. Though Mormons only lived in Independence for about one year (1832 through 1833), before being driven out, they remained committed to that eschatological site. The fact that the RLDS owns the temple site there is paradoxical, for it fulfills LDS as well as RLDS hopes, even though the RLDS use of it is radically different from LDS ideals. The RLDS view temples as public places open for religious services, education, and welfare and do not require any special recommendation for access. As such they are Protestant in emphasis. They practice no baptism for the dead, no endowments, and follow mainline Trinitarian orthodoxy with a stress on grace and salvation in Christ. Baptism of those aged eight or over is, however, followed immediately by confirmation. Their Sacrament Service uses bread and unfermented grape juice (the LDS use water), while marriage is regarded more sacramentally than in the Protestant tradition at large. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints also calls itself, less formally, The Saints Church, and happily engages with mainstream denominations, seeing itself as part of the ecumenical world of Christianity, even though many mainstream denominations may find its Mormon roots problematic.

Protestant Leaders

A significant issue for historical theology concerns the relationship between Joseph Smith's textual and interpretative contribution to the RLDS movement and, say, that of Simon Kimbangu to The Church of Jesus Christ through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu, which joined the World Council of Churches in 1969. A slightly similar point could even be raised in connection with MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) and LUTHERANISM or WESLEY and METHODISM, highlighting a basic Protestant fact that distinct individuals have been dramatically important parts in formulating Christian thinking and practice under very particular social and historical constraints. The time frame of history not only demonstrates the complexity of interaction among biblical texts, patristic formulation, and the paradoxical debates of diverging traditions, but also demands caution over the precise nature of orthodoxy in light of cultural contexts of faith. In this sense the notions of Reformation and restoration offer themselves for both theological and sociological analysis.

Fundamentalism and Polygamy

If the RLDS Church reflects the ecumenical end of the restoration spectrum and the Utah-based LDS Church its center ground, then its exclusive end is occupied by several small groups often described as Mormon fundamentalists. "Fundamentalist" carries a distinctive connotation in Mormonism when compared with Protestant

FUNDAMENTALISM at large. It is not primarily concerned with theories of biblical inspiration and interpretation, but with the authority of authentic prophets, their teaching, and practice. Mormon fundamentalism applies more to the family than to the Scriptures, in particular to the practice of plural marriage that developed in early Mormonism but was formally forbidden by the LDS Church in its manifesto of 1890, under government pressure, and was practically abandoned by the 1920s under church threat of excommunication. Small numbers remained committed to polygamy as a divinely revealed truth that had only been eschewed by LDS authorities for political expediency. One folk tradition described how the traditionalist Prophet John Taylor, who believed in polygamy despite persecution and was president of the church from 1880 to 1887 prior to Wilford Woodruff (1807–1898; whose 1890 manifesto prohibited polygamy), had received a special religious experience in 1886. Jesus Christ and the deceased Joseph Smith appeared and told Taylor to set apart several individuals to perpetuate polygamy, a story that validated several groups claiming authority as true perpetuators of Joseph Smith's original work and intention. One of these, The Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, has branches in both Arizona and Utah. Another, The Apostolic United Brethren, has groups in Utah and elsewhere with perhaps some 10,000 members in the 1990s. Its influential leader Rulon Allred (1906–1977) was assassinated in 1977 by members of another fundamentalist segment claiming priority in prophetic leadership. A degree of accommodation between these relatively small groups of polygamists and the legal arm of several states suggests that fundamentalist Mormonism is likely to continue on a low-profile basis. The major Utah-based LDS Church would prefer a complete absence of polygamy in all restoration-related groups to avoid reinforcing the popular but misinformed notion that Mormons "proper" still practice polygamy.

Prophet and True Church

Mormonism explains its origin in terms of Joseph Smith's youthful confusion over the multiplicity of largely Protestant religious messages, of his desire for certainty over the true church, and of subsequent divine restoration of truth. An angel warned against joining existing churches and promised further divine assistance. These visions began in 1820, and in 1823 Moroni appeared, telling Joseph about metal plates. These he finally obtained in 1827 and rendered into English by mystical means variously described as special spectacles, a seer stone, or the Urim and Thummim. Within Mormon tradition Moroni was the son of Mormon, the final prophet who wrote the history contained on the plates, and who added a postscript prior to burying them in approximately A.D. 421 before he died. His reappearance as a resurrected being was the means of restoring the plates to human history. These accounts have attracted considerable attention among critics scrutinizing the magical folkworld of earliest Mormons, including crystal divination, treasure hunting, and the influence of Hermeticism and alchemy (Brooke 1994). Devout Saints have objected to their religion being reduced to a superstitious origin.

Book of Mormon

If Mormonism is a religious response to Protestant revivalism and interdenominational strife, then the *Book of Mormon* mirrors the book-focused biblicism of that early nineteenth-century religiosity. Its contents present a history of ancient American peoples whose ancestry lay in the Holy Land of the Old Testament. These Jaredites migrated from the region of the Tower of Babel to America, where a series of internecine conflicts led to their destruction between 600 and 300 B.C. Further migration from Jerusalem to America was led by Lehi about 600 B.C. When Lehi died, his two sons, Nephi and Laman, headed opposing factions. The Nephites, largely obedient to God, maintained the tradition of record keeping, while the Lamanites were disobedient. The resurrected Jesus appeared not only to his disciples but also in America: this united the Nephites and Lamanites for some centuries until disobedience once more bred hostility, with the Nephites being destroyed in about A.D. 231. The remnant Lamanites straggled on becoming the ancestors of Native Americans, thus explaining why Mormons engaged in special missions to Native Americans. These themes of obedience and disobedience parallel the phases of faith and error depicted in the historical books of the Old Testament.

The Mormon Church's interpretation of the origin of the *Book of Mormon* has been disputed from the outset by opponents of Mormonism. One alternative theory argued that Smith imitated Solomon Spaulding's manuscript depicting a fictive migration to America. Others saw no need for any preexisting text because Joseph Smith was, himself, a sufficiently creative author. Certainly the book strongly resembles the Bible and repeats many of its themes and modes of expression including a division of the text into named books of chapter and verse.

Canonical Texts

Despite the foundational nature of the book to Mormonism's initial growth, its current profile is relatively low and it is possible to attend LDS meetings without hearing references to it. Nevertheless it assumes the status of a canonical text, shared with the Bible; indeed, an increasingly popular subtitle of the *Book of Mormon* is "Another Testament of Jesus Christ," which also indicates the continued importance of the Bible, specifically in its King James Version, to the saints. Both books provide proof texts, illustrative stories, and devotional reading, and the relationship between them and personal prayer is a noteworthy aspect of LDS spirituality. Mormons often ask prospective converts to read the *Book of Mormon* prayerfully so that God may move them inwardly and attest to the truthfulness of the text and its message. Here Mormonism reflects its Protestant roots in commitment to sacred texts and their authority demonstrated by the internal witness of the Holy Spirit.

Two further volumes, *The Pearl of Great Price* and the *Doctrine and Covenants*, may be added to Mormonism's canonical texts or standard works, as they are called. The relatively short *Pearl of Great Price* of 1851 expresses many LDS ideas and, despite several revisions, remains one of the best overviews of Mormon textual style and

religious concerns. It includes the Books of Moses and Abraham, part of Matthew's Gospel in Joseph Smith's version, and part of the history of Joseph Smith's life. The Book of Moses offers a patchwork of ideas of early Mormonism in which the biblical Moses is depicted as encountering God and Satan before moving into the mundane world of sin and salvation. Moses is tempted after the fashion of Christ's temptation, and there ensues a Genesis-styled creation story including the realization that the disobedience of the Fall was intrinsically positive. The character of Enoch emerges as a preacher, as does the notion of a special priesthood and of the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ long before the incarnation. Some see echoes of Freemasonry in this book in its allusions to Cain, who became Master Mahon under the administration of Satan. Cain, and Lamech after him, became masters of the great secret, and the book ends with Noah and a sense of doom and destruction awaiting a wicked world.

The Book of Abraham is seen as "a translation of some ancient records...from the catacombs of Egypt" originally written by Abraham. The Book includes illustrations of Egyptian scenes interpreted as sacrifices associated with Abraham. Its preoccupation is with the inheritance of a special priesthood into which Abraham is ordained, having been saved from the sacrificing priests of Egypt. It includes the basic Mormon plan of salvation with the Gods organizing the earth, in texts strongly reminiscent of Genesis, and ends with the creation of Adam and Eve. The sections from Matthew's Gospel (chaps. 23 and 24) afford examples of the way in which Joseph Smith represented biblical texts with appropriate amendments and additions. The extract from the history of Joseph Smith reflects the religious enthusiasm surrounding Smith's boyhood, his sense of confusion and desire for the truth, and the theophany in the woods that promised him divine guidance. It refers to the translation of the *Book of Mormon* and to ordination into the Aaronic and Melchizedek orders of priesthood.

The *Doctrine and Covenants* is a collection of revelations received by Joseph Smith and his prophetic successors. Divided into sections and verses, it also resembles the biblical format. This volume is significant because the greatest number of these revelations are dated after the publication of the *Book of Mormon* in 1830 and document the various changes that took the church in a unique direction and away from its original and more Protestant matrix. It covers many aspects of church organization and of belief. For example, section 89 presents the Word of Wisdom enshrining the dietary code now involving abstinence from tea, coffee, alcohol, and tobacco. Section 132 outlines the eternity of marriage and the propriety of plural unions. Two concluding declarations deal with the abandonment of polygamy (1890) and the ordination of worthy males regardless of race or color (1978). The RLDS *Doctrine and Covenants* contain many more revelations than its LDS counterpart because its prophets offer regular and frequent directives to their church.

Church Structure and Organization

LDS Church organization follows a pyramidal hierarchy headed by the prophet-president recruited as the senior of the twelve apostles. As with all major office holders, he is supported by two counselors. Beneath him and the twelve are the seventy individuals who bear responsibility for regions of the world. Local organization is by stakes, led by

stake presidents, subdivided into wards led by bishops. Stakes are named from the symbolic representation of the posts supporting the overarching tent of the Kingdom of God. Stake presidents and ward bishops are lay workers, unpaid and self-supporting through their secular employment. Mormons speak of “calling” leaders to their office, held for three to five years, before “releasing” them again. All moves are believed to be under the direction of the Holy Spirit and involve a relatively rapid turnover of personnel, with individuals moving up and down within the formal organization rather than following an inevitable, upwardly directed, career path. Senior posts are held by Melchizedek priests actively involved in temple rites. There is a developmental plan within the two priesthoods with boys entering the Aaronic priesthood at age twelve, becoming, in turn, deacons, teachers, and priests; and at about age nineteen they are ordained into the Melchizedek priesthood as elders. They may, subsequently, be ordained High Priests, as are local bishops and other key office holders. The office of Seventy is also a subdivision of the Melchizedek priesthood. There are no offices for women, who are expected to participate in the priesthood of their husbands.

Other functionaries include patriarchs whose office has undergone radical change over the history of the church (Bates and Smith 1996). Joseph Smith ordained his father as first patriarch, an office held by lineal successors of the Smith family until 1979, when the emphasis shifted to numerous regional patriarchs. These confer blessings by the laying on of hands, especially for young people setting out on their mission or their life’s work. The patriarchal blessing is believed to come by direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit: it is written down, kept by the individual concerned and by church records, and is not disclosed to people at large. This patriarchal office serves as a mystical complement to the bureaucratically formal duties of the bishop. Still, each father is also said to have a patriarchal role within his family and may give blessings when required.

Missionaries, Protestant and Mormon

Missionary work underlaid Mormonism’s early success. While missionaries were often older people, today most are in their early twenties. After brief training, including basic language learning, men serve for twenty-four and women for eighteen months, at their family’s expense. This period reinforces missionaries in their own faith as much as it leads to new converts: it also helps prepare future church leaders. If it is true that active missionary work was a relatively new phenomenon in Western Christianity born not in the Reformation but in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (van Rooden 1996), then Mormonism must be considered as one prime example of this essentially Protestant process.

Temples and Chapels

Mormonism uniquely possesses sacred buildings of two types—temples and chapels. Temples host key rituals ensuring salvation or, in Mormon terms, exaltation. There are very few temples in each country or state compared with the many chapels that serve as local meetinghouses open to all. Temples are open only to members holding a certificate

of recommendation granted by local church leaders after a formal interview. This establishes the bearer as living a morally acceptable life, supporting the church and its leaders, paying a tithe, and observing the dietary codes. Chapels are the local meeting places open to all and host numerous events, including the weekly Sacrament Service. This uses bread and water in a strongly memorialist rite conducted by Aaronic priests under overall Melchizedek control. The water is dispensed in individual cups and anyone may participate, including small children. Once a month a Fast and Testimony Meeting frames the Sacrament Service; this emphasis upon testimony also echoes Protestant Evangelicalism and stresses the importance of personal experience in the life of the believing member of the community.

Temple Rites

Temple rites, including baptism for the dead, eternal marriage, and endowments for the living and the dead, distinguish the church from its Protestant origin. The baptismal font, large enough for total immersion, stands on the backs of twelve life-size oxen and occupies the temple basement. Temple marriage is for all eternity and not only for this life and is achieved by a ritual “sealing” of partners that constitutes the basis of parental authority over the eternal family group. Endowment ceremonies of ritual washing and anointing, cleansing from worldly taint, and vows that dedicate members in obedience to God are both educative and salvific. Through a series of rooms, and by film, Mormons are taught the Plan of Salvation involving the preexistent world when all dwelt with God as intelligences, the Fall, the Atonement of Christ, repentance and obedience to the rites of the church, and the promise of eternal destinies in the afterlife. Initiates who enter into solemn covenants with God and vow to live according to divine laws are granted promises safeguarding their resurrection into the higher heavenly realms in a profound conquest of death (Buerger 1994). Special ritual clothing includes footwear, hats, robes, gloves, and an apron, and reflects Joseph Smith’s brief period as an initiated Freemason. The Endowment unites husband and wife as a pair progressing together into a divine status according to the LDS ideology that all are “gods in embryo.” These rites underpin the hope of family-focused eternal life including dead kinsfolk. The ideal family unit of heaven would be polygamous, a practice introduced in 1833 and only officially abandoned in 1889 and 1990 due to severe governmental opposition.

Smith was a political as well as a religious leader and, following opposition and civil unrest, was killed in 1844 in Carthage, Illinois. This the Saints saw as martyrdom. A brief leadership conflict favored Brigham Young (1801 through 1877), who continued the western trek and established the Salt Lake basin as a Mormon heartland, though it attained statehood as Utah only in 1896. Temple-building, extensive missionary work, and intensive bureaucratic church management yielded one of the most successful of all nineteenth-century groups of Protestant origin.

Doctrinal Emphases

Mormons distinguish between salvation and exaltation. Salvation for Mormonism is grounded in the removal of original sin through the suffering and death of Christ. Thereafter individuals are responsible for keeping their vows, obeying divine laws, and fulfilling their obligations associated with the temple rituals that permit endowed, sealed, and married Saints to attain exaltation, the highest status in the series of the three heavens of the telestial, terrestrial, and celestial kingdoms. LDS theology developed an emphasis up the suffering of Christ in Gethsemane, including the sweated blood of atonement, and holds strong reservations about depicting the cross. Here it diverges from the traditional Protestant theology of the cross. The efforts of Christ in atonement are matched by the efforts of Mormons in attaining exaltation. Having initially drawn away from Protestant evangelical notions of rebirth, Mormonism, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, expresses an inevitable tension between grace and endeavor, reflecting its Protestant ancestry and its own activist ethic of progression into deity through obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel.

Global Presence

The growth of Mormonism from tens in 1830 to some 11,000,000 by 2000 has encouraged the idea that Mormonism is set to become the next world religion after Islam (Stark 1984). While the nineteenth-century church grew in the United States as a result of European migrant converts, most twentieth-century growth was within North America. The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, however, witnessed major developments in Latin America and elsewhere, encouraged by the new revelation of 1978 admitting black males to the priesthoods for the first time. Still, the church's ethos and organization remain under strong North American, indeed Utahan, control, and this is likely to continue in a world where global institutions offer a powerful identity transcending indigenous custom.

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DOUGLAS J.DAVIES

MORRISON, CHARLES CLAYTON (c.1874–1966)

American publisher. Morrison was a 34-year-old minister in Chicago when he bought the religious period-ical *Christian Century*. The *Christian Century*, founded at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1884 was published by and for members of the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST denomination. Acting as its editor and publisher from 1908 to 1947, Morrison used the influential journal to voice his views on a wide range of social and political issues including PACIFISM, prohibition, women's suffrage, racism, and ECUMENISM.

Morrison was an advocate and subsequently a leader of the ecumenical movement. He was a delegate to the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in 1910, and was an ardent supporter of several ecumenical bodies including the Federal Council of Churches and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. In support of his ecumenical philosophy, Morrison amended the title of the *Christian Century* to include the subtitle "An Undenominational Journal of Religion" in 1917.

Although Morrison supported U.S. participation in World War I, he did so in the spirit of WOODROW WILSON'S statement that it would be the "war to end all wars." Morrison later repudiated armed conflict and was involved firsthand in the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact of 1928—a treaty designed to outlaw WAR. He was also vocal in his condemnation of CAPITAL PUNISHMENT and racism, and was an ardent supporter of women's suffrage. Conspicuously, Charles Morrison lobbied for prohibition since the time he acquired the *Christian Century*. His campaign mounted as passage of the Volstead Act neared, and continued because of the widespread flouting of the act's provisions.

Charles Morrison campaigned vigorously for the separation of CHURCH AND STATE, believing it to be vital to the spiritual health of the nation. To that end, Morrison was one of a handful of prominent Protestant leaders who designed and founded Protestants and Other AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Although best known for his involvement with the *Christian Century*, Morrison also founded the ecumenical quarterly *Christendom* and was its editor from 1935 to 1939. To satisfy his own interest in PREACHING, he founded the *Pulpit*, a journal of contemporary preaching in 1929.

Charles Clayton Morrison died on March 2, 1966, in Chicago.
See also Periodicals, Protestant; Publishing, Media; Temperance

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HELEN FARLEY

MOSHEIM, JOHANN LORENZ (1693– 1755)

German Lutheran theologian. Shaped by both Lutheran ORTHODOXY and the ENLIGHTENMENT, Mosheim was one of the leading theologians and churchmen of his day. Through his groundbreaking historical works he is often considered the founder of the discipline of modern church history.

Born in 1693 to a family of modest circumstances in Lübeck, Mosheim found distinguished patrons who financed both his schooling in Lübeck and later his studies at the University of Kiel. He received his master's degree in 1718 and was named lecturer at Kiel the following year. Mosheim established himself academically in 1722 with an extended critical response to JOHN TOLAND'S *Nazarenus*, in which he criticized the Deist presuppositions of Toland's views of early Christianity as unhistorical (see DEISM). In it Mosheim displayed two traits that characterized much of his later career: rigorous investigation of the historical sources and a commitment to preserving the divine AUTHORITY of the New Testament Scriptures. In 1723 he accepted a position as professor of THEOLOGY at the University of Helmstedt. There, Mosheim developed as an extraordinarily prolific scholar, publishing widely in both German and Latin on ETHICS, homiletics, biblical criticism, rhetoric, and especially church history. He declined a professorship at the newly established University of Göttingen in 1734. However, in 1747 he accepted the call as chancellor and professor of theology in Göttingen, where he remained until his death in 1755.

Mosheim represents a mediating position between Lutheran orthodoxy and the early Enlightenment. Against advocates of natural religion Mosheim consistently maintained the authority of supernatural revelation and the centrality of the church's proclamation and SACRAMENTS. In this sense he extended the Lutheran orthodox tradition into the eighteenth century. Opposing NATURAL LAW advocates such as CHRISTIAN THOMASIIUS of territorialism, Mosheim also became a vigorous defender of the independence of the church and CLERGY within the state. At the same time Mosheim was not adverse to a moderate Wolffian rationalism of CHRISTIAN WOLFF, and he differed with earlier Lutheran orthodoxy on a number of points. He rejected the verbal

inspiration of Scripture and distanced himself from traditional CHRISTOLOGY. In place of the metaphysical and mystical assumptions of Lutheran orthodoxy he emphasized an enlightened moralism.

Mosheim's greatest contribution to Protestantism lies in his church historical works. He broke with older confessional models and severed theological judgments from the work of the historian. The historian's task was to evaluate the sources even-handedly and identify the coherent themes throughout the centuries. Consequently, Mosheim's work exhibited an openness to other traditions, and he developed a tolerant understanding of HERESY that reflected his Enlightenment commitments. His most original work concentrated on the early church (*De rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum commentarii* [1753]) and the problem of heresy (*Anderweitiger Versuch einer vollständigen und unpartheyischen Ketzergeschichte* [1748]). The oft-revised *Institutiones historiae christiance antiquioris et recentioris* (final edition 1755) was translated into English, German, Dutch, and French and reprinted frequently in Europe and America. It became the dominant church historical textbook of nineteenth-century Protestantism.

See also Church and State, Overview

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JONATHAN N.STROM

MOTT, JOHN RALEIGH (1865–1955)

American missionary statesman and ecumenical architect. Mott was born at Livingston Manor, New York, and grew up in Postville, Iowa, in a devout Methodist home. His parental home, friendship with the evangelist Dwight L.Moody, and wide reading in the history of the evangelical movement shaped Mott's ecumenical EVANGELICALISM. He was educated at Upper Iowa University (1885) and Cornell University (1888). In 1891 he married Leila White.

At Cornell, Mott became leader of the Cornell University Christian Association, developing it into the largest student Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in the United States. In 1886 Mott participated in DWIGHT L.MOODY'S (1837–1899) summer conference for students at Northfield, Massachusetts, and was among the one

hundred students who signed what became the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) pledge: "It is my purpose, if God permits, to become a foreign missionary." Although Mott would never serve as a missionary, he became one of the primary leaders of the movement that would send more than 20,000 students into foreign missions over the next five decades. Adopting the slogan "The evangelization of the world in this generation," Mott and the SVM caught the rising tide of student interest in foreign missions. He organized the SVM around the quadrennial missionary conventions that attracted thousands of students from all over North America. Mott soon took steps to organize SVMs throughout the world.

Upon graduation from Cornell, Mott accepted a one-year assignment with the Inter-Collegiate YMCA as traveling secretary. His gifts for friendship and communication with students, abilities as a visionary leader and astute judge of character, and astonishing capacity for work quickly became known. Mott served the YMCA as student secretary from 1889 to 1915, and as general secretary from 1915 to 1931. Evangelical in character and evangelistic in thrust, the YMCA was closely identified with the foreign missions movement. Its nondenominational character and worldwide network furnished Mott the ideal base from which to conduct his multifarious activities. From the beginning he fostered openness toward all Christian traditions, including Roman Catholics. As YMCA leader in 1897 he began actively working to include the Orthodox Churches.

With a vision of uniting Christian students throughout the world, Mott organized the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF) in 1895. He served as the WSCF secretary between 1895 and 1920 and as chairman from 1920 to 1928. An inveterate traveler, Mott canvassed the universities of Europe, the Middle East, and Asia to draw students into the WSCF. He emphasized the equality of all nationalities and the inclusion of women. He organized international conventions of the WSCF in Tokyo (1907) and Constantinople (1911). By 1900 he was widely known and could count as personal friends many Christian leaders from all continents.

In 1893 Mott took the lead in founding the Foreign Mission Conference of North America (FMCNA). This brought together many of the Protestant mission agencies in Canada and the United States. When the idea of a WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE (WMC) was conceived in 1907, Mott used the FMCNA to mobilize North American participation. He insisted that the conference foster cooperation. The WMC held at Edinburgh, Scotland, in June 1910 with Mott as moderator, was attended by 1,200 delegates sent by missionary societies. It marked the high point of Mott's leadership as missionary statesman. It was decided at Edinburgh to set up a continuation committee with Mott as chair. In 1912 and 1913 Mott spent twenty months traveling throughout the world to encourage the organization of national Christian councils. Some thirty councils resulted from this work. These became the foundation for subsequent ecumenical relations and work. Although World War I interrupted the momentum of these initiatives, the work of the continuation committee resulted in the founding of three organizations: International Missionary Council (IMC, 1921), Life and Work Movement (1925), and Faith and Order (1927). J.H. Oldham, coordinator of EDINBURGH 1910, became secretary of the IMC. Mott chaired the IMC from 1928 to 1946.

By 1910 Mott was an eminent world Christian leader. His friendship with President WOODROW WILSON (1856–1924) started when the latter was on the faculty of Connecticut Wesleyan University and Mott was active in campus ministry. In 1914

President Wilson invited Mott to accept appointment as U.S. ambassador to China, an offer he declined; but he did agree to serve on peace commissions to Russia in 1916 and Mexico in 1917.

An incurable ecumenist, Mott thought in the broadest possible terms and bent every effort to bring peoples and groups together. At Edinburgh in 1910, Bishop Charles Brent, a friend of Mott, caught the vision for what would become the ecumenical movement. From his position in the IMC after 1921, Mott worked closely with longtime colleagues in the Faith and Order and Life and Work movements to bring about a unified organization. This was finally achieved in 1948 with the creation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) in Amsterdam, a fitting climax to his lifelong quest for unity. At age 83 Mott was named honorary president of the WCC.

John R.Mott remained a layman throughout his life. It was observed that he used his status as a layman to advantage in relating to church leaders of many traditions. By nature self-assured and with no ecclesiastical dignity to protect, he met leaders of all ranks freely and did not hesitate to bring together representatives of various traditions for consultation and cooperation.

See also Moody, Dwight Lyman; World Council of Churches; World Missionary Conference; YMCA/ YWCA.

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WILBERT R.SHENK

MOTT, LUCRETIA COFFIN (1793–1880)

American abolitionist and women's rights leader. Born on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, to a Quaker family, Lucretia Coffin married James Mott in 1811 and

moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where she became a minister in the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS in 1821. Starting in the 1820s, Mott began lecturing on TEMPERANCE, PACIFISM, and the abolition of SLAVERY.

In 1833 she and her husband attended the inaugural convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society. She then cofounded two women's abolitionist organizations. Many opposed her activism; attempts were made to ransack her home and revoke her ministerial credentials. In 1840 she and her husband were delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London. There she and other women, including ELIZABETH CADY STANTON (1815–1902), were infuriated when prohibited from being seated due to their sex.

This event galvanized Mott's commitment to women's rights and sealed her friendship with Stanton. In 1848 the two organized the first U.S. women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. This convention produced the Declaration of Sentiments modeled on the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. In 1866 Mott established the American Equal Rights Association with Stanton and was elected its first president.

For the remainder of her life, Mott served as elder stateswoman to the women's rights movement. She also supported freedom of religion; in 1867 she was a founding member of the Free Religious Association with Isaac Mayer Wise, RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803–1882), and Robert Dale Owen. She died in 1880 in Philadelphia. Her legacy is a passion for liberation motivated by the Friends' faith in the Inner Light.

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EVELYN A. KIRKLEY

MOVIES

In assessing the relevance of cinema to the study of Protestantism, one concludes that popular movies have limited value as a source for understanding the Protestant tradition because much of the portrayal of religion in the movies is superficial or stereotypical. However, contemporary movies provide an important medium through which many of society's perceptions of religion in general are communicated. In this sense, knowledge of how movies tend to portray Protestantism can provide helpful insight into cultural attitudes and prejudices about elements of Protestant traditions or doctrine. In addition, Protestant churches might express interest in contemporary movies because of increasing concern over films that appear excessively violent or that transgress certain moral and ethical considerations. The student of Protestantism should approach contemporary

movies knowing there will be little that will pass as documentary and much that will reveal contemporary cultural perceptions of religion.

Contemporary Films and Religion

Popular movies have not been kind to organized religion, particularly Christianity. Generally, when popular movies treat religion or religious subjects, they do so in superficial and stereotypical fashion. Roman Catholicism has been a favored target in movies such as *Dogma* and *The Exorcist*. In such films, even if religion is not the primary subject, it is often portrayed as corrupt or strangely out of touch with contemporary and secular society. Protestantism has fared little better in films such as *Inherit the Wind*, *Elmer Gantry*, or *Leap of Faith* where Protestant piety is portrayed as corrupt, simple minded, or superfluous. Non-Christian religions get less attention in contemporary films, although Judaism has provided the on-screen milieu for films like *A Price Above Rubies*, Islam occasionally appears in popular films but usually in less than flattering terms, and Hinduism and Buddhism rarely appear in films (*Gandhi* and *Little Buddha*). Yet for all the avoidance of religion as a topic and the negative stereotyping of religion in contemporary movie productions, there are still those films that treat religion positively, or at least honestly, allowing the humanity of religious characters and the frailty of religious institutions to be portrayed with substance and integrity. We see this in *Places in the Heart*, where southern racism goes hand in hand with the local church, but where the church also becomes the setting for a vision of God's radically egalitarian Kingdom. We see this in the all-too-human sinner/saint evangelist portrayed by Robert Duvall in *The Apostle*, and in the struggle of faith versus society presented in *Dead Man Walking*.

Films that treat religion come in many varieties. Although those that treat Protestantism as a subject are rare, there are many that rely upon Protestantism to set the stage or the parameters of the film. Protestantism often becomes the backdrop for some presentation of secular values or ideology presented either through a critique of religion or through a simplistic presentation of faith. In such films, religious traditions are often portrayed in stark contrast to secular culture and appear out of step with the modern world. An example would be the treatment of Amish traditions in the film, *Witness*. Although the Amish tradition itself maintains its boundaries apart from secular culture, one must be careful in watching a film like *Witness* and ask if the tradition is being portrayed in accordance with Amish belief or as a plot device. While one can learn about Amish belief and culture in this film, one certainly gains an incomplete picture of Amish faith. Thus, in many cases, popular movies depicting religion are poor sources for learning about Protestantism or Protestant principles. One might learn more about society's prejudices about religion than about religion itself.

Some films rely almost solely on sentimental stereotype, while others seem overtly antagonistic to some forms of Protestantism. We see both the stereotypical element and the antagonistic tendency in a film like Steve Martin's *Leap of Faith*, where evangelistic Protestantism is highlighted for its corruption and sleaziness. Even films that are not about religion but use religious characters tend to fall into this pattern. An example would be the psychotic religious fanatic portrayed by Robert De Niro in Martin Scorsese's *Cape Fear*. If movies routinely distort religion as many scholars claim, is there any chance of

learning anything about Protestantism from watching popular films that use Protestant traditions as subjects? There is a chance if viewers watch critically with an informed background of the religious tradition. Otherwise, uninformed and uncritical viewers will leave the cinema house believing most Protestants are at best out of touch with modern culture and at worst suffering from psychotic delusion.

Positive Portrayals of Protestantism

A couple of examples will illustrate how movies can present Protestantism with integrity without sensation-alizing the religious impulse. One can rarely count on popular movies approaching documentary status; however, some do present the viewer with a credible and honest portrayal concerning elements of Protestant traditions or Protestant beliefs. For example, *Witness* offers many viewers an introduction to a tradition from the radical Protestant movements as they are transplanted to America. In all likelihood, some viewers had little or no knowledge of Amish and radical Protestant traditions when they began to watch *Witness*. In such a case, the movie provides an introduction of sorts to this tradition. In a similar vein, *The Apostle* introduces and treats another movement that exists largely outside of the Protestant mainstream yet is more familiar on the popular religious landscape, Southern charismatic and evangelical Protestantism. However, some viewers and even critics erred in viewing the film as a portrayal of PENTECOSTALISM, which it is not. Rather, the film portrays a more general type of Southern folk religion that might be characterized as holiness or even charismatic, but in order to appreciate the way the film portrays, critiques, and showcases this Holiness-type of religion, one needs to have some working understanding of the tremendous variety of worship practice and faith within the broad Protestant tradition referred to as Holiness religion.

Some films, such as *Witness* and *The Apostle*, can serve as introductions or popular portrayals of Protestant traditions provided one watches them with a critical and informed mind. Other films, like *Places in the Heart*, might be successfully used to illustrate a Protestant characteristic or teaching. For example, the plot, character development, and surprise ending of *Places in the Heart* hinges on the central Protestant tenet of grace. Whereas human effort and will are flawed in this movie and characterized by greed, racism, infidelity, and disaster, the movie ends on a note of hope—a note punctuated by a vision of the Kingdom of God, where grace overcomes human failure. That this vision of heavenly grace occurs in the context of Protestant communion opens the movie to fruitful interpretations of understandings of grace, sin, and redemption within the Protestant tradition.

Finally, movies might be a fruitful area of study for students interested in Protestantism because popular films are increasingly coming under attack by religious bodies, politicians, and other cultural critics for what many perceive to be excessive violence, gratuitous sexuality, and the general presentation, if not glorification, of values hostile to traditional religious teachings. Those interested in the Protestant critique of society and popular culture would be interested in what some critics perceive to be a hostile approach to traditional values in popular films in general.

Conclusion

Although some popular films, like *The Apostle* and *Places in the Heart*, demonstrate how movies can present Protestant traditions and beliefs with integrity, even if incompletely, students of Protestantism should turn to movies as a study source with caution. Movies that reflect upon or employ Protestantism often tell us more about society's conceptions of religion or cultural attitudes concerning religiosity than about the religious tradition itself. In addition, adherents to traditional Protestant beliefs might be interested in studying what some critics perceive to be hostility in popular films toward traditional Christian value structures. That said, however, movies can enrich one's study of the place of Protestantism in society and of secular culture's relationship with dominant religious traditions and values.

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- CONRAD OSTWALT

MUHLENBERG, HENRY MELCHIOR (1711–1787)

German theologian. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was born on September 6, 1711, in Einbeck, a village in the Duchy of Hannover that was the site of an eleventh-century pilgrimage shrine purportedly containing a drop of Christ's blood. The town suffered from the ecclesiastical and political controversies of the REFORMATION and fell victim to the ravages of the Thirty Years' War. The son of a burgher, brewer, and cobbler, the young Muhlenberg was confirmed according to Lutheran custom in the Neustadter Church in Einbeck. In this church he came under the influence of Valentin Benkhard, whose theology had led him to LUTHERANISM from a Roman Catholic background.

Muhlenberg was educated in the local Latin and German schools and received a scholarship to the new University at Göttingen in 1735. Although he entered the theological department of Göttingen in 1737, he was sent to the University of HALLE in 1738 to obtain a degree under the direction of Gothilf August Francke, son of AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE, who was PHILIPP JACOB SPENER'S protégé in the

development of German PIETISM. Muhlenberg was ordained in Leipzig in 1739 and assumed pastoral duties in Grosshannersdorf, only to face financial constraints that sent him back to Halle in 1741, where Francke persuaded him to accept a call to serve several congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, and New Providence, Pennsylvania, in America.

Pietist Influence

Muhlenberg is usually called a “Pietist,” meaning that he was influenced by the Pietist movement that had emerged in the seventeenth century, which had its counterparts in Jewish Hasidism and Roman Catholic Quietism. The movement is difficult to define or narrowly conceptualize. The term itself refers to the emphasis on the demonstration of intensive practice of FAITH and godliness. In a sense, Pietism may be understood as the pursuit of the SANCTIFICATION of life that, in the judgment of MARTIN LUTHER, had been linked to faithful response to God’s justifying GRACE. Luther knew that although works did not justify, they were a natural outgrowth of JUSTIFICATION. Succeeding generations struggled with the problem of works—evidence of God’s holiness working in the lives of those who lived by grace through faith. Human beings are always impatient with their own imperfections, those of others and of society. They seek to define and imitate holiness. They seek pious dedication and behavior; hence the term “pietism.” A century after the Reformation, much of church life seemed to be characterized by commitment to doctrinal matters, often assuming that assent to the propositions contained in such statements as the AUGSBURG CONFESSION was sufficient evidence of Christian faith. Along with proper standards of PREACHING and dedication to certain forms of WORSHIP, confessionalism appeared to be satisfied with dogmatic determinants. The Pietistic mind found this unacceptable and sought to complete the Reformation by emphasis on a renewal experience accompanied by a piety that set Christian life in contrast to the ways of the world.

Pietism took many forms. It had no single manifestation or set of criteria for membership. Muhlenberg was undeniably and inevitably influenced by Pietism. His personal life had strong moralistic and holiness assumptions in opposition to card playing, dancing, and most forms of sensual pleasure. His aim as a pastor in America was to guide his parishioners toward a subjective experience that would be henceforth nurtured by the ministrations of the CHURCH and its leadership into a life of sanctification. Muhlenberg’s pastoral theology has been called one of liturgical revivalism, although ecclesiological revivalism might be more accurate, because Muhlenberg was much too free and unstructured in his understanding of worship to make the concept of LITURGY meaningful.

Muhlenberg in America

When Muhlenberg came to southeastern Pennsylvania in 1743, he observed a religious life that was all too typical of an immigrant people in a colonial setting. The effects of the Reformation had not yet become rigidly and denominationally coded. Many of the people

were Germans, Dutch, or Swedes whose religious life reflected the circumstances of their national and ethnic history. The Germans, for whom Muhlenberg was to have primary responsibility, were mostly artisans and farmers from the Rhineland, Saxony, and Bavaria. They had come from a culturally and religiously diverse land not yet politically unified. The ideas and practices of Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) mingled with those of the early reformers Luther, JOHN CALVIN, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, and the Catholic Tridentine Reformation. They were to establish themselves among the English and Scotch-Irish. These German people were generally devoid of pastoral leadership and were accustomed to providing for their own religious life by means of hymns remembered, Bibles read, and the available devotional theology like that of JOHANN ARNDT'S *True Christianity*. It was difficult to maintain ecclesiastical or theological discipline among a people accustomed to managing their own lives and identifying themselves in ethnic fashion (see ETHNICITY).

Muhlenberg's task was to organize these people and their autonomous and free-spirited congregations into effective Lutheran constituencies. Because he was successful at this task, he is often regarded as the "patriarch" of American Lutheranism and credited with the founding of the American Lutheran Church. Having been called to serve three congregations and reconcile differences among Lutherans and other German Protestants, Muhlenberg reported eighty-one congregations in Pennsylvania and adjacent areas by 1771. He guided the preparation of an American hymnal in 1782 and assisted in the establishment of synodical order and the formation of a Lutheran order of worship. This last was more of a directory of worship than a liturgy. It regarded the sermon as the center of the service, with the pietistic goal of enhancing the CONVERSION experience and encouraging dedication to practical holiness.

Assessment

Although Muhlenberg was a successful organizer and reconciler, his Pietism enabled him to accept the in-dependence of the people and shape American Lutheranism in a way that was congenial to anticolonialism and a church life independent of European ecclesiasticism and hierarchical habits. American Lutheranism at this stage of its development would reflect the theology of Luther, Arndt, Spener, and Francke without the confessional and institutional formations usually essential to the transmission of ideas, beliefs, and practices. Muhlenberg was perhaps unique in his commitment to traditional Lutheranism while softening it with his pietistic inclinations. This approach enabled him to be the person for his time and place among Americans in process of shaping a democratic spirit both politically and religiously. Muhlenberg died in 1787 in the course of America's movement from confederation to federal republic. He had prevented Count NICHOLAS VON ZINZENDORF from convincing all Germans in eastern Pennsylvania that their confessional backgrounds were of no consequence whatever. He had been called out of his immediate pastoral jurisdiction many times, visiting New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia as a kind of "bishop," reconciling conflicts and providing encouragement.

See also Lutheranism, Germany; Lutheranism, United States

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RICHARD E.WENTZ

MÜLLER, GEORGE (1805–1898)

German pietist, pastor, and philanthropist. Müller was born near Halberstadt, GERMANY on September 27, 1805, the son of a Prussian businessman. He studied at the University of HALLE in preparation for ordination. While at the university he sensed a call to foreign MISSIONS. When the Berlin Missionary Society rejected his application, he applied and was accepted by the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews. Shortly after arriving in London for training in 1829, however, he became ill and was sent to Devon to recuperate. While there he became friends with several leaders of the emerging PLYMOUTH BRETHERN movement. This proved to be a turning point in his life. He broke with the Society, accepted appointment to a small chapel in Devon, and joined the Brethren cause. While there he implemented the practice for which he became renowned. He vowed never to accept a salary, raise funds, or incur any indebtedness. Rather he would trust God to supply his needs.

In 1832 he moved to Bristol where he served a church, taught school, and worked with orphans. He patterned the Bristol orphanages after those he had seen in Halle that had been operated by the Pietists. Starting with of a handful of children, his orphanage grew to care for over 2,000. The five buildings cost £115,000 to build and £26,000 annually to run. During the course of his life he received over £1,500,000 in donations with which he educated 123,000 children, circulated 275,00 Bibles, housed 10,000 orphans, and supported 189 missionaries. In his last years Müller traveled to the various missions he sponsored. His support came from the sale of his autobiography, which he first published in 1837, and from the donations of readers. He died alone in his room at age 92 on March 10, 1898, without a penny to his name.

See also Pietism

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D.WILLIAM FAUPEL

MÜNTZER, THOMAS (1491–1525)

Protestant reformer. A radical Spiritualist Protestant reformer, Müntzer was an early follower of MARTIN LUTHER. Luther recommended Müntzer as a substitute pastor for the city of Zwickau in 1520. His theological intemperance caused his dismissal in 1521. Müntzer then went to Prague and predicted a coming judgment on the “godless.” Finding no support in Prague, Müntzer returned to Saxony as pastor of Allstedt (1523–1524), where he introduced the first Protestant vernacular LITURGY. He also called for opposition to the Wittenberg program of reform and the imposition of “true” religion. As a Spiritualist, Müntzer credited faith to the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, not to PREACHING or the Scriptures. Because Luther rejected force and emphasized God’s use of Scripture and the preached Word to give FAITH, he and Müntzer became implacable enemies. Thinking the Peasants War (1524–1525) to be the beginning of God’s judgment, Müntzer joined with a peasant band that was defeated at Frankenhausen (May 15, 1525). Müntzer was captured, tortured, and executed. The writings of Luther, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, and other Lutheran leaders made Müntzer a Satanic figure for generations of Germans.

Little is known of Müntzer’s early life, but he was probably born before 1491 at Stolberg. His family background is uncertain, although he may have come from the urban artisan class. Müntzer studied at the University in Wittenberg (1517–1519), but not with Luther. Nonetheless, Luther recommended him to the city of Zwickau as a temporary replacement for the permanent pastor, Johannes Egranus. Müntzer’s inflammatory sermons against the local Franciscans proved his credentials as an adherent of the new teaching, although he also attacked Egranus’s moderation. Dismissed from his post in 1521 he went to Prague. At first welcomed by local Hussites (followers of Jan Hus), a HERESY that had successfully revolted against the Roman Church in the fifteenth century, his *Prague Manifesto* predicted a coming judgment beginning in the city and spreading to the rest of the world. He succeeded only in making himself unwanted in Prague. Returning to Saxony, Müntzer became pastor of Allstedt (1523–1524), a small city that belonged to the Protestant elector of Saxony, but was almost surrounded by

hostile Catholic territory. At Allstedt he introduced the first Protestant liturgy in the vernacular. Müntzer also began to criticize Luther's theology in "Protest or Offering about True Christian Faith and Baptism" and "On Contrived Faith." His preaching drew audiences from the surrounding villages. Catholic nobles, especially Count Ernst of Mansfeld, forbade their subjects to attend and complained to the elector of Saxony. In response Müntzer engaged in personal attacks on the count and other "godless" rulers who hindered the Word of God. In a sermon before the Saxon princes (July 13, 1524) on the second chapter of Daniel, Müntzer sought to persuade the Saxon princes to employ force to defend and impose the REFORMATION.

Thoroughly alarmed by these developments, Luther wrote "A Letter to the Princes of Saxony Concerning the Rebellious Spirit" denouncing Müntzer as a false prophet and urging the princes to silence him. Under pressure the city council of Allstedt dismissed Müntzer. Müntzer's whereabouts for the next few months are uncertain, although it is clear that he was at Nuremberg and spent time among the peasant insurrectionists in South Germany. During this time he published the "Highly Provoked Defense and Reply to the Soft-living Flesh at Wittenberg" and the "Printed Expose of the False Faith of the Unfaithful World" attacking Luther and Luther's theology. Returning to Saxony in August 1524 and February 1525, he appeared in Muhlhausen, an imperial city wracked by social and religious tensions. Müntzer helped lead a revolution (March 16) that replaced a conservative city council with one favoring the Reformation. During the Thuringian Peasants War, Muhlhausen and Müntzer joined in the revolt. Müntzer believed that it marked the beginning of the judgment of the godless and the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth, (see KINGDOM OF GOD). The peasant army was routed and slaughtered at Frankenhausen (May 15), and Müntzer was captured, tortured, and executed. Luther, Melancthon, and other Lutherans initiated a vilification of Müntzer that lasted well into the twentieth century. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, however, Marxists lionized him as a proletarian revolutionary.

Müntzer's theological differences with Luther extended far beyond the political sphere. Drawing to some extent on late medieval mysticism, Müntzer was convinced that saving faith required a painful CONVERSION followed by exclusive obedience to the will of God evidenced in a godly life. According to Müntzer, Luther taught Christians that suffering was not necessary and that a truly godly life was impossible. Müntzer traced Luther's error to a reliance on the dead letter of Scripture rather than the living Spirit of God. Appealing to the New Testament, especially Acts and the letters of Paul, Müntzer argued that the Holy Spirit effected faith in the believer directly through the Inner Word and not through the medium of the Outer Word of Scripture. He condemned the learned Clergy's monopoly of the Outer Word and its use to justify the tyranny of the common people by secular rulers. Müntzer's appeal to the spirit was an attempt both to enfranchise the LAITY and to enable them to replace a godless regime with one in which Christ ruled through the faithful. Only then could the mass of the population be freed from the crushing burdens that made adherence to the will of God impossible. Müntzer's disciples (e.g., Hans Denck and Hans Hut) made his theology part of the radical tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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R.EMMET MCLAUGHLIN

MUSIC

The music of the Protestant churches established following the REFORMATION differed in significant ways from that of the Catholic church of the Middle Ages. All of the major reformers had reservations about the use of elaborate music in religious services. MARTIN LUTHER, whose own love of music was well known, thought that it could be as important as PREACHING in spreading the word of the Scriptures and encouraged lay participation through his development of hymns. JOHN CALVIN came to regard the unaccompanied singing of congregational Psalms as the only acceptable form of music in the LITURGY, and his Genevan church banned the use of organs and trained choirs. Like Luther, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI was fond of music and was himself an accomplished performer, but he concluded that music had no place whatever in true WORSHIP and could in fact be a detriment; it was eliminated from the services of his church at Zurich in 1525 until the end of the century. The Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) likewise eschewed organs.

In ENGLAND, many Puritans (see PURITANISM) followed the lead of the Continental reformers, especially Calvin, in arguing for simpler congregational music, preferably metrical Psalms sung without accompaniment. The CHURCH OF ENGLAND, however, managed to remain a *via media* between the extremes of radical Protestantism on the one hand and Roman Catholicism on the other. Despite the urging of the Puritans, organs were not silenced, except during the period of the Interregnum following the English CIVIL WAR of the seventeenth century, and trained choirs continued to provide elaborate music in the cathedrals, if not in ordinary parish churches.

Equally important was the introduction of vernacular liturgies in all of the Protestant churches. This meant that all settings of Latin texts used earlier were now proscribed; not

only were new texts using the language of the people demanded, but also new musical settings of these texts had to be provided. This led to a burst of new composition, perhaps most clearly manifested in Luther's hymnody, the Genevan Psalter, and the anthems and canticles written for the English church by such masters as Thomas Tallis, William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, and HENRY PURCELL. ANGLICAN CHANT became popular as a peculiarly English form of Psalm singing. This was paralleled in Germany by the work of such composers as Praetorius or Gebhardt.

The Baroque era witnessed the creation of much fine church music. Of paramount importance were the cantatas and Passions by JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH and the oratorios of GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL, including especially *Messiah*.

Among later developments of major significance was the widespread development of hymn singing in England and America, manifest in the publication of such hymnals as *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861. Twentieth-century composers, especially English writers like RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, Herbert Howells, BENJAMIN BRITTEN, and Gerald Finzi, left great examples of liturgical music as well as religious works on a larger scale suitable for concert performance. In GERMANY, HUGO DISTLER sought to combine the Baroque tradition with the contemporary idiom. Popular music, including African American spirituals, found its way into many Protestant churches, especially in America, during the nineteenth century, while the late twentieth century brought the realization that a majority of Protestant Christians lived outside the Western tradition and that the "globalization" of music might broaden the Protestant tradition by bringing in new forms of expression from AFRICA and other third-world countries. In addition, especially among evangelical Protestants there was a commitment to contemporary forms of popular music, such as rock, giving rise to the genre of "Contemporary Christian" music. All of these topics, reflecting the variety of musical expression and importance of it in Protestant worship, are addressed in greater detail in other articles in this volume.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Music, American; Music, English Church; Music, Global; Music, Northern European; Music, Popular

STANFORD LEHMBERG

MUSIC, AMERICAN

Protestant Music in America in some respects followed the patterns, styles, and forms developed in Europe, but in other respects evolved a synthesis that often exceeded and extended the European models to create new manifestations. Thus every national immigrant group—English, German, Scandinavian, Dutch, French, Swiss, Polish, Hungarian, etc.—and every Protestant denomination—Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian, Moravian, Mennonite, etc.—brought with them their European tradition of ecclesiastical and domestic devotional music-making. Whereas the early settlers simply repeated the traditions they inherited, their successors modified them in distinctive ways, and eventually created entirely new forms

of sacred music influenced by jazz (e.g., the African-American spiritual, the revivalist hymn), which spread to Europe and throughout the world.

Early Psalmody

The English Protestant colonists along the East Coast—whether they regarded themselves as Anglican, Puritan, Separatist, Congregational, Presbyterian, or Baptist—were singers of metrical psalms in their places of WORSHIP and in their homes. The Puritan/Separatists brought with them Ainsworth’s *Psalter* (Amsterdam, 1612), which made use of many Genevan psalm tunes. Problems with singing these tunes led to the creation of the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), which required just a handful of the simpler English psalm tunes, as found in Ravenscroft’s psalter. In later revisions, now generally called the *New England Psalm Book*, it was used by Congregationalists and some Presbyterians (see CONGREGATIONALISM; PRESBYTERIANISM), and its ninth edition (1698) included a small supplement of tunes, the first music printing of Colonial North America. Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM) and some BAPTISTS (see BAPTISTS, UNITED STATES) sang the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins to the same simple English psalm tunes. As in ENGLAND, these Psalms were sung unaccompanied and “lined-out” in public worship; that is, each line was first sung by a single voice (the Clerk), then repeated by the congregation. Thus the Psalm was sung line by line twice, once by the solo voice of the Clerk and once by the congregation. Tempos were extremely slow, and the psalm tunes were frequently modified by the oral transmission.

Musical Reforms

A reform in congregational singing, which led to other musical reforms, began around 1700. This was the change from “usual singing” (lining-out) to regular singing (stanza by stanza). At least one church in Boston had already made the change before the end of the seventeenth century, but this did not become a significant movement until the 1720s (although the practice of lining-out continued in the Southern States well into the nineteenth century and was still being practiced in some African-American congregations in the twentieth century). Some of the influence for change came from England, where the *New Version of the Psalms* of Nahum Tate (1652–1715) and Nicholas Brady (1659–1726) was introduced at the same time as organs were coming into use as accompanying instruments in English urban churches. The Tate and Brady Psalms became extremely popular in America and were sung by more than Anglicans. Similarly, the hymns and psalms of ISAAC WATTS (1707/1719), which also became widely sung in eighteenth-century America, especially among Presbyterians and Congregationalists, were intended to supplant the practice of lining-out when they were introduced in England. But in the American colonies there was also the influence of other language groups that had always sung their congregational songs stanza by stanza, such as the Dutch Reformed congregations in the Hudson Valley (see DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH), the Swedish Lutherans in Delaware, and German Lutherans in Pennsylvania (see LUTHERANISM, UNITED STATES). (Lutherans at Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia had the use of an

organ, the earliest recorded instrument in the American colonies.) The impetus for the change to “regular singing” in the 1720s came from New England CLERGY, notably Thomas Symmes (1677–1725) and Walter, who argued that the unskilled noise of “usual singing” undermined the spirit of worship and therefore should be abandoned in favor of singing by “rule,” that is, from notation rather than by ear. The change was fiercely resisted by some but soon became the norm in New England. To effect the change, singing schools were created, led by singing masters who would teach the rudiments of music, as well as psalm tunes and simple anthems, from tune books either imported from England or, the increasing practice, edited by the local singing masters who were largely self-taught composers.

Singing schools, with their singing masters, had begun in England but were never the important phenomenon that they became in North America, spanning the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. The most important of the American singing masters was William Billings (1746–1800). The most prolific and the most distinctive of the composers of the early national period, Billings wrote rugged, energetic psalm tunes, small-scale anthems, and fuguing tunes that gave the impression of counterpoint but were in reality modified homophony. Among Billings’s many contemporary composers in New England were Supply Belcher (1751–1836), Daniel Belknap (1771–1815), Lewis Edson (1748–1820), and Daniel Read (1757–1836). The Great Evangelical Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) of the mid-eighteenth century did much to break down the monolithic tradition of psalmody by the promotion of the freer hymns of Watts and JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, which brought in their wake livelier musical forms for both hymnody and other forms of vocal/ choral church music. Other forms of church music were being developed in Pennsylvania. In Philadelphia, James Lyons published a number of collections of psalm-tunes and modest anthems that were used by Anglicans/Episcopalians and Lutherans; in Lancaster, Conrad Beissell and other members of the Ephrata Cloister composed simple four-part settings of hymns and prayers; and in Bethlehem, a whole range of composers created a rich variety of congregational, vocal, and choral music accompanied by string and wind instruments and organ for congregations of the MORAVIAN CHURCH. Beginning in New England but then expanding as far as Ohio, as the country expanded westward, Shaker communities (see SHAKERS) developed their unaccompanied hymnody with folklike melodies, to which they danced, jumped, and shook in their worship.

Northern and Southern Traditions

Protestant church music in America began to move in new directions from around the second decade of the nineteenth century. In the North, European ideals were cultivated and in the South folk-song models were explored, and both were strongly influenced by the Second Great Awakening, the consolidation of EVANGELICALISM with its enthusiastic and emotionally charged singing. In the northern states, Lowell Mason (1792–1872), Thomas Hastings (1784–1872), and William Bradbury (1816–1868) wanted to displace the home-grown and rustic music-making of their predecessors in favor of “better” (meaning European) music composed according to refined taste and sensibilities. Lowell Mason published many collections of hymns, chants, and anthems,

issued in long print-runs, and established a music academy in Boston. He encouraged strong and effective congregational singing, supported by choirs and organs. Hastings pursued a similar program and published what amounts to the manifesto of these reformers: *A Dissertation on Musical Taste* (1820). Bradbury was the author of the ubiquitous “Jesus loves me, this I know” that epitomizes the SUNDAY SCHOOL hymnody tradition that he virtually created by the constant stream of small, square booklets of such songs and hymns that he published. Bradbury’s hymnody fostered the development of the revivalist or gospel hymn associated with IRA SANKEY (the evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY’S musical partner), PHILIP P. BLISS, FANNY CROSBY, and others.

By the end of the nineteenth century, urban churches had cultivated a musical professionalism that replaced choirs with a paid quartet, and congregational singing was much reduced. A concert style of music predominated for both vocal and organ music, being promoted by such composers as Dudley Buck, one of the founders of the American Guild of Organists. Large-scale religious works were composed the “Boston Classicists,” such as Horatio Parker’s *Hora Novissima*.

In the southern states, where most people lived in rural communities, a different style predominated in the churches, one derived from folk song. To make it easier for people to read music, systems of shapenotes (basic geometric-shaped note heads that designated relative pitches) were devised, and many tune books incorporating such systems were published. Among the most important of these were *Kentucky Harmony* (1816), *Southern Harmony* (1835), and *Sacred Harp* (1844). Many of these tune books had the music arranged in three rather than four parts, following the example of many eighteenth-century English tune-books, a tradition that appears to have been introduced by Playford’s 1677 psalter. Shape-note singing in rural America was in strong contrast with the professionalism of the music of the churches in cities and major towns. Indeed, the “fasola” singing of the music of the *Sacred Harp* (now in four parts) continues to this day.

Southern CULTURE depended on SLAVERY for its prosperity. African-American slaves were frequently excluded from the churches or were confined to high galleries, supplied with external stairways, where they were neither to be seen nor heard. At revivalist CAMP MEETINGS, attendees were racially segregated both in the arena of the meeting and in the tented dormitory areas. The African Americans would sing among themselves late into the night, and the white folk would stay up to listen to this different way of singing. Thus evolved the distinctive genre of religious song, in which biblical images (such as Moses, and the children of Israel entering the Promised Land) were used to express heart-felt desires for emancipation and freedom. The spiritual, with its integrity, sincerity, and power, is now known throughout the world.

Renewals and Reforms

By the end of the nineteenth century, the effect of the English OXFORD MOVEMENT, which began as an Anglican phenomenon, was visible and audible in the Protestant churches of America. Church buildings were neo-gothic in style; organs, previously in a gal-lery at the rear of churches, were now visible at the front of the sanctuary. Choir

members, now also visible, faced each other in divided chancels, and were often vested, if not in the customary Anglican cassock and surplice, at least in a suitable colored robe. The primary music that they sang was anthems, a form borrowed from Anglican tradition, though most likely composed by an American even if in an “English” style. But there were exceptions. One was the composer Charles Ives, who created a distinctive American sound by combining the melodies of folk hymns within formal structures with a distinctively non-European approach to tonality. The connections between text and tone in his Psalm settings are remarkable examples of musical hermeneutics. Others who created a distinctive American sound for Protestant church music included Aaron Copland and Roger Sessions.

The second decade of the twentieth century saw various attempts to reform Protestant church music. A principal concern was to make it more relevant and connected to the order of worship within which it was heard. Another was to draw choir members from the congregation and rely less on paid performers. Yet another was to either raise or keep musical standards high. A number of societies and institutions were founded to further such aims, including The Hymn Society of America (1922), Westminster Choir College (1926), and the School of Sacred Music at Union Theological Seminary, New York (1928). There were also the Episcopal Evergreen church music conferences (from 1923), overseen by Winfred Douglas and others, at which new compositions by Leo Sowerby (1895–1968), Healey Willan (1880–1968), and Randall Thompson (1899–1984) were prominent.

There were other strands of Protestant church music as well. The music of revivalism and the gospel song continued into the twentieth century, fostered by such composer-publishers as Alexander and Rodeheaver. Later, such music was used by BILLY GRAHAM Crusades and thus achieved worldwide recognition. In black churches, another form of revivalism developed, the “black gospel” music of Charles Tindley and Thomas A. Dorsey, which later gave birth to gospel choirs and embraced a concert style closely related to that promoted by the stage and recording industries. But whatever its “secular” associations, black gospel music is firmly earthed in the worship and experience of African-American congregations. Jazz idioms were explored by both black and white musicians to convey religious faith and feeling; examples include Duke Ellington’s “In the Beginning God” and Dave Brubeck’s “Jazz Mass.”

Since the 1960s, American Protestant church music has diversified and now embraces an astonishingly broad range of musical style and genre. Particularly pervasive is contemporary Christian music, which is promoted not simply as an alternative to traditional forms, but as the only valid form of Christian musical expression in the twenty-first century. Its characteristic praise choruses—a development of the earlier Sunday School hymnody and children’s mission choruses—are projected on screens, rather than printed in songbooks, and accompanied by keyboards and rhythm instruments commonly used in the secular world of popular music. Although lines are commonly drawn between “contemporary” and “traditional” worship music, some churches attempt to combine both in what is referred to as “blended” music. It is debatable whether one can continue to speak of patterns of Protestant church music any more, because the clearly defined musical traditions of “Episcopalians,” “Lutheran,” “Methodist” (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA) and so forth have all but disappeared from many of the congregations of those denominations.

A new phenomenon is the growth of immigrant congregations from Pacific Rim countries, principally KOREA and Taiwan. Whereas much of the worship music they use was developed from the late nineteenth-century revivalist styles that the missionaries brought with them when they founded churches in their countries of origin, they are beginning to create worship music that reflects more of their cultural origins. Thus, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, new immigrants are importing music forms as did the immigrants at the beginning of the colonial period, except that they now come from an entirely different continent.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Music, English Church; Music, Northern European; Music, Popular; Revivals

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ROBIN A. LEAVER

MUSIC, ENGLISH CHURCH

The great tradition of church music in England was altered significantly as a result of the introduction of Protestant doctrines in the sixteenth century. After the Reformation, English texts supplanted medieval Latin and there was a demand for simpler singing. A compromise was reached during the reign of ELIZABETH I, in which elaborate anthems and canticles could still be performed in the cathedrals and Chapel Royal, whereas simple congregational Psalms were characteristic of parish churches. The civil war of the seventeenth century disrupted the life of the Anglican Church, but traditional liturgies and music were reinstated after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The cathedral choral tradition declined in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but revived during the Victorian era and the twentieth century, with many fine examples of church music being written and choirs maintaining high musical standards. Despite early Puritan objections, organs remained important in Anglican churches. Other Protestant

denominations, especially Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists, generally favored simpler music but often borrowed from the repertoire of the established church.

The Reformation

Church music flourished in the English church during the years before the break with Rome in 1533. There were nineteen cathedrals, each of which had a choir of men and boys who sang daily services. Ten of the cathedrals were monastic in organization. They offered several daily masses, of which the most elaborate was generally the Lady Mass sung in honor of the Virgin. It frequently included polyphonic music with boys from a monastic song school supplying treble lines. The other daily offices were generally sung by the monks alone in plainsong or Gregorian chant. The nine secular cathedrals were served by priests who were not in monastic orders. Their choirs of men and boys also offered daily masses and services with Latin texts, generally according to the Use of Sarum codified at Salisbury cathedral. Small organs had been used for centuries.

As is well known, HENRY VIII (1509–1547) broke the ties between England and Rome in 1533 to obtain his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and validate his marriage to Anne Boleyn. Protestant teachings, especially the doctrines of MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN, were influential in reshaping the state church of which he was named Supreme Head. The monasteries were dissolved between 1536 and 1540, and the monastic cathedrals were converted into secular establishments, called cathedrals of the new foundation because they were given new statutes and revenues. More important was the introduction of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER during the reign of Henry's son Edward VI (1547–1553). Compiled by THOMAS CRANMER, the archbishop of Canterbury, the first Prayer Book published in 1549 was a compromise between traditional liturgies and Protestant services influenced by the German reformers. It provided a Communion service, which was basically a translation of the Mass and services of Matins and Evensong or Morning and Evening Prayer based on the monastic hours. Throughout, use of the English language was required: this was a matter of great importance to the choirs because, virtually overnight, it became illegal to use any of the existing settings of Latin texts. A revised Prayer Book issued in 1552 was still more Protestant in character, and rejected additional doctrines and liturgies of the medieval church. After the Reformation cathedral choirs were made up of about twelve men, known as vicars choral or (if they were not in holy orders) lay clerks, and about ten boys, who were generally educated in choir schools.

Calvin's arguments for unaccompanied congregational singing of Psalm texts were adopted in many places, especially in parish churches that had never had trained choirs. A simple unison setting of the Communion service and other liturgies was provided by John Merbecke, whose *Book of Common Prayer Noted* was first published in 1550.

After Edward VI's early death in 1553, the throne passed to his half-sister Mary Tudor, the daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. She had been raised as a Catholic and had never deviated from that faith. She did everything she could to restore Catholic worship with Latin Masses and traditional music, but it was obvious that the Reformation could not be undone. Westminster Abbey might be turned into a monastery again (it had become one of several new cathedrals under Henry VIII), but it

was generally impossible to reestablish the other religious houses and to eradicate Protestant teachings.

The Elizabethan Church

Mary—who came to be known as “Bloody Mary” because about three hundred Protestants, including Archbishop Cranmer, were executed during her reign by being burned at the stake—died in 1558 after ruling for only five years. She was followed by Elizabeth I, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Brought up as a Protestant and in any case not recognized by the papacy as a legitimate ruler, she restored the Book of Common Prayer with its English liturgies and music.

During the reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603), English Puritans continued to demand further reform in the state church. Some Puritan leaders had been among the Marian exiles who fled to Frankfurt and Geneva to escape persecution and possible death in England. Heavily influenced by Calvinistic teachings, they deplored elaborate church music and sought to silence organs and trained choirs. They favored metrical Psalms, sung in unison by the entire congregation to simple music with one note for each syllable of the text, and they came very close to persuading the Convocation of 1563 to outlaw the use of organs in church services. Were it not for the Queen herself they might have succeeded, but Elizabeth loved fine church music and supported some of England’s greatest composers, especially Thomas Tallis (c. 1505–1585) and William Byrd (1543–1623), who composed works of great beauty for use in her Chapel Royal and in the cathedrals. The revised Prayer Book of 1559 did continue to mandate the use of English texts and generally favored musical settings that were easily understood by lay men and women, although (for the benefit of “those who delight in music,” such as the Queen) it permitted the singing of polyphonic anthems only once in each service. Cathedral choirs were reconstituted and organs remained in use.

William Byrd himself remained a Catholic, but Elizabeth made no attempt to interfere with his private beliefs (indeed, she generally avoided making “windows into men’s souls”), and it may be that some of Byrd’s Latin masses and motets were sung at the Chapel Royal. Byrd’s masses for three, four, and five voices rank among the greatest compositions of the age. Some of the realm’s finest musicians, including instrumentalists, performed at court. Elizabeth made it clear that she enjoyed the music more than the preaching. Although Communion came to be celebrated infrequently, only weekly or monthly in the cathedrals and several times a year in parish churches, the Elizabethan composers provided a number of settings of its sung sections (the Kyrie, Creed, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, and Gloria in excelsis, which was transferred to the end of the service) as well as simple motets and elaborate anthems. The principal Anglican services were Morning and Evening Prayer. Daily Evensongs and Sunday Matins were the chief glories of the cathedrals, and some of the finest compositions were settings of the canticles, the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis at Evensong, Te Deum and Jubilate at Matins. The composers active under Elizabeth, in addition to Tallis and Byrd, were Christopher Tye (c. 1500–1573), Robert Parsons (d. 1570), and Richard Farrant (d. 1581).

The Early Seventeenth Century

The death of Elizabeth and the succession of her Scottish cousin James I (1603–1625), the first ruler of the Stuart line, did not mark a significant change in church music. Verse anthems became more common in the Chapel Royal and cathedrals; these involved the use of soloists alternating with sections for the full choir, often accompanied by string instruments rather than organ. Notable composers of verse anthems, as well as services and full anthems, included Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656), Thomas Weelkes (c. 1575–1623), and Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625). The greatest of these, whose works remain glories of the Anglican tradition, was Gibbons. The son of a professional musician, Gibbons was a chorister at King’s College, Cambridge, and was named organist of the Chapel Royal while still a young man. He later served as organist of Westminster Abbey as well. He died of a seizure in 1625 at Canterbury, where he had gone to lead the royal musicians in welcoming Henrietta Maria, the French bride of Charles I to England. His most famous works are the Short Service in F, the full anthem “Hosanna to the Son of David,” for use on Palm Sunday, and the Advent verse anthem “This is the record of John.”

Puritan opposition to the established church intensified under Charles I (1625–1649). Unlike his father, who maintained the Elizabethan *via media* by appointing both traditionalists and reformers to bishoprics and other positions of authority, Charles favored the highchurch party led by WILLIAM LAUD, an Oxford scholar whom he named archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Often known as ARMINIANS because they were influenced by the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius, they introduced elaborate liturgies, vestments, and altars, bringing back a number of practices that had been rejected at the time of the Reformation. The Puritans regarded these as popish and superstitious. Their views, voiced in the Long Parliament that met in 1640, led to polarization between parliamentarians and royalists and finally to the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642. A number of cathedrals and other churches were damaged in the fighting, and many organs and altars were destroyed. Anglican worship according to the Book of Common Prayer was banned and cathedral choirs were disbanded. Laud was executed at the order of Parliament in 1645 and Charles I himself was publicly beheaded at Whitehall on January 30, 1649.

During the Interregnum—the years without a monarchy, 1649–1660, during most of which time OLIVER CROMWELL ruled as Lord Protector—both Presbyterians and Congregationalists held services in England. The Presbyterians, like the Anglicans, believed in a state church but opposed episcopacy and popish practices, whereas the Congregationalists, better known during the period itself as Independents, rejected an established church and government regulation of religion altogether. Liturgical practice in parish churches and cathedrals varied. At Exeter, for instance, a wall was erected in the middle of the cathedral so that the Independents might worship in the nave and the Presbyterians in the choir. In accordance with Puritan belief music was limited to congregational singing of metrical Psalms, generally to the texts that had been published by Sternhold and Hopkins in 1562.

The Restoration

Both the monarchy and the Anglican church were restored in 1660, two years after the death of Oliver Cromwell. Charles II, the older son of Charles I, ruled from 1660 to 1685. There had been talk of accommodating the Presbyterians, if not the Independents, by having a broader state church than before, but narrower interests prevailed and the Restoration church was similar to that of Elizabeth or James I. A slightly revised Prayer Book was brought into use in 1662 and was destined to remain the official liturgy until the twentieth century. Cathedral musical establishments were restored as rapidly as possible, but in most places it was years before new or rebuilt organs were in place. It was also difficult to reestablish the choirs. Some men who had sung before the war came back, although there were no boys with unchanged voices who were familiar with the old services. This is one of the reasons that many Restoration anthems make little use of treble lines, emphasizing men's singing instead.

The best-known composer of the era was HENRY PURCELL (1659–1695). Indeed, he is generally regarded as England's greatest musician to live during the years between Byrd and Elgar. The son of a Chapel Royal tenor, he joined that choir as a chorister in 1669. When only twenty he was appointed organist at Westminster Abbey, and two years later he was named one of the Chapel Royal organists. In addition to church music he wrote several Odes for state occasions and a number of fantasias for orchestra as well as England's first opera, *Dido and Aeneas*. His church music includes three services, of which the finest is the Evening Service in G Minor, full anthems such as the simple "Remember not, Lord, our offences" and the more elaborate "Hear my prayer, O Lord," and verse anthems, including "Thy Word is a lantern" and "My beloved spake," a worldly ode to spring. He also wrote a few anthems to Latin texts—it is perhaps a sign of a more tolerant age that they were accepted—including the impressive "Jehova quam multi sunt hostes." Purcell (like Mozart) was only thirty-six when he died, and one can only imagine what he might have accomplished had he lived longer. The other well-known composer of the period was John Blow (1649–1708), who was one of Purcell's teachers and survived him by more than a decade. Also organist at both Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, Blow left a larger number of anthems than Purcell, including three works sung at the coronation of James II in 1685.

James, Charles II's younger brother, succeeded him because Charles left no legitimate children. An avowed Roman Catholic, James was content for several years to leave the church as it was, but by 1688 he was interfering with the establishment. The birth of his son in 1689 was a signal to many political leaders that he needed to be removed from the throne so that there would not be an unending line of Catholic monarchs. As a result of the so-called Glorious Revolution, James and his heirs were excluded from the succession and the throne passed to William III, the Protestant ruler of the Netherlands, and his wife Mary, James's daughter, who was also a Protestant. Anglican liturgy and music changed little under them or their successor, Queen Anne (1702–1714).

The Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century is often regarded as being a low point in the history of the Church of England and its music. Religious life was dominated by rationalism rather than zeal, and services were often maintained as a matter of routine rather than enthusiasm. Choirs declined because men often continued to sing long after their voices had decayed, boys were poorly trained, and rehearsals were infrequent. Amateur instrumentalists played more often in parish churches than organists. The most important composers were Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1673–1707), William Croft (1678–1727), Maurice Greene (1696–1755), William Boyce (1711–1779), and Thomas Attwood (1765–1838).

The greatest musical achievement of the century was the establishment of music festivals in cathedral cities. The famous Three Choirs Festival, bringing together the choirs from Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford cathedrals, is usually said to have begun in 1715, but in fact there were earlier, less formal, gatherings. Works by Purcell and Croft were performed at the first festivals, but by 1736 the music of George Freidric Handel began to dominate. Born in Saxony in 1685, Handel had come to England in 1710 and lived there continuously from 1712 until his death in 1759. His *Te Deums* and anthems, including those composed for the Duke of Chandos and for the coronation of George II, were sung in cathedrals, but works like the oratorio *Samson* and the “Ode on St. Cecilia’s Day” were banned because they were not settings of liturgical texts and had no place in traditional services. Even the famous *Messiah*, first performed at Dublin in 1741 and at Covent Garden in London in 1743, was at first thought unsuitable for performance in churches. It was regarded as a secular entertainment when it was first sung by the Three Choirs in 1757, and was relegated to a public hall at Gloucester instead of the cathedral. It was only in the year of Handel’s death that performance in Hereford cathedral was permitted, and then only because no other hall could accommodate the expected audience. By the end of the century *Messiah* was regularly sung by large massed choirs in several of the cathedrals as well as in Westminster Abbey. Choir festivals spread to a number of cities, including Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Norwich, and attracted large crowds.

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The apathy and neglect that characterized the church during the eighteenth century continued well into the nineteenth. Musical standards in the cathedrals remained low. Choral services were simply abandoned for a time at Bristol. In London the number of singing men at St. Paul’s fell from forty-two to six, whereas the men at Westminster Abbey were allowed to send deputies who, according to a contemporary report, performed without skill or enthusiasm. The situation in parish churches was no better.

Those who fought for reform included the organist Samuel Sebastian Wesley, who published an outspoken plea for change in 1854, and Maria Hackett, who spent much of her life fighting for better conditions for choirboys. More important was the influence of the OXFORD MOVEMENT, which sought to restore the dignity and beauty of high-

church liturgy and ceremonial. This affected some parish churches earlier than cathedrals; the movement for musical reform can be traced to the parish of All Saints Margaret Street, London, in 1839, and Leeds parish church in 1841. Some parish churches sought to emulate cathedrals, and their choirs sang some of the simpler works from the cathedral repertoires.

The great development of hymnody also dates from the early Victorian era, and owes much to the highchurch Tractarians of the Oxford Movement. Earlier, hymn singing was not characteristic of either cathedral or parish worship. The first modern English hymn book was compiled by Bishop Reginald Heber and published in 1827. It included only words, not music. The earliest hymnal with music was *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Published in 1861, it had sold more than five million copies by the end of the decade. One of the most prolific writers of hymn texts was CHARLES WESLEY (1707–1788), younger brother of the founder of Methodism, JOHN WESLEY.

The nineteenth century also witnessed the introduction of modern organs with pedals. The first known pedal-board in England, only an octave in length, was installed at the parish church of St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol in 1726, but as late as 1810 only two cathedrals had organs with pedals. This situation says something about the organ music played in England, since the works of Bach and his contemporaries could not be performed without pedals. A number of large organs were displayed at the Crystal Palace for the Exhibition of 1851. In particular a large three-manual organ with pedals made by Henry Willis attracted attention, and some of it was later installed in Winchester cathedral. Willis also built what is often regarded as the first typical modern English organ, an instrument with more than one hundred stops built for St. George's Hall, Liverpool, in 1855. Organs conceived in this style—romantic in approach, with a number of voices imitating orchestral instruments—dominated until about 1954, when the organ designed for the Royal Festival Hall in London followed a more baroque scheme with reed stops in the French style.

Samuel Sebastian Wesley was the consultant for the Willis organ in Liverpool. Named organist of Hereford cathedral at the age of twenty-two, he later served at Exeter, Winchester, and Gloucester and was a prolific composer of church music. Some of his anthems rank among the finest of the Victorian cathedral works. They are often lengthy and include sections for a solo singer; perhaps the best example is "The Wilderness," published as part of a collection of twelve anthems in 1853. Among the other popular Victorian composers of church music were John Goss (1800–1880); T.A. Walmisley (1814–1856), who amazingly served as organist of three Cambridge colleges (King's, St. John's, and Trinity) as well as the University church of Great St. Mary's simultaneously; and Sir John Stainer (1840–1901), composer of the famous oratorio *The Crucifixion*. In addition to writing the music for the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, Sir Arthur Seymour Sullivan (1842–1900) left a number of popular works for the church.

Twentieth-century composers continued this tradition, but enhanced it by providing works of greater spirituality and musical interest. Much of the repertoire of English cathedral and parish church choirs still consists of the anthems and services of Sir Hubert Parry (1848–1914), Sir Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924), and Charles Wood (1866–1926). Church music may not have been the chief interest of Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958) or Benjamin Britten (1913–1976), but both have left masterpieces. Herbert Howells (1892–1983) did concentrate his talents on the church; his finest religious

compositions, including the “Collegium Regale” services written for King’s College, Cambridge, and the movingly simple Christmas carol “A Spotless Rose,” are unsurpassed.

At the end of the twentieth century the tradition of English church music remained strong. Changes had taken place; in particular girls had joined boys at many cathedrals, either in separate choirs or as part of a mixed ensemble, and women’s voices often dominated choirs in parish churches. Although many traditional musicians disapproved, there were experiments with new musical and liturgical styles. Services in Methodist and Congregational churches were less formal than those in the Church of England, but the choice of anthems was much the same. Hymns had gained greater importance in most services; new hymns continued to be composed and new hymnals to be published. There was distress because of the decline of church attendance in England and worry about the future of musical establishments, but so far as music was concerned the century ended in good form.

See also Arminianism; Book of Common Prayer; Calvin, John; Cranmer, Thomas; Cromwell, Oliver; Elizabeth I; Henry VIII; Laud, William; Luther, Martin; Oxford Movement; Purcell, Henry; Wesley, Charles; Wesley, John

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STANFORD LEHMBERG

MUSIC, GLOBAL

This term is often used interchangeably with world, ethnic, international, or multicultural music. “Third World music” may be found occasionally, but is inaccurate and carries vestiges of COLONIALISM. “Global music,” however, also presents some difficulties.

The first relates to perspective: What music is global and what music is not? Although Christian song has been transmitted across language groups and cultures since the apostolic era, Carlton Young notes a first wave of global song during the missionary movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as European and North American church music became the global musical currency. Late in the twentieth century, EuroNorth American churches have become aware of musics produced by Christians from non-Western cultures. Interest in global music today reflects a demographic shift between 1950 and the turn of the twenty-first century. Where once 70 percent of baptized Christians lived in the northern hemisphere now only 30 to 35 percent of Christians do, with 65 to 70 percent living in the southern. This second wave of global music from the two-thirds world is the subject of this article.

The second difficulty with “global music” is the political nature of “globalization.” As an economic strategy, globalization is often associated with the spread of Western economic approaches and cultural values around the world, especially those from the UNITED STATES. This connection of globalization—and by association, global—with cultural assimilation is unfortunate. For the most part those who promote the use of global music within Euro-North American WORSHIP have the opposite intent; they strive to bring the authentic musical voice of Christians from the far reaches of the globe into Western LITURGY as a reminder that the CHURCH, although gathered locally, is a part of the universal body of Christ.

For the purpose of this article, global music will signify Christian songs originating beyond EuroNorth American cultural contexts. Protestant Hymnals (see HYMS AND HYMNALS) produced in the UNITED STATES, CANADA, and some countries in Europe included Christian songs primarily from sub-Saharan AFRICA, Asia (especially eastern Asia), LATIN AMERICA (including Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries), and the CARIBBEAN. Christian music from the Middle East, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Republics, and the Polynesian islands have been less widely disseminated. Christian music created by NATIVE AMERICANS and African Americans is beyond the scope of this article. Although global music often includes instrumental and dance forms, the focus here is on congregational songs.

This article considers ecumenical and denominational strands of activity since the mid-1960s that have led to the general inclusion of global song in hymnals and hymnal supplements published in the United States, Canada, and western Europe since the late 1980s. Whereas this article is organized by confessional tradition, those who compile collections and use global song do so with an ecumenical spirit (see ECUMENISM). Specific issues are addressed in the brief bibliography.

Influences of Vatican II

Before the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), Christians beyond the EuroNorth American context primarily sang Western hymns in translation. Although folk tunes from “native” cultures appeared occasionally in Western collections, these tunes were often domesticated by eliminating intervals difficult for Western singers and by adding keyboard harmonizations. Even original compositions by non-Western composers were regularly composed in Western musical styles. Colonial missionaries

and their converts often assumed that indigenous cultural forms were technically and aesthetically inadequate or even inherently evil, incapable of conveying sound Christian THEOLOGY. Admittedly, specific melodies, musical instruments, and rhythmic patterns are often associated with non-Christian cultural practices. In many cultures, however, indigenous musical resources have been wedded with the gospel to produce musical expressions that are liturgically faithful and culturally relevant.

The *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (1963) produced by Vatican II promoted liturgy inculturated in the linguistic patterns, metaphors, dance, and music of individual cultures while sharing a common historical liturgical shape throughout the world. Mass settings based on specific musical/cultural idioms began to appear in the 1960s. These included *Missa Luba*, a Congolese mass, and *Missa Qamata*, a Xhosa mass setting from SOUTH AFRICA by Benjamin Peter John Tyamzashe. Spanish-language masses included *Misa Criolla* (Ariel Ramírez), an Argentine mass based on indigenous folk rhythms, and several Central American masses, represented by *Misa Campesina Nicaragüense* (Carlos Mejía Godoy) and *La nueva misa mesoamericana* (Guillermo Cuéllar). Because they were composed in vernacular styles, these masses paved the way for establishing cultural identity through congregational music. The *Ten-year Report of The Milwaukee Symposia for Church Composers* (1992), an unofficial Roman Catholic document that included participation by Protestants, elaborated on the proposals of Vatican II in the section entitled, “Cross-Cultural Music Making.” Liturgical inculturation also caught the attention of many Protestants.

World Council of Churches Contributions

The WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) publications, international assemblies, and church music symposia are important sources for global song. Initial efforts centered on *Cantate Domino* (melody edition, 1974; full-harmony edition, 1980), published by the WCC and edited by hymnologist Erik Routley (1917–1982). Appearing in three earlier editions (1924, 1930, 1951) published by the World Student Christian Federation, the WCC version was a radical departure from these, containing 202 selections in thirteen languages with participation by Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians for the first time. Texts appear in the original language and, usually, in English, French, and German. In spite of the broader global perspective of the fourth edition, the collection retained the feel of a European hymnal and many of the songs were harmonized without regard to the CULTURE of origin. Later culturally focused publications such as *African Songs of Worship* (1986), edited by Taiwanese ethnomusicologist I-to Loh, and *Brazilian Songs of Worship* (1989), edited by Brazilian composer Jaci Maraschin, avoid some of the pitfalls of *Cantate Domino*.

The Sixth General Assembly in Vancouver (1983) was a turning point for integrating global song into WCC liturgies. Liturgical/musical *animateurs* (animators) from around the world provided leadership for assembly worship. Publications of songs from this assembly and succeeding events in Canberra (1991) and Harare (1998) have been important sources for transmitting global song throughout the world. Some of the primary animateurs include I-to Loh (Presbyterian, Taiwan), Patrick Matsikenyiri (United Methodist, ZIMBABWE), Simeu Monteiro (Methodist, BRAZIL), George Mxadana

(South Africa), Pablo Sosa (Methodist, Argentina), Per Harling (Lutheran, SWEDEN), Dinah Riendorf (Ghana), and Terry MacArthur (United Methodist, USA). MacArthur served as the worship consultant for the WCC during both the Canberra and Harare Assemblies. Although not a WCC publication, *Thuma Mina: Internationales Ökumenisches Liederbuch* (1995), edited by Dieter Trautwein and endorsed by the Association of Protestant Churches and Mission in GERMANY, reflects the spirit of the WCC gatherings. Trautwein coordinated worship for the Vancouver Assembly.

Lutheran Contributions

The focus on culture and worship by the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION (LWF) and its assemblies (ten through 2003) have set the stage for incorporating global song into liturgy. *Laudamus*, with six editions from 1952 to 1990, is a collection used in these gatherings. The 1990 Supplement was the first to focus on global song with another edition planned for 2003. Gerhard Cartford and Mark P. Bangert, participants in LWF consultations on worship, have been among the foremost proponents of global song for the Lutheran church (see EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA) in the United States.

Other Lutheran representatives include Howard S. Olsen (b. 1922), who collected songs from eastern Africa and edited several editions of *Tumshangilie Mungu: Nyimbo za Kikristo za Kaifrika* published by the Lutheran Theological College in Tanzania. Selected songs appear in the United States in *Lead Us, Lord* (1977) and *Set Free* (1993). Swedish Lutherans deserve special mention in the dissemination of global song. Anders Nyberg collected three volumes of South African Freedom Songs during apartheid, selections that were published in the United States as *Freedom Is Coming* (1984). Upon return to Sweden he taught Swedish young people how to sing in the South African style. The publication and recording of these songs have been significant in antiapartheid awareness in Europe. Per Harling has promoted global song and liturgy both for the WCC (*Worshipping Ecumenically*, 1995) and through a series of ten documentaries entitled “The Whole World Sings” for Swedish television. His folk mass *Träd in i dansen* (1993) provides a Swedish contextualization of the liturgy.

In the United States a Lutheran-based ensemble, Bread for the Journey, has published two collections of global songs, *Global Songs: Local Voices* (1995) and *Global Songs 2* (1997) along with recordings. *With One Voice* (1995), a hymnal supplement for the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978), and the Spanish-language hymnal, *Libro de Liturgia y Cántico* (1998), edited by Pedro Suarez, reflect significant global diversity. The African American Hymnal, *This Far by Faith* (1999), is also an excellent source for African songs.

Methodist Contributions

Methodists have been leaders in collecting, composing, publishing, and incorporating global song into worship. Pablo Sosa (b. 1933) spearheaded this movement in South America with successive editions of *Cancionero Abierto* (Open Songbook) begun in

1974 and continuing through the 1990s. Sosa's earlier hymnal, *Cantico Nuevo* (1962), reflected virtually only Euro-North American musical traditions. *Cancionero Abierto*, however, encouraged indigenous compositions by South Americans. Its informal format with cassette recordings brought new authors and composers to light. This collection has influenced Spanish-language songbooks and hymnals published in the United States by United Methodists such as *Celebremos* (1979) and *Celebremos II* (1983), edited by Roberto Escamilla and Elsie Shoemaker Eslinger, and *Mil Voces Para Celebrar* (1996), edited by Raquel Martínez, as well as hymnals published by other Protestant denominations.

The Global Praise Project (GPP) of United Methodists has made significant contributions to the dissemination of global song. Begun in 1992 through the General Board of Global Ministry, the GPP has been led by S.T. Kimbrough Jr., general editor, and Carlton R. Young, musical editor. The GPP brings together leading church musicians and composers from around the world to share songs, plan publications, and design conferences that encourage the singing of global songs by local congregations. In addition to WCC amateurs Harling, Loh, Matsikenyiri, Monteiro, and Sosa, other GPP leaders include Raquel Guitierrez-Achón (Cuban-American), Tom Colvin (SCOTLAND/Africa), Melva Costen (African American), Ludmilla Garbouzova (RUSSIA), Hartmut Handt (Germany), Ivor Jones (ENGLAND), Jorge Lockward (Dominican Republic), George Mulrain (Trinidad and Tobago), and Lim Swee Hong (Singapore).

Global Praise I (1996, rev. 1997) and *Global Praise II* (2000) are two general collections with a broad diversity of world song. Focused collections include *Africa Praise Songbook* (1998) compiled by Matsikenyiri, *Russian Praise* (1999) compiled by Garbouzova, *Caribbean Praise* (2000) compiled by Mulrain, and *Tenemos Esperanza/Temos Esperança/We Have Hope* (2002) edited by Lockward. *Songs for the World: Hymns by Charles Wesley* (2001) provides fresh settings of Wesley's hymns by composers around the world.

Celebremos I and II and *Hymns from the Four Winds* (1983), a collection of Asian American hymns edited by I-to Loh, foreshadowed the GPP. These collections have had a significant impact on hymnals used by the United Methodist Church, including the *United Methodist Hymnal* (1989), edited by Carlton Young, *The Faith We Sing* (2000), a hymnal supplement edited by Gary Alan Smith, and *Come, Let Us Worship* (2001), a Korean-English United Methodist Hymnal published jointly with the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (PCUSA).

Reformed Contributions

Reformed traditions have also contributed to the collection and dissemination of global song. Most notable are the work of the IONA COMMUNITY (Scotland) and I-to Loh (Taiwan). Tom Colvin (1925–2000), a member of the Iona Community, served in several countries including Malawi and Ghana as a mission-ary from the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. He encouraged the development of indigenous song, often pairing Christian texts with traditional melodies. His publications, *Fill Us with Your Love* (1969) and *Come, Let Us Walk This Road Together* (1997), have provided materials for several

hymnals in the United States, especially the hymn “Jesu, Jesu, Fill Us with Your Love.” The Iona Community was also at the forefront of promoting global song from South Africa during apartheid. John Bell and the members of the Wild Goose Resource Group (WGRG) edited two global collections, *Many and Great: Songs of the World Church* (1990) and *Sent by the Lord* (1991). Subsequent publications by the WGRG usually include global songs among their varied contents, providing a sung complement to the prophetic message of justice and peace for which the Community is known.

I-to Loh (b. 1936), Presbyterian Church of Taiwan (PCT), has been the leader in collecting, promoting, and publishing Asian Christian songs. Following in the footsteps of D.T.Niles (1908–1970), Sri Lankan ecumenist with the WCC, cofounder of the East Asian Christian Conference, and editor of the *E.A.C.C.Hymnal* (1963), Loh encourages compositions from diverse Asian musical idioms, thus fostering an Asian Christian liturgical identity. He conducted his research through extensive travel under the auspices of the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH and while teaching at the Asian Institute for Liturgy and Music in Manila, culminating in *Sound the Bamboo* (1990, rev. 2000), an English-language song collection from more than twenty countries and over thirty-five languages in transliteration. A project for the Christian Conference of Asia, *Sound the Bamboo* has prepared the way for several PCT publications such as *Ban-bîn Siong-chàn* (Let All Nations Praise, 1994) and *Seng-si* (Holy poems/hymns, 2005) that bring global song to Taiwan.

The *Presbyterian Hymnal* (PCUSA, 1990), *Canadian Book of Praise* (1996), *Sing! A New Creation* (2001), a supplement for the CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA) and REFORMED CHURCH OF AMERICA, and the Spanish-language *El Himario Presbiteriano* (1999) are North American Reformed hymnals containing global song.

Mennonite Contributions

Mennonite congregations have been exposed to global song through Mennonite World Assemblies, song collections produced for these events, and their primary hymnal, *Hymnal: A Worship Book* (1992), a joint publication for congregations in the Believers Church Tradition. Mary Oyer (b. 1923), a primary proponent for global song among MENNONITES, studied music extensively in Africa and taught with I-to Loh in Taiwan. A tradition with a strong sense of world missions, Mennonites use global song as a symbol of partnership in mission with Christians around the world.

Evangelical Contributions

Evangelicals have begun to give attention to global song. SIL International (formerly the Summer Institute of Linguistics) works “with language communities worldwide to facilitate language-based development through research, translation, and literacy” (www.sil.org). SIL has translated portions of the BIBLE into over 450 languages. The SIL Web site contains nearly 150 ethnomusicological monographs on specific cultural groups.

Global song collections for specific events include *Aleluya: Let the Whole World Sing*, edited by Corean Bakke and Tony Payne, for the Lausanne II Congress on World Evangelization (Manila, 1989), and *World Praise* and *World Praise 2*, edited by David Peacock and Geoff Weaver, for the Baptist World Alliance Congresses (Buenos Aires, 1995; Melbourne, 2000). The latter volume contains 117 songs from approximately fifty countries. Although these collections offer a broad global repertoire, hymnals used by most evangelical congregations incorporate few world songs.

Other Protestant hymnals with a significant global repertoire include the *New Century Hymnal* (UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, 1995), *The Chalice Hymnal* (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, 1995), and *Voices United* (UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA, 1996).

Issues and Recommendations

Although Western publications include more global music, the musical traffic from the Euro-North American church to the two-thirds world continues. Songs from the ecumenical Taizé Community in FRANCE and the Iona Community have spread throughout the world. Praise choruses from the publishers of Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) are another source of song sung globally. Because of their brevity and textual repetition, these songs are relatively easy to translate into other languages and transmit without printed music. The song staples for Pentecostals and, increasingly, for other denominational bodies, CCM threatens, on the one hand, to engulf the myriad global voices from the world church. On the other hand, the practice of claiming Western copyright “ownership” of communally created global song by publishers inhibits its dissemination.

The following recommendations are suggested in conclusion: (1) Offer training for Western-educated church musicians in leading non-Western musical styles including short-term immersion experiences in other cultural settings; (2) Encourage ethnomusicological research that provides information on cultural context, biographies, and faithful presentations of indigenous musical styles; (3) Produce authentic recordings (audio and video) that help Western musicians learn musical styles through the ear and see the movements that may accompany these songs; (4) Develop creative leadership that encourages appropriate and sustained use of global music as sung prayer within worship; (5) Promote musical gatherings in which Christians from various cultural backgrounds may share their song with each other. As the mosaic of twenty-first century Christian music unfolds, global song represents the global face of the incarnate Christ.

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- C.MICHAEL HAWN

MUSIC, NORTHERN EUROPEAN

Protestant Music constitutes more than church music. Certainly Protestantism gave rise to specific worship music, but the influence of Protestantism on music affected more than the compositions intended for WORSHIP. From its beginnings in the sixteenth century, Protestantism gave rise to "secular" religious ballads—that is, songs of specific religious content, often polemic in nature, that were sung outside the context of worship. However, even the hymns and psalms of congregational worship were also sung in secular contexts. Similarly, domestic devotional music developed in parallel with the music of the church, music that often introduced new styles and forms that eventually made their way into the public worship of the churches. Protestant music in all its forms—public and private, ecclesiastical and nonecclesiastical—is a direct product of its primary theological concerns.

Reformation Principles of Music

The foundation of Protestant theology is the *solo Scriptura* principle—that the foundation for Christian faith and life is to be found in the BIBLE rather than in the decrees of the CHURCH. Thus Scripture provided the primary texts that were set musically in all REFORMATION traditions—such as Lutheran chorales, whose texts were frequently mosaics of biblical concepts and phrases; Genevan Psalms, which rendered the biblical Psalms in metrical form; or Anglican anthems that were almost exclusively settings of biblical texts, most frequently from the Psalms, although the different traditions variously interpreted the biblical material with regard to the function of music in public and in private.

For MARTIN LUTHER music was a gift of God that should be employed to praise God and proclaim God's Word in a variety of forms and styles by voices and instruments. Thus the Lutheran tradition of music, ecclesiastical and domestic, is rich in choral, vocal, and instrumental forms. JOHN CALVIN also regarded music as a gift of God but was more restrictive than Luther with regard to its use in public worship. Such music had to

be majestic without secular association and sung without accompaniment—instrumental music for Calvin was part of the ceremonial of the Temple that had been rendered obsolete by the sacrifice of Christ—and consist almost exclusively of metrical Psalms, a distinctive feature of Reformed/Calvinist worship. For HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, music itself, rather than instrumental accompaniment, was rendered invalid for public worship by the New Covenant; therefore, for him, no music was permitted in the Christian assembly. Thus the churches of Zurich, and those under its influence, banished music from public worship and congregational Psalmody was resisted until the very end of the sixteenth century. However, Zwingli was not the musical Philistine that he is often portrayed. Although he banished music from public worship he nevertheless commended its use in private worship. He composed both texts and music for such devotional use and effectively led the way for others, notably the later Puritans (see PURITANISM), who although protesting about the use of music in public worship nevertheless practiced it in their homes.

The question “How Protestant is Protestant music?” is not easy to define in terms of musical styles and forms, given that music composed for the Catholic LITURGY continued in use among many Protestants. Gregorian hymn melodies were sung by Lutherans and Anglicans alike (see LUTHERANISM; ANGLICANISM), and some of the melodies of the Genevan Psalter were adaptations of Gregorian chant. Music by Catholic composers were reworked by Michael Praetorius in the early seventeenth century for use in Lutheran churches, and, similarly, Catholic-composed motets continued to be sung in Lutheran liturgies well into the eighteenth century, from the anthologies of Erhard Bodenschatz (1576–1636) and Melchior Vulpius (1570–1615) issued in the early seventeenth century. The Motets of Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594) were reissued in London, Geneva, and La Rochelle in the 1570s with new French texts so that they could be sung as domestic devotional music among French-speaking Calvinists. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries much Catholic church music was incorporated into Protestant worship.

Reformation Patterns of Music

Lutheran

Luther’s reformation of the music of worship was a synthesis of continuity and discontinuity. On the one hand, he retained the use of Gregorian chant, emending or exchanging the associated texts with biblical material (in both Latin and German), and on the other, introduced vernacular congregational singing. The Latin schools, which customarily had provided much of the music of the churches, were reformed and the school choirs continued to sing traditional chants (published in anthologies edited by Kasper Friedrich Lossius, Johannes Spangenberg, Johann Keuchenthal, and Franciscus Eler) in the evangelical Mass, Matins, and Vespers. The same choirs also sang polyphonic settings of the Ordinary as well as chorale motets based on the melodies of the new congregational hymns, settings that were sung in alternation with the congregation singing in unison. Such singing was introduced by organ chorale preludes based on the melodies that were sung. Other motets were composed on the prose texts

taken from the weekly Gospel lections, the *Evangelien-motetten*. The long list of composers of these Lutheran genres include Walter, Dietrich, Calvisius, Hassler, Lechner, Franck, among others. As the Lutheran Reformation spread into Scandinavia, much of German church music was supplied with Danish and Swedish texts; chant forms continued in use, as in Jespersøn's *Gradual* (1573); and newly written hymns began to appear, as in Thomissøn's *Den danske Psalmerbog* (1569).

Calvinist/Reformed

Calvin, following the example of the practice of German congregations in Strassburg, developed the metrical Psalm in French as the primary music of worship. Working with poets Clément Marot and Theodore Beza and composers Lois Bourgeois and Claude Goudimel, the Genevan Psalter was created (completed in 1562). These sturdy Psalms were sung in unaccompanied unison in the churches, although when they were sung domestically they were performed in harmonized versions, voices doubled by instruments if they were available. Composers such as Bourgeois, Goudimel, Le Jeune, and Jean Pieterszoom Sweelinck created various homophonic and polyphonic settings of the melodies of the Genevan Psalter, which in the sixteenth century were never sung in the churches. However, in later times, when organs and choirs had come into use in Reformed churches, these settings of the Genevan Psalm tunes were sung in public worship. As CALVINISM spread throughout Europe so did the Genevan Psalm tunes, which were sung in the respective vernacular to the same melodies, such as the German versions by Lobwasser, the Dutch by Datheen, as well as others in many different European languages.

Anglican

The English Reformation was first influenced by Lutheran reforms and then moved in a more pronounced Calvinist direction. Thus the metrical Psalms constituted congregational song for much of emerging ANGLICANISM. The Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins (1562) became the basis of Anglican parish church music, sung unaccompanied and "lined-out," that is, sung by the congregation line by line after the parish clerk. Beginning in 1563 a succession of four-part settings of the English psalm tunes were published for domestic vocal and instrumental use, such as the tune books edited by Este, Daman, Ravenscroft, and Playford. In the cathedrals of England, however, a more developed church music was established, with choirs made up of men and boys, accompanied by organs. Through-composed settings of Prayer Book canticles and anthems on Biblical texts were provided by many composers, such as Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Tomkins, among others.

Other Traditions

In addition to the above-mentioned traditions, there were others. The Bohemian Brethren, the followers of Jan Hus, were both precursors and inheritors of the reforming movement. Already in the fifteenth century they had developed vernacular Czech hymnody, largely based on Latin models. By 1500 these had been translated into German and proved to be

a specific influence on the development of the Lutheran chorale—Luther and his colleagues were particularly influenced by the German Bohemian Brethren hymnal of 1531. Later Bohemian Brethren hymnals exhibit both Lutheran and Calvinist influence, especially new tunes that were clearly modeled on Genevan Psalm tunes. The Bohemian Brethren, or *Unitas Fratrum*, later evolved into the MORAVIAN CHURCH, which had a distinctive music tradition.

The Anabaptist (see ANABAPTISM) tradition, the disparate groups of pacifist and nonpacifist believers who were united in their common rejection of organized ministry and acceptance of adult BAPTISM, although differing on many other aspects of belief and practice, cultivated their own music in the form of hymnlike songs. These were often martyr-songs celebrating their co-religionists who had been executed because of their faith. Some were sung to folklike melodies; others were sung to Lutheran and other melodies. Representative collections of these songs include the Dutch *Een Geestelijck Liedt-Boecxken* of Joris (c. 1576/82) and the Swiss-German *Ausbund* (1564).

Post-Reformation Musical Developments

Italian musical styles became influential in the seventeenth century, especially the polychoralism and figured bass of the Gabriellis and Monteverdi in Venice. Schütz (who studied in Venice), Schein, Michael Praetorius, and others in GERMANY were especially influenced by Italianate forms. During the century the genre of spiritual “Concert” was developed, an extended musical composition that alternated solo and choral passages on biblical texts with interspersed chorales. Ultimately this would develop into the distinctive Lutheran church cantata. Among the composers of the developing form were Hammerschmidt, Briegel, Buxtehude, Pachelbel, Bruhns, and others, eventually culminating in the fully developed form exhibited supremely in the cantatas by JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH, but also including those of GEORG PHILIPP TELEMANN and Graupner in the eighteenth century. German church music was used extensively in Scandinavia but there were some notable indigenous composers such as the Swedish J.H.Roman.

During the seventeenth century Lutheran composers developed concerted settings of “Historia,” that is, musical settings of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, with a particular emphasis on Passion compositions, notable composers of which were Schütz and J.S.Bach. Most of these were intended for liturgical use but before the end of the century they began to be performed independently, and, through Italian influence, the Protestant tradition of biblical oratorios, that would flourish in the following century, was begun. In North Germany organ music was particularly developed, much of it choralebased but included freely composed forms by such composers as Böhm, Buxtehude, and Pachelbel, culminating in the organ works of J.S.Bach.

For much of the first half of the seventeenth century in ENGLAND, church music was reduced to congregational psalmody or eliminated altogether during the Presbyterian Commonwealth period. With the restoration of the monarchy and Anglicanism in 1660 a new beginning was made with church music. Because what few organs there were had been destroyed and church music foundations dismantled during the Commonwealth

period, composers connected with the Chapel Royal—principally Humphrey and HENRY PURCELL—developed the verse anthem (a genre that made predominant use of solo voices with shorter choral sections) with string accompaniment. Although the use of strings followed the style of the French court—where the new king, Charles II, had spent his exile years—these verse anthems are, in terms of length and content, the Anglican equivalent of the seventeenth-century Lutheran cantata. Some of Purcell's occasional pieces, such as his “Odes to St. Cecelia” (1683 and 1692) presage Handelian oratorio (GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL). For domestic devotion composers such as Henry Lawes, Blow, and Purcell, among others, composed strophic songs and Psalms.

Pietism and Rationalism in the Eighteenth Century

PIETISM in a variety of forms significantly influenced the music of Protestantism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A number of factors contributed to its rise, including the widespread popularity of Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety*—translated into various European languages—and the impact of the Thirty Years' War, which led to an internalized and intensely personalized spirituality. Even those who opposed Pietism as such were nevertheless influenced by it to some degree. Thus Lutheran orthodox hymn writers PAUL GERHARDT and Martin Rinckart wrote texts of such personal spirituality, and composers such as Crüger and Ebeling set them to lighter and more intimate melodies that contrasted with the ruggedness of the earlier chorale melodies. Lutheran Pietists objected to concerted and complex musical forms and advocated instead the primary use of simplified hymnody, with easy and accessible tunes. Freylinghausen's *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* (1704–1714) contained such tunes and exercised considerable influence within and outside of Germany in the eighteenth century, being used not only by Lutherans but also Mora-vians and early Methodists. The small-scale, aria-like melodies, with strophic texts, were first introduced into domestic devotions but in time began to be introduced into the worship of the churches. The influence of such music can be found in various collections, such as Bach's *Musikalisches Gesangbuch* (1736) in Germany, Bachhofen's *Musikalisches Hallelujah* (1727) in SWITZERLAND, Schutte's *Zangwijzen van Stichtelijke Gezangen* (1760) in the NETHERLANDS, and the many music books published in England after the rise of EVANGELICALISM in general and METHODISM in particular, such as Madan's *Lock Hospital Collection* (1760).

In Europe generally the twin influences of Pietism and Rationalism led to a decline of elaborate church music, reducing the role of music to little more than simple hymns with organ accompaniment, and an occasional homophonic anthem, if there was a choir available. Thus vocal music accompanied by instruments was rarely heard within liturgical worship but was used extensively in independent performances of oratorios, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, such as the programs of the Berlin *Singverein*.

In the earlier eighteenth century in England composers such as Greene, Croft, and others composed many new anthems for cathedral use, issued in engraved editions available by subscription, whereas the older anthems and services were accessible in the anthologies of Boyce and Arnold. In addition to music for public worship, cathedrals offered occasional musical festivals. Such occasions gave rise to the oratorios of Handel

that were regularly performed in London and elsewhere from the 1730s, notably *Messiah*, which was not only sung in complete performances in churches and concert halls but its individual choruses and arias were widely included in church services as anthems around the turn of the century.

The Moravian Church, an offshoot of German Lutheran Pietism, owed much to eighteenth-century Lutheran musical traditions, which through its missionary endeavors were transplanted in various countries throughout the world, especially in North America. It has continued its own tradition of musical worship with instruments to the present day, a rich amalgam of congregational, vocal, choral, and instrumental (strings, winds, and organ) music.

Restoration and Romanticism

Around the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were various moves in Germany to counteract the limiting effects of Pietism and Rationalism with regard to Protestant worship music. An important center of reform was Berlin, where was introduced a new liturgical *Agenda*, with appropriate liturgical music, a new hymnal that eliminated the alterations of the previous generations. A.W.Bach, Felix Mendelssohn's organ teacher, also issued a new anthology of organ settings of the chorale melodies. Felix Mendelssohn composed various Psalm settings and other church music for use in the Berlin cathedral in a somewhat restrained style. Mendelssohn, Brahms, and others wrote unaccompanied motets and organ music for church use, but also composed religious music for performance in "secular" concert halls, such as Mendelssohn's oratorios *Elijah* and *St. Paul*, together with his "Reformation" Symphony that makes use of Luther's *Ein feste Burg*, and Brahms's *Ein deutsches Requiem*, a work that was also performed in churches, although not liturgically.

In England church music was influenced both by the Tractarian movement and ROMANTICISM: daily choral services were restored in the cathedrals, and the cathedral musical tradition expanded into parish churches, including the building and use of organs. On the one hand, music was inspired by Catholic tradition, such as the hymns found in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and the musical supplements of the journal, *The Parish Choir* (1846–1851), issued by the Society for Promoting Church Music. On the other hand, much music was inspired by Victorian sentimentalism, as represented by Sullivan's long-forgotten oratorio, *The Light of the World*, and Stainer's everpopular *Crucifixion*. Novello and other publishing companies supplied the increasing demand for anthems in "octavo" editions of a few pages, mostly in the secular musical style of the day rather than the long-standing cathedral music tradition. Composers such as Barnby and Simper supplied much of this more popular music, whereas S.S.Wesley and later Stanford, Parry, and Wood, among others, made their distinctive contributions to the tradition of cathedral music.

The Broadening of Styles, Forms, and Content

At the beginning of the twentieth century Protestant church music in Germany was marked by two parallel developments: the restoration of the earlier music of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the composition of new liturgical music. Collected editions of the music of Bach, Handel, and Schütz had appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. To these were now added editions of the music of DIETRICH BUXTEHUDE, Lübeck, Michael Praetorius, Scheidt, and Johann Walter. Among the vigorous school of new composers of church music were David, Distler, Marx, Arnold, Mendelssohn, Raphaël, Pepping, Petzold, Stern, and Kurt Thomas, whose music explores twentieth-century tonality while at the same time reflecting the forms and genres of earlier Lutheran church music. Many church music schools were founded and there was a blossoming of choirs and choral music in the churches and the influential tradition of trumpet and trombone ensembles. The new hymnal, *Deutsches evangelisches Gesangbuch*, for use in the regional churches was issued in 1915. Many of these new developments, however, were interrupted by the rise of Nazism, the Third Reich, and the Second World War. They were later reestablished in the postwar years, with the founding of more church music schools; the lay *Kirchen-Tag* movement, which developed its own music forms; and the issuing of a new hymnal, *Das Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch*, which, although it did include examples of contemporary hymnody, was almost exclusively committed to the older hymnic forms. Among the new composers were Bender, Fortner, Ramin, Reda, Ruppel, and Zimmermann, and inspiration was drawn from non-German traditions such as jazz and African American spirituals.

Church music in England was similarly affected by the Second World War. Among the prewar composers who continued to write for the cathedrals tradition of anthems and services include Baistow, Harris, Holst, Howells, Ireland, and RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS. Some of these continued to be active in the postwar period, where they were joined by BENJAMIN BRITTEN, Davies, Joubert, Tippett, among others. In addition to composing music for worship they also wrote largescaled religious pieces, such as Vaughan Williams's *Job*, Tippett's *A Child of Our Time* (which uses African American spirituals), and Britten's varied works, such as *Rejoice in the Lamb*, *Saint Nicolas*, and the massive and moving *War Requiem*.

The iconoclastic 1960s led to an explosion of popular musical styles and forms being introduced into Protestant worship. In Germany the influence of jazz and various popular styles has been prominent. In England the door to less traditional worship was opened by Geoffrey Beaumont's extraordinary popular *Folk Mass*, written toward the end of the 1950s, although in a 1930s Broadway style. In its wake come a plethora of musical styles and forms performed mostly with the instruments of popular culture rather than traditional instruments, with a widespread abandonment of the organ, although traditional forms of worship music, with newly composed music alongside earlier examples, continues in cathedrals, collegiate chapels, and notable parish churches. New hymnals have been introduced in most European countries, which, like other music heard in the churches, is no longer closely identified with one language group, denomination, or country. Protestant church music has become for many an eclectic fusion of different

styles, forms, and traditions, from every continent of the globe, with music promoted by modern commercialism predominating.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Music, English Church; Music, American; Music, Popular

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ROBIN LEAVER

MUSIC, POPULAR

A major consequence of the emergence of protestant church in the wake of the REFORMATION movement in the sixteenth century was the integration of popular music with religious lyrics. MARTIN LUTHER believed in the congregation being an integral part of the service, and this meant singing. Luther wrote a number of hymns for his congregation to sing; the most popular is “A Mighty Fortress.”

The Beginnings

The second colony established by ENGLAND in America, the Plymouth Bay Colony, published the first book of songs, *The Bay Psalm Book*, in what would become the United States. Through the U.S. CIVIL WAR, however, the most popular religious music was composed by ISAAC WATTS (1674–1748) and JOHN (1703–1791) and CHARLES (1707–1788) WESLEY.

After the Civil War there was a revival in the United States in urban areas led by evangelists DWIGHT MOODY (1837–1899) and IRA SANKEY (1840–1908). The two joined forces in Chicago in 1871 and held revivals where Sankey would usually begin with singing to prepare the crowd for Moody’s sermon. Sankey was responsible for

developing the American hymn during this period, although this type of song goes back to England and Isaac Watts. These songs, sometimes called “hymns of human composure,” differed from previous religious music because they were not songs directly from the Bible (e.g., the Psalms set to music), but rather a song inspired by the Bible.

Ira Sankey was a somber, serious man whose most famous number was “The Ninety and Nine,” a song about a lost soul coming back to the Christian fold. Sankey sang his songs before Moody spoke, gathering a crowd and “warming up” the audience for the sermon. Moody was a salesman before he became a preacher, so he looked at his crusades in terms of a sales pitch; the music was the bait, the sermon was the pitch, and the altar call where sinners came forward to commit or recommit their lives to Christ was “lowering the net” or the closing for the sale.

Sankey wrote a number of the songs he sang and also used songs by other composers. He collected many of these songs into a series of songbooks that sold over six million copies. This was in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when publishing and sheet music dominated the music industry. Sankey’s success paralleled the success of The Tin Pan Alley publishers, with one important exception: Sankey proved there was an incredible market for white gospel songs outside the normal music outlets. This would continue to be the story of white gospel music. As with secular music, there was a large market and musically it would be similar to Tin Pan Alley’s songs, but people bought gospel music in different places and for an entirely different reason. They bought gospel music for *religious* reasons (to inspire a religious experience or to help worship services in churches), while people bought secular music for entertainment and social prestige.

The next major revival was led by evangelist BILLY SUNDAY (c. 1862–1935) and his song leader, Homer Rodeheaver (1880–1955). Rodeheaver was an energetic, likeable man who played the trombone and brought entertainment into gospel music. Unlike the somber and serious Sankey, Rodeheaver clowned on stage, did humorous skits with his trombone, and presented a more lively view of Christianity. The number he was best known for was “Brighten the Corner Where You Are.”

Rodeheaver began the first record label that recorded only white gospel music. Rainbow Records, founded in Winona Lake, Indiana, was an extension of Rodeheaver’s publishing company. Although the major secular record labels all recorded gospel music during their early years, Rainbow Records set the precedent for the future of gospel recording.

Black Gospel Music

Black gospel has its own separate and distinct culture, although there are some similarities with white gospel.

In the early 1870s the Fisk Jubilee Singers were on tour singing Negro Spirituals, religious songs that came from the slave culture. The spirituals became the first music from African Americans to be nationally known. The Fisk Jubilee Singers excited audiences all over the world with these numbers, performed originally by a group of seven men and three women.

The next major event in black gospel occurred in the first part of the twentieth century when Thomas A. Dorsey (1899–1993), the music minister for the Pilgrim Baptist Church

in Chicago, began writing and publishing songs. Dorsey came out of blues music (as a blues singer he was known as Georgia Tom, and played piano for Ma Rainey), but soon renounced the blues for gospel. In 1930 at the National Baptist Convention (Negro) in Chicago, two songs written by Thomas Dorsey were performed. The songs, “How About You” and “Did You See My Savior,” were the first gospel songs done at that convention. For black gospel, the term “gospel” meant a song whose composer was known. Traditionally, hymns (most written by the Wesleys, Isaac Watts, and other hymn writers) or Psalms were sung. Dorsey’s song created a great deal of excitement at the convention; when the convention goers went home, they took Dorsey’s songs with them.

Back in Chicago, Dorsey worked with a number of singers, including Sallie Martin (1896–1988) and Mahalia Jackson (1911–1972), and toured nationally between 1932 and 1944. He became the “father of gospel music” and established an annual convention for gospel singers. Dorsey’s two most famous songs, “Precious Lord, Take My Hand” and “Peace in the Valley,” have become standards and have been recorded by numerous artists, white and black.

The Holiness and Pentecostal Movements

Two movements within the church have proven instrumental in both gospel music as well as secular music. The holiness movement occurred in the black church in the 1890s; in 1900 the Pentecostal movement occurred in white churches. These movements, characterized by emotional services, speaking in tongues, passionate preaching, and innovative music, were not widely accepted by mainstream Christianity in either culture, but a number of early rock ‘n’ roll pioneers, including Little Richard, Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Sam Cooke, and others came out of these movements. This first generation of rock ‘n’ rollers captured the spirit and frenzy of the Holiness or Pen-tecostal movements in their secular music. This is the essential link between gospel music and early rock ‘n’ roll. However, later generations of rock artists, especially those from Great Britain, did not have this connection with gospel music.

Gospel and Popular Music

Gospel music’s influence on secular music is through individual performers, not on the music as a whole. However, secular music has had a great impact on gospel music, particularly contemporary Christian music beginning in the late 1960s. Contemporary Christian music evolved from the Jesus Movement, where socially active youth who confronted Vietnam and the civil rights struggle increasingly found the answer to their questions to lie in an intense, personal relationship with Jesus Christ.

This led to a number of singers and songwriters using the basic pop song format—and recording industry practices—to write and sing about Jesus for recordings. As contemporary Christian music evolved, it tended to mimic the dominant trends in popular music, providing a Christian alternative to secular music. Although the lyrics were different, the music was similar.

As Christianity became a subculture in the United States, gospel music became a subgenre of pop music. It has its own market and outlets (Christian book-stores), its own media (radio stations, periodicals, and TV shows), its own educational system (religious schools), and its own music industry with its own stars.

Gospel music is unique because the performers view themselves primarily as ministers rather than entertainers. The performers are different than their secular counterparts because they demand that audiences agree with their religious beliefs. Gospel music audiences, in turn, demand that artists agree with them; the audience wants a music that supports, confirms, and encourages their faith.

Although gospel music is an important, vital music in America, by the beginning of the twenty-first century it became a music separate from non-gospel or secular music with few artists able to succeed in both fields.

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DON CUSIC

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NANTES, EDICT OF

The Edict of Nantes, proclaimed by King Henry IV of France on April 30, 1598 and registered by the parliaments of Paris on February 25, 1599, ended the series of eight wars of religion that tore the kingdom of FRANCE for thirty-six years (from 1562 to 1598). The Edict was the product of two years of negotiations between Henry IV's commissioners and Protestant representatives. As the first sentence in Article I shows, the Edict intended above all to be an edict of pacification looking to stop the cycle of violence. "First, that the recollection of everything done by one party or the other (...) remain obliterated and forgotten as if no such things had ever happened." Indeed, first the recollection of the preceding troubles had to be erased. Thus Article II states, "forbidding all our subjects, of whatsoever estate or quality, to revive its recollection, to attack, resent, insult or provoke one another by reproach of what took place for whatsoever cause, to dispute, contest, quarrel, nor to become outraged or offended from act or word; but to refrain and live peacefully, together as brothers, friends, and co-citizens, lest the contravenants be punished as breakers of peace and disturbers of public tranquillity."

After the first national synod of the Reformed Churches of France, held in Paris in 1559, and with a Protestant Church that was organizing in a kingdom concerned about maintaining its unity of faith, followed a period marred by civil wars ("troubles by way of religion" as was said at the time) interrupted by truces and edicts of pacification. The failure of the COLLOQUY OF POISSY (September 1561), which attempted to end the theological discord that threatened the unity of France, opened the way to civil war.

The first three wars of religion started with the massacre of the Protestants in Vassy in 1562 and opposed the Protestant armies to the royal armies from 1562 to 1570. The Edict of Amboise (1563) ended the first war of religion thanks for the most part to Michel de L'Hospital, a precursor who was already claiming, "even the heretic does not cease to be a citizen." The pacification gained from the Peace of Saint-Germain, which was signed in 1570, set an important precedent for the Edict of Nantes because it granted some freedom to the Protestants: freedom of conscience, a limited freedom of worship, and four safe places (La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité sur Loire). The peace of Saint-Germain was challenged, however, by the terrible massacres of the Saint-Barthélémy that caused the death of thousands of Protestants in Paris on August 24, 1572 and in other towns a few days or weeks later (Bourges, Saumur, Angers, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, etc.). More wars of religion ensued. The eighth—and last—war (1585–1589) saw a shift in alliances.

At first Henry III had deposed his heir presumptive, the Protestant Henry of Navarre and future Henry IV, of all his rights. Overwhelmed by the Ligue (the Catholic party), however, Henry III reconciled with his cousin before being assassinated while Paris was under siege (August 1589) and France risked falling under Spanish hegemony. Henry of Navarre agreed in 1593 to convert to Catholicism (whence the expression “Paris is well worth a mass”). He was crowned king of France in 1594 and signed peace with Spain in May 1598, at a time when he was trying through the Edict of Nantes to have Catholicism, “the Kingdom’s religion,” coexist with the “so-called Reformed religion.” Henry of Navarre had been excommunicated and had his rights to the crown abrogated by Pope Sixtus V with the Bull of September 29, 1585, even though the archbishop of Bourges had already absolved him in Saint Denis as he had received his abjuration on July 25, 1593. It would take more than two years of tense negotiations with the papacy for Pope Clement VIII to absolve and lift all sanctions against Henry IV on September 17, 1595. This episode shows how great the papacy’s ambitions still were in the sixteenth century, even though the States and their CLERGY were starting to enjoy greater autonomy from Rome’s power.

Assessing the Text

The text of the Edict is made up of a solemn edict in a preamble and ninety-three articles: fifty-six “secret and particular” articles dealing mostly with places of worship; a warrant stipulating the royal subsidy to be used for the pastors’ wages, the running of academies and colleges (in compensation for the tithe paid to the clergy); and a warrant specifying the geographic location of safe places. It is significant that after the first two Articles that tend to the pacification of minds, Article III is devoted to the full reestablishment of Catholic WORSHIP: “We ordain that the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion shall be restored and reestablished in all places and localities of our Kingdom and under our obedience, where the exercise of it has been interrupted, to be peacefully and freely exercised, without any trouble or hindrance.” While confirming that Catholicism was the religion of the kingdom and by restoring this religion where it had been abolished (in some regions of the South), the Edict of Nantes granted the king’s subjects who belonged to the “so-called reformed religion” (according to the phrasing of the time), some rights and important dispensations. The Edict of Nantes remains within the frame of the Ancient Regime, which granted not so much individual rights, but rather rights to members of a given community, in this case, the group of people belonging to the “so-called reformed religion.” The Edict awarded—which is no small matter—full freedom of conscience to Protestants, with Article VI specifying that they could not be compelled to participate in Catholic worship and that each head of a family was free to perform with his kin a “private devotion.” Exempt from contributing to the costs of fixing up churches and buying sacerdotal VESTMENTS, Protestants were no longer forced to decorate the front of their houses on Catholic holy days, but simply had to “suffer” that their houses be decorated by royal officers (on days of Catholic processions, for example). Although they could not be the object of forced proselytism and their children could not be removed to be integrated to the Catholic church (Article XX), Protestants still had to respect Catholic days of rest and pay the ecclesiastical tithe (Article XXV).

A broad freedom of conscience did not mean freedom of worship. In the Edict of Nantes the latter is sparsely allotted to Protestants, being even more restricted than what had been temporarily granted by the Edict of Saint-Germain in 1562, which had instituted freedom of worship across the kingdom. In the Edict of Nantes, on the other hand, public Protestant worship is subject to a list of authorized locales: places where Protestant service had been celebrated in 1596 and during the first months of 1597. Furthermore, in Paris and in many cities, Protestant worship was relegated within the confines of the suburbs (Article XI) or their vicinity (Article XIV). Thus the temple used by Parisian Protestants would be transferred in 1606 to Charenton in the near suburbs, after having been in two other places around Paris.

So as “justice be rendered and administered to our subjects without suspicion, hate, or favor,” the “Chambres mi-parties,” composed of Catholic and Protestant officers sitting side by side, would be instituted (Articles XXX to LXII). This disposition would be quite randomly applied. In Paris, for example, the “Chambre de l’Edit” included only one Protestant counsel for sixteen Catholic counsels. As for the safe places promised to the Protestants “for the freedom of their conscience” and “for the guarantee of their persons, wealth, and belongings,” it was “all the places, towns, and castles they held to the end of last August” (that is, August 1597), or about one hundred and fifty places of garrison and safety that were mostly found in Guyenne, Languedoc, and in the Rhone valley. The king promised to contribute to the cost of worship through warrants, in particular the subsidy of pastors, but some of these warrants would never be applied, especially the first one that provided to pay Protestants a sum of forty-five thousand ecus to manage their businesses and support their pastors. The Edict of Nantes saw its application slowed down by the reluctance of the parliaments to register it. The parliament of Paris registered it in February 1599 and the one in Grenoble in April 1599, but the parliament of Rouen would register it only in 1609 and after the request of Henry IV. The members of Parliament feared in part that Protestants would invest local authorities as a consequence of Article XXVII that opened to them “all Estates, Dignities, Offices, and public charges whatsoever, Royal, Seigniorial, or of Cities of our Kingdom, countries, lands, and lordships under our obedience.”

The Edict of Nantes opened a new era by acknowledging that the Catholics and Protestants of France were both subjects of the same king. In that the Edict went farther than the *cujus regio ejus religio* principle of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) that declared the religious homogeneity of the territories (“to each re-gion its religion”) and granted the *jus emigrandi* to the subjects who wished to move to a state true to their faith. The Edict of Nantes goes farther inasmuch as it recognizes as subjects of the same king people of different faiths, thus starting to shake the idea that the political unity of society has to be obtained through unity of faith. Still, nothing in the edict leads to belief that it is “a foundational text for religious tolerance” (Grandjean, in Grandjean and Roussel, 1998:7), nor a text that completely gives up the idea of the religious unity for the political collectivity. The word “tolerance” itself does not appear in the text of the Edict and at the time, the word “tolerance” did not have the positive connotation it would later acquire. In the seventeenth century, “to tolerate” still had the negative connotation of “to bear” as in “to suffer” (see TOLERATION). In this context, the point is only to organize the coexistence and therefore civil peace between peoples of different faiths in spite of the prevailing intolerance. Because at the time restoring the religious unity of the kingdom

could not be achieved, one made do with a division of faith, while hoping to see one day this unity of faith reestablished in the kingdom. Because it does not give up on the idea of religious unity of the kingdom, the Edict of Nantes, in some regards and even though it pretends to be “perpetual and irrevocable,” carries in itself the seed of its own revocation, which would indeed occur in 1685 (FONTAINEBLEAU, EDICT OF). The historian Janine Garrisson thought it a “bastardized *cujus regio, ejus religio*...taking into account opposing forces, and conceding to a pressure group (the Protestant political assemblies)” (Garrisson 1985:17–18).

Importance of the Edict

Even though the Edict of Nantes should not be made into a declaration of religious tolerance, its reach should not be underestimated. By spelling out pragmatic rules allowing the control of religious intolerance, this Edict shows the first signs of the emergence of an autonomous political reason against religious matters. If not tolerance, it institutes peace by law, while confirming the privileges of the royal power on the many factions and setting up for an absolute monarchy. Another misinterpretation would be to consider that the text is *de facto* in favor of Protestants because it finally grants them rights. It may indeed grant some rights to the Protestants, but it reminds in Article III that the goal is to “reestablish in all places and localities” of the kingdom the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, which is even in the hearts of the Reformed fiefs. Agrippa d’Aubigné (1552–1630), the Protestant writer who was an ardent defender of his co-Calvinists, was not fooled as he noted in his 1610–1620 *Histoire Universelle* (ed. by André Thierry, t.9., Genève, Droz 1995:225), that according to the wisest, the “peace of Nantes” “was advantageous for Catholics and ruinous for Protestants.”

The Edict of Nantes was enforced until about 1629 when the Edict of Grâce d’Alès, published after the fall of La Rochelle, confirmed the civil and religious clauses of the Edict of Nantes, but eliminated the “safe places.” Protestants, who then lost their military and political privileges, found themselves completely at the mercy of the royal will as to whether the clauses of the Edict of Nantes would be applied. From the reign of King Louis XIV, the Edict, reduced to its religious privileges, was applied “rigorously”: the “Chambres mi-parties,” consisting of Catholic and Protestant judges and created to enforce it, were simply used to forbid Protestants anything to which they were not formally entitled. Numerous professional, cultural, familial, and political interdictions, accompanied by persecution in the South of France, curbed religious freedom and prepared the revocation of 1685.

Revocation

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was made official by the Edict of Fontainebleau that gave Pastors the strict injunction either to convert or to leave the kingdom of France within two weeks. The faithful, on the opposite, were forbidden to emigrate. As subjects of the “R.P.R.—*Religion Prétendue Réformée*” (so-called Reformed Religion), they would more often be persecuted, even though they were supposedly tolerated, until their

renunciation. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes led to a vast movement of emigration of pastors and believers (who left in secret) to the Protestant states of Europe (SWITZERLAND, Brandenburg, United Provinces, ENGLAND). In France, the “Desert” period started, referring to the secret organization of Reformed communities punctuated by the war of the Camisards. In November 1787 French Protestants would regain their civil status thanks to the Edict of Tolerance signed by Louis XVI, which announced their reintegration within the national community and which would be favored by the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Along with the historian Bernard Cottret (in Grandjean and Roussel 1998:447), one can admit, and with a touch of irony, that “the Edict of Nantes fully succeeded. It succeeded twice: by confirming the civil peace, in a France bled dry after half a century of fratricide wars; and by programming, in due time, the eradication of the Reformed minority and its integration within a State Catholicism.” Bernard Cottret is nevertheless prompt to add, “the success is only partial with regard to the latter since Protestants survived their proscription and even drew a new evangelical legitimacy from their interdiction.”

See also Bayle, Pierre; Church and State, Overview; Fontainebleau, Edict of; France; French Revolution; Huguenots; Poissy, Colloquy of

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JEAN-PAUL WILLAIME

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

A conservative Protestant organization in the United States, the National Association of Evangelicals that was begun in the 1940s and continued into the twentyfirst century has sought to reach a broader audience by moderating the earlier image of FUNDAMENTALISM while maintaining the fundamentalist doctrinal teachings. The origins of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) are associated with the early ministry of J.Elwin Wright. Wright's father led an itinerant ministry based in New England. In 1924 the younger Wright took over his father's ministry and through the 1930s expanded it, traveling coast to coast as well as inviting a wide range of Holiness and Pentecostal, Baptist and Methodist, independent and ethnic churches to join his cadre of fundamentalist Protestants.

Wright's desire to reach a broader constituency seemed opportune; however, his efforts were preempted by the formation of the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) in October 1941 by the radio-preacher CARL MCINTIRE. McIntire formed the ACCC in opposition to the Federal Council of Churches. With its emphasis on fundamentalist teachings and separatist purity, the ACCC provided McIntire with a platform into the 1970s for his advocacy of right-wing politics and apocalyptic religion.

With the challenge of the ACCC before him, Wright convened a planning meeting in St. Louis in April 1942. In May 1943 in Chicago the NAE was formally begun. From its inception, issues and leaders shaped the ethos of the NAE. For example, the NAE denounced liberalism and the Federal Council of Churches and the specific interpretation by the NAE of various Christian doctrines (the nature of the BIBLE, the birth of Christ, the sinfulness of humanity, the ATONEMENT, and the resurrection and return of Christ) hearkened back to earlier fundamentalist creeds. In response to criticism by the ACCC that they wavered in their adherence to fundamentalism, in 1944 the NAE forbade any denomination from holding dual membership in the NAE and the Federal Council of Churches (or its successor the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES). Thus, although the leaders of the NAE sought to rise above sectarian conflict, the very identity of the organization was anchored in a politics and theology of separatism.

Another issue that shaped the identity of the NAE was the network of organizations associated with it. The National Religious Broadcasters were established in 1944 with a close connection to the NAE. During the late 1920s, with the emergence of federal regulations and commercial radio networks, broadcast time was often made available for religious programs as a public service. In many cases commercial networks turned to recognizable denominational members of the Federal Council of Churches. The National Religious Broadcasters was established to set ethical and technical standards for religious broadcasters and to lobby on behalf of the members of the NAE for their right to receive free time or to purchase time for religious radio programming. Similarly, the NAE supported organizations such as the Evangelical Theology Society, the Evangelical Press Association, and the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association. Another organization within this same theological orbit and begun shortly after the founding of the NAE was the YOUTH FOR CHRIST movement, an association that accepted the doctrinal standards of the NAE and whose first field representative was BILLY GRAHAM, a long-time supporter of the NAE.

Although Graham always remained sympathetic to the work of the NAE, the early years of the organization more clearly show the stamp of Harold John Ockenga. Born in Chicago in 1905, Ockenga entered Princeton Theological Seminary in 1927, although he chose to follow JOHN GRESHAM MACHEN and finished his ministerial studies at Westminster Theological Seminary in 1930. Ockenga officiated as president of the NAE from 1942 to 1944, and his combination of organizational abilities and fundamentalist beliefs gave a face to the NAE in its early years. Thus, by the 1950s the NAE contained fifteen small denominations in addition to a mixture of parachurch organizations, independent congregations, and individuals. Its membership had opened up to Pentecostal and Holiness groups, although the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD, the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, and the Southern Presbyterian Church had all remained outside the NAE.

In the 1960s and 1970s issues of political and scriptural authority, never far below the surface, emerged once again. The NAE opposed John F. Kennedy in the presidential election not only for his liberal social views but above all for his Roman Catholicism. Ockenga doubted Kennedy's dedication to the separation of CHURCH AND STATE, and the NAE challenged its members to stand up and be counted as Protestants. The Washington D.C. office of the NAE, first opened in 1943, maintained close contacts with the trio of Republican presidents, Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, and especially Ronald Reagan.

In addition to seeking political clout, the NAE also sought to exercise influence in biblical studies. Dissatisfied with the Revised Standard Version of the Bible that first appeared in 1952, the NAE, together with the CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH and the New York Bible Society, undertook a new translation of the Bible. The result was the New International Version that finally appeared in 1978. Although popular among many elements of conservative Protestantism, scholars have pointed out how closely it resembles in textual, exegetical, and stylistic matters the Revised Standard Version that it was supposed to supplant.

By the end of the twentieth century the NAE faced challenges as blacks formed a separate National Black Evangelical Association, the National Religious Broadcasters severed their relationship with the NAE, and new organizations vied for the leadership of conservative Protestants in America. Nevertheless, the NAE in 2000 claimed a membership of over 42,000 congregations from fifty member denominations and 250 parachurch ministries and educational institutions.

See also Evangelicalism

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WALTER H. CONSER JR.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA

The National Baptist Convention of America (NBCA) was formed after a dispute between Richard Henry Boyd, publisher of the National Baptist Publishing Board and the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A. over the ownership of the publishing board. The history of the convention is tied inextricably to R.H. Boyd and his legacy of racial self-determination coupled with a pragmatic sense of interracial cooperation.

Formation of the National Baptist Publishing Board

Formation of the NBCA is tied to the formation of the National Baptist Publishing Board (NBPB), founded in 1896 by R.H.Boyd. Boyd, born into slavery, received an education at Bishop College in Texas and was an active participant in the Texas Black Baptist conventions before the formation of the National Baptist Convention (NBC) U.S.A. After a dispute over the withdrawal of an invitation to Black Baptist writers to publish in the *Baptist Teacher*, a northern white Baptist publication, the NBPB was founded by Boyd with the support of other leaders in the convention such as Emmanuel K.Love. The publishing house, chartered yet unincorporated, was placed under the control of a board consisting of nine men, with Boyd at the head. The arrangement, in theory, would help to shield the publishing board from denominational interference. Interference, however, would come with Boyd's successful management. Boyd's entrepreneurial spirit helped him to establish a relationship in Nashville, Tennessee with the publisher of the Southern Baptist Publishing board at the time, James Frost. The relationship with Frost in terms of sales and support helped Boyd to quickly establish the primacy of the NBPB in supplying SUNDAY SCHOOL and other materials such as pulpit robes and church pews to black churches. Boyd even created the Negro doll company, selling black dolls through the publishing house as well.

As a result of Boyd's business acumen the publishing board was incorporated as a separate entity in 1898. Incorporating the board allowed it to affiliate with whatever convention it would choose, and this would have future ramifications for the National Baptist Convention U.S.A. claims to the publishing house. Like the other convention boards, Boyd's suggestion that the publishing board should be separate in the constitution from other boards was enacted, and the publishing board worked together with the home missions board. The convention president E.C.Morris issued a directive in 1905 requiring that the two boards separate their activities. The publishing board defied his directive, and this would prove to be one of the sources of contention that would exacerbate the growing dissension between the convention and the publishing board. Boyd's successful combination of beliefs in racial self-determination, racial uplift, and interracial cooperation increased the boards' revenue to over two million dollars by 1915. The financial gains were such that Morris and others in the National Baptist Convention U.S.A. wanted to obtain greater control of the publishing board.

Boyd's entrepreneurial spirit as a publisher was fraught with dissension. Management concerns over the publishing board led to accusations of Boyd's using the board's funds to finance mortgages for other business ventures within the city of Nashville, where the publishing board was located. Boyd also held the copyrights for all the Sunday school commentaries for twenty-eight years, meaning that Boyd and his family profited personally from the sale of the board's published materials. The move rankled convention president Morris, and for ten years, from 1905 to 1915, battles were waged to attempt to wrest control of the board away from Boyd. Boyd's contention, however, was that the publishing board had been created separately from the convention in 1896, and that the constitution of the convention did not contain instructions for the creation of the publishing board. Boyd also believed that the movement to place the publishing board underneath the convention's purview would ruin profitability. The accusations against Boyd grew, and the dissension as well.

The Publishing Board Splits from the NBC U.S.A.

The ownership issue finally came to a head at the 1915 meeting of the NBC U.S.A. The disputes surrounding the ownership of the publishing board were challenged at the convention meeting in Chicago when a suit was brought to court there against Boyd, the publishing board, and the home Mission Board that continued to work with the publishing board against the NBC U.S.A. president's wishes. What was ultimately at question was whether the publishing board would be under the purview of the convention or Boyd. The ruling in the case was that the publishing board should come under the purview of the convention. Boyd had previously filed an injunction to prevent this from happening. The judge also ruled that the publishing board and its supporters were an illegal convention. Rather than acquiescing to the ruling, Boyd and his supporters left the convention, taking the publishing board records with them.

On September 9, 1915 the group met at Salem Baptist Church in Chicago to form a new convention, called the National Baptist Convention unincorporated, or the Boyd convention. The conflict surrounding the ownership of the publishing board was that, insofar as the National Baptist Convention U.S.A had never legally incorporated, it was thus unable to take ownership of the publishing board in its name. A 1916 statement entitled the "The Rightful and Lawful Ownership of the National Baptist Publishing house" served to vindicate Boyd and his supporters from their detractors.

The newly formed National Baptist Convention, unincorporated, was initially termed the "Boyd Convention," but changed its name to the National Baptist Convention of America (NBCA). The NBCA formed additional boards to work with the convention, and aligned itself with the Lott Cary Convention, a group that had been affiliated with the NBC U.S.A. The association with the Lott Cary Convention, however, would dissipate by the 1940s, when the NBCA began to sponsor foreign MISSIONS.

Boyd's death in the early 1920s did not displace the Boyd family's interest in the NBCA publishing concern. Since his death, the center of the NBCA convention has been the publishing board affiliation, with a succession of Boyd family members at the helm. The close arrangement would once again cause a split within the NBCA in 1988. The issue arose over provision of convention materials and the relationship of the publishing board in its provision of materials and speakers to the convention. The split resulted in the formation of the National Missionary Baptist Convention of America, which is affiliated with the National Baptist Publishing board, but not the NBCA. The current president of the NBCA is Dr. Edward E. Jones, Sr.

See also Baptist Family of Churches; Baptists; Baptists, United States; Publishing, Media

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NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION U.S.A.

Beginnings

The National Baptist Convention U.S.A. (NBCUSA) was founded on September 24, 1895 as an organization of black Baptist conventions that had attempted several times to organize and reorganize within their constitutive ranks. The history of the NBCUSA is a history centered on uniting black Baptists on the one hand, and a history of dissensions and splits since the Convention's inception.

Black Baptists, depending on geographic location, shared different tracks historically. Baptists in the northern states formed a few state conventions, including the Providence Baptist Association, formed in 1834 by black Baptists in Ohio. Other Baptist organizations formed in the North, such as the Woods River Association in Illinois and the Amherstberg Association in Canada and Michigan, were early attempts at formation of black Baptist conventions. Initially black Baptists in the South were affiliated with state biracial organizations because of the issue of SLAVERY. In the reconstruction period several associations were formed in conjunction with white American Baptists who had divided from their white southern counterparts over the issue of slavery. State black Baptist conventions began to be formed in addition to these organizations as well, and the push for a national black Baptist convention began to materialize. Members of smaller black Baptists groups formed the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary Convention, which existed from 1866 to 1870, although controversy festered within this organization and others attempting to combine regional black associations because of the amounts of funds donated by white Baptist groups like the American Baptist Home Missions Society. Disputes over the degree of autonomy these contributions bought (or the lack thereof) caused the Consolidated Convention to break up. Debates over the degree of assistance that should be received and acknowledged from white Baptists organizations divided black Baptists. Those who desired assistance, integrationists, were pitted against those who wanted autonomous organizations, called separationists. The rift between these two groups played a major role in the formation of the NBCUSA in 1895.

Formation of the Convention

The formation of the NBCUSA was the combination of three separate groups: The Foreign Mission Convention of the United States (1880), which was to administer MISSIONS abroad; the American National Baptist Convention chartered in 1886; and the

National Baptist Education Convention formed in 1893 for fundraising for Baptist educational institutions. The formation of the NBCUSA centered on the invitation for three black Baptist ministers, William J. Simmonds, Emmanuel K. Love, and William H. Brooks, to publish in the quarterly publication *Baptist Teacher*. White Southern Baptist separatists, however, criticized the invitation, and the director of the American Baptist Publishing Society, Benjamin Griffith, withdrew the invitation, suggesting that the articles be written as tracts for black Baptist churches. Yet ministers like Love were convinced there was a need for a separate publication society for black Baptists, and convened a group for a national convention. At a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia on September 28, 1895 the convention was formed with a combination of black Baptist members from the southern, northern, and western sections of the UNITED STATES.

The first president was Reverend Edmund Morris. The new organization began, structured along the lines of ministries that previous smaller conventions functioned in: education, foreign missions, home missions, and educational board. In 1896 the board added the National Baptist Publishing Board, with Richard Henry Boyd, an activist in the Texas Baptist convention, as secretary. The convention's major purpose was to foster self-determination for black Baptists; however, contentions arose soon after the convention's formation between integrationists and separationists. In 1897 a group of convention members broke away from the convention, forming the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention. This group wanted to have greater cooperation with white Baptists and disagreed with the administration of the NBCUSA foreign missions operation. Women's issues and concerns were addressed by the convention in 1900 when Nannie Helen Burroughs, educator, challenged the convention with a speech to its constituency, entitled "How the Sisters are Hindered from Helping." Despite considerable resistance from the male members of the convention, her quest to establish a forum for women's issues within the convention prevailed and the Women's Convention was formed. Within the convention its duties were largely to collect missionary funds, and to educate young WOMEN as homemakers and wage earners with a message of racial uplift.

Divisions within the Convention

The convention's first split was over the issue of the publication board and money. R.H. Boyd, publisher of the National Baptist Convention publishing board, established the publishing board as an alternative to the white Baptist boards that did not publish literature for black Baptists. Under Boyd's leadership the publishing board became a very successful venture. The board, incorporated before the NBCUSA, ran its affairs independently of the convention, and the board's success prompted President E.C. Morris to attempt to bring the publishing board under the auspices of the convention. Boyd's view was that the publishing board belonged to him and his family, not the denomination. In 1915, at the convention in Chicago, a lawsuit was filed by the convention to determine who had the rights to run the publishing board. The ruling went against Boyd, but Boyd and his supporters rallied to form the National Baptist Convention Unincorporated—later changed to the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA—allowing Boyd to keep possession of the publishing board.

Despite the split, the specialized boards Morris designed to run the convention worked well until his death in 1922. Succeeding him in office was Lacey Kirk Williams, who held the office of president until 1940. During this time period, Williams's openness to cooperation resulted in a partnership with the Southern Baptists to open American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee in 1924 for the training of black Baptist ministers. Other alliances formed during his tenure included a working relationship between the American Baptist Home Missions board and The American Baptist Publication Society. After Williams's presidency, the Rev. D.V.Jemison came to the presidency of the convention during the war years, and was succeeded in 1953 by one of the more controversial presidents of the Convention, Rev. Joseph H.Jackson.

Jackson, a moderate in terms of race relations, felt that the appropriate manner in which to advocate for African Americans' civil rights was through the court system, and believed that the NAACP would change the racial climate of America. His position of "gradualism" was not accepted throughout the denomination, however, most notably by MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., civil rights leader, and at this time a member of the convention. Growing tension between Jackson and King, who publicly disagreed with Jackson's policy of gradualism at the Convention in 1956, led to strained relations within the denomination. The 1961 convention, however, would bring the issue of gradualism and tenure of the president of the convention to a head. A resolution at the 1961 convention requesting that Jackson be renominated as the president of the Convention was adopted, despite a large number of opponents to the measure. A group opposed to Jackson wanted Gardner C.Taylor, noted preacher and pastor of Concord Baptist Church of Christ in Brooklyn, New York to stand for the presidency.

Fighting broke out among the factions, and the group wanting Gardner C.Taylor to stand for the presidency was unable to prevail against the convention. A vote was taken that Jackson won. The results sealed the opponents' resolve; the following day, September 11, 1961, the group announced a committee meeting of its own. After a period of organization the splinter group subsequently elected Taylor president of their new convention, the PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, at a meeting in May of 1962. Jackson, who would lead the convention until 1982, continued to lead in a more conservative fashion, and despite his political conservatism, was a well-respected religious leader in African American circles. After his presidency, Theodore Judson Jemison took leadership of the convention from 1982 until 1994, and then Henry C.Lyons—perhaps the most infamous president of the National Baptist Convention—took office.

The beginnings of Lyons's tenure as president looked promising. Lyons, who had worked with Jemison to replace Joseph Jackson as president in the 1960s, seemed primed to take the convention in a new direction. Arranging business deals on behalf of the conventions, Lyons was able to secure contracts and funds for the convention on the strength of inflated membership numbers of the denomination. These deals, however, were not consummated, and Lyons accepted funds for services such as mailing lists that included members of the KU KLUX KLAN as forged members of the convention. The scandal was revealed when Lyons's second wife set fire to a home in Tampa, Florida that Lyons shared with a mistress. Investigators began to uncover the details of Lyons's other life, and racketeering charges were brought against Lyons. Despite these charges, convention members and leaders endeavored to keep Lyons in office as long as possible;

however, Lyons was forced to resign from the presidency in 1998. Several prominent members of the denomination ran for president, including Rev. E.V.Hill of Los Angeles. The Rev. William Shaw of Philadelphia was elected as Lyons's successor at the 1998 convention meeting. Lyons was subsequently convicted on racketeering charges in 1999, and he began serving a 5½-year prison sentence in June of 1999.

The Lyons debacle was the most serious blow to the history and reputation of the National Baptist Convention, and subsequent leadership has attempted to redeem the image of the convention. The number of members that the Convention president can elect has been trimmed from twenty-nine to four. Additionally the convention's actual stated membership attributed to inflated figures by Lyons remains in question; however, the current president, William J.Shaw, estimates the membership in the conventions as of 2002 to be 7.5 million.

See also African American Protestantism; Baptists; Baptists, United States

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ANTHEA D.BUTLER

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Officially titled the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, the National Council of Churches (NCC) was founded in November 1950, in Cleveland, Ohio. It was probably the most significant expression of the ECUMENISM that flourished in American Protestantism during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. In its heyday in the 1950s and 1960s the NCC was the umbrella organization for more than thirty Protestant denominations and churches in the United States, representing approximately thirty-two million church-goers.

The ecumenical movement emerged in the early twentieth century as a formal institutional expression marking efforts toward cooperation and unity to counteract the powerful centripetal forces inherent in Protestantism everywhere and especially in the UNITED STATES. Its roots lay among national evangelical "benevolent societies" of social and moral uplift that flourished in antebellum America. These included the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, the American Tract Society, and agencies to reform excessive drinking, the prison system, and ultimately, SLAVERY (see also SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Revivalism, a fundamental expression of evangelical Protestantism

(see EVANGELICALISM, REVIVALS), had always possessed a considerable tinge of the ecumenical spirit, as seen in the careers of the greatest American revivalists such as GEORGE WHITEFIELD, CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY, and their successors. Ecumenical agencies expressed much of the social conscience of the mainstream churches even after the CIVIL WAR, as revealed in the churches' cooperative work with education among recently freed slaves in the South, and in the rapidly developing international peace movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, it was clear to church leaders that the patchwork of ecumenical efforts needed to be consolidated at the national level. Thus in 1908 mainstream Protestants created the Federal Council of Churches, the immediate forerunner of the NCC. This organization functioned until 1950, when it became necessary to further extend the ecumenical umbrella (chiefly in areas of international mission work and education), and the National Council of Churches came into being.

The time of the National Council's creation and its early years represented the apogee of interest in and commitment to the ecumenical movement generally in the churches. This was especially symbolized by efforts toward new combinations of denominations, within the families of Methodist and Lutheran churches, and within more disparate groups, such as the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, formed in 1957 by the merger of Congregational Christian and EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED Churches (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA; LUTHERANISM, UNITED STATES). These attempts at large institutional arrangements in the churches were also occurring in an age of increasing bureaucracy and institutional size in the business world, in government, in the military, and in private nonprofit agencies generally.

In many ways the National Council of Churches simply extended and expanded the functions of the Federal Council. At the outset many of the key national officers of the NCC maintained similar positions to those they held in the earlier organization, and the earliest programmatic emphases of the NCC scarcely varied from its predecessor. The Federal Council had shown an interest in international affairs, especially after World War I, and even more so in the aftermath of World War II, as America expanded its influence throughout the world and the United Nations took shape. Interest in foreign affairs thus was always a part of the National Council's agenda. Speakers from the State Department and from governments overseas were often present at the great triennial assemblies of the National Council. John Foster Dulles, the well-known Secretary of State under President Dwight Eisenhower, was a leading lay member of the NCC before he entered government service. The NCC always embraced a moderate to liberal position on foreign policy issues, endorsing anti-Communist but not McCarthyite views of the outside world (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). This made it generally sympathetic to the outlook of official Washington in the 1950s and early 1960s. Efforts to provide physical and medical aid to poor and war-disrupted areas worldwide, especially through CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, a major subsidiary of the NCC, was another way the ecumenical organization involved itself in affairs outside the United States. The National Council was also deeply involved in the worldwide ecumenical movement, centered especially in the work of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES with headquarters in Geneva, SWITZERLAND. Officials of the NCC often became American Protestantism's representatives on the boards and agencies of the World Council, and

eventually among the top executives of the World Council. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, a leading Presbyterian and official in the NCC, became the executive director of the World Council in the mid-1960s. Inevitably such commitments ensured the ongoing international focus of the NCC.

Even more important than its international concerns were the activist social concerns of the National Council at home. This had also been a central emphasis of the Federal Council of Churches, strongly influenced by the "SOCIAL GOSPEL" movement within the churches in the early twentieth century. Although somewhat hesitant in its early days, the NCC eventually became deeply involved in the great movement toward racial justice that swept across the country in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s (see CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT). New national leadership in the organization and the rising tempo of events unfolding in the South eventually caused the NCC to create a special agency in June 1963 called the Commission on Religion and Race. This agency was to direct all efforts in support of groups pressing for change in race relations throughout the country. This small group of church people, well-financed and effectively working with similar groups in the individual churches tied to the National Council, directly involved the mainstream Protestant churches in a number of ways in the racial struggles of the 1960s. The Commission successfully coordinated efforts to include significant numbers of whites (40,000) in the March on Washington in August 1963, and it became an important member of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the chief private lobbying group that aided in the eventual passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under the Commission's direction within the Leadership Conference, the churches played an important role in stirring grassroots support for the bill in predominantly rural and Republican areas of the Midwest that greatly helped pass the bill in Congress. The Commission also deeply involved the churches directly in the civil rights conflicts in the South, especially in Mississippi. The NCC quietly sponsored and helped to plan with the young activists of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) the training sessions held in Ohio before 800 college students went to Mississippi in the famous "Summer of '64." In addition, over 300 ministers were recruited that same summer to spend time in the Magnolia State (Mississippi) serving as adult but sympathetic "advisors" to the Freedom Centers created as the nerve centers of the "movement" in that deep South state. In September 1964 the Commission on Religion and Race and the National Council established the Delta Ministry, a small and ongoing voice of the liberal Protestant churches in Mississippi supporting racial justice in the midst of great strife and tension. The National Council supported this special ministry of twenty to thirty ministers and lay people for over a decade. It remains a little known yet important part of the overall struggle for racial justice in the United States, and one of the best examples of the NCC's long commitment to activism and social justice.

By the late 1960s a national backlash was developing, chiefly among whites, against the constant public attention paid to racial issues. Because of their deep involvement, the principal mainline churches also felt the sting of this backlash. For this and other reasons, declines in membership and giving set in that have not yet been reversed. These developments affected the National Council because its finances are determined by annual appropriations made to it by the member churches. The Black Power movement also created crises of identity in many of the mainline churches, especially those with significant groups of minority members. These disputes further weakened the churches

and the NCC. Finally, after 1965 the National Council and many of its member denominations became increasingly critical of the Johnson Administration's escalation of the war in Vietnam. The close alliance between mainstream churches and federal officials that had flourished because of a common front on civil rights and the Great Society now began to unravel. When President Richard Nixon and the Republicans came into office in 1968 and again in 1972, they turned to a new political force emerging among American Protestants—people from evangelical backgrounds in churches that were gaining massive numbers of new adherents and increasing public respect (see EVANGELICALISM).

All these developments contributed further to the loss of national prestige and influence by the NCC. Since the early 1970s the National Council of Churches has experienced painful retrenchment in budgets and programs, but continues to express the public concerns of a large segment of the American public and of American Protestantism. The future of the NCC and of mainline Protestantism remains to be seen.

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JAMES FINDLAY

NATIONAL PRIMITIVE BAPTIST CONVENTION

The National Primitive Baptist Convention is the name for a group of black Primitive Baptist churches that came together in a national organization in 1907. Unlike the majority of white Primitive Baptists, churches in this convention allow denominational organizations, including SUNDAY SCHOOLS and aid societies. In the late twentieth century, the convention claimed some 250,000 members (although the real number of members was probably far less), concentrated largely in the southeastern portion of the UNITED STATES, with Huntsville, Alabama as its denominational headquarters.

Primitive Baptist Theology, Structure, and Practice

Before the CIVIL WAR, most black Primitive Baptists were slaves who worshipped with their masters in Primitive Baptist congregations (see PRIMITIVE BAPTIST CHURCHES). The Primitive brethren were staunchly opposed to tract societies, Sunday schools, BIBLE SOCIETIES, MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS, SEMINARIES, and REVIVALS. All were contrary to God's sovereign will; all encouraged the expansion of

man's wisdom and the diminution of God's sovereignty. Theologically the Primitives upheld the total depravity of natural man; personal and unconditional ELECTION; special ATONEMENT; irresistible GRACE; and preservation of the SAINTS. Most white Primitive Baptists historically eschewed larger denominational structures above the level of associations, that is, groupings of churches in local areas that meet annually for fellowship. Denominational organizations have been seen as human contrivances that are not of New Testament origin and thus illegitimate. In the twentieth century, however, groups such as the National Primitive Baptist Convention accepted Sunday schools, denominational organizations, and a paid CLERGY into the organization.

Historically most Primitive Baptist churches have been pastored by lay elders, men (never WOMEN) who feel called to preach and have no expectation of making a living doing it (see WOMEN CLERGY). Most Primitive Baptists oppose instrumental church Music, believing that nowhere in the New Testament are believers commanded to play instruments in sacred WORSHIP, and that instrumentalists call attention to themselves and thus draw attention away from the sovereignty of God. Primitive Baptists also typically practice footwashing (see FEET, WASHING OF) as an ordinance. Whereas the Primitives see it as an ancient "landmark," in fact the practice seems to have arisen mostly in the early twentieth century, as the Primitives sought to distinguish themselves more from mainline missionary Baptist practice. Footwashing often climaxes services as the brethren and sisters tearfully bond over the powerfully affecting ritual.

Origins of the National Primitive Baptist Convention

After the CIVIL WAR, African Americans of nearly every denomination separated themselves from whites and formed independent churches and denominational organizations. Black Primitive Baptists formed numerous churches throughout the South. It was not as clear whether they would form denominational organizations, given the historic opposition of the Primitive Baptists to human contrivances. However, in the summer of 1907 participants gathered at the National Meeting of Colored Primitive Baptists of America in Huntsville, Alabama, and formed the National Primitive Baptist Convention. Importantly, the opening convention set up a fairly conventional Baptist denominational structure, including a National Women's Auxiliary Convention as well as a National Superintendent for the Young People and a Sunday School Congress. They also supported a variety of educational institutions and later a National Primitive Baptist publishing house in Huntsville.

Primitive Baptists historically had expressed opposition to specific schools of THEOLOGY, and were often distrustful of secular education altogether. Black Primitive Baptists, however, valued education, as might be expected given the avid desire for education evinced by so many illiterate ex-slaves after the Civil War. The clear need for black religious organizations to band together an embattled people in a hostile Jim Crow South, moreover, meant that the normal Primitive Baptist opposition to nearly any kind of organization did not have the same impact among black Primitive Baptists. By the late twentieth century the National Primitive Baptists operated a publishing house, a National Memorial Center, a youth camp and nursing home (both in Florida), several academies and Bible institutions (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES), and a variety of

other enterprises. State conventions are centered mostly in the South, including Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas. Alabama remains the convention's center of strength because of the denominational headquarters in Huntsville. The National Primitive Baptist Convention is therefore mostly a southern regional group.

The National Primitive Baptist leadership proclaims a set of beliefs in accord with the Baptist mainstream together with Primitive Baptist additions: the BIBLE as the only rule of faith and practice; congregationalism in POLITY; SALVATION and BAPTISM by immersion as a necessary requisite for church membership; church ordinances of baptism, the LORD'S SUPPER, and the washing of the saints' feet; the pastor and deacon as the scriptural officers of the church; freewill tithes and offerings for support of the CHURCH; separation of church and state (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW); and the great commission to spread the Gospel of Christ. In 2002 the National Primitive Baptist Convention's website featured a convention leader holding a Ph.D., certainly a rarity in other Primitive Baptist circles and indicative of the more mainstream attitudes the National Primitive Baptists hold toward education or an ordained pulpit, in comparison to their more "primitivist" white brethren.

See also African American Protestantism; Slavery; Slavery, Abolition of

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PAUL HARVEY

NATIONALISM

Within modern historiography, research on nationalism has become one of the main scholarly activities and one of the main scientific branches. Many different theories are applied to this subject. An older school of scholars, led by Friedrich Meinecke, Carlton J. Hayes, and Hans Kohn, distinguished between a Western and an Eastern type of nationalism. For them, the Western type of nationalism was characterized by the subjective political decision of citizens who wanted to become members of a certain nation. By contrast, they argued, the Eastern type of nationalism was based on objective cultural criteria such as language, customs, and history. Although FRANCE was the prototype of the former form of nationalism for them, they considered countries like GERMANY and POLAND as prototypes of the latter. The political implications of this distinction were far-reaching and should not be overlooked. The Western type of nationalism was associated with progressive political developments such as liberalism and democracy (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). The Eastern

type, by contrast, seemed to have been dominated by reactionary and irrational forces and even, at a later stage, by a synthesis of nationalism and racism.

New Approaches to Nationalism

Newer studies take a different approach. They recognize that “objective” factors play a role also in French nationalism, for example, as do “subjective” elements in German or Polish nationalism. For Ernest Gellner and Karl W. Deutsch, the genesis of modern nations, and the genesis of modern nationalism, is to a large degree shaped by processes of modernization in the field of politics and mass communication. As individual citizens of a certain territory become involved in these processes, they become carriers of a specific form of nationalism. Some historians and political scientists also apply insights of social psychology as they attempt to explain the phenomenon of nationalism. As the policy of formation of an in-group is successful, out-groups are singled out. The success of nationalism, therefore, not only depends a great deal on the mobilization of feelings of loyalty, of belonging, and of solidarity, but also on the intensification of feelings of hostility, of prejudice, and on resentments. For the growth of French nationalism, for example, anti-British feelings were essential, with Joan of Arc as an anti-British national symbol, whereas for German nationalism, antagonism against France fulfilled the same function. This list of mutual expressions of hostility could be prolonged so that it would include most European countries and many countries beyond. In this sense one could write a history of nationalism by looking at the various conflicts in European history since the Middle Ages, at the wounds inflicted by one nation on other nations, and vice versa, and at the way these wounds were heroicized and in this way kept from healing, at least for a long time.

In the course of the nineteenth century, not all levels of the various societies were affected by nationalism at the same time and to the same degree. First and foremost nationalism seems to have been an attitude for the upper middle classes. The Industrial Revolution and urbanization (see **INDUSTRIALIZATION**) provided a chance for the bourgeoisie to participate in the movement of nationalism and even to claim a leading role in national politics. The members both of the old nobility and of the new working class were much slower in this matter. By 1914, however, there was no group or social class in any European country whose political attitude was not strongly influenced by national feelings. As the war of 1914 began, people from all walks of life in all European countries raced to arms and believed in the national slogans with which the bloodshed was justified.

In recent years studies on the origin and political meaning of nationalism by Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, and Eric Hobsbawm have stressed other aspects. These authors understand nationalism not only as a daily subjective decision but also as a mental construct, that is, as a powerful product of collective human imagination. They argue that the nation was invented in the minds of the people in a period of rapid social change so that they were able to conceive a certain kind of order with regard to the different languages, cultural codes, and also to the different views of the past and the future. They acknowledge that there exists a close relationship between national imagination and

propaganda on national issues in which, as they also argue, the image of enemies is just as important as the image of the collective national self.

Symbols of Nationalism

Nationalism is characterized by several highly distinctive features. In the area of cultural and political representation, nationalism makes frequent use of such symbols as the national flag, the national anthem, and national holidays. In the era of decolonization such flags, anthems, and holidays were explicitly invented for some of the new nations. Furthermore, national heroes are remembered in statues, battles in which national independence was achieved in national monuments. The architecture of the national capital is understood to possess special significance, just as national customs are seen as the embodiment of the national character. A special effort is made to preserve the national language. In all European countries the national language has been recorded in the course of the nineteenth century. In some cases a national language, including a grammar and parts of the vocabulary, have been invented. Today it is often forgotten that some of the languages in Europe, but also in AFRICA and Asia, are rather artificial products of nineteenth-century linguistic and semantic efforts serving the aim of national politics. Equally important was the writing of national history. In almost all countries, historians writing national history followed the same scheme: They described a golden age of national unity long past, and very often located in early medieval times; they then pointed out the downfall of the nation, which often occurred in later medieval or early modern history; and they concluded their accounts by telling their readers of the new age of national glory that has just begun or that would soon begin and on which all political efforts should concentrate. In this sequence, national heroes have their part just as battles for national independence. In some cases even battles that had been lost gained a special significance in national memory as they were praised as heroic, although unsuccessful efforts in the struggle against the nation's enemies. For nationalism, therefore, the idea of the nation at war possesses a special meaning. Allegiance to a special nation demanded the ultimate sacrifice of the members of a nation, including the sacrifice of their lives. Wars thus were seen and still are seen as the ultimate test for a person's or a social group's national loyalty.

Christianity and Nationalism

Over the years the relationship of nationalism and Christianity, and in particular the relationship of nationalism and Protestantism, has changed a great deal. In the years between 1789 and 1815, that is, in the decades of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, of Napoleon's rise to power, and the subsequent downfall of Napoleon, Protestants in many parts of Europe were confronted for the first time with new political emotions that were expressed by members of the educated upper class: The central idea behind these feelings was the belief in the defense of one's own country, and one's own CULTURE and religion, against hegemonial French claims and French domination. Perhaps the modern term "nationalism" is not quite suited if one wants to characterize these beliefs, and

“patriotism” would be a better term. As the coalition of several European powers defeated Napoleon in 1813, emotions ran high and patriotism was, at least among some members of the younger generation, transformed into nationalism. When the three hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the REFORMATION was celebrated in Germany in 1817, for example, many of the speakers combined their praise of the tradition of Protestantism with strong anti-French notions of national liberation and German national progress. Even though these ideas were suppressed in many parts of Europe in the following years in which the Austrian chancellor Metternich attempted to restore the Ancien Régime, by 1817 the modern idea of nationalism had been born.

In the decades before and after the Revolution of 1848, many members of Christian churches in Europe were hesitant to join movements of national liberation. Much rather were they prepared to take the side of political conservatism. As they were afraid of any kind of revolution, and as they witnessed the atheistic propaganda of many leaders of socialism, modern nationalism appeared to them more like a danger than a promise or an attractive political option. By the second half of the nineteenth century these reserved opinions on nationalism had changed. In countries like ITALY and Germany, at long last political unification had been achieved. For all who believed in nationalism this success was accompanied by a huge effort of political mobilization, and by a huge wave of national sentiments, although even in countries that had been united for a long time, political feelings of nationalism triumphed and assumed a new kind of political quality. By 1880 the Europe of states and great powers had been transformed into the Europe of nations, of nations large and small, of nations that enjoyed full political sovereignty, and of others who still struggled to become independent.

In some cases national emotions were particularly strong and led to new forms of religious legitimacy for the nation. As a result of the Franco-Prussian war and of German unification, for example, leading German churchmen believed in the national awakening, or revival, of the whole German nation. For them, through the victory over France that they considered as a special divine blessing, the Germans had become a “chosen people” and Germany a “chosen nation.” For some of these churchmen, God’s people of the first covenant served as the example that they wanted to follow. For them, consequently, the Germans had become God’s children of a new COVENANT. They exhorted the German people to obey God’s commands, just as they warned them of God’s severe punishments if they strayed from the right godly path. Such feelings and such attitudes can also be found in other Protestant nations during the era of imperialism, as for example in Great Britain and in the UNITED STATES. In retrospect it is obvious that this kind of interpretation of national politics as a manifest destiny had severe consequences. In domestic politics non-Christian groups and parties were excluded from national politics, as for example socialists; in foreign policy matters, non-Western countries were seen as the logical objects for Western domination and colonization.

In the decades from 1880 to 1914 for many members of the Western world, nationalism had replaced religion as the most important norm in political ethics and in political practice. Furthermore, it is in these very decades that ideas derived from social DARWINISM, and in particular ideas rooted in racial myths, began to transform traditional nationalism. In Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, leading politicians perceived their countries as “teutonic” nations, that is as nations of a superior race and as nations that consequently carried the heavy burden of civilizing the rest of the

world, although this new type of nationalism was not influenced solely by social Darwinism and racism. As part of worldwide power politics, this new nationalism was also shaped by considerations of national egoism, of political expansionism, and of militarism. For traditional Christianity the rapid growth of Germanic myths was a particular challenge. By 1914, therefore, nationalism had become a power that no longer supplemented Christian teachings, but a veritable rival of Christianity that propagated a set of norms and practices that were opposed to the Ten Commandments and other Christian beliefs.

Anti-Semitism and Nationalism

Within this new brand of militaristic, expansionist, and racist nationalism, modern ANTI-SEMITISM posed a special danger. By the 1920s, for some proponents of this variety of nationalism, the Hebrew BIBLE was no longer part of the Western heritage they were ready to honor. It appeared to them as part of the traditional cultural baggage they were prepared to discard. They were no longer ready to invest any effort in converting Jews to Christianity; rather, they argued, Jews were a separate nation rooted in a separate and inferior race. All attempts for CONVERSION and assimilation were in vain and should be stopped immediately. These arguments were supported not only by Protestants but also by many Catholics. Modern anti-Semitism was a matter not only of predominantly Protestant countries like Germany, therefore, but also of Catholic countries like Poland. Germany was the first European country, however, in which a variety of nationalism shaped by racism and anti-Semitism became the guideline of national politics, as was the case in 1933 after Hitler's rise to power. Churches in Germany were not prepared to deal with this challenge. At first both Catholics and Protestants praised Hitler as they saw in the new *Reich* a kind of national revival. By the summer and fall of 1933, German Catholics were divided. Many continued to support the National Socialists; others began to withdraw into the traditional Catholic milieu. Among German Protestants opinions were also split. One part joined the anti-Semitic and nationalistic movement of the GERMAN CHRISTIANS. For them, the Hebrew Bible was a Jewish book that contained no truth or any meaningful message for a German Christian. Another part began to assemble in the CONFESSING CHURCH. These pastors and laypersons resolved to defend the whole Christian heritage. As long as Hitler did not interfere in church matters, many members of the Confessing Church wholeheartedly supported Hitler's foreign and domestic policies. Although they refused to accept racist nationalism as a new kind of political religion, they continued to honor the older tradition of a coalition between secular nationalism and self-confident Protestantism. Only few members of the Confessing Church actively joined political resistance against Hitler, thus distancing themselves also from Hitler's perverted notion of nationalism.

Post-War Nationalism

After the Second World War the relationship between nationalism and the Christian churches changed once again. Although National Socialism had been defeated,

COMMUNISM now seemed to pose a new threat. For many members of Christian churches, Stalin's expansionist foreign policy seemed like a return of the aggressive atheism of the radical wing of the French Revolution. Just as churches had supported patriotism in defense of religion against Napoleon, in post-1945 Europe, churches strengthened nationalism as a defense against Stalin. As Western Europe began to move toward unification, the Christian churches were, once more, in search of a new political orientation. Traditional nationalism, even in the French version of Gaullism, no longer sufficed as the feeling of European pride and unity began to grow. By the 1990s, as a result of mass migration, many countries of Europe had de facto been transformed into multireligious and multicultural societies. By the end of the twentieth century the impact of SECULARIZATION and dechristianization had created a completely new scenario, although there were also indications of a revival of religion and partial rechristianization. For these developments, nationalism no longer played a significant role. Rather, a lively debate had begun about the place of the Christian churches in a uniting Europe.

Outside of Europe, in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and AUSTRALIA, the relationship of Christianity and nationalism has developed in many different ways. In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nationalism has become a worldwide movement. In each country that achieved independence, nationalism has been and in many cases has remained the main force in POLITICS. In each case the role of the relationship of religion and nationalism would deserve a careful analysis. In some countries, like INDIA, Christians are but a small minority and are confronted by the vehement strength of Hindu nationalism. In other cases—for example, in most countries in LATIN AMERICA—Christians form the majority as in Europe, although tensions have arisen between traditional Catholicism and new Protestant revival movements. Nationalism is invoked by both sides as a means of preserving the conservative order and as a means of social liberation. The position of Christians in Islamic countries in the Near East is again different. Secular as well as fundamentalist regimes consider nationalism as a guideline in political life. Whether nationalism will also dominate political thinking in the twenty-first century has yet to be seen as in an era of globalization new forms of international cooperation begin to emerge.

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HARTMUT LEHMANN

NATIVE AMERICANS

Protestant Christianity was introduced among Native peoples of North America in the seventeenth century with the arrival of Anglo-Europeans fresh from the Protestant REFORMATION. Pilgrims and Puritans (see PURITANISM; PILGRIM FATHERS) were intent on establishing lives free of economic, political, or religious restraints imposed in their homelands by unsympathetic governing bodies. They were just as intent on extending the “Christian fayth” to Native residents throughout New England. The history of Protestantism among the indigenous peoples of North America is rife with cruelties, ironies, and inconsistencies. The messengers of the gospel often confused Christianity and Euro-American CULTURE, requiring Native converts to submit to the dictates of both. Strong ties between civil and ecclesiastical authorities frequently made the policies, and often the personnel, of the two indistinguishable and equally harmful to Native peoples. Colonization devastated Indian communities and often continued to undermine the work of Native leaders in the church (see COLONIALISM). Despite this painful history, Protestant churches among Native Americans also were marked by courageous Native leadership, inspiring witness, and faithful congregations. Although church attendance waned over the last century and the numbers of Native CLERGY are much lower entering the twenty-first century than the national average, it is estimated that today 10 to 25 percent of the Native American community claim Protestant affiliation of some kind.

Early Missions

Although initially fewer than two dozen colonial clergymen undertook any amount of missionary activity, all thirteen colonies engaged in MISSIONS to Indians. Puritan ministers were among the first to make a point of learning the local Native tongue, and began preaching to the local tribes by mid-seventeenth century despite rigorous parish demands. Notable among them was Thomas Mayhew Jr. (1621–1657), the first of five generations of Mayhews who worked among the Wampanoags of Martha’s Vineyard. JOHN ELIOT (1604–1690) of Roxbury, near Boston, was noted for devoting forty years to preaching among the Massachusetts. The missionaries gathered Native believers into “praying towns” that were governed and shepherded largely by Native converts. Training Native leadership for these towns was a major goal of both Eliot and the Mayhews. To that end Eliot translated and published the BIBLE (the first Bible of any kind printed in North America), grammars, and tracts into Algonkian, the language of both the

Wampanoags and the Massachusets (see BIBLE TRANSLATION), and began to teach the converted to read and write, as well as to evangelize their own.

At its height in 1674, just before the outbreak of King Philip's War, about 1,100 American Indians lived in Eliot's praying towns (only 119 of those baptized). Along with another 500 converts in the Plymouth Colony and about 600 families on Martha's Vineyard, Christian Indians made up about 10 percent of New England's Native population. The war, which pitted Indian nations against the settlers and each other, resulted in the incarceration of the Christian Indians by the colonial government, many of whom had refused to fight. The praying towns never fully recovered. Nevertheless the colonial era produced a total of ninety-one praying towns and 133 Native preachers and teachers in New England alone.

One of the most capable and well known of the "Puritan Indians" was Samson Occom (1723–1792), a Mohegan. Occom was schooled by Eleazar Wheelock, a Congregational minister and the founder of Dartmouth College. Occom became a Presbyterian minister, missionary, teacher, hymn writer, fundraiser for Indian education, and a leader of his people's westward emigration. He not only exhorted his people to Christian faith, but Occom also led them in challenging legal and political authorities for just treatment under colonial laws. Concern for both body and soul of his people caused Occom to eventually break with Wheelock's incessant paternalism, challenging Wheelock's commitment to serve the best interests of Indian people. Occom became a respected preacher offering religious leadership. He also provided political leadership during years of conflict with settlers and governments. By all appearances Occom was an Indian Puritan. His ability to translate the Christian message into both inspirational and practical expressions of faith encouraged the growth of Native Christian communities.

Protestant Christianity among Native Americans did not make great headway in the eighteenth century, as settlers moved onto Indian lands. The Moravians (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), under the guidance of NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF of Saxony (1700–1760) and missionary David Zeisberger (1721–1808), had one of the few missions to succeed in establishing Indian churches and communities. Unfortunately, as the republican era gained military strength, even Christian Indian communities suffered atrocities and unrelenting pressure to move out of the way of advancing Euro-American settlers. At the end of sixty years of living among and interceding for Native peoples, Zeisberger's work left only pockets of Native Christians in the Ohio valley and CANADA.

Nineteenth Century Upheaval

The nineteenth century was ushered in by "cataclysmic outbreaks of religious enthusiasm" known as the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS). The REVIVALS fueled a new missionary wave and the advent of voluntary organizations spawned just for mission work (see VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES). Renewed interest in Native Americans focused on the "civilizing" effects of educating the young. In cooperation with the federal government and assisted by the \$10,000 Civilization Fund voted by Congress for Indian education in 1819, Protestant and Catholic churches opened both boarding and day schools across the country. Christian reformers in the church and

government believed that forced separation from Indian homes would help the next generation better assimilate to the dominant culture regardless of their interest in doing so.

The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM) was one of the earliest mission organizations. It began in 1810 as a joint effort of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and several smaller Reformed churches, and half of its funding went to Indian missions. The ABCFM began its work among the southeastern tribes, where members of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles) sent out a call for teachers and schools. Along with Moravians, Baptists, and Methodists (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA), the ABCFM established mission schools and compounds throughout the Southeast to help their students become acculturated and Christian. Despite the high level of Euro-American cultural practices already in place in these tribes (tribal governments patterned after the federal government, schools and churches, tribal newspapers, large farms that even used slave labor), ultimately even more schooling failed. Native acceptance into American society was denied.

The federal government's forced removal of Native Americans to Indian Territory in the early 1830s cut short the work of the ABCFM and other mission stations. Although the missionary effort was damaged, the Five Civilized Tribes nearly destroyed, and fully a quarter of Cherokee lives alone lost in the Anglo greed and avarice that prompted the "Trail of Tears," many Protestant Natives carried their faith with them to the new land. The few ordained Native clergy, and a few missionaries, continued to proclaim the gospel. One of the most prominent was Jesse Bushyhead (1804–1844), a Baptist minister and Cherokee mixed-blood. He was the first Cherokee pastor of his own church in the Cherokee nation. Bushyhead was, at the same time, a justice on the Cherokee Supreme Court (and eventually Chief Justice). He also lobbied Washington for Cherokee political rights and against removal. Failing to prevent it, Bushyhead then led one of the bands of Cherokees in their forced march to Indian Territory. Largely because of the work of a small core of Native preachers who ministered to the spiritual, political, and social needs of the people, Protestant Christianity survived the tragedy of removal. Although association with the government weakened the church's influence, Christianity continued to give hope to many within the disheartened and dispossessed nation.

As Euro-Americans moved west, pushing Indian peoples ahead of them, mission work continued to and within Native American communities. Methodist missionary John Stewart (1786–1823) went out among the Wyandotte in the Ohio valley. A man of Native American and African American parentage whose brief life was marked by his devotion to preaching to and living with the Wyandottes, Stewart is credited with beginning Methodist interest in Indian missions. He was also responsible for raising up the first Native preachers. By the time the 700 Wyandottes were forced to move west in 1843, 200 were Methodists, including preachers, exhorters, and class leaders. Methodist CIRCUIT RIDERS provided many preaching stations among Native Americans, although church establishments were rare.

Methodist reliance on local American Indian preachers assisted in the strengthening of Native Christianity. Perhaps best known of the Native Methodist preachers during the early nineteenth century was William Apess (1798–1838?). A Pequot, Apess became an itinerant Methodist preacher, leader, and instigator of the Mashpee Revolt of 1833, and

writer of several books, including his autobiography. These writings are perhaps his greatest legacy because they illustrate not only the heart of a man given to Christian ministry, but an astute insight into the inequities both Christian and non-Christian Indians faced at the hands of “Christian America.” His “Eulogy on King Philip,” given to a Boston audience on the 160th anniversary of Wampanoag sachem King Philip’s death, is an eloquent indictment against his Anglo brothers and sisters for perpetuating crimes against Indians that started with their Puritan progenitors. Apest epitomized Indian preachers who believed their place in the Kingdom equal to that of their Anglo peers, and who found hope for both body and soul of their people in Protestant Christianity, despite the flaws of the messengers.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Native Americans were segregated on reservations across North America, and Christian mission churches dotted the landscape. Comity agreements and President Grant’s Peace Policy (1869–1882) divided the reservations among Christian churches to continue the work of “Christianizing and civilizing” Native Americans. Rather than eliminating corrupt Indian agents and providing greater Christian influence on the reservations as hoped, the policy intensified interdenominational conflict and gave way to the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act. This legislation, with the approval and urging of the churches, broke up the reservations into individual plots of land to encourage the “civilized” art of farming. It merely impoverished American Indians by allowing nearly 90 million acres of “excess” reservation lands to end up in non-Indian hands. Despite these government policies, backed by the Protestant reformers, Protestantism on the reservations, if it did not flourish, at least held ground.

Native Leadership

As had been the case from the beginning of the Christian church among Native Americans, indigenous pastors provided an effective means of propagating the faith. They spoke the language, knew the people and the culture, and could provide trusted leadership. James Hayes, a Nez Perce, was one of eighteen men schooled at the McBeth Mission in Idaho and ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1884. Sisters Sue McBeth (1830–1893) and Kate McBeth (1832–1915) and their niece Mary Crawford (1863–1946) were responsible for running the school from 1874 to 1932. They prepared the students to fill pulpits throughout the northwest. Hayes, who was awarded an honorary doctorate from Whitworth College in 1929, was such a gifted evangelist that he preached to tribes from the border of Canada to the desert southwest. The Shiv-wits of Utah named their church the James Hayes Presbyterian Church because of his ministry among them. He served as the pastor to the Tutuilla Presbyterian Church on the Umatilla reservation in eastern Oregon for seven years before serving one of the six Presbyterian churches of the Nez Percés for thirty years. Hayes was a respected leader of the Christian Nez Percés who, as a pastor, sought to meet the spiritual and material needs of his people in an era that allowed few opportunities for giving leadership of any kind to one’s people.

By the early twentieth century the needs of the Indian population were out of all proportion to the rest of the UNITED STATES. Publication of the Meriam Report in 1928, a privately funded though federally supported study entitled “The Problem of

Indian Administration,” revealed that the health, education, and welfare of reservation Indians was far inferior to that of the cultural mainstream. Christian reformers who had long endorsed the government position that assimilation was the most desirable Indian policy were forced to reconsider. Assisted by the devastating statistics of the Meriam Report, Indian Commissioner John Collier challenged the prevailing opinion and encouraged an Indian New Deal that sought to restore to the tribes their self-determination and means for becoming self-reliant. Strong opposition to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 came primarily from the reformers who believed that the act reopened the door to the practice of Native cultural and religious practices the church had been trying to eradicate for centuries.

The fears of the reformers were not ungrounded. By mid-twentieth century, Native Christian leadership was largely in the hands of the LAITY, with hardly more than two hundred Native ministers serving the entire Protestant Indian population. The Depression dried up many funds for Indian churches, the Indian New Deal opened up new avenues other than the church to Native leadership, and, indeed, the Collier years encouraged a resurgence of Indian religions or syncretistic movements, such as the peyotists of the Native American Church. Furthermore, the federal government’s attempt to terminate reservations and encourage Native settlement in urban areas in the 1970s caused nearly half of the Native population to leave their reservations. Indian churches struggled to remain open.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, mainline Protestant churches recognized that even after centuries of missionary work among Native Americans, few Indian churches were self-sustaining and only a handful had their own ministers. Concerned with dwindling numbers of Native clergy and empty churches, Protestant church boards began to follow the lead of the federal government and to consult Indian Christians about their future in the church. The result was an effort to bring Native Americans into the church leadership and to provide training specifically geared toward raising up a new cadre of Native pastors to lead Indian churches. By appointing Native American clergy and laity to positions on general boards, consulting committees, and task forces, Native Americans began to have a voice in determining their place in the church and in assessing their needs and roles.

Future Prospects

Today American Indian communities of faith continue to struggle with the injustices and inequities of reservation life and with remnants of a pervasive paternalism in the church. Protestant Indian churches must grapple with extremes of poverty, unemployment, illness, and teen suicide, the continuing legacies of reservation life. Years of missionization have left many churches unable to sustain themselves and in conflict over what are acceptable cultural elements in the church. Despite the greater accessibility of church boards and committees within the larger church, Native Americans still remain on the periphery of church decision making.

Despite a history that has tried to subjugate American Indians to the dominant society and often relegated Christian Indians to second-class citizenship within the church, capable and gifted Native women and men, clergy and lay, continue to emerge. In most

mainline denominations, Native American theologians are also emerging to participate in the interpretation of the gospel and the evangelization of Native peoples. A long history of inspiring Native leadership gives hope that Indian churches will again flourish and provide influential leaders not only for American Indian churches and communities, but for the Protestant church and society at large.

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BONNIE SUE LEWIS

NATIVISM

“Nativism” is a preference for persons from one’s native land and antagonism toward outsiders. Historically, nativists have expressed their views by promulgating negative views of aliens, advocating immigration restriction and limitations on immigrants’ civil rights, and occasionally even rioting and violence. Although nativist biases may arise from many sources, they have often been associated with religious prejudice. From the beginnings of European settlement, nativism looms large in the history of American Protestantism.

Colonial Era to the Civil War

The New England Puritans were intensely anti-Catholic, viewing the papacy as a perversion of true Christianity and the pope as the ANTICHRIST. Further south, the

province of Maryland, granted by James I to the Roman-Catholic Calvert family in 1632, saw continual conflicts between Protestants and Catholics. After the accession of William and Mary to the English throne in 1689, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND was established in Maryland and the capital transferred from Catholic St. Mary's to Protestant Annapolis.

The American colonists reacted fiercely to the 1774 Quebec Act (passed by Parliament after ENGLAND won Quebec from the French in the Seven Years' War), both for granting religious freedom to the province's Roman Catholics and for extending Quebec's boundaries to the Ohio River. As the Revolutionary War approached, patriot pamphlets sometimes portrayed British ministers as colluding with Rome to enslave the American colonists.

Although antebellum America remained overwhelmingly Protestant, a growing Catholic presence—from 30,000 in 1790 to 600,000 in 1830—exacerbated latent nativist impulses. Combining religious and political fears, nativist ministers and pamphleteers cautioned that Catholicism threatened both religious freedom and American liberty. Some nativists took to the streets. In August 1834 a mob burned down the Ursuline Convent School in Charlestown, Massachusetts, after months of incendiary anti-Catholic sermons by some of Boston's leading ministers, including the evangelical leader LYMAN BEECHER, pastor of the city's Park Street Church. In *A Plea for the West* (1835), Beecher warned of a Catholic plot to control the vast American interior. Infidelity and popery, agreed the Protestant journal *Home Missionary*, represented the twin threats facing the West.

In New York City, a group of Protestant leaders including businessman and reformer Arthur Tappan, writer Theodore Dwight, and Presbyterian minister William C. Brownlee spearheaded the nativist cause. The *American Protestant Vindicator*, a biweekly edited by Brownlee, appeared in 1834. "Jesuits are prowling around all parts of the UNITED STATES...to disseminate popery," Brownlee warned. The painter and inventor Samuel F.B. Morse promoted the nativist cause as well. Denouncing Catholic immigration in pamphlets of the 1830s, Morse proclaimed: "We must...stop this leak in the ship, through which the muddy waters from without threaten to sink us." Morse, too, combined patriotic and religious themes, declaring: "Our religion, the Protestant religion, and Liberty are identical, and liberty keeps no terms with despotism."

The Brownlee group also promulgated the scurrilous anti-Catholic tract *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, first published in the *Vindicator* in 1835, and then in book form. This work described the alleged debaucheries of nuns and priests at Montreal's Hotel Dieu Hospital and Convent, including the strangling of infants born from these illicit unions and their burial in the convent basement. Maria Monk, the putative author, claimed to have been a nun in the convent; in fact, she had been briefly confined in a nearby Catholic institution for prostitutes. Monk was soon exposed as a fraud and her "awful disclosures" discredited as a fabrication. A New York Protestant opposed to the nativist excesses, the editor William L. Stone, investigated the Montreal convent and repudiated the accusations. Despite its sordid origins, *Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures* enjoyed a long life. Over 300,000 copies were printed down to 1860, and new editions continued to appear in the twentieth century.

As the 1840s and 1850s brought a surge of Catholic immigration from GERMANY and especially famineridden IRELAND, nativist agitation persisted, with Protestant ministers still in the forefront. The interdenominational American Protestant Association

(1842) mobilized Protestants against the Catholic menace. Protestant-dominated public-school committees prescribed readings from the King James BIBLE, even in Catholic neighborhoods. In 1840, New York's Roman Catholic bishop, John Hughes, charging that the Public School Society, a private charity, was inculcating Protestantism through the King James Bible and other reading material, demanded public aid to Catholic schools. The Protestant CLERGY denounced Hughes's proposal, and the Common Council rejected it overwhelmingly. Similar controversies erupted in Philadelphia and other cities.

Once again the conflict turned violent. The "Bible riots" that erupted in Philadelphia in 1844 left sixteen dead and thirty buildings in ruins. In New York City only the militant Bishop Hughes, who posted armed guards in Catholic churches and institutions, prevented similar violence by Protestant mobs. Such outbursts of nativist violence were often fueled by nativeborn workingmen facing job competition from immigrant Catholic laborers.

The nativist American Party—also called the Know Nothing Party because members were sworn to secrecy—flourished in the mid-1850s. Advocating immigration restriction, the exclusion of Catholics from public office, and a long waiting period for naturalization, the American Party elected six governors in 1855, and in 1856 garnered 21 percent of the vote for its presidential candidate, Millard Fillmore. It faded thereafter, as many of its members joined the new Republican party.

Civil War through the 1920s

Nativism remained central in American Protestantism after the CIVIL WAR, as thirteen million immigrants, mostly from southern and eastern Europe, poured in between 1865 and 1900. An estimated five million Catholic newcomers arrived between 1870 and 1910, together with many eastern European Jews. The strengthening of papal AUTHORITY during the long pontificate of Pius IX, including his *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), the 1869–1870 Vatican Council (attended by forty-five U.S. bishops), and the proclamation of papal infallibility in 1870–1871, along with the naming of the first U.S. cardinal in 1875, intensified nativist, anti-Catholic sentiment among U.S. Protestants. The proliferation of Catholic parochial schools stirred controversies in many states as Protestant legislators sought by various means to thwart the parochial-school movement. The nativist American Protective Association, founded in Clinton, Iowa in 1887, soon spread across the midwest.

The nativist movement became embroiled in party politics because the immigrants voted mostly Democratic, whereas northern, native-born Protestants were predominantly Republican. Republican candidates in the 1870s and 1880s frequently advocated policies directed at Catholics and other immigrants, such as prohibition and sabbatarian laws, opposition to parochial schools, and requirements for English-language instruction in the schools. In New York City, Protestant ministers and reformers carried on a running battle with the city's Democratic organization, Tammany Hall, with its teeming ranks of immigrant (and largely Catholic) voters. Thomas Nast, the political cartoonist who witheringly attacked the corrupt Tammany leader William Marcy "Boss" Tweed, also targeted the alleged Catholic conspiracy to take over America. In one notorious Nast

cartoon published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1871, foreign Catholic priests caricatured as crocodiles swarm ashore and prepared to devour American schoolchildren while a smirking Tweed and his henchmen look on.

Nativism played a direct role in the 1880 presidential contest. A few days before the election, when a delegation of New York City Protestant ministers visited the Republican candidate James G. Blaine, one of them, Samuel D. Burchard, publicly denounced the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." When Blaine failed to repudiate Burchard's slur, the city's Catholic voters turned out en masse to cast ballots for Democrat Grover Cleveland, who narrowly carried New York State and thereby won the presidency.

The EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, a Protestant ecumenical organization founded in 1867 with branches in some forty American cities, espoused nativist positions, particularly after the Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong became general secretary in 1886. In his influential work *Our Country* (1885), Strong listed "Immigration" and "Romanism" among the seven deadly perils facing America. Addressing the Evangelical Alliance in 1887, the writer and Columbia University professor H. H. Boyesen described his repugnance toward the immigrants pouring into New York and marveled at native-born Americans' willingness "to mingle this coarse and brutal strain in their own fresh and vigorous blood." At the same conference Episcopal bishop Samuel Harris of Michigan articulated the blend of THEOLOGY, racism, and nativism prevalent in Gilded Age American Protestantism: "[T]he consistency of the divine purpose in establishing our evangelical civilization here," Harris asserted, "is signally illustrated in the fact that it was primarily confided to the keeping of the Anglo-Saxon race."

On another front, the Immigration Restriction League was founded in 1894 by a group of Boston patricians, including Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Protestants all. For years the League campaigned for a literacy test for immigrants, a strategy calculated to exclude unschooled newcomers of the kind arriving in large numbers from southern and eastern Europe.

Whereas some Progressive-era reformers urged aid and support for immigrants and celebrated the diversity they brought to American life, others embraced nativism, blaming immigrants for municipal corruption and denouncing the conservative, hierarchical Catholic church as a barrier to reform. The virulently anti-Catholic periodical *The Menace*, founded in 1911 by Missouri editor Wilbur Franklin Phelps, won a circulation of one million by 1914. In addition to printing and distributing nativist and anti-Catholic publications, Phelps also ran a lecture bureau of nativist speakers. Phelps accused the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic fraternal organization, of planning a war of annihilation against non-Catholics. Some sixty other nativist and anti-Catholic publications circulated in these pre-World War I decades.

Nativism surfaced again strongly in the 1920s, a decade sometimes described as the last stand of American Protestant hegemony. The Immigration Act of 1924 restricted immigration to 164,000 annually, imposed a national-origins quota system that discriminated against immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, and excluded Asians entirely. The revived KU KLUX KLAN, which attracted throngs of working-class and lower-middle-class Protestants in the early 1920s, was rabidly nativist. The Klan's central principles, wrote Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans in 1926, were "loyalty to the white race, to the traditions of America, and to the spirit of Protestantism." The Masonic Order,

to which many Protestants belonged, was also strongly nativist and anti-Catholic at this time. Proclaimed one Masonic publication: “The Protestant has been practically ousted from political life,...and schools as well as municipal departments reflect the influence of the Church of Rome.”

Nativism shaped the presidential politics of the 1920s. The 1924 Democratic convention rejected a platform plank criticizing the Ku Klux Klan, and refused to nominate New York governor Alfred E. Smith for president, primarily because of his Catholicism. Smith won the Democratic nomination in 1928, but lost to Protestant Herbert Hoover, amid nativist charges that the Vatican would surely control any Catholic president. (Hoover himself did not exploit the religious issue, however.)

1930 to the Close of the Twentieth Century

In the Depression decade of the 1930s nativism found some virulent defenders, especially in the ranks of the fundamentalist movement. Gerald Winrod of Kansas, publisher of *The Defender* magazine, regularly engaged in anti-Semitic (see ANTI-SEMITISM) and anti-Catholic diatribes, as did the Rev. William Bell Riley, the fundamentalist Baptist minister and Bible-school head in Minneapolis. Riley opposed Al Smith in 1928 out of an unwillingness “to have Rome rule at Washington.” Citing the notorious anti-Semitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Riley warned darkly of a Jewish-Bolshevik anti-American conspiracy.

In general, however, nativism diminished as a force in American life, and in American Protestantism, after 1930. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, an Episcopalian, brought many Catholics and Jews into his administration, and called for national unity in the struggle against the Depression. As a war leader in 1941–1945 Roosevelt urged the nation to set domestic divisions aside and unite in the battle to defeat fascism. The celebrated “Four Chaplains”—two Protestant ministers, a Catholic priest, and a Jewish rabbi—who gave up their life jackets to sailors and went down together on the *U.S.S. Dorchester* when it was struck by a torpedo off Newfoundland in January 1943 offered a compelling image of wartime national unity transcending longstanding sectarian divisions.

The reaction against nativism and religious prejudice intensified as the horrors of the Nazi holocaust became known and as the nation mobilized for the Cold War struggle with the Soviet Union. The Cold War era’s celebration of a somewhat generic religious faith, as a counterweight to godless COMMUNISM, muted traditional nativist hostilities. Reconciliation among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, symbolized by such events as National Brotherhood Week, figured prominently in the public CULTURE of the 1950s. Some Protestant leaders, including the Rev. NORMAN VINCENT PEALE, opposed John F. Kennedy’s 1960 presidential candidacy on religious grounds, but they were few in number and widely criticized. Kennedy addressed the issue convincingly and won election as the first Catholic president.

In the cultural wars of the late twentieth century, entrenched Protestant-Catholic divisions gave way to new conservative-liberal alignments that crossed sectarian boundaries. Surging immigration from LATIN AMERICA and various Asian countries in the late twentieth century swelled the ranks of Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists on the

American religious scene, but in contrast to past periods of heavy immigration, this did not produce a nativist reaction. Although some called for stricter immigration laws, they did so on economic rather than religious grounds, and generally avoided the denigratory language of past anti-immigrant crusades.

Concluding Reflections

Any assessment of the links between American Protestantism and nativism must be hedged with caveats. Not all Protestants were nativists. Even in periods when nativism reached high levels, some Protestant leaders—often from the liberal end of the spectrum—deplored the demonization of Catholic newcomers and other aliens (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). The Quaker settlement-house leader Jane Addams, for example, consistently opposed nativist bigotry, as did most SOCIAL GOSPEL ministers. In the nativist 1920s, some Protestant leaders, mostly liberal “Modernists” but including some Evangelicals and fundamentalists, appealed to Jesus’s teachings and the democratic ideology of equality to deplore nativist prejudice against alien and minority groups. Further, those Protestants who did espouse nativism at various periods in American history were far from alone. Labor unions fearing job competition, conservatives worried about an influx of immigrant radicals, rural folk troubled by the explosive growth of cities, and “Anglo-Saxon” racists with no particular religious orientation all helped fuel nativist movements.

When the caveats have been noted, however, an unassailable fact remains: from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, vast numbers of American Protestant leaders and laypersons embraced nativist ideologies, and helped swell the ranks of nativist movements.

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PAUL BOYER

NATURAL LAW

The term *natural law* refers to moral law that is rooted in human nature. It therefore precedes human choices and it transcends positive law, cultural difference, and historical change. Such a concept is explicit in classical Greek and Roman thought (e.g., Plato [c. 428–c. 348 B.C.], Aristotle [384–322 B.C.], the Stoics, and Cicero [106–43 B.C.]) and implicit in the biblical tradition. Examples are seen in the Wisdom literature's acknowledgment of moral wisdom drawn from natural experience and present in foreign cultures, the prophet Amos's assertion that pagan nations are subject to the same moral law as Judah and Israel (Amos 1), and the Apostle Paul's affirmation that the Gentiles have the law of Moses effectively "written on their hearts" (Romans 2:15).

Through John Chrysostom (c. 347–407) and Augustine (354–430), in particular, classical notions of natural law were incorporated into Christian tradition and modified by it, so that its genesis is ascribed to the God of the Christian Scriptures, whose own revealed moral law explicates what is already present in created nature. Although other figures such as Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) and Gratian (twelfth century) contributed to the development of Christian thinking on these matters, it was Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) who, aided by Aristotle as well as Augustine, constructed in his *Summa Theologiae* (Ia IIae, Qq.90–108, "De Legibus") a fully fledged theory in a systematic theological framework, and thereby provided the standard reference point for subsequent generations.

Early Reformers

As mediated by late Scholasticism, however, Aquinas's natural law legacy found a mixed reception among the early reformers. Although MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) acknowledged that there is a (natural) law written on the human heart, he regarded the corruption of reason by SIN—in particular, by the sinful will to self-justification—to be such as to render that law almost entirely obscure to human view. Besides, Luther's confidence in the ability of FAITH to generate loving, moral conduct freely and spontaneously inclined him to deny the need for Christians to be instructed by law of any kind (that is, the need for a "third use" of the law). Luther's younger colleague, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560), however, was less sanguine. Although he agreed that obedience to the law is not the route to JUSTIFICATION, he reckoned that those who have been justified need the moral guidance that law can provide; and in true Scholastic fashion he believed that the content of that law, although present in the Old and New Testaments, is best discovered through the natural reasoning of Aristotle (*Epitome philosophiae moralis*, 1541). JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) followed Melanchthon in affirming the "third [morally instructive] use" of law, but, approximating Luther's

pessimistic estimation of the capacity of sinful reason, looked for that instruction in the Decalogue. Whatever their differences, John T. McNeill has demonstrated that all three continental reformers recognized the natural politicoethical wisdom of the pagan Greeks and Romans, and appealed to natural law when treating civil or political matters. This was also true of the English reformer, RICHARD HOOKER (c. 1554–1600), whose *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* closely follows Aquinas's "De Legibus," not least in treating natural law and Scripture as complementary authorities, and in rating highly the power of natural reason to perceive our moral duties, if not the requirements of SALVATION.

The Protestant tendency to acknowledge natural law in political matters was intensified by the intermittent religious wars that ravaged Europe from 1562 to 1648. Given the demise of the international AUTHORITY of the papacy and the Holy Roman emperor, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the heterodox Dutch Calvinist, sought in natural law a ground for the basic principle of an international order of sovereign states—*pacta sunt servanda* (*De iuri belli ac pacis*, 1625). Grotius has long been viewed as a pioneer of the secularization of natural law theory because of his famous admission that its principles would stand *etiamsi daremus non esse Deum* ("even if we granted that God does not exist"). This conventional reading has not gone unchallenged, however. Oliver and Joan O'Donovan, for example, have argued that Grotius's intention was precisely to deny that there is an autonomous rational politics; and to assert that all human relations, including those beyond the jurisdiction of human law (for example, in a state of WAR) are subject to the claim of divine law—a law that finds its supreme expression in the Old and New Testaments.

John Locke

Like Grotius, the Puritan JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704) was moved by religious strife to search out a natural basis for political order (see PURITANISM). This he found in the law that derives from the creaturely and social nature of human beings, and which consists fundamentally in the duty to make and keep promises and commitments. Although Locke was epistemologically rationalist—the law of nature is known by the rational interpretation of sense-experience, and not by revelation—he was ontologically theistic: the ultimate origin and authority of the law of nature lies in the will of God, not reason (*Essays on the Law of Nature*, 1664; *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, 1690). Here Locke reflects the voluntarism characteristic of Protestant natural law theory.

Immanuel Kant

IMMANUEL KANT (1724–1804) is commonly understood to be an ethical rationalist in a fuller sense than Locke. He insisted not only that reason rather than revelation is the ultimate arbiter of the content of morality, but also that moral law issues from practical reason *as distinct from* natural (for example, social) inclinations (*The Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals*, 1785). Furthermore, he had no truck with the claim that the moral law needs the divine will as the ultimate source of its authority. Nevertheless, Kant may

be considered a kind of natural law theorist, given that he conceived of moral law as grounded in the nature of human reason; and his theory cannot be classified as secularist because he held that belief in the existence of a benevolent God is necessary for the intelligibility of the concept of moral duty.

Friedrich Schleiermacher

In reaction against the abstract rationalism of Kant's ETHICS and its lack of a soteriological context, and under the lingering influence of Moravian PIETISM, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) developed what might be considered a dynamic concept of natural law. Here law is not a heteronomy, but rather a “life-process” in which nature is progressively organized by the active and immanent power of reason, so as to promote community and liberty simultaneously. Accordingly moral life is less a matter of dutiful obedience than of participation in a divine power (note the echo of Luther); and ethics is less normative moral doctrine than phenomenology of the “redeeming,” moralizing activity of reason in history. Although Schleiermacher did not think recourse to the Christian TRADITION necessary for the discernment of this activity, he may have held the traditional view that Christian ethics presents the observations of natural or philosophical ethics more sharply.

Georg W.F.Hegel

On this point GEORG W.F.HEGEL (1770–1831) was less equivocal and more radical, being in no doubt that Christian THEOLOGY and ethics have been sublimated into philosophy. Nevertheless, Hegel shared Schleiermacher's predilection for a dynamic concept of natural law, which he conceived as the perfective process in which absolute Spirit or Mind (*Geist*) progressively realizes itself in the world through the development of the consciousness of human freedom—a development in which he considered the REFORMATION to have played a decisive part by advocating the freedom of the individual conscience from ecclesiastical and dogmatic heteronomy (*Phenomenology of Spirit*, 1807).

Twentieth Century

The moral complacency of the cultural optimism implied by the immanentist concept of natural law espoused by Hegel and Schleiermacher was laid bare when the progressive self-realization of Reason or Mind manifested itself in the barbarities of the First and Second World Wars. This is certainly how the signs of the times were read by KARL BARTH (1886–1968), who rejected natural law as an arbitrary concept, capable of being filled with any—even Nazi—moral content. “All arguments based on natural law are Janus-headed,” he once wrote. “They lead to Munich” (*A Letter to Great Britain from Switzerland*, 1941). In spite of his unrelenting repudiation of natural law (or, to be more precise, the conclusions of natural reason unilluminated by the Word of God), Barth was

happy to affirm on theological grounds certain normatively structured relationships that are “natural” in the sense that God has created them constitutive of human beings (*Church Dogmatics*, III/ 4). These were deliberately less specific than the “divine mandates” (labor, MARRIAGE, government, CHURCH) of DIETRICH BONHOEFFER (1906–1945), which lent themselves, Barth feared, to the divinization of particular historical forms.

Arguably even more thorough than Barth in his dismissal of natural law is Stanley Hauerwas (1940–). Disposed to read Christian ethics in Anabaptist, pacifist terms (see ANABAPTISM; PACIFISM), Hauerwas accuses the natural law ethic of being “accommodationist” because of its association with just war theory (*The Peaceable Kingdom: a Primer in Christian Ethics*, 1983). Moreover, Hauerwas provides no place in his thought for anything equivalent to Barth’s created relational structures.

Considerably less skeptical than Hauerwas, and slightly less so than Barth, is REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1893–1971). While sharing Barth’s view of natural reason as corrupted by sinful interests, and criticizing Catholic natural law theory for endowing moral norms with a pretentious precision and universality and for asserting them with a rationalistic self-confidence, Niebuhr nevertheless acknowledged that a sufficient awareness of the moral claims of “essential human nature” remains to disturb the human conscience (*The Nature and Destiny of Man*, vol. I).

Of Barth’s contemporaries, EMIL BRUNNER (1889–1966) was the most affirmative of natural law (*Justice and the Social Order*, 1943). Attributing the evils of twentieth-century totalitarianism to the tradition of legal positivism and its relativization of the idea of justice, Brunner urgently felt the need to recover the idea of transcendent, natural law. The particular notion he advocates is voluntarist and theologically qualified: it is the sacred will of God, standing behind a mere fact of human nature, that commands our respect for it; and although natural man is capable of a certain unaided awareness of the orders of creation, sin’s epistemic distortion makes enlightenment by special divine revelation indispensable.

Current Consideration

At the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, there are signs that natural law is meeting with increasing approval in diverse Protestant circles. In Scandinavia, for example, a strong tradition of interest in the ethics of creation and natural law has developed among Lutheran theologians, the best known of whom are Gustaf Wingren (1910–2000; *Creation and Law*, 1958) and K.E.Løgstrup (1905–1981; *The Ethical Demand*, 1956). In ENGLAND the evangelical Anglican, Oliver O’Donovan (1945–), gives prominent place in his Christian ethic to the idea of a created order of which all humans have a certain, albeit limited, natural knowledge (*Resurrection and Moral Order: An Outline for Evangelical Ethics*, 1986).

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NIGEL BIGGAR

NATURE

The study of "nature" has been a preoccupation of humanity since records began, frequently with a religious motivation. However, the birth of what might be called "modern science" in the seventeenth century led to transformed attitudes to nature of such magnitude that the phrase "Scientific Revolution" is often applied to the climactic upheavals in human thought and achievement. Although it would be extremely foolish to identify one simple cause of this phenomenon, there can be no doubt that the Protestant REFORMATION played an immense part. This is not for one moment to deny the roles of Catholicism or even non-Christian religions like Islam, but simply to emphasize the unique importance of Protestant thought of the emergence of modern science.

The “Scientific Revolution”

For the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era, authority on matters of dispute lay in church TRADITION and scripture, generally taken together. At the hands of MARTIN LUTHER and other reformers scripture was given a higher authority than the edicts of the Fathers, and newer more accurate texts were to supplant the Latin Vulgate. With the increased circulation of the scriptures it became possible for individuals to contemplate nature without recourse to a body of received teaching that would inhibit any serious progress in new understanding. The great doctrine of the priesthood of all believers would liberate thinking about both God and nature.

In more specific ways reflections on nature were profoundly altered by the rise of Protestantism. Perhaps the most important of these was what may be called the *deanimation of nature*. Up to this time nature had generally been conceived as a living entity, if not a divine one. Often represented with a capital N, such a Nature could be a subject rather than an object, and statements like “Nature abhors a vacuum” merely reflect this conception of an animate being. It possessed a life of its own and, like all living beings, possessed a certain unpredictability. Scientific study would therefore have a built-in element of imprecision, and notions like the “laws of nature” would be less likely to emerge.

The idea of Nature as intrinsically divine went far beyond the ideas of the medieval church, and was widespread in primitive animistic religion. For this to be true, the practice of manipulating part of God was readily seen as irreverent if not actually blasphemous. Its elimination from the stock-in-trade of popular thinking began with the rediscovery of the createdness of all things, promoted by a fresh look at Genesis and Psalms, for example. Nature had to be deified as well as deanimated.

What emerged from this double process of demythologization of nature was a metaphor of immense strength and plausibility. The world of nature was neither divine nor living: it was essentially mechanical. ROBERT BOYLE compared it to the great clock in Strasbourg Cathedral whose working can be completely explained in terms of wheel, levers, springs, and so forth. This *mechanization of the universe* was perhaps the most distinctive feature of the new science, and its origins lay deep in Protestant thought. It denies personality and purpose to nature itself. The functional teleology within nature was, according to Boyle, impressed upon it by the Creator. The notion of “nature” exerting its own will was not only absurd, it was also impious, locating purpose and intention within inanimate matter instead of in the will of a personal God. Boyle saw, as did many of his contemporaries, that if “nature” is evacuated of all divinity, if it is not to be identified with God but seen as a creation by him, then it can become quite properly an object of study, manipulation, and experiment. Such views were entirely consonant with the teaching of both Old and New Testaments.

But how was such a new nature to be studied? In a word, by observation and experiment. When the navigator William Watts observed, “The thoughts of the philosophers have been contradicted by the unexpected observations” of himself and others, he was signaling the priority of experience over tradition. Similarly FRANCIS BACON urged “men to sell their books and build furnaces” and promoted his inductive

method of approaching nature, a method that involved countless experiments and observations. That this dedication to experiment flourished especially in Calvinist countries like Holland (see CALVINISM) has been observed by many commentators as evidence of the Protestant ethos of testing as well as of hard work.

Experimentation, however, must mean manipulating and to some extent controlling the earth. Indeed, Bacon used the metaphor of a male dominating a female and imposing his will upon her. Justification for the subjugation of nature in the interest of human welfare came abundantly from biblical references to technology and their exposition by Protestant theologians. Thus also came yet another element of Reformed thinking that at the very least cannot have hindered science. This was its clear rejection of Manichean views that nature is somehow intrinsically evil, and therefore to be as much avoided as its opposite error of the divine universe. Bacon spoke of nature as “the work of His [God’s] hands” and JOHN CALVIN of “this most delightful theater” in which we should take “pious delight.”

Finally, the notion that nature could be studied as an act of worship and to the glory of God was prominent in the writing of many Protestant men of science in those early days. God had given men two books, of nature and of scripture. Both deserved the closest attention.

It remains to add a word about issues of sociology rather than belief.

A theory advanced in 1938 by Robert Merton connected the emergence of science in the seventeenth century with the rise of Protestantism in general. In particular, that specific form of Protestant religion known as PURITANISM was identified as being especially favorable to the science then emerging. Thus a high proportion of Puritans (not merely Protestants) in the membership of the early Royal Society, England’s academy of science, enabled Merton to argue that Puritan attitudes “did much to encourage” its growth.

Criticism has mainly come on two grounds. First, the almost exclusive claims for Protestantism have had to be modified in the light of significant scientific work by Roman Catholics, such as Copernicus, Galileo, and many later figures, especially in FRANCE. They cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a correlation between prominence in science and religious allegiance.

The other main objection to Merton’s thesis resides in the difficulty of defining a “Puritan.” On one hand a person with that title is sometimes regarded as a kind of ascetic fundamentalist, whereas on the other he may be considered rather as a dangerous political radical. Many difficulties disappear if Puritanism is considered theologically rather than politically. From this point of view a Puritan will hold strongly to the teaching of the BIBLE as opposed to that of church or tradition, but may not necessarily support the Parliamentary cause in the English revolution. He might even be a “moderate Anglican.”

If modern-day skeptics are right, and there is no unequivocal proof that science was actively encouraged by Puritan theology, it may still be true that both may have been the outcome of a common cause or causes, including new movements of social and economic change and of a libertarian philosophy. However this may be, a general correlation seems inescapable in the 1600s between the promotion of science and a strongly Biblical and therefore Protestant theology.

Some would suggest an explicit causal relationship between science and Puritanism, arguing that the latter “caused” the former. Whereas it was once customary to see science

as a product of our Greek inheritance, liberated from its bondage to religion at the Renaissance, R. Hooykaas now proposes a view that is its polar opposite. Science may be understood far better as an offspring of that Biblical theology that was rediscovered at the Reformation. On this view Greek philosophy may be seen as an inhibiting force for 1,500 years, and its displacement by a Biblical theology of both nature and work at last permitted the rise of experimental science.

Some Further Interactions between Protestantism and Nature

The Copernican Revolution

The first major step to modern science was as early as 1543, when Copernicus proposed that the earth rotated about the sun rather than the age-old belief that the sun went around the earth. Much has been made of the fact that Copernicus was a canon of the Roman Catholic Church, thus minimizing the role of Protestantism even in early modern science. However, this overlooks several facts. First, the Polish astronomer belonged to a group that had strong links with Erasmus, the reformer who remained within his Catholic Church and emphasized the importance of scripture. Several Lutheran (see LUTHERANISM) scholars became close friends and advisers, such as his assistant Rheticus and the clergyman Osiander, who wrote (anonymously) a Preface for Copernicus's great book, *De Revolutionibus*. The reaction against Protestantism known as the COUNTER-REFORMATION was still in the future.

The subsequent reaction to Copernicanism was at first muted, although opposition came from both wings of the church. PHILIPP MELANCHTHON had serious difficulties, although basically these stemmed from his Aristotelianism rather than his Protestant theology. Galileo, a Catholic, was more famously punished by his church for Copernican views. Underlying the favorable reception of Copernican thought within Catholic and Protestant circles was a realization that the Bible could be interpreted in many ways, and that to insist on a literal interpretation of many of its statements about nature was to ignore the doctrine of "accommodation" articulated (but not invented) by Calvin and other reformers who said that the Holy Spirit accommodated Himself to common usage to bring understanding to all who read scripture. Thus references to the sun traveling through the heavens were not intended as exact scientific descriptions but rather as assertions of beauty, regularity, and so forth. This principle of "accommodation" became a prominent feature of Reformation thinking about nature.

Newtonianism, Deism, and Natural Theology

After the eventual triumph of the Copernican system, and JOHANNES KEPLER'S replacement of its circles by ellipses, ISAAC NEWTON incorporated the newly discovered laws of celestial motion in a much larger synthesis that embraced physical phenomena throughout the entire universe. His universal system (Newtonianism) magnificently vindicated the mechanization of science. God would now be seen as a Clockmaker who started the universe and then left it to run according to its own laws. This is a classic case of DEISM, and appealed particularly to those Protestants of

Unitarian tendencies. Newton was secretly one of these, whereas some of his contemporaries, such as WILLIAM WHISTON, were more open about their Unitarianism. The latter denomination included many sympathetic to natural science, one of whom, JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, became a well-known minister. In eighteenth-century England the chief institutions for promoting a study of nature were the Dissenting Academies (see NONCONFORMITY, DISSENT), and prominent among these were several run by those with Unitarian sympathies.

However, a failure of Newton's predictions to square exactly with a few reported observations led him to invoke direct if occasional interventions of the Deity. This retreat from a strict deism has been aptly called "semi-deism," and became a favored position for many Protestants for the next two or three centuries. Despite being dismissed as a mere "God-in-the-gaps" strategy in the twentieth century (by D.M. Mackay and many others), it has persisted as an expression of popular faith.

One other consequence of a mechanical, clocklike universe was the revival in Protestant churches of natural theology. In the seventeenth century Newton hoped that his system would help "considering men" to a belief in a divine Creator, whereas Boyle established his "Boyle lectures" to be a demonstration of the value of the new science as a pointer to God. Natural theology was embedded in the writing of the great naturalist John Ray, as in his *The wisdom of God manifested in the works of creation* (1691). It became a popular genre in the eighteenth century as men looked "from nature up to nature's God," with books like *Physico-theology* (William Derham) and even more unlikely titles such as *Insect Theology* and *Water Theology*. The movement reached its climax in the dawn of the nineteenth century with the magisterial *Natural Theology* of the Anglican minister WILLIAM PALEY. Although receiving some hard knocks during the Darwinian controversies (see DARWINISM), it had a minority following among Protestants and Catholics until the twentieth century. It survived its famous rejection by KARL BARTH and has even reappeared as a by-product of research in the physical sciences.

Darwinism and the Protestant Response

In 1859 Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. Creating a considerable stir at the time, it was more than "a storm in a Victorian tea-cup" as some would have it. Vocal opposition came for a variety of reasons, most of which were not theological (it demeaned humanity, it could lead to social unrest, it was scientifically unproven, etc.). Some members of Protestant sects were indeed affronted by its apparent assault of Genesis (they had forgotten Galileo), and so were a number of leading Roman Catholics. However, many Protestant churchmen felt that evolution might be the way in which God chose to work, and eloquent spokesmen for this view included HENRY DRUMMOND (Presbyterian) and CHARLES KINGSLEY (Anglican). In America evangelicals such as Asa Gray and Charles Hodge were energetic in their defense of Darwinism and sought to include it within their wider theological framework.

With hindsight it might appear that a firm Trinitarian rejection of deism helped these men and many others to appreciate more clearly the multifaceted interactions of God with God's creation. Moreover, from the Incarnation came light on the huge problems of suffering and evil thrown up by a "nature red in tooth and claw." Such questions of

theodicy engaged many Protestant theologians from WILLIAM TEMPLE onward and made Paleyan natural theology look curiously old-fashioned.

A much more strident opposition to Darwinism did not appear until the twentieth century, with the rise of the “creationist” movement among American evangelicals (see EVANGELICALISM). It received much publicity in the notorious Scopes trial when issues of teaching evolution in schools came to a head. Since then the movement has found favor in some fundamentalist groups of Protestants in Europe, Asia, and Australia (see FUNDAMENTALISM).

One further trend associated with Darwinism was the creation and promulgation of the myth that the Christian church was always in conflict with natural science. The arguments over Genesis were seen as paradigmatic of the whole science-religion relationship. The myth was promoted in books by two American Protestants, Andrew White (Episcopalian president of America’s nonsectarian Cornell University) and J.W.Draper (Methodist and strongly anti-Catholic chemist). Each had his own axe to grind. Then a group in England, led by T.H.Huxley, sought by all means to undermine the church by this conflict mythology. There were a few nominal Anglicans and several self-professed agnostics in their ranks. Their great achievement was the establishment of a conflict paradigm that, although historically discredited, re-mains a constituent of popular folklore whose very existence helps to explain some of the later overreactions of Protestants to the claims of science.

Questions of Ecology

As the twentieth century drew to a close, questions relating to global warming, increasing pollution, and loss of biodiversity became matters of urgent public concern. They had been matters of concern to scientists for over a hundred years and to some theologians long before that. However, by the 1960s “the environment” entered popular English vocabulary. At this time a provocative essay suggested that Christian theology is to blame for our environmental crisis by encouraging ideas of human “dominion” over the earth and its contents (L.White, 1966/7). Although the Protestant church is not specifically attacked, it is distinctively Protestant doctrines that are blamed, and the alternative proposed is the naturalistic theology of St. Francis of Assisi. Generally regarded as historically flawed, this thesis is inconsistent with the many pronouncements by early Protestants such as Calvin, William Derham, and others urging stewardship of the earth, not pillage of its resources. In the twenty-first century several Christian groups have been formed with the express purpose of addressing environmental issues in a biblical way. Although not sectarian in constitution, their present membership is predominantly in an evangelical Protestant tradition. They include the John Ray Initiative in the United Kingdom and the Au Sable Institute in the United States.

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COLIN A.RUSSELL

NAUDÉ, CHRISTIAAN FREDERICK BEYERS (1915–)

South African churchman. Naudé was born in SOUTH AFRICA in 1915, with roots deep in Afrikaner tradition and CULTURE and the piety of evangelical CALVINISM. Naudé was one of eight children, the son of a Dutch Reformed minister and a deeply religious and quietly dominant mother. Both parents were fervently anti-British and unquestioning in their allegiance to the Afrikaner cause. In 1940 Naudé joined the elitist Afrikaner Broederbond. Given the strong connection between Afrikaner identity and theology, it is not surprising that he should graduate from the theological school of the patriotic Stellenbosch University to be ordained as a minister of the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH (DRC), of which he later would act as moderator in the Southern Transvaal.

Naudé's disillusionment with the DRC and Afrikaner politics was gradual. Paradoxically it was norms instilled into him by his family in the context of Afrikaner piety—notably a sense of social and political justice—that, translated into a different situation, would in time see him bearing prophetic witness against that very tradition. This move was precipitated by the Sharpeville massacre and the DRC's rejection of the antidiscriminatory resolutions of the Cottesloe Consultation, sponsored by the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1960).

In 1962 Naudé started *Pro Veritate*, an ecumenical journal inspired by the CONFESSING CHURCH struggle in Germany, followed in 1963 by the founding of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa (CI), aimed at serving the church in working for justice and reconciliation. Stripped of ministerial status in the DRC, Naudé directed the CI until its banning in 1977. At this time Naudé was served a personal banning order that was to last seven years. In 1980 he resigned from the DRC after its refusal to unite with black DR churches. Naudé's banning was lifted in 1984, and the following year he became general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

The role played by Naudé in the struggle against apartheid and the transition to democracy is acknowledged in South Africa and internationally as one of great significance.

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JOHN W.DE GRUCHY

NAUMANN, FRIEDRICH (1860–1919)

German social reformer. Naumann was born at Störmthal March 25, 1860 and died at Travemünde August 24, 1919. He came from a Lutheran parsonage in Saxony, and after studying THEOLOGY in Leipzig and Erlangen he became an *Oberhelfer* assistant at the *Rauhen Haus* in Hamburg. From 1885 to 1890 he was a minister in Langenberg/Erzgebirge, and from 1890 he was *Vereinsgeistlicher* (chaplain) of the Inner Mission in Frankfurt/Main. Early in his career Naumann concerned himself with social issues. He supported the Protestant worker's association (*Evangelische Arbeitervereinsbewegung*), and beginning in 1890 he took part in the *Evangelisch-sozialen Kongreß*. In 1895 he founded the magazine *Die Hilfe*, which was an important organ of the social liberal movement until the end of his life.

Naumann first of all admired the court chaplain (*Hofprediger*) ADOLF STOECKER. However, under the influence of MAX WEBER and Rudolf Sohm, he separated from Stoecker and his conservative Christiansocialist ideas. Naumann connected the social issue and the problem of nationalism, and he combined the demands for democratic and social reform with a call for a strong German nation. Consistently Naumann was involved in politics and eventually founded a party (*Nationalsozialer Verein*). In 1897 Naumann left his parish and moved to Berlin to live there as a publicist and politician. After a few unsuccessful attempts, Naumann was elected as a member of the *Reichstag* in 1907.

Through his numerous lectures, his books and articles, as well as his books of travels and his aesthetics, he became an influential representative of the German *Bildungsbürgertum* (bourgeoisie). In his book *Mitteleuropa* (1915) Naumann called for a European confederation of states. By 1919 Naumann was chairman of the liberal *Deutsche Demokratische Partei* and was influential in the formulation of the new constitution.

Naumann's work for a democratization of society and his demand for the broad participation of all social groups was a result of both his political and his Christian beliefs.

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NORBERT FRIEDRICH

NEANDER, JOHANN AUGUST WILHELM (1789–1850)

German theologian. Neander was one of the founders of modern Protestant church historiography who understood church history as the history of piety. Like others before him he viewed history biographically, even though initially he published thematic monographs.

Neander was born David Mendel in a Jewish family in Göttingen, Germany, but converted to Christianity through his experiences with classmates in the Gymnasium (high school) and after reading FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER'S *Reden über die Religion* (*Speeches on Religion*). He was baptized in Hamburg in 1806 and took a symbolic new name. That same year he decided to study THEOLOGY and moved to HALLE, where Schleiermacher was teaching. Because of the Napoleonic wars he moved to Göttingen, where he decided on an academic career devoting himself to early Christianity and New Testament topics. In 1811 he became a lecturer at the University of Heidelberg, and two years later, when he was twenty-four, Schleiermacher facilitated his appointment as professor of church history at the recently founded University of Berlin. There he taught, with enormous knowledge of the original source materials and attention to detail, until his death in 1850. In 1839 he was elected to membership in the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

August Neander was the originator and most important representative of what was called *Pektoraltheologie*—theology of the heart (from the phrase “*Pectus est, quod theologum facit*”—the heart makes the theologian). Instead of a rationalistic pragmatic understanding of history, he saw the subject of church history as the dialectical tension between the spirit of Christ and the spirit of the world. Friend of students, of deep personal piety, involved in the revival movement of his time, he may be seen as one of

the fathers of modern EVANGELICALISM. Unlike FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR, he did not offer a clear language and system in his scholarship.

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GERHARD SCHWINGE

NEE, WATCHMAN (NI TUOSHENG) (1903–1972)

Chinese church leader. An internationally recognized Chinese Protestant church leader who in the 1920s created a new Chinese vocabulary for the Christian Holiness movement in his major work, *The Spiritual Man*, Watchman Nee also set standards for independent “local churches” that profoundly affected developments in mainline and separatist church work within twentieth-century CHINA. Nee was born in Swatow (Guangdong province), China on November 4, 1903. He was a third-generation Chinese Congregationalist and was deeply influenced by PLYMOUTH BRETHERN theology and KESWICK MOVEMENT spirituality. Consequently he promoted an antidenominational vision of church life that promoted Chinese Christian leadership in churches and a sectarian exclusivism. More significantly, *The Spiritual Man* presented the first systematic attempt at explaining a trichotomist view of spirituality in Chinese, and so influenced many more Chinese and foreign Christians than those actually participating in “Little Flock” congregations. By 1949 more than 500 assemblies in China were directly associated with Nee’s movement.

Although he was imprisoned in 1952 by the Communist government, and died while still a prisoner on June 1, 1972, his influence spread by other means. English translations of many of his writings were first produced in the 1950s and later translated into more

than twenty other languages, making him a well known and sometimes controversial theological influence. In seeking for holiness, Nee placed the spirit in principled opposition to the soul and body, producing a form of SANCTIFICATION that tended toward anti-intellectual and ascetic patterns of life. Its extremities met needs of those under the duress of China's tumultuous modernity, and so has also received attention in some international circles of EVANGELICALISM, PENTECOSTALISM, and FUNDAMENTALISM.

See also Congregationalism; Holiness Movement; House Churches, Asia

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LAUREN F. PFISTER

NEILL, STEPHEN CHARLES (1900–1984)

Anglican missionary scholar. Neill was born on December 31, 1900 in Edinburgh, SCOTLAND, and became one of the twentieth century's most notable leaders of Christian mission, and scholars of mission and its sources in Christian history. A graduate of Trinity College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, Neill became an Anglican missionary in INDIA in 1924 and was consecrated bishop of Tinnevely in 1938. Forced to return to ENGLAND for health reasons in 1944, he taught at Cambridge until 1947 when he became active in international ecumenical affairs (see ECUMENISM). Neill became a major figure in the organization of the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA in the late 1940s, an ecumenical union DENOMINATION formed from Protestant groups that had developed missionary presences during the colonial era. At the same time Neill was also active in the formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and became a noted lecturer on ecumenical matters.

A prolific writer, Neill gained large audiences for his books, several of which continue to be cited frequently. His most notable works, all of which have gone through multiple editions and several of which remain in print, include: *A History of the Ecumenical Movement* (first published in 1953), *Anglicanism* (1958), *Christian Faith and Other Faiths* (1961), and *History of Christian Missions* (1964). Neill's influence rested on his recognition that the era of MISSIONS based on colonial empire was ending, and that the churches faced the challenge of grounding mission in indigenous forms. As a result he became an avid proponent of Christian dialogue with other religions. Late in life he remained active as a theological lecturer and served faculties in disparate locations including GERMANY and Kenya.

Neill died on July 20, 1984 in Oxford, England. His autobiography, *God's Apprentice* (which appeared in an edited form in 1991, after his death), offers the most substantive assessment of his legacy to date.

See also Colonialism; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Missions

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WILLIAM SACHS

NEOLOGY

The term *neology*, roughly meaning “new word,” denotes German Protestant (mainly Lutheran) THEOLOGY that was prominent in the middle decades of the 1700s. Neologian theologians embraced the ideas of the ENLIGHTENMENT while remaining within the church and seeking to purify theology and defend Christianity. Leading representatives include Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Jerusalem (1709–1789), Friedrich Samuel Gottfried Sack (1738–1817), and JOHANN JOACHIM SPALDING (1714–

1804). JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER (1725–1791) is also sometimes classed with the Neologians. The term “neology” signified that this movement was a *new* teaching, presumably in contrast to the systems of orthodox theology prevalent at that time. However, this term is something of a misnomer, given that Neologians were attempting to restore what they understood to be the original and pure form of Christianity, not to introduce a new teaching.

Neology and Deism

Influences on Neologians were many because they tended to be philosophically eclectic. They were not system-builders but administrators and reformers. Their main concern was religious and pastoral, not philosophical. As a result they borrowed selectively from GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ, CHRISTIAN WOLFF, and English deists, in spite of the fact that Leibniz and Wolff were, in most respects, far more theologically conservative than were the English deists, and in spite of their anxiety about the tendencies of radical deists.

For this reason, it is important not to simply classify the Neologians as German deists, at least if DEISM means the philosophical agenda advanced by the radical French and even English critics of Christianity or by biblical critics such as HERMANN SAMUEL REIMARUS. Although the Neologians seemed radical and destructive enough to orthodox Protestant theologians, unlike the radical deists they were not anticlerical and did not seek the elimination of the CHURCH. On the contrary, leading Neologians were ordained ministers and filled important roles in the church. For example, Jerusalem served, in 1771, as vice president of the CONSISTORY (the regional church council) of Wolfenbüttel. He also served for some years as court preacher and several times was offered the position of general superintendent of the state church in Magdeburg. Neologians, then, did not desire the end of the church. In fact, Neology may be regarded as an apologetic effort directed against the attacks of rationalist critics of Christianity. An example of their apologetic efforts was Spalding’s 1756 translation of Bishop JOSEPH BUTLER’S defense of revealed religion and critique of rationalism, *The Analogy of Religion*. At the same time, although loyal supporters of the church, they were sharply critical of some of its doctrines and practices. It is this criticism for which they are best known. However, even their critical program arose, not solely from rationalistic impulses but instead from their conviction that they were continuing the task of purifying religion that had been begun but, in their opinion, left incomplete by the sixteenth-century reformers. Accordingly, their critical and reforming agenda must be seen in the light of their ecclesiastical commitments and their theological temperament, which was, in comparison with the radical deists, quite conservative.

Neology and Natural Religion

Like the deists, Neologians affirmed the concept of natural religion. Natural religion was regarded as the original and universal religion of the human race at its beginning. However, in calling this original religion natural, Neologians did not intend to distinguish

it from revealed religion. Natural religion was not, in their conception, a religion derived strictly from human reasoning; instead it rested on an original revelation to humankind. Further, subsequent revelations (the religion of Moses and, later, Christianity) were necessary to restore this original religion. Neologians disagreed as to the historical function of Christianity in this scheme, some holding it to be merely a confirmation of the original religion, others regarding it as a further development of that religion. Nonetheless Neology stood for the belief that Christianity does not in any way contradict natural religion and is in fact another revelation of natural religion. Of course, what they understood by Christianity differed somewhat from the orthodox conception. In their view natural religion and Christianity are essentially a matter of moral duties toward God and neighbor, the promise of future blessedness, plus ancillary doctrines about God. However, they argued, to this simple, moral religion had been attached a great many doctrines, rites, and practices that do not correspond to natural religion and that in fact obscure it. The sixteenth-century reformers, they held, had made a good beginning in the return to natural religion; however, the return had been interrupted by the rise of Protestant ORTHODOXY. The task at hand, as they saw it, was to pick up where the reformers had left off.

Continuing Reform

It is important to keep this point in mind because it shows that Neology was part of a broader eighteenth-century movement of reform and change in the Protestant churches, a movement whose other prominent member was PIETISM. Although the specific aims of Pietists differed significantly from those of the Neologians, the overall goal of the two was ostensibly the same, that is to continue the reforming work of MARTIN LUTHER and the other reformers. Neology and Pietism were thus jointly opposed to the assumption of orthodox theologians that the church's main task was maintaining purity of DOCTRINE. For the Neologians and the Pietists, on the contrary, the main concern was the Christian life and the need to promote sound practice. Although neither entirely discounted the importance of doctrine, both tended to judge its role and the validity of particular doctrines by their relation to the Christian life. Both were concerned to overcome what they saw as a deleterious separation between doctrine and practice at work in orthodox Protestant theology. Of course Pietists and Neologians had dramatically different conceptions of the Christianity that would result from their reforming work. They also had correspondingly different interpretations of Luther and the REFORMATION. Pietists took orthodox theology for granted and wished to emphasize practice as a necessary complement to pure doctrine. Neologians, on the contrary, were interested in a wholesale renovation of doctrines, some of which they regarded as obstacles to sound practice. As a result, Neologians generally proved to be more critical of specific doctrines than did Pietists. As the century progressed, Pietists increasingly came to see the danger of Neology's questioning and rejecting doctrines. Accordingly they began moving in a more conservative direction and warmed to the interests of the orthodox theologians. However, in spite of these significant differences between the two movements, we understand Neology rightly only if we recognized its intention to do for its own generation what Luther did for his and only if we see the vital similarity between

Neology and Pietism and their common struggle against the orthodox theological establishment. The lesson to be drawn is that the central theological issue in GERMANY in the 1700s was not, as it was in other countries, whether Christianity is the true religion. The Neologians affirmed the validity of Christianity as heartily as did the Pietists and orthodox theologians. The issue was instead about how best to understand Christianity and the role of doctrine in relation to practice.

Revelation and Reason

The Neologians' critique of traditional doctrine rested on their view of natural religion and revelation. In orthodox theology of all confessions in this period, revelation was understood to be a supernatural communication of truths that are beyond human comprehension. The doctrine of the Trinity, for example, was generally regarded as a doctrine that human reason could neither discover nor understand. It rests, it was held, on biblical passages that reveal truths about God. Because the biblical truths surpass human understanding, they must, it was argued, have been supernaturally communicated to the human authors of the BIBLE through an act of inspiration. Neologians rejected every aspect of this theory. They did not accept the premise that revelation is the impartation of incomprehensible truths because in their view true religion is simple and moral. The doctrines of natural religion, they held, constituted a few tenets such as belief in God, in God's providential care, in the immortality of the soul, and future blessedness. Consequently, revelation contains only the doctrines required for obedience to God's moral commands. The revelatory importance of Jesus Christ, then, was not that he disclosed hitherto unknown and intrinsically incomprehensible doctrines, but that he demonstrated true religion in his own day and thus showed the way back to it. They also rejected the orthodox view of the Bible's inspiration. Because the Bible's truths are not supernatural, there was no need to believe in a supernatural mechanism for their transmission. This conviction was buttressed by the Neologians' involvement in the budding biblical criticism of their day. Analysis of the various sources behind Genesis and other biblical books tended to convince them that the Bible's composition was a completely natural process and not superintended by supernatural providence.

With such a view, Neologians were committed to the agreement between reason and revelation and to overcoming the opposition between the natural and the supernatural. This placed them in opposition both to orthodox theology and to extreme rationalists. In disagreement with orthodox theologians, Neologians did not hold that revelation is above human reason; instead, they asserted, it is fully reasonable. At the same time, unlike the more extreme rationalists, they did not suggest that reason is autonomous and can replace revelation. Although the content of revelation is fully reasonable, revelation is not thereby rendered unnecessary. On the contrary it was the means by which humankind had originally received the truths of natural religion and was subsequently needed to help humankind return to natural religion.

View of the Bible

Their critical attitude toward revelation and inspiration did not induce the Neologians to reject the Bible's validity. Unlike Reimarus, for example, they did not question the truthfulness and honesty of the apostles. On the contrary, they saw in the Bible the perfect antidote to orthodox theology's proliferation of complex doctrines through the construction of creeds. The Bible, they held, although the product of human thought, bears witness to the simplicity of natural religion in contrast to the speculative and incomprehensible doctrinal edifice of orthodox theology, with its authoritarian and supernatural overtones. It is evident, then, that one of the underlying disagreements between Neology and orthodox theology was a hermeneutical issue, that is, how the Bible is to be interpreted. Orthodox theologians insisted that the ecclesiastical creeds express the sense of Scripture and are therefore the only sure guide to its meaning. The Neologians contrasted the Bible and the creeds and argued that the creeds distort the meaning of the Bible. In place of the creeds they employed the notion of natural religion and its relation to the practical life as their hermeneutical guide. As a result various Neologians began giving up such doctrines as original SIN, ATONEMENT by penal satisfaction, and the Trinity, not only because of their reputed lack of significance for the practical Christian life but also because of their poor attestation in the Bible. In addition to this hermeneutical issue, the Neologians had ecumenical concerns. Like later theological liberals, they were convinced that creeds were inherently divisive, unnecessarily separating Christians on the basis of nonessential beliefs (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

Critical Christology

Not surprisingly, Neologians did not adhere to the orthodox understanding of Jesus Christ. In particular, the doctrine of the Trinity came in for special criticism. Jerusalem, for example, attacked the supposed continuity between the Bible and the tradition of Trinitarian thought (see ANTI-TRINITARIANISM). He drew attention to the diversity of opinion among early church leaders. Further, he argued that the statements of the early church fathers were so indefinite and vague that both proponents and opponents of the doctrine of the Trinity could appeal to them for support. Certain of them, notably Justin Martyr, were demonstrably not orthodox, at least by later standards. Finally, Jerusalem noted that, whereas the fathers most influenced by Plato are usually the ones called on to support the doctrine of the Trinity, it was non-Platonic writings such as Clement, Barnabas, and Polycarp, writings that are reticent to attribute divinity to Christ, whose teaching most resembles that of the New Testament. Here Jerusalem was introducing the ideas of doctrinal development and diversity. They represented a potentially serious blow to the Trinity and other doctrines because they suggested discontinuity between the Bible and the creeds, with unfavorable results for the credal tradition.

With respect to interpreting the New Testament, Jerusalem was impressed by Jesus's statement that "The Father is greater than I." This functioned for him as a hermeneutical

benchmark by which all other christological statements were judged because it clearly asserts the subordination of Jesus to God the Father. He also put great emphasis on the fact that Jesus did not expressly claim to be the Logos spoken of in the prologue to John's Gospel. Our understanding of the Logos, he argued, must be taken from the ancient Jewish way of thinking and not from Philo's Platonizing theology. If we understand it so, then the Logos of John's Gospel is seen to be not a preexistent being but instead simply the message of Jesus about God the Father. Consequently, the orthodox view of the incarnation, involving the union of the second person of the Trinity with human nature, is judged to be without Scriptural warrant. Jesus is not the incarnate God but rather the supreme proclaimer of God. This example reveals the Neologians' strategy—profess allegiance to the Bible's true teaching, argue on historical and philological bases that the Bible often does not mean what orthodox theologians have proposed that it means, and then offer a revised interpretation that diminishes the supernatural dimension of the Christian faith and represents the Bible as agreeing with their conception of natural religion.

Neology's Decline

Neology's eventual demise was signaled by GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING'S critique. Although there are similarities between Lessing's theology and that of some Neologians, he opposed their understanding of reason and revelation. Discerning Lessing's own theology poses challenges to the scholar but it can at least be said that he objected to the Neologians' attempt at identifying the content of revelation with a core of simple moral truths and with their subsequent rejection of doctrines like the Trinity. Lessing's attitude toward such doctrines is somewhat complex; however, his overall approach is clear. Like the Neologians, he could not accept these doctrines at face value, although unlike the Neologians, he believed that the doctrines contain important truths that can be rescued through proper philosophical thought and rational comprehension. So, for example, he subjected the doctrine of the Trinity to an analysis that anticipates that of later idealists such as GEORG W.F. HEGEL. The doctrine of the Trinity emerges from this analysis as a completely rational truth about the eternal being of God derived in an utterly speculative manner. In short, Lessing agreed with the Neologians about the impossibility of simply accepting orthodox doctrines in their customary sense. He disagreed with them in his unwillingness to simply reject them wholesale and to reduce revelation to a minimal rational and moral content. Reinterpretation, not rejection, was Lessing's strategy. In this way it was Lessing and not Neology that pointed toward the main developments in Protestant theology in the nineteenth century.

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NEO-ORTHODOXY

The labeling of theological movements is usually a haphazard, sometimes a misleading, undertaking, especially when it occurs before it is quite clear what is transpiring within such movements. No appellation, however, is more ambiguous than the term “Neo-Orthodoxy,” the nomenclature applied to a twentieth-century movement of a number of theologians in Europe, North America, and (to a lesser extent) Great Britain during the approximately fifty-year period ending around 1960 to 1965. The label was probably concocted by critics of the phenomenon so named; it was consistently rejected by almost all of those to whom it was applied; and, although the THEOLOGY in question was perhaps “new” (Neo-), it was certainly not a conscious return to any particular ORTHODOXY except, as we shall argue here, in the most general sense of the term.

Perhaps significantly, the term was used chiefly in the English-speaking world where, for complex reasons, a tendency to generalize and categorize frequently obscures important distinctions. Thus Neo-Orthodoxy came to designate Christian thinkers as distinctive as KARL BARTH, EMIL BRUNNER, RUDOLF BULTMANN, FRIEDRICH GOGARTEN, Gustav Aulen, ANDERS NYGREN, W.A.VISSER ‘T HOOFT, Suzanne de Dietrich, REINHOLD and H.RICHARD NIEBUHR, JOHN and DONALD BAILLIE, PAUL TILLICH, DIETRICH BONHOEFFER, and others, despite the often significant differences among them. Tillich, for example, regularly distinguished his own approach, which was governed by an intentional “apologetic” interest, from the “kerygmatic” theology of the Barthian school; and Barth on occasion seemed to consider Tillich only marginally Christian. Whereas H.Richard Niebuhr was close in important ways to both Tillich and Brunner, his more famous brother, Reinhold, was suspicious of the tendency in most explicitly “systematic” theology to ignore the ambiguity of historical judgments in its quest for integration and finality. Thus, although alliances may certainly be discerned among various of these thinkers, it remains an open question whether they have enough in common to be thought a distinctive movement, and whether there is any legitimate reason for calling such a movement Neo-Orthodox.

Opinions on both questions vary still today. The interpretation offered here will elaborate on the following thesis: What the theologians usually associated with this term

share is a common confrontation by profound questions arising from the end of an era (Modernity), and the belief, variously applied, that these questions can be addressed meaningfully only by Christians who are prepared to go back *behind* Modernity in their search for a way into the future. Thus Neo-Orthodoxy, despite its severe limitations as a descriptive label, may be said to apply to this movement as a search for roots (*radix*) that go deeper than the contemporary; it should not, however, suggest the reinstatement of any particular or alleged orthodoxy, after the manner, for instance, of the so-called radical orthodoxy of current interest.

Christianity and the End of Modernity

Much to the puzzlement of many of his North American students, Paul Tillich frequently announced to his classes in the UNITED STATES that the nineteenth century ended on August 1, 1914. There can be no doubt that “The Great War,” as it was called before World War II, constituted for most of these thinkers a decisive watershed. As Tillich would later say, the war “absolutely transformed” him:

A night attack came, and all night long I moved among the wounded and dying men, and much of my German classical philosophy broke down that night—the belief that man could master cognitively the essence of his being..., the belief in the identity of essence and existence. [TIME Magazine, vol. LXXIII no. 11 (March 16, 1959):47]

Although the war punctuated the demise of the Modern vision, however, for sensitive Europeans it only made obvious what was already brewing in the social upheavals created by the late phase of the Industrial Revolution (see INDUSTRIALIZATION), that is, the recognition that scientific and technological ingenuity did not translate automatically into Progress. Liberal Christianity had so naively endorsed Modernity, abandoning in the process the “negative” dimensions of historic Christianity (SIN, evil, the demonic, etc.) to accommodate the faith to the great expectations of the ENLIGHTENMENT, that Liberalism had nothing to say in the face of Modernity’s humiliation (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Barth in Europe and Reinhold Niebuhr in America found themselves, with others of their generation, cast back on scripture and TRADITION in their attempt to comprehend the *Zeitgeist* and to address, as Christians, their contemporaries.

Barth, whose earliest writings predate World War I, and whose electrifying *Romerbrief* (commentary on Paul’s *Romans*) is widely regarded as the first call to arms of the new theology, had already experienced the limitations of theological Liberalism before the black day on which he discovered the signatures of many of his revered Liberal teachers in a newspaper statement endorsing the war policies of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Like Reinhold Niebuhr a little later on in his pastorate in Henry Ford’s Detroit, Barth in his small Swiss parish of Safenwil, a mill town, soon realized the inadequacy of Liberal Christianity for addressing the growing rift between unchecked capitalism and unorganized labor. Both men, moreover, grasped intuitively the manner in which Christianity, by the very fact of its (legal or cultural) establishment, lent its support to the

economic and political status quo. Reclaiming the legacy of SØREN KIERKEGAARD, their critique targeted not only Liberalism but Christendom as such, that is, the identification of the Christian faith with the regnant values and pursuits of Western (and notably Middle Class) societies. To exercise a prophetic ministry in the world, the Christian church, they realized, would have to speak and act from a vantage point transcendent of its immediate historical context. Barth found this vantage point in a christological-existential (“pneumatic”) reading of the scriptures; Niebuhr in the Hebraic prophetic tradition, informed by Augustinian and Lutheran perspectives.

Of neither of these men, however (and in this they are representative of most of the theologians under discussion), could it be said that they acted out of “conservative” Christian concern against the reigning Protestant Liberalism of the period. Not only had they themselves been thoroughly formed by nineteenth- and the early twentieth-century Liberal schools, including the SOCIAL GOSPEL, neither of them ever relinquished certain rudimentary assumptions of Liberalism—notably, as W. Pauck has observed, the assumption that all theology is historically conditioned. Barth has often been accused of biblicism—or, alternately, taken up by biblicists as one of their own! However, Barth’s approach to the BIBLE has nothing in common with biblical literalism. He reads the scriptures as one conspicuously informed by the specificities of twentieth-century existence; and what he finds in the Bible is a “strange new world” that is at least as foreign to biblicism and FUNDAMENTALISM as it is to theological MODERNISM. Although he mistrusted the attempt of Bultmann to “demythologize” the New Testament, he was well aware of the pitfalls of reading ancient texts as though they were immediately accessible to the scientific mind. Similarly, Reinhold Niebuhr, whose Germanic background made him sensitive to both the positive and the negative legacies of LUTHERANISM, had no interest in conserving Lutheran doctrine. He used MARTIN LUTHER, as he used Augustine, to counter the PIETISM, sentimentality, and moralism of American religion and life, and as an alternative to the doctrinaire CALVINISM so prominent in U.S. history. Comparable observations could be made of Brunner, Tillich, Aulen, and other participants in this renewal.

In short, “Neo-Orthodoxy” was driven primarily by a concern for the present and impending future, not for the preservation of the past. These theologians visited the past—whether through a fresh encounter with scripture, the history of doctrine, philosophic traditions, or literature and the arts—for the light that it could shed on the present. Western civilization was in crisis (the earliest designation of the new theology, and still perhaps the best, was “theology of crisis”). The question was whether, beyond the impasse of Modernity, the West could recover hope for the future, and whether the religion that had aligned itself too uncritically with modern Western presuppositions and ideals could contribute to such a project.

If one may generalize, the answer given by these thinkers was that such a hope could be fashioned only if (1) the rationalism of Modernity was seriously displaced or supplemented by ways of knowing that could do greater justice to the human spirit; (2) the utopianism of Modernity were challenged by biblical and pragmatic realism; (3) the anthropological optimism of Modernity were countered by an honest recognition of the human capacity for evil, its collective pathos, and the tragic dimension of existence.

1. The critique of rationalism meant, for all concerned, the rediscovery of the Pauline and Reformation emphasis on divine revelation. Barth was the great champion of

revelation—to the point, in Bonhoeffer’s well-known criticism, of presenting the world with a new “positivism of revelation.” There can be no doubt, however, that it was the very oneness of Barth’s “fideistic” conception of the knowledge of God that shocked a complacent European church into a new realization of its actual distance from its CULTURE. In his famous confrontation with Emil Brunner over the question of “natural theology” (or “general revelation”), Barth set the tone for a revitalized appreciation of the potentiality of Reformed faith for prophetic vigilance—an appreciation much needed in the face of the current Nazi ideology. It was this same sense of “the infinite qualitative distinction between time and eternity” that informed the famous BARMEN DECLARATION, which was chiefly the work of Karl Barth. Brunner, H. Richard Niebuhr, and Tillich, all of whom also pursued the theme of revelation, nevertheless understood more poignantly than Barth that a Christianity relevant to the post-Christendom world could not afford to abandon so totally its historic dialogue with human reason. Tillich’s “method of correlation” gives revelation priority in terms of the Christian message, although it assumes that in human thought and experience there is and must be, nonetheless, a preparation for gospel (*praeparatio evangelica*.)

2. The challenge to Modern utopianism, whether in its capitalist or its Marxist expression, was particularly addressed by Reinhold Niebuhr, whose *Moral Man and Immoral Society* many consider a classic of this movement. In the midst of a nation more devoted to utopian fantasy than any other (what has been called *The American Dream*), Niebuhr in his books and almost daily journalistic commentary attacked the pretensions of the Modern project. In his *Faith and History* Niebuhr argued that both of the founding traditions of Western civilization embrace a realism wholly ignored by Modernity. The KINGDOM OF GOD, contrary to popular Liberalism, could only be approximated, not realized, in history. This did not imply for Niebuhr an ethic of passivity, however. Despite the ambiguity of history and the duplicity of human motivation, proximate goals must be sought, and can be achieved.

3. Perhaps the greatest challenge to the Modern world view, however, was the nearly unanimous decision of these theologians that the anthropological optimism of the Modern experiment was without foundations. In Europe, where Existentialism presented a secular critique with which Christianity could often make common cause, and where events made unavoidable the reality of human sin and suffering, the recurrence of neglected hamartiological themes in Christian theology was not surprising: Paul Tillich could even revive the discussion of “the demonic” in the GERMANY of the 1930s. In America, however, the anthropological realism of the Niebuhrs, JOHN COLEMAN BENNETT, GEORGIA HARKNESS, and others was received with shock and disdain. Reinhold Niebuhr’s picture appeared on the cover of TIME magazine’s twenty-fifth anniversary issue above the heading “Man’s story is not a success story.” Throughout his life this most renowned of American theologians, who, arguably, inspired more concrete activity in the area of social ethics than any Christian thinker in history, was accused of “pessimism.” His magnum opus, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, delivered as the Gifford Lectures as German bombs were falling on Edinburgh, contained two whole chapters on sin. In a society that seemed to its policy-making classes to surpass forever the dark predictions of the pre-Modern world, such an emphasis could only appear retrograde. Yet, Niebuhr argues, with most other spokespersons of this movement, that unless contemporary society could find the courage to acknowledge the stark reality of

such evils as racism, poverty, violence, crime, WAR, and genocide (Auschwitz), civilization would flounder on the rocks of a repressive and illusionary idealism.

A Quest for Wholeness

The effective demise of Modernity evoked in thoughtful Christians and others the suspicion that something had been lost in the transition from the Medieval and Reformation ages to the Modern epoch. Silently, one felt, a certain insidious reductionism had occurred. The high anthropology contained in the traditions both of Athens and Jerusalem had been extricated from the pathos and sense of the tragic equally important to those foundational traditions. The result was a technoculture documented, somewhat later, by Jacques Ellul and others—a civilization fixated on the naive yet dangerous concept of human mastery over nature and history, undergirded by a religion deprived of mystery, depth, and the dialectical tensions between faith and doubt, hope and history, love and suffering. Such a religion could hardly withstand the scrutiny of the great nineteenth-century “mis-evangelists” (Rosenstock-Huessy’s designation of LUDWIG FEUERBACH, Sigmund Freud, FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, and Karl Marx), let alone the world-shattering events that ushered in the century that was supposed to have become “The Christian Century.”

What had been lost, and what might be recovered through a reexamination of the biblical, medieval, Reformation, and other dimensions of the pre-Modern tradition? Such a retrospective interest was bound to seem regressive to a society and church indoctrinated in “the Religion of Progress” (George P. Grant.) It is said that his fellow-students at Union Theological Seminary in New York City registered astonishment when the young Dietrich Bonhoeffer made reference, as he regularly did, to the sixteenth-century reformers. Undoubtedly it was this “novel” respect for tradition that suggested to critics of the movement the nomenclature, Neo-Orthodox.

Certainly the Reformation was of particular interest to the majority of these thinkers—to the extent, indeed, that some have proposed that the movement is more accurately designated Neo-Reformation Theology. Submerged aspects of the Reformation began to dominate theological-ecumenical discourse: its christological-soteriological core; the “material principle” of JUSTIFICATION by GRACE through FAITH; the “formal principle” of the primacy of scripture (*sola scriptura*); the alternative to Christendom’s triumphalism named by Luther *theologia crucis*, and so forth. Yet the reworking of classical Protestantism was only part of the “research” characteristic of the period. Eventually, Barth’s grand enterprise impelled him to review the entire evolution of Christian thought. Such an observation can be made of Brunner, Aulen, and Tillich as well, and Tillich’s work represents a quite unprecedented Protestant interest in both the history of philosophy and medieval theology. Above all, biblical exegesis and the origins of Christianity necessarily acquired a new prominence in theological discourse, and indeed Neo-Orthodoxy inspired and was inspired by a whole new era of biblical scholarship.

As intimated, however, none of this implies an antiquarian interest. As with all profound revolutions, what was occurring here was a search for foundations—for “a usable past.” Furthermore, what particularly informs this search is an obvious and even a

deliberate attempt to overcome the simplism and onesidedness of theological Liberalism through a greater grasp of the whole tradition. For that reason the most influential among these theologians were led to enucleate whole new “systems” of theology—and this in an age when systematic theology or Christian dogmatics were considered passé. Barth, Brunner, and Tillich all produced magnificent multivolumed works that compare in scope and imagination only with those of Thomas and JOHN CALVIN. The smaller but highly influential publications of both Niebuhrs, Bultmann, HENDRIK KRAEMER, Nygren, Bonhoeffer, and others all manifest a quest for wholeness that, with a few exceptions, was lost to subsequent theological movements. Barth’s *Kirchliche Dogmatik* of course constitutes the most remarkable testimony to this twentieth-century search for wholeness; nevertheless, what the old Barth said of his labors could be thought representative of the movement generally:

I said to myself, “If I am a theologian, I must try to work out broadly what I think I have perceived as God’s revelation. What I think/have perceived. Yet not I as an individual but I as a member of the Christian Church.” This is why I call my book *Church Dogmatics*. (Erlar and Marquadt 1986:113)

This deceptively simple statement contains yet another dimension of the quest for wholeness—its orientation toward the CHURCH. In marked contrast to the “academic” bent of much subsequent Christian scholarship, all of the leading thinkers of this movement understood their *raison d’être* as theologians to be bound up with the community of Christ’s discipleship. Most of them in fact began their professional careers as parish clergy; and, although they were all critical of empirical Christianity, they did not manifest anything approaching the detachment from or cynicism concerning the churches that has often typified more recent theological reflection. It is indeed probable that the ecumenical movement itself could not have come to be apart from their witness and work because most of them were personally active in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and other ecumenical agencies throughout their careers (see ECUMENISM).

Given both the depth and scope of this movement and the association of its leading lights with the actual life of ecumenical Christianity, it is perhaps strange that the movement has exercised so little lasting influence within the churches; yet, although the great theologians of Neo-Orthodoxy continue to inform academic theology in most present-day Christian SEMINARIES and elsewhere, their impact on ecclesiastical life seems deplorably minimal. Despite the fact that Neo-Orthodoxy represents a clear alternative to both theological Liberalism and ultraconservative religion, the struggles of the churches today still reflect the conventional polarization of Right and Left; indeed, the theologians of this movement are all too often co-opted, *in absentia*, for membership in one or other of these camps. No doubt this presages a cultural incapacity for nuance that is especially conspicuous in the North American context, as well as preoccupation with the allegedly “practical” and with sheer survival. Yet it is surely unfortunate that this great revitalization of Protestantism did not translate itself more concretely into the life of the churches—and precisely at a time when the humiliation and depletion of mainstream Protestantism requires of these churches exactly such a theological renewal.

In part, the failure can be explained by the emergence, just at the conclusion of the period under discussion (1960–1970), of social concerns that were not sufficiently anticipated by the leading figures of this movement: questions of race, GENDER, sexual orientation, the environment, multiculturalism, religious plurality, the demise of Marxism and the subsequent hegemony of U.S.-dominated economic globalism, and so forth. Although important background for all such questions may (and should be!) gleaned from the writings of these theologians, response to the instabilities and crises concerned had of course to come from Christian spokespersons for the issues and identities directly involved in them. This has necessitated a specificity of concern, the negative consequence of which has been a loss both of the wholeness sought in Neo-Orthodoxy and of its orientation toward the ecumenical church. One suspects that such identity- and cause-specific theologies were obliged by the very character of their agendas to set aside the quest for wholeness; but it is equally necessary for the future of the Christian movement generally that it should recover that quest as it seeks to conduct its mission of hope in a post-Christendom, post-Modern civilization. Perhaps something of that nature is already occurring in the attempts, here and there, to listen again to the remembered voices of our near past.

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DOUGLAS JOHN HALL

THE NETHERLANDS

Origins of the Dutch Reformation (Sixteenth Century)

The Dutch Republic came into being in the sixteenth century during the revolt against the Spanish power. In the first decades of that century, the many territories at the estuaries of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt Rivers had been successively included under the rule of the Emperor Charles V in a process of centralization that had already been started by the Burgundian Dukes. Around 1550, the Netherlands consisted roughly of the present Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Belgium, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. Because King of Spain Charles V usually resided in Madrid, he was represented in the Low Countries by a governor in Brussels. At the head of the provinces,

stadholders were his representatives. The total population of the Netherlands was about 2,000,000; the density was greatest in Flanders and Brabant.

As in other European countries, in the Netherlands the Roman Catholic Church was seriously affected by many abuses. At least the burden of tradition hindered the effects of the biblical message. At Antwerp, the biggest mercantile center of Western Europe, signs of the REFORMATION movement first came to light. Nearly immediately, the church and state authorities deemed it necessary to respond. HERESY was considered a deadly danger for society. In 1519, the University of Louvain had already condemned MARTIN LUTHER'S books. The first MARTYRS of European Protestantism were two Antwerp monks, Hendrik Vos and Johannes van Essen, who were executed in the marketplace at Brussels on July 1, 1523.

Nevertheless, everywhere evidence of growing Protestantism could be noted, including in the northern provinces, partly as a consequence of the criticism of former ages and partly due to the direct influence of Luther himself. From the very beginning, Protestantism promoted the vernacular translation, printing, and distribution of the BIBLE (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). This was true in the Netherlands by the early 1520s. Besides the direct impact of the Lutheran Reformation, the Swiss reformers HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and HEINRICH BULLINGER had a certain influence in these regions. In many towns, Erasmus's humanistic criticism of the Catholic Church and theology created a certain susceptibility to Reformation ideas. The first martyr in Holland was a married priest, Jan Pistorius of Woerden, burned in The Hague in 1525.

Luther was reluctant to instruct his followers to organize an underground church if the prince did not accept a Protestant CONFESSION, as was the case in the Low Countries. Therefore, his influence remained restricted. Anabaptists were the first to appeal to the broad masses in the Netherlands and to create a separate church organization secretly outside the Catholic Church. In 1530, Jan Volkertsz Trypmaker, a disciple of MELCHIOR HOFMANN, traveled throughout the northern provinces to bring BAPTISM on confession of faith. He was executed in 1531. Persecution of ANABAPTISM was extremely severe.

Great commotion in the Netherlands was caused by the revolutionary apocalyptic preaching of those Anabaptists who believed the New Jerusalem had arrived in the city of Münster (Westphalia) under the leadership of Jan van Leiden, who proclaimed himself King of Sion (1534). Community of goods and polygamy were proclaimed, while every opposition was suppressed. Order was restored in Münster in 1535, and the Anabaptist leaders were punished severely. After this revolutionary period, Anabaptism entered a new phase in which nonviolence became its main characteristic along with believers' baptism. Nevertheless, tales of the Münster excesses haunted the quiet Anabaptists for generations.

It was MENNO SIMONS who was able to acquire the leadership in the Dutch Anabaptist movement in opposition to Georg David and other, more radical preachers. Menno constantly traveled through Dutch and German regions to assemble the scattered flock. The so-called "MENNONITES" remained a strong minority in the Netherlands. In the 1540s, CALVINISM entered the provinces bordering FRANCE. JOHN CALVIN sent Pierre Bruly to Valenciennes in 1544, but Bruly was arrested and executed early in 1545, becoming the first martyr of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. Despite the increasing persecution, Reformed congregations were founded, at first in the southern

provinces. Calvinism became rather popular among the West Flemish workers. In the 1560s, demonstrations for religious freedom arose in Tournai and other cities. The first Calvinistic (or Reformed) preachers arrived in the northern provinces in the 1550s. Many Reformed people escaped the severe oppression and fled to the surrounding territories, such as Emden (eastern Frisia). Refugee communities were founded in London and other English ports, as well as in some German cities. Synods have been held since 1562.

The first generation of Dutch Calvinists gave accounts of their creed and their expectations in the wordings of the BELGIC CONFSSION in 1561, composed by the Walloon preacher Guy de Brès (c. 1522–1567). In 1563, the Dutch translation of the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM was published. Both texts soon received official AUTHORITY as confessional documents of the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH. The church's aggressive attitude in POLITICS provided Calvinism with an entrance to certain classes of the nobility, who were concerned about preserving their rights.

Besides the Anabaptist and Calvinistic churches, various smaller groups came into existence. The House of Love (also called Familists) was a secret sect founded by Hendrick Niclaes (c. 1501–1580), with branches in GERMANY and ENGLAND. It attracted members in the world of merchants, printers, and artists. Dirck Volckertz Coornhert (1522–1590), one of the leading supporters of William of Orange, developed into the most fervent champion of tolerance and rejected the idea of a visible church.

The Dutch Revolt

The year 1566, known as the “Miracle Year,” was a turning point in the development of Dutch reformation. An alliance of nobles requested mitigation of King Philip's policy against the Protestants and more political freedom. Calvinistic open-air sermons were delivered everywhere. A nationwide storm of ICONOCLASM followed from the extreme south far into the north. In many places the local authorities now granted the use of church buildings to the Reformed, who took advantage of the confusion to extend their organization. King Philip reacted furiously, keeping a firm hand on the execution of the antiheresy edicts as well as on the rights of the crown. The Duke of Alba, Philip's best strategist, put down the insurrection with a huge army, and budding possibilities were stopped. Disappointed in their action of protest, the opposition leaders were forced to submit to the King's measures or flee en masse, among them Prince William of Orange, one of the stadholders, who had shown himself as Alba's great adversary. Many Protestants who could not flee were put to death.

But it was Alba's ruthless application of legal measure that drove the large group of waverers into the arms of the Calvinistic party. Resistance grew little by little. In the end, the King had to call back Alba and to proceed more cautiously. But all of his attempts to win over his adversaries failed. The war intensified. Political and economic interests coincided with the people's desire for religious freedom. William of Orange, who had returned from his exile, went over to Calvinism in 1573 and succeeded in bringing together a massive resistance movement. He had a very keen perception of the national interest, as well as a firm belief in civil tolerance. Under completely new circumstances, William became the leader of the oppositional forces.

The problem was how to hold together the two confessions. All sorts of solutions were tried. In 1579, the rebellious northern provinces promulgated the Union of Utrecht, by which the absolute freedom of each province to regulate its own religious status was guaranteed. However, the great federal state that William had in mind broke up under the pressure of separatist and religious tendencies. Holland and Zeeland, the bulwark of resistance to Spain, became the scene of Calvinistic intolerance at its most extreme (Lecler 1960). Catholics were granted freedom of con-science, but were forbidden to assemble in churches or private houses.

The States General (i.e., practically the entire northern provinces) abjured Philip II as their sovereign in 1581. The Spanish troops could preserve the southern provinces only; in 1585 they conquered Antwerp. Everyone who did not want to embrace the Catholic religion had to go into exile. The North took advantage of the stream of emigrants, most of whom were Calvinists. The dominating presence of Protestantism in the North and of Catholicism in the South was clearly influenced by military and political factors. It cannot be proved, however, that Protestantism prevailed by force.

The Dutch revolt became a heroic struggle that did not end until 1648 (Peace of Munster). From that time onward, the United Provinces were an independent republic under the leadership of the States General. The stadholder—always a Prince of Orange in most of the provinces—naturally participated in federal policies. He was a member of the Reformed Church and felt obliged to defend its position. However, the Reformed Church can by no means be considered the established church of the republic.

The Golden Age (Seventeenth Century)

The provinces kept their sovereign rights, including in ecclesiastical matters, and were concerned with the education of the Reformed ministers. Gradually universities were founded, one in nearly each province; the Reformed ministers got their education at theological faculties.

Toward 1600, tensions in the Reformed Church came to light that can be characterized as “moderate” versus “strictly orthodox,” soon personified in two Leyden professors, JACOBUS ARMINIUS (1560–1609) and FRANZ GOMAR (1563–1641). The theological controversy was over the doctrine of PREDESTINATION, but in a short time it widened to encompass the political scene. ARMINIANISM, in a way a theological revival of humanism tending to Erastianism (THOMAS ERASTUS), was supported by influential magistrates, especially in Holland and Zeeland, whereas the Gomarists relied on stadholder Prince Maurice, son of William. To end the debate, Maurice called the National Synod of the Reformed Church in the city of Dort in 1618. The Arminian party (REMONSTRANTS) was condemned, and the Remonstrant ministers were banished. In 1619, they founded their own church organization, the Remonstrant Brotherhood, in Antwerp. Only after the death of Maurice (1625), under the stadholdership of his brother, Prince Frederick Henry, were Remonstrants allowed to have their own church buildings and even a theological seminary at Amsterdam.

Although several edicts forbade nonreformed services, in actual practice TOLERATION was generally great. It is difficult, if not impossible, to give sound statistics about the number of church members in this period. On the whole, in the

republic the Catholic Church constituted about 40 percent of the population. Catholics were strongest in those parts of Brabant, Flanders, and the valley of the Meuse that were conquered by the republic in the last decades of the war against Spain.

In the realm of the Dutch East and West Indian Companies, in Asia, SOUTH AFRICA, and North and South America, several Reformed congregations were founded during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These were mostly administered by the ecclesiastical boards in patria. In addition to the Dutch members, these churches had always a great number of natives who had been catechized and baptized as Reformed. Without developing missionary activities in the modern sense, Dutch ministers were working on religious and educational programs, often in the vernacular.

Dutch CULTURE has been marked by Protestantism, as is shown by, for example, the important place which the authorized version (“Statenvertaling”) of the Bible, made by order of the States General (1637), was given in LITERATURE, fine arts, and even everyday life. Ministers and consistories (see CONSISTORY) tried to shape society according to their ideal of godliness and felt obliged to combat age-old papal customs. Influenced partly by English PURITANISM and partly by the broad European pietistic movement of that age (see PIETISM), the so-called “Further Reformation” (*Nadere reformatie*) reacted against dead ORTHODOXY, poor PREACHING, lax discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE), and worldliness. Sometimes local administration supported the pietists’ program. But in contrast to Reformed principles, appointing a new minister was a matter not for the ecclesiastical authority, but for the magistrates, who also tried to maintain order in the many theological and ecclesiastical quarrels.

In the course of the seventeenth century, different scholastic systems developed within Reformed THEOLOGY. Most important was the dispute between G. Voetius (1589–1676) and JOHANNES COCCEJUS (1603–1669). Voetius and his school were strongly opposed to the philosophy of Rene Descartes, whereas the Coccejianists were open to new philosophical concepts. Voetius was one of the champions of the Puritan “Further Reformation,” but he warned against forms of piety outside the church in the CONVENTICLES of godly people. Hence he condemned the reformation program of the Walloon minister J.de Labadie (1610–1674). De Labadie founded a pietistic sect that after his death settled in Wieuwerd (Frisia), led by Anna Maria van Schurman, who before her CONVERSION was celebrated as Europe’s most erudite woman.

The Enlightenment (Eighteenth Century)

Ideas of the ENLIGHTENMENT were widely accepted in the tolerant atmosphere of the republic, provided that the value of religion was not disputed. Although dismissed from his service as Reformed minister in Amsterdam, B.Bekker (1634–1698) was famous for his struggle against superstition and witch trials (see WITCHCRAZE). Among the many refugees who fled to the republic and furthered the progression of modern ideas was PIERRE BAYLE (1647–1706), the editor of the widely read *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*. The radical ideas of Benedict de Spinoza (1632–1677) caused a nearly universal opposition from the side of the Reformed theologians; only some of the Collegiants, a loose, interdenominational group of Protestants on the extreme left wing, were in sympathy with him. Among the Remonstrants, biblical criticism was accepted to a certain

extent, as was shown by, among others, H.Grotius (1583–1645). Grotius was not only a famous jurist, but also a prolific theological writer who argued in favor of a Christian-humanistic ecumenicity. In Grotius's footsteps, J.Lecler (1657–1736) and his successor J.J.Wettstein (1693–1754) lectured on critical theology at the Remonstrant seminar.

When Count NICKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF, visited Amsterdam in 1736 and following years, to promote his mission work in the Dutch colonies, he met with great sympathy among Mennonites as well as among Collegiants. Since that time, a small MORAVIAN CHURCH has existed in the Netherlands with its center in Zeist near Utrecht. Since the eighteenth century, the Moravian Missionary Society has directed its activities mainly toward Surinam. The Moravians stimulated Dutch Protestants to the missionary task, as was later done by the pioneers of the British missionary societies (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). In 1797, J.M.van der Kemp (1747–1811) and others founded the Dutch Missionary Society, which sent its missionaries to INDONESIA.

The Years of Revolution

The "ancien régime" in the Netherlands came to an end in 1795, when the Seven Provinces were conquered by French troops and the principles of the French Revolution were introduced, resulting in the founding of the (only theoretically independent) Batavian Republic. The stadholdership was abolished, a centralized democratic administration was inaugurated with presidency and parliament in The Hague. The Orange party was silenced, and the so-called "Patriots," who formed the revolutionary party, now held the seats of government.

Scarcely any hostility was shown by Dutch revolutionaries toward religion or churches as social phenomena. Indeed, they themselves regarded the Batavian Revolution as a sign of Divine Providence (Bornewasser 1981). But the National Assembly decided that no ruling church should exist in the free Netherlands (August 5, 1796); henceforth, CHURCH AND STATE would remain separate. Whereas Catholics and the dissenting Protestants welcomed the end of discrimination toward their churches wholeheartedly, the Reformed Protestants accepted the new situation only reluctantly and feared great financial problems once the announced ending of the age-old subsidy from the public funds was effectuated. But after a few years, restorative forces mitigated the revolutionary achievements. In 1806, Holland became a kingdom under Napoleon's brother Louis. From 1810 to 1813, the country was incorporated in the French Empire under Napoleon Bonaparte, a period of pauperization and national humiliation.

The first census was taken in 1809. The territory of Louis's kingdom was smaller than the present borders of the Netherlands. Corrected according to the present situation, of the total population (c. 2,200,000), approximately 38.3 percent were Catholic, 55.5 percent were Reformed, 2.8 percent were Lutheran, 1.8 percent were Jewish, 1.4 percent were Mennonite, and 0.2 percent were Remonstrant.

The Nineteenth Century

After the fall of Napoleon's hated empire, the European states restored the prerevolutionary status as much as possible. In the Low Countries, the Orange regime returned as monarchy. It was decided to unite the so-called "Spanish Netherlands" in the South with the territory of the Northern Netherlands. Under the reign of King William I (son of the last stadholder), the Low Countries were again one state as they were under Charles V, but not for long. In 1830, the South revolted against the North because of the so-called "repressive regime" of the king. Out of the Belgian Revolution arose the Kingdom of Belgium in 1831, under King Leopold of Saxony-Coburg. The western part of Luxembourg was added to Belgium, and the city of Luxembourg and its region became the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg under William of Orange-Nassau.

In 1814, after many years of uncertainty, financial support for the churches from the side of the government of the new kingdom could be granted, even to the non-Reformed churches. Nevertheless, the principle of division between church and state was maintained. However, in conformity with the restorative tendencies of that period, the king acted as patron of the churches and succeeded in giving the Reformed as well as the Lutheran churches regulations controlled by the state. The old Reformed confessional statements dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were no longer obligatory, notwithstanding many protests from the orthodox wing. Increasingly, church life became divided by theological and ecclesiastical parties that differed on the maintainance of the Reformed confession, varying from advocating total freedom via a broad moderate party to proponents of strict consistency.

During the nineteenth century, Dutch society evolved (albeit slowly) toward modernity. Later than in the surrounding countries, INDUSTRIALIZATION really set in after the 1840s. For national consciousness, the social question became urgent toward the end of the century. In 1848, the Constitution was revised according to the principles of democracy, but in terms of parliamentary elections, the system of proportional representation and universal suffrage was not introduced until 1919. In accordance with this slow process, the Netherlands Reformed Church of the nineteenth century continued to act like the national church (*Volkserk*) of past times. The House of Orange belonged to the church, as did most of the leading personalities in the world of politics and learning. They voted as conservatives or liberals, and the practice of infant baptism was unchallenged.

In the three state universities at Leyden, Groningen, and Utrecht, the theological faculties were theoretically neutral, but in reality Protestant. On the whole, the academic theology was moderately liberal (in the sense of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER and his German adepts) or modern (under the influence of the modern sciences and positivistic or empirical thinking). Biblical criticism was flourishing under the leadership of men like A.Kuenen (1828–1891), professor of the Old Testament at Leyden. Also at Leyden, C.P.Tiele (1830–1902) had a great influence on the study of comparative religion. Orthodox theologians were inspired by the Swiss-French-German *reveil* of, for example, A.Vinet (1797–1847). Inspired by the latter, J.H.Gunning Jr. (1829–1905), Reformed minister and professor in Amsterdam and Leyden, related orthodoxy and

modern culture. Gunning is considered one of the fathers of so-called “ethical” theology, which emphasizes the existential and personalistic elements of faith.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the strictly orthodox Reformed theologians and laymen were increasingly reacting against the mainstream theology. Two secessions occurred, in 1834 and 1886, leading to the foundation of separated Reformed Churches, the greatest part of which decided to unite as Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (*Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*) in 1892. A small group kept aloof from that union as the Christian Reformed Churches (*Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken*). The Calvinistic Church in the Netherlands originally called itself *Gereformeerd*, which was transformed to *Hervormd* in the beginning of the nineteenth century; the Calvinistically inspired secession churches restored for themselves the old name, *Gereformeerd*. Both names are translated as “Reformed.”

The revival of orthodox Calvinism led to the founding of independent theological schools. After the first secession, a school was started at Kampen, today called the Theological University of the Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) Churches. The Free University in Amsterdam, founded in 1880, has its roots in the neo-Calvinistic movement in the Netherlands; its theological faculty provided the education for the ministers coming from the 1886 secession. Therefore, the Reformed Churches had at their disposal two theological faculties after 1892. Its leading theologians of this first generation of scholars were ABRAHAM KUYPER (1837–1920) and H. Bavinck (1854–1921).

The orthodox-reformed secessions were religious phenomena as well as emancipatory movements. At the same time Catholics, after having been discriminated against for centuries, were now juridically emancipated and tried to improve their position in society.

Inspired by the international *revival* as well as by the rebirth of Calvinism, the orthodox Protestants started elementary schools on a confessional basis alongside the state schools, in which religious education could evidently be not more than a common denominator of Christian belief in its broadest sense. Like the Catholics, orthodox Protestant leaders subsequently organized their own political parties in the second half of the century, in order to realize their school system and, in general, to safeguard their interests in society that Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801–1887) was pioneering.

The Twentieth Century

As was already the case in politics and education, Protestants and Catholics built up their own organizations in the press, the trade unions, broadcasting, sports, and other areas etc. Alongside them, the socialists had their own organizations. In the first half of the twentieth century, Dutch society became thus compartmentalized (*verzuimd*, or “pillarized”)- This system promoted citizens’ involvement in public life. By the end of the century, the “pillarization” had lost its strength.

Between the two World Wars, dialectical theology (see NEO-ORTHODOXY) gained support in the Reformed (*Hervormde*) Church; the *Gereformeerden* mostly were against it. The younger “ethical” theologians also were not charmed by KARL BARTH and his friends (with the exception of EMIL BRUNNER). Their leading theologians were, for example, G. van der Leeuw (1890–1950), professor of the history of religions and liturgiologist at Groningen, and Oepke Noordmans (1871–1956), minister of the Reformed

Church. At the theological left, H. Bergson and ALBERT SCHWEITZER, among others, were influential.

The Netherlands were neutral during World War I, but became involved in World War II. During the German occupation (1940–1945), Nazi ideology showed its barbaric consequences in the oppression of spiritual freedom and human values, and in the extermination of about 100,000 Jews (see HOLOCAUST). The churches called for resistance, and many people, including from the ranks of priests and ministers, sacrificed their lives.

The mutual solidarity in wartime cut across traditional party loyalties within the *Hervormde* Church. The “New Course” (*Nieuwe Koers*) tended toward the clear confession of Jesus Christ as the Lord and inspired deadlocked reorganization proposals. A new Church Order (1951) introduced a confessionally bound synod instead of the former neutral officialdom, and stimulated evangelizing activities, even taking up certain positions on political problems.

Ecumenical cooperation, as shaped by the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, was warmly welcomed (see ECUMENISM). The first secretary-general was the Dutch theologian WILLEM ADOLPH VISSER ’T HOOFT (1900–1985), and the first Assembly was held in Amsterdam in 1948. HENDRIK KRAEMER (1888–1965) was the first director of the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey near Geneva.

As earlier, in the second half of the twentieth century Dutch Protestantism was susceptible to various types of foreign theology. RUDOLF BULTMANN’S *Entmythologisierung* received remarkably little attention among the liberals, who were open to a christological orientation but also to PAUL TILLICH’S modernity. Most influential were Barth and his school; K.H. Miskotte (1894–1976), *Hervormd* professor at Leyden, was an original representative of this theology. Leading dogmaticians in the 1950s and after—more or less independent from Barth—were G.C. Berkouwer (1903–1996), *Gereformeerd* professor at Amsterdam (Free University), and A.A. van Ruler (1908–1970), *Hervormd* professor at Utrecht University.

The theological position of the *Gereformeerd* professor K. Schilder (1890–1952) at Kampen caused fierce debates about the doctrine of baptism and certain questions of canon law, leading to a secession in 1944, known as the “Liberation” (*Vrijmaking*). The “Liberated” (*Vrijgemaakt*) Reformed Churches are maintaining an isolated position within Dutch Protestantism because of their strict Calvinistic orthodoxy. In contrast, in the Reformed Churches “synodal” (“*Gereformeerd synodaal*”) there is a striking ecumenicity.

After more than two centuries without any missionary project, several missionary societies became active during the nineteenth century. Nearly all these societies are now united and are cooperating with the International Missionary Council of the World Council of Churches. The missionary school, which was formerly in Rotterdam and Oegstgeest, is now in Utrecht.

During the twentieth century, Dutch churches were faced with a fast-growing process of secularization, notwithstanding a considerable increase of Evangelicals. By the year 2000, about 40 percent of the total population of the Netherlands (16,000,000) were considered unchurched. About 31 percent were Catholics and 14 percent were Dutch Reformed (*Hervormd*). The other Reformed churches together (mostly, besides the *Gereformeerde Kerken*, of a more strictly Calvinistic character) composed about 7

percent of the population, whereas Muslims (mainly immigrants from Surinam, Morocco, and Turkey) made up about 6 percent. The remaining churches and religious groups (including, among others, the Remonstrant, Lutheran, and Mennonite Churches) accounted for about 2 percent of the population. After many preparatory talks, the *Hervormde* Church (with about 1,918,000 members) and the Gereformeerde Church (667,000 members), together with the Lutheran Church (20,000 members) planned to unite in 2004 in a new church entity, the Protestant Church in the Netherlands.

Despite the overall declining number of church members, contemporary Dutch Protestantism is characterized by a high degree of lay participation and openness for the world, its tasks, and needs.

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AART DE GROOT

NEVIN, JOHN WILLIAMSON (1803– 1886)

American theologian. Nevin was the author of the MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY and critic of “new measures” revivalism, SECTARIANISM, and American INDIVIDUALISM, Nevin advocated a catholic and incarnational Christianity.

Born February 20, 1803 in Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania and raised into “old school” PRESBYTERIANISM by Scotch-Irish parents, Nevin graduated from Union College (Schenectady, New York) and Princeton Seminary (Princeton, New Jersey), and was ordained by the Carlisle Presbytery. He joined the faculty of Western Theological Seminary in 1829 where he delved into German theology, ROMANTICISM, and the church histories of JOHANN AUGUST NEANDER. In 1840 Nevin was called to the German Reformed Church seminary and Marshall College in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, where Friedrich A. Rauch exposed him to German idealism and Hegelian philosophy.

Nevin and his colleague PHILIP SCHAFF articulated the main points of the Mercersburg Theology over the next decade in books and articles in *The Mercersburg Review*. They envisioned the church as an organic, catholic unity, developing through history as the continuing presence of Christ’s incarnation. In *The Anxious Bench* (1843), Nevin railed against revivalism, praising instead traditional catechetical systems. In *The Mystical Presence* (1846), Nevin addressed the significance of the SACRAMENTS, especially the Eucharist (LORD’S SUPPER), claiming that through them the faithful come into mystical union with the reality of Christ’s life. Titles of his later books, *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism* (1847) and *Anti-christ: the Spirit of Sect and Schism* (1848), speak to their contents. After leaving Mercersburg in 1853, Nevin continued to write and teach, and contributed to liturgical revisions within the German Reformed Church.

Nevin died June 6, 1886 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

See also Revivals; Theology

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ERIKA W.DYSON

NEW AGE MOVEMENTS

The term *New Age Movements* usually refers to a specific stream of spiritual beliefs and practices that began to rise above the banks of esotericism about 1965 and flowed out into the wider occidental and oriental cultures. The mouth of the stream begins in the nineteenth century with what WILLIAM JAMES called the “mind-cure movement”; and its doctrinal beliefs were most fully articulated by Theosophy’s founder, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) in the 1880s. It was a disciple of Mme. Blavatsky, English theosophist Alice Bailey (1880–1949), who coined the term “new age” as it is currently used. New immigration legislation in the UNITED STATES in 1965 opened flood gates for Asian religious traditions to pour into North America, and these irrigated and fertilized the nearly dormant metaphysical beliefs of America’s previous century.

The final third of the twentieth century experienced widespread revolt against religion understood as institutional or organized practice; and this revolt was incited in large part by New Age Spirituality seeking to make room for itself in the Western establishment. The term *spirituality* entered and transformed the secularized vocabulary by which the West, dominated by a scientific culture, was struggling to understand itself. Spirituality eschews DOCTRINE and dogma, preferring to foster a nonauthoritarian atmosphere of believing. Nevertheless, New Age Spirituality incorporates an identifiable set of tenets or beliefs that make it recognizable as a confluence of Asian metaphysics, classic esotericism, and Western psychology.

The key conceptual tenets of New Age metaphysics, epistemology, and psychology begin with a commitment to:

1. *Holism*, which is the principle that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Holism is identified with emergence in evolutionary theory; and in the New Age it is the metaphysical principle undergirding healing as witnessed in the holistic health movement.
2. *Monism*, or belief in the unity of all being, is a New Age metaphysical tenet that is articulated with reference to Brahmanism in ancient INDIA and ascribed to other Asian symbols, such as the Chinese yin-yang, said to depict complementary unity or harmony. The monistic unity is occasionally referred to as “God”; and many New Age adherents are pantheists.
3. The doctrine of the *higher self* incorporates Western psychology, such as Abraham Maslow’s aspirations toward “peak experience,” into monistic and holistic metaphysics. The spiritual quest becomes one of rising from our lower self to the higher self, and thereby realizing the oneness our self shares with the unity of all being, with God.
4. The classic Aristotelian notion of *potentiality* is ascribed to the psychological task of actualizing the metaphysical potential that is said to lie within each of us, the potential to realize cosmic oneness, a realization that leads to personal healing and global harmony.

5. *Reincarnation* in its Hindu and Buddhist forms provides the backdrop for New Age psychoanalysis, wherein retrieval of past lives and reversal of karma become a means for healing in the present incarnation.
6. The New Age sees itself as taking a scientific rather than a religious approach to spirituality; and *evolution* provides a screen on which we can project change, dynamism, and most important, transformation. Evolution is seen here as progressive and transformatory, as orienting us toward a future “Age of Aquarius.”
7. *Gnosis* understood as profound inner knowledge gained through consciousness raising becomes the means by which self-transformation and even planetary transformation are pursued.
8. *Jesus* sometimes plays a role in New Age Spirituality; but this Jesus is frequently divorced from the Christ of the Christian churches. According to the New Age vision, Jesus is a spir itual person who has actualized his own potential for transformation and has actualized his higher self; so Jesus becomes a model for us with his same potential.

New Age ideas permeate what scholars call *New Religious Movements*, even when those religious movements are not necessarily new. These ideas are borne by the media and promoted by spiritual entrepreneurs through movements such as acupuncture, astrology, channeling, crystals, ecofeminism, gnosticism, health foods, hypnotherapy, psychics, metaphysical bookstores, neo-shamanism, tarot, traditional medicines, transpersonal psychology, UFO belief, and yoga. Because such spiritual practices appear to be noninstitutionalized, practitioners can maintain normal institutional affiliations. Thus New Age beliefs and meditative practices influence many mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic congregations. In instances where practitioners are adherents to tight cult-like New Religious Movements, New Age beliefs are pitted against orthodox Christianity.

The metaphysical commitments and spiritual practices of New Age belief are incompatible with many theological and ethical commitments made by REFORMATION Protestants. The Reformed tradition especially emphasizes the transcendence and holiness and personalness of God the creator. Here God is *other*, sharply distinguishable from the creation. New Age monism and pantheism, in contrast, conflate creator with creature, God with the human self. New Age attempts to elevate the self into the sphere of the divine; and the spiritual task becomes one of realizing the divinity that lies within. Protestants, in sharp contrast, see the spiritual task in terms of realistically recognizing that God alone is holy; and this includes viewing ourselves as creatures, of celebrating ourselves as truly human.

When it comes to the ETHICS of love, we can distinguish between love of self and love of the other. The New Age spiritual task of pursuing one’s higher self to climb up to the divine contrasts sharply with the Lutheran emphasis on love of neighbor. Instead of loving God because God is in reality one’s own self, the Lutheran lets both God and neighbor remain other and defines love in terms of loving someone who is other.

On the other hand, many Protestants appreciate the wholesomeness of much that New Age Spirituality sponsors. Its celebratory mood accompanied by an optimistic affirmation of human unity with NATURE and with God yields an empowering set of spiritual practices that positively edify the lives of many adherents. Even though some right-wing Protestants have accused New Age practitioners of serving Satan and practicing satanic rituals (see DEVIL), no indisputable evidence has confirmed this accusation. New Age

Spirituality overlaps with Protestant and Roman Catholic spirituality in many healthy ways, even though from time to time it needs theologically critical assessment.

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TED PETERS

NEW ZEALAND

Christianity has been a very self-conscious tradition in New Zealand. It has been seen either as a whole, particularly in accounts of Christianity on the Maori, or in denominational forms. More recently scholars have sought to investigate Christian links with CULTURE and society. Although the literature has been extensive, it has studiously avoided using the Protestant category, except where it intruded unavoidably on national politics. Ian Breward did indeed explore the Bible in Schools movement, and Peter O'Connor the militant Protestant tradition, but the present author is unusual in using the Protestant category in research of patterns of spirituality.

Nevertheless it is altogether clear that the Protestant label is a natural category. Until the Second Vatican Council, mutual differences with Catholicism were fundamental, and despite levels of intermarriage, and some embarrassment about public sectarianism (in striking contrast to AUSTRALIA), few Protestants would enter Catholic churches or vice versa. Protestantism in New Zealand, however, should not be viewed simply as a polemical tradition. It was a form of Christianity, a form represented by a notion of AUTHORITY shaped around the BIBLE and an ECUMENISM within which denominational differences flourished comfortably. It is this tradition that this article analyzes.

Protestant Missions

The earliest Christian activity in New Zealand was a product of the evangelical missionary movement. Lay missionaries of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) preached and catechized from 1814, but their Anglican identity was evident only in the 1820s when ordained priests joined them. These priests were, however, mostly of the Simeon tradition, wore black Genevan gowns, and had friendly relations with Wesleyan missionaries who arrived in 1823 (see WESLEYANISM). All the missionaries emphasized the translation and circulation of the Bible (see BIBLE TRANSLATION), and catechetical work, searching for evidence of CONVERSION before they would

administer BAPTISM. They worked within existing tribal structures, respecting the mana (moral authority, prestige) of chiefs. The arrival of Catholic missionaries in 1838 challenged their approach to MISSIONS.

Planting of Protestant Churches

European settlers began to arrive from the 1830s and systematic colonization began in 1840, helped by the annexation of the country and agreement with the Maori people in 1840. There never was much doubt of the predominantly Protestant tone to the community. Unlike Australia, all immigrants were voluntary and a better class of settlers was dominant, many with some church connections, whereas the impoverished Irish Catholic proportion was a modest 14 percent or so. On the other hand, in a voluntarist environment the resources to establish formal church structures were not easily found. In the little settlements founded by Edward Gibbon Wakefield's New Zealand Company, members of each DENOMINATION sought to raise pledges to build churches and hire ministers, but colonists had little by way of spare capital, and were perhaps lacking many keen members. A CHURCH OF SCOTLAND minister, John Macfarlane, was sent out with the settlers to the Port Nicholson (Wellington) settlement in 1840, but in an uneasily postestablishment age, neither the British government nor the home denominations made provision for the financial needs of churches. The settlement of Otago in 1848 was made in collaboration with the new Free Church of Scotland (see FREE CHURCH), and the settlement of Christchurch in Canterbury in 1851 was organized on supposedly Anglican lines, and even provided a bishop, but these were exceptions, ensuring only that the South Island was rather less secular than the North Island. In most places settlers from different denominations combined to raise money for a church and the salary and housing of a minister. Often people of all denominations would support each denominational enterprise because the pattern of religion was effectively a community activity. This was the strength of Protestant ecumenism. Meanwhile denominational structures established in Australia at first had sway in New Zealand as well, until being gradually replaced by indigenous authority.

Establishment and Nonestablishment

Anglicans were from the first a kind of para-establishment in the colony. The British government contributed to the salary of the first bishop, George Augustus Selwyn, who was drawn from an Oxford-Eton tradition. Selwyn had hoped to preserve a state church, and objected to government assistance for denominations other than the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Subsequently the government officials reduced or declined state support of religious bodies. State aid was gradually recommenced from the 1950s with programs of chaplains in hospitals and prisons and support for church-based education, because by then support for all traditions including Catholicism and non-Christian traditions did not awaken sectarian tension. Meanwhile ANGLICANISM maintained a role in most parts of New Zealand as an informal establishment, the church of the respectable and the social leaders. This form of Anglicanism was very different from the Protestantism of the CMS

missionaries, however. Although full-blown ritualism was unacceptable in the nineteenth century and rare in the twentieth century, most Anglicans used the term Protestant to refer to churches other than their own and the Roman Catholic Church. They declined opportunities of cooperation with other Protestants until the campaign by the Bible in Schools League in 1914.

English Dissent

In contrast, the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, which was itself composed of former members of the Church of Scotland and of the Free Church, identified with English Dissenters of orthodox theology—Methodists, Congregationalists, and BAPTISTS—and together were called the Protestants. They cooperated together, largely ignoring Calvinist-Arminian debates, and in the early twentieth century shared a common magazine and talked for many years of combining into the Evangelical Protestant Church of New Zealand. These schemes came close to fruition in the 1950s when a more ecumenical Anglican Church decided to join the discussions, but it was the Anglicans who in 1976 vetoed the proposed merger. By this time Protestant had ceased to be a meaningful label for anything.

Political Protestantism

Nevertheless, in its heyday in the century before 1975 the Protestant rallying cry was not only religiously but also socially and politically significant. Protestant voices often voiced an identification with truly democratic and “British” traditions. Protestant leaders who disagreed in theological matters demonstrated their fundamental unity in their united campaigns to purify society and POLITICS. Their greatest campaign was the attempt to prohibit the consumption of alcohol (see TEMPERANCE). The prohibition movement was a pan-Protestant movement. It was led by a combination of Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, early feminists (who formed the women’s Christian Temperance Union), and even some middle-class Freethinkers. There was an extraordinary concentration of ministers in the movement, which came within an ace of success in 1919. Other movements also emerged, to control gambling and to reintroduce Bible knowledge to the primary school curriculum—it had been excluded when state education was introduced in 1877 in the hopes of Catholic participation.

The uglier side of pan-Protestantism was seen in the tradition of touring Protestant lecturers, although the New Zealand public was never as attentive as were Australians in their more divided society. In general Catholics were well integrated into society and were active in politics in a nonsectarian manner, so it was considered bad form to criticize their involvement. In general, New Zealand politicians were horrified at the thought of sectarian violence and preferred not to conduct politics on the basis of a “sectarian position.” Consequently those who attempted to impose moral standards on the rough-and-ready colonial society were generally pushed to the outer fringes. However, in the tense atmosphere of World War I, the Protestant Political Association was founded and gained extensive public support. It alleged that Catholics were shirking the war effort

and claiming an undue influence in government jobs. The Reform Government of 1911–1925 was led by a prominent Orangeman, William F. Massey, and it listened carefully to Protestant and moralist pressure groups. Although the Prohibition and Bible in Schools campaigns failed to succeed in national referendums, the Reform government passed the Marriage Amendment Act of 1920, which made Catholic criticisms of Protestant MARRIAGE illegal. Later in the 1920s the level of secularity increased and the Protestant voice quickly faded.

Protestant Piety

The active Protestant community in nineteenth-century New Zealand formed a consciously respectable grouping, seeking to emulate traditional practices and patterns of life. Piety had two foci: the church and the home. In the home the “family altar” was common with devotions of PRAYER and Bible reading led by the paterfamilias. In the church a congregational pattern was assumed; the congregation was a caring group, and although the pastor or minister had the key spiritual responsibility, in most cases the lay leaders of the congregation were a more stable force, sensitive to the vicissitudes of colonial existence. SUNDAY SCHOOLS were also important because many of the Protestant traditions of a previous era had given way to evangelical patterns (see EVANGELICALISM). The sermon was of great importance, and in New Zealand CHARLES SPURGEON’S many printed sermons were very influential. HYMNS were popular and they left a profound legacy on collective consciousness, but the most popular of them were the revivalist hymns of IRA DAVID SANKEY and his colleagues (see REVIVALS). The Protestant culture was reflected in the disregard for the SACRAMENTS, although in the early years of the Otago Province, where Presbyterians predominated, there were public holidays for the quarterly communion (see LORD’S SUPPER) season.

New Forms

The institutional Protestant churches represented some 35 percent of the New Zealand population, and with Anglicans were about three-quarters of the population, although levels of nominality were fairly high, particularly for Presbyterians and Anglicans. The smaller churches were active far beyond what their nominal adherence might have suggested. The highest levels of activity were seen in churches planted in New Zealand after the birth of the colony, notably the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN, the SALVATION ARMY, and the [Campbellite] CHURCHES OF CHRIST. Each of these at their height attracted adherence from about one percent of the population. New Zealand was often seen as a hothouse for sectarian Protestantism, given the colonial tendency to discount tradition, and to respond to vigorous EVANGELISM, high levels of lay involvement, and less formal approaches to ministry and church services. Although New Zealand fell short of the color and freedom of American religiosity—religion was always allied to propriety in this very British colony—the planting of Pentecostal churches in the 1920s increased the range of Protestantism. In the early 1960s there was a flourishing of new and highly

informal patterns of PENTECOSTALISM in the so-called Charismatic Movement, which made a deeper impression in New Zealand than in any other first-world society.

Protestantism's Decline

This flourishing of new forms, which has persisted under constantly changing labels and forms, seemed to be an inverse image of the parallel decline of the institutional Protestant churches. The BILLY GRAHAM Crusade of 1959 marked the high point of Protestantism, but within five years levels of membership in the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican churches slumped dramatically. There was a rapid decline in ministerial recruits. By 2000 the large institutional Protestant churches were a shadow of their former selves, gravely reduced in their potential to operate as national institutions. Secular society had discounted the value of religion, and the lack of distinctiveness in the predominantly liberal tone of church leadership had reduced the power to respond to alien forces. Much was expected of the ecumenical movement, but the failure of church union left the church leaders bereft of directions. The Catholic Church seemed to have stronger forces of resistance, although by the 1990s, these influences were powerful in this church as well. Older style Evangelicalism slowly declined from the 1970s, but much of its life flowed toward the Pentecostal movement. The issue of ordination of homosexual ministers split institutional Protestantism, and the Methodist church cemented its liberal leadership, whereas the Presbyterian Church wavered uncertainly, and evangelical forces became more dominant among new ordinands.

Signs of New Life

By the 1980s the Presbyterian and Methodist churches were being rejuvenated in surprising ways by the immigration of large numbers of Pacific islanders, whose cultures had been transformed by the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). The LMS was largely Congregationalist, but this church was so small in New Zealand that it merged with the Presbyterians in 1969. So in urban areas, particularly in the largest city of Auckland, the majority of mainline Protestants by 2000 were Polynesian, although leadership remained largely in the hands of Europeans. Other signs of new life were apparent in a new lay interest in THEOLOGY, the decline in the old secular exclusion of religion from society, and interest in different forms of spirituality. Some Protestant churches sought to take advantage of these trends, although it was a very different pattern from the Protestantism of old.

See also Congregationalism; Methodism; Presbyterianism

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PETER J. LINEHAM

NEWBIGIN, J.E. LESSLIE (1909–1998)

British missionary statesman. Lesslie Newbigin was an outstanding figure in the twentieth-century ecumenical movement. Raised an English Presbyterian, he was ordained by the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND in 1936 for missionary service in INDIA. In 1947 he became one of the first bishops in the newly united CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA (CSI, diocese of Madurai and Ramnad). After a period as general secretary of the International Missionary Council at the time of its integration with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1959–1965), Newbigin returned to serve as bishop in Madras until retirement in 1974. Five years of teaching mission and ECUMENISM at the Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, ENGLAND, were then followed by eight years as pastor of a local congregation of the United Reformed Church in the racially and religiously mixed inner suburb of Winson Green. For the last quarter-century of his life Newbigin was active as a Christian apologist amid what he saw as the intellectual and spiritual apostasy of the West.

Described by an Indian colleague as "a bishop on the run," Newbigin was also an energetic speaker and writer. In *The Reunion of the Church* (1948) he defended the terms and form of the "organic union" of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists in the CSI. His thinking blossomed into a full-blown ECCLESIOLOGY in *The Household of God* (1953), which sought to integrate the Protestant, Catholic, and Pentecostal dimensions of the church. This classic book lay behind his drafting of the famous description of "the unity we seek" adopted at the New Delhi Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1961. Newbigin's MISSIONOLOGY, with its strong local and pneumatological emphases, was set out in *The Open Secret* (1978). His program for the "encounter with modernity" occupied *Foolishness to the Greeks* (1986) and *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* (1989). Whether in the face of Hinduism, Islam, Marxism, secularism, or neopaganism, Newbigin preached a Gospel based on the cross and

resurrection of Christ that would fit into no other worldview than that of which it was the cornerstone.

See also Anglicanism; Congregationalism; Methodism; Presbyterianism

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY (1801–1890)

English churchman and cardinal. Long before his death on August 11, 1890 at Edgbaston, ENGLAND, John Henry Newman was recognized as one of nineteenth-century England's premier religious figures. At a certain level, his significance is readily understood. The central figure in the Tractarian, or OXFORD MOVEMENT that began in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND at Oxford in 1833, Newman effectively dispersed the movement's key figures and their influence by his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845. As ANGLOCATHOLICISM, the movement entered a new Anglican phase while Newman turned his prolific pen and powerful mind toward a spiritual and intellectual defense of the Catholic Church. Newman also has been acknowledged as an unusually influential scholar of early Christian thought, and especially as one who sought to explain the nature and influence of Christian belief and TRADITION for the modern world. Although he was eventually elevated to the office of cardinal in the Catholic Church, he seemed to continue on the sort of intensely personal spiritual journey that marked every stage of his life and, in turn, has become emblematic of modern religious experience.

From his formative years, Newman seemed marked for an idiosyncratic path. Born in London on February 21, 1801, Newman first had to overcome family struggles. His father, at first a banker, suffered a job loss during English bank failures in 1816 and turned to brewing. The family's relocation and lowered status seem to have impelled Newman's quest. He began his spiritual journey under the influence of EVANGELICALISM, proving himself devout, and even vowing to live a celibate life, at a young age (see CELIBACY). He received the B.A. from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1820, became a Fellow of Oriel College in 1822, and was ordained in the Church of England in 1824. By 1831, Newman had become one of the select university preachers, but by that time he had also become associated with the small group of Oxford divines who would form the Tractarian nucleus. The group gained its name from the series of

tracts they published that challenged the influence of Evangelicalism in the Church of England and called for renewed forms of ancient Catholic practice and belief by contemporary Anglicans.

In part Newman's religious journey proceeded as academic investigation. His early, major works included *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833) and *Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church, viewed relatively to Romanism and popular Protestantism* (1837). Throughout his life Newman issued such scholarly works in a steady stream. They were never removed from his spiritual quest and the public polemics it encouraged. Tract 90, the final of the series, in which Newman challenged the Church of England's THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, proved the most controversial. There he challenged the church's prerogative in demanding that its CLERGY subscribe to tenets that might infringe Anglo-Catholic convictions. Rightly, ecclesiastical authorities viewed this publication as a challenge to their AUTHORITY from one whose loyalty had become suspect.

More notable then and now was Newman's *An Essay on the Development of Doctrine* (1845), which served as the fulcrum for his shift from ANGLICANISM to Roman Catholicism. In this work Newman introduced the novel idea that Christian belief, and the church, can change over time yet in doing so remain faithful to Christian origins. Earlier, Newman had joined Tractarian colleagues in arguing that Anglican authenticity lay in forms of continuity with ancient precedent in belief and WORSHIP. Accepting the idea of doctrinal development gave Newman a way to accept the papacy as an office that was not present in early Christian experience, but could represent a faithful form of adaptation to changed circumstances. By this conclusion, Newman not only made his religious transition, but also marked CONVERSION as a central fact of modern life and ensured that development would remain a key category for Christian thought.

In a sense, Newman's writing as a Roman Catholic continued the polemical tone that he had begun in his Tractarian years. His *Lectures on certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church* (1850) and *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics* (1851), the latter of which resulted in a libel action in which Newman was fined, were followed by his most noted book, *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1864), an autobiographical advocacy of the Roman Catholic Church. But there were always other themes in his writing. Throughout his Anglican and Roman Catholic years, Newman continually published sermons and pastoral works designed to guide the spiritual life. Often the reader finds Newman reading Scripture in light of contemporary experience, an approach that has become central to the modern apologetic task. *The Idea of a University* (1852) originally appeared to modest notice but became a milestone in modern efforts to integrate modern education with Christian belief.

Less noticed among the changes that marked Newman's life were profound instances of religious continuity. As both an Anglican and a Roman Catholic, Newman viewed Christianity as a call to live an ascetic life within the community. While still an Anglican, he formed a rather monastic group of men at Littlemore and continued that initiative with papal endorsement as a Catholic with the founding of an English Oratory. Late in life he became embroiled in the controversy over Vatican Council I, in 1870, in which papal infallibility was asserted. In response to William Gladstone, Newman argued that Catholics could be both loyal to their nation and faithful to their church. Elevated to the office of cardinal in 1879 by Pope Leo XIII, Newman died in August 1890.

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WILLIAM SACHS

NEWTON, ISAAC (1642–1727)

English physicist. Issac Newton was born in 1642 to a yeoman family in Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire. At age ten he was sent to the King's School at Grantham, where he began tinkering with mechanical devices, and in 1661 he enrolled in Trinity College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, receiving a Bachelor of Arts in 1665.

The curriculum at Trinity College, focused on Aristotelian philosophy, seemed untouched by the intellectual and religious upheavals of the time, particularly Protestantism and the CIVIL WAR. On his own, Newton pursued mathematics and began to develop calculus. He also began to study the new physics. He spent eighteen months primarily at Woolsthorpe starting in June 1665, when Cambridge was closed because of plague. During that time, he consolidated his work on calculus and pursued his studies in physics and optics. In Protestant ENGLAND there was no need to equivocate about his support of the Copernican system. His work in physics led to his discovery of our modern concept of universal gravitation; it was published in his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* in 1687. His work on optics involving a prism showed that white light is composed of a spectrum of colors; it was published in his *Opticks* in 1704.

Two areas of interest to Newton were largely unknown to scholars until the twentieth century: alchemy and THEOLOGY. Newton thought alchemy might be the key to understanding his mechanical concept of NATURE. Although he wrote much on the subject, it was never published; perhaps he thought his findings too tentative. In theology Newton studied the BIBLE and the early fathers and concluded that the DOCTRINE of the Trinity was false. He also attempted to establish a correlation between biblical prophecy and historical events.

Newton became a fellow of Trinity College in 1667, and by 1669 was Lucasian professor. He remained at Cambridge until 1696, when he moved to London, first as warden, then as master of the mint. Had his anti-Trinitarian ideas been known, he would have been dismissed from Cambridge. He had been a fellow of the Royal Society since

1672, and in 1703 he was elected president. Both positions at the mint and the Royal Society lasted until his death in 1727.

See also Anti-Trinitarianism; Science

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SHEILA J. RABIN

NIEBUHR, H. RICHARD (1894–1962)

American theologian. Although less well known than his older brother, REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Helmut Richard Niebuhr exercised great influence over Christian thought in the twentieth century. Both brothers are regarded for their contributions to Christian ETHICS, yet H. Richard recognized in himself a particular calling to renew the church.

Niebuhr was born on September 3, 1894 in Wright City, Missouri, son of Pastor Gustav and his wife Lydia Niebuhr. Raised in the parsonage of the Evangelical Synod of North America, where his father was minister, Niebuhr grew up in a German-speaking immigrant community. After graduating from Elmhurst College in 1912 and Eden Theological Seminary in 1915, he was ordained in 1916. He held a pastorate in St. Louis while pursuing graduate studies at Washington University (M.A., 1918). He undertook doctoral work at Yale University, earning a B.D. (1923) and a Ph.D. (1924). He taught at Eden (1919–1922, 1927–1931) and served as president of Elmhurst (1924–1927). Appointed to the faculty of Yale Divinity School (1931), Niebuhr was named Sterling Professor of Theology and Christian Ethics (1954), where he served until his death in 1962.

Niebuhr stands at a crossroads in twentieth-century Protestant thought, at the nexus of liberalism and NEO-ORTHODOXY. His first book, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929), argued that denominational divisions are attributable to sociological differences, disclosing that neither human beings nor their communities escape from certain historical conditions and limited understanding. His doctoral dissertation on ERNST TROELTSCH (1865–1923) and the work of MAX WEBER

(1864–1920) both contributed to this sociological analysis. Niebuhr asserted that denominational strife testifies to the failure of the CHURCH to transcend social conditions, indicating a fundamental hypocrisy and moral inauthenticity within ecclesial life. However, renewal within the church will occur when Christians renounce worldly attachments, seeking only the fellowship of love for God and neighbor.

Sovereignty of God

The Kingdom of God in America (1937), a continuation of Niebuhr's sociological contributions, typologically examines American churches in light of the REFORMATION emphasis on the reign of God. He examines the tension between the sovereignty of God over the Christian and the corruption of the world within American religious history and CULTURE. He criticizes institutionalized liberalism within the church, which ultimately attempts to establish the KINGDOM OF GOD without dependence on God's initiative. Niebuhr concludes that theological liberalism is impotent to transfigure the present realities precisely because it jettisons the dynamism of radical faith in God.

If Niebuhr's earlier works exhibited a certain religious and historical relativism, *The Meaning of Revelation* (1941) extended that "relativism" to the discussion of revelation itself. However, his relativism did not devolve into skepticism: God is sovereign over the realm of history in which revelation occurs. In a synthesis of the insights of Troeltsch and KARL BARTH (1886–1968), Niebuhr unites the "critical thought" of the former and the "constructive work" of the latter. For Niebuhr, the human self is fundamentally social, existing within a network of relationships and continually reshaped through those relationships. Thus the self is constituted in a particular historical community. Similarly, because revelation is the communal and personal appropriation of God's word mediated through memory, revelation is limited to the contingencies of each community. Yet God's word, as such, is objective and authoritative, transcending the limits of human society. As Barth argued, Niebuhr contends that FAITH provides its own evidence, because God's word makes intelligible our history.

Faith, for Niebuhr, is confidence in God as the "source of good" while reason informs and directs this faith. *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture* (1960) seeks to overcome idolatrous finite conceptualizations about God and to supersede worldly centers of value with a dynamic radical faith in the "principle of being," the power of SALVATION in the world. While confessional theology and ethics never transcend their finite gods, "radical monotheism," as absolute fidelity to God, recognizes all events as transparent to "the one." Thus radical faith becomes incarnate through an undivided ethical response in every realm in which a person acts.

Ethics of Relation

Because human concepts about God are limited and finite, Niebuhr explains, Christian ethics is not subordinate to dogmatic theology. The relational character of the human self is such that theology occurs within a context of moral reflection and concerns itself

primarily with the relationship between the self and others, including God. Thus, in *Christ and Culture* (1951), a sociohistorical typology, ethical reflection saturates Niebuhr's inquiry into how particular cultures have related to Christ. Between the extremes, "Christ against culture" and "the Christ of culture," three cultural types emerge. Although Niebuhr was unwilling to choose definitively a single typology, he prefers "Christ the transformer of culture" as most harmonious with personal CONVERSION.

The dialectical nature of moral reflection motivated Niebuhr's moral philosophy. *The Responsible Self* (1963), published posthumously, explores a mediating position between subjectivist ethics and traditional moral philosophies. Ethical action is the personal response to others and to God, grounded in human dependence on God as the source of goodness. When human beings relate to God through friendship rather than fear, authentic ethical transformation appears concretely within the world.

Niebuhr's significance as a theologian is manifested in his critical appropriation of sociohistorical methods in the service of neo-orthodox theology. His Christian ethics and reflection on the DOCTRINE of God influenced a generation of thinkers, contributing to developments within narrative theology and Christian social thought.

See also Denomination; Ethics; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Theology; Theology, Twentieth Century; Theology, Twentieth Century, North American

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J.S.FLIPPER

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD (1892–1971)

American theologian. Reinhold Niebuhr was born in Wright City, Missouri, on June 21, 1892, and died June 1, 1971. He and his brother, H.RICHARD NIEBUHR, became the

twentieth century's most influential American-born theologians and ethicists, with the possible exception of WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. Their sister, Hulda, taught Christian education at McCormick Theological Seminary. This remarkable family confluence of brilliance and theological leadership has led some to confuse the Niebuhr brothers with each other. Reinhold taught at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He emphasized a realistic understanding of human nature, a Lutheran/Augustinian understanding of GRACE as undeserved forgiveness, and a public and political ETHICS of love and justice. His brother, H. Richard, taught at Yale and emphasized an ethics of response to the dynamic sovereignty of the living God in and over all life, and a trinitarian understanding of the CHURCH. One could contend that the brothers' early decision to avoid each other's turf left their theological ethics somewhat incomplete without supplementation by the themes of the other.

As pastor of Bethel Evangelical Church in Detroit (1915–1928), Niebuhr saw idealistic forms of Christianity functioning to cover up automobile companies' injustice to workers. Henry Ford agreed with admonitions to love one another while he laid off workers two or three days per week, not providing for health care, retirement, or even continuation in the job past age fifty-five, rationalizing that he was paying more per day than the workers could get elsewhere. Church members heard admonitions to love as encouragement to avoid conflict, and thus to avoid supporting workers' demands for justice. Influenced by the power realities of Detroit, and by the tragedies of two world wars and the Great Depression, Niebuhr rejected his early liberal idealism and optimism about human nature, and found theological depth in St. Augustine's penetrating analysis of human self-seeking and self-deception. He advocated Christian realism, "the disposition to take all factors in a social and political situation, which offer resistance to established norms, into account, particularly the factors of self-interest and power."

A Realist Understanding of Human Nature

Niebuhr's classic two-volume work, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, showed the inadequacy of rationalistic, romantic, and complacent modern understandings of human nature; they are one-dimensional, whereas our human reality is dialectical and paradoxical. Only a religion of revelation can do justice to both our freedom and our finiteness and understand the character of our evil. The eternal God is made known not by negating temporal limitations, but rather by self-disclosure within the finite and historical world. Therefore, human nature is understood as being related to the eternal God, free and self-transcendent; yet created finite, so that creaturely limitations and historicity are essentially good and not evil. Further-more, the mercy that makes judgment on our SIN sufferable is affirmed.

In our sin, we *distrust* the source of our dialectical freedom and finitude, our self-transcendence and our limitation, and so cannot accept the tension. Sin as *pride* and *will to power* seeks to deny our finitude, covering it up with the drive to political, economic, religious, moral, or intellectual power and self-righteousness. Sin as *abandonment of responsibility* (which Niebuhr called *sensuality*) seeks to deny our self-transcendence, burying it in addiction to drugs, sex, fatalism, authoritarianism, or conformism. Yet we know better: both forms of sin are denials of the reality of our dialectical nature. So we

cover up our sin with *self-deception* and *rationalization*. When this distrustful drivenness and self-deception occur in the context of *concentration of power*, the inevitable result is injustice by the powerful over the powerless. The most destructive sin is the pride of powerful nations and powerful concentrations of economic wealth, which can more plausibly pretend to transcend finitude, more persuasively justify self-interest, and more powerfully suppress and destroy rivals.

The first step in remedying sin must be *faith*, the gift of trust in the source of our freedom and finitude. But this does not suffice to remedy the vicious cycles of sin, because even if forgiven, we are still sinful. Christian ethics as admonition to love is ineffective; it enables self-righteousness, self-adulation, and blindness to the injustices that we perpetrate. More effective are analyses of the human situation that disclose the limits of human possibilities and the propensities of sin. Niebuhr's is not an ethics of "oughts" so much as an ethics of *realistic diagnosis*. His writings are full of penetrating diagnoses of the ironies of self-pretense, self-deception, rationalization, nationalism, self-congratulation, ideological pretense that justifies special economic privilege, idolatrous claims to absolute truth or wisdom, and cynical claims to be above it all while in fact wallowing in powerless and disengaged complacency. His students recall this irony also subtly directed, with a wry smile, at his own pride. He invariably took the side of the subjugated, the under-dog, the less powerful. His realism knew that the powerful often dominate the powerless and rationalize special greed and privilege. Therefore, the remedy must include *checks and balances against concentration of power*. Workers need unions to check the concentrated power of corporations, nations need democracy and separation of powers to check and balance the power of rulers, and the world needs international engagement to check the rise of authoritarian dictators like Hitler and Stalin. Niebuhr advocated early U.S. entry into World War II, and he diagnosed and opposed the illusions of military power in the Vietnam War.

Criticisms

Niebuhr has been criticized for defining love as self-sacrifice and self-abasement and for emphasizing the preponderantly male sin of pride, while underdiagnosing the more female sin of abandonment of responsibility and the need of the powerless for self-assertion. Hence his defenders now place greater emphasis on the self-deprecation pole of his dialectic of sin, and on mutual love and webs of relationship. He has been criticized for promoting a perfectionistic and individualistic understanding of the way of Jesus; hence his followers highlight Jesus's confrontation of the powers over their injustice. They also place greater emphasis than he did on God's empowering grace and dynamic reign within the drama of history and on the church as experience of regeneration and hope as well as forgiveness.

See also Niebuhr, H.Richard; Rauschenbusch, Walter

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GLEN H.STASSEN

NIEMÖLLER, MARTIN (1892–1984)

German churchman and theologian. Niemöller was born in Lippstadt (Westphalia), son of Pastor Heinrich and Paula Niemöller. His chosen career was service in the German Imperial Navy, and during World War I he rose to the rank of a highly decorated U-Boat Commander. He experienced GERMANY'S defeat and the revolution following it as an utter collapse of all traditional German values. Refusing to serve the new republic, he left the navy and began to study THEOLOGY to teach Christianity as the power needed to reestablish law and order. Ordained in 1924, he became a pastor. He became a supporter of the emerging Nazi movement, convinced that it would rebuild German identity on a Christian basis.

In 1931 Niemöller was called to serve a prestigious parish in Berlin. After Adolf Hitler's ascendancy to power in 1933, the "GERMAN CHRISTIAN" movement's advocacy of a Christianity based on race and Aryan principles (and in support of the Nazi government) called forth Niemöller's resistance in the formation of the "Young Reformers Movement" and the "Pastors' Emergency League." It was the 1934 "Barmen Theological Declaration" (see BARMEN DECLARATION) with its decisive christological focus, that provided Niemöller with the theology with which to disown his erstwhile nationalistic conservatism and affirm the ground of resistance. Although not free of ANTISEMITISM, he experienced the Nazi's "Aryan Legislation" as a *status confessionis*: the gospel was at stake. Calling Germany's development an injustice and

neopaganism, Niemöller was arrested and spent the last years of the Nazi regime in a concentration camp.

After Germany's defeat in 1945, and deeply affected by its burden of guilt, Niemöller worked for the renewal of the church and reconciliation with Germany's former enemies. However, his radical opposition in the late 1940s to Germany's remilitarization, nuclear weapons, and anticommunism minimized his role. The WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES elected him as one of its six presidents in 1961.

See also: Confessing Church

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MARTIN RUMSCHEIDT

NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH (1844–1900)

German philosopher. Best known as the philosopher of nihilism who proclaimed the death of God and the advent of the superman, Nietzsche was born in Röcken, Prussia, October 15, 1844 and grew up in nearby Naumberg. His father and maternal grandfather were Protestant pastors and his paternal grandfather was a Protestant superintendent and defender of the faith. He received his secondary education at Schulpforta, Germany's foremost Protestant boarding school, and then enrolled in the University of Bonn to study THEOLOGY. He soon transferred to classical philology, completing his Ph.D. at Leipzig, where he met and befriended the composer Richard Wagner and the classicist Edwin Rohde.

In 1869 he became professor of classical philology at the University of Basel but grew increasingly more interested in philosophy than philology. During this time he published his *Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music*, in which he laid out his famous analysis of art in terms of the Apollinian/Dionysian duality, as well as his *Untimely Meditations*, including a critique of DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS'S *Life of Jesus and Human, All-Too-Human*. He retired from teaching in 1879 because of ill health and lived for the next ten years in SWITZERLAND, the French Riviera, and ITALY. During this period, he completed the *Dawn, Joyful Wisdom*, his magnum opus *Thus Spoke Zarathustra, Beyond Good and Evil*, the *Genealogy of Morals, Twilight of the Idols*, the *Antichrist, Nietzsche contra Wagner*, and his autobiography *Ecce Homo*. In 1889 he suffered a mental breakdown from which he never recovered, living the remaining years of his life first in an asylum in Basel, then with his mother in Naumberg, and after her death with his sister in Weimar. During this period his sister, the widow of one of Germany's leading anti-Semites, refashioned Nietzsche in her husband's image, altering his existing works and fabricating a new work, the *Will to Power*, out of his discarded notes to bring this about.

These distortions facilitated the appropriation of Nietzsche's thought by the fascists and Nazis and delayed an adequate appraisal of his work for many years. Nietzsche died in Weimar, August 25, 1900.

Nietzsche and Christianity

Nietzsche remarked late in life that "the Protestant pastor is the grandfather of German philosophy." He was referring to the German idealists, but the observation is equally true in his own case. Devout as a child, he increasingly opposed Christianity as he grew older and sought to replace it with a philosophical vision that drew heavily on pagan sources and especially the Greek notion of the Dionysian. He proclaimed that "God is dead," and saw this fact as the source of a spiritual malaise he called nihilism. He believed that modern science with its demand for evidence was undermining belief in the Christian God and all of the values predicated on this belief. He believed that this devaluation of the highest values would result in the collapse of European civilization and wars "the like of which the world has never seen."

Life, as Nietzsche understood it, is nothing other than the will to power, a struggle of all beings with one another for dominance. The suffering that this struggle engenders leads the weak to imagine a pacific transcendent reality free of strife where they can find peace. This move, according to Nietzsche, began with Plato and came to fruition in Christianity, which he calls "Platonism for the people." Christianity is thus the product of human weakness, a form of slave morality. It fosters an ascetic ideal that enthrones weakness and undermines nobility. For Nietzsche the death of God makes it possible to overcome these unhealthy Christian values and attain a new nobility that he portrays in his famous image of the superman.

The superman, according to Nietzsche, does not seek a transcendent world free from suffering but mastery in this one. He accepts this world as it is, rejecting all pity and efforts to ameliorate suffering. This is the meaning of Nietzsche's doctrine of the eternal recurrence of all things, which mandates the affirmation of all things that have ever been or will be, thus a love of fate or what he calls *amor fati*. Nietzsche contrasts this Dionysian fatalism in his later thought with Paul's image of Christ on the Cross. Christianity, he argues, is antilife. The last Christian died on the Cross, and historical Christianity is only the product of Paul's resentment and desire for revenge. The true struggle for our time in his view is thus "Dionysus versus the Crucified."

Although the anti-Christian elements of Nietzsche's project are clear, there is considerable evidence that Nietzsche's thought owes a great deal to Christianity. Indeed, although the pagan sources of his central conception of the Dionysian are undeniable, the concept is also deeply indebted to the Christian notion of God as it is received and transfigured by German idealism.

Nietzsche's Influence

Nietzsche's work had an important influence on philosophers such as Karl Jaspers, Martin Heidegger, Albert Camus, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Georges Bataille,

Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida; social theorists such as Oswald Spengler and MAX WEBER; writers such as Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, André Malraux, George Bernard Shaw, Rainer Maria Rilke, Stefan Georg, William Butler Yeats, and D.H.Lawrence; composers Gustav Mahler and Richard Strauss; the architect Le Corbusier; psychologists Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, and Carl Jung; and theologians such as PAUL TILLICH, Lev Shestov, Martin Buber, and Thomas J.J.Altizer.

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MICHAEL ALLEN GILLESPIE

NIGERIA

Protestantism in Nigeria was born from the project of British evangelicals to revive Africa from the effects of the slave trade by introducing “Christianity, civilization, and commerce.” The missions began from Freetown in SIERRA LEONE, where they had made converts among liberated African slaves, notably the Yoruba from southwestern and the Igbo from southeastern Nigeria. By the mid-1840s Anglicans of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Wesleyan Methodists had established missions back in Yorubaland around a core of African returnees. They were soon followed by American Southern Baptists. Scottish Presbyterians opened a mission at Calabar on the Cross River to the far southeast in 1846. The key figure of the CMS Yoruba Mission was SAMUEL AJAYI CROWTHER, the ex-slave who translated the Bible into Yoruba and in 1864 became the first African to be consecrated an Anglican bishop. In 1857 he initiated a

further CMS operation, the Niger Mission, with its main bases along the Lower Niger river.

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, the Protestant missions had probably gained no more than 20,000 converts, a tiny proportion of the population, heavily skewed toward the coastal towns, particularly Lagos. In the 1890s the blockage of earlier moves toward church autonomy under African leadership and strains between missionary teaching and some African customs (especially polygamy) led to some secessions and the foundation of what were known as the “African” churches. They retained most of the liturgy and doctrine of the parent Protestant missions with a degree of cultural Africanization.

The imposition of colonial rule—substantially complete by 1905—enabled missions to push rapidly into the interior, and many new Protestant societies entered the field (in addition to a large Roman Catholic expansion, especially in Igboland). Thus the Qua Iboe Mission from northern Ireland occupied Ibibio country in the southeast; Dutch Reformed missionaries set up among the Tiv of central Nigeria; and other evangelicals such as the Danish Lutherans, the SUDAN INTERIOR MISSION, and the Sudan United Mission, both interdenominational, operated in Nigeria’s vast “Middle Belt.” With their schools and medical facilities, and diffuse association with the culture of the colonial order, missions were by the 1920s attracting mass support in the more developed southern parts of the country. Protestant missionaries were particularly active in language work and Bible translation, which often had a powerful role in shaping the ethnic consciousness of local elites. The leaders of the nationalist movement were disproportionately the products of their schools.

Yet amid all this success, many Nigerians came to feel that the mainline mission churches did not meet their religious needs. Between 1915 and the mid-1930s, against a background of epidemics and social upheaval, a new wave of Christian independency emerged in the south, led by prophets such as Garrick Braide in the Niger Delta during World War I and the leaders of the Aladura (“praying”) movement among the Yoruba, who were often teachers or active members of Protestant missions. Although their concerns for healing, visionary guidance, and protection from witches and evil spirits had traditional roots, their evangelical core was further inflected by Pentecostal influences from Britain or America, now felt in Nigeria for the first time. Bodies like the Christ Army Church, the Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Christ Apostolic Church emerged; others would follow over the years, whether through secession or the emergence of new prophets.

As nationalism got under way from the late 1940s, the mission-linked churches came under pressure both to Africanize their top leadership and to achieve a fuller cultural adaptation or “contextualization” of their teaching and liturgy. The study of “African traditional religion” was pioneered in the religious studies departments of the new universities, notably by two Methodists, the ex-missionary Geoffrey Parrinder and the Nigerian minister E.B.Idowu. AFRICAN THEOLOGY searched for points of consensus between the core values of traditional religion and Christianity, where the earlier emphasis had been on the difference. Ecumenism was also in the air, although a scheme for church union between the Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians foundered in 1965, perhaps because it was too much driven by external models. The years around Nigeria’s independence in 1960 were marked by vigorous church growth in the hitherto less Christian areas of the Middle Belt and the north. As ethnic and regional conflict

intensified in the 1960s it became colored by religious difference, especially as more and more Nigerians converted to the world religions. In the civil war of 1967–1970, there was a tendency to stereotype the breakaway southeastern region, Biafra, as “Catholic,” whereas Biafra saw itself as the victim of a “Muslim” Nigeria. Protestantism did not fit this religious coding of political difference, and symbolically it was fitting that the Nigerian military ruler, Yakubu Gowon, was himself an Anglican from a minority northern group.

Since the 1970s a wave of neo-Pentecostal or “Born-again” Christianity has seemed to sweep all before it. Its origins lay in the growing influence of diverse, mostly American, Pentecostal evangelists who had conducted REVIVALS in Nigeria since the 1950s and attracted Nigerians to their BIBLE COLLEGES in the United States, and in the wider expansion of what began as campus religious fellowships. Although the religious concerns of the born-again show much continuity with those of earlier churches like Aladura, their idiom is very different: they are oriented toward the modern and the universal, rather than to the uniquely African, and highly effective in the use of electronic mass media. The mainline Protestant churches, having lost many of their young people to them, are themselves increasingly penetrated by bornagain influences.

Nigeria’s population of perhaps 120,000,000 people is divided fairly equally between Muslims and Christians (Christian growth having been much greater in recent decades). Although Roman Catholics easily constitute the largest single church and predominate in some parts of the country, Protestants (of all kinds) probably constitute over two thirds of the Christian total. In its strongly voluntaristic character, and in its dominance by the evangelical tradition whose most recent fruit is the born-again movement, Nigerian Christianity overall continues to bear the stamp of its Protestant origins.

See also Dutch Reformed Church in Africa; Pentecostalism

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J.D.Y. PEEL

NONCONFORMITY

The word *Nonconformity* is applied in Britain, particularly ENGLAND and WALES, to churches that do not conform to the Established Church. Although that logically includes Roman Catholics and, in SCOTLAND, Episcopalians, it is generally taken to describe non-Episcopalian Protestants, particularly BAPTISTS, Congregationalists Methodists,

Presbyterians (outside the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND), Quakers, and Unitarians. It also embraces a wide sectarian spectrum from PLYMOUTH BRETHREN to Peculiar People. Sometimes the phrase “Evangelical Nonconformity” is used, reflecting the dominant temper and excluding Unitarians (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION).

Precision is therefore difficult. The concept varies subtly but significantly in different parts of the British Isles. In IRELAND there has been no Established Church since 1869 and in Wales since 1912. Yet Nonconformity was a force in Welsh life at least until the last quarter of the twentieth century: to what did it not conform? In Ireland, except perhaps the North, the Anglican Church was never a popular, although it was certainly a social, force; Irish Protestantism of all shades was determined by its reaction to Roman Catholicism. If English Nonconformity was shaped by its reaction to ANGLICANISM, so Scottish Nonconformity was shaped by PRESBYTERIANISM. Indeed most Scottish Nonconformists were dissident Presbyterians. Even so, denominational interaction within Britain was significant. It was fueled, especially in England, by immigration, and in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales by anglicization, although Nonconformists, especially in Wales, were notable linguistic and cultural nationalists. English Nonconformist leadership and scholarship was heavily accented by Irish, Scottish, and Welsh ministers, for example, the Scottish PETER TAYLOR FORSYTH and the Welsh C.H.Dodd.

Early History

Although the word is primarily of nineteenth-century origin, overtaking the earlier DISSENT and in turn overtaken by a preference for “Free Churches,” the concept has been a feature of British life since the seventeenth century, with discernible sixteenth-century origins and a suggestive fourteenth-century prehistory. Thus Nonconformity’s historians have been fascinated by congruences with John Wycliffe’s Lollards. It was, however, the REFORMATION that liberated the concept, the Elizabethan Settlement that confirmed it, and the so-called Puritan Revolution that turned it into a certainty. The distinctive groupings of “Old Dissent”—Baptists, Independents (or Congregationalists), Presbyterians, and Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF)—were in existence by 1660. The first two had evolved chiefly in England since the reign of ELIZABETH I; the third had also evolved in the rest of Britain, most notably in Scotland, as well. They had their martyrs (the Separatist Barrow and Greenwood, executed in 1593), their lost leaders (ROBERT BROWNE), their heroes (the Mayflower PILGRIM FATHERS of 1620), their spiritual and cultural leaders (JOHN MILTON), and their political aspirations (OLIER CROMWELL).

The determinative dates for Nonconformity’s institutional existence are 1660 (the restoration of the monarchy), 1662 (the ejection of ministers unable to accept the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER and THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES and the restored church’s failure in England, Ireland, and Wales to comprehend that major portion of reluctant Nonconformists who objected to the nature rather than the principle of establishment), and 1689 (when Trinitarian Protestant Dissenters were legally tolerated). There were parallel developments in Scotland, where the nature of the Presbyterian establishment took longer to clarify. Thereafter Britain was an ecclesiastically divided yet also increasingly plural society. Nonconformists were citizens, albeit second-class ones. They

were largely, but never wholly, excluded from political leadership and from the English universities. They were subject to the threat more often than the reality of discrimination when it came to their births, their marriages (especially between 1753 and 1836), and their burials, or when it came to the payment of tithes and church rate.

Nonconformity developed a distinctive culture. The realities and opportunities of TOLERATION largely preserved it from a ghetto mentality. Nonetheless ECCLESIOLOGY and the contemporary social climate encouraged a complex of cousinhoods, at once pervasive and localized, of which the Quakers furnish the best-known examples. This fostered commercial strengths, especially as the Industrial Revolution developed (see INDUSTRIALIZATION), and was accompanied by a theological and literary culture that was both popular and classical. JOHN BUNYAN, RICHARD BAXTER, ISAAC WATTS, Philip Doddridge, and also Daniel Defoe and Thomas and Humphrey Gainsborough exemplify this.

The Evangelical Revival profoundly affected eighteenth-century Nonconformity. It galvanized Baptists and Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), it changed the direction of Quakers, and, by reaction, it shaped the development of many, especially English Presbyterians, into Unitarianism. It also provided in METHODISM a clutch of denominations whose totality made them the largest non-Anglican Protestant body outside Scotland. Methodists, especially Wesleyans (see WESLEYANISM), disliked the Nonconformist label. Legally that is what they were and culturally that is what they became.

Nineteenth Century

The story of nineteenth-century Nonconformity is one of numerical growth, spiritual assurance, ecclesiastical experiment, and political discovery. Nonconformists were determined to secure civic and ecclesiastical parity. The former was steadily achieved by legislation beginning symbolically in 1828 with the repeal of those seventeenth-century relics, the Test and Corporation Acts. The latter inspired a carefully organized movement to disestablish the Anglican Church. This succeeded in Ireland (1869) and Wales (1912). It has yet to happen in England. Scotland, as always in ecclesiastical matters, took its own path. Nonconformity's constitutional concern with rights, symbolized in the career of Edward Miall, was superseded by a concern with Right: the belief that legislation could moralize a nation, symbolized by the phrase, "Nonconformist Conscience," coined in 1891.

Nonconformists felt a special affinity for the UNITED STATES. Their knowledge of the world was developed by influential foreign missionary societies (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). Their ministers—the Wesleyan Hugh Price Hughes, the Baptist CHARLES HADDON SPURGEON, the Congregational Joseph Parker, the Unitarian JAMES MARTINEAU—were men of national, indeed transatlantic, note. So were Nonconformist politicians—the Quaker John Bright, the Unitarian Joseph Chamberlain. Nonconformist products were household names: Colman's Mustard, Fry's cocoa, Lever's soap, Crossley's Carpets, Wills' Tobacco, Hartley's Jams. They built theological colleges in Oxford and Cambridge as well as in the industrial cities. There was a distinctive Nonconformist ARCHITECTURE, and an infectious Nonconformist hymnody (see

HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The poet ROBERT BROWNING was one of them. William Gladstone, of course, was not, but it was a paradox of Victorian Britain that the Liberal party, its prime political success story, was popularly regarded as the Nonconformists' party.

Their numerical strength was revealed by the Religious Census of 1851. Numerical parity with Anglicans was surely imminent in England. It had already been achieved in Wales. That, however, was never to happen, although growth continued into the early twentieth century.

Twentieth Century

The scent of success and the experience of social assimilation had their effect. Nonconformity was negative. Why not conform? Nonconformity's distinctives had permeated society, coloring its fabric and determining its temper. This process was quite as insistent as its reverse. Nonconformists turned to reexamine their churchmanship. Ever since the Scottish disruption of 1843, which issued in the Free Church of Scotland, the phrase and concept of a "FREE CHURCH" had proved attractive. From the 1890s Free Church cooperation heralded the twentieth century's characteristic ecclesiastical motif: ECUMENISM. The Free Church Council movement fed into the BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES of the century's second half. From the Baptist J.H. Shakespeare to the Baptist Ernest Payne, culminating in the Congregational/United Reformed John Huxtable and the Methodist Harry Morton, Nonconformity's leaders, only half-jokingly termed "Dissenting Primates," were ecumenical leaders. Church reunion (for Methodists in 1907 and 1932) and union (between English and English-speaking Welsh Congregationalists and English Presbyterians to form the United Reformed Church in 1972 and then with Churches of Christ in 1981 and Scottish Congregationalists in 2002) punctuated the century. The political momentum was dissipated much sooner. Although eight twentieth-century prime ministers (H.H. Asquith, David Lloyd George, Stanley Baldwin, Ramsay MacDonald, Neville Chamberlain, Harold Wilson, James Callaghan, and Margaret Thatcher) had demonstrably close Nonconformist connections, the Nonconformist Conscience had effectively vanished even before Lloyd George tried desperately to exploit it between the Wars. In the century's last quarter, despite a still lively social and confessional witness, Nonconformity's numbers slumped. In the redefinition of the nation's ecclesiastical life, the new nonAnglican churches, frequently of immigrant origin, were seldom associated with traditional Nonconformity. Yet its values of personal faith, representative churchmanship, biblical scholarship, and a keen sense of the Christian citizen's due place in the body politic, remain foundational values for British society.

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CLYDE BINFIELD

NORTH INDIA, CHURCH OF

The Church of North India (CNI) was established at Nagpur in 1970 following several decades of conversation and negotiations involving Anglicans, BAPTISTS, CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, Congregationalists, DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Formal negotiations leading to the union of churches were preceded by cooperation and consultation among missionaries during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Local conferences involving the various mission boards, convened at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, were followed by broader regional conferences in North and South India. The first North Indian Conference comprised six mission societies meeting at Calcutta in 1855. This body met again in 1857 at Benares and in 1862 at Lahore. The LORD'S SUPPER was celebrated together at Lahore by missionaries of differing Christian traditions. Territorial comity (dividing the land to avoid overlap) was a further expression of unity and a first step toward a united church in North India. The WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE at Edinburgh in 1910 furthered the concern for unity and cooperation for world evangelization through a united Church of Christ in every country.

In INDIA the nationalist movement provided impetus toward a merger. NATIONALISM was an outcome of the Western education provided by missionary schools and colleges. Indian Christians who contributed positively to the nationalist movement included Susil Kumar Rudra (1861–1925), Surendra Kumar Dutta (1878–1942), K.T. Paul (1876–1931), and VEDANAYAKAM SAMUEL AZARIAH (1874–1945). The national struggle for freedom from colonial rule involved the church shedding its Western accretions.

History

The earliest Protestant missionaries, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar and WILLIAM CAREY at Se-ramapore, envisioned an indigenous Indian Church rather than a replica of European Christianity, an ideal not always achieved. One of the earliest attempts to create an independent Indian Church was by Lal Behari Dey at Calcutta, who proposed a United Church of Bengal free of missionary control and encompassing all

denominations. The attempt failed, but Dey influenced S.Pulney Andy at Madras, who worked to realize a National Church in India, which was inaugurated in 1886 and which aimed at uniting all denominations. The Calcutta Christo Samaj was formed in 1887 by Kali Charan Banerjee and J.G.Shome as an independent and self-supporting congregation, but this dissolved in 1894. A similar movement of dissent in Bombay, known as the Bombay Native Christian Church or the Western India Native Christian Alliance, appeared in 1871 but came to an end in 1895. These attempts, all less than successful, were manifestations of the growing nationalist movement and a desire for the self-identity of Indian Christians. Formation in 1905 of the National Missionary Society was a successful expression of Christian nationalism and example of interdenominational cooperation.

Discussions on the possibility of church union in North India began in 1929. A Basis of Negotiation was prepared in 1937. Meanwhile, in 1924, a Congregational-Presbyterian merger had formed the United Church of Northern India, which then entered into official discussions with Anglicans, Baptists, and Methodists. These churches claimed about a million members in all. A Scheme of Union was drafted that made provisions both for believer's BAPTISM and infant (sponsored) baptism, and for unification of the ordained ministries of the uniting churches to take place at the inauguration of union. The negotiators thus anticipated the complicated question of the relationship of the new church with the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Negotiations were carried out through a series of Round Table Conferences in 1930 in Delhi, 1931 in Nagpur, 1937 and 1939 in Lucknow, and 1941, 1947, and 1948 in Allahabad. The Negotiating Committee met in 1955, 1957, 1959, 1965, and 1970. The CNI was formally inaugurated on November 29, 1970 in a splendid celebration at the All Saint's Cathedral in Nagpur through a unification rite validating the ordination of the participating traditions. Uniting members included the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon (Anglican); the United Church of Northern India; the Council of Baptist Churches of Northern India; the Church of the Brethren; the Methodist Church (British and Australian); and the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, but not the Methodist Church in Southern Asia (later reconstituted as the Methodist Church in India), which rejected the Plan of Union.

Characteristics

The CNI is an Episcopal church in communion with the Church of England. The negotiators from the beginning sought to preserve the important distinctive features of the divergent Western traditions represented. The confession of Jesus Christ as Lord is the primary basis of union. The CNI Statement of Faith is a precise affirmation of the historic Christian faith. "The Holy Scripture is accepted as containing all things necessary to SALVATION and as the standard of faith, and the Apostles' Creed and Nicene Creed as witnessing to and safeguarding the faith" (Sahu 1994:159).

Formation of the CNI was seen by some as an innovative ecumenical event that broke the rigidities of denominationalism and led to new expressions of the historic episcopacy, LITURGY, and church structure (Perumalil and Hambye c. 1972:296). In 1972 a Joint Council was created for intercommunion of the CNI together with the CHURCH OF

SOUTH INDIA and the Mar Thoma Church as an ecumenical instrument “working towards a visible manifestation of unity of the three autonomous churches (not yet structurally or constitutionally one), yet living and acting like one Church of Christ in India” (Dharmaraj 1980:51). Negotiations continued with the Methodist Church in India as well as conversations with the Lutherans and other churches.

Today, the CNI is a territorial hierarchy of about twenty-five dioceses with more than 3,000 congregations and a membership of more than 900,000 representing twenty or more languages and cultures stretching across most of India (excluding the southern states of India) united in Christian witness and worship.

See also Colonialism; Congregationalism; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism; Methodism; Post-Colonialism; Presbyterianism

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NORWAY

Introduction

Norway constitutes an area of approximately 387,000 square kilometers occupying the western part of the Scandinavian Peninsula and the islands of Svalbard and Jan Mayen. It is one of the five Nordic nations, and for this reason its history and relations are closely related to the rest of the Nordic countries. After more than 400 years in union with DENMARK, Norway became a constitutional monarchy May 17, 1814. Later the same year a looser union with SWEDEN was established. The parliament is called Storting; the parliamentary system was introduced in 1884. Universal suffrage for men was given in 1898 and in 1913 extended to include WOMEN. Since the breakup of the union with Sweden in 1905, Norway has been an independent nation state, but was occupied by GERMANY from April 9, 1940 to May 8, 1945.

The population is about 4.3 million, mainly of Nordic heritage. Because of immigration, however, multiculturalism and multireligiousness is increasing. The

indigenous people are the Sami (about 30,000). Since the end of the nineteenth century Norway has had two official languages, Norwegian (heavily influenced by Danish) and New Norwegian (based on Norse and dialects). Recently also the Sami language has become the official language in parts of northern Norway.

The majority of the population lives in urban areas. The capital is Oslo (about 500,000 inhabitants), which is also the seat of government, parliament, and king. For historical reasons the ecclesiastical center, however, is Trondheim with its cathedral, dedicated to St. Olav.

Although oil and gas constitute a cornerstone of the economy, traditional industry—fishery, forestry, manufacturing, and shipping—still is important.

Norway is a member of NATO and an associate member of the West European Union, but not of the European Union. Twice (1972, 1994) a majority has voted against joining this union.

Eighty-seven percent of the population belong to the Church of Norway, which consists of eleven bishoprics. The church is organized as a Lutheran state church with the king as the constitutional head. He exercises his AUTHORITY through the government, whereas the parliament deals with legislation concerning the church. During the last decades the church has obtained a certain degree of autonomy and its own bodies.

The Church of Norway is a member of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

History

Norway has been populated for thousands of years. It was ruled by clans, each of which dominated a certain area, but became a united land during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During the Viking Age (800–1050) the Viking chiefs plundered the coasts of Europe and brought new cultural and religious impulses back to Norway. Previously the Norse religion with its myths about gods and heroes had been the indigenous religion.

Christianization

The start of unification of Norway is often linked to the victory of King Harald Fair-Haired in the battle of Hafsfiord in 872, although he controlled only the coastal areas. One of his sons, King Haakon the Good, returned to Norway about 950 after a Christian upbringing in ENGLAND and became the first missionary king. However, he did not succeed in introducing the new religion. More important to the Christianization of Norway was King Olav Haraldson, who died in the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. After his death he became the patron saint of Norway and his grave the center of a cult that brought pilgrims from all over Europe to the cathedral that was erected to his memory in Trondheim (Nidaros).

One may say that Norway was Christianized by Viking kings who had met Christianity abroad. Although the Norse religion had a local basis, linked with clans and local aristocracy, the new religion transcended such boundaries and was more apt to unify the country and to be basis of a “modern” European monarchy. Thus Christianization and

unification of a land became two sides of the same coin. Organized mission, however, first of all from the British Isles, but also from the south (from Germany over Denmark), had prepared the soil.

During the eleventh century the former pagan cult was replaced by Christian WORSHIP, churches were built, and Christian laws were established. A change of cult took place, followed by a new ethos. To what degree and when the Norwegians really became Christians, however, has been a matter of disagreement among historians.

The Medieval Church

The Norwegian bishops belonged to the archdiocese of Bremen (Germany). In 1104 a Nordic archdiocese was established in Lund, and in 1152–1153 a papal legate, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (later Pope Adrian IV), visited Norway and founded the archdiocese of Trondheim.

The strengthening of power of the church led to conflicts with the monarchy. By tradition any royal son could claim the throne if the ting (the old regional assembly) accepted him, although the church claimed primogeniture and priority of legitimate sons. This involved the church in a civil war that lasted until 1217. Then followed a glorious cultural and political era until the Black Death in 1349–1350. The plague killed more than half of the population, with disastrous consequences for both state and church. Only one of the bishops survived, and the power of the aristocracy declined. Danes and Swedes filled the gaps in the civil and ecclesiastical administration. Before the plague a personal union with Sweden had been established in 1319. Under Margaret I of Denmark all three Scandinavian states were united under one king (Union of Kalmar 1397). This meant the beginning to the end of the Norwegian medieval state. The council of state did not manage to promote either their own or Norway's interests, and political power and decisions were transferred to Copenhagen and the Danish kings and nobility. One crucial consequence was the Lutheran REFORMATION, which came as a royal decree in 1536–1537.

The Reformation of Norway

From the beginning of the sixteenth century to the breakup of the union in 1814, Norwegian history and church history are closely linked to Denmark, and decisions were made in Copenhagen. National historians have seen this as a time of Danish colonization and exploitation. For this reason the Reformation has been seen as a historical break and as a strengthening of Danish rule. Others have stressed that this also was a time of growth, and that the union gave access to European CULTURE.

The reformation of Norway has been characterized as a reformation without a reformer. The Norwegian council of state tried in the turbulent 1520s and 1530s to promote Norwegian independence during the battle of the Danish-Norwegian throne, although the members were split. As Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson led the council of state he tried to maintain the Catholic Church, but ended on the losing side of the conflict

between Christian II and Christian III. For that reason he chose to flee the country in the spring of 1537.

There was no popular movement to back a reformation, although most of the population and CLERGY seem to have been indifferent. In that way Norway became no "Scandinavian Ireland," although reduced to a Danish province. The former mighty Catholic bishops were removed from their seats, and some churches were plundered and the treasures shipped to Copenhagen. The king confiscated the properties of the church, and used the wealth to improve administration and create an integrated state; otherwise, the king chose a careful and peaceful way to introduce LUTHERANISM. Most of the clergy remained in their offices, thus prompting no drastic changes. The main innovations were the appointment of superintendents to replace the bishops and a new, Lutheran Church Order (1537–1539, Latin/Danish). To implement the ideas of Lutheranism and to standardize LITURGY and organization, the superintendents were to make regular visitations and also gather the clergy in synods. However, long distances, difficult travels, and a passive vicarage made this difficult. Thus it took a long time to change religious views and habits of ordinary people, and in isolated parts reminiscences of Catholicism survived to the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1550 the BIBLE was published in Danish (see BIBLE TRANSLATION), and a few years later came a service book and a hymnbook (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). Thus a Lutheran service with hymns in a more understandable language took on a firmer form.

The most important consequence of the reformation was a close link between church and state/king. The king was head of the church, and the superintendents and ministers were servants of both God and king. The negative consequence was a decline of the school system run by the church and financed by incomes that now were lost.

The Age of Lutheran Orthodoxy and Absolutism

The second part of the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century marked an era of teaching the people the evangelical faith and defending the right Lutheran faith against heresies (see HERESY). King Fredrik II sympathized with the followers of PHILIP MELANCHTHON and in 1580 banned the BOOK OF CONCORD, the main symbol of Lutheran ORTHODOXY. In time he had to yield to orthodoxy, but the confession of the Church of Norway (in addition to the three creeds from the old church) still consists of MARTIN LUTHER'S Little Catechism and the AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Because of fear of Sweden and the growing importance of Norway's natural resources, the Danish kings took a stronger interest in Norway. The most outstanding was King Christian IV. He made several long journeys through the country, founded towns, and promoted sawmills, mining, and salt-works. He also gave Norway its own Church Order (1607).

In 1629 the king took measures to strengthen CHURCH DISCIPLINE and morals. Stricter laws against immoral behavior were introduced, and lay "helpers" were appointed to assist in supervising parish members. Furthermore, the knowledge of the clergy was improved by the requirement of a degree in theology from the University of Copenhagen before entering ministry. This requirement for theological qualifications remained until it was abandoned for certain groups by the General Synod in the 1990s.

As in the rest of Europe, the seventeenth century was the age of charges against people accused of being witches and wizards allied with the DEVIL. Probably 1,000–2,000 such processes took place in Norway during the seventeenth century, and several hundred ended with a death sentence (see WITCHCRAZE).

Under King Christian IV the nobility lost some of its influence, although an increasing number of civil servants and professional officers got important roles in the administration of the dual monarchy. At the same time an increasing bourgeoisie claimed their part of the political power. This resulted in the introduction of ABSOLUTISM in 1660. The Danish council of state lost its power, the kingdom became hereditary, and the king had the absolute power. The kingdom became a sacral monarchy and the clergy the king's employees.

An important goal of the absolutist policy was standardization of laws and official practices, including church and services. King Christian V gave a new codex of laws for Norway (Norwegian Laws of 1687) in which laws concerning church and religious life were a part of the general laws of the state. A part of these church laws regulated the life of the church until the end of the twentieth century. Furthermore, a Danish-Norwegian Church Ritual had been introduced in 1685, regulating the different services in detail. This Church Ritual dominated the Norwegian tradition for the next 200 years and turned Sunday service into a psalm mass. The singing of psalms became an important part of the Lutheran worship.

The Age of Pietism and Enlightenment

The greatest change in church life during the eighteenth century came with the pietistic reform movement, which spread from Germany to Norway through Denmark.

PIETISM in Denmark-Norway was a revival "from above," promoted by the king and nobility, and spread through the clergy to the parishes. It reintroduced CONFIRMATION (1736), which was abandoned by the Reformation, established a public church school system (1739) with confirmation as final examination, reformed the system dealing with pauperism, and introduced MISSIONS (to the Eskimos and the Sami people) as a Christian duty.

The compulsory confirmation was based on learning by heart an explanation of the CATECHISM (consisting of 759 questions and answers) written by the pietistic theologian and later bishop Erik Pontoppidan. For almost 200 years this explanation became the main source of Norwegians' knowledge of what was true Christianity, and how a pious Christian should live. During the second part of the nineteenth century the public church school was secularized and modernized, partly by Norwegian followers of the Danish theologian and poet NICOLAJ F.S.GRUNDTVIG.

Radical Pietism also made its way to Denmark-Norway. For this reason the authorities introduced an act (1741) to control CONVENTICLES. It put the vicars in charge of supervising such lay activity. The aim was to secure religious unity and social order. It could not, however, prevent the CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN from gaining influence among the bourgeoisie and clergy, and during the following century this type of Christianity made a strong impact on the Norwegian church and theology. Today the

Brethren's distinction between an organized church of all baptized and a kernel of true believers has become standard Norwegian ecclesiology.

In many ways Pietism was a movement of ENLIGHTENMENT, although a Christian Enlightenment, with a basis in the bourgeoisie and the court. Later in the eighteenth and in the first part of the nineteenth century, the same social groups became the basis of a more secularized Enlightenment. It was first of all an elite phenomenon and therefore of less influence in Norway than in Denmark.

The Age of Revivalism and Democratization

During the era from the French Revolution to World War I, Norway went through dramatic changes. It went from ABSOLUTISM to DEMOCRACY, from a society of estates to a society of equals, from an agrarian society to urbanization and early INDUSTRIALIZATION, from being a part of a multinational state to become a nation state. These changes also made a great impact on the church.

In 1811 the king founded the University of Christiania (Oslo) as the first national institution in Norway. The lectures started two years later, and the purpose was to supply the state with civil servants, not just a clergy. The first teachers of theology, Peter Hersleb and Stenerus Johannes Stenersen, represented a mild biblical orthodoxy. This was also the time of the Napoleonic Wars, in which Denmark-Norway tried to remain neutral, but got involved on the French side stemming from hostile actions from England. The consequence was a disaster to Norway attributed to a sea blockade, which caused starvation and illness. The clergy, inspired by ideas of the Enlightenment, made a great effort to help their parishioners. At the end of the wars Denmark had to give up all rights to Norway in the Treaty of Kiel (January 1814). With support of the Great Powers, Sweden intended to establish a new union, although this plan was delayed and an important interlude took place in the spring of 1814.

The Danish crown prince, Christian Fredrik, was governor of Norway, and together with the nobility and civil servants he organized a rebellion against the Treaty of Kiel. A constituent assembly, gathered at Eidsvoll, declared a new, democratic constitution and elected Christian Fredrik as king. After a short war with Sweden, however, he had to resign, and a new personal union was established.

Although the constitution at the time was most radical, it continued the policy of religious unity. Paragraph 2 stated that the Evangelical-Lutheran religion remained the official religion of the state, which it still is. During the assembly freedom of religion had been mentioned as one of the principles, but in the final version it had vanished. There is disagreement concerning the reason. Some have called it a slip of the pen, but more likely freedom of religion was not an actual problem. Norway was a religiously homogeneous society, and religion was still considered "the glue" that kept society together and gave reasons for morality and loyalty. Later this function was replaced by NATIONALISM and freedom of religion was no longer a threat. Thus the religious legislation was gradually liberalized from the 1840s.

First of all, the Act of Conventicles, which was an obstacle to groups of religious revivalism, was abandoned (1842), and a new act permitting dissenters to remain Norwegian citizens and practice their faith was introduced (1845). Religious revivalism

had occurred in most of nineteenth-century Protestant Europe, but it made a greater impact on the Norwegian society (see REVIVALS). For a long time this revivalism has been interpreted as a popular reaction to the Enlightenment and theological rationalism. For that reason the continuity between the Pietism of the early eighteenth century and religious revivalism has been stressed. However, during the last decades such revivalism has been seen as a part of the modernization of society. For this reason the novelty of these movements has been underlined, that is, how they broke the unity of a premodern agrarian society, created new social forms, and represented an early MODERNISM.

A common feature of these early religious revivalist groups was the time when they occurred (about 1800), and their charismatic leadership. In Norway the well-known HANS NIELSEN HAUGE (1771–1824) had his mystical experience in 1796, which aroused a vocation to preach and to begin a nationwide awakening combined with merchant enterprises (see AWAKENINGS). Contrary to previous Pietism, this new religious revivalism was led by the LAITY and expressed its new self-conceit. Furthermore, it represented a challenge to traditional society with its subordination. For that reason the political authorities treated such awakening movements severely and arrested the leaders. They were seen as rebellions, which becomes quite clear in the case against Hauge, who was treated as a threat against the state.

Hauge was arrested in 1804, accused of serious crimes, and was kept in prison for almost ten years, which broke his health and made him more cooperative with the official church. His fate made him the martyr of the laity and the patron saint of what has been called a Norwegian counterculture, although in his last will the “rebel” admonished his followers to remain in the church and to respect the clergy. In a longer perspective his followers were totally integrated in the church, and some of the second generation (among them Hauge’s own son) studied theology and became ministers. A new awakening in the 1850s under the leadership of the confessional orthodox Gisle Johnson (1822–1894), professor of theology at University of Christiania, led radical Pietism of the early revivalism into Lutheran orthodoxy, and even political conservatism. Thus “awakening” Christianity became the Christianity of the official church. It also implicated an end of the religious unity of the state, and opened society to modern, religious pluralism. In this way religious revivalism gave an important contribution to the SECULARIZATION of society.

Another distinctive mark of religious revivalism was the emphasis on morality. Daily work was seen as a service to God and the new life after CONVERSION was expected to be a sober and simple life. This led to an active and productive ethos and then to an improvement of living conditions. Some revivalists became rather wealthy, and revivalism was important in establishing a middle class as well as a farmers’ opposition in the parliament. This illustrates how religious revivalism created an early social mobility, which inaugurated a breaking up of traditional and stable agrarian society, although revivalism could also turn into open rebellion. In the north of Scandinavia, a religious awakening around the Swedish minister LARS LEVI LÆSTADIUS (1800–1861), beginning in the 1840s, made its way into the Sami population and established an ethnic religiosity throughout the region. This was one of the elements in a rebellion that took place in Kautokeino in northeast Norway in November 1852. Some from the Sami population killed the local merchantman and the constable and harassed the minister, the main local agents for the authorities. Later on, Laestadinism became the most influent

religious awakening in the north with a great impact on church and society, *but* the rebellious attitude was replaced by a sectarian antimodernism and Lutheran confessionalism.

From the middle of the nineteenth century religious revivalism developed into organized societies promoting missions both abroad and inside Norway (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS), and at the same time establishing sorts of free churches within the boundaries of the state church. Moreover, revivalism and a new freedom of religion also paved the way for establishing traditional free churches. In 1814 some Norwegians had returned from English prisons as Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) and were persecuted by the authorities. Some immigrated to America, but after 1845 they could remain and practice their belief. Already in 1843 a Roman Catholic parish was started in Christiania, and in 1851 a constitutional ban against Jews (see JUDAISM) living in the country was abandoned. In the 1850s came Mormons (see MORMONISM), Methodists (see METHODISM), and BAPTISTS and in the following decades minor groups broke away from the established church and founded their own congregations such as Lutheran Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM). In the beginning of the twentieth century came Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM), later secularized humanism, and in the last decades charismatic CHRISTIAN RIGHT groups, NEW AGE MOVEMENTS, and, because of immigration, other world religions such as Islam.

The Age of Conflicts and Reforms

Although religious revivalism actualized the question of individual identity, modernization of the society challenged the traditional identity of the church centered on the clergy. From the middle of the nineteenth century new concepts such as “state church” and “folk church” expressed new relations between state, people, and church. A democratization of the church became a part of a general political democratization.

Professor Johnson was the most influential person in the church during the second half of the nineteenth century. He represented both orthodoxy and pietism and suppressed the Norwegian followers of Grundtvig because of their religious and political liberalism. His own political conservatism was based on traditional Lutheran loyalty to the authorities according to Paul’s commandment in Romans 13. During a constitutional battle in the 1870s and 1880s, where the issue was establishment of a parliamentary system, the king engaged himself on the conservative side and made plans for a coup d’état. The conflict ended in 1884 with a conservative government being impeached, and a parliamentary system was gradually introduced.

In the beginning of 1883, when the situation was very tense, Johnson published an appeal to friends of Christianity in Norway. It attacked the Liberal Left Party and its democratic politics. Four hundred fifty prominent men in church and society, among them all the bishops, signed it. This appeal scandalized the church for decades and made the gap between the church and the democratic and national movement obvious. The church was considered an enemy to democratic and national issues such as rights and needs of an increasing urban working class and the demand for a separate Norwegian Consular Service to promote Norwegian interests within the Union.

It was first at the turn of the century that religious revivalism approached national revivalism, and during the conflict with Sweden in 1905 religious nationalism occurred, seeing the national history as an expression of the will of God. The prime minister, Christian Michelsen, used the church to give legitimacy to his rebellion government after the breakup of the Union (June 7). The unilateral break was backed during the service the following Sunday, and the clergy supported the government in two plebiscites: upon the breakup of the Union (August 13) and upon accepting a new monarchy (November 12–13).

Democratization of society in the second part of the nineteenth century changed the concept of the church into a “folk church,” which describes an inclusive and democratic church. The result was not a separation of CHURCH AND STATE like in other European nations during the nineteenth century, but a combination of state church and freedom of religion. Furthermore, the integration of religious revivalism into the official church and the modernization of the state church into a “folk church” show how the process of modernization mostly took part as a peaceful transformation. For this reason it makes good sense to interpret the long tradition of having an integrated Lutheran State Church as an important prerequisite for the building of a Norwegian social democratic, welfare state.

The most important change in Norwegian church life during the nineteenth century was, however, reforms of hymnbook and liturgies. A Norwegianized hymnbook by Magnus B.Landstad, minister and poet, was authorized in 1869, and parts of it are still present in the latest hymnbook from 1985. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Gustav Jensen, practical theologian and church leader, started a process of reforming liturgies, restoring them according to both pre-Reformation traditions and revivalism, a concept that characterizes even today’s liturgies.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century a movement within the church sought to establish democratic church bodies and even separate church and state. During the twentieth century it led to reforms like the establishment of parish councils (1920), bishopric councils (1933), a national council (1969), and a general synod (1984). Furthermore, a bishops’ conference became an official body in 1934. The main problem is that few members of the church (2 to 3 percent) take part in the elections. Thus the bodies are not representative to the majority of the members of the church. Recently this has become obvious in dealing with ethical challenges from the modern society like abortion and gay partnerships, which threaten to split the church.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, however, it was the traditional teaching of the church and the relationship between Christianity and modern CULTURE and science that represented the main challenges. It resulted in a major conflict between church and theology and led to the establishing of a private theological faculty (1908), which claimed to represent orthodoxy against modern, liberal theology (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). This conflict reached a peak in 1920 when an assembly of members of various Christian organizations met in Oslo under the leadership of Ole Hallesby, a teacher at the private theological faculty. They proclaimed there would be no cooperation with liberal theologians and ministers. Around 1930 the conflict subsided as the result of a new consciousness of the church and its role in the history of the nation. In July of that same year, 900 years of Norwegian Christianity were commemorated in Trondheim in the presence of all the bishops, the king, the

government, and members of parliament and representatives from other Protestant churches. In the 1930s the influence from KARL BARTH and dialectical theology (see NEO-ORTHODOXY) also contributed to change the agenda of Norwegian theology.

At the beginning of the 1930s an international economic crisis had driven tens of thousands of people into unemployment and pauperism, while the political tensions increased. The church was hostile to socialism and a growing Labor Party, but the party abolished its former critical attitude to church and religion and came to power in 1935, forming a government and managing to unify a split nation. This became important regarding the German occupation on April 9, 1940 and the later resistance against a collaborative Norwegian Nazi government.

Although former conflicts within the church decreased in the 1930s, new awakenings occurred: a middle-class awakening around the Finnish-Swedish preacher Frank Mangs and the Oxford Group Movement (1934). Furthermore, the main challenges came from a radical and secularized cultural elite who criticized both Christian doctrine and sexual morality and sought emancipation through psychoanalysis. However, during the German occupation it turned out that the church and the people still constituted an integrated unit. Eivind Berggrav, bishop of Oslo, managed during autumn 1940 to unite different fractions of the church in a joint resistance against the Nazi regime. In February 1942 the bishops, as an act of protest against Nazification of the youth, resigned from the civil part of their offices, but remained in service of the church. On Easter Day (April 4, 1942) most of the clergy followed the bishops in reading a declaration, called "Foundation of the Church," from the pulpits. This declaration stated that the Christian loyalty to the authorities depended on the authorities' upholding of law and justice, although the Nazi authorities had violated this, and for that reason the clergy laid down the civil part of their offices. These actions led to the arrests of leaders within the church and Christian organizations and to a bitter conflict between the church and the Nazi state that lasted to the liberation in May 1945.

Postwar and Old Conflicts

In 1945 the leaders of the church had made plans for a rechristianization of society and hoped for more autonomy, although they were soon disappointed. Some of the same controversies with secular radicalism from the 1930s reoccurred, and a proposition of a national council was turned down in parliament by the Labor Party (1953). The party's vision for postwar Norway was to build a welfare state, whereas church leaders wished to renew society on the basis of Christian morality and creed.

In 1953–1954 even the theological tensions from the first decades of the twentieth century rose to surface. In a sermon transmitted by radio, Ole Kristian Hallesby warned nonconverts of damnation to Hell. This resulted in a major dispute. The bishop of Hamar, Kristian S.Schjelderup, responded stating that such threats were not compatible with the Gospel of Love. Hallesby and other conservatives accused the bishop of heresy. The government settled the matter after a round of theological hearings, and Schjelderup continued as bishop. The conflict was sharpened when Schjelderup in 1961 ordained the first female minister in spite of fierce protests from other bishops, conservatives, teachers of the private theological faculty, and leaders of Christian organizations. In May 1993 the

first female bishop, Rosemarie Køhn, was installed precisely in the bishopric of Hamar, and female ministers have since become a normal part of church order.

In the 1960s the theological conflicts were fueled by the influence from existential theology and the question of the historical Jesus, at the same time as the Cold War with nuclear rearmament and the inhuman consequences of capitalism faced the church with new challenges. The call for Christian social ethics and the influence from the theology of hope led to a new social-ethical consciousness, and within the frame of ecumenism this was followed up in the 1980s and 1990s through impulses from both liberation theology and contextual theology.

At the beginning of the new millennium the church is split between pietistic-inspired traditionalism and modernizing liberalism, but united in social-ethical engagement within an ecumenical and international context.

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- DAG THORKILDSEN

NYGREN, ANDERS (1890–1978)

Swedish church leader. Nygren was born November 15, 1890 in Göteborg, SWEDEN and died October 20, 1978 in Lund, Sweden.

Known primarily for his work as a professor of theological ethics and the philosophy of religion at the University of Lund (1921–1949), Nygren addressed fundamental topics of philosophy, THEOLOGY, and ETHICS. As a theologian he used “motif research,” grounded in historical analysis, to identify *Agape* (divine, self-giving love) as the essential theological concept or category (i.e., “motif”) of Christianity. Nygren distinguished this motif, restored to a central place in the church’s soteriological formulations by the Lutheran REFORMATION, from *Eros* (self-oriented love), with its Platonic roots. The “Lundensian School,” represented by Nygren, used motif research to analyze important theological issues such as revelation, ATONEMENT, and ethics.

As a philosopher Nygren applied motif analysis to religions beyond Christianity. Theoretically philosophers and theologians alike could search for the basic motif in each respective religion, through the application of this scientific methodology.

As a clergyman, Nygren, ordained in 1912, served as bishop of Lund (1949–1958) and was elected the first president of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION (1947–1952). Nygren helped oversee the rebuilding of Lutheran churches in post-World War II Europe, while encouraging the scholarship of others.

As an ecumenist, Nygren was active before World War II in the Conferences on Faith and Order (Lausanne, 1927; Oxford, 1937) and instrumental after the war in establishing the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

See also Ecumenism; Lutheranism, Scandinavia; Theology, Twentieth Century

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OBERLIN, JOHANN FRIEDRICH (1740–1826)

Lutheran Pietist educator. Oberlin was Lutheran pastor in a remote parish in the Vosges Mountains near the French-German frontier. Although Oberlin spent his entire career in this isolated locale, he became well known for exemplary PIETISM and for his innovative educational methods.

Born on August 31, 1740, in Strassburg (now Strasbourg, FRANCE), Oberlin's childhood years were in a home steeped in education and Lutheran Pietism. His father was a teacher, and his mother descended from a long line of Lutheran ministers who married daughters of other Lutheran ministers. After earning a doctor of philosophy degree, Oberlin was a private tutor for three years before accepting a call to a pulpit in the *Ban de la Roche* (*Steintal*, Valley of Rocks), a poverty-stricken pocket of LUTHERANISM.

Oberlin typified Pietist efforts to combine intense FAITH with concern for the worldly needs of the poor and downtrodden. He supported the charitable institutions maintained by Pietists at HALLE. He lived a simple ascetic lifestyle. For years he abstained from coffee and sugar because slaves produced them. Deeply concerned about the poverty and isolation of his adopted home, Oberlin became a tireless local booster and reformer. He promoted agricultural innovation, such as fertilization of crops, and he spearheaded bridge and road construction, at times singlehandedly beginning a project until individual peasants joined him, gradually creating a community effort.

Educational Reform

Oberlin's educational reforms were consistent with his interest in assisting the destitute. Determined to improve the general conditions in his long-suffering parish and appalled at the stifling environment in peasant households, Oberlin's system began with children at age three or four, much earlier than was customary. He organized these young children in small groups for instruction that lasted only a few hours, several times per week, thus avoiding a lengthy separation from parents. For teachers he hired young, unmarried women from the community. On public occasions he referred to these teachers as "leaders of tender youth," thereby presenting a warm, gentle image. Students acquired useful skills, particularly knitting, but also carding and combing of flax, and they took

walks to collect and identify local insects, plants, and rocks. They received religious instruction and learned to read maps, especially to locate their homes and significant local geographic features but also the countries of the world. Oberlin's school also taught cleanliness, habits of hygiene, and manners, which Oberlin hoped that children would carry back into their homes. Lessons were in proper French only, not the local dialect, which was a mixture of French, German, local idioms, and Italian borrowed from workers imported by the local lord. When student's interest lagged, Oberlin and his teachers used magic tricks to keep their attention. Aside from educational achievements Oberlin believed that in the long run skills students acquired would benefit the community by making it less isolated.

Oberlin was also involved in the public school, which took students at age six or seven. Here only men taught, but otherwise Oberlin's program was also creative. For example, teachers taught demonstration lessons, which colleagues observed and evaluated. He gave credit vouchers to reward parents whose children attended regularly, and he provided free books and materials to parents unable to pay but who made an effort to educate their children. In return Oberlin expected recipients of aid to live what he considered a pious life, including avoidance of taverns and not keeping dogs, which he determined was a luxury. He also refused to confirm (admit to church membership) children who did not attend school regularly, thereby punishing parents who neglected their children's schooling. He stipulated compulsory education until the age of sixteen. Thus, whether spearheading projects to improve the local economy or immersing himself in the local educational system, Oberlin demonstrated uncommon activism in charitable endeavors.

An International Figure

Although Oberlin lived almost all of his professional life in the secluded *Ban de la Roche*, he nevertheless became well known among intellectuals and theologians, primarily for his dynamic combination of faith with works. Word of Oberlin spread largely through networks of correspondence, and his exchange of letters with JOHANN HEINRICH JUNG-STILLING, a well-connected Radical Pietist who in turn informed his correspondents of Oberlin's work, was particularly instrumental. Jung-Stilling and other Radical Pietists cherished wilderness or desert experiences, citing those of Moses and Jesus, and they thought that Oberlin's ministry in the *Ban de la Roche* fit this model. Oberlin's correspondence with the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY brought English visitors to his community. Some English visitors kept detailed journals of Oberlin's activities, which were published and read widely within mission circles. Tsar Alexander I of Russia became an admirer of Oberlin after learning of the isolated Lutheran from a baroness who was attracted to Oberlin's interest in ESCHATOLOGY. When in 1813 Alexander invaded France through Alsace, he sent a messenger to Oberlin bearing a letter of safe conduct and instructed his troops to avoid the *Ban de la Roche* as much as possible.

One event was especially instrumental in Oberlin's fame. In 1778 he took in a wandering stranger, who turned out to be Jacob Lenz, a popular playwright. Lenz was not only physically in need—hungry, dirty, cold, with a festering sore on one foot—but he

was also psychologically devastated. After an incident in which Lenz seized scissors from Oberlin's wife and threatened suicide, Oberlin sent Lenz away, and soon thereafter the dissipated playwright died. Although intellectuals hotly debated Oberlin's treatment of Lenz, the incident also spread Oberlin's renown.

In fact, Oberlin's fame extended even to the North American frontier. When in 1832 American evangelical reformers sought to establish a community of enlightened values and Christian simplicity in Ohio, they immediately drew upon Oberlin for inspiration. As Oberlin in his valley battled Satan, they determined to fight evil in the Mississippi Valley. Consequently, they imitated Oberlin's educational system for their children, and they named their college after him.

Oberlin died on June 1, 1826. He was buried in the church graveyard at Fouday, a village in the *Ban de la Rouche*.

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STEPHEN LONGENECKER

OBSERVANCES

Observances are acts and customs of devotion or discipline, individual or corporate, especially those repeated at specified times and according to prescriptions as to frequency, intention, or performance. In the anthropological study of any community, including Protestant churches and groups, observances are examined and interpreted as being indicative of the community's beliefs, relationships, social roles and trends in development, and ambivalent views.

Protestant Ambivalence with Regard to Observances

In classical Protestant thought, observances may be acts of obedience to God's revealed will, or acts of human initiative; in the latter case, they may be judged to be permitted by God's law, or questionable, or wrong. On the Protestant understanding of redemption, observances, even when acts of obedience to God's revealed will, may be obligatory, and may be acts of faith, but do not secure God's favor through any intrinsic merit. When they are acts of conformity with the rules of the faith community, they may be

commendable, but may not infringe on the freedom and responsibility of the individual or particular church. Observances that are understood as divine acts in the church through obedient human instrumentality are obligatory, and are means of GRACE, but interpretation of their sacramental efficacy differs among Protestant theologies. As to what is required or permissible in observances in general: Reformed doctrine has tended to restrict observances strictly to acts man-dated in Scripture, whereas Lutheran, Anglican, and Methodist traditions incline to encourage observances compatible with Scripture. The Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) and others have concluded that no external observances have any divine sanction, and that, although Christians may gather for meeting, all that is required is a waiting on God, preferably in silence, for the gift of the Inward Light, which may prompt a sharing of reflection, testimony, exhortation, confession, or prayer.

From the beginning, Protestantism has warned against the abuse of observances, not least those divinely mandated. Medieval customs had, in the reforming view, added unworthy human accretions to divine institution and primitive simplicity, reduced divine things to triviality, encouraged superstition, misdirected to creatures adoration attributable only to God, and tempted the user to rely on human deserving or bargaining rather than on God and God's grace. These dangers, to which all religious life is vulnerable, all go back, so the Reformers agreed, to a separation of observances from the Word of God.

The Word: Proclaimed, Heard, Obeyed

Protestantism agrees that the Word of God is encountered in Scripture, and has often identified the Word directly with Scripture. This has meant that Protestant churches have felt the immediate impact of HIGHER CRITICISM of the BIBLE (historicity, ethical consistency, source-criticism, comparative religion). Some Protestants simply ignore these challenges, whereas others respond to them as liberating, in that God is understood as leading all creation, all humanity, by the Eternal Word, most fully and definitively uttered as the Incarnate Word, among people who recorded and interpreted the events. This was done with divine help, which nonetheless worked with them within their personal and cultural limitations. This approach has been summed up: "The Bible is the word of those to whom the Word of the Lord came."

The Protestant apprehension of the Word as the gracious self-impartment of the all-merciful Trinity has often been lost in popular Protestantism, when the Bible has been viewed as a book of rules. However, especially since the work of C.H.Dodd, the essential narrative character of both Testaments has aided Protestants and others to present the Bible as the story of progressive divine-human covenant friendship, a story so told that successive generations of believers become incorporated into it.

The canon, or recognized list, of biblical books presented Protestantism with a decision. The first Reformers accepted the Septuagint Canon of the Old Testament, as it had been transmitted by the Eastern and Latin Churches. Soon, however, Protestant churches reduced at least to secondary status the "Apocryphal" or "Deutero-canonical" books and retained only those Hebrew or Aramaic books that had been canonized by the Rabbis at Jamnia in 70 A.D.

The Word, in or as Scripture, is to be read in the WORSHIP of the congregation. There, and in oral or written spiritual counsel, it is to be expounded and applied. In classical Protestantism a preacher may insist only on principles provable from Scripture as being indispensable for saving belief. The Word is not solely information, nor is the reading and exposition of the Word solely didactic in purpose: the individual Christian is summoned to hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest.

Sacraments

Classical Protestantism insists on the dominical SACRAMENTS, for which Scripture attests institution and AUTHORITY from Jesus. This represents a DISSENT from the Roman assertion of seven sacraments, of which the Anglican Article 35 says that five (CONFIRMATION, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction) are not divinely mandated ceremonies but “have grown partly [out] of corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures.” The remainder are BAPTISM and the “Holy Communion,” or “LORD’S SUPPER.” We must note that MARTIN LUTHER himself included Confession and Absolution as a sacrament, but most later Lutheran thought does not follow him. Some extremist wings of the Reformation, together with the Society of Friends and the Quaker-influenced SALVATION ARMY, deny to these or any sacraments any degree of authority, and recommend instead an inward dedication of the spirit, and communion by PRAYER and fellowship. The Salvation Army has found it necessary to create a substitute for baptism (or confirmation) in the form of Recruitment Under the Flag.

Baptism in classical Protestantism has assumed as normative administration to the children of Christianity-professing families, baptismal promises being made either by godparents or families, the implied obligations being taken on by the baptized at an age of responsible choice. This is usually called “paedobaptism” or “infant baptism,” but a more reasonable title might be “heritage-baptism.” Such a pattern originally assumed the conversion to Protestantism of whole communities (kingdoms, principalities, city-states). Other Protestant traditions (Anabaptist, MENNONITE, Baptist, Old German Baptist, CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN) baptize only on the candidate’s personal profession of faith, on the ground that discipleship cannot be inherited, but can only be an individual choice. This is usually called “believer-baptism” (again, a more apt title might be “profession-baptism”). Independency (CONGREGATIONALISM), although confessing the voluntaristic principle for church membership, has retained heritage-baptism, as has METHODISM. By the later twentieth century, even in paedobaptist churches, where once parents had been told unambiguously that it was their Christian duty to present their children for baptism, a dual practice had grown up, some parents presenting their infant children and others declining to do so, expecting the children to make the choice themselves.

The matter and form of baptism (to use the medieval categories, which ecumenical interaction has brought back into Protestant use) are usually water, poured with the words, “[Name], I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,” with sometimes interpretative additions, as for instance in some Presbyterian use, “[Name], child of the covenant, I baptize you....” Most Protestants baptize by pouring

(albeit often in a reduced form of sprinkling from the fingers). Anabaptists traditionally baptize by pouring, but English BAPTISTS in the early seventeenth century introduced baptism by immersion, appealing to Paul's image in Romans 6 of baptism as a funeral. Similar reasoning influenced Alexander Campbell and the Christian Church (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST). Those who baptize by pouring point out that in Paul's Hellenistic world the essential act of a funeral was in fact a pouring, whether of soil or dust or pebbles or, if need be, water. The doctrine of intention is little discussed except in ecumenical contexts: as in Roman Catholic THEOLOGY, the intention is generally to be inferred from the "form," or words of administration. The Roman Catholic revision of catechesis and initiation, principally the "Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults," has provoked much heart-searching and rethinking in some older Protestant denominations, as has Faith and Order Paper 111, *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*, although resultant liturgical revision in those churches has not met with settled or always positive response.

Confirmation among Protestants differs widely in usage and interpretation. Anglicans require confirmation by bishops as the usual gateway to communicant status; Lutherans and Reformed concentrate on a protracted period of catechetical instruction before admission to communion. Anglicans (and Methodists, since the 1960s) lay on hands in confirmation.

Absolution may be considered as an appendix to baptism because in principle it restores the penitent to the communicant status belonging to the baptized; even this restoration is felt only on an emotional level to be necessary. Lutherans and Anglicans have always administered absolution (see ANGLICANISM; LUTHERANISM); the Reformed declare forgiveness, and have traditionally exercised an office of readmission and restoration; the UNITING CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA and the British Methodist Church have included orders for reconciliation in the late twentieth-century service books. Whether any Protestant church would include this ministry within the category of sacraments, a sacramental affinity is obvious.

Holy Communion, or Lord's Supper, is variously celebrated among Protestants, and no less variously interpreted. Where it is kept at all, it is observed as an act of obedience to the traditionally recorded command of Jesus at his Last Supper. Because of this basis, some Protestant traditions include within it the washing of feet (see FEET, WASHING OF). Biblical criticism has obliged Protestants, even more directly than other Christians, to respond to doubts about the historicity of the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper and the commands there incorporated. Even when the New Testament language is interpreted entirely figuratively, some Protestants flinch at the imagery of eating flesh and drinking blood. The rite differs among the Protestant churches, although many of the denominations have followed the arguments of Dom Gregory Dix and restored the putative ancient "four-fold shape" of taking+thanking+breaking+ sharing, which includes a reintroduction of the Eucharistic Prayer. Many denominations, since the close of the nineteenth century, have abandoned the use of wine for the unfermented juice of the grape, so as to provide an alcohol-free environment. Admission to communion is in some Protestant churches, especially of the "gathered church" tradition, strictly guarded. Among older Protestant churches, conservative Lutherans are alone in limiting communion to those who believe in the real presence of Christ (although Lutheran doctrine refuses to admit the concept of transubstantiation because that language submits divine grace to presumptuous human reason). In pastoral ministry Protestants meet

problems about the right frequency for individual communion, and emotional difficulties about the imagery.

Sacraments as a generic concept are not uniformly conceived among Protestants. Because “sacrament” does not occur in the New Testament (unless the term “mystery” in I Corinthians 2:7 has such a sense), many Protestants, especially in the Americas, dislike it and prefer “ordinances,” as expressive of the divine mandate. Yet others prefer, especially in pastoral theology, to use the generic concept of “means of grace,” under which are subsumed not only the sacraments but also prayer, reading of Scripture, and religious conference, as appointed ways in which to wait on God, and as means by which God confers prevenient, justifying, and sanctifying grace. The efficacy of sacraments is much disputed: in classical Protestantism, a real gift (according to the specific sacrament) is really offered, and how it is received makes that gift either beneficial, meaningless, or actually spiritually perilous. To take up the scholastic categories in discussion of sacraments, categories that Protestant theology has tended to decry but has found it necessary often to reinstate, sacramental causality is a major concern. All Protestants who retain sacramental worship agree that without faith, through which gifts of grace are received and made effective, sacramental acts are, for some meaningless, but certainly unfruitful. Also, the church’s internal relations and witness in society make sacramental worship blasphemous if they do not reflect the gracious, forgiving, sacrificially generous character of God asserted in sacramental customs, words, symbols, and acts. (This principle, stated by Paul in I Corinthians 10–11, is as emphatically stated by Roman Catholics and Eastern Churches as by Protestants.)

On another level, there seems to be a deep division among Protestants over sacramentology, which is not along denominational lines. At least since the eighteenth century, there has been a tendency to describe sacraments as “purely” (or even “merely”) “symbolic.” Tillich has argued that this is less negative than it sounds, given that symbols participate in the reality of that which they represent; but at least in popular terms, this sort of expression means that the only effect of sacraments, or other symbolic acts, is solely psychological—that the Eucharist, for example, is simply a subjective remembering of past events, even of an absent Christ. Lutheran tradition asserts that an objective gift is given absolutely; Reformed and Anglican traditions seem to assert that an objective gift is given conditionally; Methodism has been ambivalent as to what to assert, but sings in an almost Lutheran key. To resolve this dilemma, Protestant sacramentology turns to the “occasionalism” of Duns Scotus: even if there is no inevitable causal link between liturgical performance and divine act, the divine faithfulness to the covenant promises that, when the sacramental rite is performed obediently, and with an obedient intent, then, however unworthy the minister as a person, the divine presence is granted and the gift is given. This COVENANT theology has sometimes been matched in Protestant worship and spiritual guidance with a covenanting approach to personal CONVERSION, baptism and affirmation of baptism, and covenanting as selfdedication for SANCTIFICATION.

Ordination

In classical Protestantism, presidency at sacramental worship has required ordination, so that the act may be seen as representative of the whole church and endorsed by its authority and thereby Christ's authority, and as the act for which the whole church accepts responsibility. In Lutheran and Reformed traditions ordination is linked with a specific call, and in Anglican tradition ordination must be linked with a specific "title" parish or other ministry. The setting of ordinations reflects the respective ecclesiologies: the Reformed ordain preaching elders in the specific parish, but as an act of the presbytery; FREE CHURCHES ordain in the local congregation, neighboring clergy gathering for the event; Anglicans ordain by bishops, usually in the respective cathedral church. Methodists ordain at their Annual Conferences (but consecrate bishops in American Methodism at Jurisdictional Conferences). From the "radical reformation" onward, there has been a strain of Protestant inclination that argues that the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS makes ordination unnecessary, even wrong.

Protestant churches have not yet come to a common mind about the relative elements in an ordination rite. All agree that prayer is essential, usually with the imposition of hands associated, but not all see a need for a settled form for such a prayer. Often, more attention is given to the wording of the Examination, or "Vows," which precede that prayer. The Examination is thus often treated as the core of the rite, as binding promises, and as a reassurance to the congregation that this candidate is rightly admitted to ordination, instead of the promises being introductory to the prayer, and setting out some of the needs that God will be asked to supply.

Many, but not all, Protestant churches have, since the close of the nineteenth century, but more in the closing decades of the twentieth, begun to admit WOMEN to ordained ministry (see WOMEN CLERGY).

Prayer and Fasting

With all other Christians, Protestants esteem prayer as the privilege and duty of all God's children, and all Protestant churches offer counsel in the manner of praying. In both private devotion and public worship, free prayer is valued as faith-prompted and faith-guided response to the Holy Spirit; this does not prevent Protestant spiritual guides from offering written prayers as models or instruments of devotion. Since the period after the First World War, the Roman, Lutheran, and especially Anglican forms and principles of the Daily Office, or Hours, have won appreciation and even imitation in the less-formal denominations—but it is important to note that the tradition of urging and aiding daily devotion, individual and domestic, has never entirely failed in Lutheran, Reformed, and Free Church communities.

Regularity in daily prayer is commended by Protestant guides as ordering the personal life of faith according to God's gift of temporal existence, and as a graciously offered means for the inward ordering of will and emotions.

Fasting, a biblically sanctioned discipline, has a place in some Protestant traditions, although in the nineteenth century it fell into disfavor, whether through diminished devotion or through a loosening of the link between spirituality and the sense of the body. Classical Protestantism associated fasting with the penitential seasons and special times of public repentance; in more evangelical and “fundamentalist” circles, it has been a constant feature of personal intercession at all seasons.

Singing

Protestantism has encouraged Christian song from the beginning, and sought to open singing to all Christians, both in corporate worship and in private devotion (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The style and repertoire have varied by traditions and through time. Reformed traditions have tended to concentrate on the Psalms (at least one Reformed denomination will sing nothing else but the Psalter). Metrical Psalms or para-phrases have supplied at least part of nearly all Protestant hymnic resources. Luther’s and later Lutheran hymns ranged more freely; Anabaptist hymnody began as the defiant songs of imprisoned martyrs. ISAAC WATTS led English-language hymnody into a wide range of doxology and meditation, and JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY developed a hymnody of faith experience, in quest of Christian perfection. In the later twentieth century megachurches and other centers of evangelical worship began to develop different styles of worship music. The “Praise and Worship” movement works to engage the gathered people in upbeat song compatible with popular entertainment song; the “SEEKER-driven” service style expects fewer and fewer people to be comfortable with corporate singing (see SEEKER CHURCHES), and makes generous use of songs sung *to* rather than *by* the gathered assembly on a Sunday, whereas the more committed core congregation sings together on Wednesday or whatever is the usual day for committed disciples.

Life-Cycle Rites: Marriage and Funeral

“Occasional Offices,” or “Pastoral Offices,” which mark the life cycle, are indispensable in any society, whatever the professed faith. Protestantism has usually denied MARRIAGE the status of a sacrament, not to ignore its divine origin or its significance for God’s will and human obedience, but because the civil society has been seen as the divinely appointed judicatory for this aspect of life. Nonetheless nearly all Protestant churches have provided marriage rites, often before they established any other liturgical norms. Reformed traditions long omitted the ring, as being a custom of pagan origin and an object of superstition: the nineteenth century saw a reversion to older customs, largely because of social pressures. By the end of the twentieth century, in English-speaking Protestantism, considerable demands were being made for couples to write their own vows, and (in the UNITED STATES) for the insertion into the service of a “Unity Candle.” In this matter the older Protestant caution with regard to symbols has apparently ceased to function. Protestant churches have historically provided no standard rites for marking adolescence; in North America, the Latin American observance of a young

woman's fifteenth birthday, adopted in Latin American churches, began by the start of the twenty-first century to appear in Anglo-American practice.

Distinctive among Protestant traditions was the early Reformed mineralizing trend in the funeral rite, prompted by distrust of the medieval obsession with prayer for the dead, and by disgust at the way in which that obsession had been exploited by some church practices such as stipends for requiem masses. More typical of Protestantism, especially as it developed, was the Lutheran funeral chant, "In the midst of life we are in death.... Suffer us not, at our last hour, by any pains of death to fall from thee." Protestant distrust of prayer for the dead seems to have been altered by the First World War, after which many Protestant funeral liturgies and other services allow for such petitions (see DEATH AND DYING).

The Calendar

The concept of "observances" is most used of the observance of times and seasons—Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, Saints' Days. Lutherans and Anglicans preserved much of the medieval calendar, while omitting much of the overgrown sanctoral cycle; Reformed and more radical Protestants kept only the Lord's Day. Some churches (Seventh Day Baptists, SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS) reverted to the Sabbath, on biblical grounds.

Reformed and Methodist churches, and numerous evangelical churches, have come to value the fuller Christian Calendar, as a means of displaying the Gospel story through the circle of the year, of ordering the corporate reading of Scripture to range over the full treasury of the Bible with balance, and of helping preachers escape the tyranny of their own interests. This is similar to the Protestant rediscovery of the structured Divine Office, which has helped individuals and groups to establish a new stability in their devotional and emotional lives. The celebration of the SAINTS has also spread in Protestant circles (the German Evangelical Brotherhood of St. Michael, the United Methodist Order of St. Luke, for example); and both Protestants and Roman Catholics celebrate one another's saints, including those who died as Protestant or Roman Catholic MARTYRS, at Christian hands.

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DAVID H. TRIPP

OCHINO, BERNARDINO (1487–1564)

Italian anti-Trinitarian. Bernardino Ochino began his career as a reformist Franciscan in his native ITALY, and ended it as a controversial Protestant theologian in exile. Born in Siena, Ochino joined the observant Franciscans around 1504, but moved in 1534 to the even more austere Capuchin order, where he was vicar general (1538–1542) and a popular preacher. A 1536 meeting with the Catholic reformer Juan de Valdés is credited with pushing Ochino further toward Protestant ideas of reform. Ochino's works from this period, such as the *Seven Dialogues*, show that his interest in themes such as JUSTIFICATION by FAITH preceded his self-identification as Protestant. Ochino's association with the Italian evangelical movement made him an object of inquisitorial suspicion, leading him to flee Italy along with Peter Martyr Vermigli in 1542.

Now identifying as Protestant, Ochino became a popular but controversial preacher to the Italian community, first in Geneva, where he married, and then in Augsburg in GERMANY, ENGLAND, and finally Zurich in 1553. His works from this period included a satire of the papacy, tracts in support of the English Reformation, and a series of dialogues on issues ranging from the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER) to polygamy. Accused of ANTI-TRINITARIANISM and other heterodox ideas, Ochino was banished from Zurich in 1563, and moved to POLAND and then to Moravia, where he died in 1564. Ochino was both a popular and influential Protestant theologian and a more searching thinker on the religious issues of his time than most of his contemporaries could countenance.

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DEBORAH K. MARCUSE

OECOLAMPADIUS, JOHANNES (1482–1531)

Swiss reformer. Oecolampadius was born Johannes Hausschein (variant spellings: Huszgen, Hussgen, Heussgen) at Weinsberg, GERMANY in 1482. Following Humanist custom, he took a Greco-Latin form of his name in 1510.

Oecolampadius's well-traveled career connected him to the most important people, events, and ideas of sixteenth-century Europe. As a student he earned B.A. and M.A. degrees at Heidelberg (1503), studied law at Bologna, THEOLOGY at Tübingen, and completed a doctorate at Basel (1518). As a teacher he tutored the sons of Palatinate Landgrave Philip at Mainz (1506–1510), taught Greek at Heidelberg (1512–1513), and lectured on the BIBLE at Basel (1522–1531). As a pastor he served at Weinsberg (1510–1512, 1516–1518), Augsburg (1518–1521), Basel (1515–1516, 1522–1531), and as

chaplain to Franz von Sickingen at Ebernburg (1522). He was even a monk in the Birgittine monastery at Altomünster near Augsburg (1521–1522).

These experiences prepared him to make enduring academic and ecclesiastical contributions. Academically, Oecolampadius traveled in learned Humanist circles, working and exchanging ideas with leading Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars and activists. His interest in the sources of Christianity largely stems from scholarly relationships with men such as Johannes Reuchlin, Jakob Wimpfeling, Erasmus, MARTIN BUCER, MARTIN LUTHER, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, ANDREAS RUDOLF BODENSTEIN KARLSTADT, and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI.

As an academic, he mastered the “three sacred languages” (Greek, Hebrew, and Latin), which he used to edit, translate, and publish ancient texts, particularly the church fathers and the Bible (he assisted Erasmus with the Greek New Testament). This body of work, together with a usable Greek grammar, made historical and linguistic resources accessible to his contemporaries. Furthermore Oecolampadius’s academic teaching career (at Heidelberg, Mainz, and Basel) influenced hundreds of students, a number of whom (e.g., Theobald Billicanus, JOHANNES BRENZ, and Hans Denck) went on to provide notable leadership in church and society.

Roman Catholic and Protestant Debate

Ecclesiastically, Oecolampadius actively participated in major meetings between Roman Catholics and Protestants. At the Baden Disputation in 1526 he distinguished himself with his respectful demeanor and eloquent knowledge of the issues (the Mass, purgatory, prayers to SAINTS, etc.). Even though Baden remained Roman Catholic, Oecolampadius emerged as a leading voice for reform in SWITZERLAND.

The recess of Baden stipulated a follow-up disputation, scheduled for Bern in early 1528. The Reformed party, represented by Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer, WOLFGANG CAPITO, and others, won an impressive victory. The establishment of the Reformed church in both city and canton soon followed and, given the status of Bern, this event proved decisive for the course of reform in Switzerland.

A third important meeting in which Oecolampadius participated was the MARBURG COLLOQUY of 1529. Lutheran prince PHILIP OF HESSE called the meeting, hoping the theologians could agree as a step toward building a coalition of German-speaking Protestants. The key issue, differing notions of the presence of Christ in the LORD’S SUPPER, proved immovable. Oecolampadius was an able and loyal lieutenant to Zwingli and his view that Christ is present “spiritually” in the Lord’s Supper. However, neither doctrinal agreement nor political alliance was obtained.

Oecolampadius’s ecclesiastical activities also focused on Basel. Calls for religious reform in the city were heard throughout the 1520s. These calls, occasionally expressing themselves violently, increased toward the end of the decade, as they eventuated into unrestrained iconoclastic riots in early 1529 (see ICONOCLASM). The Roman Catholic city council’s policy complicated matters—tolerating differences in faith without declaring itself for or against reform. In addition the publishing industry and the university in Basel provided havens and outlets for reform thinkers and activists. Moreover Basel’s guilds, with their control of the city’s economy, made them necessary

players on the religious/political/economic stage. Finally, because Switzerland shared borders with FRANCE and Germany, it was convenient for refugees, with their innovative ideas and practices. At various times influential representatives of various Reform movements, including Erasmus, Karlstadt, THOMAS MÜNTZER, and BALTHASAR HÜBMAIER, lived in Basel.

As pastor at St. Martin's church and lecturer in Bible at the university, Oecolampadius engaged this situation—particularly after he initiated contact with Zwingli at Zurich in December 1522. This produced a fruitful collaboration on theological and practical levels. Oecolampadius's biblical lectures at the university became increasingly popular, particularly after he began lecturing in German in 1523. At times several hundred auditors from the city would attend his classes, giving him a platform on which to address eager listeners. Further he skillfully approached the city council and influenced the guilds to promote reform. In April 1529 the city fathers enfranchised the Reformed faith in Basel by adopting Oecolampadius's "Reformation Act."

Theological Influences

Oecolampadius was also an able representative of Swiss Reformed theology. His view of Holy Communion, although akin to Zwingli's, also had its distinguishing character. He delineated his view in the influential "*Genuina expositio verborum Domini interpretatione: Hoc est corpus meum*" (1525). He maintained a "symbolic" understanding of the sacrament by arguing that the elements signified the body and blood of Christ, which were spiritually eaten by the faithful. Using church fathers as references, Oecolampadius connected Tertullian's phrase that the Lord's Supper is a "*figura corporis*" (representation of [Christ's] body) with Augustine's notion that faith accomplished the sacrament. Oecolampadius's interpretation of Jesus' words, "This is my Body," places the metaphor in the predicate, in contradistinction to Zwingli, who understood the verb metaphorically.

Furthermore his theology of CHURCH DISCIPLINE, an important mark of Reformed Protestantism, anticipated JOHN CALVIN'S Geneva. Oecolampadius sought to use excommunication as a means to restore sinners to SALVATION rather than as punishment, by instituting a CONSISTORY of lay presbyters—thinking that the civil realm ought to be administered by the church. This proposal failed in Basel, where the ban remained a civil concern.

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WILLIAM R.RUSSELL

OLDHAM, JOSEPH H. (1874–1969)

Protestant missionary statesman. Oldham was born in Girgaum, INDIA, in 1874 of Scottish parents. He was educated at Edinburgh Academy and Trinity College, Oxford. He was a member of the evangelical Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union with his friends and contemporaries Temple Gairdner, Paget Wilkes, and Alek Fraser, all future missionaries. Wilkes introduced him to JOHN R.MOTT in 1894. Oldham became first general secretary of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in 1896 and YMCA secretary in Lahore (1897–1901). Here he married Alek Fraser's sister, Mary. They returned to Edinburgh on health grounds, where Oldham studied THEOLOGY at New College and in HALLE, Germany under Gustav Warneck (1901–1905).

As secretary of the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE at Edinburgh in 1910 his role was influential in making the conference immensely significant for both mission and ECUMENISM. He became secretary of the Continuation Committee and of the International Missionary Council (1921–1938) and first editor of the *International Review of Missions* in 1912. He was active on behalf of German Protestant missions in fund-raising and preventing the expropriation of mission property after 1918 and GERMANY'S defeat in World War I. He became deeply involved in AFRICA and wrote *Christianity and the Race Problem* (1924) and *What is at stake in East Africa* (1929), as well as serving on a royal commission. He worked with Bishop GEORGE BELL to coordinate protests against Nazi policy on church affairs after 1934. He was active in the "Life and Work" and "Faith and Order" conferences, which contributed to the provisional formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1938. He attended the WCC in 1948 and was made an honorary president.

Although Oldham was handicapped by profound deafness for most of his life, he remained influential in later life through his coeditorship of *The Christian Newsletter* (1939–1945). He died on May 16, 1969 at St. Leonard's-on-Sea in Sussex, ENGLAND.

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TIMOTHY YATES

OPPONG (OPPON, OPON), KWAME SAMPSON (c. 1884–1965)

African clergy. Oppong was born about 1884 in Brong Ahafo in Ghana to a slave family originating from Burkina Faso. He was an itinerant laborer and an accomplished magician/herbalist, and had served several prison terms for petty crimes before his CONVERSION. In 1917 he had a vision in which God called him to proclaim God's Word, but with a peculiarly African nuance—accompanied by the destruction of fetishes and the rejection of witchcraft. He was aided in his ministry by a "stone" from which he could read the Scriptures. In his lifetime he earned the two opposing sobriquets, Sebewie meaning "one who ends life" and Sebetutu meaning "one who takes away amulets."

The workers at the BASEL MISSION disapproved of his PREACHING, especially his use of threats to coerce conversion, but the Methodist mission co-opted his evangelistic ministry and at least 20,000 people responded to his ministry and joined the Methodist Church. As a result the Methodists were able to build a sanctuary in the center of Kumasi, capital of the Asante kingdom, and Wesley College, a teacher-training college. Several Asante men entered the Methodist ministry. The Methodist missionary W.G. Waterworth accompanied Oppong on his journeys.

Oppong's ministry was similar to that of his contemporary WILLIAM WADÉ HARRIS. Like Harris, Oppong transformed mission Christianity, contextualizing it to meet the needs of Africans. By so doing he succeeded where several expatriate missionaries had failed to convert local people for almost a hundred years.

See also Methodism, Global; Missions

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CASELY B.ESSAMUAH

ORDINATION

See Clergy; Laity

ORTHODOXY

Derived from the Greek *orthodoxia* (*orthos* meaning “right” and *doxa* meaning “belief or opinion”), orthodoxy means right belief, as contrasted with HERESY or heterodoxy. The term is not biblical and became important in the developing Christian church of the second century through its conflict with Gnosticism and with the Trinitarian and Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. Orthodoxy functions as the way of distinguishing and safeguarding authentic doctrines of the CHURCH. For a particular DOCTRINE to qualify as part of orthodoxy, usually it must either be explicitly included in the BIBLE or be a belief proposed by the faithful (*sensus fidelium*) as implicit within the Bible.

Within the context of Protestantism, the term orthodoxy has an even more specific meaning than right belief. Protestant orthodoxy represents a period extending from the second half of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century when Lutheran and Reformed theologians developed highly sophisticated theological systems that became the standard theological understandings of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. It is often called Protestant Scholasticism for its resemblance to medieval scholasticism, the technical precision and rigor of much of late medieval theology. This essay briefly charts Protestant orthodoxy’s development out of the REFORMATION of the sixteenth century, charts its history through three periods of its development, and then discusses the factors that contributed to its decline before the dawn of the nineteenth century.

Development

At one time, historians of theology viewed Protestant orthodoxy with some suspicion for being a theological movement that fixed the creative insights of the first generations of the Reformation and thereby turned them into arid scholastic systems of doctrine devoid of piety. By the end of the sixteenth century, so they argued, the dynamic, personal, and perhaps unpredictable faith of MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546), for example, with his emphasis on a theology grounded in revelation and not reason, had been turned by his followers into a dry legalism based more on Aristotelian metaphysics than Paul’s notion of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH. More recently, historians of this postReformation period have carefully corrected this misperception by noting the deep continuities between the thought of the initial reformers and its subsequent development into systems of doctrine by orthodox Lutheran and Reformed theologians. These continuities can best be seen when one understands the inevitable change that took place institutionally and

theologically between the first decades of the Reformation and its subsequent development into what became the church traditions of Protestantism.

The generation of pastors and theologians who immediately followed the first generation of reformers faced a number of challenges in establishing and guiding the faith of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. First, those who followed the reformers necessarily needed organization and structure to their new Christian existence outside of Roman Catholicism. Thus ecclesiastical regulations, confessional texts, and CATECHISMS had to be generated to provide definition and instruction in these new faith traditions. Second, a new generation of CLERGY needed to be educated to continue the PREACHING and teaching of the Reformation. Consequently, centers of theological learning emerged as the places where the systematic reflection on Reformation faith and piety could take place. Third, this systematic reflection allowed the subsequent generation of Protestant orthodox theologians to extend and further nuance the theologies of the sixteenth-century reformers through both developing more fully their own internal differences (e.g., what distinguished Lutherans from Reformed, etc.) and struggling through issues and/or problems that the first generation of reformers had not or could not have anticipated. Fourth, and finally, Protestant thinkers continued to defend the Reformation theologically against its Roman Catholic critics, and through this process used and developed for themselves the logic and subtlety characteristic of medieval scholasticism that their Catholic opponents had used against them. Thus each of these challenges—the needs for confessions and order, schools, further theological refinement and defense—contributed to the development of Protestant orthodoxy out of the Reformation.

History

As a way of understanding the history of this movement, scholars have suggested a three-part division to Protestant orthodoxy: (1) early orthodoxy (c. 1560–1620); (2) high orthodoxy (c. 1620–1700); and (3) late orthodoxy (c. 1700–1790). Such a division is artificial but nevertheless helpful in noting the progression of thought within the movement as well as the diversity of issues it faced over the course of the first two centuries of Protestantism.

Early orthodoxy (c. 1560–1620) focused on the initial two challenges of developing ecclesiastical polities and confessions, and the academies of learning in which to teach them. If the Reformation churches were to survive and ultimately flourish, then a confessional basis had to be established (see CONFESSIONS), ecclesial organizations had to be constructed, and sound theological training had to be provided for its clergy. During this period Lutheran orthodoxy produced the Formula of Concord (1577) and BOOK OF CONCORD (1580), which helped both to unify LUTHERANISM and to set out its distinctives from the Calvinists. Major Lutheran theologians during this early period of Protestant orthodoxy included Jakob Andreae (1528–1590), one of the authors of the Formula of Concord, and Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), whose nine-volume *Loci theologici* (1610–1621) set the stage for the flourishing of Lutheran orthodoxy during the seventeenth century.

Although the Book of Concord established a doctrinally definitive canon for much of Lutheranism, Reformed Protestants did not provide themselves with creedal books but rather through a multiplicity of confessions of faith referred their followers to scripture, as Calvin's INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION (1559–1560) had done. Reformed theologians published during this first phase of Protestant orthodoxy took the form of commentaries on the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563) and the BELGIC CONFESSION of 1561. THEODORE BEZA (1519–1605), perhaps the most important Reformed theologian of this early period, was the successor to JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) as head of the church and theological academy of Geneva. The establishment of this theological academy in 1559 was crucial for the development of Reformed orthodoxy, not only because it educated many of the theologians who would define the future of Reformed theology during this period, but also because it served as a model for the establishment of other centers of Reformed theology throughout Europe.

The transition to the high period of orthodoxy (c. 1620–1700) can be linked to the controversies over the doctrine of PREDESTINATION raised by the teachings of the Dutch Reformed theologian JACOBUS ARMINIUS (1559–1609) and dealt with at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619). Arminius held that Christ died for all and that the grace offered to all is accepted by virtue of a decision by the will of each person. The Synod gathered representatives from all parts of the Re-formed church (except FRANCE) to form a council wherein they condemned Arminius's theology as Pelagian. It argued that God chooses the elect not on account of the faith God foresees in them, but on account of God's predilection alone. Over against ARMINIANISM, as the movement came to be called, it maintained that GRACE is irresistible and cannot be lost. The controversy persisted beyond Dort, thus necessitating a further creedal formula (the *Consensus helveticus*), drafted in 1675 by influential Reformed theologians including François Turretini (1629–1687), which both reaffirmed the teachings of Dort (e.g., limiting SALVATION to the elect alone) and argued for the immediate imputation of Adam's sin to all his descendants.

During this period of orthodoxy, moreover, comprehensive dogmatic works, Protestant *summas*, were published. The Lutheran theologian Abraham Calov (1612–1685) wrote a twelve-volume *Systema locorum theologicorum* (1655–1677), but perhaps more influential was his father-in-law Johann Andreas Quenstedt (1617–1688) and his *Theologica didactico-polemica sive Systema theologicorum*, which functioned as a compendium for Lutheran orthodoxy. This high period, therefore, was characterized by the increasing sophistication of Protestant dogmatics and yet, especially in light of the Arminian controversy within Reformed Protestantism, it also reflected an increased prominence of internal polemics.

There are several causes for the decline of Protestant orthodoxy that took place during its eighteenth-century late period (c. 1700–1790). First, the revolutions in natural and human SCIENCE that characterized the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and the onset of the ENLIGHTENMENT raised serious challenges to the scholastic method of Protestant orthodoxy. Biblical criticism, for example, became increasingly prevalent, thereby forcing the Protestant theologians of the eighteenth century to focus on issues of the historicity of biblical events rather than on the subtleties of dogmatics. Second, various forms of DEISM, skepticism, and even atheism arose during this time, which forced theologians away from primarily focusing on the systematic articulation of the

faith for the faithful to engaging in apologetics with thinkers critical of Christianity in general. Third, and finally, PIETISM arose as a Protestant alternative to orthodoxy. PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER (1635–1705) argued in his pietist manifest *Pia desideria* (1675) that orthodoxy had become too exclusively polemical and thus ended up undermining the faith and piety of the very Christians that it sought to defend. Orthodoxy for Spener had lost sight of the fact that theology is not an end in itself but a means to deep faith, a faith that is lived and visible in its piety.

Conclusion

Protestant orthodoxy was a continuous development of the Reformation as Protestantism became more institutionalized and codified in its faith and practice. It expounded many themes that were implicit and underdeveloped in the Reformation and thereby contributed to the articulation of Protestant theology. Thus along with Pietism, Protestant orthodoxy mediated in important ways the Reformation to the modern world.

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JEFFREY HENSLEY

ORTHODOXY, EASTERN

The Eastern Orthodox Church, or simply the Orthodox Church, is a family of autocephalous (selfgoverning) churches that understands itself to be in an unbroken continuity with the church established by Christ and his apostles. The Orthodox are historically based in Asia Minor and Greece (erstwhile Byzantium), Syria, and the wider Middle East; since the tenth century, in the Balkans and Rus', and subsequently in RUSSIA. Within the past two centuries, particularly with the increase in the movement of peoples, the Orthodox presence is experienced in significant communities and thriving missions worldwide.

The local autocephalous churches that together constitute the Eastern Orthodox Church today are generally reckoned as: the Church of Constantinople (since the sixth century known as the Ecumenical Patriarchate), and the churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Russia, Georgia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Albania, POLAND, the Czech Lands, and Slovakia, as well as the Orthodox Church in America (whose autocephaly is not yet universally recognized). Other autonomous churches are those of Sinai, FINLAND, JAPAN, and Ukraine.

The theological underpinnings of the Orthodox Church are expressed in the seven Ecumenical Councils (from Nicea 325 to Nicea II 787). These and other universally received councils, together with patristic writings, canons, and liturgical texts and rites, are conceived as based on the Scriptures and as the context for the right understanding and application of Scripture. Put another way, Scripture is understood as the normative revelation concerning God and his saving acts, yet Scripture is read within the totality of the church's TRADITION according to its canon of truth.

Many of the sources of Orthodox THEOLOGY are shared by the different Christian traditions. Part of what makes the Orthodox synthesis particular is a close adherence to the combined AUTHORITY of patristic and conciliar witness. Yet the etymology of "Orthodox"—right praise, right glorification—is also expressive of Orthodox tradition, such that theology is integrated into, and receives life and expression in, the church's worship of God—in both the experience and the textual content of that WORSHIP.

A History of Division

In the most basic Orthodox understanding, the history of divided Christendom is a history of division from the Orthodox Church. The first significant split occurred in the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon (451). The "Oriental Orthodox" or "non-Chalcedonian" churches (Coptic, Ethiopian, Syrian, Armenian, and Malankara-Syrian), although closely related to the Chalcedonian Eastern Orthodox and involved in a promising dialogue since the 1960s, remain divided from them to this day (see DIALOGUE INTER-CONFSSIONAL).

The split of the Latin West from the Greek East is difficult to pinpoint to a single date, although a formal excommunication did take place between Rome and Constantinople in 1054. Relations between Greek and Latin Christendom underwent vicissitudes for centuries before and after that date, but a regularized full communion between the two has not existed during the second millennium.

The main theological reasons for the split are commonly understood as concerning the nature of papal primacy, and the addition by the West of the *filioque* clause to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed—according to which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the son*. Other factors of varying degrees of theological significance that are cited include the DOCTRINE of purgatory and of material hell-fire, the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER), and later dogmas concerning the Virgin Mary (notably her immaculate conception). All of these are rejected by the Orthodox Church. Entirely nontheological factors also contributed greatly to the gradual estrangement between the churches.

The Orthodox Church and Protestantism

Historically the REFORMATION, the formation of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and the genesis of the FREE CHURCHES and Pentecostal bodies (see PENTECOSTALISM) tend to be seen by Orthodox as further splits from an already estranged West. During the Middle Ages the Orthodox Church was for the most part removed, geographically and ecclesiastically, from Western Christendom. This meant that the factors leading to the Reformation, as well as the Reformation itself (together with the COUNTER-REFORMATION) had but a tangential bearing on the Orthodox Church.

For its own part the Orthodox Church in the mediaeval period was experiencing different extents of oppression stemming from Muslim, Ottoman, and Mongol rule in the former Byzantine empire and the North. Orthodox detachment from the drama of the Reformation is therefore partly geographical, partly theological, and also partly sociopolitical, in that the Orthodox of this period were for the most part not in a position to flourish theologically or ecclesiastically in a way that could be seen as a response to the West.

Yet the centuries-long siege of Orthodoxy did not prevent interaction of one kind or another with the Christian West. Before the Reformation there was not only the unfortunate interaction precipitating from the Crusades (of which the Orthodox East was one of the victims), but also two notable attempts at reunion—at Lyons (1274) and Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439)—which failed when they were rejected by Orthodox, either at the councils themselves or shortly thereafter.

From the point of view of the reformers, the Greek East was in some ways a compelling body, particularly insofar as the reformers studied and admired the Greek church fathers of the early centuries. On the other hand, the Byzantine church, with its vibrant love of iconography and its strong piety for Mary (the *Theotokos*, or Mother of God), appeared to many Protestants to be as decadent and idolatrous as Rome.

The Orthodox, for their part, either distanced themselves from the phenomenon of Protestantism, or, on several notable occasions, sought to engage in a kind of theological dialogue, particularly as instigated by Protestant confessions of faith. In 1573–1574 the

Lutheran theologians at Tübingen sent a copy of the AUGSBURG CONFESSION to the ecumenical patriarch Jeremias II, in Greek translation, soliciting a response. The reply was a friendly, theologically rich, but honest and critical text, responding to each article. It represents a useful insight into Orthodox theology of the period, as well as an index of theological convergences and divergences with early LUTHERANISM.

Some fifty years later, a less helpful exchange took place at the hands of ecumenical patriarch Cyril Loukaris, an educated Greek who knew Latin and was in close association with Calvinists. His Confession, published in Latin in Geneva in 1629 (and subsequently in numerous translations), attempted to show Orthodoxy in contrast to Roman Catholicism, but was in virtually every respect Calvinist in its doctrine and thus highly misleading and unrepresentative. It was condemned at no fewer than six Orthodox councils in the ensuing decades.

Subsequent attempts at codifying confessions of faith were also problematic, such as that of Peter Moghila, metropolitan of Kiev, which sought to counterbalance the CALVINISM of Loukaris with a CONFESSION that was laced with uncredited references to Roman CATECHISMS. It was approved, after the introduction of numerous corrections, yet from the perspective of future centuries it is viewed as an unfortunate and distorting influence on Orthodoxy. The period of “confessionalism” thus represented a mixed legacy of contact between Protestants and Orthodox.

Modern Ecumenical Relations

Since the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, with the spontaneous and nearly universal rise of the modern ecumenical movement, Orthodox theologians have been striving to explore anew the schisms that produced multiple Christian confessions, and also to respond to the trends of thought identified with the Renaissance and the ENLIGHTENMENT.

Some of the most important and creative twentieth-century voices were those of the Russian emigration who were either in contact with Europe or found themselves exiled there in the decades surrounding World War II. Figures such as Sergius Bulgakov, Nicolas Afanasiev, Vladimir Lossky, Georges Florovsky, and later, John Meyendorff and Alexander Schmemmann were thinkers who reacted to their encounter with the West with a simultaneous welcome of familiarity—an experience of the enduring spiritual and theological nearness of Christians despite centuries of estrangement—and a zeal for expressing what lay at the heart of Orthodoxy. These authors sought to return to patristic and liturgical sources, accompanied by the critical methodology that is usually associated with the West.

A particular theological and spiritual contact was nourished between Orthodox and Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM) by the Fellowship of Sts. Alban and Sergius. Spurred on the Anglican side in part by the spirit of the nineteenth-century OXFORD MOVEMENT, and on the Orthodox side by a living ecumenical spirit, the Fellowship (founded in 1927) was a vehicle for the encounter of some of the best theological and spiritual minds either side had to offer.

Through the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in Edinburgh in 1910, and more especially through the Faith and Order meetings from the 1920s onward, the

Orthodox have participated—with a combination of enthusiasm and misgiving—in multilateral and bilateral theological dialogues. Some of the Orthodox churches were founding members of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1948, and after the 1961 assembly in New Delhi, all the canonical churches eventually took membership. Particularly with respect to membership in large, multilateral ecumenical “councils of churches,” the Orthodox have expressed serious theological concerns that their membership not be misconstrued as an acceptance of others as “churches” in the full sense of that word, or that the Universal Church consists in a combination of all the existing Christian confessions. Such theological concerns, as well as sociopolitical tensions resulting from the fall of COMMUNISM, have resulted in the withdrawal of some of the Orthodox churches from all formal ecumenical contacts (see ECUMENISM).

The Orthodox Church currently enjoys bilateral relations with the Roman Catholic Church as well as with a wide range of Protestant churches. These include formal dialogues at the world level, as well as national and regional dialogues of varying degrees of formality. Bilateral dialogues have engendered in many cases closer relations, as well as honest documentations of convergences and disagreements in the faith and life of the churches.

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PETER C. BOUTENEFF

OSHITELU, JOSIAH OLUNOWO (1902–1962)

African church leader. Beginning his career in the Anglican Church, Josiah Olunowo Oshitelu founded the Church of the Lord, one of the major branches of the Aladura religious movement, in NIGERIA in 1930.

Oshitelu was born in the town of Ogere, in the Ijebu area near the African coast. An Anglican catechist and teacher, Oshitelu was dismissed in 1926 because he claimed to have visions, which were brought on by extensive fasting and devotions. The visions revealed a script with holy words and names that had miraculous power. He was assisted in interpreting his dreams and visions by Shomoye, a Christian elder who later became his apostle to West Africa. Oshitelu emerged in 1929 to begin a healing and preaching

ministry in the Aladura tradition. He attacked idolatry, traditional medicine, and fetishes, and healed by using PRAYER, fasting, and holy water. He condoned polygamy and had seven wives himself (see PLURAL MARRIAGE).

In 1930, considering the culture, CUSTOMS, and manners of the land in which he lived, Oshitelu founded the Church of the Lord. Christianity's requirements of monogamous marriage, male dominance, and the emphasis on belonging exclusively to one DENOMINATION were in contrast with the indigenous practice of multiple cult membership, polygamy, and the acceptance of some WOMEN as religious leaders (see WOMEN CLERGY). Further, the local popularity of the tenets of Rosicrucianism, FREEMASONRY, esoteric Islam, qabalah, and traditional Yoruba religion gave rise to a syncretistic atmosphere that influenced Oshitelu's visions. The use of occult literature remains popular in the Church of the Lord.

The Church of the Lord was successful, and it soon spread into all regions of Nigeria, including the Islamic north, where its use of Islamic dietary rules and prayer forms ensured its acceptance. Subsequently the church found acceptance in both ENGLAND and the UNITED STATES.

Josiah Oshitelu died in 1962.

See also Africa; African Instituted Churches, Nigeria; African Theology

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HELEN FARLEY

OSIANDER, ANDREAS (c. 1498–1552)

German Lutheran. Osiander was born December 19, 1498 (or 1496) at Gunzenhausen, southwest of Nürnberg, and he died October 17, 1552 at Königsberg. After some study in Leipzig, Altenburg, and Ingolstadt, Osiander was ordained a priest in 1520. Around the time he became a preacher for St. Lorenz in Nürnberg, Osiander publicly supported MARTIN LUTHER, helping bring the REFORMATION to Nürnberg. He backed Luther at Marburg in the 1529 exchange with HULDRYCH ZWINGLI over Christ's presence in the LORD'S SUPPER. Osiander also attended the 1530 presentation of the AUGSBURG CONFESSION and signed Luther's 1537 SCHMALKALDIC ARTICLES with their strong position against Rome.

His broader humanist-influenced interests served religion with his 1537 publication of a harmony of the Gospels, and advanced SCIENCE with his 1543 publication of Copernicus's *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*, for which he provided a preface. Opposition to the AUGSBURG INTERIM forced him to move to Königsberg

where, despite lacking a theological degree, he became head of the university's theological faculty.

Although most often in the Lutheran camp, Osiander's ideas on the indwelling presence of Christ and a growing belief in saving righteousness sparked sharp controversy in later life because most Lutherans saw Osiander as differing with Luther on the issue of JUSTIFICATION. Never one to skirt confrontation and known for an often intemperate tongue and pen, Osiander became embroiled in controversy over how Luther and his supporters understood justification. To avoid any role for human works, Osiander taught that SALVATION was by GRACE grasped by FAITH in Christ as Christ dwells within the individual, in a near mystical sense, and the believer becomes righteous. Critics charged that this view destroyed confidence in the objective work of Christ for all humankind. Instead of being declared righteous, justification became an internal process of becoming acceptable to God. The dispute was unresolved when Osiander died. Article III of the Lutheran 1577 Formula of Concord rejected his position.

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ROBERT ROSIN

OVERBECK, FRANZ CAMILLE (1837–1905)

Swiss theologian. Born into an irreligious family among expatriate merchants in St. Petersburg in November 1837, Overbeck's father was a German Lutheran who had been brought up in ENGLAND and his mother was a Catholic, daughter of French parents. The children were brought up Lutheran at Overbeck's grandmother's insistence. Overbeck witnessed the February 1848 revolution in FRANCE during one year's schooling at St. Germain near Paris. His family moved to Dresden and there the twelve-year-old Overbeck, who spoke fluent French, English, and Russian, first began to master German. He formed a friendship at school with Heinrich von Treitschke who educated him in irreligion, although they later parted because of Treitschke's fanatical patriotism. "Nothing would sooner extinguish the last sparks of patriotism in me than the demand to convert back to Christianity for the sake of this Empire."

He studied THEOLOGY at Leipzig 1856–1857 (when he gave up saying his prayers at night) and at Göttingen 1857–1859. Returning to Leipzig he gained the right to teach at a university in 1864, having abandoned the thought of being a pastor in the resolve to study church history “without illusion.” In 1869 he was called to Basel to a chair of “Critical Theology” newly created by a reform party. In Basel, he and FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE had rooms in the same boarding house and ate their evening meals together until Overbeck’s marriage in 1876. Overbeck’s *How Christian Is Our Present-day Theology?* and Nietzsche’s *David Strauss the Confessor and Writer* appeared in the same year (1873). Both books ridiculed the apologetic and liberal attempts to restate Christianity for the modern age.

Overbeck argued that when Christianity abandoned its belief in the imminent end of the world and sought to construct a theology or write literature it was doomed. He taught New Testament by giving the barest philological interpretation of the text, strictly avoiding any HIGHER CRITICISM of form or content of the books of the New Testament that might shake their religious aspect in the eyes of his students. Overbeck despised ADOLF VON HARNACK’S scholarship and called him “the spoiled favourite of public opinion.”

In 1920 KARL BARTH cited Overbeck: “Only a heroic Christianity, opposed to every age, completely basing itself on itself can avoid the fate of Jesuitry,” that is, “the crypto-ascetic representation of Christianity in the world; modern theology, indeed the theology of Protestantism, is an ideal and sublime Jesuitry.” Barth thought he had constructed a theology that would escape Overbeck’s strictures.

Overbeck brought out a second edition of his *Christianity* in 1903. His scholarly reflections were written on more than 20,000 loose octavo sheets, some on both sides, and stored alphabetically in over fifty cartons and boxes now in the Basel University Library. Selections were published by Overbeck’s pupil and friend, C.A. Bernoulli. A modern edition of *Werke und Nachlass* in nine volumes began to appear in 1995.

Overbeck died on June 27, 1905.

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J.C.O’NEILL

OXFORD MOVEMENT

Originating among a small group of academic clergy within the university of Oxford in the late 1820s and early 1830s as a response to what they perceived as a series of fundamental challenges to the privileged status of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, the Oxford Movement became one of the most significant forces in nineteenth-century ANGLICANISM, and the precursor of the modern Anglo-Catholic party (see ANGLO-CATHOLICISM). It represented a departure from the traditional Protestantism of the Church of England and, at the same time, introduced a rival theological perspective to the growing liberal tendencies among many Victorian Churchmen. The Oxford Movement thus initiated a lengthy period of fierce and sometimes bitter controversy not only within Anglicanism itself but also with other denominations, at both an academic and parochial level.

Origins and Early History

It was generally accepted by the mid-nineteenth century that the starting date of the Movement was Sunday, July 14, 1833, when JOHN KEBLE, a professor of poetry, preached the sermon in the university church at the service marking the opening of the legal assizes. The subject of this Assize Sermon was "National Apostasy," a response to the recent action of the Whig-led government in abolishing ten Anglican bishoprics in Ireland. This traditional date went largely unchallenged until scholars in the later twentieth century argued that the Movement's origins were in fact more complex and protracted, reaching back into the 1820s, and involving an understanding not only of the ecclesiastical but also of the political, social, and economic conditions in early nineteenth-century England.

The combined impact of INDUSTRIALIZATION and urbanization was rapidly changing the appearance of the country, with ramifications for many aspects of its life. Shifts in population, and rising wealth among the middle classes, had already resulted in a radical campaign for the reform of Parliament, culminating in the First Reform Act of 1832. However, alongside this campaign for political reform ran others for the elimination of what growing numbers of radicals saw as the corruption of the whole traditional system of privilege and patronage in both state and Church. Among these was the Anglican stranglehold over the educational system. Entry to Oxford and Cambridge universities was reserved to those willing to subscribe to the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, effectively excluding non-Anglicans. The universities in their turn supplied the Established Church with the bulk of her clergy, about half of all graduates proceeding to take holy orders. Similarly membership of both Houses of Parliament was in theory exclusively Anglican.

The problem for the ecclesiastical element of this Establishment was that the growth of towns had been matched by a corresponding expansion of Protestant DISSENT, especially among the urban middle classes, partly accounted for by the recent arrival of new forms of Dissent, notably METHODISM. Thus political and religious radicalism often went hand in hand. The vast, but unequally distributed, wealth of the Established

Church, along with what radicals saw as its undeserved privileges, both originating in the preindustrial past, were offensive to increasingly powerful minorities in England. The initial resistance of the traditional governing classes to change, however, had gradually given way to a policy of reforming the most glaring abuses. In 1828 the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, dating from the seventeenth century, had formally allowed Dissenters to sit in Parliament, a largely symbolic gesture because in reality some already did so through the passing of annual indemnities. In the following year Emancipation had done the same for Roman Catholics, although this now opened the Established Church to the possibility of legislation affecting it being passed by a body no longer exclusively Anglican. In 1830 the half century of near-monopoly of government by the Tories gave way to a Whig-led ministry, theoretically less well disposed to the Church. During the subsequent battle for Parliamentary reform Tory-appointed bishops in the House of Lords largely opposed change, compounding their unpopularity in the country. This process of constitutional upheaval extended to the Church itself in 1833 with the abolition of the ten Irish bishoprics, given that Anglicanism was then the Established faith not only of England and Wales but also of Ireland, despite its minority appeal in the latter country. Thus the five years leading up to Keble's Assize Sermon appeared to undermine the mutual support of Church and state dating back to the REFORMATION.

They were also the years in which a group of increasingly like-minded academic clergy at Oxford university had come together to fight a series of campaigns to attempt to halt this erosion of Anglican privilege. Oldest among them was Keble himself, a traditional High Churchman who had already achieved fame when his collection of poems celebrating the Anglican liturgical calendar, *The Christian Year*, had been published in 1827. What characterized most of the other members of this group, however, was their comparative youth. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN had been born in 1801, Richard Hurrell Froude in 1803, and EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY in 1800, although the latter was not formally part of this group until 1834. These men had not only their youth in common but also the fact that they were all at one time or another Fellows of Oriel College, the intellectual powerhouse of early nineteenth-century Oxford. These four are generally acknowledged, each in his own particular way, to be the originators of the Oxford Movement. In addition there were also a number of other individuals who contributed significantly to its early history, among them the minor poet Isaac Williams, Robert Wilberforce, the son of the great emancipator WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, and Henry Manning the future Cardinal archbishop of Westminster. It was in the mid to late 1820s, as Newman moved away from his original EVANGELICALISM, and Froude became increasingly attracted to the Fathers and medieval Catholicism, that these individuals joined forces to oppose the growing attacks on the privileged position of the Established Church.

In 1828 the Member of Parliament (MP) for Oxford university, Robert Peel, who was also the leader of the Tories in the House of Commons and Home Secretary, announced his conversion from champion of the Anglican Establishment to supporter of Catholic Emancipation. As such he felt morally obliged to resign and seek reelection as MP for the university. Keble, Newman, and Froude now joined forces as leaders of the campaign that led to Peel's defeat, ironically as defenders of an Establishment that a few years later they themselves were to vehemently criticize. However, within weeks of this success Newman, Froude, and Robert Wilberforce were engaged in a new battle to impose their

conception of the role of a tutor within their college, one that they saw as moral and spiritual as well as academic. This led to a rift with the provost of Oriel, Edward Hawkins, who in 1830 finally cut off the supply of new pupils to his three brilliant, but insubordinate, tutors. Newman, Keble, Froude and their circle were also staunch in defense of the beleaguered bishops, some of whom found themselves the objects of physical intimidation by pro-reform mobs. Political opposition to the new Whig-led government culminated in 1833 with the abolition of the ten bishoprics and Keble's Assize Sermon. This was then swiftly followed by a meeting between Froude, representing the rising generation from Oxford, and a group of older and more traditional High Churchmen, which resulted in petitions from 7,000 clergy and 230,000 laity in defense of the Church. In September 1833 Newman launched the first of the *Tracts for the Times*, initially short pamphlets of a few pages each, from which the Movement derived its most familiar nickname, that of "Tractarian." Altogether by 1841 some ninety *Tracts* had been published, the later ones much more substantial works of theology, the complete set eventually running to about 3,500 pages in six volumes.

Initially these new Tractarians, aware of their weaknesses in terms of both numbers and influence, were at pains to enlist the support of other larger and more powerful forces within Anglicanism. At this stage their concept did not envisage the creation of a new "party" within the Church of England, but rather a revivification of the Church as a whole. Thus using his contacts among his former friends in the Evangelical party, Newman began to write letters to, and articles for, its newspaper, the *Record*. Assaults on the Anglican exclusiveness of Oxford university also enabled the Tractarians to form alliances with High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and others in its defense. In 1834, for instance, a bill was introduced into Parliament seeking to abolish subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles upon matriculation, and the Tractarians were but one of a number of groups that successfully opposed it. In 1836 this was followed by the appointment by the Whigs of R.D.Hampden as Regius professor of divinity at Oxford, considered by many apart from the Tractarians as a dangerous liberal in his teaching, which enabled a fresh alliance with other Churchmen from a variety of parties to protest against this further imposition.

Theological Concepts and Controversies

By the mid-1830s, however, it was becoming clear that this group of young men from Oxford represented something novel in the history of Anglicanism. Increasingly they did not conform to the traditional internal groupings that had evolved since the Reformation. Superficially similar to High Churchmen, they also displayed some of the zeal and enthusiasm of the early Evangelicals. In some ways they appeared deeply conservative in their defense of Anglicanism; in others they seemed dangerously radical in their attitude to the Establishment. This led many Churchmen at the time, and has led some of their subsequent historians, into a sense of confusion and bewilderment when attempting to categorize the Oxford Movement. In reality Tractarianism was the ecclesiastical counterpart of a number of secular movements in 1830s England, in that they were both conservative and radical at the same time. Most prominent of these secular movements was the so-called Tory Radical alliance in politics and economics that brought traditional

Tories and working-class radicals together to promote the first legislation to control the hours of work in the new textile factories, and which then bitterly opposed the introduction of the new Poor Law of 1834. Unlike these short-lived campaigns, however, the Tractarians initiated an ecclesiastical force that was to become a permanent feature of Anglicanism.

What then were the leading ideas of the Oxford Movement, how did these set their proponents apart from other Churchmen, and why did they prove to be so controversial? One way of approaching these questions is to compare the Tractarians to other churchmen of the period. For instance, one theological concept that the Tractarians appeared to share with more traditional High Churchmen was an emphasis on the apostolic succession of the episcopate (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). Yet where the Tractarians differed was in the degree of emphasis that they put on it, seeing it as an absolutely essential component of a Church. Here they sought to compare themselves to the Caroline Divines of the seventeenth century, and in this, as in other ways, claimed they were recovering concepts subsequently “lost” to Anglicanism. To emphasize this they edited a collection of works by the great Anglican apologists, which they called the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. Yet High Churchmen also saw themselves as equally the inheritors of the Caroline Divines, and responded by pointing out that Tractarians often quoted in a very selective way from the latter. In addition no previous Anglican theologians had interpreted the apostolic succession in the uncompromising Tractarian sense, which seemed to effectively “unchurch” Christians of nonepiscopal denominations. However, for Tractarians, episcopacy was central to AUTHORITY in Christianity, and was the theme of the first of the *Tracts*, where Newman argued that the apostolic succession was the true source of Anglican authority, and—crucially for the constitutional context of the time—was beyond the power of government legislation. The real source of the Church of England’s authority over the people of England, argued Newman, lay not in its wealth, the superior education of its clergy, nor in its links to the state, but rather in the spiritual descent of its bishops from the Apostles.

This led on to a further difference with High Churchmen. In the years from 1760 they had emerged as a powerful force within the Establishment, and by 1830 had more of their party on the episcopal bench than at any time since the so-called GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1688. This was in large part as a result of the influence of their pressure group, the Hackney Phalanx, in some ways similar to the Evangelical CLAPHAM SECT, and its links with the Tory prime minister, Lord Liverpool. With Liverpool’s death in 1827, however, followed rapidly by years of constitutional upheaval, High Churchmen were thrown into disarray as an organized force within Anglicanism. This left a vacuum that the Tractarians now filled, although increasingly the latter group developed a very different view of the concept of Establishment. Decades of working within and through the traditional linkages between Church and state had left High Churchmen with a profound respect for the Establishment. For the Tractarians the constitutional disputes of 1828–1833 had transformed everything. The Church’s remaining links to the state had changed from being an advantage to a potential danger, a view made explicit by Froude in his *Tract* number 59, “Church and State” of 1835. Tensions between the two groups were obvious from the early 1830s with clear High Church disapproval of the *Tracts* themselves as too individualistic and speculative; High

Churchmen preferred to work through the more traditional means of editorial committees, enforcing consensus and constraint.

For the Evangelicals early cooperation with the Tractarians in the battles to defend Oxford university in its Anglican exclusiveness subsequently turned first to suspicion, and then to outright hostility. One major issue of concern for the Evangelicals was the attitude of the Oxford Movement to the Reformation. Differences between the two groups became explicit with the publication of the first part of Froude's *Remains* in 1838. Froude had died of consumption in 1836. Newman and Keble assembled and edited his journals, letters, and other unpublished writings into two memorial volumes. Appearing in 1838 and 1839, respectively, they revealed the hidden life of an Anglican clergyman who loved medieval saints, used the Roman Breviary, practiced austere penances, and above all reviled the Reformation. "I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more"; "The Reformation was a limb badly set—it must be broken again in order to be righted"; "I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation" (Froude ed. Newman and Keble vol. I 1838:389, 433, 336). These were sentiments that, in the religious world of the 1830s, were almost unimaginable as coming from the pen of a cleric in what was thought to be the orders of an unambiguously Protestant Church. If they were shocking to most Anglicans, they were particularly outrageous to the Evangelicals with their reverence for the Reformers. Many sympathetic to the Oxford Movement, both at the time and subsequently, have thus seen the publication of the *Remains* as a fatal error on the part of its editors. However, by the later twentieth century many scholars considered it to have been a deliberate act of provocation on the part of Newman in particular, intended to filter out the less enthusiastic followers of the Movement, to appeal directly to the romantic imaginations of the rising generation both at Oxford and in the wider Church. Be that as it may, the appearance of the *Remains* marked the point of final and open breach between the Tractarians and the Evangelicals. This was symbolized by the proposition, originating in Evangelical circles, to reaffirm Oxford's loyalty to the Reformation by erecting a memorial to the three Protestant martyrs burnt in Oxford during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary, THOMAS CRANMER, HUGH LATIMER, and Ridley. If the Tractarians agreed to contribute to the costs they would effectively disown Froude; if they did not, then their collective loyalty to the English Reformation would be called into question. When they duly refused to subscribe, other Anglicans were free to draw their own conclusions.

In a variety of other ways the theological views of the Tractarians put them at variance with both contemporary and historical Anglicanism. One of these was the Tractarian approach to the Fathers and the early Church. Traditionally High Churchmen had appealed to the Fathers in justification of the Reformed English Church, but in such a way that used the Fathers to corroborate Anglicanism as the normative model of the true Church. Newman and his friends shifted the emphasis and tended to see the Church of England as true only insofar as she was in agreement with antiquity. Once again the focus of authority was shifted by the Tractarians, and once again they claimed a historical group of theologians for their own by publishing many works by the Fathers in an English translation in the *Library of the Fathers*. In a broader sense too the Oxford writers used history itself to combat what they saw as the greatest theological peril facing nineteenth-century Christianity—what Newman in his *Apologia* called "Liberalism." He defined this as "the anti-dogmatic principle and its development"; "the mistake of

subjecting to human judgement those revealed doctrines which are in their nature beyond and independent of it” (Newman ed. Svaglic: 54, 256). English liberal theologians like Hampden or THOMAS ARNOLD reduced everything in Christianity to the human level; Newman, in contrast, saw Christianity as a record of divinely inspired events and statements beyond human reason. From his extensive reading of early Church history Newman conceived liberalism as the contemporary version of the classic heresies (see HERESY) to be resisted as firmly in his day as his hero, Athanasius, had resisted Arianism in the fourth century. However, this placed the Tractarians in opposition to yet another, and growing, school of thought within the Church of England.

Tractarian Developments

What was becoming clear as the years passed, therefore, was that there were growing divergences between Tractarians and other parties within the Established Church. The reason for such fractures was that the Oxford Movement was traveling in a progressively more Catholic direction. One measure of this was the *Tracts* themselves. Most of them passed through several editions, each tending to revise the text in a particular way: downgrading or eliminating references to, or agreements with, the Reformers, and emphasizing instead the doctrines and writings of the Catholic past. This exemplified one problem all observers of the progress of the Movement were faced with—that its theological ideas were never static, but rather dynamic, evolving over time. This made it all the harder to define its nature, and compounded the bewilderment of some contemporaries.

One doctrinal area where this was particularly the case was sacramental theology, and especially the Eucharist. There is surprisingly little in the *Tracts* themselves on this subject, partly because the Tractarians were only just beginning to address these issues in the early years of the Movement. As the 1830s progressed, however, the Tractarian leaders began to reject many of the concepts originating with the Reformation. Behind their developing sacramental concept of Christianity was also the influence of ROMANTICISM. Keble’s *Christian Year* had been the first manifestation of the connection between the English Romantic poets and Tractarianism, and many of the early pioneers of the Movement were also minor poets themselves, their works collected into the volume called *Lyra Apostolica* in 1836. The concept of the natural leading into the supernatural that was found in much Romantic poetry, especially that of WILLIAM WORDSWORTH and SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, was also one of the bases of Tractarian sacramental theology, of bread and wine transformed into the body and blood of Christ, for instance. However, the most systematic and developed Tractarian theology of the Eucharist was the work of Robert Wilberforce. His discovery of the medieval Scholastics and sixteenth-century Jesuits gave him a framework of Latin terminology in which to work, and his book *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* presented Tractarian theology as a complete system, the Eucharist interpreted as the earthly counterpart of the eternal pleading of the Son before the Father through the merits of his own earthly sacrifice on the cross, a real participation in the heavenly liturgy. However, this was not published until 1853. Thus the Tractarian search for a Eucharistic theology had moved

through a number of stages lasting over twenty years before finally evolving into a coherent system.

Another evolution was also under way within the Oxford Movement from the late 1830s, that of the growing disillusionment of Newman with Anglicanism, and the rival attraction of Rome. The precise details of his first doubts in the summer of 1839, recorded in his *Apologia* of 1864, came under close scrutiny by a number of scholars in the late twentieth century, and as a result can no longer be accepted uncritically. What remains uncontested, however, is that it was his reading of the history of the early Church, and especially his study of the classic heresies, that began to raise in his mind the possibility that Anglicanism was in a similar relationship to contemporary Rome as the Donatists or Monophysites had been in the past. To test the true Catholicity of Anglicanism, Newman took fourteen of the Thirty-nine Articles and subjected them to close theological, historical, and linguistic analysis in what was to be the last of the *Tracts*, number 90. In effect an attempt to reconcile the central statement of Anglican belief with modern Roman Catholicism, it resulted in another storm breaking over the heads of the Tractarians, if anything more severe than that caused by the *Remains*. Many bishops now condemned the new *Tract* in their Charges, placing the Oxford Movement in the paradoxical position of exalting episcopal authority to a degree previously unseen in Anglican history, but having to endure the profound disfavor of actual bishops. Newman's response was to retreat into semimonastic retirement at Littlemore, a village a few miles outside Oxford, where he approached his personal struggle from a different viewpoint. Is it possible, among all the competing and mutually exclusive contemporary forms of Christianity, to find the true one? Returning again to the early Church and the Fathers as his inspiration and models, Newman argued that, like all ideas, Christianity itself is not static but dynamic, and follows a path of development over time. He devised seven tests for determining between legitimate and illegitimate developments, the latter being the origins of heresy. His conclusion was that, although some Churches satisfied some of the tests, only Rome displayed them all. Thus in October 1845, shortly before the fruits of his researches his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* was published, he was received into the Roman Catholic Church.

Later History and Evaluation

For Newman's closest friends in the Movement his loss was a bitter blow, although it would be a mistake to extend the feelings of a few intimates to what was becoming by 1845 a churchwide movement. For several generations of historians largely sympathetic to Tractarianism, the events of 1845 were a catastrophe. However, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, detailed research was painting a different picture. By 1845 most supporters of the Movement had not been brought into it by personal contact with Newman, but by reading its extensive literature. Indeed, there is some evidence that suggests many Tractarians were, in fact, relieved that he had finally left the Anglican fold. He had become a figure of controversy and, as such, an increasing liability to those who remained convinced of the catholicity of the Church of England. His removal was a liberation that would allow the Movement to return to its original aim of revitalizing

Anglicanism, and from 1845 the main focus of this would no longer be Oxford university but rather the parishes.

Here the story was one of steady expansion. In 1840 parishes with Tractarian incumbents numbered a few dozen; by 1870 they were counted in their hundreds, representing perhaps five percent of the parishes of the Church of England, concentrated mainly in the rural south where Anglicanism was generally at its strongest. Here Tractarians revived the Daily Service of choral morning and evening prayer, increased the frequency with which the Eucharist was celebrated, began to wear surplices and stoles, lit candles on newly restored ALTARS, and removed the privately rented pews to replace them with free seating. In many of these things Tractarians of this generation were often little more than in the vanguard of what was becoming a larger Anglican movement of liturgical and pastoral renewal. Local opposition to Tractarians did manifest itself, but by the late 1850s most of this had been successfully contained by a policy of patience, caution, and flexibility, which tended to distinguish these years from the earlier ones at Oxford.

Then starting about 1860 a younger generation began to advocate a more developed ceremonial. Arguing that works such as Wilberforce's on the Eucharist, combined with a number of favorable legal judgments, had established a more Catholic interpretation of the service of Holy Communion, Eucharistic VEST-MENTS, incense, and other pre-Reformation practices began to creep back into Anglican worship. Initially hesitant, and sometimes divided among themselves on this issue, the older generation of Tractarians eventually came to adopt these so-called Ritualist practices. Despite attempts to restrict them legally, mainly through the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, by the 1890s it was clear that Tractarian theology and Ritualist practices now went together. By 1904 the number of churches with Anglo-Catholic incumbents, as they now called themselves, had risen to over 2,000, and it was clear that the inheritors of the Oxford Movement had become a large and permanent feature of Anglicanism.

As the twentieth century opened there was a strong feeling of optimism among Anglo-Catholics. It seemed that their party was the growing one, and only a matter of time before it became the dominant voice within Anglicanism, both in its mother Church and the overseas provinces. As the century moved into its second half, however, optimism diminished and Anglo-Catholics once again began to look like a beleaguered minority. The liberalism that Newman had so feared seemed to have become the creed of most Anglican theologians and many bishops. Evangelicalism was experiencing a revival based on the charismatic movement, and Rome was revising its liturgical practices in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, which appeared to leave Anglo-Catholics looking like nineteenth-century relics. By the 1970s the growing pressure for the ordination of women assaulted the three interconnected Tractarian concepts of authority, ministry, and sacraments. In 1992 the General Synod of the Church of England finally followed a number of other Anglican provinces and approved the ordination of women. In the following decade some four bishops and several hundred other clergy left the Church of England, mainly following Newman into the Roman Catholic Church.

Yet despite these reverses it is clear that the Oxford Movement represented both one of the most significant forces that have shaped modern Anglicanism, and at the same time perhaps the greatest discontinuity in its history. It reasserted the spiritual and sacramental foundations of the Church of England at the moment of its greatest peril since the English

CIVIL WAR, if in ways previously unfamiliar to its theologians and at the cost of internal conflict. It was a major influence in reshaping the liturgical, pastoral, and theological life of Victorian England. It has had a profound affect on ECUMENISM, especially in relations between the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox Churches (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). In the person of Newman it nurtured one of the most original theologians of the modern era. Its greatest failure, perhaps, was in not realizing the intentions of its originators in becoming a vehicle for a Churchwide revitalization of Anglicanism. They never intended to create a new party within Anglicanism, but rather to represent Anglicanism as a whole. However, the historical circumstances of their times, combined with their own disinclination to compromise, made that an impossible task.

See also Altars; Anglicanism; Anglo-Catholicism; Arnold, Thomas; Asceticism; Authority; Bishop and Episcopacy; Broad Church; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Church and State, Overview; Church of England; Civil War, England; Clapham Sect; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Cranmer, Thomas; Denomination; Dissent; Ecclesiology; Ecumenism; England; Episcopal Church, United States; Evangelicalism; Glorious Revolution; Heresy; Industrialization; Keble, John; Latimer, Hugh; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Liddon, Henry Parry; Methodism; Newman, John Henry; Orthodoxy, Eastern; Pusey, Edward Bouverie; Reformation; Romanticism; Thirty-nine Articles; Vestments; Wilberforce, William; Women Clergy; Wordsworth, William

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GEORGE HERRING

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PACIFIC ISLANDS

Protestant missionary interest in the Pacific arose from the voyages of European explorers, notably James Cook (1728–1779), and the rise of the evangelical missionary movement. The London Missionary Society (LMS) made the Pacific its first missionary field. Missions begun at Tonga and the Marquesas in 1797 faced local opposition and were aborted. The Tahitian mission initially struggled, but by 1815 the impact of literacy, people movements, and the alliance between missionaries and leading chiefs laid significant Christian foundations. The traditional rituals, gods, and places of worship were rejected and replaced by large church buildings, Christian worship, and the introduction of codes of laws regulating moral and civil behavior.

Polynesia

Tahiti set the pattern for missionary expansion throughout Polynesia as Christianity spread to other islands, often through indigenous agency. From his base at Raiatea, John Williams, who arrived in Tahiti in 1817, trained and took these indigenous evangelists to new places. Papeiha's pioneering work at Aitutaki (1821) and Rarotonga (1823) led to the rapid CONVERSION of the Cook Islands. This success and LMS expansion under Williams to Samoa (1830) was retold in Williams's missionary classic, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (1837). Williams was killed in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) in 1839. The LMS work expanded to Niue, Tuvalu, and Tokelau. The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSION (ABCFM) worked in Hawaii (1820) and Kiribati. Methodists began in Tonga (1822), and spread to Samoa (1829) and Fiji (1835).

The LMS, ABCFM, and Methodists aligned themselves with notable chiefs, such as Pomare II in Tahiti, Kamehameha in Hawaii, Malietoa in Samoa, Tafa'ahau in Tonga, and Cakobau in Fiji. This gave the missions status and aided the process of conversion. Missionary ECCLESIOLOGY was changed dramatically by these alliances. The arrival of British and French colonial influences undermined this chiefly authority except in Tonga, where an independent kingdom was established. The Protestant monopoly was challenged by the arrival of French Catholic missionaries, particularly in the Society Islands, and the emergence of French Polynesia. The LMS work there was taken over by the Société des Missions Évangéliques (Paris Mission).

Melanesia

The Protestant expansion from Polynesia to Melanesia presented considerable challenges to the hundreds of Pacific island teachers and evangelists who undertook this mission along with European missionaries. In contrast to the relative homogeneity of Polynesia in language, culture, and customs, Melanesia presented a bewildering variety of some 1,200 languages, much more fragmentation in social patterns, and hostility toward outsiders. Endemic diseases such as malaria resulted in considerable sickness and death among the missionaries and their families. The LMS pioneered work in Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and Papua (1871). Presbyterians from Nova Scotia, SCOTLAND, AUSTRALIA, and NEW ZEALAND worked in the middle and southern islands of Vanuatu (1848). G.A.Selwyn, Anglican Bishop of New Zealand, founded the Melanesian mission (1849), recruiting young men and women from the islands to train for work among their own people. Initially based in Auckland, the mission moved its headquarters to Norfolk Island (1867), with the northern islands in Vanuatu and Solomon Islands the focus of their work. Fijian and Samoan Methodists, under the leadership of George Brown, inaugurated work in New Britain (1875), the Papuan islands (1891), and western Solomon Islands (1902). Lutherans from the Neuendettelsau mission (1886) and Rhenish mission (1887) followed German colonization in New Guinea. Australian Anglicans began working in Papua (1891). The Queensland Kanaka mission, later renamed the South Sea Evangelical mission, founded by Florence Young, originated in Queensland among Melanesian laborers and moved to the Solomon Islands in 1904.

Cooperation and Challenges

With the exception of the LMS and Methodists in Samoa, Protestant missions in the nineteenth century practiced comity among themselves to avoid duplicating efforts. Comity did not extend to Mormons (see MORMONISM), SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS, and Catholics, resulting in some religious rivalry and clashes. Missions made significant contributions to health, and education. World War II had a devastating impact on parts of Melanesia. After the war, most missions were slow in encouraging indigenous control of the church, but from the 1960s, both political and ecclesiastical independence were gained. The influx of new missions, particularly into the highlands of Papua New Guinea, resulted in an overconcentration of missions in some areas and to reintroduction of some old-fashioned patterns of missionary dependence.

Since the 1970s, the indigenous churches throughout the Pacific have had to compete with vigorous charismatic and Pentecostal groups who often cut across what have become established ways of being Christian, producing divisions in some small communities. The impact of migration to New Zealand, Australia, and North America resulted in a significant Pacific Islander diaspora in which Pacific island churches figure prominently. Political and economic challenges in the last two decades of the twentieth century led to civil war in Bougainville and coups in Fiji and the Solomon Islands. Roles of the churches in these situations have ranged from the significant peace-making work

of the Melanesian Brotherhood, to involvement in reconciliation and pastoral care, to the alignment of some church leaders with political extremes.

Influences

Protestant Christianity won considerable acceptance among many Pacific Islanders in a variety of forms and has become an essential part of many island cultures. The distinctive features brought by Protestant missionaries, such as the centrality of the BIBLE and PREACHING, hymn singing (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS), Sunday observance, and strict attitudes toward morality, are still identifiable. Protestant THEOLOGY has been expressed pragmatically through action rather than deep reflection. Since the Second Vatican Council, Roman Catholics have worked with the Melanesian Council of Churches (1965) and Pacific Council of Churches (1966), and cooperation in areas such as theological education has fostered ecumenical relations, even though distance and expense make these relations difficult to sustain (see ECUMENISM). The traditional Protestant churches and Catholics have worked together, notably in the Melanesian Institute and national and regional organizations. Dimensions of traditional CULTURE still flourish alongside and within churches. The smallness of many Pacific communities and the vastness of Pacific geography make island states vulnerable to global forces. The legacy of Protestant missionary activity in the Pacific Islands is now in the hands of Pacific Islanders.

See also Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Missionary Organizations; Missions; Pentecostalism

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ALLAN K.DAVIDSON

PACIFISM

The Pacifist Impulse

The word “pacifism” was coined in 1901 by the Frenchman Emile Arnaud. In its original meaning it included both those who rejected WAR of every kind and advocated refusal of military service in the case of conscription, and those who strove to create a warless world but conceded the legitimacy of warfare as a last resort. In English-speaking countries, however, the term has usually been used to refer exclusively to absolute pacifists, whereas peace advocates who accept the possibility of just wars are referred to as internationalists or *pacifists* (the English historian A.J.P.Taylor’s definition). In this entry, the term is used in the narrower sense of those rejecting all war.

Christian pacifists derive their inspiration from Jesus’s love commandment in the New Testament and what they believe to have been the antimilitarism of the early church until Emperor Constantine’s conversion in 313 brought about “the fall of Christianity” (G.J.Heering’s phrase). Thereafter, until the end of the eighteenth century pacifism has been almost exclusively sectarian and until the end of the nineteenth century almost exclusively Protestant. In the twentieth century absolute pacifism has drawn adherents also from Catholics and Orthodox (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN) as well as from Hindus, Buddhists, and humanists.

This entry begins by surveying first the pacifist impulse among medieval precursors of the Protestant REFORMATION, and then the idea and practice of non-resistance in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition with its rejection of participation in the state. The peace testimony of the Quaker SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, which crystallized around 1660, accepted participation in government provided it did not entail personally bearing arms. Those Quakers who broke this rule were expelled from the sect unless they expressed regret at their action—until the Society’s discipline was relaxed toward the end of the nineteenth century. The entry’s last section deals briefly with the changing relationship between pacifism and Protestantism in the course of the twentieth century.

Nonresistance: From Anabaptism to Mennonitism

Among the forerunners of the Protestant Reformation pacifism was espoused by several late medieval sects, including the Waldenses in continental Europe, the Lollards in England, and the Czech Brethren in the kingdom of Bohemia. In the Bohemian Reformation of the fifteenth century, initiated by Jan Hus (d. 1415), pacifism emerged in the teachings of the rural self-taught theologian, Piotr Chelčický. After his death his ideas were taken over by the Czech Brethren, the *Unitas Fratrum*, which was formally established in 1467. Chelčický and his disciples put special emphasis on Jesus’s love commandment that extended to enemies as well as to family and friends. In Chelčický’s view there was no such thing as a just war—despite the successive crusades undertaken

to crush the heretical Hussite movement. However, the Czech Brethren, like the Waldenses and the English Lollards, had abandoned pacifism by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Attempts have been made to connect the Czech Brethren with the rebirth of pacifism in the early 1520s at the outset of the Anabaptist movement. However, despite analogies in doctrine, no evidence has so far been discovered to support this theory.

The Zürich patrician CONRAD GREBEL was responsible for the first assertion of pacifism in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. It formed part of a nonviolent “Anabaptist vision” that rejected the state as “outside the perfection of Christ,” even though the magistrate’s sword was set up by God to curb the wicked and defend the good (see ANABAPTISM). Grebel died in 1526; the next year his Swiss Brethren incorporated nonresistance (*Wehrlosigkeit*) in their SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION, although it was many decades before the doctrine was accepted by all Anabaptists. In 1535, for instance, Anabaptists, under the leadership of a Dutchman, Jan of Leiden, had seized control of the north German city of Münster, where they proceeded to establish a New Jerusalem by force of arms until the city was recaptured by its bishop.

The most consistent of the Anabaptist nonresistants were found in the Hutterite communitarian settlements established in Moravia from the early 1530s on. HUTTERITES demonstrated their pacifist radicalism by refusing to pay war taxes or to manufacture weapons or undertake *corvées* (labor service) useful to the military.

Apart from the German-speaking areas of central Europe, Anabaptism spread to Poland-Lithuania in the 1550s, where nonresistance was adopted for a time by some Polish ANTI-TRINITARIANS, and a lively controversy arose in that church between nonresistants and anti-nonresistants. More important for future developments was the spread of Anabaptism to the NETHERLANDS, where the ex-Catholic priest MENNO SIMONS reshaped its ideology; apart from the Hutterites, Anabaptists eventually became known everywhere as MENNONITES.

Simons’s attitude to war was somewhat ambiguous; at any rate, it has become the subject of debate among modern scholars. After his death in 1561, however, his followers adopted nonresistance as an article of faith. Henceforward disfellowshipping became the usual fate of any Mennonite who bore arms or trained for war. The Dutch authorities from 1575 on recognized the sect’s pacifism and exempted members liable for the militia in exchange either for a money commutation or noncombatant labor service. In areas of GERMANY—as well as in POLAND and in RUSSIA, too—wherever Mennonites were settled under the *ancien régime* a similar arrangement was worked out with the ruler, with minor variations in each case.

During the late eighteenth century and on into the nineteenth century, first the Dutch Mennonites (known now as *Doopsgezinden*, i.e., BAPTISTS) and then their brethren in Germany, under the combined influence of nationalism and theological MODERNISM, abandoned nonresistance. Their young men henceforward served as combatants when conscripted, and the objection was lifted to undertaking public office even of a military character. Apart from Mennonites who had emigrated around 1800 to the Russian Empire, where the government had allowed the sect’s conscripts to undertake civilian forestry service after the introduction of universal military service in 1874, only in North America did the still predominantly rural Mennonites continue to adhere to pacifism—along with the closely linked CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, which had emigrated to

the New World at the same time as the Mennonites. With few exceptions, Mennonites in both the American Revolution and the CIVIL WAR were (as in peacetime) able to purchase exemption from the draft by paying a small fine. They did not object to doing this; indeed they regarded it as Caesar's prerogative to make such demands. After 1865, neither in the UNITED STATES nor in CANADA, where Mennonites had also settled, was conscription any longer enforced before World War I.

Sources of Quaker Pacifism

Today pacifism and Quakerism are often identified; however, in fact the Quaker peace testimony rejecting all war either "for the Kingdom of Christ" or for "the kingdoms of this world" became the accepted doctrine of the Society of Friends only in 1661, shortly after the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II. GEORGE Fox, founder of Quakerism, seems to have adopted a personal pacifism as early as 1650, although during the 1650s many Quakers served under OLIVER CROMWELL in England's Commonwealth army. There were pacifists in the new sect but they remained a minority until near the end of that decade; and for at least several decades thereafter there were still non-pacifists among the membership.

At first, for many Quakers pacifism remained an individual faith restricted to renouncing personally the use of weapons. This stance can be seen most clearly in the case of the Quakers who accepted office in Rhode Island; in that capacity they organized military defense alongside their non-Quaker colleagues. Quakers in Pennsylvania ruled that colony alone from its foundation by WILLIAM PENN in 1682 until their formal withdrawal from government in 1756 near the outset of the French and Indian War. For this withdrawal the Quaker "saint," JOHN WOOLMAN, had been largely responsible. Penn had envisaged Pennsylvania as a "holy experiment," a Quaker commonwealth in which his coreligionists could practice Christian pacifism and human brotherhood. Although Quakers, unlike Mennonites, did not indeed reject participation in the state in principle, they were forced to make a number of compromises to remain in power—in a colony, moreover, in which Quakers had eventually become a minority. Woolman objected chiefly to the war tax levied by the Quaker-dominated assembly, veiled though it was as money voted "for the king's use."

At home in ENGLAND a pattern had soon emerged to deal with the militia draft. The Society did not merely expect members to refuse to serve personally; Friends required them also to refuse either to hire a substitute or even pay the small fine levied on defaulters. Failure to suffer distraint of goods, often to a value much in excess of the original militia fine, or imprisonment if the objector did not possess sufficient property to cover the amount of the fine, entailed disownment of the recalcitrant Quaker. Although of course there was no militia draft in Quaker Pennsylvania, the English pattern was adopted by Quakers in the other American colonies—and subsequently during the Revolutionary War and in the New Republic. The draft faded out in the antebellum era, but military conscription was reimposed by both sides for the duration of the Civil War. Although the Lincoln administration was quite sympathetic to Quaker conscientious objectors (COs), some suffered severe hardships, especially under Con-federate rule. Torn between their Society's testimony against SLAVERY and its peace testimony, many young Quakers in

the North joined the Unionist army; their Meetings were often lenient in dealing with them, even though they had infringed the Society's discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE).

Quakerism had emerged in the mid-seventeenth century as part of the left wing of English PURITANISM. Mennonite-Anabaptist nonresistance seems to have exercised little, if any, influence on the shape taken by the Quakers' peace testimony. According to Quakers, the Inner Light within each individual was central; no priesthood nor pastorate was needed to gain understanding of God's will. Even the BIBLE, although worthy of reverence, was not an essential instrument of salvation. For Quakers, therefore, pacifism was not based on any specific New Testament texts; it was not based, either, on the Law of Love, as it was in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition. For them it was the spirit of Jesus' teaching that undergirded their devotion to peace. Although the impact of EVANGELICALISM from the end of the eighteenth century changed the emphasis in some sections of the Society on both sides of the Atlantic, this was to some extent offset in the twentieth century by the decline of a Christ-centered faith among liberal Quakers. Both orientations continued to produce pacifists and nonpacifists. Although formally pacifism remained a Quaker tenet throughout most sections of the Society, the practice of disownment was discarded.

Besides founding Pennsylvania, Penn was *inter alia* the author of a tract he entitled an *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1693). In it he proposed the establishment of a European parliament. True, his peace plan exerted little influence at the time. From the end of the eighteenth century on, however, Quakers took a lead in the new international peace movement, which grouped pacifists and non-pacifist peace advocates in the struggle to establish world peace. Quakers like William Allen were active, along with non-Quaker pacifists, in establishing the London Peace Society in 1816. For the rest of the century Quakers formed the backbone of the British peace movement. They produced in Jonathan Dymond, who died prematurely in 1828, the movement's most widely known publicist. "Dymond on peace" was read—on both sides of the Atlantic—by thousands who had no other contact with Quakerism. Pacifism had now gained some support among other British Protestant churches such as the Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians (see CONGREGATIONALISM; METHODISM; PRESBYTERIANISM).

In the United States, with a few exceptions like LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT, Quakers stood aloof from the nonsectarian peace movement for most of the century. During the antebellum era pacifism acquired vigorous proponents in such nonsectarian Protestants as William Ladd and his American Peace Society, William Lloyd Garrison and his radical New England Nonresistance Society, and Elihu Burritt and his League of Universal Brotherhood. The American peace movement went into recession with the outbreak of the Civil War, although the twentieth century eventually brought it renewed vigor.

Pacifism and Protestantism in the Twentieth Century

The majority of COs during the two world wars and in Vietnam War America—and in peace-time continental Europe, too—still came from a Protestant background, often

“from unexpected quarters.” JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES produced the largest number of jailed objectors. In the twentieth century, however, it has been less easy than in previous centuries to distinguish the Protestant input to the pacifist movement. Take, for instance, the case of that dedicated Quaker, Edward Grubb. In World War I he became treasurer of the British No-Conscription Fellowship, the bulk of whose members were nonreligious socialists. Again, the Peace Pledge Union, founded by the Anglican canon H.R.L. “DICK” SHEPPARD in the mid-1930s, included a large number of nonreligious pacifists. On the other hand, the American War Resisters’ League, which became a haven for nonreligious pacifists, included Protestants among its membership. The Fellowships of Reconciliation, organized internationally after 1918, although at first predominantly Protestant, eventually recruited Catholics, Jews, and humanists. The influence of Gandhian nonviolence was felt not only by Protestants like MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., in the 1960s, but by the Albanian Ibrahim Rugova from Kosova, in the 1990s. Protestants also worked alongside other antimilitarists in the post-1945 antinuclear movement.

Pacifism, of course, remained a minority position in the mainstream Protestant churches, even if in English-speaking countries its support had increased considerably since 1918. In discussion of war, leading Protestant theologians, like REINHOLD NIEBUHR with his incisive polemic *Why the Christian Church is not Pacifist* (1940), led the attack on pacifism.

In conclusion, two related developments of significance deserve brief mention. One is the large-scale pacifist movement that emerged in the Soviet Union after the Revolution. Its adherents included Tolstoyans, who followed the Master’s teachings on nonviolence, and a number of Russian dissenters, who had espoused pacifism, as well as sects of Western origin like the Baptists, evangelical Christians, and SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS. At first the Soviet government provided generously for conscientious objection, although under Stalin the pacifist movement was ruthlessly suppressed, including the hitherto privileged Mennonites. In North America in the second half of the century, Mennonites, more fortunate than their Soviet coreligionists, mostly abandoned their former political quietism, replacing it by a more active form of peacemaking akin to the Quaker position and that of others who strive for a warless world.

See also Peace Organizations

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PETER BROCK

PALEY, WILLIAM (1743–1805)

English theologian. Paley was born at Peterborough, ENGLAND, of Yorkshire stock, in July 1743, and educated at Giggleswick School, of which his father was master. He matriculated at Christ's College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY in 1758, graduated BA as Senior Wrangler in 1763, was elected Fellow of Christ's in 1766, and ordained priest in 1767. He served as College tutor until 1776, after which he was preferred to a living in the diocese of Carlisle where he eventually became archdeacon and chancellor. He there revised and wrote up his Cambridge lectures in a series of books that made him famous. Paley died May 15, 1805 and is buried in Carlisle cathedral.

William Paley was the last English Protestant theologian to exert a worldwide influence. From 1785 to the mid-1860s his books were standard in Britain, America, and the British Empire, although the irruption of Darwinian ideas in the 1860s seemed to destroy the "Argument from Design" on which Paley's system was based (see DARWINISM). There was a drastic slump in his reputation, and a sudden falling away from Christianity among the educated classes. Religion ceased to be a public concern in the Protestant, Anglophone world; and THEOLOGY became an option rather than a necessity for scientists and philosophers. Hence no subsequent theologian, however cogent, has attracted much attention outside a dwindling enclave of believers.

Moral and Political Philosophy (1785) was the most popular textbook in that field in America from the 1790s to the CIVIL WAR. *Horae Paulinae* (1790) was an original defense of the authenticity of St. Paul's epistles. The first edition of *Evidences of Christianity* (1794) sold out within a day; the work was required for all undergraduates at Cambridge down to 1920. *Natural Theology* (1802) has again become a matter of dispute among biologists and physicists. In reverse order, as Paley intended them to be read, the books present a systematic account of the reasons for Christian belief, and of the moral and political consequences entailed by it. They gave perfect expression to (and therefore helped both to define and to reinforce) the leading scientific, theological, and ethical ideas of his time and place. What Leslie Stephen called Paley's "utter inability to be obscure" has commended his work to generations of Anglophones, but repels all who believe that profundity must be enigmatic.

See also Ethics; Nature; Science

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A.M.C.WATERMAN

PALMER, PHOEBE WORRALL (1807–1874)

American methodist lay theologian, author, revivalist, and humanitarian. Palmer was the dominant personality in the nineteenth-century HOLINESS MOVEMENT, an interdenominational Protestant effort to preserve and promote the doctrine of Christian perfection as taught by JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791).

As a revivalist Palmer traveled widely throughout North America and the British Isles, beginning in 1840. She participated in over three hundred REVIVALS and CAMP MEETINGS. She also hosted a popular weekly religious gathering, the "Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness," in her home in the city of New York for over thirty years.

As a lay theologian and author, as well as popular preacher, Phoebe Palmer largely defined how the Holiness Movement interpreted and appropriated John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection, or "entire sanctification." She published nearly a score of books, the best known being *The Way of Holiness* (1843). She also edited an internationally circulated magazine, *The Guide to Holiness*, from 1864 to 1874.

In her writings, as well as her preaching, Palmer taught a modified version of Wesley's doctrine, a "shorter way" to Christian perfection. This "way" emphasized that sanctification occurs in an instant, stressed the necessity of complete surrender of oneself to God to be "perfected," and (at least in Palmer's later years) encouraged believers to expect a supernatural in-filling with divine power, a "baptism with the Holy Spirit," as "evidence" of their SANCTIFICATION by God.

For many years Phoebe Palmer also carried on a ministry of prison visitation and led organizations to help the homeless poor, orphans, and those unable to afford needed medical care. Palmer was also a "feminist" of sorts, authoring a highly influential book, *The Promise of the Father* (1859), that argued for the right of women to exercise their gifts and abilities in various forms of ministry in Christian churches.

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HAROLD E.RASER

PANNENBERG, WOLFHART (1928–)

German theologian. The writings of Wolfhart Pannenberg had a major impact on the shape of Protestant philosophical and systematic theology in the last four decades of the twentieth century. His interest in ecumenical dialogue, his passion for relating theology to philosophy and the sciences, and his desire to offer a rational presentation of Christian doctrine were all fueled by his ambiguous response to the dominant Protestant theological methods that he encountered as he studied theology in Germany in the years after World War II.

Biography

Born in 1928 in Stettin, GERMANY (now in POLAND), Pannenberg was baptized as a Lutheran, but had little contact with the church in early childhood. His family moved to Berlin in 1942, and in the last year of World War II, at the age of sixteen, Pannenberg was trained in the German army but avoided combat because of illness. After the war he returned to school, where he was encouraged by a teacher to examine the plausibility of Christianity. Pannenberg became convinced that the Christian worldview was philosophically compelling. He undertook theological studies at the universities of Berlin, Göttingen, and Basel (where he studied under KARL BARTH). Pannenberg completed his academic training at the University of Heidelberg, where in 1954 he published his dissertation on Duns Scotus's doctrine of PREDESTINATION. He taught for a few years at Heidelberg and Wuppertal, and in 1961 was appointed to the chair in systematic theology at the University of Mainz. In 1967 he accepted the chair in systematic theology at the University of Munich, where he was also the director of the Ecumenical Institute until his retirement in 1993.

Ecumenical Scope

Although Pannenberg affirmed the Lutheran and German Protestant roots of his thought, he always rebelled against developing a merely confessional theology (see CONFSSION). Instead he insisted that theology must keep in mind the global Christian community, both geographically and historically. Pannenberg's involvement in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and his frequent trips to America and other countries provided significant opportunities for ecumenical dialogue (see ECUMENISM). More so than most Protestant theologians, Pannenberg's writings carefully engage a broad spectrum of Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox thinkers. On the other hand, his writings do not interact as deeply with other world religions, nor with FEMINIST and LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Nevertheless, his theology has had a broad appeal both to liberal theologians, who appreciate his willingness to engage the atheistic and historical critiques of modernity, and to conservative theologians, who appreciate his defense of orthodox doctrines like the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Theology and Philosophy

Pannenberg was concerned that both Barth's appeal to revelation and RUDOLF BULTMANN'S appeal to existence represented a theological retreat into fideism, an attempt to escape the need to present cogent arguments for the truth claims of Christianity. Convinced of the importance of philosophical rigor for the task of theology, Pannenberg immersed himself deeply in the classical Greek philosophers as well as IMMANUEL KANT, GEORG W.F.HEGEL, and others. His interest in medieval philosophy was already evident in his dissertation. In *Theology and the Philosophy of Science* (1976) Pannenberg engaged the hermeneutical proposals of his contemporaries (e.g., Hans-Georg Gadamer) as well as earlier contributors (e.g., Wilhelm Dilthey) and attempted to locate theology among the sciences. He proposed a comprehensive task for the theologian: providing a provisional understanding and explanation of all things under the aspect of their relation to God. This task involves two interrelated movements, one "philosophical" and the other "systematic" (or dogmatic). The philosophical movement ("from below") is methodologically prior, but the systematic movement, which presents the coherence of the Trinitarian idea of God as the all-determining reality, has material primacy.

Theology and Science

In addition to treating the broad philosophical issues of epistemology and metaphysics, Pannenberg also engaged contemporary SCIENCE throughout his career. For him cosmology and anthropology are particularly relevant for theology. Because theology is about God as creator of all things, it must show how the biblical idea of God relates to scientific explanations of the cosmos. One of his more controversial proposals was the

linking of field theory in physics to the Christian doctrine of the divine Spirit through a broader philosophical concept of “field.” Noting that human self-understanding shapes our understanding of God, Pannenberg also explored the anthropological sciences. In *Anthropology in Theological Perspective* (1985), he engaged sciences such as biology, psychology, sociology, and history, arguing that the natural openness of human beings to the infinite cannot be explained by scientific proposals that ignore the intrinsic “religious thematic” of human existence. The latter requires systematic theological analysis.

Systematic Theology

The fruit of Pannenberg’s lifelong engagement in ecumenical, philosophical, and scientific dialogue are brought together in his magnum opus, the three-volume *Systematic Theology* (1991–1998). Here the figure/ground relation between philosophical and systematic theology is reversed; both remain in the picture but the focus is now on a comprehensive presentation of Christian DOCTRINE. In volume I he describes this as a sublation of his earlier philosophical work into systematics; volume II provides an integrated presentation of his understanding of the doctrines of creation, anthropology, and Christology; and volume III treats the relation between the Holy Spirit, the church, ELECTION, and the consummation of the world. All three volumes are linked by Pannenberg’s ongoing concern with material themes that had interested him early in his career. For example, in the 1960s Pannenberg had contributed to the growing interest in a “theology of hope” with his idea of God as the “power of the Future,” and this continues to shape his eschatological reflection in all three volumes (see ESCHATOLOGY). Similarly, his commitment to the centrality of the doctrine of Trinity is evident not only in the early chapter devoted to it, but as the organizing theme of the whole work, which concludes with this sentence: “The distinction and unity of the immanent and economic Trinity constitute the heartbeat of the divine love, and with a single such heartbeat this love encompasses the whole world of creatures” (1998:646).

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Orthodoxy, Eastern; Theology, Twentieth Century

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F.LERON SHULTS

PARACELSUS (PHILIPPUS AUREOLUS THEOPHRASTUS BOMBASTUS VON HOHENHEIM) (1493–1541)

German doctor, philosopher, and theologian. Paracelsus was born in Einsiedeln in the canton of Schwyz, and trained in medicine with his father. Little is known about his education, but he practiced medicine in numerous cities of southern GERMANY and SWITZERLAND in the 1520s and 1530s. Although he never officially left the Catholic church, he was linked with several of the reformers of his day, including JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS, who supported him in Basel. He published few works in his lifetime, the most successful being his surgical treatise, *Grosse Wundarznei* (Great Miracle Medicine 1536). The majority of his medical and alchemical works were published shortly after his death, but his theological writings (considered by many to be heretical) were not published until the twentieth century (see HERESY).

Paracelsus was a name he self-consciously adopted around 1527, indicating that he surpassed the famous Celsus, who in the first century A.D. had written a comprehensive medical encyclopedia. He rejected much of the medical establishment of his day, challenging the ancient authorities and insisting that the knowledge of NATURE must be based on a Christian cosmology and then on experience. He used chemical remedies, and he wrote most of his works in German, frequently inventing new terms and earning comparisons with reformer MARTIN LUTHER. He is considered a forerunner both of the scientific method and of modern chemistry.

His theological and ethical writings, although less well known, did exert an influence, particularly on marginalized groups with apocalyptic and millenarian expectations such as the followers of SEBASTIAN CASTELLIO and CASPAR SCHWENKFELD. Their most direct influence on Protestantism was through theologians with a mystical bent, especially VALENTIN WEIGEL (1533–1588), the Lutheran pastor who provided much of the impetus behind the Pietist movement (see PIETISM), and the mystic and Pietist JAKOB BOEHME (1575–1620), who synthesized many Paracelsian elements in his writings. Even further afield, a new religion of the “two lights” (nature and grace), was founded based on Paracelsus’s writings, called “Theophrastia Sancta.” One of its early

promoters, the Tyrolean schoolteacher Adam Haslmayr, linked it closely with the emerging Rosicrucianism in the early seventeenth century.

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BETH KREITZER

PARKER SOCIETY

Founded in 1840 for "the publication of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church," the Parker Society issued its first Annual Report in 1841. Very much a Cambridge production (see CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY) intended to counter Oxford's concentration on *The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* (1841f.), the Society sought the support of "everyone who duly estimates the value of faithful and devoted followers of our blessed Redeemer who are revered as the Fathers of the Reformed English Church—men who counted not their lives dear...when placed in the balance against the blessings which, by laborious...efforts, they sought to secure to this Protestant land."

When Lord Ashley chaired a general meeting at the Free Masons Tavern, Lincoln's Inn Fields (May 1842), a vote of thanks was passed to George Stokes, the Society's founder, for "his entire devotion." Stokes was the author of a work entitled *British Reformers*, published by the Religious Tract Society in 1827. In February 1841 a very different kind of tract appeared from the pen of JOHN HENRY NEWMAN (the celebrated "Tract XC") to prompt much establishment debate in mid-Victorian England. Aware that MATTHEW PARKER (first archbishop of Canterbury to ELIZABETH I) "was a great collector of ancient and modern writing," Stokes was clear that recourse "to such originals and precedents" would result in "true knowledge" of past theological conflict. His success in recruiting scholars of caliber to edit, and subscribers to support, a venture sponsored by the Pitt Press of Cambridge University proved a considerable achievement; and historians of the nineteenth century ought to pay more attention to the ideals that prompted Stokes to enlist innumerable clerical dons to the "good old cause" when "evangelicals," and England's Protestants in particular, seemed to be under threat from the OXFORD MOVEMENT. By the end of 1842 more than six thousand subscribers were receiving, for the modest annual outlay of one pound, "several valuable volumes" a year. Heading the subscription list were the Dowager Queen Adelaide and Albert, prince consort to Queen Victoria herself; and if neither primate supported a venture encouraged by numerous diocesan bishops, the High Churchman W.E. Gladstone (at that time vice-president of the Board of Trade and master of the Mint) was a fully paid-up member.

By 1843 seven thousand subscriptions had been received; and with James Scholefield (Regius professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge) at the helm as editorial secretary, regular primary-source publications circulated to disseminate “a general knowledge of the principles and doctrines held and taught by Cranmer, Ridley, Parker, Whitgift, and their learned and venerable coadjutors” (see THOMAS CRANMER and JOHN WHITGIFT).

In short here was an attempt to rally “every member of the Church of England” opposed to the work of those—such as JOHN KEBLE, Newman, and EDWARD PUSEY—working hard to revive Catholic traditions. The council urged the faithful to ponder the Tractarian challenge; and entirely convinced that a “NATIONAL effort” [*sic*] was underway, its Annual Report claimed that the Parker Society had done much “to benefit this Protestant land.” A fourth Report (May 1845) noted that the membership had remained constant at seven thousand. Furthermore, it duly stressed the Society’s *raison d’être* to make widely known “the works by which the Fathers of the Reformed English Church sought to diffuse scriptural truth.” However, if the suspicions of John Charles Ryle (a leading Protestant who was consecrated bishop of Liverpool in 1880) were correct, “the many goodly volumes published by the Parker Society” slept “quietly on library shelves, unopened and uncut.”

PETER NEWMAN BROOKS

PARKER, MATTHEW (1504–1575)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Parker was born in Norwich, ENGLAND in 1504 and died in 1575 at Lambeth Palace. Parker, who guided the CHURCH OF ENGLAND during the determinative years of the reign of ELIZABETH I, was consecrated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, on December 17, 1559 (by bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins in the chapel of Lambeth Palace). This event was long the issue of bitter controversy between Roman Catholic and Anglican apologists. It proved to be the pivotal moment for the self-definition of the reformed Church of England, finally removed from the Roman obedience by the accession of Queen Elizabeth I, as a church ministerially continuous with the apostolic succession of bishops.

Parker had been most unwilling to accept the office, but Elizabeth had finally overruled his misgivings. In the reign of HENRY VIII, Parker had been attached to both Queen Anne Boleyn and Queen Katherine Parr, and had received various church promotions, including a fellowship of his Cambridge College, Corpus Christi (1527) and the deanery of a small educational center for CLERGY, at Stoke-by-Clare, in Suffolk, in 1535. He was becoming interested in MARTIN LUTHER’S reforming ideas, but modified them by his equal interest in the early patristic Christian writers. Although he had been suspected of heretical attitudes to Catholic ceremonies (1539), he was appointed master of his college (1544), and then made dean of Lincoln Cathedral in 1552. The new queen, Mary I, dismissed him in 1554, partly because of his Protestant beliefs, partly because in 1547 he had married, partly because he had espoused the cause of Lady Jane Grey. Unlike many leading Protestants he did not flee the realm during Mary’s reign, but

lived in secrecy and frequent flight until Elizabeth succeeded. He later looked back on this time of obscurity and danger as a time of quiet opportunity for study, reflection, and prayer.

One of the first tasks of the new regime was to bring back a Protestant LITURGY. The Prayer Book of 1559 was the result: the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552), which was THOMAS CRANMER'S second liturgical program, more markedly Protestant than that of 1549, was in essence restored, but with delicate—yet significant—changes. The “Black Rubric,” which insisted that kneeling for Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER) did not imply belief in transubstantiation, was removed; at Communion, the 1549 and 1552 words of administration were combined. Thus, for the bread: “The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, keep thy body and soul unto everlasting life” (1549) and “Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving” (1552). The 1550 Ordinal (book of services for ordinations) was reintroduced, and was used for Parker's own consecration. Elizabeth had wished that Parker should take part in these liturgical measures, but his health prevented this. Nonetheless the reinstated and revised reformed liturgical pattern was and is determinative of the character of the Church of England as Parker inherited and was to maintain, protect, and defend it.

Parker's Influences

As Primate of All England, Parker attempted to steer the Church of England on a course independent of Rome but not by the stars of Geneva. His disciplinary restraints on Puritans (see PURITANISM) and his rules about liturgical garments (the Injunctions of 1565 for his Province of Canterbury) were unpopular. Trivial as this issue may seem to later times, these details focused wider and more urgent disputes of belief and allegiance. The VESTMENTS of the pre-Reformation liturgy—alb, amice, girdle, stole, and chasuble (for a priest)—carried for reformers of Calvinist or Zwinglian persuasion the overtones of the “sacrifices of masses” and the sacerdotal system that the REFORMATION had abjured. The black gown favored by the Reformed churches of SCOTLAND or the Continent, although satisfactory for PREACHING, otherwise spoke not only of a systematic theology such as JOHN CALVIN'S but also of a disciplinary rigor that the majority of the English found as unwelcome as the medieval church's ways. Parker's choice of cassock, surplice, tippet (black scarf indicative of literacy), and academic hood was a mediating program: as “choir habit,” it set the clergy apart, but with modesty, and the academic elements stressed the reforming insistence on the clergy as servants of the Word. In another area of mediation, Parker contributed largely to the “Bishops' Bible” (1568), which he kept clear of polemical marginal notes, and hoped that it would supplant the Calvinistic GENEVA BIBLE.

Parker's “Table of Kindred and Affinity” (1563), applying a rigorous version of the Levitical code to MARRIAGE, affected English church and state law until the end of the twentieth century. Under Parker's presidency the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of Religion came to their final form, and were imposed on clergy and educators for their subscription in 1571. Parker's most lasting bequest is often judged to be his care to rescue

manuscripts from the chaos of the Reformation period to provide foundations for future historical research.

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DAVID TRIPP

PARKER, THEODORE (1810–1860)

American preacher. Parker was born in Lexington, Massachusetts, August 24, 1810 and died in Florence, ITALY, about three months shy of his fiftieth birthday on May 10, 1860. He had traveled to Europe in a vain attempt to recover from tuberculosis.

Parker may well be the greatest intellect the American pulpit has produced. For fifteen years he was the pastor of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society in Boston, where 3,000 people crowded the Music Hall every Sunday to hear a sermon from this eloquent, brilliant, and controversial preacher. Greatly influenced by TRANSCENDENTALISM, Parker developed a theology based on intuition, which he called the voice of God. Religious AUTHORITY was not based on the BiBLE, the church, or even Jesus, but in conscience or higher law. Although his congregation was Unitarian, most Unitarians in his era considered Parker heretical and would not associate with him. However, Unitarians eventually became what Parker proclaimed, and he is generally credited with marking the emancipation of Unitarianism from all semblance of Christian ORTHODOXY.

It was not just ecclesiastical reform that came under Parker's scrutiny, but social reform as well. His critical judgments addressed political and judicial corruption, the plight of WOMEN, slum owners, low wages, and dishonest business practices. It was for

SLAVERY that he reserved his harshest words, labeling it the “sum of all villainies.” Parker’s involvement in the antislavery movement was far ahead of most clergymen of his time.

See also American Unitarian Association; Slavery, Abolition of; Social Gospel

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DAVID B. CHESEBROUGH

PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

As followers of Jesus Christ, who is known as the Prince of Peace, Christian churches are themselves “peace organizations.” The series of consultation meetings in 1990–1995 between representatives of various church traditions, mostly Protestant, sponsored by the Faith and Order Commission of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES of Christ in the United States, focusing on the apostolic character of the church’s peace witness, agreed:

that Christians, following our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, are called to be peacemakers. We consider this a common confession of the faith once delivered to the apostles, basic to our Christian unity. In a world of violence, be it in the streets or in warfare, churches affirm that peace is the will of God, and that peace has been shown to us most clearly in the life, teachings, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Peacemaking is most deeply rooted in Christ and the unity of the church, and such unity is a gift of the Holy Spirit linked to repentance and forgiveness. Through the power of the Holy Spirit, we are enabled to practice peacemaking as a way of participation in the life and death of Christ.... Our peace with God impels us toward peace with neighbor and love of enemies.

Different churches have understood that call differently or have evaded it almost entirely. In the first two centuries Christians were almost all pacifists, understanding that following the teachings of Jesus meant being committed to nonviolence. By the middle

ages, however, this was a very compromised ideal. Of the REFORMATION groups, only those related to the Anabaptists attempted consistently to recover this peacemaking command (see ANABAPTISM). Over the centuries Protestant peacemaking has grown, with the increased destructiveness of weapons, with the increased knowledge of practices that are effective in making peace, with the spreading influence of nonviolent direct action as developed by Mahatma Gandhi, MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., and Cesar Chavez, and with renewed biblical study recovering more of the breadth of peacemaking themes in both Testaments, and especially in the Jesus material of the Gospels.

Modern Peace Movement

The modern peace movement began in Europe and North America in the second half of the nineteenth century, and Protestants have been an integral part of it. Protestants have joined in peace organizations that had no particular religious grounding (e.g., Peace Action, The International Peace Bureau, The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom [WILPF]), and have joined ecumenical Christian peace groups that include not only Protestants, but Orthodox and Catholics (e.g., Church and Peace, Christian Peacemaker Teams, Evangelicals for Social Action, Every Church a Peace Church). They have also created denominationally oriented peace groups (e.g., The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, The Lutheran Peace Fellowship, Methodists United for Justice and Peace, The AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, the Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America). Protestants have also founded ecumenical Christian groups that have evolved into interfaith groups (e.g., the Fellowship of Reconciliation [FOR, <http://www.forusa.org/>]) or no longer have any specific religious ties in theory, even though Protestants continue to form a large part of the organization in practice (e.g., Witness for Peace, The Center for Conscience and War). Sometimes a person is even motivated by a strong Protestant faith to found a peace organization that is deliberately open to persons of all faiths or no faith, as when Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian Baptist, founded Nonviolence International to promote the use of nonviolence in global struggles for justice, no matter the religion of the groups involved.

The purposes of these groups differ, and their differing relation to Protestantism reflects their different orientations. Denominational peace groups usually have as one purpose bringing together like-minded peacemakers who may feel isolated and powerless, especially if their denomination does not have a long history of peacemaking (e.g., most Protestant denominations other than the "historic peace churches" of MENNONITES, the CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, and the Religious SOCIETY OF FRIENDS [Quakers]). Another purpose of denominational peace fellowships (e.g., The Episcopal Peace Fellowship or the Lutheran Peace Fellowship) is to increase "peace education" among CLERGY and LAITY, explicitly connecting the history, doctrinal teachings, and/or LITURGY of that denomination to issues of peacemaking. In this way it hopes to increase the number of active peacemakers in that DENOMINATION and to have a "leavening" effect on the denomination itself. To the extent that this purpose succeeds, the grassroots denominational peace fellowship may find some of its peace education tasks taken up or supplemented by official agencies within the denominational leadership itself. Thus the United Church of Christ FOR (formerly the United Church

Peace Fellowship) remains a grassroots peace fellowship explicitly connected to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but the United Church of Christ Justice and Peace Action Network (UCC-JPAN) is an official program of the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. Likewise, the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship's efforts are complemented by the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, USA's Peacemaking Program, and the Methodist Peace Fellowship's grassroots work is complemented by the Peacemaking Program of the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH'S Board of Church and Society.

A third purpose of the denominational peace fellowship is often to link peacemakers in that denomination with wider, more ecumenical (or even interfaith) peace groups (see ECUMENISM). In the United Kingdom, almost all the denominational peace fellowships are affiliated with the British chapter of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and with the Network of Christian Peace Organizations. In Europe the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) and the "historic peace churches" have, since 1949, combined efforts in the Church and Peace movement. In the UNITED STATES, again, almost all the denominational peace fellowships are connected with the U.S. branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Just as grassroots denominational peace fellowships often spawn official efforts by denominational agencies, so these wider ecumenical and interfaith grassroots efforts stimulate parallel work by conciliar ecumenical bodies. The National Council of Churches of Christ, USA (most of whose member bodies are Protestant) has a Subcommittee on Peace, Security, and Disarmament, and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES has a program promoting the first decade of the Twenty-First Century as a Decade to Overcome Violence.

Development and Change

Peace organizations sometimes have quite specific foci and their scope and constituency can change over time. For example, Every Church a Peace Church (ECAPC, <http://www.ecapc.org/>) grew out of New Call to Peacemaking, the program to renew and strengthen the peace witness of Mennonites, Quakers, and the Church of the Brethren, plus World Peace-makers, a ministry of Church of the Savior in Washington, D.C. Working with the historic peace churches, the FOR, denominational peace fellowships in mainline churches, and individuals, ECAPC seeks to provide resources for congregations and denominations to become more faithful disciples of the living Christ, by becoming peace churches.

For another example, World War I broke out in 1914 at the end of an era that saw forms of Christian PACIFISM growing in most mainline Protestant groups both in Europe and North America. To take the example of the United States, however, the law at the time allowed *conscientious objection* (refusal of military service based on principled objection to war) only for the "historic peace churches." The National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors (NISBCO, <http://www.nisbco.org/>) was founded to protect the rights of conscientious objectors in other denominations, almost exclusively mainline Protestants at the time. As the nation became more pluralistic, NISBCO found itself also defending conscientious objectors who were Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, or of no particular faith whatsoever, and renamed itself the Center for Conscience and War. It also supports the *Campaign for a Peace Tax*

Fund and gives assistance to war tax resisters. The *Campaign* pushes to create a law allowing conscientious objectors to designate the portion of their taxes earmarked for the military (most years around 50 percent) to go to nonmilitary purposes such as EDUCATION, environmental protection and cleanup, health care, and so forth. War tax resisters are also supported by the *National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee* (NWTRCC, <http://www.nwtrcc.org/>) in Ithaca, New York.

Another peace organization with a very specific focus is Pastors for Peace. It began in the early 1970s as an organization of Protestant clergy challenging the continued U.S. embargo of Cuba. Although retaining its name, Pastors for Peace has involved more laity, and has recruited Catholic and Jewish members. They have become most well known for their “peace caravans” of food, medical supplies, and medical technology to Cuba—breaking U.S. law to do so. They have also taken up the cause of peace throughout Central America, especially where U.S. foreign policy is understood as a factor contributing to oppression or unrest.

Crossing Religious Boundaries

Some organizations change both their constituency and their understanding of peace and peacemaking. The classic example is the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR, <http://www.ifor.org/>) and its various national branches. It began as a specifically Christian organization, founded in 1914 on the very eve of the First World War by a British Friend (Quaker), Henry Hodgkin, and a German Lutheran minister, Friedrich Sigmund-Schultze, pacifist chaplain to the German Kaiser. Believing that the bonds of Christian love transcended all national boundaries, they vowed that they would refuse to sanction war between their two countries and that they would sow seeds of peace no matter what the future would bring. Hodgkin founded the British FOR at Trinity College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY and Sigmund-Schultze founded the German branch, *Versöhnungsbund*. In 1915 Hodgkin visited the United States and founded the U.S. branch. At its beginning, the FOR was entirely Protestant. In the mid-1930s Dorothy Day and a few other American Catholics joined. In the 1960s Catholics formed Pax Christi, the highly active Catholic Peace Fellowship. Orthodox participation came still later.

After World War II the FOR realized that one of the contributing factors to the HOLOCAUST was that even Christians who did not hold to anti-Jewish theologies seldom had contacts or ties with Jews and were ignorant of contemporary JUDAISM. Therefore, in the United States and international branches of the FOR, the explicitly Christian basis of membership was dropped but the religious motivation for pacifism, nonviolence, and peacemaking was retained. (In the United Kingdom and some other branches, the FOR has retained an explicitly Christian identity.) This led to Jewish members joining the U.S. FOR and IFOR and, eventually, the formation of The Jewish Peace Fellowship, modeled after the Christian denominational peace fellowships. The interfaith nature of the IFOR and U.S. FOR has continued to expand to include especially Buddhists, Bahais, Hindus, and, most recently, Muslims. (In the United States there is a Buddhist Peace Fellowship and a Muslim Peace Fellowship that are both branches of the FOR. The International Network of Engaged Buddhists, a peacemaking group, has created explicit ties to IFOR.) The FOR and peace organizations have increasingly

understood peace not only as the absence of war, but the presence of justice, becoming increasingly involved in nonviolent direct action for human rights issues.

Other organizations having no explicit religious connection have, nevertheless, had strong faith-group connections. For example, Peace Action (<http://www.peace-action.org/>), the largest grassroots peace organization in the United States, grew out of a merger of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign of the 1980s and the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy. The Freeze was deliberately organized to be as wide a coalition as possible and thus officially secular, but it grew out of efforts by the U.S. FOR and by the peacemaking programs of the Church of the Savior's World Peacemakers and the Sojourners Community's Peacemaker Program. All this gave the Freeze strong church connections, especially with ecumenical main-line Protestants. Toward the end of the 1980s the Freeze merged with SANE to become SANE/Freeze. After the Cold War it changed its name again to Peace Action, retaining its emphasis on eliminating nuclear arms, but broadening to include peace education efforts and the promotion of human rights. It has come to embrace major practices of the new peacemaking ethic of *Just Peacemaking Theory*, with its emphasis on the need for a democratic foreign policy, HUMAN RIGHTS, cooperation with the United Nations and international organizations, and reductions in offensive weapons and weapons trade. The connection to churches, especially mainline Protestant ones, remains unstated but strong, and Peace Action's orientation continues to focus on grassroots organization to transform U.S. policies. Peace Action's national headquarters is in Washington, D.C., although its grassroots emphasis allows local affiliates in various cities and states freedom to adopt somewhat different emphases according to the perceived concerns of the local context. Some affiliates are strongly connected with churches.

Likewise, Witness for Peace (WFP, <http://www.witnessforpeace.org/>) was deliberately founded to be "secular" but always had strong ties to U.S. churches and a smattering of synagogues. As its name "witness" indicates, WFP was founded by people of faith and they continue to form its largest percentage of members. It was founded in 1983 as a nonviolent intervention of U.S. citizens to prevent the U.S.-funded *Contra* terrorists from killing civilians in Nicaragua and to prevent a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. Upon returning from their peace witness in accompanying the people of Nicaragua and thus nonviolently guarding many against violence by the *Contras*, they spread their witness in the United States to the truth of realities they experienced in Nicaragua. This contributed to the growing opposition of the people of the United States against U.S. funding for the *Contra* war, which persuaded Congress to terminate funding for that war. After 1988 WFP broadened to focus on peace and justice throughout LATIN AMERICA. Because the term "witness" is associated with JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES in Latin America, the Spanish version of the group's name is *Accion Permanente para la Paz* ("Permanent Action for Peace").

Other organizations began outside the churches and grew to forge stronger Christian connections. The Argentine sculptor and human rights activist, Adolfo Perez Esquivel, founded SERPAJ (*Servicio Paz y Justicia* or "Service for Peace and Justice," <http://www.nonviolence.org/serpaj>) to coordinate grassroots nonviolent movements for justice across Latin America. Although Esquivel (who won the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize) was and is a faithful Catholic, Latin America's Catholics were divided between those who supported the ruling powers (often including military dictatorships) and those whose

“liberation theologies” were, at least in the popular mind, strongly connected to armed guerilla movements (see LIBERATION THEOLOGY). Hence SERPAJ was founded without a specifically religious orientation, but it quickly drew the support of the historic peace churches (especially the Mennonite Central Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Brethren Volunteer Service) and IFOR. As the Catholic peace movement grew in the 1980s, SERPAJ also forged strong connections to Pax Christi, International—the largest grassroots Catholic peace organization. Today, many of SERPAJ’s national branches are also branches of IFOR and sometimes also branches of Pax Christi. Where these ties are not official, there are usually strong informal ties and one quickly notices an overlap in members and officers (sometimes even working out of the same office space).

Churches for A Middle East Peace (<http://www.cmep.org/>) is a Washington-based program of the American Friends Service Committee, Christian Church (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), Church of the Brethren, CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, EPISCOPAL CHURCH, EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, Franciscan Mission Service, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Maryknoll Missioners, Mennonite Central Committee, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, Presbyterian Church (USA), Reformed Church in America, United Church of Christ, and the United Methodist Church, among others. Committed to nonviolence and to a two-state solution to the conflict between Israel and Palestine, human rights and the security of all in the region, and strengthening the role of the United Nations, it seeks to change the policy of the United States to promote a lasting peace with justice.

Evangelicals for Middle East Understanding seeks to involve more Evangelicals in peacemaking in the Middle East. It gives tours; makes connections to ancient Christian groups in the Middle East; works to combat hyper-Zionist theologies; educates on the history of Jewish-Muslim-Christian relations in Medieval and Modern history; encourages members to push their churches and legislators to work for a just two-state solution; and publishes a journal.

Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) was founded by Mennonites and the Church of the Brethren, and is also supported by Friends United Meeting. Like Witness for Peace, it seeks to make peace with justice in an unjust world by “getting in the way” between forces that otherwise are likely to do violence to each other, and thus persuading them actively to refrain from violence. It accepts volunteers from any Christian denomination who are committed to nonviolence. It has long-term workers in Hebron, in the Palestinian occupied territories; in Haiti, Columbia, Guatemala, the Chiapas region of MEXICO; and other global “hotspots.”

Ministries and Resources

Following are some examples of Protestant church peacemaking ministries and organizations with their vision statements.

The Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America (<http://www.bpfna.org/>) states its purpose as “to unite and enable Christians to make peace with justice in a warring world. Peace, like war, is waged. Those who wage

war train for the battle, lift banners, and shout slogans. Those who would wage peace must also train for the battle, lift banners, and shout slogans.”

The Brethren Peace Fellowship (BPF) is part of the CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, which is one of the “historic peace churches” whose members are all encouraged strongly to be pacifist and refuse military service. The BPF exists to strengthen the peacemaking witness of the Church of the Brethren and to connect members with other pacifists. It is a member organization of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship (EPF, <http://www.episcopalpeacefellowship.org/>) describes its mission as “To aid and encourage all Episcopalians to strive for justice and peace among all people and to bear nonviolent witness to Christ’s call to peace.”

The British Network of Christian Peace Organizations (NCPO, <http://www.ncpo.org.uk/>) gives links to many church peace organizations in Great Britain and information on their joint projects.

The Religious Society of Friends has two action arms for peace and justice advocacy: The American Friends Service Committee (<http://www.afsc.org/>), and The Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL), which seeks to bring the concerns, experiences, and testimonies of the Religious Society of Friends to bear on policy decisions in the nation’s capital. Its multi-issue advocacy connects historic Quaker testimonies on peace, equality, simplicity, and truth with peace and social justice matters.

The Lutheran Peace Fellowship (<http://www.lutheranpeace.org/>) is an international community of peacemakers, grounded in Christ, who seek peace according to the biblical vision of shalom, peace with justice; who pray and work to eliminate violence, oppression, and militarism; and who are committed to nonviolence in efforts to bring about justice and reconciliation. It offers resources for peace worship services, youth work, advocacy, workshops, and much else.

Mennonite Church, USA, Peace and Justice Support Network (<http://www.mennolink.org/>) combines the work of the Mennonite Church’s Peace and Justice Committee with the General Conference Mennonite Church’s Peace and Justice Resources of its mission agency. Grassroots Mennonite peacemaking tends to work through the Christian Peacemaker Teams (see above). See also the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC, <http://www.mcc.org/>), a relief, service, and peace agency of the North American Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches. MCC reflects the biblical call to care for the hungry and thirsty, the stranger, the sick, and those in prison.

The Pentecostal Peace Fellowship (<http://www.pentecostalpeace.org/>) “encourages, enables, and sustains peacemaking as an authentic and integral part of PENTECOSTALISM. It provides resources to help local churches and denominations in their faithfulness to the Way of Jesus, and serves as a source for education about conflict resolution, biblical and theological support for concerns about justice and peace, pamphlets and other works with practical guidelines regarding racial and gender issues. It also facilitates participation in peacemaking activities and training in conjunction with other peace fellowships.”

The Presbyterian Peacemaking Program (<http://www.pcusa.org/peacemaking>) was created in 1980 when the General Assembly of the former United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America adopted *Peacemaking: The Believers' Calling*. The work of the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program is guided by three affirmations outlined in *Peacemaking: The Believers' Calling*: (1) The church is faithful to Jesus Christ when it is engaged in peacemaking. (2) The church is obedient to Jesus Christ when it nurtures and equips God's people as peacemakers. (3) The church bears witness to Christ when it nurtures the moral life of the nation for the sake of peace in the world. The website for the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship is <http://www.presbypeacefellowship.faithweb.com/>.

The United Church of Christ Justice and Peace Action Network (<http://www.ucc.org/justice/jpan.htm>), formerly known as the Justice and Peace Ministry, is the denomination's grassroots advocacy network, composed of individual members and local UCC congregations across the country. The UCC Justice and Peace Action Network "engages its members in shaping public policy and advocating systemic change in keeping with God's vision of a just and loving society. Our work is grounded in General Synod teachings, consonant with historic UCC witness, and formed by a biblical understanding of prophetic ministry." The Network collectively advocates justice and peace in a wide variety of areas, including economic justice, civil and human rights, environmental justice, peace issues, racial and gender justice, international/global concerns, and media ethics and advocacy. These are resourced by national staff of the Justice and Witness Ministries and Wider Church Ministries who work with local UCC advocates to shape coordinated strategy on our common witness.

References and Further Readings

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GLEN STASSEN

PEALE, NORMAN VINCENT (1898–1993)

American preacher. Peale was a remarkable phenomenon in American religious life in the middle years of the twentieth century. *Life* magazine named him one of "Twelve Great American Preachers" in 1953, and he was the subject of a movie, *One Man's Way*, in 1963.

The son of a Methodist preacher, Peale was born May 31, 1898. He grew up in Ohio and graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1920. He chose a career in journalism and worked at it briefly until he changed direction and began to study for the Christian ministry. The Methodist Episcopal Church ordained him in 1922, and he graduated from Boston University School of Theology two years later.

Peale showed great enthusiasm for the parish ministry, and had brief but successful appointments at St. Mark's Methodist Church in Brooklyn and the University Church in Syracuse, New York. It was in Syracuse that he met his lifetime partner, Loretta Ruth Stafford. In 1932 he accepted a call from Marble Collegiate Church in New York City, a congregation of the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA. He joined that DENOMINATION and remained at Marble Collegiate for the rest of his long career.

Marble Collegiate was a church in trouble when he arrived. Near despair, he concluded that he needed to focus on the possibilities for ministry and subsequently developed his lifelong conviction that positive thinking could lead to a richer spiritual life and material success. Seeking to bring the insights of psychology and religion together, he teamed up with psychiatrist Smiley Blanton and created the Religio-Psychiatric Clinic at Marble Collegiate Church. It later became the American Federation for Religion and Psychiatry.

The classic statement of his point of view was *The Power of Positive Thinking*, which he wrote in 1952. Atop the best-seller list for more than three years, it extended his audience and brought him much criticism. Liberal and conservative theologians joined in criticizing him for what they considered to be a shallow, self-help faith. The Reformed Church in America nonetheless elected him its president in 1969.

With the help of his wife he began distributing his sermons in 1943. That modest effort led to the widely circulated *Guideposts* magazine and an inspirational devotional called *Daily Guideposts*. He died December 24, 1993. His wife has carried on his work through numerous publications and through the Peale Center for Christian Living in Pawling, New York, where information about Peale and his manuscripts are available.

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JOHN PIPER

PEDERSEN, JOHANNES PEDER EJLER (1883–1977)

Danish theologian. Pedersen, Danish professor and Semitic philologist, advanced biblical scholarship through his lectures and publications on ancient Israelite CULTURE, Old Testament texts, and Hebrew grammar. Born in Illebølle, DENMARK on November 7, 1883, Pedersen attended Sorø Academy and studied Protestant THEOLOGY and Semitic languages in Copenhagen, Leipzig, Leiden, Budapest, and Cairo. In 1923 he succeeded Frants Buhls as professor at Copenhagen and taught there until 1953. He died in Copenhagen on December 22, 1977.

Pedersen's most acclaimed contribution to biblical scholarship is his four-volume *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (Copenhagen, 1920–1934; London, 1926–1940), which applied Grönbech's psychological model to Israelite society and argued that strength of community emanates from holiness of soul, which is sanctified by religious observance. For ancient Israelites everything formed a dynamic whole: soul and body, individual and group, inhabitants and land. Although criticized for overgeneralization, Pedersen's volume highlighted the cohesive function of the cult and centrality of the Passover (Exodus 1–15) (“Passahfest und Passahlegende [Passover Feast and Passover Legend]” (*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 52 [1934]:161–175).

Noteworthy contributions include a description of oaths, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (*The Oath among the Semites*) (Strasburg, 1914); critique of source criticism, “Die Auffassung vom Alten Testament [The Concept of the Old Testament]” (*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 [1931]:161–181); a Hebrew grammar (Copenhagen, 1926, 1968); and a history of *The Arabic Book* (Copenhagen, 1946; New Jersey, 1984).

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FRANK RITCHEL AMES

PENN, WILLIAM (1644–1718)

Quaker statesman. Born in London on October 14, 1644, the son of a prominent naval commander, Penn became a Quaker in 1667 and quickly became one of the most

prominent leaders of the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS as a missionary, traveling speaker in local meetings, arbitrator of disputes among Friends, and especially as a writer defending Quakers against theological attacks and presenting Quaker principles and practices in systematic form. Educated as a lawyer as well as a theologian, Penn argued in law courts and in toleration tracts that religious liberty was a logical implication of Protestantism, as well as a fundamental right of Englishmen. Using his family's influence, he secured land in the New World so that he could found Pennsylvania as a "holy experiment," a society governed by Quaker principles. After 1682 Penn spent much of his time defending the colony, his proprietary rights, and even himself against charges of treason. He continued to write substantial Quaker treatises in the 1690s, in part to convince Englishmen that Quakers were orthodox Protestants and hence legal under the terms of the Toleration Act of 1689. He died in 1718.

Penn's understanding of the relationship between Quakerism and Protestantism was complex and not altogether consistent. On the one hand, he understood Quakerism to be *Primitive Christianity Revived...* (1696), and stressed the incompleteness of the Continental and English Reformations. Penn believed that the Quakers had received a measure of the same kind of anointing by the Spirit as the Apostles of Christ, at times arguing that the Quakers had gone beyond even the dispensation of the Apostles to begin a third era in the history of SALVATION marked by dispensing with such "outward" forms of religion as creedal doctrinal formulas, ordained ministry, sacraments, and even the gathering of bodies in a CHURCH.

On the other hand, in his treatises on TOLERATION Penn was more likely to present Quakerism as the purest form of Protestantism, completing the movement begun by the sixteenth-century reformers. When questioned about the Quakers' objections to the traditional understandings of the Trinity, substitutionary ATONEMENT, JUSTIFICATION by FAITH through imputed righteousness, and the SACRAMENTS, and about their deemphasis on the person and work of the historical or incarnate Christ in favor of the eternal Christ known to all human beings through the "inner light," Penn could argue that the Quakers simply preferred to stick to Scriptural statements about such matters and understood the traditional creeds as attempts by misguided Christians to claim a more adequate understanding of the eternal mysteries than was available to humanity. At times he even argued that the Quakers alone stuck to the essence of the REFORMATION, that is, the understanding that salvation was by GRACE alone, given that only the Quakers excluded all human means to salvation and simply waited passively for the Spirit to speak and act in them.

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MELVIN B. ENDY JR.

PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE WORLD

Founded in 1919, this primarily African American denomination traces its roots to meetings held in Los Angeles from 1906, called the AZUSA STREET REVIVAL, in which leaders attempted to coordinate the fledgling Pentecostal movement (see PENTECOSTALISM). With the decreased prominence of the Azusa Street Mission, leaders scattered across the country. The leadership of what became the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAW) then moved to Portland, Oregon. During the early period no organizational structures were established.

Most of the leadership of this tradition embraced “Oneness” theology. Sometimes called “Jesus Only” or erroneously “Pentecostal Unitarians,” this tradition is radically monotheistic, believes in baptismal regeneration, and adheres to the more traditional Pentecostal liturgical and theological structures such as glossolalia (or speaking in TONGUES). From 1906 to 1919 the PAW was a loose fellowship of church leaders but with no governance structure.

The DENOMINATION owes its form to Garfield Thomas Haywood (1880–1931) of Indianapolis. When it was decided that the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD would not include black clergy and churches, Haywood converted to “Oneness” theology and entered the orbit of the PAW. He attended a meeting in Eureka Springs, Arkansas in 1918, called to explore the future structures of the PAW, but the results were inconclusive. In January 1919 he hosted a meeting in Indianapolis that drew several thousand delegates. It was Haywood’s dream that the denomination be multiracial, active for civil rights, supportive of holiness, aggressive in EVANGELISM, and a promoter of MISSIONS. He drafted the constitution and bylaws and was elected executive secretary of the new denomination. He published the denominational periodical, *Voice in the Wilderness*, as well as a number of “best-seller” theological treatises that formed the intellectual structures of the PAW. Most of these have remained in print.

Almost immediately his leadership was contested, primarily orchestrated by Bishop Robert C. Lawson of New York, who could not tolerate Haywood’s support of the right of WOMEN to preach, the money spent on international missions, and his acceptance of divorced persons into membership. All of these remain contested issues. Next, the European American CLERGY decided to develop their own denominations, some of which merged to become the United Pentecostal Church, a white denomination. Other schisms have followed, grounded in concerns over ECUMENISM, personality, race, leadership style, and assorted theological issues. The PAW has remained determinedly multiracial and is primarily urban and Northern. It has been very active in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, and for that reason it has had less of a presence in the Old South. Governance is accomplished through annual national conventions and state conventions.

Foreign missions were undertaken to CHINA beginning in 1919. Missions to the CARIBBEAN, AFRICA, and Europe as well as to other areas of Asia followed. Although the church outside North America remains small, that in the UNITED STATES has grown quickly. In 2000 there were about 2,000 congregations and about 1.5 million

members/adherents. Aeon Bible College, Indianapolis, Indiana, offers a variety of opportunities for residential and distance education. It annually enrolls as many as 10,000 students, mostly in distance education courses.

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DAVID BUNDY

PENTECOSTAL CHURCH OF GOD

The Pentecostal Church of God (PCOG) is a Protestant, Pentecostal fellowship with offices in Joplin, Missouri (see PENTECOSTALISM). It was established in 1919 as the Pentecostal Assemblies of the U.S.A. Significant characteristics of the PCOG include its lack of a creedal statement and its “finished work” understanding of the doctrine of SANCTIFICATION. Although the denomination does not emphasize church membership, in 2001 they reported a constituency of 102,000 in the UNITED STATES and 600,000 outside the United States. In 2003 there were over 1,200 local congregations in the United States, with 5,200 churches and ministry stations outside the United States.

Founding a Fellowship

Many of the ministers that constituted the PCOG had been affiliated with the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD (AOG). Although many early Pentecostal ministers were independent minded, some saw the need to network and organized the General Council of the Assemblies of God in 1914. When the AOG faced internal doctrinal differences with those who did not accept the Trinity, believing the only name for the one God is Jesus, the AOG adopted a doctrinal statement in 1916, which was used to exclude the “Oneness” people. However, the adoption of any statement of faith as a tool for excluding ministers troubled some such as George C. Brinkman of Chicago.

Brinkman was the pastor of the Pentecostal Herald Mission in Chicago and published *The Pentecostal Herald*—a periodical that many AOG ministers read. Brinkman became frustrated that AOG leadership discouraged ministers from reading *The Pentecostal Herald* in favor of the AOG periodical *The Christian Evangel*. Brinkman called a meeting on November 5, 1919 to select trustees for *The Pentecostal Herald*. Attendees

declared that *The Pentecostal Herald* was the official paper of the “Pentecostal Assemblies of the United States and Canada” and requested the AOG to recognize it as such, calling for another meeting of the ministers.

Delegates to the December 29–30, 1919 meeting in Chicago established an alternative fellowship to the AOG that they considered free from a creedal statement and based instead on the BIBLE alone. They adopted the name “The Pentecostal Assemblies of the United States” and a constitution for a fellowship with a congregational form of government. The delegates elected John Sinclair as chairman and Brinkman as general secretary. The name of the fellowship was changed to the Pentecostal Church of God in 1922, and for a brief period was the Pentecostal Church of God of America.

Although the PCOG rejected creeds as a standard for fellowship, it did promote evangelical and Pentecostal doctrines. Refusing to take a stand on a baptismal formula, which had been a point of controversy between the AOG and Oneness Pentecostals, the PCOG affirmed the Trinity, speaking in TONGUES as the evidence of Spirit baptism, and a baptistic understanding of sanctification, which had also divided the Pentecostal movement.

The Pentecostal movement had been an heir to the HIGHER LIFE MOVEMENT that swept North America in the nineteenth century. Founders such as Charles Fox Parham in Topeka, Kansas, and William Joseph Seymour at the AZUSA STREET REVIVAL and Mission in Los Angeles were products of the radical wing of the WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT, and understood sanctification as a second crisis experience of GRACE in the life of the believer. Like the AOG, however, the PCOG followed William H. Durham in their understanding of sanctification. Durham rejected the idea that sanctification was a subsequent work of grace in the life of the believer. He taught that sanctification began at the time of CONVERSION and was appropriated over one’s lifetime. This came to be called the “Finished Work at Calvary” doctrine and was generally adopted by Pentecostals from Presbyterian and Baptist backgrounds.

Developing a Structure

The PCOG has always desired to furnish fellowship without a controlling structure. Consequently there has been little emphasis on membership or “belonging” to an organization. Yet, over the years the need for cooperative ministry has gradually led to the formation of various departments and agencies.

PUBLISHING has always been a significant arm of Pentecostal movements because the printed page was the chief means of connecting networks of ministers, disseminating news of CAMP MEETINGS and REVIVALS, and standardizing acceptable DOCTRINE. At the founding meeting in 1919, ministers agreed to adopt *The Pentecostal Herald* as their official paper. Books and other publications were occasionally printed under the name Herald Publishing Company. In 1927 *The Pentecostal Messenger* was selected as the national publication. The denomination began to publish its own SUNDAY SCHOOL literature in 1938 and today operates Messenger Publishing House.

Throughout the twentieth century the PCOG developed a number of specialized ministries at the national level. These include Youth Ministries (1928), World Missions (1929), Indian Ministries (1949), Christian Education Department (1953), Women’s

Ministry Department (1957), King's Men Fellowship (1975), Home Missions/Evangelism Department (1981), and Senior Christian Fellowship (1982).

Early educational opportunities included Herald Correspondence Bible School in 1921. Beginning in 1946 there was an ongoing call for a central college, and the movement supported regional colleges including Pentecostal Bible Institute (later renamed Evangelical Christian College) and Southern Bible College. These two colleges were later combined into Messenger College, which opened in Joplin, Missouri in 1987.

Today the fellowship participates in organizations such as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS, the PENTECOSTAL/CHARISMATIC CHURCHES OF NORTH AMERICA, the International Pentecostal Press Association, and the PENTECOSTAL WORLD FELLOWSHIP. Of special interest is the willingness of the PCOG to ordain WOMEN. Indeed, the first person ordained by the fellowship was the Reverend Ida Tribett (see WOMEN CLERGY). The headquarters of the denomination, previously in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Kansas City, Missouri, moved to Joplin in 1951.

See also Anti-Trinitarianism; Bible Colleges and Institutes; Keswick Movement

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DAVID G.ROEBUCK

PENTECOSTAL WORLD CONFERENCE

See Pentecostal World Fellowship

PENTECOSTAL WORLD FELLOWSHIP

The Pentecostal World Fellowship (PWF), known as the Pentecostal World Conference until 2001, is an international coalition of Pentecostal denominations and local churches. Moving beyond the divisions that previously had existed among Pentecostals, it was

established in 1947 for the purpose of spiritual fellowship without regard to denominational affiliation. The PWF sponsors a world conference every three years.

A Divided Movement

From its beginning Pentecostalism was MISSIONS oriented. One of its primary theological emphases was an eschatological emphasis that Christians were living in the last days and that Jesus would return soon (see ESCHATOLOGY). Indeed, Charles Fox Parham taught that the purpose of speaking in tongues was to be able to supernaturally preach in unlearned human languages. Although most Pentecostals came to reject Parham's idea regarding speaking in tongues, they continued to emphasize the need for worldwide EVANGELISM. Consequently Pentecostalism quickly spread to other parts of the world through the efforts of an army of missionaries and local believers who heard the Pentecostal message.

In North America, Pentecostals soon divided over race, DOCTRINE, and POLITY. Although the Azusa Street Revival and some early Pentecostal denominations were interracial, as Pentecostalism developed, it divided along racial lines. By the 1920s Pentecostals had succumbed to Jim Crow segregation laws and other social pressures of the first half of the twentieth century.

Both the doctrine of SANCTIFICATION and the doctrine of the Trinity were areas of major division among Pentecostals. Those in the Wesleyan Holiness Movement emphasized sanctification as a postconversion work of GRACE. Those in the Higher Life Movement saw sanctification as occurring at the time of JUSTIFICATION and then being appropriated throughout the life of the believer. Following William F. Durham, this Higher Life view was called the "Finished Work of Calvary" doctrine of sanctification. Regarding the doctrine of the Trinity, "Oneness" or "Jesus Only" Pentecostals emphasized that there is only one God and God's name is Jesus. They rejected the concept of a Trinity and insisted that every Christian be baptized in the name of Jesus according to Acts 2:38.

Furthermore, many Pentecostals were independently minded in terms of church polity—believing in a radical CONGREGATIONALISM and fearing that organization would quench the work of the Holy Spirit. For theological, mission, and financial reasons, a large number of these joined together to form the General Council of the Assemblies of God in 1914, but they considered themselves to be a fellowship of ministers rather than a DENOMINATION. Although they increasingly adopted the structures and practices of a denomination, they continued to place a great deal of emphasis on the liberty of the local church and minister. Moreover, even though loose networks have regularly developed, many Pentecostals have never identified with a denomination or organization of any kind.

Some of these distinctions may have seemed unimportant to outsiders, but they were of major importance to participants in a movement that saw itself as restoring the apostolic church and preparing the way for the second coming of Jesus Christ. In the minds of many Pentecostals, having the right understanding on doctrinal and polity matters would make the difference between the growth of the KINGDOM OF GOD and the ultimate return of Jesus Christ for his church.

These divisions occurred within a theological system that saw two world wars and attempts to unify nations as real expressions of a cosmic battle between God and Satan (see DEVIL) at the end of the age. Pentecostals loathed and feared unifying and ecumenical agencies such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, the Federal Council of Churches, and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES because they represented vehicles that could be appropriated by the Roman Catholic Church and by the ANTI-CHRIST to thwart the kingdom of God. Thus differences in theology and polity were accentuated by a radical Eschatology and by fears of both a “one-world government” and an ecumenical church.

Ecumenical Efforts

Although racial, doctrinal, and polity differences among the various Pentecostal denominations led to isolationism in North America until World War II, this was not the case for Pentecostals in Europe. A few representative efforts illustrate both the efforts and hindrances to ecumenical progress among Pentecostals. As early as 1911, Norwegian pastor Thomas Ball Barratt issued “An Urgent Plea for Charity and Unity” in which he recommended an organic union that would express the spiritual unity among Pentecostals. In 1921, Pentecostals from several European groups gathered in Amsterdam, but differences among the participants over the use of visions and prophecies dissuaded them from further meetings. A more national attempt to encourage unity occurred in May 1939 and January 1940 when various British Pentecostal groups met together in London. Twenty European groups met in Stockholm for a Unity Conference in June 1939.

Without making any recommendations regarding mergers, these and other such meetings did provide fellowship, discussion, and shared worship opportunities. Those who participated had to be careful not to raise fears of compromise and merger among their various constituencies, however. With the outbreak of World War II, further conversations about unity meetings were set aside during the hostilities.

The isolationism among Pentecostals in the United States began to subside when denominational leaders came together with other evangelicals to form the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS (NAE). By this time Pentecostal denominations were more settled, the movement was experiencing significant growth so that it could no longer be ignored by the rest of Christianity, leaders and many adherents were on the cusp of becoming middle class, and fears of a “one-world government” and an ecumenical church drove Pentecostals to be more open to like-minded conservative and evangelical Christians. Thus, Pentecostals participated in the National Conference for United Action among Evangelicals in St. Louis in 1942 and in the constitutional meeting of the NAE in Chicago the next year. The results of this fellowship and cooperation raised the possibilities of a national meeting of Pentecostals as well as an international conference.

European leaders continued to lead the conversation regarding a national meeting, however. Key figures in Europe were Britain’s Donald Gee (AOG), SWEDEN’S Lewi Pethrus (Filadelfia Church), and SWITZERLAND’S Leonard Steiner (Swiss Pentecostal Movement). In May 1946 a prayer conference was held in Basel. At that meeting

delegates determined to call a world conference of Pentecostals in Zurich one year later using the theme “For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body” (I Corinthians 12:13).

Most major Pentecostal denominations sent delegates to the 1947 meeting in Zurich. Leonard Steiner acted first as organizing secretary and then as chairman of the conference, and delegates represented twenty-two different nationalities, although the meeting was filled with tension. Differences in purpose and polity prohibited the adoption of any rationale for unity as delegates disagreed over whether they were meeting for spiritual or for practical cooperation. The Scandinavian delegation particularly opposed any form of organization other than that of the local church. One lasting result was that delegates agreed to form an international center in Basel to help in efforts to rebuild Europe after the War. Steiner supervised the center, which was funded by American and European Pentecostals.

Delegates to the Zurich conference also agreed to begin a publication named *Pentecost*, and appointed Donald Gee as the editor. Gee was one of the best-known Pentecostal statesmen and the author of numerous books. The magazine’s purpose was to report Pentecostal missionary and revival activities. It was expected that Gee would not favor any particular Pentecostal group over another. Soon Gee became particularly known for his insightful editorials on the state of Pentecostalism. He edited the periodical until his death in 1966, at which time publication ceased. In 1971 the PWF introduced a new publication under the name *World Pentecost* with Percy S. Brewster as the editor. Other editors have been Eric C. Dando and Jakob Zopfi. The publication ended in 1998, in part because of the possibilities of publishing on the World Wide Web.

A second world conference was held in Paris in 1949. By then there was less tension among the delegations because they were assured that each denomination and independent congregation would remain autonomous. A major debate at the conference centered on what structure an international organization ought to have, but delegates did agree to several proposals. These included having a conference every three years in a different nation to strengthen fellowship, selecting a secretary and an advisory committee to serve between conferences, recognizing that the purpose of the conference was for spiritual fellowship rather than impinging on the autonomy of any denomination or local congregation, and encouraging fellowship and cooperative effort of Pentecostals throughout the world.

A Viable Fellowship

Elected officers of the PWF include a chairman, vice chairman, and secretary who along with four others constitute a Presidium. The Presidium plans each meeting’s location, speakers, and theme in consultation with an Advisory Committee that is representative of the Pentecostal movement.

Except for one occasion since 1949, the conference has met every three years in major cities around the world. These have been London (1952), Stockholm (1955), Toronto (1958), Jerusalem (1961), Helsinki (1964), Rio de Janeiro (1967), Dallas, Texas (1970), Seoul (1973), London (1976), Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada (1979), Nairobi (1982), Zurich (1985), Singapore (1989), Oslo (1992), Jerusalem (1995), Seoul (1998),

Los Angeles (2001), and Johannesburg (2004). Until 1958 the conference used the name World Pentecostal Conference. From 1961 to 2001 it went by the name Pentecostal World Conference. Then in 2001 the name was changed to Pentecostal World Fellowship to more accurately reflect the ongoing nature of the organization.

Denominations, local churches, or other organizations that wish to be members of PWF must agree to both a doctrinal statement and a statement of purposes. Following recommendation from a member of the advisory committee, the applicant must be approved by the entire committee. The Statement of Faith is:

We believe:

1. The Bible to be inspired, the only infallible, authoritative Word of God;
2. That there is one God, eternally existent in three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit;
3. In the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in His virgin birth, in His sinless life, in His miracles, in His vicarious atoning death through His shed blood, in His bodily resurrection, in His ascension to the right hand of the Father, and in His personal return in power and glory;
4. That for the salvation of lost and sinful man regeneration by the Holy Spirit through faith in Jesus Christ is absolutely essential;
5. In the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives the utterance according to Acts 2:4, and in the operation of the spiritual gifts and ministries;
6. In the ministry of the Holy Spirit by whose indwelling the Christian is enabled to live a godly life;
7. In the resurrection of both the saved and the lost; they that are saved to eternal life and they that are lost unto the resurrection of damnation;
8. In the church of Jesus Christ and in the unity of believers;
9. In the practical application of the Christian faith in everyday experience and the need to minister to people in every area of life, which includes not only the spiritual, but also, the social, political, and physical.

The purposes of the PWF are to:

1. Encourage missions partnerships among participating Pentecostal groups.
2. Speak to governments and nations on behalf of Pentecostal believers everywhere and especially in countries where persecution exists or where individual rights and freedoms are compromised for the sake of the gospel.
3. Share as a Pentecostal World Fellowship in humanitarian aid through its various Pentecostal members by sharing information of assistance given and where possible to cooperate in humanitarian efforts worldwide.
4. Serve as a cooperative fellowship whereby educational institutions approved by individual Pentecostal members of the Pentecostal World Fellowship would be recognized by other member groups.
5. Pursue the fulfillment of the Lord's command to evangelize the lost in the shortest possible time, providing them the opportunity to hear and respond to the gospel in all of its fullness, by encouraging and assisting one another, promoting harmonious relationships, and seeking the most effective means of its accomplishment under the dynamic leadership of the Holy Spirit.
6. Emphasize worldwide prayer networks and coordinated prayer.

Although the PWF is the most diverse Pentecostal organization in the world, it does not represent all Pentecostals. Some groups, such as Oneness Pentecostals, are excluded by the Statement of Faith. Further PWF leaders have tended to be North American or European, and since 1967 have been from either the AOG or the COG in the United States. This has brought stability to the PWF but may have limited its participation on the world stage as well as narrowed its agenda. Conference attendees are most often either from the host nation or those who can afford international travel. Consequently the PWF has tended to be conservative and to oppose participation in movements such as the Charismatic Renewal and ecumenical expressions of Christianity. Thus, although the PWF has moved many Pentecostal groups out of isolation from other Pentecostals, it has yet to find ways in which it can involve the diversity that exists within Pentecostalism, speak in a unified voice for Pentecostalism, or serve as a prophetic witness to the concerns of a global community.

See also Anti-Trinitarianism; Biblical Inerrancy; Ecumenism; Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches of North America

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DAVID G. ROEBUCK

PENTECOSTAL/CHARISMATIC CHURCHES OF NORTH AMERICA

The Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches of North America (PCCNA) is the successor organization to the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (PFNA). The Pentecostal Fellowship was founded in 1948 to promote fellowship and unity among Pentecostal movements. Because the organization was made up of denominations that were primarily white, the PFNA chose to disband in 1994 to allow for the formation of the interracial PCCNA.

Fellowship in the PFNA

PENTECOSTALISM is a Protestant movement considered to have begun in the UNITED STATES at the beginning of the twentieth century among adherents in the WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT and HIGHER LIFE MOVEMENT. Most historians point to Charles Fox Parham's Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, where Agnes Ozman spoke in tongues on January 1, 1901 and to the 1906 AZUSA STREET REVIVAL in Los Angeles led by William Joseph Seymour as the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement in the United States. As a result of the Pentecostal revival, some existing denominations such as the CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST (COGIC) adopted the Pentecostal message, and new denominations such as the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD emerged. Doctrinal differences led to isolationism among Pentecostals until World War II, however. After the organization of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS and the inaugural meeting of the PENTECOSTAL WORLD FELLOWSHIP, many Pentecostal denominations recognized a need to get together for fellowship and shared ministry.

On May 7, 1948, twenty-four representatives from eight denominations met in Chicago to discuss an association of Pentecostals. A second Chicago meeting chose the name PFNA and a committee to draft articles of fellowship. This committee consisted of J. Roswell Flower (Assemblies of God), H.L.Chesser (CHURCH OF GOD), E.J.Fulton (Open Bible Standard Churches), and Herman D.Mitzner (INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF THE FOURSQUARE GOSPEL).

Organization of the PFNA took place October 26–28, 1948 in Des Moines, Iowa. Delegates adopted the Statement of Faith of the National Association of Evangelicals with the addition of the following paragraph: "We believe that the full gospel includes holiness of heart and life, healing for the body and the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance." John C.Jernigan (Church of God) was elected chair and Flower was elected secretary.

Charter members included the AOG; the COG; the Pentecostal Holiness Church, International (PHCI); the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; and the Open Bible Standard Church. Other Pentecostal denominations quickly joined. The Trinitarian paragraph in the Statement of Faith excluded Oneness groups, and black Pentecostals were not invited to participate in the PFNA.

An Interracial Organization

Although the Azusa Street revival and some early Pentecostal movements were interracial, as Pentecostalism developed into denominations it divided along racial lines. Pentecostals succumbed to Jim Crow laws and other social pressures of the first half of the twentieth century.

Toward the end of the twentieth century the racial climate in the United States had changed dramatically. Segregation was no longer legal, and African Americans were increasingly involved in public life. Under the leadership of Bishop Bernard E.Underwood (PHCI), who was elected as chairperson in 1991, the PFNA began to discuss the inclusion of all races. The theme for its October 17–19, 1994 meeting in

Memphis, Tennessee was “Pentecostal Partners: A Reconciliation Strategy for 21st Century Ministry.” Memphis had been the site of a great deal of racial unrest, including the assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., and was the headquarters city of the largest black Pentecostal denomination, the COGIC. The meeting was cochaired by Bishop Ithiel Clemmons (COGIC) and Underwood. Day sessions included presentations by Pentecostal scholars on racial separation. Worship services were held each evening. After a dramatic washing of feet on October 18 (see FEET, WASHING OF) the PFNA held its final business meeting during which it dissolved itself.

On October 19 a constitution was adopted to form a new interracial organization. The governing board included an equal number of black and white members. At the suggestion of Billy Joe Daugherty, pastor of Victory Christian Center in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the term “Charismatic” was added to the name. The term charismatic is used to refer to those who testify of a Pentecostal “Spirit-baptism” but do not belong to a classical Pentecostal church. Additionally, delegates adopted a “Racial Reconciliation Manifesto,” which pledged to prophetically oppose racism and to seek opportunities for reconciliation. The new PCCNA selected Clemmons as its chairperson, and before the meeting ended, delegates were calling it the “Memphis Miracle.”

According to its constitution, the purposes of the PCCNA are:

1. To relate to one another as members of the one Body of Christ throughout the world.
2. To demonstrate the essential unity of Spiritfilled believers in answer to the prayer of Jesus in John 17:21 “That all may be one.”
3. To foster the evangelization of the world through the preaching of the Gospel with signs and wonders and the demonstration of the gifts of the Holy Spirit by presenting Jesus Christ as the only Savior, Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, Healer, and Coming King. (Mark 16:19–20)
4. To promote and encourage the Pentecostal/ Charismatic revival and renewal in North America and throughout the world.
5. To serve as a forum of spiritual unity, dialogue, and fellowship for all Pentecostal and Charismatic believers in North America that crosses all cultural and racial lines based on mutual equality, love, respect, and sound doctrine. (Acts 2:42)
6. To preserve mutual love and respect for each member group, maintaining “the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.” (Ephesians 4:1)

Membership in the PCCNA is open to denominations, fellowships, ministries, parachurch organizations, and local churches who subscribe to the Statement of Faith, principles, purposes, and objectives as set forth in the constitution. The PCCNA meets annually.

See also Anti-Trinitarianism

References and Further Reading

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DAVID G. ROEBUCK

PENTECOSTALISM

The Pentecostal Movement dates to the beginning of the twentieth century, and arose among Protestants who sought a baptism in the Holy Spirit. It takes its name from events described in the first two chapters of the New Testament book of Acts. St. Luke links spiritual power, evangelism, Spirit baptism, and SPEAKING IN TONGUES: "You shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you.... And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost and spoke in tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance."

Beginnings

Pentecostalism emerged out of the fascination for holiness that many late-nineteenth-century Protestants expressed. Among JOHN WESLEY'S followers were Holiness people who urged believers toward a second definite work of GRACE that had dual implications of purity and power. Premillennialists echoed the call for purity and power in their summons to holiness and EVANGELISM in preparation for Christ's imminent return. KESWICK MOVEMENT proponents urged consecration as a means to full SALVATION. Some advocates of divine healing anticipated a return of spiritual gifts to the end-times church. The era's many mission enthusiasts craved power to save the world. These interests and others united the faithful in nondenominational networks sustained by CAMP MEETINGS, popular speakers, and inexpensive publications. Sets of connections often overlapped. Among the Protestant churches there existed informal networks, as well as some intentional clusters that formally separated from denominations. This informal Protestant world nurtured the impulses that gave birth to American Pentecostalism.

Although speaking in tongues occurred in various nineteenth-century American religious groups from SHAKERS to SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS to Mormons (see MORMONISM), no one advanced the notion that speaking in tongues was the "uniform initial evidence" of the baptism with the Holy Spirit. The well-publicized tongues speaking in the 1830s in the Scottish Presbyterian Church in London's Regent Square brought notoriety, but also prompted theologian HORACE BUSHNELL to ruminate on

spiritual gifts. But even the considerable publicity at the time did not yield a conclusion about uniform evidence for Spirit baptism. Wesleyans sometimes used the phrase “baptism with the Holy Spirit” to refer to the second blessing or entire SANCTIFICATION. Such people, following the lead of holiness advocates like William Arthur (*Tongues of Fire*, 1858), assigned to the second blessing both purifying and empowering roles. By the end of the nineteenth century, Benjamin Irwin’s followers in the Fire-Baptized Movement identified a series of baptisms beyond the second blessing. Non-Wesleyan revivalistic Protestants like evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY and his colleague, REUBEN A. TORREY, understood the baptism with the Holy Spirit to be an empowerment for Christian service. In 1898, Torrey wrote an influential book, *The Baptism With the Holy Ghost*, that urged every would-be Christian worker to stop everything and pray earnestly for this baptism. He taught that believers should claim the experience by FAITH; its evidence would be manifested in all kinds of effective Christian service.

Some yearned for concrete assurance that they had been baptized with the Holy Spirit. Among these, Charles Parham, a young independent-minded Methodist preacher (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA), rose to prominence when he began teaching—based on Acts 2:4—that an authentic baptism with the Holy Spirit would be evidenced immediately by speaking in tongues. He believed that tongues would be known languages and that the restoration of the gift of tongues would facilitate an end-times missionary harvest.

Born in Iowa but reared in Kansas, Parham briefly attended the Methodist-sponsored Southwestern Kansas College in Winfield. He left in 1893 and, though barely twenty, sought a PREACHING appointment in the Methodist Church. For the next two years, Parham supplied pulpits in Eudora and Linwood. In 1895, impatient with “the narrowness of sectarian churchism,” Parham withdrew from Methodist supervision and became an itinerant evangelist. His understanding of Christianity was shaped by his conversations in the many country homes in which he boarded. He came to believe in the annihilation of the wicked. Shortly after his 1896 marriage to Sarah Thistlewaite, a Kansas Quaker (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), he became desperately ill and renounced medical help to pray for healing. When he regained strength, he began preaching healing in the ATONEMENT and praying for the sick.

In 1898, Parham established in Topeka the Bethel Healing Home, a city mission, and a magazine called the *Apostolic Faith*. Its early issues revealed his growing fascination for restorationist thought (see RESTORATIONISM). By 1900, he was teaching a baptism with the Holy Spirit, an experience that he understood to “seal the bride” for the prophesied marriage supper of the lamb. Only those so sealed could hope to escape “the power of the DEVIL before this age closes.” Parham thought this was the only essential baptism, so for a time he stopped practicing water BAPTISM. He had long been unsettled about water baptism, vascillating between triple and single immersion. He eventually made up his mind to offer only single immersion. He endorsed AngloIsraelism and gained local repute for his costumed lectures in support of a Jewish homeland (see PHILO-SEMITISM). A tour of ministries that shared his interest in God’s plan for the end times brought him to Shiloh (near Lewiston), Maine, a community led by Frank Sandford. Among its several institutions was The Holy Ghost and Us Bible School, a place where the curriculum “gave way to the Holy Ghost’s latest.” Impressed with the

flexibility and potential of this setting, Parham returned to Topeka and opened his own small Bible school in a rented property on the edge of the city (see BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES).

With the Bible as the only text and Parham as the sole teacher, the school muddled through a few months before Parham advanced the idea that the Bible evidence of Spirit baptism was tongues speech. During the first days of 1901, Parham and various students spoke in tongues. The school disintegrated, and Parham did not regain a following until 1903, when the dramatic healing of a woman in Galena gave him an audience. Over the next few years, he attracted growing crowds in southern Kansas, southwestern Missouri, eastern Oklahoma, and Texas. The Houston area seemed particularly promising, and Parham opened another Bible school there in 1905.

Among several African Americans in Parham's following was William J. Seymour. In January 1906, Seymour left Houston to pursue preaching opportunities in Los Angeles. He had not yet spoken in tongues, but he had embraced Parham's insistence that tongues always evidenced Spirit baptism. Two more African Americans traveled from Parham's Houston center to join Seymour. First in a mission, then in a house, then in an abandoned Methodist church on AZUSA STREET, the three proclaimed what Parham had taught was the Apostolic Faith. It was nothing new, they assured; rather, it was New Testament Christianity restored. Seymour spoke in tongues in April, as did others, black, white, and Latino, who "tarried" with him for Spirit baptism. People from the local networks that pursued holiness soon discovered these eager advocates of a baptism with the Holy Spirit marked by specific uniform evidence. Before long, Seymour found himself the central personality in a movement that promised to exceed Parham's efforts. Parham's views, developed and tested in the country's rural heartland, now took their place in the religious mix of one of the country's growing cities. The urban context brought new issues into focus—ETHNICITY, GENDER, class—and offered an impersonal backdrop. In Galena, Kansas, or Joplin, Missouri, speaking in tongues brought public notice. In Los Angeles, tongues speakers took their place among other practitioners of unusual religious practices. The urban context brought immigrants into the mix, which facilitated the spread of the movement even as it forced adherents to address racial issues.

Los Angeles and Beyond

Between 1906 and 1908, the curious and the earnest mingled at the Apostolic Faith mission at Azusa Street. The Los Angeles area was home to various groups intrigued by spiritual empowerment and practical holiness. Formal Holiness associations, the large congregation of Joseph Smale's revival-seeking New Testament Church, the supporters of the maverick Phineas Yoacum, and members of the World's Faith Missionary Association were a few of those attracted by the Apostolic Faith claims. Popular religious periodicals carried reports of the emotion-packed, ecstasy-filled meetings, and people from elsewhere arrived to see for themselves. By September 1906, when the mission began publishing a monthly paper, *The Apostolic Faith*, the movement, billed as "Pentecost," claimed widely scattered devotees. It was old-time revivalism with a difference: a combination of premillennialism, spiritual gifts, and yearning for holiness

framed the view that this restored Apostolic Faith was a sure sign of the imminent return of Christ.

By all accounts, the changing crowds at the Azusa Street mission did not come for the preaching. Rather, they arrived to decide about the movement's validity and perhaps to stay and seek the baptism with the Holy Spirit. Some tongues speakers thought themselves gifted with specific languages and promptly set off to do missionary evangelism, confident that God would supply their needs. People constantly came and went, and the convinced spread the message and modeled the behavior in the places they visited along the way. Convinced that the supernatural regularly invaded the natural, such people tended to see all of life through spiritual lenses. They understood themselves to be part of the cosmic struggle between good and evil. What they did, and, more importantly, what they were, mattered in the grand scheme of things. The vast majority of the convinced were working people without much financial security. The Apostolic Faith transformed their identity by making these ordinary people channels of powerful spiritual gifts that promised the global progress of God's kingdom.

Among the many who visited the Azusa Street Mission were a few who influenced the emergence of a revival of a Pentecostal Movement from the chaos. New networks built on already established connections. Some Azusa Street enthusiasts—whether they visited the REVIVALS or were convinced from afar—sent personal letters to far-flung Christian workers offering detailed descriptions of revival scenes and sharing the teaching that they heard. They also corresponded with family and friends. Others quickly targeted a larger audience and submitted their testimonies and accounts to the popular press, raising the possibility of new networking. In such ways, Azusa Street added yet another layer to the intertwined contacts that already characterized the conservative evangelical American religious landscape. Azusa Street attracted its share of people with restless pasts who had an experience and promptly traveled wherever opportunity offered to advocate the Apostolic Faith. But with the restless devout and the curious onlookers mingled some who represented existing or emerging networks and ministries. Their experiences reveal how the Pentecostal movement built on established associations.

One such person was Charles Harrison Mason, a gifted black preacher whose evangelism concentrated in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas. One of a group of black BAPTISTS whose interest in holiness forced them from the Arkansas Negro Baptist Convention, Mason was a founder of the CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST, the first of the sanctified churches in the African-American religious tradition. In March 1907, Mason and two associates visited Azusa Street and spoke in tongues. Their enthusiasm about the Apostolic Faith separated them from others in the Church of God in Christ who ultimately left the group and assumed another name. Mason remade the part of his old network that embraced Pentecostalism the nucleus of a new association that he built into a large Pentecostal denomination.

Gaston Barnabas Cashwell had a considerable following among white Holiness people in North Carolina. Reports in the popular religious press set him on a six-day rail journey to Los Angeles where he embraced the message and spoke in tongues. His enthusiasm for the Apostolic Faith proved contagious. In 1907, Cashwell won such small Southern holiness associations as the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, the Pentecostal Holiness Church, and the FREE WILL BAPTIST CHURCH to the new movement. From his first base in Dunn, North Carolina, Cashwell toured the South and won recruits to the

Movement. His visit to Cleveland, Tennessee brought the ambitious, impressionable founder of the small Church of God, Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson, into the Pentecostal Movement.

For two years, Azusa Street offered an inspirational environment. People newly committed to the Apostolic Faith needed a practical theology to establish boundaries for their movement and apply its teachings to their lives. The small Southern holiness associations that identified with the emerging movement had already established their identities and relationships to other communities of faith. They added to their existing doctrinal statements a crisis experience of baptism with the Holy Spirit evidenced by tongues. Charles Mason, too, had a framework to which to add his new views. Many others followed the advice of two gifted Chicago Pentecostal preachers, William Durham and William Piper, who dedicated their considerable energies to clarifying the implications of Pentecostalism for life and practice. They accomplished this by preaching, traveling to the network of conventions that sustained the far-flung movement, and, most importantly, by editing new publications that quickly gained national circulation.

William Durham, pastor of a congregation on Chicago's busy North Avenue, concerned himself with two primary tasks, both under a general determination to define the movement's core by drawing its boundaries. First, he built a case for tongues as initial evidence of Spirit baptism; second, he articulated an alternative to WESLEYAN HOLINESS teaching on sanctification. He used his paper, *The Pentecostal Testimony* (published "as the Lord provides") to make his case for these and other matters. His congregation stood on a busy thoroughfare in the heart of a neighborhood peopled by German, Swedish, and Norwegian immigrants. Italians and Persians also found Durham's mission, and these associations made Durham a participant in the planting of Pentecostalism in ITALY and BRAZIL, as well as in the evangelistic efforts of Chicago Persian settlers in their homeland.

On the city's South Side, William Piper edited *The Latter Rain Evangel* and preached at a church known as The Stone Church. More irenic than Durham, Piper cultivated for Pentecostalism the network he had served earlier as an overseer of John Alexander Dowie's Christian Catholic Apostolic Church. By 1907, Dowie's now disenchanting following were ripe for Pentecostal CONVERSION. Before his downfall, Dowie had told them to anticipate a restoration of apostolic ministries and spiritual gifts to the church, and some of Dowie's erstwhile followers concluded that Pentecostalism fulfilled Dowie's expectations. Piper published countless sermons, testimonies, and accounts of Pentecostal conventions and camp meetings. The sermons that he provided gave the movement's faithful a simple theological framework in which to understand their experiences. Piper's sermons also exposed unacceptable teaching and practice, and, like Durham's writings, made the case for boundary setting. People who could not attend conventions at these two Chicago "Pentecostal powerhouses" could share the riches by reading the texts. These Chicago papers circulated the same words to people who never met and began to establish a common set of expectations and beliefs among scattered independent Pentecostals.

Beliefs

In the Pentecostal Movement's formative years after 1906, adherents shared certain beliefs. At Azusa Street, people identified generally with orthodox Christianity. They regarded the movement not as a departure, but rather as a fulfillment or realization of prophecy in the last days. The *Apostolic Faith* insisted that no sectarian controversies marred the religious excitement. This was simply the restoration of experience that predated any division of the church: it was, therefore, for every Christian. The Los Angeles mission did not embrace Charles Parham's annihilationism or the fine print of his ESCHATOLOGY.

That said, certain reigning assumptions must be clarified. One became Pentecostal by experiencing the baptism with the Holy Spirit marked by speaking in tongues. People prayerfully "tarried" or "waited on God" for this experience for varying lengths of time. But repeated exhortations encouraging seekers to pursue purity as a prerequisite to power made it amply evident that the governing views were traditional revivalistic notions of human sinfulness and salvation by faith, and that the leaders subscribed to the Holiness Movement's understanding of sanctification. Azusa Street advocated two works of grace (justification and sanctification) followed by a crisis enduement with power (Spirit baptism). Before long, people began to quibble about the timing of tongues. Might one have an assurance of Spirit baptism but not speak in tongues until later, if at all? Was it right to single out one gift over others? Suppose that one manifested another spiritual gift but never spoke in tongues? Disagreements about tongues, although not immediately widespread, have been a persistent challenge to the Pentecostal Movement.

Azusa Street attendees heard much about divine healing. Early Pentecostals taught that physical healing was "in the atonement" and was to be appropriated in the same way that one accepted forgiveness of SIN. They opted for faith instead of medicine. Prayer cloths and anointing with oil were common as the believing community agonized in prayer for the sick. Christ's second coming also figured prominently in sermons, songs, testimonies, and interpretation of messages in tongues. The absolute certainty of imminent judgment permeated the community. The faithful rejoiced in their readiness for the RAPTURE and saw in their religious movement a "sign of the times."

Pentecostals often embraced the view that one could rely on God for temporal needs. They called this "living by faith," and accounts of miraculous provision in the nick of time stirred others on to relinquish earthly security and devote themselves to propagating their faith. Charles Parham taught that any true Pentecostal minister must embrace faith living. The gainfully employed enabled this practice by generous giving.

The grand task of world evangelization animated their worldview and provided purpose and identity. Just as the Pentecostal Movement was the "latter rain" of biblical prophecy, so its devotees were God's endtimes ambassadors. Some believed that tongues speech enabled proclamation, but more understood the defining moment of Spirit baptism as an enduement with power for service. Their certainty of an imminent end, as well as their reading of the biblical text (especially Acts 1:8) convinced them to equate "service" with evangelism, both domestic and overseas. Pentecostals both exploited and created

opportunities to proclaim their message. Their new worldview allowed ample space for their entrepreneurial instincts.

Once the initial fervor that birthed the movement subsided, clarifications of doctrine and practice continued. Experience taught most Pentecostals that speaking in tongues did not replace the study of foreign languages. Unreserved commitment to faith living sometimes brought hardship, whereas untracked freewill offerings carried a potential for inequities and dishonesty. And Holiness teaching on sanctification failed to satisfy everyone. New revelations of doctrine threatened to separate the faithful decisively from orthodox Christianity. Some saw a need for boundaries and worked to provide them.

Among the revelations was one that proved particularly divisive. By 1913, influential Pentecostal preachers were proclaiming the Oneness of the Godhead (focusing this oneness in Christ) and the need for rebaptism “in the name of Jesus” rather than under a Trinitarian formula. The resulting controversy dragged on for several years and resulted in the emergence of a cluster of black and white “Jesus Only” non-Trinitarian associations (see ANTI-TRINITARIANISM).

The attack on Holiness teaching resulted in another rift. The energetic Chicago evangelist William Durham proclaimed “the finished work of Calvary” and denied the need for a second definite work of grace. In Durham’s view, sanctification was progressive rather than instantaneous. Like many early Pentecostals, Durham worked best when he felt most embattled, and he maximized the possibilities of the Holiness Movement as enemy. By World War I, Pentecostals had taken sides and divided into factions defined by Wesleyan and non-Wesleyan understandings of sanctification.

Race

Some scholars have made much of the interracial character of early Pentecostalism. The Azusa Street Mission, headed by the African American William Seymour, informally assisted by a group of women and men, some black, some white, seems to suggest an intrinsic racial and gender equality at the movement’s core. In one of his many books, Frank Bartleman, a Pentecostal enthusiast, gushed that “the color line had been washed away in the blood” at Azusa Street. Accounts testify to the mingling of the races and to some reservations about this.

Yet African Americans found it impossible to coexist with the Latinos who soon found the Azusa Street Mission, and blacks forced a separation. Charles Parham, the self-styled progenitor of Pentecostalism, found it impossible to endorse the racial mingling he saw at Azusa Street when he visited in the fall of 1906. When people left Azusa Street, evidence suggests that they did not manifest markedly different racial attitudes than they had before they went. White Pentecostals enjoyed hearing the black Charles Mason preach, and during World War I interracial audiences were not unknown. Because Mason’s Church of God in Christ was registered with the state, Mason may have permitted some white workers to be credentialed under its name, but no cooperation followed. In the 1920s, evidence suggests that the Church of God in Christ unsuccessfully attempted to create a “white branch.” By then, most emerging Pentecostal denominations, Oneness and Trinitarian, were divided by race.

Evangelist AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON seemed to be an exception. A Canadian with ties to the SALVATION ARMY, McPherson became the first Pentecostal evangelist of note in the larger world of American revivalism. Known as “Sister,” she made much of her identification with the ordinary people who flocked to her services. Her homespun sermons and easy mingling with people everywhere won her a national following, though she established her base in Los Angeles. Her travels around the country brought her into contact with many people on the margins. She evangelized as diligently among Southern cotton pickers as she did in front of the thousands who crammed tents and auditoriums to hear her. A black preacher immersed McPherson’s daughter; the gypsy population named her an honorary queen; and Mexicans in the Los Angeles area responded with gratitude to her attention to their needs. Yet she accepted money from the KU KLUX KLAN, as did other Pentecostal preachers in the 1920s.

The racial picture is at best foggy. It is safe to say that for the most part, Pentecostals mirrored the racial attitudes of their cohorts of similar race, class, and gender.

Reception

The Pentecostal Movement evoked several distinct responses, including ridicule, opposition, and indifference. The ridicule is most readily apparent in the press. Pentecostal behavior and claims offered ample entertainment for reporters hungry for stories. They published purported handwriting in tongues (“chicken scratch”) and vivid descriptions of bizarre emotional behavior. They belittled Pentecostal claims of miraculous ability in foreign languages and, along with serious reporting, occasionally featured moments that emphasized the movement’s contrasts to orderly WORSHIP. The first story to appear in Los Angeles papers told readers of “weird howlings” that “make the night hideous.” Indianapolis reporters, referencing tongues speech, nicknamed Pentecostals the “gliggybluks people.” Some reports were more serious. Readers of the Des Moines papers followed suggestions of child abuse occasioned by crowded surroundings and emotional ecstasy.

Opposition took several forms. Outright persecution—vandalism, arson—expressed the anger of some. At times, Pentecostals seemed to invite such response. Vehemently anti-Catholic and intent on denouncing sin (strictly construed), they made many enemies. They did not often mince their words: enemies were necessary to their self-understanding. If none appeared, then they talked of spiritual warfare. They charged their universe and their personal activities with spiritual significance. Some chose to leave the “dead” or “carnal” churches that resisted Pentecostal views. Others were asked to leave when their new enthusiasms clashed with church expectations.

Some opposition assumed thoughtful forms. Although their attacks on Pentecostals were virulent, the evangelicals closest in background to Pentecostals offered written reasons for their objections. Sometimes theological, sometimes sociological, these reasons revealed much about both Pentecostals and their evangelical opponents. For Holiness people, Pentecostalism precipitated family strife. From non-Wesleyans interested in the baptism with the Holy Spirit, Pentecostalism elicited a flood of texts expanding on the cessation of spiritual gifts, the vagaries of a handful of Pentecostal leaders (Charles Parham was arrested on an accusation of sodomy in San Antonio in

1907), and the excesses of their behavior. A few psychologists attempted explanations of tongues speech.

Most people proved indifferent. In 1906 *The Apostolic Faith* envisioned a great restoration to which the Christians would flock. It presented the Pentecostal Movement not as a denomination, but rather as an eschatological sign. By 1908, it was evident that the religious, cultural, and intellectual elites had not noticed. The Pentecostal Movement would not immediately focus on unity across Protestantism; in fact, its initial enthusiasm about unity foundered on internal divisions.

Meanwhile, around the world, some established Western missions also found it advisable to respond directly to Pentecostals. China Missionaries of the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE, a faith mission, complained that Pentecostals disrupted missionary work by targeting missionaries rather than working among the Chinese. In INDIA, the Women's Christian Missionary Union, citing the mission's commitment to avoid divisive teaching, forbade their missionaries from participating in tarrying meetings. A Congregationalist missionary in Hong Kong and a Swedish Baptist missionary in Brazil declared that Pentecostals had abused hospitality and taken over congregations of hard-won converts.

Organization

The first Pentecostal denominations had been formed as small regional associations before the Pentecostal Movement emerged. Mostly Southern, they included the Pentecostal Holiness Church, the Church of God (Cleveland), the Church of God in Christ, and the Free Will Baptist Church. Charles Parham's loosely organized Apostolic Faith Movement also began before the Pentecostal Movement emerged in 1901 among its small following. Its hub followed Parham, settling finally with the Parham family in Baxter Springs, Kansas. Another Apostolic Faith Movement under the leadership of Florence Crawford, a Holiness advocate and early worker at Azusa Street, established its headquarters in Portland, Oregon.

The principal Oneness groups are the United Pentecostal Church and the PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE WORLD. A large contingent of the African-American congregations known as "Apostolic" subscribes to Oneness theology.

Among non-Wesleyan American Pentecostals, the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, organized in 1914, with headquarters in Springfield, Missouri, claims the largest membership. The INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF THE FOURSQUARE GOSPEL, with headquarters in Los Angeles, incorporated in 1927 to organize McPherson's following. The Pentecostal Church of God, located in Joplin, Missouri, also identifies with this wing of the Movement.

Many early Pentecostals resisted any organization beyond the local church, claiming that the Movement would soon devolve into "dead denominations." Opting instead for the "freedom of the Spirit," they gathered in independent churches or loose associations held together by entrepreneurs, publications, camp meetings, itinerant preachers, faith homes, and Bible schools. This independent sector has played a significant—although often ignored—role in the larger Movement. Its vigor became especially apparent after World War II with the emergence of the charismatic renewal. Prominent Pentecostals like

ORAL ROBERTS, Gordon Lindsay, T.L. and Daisy Osborne, and A.A. Allen became the leading edge of a throng of media and platform personalities who thrived outside Pentecostal denominations and played a role in shaping the Charismatic Movement.

After World War II, Trinitarian white American Pentecostals began meeting annually in the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America. In the 1990s, the group reorganized and, for the first time, embraced African-American Trinitarian Pentecostals, especially the Church of God in Christ, as well as some charismatics. The resulting association took the name PENTECOSTAL/CHARISMATIC CHURCHES OF NORTH AMERICA. Representatives of some Trinitarian Pentecostal groups worldwide gather every three years in the Pentecostal World Conference (see PENTECOSTAL WORLD FELLOWSHIP). Both the U.S. and the world fellowships convene representatives of a small fraction of the total constituency.

Education

The Pentecostal Movement supported ministerial training schools almost from its inception. The understanding of Spirit baptism that defined the Movement emerged in a Bible school setting. The early Movement sponsored numerous similar schools offering no diplomas and featuring a few—sometimes only one—teacher. A few of the early Movement’s most outspoken voices rejected even these informal schools as inappropriate for ministerial training. Instead, they advocated training for pulpit ministry by apprenticing to a preacher and serving in a congregation. Advocates of schools gained ascendancy, however. The larger Pentecostal denominations supported Bible institutes that eventually became accredited Bible Colleges. Others remained unaccredited and offered shorter courses. The largest Pentecostal-sponsored liberal arts colleges are Lee University in Cleveland, Tennessee and Evangel University in Springfield, Missouri.

Both the Assemblies of God and the Church of God sponsor accredited SEMINARIES, and the Church of God in Christ is a partner in the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta.

The Charismatic Movement

In post-World War II America, several factors contributed to the emergence of wide interest in the Holy Spirit. Ambitious Pentecostal evangelists used modern media to reach new audiences. In the early 1950s, more than 1,000 evangelists registered with the Dallas-based Voice of Healing, a cooperative clearing house headed by Gordon and Freda Lindsay. Across America, these people preached divine healing wherever they could find an audience. They announced “signs and wonders evangelism,” believing that miracles confirmed the immediate availability of answers to personal prayer. They spoke in tongues, but also gave prominent places to other New Testament gifts like words of wisdom, healing, and prophecy. Moreover, they charged Pentecostal denominations with choosing bureaucracy and programs instead of the power of Pentecost. The FULL GOSPEL BUSINESSMEN’S FELLOWSHIP INTERNATIONAL had the support of evangelist Oral Roberts. Over the next decades, this Fellowship sponsored large meal

events that featured testimonies and spiritual gifts in nonthreatening environments. People reluctant to attend a Pentecostal church learned about spiritual gifts at such events. The women's counterpart came to be known as Women Aglow.

During the 1950s, leaders of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST, USA (NCCCUSA) noticed an exploding interest in Protestantism beyond the mainstream in LATIN AMERICA. JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, Seventh-day Adventists, Mormons, and Pentecostals thrived in places where mainstream Protestant efforts languished. In a June 9, 1958, article in *Life Magazine*, Union Theological Seminary President HENRY PITNEY VAN DUSEN posed the question, "Is There A Third Force in Christendom?" Recent events had brought United States Pentecostals to the attention of Van Dusen and his cohorts. For the most part, Pentecostals existed beyond the purview of urban Protestant elites. Early in the 1950s, a white South African Pentecostal, DAVID DU PLESSIS, arrived unannounced at the Manhattan offices of the NCCCUSA to share his Pentecostal testimony. The resulting interest transformed the unassuming Du Plessis into a leader among a growing interdenominational constituency interested in the baptism with the Holy Spirit. Du Plessis soon ran afoul of his friends in the Pentecostal Movement, because he did not insist that people abandon mainline denominations before praying for the baptism with the Holy Spirit. Whereas the Pentecostal Movement understood Spirit baptism in the context of verbally inspired scripture as part of a sequence that began with an evangelical new birth, Du Plessis assured members of historic faith traditions that the Holy Spirit stood ready to energize their spiritual lives where they were.

In 1960, both *Time* and *Newsweek* carried the story of a tongues-speaking Episcopal priest at St. Mark's Church in Van Nuys, California. National publicity surfaced of other members of mainline Protestant congregations who practiced spiritual gifts. In the 1960s, large numbers of Catholics began speaking in tongues, and huge summer rallies at Notre Dame Stadium gave visibility to a growing national movement. These new tongues speakers tended not to be evangelical in theology, usually had more education and greater professional standing than adherents of the older Pentecostal Movement, and often testified that they found their commitments to their historic traditions deepened by their Spirit baptisms. Intrigued as well by other New Testament spiritual gifts, charismatics within and across traditions relished spontaneous worship interrupted by tongues, interpretations, prophecies, words of knowledge, and words of wisdom. They found simple, repetitive worship choruses useful in their corporate gatherings. In the turbulent 1960s, some so-called "Jesus People" found charismatic informality appealing.

Despite opposition from many Pentecostals, the Charismatic Movement attracted many adherents and began producing its own literature and music. Some denominations created offices to coordinate renewal activities. Over time, the renewal found its niche, and some participants, disappointed by the renewal's domestication, chose to leave their denominations. Those who left sometimes mingled with disaffected Pentecostals in independent settings associated with well-known personalities, schools, or publications. During the 1970s and 1980s, Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker's PTL network modeled forms of charismatic piety and drew tens of thousands to their hub in Charlotte, North Carolina. On the West Coast, Paul Crouch's TBN network catered to a similar audience. Presidential aspirant PAT ROBERTSON presided over an East Coast media outreach and directed Regent University in Virginia Beach.

The Charismatic Movement spawned a variety of teachings that claimed center stage until displaced. The “health and wealth” gospel or “name it and claim it” teaching guaranteed specific this-worldly benefits from God. The Vineyard Movement and its leading figure, one-time rock musician John Wimber, emphasized worship, and they exerted a strong influence on popular evangelical song. The Kansas City Prophets stressed prophetic ministry. In the late 1980s, the Toronto Airport Vineyard unexpectedly came into the limelight, featuring emotional behavior—laughter, tears, “slayings in the Spirit,” prophetic words—that came to be known as the Toronto Blessing. Thousands traveled from Europe and AUSTRALIA seeking personal renewal. In the 1990s, the focus shifted south to the Brownsville Assembly of God in Pensacola, Florida, where an emotion-packed revival displaced congregational life, incorporated behaviors associated with Toronto, drew an international audience, and spawned imitators. The progress of such parts of the charismatic movement can be glimpsed in the monthly magazine, *Charisma*.

Western Pentecostalism and World Christianity

Starting in 1906, Pentecostal movements emerged in many parts of the world. Mexicans joined the earliest throngs at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles. Small, interrelated Pentecostal groups in Northern Europe maintained loose ties to the United States but were also shaped by local concerns. In Britain, for example, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND’S identification with the government during World War I effectively transferred the organizing center of Pentecostalism from a Church of England parish into the hands of nonconformist conscientious objectors, many of whom spent the war years in confinement (see NONCONFORMITY). The Scandinavian Pentecostal movement worked outward from the tiny Methodist presence in Oslo and a small group of pietistic Swedish Baptists in Stockholm. A Pentecostal movement emerged in Italy after Italian immigrants who had embraced the movement in Chicago began traveling the globe to share their testimonies in extended family networks. Nowhere in Europe did Pentecostalism seriously challenge the religious establishment.

The growth of Pentecostalism outside the West has been far more dramatic than in the United States and Europe. News of the movement’s first stirrings in Los Angeles quickly traveled through missionary networks and reached places like KOREA and India, where revivals in progress helped shape small, receptive constituencies. The Western movement’s earliest ambassadors targeted missionaries and won a handful of influential converts, Western and native, among established Christian groups in CHINA and parts of AFRICA.

For decades in most places, Western Pentecostal denominations experienced at best modest growth abroad. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, indigenous movements (especially in the Southern Hemisphere) that often featured healing, exorcisms, prophecy, and ecstasy saw explosive growth. A wide range of Christian movements in places like Korea, BRAZIL, China, and sub-Saharan Africa often embrace charismatic style, if not outright Western Pentecostal THEOLOGY. Millions of Latin Americans belong to Pentecostal churches, both missionary and indigenous. Millions more participate in either Catholic charismatic worship or in historic Protestant congregations that have embraced

Pentecostal-style worship. The Pentecostal Movement's emphasis on miracles, spiritual empowerment, healing, and exorcism give it wide appeal in places attentive to the supernatural. Traditionally MISSIONS oriented, the Western Pentecostal movement easily raises millions of dollars every year to fund evangelism. Pentecostal constituencies around the world share the missionary vision and scatter evangelistic endeavors around the globe, exploiting modern communications capabilities for anti-modern ends.

By any reading, from modest beginnings, the Pentecostal Movement has become a force in world Christianity. The Charismatic Movement also has international reach, and together these impulses have influenced the story of modern Christianity, at least as it is told from the West. Westerners—especially Pentecostals and Charismatics—readily label much of contemporary Christianity outside the West as “Pentecostal.” Especially in the Southern Hemisphere, its preoccupation with the Holy Spirit and the supernatural seems to Western minds to be phenomenologically (and therefore essentially) similar. Yet unnuanced use of the label “Pentecostal” for large segments of burgeoning indigenous Christianity may mask the particularities of indigenous movements that are grounded in much that is local while sharing the universals of Christian faith. African historians Ogbu Kalu and Inus Daneel are among those who propose that the rich historical and theological variety indigenous groups manifest suggests that these groups may use other identity markers besides those typically associated with Western Pentecostalism.

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EDITH BLUMHOFER

PERIODICALS, PROTESTANT

Periodicals that publish articles that have a direct impact on the thought and practice of Protestant denominations or Protestant adherents are manifold. Periodical literature provides a unique window into the life and thought of the many kinds of Protestant

endeavors, a window that allows readers to peer into the unfolding present and explore the literary past. Although Protestantism has used periodical literature across the past two centuries to advance its cause, the identification of a periodical as Protestant is presently not an easy matter. The denominational publishing houses, an obvious source for Protestant periodicals, have seen declining subscriptions, whereas nonaffiliated or nondenominational independent publishers continue to grow. Academic journals from affiliated SEMINARIES and institutions of higher learning, along with learned societies and international Protestant organizations, provide access to theoretical and practitioner-oriented Protestant periodical publications. In an age of ecumenical dialogue, inter-religious understanding, and scholarly exchange of ideas, one must examine the scope and content of a periodical, as well as identify the author and/or editor, rather than assume a periodical does or does not have an impact on the thought and practice of Protestant Christians.

Dual Role of Periodical Literature

Periodical literature provides readers with access to the contemporary discourse and current thinking of a corporate body. Periodical articles emerge from many contributors; thus over time a large number of voices add to the discourse particular to any periodical. When collected over many decades, past volumes of a periodical document the issues and trends encountered by the corporate body that produced the volumes and reveal the perspectives and terminology used to address those issues. In this sense the printed periodical, in all of its various formats and frequencies, is a powerful medium for expressing current matters and for discovering past tendencies. Thus periodicals have a dual role: charting the contemporary scene as it unfolds and preserving for future investigation the historical pathways articulated by many voices. Protestantism's core themes cast in the journalistic forms of its periodical publications, coupled with a multiplicity of contributing voices and religious expressions, make the periodical literature an important resource for contemporary insight and historical study.

Protestant periodical literature, issued with some frequency (for instance, weekly, bimonthly, monthly, quarterly, semiannually, or annually, hence the name periodical) takes such forms as newspapers, newsletters, popular magazines, and professional and scholarly journals. Periodicals vary widely depending on their stated purpose and mission; the process of soliciting, receiving, and evaluating submissions; and the editor's inclusion and assessment of those contributions. The articles that appear in a periodical may be the products of an editorial staff, solicited from experts, or refereed (selected by qualified experts or passed through a rigorous blind peer review process).

As a type of communication media, periodicals tend to commit to print ideas that often are not typically expressed in other scholarly print-based media like books and specialized dictionaries or encyclopedias. Because books and encyclopedias often take many months, sometimes years, to create, there is less spontaneity to the ideas expressed than in the periodical literature. This means that periodical literature provides significant access to the contemporary discourse on important issues or treatments of recurring topics, given that the amount of time between the writing of an article and its appearance in print is considerably shortened—and may be as quickly corrected or criticized.

Periodical literature may also be distinguished from the host of religious tracts and brochures, World Wide Web pages, and other popular writing that is quickly consumed and then vanishes. The printed periodical relies on a critical editorial process on which many periodicals depend to protect and maintain their reputations as official publications of a corporate body or as reliable sources of scholarly expression. A library's bound collection of periodicals or microfilm collections are an invaluable resource because they preserve and archive periodical discourse for generations to come.

Finding Protestant Periodicals

What exactly a Protestant periodical is and how one can be identified as such, are not easy questions to answer. There are innumerable periodicals that publish articles that exert a direct impact on the thought and practice of Protestant denominations or Protestant adherents, ranging from the obvious to the obscure. Identifying such articles requires some recognition of the stylistic and formal features of periodicals, as well as skill in knowing where and how to search for them.

An important resource for identifying periodicals is *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory* (New Providence, New Jersey: R.R.Bowker), published annually. This directory provides the most complete listing of periodicals currently being issued. In addition to an index of journal titles, many Protestant titles are listed under the general heading "Religions and Theology" and a large number of periodicals are listed under the heading "Religions and Theology—Protestant." While Ulrich's directory is indeed helpful, the list is neither fully accurate nor complete, and thus cannot be taken as definitive.

Library catalogs identify periodical titles that are held in library collections, and thus are an important resource for identifying current periodicals as well as those that have ceased publication. Despite the effort to use controlled subject heading access in library catalogs, searchers can find Protestant periodicals under the headings "Protestants—Periodicals," "Protestantism—Periodicals," and "Protestant Churches—Periodicals." Additional titles may be listed under the subject headings "Evangelicalism—Periodicals" and "Reformed Churches—Periodicals." One may also try searching under the more general subject heading "Christianity—Periodicals." The more specific headings like "Bible—Periodicals," "Preaching—Periodicals," or "Theology—Periodicals" are as apt to retrieve periodicals published by Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, or Jewish presses as well as Protestant ones, so additional scrutiny is needed.

Denominational Periodicals

Readers looking for "Protestant" periodical literature might start with known denominational publications. Newsletters, general interest magazines, missionary magazines, and devotional literature focus on grassroots issues confronting the DENOMINATION. These usually contain current news and human interest stories demonstrating how or where the denomination engages the larger world. Denominational magazines treat the practical expressions of religious life and church work often aimed at

specific church functions like MISSIONS and ministry. Often, historical anecdotes related to the denomination or church history are treated. Denominational publications may also serve as platforms to advance doctrinal concerns. These magazines provide insight into the popular culture, current thinking, and dominant issues facing a particular denomination, its leaders, and its constituents. Some examples of denominational periodicals include *The Lutheran* from the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, *The Mennonite* from the Mennonite Church USA (see MENNONITES), and THE SALVATION ARMY'S *War Cry*.

One way to identify denominational periodicals in a library catalog is to look for a subject heading under the name of a particular denomination, for example, "Lutheran Church—Periodicals" or "Baptists—Periodicals" (a librarian may be able to help identify the appropriate subject heading). A search using a denominational name in the author field (as corporate author) or as words entered in the title field of a library catalog may retrieve periodical titles as well. Periodical titles change over time and many titles cease publication. Changes in information sharing technologies, like the Internet, and declining subscriptions have reduced the number of general denominational magazines over the past decade (LeBlanc 1992:74; Case 2001:23).

Independent Protestant Periodicals

Although denominational periodicals have been losing strength over the past decade, the independently published general interest magazine continues to have a significant place among Protestant readers. Two wellknown and widely available Protestant periodicals, *The Christian Century* and *Christianity Today*, are produced by independent publishing corporations and between them represent a wide spectrum of Protestant issues, from traditionally liberal to traditionally conservative.

Published by the Christian Century Foundation, *The Christian Century* originated in 1884 as a denominational publication of the Christian Church (DISCIPLINES OF CHRIST) (Toulouse 2000:80). It received its present name in 1900, and became a nondenominational journal with a decidedly liberal Protestant stance under the editorship of CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON in 1908. Because of its longevity, *The Christian Century* has been the subject of a number of historical reflections and dissertations (Marty 1978:939).

Christianity Today, established in 1956 under the editorial command of CARL F.H.HENRY, began with and maintains a clearly articulated conservative evangelical perspective. That publishing venture has grown into the publishing conglomerate Christianity Today International, a nonaffiliated corporation that publishes nearly a dozen titles with decidedly conservative evangelical interests including *Christianity Today*, *Campus Life*, *Leadership*, *Books & Culture*, *Christian History*, *Christian Parenting Today*, *Christian Reader*, *Marriage Partnership*, *Men of Integrity*, *Today's Christian Woman*, *Your Church*.

Periodicals from Affiliated Historical Societies

Many Protestant denominations have organized commissions on history or host official historical agencies that specifically focus on the collection, preservation, and publication of related histories. Articles in historical journals cover a wide range of the denomination's past: explorations on the founding figures, lives of famous preachers, assessments of theological ideals, reassessments of social roles, reporting on regional or local churches, and oral histories. Some examples include *Anglican and Episcopal History*, published by the Historical Society of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH; *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, produced by the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, and the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary; *Methodist History*, published by the General Commission on Archives and History of the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH; and *The Journal of Presbyterian History*, published by the Presbyterian Historical Society (see PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.). Clearly these kinds of Protestant periodicals continuously advance the historical scholarship peculiar to Protestant people, places, ideas, and events.

Affiliated Schools of Theology and Seminary Periodicals

Journals published by theology schools and seminaries having denominational affiliations provide access to the ideological currents and intellectual history of Protestant academe. These periodicals tend to be forums for advancing the scholarly discourse particular to the school; thus readers should not presume that the content or the authors are Protestant. Where the journal is published by the faculties, these periodicals favor peer-reviewed scholarly articles or invited contributions from recognized experts in the theological disciplines. Some typical examples include *The As-bury Theological Journal*, *The Calvin Theological Journal*, *Harvard Theological Review*, *Lexington Theological Quarterly*, *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, and *Sewanee Theological Review*—journals whose titles reflect the names of their parent institutions.

Theology schools can be a rich source of Protestant thinking from an international perspective. Some examples of this are such periodicals as *Communio viatorum*, a theological journal published by the Protestant Theological Faculty of Charles University in the Prague, Czech Republic; *Theological Review of the Near East School of Theology*, published by the school of that name in Beirut, Lebanon; and *Taiwan Journal of Theology*, issued from Taiwan Theological College and Seminary in Taipei, Taiwan. These journals reflect regional interests and often exhibit extensive cooperation with academic colleagues from other religious traditions.

Theology schools and seminaries also sponsor a variety of special topics journals treating THEOLOGY and biblical studies. For instance, *Horizons In Biblical Theology* is a publication of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary; *Journal of Theology* is a joint publication of the Methodist Theological School and United Theological Seminary, both of which are in Ohio; and *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology* is published by Union Theological Seminary and the Presbyterian School of Christian Education.

These examples demonstrate the commitment to a critical study of theology and the BIBLE and the dissemination of that research to an educated ministry and interested laity.

Scholarly Societies and Professional Associations

Periodicals published by scholarly societies, professional associations, and religious orders serve an important function of advancing scholarship and provide an outlet for members to express their expertise. Biblical studies, church history, MISSIOLOGY, liturgics, pastoral ministry, theology, and other communities of practice organized around topics of particular concern for Protestant organizations are replete—although even these are not exclusively Protestant domains. Many scholarly organizations seek members with a variety of perspectives to enrich the scholarly treatment of topics and enhance inter-religious dialogue. Some examples include *Doxology: A Journal of Worship*, an annual journal of The Order of Saint Luke published for its members who are largely involved in Protestant WORSHIP; and *Missionalia*, the journal of the Southern African Missiological Society based in the University of South Africa, which represents a broad range of perspectives on mission work in AFRICA with a predominantly, although not exclusively, Protestant orientation. More clearly Protestant are journals from those societies whose purpose or mission statements specify the journal's scope. For instance, *The Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* allows for free expression of its contributors “within the broad parameters of historical evangelicalism,” and *The Journal of the Wesleyan Theological Society* expresses its social scope by stating that it is published by “a fellowship of Wesleyan-Holiness scholars.” Many periodicals issued by scholarly societies are circumscribed by a mission statement or statement of purpose; statements such as these are useful for determining the scope and content of a journal.

European Protestant Periodicals

A wide variety of periodical literature is published by European Protestant endeavors; these may be identified in library catalogs using the resources and techniques outlined above or searched using the journal article indexing services described below. Many European periodicals published in German, French, Dutch, Italian, or Spanish receive wide distribution in academic and theological libraries worldwide, making them accessible for a large readership.

Protestantism's global reach is expressed and experienced through the periodical literature emerging from various countries and languages. European Protestant periodicals tend to use Protestant-specific terminology like “evangelical” and “reformed” (or their cognates) in the titles or to identify the corporate body sponsoring the periodical. For instance, *Reformatio: Zeitschrift für Kultur Politik Religion* is published in Zurich and offers a European Protestant perspective on the intersections of CULTURE and religion. Another example, *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*, seeks to publish manuscripts that advance a dialog on ethical issues with a distinctly European as well as Protestant point of view.

The same rubrics as those outlined above apply for identifying European Protestant periodicals; that is, one can seek by denomination, historical societies, affiliated schools of theology and seminaries, and scholarly societies and professional organizations. Many European periodicals treat the writings, history, and thought of the sixteenth-century reformers. For example, a search using MARTIN LUTHER'S last name as a word in the title of a journal leads one to the journal *Luther: Zeitschrift der Luther-Gesellschaft*, a periodical published by the Luther Society in Hamburg, GERMANY. Research on the writings, history, and thought of Swiss reformer HULDRYCH ZWINGLI is published in the periodical *Zwingliana: Beiträge zur ge-schichte Zwinglis der Reformation und des Protestantismus in der Schweiz*, by the Institute of Swiss Reformation History at the University of Zurich.

One other option for finding European Protestant periodicals is to look under the terminology of national origin reflecting the period of established churches in Scandinavia, for example *Studia Theologica: Scandinavian journal of theology*. Other titles reflecting this history include DENMARK: *Dansk Teologisk tidsskrift*; the NETHERLANDS: *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift*; NORWAY: *Norsk teologisk tidsskrift*; and SWEDEN: *Svensk teologisk Kvartalskrift*.

Periodical Indexing and Abstracting Services

There are two primary article indexing services that are valuable resources for identifying subjects in religion and the periodicals that treat those subjects. For scholarly works, the *ATLA Religion Database*, produced by the American Theological Library Association, provides indexing and some online full-text access to scholarly and international periodicals, many of which, although not exclusively, emerge from Protestant sources. The *Christian Periodical Index*, produced by the Association of Christian Librarians, focuses more particularly on conservative evangelical periodicals, exclusively English language and overwhelmingly North American in origin. Abstracts of articles may be found in *Religious and Theological Abstracts*, a service which regularly surveys over 400 titles in religion.

Additional indexing and abstracting coverage for journals in theology can be found in *Theology in Context*, produced by the Institute of Missiology in Germany. This print-only resource offers indexing of selected periodicals in theology (not just Protestant) by global region (Africa, Asia, Oceania, and LATIN AMERICA) and provides some brief summaries of selected articles. These summaries are useful for identifying the interests of the individual contributors and for determining the perspectives of the journals that advance their work. *Index Theologicus* (formerly *Zeitschrifteninhaltsdienst Theologie* [ZID] now published by Mohr Siebeck) regularly indexes over 640 titles, predominantly those of European origin. The *Australasian Religion Index*, produced by Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association and Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, covers journals published in AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND.

In addition, some denominations produce annual volumes of periodicals specific to the denomination, for instance, the Southern Baptist Periodicals Index or the Latter Day Saints Periodicals Index; these may be useful for intradenominational research.

See also Higher Education

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DAVID E.SUITER

PERKINS, WILLIAM (1558–1602)

Puritan theologian. Perkins, the most influential Elizabethan theologian, was born in Marston Jabbett, Warwickshire in 1558. Educated in Christ's College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, he gained his M.A. in 1584. A fellow until 1595, he became lecturer at Great St. Andrews in 1584, notable both as a preacher and as a pastor. Perkins was formidably erudite, on the basis of wide reading of contemporary theologians, as well as of Fathers and Schoolmen, and helped by a retentive memory. He reflected carefully on method, hermeneutics, and communication, and sought to show how THEOLOGY aided living well. Uninterested in party or POLITY, he had a sharp eye for troubling issues.

Perkins's first book, *Antidicsonus* (1584), was on logic and was followed by a refutation of astrology and popular almanacs in 1585, given that he was concerned at the limitations of popular piety when measured against the BIBLE. In 1588, his *Foundation of the Christian Religion* sought to correct that piety more effectively than the official CATECHISM. In addition, he set out the foundations and signs of authentic piety in ways that strongly influenced the seventeenthcentury CONVERSION narrative and Puritan COVENANT theology. European Pietist theological writers also drew on his insights into practical divinity and his resolution of the problems of assurance, which were troubling in

many of the Reformed churches. The Dutch and German churches were especially influenced by his writings, which were sold in large numbers in translation.

As well as writing popular books with a large circulation, Perkins was an influential expositor of second-generation CALVINISM. In *Armilla aurea* (1590), translated as *Golden Chain*, he set out the connections between more learned writers and the concerns of ordinary Christians and working CLERGY. Cambridge and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND saw sharp debates in the 1590s over ELECTION and damnation because some, like Peter Baro (1534–1599), attempted to find alternatives to overly strict readings of the Augustinian heritage, to lessen anxieties about SALVATION. By contrast, Perkins saw the most consoling pastoral care growing from a theology of radical GRACE. In a major book *Concerning the manner and order of predestination* (1598), Perkins sought to demonstrate the essential rationality of the divine order. The work sparked a fierce debate in THE NETHERLANDS, where Arminius attempted to counter Perkins's approach, leading to the Synod of Dort and a split in the Reformed Church, the reverberations of which lasted into the nineteenth century.

Perkins was not interested in the debates on polity that divided the British churches, although he rejected separatist claims and was close to some in the classical movement. Content to leave such issues to individual conscience, he was more interested in building networks of the godly LAITY and informing their use of conscience to guide their daily life. *A discourse of conscience* (1596) and *On vocation* (1603) mapped some of the terrain. That discussion was enlarged by Perkins's discussion of cases of conscience. He adopted a very different method than that used by Roman Catholic casuists, and inspired a number of other English writers during the seventeenth century to work the subject more fully. Perkins aimed to foster discernment in living a responsible Christian freedom. *Christian Oekonomis* (1609) set out the foundations of Christian family life, creating another widely read genre.

Although very critical of contemporary Roman Catholicism, Perkins had a strong sense of catholicity. *A reformed Catholike* (1597) sought to show how English Christians should inwardly transform the Church of England. Expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the first Protestant patrology in English underscored his commitment to reconstructing the Catholic heritage and encouraging others to draw from the wisdom of the Fathers. His historical perspective was more narrowly focused than RICHARD HOOKER'S, but was nonetheless influential in keeping mainstream PURITANISM in touch with patristic theology, as well as with the Bible. His commentaries grew out of his preaching. He judiciously resolved contemporary disputes, but never obscured the scope of the whole book or let his audience forget that the message was to be lived. They show how theological reflection and life intersect, and were influential in shaping the directions of Puritan exegesis well into the seventeenth century, as well as helping to form the mainstream of Puritan spirituality.

Perkins's earnest and searching style of ministry provided a model for many entering parishes and lectureships. To assist them he wrote *The arte of prophesying*, translated from the Latin of 1592 in 1606. It was a deliberate departure from rhetorical patterns, designed to let the message of the Bible make its own impact, because the language was plain and simple, but based on the most careful preparation. Ramist categories clarified the logic of his method, leading readers to the order of the Divine mind. The pattern of DOCTRINE, reason, and use reappeared in the Westminster *Directory*, which influenced

Presbyterian WORSHIP until the nineteenth century. *Of the calling of the ministry* (1605) was the first practical handbook for ministers since the introduction of the REFORMATION into ENGLAND. Its counsel was influential, even after the Puritan movement fractured, helping to shape a Protestant mindset that powerfully influenced British religion and society.

Perkins had married in 1595 and left his wife Timothye with a modest inheritance with which to rear their four children, after he died of complications attributed to a kidney stone. His influence lived on in people such as WILLIAM AMES and others whose lives had been powerfully shaped by his personal influence and writing. He was one of the most important sources of Reformed theology in the English and Irish established churches, in New England Puritanism, and in the English Dissenting bodies (see DISSENT).

See also Salvation

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PETERS, THOMAS (c. 1738–1792)

African-American abolitionist. Peters was kidnapped into SLAVERY in 1760, marched to the African coast, and placed aboard a slave ship. A member of the Egba branch of the Yoruba, he was about twenty-two years old at the time. Taken to French Louisiana, he was sold to an English master, who probably gave him the name that he would carry for the remainder of his life. About 1770 he became the property of a Scottish immigrant in Wilmington, North Carolina. Here he learned and practiced the trade of a millwright, found a wife, and began a family. Peters escaped from slavery in 1776. He and other runaway slaves from the Cape Fear region of North Carolina were soon organized into a company of Black Pioneers who fought for the British side in the American Revolution.

When the war ended in 1783, Peters was one of nearly three thousand black loyalists evacuated from New York City and eventually settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In spite of British promises, they never obtained citizenship rights, tools, provisions, or tillable land. Peters soon emerged as their leader. In 1791, after petitioning colonial officials numerous times, he took their case to ENGLAND, where abolitionists helped him gain a hearing from the British government. He returned home with a promise that Britain would transport blacks to the new African colony of SIERRA LEONE if they wished, and provide better land for those who chose to remain. Peters recruited nearly 1,200 migrants. After reaching Sierra Leone in 1792 he continued to speak for his fellow settlers in the face of sickness, inadequate supplies, slow land distribution, and the paternalism of British officials. He and his fellow black Methodists in the colony called for a popularly elected government. Peters died some four months after arriving home in the continent of his birth.

See also Africa; Methodism, Global; Slavery, Abolition of

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ROY E.FINKENBINE

PETRI, LAURENTIUS (1499–1573)

Swedish Lutheran reformer. Laurentius Petri, like his older brother Olaus, was born in Orebro, SWEDEN, and educated in the local Carmelite Monastery. Eventually he matriculated at the University of Wittenberg, where he came under the strong influence of MARTIN LUTHER. Little is known of Laurentius's student career, but upon his return to Sweden in 1527 he was immediately appointed to the faculty of the University of Uppsala. Four years later the king, Gustav Vasa, declared the archbishopric to be vacant after a ten-year hiatus. A national assembly of CLERGY gathered in Stockholm and elected Laurentius by a margin of 150 to 20 to be the archbishop of Uppsala, making him the first evangelical archbishop in Sweden. The Erasmian reform-minded bishop of Vasteras, Petrus Magni, who himself had been ordained by Pope Clement VII in 1524, performed the ordination. Thus the historic episcopate was preserved in the Church of Sweden, unlike in DENMARK and NORWAY where a parish priest, JOHANNES BUGHENHAGEN of Wittenberg, ordained seven "superintendents" for the two churches.

During the 1530s, Laurentius, together with his brother, slowly introduced a conservative evangelical renewal in the face of Catholic opposition. After the death of his brother in 1552, Laurentius continued the slow ecclesiastical transformation of the Church of Sweden. During the reign of Erik XIV (1560–1568) Laurentius successfully opposed the royal pressure that sought to turn Sweden into a Calvinist nation. In 1571 Laurentius reached the pinnacle of his reforming career when his *Church Ordinance* was

adopted as the law of the land during the reign of John III (1568–1592). However, it was not until the Church Assembly of Uppsala in 1593 that the Church of Sweden officially adopted a Lutheran confessional subscription.

See also Lutheranism; Lutheranism, Scandinavia

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PETRI, OLAUS (1493–1552)

Swedish Lutheran reformer. Sometimes called the “Luther of Sweden,” Olaus Petri was born in Orebro, SWEDEN, the older brother of Laurentius Petri. He matriculated at the University of Wittenberg in 1516, where he heard Luther lecture on Galatians and Hebrews and witnessed the Indulgence Controversy with John Tetzel firsthand. In 1518 Olaus returned to Sweden as a zealous advocate of the new reform movement. There was no thought of a break with Rome as yet. The Leipzig Debate and the DIET OF WORMS were still off in the future.

Upon his return to Sweden, Petri preached and taught in Strengnas for five years. In 1523 Gustav Vasa was crowned king of Sweden in Strengnas after his successful revolt from DENMARK after the “Stockholm Bloodbath” of 1520. The new king became acquainted with the evangelical preacher, and the following year Olaus was appointed to the prestigious pulpit of Saint Nicholas in Stockholm, where he continued to preach and advocate a conservative, evangelical REFORMATION. In 1526, the year after his marriage, Olaus published a short CATECHISM and a Swedish translation of the New Testament wherein he outlined in a Preface his *sola scriptura* principle that undergirded his reforming work (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). In 1529 he published a Swedish Manual and two years later a Swedish Mass that enabled the CLERGY to conduct WORSHIP in an evangelical manner. Together with his brother Laurentius he introduced a slow ecclesiastical transformation into Sweden during the sixteenth century that culminated in the Church Assembly of Uppsala in 1593 declaring that Sweden and its royal house were to be Lutheran.

See also Lutheranism; Lutheranism, Scandinavia

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TRYGVE R.SKARSTEN

PHILANTHROPY

Philanthropy is the disposition to love humankind and the will to act accordingly. Jesus commanded that this love was superseded only by love for God. WILLIAM JAMES called CHARITY a shift of the “emotional center” that brings “tenderness for fellow-creatures.” Protestant reformers looked to Scripture as a guide to a person’s motive for charity. They saw that Jesus’s teachings went beyond law when he advised a rich young man to sell his possessions and give the proceeds to the poor. Protestant agencies to ease poverty had their roots in biblical, classical Greek-Roman, and later Jewish and Christian practice. After glancing at the etymology of “philanthropy,” we will look at historical biblical, classical, medieval, and Protestant charities.

Etymology of Philanthropy

The Hebrew word *chesed* describes God’s lovingkindness as being far beyond human comprehension. Hosea 6:6 says that God expects us to respond to his mercy by being merciful: “for I desire mercy, and not sacrifice.” In Greek, *philanthropia* marries two words: *philia* (love) and *anthropos* (mankind). In the New Testament (NT) *philanthropia* occurs twice, in Titus 3:4 and Acts 28:2. Paul says that when *philanthropia*, “the goodness and the love to men of God our Savior appeared, it was not by works wrought in righteousness, which we ourselves had done, but by his own mercy that he saved us.” He advises those who put their faith in God to “plan how to practice fine deeds” (Titus 3:4,8). Classical Greek used *philia* and *agape* interchangeably as a fondness for doing good. Christian usage ennobled *agape* to mean universal love for friend and foe alike. The Greek *charis*, from which we get charity, means grace, charm, and loveliness. It is kindness done with grace and received with gratitude. In classical Greece *charis* was an offering to three *Charites*—goddesses who conferred grace. The Latin word *benevolentia*, beneficence in English, means well wishing, and is synonymous with *philanthropia*.

In English, philanthropy means charity, almsgiving, and social concern. In 1567 philanthropy was first defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* as a “disposition or active effort to promote the active happiness and well-being of one’s fellow men.” In 1693 English poet John Dryden said that English adopted the Greek word because “we have not a proper word in English to express a sentiment of love for mankind.” In 1827

Edward Lytton mused that “while I felt aversion for the few whom I knew, I glowed with *philanthropy* for the crowd which I knew not.” The *OED* found in 1869 that “enlightened philanthropism of ENGLAND [had come to mean] the formation of charitable societies, district-visiting, distribution of tracts, and teaching in charity schools.” Philanthropy had become more institutionalized. The *OED*’s second meaning, “the love of God to man,” draws on scripture, the basis for sixteenth-century Protestant authority.

Judaic, Classical, Early Christian, and Islamic References to Philanthropy

Mediterranean culture valued gifts. Roman emperors gave *donatives* (gold) to the army and civil servants. *Sportulae* were special-occasion gifts to high officials; seldom were gifts given to commoners. Thus Greeks and Romans saw philanthropy as a civic duty that demonstrated one’s community standing. Patrons gave to clients, not to the poor, although stoics saw justice as piety and advocated fair treatment of the poor on whom a beneficent judge would have mercy. Cynics reveled in poverty; it brought virtue to the soul. The Roman bread dole aimed at maintaining peace in cities, not to aid the destitute as a philanthropic act.

At first Christians resisted gifts, even those presented to the church, because humans could not hope to replicate God’s gift of the Holy Spirit; however, cultural forces seized the church. Pope Boniface (619–625) sent Queen Aethelburh a silver mirror and a gold and ivory comb to gain Northumbrian king Eadwin’s CONVERSION. Gregory of Nazianzus exchanged books at Easter with Christian friends. Cyril of Alexandria sent gold “blessings” to the Emperor in Constantinople. Constantine sent gifts to his cathedral in Rome for popes from whom he had received gifts. In the late Roman period voluntary sharing was an ideal in Roman, Greek, Byzantine, Jewish, and Christian utopian communities. Christian views of philanthropy increasingly mirrored that of general Mediterranean culture as the church became the dominant voice in the civilization.

JUDAISM regarded almsgiving as an obligation that God rewarded. Jews made gifts to the poor in private. Priests set aside a chamber in the temple where donors secretly deposited gifts, and individuals could draw from this treasury without shame. Jews cared for the poor in an organized way (Deuteronomy 14:28–29), an obligation that continued into the Christian era, when Jewish leaders distributed alms from community food chests.

Early Christians adopted Judaism’s view of alms as an obligation. The New Testament urged provision for the poor, especially widows and orphans, but also prisoners, strangers, and the sick. The postapostolic church encouraged almsgiving, along with fasting and prayer, as acts of penance. Church Fathers cast wealth in positive terms when it enabled giving. After Constantine legalized the church, it organized leper colonies, hospitals, and orphanages. Bishops became civic patrons of the poor, and several church fathers declared that all excess wealth belonged to the poor. Almsgiving could remit small sins and benefit the souls of the departed. For early Islam, giving alms, *zakat* in Arabic, meant to be pure in heart. *Zakat* appears thirty-two times in the Qur’an as an obligation and a form of purification. The central mosque gathered and distributed alms, as in Judaic and Christian practice.

Medieval Philanthropy

Churches of the Middle Ages vested bishops and Monasteries (see MONASTICISM) with philanthropic responsibilities. Hospices offered food and shelter to the poor and hospitals cared for the sick before 400 CE, first in Byzantine churches and then in the Roman West. From the twelfth century, the increasingly wealthy and powerful Roman church, including even Franciscans, paid less attention to the condition of the poor and more to ecclesiastical and theological debates in cathedral schools, universities, and church councils. Preaching orders, such as Augustinians and Dominicans, fought heresy and paid little heed to the deprivation of rural peasants and the urban poor. Later, eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT thinkers charged that church-run hospitals were inefficient because they were more concerned with a patient's SALVATION than with their cure. As science matured, increasing concern for clinical observation did not eliminate the moral concern for a patient's well-being that was embedded in the hospital's early Christian history.

Protestant Reformers and Sixteenth-Century Philanthropy

First-generation Protestant reformers accepted charity precedents set by Old Testament prophets, Jesus, and Church Fathers, as well as ideas of contemporary renaissance humanists. Although their zeal focused on religious reform, concern for exploited peasants and the urban poor only sporadically matched their focus on THEOLOGY and church POLITY. MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN eloquently addressed Jesus's theme of two loves—for God and humanity (Matthew 22:37, Luke 10:27). When reformers appropriated Roman Catholic lands and buildings, they also assumed statefunded charities. In the REFORMATION'S wake the Statute of Charitable Uses (1601) passed into Anglo-Saxon law to provide government aid to the poor, aged, orphans, hospitals, universities, and schools. The new Protestant civic rulers acted through state churches. For Luther the theology of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS translated into a social system in which all vocations were equal and the surplus from economic activity belonged to the poor.

Society of Friends (Quakers), Seventeenth Century

After the Reformation there was no central Protestant ecclesiastical authority (no pope), and philanthropic activity lodged in reformed churches, foundations, and governments. Several reforming groups deserve attention. Among seventeenth-century Protestant reformers the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (Quakers) led the way in philanthropy. As advocates of WOMEN'S equality, they offered a voice and vote to every church member. They embraced PACIFISM and the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. In 1796 they opened the first asylum in England, and in 1813 ELIZABETH FRY began to reform the treatment of prisoners. She also opened homeless shelters (1820) and libraries for seamen. Into the twenty-first century Friends Service Committees remain as sources of innovative philanthropy.

Methodists, Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

In the mid-eighteenth century JOHN WESLEY'S Methodists (see METHODISM) formed a social creed that the U.S. Federal Council of Churches adopted in 1912. Wesley's charismatic leadership, his brother Charles's hymns, and an inclusive Arminian (see ARMINIANISM) theology of salvation formed a democratic workingclass society with a multileveled governance system that produced a mass reform movement. Along with Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM), and BAPTISTS, Methodists founded colleges, a focus of eighteenth-century philanthropic activity, including schools for freedmen after the American CIVIL WAR. While they saved souls, they also condemned habits that made life miserable, particularly drunkenness (see TEMPERANCE and Methodist FRANCIS ELIZABETH WILLARD). When ABOLITION OF SLAVERY divided Wesleyans, many left the Methodist Episcopal Church. Wesleyan Methodists opposed SLAVERY, PRIMITIVE METHODISTS battled for women's right to preach, and FREE METHODISTS fought for free pews. Although reformers lost the battle for women's pulpit equality in the nineteenth century, the conflict revived in the 1950s with success in nearly every Protestant sect. Church schism in Britain and America in the nineteenth century grew out of Methodists' passion for democracy and liberty.

Christian Socialism and the Social Gospel, Mid-Nineteenth Century

In the mid-1800s Protestantism spawned CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM and the SOCIAL GOSPEL. Reacting to midcentury ideas of Karl Marx, Chartists, Henry George and others, John Malcolm Ludlow, CHARLES KINGSLEY, and FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE in England, and WASHINGTON GLADDEN and WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH in America strove to create an economic/social order that enhanced character and aided the rural and urban poor. They sought to do what Jesus would have done in the nineteenth century. Liberal reformers saw progress as inevitable. A wide spectrum of Evangelicals and Modernists (see EVANGELICALISM, MODERNITY) modified Protestantism's singular focus on soulsalvation and embraced the idea that the environment of the poor must change as a precondition to and an outcome of their conversion. Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations (see YMCA, YWCA); Boy and Girl Scouts; the SALVATION ARMY; home and foreign MISSIONS; and the institutional churches sought to uplift the homeless, jobless, and sick, as well as drunkards, prostitutes, prisoners, and those who needed schooling. Generous gifts of rich and poor donors supported the work of Protestant institutions in spite of just criticism that their motives were paternalistic and imperialistic, and that they administered their charitable enterprises unscientifically. Yet, even when mixed with dross, their philanthropic motives often paid off in gold.

Foundations, Eighteenth to Twenty-First Centuries

From the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries rich industrialists organized foundations for charitable giving. Benjamin Franklin had set up a fund in 1790 to aid worthy young men, and in 1829 English philanthropist James Smithson created the Smithsonian Institution. After the U.S. Civil War John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, and others set up foundations to distribute assets from their huge untaxed fortunes efficiently. Many entrepreneurs were Protestants who responded to Jesus's command to love one's neighbor as oneself. By 2000 there were 53,000 U.S. foundations making well over \$16 billion in annual grants, mainly to 220,000 religious and secular nonprofit service providers. In all there were over 700,000 U.S. charities. A third of the foundations, worth more than \$1 million each, controlled 90 percent of foundation assets of over \$230 billion. For reasons not easy to identify, philanthropy has not been as pronounced in Europe as it is in North America. In the early twentieth century, most philanthropy in Germany came from Jewish donors.

Church and State

The U.S. government did not superintend the integrity of religious bodies that received grants because of First Amendment separation of state and church (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW), whereas the British government established controls. In 1969, however, Congress began to regulate foundations, both by taxing their invested income and by scrutinizing their benefactors' tax deductions. Congress was also concerned that foundation donations to politicians and political causes might affect public policy in a self-serving manner. Whereas the motives of donors ranged from humane to self-serving, foundations provided essential support to Protestant social agencies, churches, and colleges.

Community-based Philanthropy

Around 1900, nonsectarian community-based groups formed to raise money and distribute funds to local charities, including Protestant service agencies. These joint ventures operated as Associated Charities, Charity Organization Societies, Community Chests, the United Way, and community foundations. Other agencies formed to monitor the efficiency of charities. The American Institute of Philanthropy, National Charities Information Bureau, Better Business Bureau, and the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability set standards for fund-raising costs (not over 40 percent of a budget) versus money spent on programs (at least 60 percent). They called for audits by external accountants, a board of directors composed of persons not in the employ of the charity, and modest executive salaries and overhead.

Late Twentieth-Century Developments

An article in *The New York Times* (July 6, 2000) reported a Deutsche Bank survey in which 112 donors worth at least \$5 million each were interviewed. Responses indicated that donors were moving away from writing checks to traditional charities and toward giving to global charities that produced measurable results. New philanthropists preferred giving through their own charitable trusts to gain personal involvement. The report of the survey indicated that principal areas of concern were: (1) education; (2) “poverty, inequality, hunger, affordable housing and health care for the uninsured”; (3) arts and culture, listed by less than a third; and (4) “family stability and economic growth.”

In the 2000 U.S. presidential race, both major party candidates argued for giving more government aid to the poor through “faith-based” social agencies. Congress had written “charitable choice” into the 1996 Welfare Reform Act that required government agencies to consider equally grant applications from faith-based and non-faith-based social services for senior citizen care, child welfare, housing, and substance abuse prevention, for instance. Religious groups applauded the idea. Groups that favored church-state separation opposed it preferring nonsectarian welfare administered by the state. Sixteenth-century Protestant reformers, who followed a medieval model where governments aided social services and schools of state churches, would applaud faith-based philanthropy. However, church-state separation, fostered in the United States in the 1780s, has inhibited state support for church-run social programs when they propagate sectarian theologies. Church control over local philanthropy weakened during the depression of the 1930s, when church coffers quickly ran dry. Moreover, historians claimed that the Protestant era of U.S. history was ending in the mid-twentieth century, when the government or foundations increasingly funded Protestant social programs once financed by church members. Meanwhile Europe’s state churches declined in membership and in influence in the public square.

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PHILIP OF HESSE (1504–1567)

German ruler. Born November 13, 1504, Philip was the offspring of Wilhelm II (1468–1509), scion of the Hessian House of Brabant, and Anna (d. 1525), daughter of Magnus II of Mecklenberg. He became the major lay leader of Protestantism during the early period of the REFORMATION. Philip ruled from 1518 to 1567, except during his imprisonment by the emperor (1547–1552), when he ruled with the help of his son Wilhelm IV. Although the Hessian court became a center of Lutheran sympathies in the early 1520s, Philip personally converted to LUTHERANISM IN 1524, after a fortuitous meeting with PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. He then played the roles of main political protector of Protestantism and secular counterpart to MARTIN LUTHER.

Philip's foreign and internal religious policies reveal his importance as a Protestant. Until 1547, Philip's foreign policy discouraged the emperor and anti-Protestant princes from using force to restore Catholicism and thus secured the future of Protestantism. His domestic religious policy created a territorial church that was based on the theology of the Lutheran AUGSBURG CONFESSION but was singularly tolerant of dissenters and committed to dialogue. In the War of Schmalkald, Philip was taken prisoner (1547–1552). Upon his death on March 31, 1567, Philip left Hesse religiously united under a common church synodal structure and university but politically decentralized under his four legitimate sons: Wilhelm, Ludwig, Philip, and Georg.

Philip's Protestant Foreign Policy

Philip engaged in a Protestant foreign policy based on the likelihood that Catholic opponents would try to use force to end the Lutheran "problem." But not all Lutherans shared Philip's assumptions. Beginning in 1524, Philip worked to unite the Protestants in a powerful preventative alliance. Philip went to great lengths to convince the reluctant Saxons to join. In 1528, based on the dubious revelations of Roman Catholic preparations for war against the Protestants, he proposed a preventative war. He held the MARBURG COLLOQUY in 1529, hoping to remove the religious reservations of the Saxons. To overcome political reservations, Philip and his advisors developed a constitutional argument for resisting the emperor's authority.

Philip gained Saxon support only after the emperor threatened to attack the Protestants (1530). Mostly under Philip's leadership, the SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE protected Protestants from 1531 until the Schmalkaldic War (1547). During this period, Philip and MARTIN BUCER achieved the Württemberg (1534) and Wittenberg (1536) Concords. These theological agreements between the Upper German and Saxon theologians made the League more acceptable to the north Germans. In 1534, Philip unilaterally strengthened the Protestant position by ousting the Catholic Hapsburgs from

Württemberg, denying them a land that connected their territories, and spread Lutheranism to Württemberg. The Braunschweig War (1542), arranged by Philip, removed the main anti-Protestant state under Duke Heinrich from Lower Germany and spread Lutheranism to Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.

Philip's Protestant Domestic Policy

Following the DIET OF SPEYER (1526), Philip undertook to settle the religious and church-state issues in Hesse. He called an extraordinary synod to consider the issues at Homberg in Hesse (October 1526), involving representatives of the New and Old Doctrines. He employed Franz Lambert of Avignon (1487–1530) to draw up the articles for debate. The synod produced a constitution for the immediate reformation of Hesse following Luther's teaching (*Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae*), characterized by a territorial church with a synodal structure and a significant princely role. Historians have disputed whether its provisions were Lutheran, democratic, and unique (meaning alien to Hesse). The *Reformatio* is probably best understood as a mixture of Philip's belief that dialogue best resolves religious matters and his assumption that its details were Lutheran. Based on Luther's advice, the details of the *Reformatio* were implemented gradually.

Philip worked to bring concord between Protestants domestically. Rather than denying the ministry to Zwinglians, the Landgrave insisted that Lutherans and Zwinglians not reproach one another from their pulpits. He commanded them to teach the uneducated LAITY only the use value of the LORD'S SUPPER and not to discuss the nature of the Christ's presence therein. In Philip's view, the theologians (including HULDRYCH ZWINGLI) were only disputing semantics. All believed in a salutary presence of Christ in the sacrament. For Philip, the Augsburg Confession was the theological standard.

Philip's belief in dialogue and TOLERATION was also seen in his policy toward ANABAPTISM in Hesse. Whereas radical reformers faced execution elsewhere, Philip employed Bucer to conduct discussions with jailed dissidents aimed at CONVERSION. Some were expelled, but no one was executed for religious reasons. Likewise, Philip tried to tolerate Jews in his lands, and rejected demands for severe persecution of Jews by Bucer and other theologians. Unfortunately, he capitulated to pressure with acts in 1539 and 1543 that discriminated against Jews and placed intolerable limitations on the practice of their religion. However, Jews were not denied the ability to earn a living in Hesse.

Philip's Motivation

The most controversial point regarding Philip as a Protestant involves his motives. Some have dubbed him a "realpolitiker," implying that his foreign and domestic policy were motivated by a desire for greater political power. This is a convenient view when one confronts his notorious bigamy (1541), which embarrassed Luther and his Wittenberg colleagues who had advised him. He misled the theologians into believing he would keep the bigamy secret and personal. But if Philip was a realpolitiker, then why did he abandon Cleves to the emperor in 1541, surrender to imprisonment, and divide the

secular leadership of his territory in his last testament? Nor is it clear, as some historians have thought, that weakened by the bigamy and imprisonment, Philip lost interest in the Protestant cause thereafter. Less action was required in foreign affairs after the Augsburg Peace (1552), allowing Philip to concentrate on domestic affairs.

See also Anti-Semitism; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Dialogue, Inter-Confessional; Judaism

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WILLIAM J. WRIGHT

PHILIP, JOHN (1775–1851)

Scottish missionary. Born in Kirkaldy, Scotland, on April 14, 1775, Philip was a weaver who was converted during the Haldane revival in SCOTLAND. After training in ENGLAND he became the minister of Belmont Congregational Church in Aberdeen. A very powerful evangelical preacher, he was soon much in demand throughout the northeast of Scotland, where he influenced many students and other young people. A supporter of overseas mission, Philip became a director of the London Missionary Society (LMS). Philip died in Hankey, Cape Colony (SOUTH AFRICA) on August 27, 1851.

In 1819 the LMS sent him to the Cape Colony to investigate the problems that had arisen in the LMS missions there. When he decided what were the necessary reforms he remained to implement them as superintendent. For eighteen months in 1826–1828 he was in Britain and visited FRANCE and GERMANY, when he also wrote *Missionary Researches in South Africa*, published in 1828.

He was instrumental in bringing the Paris Evangelical Mission to work in southern AFRICA. He persuaded them to work with Moshweshwe and his following, the rising power among the Sotho people who created the kingdom of Lesotho. He also persuaded the Rhenish Missionary Society to begin their work in southern Africa.

Philip was one of the leading proponents of that brand of Protestant EVANGELICALISM that believed that the Gospel demanded not only personal CONVERSION but also seeking justice in this world for all of God's children. In 1828 he influenced the British government to enforce in the colony, where the population was one third white, one third free black, and one third slave, the legal equality of "all his Majesty's subjects," irrespective of color. As a result, when the slaves were freed in 1833 they gained this legal equality, as Philip intended.

See also Missionary Organizations; Missions

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ANDREW C.ROSS

PHILIPPINES

Part of the Malay Archipelago, the Philippine Islands are located northeast of Borneo and south of JAPAN between the China Sea and Pacific Ocean. The arrival of the explorer Ferdinand Magellan in 1521 began the period of Western "discovery" of the islands, and led to the Spanish claim and colonization. Because political control has decisively shaped the history of Christianity in the Philippines, this article divides the history and development of Protestantism in this country into the Spanish colonial period, the American colonial period, and the era of independence.

The Spanish Period (1565–1898)

Because of the Patronato Real (the Spanish king's patronage of the church) and the Catholic Church's status as part of the colonial administration, Protestant missionaries were not allowed into the Philippines under Spanish rule, which began in 1565. Hence, before the Philippine Revolution of 1896–1898, the only active Protestants in the archipelago were those from countries at war with Spain, such as the Dutch raiders of the early seventeenth century or the British who sacked Manila in 1762, or those who were surreptitiously distributing Spanish Bibles.

In the late nineteenth century, wealthy Filipino mestizos of Malay, Chinese, and/or Spanish descent began to encounter FREEMASONRY and then Protestantism when they traveled to Spain for their education. Through some of these returning Filipinos and the reading of a few smuggled Bibles, there emerged some Filipinos committed to Protestantism and even underground congregations before the arrival of the American military in 1898.

During the Revolution, Gregorio Aglipay, the Filipino military vicar general and Catholic priest who was later excommunicated, sought to form a Filipino National Catholic Church that would acknowledge papal authority but not Spanish rule. After Rome refused to recognize their nationalist aspirations, and later, after conversations with Protestant missionaries led nowhere, Isabelo de los Reyes, a prominent layman and labor leader, announced in 1902 the separation from Rome and the formation of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI, also referred to as the Philippine Independent Church, or PIC). Although not consulted on this move, Aglipay later agreed to it and became the church's Supreme Bishop in early 1903. Although their polity and liturgy resembled Catholicism, the official theology of the church became, for a while, Unitarian.

The American Period (1898–1946)

The transition from Spanish to UNITED STATES rule opened the doors to Protestant missionaries, Bible translators, and diverse Christian associations. The American missionaries, many of whom had encouraged the acquisition of the islands and who began arriving in 1899, were optimistic about the prospects of establishing a Christian nation in Asia. Freedom of religion became established by law, and the Catholic church lost all state support and faced severe financial crises and a shortage of priests. Many Catholics seemed to be only nominally attached to Rome, and the IFI was loosening the loyalties of others. Missionaries brought with them the gifts of Protestant civilization and the Gospel. Although more men than WOMEN were official missionaries, many women spread their faith informally as teachers, nurses, or supportive spouses.

Having learned from experiences in China and elsewhere of the disastrous effects of competing churches on MISSIONS, representatives of several major churches formulated a comity agreement in 1901 to divide mission fields among them. Manila was open to all churches, and other areas were assigned as follows: major portions of northern Luzon, the main island located in the north, to the Methodist Mission; southern portions of Luzon and parts of the centrally located Visayan islands to the Presbyterian Mission; sections of northern Luzon to the United Brethren; remaining parts of the Visayans to the Baptist Mission; and the large southern island of Mindanao, which contained Muslim areas that had defied Spanish rule for centuries, to the American Board Mission (see AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS) and the Congregational Mission. The members of this Evangelical Union, which included the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY and the YMCA, also agreed to share a common name, the Evangelical Church of the Philippines, followed by the name of the particular denomination in parenthesis. Although the DISCEPLES OF CHRIST did not agree to restrict themselves, they did concentrate in Manila and portions of northern Luzon. Similarly, the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE generally remained friendly with the Evangelical Union.

The Episcopal Church (see ANGLICANISM; EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNITED STATES) led by Bishop Charles Henry Brent, refrained from joining the comity agreement because they had no interest in evangelizing good Catholics. Consequently, Episcopal missionaries concentrated their efforts on the mountainous areas of northern Luzon that had never been converted to Catholicism and that remained animist, on

portions of Mindanao (some Muslim, some still animist), and on the ethnic Chinese community.

One of the major sources of conflict between the Catholic Church and Protestants was the school system. Although the American government sought to provide Catholic teachers for the public school system they established, the overwhelming majority of teachers from the United States were initially Protestants, and many of the Filipino teachers shared anticlerical sentiments. The erection of rival Protestant and Catholic dormitories for the large student population of Manila similarly signaled a struggle for the religion of the youth. Protestants established hospitals and colleges as well, hoping to provide medical care and education while also providing ways of reaching more Filipinos with the Gospel. Early Filipino converts to Protestantism, both women and men, served as important evangelists. The appeal of Protestantism varied greatly from one town or region to the next. Often members of the middle class converted, but itinerant workers or whole villages might also embrace the new faith.

Despite their initial confidence for the Christianization of this Catholic country, and despite a remarkable number of converts relative to other missions in Asia, missionaries soon learned that the vast majority of Filipinos were remaining Catholic. By 1918 only a little over one percent of the Christian population were worshipping in non-Catholic or non-IFI churches. This figure rose to about 3 to 4 percent of the total population and has remained there. Protestants, who never had an adequate number of missionaries, underestimated Filipino loyalty to folk Catholicism and its relationship to Filipino social identity. Perhaps most important, the missionaries did not recognize the extent to which aspirations for an independent Philippines inhibited Filipinos from accepting a faith associated with new colonial rulers.

Some Filipino Protestants resented the ways in which American missionaries and churches, believing that many years of tutelage would be needed, restricted Filipino leadership in their churches. (This had also been a complaint against the Catholic Church.) Schools such as Union Theological Seminary, founded jointly by Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.) and Methodists (see METHODISM; METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA) in 1907, did prepare Filipinos for ordination, but missionaries retained administrative control of the churches. Nicholas Zamora, the first ordained Filipino Methodist, led a split from the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH and formed the Iglesia Evangelica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas (IEMELIF) in 1909. Another split formed the Philippine Methodist Church in 1933, and other churches experienced similar divisions. There were also, however, church unions. In 1929 the United Brethren, Congregational (see CONGREGATIONALISM), and Presbyterian churches united as the United Evangelical Church. Similarly, six smaller indigenous and independent churches joined as the Iglesia Evangelica Unida de Cristo in 1932.

Because the IFI was able to combine elements of Catholic tradition with Filipino leadership and a nationalist message, and because they had taken possession of many impressive church buildings (sometimes violently), it was initially the most successful of the new churches, claiming perhaps as many as one and a half million adherents, or one quarter of the Catholic population. Although a Supreme Court decision in 1906 compelled them to return church properties to Rome, greatly weakening their stature, they remained a significant church. As of 1918 they could claim 13 percent of the total

population. A hastily ordained and poorly trained clergy, however, and internal disputes over ORTHODOXY prevented them from developing beyond two million members, even as the population would undergo a sixfold increase by the 1970s. Thus by 2000 they claimed about 4 percent of the nation.

Another important indigenous church is the Iglesia ni Kristo (INK, or Church of Christ in Filipino), founded by Felix Manalo in 1914. Attracted to Protestantism at a debate between a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister, he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1904. Subsequently, he studied under Presbyterians, and joined the Disciples of Christ and then the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS before deciding that he was the angel arising from the East as foretold in Revelation 7:2 and founding the INK. He led the church until his death in 1963, when his son Eraño Manalo assumed the leadership. Because of their strong organization, the general belief that their claim of voting as a block under their leaders' directions sometimes determined national and local elections, their reputation for taking care of their own, and the consistent design for their distinctive church buildings, they have over the decades established a strong presence in Philippine public life.

The main contributions of Protestantism to the country as a whole include the promotion of English and literacy as well as the establishment of schools such as Silliman University, Central Philippine University, and Philippine Christian University; the founding of clinics and hospitals such as St. Luke's; and the support for cooperatives and credit unions. In addition to encouraging women to enter various professions, Protestants also claim to have helped develop a professional ethic throughout the society as a whole and to have fostered the spread of democratic values in an oligarchic nation. Finally, the need to meet the Protestant challenge helped prompt the striking reform of the Catholic Church in the early decades of the twentieth century and helped invigorate Catholic schools, youth movements, and lay associations.

Two Protestant missionaries achieved international recognition: Bishop Brent for his efforts against the use of opium and narcotics in Asia and for his ecumenical leadership at the world conference on Faith and Order in Lausanne in 1927; and Frank Laubach, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who while learning a Philippine language developed an innovative method for teaching literacy to be used in over one hundred other countries.

The Era of Independence (1946-present)

During World War II the brief but devastating Japanese occupation of the country from late 1941 to 1944 promoted Filipino control of their churches. Missionaries from the Allied countries were imprisoned, and Filipinos assumed crucial leadership positions. The problem for many Filipino Protestant leaders has been how to assert their churches' equality with the foreign churches that founded them. They have sought to establish themselves as neither Catholic nor American.

After independence in 1946, the trend toward ecumenical cooperation between the more established churches increased (see ECUMENISM). In 1948 the Philippine Methodist Church, the United Evangelical Church, most of the remaining members of the Evangelical Church, and some congregations of the IEMELIF, the Unida de Cristo, and

the Disciples merged to form the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP), the largest of the churches with ties to American missionaries. Although the Baptists and other Methodists did not join the new church (these Methodists remain a part of the United Methodist Church), they did join the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP). The NCCP, formed in 1963, also includes the UCCP, the Philippine Episcopal Church, IEMELIF, and Unida de Cristo. It provides a vehicle for the minority Protestant community to assume greater public prominence on social and political issues.

Although the IFI had been officially Unitarian, the laity had remained essentially Trinitarian. After the war, a split between Unitarians and Trinitarians led to the eventual triumph of the latter, and their bishops were finally brought into the historic episcopate through reconsecration by Episcopalians in 1948. In 1961 they entered into full communion with the Philippine Episcopal Church, and they share St. Andrew's Theological Seminary in Quezon City. The IFI has also joined the NCCP.

After World War II "faith missions" and various evangelical churches began to appear in the Philippines, led in some cases by missionaries who had been expelled from China. Many of these are now part of the Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches (PCEC). In contrast to the ecumenical orientation of the churches of the NCCP, the more conservative churches of the PCEC are less interested in ecumenism and public issues and more oriented toward church planting and personal EVANGELISM. Similarly, whereas the PCEC churches exhibit greater acceptance of foreign missionaries and funds, which now come from other Asian countries such as KOREA, NCCP churches assert greater independence and have sought reduced financial and missionary support.

The last decades of the twentieth centuries have seen numerous significant developments for the Protestant churches. A great number of indigenous quasi-Christian churches and sects of varying sizes have arisen. The student movements of the 1960s helped promote important youth organizations such as INTERVARSITY CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP, Campus Crusade for Christ, and the Navigators. Whereas many Protestants cautiously welcomed the beginning of martial law in the early 1970s, by the end of the decade the UCCP and the United Methodists were calling for the end of military rule. Restrictions during Ferdinand Marcos's martial law years, which ended in 1986, limited the ability of the churches to protest, but some church leaders worked through informal Protestant channels to protect the lives and families of some of those wanted by the government. In the 1990s charismatic and Pentecostal groups (see PENTECOSTALISM), such as Jesus Is Lord and the Bread of Life Fellowship, have become prominent, even as some perceive a decline or perhaps only modest growth for the older, more established churches.

One sign of the vigor of some Protestants is that since the 1950s the Philippines has been sending missionaries abroad. Some go with financial support provided by churches from other countries, whereas others are able to spread the Gospel in other lands because they have been hired abroad. In fact, one social issue facing the churches is the great number of overseas contract workers and the difficulties they and their families face. Of ongoing concern to Filipino theologians and church leaders has been the problem of ministering and proclaiming in a country in which well over half the population lives in poverty. The removal of U.S. military bases, completed in 1992, and the liberation of the Philippines from ongoing economic exploitation, have been causes championed by some

politically active Protestants. Finally, Filipino laity and clergy have also been active in international theological education and conferences.

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DAVID KECK

PHILO-SEMITISM

Philo-Semitism might best be defined as support and admiration for Jews by non-Jews. Because of the persistence and virulence of its opposite, ANTISEMITISM (hostility to Jews by non-Jews), it has always been overshadowed as an element in Jewish-Gentile relations and, indeed, more often than not virtually ignored by scholars and others, although it has been a significant factor in the relationship of Christianity and JUDAISM. Protestant philo-Semitism, and other forms of Christian philo-Semitism, constitute one strand within the wider heading of philo-Semitism. Other nonreligious strands, stemming from political liberalism and radicalism, from gentile support for Zionism, and from a type of political conservatism that admired Jews as part of a historical elite, may also be distinguished. Nevertheless, Christian philo-Semitism has arguably been the most important single strand, with most of its impetus coming from Protestantism rather than from Catholicism or Eastern Orthodoxy.

Although medieval Christianity tolerated Jews and Judaism—indeed, Jews were the only tolerated non-Christian minority in Europe—and, to a certain extent protected them, Jews were chiefly tolerated as moneylenders and tax collectors among peoples to whom “usury” was forbidden and who frequently lacked the financial skills and expertise of the Jews. In contrast Jews were almost always pilloried and demonized as “Christ-killers,”

liable to certain damnation unless converted to Christianity, subject to frequent expulsions from many medieval European countries (most famously, perhaps, from England in 1290 and Spain in 1492), and often (although not invariably) forced to live in ghettos, found in various parts of Catholic Europe from the thirteenth century.

The Protestant REFORMATION had many positive effects for the Jews of predominantly Protestant states in Europe. By removing the ban on “usury” and other forms of capitalism, Protestant Europe quickly witnessed the emergence of highly successful native capitalists and businessmen, whose existence removed much of the close association in the popular mind between Jews and moneymaking. Indeed, one of the most famous of all sociological theories, the so-called Weber Thesis, propounded by the German theorist MAX WEBER (between 1904 and 1905), postulated a causal connection between Protestantism and capitalism. (Anti-Semites such as Werner Sombart have, indeed, criticized Weber for ignoring the connections between Judaism and capitalism.) Protestantism also removed much of the Roman Catholic imagery and ceremonials that were particularly inimical to Jews, especially the centrality of the Crucifixion and accounts of Christians allegedly murdered by Jews, such as St. Hugh of Lincoln, the supposed victim of a Jewish “ritual murder” at Lincoln, England, in 1255 (recounted in the “Prioress’s Tale” in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*). The religious wars that emerged after the early sixteenth century between Protestantism and Catholicism reoriented religious hostility away from the Jews. Indeed, much of the lurid anti-Catholicism that emerged in Protestant Europe bore many resemblances to anti-Semitism, but with the pope, the Jesuits, and the Catholic church as the progenitors of evil, not the Jews. There was also a growing relationship (but certainly not an invariable one) between Protestantism and a secular definition of civil society, which increasingly viewed religion as a private matter and all religions as equal before the law. This bore fruit most strikingly in the United States Constitution and BILL OF RIGHTS, which forbade the establishment of any religion by the government, and placed all religions, including Judaism, on an equal legal footing. One might also observe a growing strand in the thought of Protestants and of thinkers in Protestant countries to view history as consisting of a continuous evolution toward universal improvement, in which the Catholic church (in particular) was viewed as an obstacle to progress and the symbol of medieval obscurantism, especially in its supposed persecution of Jews (and Protestants) on religious grounds. By the mid-nineteenth century, the situation of Jews in largely Protestant countries, especially in the English-speaking world, was categorically better than in other parts of the European world or elsewhere.

There was, to be sure, another side to the coin. The sixteenth-century Protestant reformer MARTIN LUTHER may be taken as representative of Christian antiJudaism. After speaking favorably of the Jews in 1523, he was disappointed by their failure to be attracted to his reformed Christianity, and he turned against them with a virulence that inspired many subsequent anti-Semites. Much Protestant philo-Semitism was also “conversionist” in nature, that is, aimed at eventually converting Jews to Protestantism after befriending them and helping them to ameliorate their plight. Christian conversionists, even those who genuinely sympathized with the suffering of Jews, came to be feared by many Jews. Indeed, only when Christianity itself recognized Judaism as a divinely inspired religion, worthy of full respect and acknowledgment, rather than as the “old” Covenant made obsolete by the mission of Jesus, were Jews fully able to recognize

Christian philo-Semites as their genuine allies. Individual Protestants also exhibited as much in the way of anti-Semitism as anyone else, through such means as excluding Jews from elite universities and social clubs (as was common in the United States until 1945) or limiting their number by quota. Extremist Protestant groups such as the KU KLUX KLAN numbered Jews as one of their principal enemies, although in the English-speaking world seldom with the virulence found in continental Europe. Nevertheless, it is certainly true that Protestant-majority countries have exhibited less anti-Semitism than that of other societies, a fact recognized by Jews in their mass migrations after the mid-nineteenth century. (The “New Diaspora,” above all in the United States, where the majority of Jews live today, is overwhelmingly in the Protestant world, with a number of Catholic Latin American societies such as Argentina providing the chief exception.)

Much of the force behind Protestant philo-Semitism came from a sense of affinity between Protestants and the descendants of the ancient Hebrews, an affinity based in large measure in the intimate knowledge of the BIBLE common to many Protestants and the internalization of the history of the ancient Hebrews as a component of their own identity. This was also the case among Puritans and Calvinists, who often sought out Jews as living embodiments of the events in the Bible. In Germany a number of seventeenth-century religious outsiders, such as PAUL FELGENHAUER, wrote most positively about Jews. Jews were legally readmitted to England in 1656 by the Puritan leader OLIVER CROMWELL. Later, American Puritans continuously identified with the Jews, often viewing America as a new Israel. “The Puritans accepted Jewish history as their own, identified themselves in many respects with the Jewish people and gave their children Hebrew names,” Solomon Rappaport has noted. Some Puritans (such as Cromwell) believed that the Messiah would come when Jews were “scattered to every country,” and thus facilitated the entry of Jews into their countries. What has been termed the “Judaization” of Protestant England and America, through the internalization of the Old Testament, was (and still is) a feature of a major strand in conservative Protestantism.

Many of these elements came together in the response of significant numbers of Protestants to outbursts of anti-Semitic crises in the Jewish world in modern times. During an outburst of anti-Semitism in Germany in 1880, for example, Henry Ward Beecher, the famous American minister, suggested sending a protest to Bismarck, whereas Christian philo-Semites were notable in protesting on behalf of Jews during the czarist pogroms of the 1880s, the Dreyfus affair of the 1890s, the Beilis case in Russia (a famous “ritual murder” accusation in 1913), and other notorious instances of anti-Semitism. Contrary to widespread popular belief, the record of the Protestant churches in protesting against Nazi persecution of the Jews was often remarkably good. The much-maligned archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Gordon Lang, had a particularly worthy record, repeatedly denouncing Nazi persecution of the Jews from 1934. In November 1938, just after *Kristallnacht* (a violent night of destruction against synagogues and Jewish businesses in Germany), the Conference of the Clergy and Laity of the Anglican Church adopted a resolution (moved by Hensley Henson, the bishop of Durham) that “the Conference...desires to express the disgust and horror with which it has heard of the recent anti-Semite outrages in Germany.” In 1939 the General Assembly of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND passed a resolution “urging the Government to spare no effort to come to the rescue of refugees,” whereas one speaker, Rev. Dr. James Black,

stated that “I have seen this people actually stretched on a cross, and I have heard with my own ears tales of incredible injustice and persecution that almost make me despair of the human race” (cited in W.D.Rubinstein). During the Second World War, Protestant churches throughout the English-speaking world repeatedly went on record as supporting greater generosity toward Jewish refugees, although, obviously, the Nazi regime took no heed of any plea for mercy. In Germany the record of the Protestant churches was notably worse, with the exception of individual activists. In particular, the record of the racialist, pro-Nazi German Christian Movement has been highlighted as notably bad. There seems clearly to have been a dichotomy between the English-speaking world and continental Europe in this.

Although nearly all Protestant denominations in the English-speaking world produced notable examples of outspoken philo-Semitism, probably the most biblically oriented sects on the one hand, and the most liberal sects on the other, were most visible in their support for the Jews, especially the Unitarians and the Quakers. The record of the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS toward Jewish suffering has been especially impressive, a component of their wider humanitarianism. Until after the Second World War, the record of Protestantism was certainly much more positive to Jews than that of Roman Catholicism, even if the pre-1960 record of Catholicism was itself more positive and complex than is often appreciated.

A number of especially notable philo-Semites ought to be highlighted particularly. In the tradition of the seventeenth-century MILLENARIANS, who saw the Jews’ acceptance of Christianity as the necessary prelude to the Second Coming of Jesus, was Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh earl of Shaftesbury (1801–1885), the famous factory reformer. He was an Evangelical, and president of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews from 1848 until his death. Breaking out from this mold was another prominent Evangelical, the novelist Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (1790–1846). She edited several religious periodicals, most notably, from 1836 to 1846, the influential and widely circulating *Christian Lady’s Magazine*. She blazed a trail by advocating Judaism as an alternative path to salvation, denouncing conversionism, and calling for the removal of anti-Jewish references from Christian hymns and prayer books. An archfoe of Roman Catholicism, she campaigned vigorously on behalf of oppressed Jewries and was an early “gentile Zionist.”

Another who renounced his earlier conversionist efforts was the London-based Welsh Calvinistic Methodist minister John Mills (1812–1873), who was among the small group of Jews and gentiles who in 1852 founded the Association for Promoting Jewish Settlement in Palestine, and wrote *The British Jews* (1853, updated 1862), a groundbreaking analysis.

Outstanding among twentieth-century British philo-Semites were Sidney Dark (1874–1947), editor of the Anglican *Church Times*, and Rev. James Parkes (1896–1981), an Anglican clergyman who wrote several books championing the Jewish people.

A similar tradition has been apparent in the United States, featuring such individuals as the millenarian William Blackstone, initiator of two noteworthy proZionist memorials (1891 and 1916), and the mainstream Protestant clergyman John Haynes Holmes, an unswerving defender of Jews and Zionism.

In recent decades, the position of Protestantism and its denominations toward the Jews has undergone something of a transformation. On the one hand, there are certainly today

more interfaith bodies and efforts than before the Second World War, such as the Council of Christians and Jews. There is also certainly less in the way of conversionist efforts by Protestant denominations aimed at Jews. Although these still exist, there is a general post-Holocaust awareness among Christians that Jews ought to be left alone and that the Covenant made by God with the Jewish people continues to run parallel with that created by the mission of Jesus, and was not superseded by it. As well, since 1945 anti-Semitism of any kind has certainly diminished, and its manifestations are often illegal in many Western countries. On the other hand, however, the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the first Jewish state since biblical times, together with the inability of Israel and the Arabs to reach a resolution of their conflict that provides for an independent Palestinian state, has led to continuing difficulties between Jews and some Protestant denominations. In a historical reversal of the pre-1948 situation, by and large it has been “left-wing” and liberal-universalist denominations within Protestantism that have been most critical of Israeli policy (and hence mistrusted by most Jews), in part because Israel is seen by these elements as the oppressor of the Palestinians (in part because of a wider hostility to America and the West, of which Israel is seen as a staunch supporter). Resolutions passed by allegedly left-dominated bodies such as the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES have been consistently (and, in the eyes of many Jews, unfairly) hostile to Israel in the Middle East conflict. As well, links between Western Protestants and Arab Christian groups have also been seen as a source of hostility to Israel. On the other hand, many conservative and fundamentalist Protestant denominations and activists, such as those associated with the “Moral Majority” in the United States, have become strong supporters of Israel and, indeed, of right-wing Israeli governments. Jewish opinion has been divided on whether this support is helpful or not. In another historic reversal of traditional attitudes, since Vatican II the Roman Catholic church has discarded all vestiges of anti-Semitism from its doctrine, and has made great efforts to achieve reconciliation with the Jews. Many Jews believe that the Catholic church, especially under Pope John Paul II, is now friendlier to Jews than are the Protestants, a situation not readily imaginable two generations ago. What Yehuda Bauer has termed “the Jewish emergence from powerlessness” since the Second World War has also made dialogue and dealings between Jews and Christians one of equals, whereas in the past it was clear that Jews were often supplicants in avowedly Christian societies.

See also Bible; Calvinism; Confessing Church; Fundamentalism; Holocaust; Puritanism; Unitarian Universalist Association; German Christians; Conversion

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WILLIAM D.RUBINSTEIN

PIERSON, ARTHUR TAPPAN (1837–1911)

American missionary activist. A.T.Pierson was the leading American promoter of foreign MISSIONS in the late nineteenth century, and his reputation as a BIBLE expositor and preacher extended to both sides of the Atlantic. Editor of the leading missions journal of the era, *The Missionary Review of the World*, Pierson wrote more than fifty books and thousands of articles. He popularized the phrase "the evangelization of the world in this generation," the watchword of the student missions movement and a symbol of the activist, pre-World War I generation. An original editor of the SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE (1909), he was one of the significant figures in the movement of premillennial DISPENSATIONALISM.

Born in New York City in 1837, Pierson rose to prominence as a preacher, Bible teacher, and leader in urban ministry and ecumenical causes (see ECUMENISM) while serving leading Presbyterian churches in Detroit, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia. He became a premillennialist in 1878 in answer to questions about the relationship between biblical interpretation and the seemingly negative, antievangelical direction of urban America in the late 1800s. His books on missions, Bible study, EVANGELISM, and spirituality began appearing in the mid-1880s, the most famous of which were *The Crisis of Missions* and *Many Infallible Proofs*. In 1886, at a summer Bible conference for college YMCA leaders, he gave the speech on missions that motivated the "Mt. Hermon 100" to become missionaries, thereby beginning the Student Volunteer Movement. From the late 1880s onward, Pierson was a freelance author and lecturer at missions and spirituality conferences in North America and Great Britain, including succeeding CHARLES SPURGEON as preacher at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. He died in 1911 in Brooklyn, New York.

See also Millenarians and Millennialism

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PIETISM

A religious renewal movement centered in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century GERMANY, Pietism profoundly shaped modern Protestantism. In contrast to the sixteenth-century Protestant REFORMATION, Pietism stressed religious experience and active lay participation. It established new forms of biblical devotion and made serious efforts at organized missionary activity. Its distinctive characteristics include regeneration, CONVERSION, CONVENTICLES, and millennialism. Pietists remained, however, theologically heterogeneous. Originally Pietism referred to the movement associated with PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER and AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE within German LUTHERANISM. Since the nineteenth century, it has come to refer to a range of piety movements in European and North American Protestantism. There is no scholarly consensus on the meaning of the term. Some historians apply Pietism broadly to contemporaneous Protestant renewal movements across Europe including English PURITANISM and the Dutch *nadere reformatie* (further Reformation). Others understand Pietism more narrowly and concentrate on movements arising out of German Protestantism. This article focuses on the German context of Pietism with reference to cognate movements in other countries.

Origins

The origins of Pietism can be traced to several impulses within German Protestantism around 1600. Lutherans had succeeded in defining their doctrine authoritatively in the

Formula of Concord (1577) and established their CONFESSION firmly in many Germany territories, but during the last decades of the sixteenth century, many Lutherans perceived an increasing gulf between THEOLOGY and personal piety, in which the key Reformation doctrine of JUSTIFICATION no longer addressed their religious needs and experiences. For the Reformed the disjuncture between piety and DOCTRINE was less pronounced, but the lack of recognition by the Imperial authorities contributed to growing unease at the end of the century. The crisis of piety that emerged was one of a series of crises faced by German Protestants at the end of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These included crop failures, climatic changes, epidemics, and political instability alongside broader spiritual doubts about the Protestant project. The crisis of piety marked a break with earlier forms of Protestant practice, and signaled the introduction of a new wave of devotional literature that would shape Protestantism in the seventeenth century.

Typical of the new kind of piety were devotional writers such as Philipp Nicolai, whose *Joyous Mirror of Eternal Life* (1599) sought to comfort readers in the midst of epidemics in Germany by redirecting their attention away from pestilence and suffering to the joys of eternal SALVATION. The new piety was reflected in the rich hymnody of the period, which reached its apogee in the works of PAUL GERHARDT. Often seen in opposition to a sclerotic Protestant ORTHODOXY, the new piety is best understood as parallel and complementary to it. Even Johann Gerhard, the greatest Lutheran orthodox systematician of the era, wrote devotional works that fit the paradigm of the new literature.

The most prominent representative of the new piety and most important figure for later Pietism was JOHANN ARNDT (1555–1621). Arndt became one of the best-selling devotional writers of the seventeenth century, and his *True Christianity* (1605) remained a spiritual classic into the nineteenth century. *True Christianity* focused on the inner life of Protestants, who identified themselves as Christians, attended to the church's rituals, and yet appeared to deny Christianity with their immoral lives and lack of repentance. Through Arndt and devotional writers like him, mystical sources found a prominent place in Protestant devotional literature. In *True Christianity*, Arndt drew on Johann Tauler, Thomas a Kempis, Angela of Foligno, as well as the theosophist VALENTIN WEIGEL. Despite his indebtedness, Arndt carefully avoided contradicting Lutheran doctrine in his use of these sources.

Arndt's mystical inclinations and emphasis on the inner life of the Christian was not without controversy. After his death the Tübingen theologian Lucas Osiander the Younger challenged his orthodoxy. Although unease remained, overt attacks on Arndt remained isolated and his influence steadily grew. Within Lutheran orthodoxy an Arndtian school of theologians developed. The most popular devotional writers of the mid-seventeenth century, including Joachim Lütke mann, Heinrich Müller, and Christian Sriver, all revered Arndt and consciously reflected his emphases on the inner life and personal piety in their works.

The crisis of piety and criticism of contemporary Protestantism by Arndt and others also led to a series of proposals for church reform within seventeenth-century German Lutheranism. Across Germany a wide spectrum of theologians proposed more effective CHURCH DISCIPLINE, rigorous Sunday observance, and better clerical training. The reform proposals within Lutheran orthodoxy reached their pinnacle with Theophil

Großgebauer and his *Watchmen's Voice out of the Ravaged Zion* (1661). Großgebauer advocated greater inclusion of the LAITY, stricter church discipline, stronger emphasis on pastoral care and training, and a reconfiguration of WORSHIP services. Many orthodox CLERGY welcomed the diagnosis but viewed the proposed reforms suspiciously. In most cases rulers opposed the reforms, in large part because they challenged the AUTHORITY of the civil administrators in religious matters.

The development of the piety movement in Germany has distinct parallels to the Puritan movement in ENGLAND and the *nadere reformatie* (further Reformation) in the NETHERLANDS. All three represent an intensification of Christian life and emphasized themes of repentance, SANCTIFICATION, and the *imitatio*. Puritan devotional literature deeply influenced German Protestantism. However, historians disagree on the relationship between these movements. Scholars of Puritanism and *nadere reformatie* have generally emphasized their distinctiveness from German Pietism. Further elucidation of the mutual influences, similarities, and differences awaits additional research.

Emergence of Pietist Movements

The new piety represented by Arndt remained primarily a literary phenomenon. Pietism as a distinct movement emerged separately in Reformed and Lutheran areas during the 1660s and 1670s with a new emphasis on the gathering of the pious in conventicles. Rather than coming from above, reform would emanate from small circles of the pious to transform the larger church. This new emphasis is seen in Theodor Untereyck (1635–1693), Jean de Labadie (1610–1674), and Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705).

Theodor Untereyck began holding devotional gatherings in the Reformed city of Mühlheim/Ruhr at least as early as 1665. Through his studies in Utrecht and later Leiden, Untereyck was shaped by the *nadere reformatie's* emphasis on strict CALVINISM and personal religious renewal as well as the federal theology of JOHANNES COCCEJUS (1603–1669). Called to Bremen in 1670, he established conventicles, stricter church discipline, and intensive catechesis in the city. Under his leadership Bremen and the Lower Rhine, including Mühlheim, became the center of a modest Pietist movement within the Reformed German churches.

A more radical movement emerged in Reformed Protestantism under Labadie. A former Jesuit, Labadie left FRANCE for Reformed Geneva and later the Netherlands, where he came under the influence of Gisbert Voetius (1589–1676) and the *nadere reformatie*. He served as a Reformed minister in Middleburg but his growing emphasis on lay conventicles and CHILIASM led to charges of heterodoxy in 1668. Labadie and his followers left for Amsterdam, where they formed a house church based on the early apostolic community. Among his followers was Anna Maria van Schurman. Forced from Amsterdam, the Labadists settled in Herborn, Germany in 1670, where they experienced a powerful revival. Expelled from Herborn, they moved to Altona in 1672. After Labadie's death they eventually returned to the Netherlands. Labadie's radical views on conventicles, chiliasm, and separation from the established church prefigured many of the controversies in later Pietism. His followers corresponded with a number of German Pietists, although the extent of his influence remains debated.

Often considered the founder of Pietism, Spener was the most important figure for the movement in this period. As leader of conventicles in Frankfurt/Main, author of the *Pia Desideria* (1675), correspondent, and public advocate of moderate Pietist causes, Spener became one of the best known and most influential theologians in Germany since MARTIN LUTHER.

The movement in Frankfurt/Main began when two laymen in 1670 approached Spener, the senior pastor in the city, about meeting outside of regular worship for their mutual edification. A year earlier Spener had suggested devotional gatherings on Sunday afternoons, but the decisive initiative for the establishment of the conventicles or *collegia pietatis*, as they were known in Frankfurt, came from the laity. Spener led the small gatherings in his parsonage. After song and prayer the conventicles focused on readings from devotional works.

The gatherings grew in size and, alongside academics and prominent citizens, they came to include artisans and servants, WOMEN as well as men. Around 1674 the understanding of the Frankfurt *collegia pietatis* evolved a step further as Spener and others, possibly under the influence of Labadie, came to understand the conventicles as the apostolic form of the early gatherings described in I Corinthians 14. It was out of these experiences that Spener developed the distinctive notion of the *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, or little church within the church, in which the gathered pious would themselves become a catalyst for reform within the larger CHURCH. By 1675 the *collegia pietatis* regularly included over fifty participants drawn from a cross section of Frankfurt's inhabitants.

In the spring of 1675 Spener first published his famous *Pia Desideria* (*Pious Wishes*) as a foreword to a collection of Johann Arndt's sermons. Within a few months the *Pia Desideria* were reprinted separately, and Spener's reform proposals became the chief programmatic document of the emerging Pietist movement. The *Pia Desideria* marked a departure from the earlier ideas of reform within Lutheran orthodoxy. Spener's criticisms of contemporary Christianity largely corresponded with earlier Arndtian piety literature and reform proposals, although—as Johannes Wallmann has argued—Spener's optimistic understanding of the in-breaking of better times, advocacy of *collegia pietatis* (conventicles), and emphasis on lay encounter with the entire BIBLE set his Pietist proposals apart from other reform programs within German Lutheranism.

The initial public reception of the *Pia Desideria* was strong, even among some who would later become opponents of the Pietist movement. Some theologians voiced reservations about Spener's predictions of the coming conversion of the Jews and especially about gatherings outside of regular worship, in which women and the unlearned took active roles. Spener defended the right of women to participate on the basis of their common priesthood in his *Spiritual Priesthood* (1677). The same year he also published an open letter (*Sendschreiben*) in which he explicitly defended the gatherings in Frankfurt.

In the 1670s the Frankfurt *collegia pietatis* inspired similar conventicles in a number of other urban areas, especially the Free Imperial cities. In the late 1670s several of Spener's allies published tracts supporting the widespread establishment of additional *collegia pietatis*. The conventicles, however, proved to be fleeting and susceptible to separatist tendencies. In Frankfurt itself earlier followers of Spener began their own gatherings, which acquired a more radical character than the approved *collegia pietatis*.

The members of these gatherings distanced themselves from the Lutheran Church and established connections to radical Protestants elsewhere in Europe including Labadie and WILLIAM PENN.

During most of the 1680s the Pietist movement engendered only occasional public controversy and grew modestly. Through his correspondence and publications Spener sought to create a network of clergy and laity willing to support the kinds of reforms he proposed. He was, however, discouraged with the progress in Frankfurt, and in 1686 accepted a position as the senior court preacher in Dresden. This marked the end of the Frankfurt phase of the Pietist movement. Most early conventicle movements had disbanded or were tightly restricted as they had become in Frankfurt. Spener and his *Pia Desideria* had called forth a new wave of reform literature, but gains were modest. In the following years a more clearly defined and consequently polarizing movement would erupt.

Conflict and Expansion of the Pietist Movement

The Pietist movement took on a new character in Germany in the late 1680s. Earlier, the lines between supporters and opponents of the new movement were fluid and difficult to draw. However, the dramatic events of the late 1680s and early 1690s forced individuals to identify with one party or another. For the first time the terms Pietist and Pietism were applied consistently to the new movement. The events also signaled the arrival of a new generation of leaders, who extended the scope and impact of Pietism, most notably August Hermann Francke.

As a young lecturer at the University of Leipzig, Francke initiated colloquia devoted to biblical study in 1686. Originally, the *collegium philobiblicum*, as it was known, differed from the Frankfurt gatherings in its strict academic focus and Latin language. Its direction gradually shifted under a number of pietistic influences. Spener visited Leipzig in 1687 and urged Francke and his associates to focus on the devotional aspects of biblical studies. That same year Francke also experienced a powerful religious conversion, an experience that would become the paradigmatic conversion for many Pietists and energize Francke to redouble his efforts to achieve religious reform.

During 1688 the attendance at *collegium philobiblicum* grew as Francke and others concentrated on issues of piety and devotion alongside exegetical concerns. Other colloquia developed as well, drawing lay people to the movement. The theology faculty, which had previously encouraged the *collegium philobiblicum*, became increasingly alarmed at the new developments and forbade Francke to hold further colloquia. The gatherings continued, and a religious fervor gripped many students and townspeople in Leipzig. The Electoral Saxon authorities ordered an investigation into the disturbances. In response Francke published his *Apology* (1689), justifying the events in Leipzig theologically. His ally CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS sent a legal opinion defending the Leipzig Pietists to the Electoral government. Their responses inflamed matters and further publicized the Pietist cause. Francke left the city in the fall of 1689. Thomasius and others were expelled in 1690 after the government prohibited all conventicles.

Pietist disturbances were not limited to Leipzig. In Hamburg the clergy and parishioners divided into Pietist and anti-Pietist parties and the conflict nearly toppled the

city council. In cities across middle and northern Germany from Erfurt to Lübeck, Pietist movements emerged often in close association with Francke. Ecstatic experiences and visions accompanied many of these. A series of prophetesses appeared in Pietist circles in Erfurt, Halberstadt, Quedlinburg, and Lübeck. The “extraordinary circumstances,” as they were known, deepened the divide between the Pietists and their opponents and spawned a furious exchange of tracts on all sides. The polemics between the Pietists and their Orthodox opponents reached a pitch in the 1690s unseen in Lutheranism since the days of the Reformation. At stake were issues of religious enthusiasm, chiliasm, and conventicles. Numerous supporters of the Pietist cause lost their positions, including Francke who had been appointed preacher in Erfurt in 1690.

Many urban and territorial governments suppressed the Pietist movement, but in the territories of elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg (later king Friedrich I of Prussia) Pietists found refuge and qualified support for their aims. Friedrich saw the emergence of the Pietists as a convenient means of achieving his goals of religious TOLERATION and weakening the entrenched local interests in his territories that were closely allied with Lutheran orthodoxy. After Thomasius was dismissed from Leipzig the electoral government installed him at the academy in HALLE. Through Spener’s intervention Friedrich offered Francke a professorship at Halle and a position as pastor just outside the city. Electoral patronage insulated Francke from the attacks of the anti-Pietist clergy. The electoral authorities appointed other leading Pietists to the theological faculty in Halle, making the city and its university—officially established in 1694—the intellectual center of ecclesial Pietism in Germany.

In Halle, Francke’s views moderated, and he distanced himself from more radical Pietist visionaries and prophets. His characteristic emphases on powerful experiences of repentance, GRACE, and conversion became hallmarks of Halle Pietism. In 1695 Francke founded the famous orphanage in Halle, which grew into the most important Pietist institution in Germany. By 1714 the Halle foundations had over 1,850 pupils in its various schools. Alongside the pedagogical endeavors, the foundations produced pharmaceuticals and developed a large-scale printing house, whose revenues would substantially support their work. Francke’s foundations were active in sending the first Protestant missionaries to INDIA and supported the first Protestant mission to the Jews (see JUDAISM).

In other areas of Brandenburg-Prussia, Pietists found widespread support from the government of Friedrich. In 1691 Spener became a leading church prelate in Berlin, where he developed close relationships with a number of government officials and was able to use his influence to secure church appointments for Pietist clergy across Hohenzollern territories. In Königsberg the theology faculty became increasingly pro-Pietist in the early 1700s. Pietist-trained students from Halle came to dominate the military chaplaincy, itself an important route to higher church office in Friedrich’s territories. The advances of Pietism in Brandenburg-Prussia frequently encountered opposition from Lutheran orthodoxy, but as many historians have noted, the growth of Pietism played a significant role in the rise of the Prussian state.

Outside of Brandenburg-Prussia, Pietist success was much more uneven at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Electoral Saxony became a bulwark against Pietism. The universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig were vehemently anti-Pietist, and the influential Dresden superintendent, Valentin Ernst Löscher (1673–

1749), became one of Pietism's ablest opponents. In other territories Pietists found varying degrees of acceptance. In Hessen-Darmstadt Pietists garnered strong support at court. In Württemberg, despite continued opposition from the theology faculty in Tübingen, support for moderate Pietism grew within the territorial church.

Bremen, under the influence of Untereyck and later Cornelius de Hase (1653–1710) and Friedrich Adolph Lampe (1683–1729), became the center of Reformed Pietism in Germany and influenced the Reformed territories of the lower Rhine and East Friesland. Pietism there developed in close association with the COVENANT theology of Coccejus, and generally Pietism did not lead to the same level of conflict as it did in Lutheran areas. Although wary of separatism and the influence of the Labadists, the Reformed synods in the Lower Rhine endorsed conventicles so long as the clergy exercised a level of oversight. In SWITZERLAND, however, the development of a Pietist reform movement in Bern directly influenced by Spener and Francke was suppressed in 1699.

Radical Pietism

Other Pietist currents ran outside of and often opposed to the established Lutheran and Reformed churches. These radical Pietists, as they have come to be known, emphasized many of the same things as other Pietists: the practice of piety, regeneration, hopes for better times, conventicle formation. However, their criticism of the established churches was far more intense and often resulted in the rejection of the existing church as Babel and their separation from established Protestantism. The advocacy of heterodox ideas such as the authority of the inner word, imminent 1,000-year reign of Christ, and UNIVERSALISM placed many radicals outside the limits of orthodoxy. Much more than ecclesial Pietists, radicals drew on mystical spiritualist sources, which included medieval mystics but also theosophists like Weigel and JAKOB BOEHME. The lines between radical and ecclesial Pietism are fluid, however, and where older scholarship tended to dismiss the radicals as aberrations and fanatics, in recent decades they have been integrated more fully into the broader narrative of Pietism.

The interrelation of mainstream and radical Pietism is evident in one of the founders of the Frankfurt *collegia pietatis*, Johann Jacob Schütz. A wealthy lawyer, Schütz was one of Spener's most ardent early supporters and a leader within the gatherings. Early in the 1670s he established connections with the separatist Labadist community—including Anna Maria van Schurman—and was responsible for introducing Labadist ideas to Spener's circle. He gradually distanced himself from Frankfurt *collegia pietatis* and established separate gatherings in the Saalhof with Maria Baur von Eyseneck. By 1682 he broke with Spener and the Lutheran church, having become convinced that the true Christian church could be realized only in small communities of believers.

Johanna Eleonora von Merlau (1644–1724) came out of the Saalhof circle and became one of the most important figures for early radical Pietism. Influenced by both Spener and Schütz, she had renounced court life and found a spiritual calling in Frankfurt leading devotional gatherings and instructing young girls. Eventually, however, she married Johann Wilhelm Petersen (1649–1726), a protege of Spener's. The couple developed a collaborative intellectual relationship, and von Merlau influenced her husband's move toward radical Pietist views. Petersen was dismissed from his position as Lüneburg's

superintendent in 1692 for his defense of chiliasm. They found refuge in Brandenburg, where sympathizers at the electoral court were able to secure a state pension for Petersen. Without ministerial obligations, he and his wife further developed their millennial views and, influenced by JANE WARD LEADE, advocated the doctrine of the return of all things. They became key figures in radical Pietism but never separated themselves fully from the Lutheran church.

One of the most important radical Pietists to emerge in the 1690s was the historian and theologian, Gottfried Arnold. Initially drawn to moderate Pietism, by the late 1690s Arnold had come to reject the established church entirely, embrace CELIBACY, and sought to combine older mystical theology with the theosophy of Boehme. His most important work, *An Impartial History of the Church and Heresy* (1699/ 1700), sought to turn the tables on the “orthodox” in Christian history and accused them of exacerbating error through their persecutions of the heterodox. His work on church history put him squarely in the camp of radical Pietists who had rejected established religion. Consequently Arnold confounded many when he married in 1701 and accepted a clerical position in the Lutheran church. Arnold’s decision to moderate his views illustrates the permeable boundaries between radical and ecclesial Pietism.

Other radical Pietists never reconciled themselves to any form of established Christianity. JOHANN CONRAD DIPPEL (1673–1734), one of Arnold’s most ardent followers, vehemently criticized the confessional churches throughout his life and developed a highly spiritualized ECCLESIOLOGY and understanding of the SACRAMENTS. His overt criticisms and NONCONFORMITY earned him frequent imprisonment and banishment. Like Dippel, the itinerant preacher Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau (1670–1721) rejected all formal church organizations and urged his followers to form only loose associations between conventicles.

For some radical Pietists the road to separation led not just to the rejection of the state churches but to the formation of new religious societies. One of the earliest—and most notorious—was the communal society around Eva von Buttlar (1670–1721), which emerged out of radical Pietist circles in Hesse around 1700. The group eventually settled in Wittgenstein in 1704, a territory known for its Toleration of religious dissenters. The society’s bizarre sexual practices, derived from Buttlar’s peculiar reading of theosophical and Philadelphian sources, shocked the German public, and led to the arrest of the group’s leaders and eventual dissolution of the society. Although atypical, the “Buttlar Mob” as they came to be known, became a cautionary tale that was used by opponents to discredit radical Pietist sects.

One of the most enduring associations in radical Pietism was the formation of the New Baptists (Dunker, Schwarzenau Brethren) in 1708. Led by Alexander Mack, a follower of Hochmann von Hochenau, the New Baptists began instituting adult rebaptism in Schwarzenau in the territory of Wittgenstein. A number of radical Pietists had criticized infant BAPTISM, but Mack and his circle were the first to institute adult baptism as a communal practice in Pietism. The New Baptists grew in number and eventually emigrated to Friesland and later Pennsylvania, where their descendants formed the Brethren churches (see BRETHREN, CHURCH OF THE).

At the same time other radical Pietist sects formed in the religiously tolerant territories of Wittgenstein and the Wetterau. The Inspirationists, for instance, believed their leaders to be true instruments of God and thus able to speak authoritatively as prophets. They

combined radical German Pietism with the prophecies and visions of the French Camisards and began establishing communities in Marienborn and Wittgenstein around 1715. Descendants of the Inspirationists emigrated to North America in the nineteenth century, eventually forming the AMANA CHURCH SOCIETY.

Later Pietism

After 1740 the strength of Pietist movements in Germany, both ecclesial and radical, waned. In Brandenburg-Prussia, where Pietists had enjoyed privileged positions at court and in the church, Friedrich II showed little sympathy for the Pietist cause. The University of Halle, previously a bastion of ecclesial Pietism, now became the leading exponent of theological Rationalism in Germany under JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER. In the face of new ENLIGHTENMENT challenges to traditional Protestantism, the differences that appeared to separate Pietists and their orthodox opponents seemed far less pressing. Pietist thought and practice continued in many parts of German Protestantism but often in an attenuated form. Against this broader trend of decline, Pietism flourished in the mid-eighteenth century in two contexts: the Duchy of Württemberg and the Moravians under NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF. Both of these established enduring Pietist traditions that remain until the present day.

In no other territory in Germany did Pietism take deeper root than in Württemberg. Initially, however, Pietists found little support in the duchy. Theologians in Tübingen were among the most vocal opponents of Johann Arndt in the seventeenth century, and despite the reform proposals of Johann Valentin Andreae in the first half of the century or the presence of radical spiritualists in the second half, the ideas of Spener and other Pietists gained acceptance only slowly. By the 1690s, however, moderate Pietism had attained a limited level of recognition in Württemberg. Acceptance grew within the church throughout the early eighteenth century, and in 1743—in part to compete with the growing influence of the Moravians—the Württemberg church explicitly authorized conventicle gatherings, thereby institutionalizing a key Pietist practice in the congregations. A distinctive Württemberg Pietism within the territorial church emerged under the biblical scholar and millennialist thinker, JOHANN ALBRECHT BENDEL (1687–1752), and his pupil Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782), whose speculative theology took him beyond Bengel's biblicism toward theosophy and the Kabbalah. Württemberg Pietism established itself first among the middle classes but eventually came to powerfully influence folk piety in Württemberg. Even today Pietist influences continue to shape Protestantism in Württemberg.

Another distinctive variant of Pietism emerged under the leadership of Zinzendorf, who had been raised in a thoroughly Pietist milieu. Beginning in 1722 he began settling religious refugees on his estate in Upper Lusatia. The refugees came from Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia, and other parts of central Europe and represented a number of confessions including descendants from the pre-Reformation Hussite church, the *Unitas Fratrum*. The community grew quickly and despite early dissension among the refugees, Zinzendorf was able to forge an agreement among nearly all the Brethren to establish a new communitarian life in 1727. Combining Spener's notion of the *ecclesiola in ecclesia*

with the elements of the older *Unitas Fratrum*, Zinzendorf established HERRNHUT as an *ecclesiola* or little church within the established Lutheran church of Saxony.

Pietism profoundly shaped Zinzendorf and the early Herrnhut community. Zinzendorf came to reject, however, Francke's emphasis on the repentance struggle in the conversion process, and he dismissed Bengel's millennialism, leading to deep rifts between Zinzendorf and ecclesial Pietists in Halle and Württemberg. Increasingly Zinzendorf turned toward Luther's theology of the cross, out of which the distinctive themes of the blood and wounds of Christ and mystical "encounter with the Savior" developed. Zinzendorf also drew heavily on the Philadelphian ideas of the radical Pietists and sought to unite Christians in an ecumenical society that transcended confessional divisions. The Herrnhut community was extraordinarily dynamic and led to the establishment of sister communities across Europe and North America. Particularly active as preachers and missionaries, Zinzendorf's followers were responsible for the transmission of many Pietist ideas to Protestants beyond Germany, including JOHN WESLEY and English METHODISM. Despite Zinzendorf's ecumenical ideals, he eventually formed a separate free church, known in the English-speaking world as the MORAVIAN CHURCH. Because of its distinct identity, older narratives tended to treat Zinzendorf and the Moravians separately from other Pietist groups, but more recently they have been incorporated into the larger context and historiography of Pietism.

Additional Pietist impulses reemerged during the late eighteenth century. The establishment of the *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft* in Basel in 1780 marked a neo-Pietist development within German Protestantism modeled on the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. Within a few years sister societies were established across Protestant Germany and Switzerland. Unlike many earlier Pietist organizations, which retained their confessional identities, from the outset the *Christentumsgesellschaft* was conceived as a joint Protestant project. The *Christentumsgesellschaft* established a Bible society in 1804 and a mission society in 1815 (see BASEL MISSION), which became one of the leading Protestant missionary societies in Europe.

The late eighteenth century also saw a series of neo-Pietist figures such as JOHANN KASPAR LAVATER (1741–1801), JOHANN HEINRICH JUNG-STILLING (1740–1817), and JOHANN FRIEDRICH OBERLIN (1790–1824), all of whom drew consciously on elements of Pietism but also sought to come to terms with challenges presented by the Enlightenment. Jung-Stilling, in particular, provides a bridge to the revival movements of the nineteenth century.

Scholars disagree whether the term Pietism can be profitably extended into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Without question, Pietist currents continued in the revival movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*) in German-speaking lands during the nineteenth century. Pietism influenced HANS NIELSEN HAUGE in NORWAY and the Mission Covenant Church in SWEDEN (1878). In North America the legacy of Pietism continued among the existing Moravian and Brethren churches, in various Lutheran and Reformed denominations, as well as among new formations such as Johann Georg Rapp's Harmony Society and the EVANGELICAL UNITED BROTHERS CHURCH. The diversity of these groups, however, also illustrates the heterogeneity of movements inspired by Pietism and the problem of applying a single historical concept to them. Later Pietism bears a number of similarities to EVANGELICALISM and HOLINESS

MOVEMENTS, but firm connections between them require further comparative research.

See also Millenarians and Millennialists

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JONATHAN STROM

PILGRIM FATHERS

When King James I would not reform the CHURCH OF ENGLAND along Calvinist lines, disaffected Puritans (see PURITANISM) in northern Nottinghamshire and adjacent regions separated around 1605, forming independent congregations led by JOHN SMYTH at Gainsborough Hall, and by Richard Clifton at Scrooby Manor, the home of Elder William Brewster. JOHN ROBINSON, former dean of Corpus Christi College,

Cambridge, then deposed “teacher” (assistant pastor) at St. Andrew’s parish in Norwich, joined them around 1607–1608. Pursued, fined, and jailed, these Separatists fled in the summer of 1608 to Amsterdam, where they joined the group led by Francis Johnson. Their arrival caused Amsterdam’s English Reformed to organize a distinct, contrasting congregation. It still uses the Begijnhof Chapel.

Influenced by Amsterdam MENNONITES, John Smyth rebaptized himself and some followers, forming the first English Baptist congregation and branding Clifton and other former friends who had not joined as heretics. In early 1609, to avoid further controversies, John Robinson moved with about a hundred adults to Leiden. Establishing a “congregational” church, they attracted new members from East Anglia, Kent, London, and elsewhere, including Walloon (Huguenot) refugees already in Leiden, and some Dutch. By 1620, when resumption of the Dutch war with Spain made their future uncertain, the Leiden congregation had around 400 families ready to go to America.

Significance beyond their numbers was achieved by Brewster’s printing Puritan and Separatist propaganda, smuggled into ENGLAND but also sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair. Befriended by Leiden’s antiArminian (see ARMINIANISM) professor Johannes Polyander, Robinson debated with Simon Episcopius and grew toward a “semi-Separatist” position, open to collaboration with other congregations. Away from home, his members attended French and DUTCH REFORMED churches. WILLIAM AMES and Henry Jacob were among visitors to Robinson’s congregation. Jacob returned to London, where in Southwark he set up England’s first sustained Separatist congregation, along the same lines.

Plymouth Colony (now southeast Massachusetts) began in 1620 when the ship *Mayflower* transported Leiden Separatists and a smaller number of others from England. Before landing, the colonists drew up the “Mayflower Compact,” a civil contract by which everyone including the “Strangers” (probably meaning the non-English HUGUENOTS) agreed to abide by English law and any new bylaws passed by the colonists. This applied congregational church polity (itself derived from Dutch Mennonite example) to civil society. It marks the beginning of town-meeting democracy in New England. Migration to Plymouth from Leiden continued for more than a decade. John Robinson, with the majority still in Leiden, died there in 1625. Without an ordained minister, the colonists introduced civil marriage registration, citing Dutch legal precedent.

The colony’s independent history (1620–1691) is notable for peace treaties with local natives lasting fifty years, and for a court that recognized native sachems as the true proprietors of land. Governor William Bradford’s nostalgic memoir, *Of Plimouth Plantation*, is the prime historical source for the early years. In the second half of the century, the congregation in the colony’s largest town, Scituate, split over the combined issues of the exclusivity of the covenant and consequences for suffrage and the distribution of common lands. Plymouth colony, predominantly congregationalist, was comparatively tolerant of BAPTISTS and Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF); there was no witchcraft hysteria. Puritan theologian JOHN COTTON reported that the Pilgrims’ CONGREGATIONALISM inspired imitation in Massachusetts Bay Colony. Since the nineteenth century, however, this has been rejected sarcastically with appeals to “common sense” but not to contradictory evidence. Eventually overshadowed numerically and economically by the Massachusetts Bay Colony to its north, at mid-

century Plymouth was still considered important enough for its third governor, Edward Winslow, to be appointed by England's OLIVER CROMWELL and the Dutch parliament to act as chairman of an international committee to settle outstanding disputes after the First Anglo-Dutch War (1654).

Cast as heroes of romantic fiction in the nineteenth century, the Plymouth Separatists acquired the name "Pilgrims" and were excessively praised as paragons of civic and personal virtue who perfected the REFORMATION and founded DEMOCRACY in the American empire. An equally unscholarly debunking reaction followed in the twentieth century, and now the Pilgrims are ironically the focus of the American Indian Movement's "Day of Mourning" held on Thanksgiving Day.

See also Dissent

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JEREMY BANGS

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, THE

The Pilgrim's Progress is one of the most widely read Christian texts of the English-speaking world, apart from the BIBLE, and is the best-known example of seventeenth-

century English Nonconformist literature. Written while its author JOHN BUNYAN, the son of a tinker, was imprisoned for unlicensed PREACHING, it became a best-seller in its own time, was swiftly translated and disseminated throughout the world, and continues to be published and adapted by mainstream and evangelical presses.

The Pilgrim's Progress From This World To That which Is To Come, published in 1678, is a verse allegory of an individual's search for the way to SALVATION. It opens with the author's recollection of a dream in which a man, Christian, with a great burden on his back and a book in his hand, is crying "What shall I do to be saved?" Then follows his journey from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City. Vividly drawn figures and locations such as Mr. Worldly Wiseman, Giant Despair, the Slough of Despond, and Vanity Fair, add drama and social realism to a text that narrates the tensions of predestinarian CALVINISM as experienced by an individual.

The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, published in 1684, follows the journey of Christiana, Christian's wife, and her family, as they follow his path to salvation, guided by an ideal pastor, Mr. Great-heart. This focus on a group rather than an individual is often linked with Bunyan's later experience as minister of his Bedford congregation, but it also reflects the gradual consolidation of Nonconformist communities in the period and their own problems.

The Pilgrim's Progress is celebrated for its acute observations of spiritual and psychological states and social realities. Its wide readership has always been attributed to its lively colloquial language, dramatic scenes, and memorable characters that make the process of learning the theological lessons of Calvinism a pleasure.

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TAMSIN SPARGO

PILGRIMAGES

See Travels and Pilgrimages

PILKINGTON, GEORGE LAWRENCE (1865–1897)

English missionary leader. Pilkington was born in Tyrrellspass, County Westmeath, IRELAND in 1865, and he died at Luba's Fort, Uganda, December 12, 1897. He was educated at Uppingham School and attended Pembroke College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY as a scholar when evangelical student activism was at its height. After a CONVERSION experience he became imbued with evangelistic zeal and with the teaching on holiness associated with the KESWICK MOVEMENT. Caught up in the enthusiasm for MISSIONS engendered by the Cambridge Seven, he offered his services to the CHINA INLAND MISSION, but bowed to his parents' entreaty to defer missionary service. The delay enabled him to achieve high academic success in classics on graduating in 1887.

After a short stint of teaching at Harrow and at Bedford Grammar School, he was appointed in 1890 by the (Anglican) CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY to Buganda, where the Protestant missionary movement had recently seen its first major East African success. An active new bishop, A.R.Tucker (1849–1914), was consecrated for Eastern Equatorial Africa that year to oversee the consolidation of the church. Pilkington was one of several young men appointed for that purpose.

Buganda was in flux. Protestant and Catholic missions, led respectively by British and French missionaries, had arrived almost simultaneously, and each had a following among the Ganda. Muslim activity had preceded them. British, French, and German competition in AFRICA was intensifying. Conservative traditionalists were seeking to maintain and revive the power of the sacral monarchy. Buganda was full of complex power struggles, where political and religious loyalties inevitably interpenetrated.

Pilkington's brief service was significant in two respects. With Tucker's encouragement, he devoted his scholarly gifts to work on the Luganda vernacular. Early preaching and Scripture reading had been in Swahili, the current lingua franca. Pilkington was the key figure in the production—in a remarkably short time and at a remarkably high standard—of the BIBLE in the Luganda language, making use of the existing *de facto* oral translations arising from the work of Ganda preachers. Christianity and reading were closely identified in Buganda, and the printed Bible was soon in widespread use (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). A vernacular literature in Luganda followed.

Pilkington and his colleagues, as British Evangelicals, distinguished between “real” and “nominal” Christianity. Despite their best efforts, “nominal” Christianity was as manifest in Buganda as in Britain. Pilkington, with his Keswick views and impatience with anything he regarded as unspiritual, was especially distressed by the weight given by church members to political factors. He rejected an overture from the king to come over to the Protestant side because he saw no sign of “real” Christianity in him. Late in 1893, depressed and unwell, he took a solitary retreat on a lake island. There he received an experience of renewal that he described as “the baptism of the Holy Ghost.” His colleagues responded enthusiastically, and in the meetings that followed, the renewal

spread through much of the Ganda church, with all the marks of “real” Christianity clearly evident. On leave in 1896, Pilkington took the message about revival to the huge Liverpool conference of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. On return to East Africa he surprised colleagues by cycling from the coast to Buganda, taking three weeks en route but arriving five weeks ahead of the rest of the party who were traveling by more conventional means.

Despite his unworldly outlook, Pilkington took for granted the desirability of British colonial overrule in East Africa. When in 1897 Ganda forces were called in to assist British officials to quell a mutiny by Sudanese troops, he readily went with them, and was mortally wounded in the battle.

The Ganda church was pivotal in the development of Protestant Christianity in East Africa. Ganda preachers brought about the evangelization of much of what is now Uganda, and the biblical and revival movements facilitated by Pilkington were important elements in that achievement. East African Protestantism has been overwhelmingly Biblicist; and the revival movement (Balokele), the most powerful element in Protestant spirituality throughout East Africa, acknowledges Pilkington as a forerunner.

See also Evangelicalism; Missionary Organizations; Missions, British; Revivals; Studd, Charles T.

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ANDREW F.WALLS

PLURAL MARRIAGE (POLYGAMY)

Polygamy literally means “plural marriage.” Though there are isolated instances of polyandry (multiple husbands), such as in Nepal, the overwhelming number of polygamous groups or societies throughout history have been polygynous (more than one wife). This is reflected in the fact that modern English speakers tend to use the term polygamy and its cognates when technically they are referring to polygyny. To avoid pedantry, the terms will be used interchangeably in this article.

Early Christian Views

Almost from the beginning, the dominant Christian view of plural marriage has been one of opposition and proscription. As with other religions, Christians often defined themselves in contradistinction to those around them. From an organizational-behavior perspective, this can be understood as “boundary maintenance” and identity formulation. As part of the effort to disengage from JUDAISM, for instance, Christians distanced themselves from contemporary Jewish polygamy and even from patriarchal polygyny. Justin Martyr’s (c. 100–c. 165) repudiation of polygamy in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* is an example of this. However, because Christians inherited the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) as their Scripture, they felt compelled to explain how many of its leading men could have practiced polygyny and still enjoyed Yahweh’s favor. In the context of an emerging patristic abhorrence of sex (even marital sex in some cases), justification for patriarchal polygamy was only possible by viewing it first as a special primordial “dispensation” from God in order to multiply and replenish the earth, and second, by stripping the patriarchs of any passion or pleasure in the process of fulfilling that dispensation.

During the patristic period, when Christianity was tilting toward ASCETICISM, the ideal was “no marriage” or at least no procreatively active marriage, rather than prolific plural marriage. If a man “had” to marry rather than burn, according to the early church evangelist (Paul), he should still work toward overcoming sexual desire, even toward his own wife. A concomitant of the patristic fear of sexual longing was a rather unflattering view of women as basically purveyors of male-corrupting temptation. Given such attitudes (which continued into the Middle Ages—Aquinas called women “misbegotten males”), why would any God-fearing Christian man wish to compound his problems by desiring more than one wife? The idea was to pull man out of the sexual mire, not push him in.

Still, allowances were made for the less spiritual, including toleration of “concubinage.” In Roman society, certain classes of people could not legally be married, so they simply lived together. In other instances, married or unmarried men kept a mistress. Children born of concubinage, called “natural children,” were accorded a status inferior to children of the lawfully wedded wife, and they received a lesser inheritance or, at times, none at all. Clerical toleration of concubinage was a begrudging concession to a fallen world. Elevating concubinage to polygamy, by giving it the status of legal marriage with all the concomitant rights and restrictions, was out of the question. The inconsistency of sanctioning one while condemning the other, however, was not lost on polygamy’s supporters. Later defenders of polygyny would often point to the hypocrisy of society’s tolerating promiscuity and prostitution while being scandalized by the prospect of socially stable, legalized polygamy.

Protestant Reformation

The Protestant REFORMATION challenged Roman Catholic teachings on various points with regard to marriage and sexuality, but not on polygamy. The Reformers adopted a more positive attitude toward sex within marriage, but they could see little good in reviving plural marriage. Among the rare exceptions was the occasional concession to royalty in need of an heir. MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) and PHILIP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560), for instance, justified polygamy as an acceptable way around the indissolubility of marriage for both HENRY VIII (1491–1547) and PHILIP OF HESSE. In cases such as these, where issues of inheritance were absolutely crucial and DIVORCE virtually impossible, polygamy was considered as a practical, even pious, alternative to adultery or concubinage. There is evidence that Pope Clement VII briefly pondered a polygamy dispensation for Henry but ultimately decided against it. His close advisor Cardinal Cajetan argued that because polygamy violated neither divine nor natural law, it was a viable emergency option. In Lutheran GERMANY, Philip of Hesse followed the pastoral advice of Luther, Melanchton, and MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551) and took a second wife.

Supporters of polygamy were literally anathematized by the Catholic Council of Trent in 1563, but throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a steady, if minority, stream of Protestants continued to defend it as appropriate under certain circumstances. It was proposed, for instance, as a solution where a wife was barren or mentally ill, or where a husband had been taken captive in a foreign country. It was also advanced as the answer to localized imbalances in the sex ratio. Despite antagonists' lurid descriptions of the lustful theocrats who led the brief Anabaptist rebellion in Munster, polygyny appears to have been implemented there primarily as an interim welfare measure to provide protection for the large number of women left behind when their husbands departed or were expelled from the city. Similarly, following the Thirty Years War, the regional council in Nuremberg reportedly proposed a season of polygamy to care for the widows and fatherless and to replenish the stock of males in the population, though this has not been verified in any surviving contemporary records.

One of the most famous advocates of plural marriage in early modern Europe was the English poet JOHN MILTON (1608-c. 1674), whose marriage was sufficiently strained that his wife left him and returned to her childhood home. In his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* (not discovered and published until the 1800s), Milton, on pragmatic as well as scriptural grounds, urged polygamy as a way around the virtual impossibility of divorce. On the continent a few years later, the German Lutheran John Leyser became the primary public proponent of polygamy. His *Political Discourse on Polygamy* (1676) was more elaborate than Milton's work, but followed the same dual format of defending polygamy based on the Bible and proposing it as a socially progressive possibility in select situations. Supporters of polygamy, always a tiny minority, were widely lampooned as lechers in the pamphlet wars of the day. For their part, in good Reformation tradition, they claimed only to be calling for the further restoration of legitimate biblical practices.

As polygamy apologetics continued sporadically throughout the eighteenth century, polygamy came to be seen as a panacea for yet other problems. One of the most

significant examples was the work of the Methodist hospital chaplain, Martin Madan (1726–1790). In his multivolume work *Thelyphthora* (1780), Madan proposed a full-scale return to the laws of the Hebrew Bible as the solution to the sorry plight of seduced and abandoned young women like the ones he routinely dealt with in the hospital. According to Madan, if biblical laws were followed, then a man who seduced an unmarried woman would have to marry her and provide for her, and this would be possible for men already married because polygamy would be legal. Madan saw polygamy as the “divine law” of the Old Testament and argued that it had not been abrogated by Christ; only when uninspired churchmen in the post-apostolic period modified or overturned divine Old Testament practices like polygamy did society begin to deteriorate. In addition to reiterating many of the previously recognized special circumstances in which polygamy would be a viable alternative to extramarital liaisons, Madan acknowledged that some men would satisfy their lusts regardless of the consequences; polygamy became a way to make them pay the price for their indulgences. On the other hand, Madan gave little attention to how female victims or first wives would feel about this arrangement.

The Luthers, Miltons, and Madans notwithstanding, support for polygamy has been extremely limited throughout Christian history both in terms of numbers and scope. Until the nineteenth century, that support was almost always a response to the difficulties imposed by the prevailing view of the indissolubility of monogamous marriage. Monogamy was assumed to be the norm; plural marriage only filled in the dysfunctional gaps. Such, however, was not the case with Mormon polygamy in mid-nineteenth-century America, a phenomenon unique in the Western world, both in its scope and its nature. Though thousands of Mormons would eventually enter plural marriages, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints did not count polygamy as one of its founding principles. Plural marriage was added more than a decade after the church’s 1830 organization and was not publicly proclaimed until the 1850s. After nearly four decades of openly practicing and defending “the principle,” as Mormons called it, in the face of severe persecution, church president Wilford Woodruff (1807–1898) issued a formal statement in 1890 indicating the Latterday Saints’ intention to comply with the federal laws prohibiting plural marriages. Within Christendom, the uniqueness of the Mormon experience makes it worth discussing at some length.

Mormonism and Polygamy

Despite all that has been written about Mormon polygamy, no satisfactory explanation for its inauguration has emerged. It was not part of a conscious effort to reform marriage and divorce laws. It did not grow out of obvious social dysfunction within the community. Indeed, there is no clear background for its inception other than the fundamental Mormon commitment to biblical restorationism, which is apparent in the very wording of the revelation: “Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you my servant Joseph [Smith], that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as also Moses, David, and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines. Behold, and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter. Therefore, prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am

about to give unto you...an appointment [to] restore all things” (Doctrine and Covenants 132:1–3, 40).

When the revelation came, Victorian Mormons were caught completely by surprise. Even BRIGHAM YOUNG (1801–1877), long regarded in popular stereo-type as the quintessential Mormon polygamist, remarked that when the concept was first presented to him, he “desired the grave” rather than embrace the practice. Despite such initial hesitations, the Latter-day Saints pressed forward with the implementation of plural marriage. The biblical patriarch Abraham was their explicit model. Not only was he a polygamist and paragon of piety fully in favor with God, but the Saints could identify with Abraham’s poignant (and painful) willingness to proceed with God’s command to sacrifice Isaac even when his natural feelings recoiled. Appropriately, the revelation inaugurating plural marriage contained this injunction: “go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law and ye shall be saved” (Doctrine and Covenants 132:32).

The only other revealed rationale for Mormon polygamy was that it would aid in “raising up” a people to God. Again, Abraham was paradigmatic: “the promise [of numerous posterity] was made unto Abraham; and by this law [polygamy] is the continuation of the works of my Father, wherein he glorifieth himself” (Doctrine and Covenants 132:31). The Book of Mormon endorsed monogamy as its norm, except in special circumstances: “For if I will, said the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people; otherwise they shall hearken unto these things” (Jacob 2:30). From the Latter-day Saints’ perspective, plural marriage enabled God to “jump start” a latter-day covenant people because polygamist parents, representing the pinnacle of faithfulness, would raise in righteousness a large posterity. This is reminiscent of how earlier Christian apologists justified patriarchal polygamy. The Mormon revelation also reflects the sense of divine dispensation with regard to plural marriage rather than human initiation and indiscriminate implementation.

During the fifty years that “the principle” was in force, about twenty to thirty percent of the Latter-day Saints lived in polygamous families. This would place them at the upper end of the scale of participation when compared with the non-Western polygamous groups who have been studied by twentieth-century social scientists. Contrary to popular perception, monogamous marriages always outnumber polygamous ones in polygamous societies. According to data collected a generation ago, three out of every four tribes in sub-Saharan AFRICA considered polygamy the preferred form of marriage. In only one third of them, however, did the incidence of plural marriage exceed twenty percent. The incidence of polygamy in Mormon Utah in the second half of the nineteenth century closely parallels these findings. As George P. Murdock (1897–1985) the eminent twentieth-century cataloger of ethnographic information, explained, a society is said to be polygamous “wherever the culture permits, and public opinion encourages, a man to have more than one wife at the same time, whether such unions are common or comparatively rare, confined to men of outstanding prestige or allowed to anyone who can afford them” (Hillman 1975:88).

Another similarity between the African and the Mormon experience is the number of wives married by polygamists. In Africa a generation ago the mean number of wives per husband was 2.5; in Mormon Utah it was 2.3. These data reflect economic realities. Only a minority of males in any given society have the personal resources to expand their

household in this manner. Polygamy has almost always been confined to the wealthy and/or the powerful in any place where it has been practiced. Today, people influenced by sex-saturated Western culture may view plural marriage as little more than plural sex, but to those who actually engage in the practice, it means plural families, with all the corresponding obligations and responsibilities. For those interested in multiple sex partners, there have always been less costly and consequential ways to achieve that goal. Though added responsibilities and burdens accompany the practice of polygamy, so often does enhanced prestige. As with other polygamous societies, studies show a high degree of correspondence between leadership standing within the Latter-day Saints community and the practice of plural marriage.

Although Latter-day Saints pointed primarily to revelation as the reason for practicing plural marriage, a strident and widespread antipolygamy campaign by contemporary Christians compelled them to develop elaborate justifications for the practice. Many of these were openly derived from earlier Protestant defenses of polygamy. For instance, Latter-day Saints knew of, and quoted, Luther, Milton, and Madan. Like Madan, they viewed plural marriage as protective of women. Polygamy would provide for the widow, the spinster, and the orphan. It would make promiscuity and its attendant health-care ills a thing of the past. As Mormons were fond of pointing out, there were no brothels in Zion. Plural marriage also ensured a God-fearing spouse to every woman who desired one. Some even argued that it offered a kind of spiritual version of Lycurgus's vision for ancient Sparta, where children were to be born not just to "first comer" wives but to all who wished to have a child fathered by the "best men." As George Bernard Shaw would later quip, "Women will always prefer a tenth share of a first-rate man to the exclusive possession of a third-rate one" (Cairncross 1974:221).

To the surprise of their contemporaries, Latter-day Saints women were as aggressive and vocal in their support of polygamy as the men. They argued that polygamy was progressive, the means to freedom, respect, and personal development. Leading Mormon Emmeline B. Wells (1828–1921) wrote that Latter-day Saints teachings in general and polygamy in particular made Utah women "real, genuine, rational beings," rather than a "glittering and fragile toy, a thing without brains or soul, placed on a tinsel and unsubstantial pedestal" as was common elsewhere in Victorian America (*Woman's Exponent*, July 15, 1872, 29). Shared domestic responsibilities enabled women to pursue what education and professional training was open to them at the time. Mormon women became doctors, midwives, merchants, and politicians. They aligned themselves with some of the foremost advocates of women's rights in their day. Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906), for instance, joined Wells and colleagues in 1879 to deliver a protest memorial against antipolygamy legislation. Reading the Latter-day Saints *Woman's Exponent* for this time period provides ample testimony that polygamous wives were far from the servile "pawns of the priesthood" their opponents claimed them to be.

Popular misunderstanding of Mormon polygamy led opponents in the United States to support the 1870 extension of the voting franchise to women in the Utah Territory on the assumption that if Latter-day Saints women could vote, they would naturally overturn the oppressive polygamic theocracy that held them in thrall. When Mormon women turned out to be vocal defenders of plural marriage, regularly staging "indignation meetings" against meddling Easterners, opponents spent the 1880s trying to pass legislation to not only disenfranchise polygamist men but their wives as well. The

Edmunds Act of 1882 disenfranchised polygamists, attached a misdemeanor penalty to cohabitation, and sent convicted practitioners to the penitentiary. When it became apparent that polygamist Latter-day Saint leaders would resist “the Raid” by going “on the underground” (Latter-day Saints Church President John Taylor died in 1887, while in hiding on the underground), the Edmunds-Tucker Act was passed. This not only perpetuated the provisions of the previous act but attacked the Latter-day Saints church itself. It dissolved the corporation of the church and escheated to the federal government its properties, valued over fifty thousand dollars. In 1890 the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Edmunds-Tucker Act as well as an Idaho statute disenfranchising *all* Mormons.

At this juncture, the destruction of the church and especially the desecration of its holy temples seemed imminent. Just before issuing his 1890 “Manifesto” calling for the cessation of plural marriage among the Mormons, church president Wilford Woodruff remarked “I have arrived at a point...where I am under the necessity of acting for the temporal salvation of the church” (Wilford Woodruff Journal, September 25, 1890). It took a period of years for the practice to be stopped completely. Some Mormons assumed the Manifesto was only a concession to the present power of the enemy, not an expression of what God really wanted his Saints to do. In time, Mormons came to realize that polygamy and its defense had indeed served the purpose of raising up a unified people to God. God’s will for the Saints in the twentieth century was to follow the normal practice of monogamy. Today, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints openly condemns plural marriage and goes to considerable lengths to distance itself from break-off groups who still practice it. Such groups, usually labeled “Mormon Fundamentalists,” have no official affiliation with the church, nor do Latter-day Saints presently lobby for the legalization of polygamy in the United States or elsewhere so that they can restore the practice. Indeed, in the intervening century, they have become as ardent in their endorsement of the ideal of monogamous marriage as they were in their support of plural marriage during the nineteenth century.

As cultural relativism came to philosophic prominence in the twentieth century, toleration of polygamy increased. In the second half of the century, a number of Christian churches with missions and congregations in the Third and Fourth World reevaluated their stance and abandoned the longstanding requirement that polygamists divorce all but one wife in order to receive baptism. Where plural marriage was deeply embedded in a group’s pre-Christian culture, it came to be ecclesiastically countenanced in varying degrees. On the other hand, the same relativistic perspectives undercut the possibility that polygamy could any longer be seriously proposed as a universal panacea for world social problems. The “sexual revolution” of the 1960s both reflected and reinforced this erosion of an undergirding Judeo-Christian value system within which previous arguments for polygamy were elaborated. The revolution also removed the need for polygamy as a socially and religiously acceptable alternative to dyadic discontents. Tolerance for unmarried cohabitation and easy divorce procedures are pervasive in the Western world today. In this postmodern age, fringe forays into polygamy will be tolerated and will likely continue, but it is not likely that the West will again witness an institutionalized Christian experiment in polygamy.

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- GRANT UNDERWOOD

PLYMOUTH BRETHERN

The Brethren movement consists of several lay-led Protestant evangelical groups. It originated in the 1820s in IRELAND and ENGLAND and from 1848 onward was broadly divided into the “Open Brethren,” which became the largest section, and the “Exclusive Brethren,” which subsequently fragmented further. The most distinctive contribution of Brethrenism to Protestant FUNDAMENTALISM was the eschatological scheme of DISPENSATIONALISM. The movement is widely dispersed throughout the world because of emigration and the Brethren enthusiasm for foreign missions. It explicitly rejected the use of denominational names, although adherents may call themselves “Christian Brethren” and in North America “Plymouth Brethren” is most commonly applied to it.

History

The first congregation was formed in Dublin in 1829 by the uniting of small groups of radical evangelical Anglicans and Dissenters who were searching for Christian unity and a more primitive church. A seminal influence was a candidate for the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, Anthony Norris Groves, later an independent missionary in Baghdad and INDIA, and the nascent movement attracted another Anglican, the curate JOHN NELSON DARBY. The latter spread the new ideas among students at Oxford, attracting several individuals who were to be influential in the growth of the movement, among them Benjamin Wills Newton. Darby and Newton helped form an assembly (as they termed their congregations) in Plymouth in 1831 and other important early centers were formed in southwest England and London. In Bristol another early pioneer, GEORGE MÜLLER, founded an orphanage and promoted the notion of “living by

faith”: that Christian workers should be unsalaried, being dependent on God to supply them directly, a concept that influenced the interdenominational “faith missions.”

Darby itinerated tirelessly and became of central importance to Brethren development. Tensions between him and Newton over ESCHATOLOGY and the control of the Plymouth assembly led to a formal split in 1845. The schism was widened when Newton made heretical christological statements, and in 1848 Darby maintained that the Bristol assembly had not distanced itself from his heterodoxy. This was the origin of the division into “Exclusive Brethren,” who followed the leadership of Darby, and “Open Brethren.” The latter was a movement of independent assemblies that maintained the evangelical ecumenicity of the early movement (see ECUMENISM). Because of mid-Victorian revivalism it grew into the larger section but, especially outside of southern England, sectarian isolation also intensified among its assemblies. In 1892–1894 many of the stricter individuals seceded to form the Churches of God, a separate body governed by a hierarchy of elders’ councils.

A more introverted sectarianism continued within the Open Brethren and spread to other parts of the English-speaking world through emigration. Their assemblies in North America, for example, were principally planted through emigrants from northeast SCOTLAND, where the movement had been spontaneously founded after 1871 by a group of evangelists led by Donald Ross. The Open Brethren are enthusiasts for overseas MISSIONS and can be found in many countries, constituting a significant proportion of the Protestant population in places such as Angola, Chad, the Faroe Isles, Romania, and Argentina. The Exclusive Brethren grew in continental Europe, where Darby’s itinerancy welded the movement together, and they spread to North America through European immigrants whom Darby also visited. They had adopted the principle of assemblies being united in judgment and during Darby’s lifetime suffered divisions, something that accelerated after his death in 1882.

Beliefs, Practices, Issues

The Brethren are conservative Evangelicals in theology who readily identified with Protestant fundamentalism in the 1920s. In all sections of the movement (apart from some Open Brethren) there was an acceptance of Darby’s dispensationalism, an eschatological scheme that divides salvation history into several distinct epochs culminating in an imminent private premillennial RAPTURE of Christians and a physical return of Christ to rule on earth over a restored Israel. Darby spread this thinking among conservative Protestants in North America, where it has become influential outside Brethrenism. Also important across the movement is the celebration of the LORD’S SUPPER, or the “breaking of bread,” during which the men (most usually) contribute spontaneously and stress is laid on communion with Christ. The Exclusives were not restorationists and did not try to reinstate the offices of the early CHURCH, their assemblies being governed by the unanimous decisions of the brethren, although the autonomous assemblies of most Open Brethren adopted rule by elders who are normally appointed by co-option. All sections of the movement are lay-led, rejecting the concept of ordination, although they do have full-time Christian workers. Their adherents tend to be ascetic in lifestyles.

After 1970 the main body of Exclusives fragmented further when their then leader, James Taylor Jr., a New York linen merchant, was involved in an alleged sexual scandal in northeast Scotland. They are an increasingly introverted sect; other Exclusive connections can be more moderate. In many countries since the 1950s the Open Brethren have seen a widening polarization between progressives, who have modified or rejected various aspects of traditional Brethrenism, and a more conservative element. One of the deepest of these *de facto* divisions exists in North America. Because of its zealous piety the Brethren movement has had an influence on conservative Protestant EVANGELICALISM that is out of all proportion to its size.

See also Millenarians and Millennialism

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NEIL T.R.DICKSON

POISSY, COLLOQUY OF

The Colloquy of Poissy, held near Paris in 1561, is generally recognized as the last great attempt at a theological reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics in the sixteenth century. The colloquy was organized by Catherine de Médici, the regent of FRANCE and mother of the young king Charles IX. Catherine sought to avert an impending clash between the French Protestants, known as HUGUENOTS, and their Catholic counterparts, who were led by the powerful Guise family. The colloquy began on September 9, 1561, with the Protestants led by THEODORE BEZA, the theologian and lawyer who would become the leader of Geneva after the death of JOHN CALVIN. Béza was accompanied by the noted theologian Peter Martyr Vermigli. The Catholic contingent included numerous French prelates and was led by the wealthy and powerful Cardinal de Lorraine, later joined by representatives from the Council of Trent.

As had been the case in previous irenic gatherings, the aims of those who gathered at Poissy to promote Christian unity were thwarted most stubbornly by disagreements over

the LORD'S SUPPER. The Colloquy dissolved in mid-October of 1561, having produced only two vaguely worded and largely insignificant pronouncements. Its failure was followed in January 1562 by Catherine's Edict, which granted limited religious freedom to the Huguenots. Soon thereafter came the March massacre of Protestants near Vassy, which began the first of France's Wars of Religion. The Colloquy of Poissy has been interpreted as a microcosm of the REFORMATION, in which reconciliation of theological differences among Christians, although championed by several prominent figures such as Erasmus and MARTIN BUCER, ultimately proved impossible.

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DEBORAH K.MARCUSE

POLAND

Beginnings of the Reformation Movement

The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Lithuanian Principedom were related by union (1386 and 1569). This Commonwealth of the Two Nations stretched over an immense territory (around 900,000 kilometer²) and included numerous nations and religions. Various confessions cohabited next to each other: Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Armenian Church, JUDAISM, Islam, with some relics of paganism existing in Lithuania until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The dominant role of the Roman Catholic Church was threatened by Hussitism, which had been finally silenced. Nevertheless it left durable influences, particularly in the northern regions of Poland (Great Poland) in Utraquism. Critics of the Polish church were also found in the writings of the Polish Humanists. Their works and those of other European humanists played an important role in shaping the political consciousness of the Polish gentry. In the fifteenth and even more in the sixteenth century, the gentry gained decisive influence over the destiny of the Polish kingdom to the detriment of the religious and lay aristocracy (in Lithuania the aristocracy was still important). The gentry was also the main guarantor and patron of the REFORMATION movement.

Echoes of MARTIN LUTHER'S teachings reached Poland, and in 1520 King Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548) issued an edict forbidding the import of the works of the German reformer under the penalty of property confiscation and expulsion. In 1522 the monarch recommended respect of the edict and observed that many heretical books were being read and sold in Krakow, the Lutheran faith being publicly proclaimed. In 1536 Sigismund issued another strict edict, which threatened the penalties of death and

property confiscation for the followers and propagators of the writings of Luther and other reformers. These edicts, as well as those issued in 1534 and 1540 forbidding trips and studies in Protestant countries, were not carried out because there were numerous matriculations of Polish students at Protestant universities. More important and paradoxically, Sigismund reinforced new religious trends even though he never purposely encouraged them. In 1525, guided by his understanding of “raison d’état,” he agreed to secularize the state of the Teutonic Order and make it a Lutheran vassal state under the rule of his cousin Albrecht of Hohenzollern. Soon thereafter Ducal Prussia became an important center of Lutheran propaganda, spreading to Lithuania and Poland through various publications written in Polish and Lithuanian (CATECHISMS, hymnals, translation of the New Testament, etc.). Many Poles studied at the University of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) founded in 1544, and enthusiasts of new religious trends sought support at the court of the prince.

During Sigismund’s reign, Anabaptist sentiment also reached Poland. Anabaptists who settled in the delta of Vistula near Gdansk, Malbork, and Elblag were considered to be great farmers. In 1535 and 1536 a Moravian Anabaptist group found refuge in Krasnik near Lublin. Some settled in Great Poland despite Sigismund’s severe edict.

Development of the Reformation Movement

Only after Sigismund I’s death did the development of the Reformation movement in Poland finally intensify. His successor, Sigismund II August (1548–1572), was deeply interested in reform, especially LUTHERANISM, even though he remained a Catholic. Lutheranism developed in the northern regions of Poland, in Great Poland, and Royal Prussia (western boundaries of the Teutonic Order under Polish rule after 1466) and found many adherents among Polish and German townspeople and gentry. The new religion adopted by Germans put an end to the Polonization process and created the roots for future national conflicts.

The Czech Brethren played an important role in Great Poland. Expelled from their motherland, they settled in Great Poland in the early 1560s thanks to the protection of wealthy aristocratic families. They soon established numerous parishes, schools, and a print house.

In Southern Poland (Poland Minor), after a short period of Lutheran fascination, the Swiss form of reform became more popular, even though we cannot precisely determine its precise doctrinal profile. The Church of Poland Minor started with a meeting in Pinczow in 1550 and was looking for organizational models, which explains its interest in the Czech Brothers in Great Poland. After their alliance a union of both churches was proclaimed in Kozminek in 1555, but it had never been realized. In opposition to the Unity of Czech Brethren, which did not participate in political controversy, patrons of the Polish Minor Church represented the elite of the reform gentry and aimed at calling a national council to set the religious issues. The final blow that pulled down the Unity was JAN LASKI’S return to Poland in 1556. Laski became head of the Polish Minor Church and had misgivings about some of the concepts of the Unity (for example, Christ’s presence during the LORD’S SUPPER). As a partisan of the Reformed Church, he also rejected the traditional LITURGY, which he believed was a papist heritage.

Laski's authority influenced prince Mikolaj Radziwill the "Black" (1515–1565)—the protector of the Calvinists—to join Lutheranism. The Lithuanian Reformed Church owes much to his protection and generosity. He also initiated cooperation with the Polish Minor Church, not exempt from conflicts. Radziwill authorized several printshops, which published many reform writings, among others an important translation of the Bible (1563) (see BIBLE TRANSLATION).

The late 1550s and 1560s represent the apogee of the Reformation movement in Poland and Lithuania. Decisions of the Sejm, the Polish diet of 1563—at which the jurisdiction of the Catholic CLERGY was abolished (this had been already achieved at the Sejm of 1552) and the clergy was exempted from taxation—were particularly important. However, weaknesses were visible in the Reformation movement, in particular in its Calvinist branch. It was not strong in cities and almost nonexistent in the countryside, peasants sticking to their old faith. Moreover, there was conflict between aristocratic patrons and Reformed clergy of low background, the latter complaining about low wages and unequal treatment. Dogmatic conflicts also perturbed the young Reformed Church, first the conflict about the character of Christ's intercession, triggered by Francesco Stancaro, then debates over the Trinity, which led to a division and the creation of a distinct Antitrinitarian Church (see ANTI-TRINITARIANISM). This division halted the expansion of Polish CALVINISM in its most successful period when many well-educated pastors and wealthy patrons left the Reformed Church.

The Catholic Church constituted a serious opponent of Protestantism at the end of the 1560s, launching an active offensive against "heretics." The threat of Catholic claims was among the reasons for a group of pastors and patrons from the Unity of Czech Brethren and the Reformed Church to call the synod of Sandomierz. In addition to the representatives of those two confessions, representatives of the churches adhering to the AUGSBURG CONFESSION (Lutheran) took part in it, whereas Antitrinitarians were excluded. A common CONFESSION was promulgated that did not satisfy the orthodox Lutherans. The ecumenical character of the Agreement of Sandomierz (*Consensus Sandomiriensis*) triggered interest in part of European Protestant circles. It helped, to some extent, in Poland, to cool down the explosive relations between the Unity of Czech Brethren and the Reformed Church on one side and the "Augsburg Church" on the other.

Thanks to the efforts of Polish Protestants—above all members of the Lutheran Church—the gentry issued a bill intended to guarantee peace after Sigismund II's death at the meeting in Warsaw in 1573 (the so-called Confederation of Warsaw). Religious and political freedom of all "disagreeing within the Christian faith" (*dissidentes in religionis Christiana*) was guaranteed in the bill. It focused on the gentry but also included townspeople, even though future Catholic bishops and clergy insisted that the Confederation of Warsaw did not mention towns. A special section was addressed to peasants, reconfirming the superior authority of the lay and ecclesiastical gentry over their serfs. Despite those limits, the Confederation of Warsaw has to be recognized as one of the most important legal acts defending tolerance and religious freedom in sixteenth-century Europe. Sharply opposed by the Roman Catholic Church (only one bishop signed the Confederation of Warsaw), it represented a legally binding document, formally recognized by the Sejm of the republic and therefore often referred to by Protestants.

From the mid-1570s, the Reformation lost its vigor and became defensive. The activity of Jesuits—supported by two kings, Stefan Batory (1575–1586) and Sigismund II

Waza (1587–1632)—played an important role in reinforcing the activities of the Catholic camp. Raids on Protestant centers, often inspired by Catholic clergy, started at the end of the sixteenth century.

The general assessment of the sixteenth century is positive. It is often referred to as the “golden age of Polish culture.” The Reformation developed an important part of this culture. Thanks to the Reformation, literature developed, not only in Polish; schools were established, some with a high level of education (as for example the Calvinist gymnasium in Pinczow or the Lutheran Academy in Toruń). A closer relationship was also established with more important academic centers in other Protestant countries. Religious tolerance in Poland, which attracted many religious refugees persecuted in their own countries, triggered dissatisfaction and criticism from Catholics and Protestants alike, above all from theologians. In their opinion, sixteenth-century Poland was an asylum for heretics, Catholics referring to Protestant confessions and Protestants to Antitrinitarians.

Period of Limitations of Religious Freedoms and their Annihilation

From the last decade of the sixteenth century to the 1660s, the COUNTER-REFORMATION, increasingly supported by Polish gentry, succeeded in limiting Protestantism in Poland and Lithuania. Parliamentary sessions and deliberations of the Confederation during the *interregnum* represented the main field of their activities. During those sessions, anti-Protestant decisions were prepared, violating the resolutions issued by the Confederation of Warsaw. Catholic pressures were diverse according to place and time, but were reinforced in the second half of the seventeenth century. Until that time Protestantism could develop and defend itself in Poland.

The most attractive situation was in Lithuania, where the resolutions of the Confederation of Warsaw represented an integral part of the Third Lithuanian Statute—the latter serving as a legal basis for administration of justice in the Lithuanian Duchy until the end of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Lithuanian churches enjoyed legal prerogatives and the guarantees of the Third Statute.

Major changes occurred in the second half of the seventeenth century, during the Swedish War, when some Polish Protestants sought protection from Swedish forces. The Counter-Reformation, putting forward the argument that the state was betrayed by Protestants, ingeniously exploited this fact. The expulsion of Socinians (see SOCINIANISM) from Poland in 1658 was a direct consequence of these accusations. The attempts to equalize the rights of Socinians with the followers of the Reformed Church (used for “Calvin-Arianism”) represented another example of the rising anti-Protestant climate. In 1668 the rejection of Catholic confession was prohibited and the decision was made that Polish kings had to be Catholics.

As a result, by the end of the seventeenth century the Protestant state of affairs declined dramatically. The number of Reformed churches shrank from 140 to fifty; the Unity of Czech Brethren lost five churches out of fifteen. In Poland Minor only fifteen Reformed churches existed in 1691.

Discrimination intensified in the seventeenth century. In 1717 non-Catholics could not acquire royal goods, offices, or titles; in 1726 the jurisdiction of the Court in Lublin was enlarged to issues related to HERESY. In 1733 non-Catholics were deprived of the right

to take part in parliamentary deliberations and tribunals. At the beginning of the ENLIGHTENMENT, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was widely perceived as intolerant and backward. The affair of Toruń was particularly notorious in Europe. In 1724 riots took place in Toruń after a conflict between Jesuit students and Lutheran townsmen, and the Jesuit College was ransacked. Extremely strict repression followed, with ten sentenced to death, including the mayor of the town.

This situation was carefully observed by RUSSIA and Prussia, who looked for a pretext to intervene in Poland. This reality also confirmed Catholics in their opinion that Protestants represented a fifth column, acting against the interests of the state.

Reforms implemented at the end of the seventeenth century granted many of the freedoms that Protestants had previously lost. The partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) that followed completely changed confessional relations in this country.

Protestantism during Times of Partitions

The final loss of independence of the Polish-Lithuanian state after the third partition (1795) triggered fundamental changes in the political, legal, and social situation of Protestantism. The Russian Empire annexed the biggest part of the Commonwealth with territories lying on the east side of the Niemen-Bog line. Lutheran parishes became part of the Evangelical Lutheran Russian Church. In the Polish Kingdom a General Evangelical Consistory was established that included both Lutherans and Reformed. The czar chose the superintendent from two candidates. In 1849 bills regulating the activities of both confessions were issued, which remained operative until the end of World War I. The structure of the Evangelical Augsburg Church was consistorial—named by the czar or the governor-general, the CONSISTORY was the administrative organ. Synods did not have the authority to issue legislative acts. The faithful could choose only pastors and clerical colleges. A general superintendent was the head of the church, responsible for four (from 1902, five) provinces.

The Reformed Church had a synodial-presbyterian structure consistent with its tradition. The superintendent in Warsaw dealt with common issues. Bills issued by the synod had to be confirmed by the state, which could suspend their execution. Members of the Reformed Church living in the Western provinces managed to obtain a more convenient regulation, which gave them a synodial structure guaranteeing much autonomy. Here bills issued by synods did not need to be approved by public authorities.

The Roman Catholic Church and the Unity Church were the main opponents of the czarist authorities, which often played the role of patrons or protectors of Protestants. On the other hand, they persecuted Protestants who emphasized their relation to Poland and proclaimed independence slogans. Russian authorities tried to prevent the “Polonization” of Protestants with German origins, who settled in the Polish Kingdom during INDUSTRIALIZATION at the end of the nineteenth century. At the end of the nineteenth century the Polonization process reached German Protestants, particularly in Warsaw. Protestants of German origin were among the independence leaders, participants of the January Uprising (1863), outstanding intellectuals, and molders of Polish CULTURE. General superintendents of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in Poland were not opposed to the Polonization process, as were Russian Lutherans.

On the other hand, as the census of 1879 shows, Germans dominated the Protestants in the Polish Kingdom. Of the 400,000 Germans in the Polish Kingdom, 370,000 were Protestants and 30,000 were Catholics. There were 31,500 Polish Lutherans and 5,500 Reformed (1,150 Poles). The German majority was generally hostile toward the patriotic and independentist attitudes of Polish Protestants, the latter referring to the Polish Reformation movement of the sixteenth century. Pastors Lepold Otto (1819–1882) and Juliusz Bursche (1862–1942)—the general superintendent of the Reformed Augsburg Church from 1904—were among the leaders of this trend, called Polish Evangelicalism. Bursche was unpopular among his German cobelievers in all formerly Polish areas in Russia and Germany; Catholics also attacked him for being a representative of German interests.

The situation in the Prussian partition (Grand Duchy of Poznan) was different. In 1815 some 200,000 Evangelicals were regrouped among 101 parishes dominated by German-speaking populations. “A few thousands Polish speaking Lutherans occupied the Southern part of the Duchy with a border to Silesia, a small group of Polish gentry belonged to the few Reformed communities” (Kiec 2002:17). One has to remember that German Evangelicals made up only 27 to 33 percent of the population of the Duchy and represented immigrants who had settled in areas inhabited by Poles and Catholics after migrations at the end of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Protestant churches, which enjoyed autonomy in the Duchy, were under tight control of public authorities in the Prussian partition. In 1815 the creation of a centralized German State Church started. In 1827, under the pressures of the Prussian monarchy, a union of the Lutheran (Augsburg) Church with the Reformed Church was initiated. It led to the creation of the Evangelical Church of Nine Older Prussian Provinces (*Die evangelische Kirche der neun älteren Provinzen Preussens*), after 1922 the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union (*Die evangelische Kirche der Altpreussischen Union*), despite the resistance of the so-called Old Lutherans. The Evangelical Union Church was its common name.

Living in areas where Poles and Catholics were in the majority and treated German neighbors as occupants and heretics (although examples of friendly religious coexistence did exist), German Protestants tried to reinforce their influence through various economic, social, and cultural initiatives. The latter were intended to testify about the great mission of German Protestantism—a bastion of superior civilization and culture. The loss of the Great Duchy of Poznan to Poland after World War I ended those aspirations. In this situation many Germans did not accept the new reality and accepted a belief about the transitory character of the Polish state because that was spread by Berlin after 1933.

In the Austrian partition Polish gentry belonged to the weak Reformed Church. Only in the 1780s did a sizable increase in the number of Evangelical followers occur, arising from German colonization with the support of Austrian authorities. In 1789 two seniorities were created, one in Biala and one in Teschen (Cieszyn, Tesin), with 100,000 Augsburg Evangelicals, most of them Polish. In 1804 Galicia was separated from Cieszyn Silesia, creating a superintendent office of Galicia-Bukovina with headquarters in Lwow.

The so-called Protestant Patent, issued by the emperor Franz Joseph I in 1861, gave the same legal treatment to Galician Evangelicals as to Catholics. It also established the regime of the Evangelical Church federating Augsburg Evangelicals and Reformed Evangelicals while keeping full doctrinal autonomy. The internal statute of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confession Church, finally issued in 1891, guaranteed the superintendence over clerical administration to the state.

After the autonomy of Galicia in 1867, with its own Sejm and local assembly, Polish became the official language and was taught in schools. Evangelical schools with German as the language of instruction were not subsidized any longer. After these changes reinforcing the Polish community at the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century, a massive reflux of German populations from Galicia took place (in 1880 there were 277,223; in 1890, 76,064; and in 1910, 64,845). Most of them were German Catholics. Mainly thanks to the efforts of their clergy, Evangelicals managed to keep their possessions (between 1880 and 1890, 40,000 people; and 1910, 30,186). Strong Polonization processes, particularly in Galicia at the end of the nineteenth century, enfolding many German Evangelicals, also deserve to be noticed.

Protestantism during the Second Republic

The end of World War I brought independence to Poland and represented the beginning of fundamental changes in Polish Protestantism. After the war clerical structures destroyed or seriously impaired during the war had to be rebuilt. Codifications in the field of confessional law were also foremost on the agenda. They were different in all three partitions and required rapid clarification. Additional difficulties related to the fact that communities of Polish Evangelicals were outside the new country, in Eastern Prussia and Silesia.

The most serious problem was that of nationalism—dividing German adherents of the Evangelical Augsburg Church (making up the majority of the population with 75 percent) and Polish adherents of the same church. The Evangelical Union Church in the area of Poznan (300,000 believers in 1933), supported by the same church in Polish Upper Silesia and the German Evangelical Augsburg Church in the territories of the Polish Kingdom, was opposed to the unification tendencies of the Polish government and Polish Evangelicals (with regard to the legal system and administration). The Evangelical Union Church was only indirectly recognizing the existence of the Polish state, asking for the recognition of its relations with the Supreme Clerical Council in Berlin. The Polish government disapproved of these separatist tendencies (which were not expressed by the highly apolitical Old Lutheran Church), and it did not accept a bill regulating clerical matters proposed by the Union Church in 1929. The project of the Augsburg and Helvetic Evangelical Church in Poland Minor was also rejected because of political reasons. This Church, counting 33,000 members in 1936, was active among Ukrainians.

The Evangelical-Augsburg Church also launched legislative initiatives. German believers in Poland and Germany were incessantly accusing Juliusz Bursche—the superintendent of this church—of Polonization of the Lutheran Church in Poland. These initiatives were conducted in a tense atmosphere, boycotted by German Evangelicals. Polish national-Catholic parties also criticized them, identifying Protestantism with

expansionist Germanization. Finally the work ended in 1936 with a decree of the president of the Republic of Poland. This decree gave the Evangelical-Augsburg Church a synodial-consistorial structure, public authorities retaining the right to influence personnel decisions. The decree introduced the office of bishop assumed by Bursche and ten dioceses replacing seniorities. In a sign of protest German delegates from the four largest dioceses boycotted the synod in 1937. The danger of a formal split in the Evangelical-Augsburg Church was real.

Despite these difficulties, the Evangelical-Augsburg Church intensively worked on the reinforcement of its position in the social and religious life in Poland. At its initiative a Faculty of Evangelical Theology was founded in 1920 at the University of Warsaw. In 1919 Lutheran and soon thereafter Reformed military chaplaincies were created.

In general the cooperation between the Evangelical-Augsburg Church and Reformed Church during a period of twenty years was good.

In those years the so-called Free Churches developed their activities in Poland, some of which had already started missions at the time of the partitions. The presence of BAPTISTS (around 14,600 believers), Evangelical Christians (around 10,000 believers), Whitsuntides (around 20,000 believers), Methodists (2,500 believers), Adventists (1,500 believers), and MENNONITES (around 1,000 believers) must be noted. Several smaller religious organizations and groups were represented as well.

World War II

German aggression on Poland on September 1, 1939 was assisted by the attack of Soviet troops and occupation of the eastern border of Poland on September 17. After the Soviet-German agreement of November 1939, the German population, in majority Evangelical, was moved to the Polish areas occupied by Germans.

From the beginning of the German occupation in the areas annexed to the Reich (Pomorze, the so-called Land of Warta, Upper Silesia, Cieszyn Silesia), religious organizations with a Polish character were not recognized and "the existence of Polish Evangelicals in Evangelic Churches was passed into silence.... The population of Silesia was not treated as Polish. ...Polish activists, Silesian insurgents were sent to concentration camps or were sentenced to be shot" (Gatspary 1981:167).

Polish Evangelical parishes could exist only in the territories of the General Government (including voivodes of Kielce, Tarnopol, and parts of the voivodes of Warsaw and Lodz and from 1941 also voivodes of Stanislawow and Lwow). Pastor Waldemar Krusche replaced Juliusz Bursche, who was arrested by the Gestapo and died in a concentration camp on February 20, 1942. Many Polish pastors and activists from the Evangelical-Augsburg Church were arrested, accused of hostility toward Germans. Many of them were killed. The Evangelical-Augsburg Church and the Reformed Church endured severe repression. The latter fell on Poles with German origin who refused to sign the national German list (*Volksliste*), and many were sent to concentration camps. Other churches, and particularly the Roman Catholic Church, also endured extreme hardship. The Nazi authorities, opposed to religion, did not support the activities of the most loyal German Evangelicals. The Union Church in the Land of Warta was not recognized in public law; nor was its relation with the Clerical Council in Berlin.

Similarly, in the so-called General Government no independent Evangelical Church was registered, even though appropriate documents had been sent to Berlin.

Protestantism after World War II

Destruction without precedent triggered by the war, human losses, territorial changes, and related substantial migration movements, as well as political changes brought Poland into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, and all these factors impacted confessional issues.

Important Protestant Churches with large membership progressively disappeared after voluntary or compulsory migrations of its members to Germany. This process lasted some twenty years, with the climax in the late 1940s and 1950s. Many Evangelicals acknowledging their Polish roots (living mainly in German territories before World War II in Eastern Prussia) emigrated, discouraged by discriminatory measures of the Communist government.

Even though the policy of public authorities toward Protestant Churches between 1945 and 1948 did not take aggressive forms—the main enemy being the Roman Catholic Church—in successive years (from 1956) their activities were subject to tight control and infiltration. These actions were aimed at subordinating and finally liquidating churches as a dangerous relic that slowed social development. These plans were implemented in a triangle—made up of the activities of the administration agendas, partisan activities, and secret police activities. Methods used included playing churches and confessional communities against each other, dividing clergy and lay activists into “progressive” and “reactionary.” Clerical activists backed by the administration often reached high positions, becoming submissive tools in the hands of the government.

Churches that were perceived as dangerous because of international relations they had developed (considered contacts with “American imperialism”) were in a particularly difficult situation. Through a skillful fomenting of internal conflicts in the Methodist Church and in the Union of Seventh-day Adventists, the government disrupted their ecclesial activity, and churches lost many of their members. The situation of Baptist-Evangelical Churches, accused in 1950 of espionage against the Soviet Union and national independent movements in the eastern part of the country in the 1920s and 1930s, was also difficult; 200 people were arrested, and many received lengthy sentences.

After the so-called October Breakthrough in 1956, the situation of all churches and confessional groups improved, even though they remained under tight control of the Office for Confessional Issues and the secret police. The Roman Catholic Church was the main target of this control. During this time Protestant Churches reestablished relations with foreign counterparts, taking part in the international ecumenical movement. The Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw, founded in 1954 with the participation of Old Catholic Churches, was developed. This led to establishing a department of Evangelical Theology and Old Catholic Theology, and from 1957 a department of Orthodox Theology.

Only with Poland’s independence from the Soviet Union in 1989 did a full normalization of the situation of all churches and confessional groups take place. Articles 25, 48, and 53 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland from April 2, 1997 and the

bill regulating the relationship of the state with confessional groups from May 30, 1998 guarantee religious freedoms and equal treatment.

As of July 31, 2000, 157 churches and confessional groups were registered in Poland. The main Protestant denominations and their membership are listed below. It should be noted that membership figures differ substantially in different sources.

Name of Church	Membership
Evangelic-Augsburg Church	around 80,000
Evangelic-Reformed Church	around 4,000
Evangelic-Methodist Church	around 4,300
Church of Christian Baptists	around 3,000
Church of Evangelic Christians	around 2,500
Church of Adventists of the Seventh Day	around 10,000
Christ's Communities Church	around 3,600
Whitsuntide Church	around 18,000
Church of Christians of Evangelic Confession	around 4,000
Christ's Church	around 4,000

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LECH SZCZUCKI

POLITICAL PARTIES

While less so than Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, too, has inspired a number of political parties. These wield a variety of banners and perform a variety of functions. They are now found not just in traditionally Protestant northern Europe, but also in the Americas, AFRICA, Asia, and Australasia, reflecting the recent global expansion of Protestantism and of multiparty democracies. One cannot talk today of Protestant parties without mentioning countries as diverse as NORWAY, Latvia, NEW ZEALAND, INDONESIA, Zambia, and Nicaragua. In 2003 there were about fifty such parties, in nearly thirty countries.

To call a party “Protestant” does not imply a confessional label or links to church hierarchies or religious tests for membership. Rather, it implies a party that, in its self-definition, is based on the CONFESSION of Protestant faith and principles. Usually, the founders of such parties are active Protestants who regard the party as a political expression of their faith.

Such parties are not the only way that Protestants get involved politically. Protestantism was more ready than Catholicism to embrace the competitive party model, with its adherents spread out along the party spectrum. There have been three waves of Protestant party creation. The *first wave*, from the 1870s to the early twentieth century, was restricted to the NETHERLANDS. The *second wave* was largely Scandinavian, with parties founded between the 1930s and early 1970s. The *third wave*, in the 1980s and 1990s, extended the model to LATIN AMERICA and southern Africa, the former communist world, parts of Asia and the Pacific, and even to Britain and its former “white dominions.” Most of these parties are small, but some are respectable phenomena, and a few have experience in government. Of the third wave, parties in Fiji and Latvia have achieved instant success. But the most successful have been the Dutch and Scandinavian parties of the first and second waves.

Circumstances favoring the rise of political parties include ease of party registration and, especially, proportional representation with closed electoral lists. Parties usually depend on practicing rather than nominal Protestants. Perceived marginalization in the

religious field or society also encourages parties. Among theological currents, those which develop full Christian worldviews are more favorable. A key factor is the perception of insufficient space in existing parties. Parties are often not supported by church hierarchies, because they represent rival power structures.

The recent surge in Protestant parties has been helped by the rise of identity politics in the West, the turmoils of postcommunism, and rapid Protestant growth and democratization in the third world. Parties can represent a range of “projects,” from mere defense of (legitimate or illegitimate) ecclesiastical interests, to the idea of divine right to rule, to identity politics around issues of lifestyle and the family, to ethnic defense (see ETHNICITY), to broad political and economic concerns. Some parties are anti-Catholic, others are not; some are enthusiastically democratic, others not; some defend a secular state, others do not; some are neoliberal, others preach a “social market,” and a few are slightly anti-capitalist. Many talk of “strengthening the family,” but policy recommendations for doing so vary.

Parties evolve, typically incorporating broader concerns and losing the hard edges of confessional identity. Many countries have rival Protestant parties, because of tensions between doctrinaire purity and political realism, and because Protestantism is itself socially and denominationally diverse.

In the Netherlands, the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) was founded in 1879 and entered government in 1888. It can claim to be the first “Christian Democratic” party, and it governed for much of the first half of the twentieth century. Weakened by secularization, it merged in 1980 with another Protestant party and a Catholic party to form the CDA, which was in power in 2003. Three small Protestant parties were also in parliament at the turn of the century.

Protestant parties have also been successful in Scandinavia. Centered on pietist Lutherans and nonconformists, they began with narrow concerns and have evolved into strong supporters of third world aid and environmental protection. The Norwegian KrF party has held the prime-ministership three times, and the other Scandinavian parties have all been junior coalition partners.

The traditionally Protestant postcommunist countries of Estonia and Latvia have seen several Protestant parties since the late 1980s. Latvia’s First Party was founded in 2002 by Lutheran and Baptist pastors and immediately won 9.6 percent of the vote, entering a coalition government.

Britain’s “first-past-the-post” system is unfavorable to religious parties, but there are two types of Protestant parties: anti-Catholic ones in Ulster (and previously in SCOTLAND and Liverpool), such as the Democratic Unionist Party; and small anti-secular ones benefitting from the introduction of some elements of proportional representation. The Christian Peoples Alliance (founded 1999) is multiracial and exemplifies the contribution of Christian immigrants to European parties.

There are small parties in CANADA, AUSTRALIA, and New Zealand that are broadly “religious right.” A partial exception is United Future New Zealand, more centrist, which erupted into parliament and almost into government in 2002. In Fiji, religion has reinforced the ethnic divide between indigenes and Indians. A Christian-ethnic party with strong support from the Methodist hierarchy, Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua, stormed to power in 2001.

In Asia, Indonesia has the most Protestant parties. The oldest, Parkindo, dates back to 1945, but seven were formed after redemocratization in 1998.

Africa has few Protestant parties. The main instances refer to one country (SOUTH AFRICA) going through rapid secularization from the top, and another country (Zambia) going through “Christianization” of the nation by declaration, provoking Christian parties as a critique of this process. The African Christian Democratic Party is now the most genuinely multiracial party in South Africa.

Latin America became a major region for Protestant parties in the 1990s. Most have been personalistic, some corrupt, and none have become consolidated. They mobilize only a fraction of the Protestant community and are a sign of political marginalization rather than strength. The most successful has been the Camino Cristiano Nicaragüense, which placed third in the 1996 presidential elections. Most current parties in Latin America are unlikely to survive long.

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PAUL FRESTON

POLITICAL THEOLOGY

Although theology and politics can never be completely separated, political theology has become a prominent movement in the twentieth century. In its various forms political theology resists both the modern separation of religion and politics and the confusion of the two.

The themes of political theology emerged in GERMANY after World War II, under the impression of the Third Reich and of the HOLOCAUST. The most pressing question for political theology was why the churches, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, had for the most part been silent in the face of these happenings. Why did THEOLOGY and the CHURCH even after the end of the war continue this silence, not only refusing to own up to what had happened but also failing to deal with the dangers of the Cold War between the superpowers of the East and West? In the UNITED STATES political theology took shape, raising questions in the context of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and the excesses of the free market economy.

The various political theologies on both sides of the Atlantic are based on two different assumptions. On the one hand it is noted that theology has often followed the increasing privatization of religion since the ENLIGHTENMENT and needs to reclaim its impact on the political. On the other hand it has been observed that theology, whether aware of it or not, is always political and is simply in need of owning up to its political affiliations. Although political theologies often combine both observations in one way or another, what has priority is weighted differently. Some of the early work of German political theologians focuses on the privatization of religion. Religion, seen as a private matter, is forced to leave politics to its own devices. In this situation, theology simply becomes irrelevant. The Protestant theologian Dorothee Sölle's early work exemplifies this position when she defines religion in terms of ideology—understood as “a system of propositional truths independent of the situation, a superstructure no longer relevant to praxis, to the situation, to the real questions of life” (Sölle 1974:23). Similar questions are raised in the early work of one of the Roman Catholic founders of political theology, Johannes Baptist Metz. Both Sölle and Metz, supported by the early work of JÜRGEN MOLTSMANN, insist that critical theological thinking, focused heavily on existentialist thinking at the time, needs to be expanded to include the political realm.

Developing a North American perspective at the time of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War, the Protestant theologian Frederick Herzog pursues a different line of argument: In the North American context theology first needs to understand how everything is politicized already. New Testament notions of justice, freedom, and peace are important, but do not sufficiently explain why the political dimensions have become so central. The task of political theology is to liberate the church from its political captivity to open the way for true political responsibility (Rieger 1999:73–79). Religion in this assessment appears to be ideological no longer in terms of being an irrelevant appendage to political power but in terms of supporting the status quo, often without being aware of it.

In the German context, Metz and Moltmann soon also deal with the unconscious identifications of theology and politics. In the United States, M. Douglas Meeks has pursued these issues in regard to the economy, pointing out that economic structures are more and more determining our world and theology. Other Protestants working on political theology in the United States include John B. Cobb Jr., who makes more sustained use of political theory and introduces questions of ECOLOGY; J. Deotis Roberts, who develops political theology from an African American perspective; and Alistair Kee in Great Britain. On the Roman Catholic side there are Helmut Peukert and Edmund Arens in Germany, Matthew Lamb in the United States, and Charles Davis in CANADA.

In response to the analysis of the relation of religion and politics, political theology has begun to focus more on the contributions of theology to politics. This process has been led on the Protestant side by Moltmann, whose basic concern is not to “politicize the church” but to “Christianize church politics and the political involvement of Christians” (Moltmann 1984:99). Based on his earlier work on a theology of hope, Moltmann finds a new impulse for political theology in the expectation of the coming reign of God, in Christian ESCHATOLOGY. Such hope for God’s coming is rooted in what God has already done. It does not merely wait for a better future but calls into question the powers that be and invites participation in God’s reign here and now.

In sum, political theology pays attention to political structures that are often taken for granted, thinking through Christian symbols, traditions, and “dangerous memories” of God’s work from this angle, and developing alternative ways of thinking and acting.

Implications

Various issues merit further consideration. Because theology is never done in isolation from political, economic, and other realities, what is the relation of theory and praxis? Moltmann has reminded us that “theological hermeneutic is abstract as long as it does not become the theory of practice” (Moltmann 1969:98). It is becoming ever clearer, of course, that the problem is more than abstraction. If theology fails to pay attention to the ways in which it is always already shaped by political, economic, and other practices, it cannot but help perpetuating the way things are, no matter what it proclaims.

Despite various disagreements it has been claimed that political theology can be seen as an ally to LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Sölle, for instance, has moved from political to liberation theology, claiming that listening to the voices from the margins helped clarify her initial approach. Moltmann sees political theology as a tool that helps to further the liberation of those in power, understanding how the misuse of power distorts their own lives as well. In drawing out these connections, however, a closer understanding of the relations between the powerful and the powerless, the rich and the poor, and the oppressors and the oppressed will need to be developed, which includes a closer look not only at the coming God but God present in the political and economic tensions of our age.

See also Economics; Politics; Political Parties; Theology, Twentieth Century

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JOERG RIEGER

POLITICS

In its most basic sense, politics (from the Greek word *polis*) is the activity of governing a discrete people and territory. Historically in the West those who governed came to their positions by conquest, custom, or consent, by inheritance, election, or appointment. Some polities were organized as monarchies, some as oligarchies, some as democracies, most as a mixture of the same. Their officers could be emperors, monarchs, or dukes, popes, bishops, or abbots, tribal chieftains, manorial princes, or feudal lords. Their regimes ranged from extended households, to bishoprics, to tribal lands, to cities, nations, and empires. Whatever their origin, organization, and orbit of influence, political officials in the West have generally engaged in a common set of activities that constitute the heart of politics. They protect and preserve the community and its welfare, make and enforce law, broker and resolve disputes, punish crime and civil offenses, negotiate diplomacy, collect taxes, raise armies, wage war, and engage in numerous activities that are necessary and proper to this office.

To be effective and enduring, political activity requires a balance of the political virtues and attributes of power, authority, coercion, persuasion, piety, charisma, justice, equity, clemency, courage, moderation, temperance, force, faithfulness, and more. Religious officials have long been essential political allies in striking this balance—lending sanctity, legitimacy, and pageantry to the political office; counsel, comfort, and commodities to political officials. Strong Western Christian leaders over the centuries have also served variously as critics or condoners of political abuse, as agents or opponents of political reform and revolt. Strong Christian CLERGY over the centuries have also seized their own political power and established powerful polities to rival the civil powers.

Today most Western nations have constitutions that define the powers and provinces of political authorities without much direct involvement from religious officials and with detailed provisions to govern the tender moments of political reform, transition, or expansion. Most Western nations now make formal distinctions among the executive, legislative, and judicial powers of government and functions of law, each designed in part to check and balance the other. Most have sophisticated rules and procedures to facilitate the legal transactions and interactions of their citizens and subjects and to resolve disputes between and among citizens and political authorities. Most recognize multiple sources of law and political power—constitutions, treaties, statutes, regulations, judicial precedents, customary practices, and a growing body of private and public international laws.

Protestants have made important and diverse contributions to the development of Western political ideas and institutions, often reshaping Classical, Patristic, Scholastic, and ENLIGHTENMENT traditions in so doing. This article reviews selectively (1) some of the early modern European models of politics born of the Protestant REFORMATION; and (2) the transplantation and adaptation of some of these Protestant models in American history.

Protestant Political Models of Early Modern Europe

The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation was in part an attack on the political power and structure of the medieval Catholic Church. Since the twelfth century the church had been organized as an autonomous political corporation in Western Christendom. The church claimed a vast jurisdiction—personal jurisdiction over clerics, pilgrims, students, heretics, and the poor; subject matter jurisdiction over doctrine and liturgy, church property and polity, marriage and family, inheritance and trusts, education and charity, contracts and oaths, and sundry moral and ideological crimes. Although the church could not make good on all these jurisdictional claims, particularly as papal power waned in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many clerics held enormous political power.

By the fifteenth century the church had developed an elaborate system of laws, called canon laws, that prevailed throughout Western Christendom. Canon lawyers licensed by the church collated the early apostolic constitutions and Christianized Roman law, which were then heavily supplemented by new papal and conciliar laws and legal commentaries. A vast hierarchy of church courts and officials administered this canon law in accordance with sophisticated new rules of procedure and evidence. A vast network of church officials discharged the church's executive and administrative functions. The medieval church was, in F.W.Maitland's famous phrase, "the first modern state in the West," its canon law the first modern international law.

The Protestant Reformation began as a call for freedom from this ecclesiastical regime—freedom of the individual conscience from canon laws and clerical controls, freedom of political officials from ecclesiastical power and privilege, freedom of the local clergy from central papal rule and revenue collection. "Freedom of the Christian" was the rallying cry of the early Reformation. Catalyzed by MARTIN LUTHER'S posting of the Ninety-Five Theses in 1517 and his burning of the canon law books in 1520, the Reformation leaders denounced church laws and authorities with unprecedented alacrity and urged radical political reforms on the strength of the new Protestant theology.

The Reformation broke the unity of Western Christendom and thereby laid the foundation for the modern Western system of political and religious pluralism. The Reformation broke the superiority of clerical AUTHORITY and canon law, and thereby vested new power in civil authorities and civil law. The Reformation broke the primacy of corporate Christianity, and thereby laid new emphasis on the role of the individual in the economy of SALVATION and the individual rights that should attach thereto. Lutherans, Anabaptists, and Calvinists forged the three main Protestant political models, with Anglicans striking something of a *via media* among them.

Lutheranism

The Lutheran Reformation territorialized the Christian faith and gave ample new political power to the local Christian magistrate (see LUTHERANISM). Luther replaced medieval teachings with a new two-kingdoms theory. The “invisible” church of the heavenly kingdom, he argued, was a perfect community of saints, where all stood equal in dignity before God, all enjoyed perfect Christian liberty, and all governed their affairs in accordance with the Gospel. The “visible” church of this earthly kingdom, however, embraced saints and sinners alike. Its members still stood directly before God and still enjoyed liberty of conscience, including the liberty to leave the visible church itself. Unlike the invisible church, however, the visible church needed both the Gospel and human law to govern its members’ relationships with God and with fellow believers. The clergy must administer the Gospel. The magistrate must administer the law.

Luther insisted that the church was not a political or legal authority. The church had no sword, no jurisdiction, no daily responsibility for the administration of law and politics. To be sure, church officers and theologians must be vigilant in preaching and teaching the law of God to magistrates and subjects alike, and in pronouncing prophetically against injustice and tyranny, although formal legal authority lay with the state not with the church, with the magistrate not with the cleric.

Luther and his followers regarded the local magistrate as God’s vice-regent called to elaborate natural law and to reflect divine justice in his local domain. The best source and summary of NATURAL LAW was the Ten Commandments and its elaboration in the moral principles of the BIBLE. The magistrate was to cast these general principles of natural law into specific precepts of human law, designed to fit local conditions. Luther and his followers also regarded the local magistrate as the “father of the community” (*Landesvater, paterpoliticus*). He was to care for his political subjects as if they were his children, and his political subjects were to “honor” him as if he were their parent. Like a loving father, the magistrate was to keep the peace and to protect his subjects in their persons, properties, and reputations. He was to deter his subjects from abusing themselves through drunkenness, sumptuousness, gambling, prostitution, and other vices. He was to nurture his subjects through the community chest, the public almshouse, the state-run hospice. He was to educate them through the public school, the public library, the public lectern. He was to see to their spiritual needs by supporting the ministry of the local church and encouraging attendance and participation through civil laws of religious worship and tithing.

These twin metaphors of the Christian magistrate—as the lofty vice-regent of God and as the loving father of the local community—described the basics of Lutheran political theory for the next three centuries. Political authority was divine in origin, but earthly in operation. It expressed God’s harsh judgment against SIN but also his tender mercy for sinners. It communicated the Law of God but also the lore of the local community. It depended on the church for prophetic direction but it took over from the church all jurisdiction. Either metaphor of the Christian magistrate standing alone could be a recipe for abusive tyranny or officious paternalism, although both metaphors together provided Luther and his followers with the core ingredients of a robust Christian republicanism and budding Christian welfare state.

Accordingly Lutheran magistrates in early modern Germany, Scandinavia, and SWITZERLAND replaced traditional Catholic canon laws with new Lutheran civil laws

on religious DOCTRINE and WORSHIP, church administration and supervision, MARRIAGE and family life, EDUCATION and poor relief, public morality, and discipline for each local polity. Many of these local Lutheran legal reforms found constitutional protection in the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* guaranteed in the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and again in the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Under this principle each local magistrate was authorized to establish by civil law the appropriate forms of religious doctrine, worship, LITURGY, CHARITY, and education for his polity—with religious dissenters granted the right to worship and educate their children privately in their homes or to emigrate peaceably from the polity. This new constitutional policy rendered the German region of the Holy Roman Empire, with its 350-plus polities, a veritable honeycomb of religious and political pluralism.

Anabaptism

Contrary to Lutherans, Anabaptists advocated the separation of the redeemed realm of religion and the church from the fallen realm of politics and the state (see ANABAPTISM). In their definitive SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION (1527), the Anabaptists called for a return to the communitarian ideals of the New Testament and the ascetic principles of the apostolic church. The Anabaptists eventually splintered into various groups of AMISH, German Brethren, HUTTERITES, MENNONITES, Swiss Brethren, and others. Some of these splinter groups were politically radical or utopian, particularly those following the tradition of THOMAS MÜNSTER of Germany; however, most Anabaptist communities by the later sixteenth century had become Christian separatists.

Anabaptist communities ascetically withdrew from civic life into small, self-sufficient, intensely democratic communities. When such communities grew too large or too divided, they deliberately colonized themselves, eventually spreading the Anabaptist communities from RUSSIA to IRELAND to the furthest frontiers of North America. These communities were governed internally by biblical principles of discipleship, simplicity, charity, and nonresistance. They set their own internal standards of worship, liturgy, diet, discipline, dress, and education. They handled their own internal affairs of property, contracts, commerce, marriage, and inheritance without appeal to state law.

The state, most Anabaptists believed, was part of the fallen world, which was to be avoided so far as possible. Although once the perfect creation of God, the world was now a sinful regime beyond the perfection of Christ and beyond the daily concern of the Christian believer. God had allowed the world to survive through his appointment of state magistrates who were empowered to use coercion and violence to maintain a modicum of order and peace. Christians should thus obey the political authorities, so far as Scripture enjoined, such as in paying their taxes or registering their properties, although Christians were to avoid active participation in and interaction with the world. Most early modern Anabaptists were pacifists (see PACIFISM), preferring derision, exile, or martyrdom to active participation in war. Most Anabaptists also refused to swear oaths, or to participate in political elections, civil litigation, or civic feasts and functions. This aversion to political and civic activities often triggered severe reprisal by Catholics and Protestants alike. Anabaptists suffered waves of bitter repression throughout the early modern era.

Although unpopular in its genesis, Anabaptist theological separatism ultimately proved to be an influential source of later Western political arguments for separation of religion and politics and for protection of the civil and religious liberties of religious minorities. Equally important for later political developments was the new Anabaptist doctrine of adult BAPTISM. This doctrine gave new emphasis to religious voluntarism as opposed to traditional theories of birthright or predestined faith. In Anabaptist theology, the adult individual was called to make a conscious and conscientious choice to accept the faith—metaphorically, to scale the wall of separation between the fallen world and the realm of religion to come within the perfection of Christ. Later Free Church followers, both in Europe and North America, converted this cardinal image into a powerful platform of liberty of conscience and free exercise of religion not only for Christians but eventually for all peaceable believers.

Calvinism

The Calvinist Reformation charted a course between the Erastianism of Lutherans that subordinated the church to the state, and the ASCETICISM of Anabaptists that withdrew the church from the state and society (see CALVINISM). Like Lutherans, Calvinists insisted that each local polity be an overtly Christian commonwealth that adhered to the general principles of natural law and that translated them into detailed positive laws of religious worship, Sabbath observance, public morality, marriage and family life, social welfare, public education, and more. Like Anabaptists, Calvinists insisted on the basic separation of the offices and operations of church and state, leaving the church to govern its own doctrine and liturgy, polity and property, without interference from the state. However, unlike both groups, Calvinists insisted that both church and state officials were to play complementary roles in the creation of the local Christian commonwealth and in the cultivation of the Christian citizen.

Building on the work of the Genevan reformer JOHN CALVIN, Calvinists emphasized more fully than other Protestants the educational use of the natural and positive law. Lutherans stressed the civil and theological uses of the natural law—to deter sinners from their sinful excesses and to drive them to repentance. Calvinists emphasized the educational use of the natural law as well—to teach persons both the letter and the spirit of the law, both the civil morality of human duty and the spiritual morality of Christian aspiration. Although Lutheran followers of PHILIPP MELANCHTHON had included this educational use of the natural law in their theology, Calvinists made it an integral part of their politics as well. They further insisted that not only the natural law of God but also the positive law of the state could achieve these three civil, theological, and educational uses.

Calvinists also emphasized more fully than other Protestants the legal role of the church in a Christian commonwealth. Lutherans, after the first two generations, left law largely to the Christian magistrate. Anabaptists gave the church a strong legal role, but only for voluntary members of the ascetically with-drawn Christian community. Calvinists, by contrast, drew local church officials directly into the enforcement of law for the entire Christian commonwealth and for all citizens, regardless of their church affiliation. In Calvin's Geneva this political responsibility of the church fell largely to the CONSISTORY, an elected body of civil and religious officials, with original jurisdiction

over cases of marriage and family, charity and social welfare, worship and public morality. Among most later Calvinists—French HUGUENOTS, Dutch Pietists (see PIETISM), Scottish Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM), German Reformed, and English and American Puritans—the Genevan-style consistory was transformed into the body of pastors, elders, deacons, and teachers that governed each local church congregation, and played a less-structured political and legal role in the broader Christian commonwealth, although local clergy still had a strong role in advising magistrates on the positive law of the local community. Local churches and their consistories also generally enjoyed autonomy in administering their own doctrine, liturgy, charity, polity, and property and in administering ecclesiastical discipline over their members.

Anglicanism

ANGLICANISM struck something of a middle way among these competing Lutheran, Anabaptist, and Calvinist political models. The sixteenth-century English Reformation pressed to extreme national forms the Lutheran model of a unitary Christian commonwealth under the final authority of the Christian magistrate. Building in part on Lutheran and Roman law precedents, King HENRY VIII severed all legal and political ties between the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and the pope. The Supremacy Act (1534) declared the monarch to be “the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England,” with final spiritual and temporal authority in the Church and Commonwealth of England. Thus the Tudor monarchs, through their Parliaments, established a uniform doctrine and liturgy and issued the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (1559) and Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible (1611) (see BIBLE, KING JAMES VERSION). They also assumed final legal responsibility for poor relief, education, and other activities that had previously been carried on under Catholic auspices. Communicant status in the Church of England was rendered a condition for citizenship status in the Commonwealth of England. Contraventions of royal religious policy were punishable both as HERESY and as treason. A whole battery of apologists rose to the defense of these unitary Anglican political forms and norms, most notably THOMAS CRANMER, RICHARD HOOKER, and Robert Filmer.

The Stuart monarchs moved slowly, through hard experience, toward greater TOLERATION of religious pluralism and greater autonomy of local churches. From 1603 to 1640, King James I and Charles I persecuted Protestant nonconformists with a vengeance, driving tens of thousands of them to the Continent and often from there to North America. In 1640 those who remained led a revolution against the English Crown, and ultimately deposed and executed King Charles I. In 1649 they passed laws that declared England a free Christian commonwealth under the protectorate of OLIVER CROMWELL. Royal rule was reestablished in 1660, however, and repression of Protestant dissenters renewed (see DISSENT). However, when the dissenters again rose up in revolt, Parliament passed the Bill of Rights and Toleration Act of 1689 that guaranteed freedom of association, worship, selfgovernment, and basic civil rights to all peaceable Protestant churches. Many of the remaining legal restrictions fell into desuetude in the following decades, although Catholicism and JUDAISM remained formally proscribed in England until the Emancipation Acts of 1829 and 1833.

Protestant Political Influence in America

These early modern Protestant political experiments were transmitted across the Atlantic to the Americas during the great waves of colonization in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (see COLONIALISM), and great waves of immigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the colonial period European Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and Calvinist rulers alike, eager to extend their political and religious regimes, chartered hundreds of colonial companies in the New World under the rule of the distant mother country and mother church. At the same time numerous Protestant dissenters (along with Catholics, Jews, and others) flocked to America to escape hardship at home. They escaped not only from the repression of seventeenth-century ENGLAND but also from Germany and the Lowlands that were wracked with religious warfare from 1618 to 1648, and from FRANCE, whose monarchy had grown increasingly hostile to Protestants and then banned them in the EDICT OF FONTAINEBLEAU (1685).

The American colonies and later states featured a fantastic variety of Protestant (among other) political forms and norms—some in emulation of European models, many products of ample local innovation and experimentation. Two Protestant political formulations had the most innovative and enduring influence on American political life: (1) the Reformed models born in New England; and (2) the evangelical models born of the Great Awakenings.

Reformed Models

The fullest American adaptation and amplification of European Protestant political theory came in the New England colonies and their successor states. New England writers—ultimately composed of Puritans, Calvinists, Reformed, Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM), Huguenots, and Presbyterians—repeated Calvinist and classical commonplaces, but they also refashioned this inheritance, especially through the doctrine of COVENANT.

The New England Puritans (see PURITANISM) described the relationship between the person and God primarily as a covenant, an exchange of solemn promises about GRACE and works. Initially the Puritans viewed this covenant as something of a divine adhesion contract, with God setting all the terms and even dictating through PREDESTINATION who could enter the covenant and enjoy its promise of salvation. By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, Puritans described the covenant more as a bargained contract of salvation—each person choosing to reach his or her own conclusions about the duties owed to God, neighbor, and self based on reason, conscience, experience, and biblical meditation. This understanding of private religious liberty for all theistic religions figured very prominently in the religious liberty provisions in the charters of later colonial New England, and in the New England state constitutions of 1777–1818.

The New England Puritans also used the doctrine of covenant to describe the relationships among persons. The Puritans distinguished: (1) social covenants—the Mayflower Compact (1620) and its hundreds of colonial progeny; (2) political covenants—colonial charters and state constitutions as well as oaths for political office; and (3) church covenants—the Cambridge Synod and CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM

(1648) and the hundreds of church charters and covenants that followed. The social covenant created the society or commonwealth as a whole. It defined each community as “God’s elect nation,” a “city on a hill,” a “light to the nations.” It also set out in detail the virtues of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry, frugality, and more that the law should protect and that persons should respect, on pain of divine and human sanction. The political and ecclesiastical covenants created the two chief seats of authority within that community, the state and the church. The Puritans emphasized that church and state were two independent covenantal associations within the broader covenantal community. Each was called to discharge discrete covenantal duties, as adumbrated in the laws of God and nature, and elaborated in the covenant by which they were formed. Each was to be separate from the other in their forms and functions, offices and officers, but mutually responsible to see that all served the common good in accordance with the terms of the social covenant.

Although the offices of church and state were divinely ordained, their officials were invariably sinful. Left to their own devices, church and state officials would invariably convert their offices into instruments of self-gain. Such official arbitrariness and abuse would inevitably lead to both popular insurrection and divine sanction. The Puritans thus advocated and adopted a variety of constitutional safeguards against autocracy and abuse within both church and state.

- First, church and state officials must have as “godly” a character as possible, notwithstanding their inherent sinfulness. Officials were to be models of spirituality and morality for the community. Political officers were to be professing members of a locally preferred if not established church and to swear oaths of allegiance to God and the Bible.
- Second, both church and state officials must occupy their offices only for limited tenures. Life tenures were too dangerous because they afforded the official the opportunity slowly to convert his office into an instrument of self-gain and self-aggrandizement. It was safer to limit the official’s tenure and require periodic election and rotation of officers.
- Third, the Puritans advocated the development of self-limiting “republican” forms of government for both the church and the state. Rather than consolidate all forms of authority in one person or one office, they insisted on separate forms or branches of authority, each checking the sinful excesses of the other. Church authority was divided among the pastors, elders, and deacons of the consistory; state authority among executive, legislative, and judicial branches, each with a measure of responsibility and control over the other.
- Fourth, the Puritans adopted what they called a federalist (from *foedus*, “covenantal”) structure of government for both the church and the state. The church was divided into semiautonomous congregations, but each loosely conjoined and democratically represented in a broader synod or presbytery. The state was divided into semiautonomous town governments but conjoined in a broader colonial and (later) state government.
- Fifth, the Puritans advocated the development of legal codes and clear statutes in the state, and clear confessions and canons in the church, so that officials were limited in their discretion.

- Sixth, the Puritans advocated regular popular meetings for officials to give account of them-selves, and for their subjects to have occasion for discussion of important issues. In the church this took the form of congregational meetings; in the state, the form of town meetings and popular referenda.
- Seventh, the Puritans advocated regularly held democratic elections of both church and state officials.

The early American Reformed tradition provided an important source and resource, alongside many others, for the growth of American constitutionalism. Many of the basic ideas and institutions of the social, ecclesiastical, and political covenants were written directly into the constitutions of the New England states and openly advocated for the nation by Puritan sermonizers and political conservatives such as John Adams and JOHN WITHERSPOON. Moreover, several fundamental Puritan ideas found parallels, if not progeny, among other schools of American politics in the later 1700s and 1800s. Various “liberal” writers found in the Puritan ideas of a social covenant and a political covenant prototypes for their theories of a social contract and a governmental contract. They found in the doctrine of church covenants and separation of church and state a foundation for their ideas of disestablishment of religion and free exercise for both religious individuals and religious groups. They found in the doctrine of popular meetings and periodic elections important prototypes for the freedom of press and assembly and the right to vote. Various “republican” writers, by contrast, transformed the Puritan idea of the election into a revolutionary theory of American NATIONALISM. They recast the Puritan ideal of the covenant community into a theory of public virtue, discipline, and order. They translated the Puritans’ insistence on spiritual rebirth and reformation into a general call for “moral reformation” and “republican regeneration.”

Moreover, basic Puritan constitutional institutions survived within the new federal and state constitutions of the young American republic. Political rulers were still required to manifest a moral, virtuous, and godly character. Most officials were required to stand for democratic elections to their offices. Political offices usually had limited tenures. Political authority was distributed among executive, legislative, and judicial branches, each with authority to check the others. Federalism was constitutionally prescribed. Liberties of citizens were copiously enumerated. Church and state were separated, yet allowed to cooperate.

New Evangelical Accents

Although Reformed political models and rhetoric continued to dominate American politics for the next century and a half, evangelical political models became increasingly prominent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see EVANGELICALISM).

The rise of evangelical political influence was in part a function of simple demography. American Evangelicals had their roots in small colonial Baptist and Anabaptist communities, many clustered in Roger Williams’s Rhode Island. Their small size and separatist leanings kept them from exercising much political influence at first. The First Great AWAKENING (c. 1720–1770), however, led by GEORGE WHITEFIELD, JOHN WESLEY, JONATHAN EDWARDS, and others, divided many Protestant denominations into traditional Old Light and evangelical New Light groups. It also sparked the rise of Baptist and Methodist churches, whose leaders ISAAC BACKUS

and John Leland joined others to secure constitutional guarantees of religious liberty. The Second Great Awakening (c. 1810–1860) splintered and stunted traditional Calvinist, Anglican, and Lutheran denominations still further, and led to the explosive growth of Baptists and Methodists, which together constituted some two-thirds of all Protestant churches by 1900.

The rise of evangelical political influence was also in part a function of theological innovation. Even though nineteenth-century American Evangelicals did not work out a detailed new political theology, they added accents to the Protestant inheritance that helped shape American politics. Evangelicals emphasized Christian CONVERSION, the necessary spiritual rebirth of each sinful individual. On that basis they strongly advocated the liberty of conscience of each individual and the free speech and press rights and duties of the missionary to proselytize, both on the American frontier and abroad. Evangelicals had a high view of the Christian Bible as the infallible textbook for human living. On that basis they celebrated the use of the Bible in chapels, classrooms, prisons, and elsewhere, and they castigated Jews, Catholics, Mormons (see MORMONISM), and others for their use of partial, apocryphal, or surrogate Scriptures. Evangelicals emphasized SANCTIFICATION, the process of each individual becoming holier before God, neighbor, and self. On that basis they underscored a robust ethic of spiritual and moral progress, education, and improvement of all.

Many Evangelicals coupled this emphasis on personal conversion and sanctification with a concern for social reform and moral improvement of the community. Great numbers of Evangelicals joined the national campaign and CIVIL WAR to end SLAVERY—although this issue permanently divided Methodists (see METHODISM) and BAPTISTS, as well as Presbyterians and Lutherans. Nineteenth-century Evangelicals were more united in their support for successive campaigns against dueling, FREEMASONRY, reservations for Indians, lotteries, drunkenness, Sunday mails, Sabbath-breaking, and more. In the later nineteenth century, many evangelical leaders also joined the struggle for the rights and plights of emancipated African Americans, poor workers, WOMEN suffragists, and labor union organizers—none more forcefully and successfully than WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, the leader of the SOCIAL GOSPEL MOVEMENT, although on these issues, too, evangelical camps were often bitterly divided.

On occasion, nineteenth-century Evangelicals became actively involved in national party politics, albeit with little success. At the turn of the nineteenth century, for example, many Evangelicals joined the Federalist Party to oppose the suspect religious and biblical views of Republican nominee THOMAS JEFFERSON in favor of the more traditionally religious incumbent President John Adams. At the close of the twentieth century Evangelicals flocked to the support of three-time Democratic nominee WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, attracted by his public views on the inerrancy of Scripture (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY) and on the need for a sober Christian America that cultivated its own moral virtues and curbed its imperialist ambitions around the world.

Most evangelical groups, however, were suspicious of the national government and were staunch believers in the virtues of federalism and in no formal state establishments of religion. Many Evangelicals further believed that the individual congregation and the voluntary association were the more essential sources of governance and improvement. Churches, schools, clubs, charities, businesses, unions, corporations, learned societies,

and other voluntary associations were essential buffers between the individual and state and essential brackets on state power.

The Rise and Fall of Public Protestantism

These evangelical and Reformed political models together gave a distinctive cast to American law and politics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although there were endless local variations, most American states balanced the freedom of all peaceable private religions with the patronage of a public Protestant religion.

By 1833 every state constitution had formally disestablished religion, and guaranteed liberty of conscience and free exercise of religion for all. At the same time many government officials patronized biblical Christianity. “In God We Trust” and similar confessions appeared on currency, stamps, state seals, and government stationery. The Ten Commandments and favorite Bible verses were inscribed on the walls of court houses, public schools, and other public buildings. Crucifixes and other Christian symbols were erected in state parks and on state house grounds. Flags flew at half mast on Good Friday. Christmas, Easter, and other holy days were official holidays. Sundays remained official days of rest. Government-sponsored chaplains were appointed to Congress, the military, and various governmental asylums, prisons, and hospitals (see CHAPLAINCY). Prayers were offered at the commencement of each session of Congress and of many state legislatures. Thanksgiving Day prayers were offered by presidents, governors, and other state officials.

Government officials subsidized Christian missionaries and schools on the frontier. States and municipalities underwrote the costs of Bibles and liturgical books for poorer churches and donated land and services to them. Property grants and tax subsidies were furnished to Christian schools and charities. Special criminal laws protected the property, clergy, and liturgy of the churches. Tax exemptions were accorded to the properties of many churches, clerics, and charities. Tax revenues supported the acquisition of religious art and statuary for museums and other public buildings.

Government officials predicated some of their laws and policies directly on the moral and religious teachings of the Bible and the Christian church. The first public schools and state universities had mandatory courses in religion and compulsory attendance in daily chapel and Sunday worship services. Employees in state prisons, reformatories, orphanages, and asylums were required to know and to teach basic Christian beliefs and values. Polygamy (see PLURAL MARRIAGE), PROSTITUTION, pornography, and other sexual offenses against Christian morals and mores were prohibited. Blasphemy and sacrilege were still prosecuted. Gambling, lotteries, fortune-telling, and other activities that depended on fate or magic were forbidden. It was a commonplace of nineteenth-century American legal thought that “Christianity is a part of the common law.”

This state patronage and participation in a general Protestant public religion worked rather well for the more religiously homogeneous times and towns of the American republic. The public religion confirmed and celebrated each community’s civic unity and confessional identity. It also set natural limits to both political action and individual freedom—limits that were enforced more by communal reprobation than by constitutional litigation. To be sure, religious dissenters, who resisted or criticized the

local public religion, fared poorly under this system. New England states remained notably inhospitable to dissenting Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) and Methodists. New Jersey and Pennsylvania dealt churlishly with Unitarians and Catholics. Virginia and the Carolinas were hard on conservative Episcopalians and upstart Evangelicals alike. Few legislatures and courts anywhere showed much respect for the rights of Jews or Muslims, let alone those of NATIVE AMERICANS or African Americans.

Nonetheless, the saving assumption of this system was the presence of the frontier and the right to emigrate thereto. Religious dissenters did not stay long to fight the local establishment as their European counterparts had done. They moved—sometimes at gunpoint—to establish their own communities on the frontier, often on the heels of missionaries and school-masters who had preceded them. Mormons (see MORMONISM) moved from New York to Ohio, to Missouri, to Illinois, before finally settling in Utah and surrounding states. Catholics moved to California, the Dakotas, Illinois, Louisiana, Montana, Nevada, and New Mexico. Experimental Baptists and Methodists poured into the southern states from Georgia and Tennessee to Mississippi and Missouri. Free spirits escaped to the open frontiers of Wyoming, Montana, Washington, and Oregon.

The right—sometimes the duty—to emigrate was a basic assumption of the American political experiment, which even the most churlish establishmentarians respected. Many first-generation Americans had left their European faiths and territories to gain their freedom. Accordingly, they embraced the right to leave—to exit their faith, to abandon their blood and soil, to reestablish their lives, beliefs, and identities afresh—as a veritable *sine qua non* of freedom. It was this right of the religious dissenter to emigrate and to start anew that provided the release valve for this Protestant model of religion and politics to function so long and so effectively in America.

As the American populace became more pluralized and the American frontier more populated, however, this political system became harder to maintain. The Second Great Awakening not only sparked the explosion of Baptists and Methodists, but also introduced to the American scene a host of newly minted faiths—Adventists, Christian Scientists, Disciples, Holiness Churches, JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, Mormons, Pentecostals, Unitarians, and more (see CHRISTIAN SCIENCE; DISCIPLES OF CHRIST; HOLINESS MOVEMENT; PENTECOSTALISM; SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS; UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION). The American Civil War and Reconstruction Amendments not only outlawed Slavery but also liberated a host of long-cloaked African beliefs and rituals, some in pure African or Muslim forms, many inculturated with various Christian traditions (see AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). The great waves of immigration after the 1860s brought strong new concentrations and forms of Catholics, Jews, Eastern Orthodox, Buddhists, Confucians, Hindus, and other Eastern religions. Materialism, Marxism, atheism, and various liberal and secular beliefs were also emerging (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS TO; ORTHODOXY, EASTERN).

This radical reconfiguration of the American religious landscape required a new model of religion and politics. In particular, state policies of patronizing a public Protestant religion became increasingly difficult to maintain. A number of Baptists and Methodists, returning to their separatist roots, insisted that states adhere more firmly to principles of disestablishment of religion. Religious minorities in many communities also began to ally

themselves in opposition to this system, particularly the patronage of a common Protestantism within the public schools. Some of these minority religious and secular communities refused to conform or to assimilate. Others refused to live or leave quietly. Still others began to crusade actively against the system.

When neither assimilation nor accommodation policies proved effective, state and local legislatures began to clamp down on these dissenters. In the early twentieth century local officials began routinely denying Roman Catholics their school charters, Jehovah's Witnesses their preaching permits, Eastern Orthodox their canonical freedoms, Jews and Adventists their Sabbath accommodations. As state courts and legislatures turned an increasingly blind eye to their plight, religious dissenters began to turn to the federal courts for relief, often supported by new or nonreligious groups.

In the landmark cases of *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940) and *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947), the United States Supreme Court applied the First Amendment religion clauses to state and local governments. In its early application of the free exercise clause, the Court set out to protect the rights of newly emergent religious groups against recalcitrant local officials. Jehovah's Witnesses, the Court held repeatedly, could not be denied licenses to preach, parade, or pamphleteer just because they were unpopular. Public school students could not be compelled to salute the flag or recite the pledge if they were conscientiously opposed. Other parties, with scruples of conscience, could not be forced to swear oaths before receiving citizenship status, property tax exemptions, state bureaucratic positions, or social welfare benefits.

In its early application of the establishment clause, the Court sought to outlaw state patronage of public religion altogether, particularly in the schools. On the one hand, the Court banned religion from public schools. Public schools could not offer prayers or moments of silence, could not read Scripture or religious texts, could not house Bibles or prayerbooks, could not teach theology or creationism (see CREATION SCIENCE), could not display Decalogues or crèches, could not use the services or facilities of religious bodies. On the other hand, the Court removed religious schools from state support. States could not provide salary and service supplements to religious schools, could not reimburse them for administering standardized tests, could not lend them state-prescribed textbooks, supplies, films, or counseling services, could not allow tax deductions or credits for religious school tuition.

In *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971) the Court held further that every federal or state law and policy would survive constitutional scrutiny only if it had: (1) a secular purpose; (2) a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion; and (3) minimal entanglement between church and state. This test rendered the establishment clause a formidable obstacle to many traditional forms of state patronage of public Protestant religion. Legislatures and courts alike used this new test to outlaw all manner of government subsidies for religious charities, social services, and mission works, government use of religious services, facilities, and publications, government protections of Sundays and Holy Days, government enforcement of blasphemy and sacrilege laws, government participation in religious rituals and religious displays. It often did not take lawsuits to effectuate these reforms. Particularly local governments, sensitive to the political and fiscal costs of constitutional litigation, often voluntarily ended their prayers, removed their Decalogues, and closed their coffers to religion long before any case was filed

against them. Although federal and state cases at the end of the twentieth century began to relax some of these holdings, they remained the basic law.

These strong constitutional challenges, together with the rapid liberalization of their theologies and defection from their churches, drove many Protestants from active political life and learning in the postWorld War II period. Whereas individual luminaries such as REINHOLD and H.RICHARD NIEBUHR charted provocative new political pathways, American Protestants did not develop an authentic political model and program on the order of Roman Catholicism after the Second Vatican Council. Some Protestants repeated old political formulas, and often nostalgically recounted Protestant progress and prowess in American history. Other Protestants focused their attention on single political issues—PRAYER in public schools, the eradication of ABORTION, the protection of the traditional family—often mobilizing ample political support for these causes. However, a comprehensive Protestant political platform, faithful to the cardinal convictions of historical Protestantism and responsive to the needs of an intensely pluralistic polity, did not emerge.

A notable exception to the recent pattern of Protestant political quietism in America was the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1950s and 1960s, led by the Baptist preacher MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., that helped to bring greater political and civil equality to African Americans in a series of landmark statutes and cases. Another exception was the rise of the MORAL MAJORITY and Christian Coalition in the 1980s and early 1990s led by JERRY FALWELL, PAT ROBERTSON, and others—a broad political and cultural campaign to revitalize public religion, restore families, reform schools, reclaim unsafe neighborhoods, and support faith-based charities (see CHRISTIAN RIGHT). A still further exception has been the very recent coalition of Protestant and other religious and academic groups that have led campaigns for the greater protection of international religious freedom. Whether these movements are signposts for a vibrant new Protestant political mission and ministry remains to be seen.

See also Church and State, Overview; Democracy; Human Rights; Political Parties; Political Theology

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POLITY

Polity is the structure and form of governance of an organization or community, including its constitution, assignments and limitations of powers, offices, lines of AUTHORITY and amenability, and procedures of membership, participation, and representation. Like its companion term “POLITICS,” polity derives from the Greek *politeia*, referring to the governance and citizenship of the *polis*, the city or state.

One of the structures central to polity and political practices in the Greek *polis* was the *ekklesia*, the public assembly of citizens meeting to address and resolve issues of the common good. That Christians took the name *ekklesia* for their own assemblies is surely no coincidence. Like the original *ekklesia*, Christian assemblies were called together (*kaleo*, the Greek verb “to call,” is the root of *ekklesia*), responding to the summons of witness and service in Christ’s name. They were public, inclusive of everyone who sought to participate. They aimed at the common good of their own community and of the human community whose greatest well-being would be realized in the Reign of God.

Protestantism itself has been as much a movement for reform in polity as in DOCTRINE. Much of the “protest” in Protestant groups has focused on structures of authority and governance in the churches. Just as Protestant disputes over church teachings have regularly been couched as a search for the original and pure truth of the Word of God, so Protestant struggles over polity have been framed as a striving to achieve an original and unadulterated form of Christian community. If “Scripture alone” (a central claim of the REFORMATION) contained everything necessary for SALVATION, then “Scripture alone” ought to be the basis for church order. In contrast with Roman Catholicism, in which polity can be authentic only in continuity with the

church's practices across the centuries, the test of Protestant polity has generally been its discontinuity with previous (corrupted) practice as it seeks to embody the original or "primitive" New Testament church.

Protestantism's break with Roman Catholic continuity, and its impulse to create new COVENANT communities, is captured in its language about polity. With the exception of the Anglican communion, most Protestant groups have avoided the term "canon law" for their written polity because of its overtones of organic legal tradition and precedent. They have chosen to speak either of church law and church order, in the sense of a constitution binding people together in covenant (typical of Reformed traditions), or of CHURCH DISCIPLINE, referring to the disciplined, common practices of seeking growth in the Christian life and sanctioning those who do not remain faithful (typical of Methodist and Pietist traditions). For example, the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH USA titles its polity book *The Book of Order*, and the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH titles its *The Book of Discipline*.

The Protestant instinct to distrust existing forms and seek the original church polity in Scripture has produced far less unity than diversity, dispute, and schism. The hundreds of church groups that fall under the general label of Protestant are explicit testimony to a lack of consensus about what the original polity is. More than 250 distinct denominations that are not part of Orthodox (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN) or Roman Catholic traditions persist in the UNITED STATES alone, and the impulse to generate entirely new ecclesial forms based on fresh readings of scripture continues to thrive. The flourishing of newly organized independent congregations, particularly those appealing to the Holy Spirit as guide and guardian of their communal life, virtually explodes comprehensive categories such as Protestantism. The denominations grouped under the canopy of Protestantism themselves appear to indicate that independent congregations seek to supersede with appeal to Scripture and Spirit.

For much of Protestantism, however, denominations continue to represent forms of polity consistent across multiple congregations. Denominations are literally the name (denominators) of various traditions of church teaching and polity. Many denominations bear in their name an explicit claim about their polity or the political reasons for their organization (e.g., Episcopal, Presbyterian, Covenant, Congregational, United). Denominations also demonstrate that polity is a creature of social context. This, too, is embodied in such names as AMERICAN BAPTIST, Swedish Covenant, AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL, and Korean Presbyterian.

The extent to which polity is embedded in national, ethnic, and local cultures has been a major source of controversy in Protestantism. The language, symbols, norms, and assumptions evident in church polity and its practice are inevitably shaped to a greater or lesser extent by the societies from which churches draw their participants. CLERGY Authority, for example, often mirrors wider cultural assumptions about GENDER roles, such as paternal dominance, or parallels other social positions, such as tribal chief or village patriarch.

Polity is also affected by the context of religious freedom in particular societies, the degree of regulation by the state, and the presence and degree of dominance of a national church. Because the rise of Protestantism was coincident with the emergence of modern nation-states, some Protestant churches (e.g., CHURCH of ENGLAND, Church of Sweden) have functioned as national bodies with parish systems embracing the entire

territory of the nation. Other Protestant churches have had to struggle for freedom to assemble for worship and governance of their own affairs, placing themselves in a separatist or sectarian position.

The diversity of Protestant churches makes generalizations about polity almost impossible. However, one continuum that may be useful in comprehending polity is the dynamic of *authority*, ranging from congregational, where most or all powers reside in the self-constituted local church congregation, to connectional, where significant powers in ministry and mission reside in regional judicatories, such as SYNODS or CONFERENCES, and/or in offices of oversight, such as executive presbyter, superintendent, or bishop. Even within such a continuum, forms of governance may differ greatly. Connectional assemblies are constituted variously by delegates, representatives, or messengers from local church congregations and the body of clergy, and have varying degrees of power to mandate actions by congregations. Bishops have diverse roles as legislators, administrators, and sacramental figures, with varying powers over assignment of clergy and connectional mission.

Given the diversity of polities and the enormous range of local and connectional practices that make up the distinct organizational culture of congregations and denominations, polity generally embraces five essential elements:

1. A common discipline for church membership.
2. A common discipline for congregational or local church ministry and mission.
3. A procedure for testing the call; assessing the preparation; authorizing, commissioning, or ordaining; and placing pastors, ministers, and others set apart for leadership of the community.
4. Organization of ministry and mission shared by congregations of a region or carried forward nationally or internationally.
5. A constitution, structures, and procedures governing the work of the denomination as an association or connectional organization, including its offices and forms of participation and representation.

Protestant congregations independent of any denominational affiliation must tend to the first three of these essential elements of polity, and often develop commitments in the fourth area as well. Thus these elements largely embrace the life and work of Protestant churches and merit further exploration.

Disciplines of Church Membership

At its most basic, local level, polity begins with the criteria for initiating and sustaining church membership (see also ECCLESIASTICAL ORDINANCES). Many of the reform movements involved in Protestantism began as efforts to address four disciplines of membership. Differences and disputes over these disciplines have accounted for numerous schisms and enduring controversies.

First of these is the understanding of BAPTISM, including questions of the appropriateness of infant baptism, proper preparation for initiation into the Christian life, and the standard of doctrine and practice required for adult or believer baptism. Positions on such questions are rooted in a sacramental theology of the nature of God's GRACE

and the balance of divine initiative and human response. But theological stances are inseparable from practical ecclesiological understandings of the formation of Christian community or, in polity terms, how the church members constitute the church. For national churches that understand themselves as comprehensive of the population, infant baptism symbolizes God's grace over the whole of human life and the breadth of the church to include all persons. For sectarian churches of Anabaptist character (see ANABAPTISM), baptism symbolizes the particularity of Christian faith and its acceptance by adult believers who then constitute the congregation of the faithful.

Second, for churches that practice infant baptism, adult CONFIRMATION of the vows taken on one's behalf before the age of conscious decision is a second significant discipline of membership. Again, the criteria for readiness and participation in a rite of confirmation present both theological issues of divine and human agency and practical issues of catechesis. Whereas administration of the baptismal sacrament is for most churches an act normally reserved to the ordained, catechesis is more widely the responsibility of lay as well as ordained officers.

Third, for all baptized members of churches, particularly adult believers, every church needs to provide the means to sustain faithful living and grow in the Christian life. These means, which are widely called "spiritual disciplines," include participation in public WORSHIP and the SACRAMENTS, PRAYER, Bible study, fasting, and giving to the poor. For many groups expressive of Pietist or Puritan movements beginning in the seventeenth century (see PIETISM; PURITANISM), these means have constituted a rule of life to which persons have been held accountable through membership in small groups within the larger church (*ecclesiola in ecclesia*). The relationship of these *collegia* or societies to the parishes of national churches stirred bitter polity disputes for groups such as the seventeenth-century Pietists of northern GERMANY or the eighteenth-century English Methodists (see METHODISM). Some separated from the national church and its pastors or priests on the grounds that their group life was not supported by the parish or that the pastor or priest did not meet the standard of belief and holy living expected of members of the movement. Such movements were under constant challenge as to whose ecclesiastical authority they recognized and to whom they were answerable. Most became independent churches in nations outside the sway of European national churches.

Fourth, every church discipline needs to create procedures for calling baptized persons to account for their behavior and sanctioning them in appropriate and effective ways. Pastors and priests, as well as boards of lay persons designated to uphold congregational discipline, seek means of confronting persons whose actions do not accord with Christian practice or morality as the church understands it, to call them back into the community with appropriate repentance and amends, or, in intractable cases, to expel them. Understandably, many disputes arise in such situations, particularly when sanctions are considered too harsh or ineffective. Moreover, churches may have to decide whether the scope of discipline extends only to behavior in the church or to members' lives in the wider community. They may have to determine whether to seek civil support from a local magistrate or to invoke civil laws that might affect the member's citizenship (in serious cases, such as sexual misconduct or financial malfeasance).

Many branches of Protestantism have become less stringent in examining members' lives than they were in founding generations. Whereas most Protestant denominations make provision for bringing formal charges against a church member and conducting a

trial that might result in expulsion, such procedures are rarely invoked. Informal sanctions through which other members may convey disapproval or exclusion are not uncommon, however.

Discipline of Congregations

Every local church congregation must have structures for governing its own affairs. Protestant churches, grounded in teachings of “the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS,” commonly assume a significant role for LAITY. Although the scope of local control varies among denominations, governing bodies of congregations have some degree of authority in four basic areas.

First, they carry out functions related to the disciplines of church membership described earlier, such as electing persons into membership, affirming their confirmation, or stating expectations for participation and growth in Christian life. They examine church rolls, seek out inactive members, and authorize removal of persons who no longer desire membership.

Second, local church governing bodies create and manage forms of ministry and mission and provide the staff, volunteer or paid, to support those ministries. Oversight of personnel decisions and policies is usually the domain of lay committees in some form of consultation with the pastor or priest, who in many traditions is understood as head of staff or even chief executive officer. A lay committee, in many churches chaired by the priest or pastor, nominates persons to assume administration of programs and resources as volunteers, and provides training and support for those persons in their ministries.

Third, every local church congregation must manage its financial resources, raising the funds needed to operate and expending money in accord with the expectations and desires of the members. Although customs and standards for raising and handling money differ widely across Protestantism, each church also must account for the uses of its money. Regular audits, multiple signatures on checks, secure means of making bank deposits, and public financial statements are among the rules often stated in church law to prevent malfeasance and ensure trust among church members.

Fourth, most local church congregations also must manage tangible properties, such as land and buildings. Every church has a board or committee specifically charged with purchasing, maintaining, renovating, or expanding church facilities under the guidance of the church’s governing body. Church law normally is at pains to require accountable management of properties and sound legal practices, such as proper deeds and contracts.

Protestant churches vary in their understanding of the control of church property, however. In more connectional polities, all property is held by deed in trust for the denomination so that if a congregation becomes inactive, then its buildings revert to a denominational judicatory. The trust clause also prevents a congregation from voting to take its property and leave its denomination. Major renovations, expansions, or purchases must be approved by a denominational body. In less-connectional churches, local property remains in the hands of local trustees or governing boards. Whatever the polity, however, churches generally expect that their facilities will be used for PREACHING, teaching, or ministry in accord with their own doctrines and traditions. Churches with congregational polities are self-constituted as congregations. They normally write their

own constitution and by-laws, create and elect their own officers and governing bodies, employ their own pastor and staff, and own their own property. They take full responsibility for the four areas of congregational discipline described earlier.

Churches with connectional polities normally devise a framework of congregational discipline for all the local churches of the denomination to follow. Although local practice may vary, of course, a common terminology along with common designation of governing bodies and assignment of powers and duties is established in the book of order or discipline. Church law mandates structures and procedures that establish a local church congregation as an organization within the framework of civil law, including election of officers and corporate ownership of property. In the United States, many congregations are registered with the state as not-for-profit corporations to protect individual officers from liability in civil suits and to limit property taxes.

Ministry

Protestant churches advocate the ministry of the whole people of God. They provide for lay participation and leadership in varied ministries, both local and denominational, and expect members to extend Christian witness and service into everyday life in their workplaces, homes, schools, civic involvement, commerce, and other activities. Most Protestant efforts to advance christian EDUCATION, social services, and MISSIONS have been organized and governed by associations composed of and largely led by lay persons (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS; VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES).

Protestantism has also expected that the whole people of God will be able to discern spiritual gifts of persons to be set apart for authorized or ordained offices in the church. For this discernment the churches turn to Scripture, church traditions, and current statements of qualifications and preparation affirmed in church law. Yet the nature and practice of ordained offices has been the source of sharp controversies and lasting divisions in Protestantism.

Three church offices to which the New Testament letters refer have provoked immense debate in Protestantism about the translation of their Greek names, not to mention their function. The Greek *presbyteros* has been variously translated into English as “presbyter,” “priest,” or “elder.” Each of these terms expresses authorization to guide and administer the church. Yet Protestants differ in their understanding of the office as lay or clergy. For the more presbyteral and congregational churches of Reformed traditions, the elder is an office in the local church to which lay persons are ordained. Elders constitute church governing bodies and participate in administration of the sacraments. The pastor is differentiated from these elders (“ruling elders” in the Presbyterian Church USA) with election by a presbytery to ordination for the Word and sacraments (“teaching elder” in the Presbyterian Church USA). For the more connectional and episcopal churches of Anglican (see ANGLICANISM) and Methodist traditions, the elder or priest is an office to which persons are ordained to serve as clergy, with specific and usually exclusive authorization to preach the Word, administer the sacraments, and guide the order and administration of the church.

The Greek *diakonos* has been translated as “deacon” or “diaconate” (see DEACONESS, DEACON). Extending the work of Stephen and others described in the

New Testament, deacons are commonly expected to lead the service of the Christian community to those in need of help, especially the poor and sick, as well as to assist the presbyter, priest, or elders in worship and sacrament. In the more presbyteral and congregational churches of Reformed Protestantism, the diaconate is considered a lay office to which persons are ordained for service. Depending on the polity, deacons (usually organized as a group or board) may exercise significant authority in assisting pastoral offices, governing the congregation, and even calling or dismissing a pastor. In more connectional and episcopal churches, the diaconate has been a far less consistent office than the priesthood. In Anglican and Methodist traditions, ordination to deacon has been understood to be a step of preparation for ordination as elder or priest. Provision for the diaconate as a permanent clergy office is becoming more common, with many persons ordained as deacons to serve as educators, musicians, social service workers, or social action organizers.

Of the three church offices, the *episkopos* has led to perhaps the sharpest divisions among Protestant churches. Coming into English as bishop, overseer, or superintendent, the term has been understood as everything from a description of a pastoral function to a specific and permanent ordained office with a significant role in church governance (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). For many Protestants, the episcopal function of oversight applies mainly to the pastor's duties. Many churches find support for this stance in New Testament descriptions of the episcopate, and a number of local church pastors have taken the title of "bishop" and sought ordination from their congregation to capture this comprehensive pastoral role.

Reformed Protestants typically absorb the oversight function into pastoral or supervisory offices, but do not adopt the title of bishop even for roles of regional or judicatory ministers overseeing the work of pastors and congregations. They argue that Protestantism arose partly in resistance to the hierarchical power of episcopal office to control the churches and to influence civil polity.

Still other Protestant churches, such as Lutheran (see LUTHERANISM) and Methodist bodies, use the title of bishop for offices of preaching and administration in a region or judicatory. They elect bishops, often for life, to ordain priests, pastors, or elders; to be a pastor to pastors (*pastor pastorum*), either to appoint or to oversee the call of pastors and priests to their congregations; and to encourage local churches to work together in connectional endeavors. To this understanding of the office, the Anglican communion of Protestantism adds liturgical functions such as the bishop's role in confirming new members into the church and a more symbolic place of bishop as head of the church in a diocese, ritualized by ordination into the episcopacy. The continuity of bishops with the episcopacy of the early church, termed the "apostolic succession," is a central historical and theological claim undergirding the authority of the office and legitimizing episcopal ordinations. Yet this, too, may be understood either literally as a tangible, continuous historical chain or figuratively as a succession to the roles and practices of apostolic office.

Protestant polities institute offices of ministry, including definitions of their scope and limitations of powers, their duties and responsibilities, and the standards of conduct expected of persons holding these offices. Polities also provide means of testing the call of persons to ordained ministries and define the steps by which persons may seek ordination. The twentieth century brought an increasing emphasis on formal education of

clergy and other church leaders. In company with rising standards in parallel fields such as law, medicine, social work, and teaching, many churches have insisted on advanced preparation for ministry such as a professional master's degree (usually the Master of Divinity). This trend, too, has brought controversy among Protestants. For many churches, the test of call is seen in the fruits of the person's ministry as evidence of the Spirit. Education is considered secondary, irrelevant, or even deceitful if it leads a person to cease teaching the doctrines of the home church.

As educational standards have changed, so in general have expectations of personal conduct and emotional maturity. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the standards for ministerial conduct focused on avoidance of tobacco and alcohol and insistence on behavior governed by good manners and proper decorum. Late in the twentieth century, attention shifted, particularly in Western societies, to questions of SEXUALITY. By the 1990s, many Protestant churches had adopted statements of church law defining sexual harassment and abuse, child abuse, and sexual misconduct of clergy, along with procedures and remedies for addressing such behavior and its consequences. Psychological testing became a standard step in ordination processes, along with criminal background checks.

Governance of clergy matters, like the profession itself, has been assumed in many Protestant churches to be a male domain. Since the 1950s, however, several Protestant bodies, including the United Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church USA, the EPISCOPAL CHURCH, the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, and the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, have provided for ordination of WOMEN to pastoral offices (see WOMEN CLERGY). The actual place of women in ministry continues to be shaped, whatever formal polity may say, by local church attitudes and acceptance by male clergy peers. Many Protestant churches, like Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy, reject ordination of women based on interpretation of scripture and TRADITION.

Many churches have similarly been caught up in debates over the ordination of homosexual persons (see HOMOSEXUALITY). In some cases, churches have formally banned such persons from ordained ministry, but then have struggled to state in clear legal definitions exactly what behaviors they are excluding. A few Protestant churches, such as the United Church of Christ, have chosen to leave sexuality issues to the discernment of regular ordination processes, at least in principle accepting persons of whatever sexuality who demonstrate gifts for ministry.

Just as Protestant polities have provided for discipline of church members, including in worst cases their exclusion from the church, so polities include standards of discipline of clergy and procedures for their removal from ministry. Malfeasance, misconduct, ineffectiveness, or teachings inconsistent with the doctrines of a particular church, all may be grounds for discipline or removal, though the latter two are difficult to prove. Church law must define offenses carefully and set up fair procedures through which a person may be charged, examined, and disciplined with opportunity for self-defense, explanation, and growth in mutual understanding within the Christian community.

Organization for Mission

Protestantism has exhibited a strong missionary impulse throughout its history. Many Protestant churches themselves are the offspring of missions planted by Christians from another country or continent, and in turn, most sponsor mission work beyond their own land or region. Mission, like ministry, is a broadranging term that eludes definition. Certainly for Protestants, it has included not only preaching and teaching of Christian faith, but also education, health care, economic development, social justice, and advocacy for the powerless. In some cases, mission has stirred churches to political action (see **POLITICS; POLITICAL PARTIES**).

Church law and discipline organizes, authorizes, and controls mission work. In churches with congregational polity, authorization of mission may be a relatively simple matter of building consensus and support to undertake certain initiatives in ministry. Authorization may expand to include forms of cooperation with other congregations, sharing financial and human resources, building a school or health clinic together, or pooling money to support the salary of a missionary.

In churches with connectional polities, the governance of missions may be considerably more complex. A **DENOMINATION** may require a self-incorporated body to act as a board of trustees overseeing multiple properties or managing endowments and cash flows in the hundreds of millions of dollars. Denominations with a longer heritage of mission work will bear responsibility for many different institutions, such as schools, hospitals, or homes, that have been built up over generations and continue to seek effective ministry. Some denominations have hundreds or even thousands of persons commissioned to do mission work, laboring under the administration and oversight of persons authorized through church polity.

In general, the principles of polity governing church mission are designed to build and maintain trust: trust between the many church members who give time and money to mission efforts and the persons carrying out and administering that mission; trust between institutions and congregations in different parts of the world trying to support and learn from each other; and trust in a more fiduciary sense of properly managing, distributing, and preserving the considerable resources that the churches pour into mission work and have accumulated over time. To strengthen and enhance that trust, most churches authorize oversight bodies that include lay persons and clergy, to work with paid staff. These bodies may be regional, national, or international in scope. Churches mandate regular detailed reporting on mission activities to congregations and donors. Denominational mission is usually amenable and accountable to the highest governing body of the denomination, such as a general council, synod, assembly, or conference, which alone can authorize administrative units for mission, define their duties and powers, and structure procedures for their accountability.

Constituting Denominations

All Protestant churches, congregational or denominational, are self-constituted. Having broken away from the organic continuity of Roman Catholicism or Orthodoxy, they have had to constitute themselves as independent entities with a name and constitutive elements such as members, councils, synods, or conferences. Normally Protestant churches have a written constitution and procedural by-laws delineating their governing bodies, assigning, limiting, and balancing powers, and providing for amendment.

For Protestant churches organized as denominations, particularly the more connectional churches, their constitutions embody a covenant of association and cooperation expressing some degree of unity in organization and purpose. These constitutions define the bodies with powers to govern denominational ministry and mission and constitute those bodies through forms of representation and delegation. They balance the powers of various entities, such as regional or general assemblies and local churches, clergy, and laity, as well as administrative offices and the assemblies that create and authorize them.

Protestant constitutions provide for the basic legislative, executive, and judicial functions of government, but do so in various ways depending on tradition and social location. For example, in more democratic societies, the churches expect and depend on governance through assemblies composed of persons who bring the assumptions and experience of citizens accustomed to the work of town councils, school boards, and other manifestations of public life. Such assemblies may be open to all or may be representative, that is, democratic or republican in nature. Their powers may be balanced by the administrative or episcopal authority of bishops and judicatory officials, who may also be organized as a council or legislative house with certain oversight responsibilities.

To these dynamics must be added the influential model of business corporations, growing throughout the twentieth century, that advocates executive entre-preneurialism and control, with assemblies functioning more like stockholder meetings. This is manifested in Protestant congregations that understand the pastor to be chief executive officer, in some cases even holding church property as proprietor, as well as in Protestant churches that give executives or bishops the major responsibility in management and initiative of mission. The tension between this commercial corporate model and the democratic political model is as evident in the churches as it is in societies more generally.

Protestant churches have wrestled continually with constitutional issues of participation. In Western societies granting universal suffrage, for example, churches likewise have moved from male assemblies to governing bodies composed of both women and men. Language inclusive of both genders has replaced the male pronouns and terms of earlier generations in many books of church order. Yet, although women usually exhibit higher levels of participation in church activities, in many churches men continue to hold the majority of offices and to predominate in assemblies. Churches have also struggled over the balance of lay and clergy authority in denominational matters. Normally clergy have powers at least equal to those of laity, even though the latter vastly

outnumber the former. This reflects traditional deference to clergy office, historically pertaining especially to matters of ordination and clergy discipline.

Protestant denominations vary in their constitutional self-definitions as entities. Some name the denomination itself as a corporate entity, thus making it capable of owning property and functioning as a unit in civil law. Others specifically disclaim the existence of the denomination as a corporate entity to avoid liability in civil actions. In these polities, all property and legal functions are the responsibility of regional or missional units, and the denomination exists as a common tradition only.

In summary, Protestant churches elude generalization in terms of denominational organization and in polity. Yet for the most part, their forms of governance address the five elements discussed here, which together constitute what is usually encompassed by the term “polity.” Any movement toward greater unity among Protestants, or among Protestants, Roman Catholics, Orthodox, or other branches of Christianity, will have to seek reconciliation of differences within these five elements.

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POLYGAMY

See Plural Marriage

PORVOO

See Ecumenical Agreements

POSTCOLONIALISM

The era of European imperialism introduced significant populations around the world to Protestant theologies, institutions, and social networks, and the establishment of an extensive Protestant missionary infrastructure in colonial territories converted millions of people to Western forms of Christianity. Although many embraced the religion of the colonizers, others rebelled against the imposition of foreign religions. In the twentieth century, as independence movements forced imperial governments out of AFRICA, Asia, and the Americas, Protestants in former colonial territories rallied around postcolonial ideologies to build a viable Christianity that was free from the taint of imperial violence and that spoke to indigenous needs and historical experiences.

Postcolonial Theory and Practice

The historical notion of postcolonialism is rooted in the belief that societies victimized by colonialism—be it directly or indirectly political, economic, or cultural—actively challenge imperial paradigms of power. This is crucial, to be certain that hegemonic colonial power is not replicated informally after independence. Postcolonialism therefore seeks to engage the historical and contemporary experiences of colonial subjects to forge an understanding of the suffering wrought by imperialism, rather than provide a glorified, Eurocentric narrative of imperial history. Because of its diffuse and universal character, postcolonialism is understood and expressed differently throughout the formerly colonized world. For most postcolonial theorists, however, a difficult balance must be struck: Eurocentrism must be rejected, yet the native CULTURE should not be glorified unduly. Instead, a hybrid culture, one that recognizes the interdependence of both cultures in the postcolonial world, yet breaks down the unequal power structures developed through imperialism, is the goal. In the case of Protestantism, postcolonialism has been expressed communally and theologically by activists eager to maintain their faith but also conscious of its colonial, and often violent, experience in their societies.

Many Protestants in areas largely converted by missionaries in the colonial era have looked to reinterpret the BIBLE in ways that resonate with indigenous cultural values, and that divorce the text from the Eurocentrism expressed by many mission organizations. A move toward vernacular hermeneutics, in which translations of the Bible refer to and make comparisons between biblical practices and indigenous traditions, have been useful for maintaining interest in Christianity independent of its association with the colonial powers (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). In tandem with this are postcolonial

readings of the Bible that seek out instances of imperial oppression in the text and then analyze them against modern lived experiences of the disenfranchised. In this way Protestants may find inspiration to resolve remnant problems of imperial decadence, patriarchal oppression, economic disparity, and other social ills attributed to the trauma of empire. At the same time, postcolonial theologians also interrogate biblical interpretations and hermeneutics that have been promoted by theologians from the imperial Metropole. By this act postcolonial readers of Christianity's most sacred text can challenge biblical justifications for imperialism, as well as wrestle with the violence of the Bible.

Theologians have not only theorized a postcolonial Protestantism. Communal practice has been integral in developing Christian hybridity, too. In many countries of postcolonial Africa, for example, there has been a strong emphasis on indigenous Protestant churches independent from the missions of the West. Often referred to as AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES (AIC), these institutions largely reject Western missionary attempts to expel native traditions. Instead they fuse indigenous ideas about the spirit world with literal interpretations of the Bible to create theologies that, for their adherents, feel more African and more historically in touch with the biblical era at the same time. AIC believers often see traditional African practices—such as FAITH HEALING, polygamy (see PLURAL MARRIAGE), and appeals to nature through PRAYER—legitimated in biblical events. AICs have been very successful in countries such as Kenya and NIGERIA, where Western missionaries worked to divorce people from their cultural heritage and embrace Westernization during the colonial period. Literal readings of the Bible appear to AIC believers to confirm cultural norms such as exorcisms and prayers for rain. Also, whereas Western missionaries usually rejected traditional African spirits as mere figments of the imagination, AIC Christians often interpret them as existing evil forces. In this way AIC believers often separate themselves from others in their societies, distinguishing themselves by clothing, diet, and even living in separate communities. Aladura Christians in Nigeria, Zionists in Southern Africa, and Kimbanguists in Zaire are but a few of the AICs that emerged as a postcolonial reaction against Western missionaries.

One of the most dramatic postcolonial movements of Protestantism to emerge was LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Working both independently and in concert with Catholics, Protestant liberation theologians in newly independent nations throughout the world sought to create theological frameworks that were historically localized and that emphasized social justice. Focusing on the commonplace and how the sacred and profane were experienced jointly in everyday life, liberation theologians read Christianity as a blueprint for social revolution. By interpreting the message of Jesus as a call for the deliverance of the poor and oppressed, they rejected ideas of spiritual transcendence and promoted ethnic and class equality within a contemporary social framework. Rejecting European Protestant ideals of INDIVIDUALISM and capitalism, liberation theologians emphasized wide-scale social movements and solidarity among oppressed peoples, merging a hermeneutical belief in the triumph of the subjugated with a strong commitment to overturning the remnants of the tyrannical colonial social order in favor of indigenous expressions of religion and AUTHORITY.

Liberation Theology and Postcolonialism

Liberation theology developed in LATIN AMERICA as a response to the desperate conditions of poverty spawned by the economic policies of the independent populist governments. As rural communities saw their economic power collapse in the face of rapid INDUSTRIALIZATION and import substitution programs, widespread social movements against the establishment emerged that called for more egalitarian distribution of wealth and power. In MEXICO, Argentina, BRAZIL, and other nations, Protestant and Catholic CLERGY and lay people established theologies glorifying the triumphant social justice message of Jesus, often merging ideologies of Marxism and social revolution formulated by theologians such as Uruguay's Emilio Castro of the Methodist Church and the Brazilian Ecumenical activist Rubem Alves. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s liberation theologians in Latin America such as Julio de Santa Ana and José Míguez Bonino inspired Protestants not only in their own societies, but throughout the world, to reject Christian leaders who claimed that earthly suffering was just. Instead, they and their followers sought to fight for social equality in the name of Christianity, and they hoped to complete the anti-imperial struggle by toppling corrupt postindependence governments.

Perhaps the most potent postcolonial Liberation Theology movement to come out of the Protestant tradition came from SOUTH AFRICA. The South African Contextual Theology Movement had a tremendous impact on world attitudes toward the racist legal system of Apartheid, and transformed theological ideals among millions of Christians. Protestants of many sects, as well as Roman Catholics, worked together to formulate Christian arguments against the Apartheid system. Inspired by the Anglican monk TREVOR HUDDLESTON'S *Naught For Your Comfort* (1955), white and black South Africans spent the 1960s and 1970s developing Christian-based strategies for overthrowing institutionalized racism. One of the most charismatic and effective Anglican voices against Apartheid belonged to archbishop DESMOND TUTU (1931–). As the first black dean of Johannesburg's Anglican Cathedral, Tutu worked with like-minded reformers to draw international attention to the plight of black South Africans, calling for an international boycott of South African coal in 1980, which resulted in the government seizing his passport. Tutu's message, however, could not be contained, and he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.

Tutu's compatriot, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid Afrika minister ALAN BOESAK, was also instrumental in the development of South African liberation theology. After years of pressure the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES (WARC) revoked the membership of Afrikaner churches supportive of Apartheid in 1982. Boesak had led the campaign against them, and developed a theology, adopted by the WARC, that declared the racism of Apartheid a Christian HERESY. For the next four years Boesak developed a new CONFESSION of faith for South Africans. Finally published in 1986, the Belhar Confession explicitly tied the message of Christian redemption to the unity and equality of all people regardless of race, declaring that "the credibility of [Christianity] is seriously affected and its beneficial work obstructed when it is proclaimed in a land which professes to be Christian, but in which the enforced separation of people on a racial basis promotes and perpetuates alienation, hatred and enmity.... Therefore, we reject any ideology which would legitimate forms of injustice

and any doctrine which is unwilling to resist such an ideology in the name of the gospel.” With this confession Protestant South Africans were armed with a theological weapon with which to challenge the Apartheid machine.

A year earlier, in 1985, over thirty lay and ordained Protestants connected to the Institute for Contextual Theology in Johannesburg drafted another document that grounded the anti-Apartheid movement in Protestant resistance. The Kairos Document rejected Afrikaner claims that Apartheid was legitimated by the Bible, and also decried calls for nonviolent resistance by white South African churches living outside the context of the violent state oppression of black communities. Declaring the Kairos, or “moment of truth,” had arrived, the 156 signatories representing over twenty denominations called for the church to actively oppose the regime and not to interfere with civil disobedience against it. Declaring that “God sides with the oppressed,” the Kairos Document created a theology in which active participation of Christians in the anti-Apartheid movement was a religious duty. In this way, the church was to “move beyond a mere ‘ambulance ministry’ to a ministry of involvement and participation.”

With the end of Apartheid in 1994, the National Unity government led by Nelson Mandela established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Convened in 1996 and directed by Desmond Tutu, contextual theologians worked with other activists to heal the deep wounds festering at every level of South African society by the Apartheid system. The Commission was shaped by a strong belief in the redemptive quality of repentance by perpetrators of human rights crimes committed, with the ultimate goal of widespread forgiveness among the repatriated victims, and social unification throughout South African society. From the outset, Tutu called on all South Africans—Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, and others—to participate in the Commission, using the redemptive language of liberation theology and its emphasis on spiritual equality and social justice to motivate skeptics and supporters alike. As the Commission’s investigations and subsequent amnesties continued on into the new century, the impact of South African contextual theology garnered accolades around the world.

Another postcolonial liberation theology movement rooted in Protestant thought emerged among the Palestinians, the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology movement. Based in Jerusalem and founded in 1989, the Sabeel movement emerged from the Intifada against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. By highlighting the life of Jesus under Roman occupation and the message of justice and reconciliation in the Christian message, the Sabeel movement combined grassroots action with a fiercely anti-imperialist message of nonviolent resistance to Israeli oppression of Palestinians. With members from the Palestinian Protestant, Catholic, Latin, and Orthodox Christian communities in its ranks, Sabeel’s liberation theology sought to challenge Christian Zionist rhetoric that the State of Israel was proof of the End Times and Second Coming of Jesus. In response, Sabeel’s theological understanding of Jesus promoted the ideals of equality and social justice inherent in Jesus’s message, but rejected the idea that Jesus could be defined as either Jew or Gentile. Instead Sabeel’s Christian vision stressed the importance of securing a peaceful resolution to the Israel-Palestine conflict that protected the human rights of all people in the Holy Land and that preached the Gospel of Jesus parallel to the Palestinian struggle.

Conclusion

The case of Sabeel is instructive for understanding the way postcolonial theory has influenced Protestant readings of the Bible. Colonial settler movements often used the story of the Exodus as inspiration for their political and economic displacement of indigenous populations. The Zionist movement is the most obvious case, but European expansion into the Americas, AUSTRALIA, and Southern Africa provide other examples of this rhetoric. However, for the Palestinians and other groups marginalized by such interpretations, the story of the Exodus can also be read from the perspective of the Egyptians, as Sabeel's founder, the Palestinian Episcopal Minister Naim Ateek, has argued. In this way the destruction of the Egyptians in the wake of the glory of the Israelites may serve as a reminder of the dispossession and violence of the colonial encounter. By reading the Bible as a story of imperial conquest and liberation simultaneously and employing postcolonial theories of power and hybridity, Protestants in the postcolonial world—both in the former empires and their metropolitan centers—may be able to reconcile their beliefs in a compassionate, redemptive deity, and their lived experience of colonial displacement and trauma, often justified by colonial theologians.

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POSTMODERNITY

The term *postmodernity*, and its related expression *postmodernism*, require as their definitional counterpoint the terms *modernity* and *modernism*, respectively. Before definitions are provided, however, it is necessary to make some important and salutary distinctions. Following Marshall Berman, we need to distinguish between modernity, modernization, and MODERNISM. *Modernity* is a periodization, referring generally to the time after the classical age, the time of industrialization, or the time after the demise of traditional societies (each of these is of course related in more or less complex ways to the others). *Modernization*, by contrast, refers to the process(es) whereby the transition is made from a premodern to a modern society or culture. *Modernism*, on the other hand, is

the aesthetic ideology and its affiliated movements associated with the onset of modernity. Each of these terms has its postmodern counterpart. Thus *postmodernity* refers to the period after the age of the modern, *postmodernism* is the aesthetic ideology related to this newly emergent period, and the processes of modernization have in principle to be completed in order for postmodernity to emerge. Sometimes conflated with these is the term *poststructuralism*. Poststructuralism, however, usually designates a specifically philosophical position that transcends or negates its complement, *structuralism* (i.e., the theory whose basic principle, associated with the thought of Ferdinand de Saussure, Roman Jakobson, and Claude Lévi-Strauss, is that consciousness has a structure whose basic form is that of the code), so that poststructuralism is the theory that undermines or problematizes the notion that consciousness, and the production of meaning that constitutes its *raison d'être*, functions as a code or assemblage of codes. As such poststructuralism has nothing necessarily to do with postmodernism or postmodernity, though they are lumped together in many taxonomies of postmodernism, so that an exemplary poststructuralist thinker like Jacques Derrida is often (and sometimes misleadingly) called a postmodernist. (It should also be noted that poststructuralism, though it happens to refer to a grouping of mainly French thinkers, is in fact an American invention: the designation is not typically used in France, and even when it is, it is usually made clear that the term is borrowed from the United States.)

The term “modernism,” signifying an aesthetic movement, was first used by the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, who referred in 1890 to a *modernismo* in a “declaration of cultural independence” from Spain (Anderson 1998:3). The term *postmodernismo* was first used in 1934 by the Spanish literary historian Frederico de Onís, who used it to refer to a conservative tendency within modernism itself, which favored irony and privileged textual detail, in contrast to an *untramodernismo*, which represented a radical tendency within modernism, which according to de Onís, quickly supplanted the ornamentalizing and ultimately trivial *postmodernismo* through the creation of a “rigorously contemporary poetry” (4).

It took another two decades for the term and its cognates to appear in anglophone circles. In 1954 the historian Arnold Toynbee published the eighth volume of his *Study of History*, in which he used the term the “post-modern age” to designate the period that began with the Franco-Prussian War (1870). Toynbee identified this age with the decline of the middle class and the concomitant rise of the proletariat, and also with the emergence outside the West of intellectual elites who would use resources afforded by modernity itself in order to challenge the West. Toynbee cited as examples of this challenge Meiji Japan, Bolshevik Russia, Turkey under Mustapha Kemal, and Maoist China (6).

Three years before the publication of Toynbee’s volume, in 1951, the American poet Charles Olson wrote to his friend and fellow poet Robert Creeley and declared that “the first half of the twentieth century [was] the marshalling yard on which the the modern was turned to what we have, the post-modern or post-West” (7). As Perry Anderson points out in his illuminating conspectus of the the notion of the postmodern (to which this article is much indebted), Olson’s “aesthetic theory was linked to a prophetic history, with an agenda allying poetic innovation with political revolution in the classic tradition of the avant-gardes of Europe” (12). Olson’s legacy, focused as it was on the need for a literature divested of its humanistic impulses, became dormant until the early 1970s. In

the 1970s the notion of a postmodern resurfaced in the journal *boundary 2* and in the writings of the literary theorist Ihab Hassan. The term now started to have the resonance currently associated with it, that is, a complex and heterogeneous amalgam containing a number of key indicators and themes: the critique of previous systems of rationality and especially of the project of the ENLIGHTENMENT, the possibility of a politics not constituted by liberal (and hence modern) notions of the political subject, and the emergence of radically new and different standpoints for the constitution of knowledges. The two most important theorists of these developments have been the late JeanFrançois Lyotard (1924–1998) and Fredric Jameson (1934–).

The Analysis of Postmodernity: Lyotard and Jameson

Lyotard's book *The Postmodern Condition* (originally published in 1979) described the postmodern not simply as an object of attention for literary theorists but as a problem posed for the legitimation of knowledge stemming from the collapse of the so-called "grand narratives" (MARXISM, Enlightenment rationality, Christianity, etc.). These "grand narratives," many embodying the myths that shaped modernity, and involving such notions as truth, reason, and progress have, in Lyotard's eyes, been displaced by a situation, typical of postindustrial societies, in which knowledge is no longer warranted by an overarching system of generally accepted norms and principles, but is instead validated in some way by a plethora of not always commensurable "language games" (a notion Lyotard borrowed from Ludwig Wittgenstein, 1889–1951). Truth is operationalized in this new epoch and reduced to "performativity" because language game is legitimated by its own "little narrative" and has no applicability outside the sphere of that particular little narrative. Lyotard also believes that postmodern social relations reflect this epochal shift: our interactions are now marked by contingency, temporal limits, and an essential revisability. Nothing in postmodernity possesses any finality, and all totalities and totalizations have effectively been discredited by the uncontainable heterogeneity of language games. *The Postmodern Condition* quickly acquired a notoriety out of all proportion to its actual intellectual merits. Many commentators, and later Lyotard himself, regarded it as a hodge-podge of ideas not very coherently put together. In fact, it was quickly pointed out that Lyotard had violated his own thesis of the demise of grand narratives by providing what looked suspiciously like a grand narrative (namely, the one regarding the emergence of the postmodern condition).

Fredric Jameson wrote the foreword to the English edition of *The Postmodern Condition*, and it is perhaps ironic that he should be a leading contemporary proponent of one of the grand narratives alleged by Lyotard to be discredited by postmodernity, namely, Marxism. Two essays in his collection *The Cultural Turn* (1998) are important for any understanding of Jameson's theses concerning postmodernity and postmodernism. "Postmodernism and Consumer Society" defines postmodernism as "a periodizing concept whose function is to correlate the emergence of new formal features in culture with the emergence of a new type of social life and a new economic order—what is often euphemistically called modernization, post-industrial or consumer society, the society of the media or the spectacle, or multinational capitalism" (Jameson 1998:3). Postmodernity on this Marxist account is thus the "cultural logic" of "late capitalism."

Jameson views the postmodern cultural logic as being marked by a number of distinctive features: pastiche replaces modernist parody, the subject of bourgeois individualism has died or else is now known never to have existed as the subject it is purported to be; nostalgia is its operative mode; reality collapses into images; and time is decomposed into a series of perpetual presents. The other essay from *The Cultural Turn* that is of interest to us, “Theories of the Post-modern,” identifies a number of positions that can be taken with regard to this new cultural logic. One, which generally welcomes the new term, can be identified with the work of Ihab Hassan, and celebrates postmodernism from an antimodernist standpoint (22); another position, which also uses the new term, apotheosizes modernism in order to displace an “unacceptable” postmodernism (the cultural conservative Hilton Kramer). Yet another, while using modernism to dethrone this unacceptable postmodernism, nevertheless does so from a generally left perspective (Jürgen Habermas, who also uses the new term). Jameson also identifies two other positions on postmodernism: one, that of Jean-François Lyotard, which sees postmodernism as an offshoot of high modernism (albeit with one key difference, namely, that for Lyotard, postmodernism does not succeed high modernism, but precedes a new and revitalized high modernism for which it is paving the way); the second, identified with the work of the Italian architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri, is anti-postmodernist without seeing anything of positive value in high modernism itself (on the contrary, for Tafuri, postmodernism simply reexpresses certain baneful tendencies already to be found in high modernism).

Jameson’s many writings on postmodernism analyze its many dimensions. As a cultural logic the postmodern subtends all forms of present-day cultural production—architecture, art, film and other visual media, literature, music, philosophy, politics, and religion. Each (and he has written illuminatingly on all of these) is seen by him as an amalgam of cultural symptoms, to be deciphered (“transcoded” is Jameson’s preferred term) by the appropriately deployed Marxist hermeneutical apparatus. The symptoms are historicized, a process that renders visible the sharpened or blunted political impulses contained within them. It is common in less well-informed circles to fault Jameson for being himself a postmodernist. This is simply not the case; if anything he is its most intractable critic: what he wants to do is present a phenomenology of it as a cultural object, to register the full range of its characters, and to provide a political critique of it. However, because he insists that thought be historicized, the very intellectual instruments used by him and others to analyze postmodernism are inflected by its widely ramifying cultural logic, and the thought that has postmodernism as its object, if properly constituted, must have a metatheory of this inflection. This gives Jameson’s critique of postmodernity a subtlety lacking in other similar critiques (for example, the trenchant critique provided by Terry Eagleton in his *The Illusions of Postmodernism* [1996]).

There are other accounts and critiques of postmodernity (David Harvey’s *The Condition of Postmodernity* [1990] being notable among these), but none has the quality of a definitive intellectual intervention that marks the work of Lyotard and Jameson. The fact of the matter is, the intellectual agendas and especially the theoretical armatures developed by Jameson have provided the terms of reference for much of the subsequent discussion of the postmodern and its appurtenances.

Theology and Postmodernity

Theologians have sought to respond to the intellectual agendas and conceptual frameworks devised by theorists of postmodernity. Two main strands of this theological response can be identified. One is affiliated with an appropriation of the writings of Derrida and his followers (but also of Martin Heidegger), and has two wings: (1) an atheological approach, exemplified by the work of Mark C. Taylor and others published primarily in Taylor's University of Chicago Press "Religion and Postmodernism" series; and (2) a resolutely theological approach, identified with such figures as Jean-Luc Marion, using the deconstruction of the Heideggerian-Derridean metaphysics of being to furnish a new framework that seeks to think "godhood" without recourse to the categories of being. The other main approach is the "radical orthodoxy" school of British theology, whose more prominent members include John Milbank, Catherine Pickstock, Graham Ward, Gerard Loughlin, and Phillip Blond. Several exponents of radical orthodoxy use the Heideggerian-Derridean critique of the metaphysics of being, but radical orthodoxy's paradigm relies on very much more than this critique (which it shares with those theologians influenced by Heidegger and Derrida such as Jean-Luc Marion). Radical orthodoxy also happens to have a wider-angled critique of the secular order; its exponents derive their philosophical inspiration not just from Heidegger, Derrida, and Emmanuel Levinas, but also Thomas Aquinas, Giambattista Vico, and Friedrich Jacobi, among others, and they also take their approach into other domains such as political theology and theological metaethics. Radical orthodoxy is also more concerned with the quest for a new basis for postsecular theological reason, a concern obviously not shared by the postmodern atheologians and one less explicitly evident in the thought of theologians whose focal point is (almost exclusively) the Heideggerian-Derridean critique of the metaphysics of being. It is perhaps too early to make more than a provisional assessment of the significance of the post-modern theologies and atheologies—a great deal will depend on the trajectory taken by postmodernity and the retrieval of those traditions, banished in the name of a "skeptical" modernity, it now makes possible. Postmodernity will not last for ever, and its successor dispensation will proffer other and alternative conditions for theological reflection. Postmodernity is closely (some would say exclusively) bound up with the character of the so-called advanced societies, and a great deal will hinge on the course taken by these societies and the relation they have to societies not currently functioning as vehicles of postmodernity. The societies outside the purview of the postmodern constitute postmodernity's "outside," and one senses that what comes after the postmodern will depend crucially on the transformations brought about by this ubiquitous "outside" and the images of thought generated by it and its as yet unknown sequelae. Another consideration in deciding what may come after postmodernity must be the propensity within the intellectual elites of advanced industrial societies to declare, as rapidly as possible, the supersession of a previous "post," so that one now hears declarations of the emergence of a "post-postmodernity." This haste is to be resisted: complex issues and powerfully entrenched practical and intellectual movements constitute the core of phenomena like modernity and postmodernity. The stakes in these issues must be ascertained, and the trajectories of these movements analyzed, before they can be consigned to the past of a present that seems to find its

future in endless recyclings of the past and its images—a symptom of the postmodern that seemingly has pervaded the very attempts to reflect on it.

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PRAETORIUS, MICHAEL (1571–1621)

German composer. Praetorius was born at Creutzburg an der Werra, GERMANY, February 15, 1571, and died February 15, 1621 at Wolfenbüttel. He was among the most versatile musicians of his day and is also notable for his theoretical writings. He produced over one thousand settings of Protestant hymns, many of which were published in a nine-volume collection, *Musae Sioniae*, 1605 (four volumes of miscellaneous hymn settings, two volumes of liturgically ordered works for from two to seven voices, and three volumes of liturgically ordered simple four-part harmonizations).

A notable feature of his works is the inclusion of congregational settings within his polychoral motets. His most ambitious works based on Protestant chorales (published in *Polyhymnia cauduceatrix et panegyrica* [1619]) display a mature assimilation of Venetian polychoral techniques. Three collections from 1611 contain his settings of Latin LITURGY and include four substantial organ hymn settings that present each cantus firmus in the pedals. In his comprehensive work on church music, *Syntagma musicum* I (1615), he published a unique account by Johann Walter (a colleague of his father at the Latin school at Torgau) about Walter's collaboration with MARTIN LUTHER and Luther's proposed musical reforms. *Syntagma musicum* II (1619) (dealing with

instruments) contains particularly valuable and detailed information on the organ. Praetorius's prefaces to his musical collections are particularly sensitive to the exigencies of church performance, and give detailed instructions on their practical adaptation to a variety of performing forces, as well as much information of liturgical interest.

See also Hymns and Hymnals

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PRAYER

Protestant practices of prayer vary from one tradition to another, but Protestants can agree that prayer is a means of communication with God. God is addressed in words spoken or sung by individuals or communities, and a word from God is awaited in silent meditation. Protestants might further agree that Christian prayer should be informed by the Word of God and that it is inspired by the Holy Spirit. For some Protestants, such as JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791), prayer has been considered a third means of GRACE after BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER.

Protestants have believed that prayer should be addressed only to God, not to SAINTS or to Mary (see MARY, VIRGIN). Forms of invocation of the saints practiced in the Middle Ages were suppressed in the REFORMATION. Protestants have also emphasized the high priestly mediation of Christ ("our only mediator and advocate") before the throne of God, where he pleads the merits of his atoning sacrifice on behalf of his brothers and sisters, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews. More informal or pietistic prayer may be addressed to Jesus rather than to God the Father. Less frequently in Protestant practice, prayer may be addressed to the Holy Spirit, but the Holy Spirit is more usually understood to be the enabler of prayer, according to Romans 8:26–27. In the last third of the twentieth century, liberal Protestants have striven to find ways of making the names and images of God in prayer more GENDER-inclusive by exploring other names and images in the biblical record and liturgical tradition (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

Prayer may be done with others or alone. Prayer with others occurs in the CHURCH or liturgical assembly, in the family or household, or in prayer meetings. This article first treats prayer in public WORSHIP, then household prayer, and finally individual prayer.

Public Worship

Protestant public worship, like all Christian worship, includes such elements of prayer as adoration and praise, confession of SIN, intercession and supplication, and thanksgiving. Adoration and praise has been expressed in Protestant worship, especially in canticles and hymns sung by the congregation. A CONFESSION of sins became a part of Protestant worship by transforming the celebrant's preparatory prayers in the sacristy or at the foot of the ALTAR before the celebration of mass into a congregational act. Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, and Methodist liturgies have included prayers of confession said by the congregation followed by an absolution or declaration of grace given by the minister. The lack of a practice of individual confession and sacramental absolution in Protestantism have raised these prayers of confession to a position of high regard in Protestant piety. Intercession and supplication achieved an important role in Protestant worship in the general pastoral prayers in which concerns for all human need were voiced by the preacher. The antecedent of the pastoral prayer is the intercessions offered from the pulpit in the medieval preaching office of Prone in conjunction with parish announcements. MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) revised the Great Litany, which is pure supplication, and it has had a place in Lutheran prayer and in the Anglican BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER through the translation of THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556), archbishop of Canterbury (1534–1553). Thanksgiving for God's goodness has also had a place in Protestant prayer. Except for Lutherans, who focused on the Words of Institution as an act of consecration, Protestant Reformation celebrations of the Lord's Supper included new prayers of thanksgivings. There has been a prodigious production of new eucharistic prayers in the last third of the twentieth century in Episcopal, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and United Methodist worship books.

In addition to Sunday morning worship in word and sacrament, the church has had daily prayer services since the fourth century. In his *German Mass and Order of Service* (1526), Luther laid the groundwork for replacing the daily masses (unless there were communicants) with forms of morning and evening prayer based on the historic Roman and monastic prayer offices (Matins and Vespers). These services included psalms, an office hymn, Scripture readings, a gospel canticle (Benedictus or Te Deum at Matins, Magnificat or Nunc dimittis at Vespers), and various forms of prayer (collects, litanies, suffrages). Because PREACHING was included in all Lutheran public worship, the sermon eventually overshadowed the elements of praise and prayer that had characterized the traditional prayer offices. During the Age of ENLIGHTENMENT these daily prayer offices fell out of use. They were revived in the nineteenth century by Theodore Kliefoth (1818–1895) in northern GERMANY and WILHELM LÖHE (1808–1872) in southern Germany, especially for use in the DEACONESS mother houses. Their use in congregations has remained occasional (e.g., on retreats) or seasonal (e.g., during Advent and Lent) more than daily.

In the Edwardian ancestors of *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549 and 1552), Cranmer followed the Lutheran model of combining Matins and Lauds into one office of Morning Prayer and Vespers and Compline into one office of Evening Prayer. Cranmer provided a course of psalmody in which the entire psalter was recited in one month rather than

choosing psalms appropriate to the time of the day. The old offices of Prime and Compline had included prayers of confession and absolution, and Cranmer prefixed Morning and Evening Prayer with a penitential rite, drawing inspiration from the Church Orders of Cologne and Strassburg prepared by MARTIN BUCER (1539, 1543). Over the course of four centuries many composers have provided fine musical settings of the psalms and canticles. Morning and Evening Prayer has served as the living heart of Anglican worship and devotion for four centuries.

The Anglican priest, JOHN WESLEY, expected his Methodist followers to attend worship in their parish church, their class meetings being supplementary to this (see METHODISM, METHODISM, ENGLAND). He provided an abridged form of the prayer offices in his Sunday Service (1784) for Methodists in America. In both America and Britain, Morning and Evening Prayer fell into disuse as a regular practice. The Methodist practice of spontaneous prayer in the class meetings was blended in America with the Puritan patterns of lay leadership in prayer, extempore prayer, and weekday prayer meetings. The prayer meetings were less formal than Sunday worship and were often layled. Methodists, like Episcopalians, preferred kneeling for prayer, but usually knelt facing the pew rather than the table or pulpit.

The major controversy over prayer in Protestantism has been between the use of written prayers and extempore prayer. Those traditions known as "FREE CHURCH" really mean free of the obligatory use of prayer books. Anabaptist communities in the sixteenth century practiced spontaneous prayer as well as periods of silent meditation (see ANABAPTISM). Anabaptist practice influenced both English Puritans (those within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND who sought a more thorough Reformation along Reformed lines) and Separatists who encountered Anabaptist practice in their expatriate communities in THE NETHERLANDS.

If the earlier Reformation traditions were content to have worship that did not conflict with Scripture as the "sole rule and norm" of faith and practice, the Puritans required worship and prayer that was completely biblical, although agreement on what the Bible required was not easy to achieve (see PURITANISM). Should the Lord's Prayer be recited as a text or does it serve as a model for prayer? Speaking in TONGUES (glossolalia) is clearly allowed in I Corinthians 14, but the Puritans were not interested in that practice. They were agreed, however, that decisions about worship and prayer should be made at the lowest ecclesiastical level, the congregation. This allowed prayers to be more relevant to local need than fixed forms in a prayer book, although printed prayers could be used if the congregation so decided. Because the real concerns of real people should be paramount in prayer, however, extempore prayer ("from the heart") was preferred to written prayers. In typical Puritan practice, following the "directions" given by the apostle in I Timothy 2:1, public worship began with thanksgiving and intercession led by the pastor, teacher, and others while all stood for prayer with the arms lifted above their heads in the manner enjoined in I Timothy 2:8. Prayer concerns could be written down on notes, but the prayers had to be extemporaneous. Until the eighteenth century not even the Lord's Prayer was recited in Puritan worship in Boston.

Puritan practice also influenced the Presbyterians (see PRESBYTERIANISM). In the Reformed tradition emanating from Geneva, prayers were read by the pastors from the pulpit with the people following the words in their hearts. The Presbyterian *Westminster Directory of Public Worship* (1645) prescribed an outline of the content of public prayer

but not the exact wording. Because the Directory encouraged extempore rather than written prayers, public prayers came to reflect the personality and interests of the preacher and local interests.

In the Reformed/Presbyterian tradition, public praying was done by ministers. Puritans and Separatists not only permitted lay prophesying and praying, but encouraged it. BAPTISTS detested “hireling ministers,” although they had their nonstipendiary pastors. Puritans and Baptists also held Sunday night weekday prayer meetings that ministers did not always attend.

Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) had no clergy at all. Contemporary reports from the seventeenth century indicate that Quaker meetings were anything but quiet. Quaker WOMEN were allowed to prophesy and pray in public meetings as well as men, and this often created a public furor. In Quaker worship set forms were entirely eschewed lest the Spirit be quenched; however, as Quaker worship quieted down in the eighteenth century, the discipline of not praying audibly without the “motion of the Spirit” was adopted by the Society of Friends. Quaker prayer, more than other forms of Protestant prayer, includes a silent waiting on God.

Emerging from the frontier revival tradition, and infused with the experience of African American worship, Pentecostal practice moved in the direction of ecstatic utterance rather than a silent waiting on God (see PENTECOSTALISM). Although prayer may be led by a minister, other worshipers freely enter into prayer as the Spirit gives them utterance, often in the ecstatic speech of glossolalia. In both African American and Pentecostal worship, worshipers feel free to voice their “Amens,” “Yes, Jesus,” “Praise the Lord,” “Halleluia,” and often accompany oral prayer with the physical prayer of raising one or both arms in the air. Prayer for healing with the laying on of hands is often a part of Pentecostal worship, but may also be witnessed in Anglican worship.

Household Devotions

Martin Luther provided a foundation for household prayer in his *Small Catechism* (1529). The appendix to the Catechism includes little morning and evening offices and meal graces (see CATECHISMS). In both his *Little Prayer Book* (*Betbüchlein*) of 1522 and in the Catechisms, Luther sets out the Lord’s Prayer as the model of all Christian praying as well as a text to be recited upon getting out of bed in the morning, at meals, and before retiring, along with the Apostles’ Creed in the morning and evening, and optionally a hymn based on the Ten Commandments in the morning. Luther himself provided simple morning and evening prayers in the Catechism and revised the monastic meal graces with their psalmody for use in the household. As hymnody developed for evangelical worship in the congregation, it was also brought into the home. Many hymns written during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were actually intended for use in households and were sung by families in their devotions before they were incorporated into liturgical services. One noteworthy example is “Now thank we all our God” by Martin Rinkhart (1586–1649), which has been called the Protestant Te Deum. The Reformed also cultivated household devotions, although the exact forms of prayer are unknown. Psalm singing was

done in the household as in the church, often in more elaborate musical arrangements than those used in public worship.

Private Prayer

Anglican spirituality also assumes that private and corporate prayer need each other (see ANGLICANISM). The private devotions of Bishop LANCELOT ANDREWES (1555–1626) assumes that LITURGY shapes the prayer of the private closet. The masterpiece of the poet and country priest GEORGE HERBERT (1593–1633), *The Temple*, portrays the spiritual journey of the individual within sacred space from the “church porch” to the gates of heaven.

Edification literature has provided material for both household and individual devotions since the middle of the sixteenth century, but these books tended to loosen the ties between household prayer and the corporate prayer of the church by providing prayers for various life situations and spiritual conditions. Some of these prayer books became encyclopedic. One of the classic prayer book traditions that grew out of PIETISM is the *Moravian Daily Texts*, still used worldwide. Under the leadership of Count NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF (1700–1760), Moravians developed a tradition of daily texts or “Watchwords” (*Losungen*) for each day of the year (see MORAVIAN CHURCH). Originally chosen by Zinzendorf, since 1788 the “watchwords” have been drawn by lot from a collection of several thousand suitable texts. In the twentieth century devotional booklets for use by families and individuals have been published in serial form in mass quantity. One successful example is *The Upper Room*, published every two months by the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH since 1935. Its format of a brief Scripture text, meditation, and brief prayer has served as a model for devotional booklets published by other denominations.

Finally, we not only have the teachings of great Protestant reformers and teachers on prayer, but a record of their personal prayers that shows the relationship between prayer and belief. Luther’s prayers express a simple trust in a loving heavenly Father, whereas JOHN CALVIN’S prayers display a regenerating moral energy in response to the will of a majestic God. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the mysticism represented by Bernard of Clairvaux and Johann Tauler was integrated with Lutheran thinking in Philip Nicolai’s *Mirror of Joy* (1598), JOHANN ARNDT’S *True Christianity* (1606–1609), JOHANN GERHARD’S *Sacred Meditations* (1606), and, in the eighteenth century, in the hymns and prayers of the Reformed poet Gerhard Tersteegen (1697–1769). A more rational relationship with God is evident in JOHN DONNE’S *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624) and Lancelot Andrewes’s *Private Devotions* (published posthumously in 1675), whereas a spiritual self-discipline is found in the prayers in JOHN BUNYAN (1628–1688) and in WILLIAM LAW’S *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1729). A sturdy willingness to engage God in the concerns of life is evident in the prayers of SØREN KIERKEGAARD (1813–1855) and JOHN BAILLIE’S *A Diary of Private Prayer* (1949). Confidence in the power of prayer to change life and events was affirmed in their books on prayer by George A. Buttrick (1942) and Frank C. Laubach (1946).

See also Hymns and Hymnals

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FRANK C.SENN

PREACHING

The Continental Reformation

Jesus came preaching the Gospel (Mark 1:14). Nothing is more characteristic of Protestantism that its strong emphasis upon preaching—the oral proclamation of the Good News. Though a quite diverse movement, one thing has united Protestantism through the ages—a conviction that Christ is vividly present in preaching. The Reformation did not make preaching an important aspect of Christian life—it already was. The contribution of the reformers was to champion two particular sorts of preaching: expository and catechetical. Although the preaching of sermons has been a distinctive means of Christian communication from the beginning of the church, the REFORMATION made preaching the theological foundation of the CHURCH, the human result of a God who speaks. Although reformer PHILIPP MELANCHTHON admitted that he was not much of a preacher himself, in the 1530 AUGSBURG CONFESSION (Art. 7) he defines the church for Lutherans as “the congregation of the saints in which the Gospel is rightly preached and the sacraments are rightly administered.” Shortly thereafter, JOHN CALVIN proclaimed in the INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION that “where the word is heard with reverence and the sacraments are not neglected there we discover... an appearance of the Church” (IV.1.10). These statements typify the Protestant inclination to make preaching a principal mark of the faithful church. Faith comes as an auditory phenomenon (MARTIN LUTHER loved to quote Romans 10:17). The church is dependent on the freedom of the Word that gives rise to the church and also is the church’s most severe critic. Thus Luther called the church building a *Mundhaus* (mouth-house).

A pastor is, for Luther, *minister verbi divini* (servant of the Word of God). For all of the reformers, preaching is the primary ministerial function. In his introduction to his 1526 *German Mass*, Luther described the round of services at Wittenberg. Three services were held every Sunday with sermons from the Epistles for the earliest service, from the Gospel at the main morning service, and from the Old Testament at Vespers. It was

Luther's practice to preach through an entire book of the BIBLE in successive sermons, Sunday after Sunday. At the Monday and Tuesday services, the sermons were expositions on parts of the CATECHISM, the Decalogue, the Creed, the SACRAMENTS, or the Lord's Prayer. The morning midweek service on Wednesday contained a sermon always from the Gospel of Matthew. Thursday and Friday sermons were on the Epistles. At Vespers on Saturday, the Gospel of John was preached. Luther urged similar disciplines on those congregations that were under his influence.

Whereas medieval preachers tended to look for a fourfold meaning of scripture (the literal, allegorical, moral, and eschatological meanings), Luther (who had a doctorate in biblical interpretation) claimed to be bound only by the plain sense of the text and the text's disclosure of Christ. Lutheran sermons tended to see Christ at the heart of all scripture, looking for a christological meaning in almost every text. Theologically, every Lutheran sermon attempted to stress law and Gospel as the principal means of presenting the Gospel. Hearing the law is a prelude to reception of the Gospel word of GRACE and forgiveness, through the power of the Holy Spirit. The basic theological content of the Lutheran sermon is the forgiveness of sins because even the saved do not cease sinning; we are all *simul Justus et Peccator*.

Luther's preaching style tended to be expository, paraphrasing a biblical text, interspersed with commentary that included theological and moral observations. He shared his own personality in his preaching, often showing a quaint, mundane style that was lively and engaging. His sermons usually followed a predictable structure: a brief introduction and contextualization of the biblical text; an exposition of the text in which Luther expounded what he believed to be the "kernel" or "point," the *Herzpunkt* of the passage; and, finally, suggestions for putting the text into practice in daily life. While on exile in Wartburg Castle, Luther wrote his *Postil Sermons* to give Reformation preachers copious examples of biblically based preaching. He published the first of these *postils*, a collection of Advent and Christmas sermons, in 1522. The *postils* were quite influential for generations of Lutheran preachers. Approximately 2,000 of Luther's sermons were published, many in edited and condensed form.

The other key reformers were also committed preachers, although none equaled the style and power of Luther. Biblical exposition was the engine driving most Protestant preaching. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, inspired by the example of Chrysostom, preached through the Gospel of Matthew, verse by verse, *lectio continua*, commenting on subjects as diverse as superstition, military service, clerical CELIBACY, and, of course, JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH. Zwingli's sermons tended to be dry and intellectual. It took HEINRICH BULLINGER, the successor of Zwingli in Zurich, just over fifteen years to preach through the entire Bible, verse by verse. JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS, also inspired by the Chrysostom, pioneered grammatical-historical exegesis, or explanation, abandoning the allegorical exegesis that had been so popular with medieval preachers. John Calvin preached daily and twice on Sundays, interpreting biblical texts extemporaneously, holding a Bible in his hand. Calvin's sermons often began with PRAYER, specifically a prayer for the inspiration of the Holy Spirit who makes the preacher's words the Word of God for the congregation, followed by a brief recapitulation of the previous sermon, then a consideration of the biblical text, followed by an application of the meaning of the text to the present context, then an exhortation for the congregation to obey the text, closing with a prayer that summarized the main points

of the sermon. The sermons in Calvin's extant fourteen volumes of published sermons show Calvin to be a preacher with a deep knowledge of the Bible, particularly the nuances of the original biblical language, a clear communicator who eschews verbal ornamentation and who rarely illustrates a given point. Calvin's sermons today sound distant and abstract, though he was known as a comforting, pastoral preacher. MARTIN BUCER, although an equally committed expository preacher, was noted for his rambling, long-winded style.

Nearly all Protestant preachers saw the catechism as a valid basis for sermons, particularly sermons at weekday services that focused on the instruction of the LAITY. Johannes Zwick devised a series of catechetical sermons for children that cover a wide range of theological topics. In their interest in catechesis, they had medieval precedents, but their zeal to educate the laity in the most complex of DOCTRINES was one of their most notable contributions to the history of preaching—a zeal that does not seem to have continued in many contemporary Protestant congregations.

Protestant preachers in the hinterland were urged to use sermons that were written by the masters, to memorize them if they could and, if they could not, to read them aloud from the pulpit. Many volumes of sermons were printed throughout the Reformation. Among the most popular was a book of sermons for specific pastoral occasions written by Urbanus Rhegius of Augsburg. On many occasions, the scholarly leaders of the Reformation lamented the sorry state of preaching among their followers. Luther repeatedly stressed the need for educated preachers. Schools were founded to train Protestant clergy, but rarely did these schools specifically concern themselves with homiletical training. Zwingli organized regular meetings (*Prophezei*) for his fellow Protestant CLERGY in Zurich in which scripture was read and explained for the purpose of use in sermons. Most of the reformers seemed to assume that if a pastor mastered the art of biblical interpretation and theological exposition, then the ability to preach would naturally follow. Yet a Protestant, Andreas Gerhard Hyperius, published the first real textbook on homiletics in 1533. Impressed as they were with the general ignorance of the laity, early Protestant preachers tended to see a sermon primarily as an occasion to instruct and to correct rather than to convert or to inspire.

In the sixteenth century, it was not unusual for a sermon to last for as long as three hours. Luther was opposed to long sermons, saying that he was always concerned about the limitations of "little Hans and little Else." He pioneered in the art of simple, vernacular, direct discourse in preaching, enlivened with charming illustrations from daily life. Luther left us these directives for a good sermon:

First of all, a good preacher must be able to teach correctly and in an orderly manner. Second, he must have a good head. Third, he must be able to speak well. Fourth, he should have a good voice, and, fifth, a good memory. Sixth, he must know when to stop. Seventh, he must know his stuff and keep at it. Eighth, he must be willing to risk body and soul, property and honor. Ninth, he must let everyone vex and ridicule him.

Protestants tended to stress that "the preaching of the Word of God is the Word of God," an extremely high view of preaching indeed. Luther and Zwingli had quite different notions of just how preaching was the Word of God for the church, mainly having to do

with their different doctrines of the Holy Spirit. Rejecting the spiritual enthusiasts (*Schwärmer*) who presumed that the Spirit was the immediate gift to each believer independent of the means of Word or Sacrament, Luther linked the Spirit to the Word. Zwingli rejected the Lutheran binding of Word and Spirit, insisting that preaching was a simple human witness to Christ that helped the believer to seek the true, inner Word of God that can be given only by the Spirit. Zwingli distinguished between the “external word of God” (i.e., human preaching) and the “internal word of God” (i.e., self-communication of the Holy Spirit).

Calvin appeared to take a somewhat mediating position between Luther and Zwingli on the issue of preaching as the Word of God. Calvin taught that although preachers are human, God graciously elects to use preaching, through God’s gift of the Holy Spirit, to address congregations (*Institutes* 4.1.5). Through the Holy Spirit, God’s Word accomplishes what God’s word promises, effecting that which it proclaims. Preaching empowered by the Holy Spirit, admitted Calvin, is a double-edged sword, provoking among hearers both acceptance and rejection, according to God’s election. Through preaching, Christ is present in and rules over the church. Preachers succeed at communicating the Word of God to their listeners only because God graciously wills that God’s Word be spoken here, now, through them.

Whereas Luther was intent on restoring the sermon to its rightful, historic position within the Sunday mass (a position that had been lost in the Middle Ages), Zwingli and Calvin tended toward a separation of preaching from the mass in their adoption of a simple preaching service (*Pronaus*). Luther’s purified mass embodied his conviction that Word and Sacrament are inseparable means of God’s self-communication, although later Protestants have tended, in practice if not in theology, to exalt the sermon as the supreme means of grace.

Zwingli’s radical views (compared with those of Luther or Calvin) did not go far enough, said the Anabaptists of the so-called Radical Reformation. The Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) tended to be as suspicious of preaching as a corrupted human practice, as they were suspicious of the mass. Their worship stressed informal teaching, prayer, and mutual exhortation rather than contrived sermons, with many worshippers taking an active role in impromptu speaking. The Anabaptists considered careful composition of new sermons a sign of sinful pride. Their proclamation consisted of the public reading of sermons from the past combined with extemporaneous exhortation to the congregation by any member who was so moved by the Holy Spirit.

Europe

Although the centrality of expository and catechetical preaching was slow to impact the English Reformation, when the power of the crown got behind the Reformation during the reign of Edward VII, preaching became a principal means of bringing the English into the Protestant realm of thought. Archbishop THOMAS CRANMER’S *The Book of Homilies*, a collection of elegantly stated topical sermons, were to be read to their congregations by less well-trained clergy. The Baroque period gave rise to some distinctively English contributions to homiletics. LANCELOT ANDREWES and JOHN

DONNE became the ecclesiastical counterparts to Shakespeare in their masterful literary sermons that were indebted to the classical rhetorical tradition.

In Germany, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER'S sermons attempted to counter the rationalism and skepticism of an age in which DEISM was on the rise. PIETISM, of the sort that influenced Schleiermacher, took Protestant preaching away from its historical concerns with doctrinal and biblical exposition, focusing pietistic preaching on inward religious experience. This development ushered in a great revival in England with the preaching of JOHN WESLEY and in the North American colonies with the preaching of GEORGE WHITEFIELD. On Whitefield's 1739 trip to America, his dramatic, extemporaneous preaching fanned into flame the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS). Along with Puritans (see PURITANISM) like JONATHAN EDWARDS, whose preaching in Northampton, Massachusetts elicited "Surprising Conversions," Whitefield preached a distinctly American mix of pietism and CALVINISM that stressed Christianity as an experiential faith.

Nineteenth-century EVANGELICALISM tended to be centered on proclamations that linked the inner CONVERSION of the individual believer with the conversion of society. Scotland's THOMAS CHALMERS not only established a church in the slums of Glasgow, but also preached through the Gospel of John while organizing social work among the poor of the city. CHARLES HADDON SPURGEON spoke directly to the common people, stressing God's power to transform individual lives. One of the nineteenth-century's greatest preachers, Spurgeon was a careful biblical preacher who, like most of that century's preachers, generally ignored the troubling questions being raised by the fledgling field of historical-critical biblical study (see HIGHER CRITICISM).

North America

Evangelicalism in America changed forever the nature of Protestant preaching. CHARLES G. FINNEY (1792–1875) was full of evangelistic zeal for the religious needs of a growing nation. Finney was impatient with the historic Protestant concerns for both expository and catechetical preaching, finding such preaching ill-suited to his great invention—the frontier REVIVAL. Among his innovations were the anxious bench, the inquiry room, and the protracted meeting. Finney preached dramatic, personal conversion mixed with calls for the abolition of SLAVERY and the practice of TEMPERANCE, that is, a mix of personal and social transformation that became typical of American Protestant preaching well in to the twentieth century. Finney's stirring call for conversion undermined the earlier Calvinism of preachers like Whitefield. In planning a protracted meeting, in using an array of means to beckon sinners to repentance and conversion, Finney's "new measures for revivals" side-stepped Calvinistic notions of double PREDESTINATION in a new stress on SALVATION as dependent on the decision of the repentant sinner rather than the eternal decree of a God who predestines some to salvation and some to damnation. Finney's sermons were carefully reasoned arguments in which the Bible was presented as a sort of legal contract where God clearly set out what was required for salvation and what was expected of humanity. The preacher, in Finney's sermons, was a lawyer persuading a guilty client to confess and thus to be vindicated.

DWIGHT L. MOODY (1837–1899) and BILLY SUNDAY (1862–1935), lay heirs of Finney, perfected the citywide revival meeting and emotional, transformative preaching that tended to take one biblical text and use it for the purpose of emotional conviction of the listeners. Moody sounded like a businessman making a sales pitch, keeping things short, simple, and interspersed with sentimental, homely anecdotes. Moody presented a good product to a self-interested customer. The goal of his preaching was to “get the customer to sign on the dotted line”—a small card given to those who wished to make personal commitments to Christ. Potentially divisive doctrinal issues like the sacraments or predestination were avoided rather than expounded on by evangelists like Moody. The Gospel message tended to be limited to a word that causes dramatic change in the listeners. Ex-baseball player Billy Sunday was America’s first Protestant evangelist celebrity. He made preaching into mass entertainment, a style that was to be developed in later twentieth-century television preachers.

Preachers in predominately African-American churches, overwhelmingly Protestant in their traditions, tended to be heavily influenced by the fervent preaching of the Great Awakening, when great numbers of African-American slaves were converted to the religion of their white masters (see AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM). The chanted sermon, a distinctively African-American style of preaching, has its roots in the Second Great Awakening. A number of scholars have also pointed to African musical and speech pattern elements, the dialogical, responsive relationship between preacher and congregation, and the “hum” in African-American homiletical styles as distinctly African-American contributions to the practice of preaching that persist into the present. Theologically, African-American preachers participated in the great theological movements of American Protestantism, while also stressing themes of exodus and deliverance, hope, and redemptive suffering, thus contextualizing their sermons to the particular challenges of being black in America (see BLACK THEOLOGY).

In the 1960s, many Americans who had known nothing of the vital African-American preaching tradition were introduced to it through the preaching of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. in his “I Have a Dream” speech at the March on Washington (August 1963) and heard in that speech a call to become a more righteous nation.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK led a wing of American Protestantism into liberalism (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Fosdick’s radio sermons were immensely popular. His straightforward language, everyday life illustrations, and unchecked optimism became characteristics of what could be called the “American school” of preaching that dominated mainline Protestant preaching until the later half of the century. In an a July 1928 article in *Harper’s Magazine* titled “What Is the Matter With Preaching?,” Fosdick charged that too much preaching (and by preaching he meant Protestant preaching) had lost touch with the real concerns of real people. Fosdick championed what he called “life-situation” or “problem-centered” preaching, in which every sermon began not with a biblical text, but rather with some current human dilemma or concern, then moved toward an engaging address of that concern based on both biblical and secular materials. Whereas the Protestant Evangelicals and fundamentalists tended to see the modern world, with its domination by the thought of science, as a threat and regularly preached against it, Fosdick sought conciliatory accommodation with modernity in his sermons, sermons that

tended to quote from learned contemporary secular authorities on various matters far more than citing Scripture.

The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) laid great emphasis upon preaching in the context of the mass, thus leading to a renewal of preaching in Catholicism and blurring one of the characteristics that Protestants had thought of as distinctively their own (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS TO). Vatican II led to a widespread ecumenical rediscovery of the centrality of preaching, particularly biblically based preaching, that enervated many Protestant preachers and congregations. Many Protestant preachers discovered the lectionary as a resource for preaching after the Vatican II revision of the Catholic lectionary. Numerous preaching resources, interpretative materials keyed to the lectionary, were published. There were now more biblical preaching aids available to Protestant and Catholic preachers than at any time in the history of the church.

Contemporary Challenges

Protestant preaching at the beginning of the twenty-first century is building on its vital past and is continuing to wrestle with some of its historic challenges. Much of Protestantism, particularly that with its roots in reformers such as Calvin and Zwingli, continues to struggle with the severance of Word from Sacrament. Perhaps the continental reformers never intended to make BAPTISM and the Eucharist (LORD'S SUPPER) subservient to preaching, but that was the practical result of their reformation of Christian worship. Protestant Pietists and Evangelicals tended to stress personal experience of the Gospel through preaching, prayer, and personal devotional exercises as more important than acts of public, corporate worship. Finney advised his crusade planners to avoid potentially divisive and unproductive liturgical and doctrinal issues and to concentrate exclusively on the sermon and its response. ENLIGHTENMENT thought elevated words over symbols. For all of these reasons and others, Protestantism became noted for its elevation of the sermon as the supreme act of worship. Such elevation is biblically, as well as historically, theologically, and anthropologically, indefensible. There is a growing ecumenical consensus that the Eucharist is the normative shape for Sunday morning worship; word and table belong together. As the sermon is the preached Word, the Eucharist is the enacted Word. The revelation of God is not limited to the sermon or even to the reading of Scripture. Therefore, for many Protestant congregations, the restoration of a proper linkage between Word and sacrament is a pressing need.

Protestant preachers, from the beginning, offered commentary on extra-ecclesial events. Luther developed a theology of "two kingdoms," the one of God and the other of humanity, each with separate, Godordained responsibilities. Yet he did not shrink from offering strong words (and, alas, often terribly misguided advice) to the secular authorities on how to manage their side of the equation. Reformers like Zwingli and Calvin saw themselves as having Godgiven responsibilities for the care and maintenance of civil order through their preaching. English preachers like Cranmer and Donne thought it their duty to provide theological support for the authority of the crown. The Great Awakenings, as well as the frontier revivals in America, unleashed a great wave of social reform among Protestant preachers in such national political issues as slavery,

temperance, immigration, and organized labor. Finney seamlessly interwove concern for the salvation of souls with radical social reform. In the twentieth century, great preachers like Fosdick and REINHOLD and H.RICHARD NIEBUHR were also political activists. Thus the joint vocation of preacher and prophet is a time-honored Protestant tradition. A few generations ago, politically charged preaching was the province of more liberal Protestant preachers, who saw themselves as heirs of WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH and Reinhold Niebuhr. They saw themselves as continuing the project of christianizing America, applying Christian judgments to social issues, usually from the political left. Today, many of the most politicized of Protestant clergy seem to be political conservatives, Christians on the political right.

Although African-American preachers continue to exercise the African-American church's historic office of the prophetic preacher that was so well embodied in such preachers as Martin Luther King, Jr., or the Harlem Congressman and pastor Adam Clayton Powell, so-called "prophetic preaching" seems to be on the wane among Protestants. Perhaps the issues that ought to be addressed seem less clear. Perhaps preachers feel that parochial congregational concerns are more pressing on their homiletical attention than larger political and social matters. Perhaps many Protestants have lost that old Protestant optimism that America is a basically Christian country whose preachers have both the vocation and the means to make it even more Christian.

Protestants also placed WOMEN in the pulpit. Although women sometimes preached among the Methodists, and women played a large role in some Pentecostal churches in the early part of the last century, women began to be ordained in large numbers by Protestant churches only in the last quarter of the twentieth century (see WOMEN CLERGY). The presence of women in the pulpit is itself a prophetic witness against conventional social arrangements, as well as against the infidelity of the church itself in not recognizing the spiritual gifts of women. Various theologies of liberation, a Catholic gift to some Protestant theologians, and WOMANIST and FEMINIST THEOLOGIES, would-be successors to the prophetic tradition, appear to have failed to capture the imagination of Protestant preachers and their congregations. The challenge for any prophetic preacher is to have not only the sense of pastoral authority and the God-given obligation to speak out on controversial issues (commodities that seem in short supply among many Protestant pastors today), but also the challenge of speaking a peculiarly, specifically Christian word to controversial social and political issues. Protestant theology today is not known for its self-confidence and coherence, or for its energy and zeal, so perhaps a renewal of Protestant prophetic preaching awaits a renewal of Protestant theology. Or perhaps Protestant theology languishes because it awaits a revival of Protestant proclamation. Historically, in the story of Protestant Christianity, theology and proclamation ascend on mutually rising tides.

The various Awakenings that so determined American religious life were distinctly Protestant phenomena. They ensured that an evangelical, missionary approach to preaching would typify the American homiletics. The purpose of preaching is more than to edify believers, to nurture those already within the fold; it is also to reach out, to convict, and to win unbelievers to the Gospel. Preachers like Finney, Sunday, and Moody pioneered preaching with this dominating evangelistic intent; BILLY GRAHAM perfected it for the twentieth century. Graham's first big evangelistic "crusade" was in Los Angeles in 1949. Electronic amplification meant that his voice could easily

accommodate crowds of more than 100,000. His “Hour of Decision” radio ministry demonstrated the adaptability of a simple, direct evangelistic appeal. Through his preaching, well over one million people were said to have made a “decision for Christ.” Most of today’s “televangelists” owe their ministries to Graham’s half-century of much-praised preaching (see TELEVANGELISM; MASS MEDIA). His simple, oft-repeated message, designed to culminate in a decision by the hearer to be converted to the Gospel, became the dominant form for Protestant preaching in the more conservative and evangelical churches.

Protestant preaching is biblically based preaching. Although Protestantism was in great part a rediscovery of the centrality and freedom of Scripture for the church and against the church, Protestant preaching has also been a long struggle over just how the preaching is to be biblical. Is “biblical preaching” limited to verse-by-verse exposition of Scripture—a rather wooden form of preaching that does not seem congruent with the rather dramatic, narrative, literary form of Scripture itself? Or does biblical preaching mean that the sermon’s message, shape, form, and intention be congruent with the message, shape, form, and intention of Scripture? In the late twentieth century, Protestant preachers like Fred Craddock and Eugene Lowry rediscovered the essentially narrative shape and purpose of Scripture, the predominance of narrative over abstract propositions in the way that the Bible presents the truth of the Gospel. This rediscovery, embraced by many preachers in the mainline, more liberal Protestant denominations, called into question some historic Protestant methods of proclamation. Rather than being the explication of a set of abstract ideas and principles with an exhortation to live better lives, preaching, among the practitioners of narrative preaching, was seen as a story, a movement of a drama through time, something that is experienced rather than explained. Inductive preaching is a mode of proclamation linked with narrative preaching. Inductive preachers stress that a sermon is not only what the preacher is saying, but also what and how the listeners are hearing. A sermon consists not simply in the correct assertion of right thoughts, but also in the listener’s faithful embrace of the Christian life. Is narrative preaching just another form of the old Protestant pietistic concern with the individual’s inner life, a forsaking of the historic Protestant concern with doctrine, theology, and faithful thinking, or does it represent a more creative, more truly biblical way of thinking? At present there seems to be some critical questioning of the enthusiasm for narrative and inductive preaching that perhaps signals a return to historic Protestant concerns about the theological content of preaching, a realization that faithful biblical preaching requires a mix of interpretive and homiletical strategies that are as rich as the mix of communicative forms with the Bible itself.

Fosdick once spoke of preaching as “counseling on a group scale.” His *therapeutic* approach to preaching fit well with the new twentieth-century American orthodoxy: psychology. Many Protestant preachers, building on their pietistic background, refashioned Christian proclamation into a form of pastoral care. Preaching became a means whereby people received helpful psychological advice, personal care, and support. NORMAN VINCENT PEALE’S “power of positive thinking” was embraced by millions as a creative, caring approach to contemporary human dilemmas, but was condemned by others as mere popular psychological platitudes with only a thin Christian veneer. California pastor Robert Schuller, although nurtured in the conservative Reformed tradition, packaged his preaching into a television format designed for maximum appeal

to, as he once said, “the unchurched who...are not at all prepared to listen to someone with God talk,” preachers who are obsessed with sin and guilt delivered in “scolding sermons from angry pulpits.” Television preachers like Schuller enthusiastically embraced technology, making their sermons a mirror of American cultural values. They have frequently argued that television is a neutral medium, that the medium does not force an alteration of the message, and that Jesus would have undoubtedly used television rather than the pulpit had it been available to him. Yet their sermons tend to be more influenced by the communicative techniques and the mass entertainment values of television than they may know. In their preaching, the religion of the self-sacrificial, suffering love of the cross tends to be transformed into just another sensible, practical strategy for personal success. Although Schuller’s messages (he refuses to use the word “sermon” to describe his preaching) are seen on television by millions, perhaps more listeners than to any other preacher in history, his message seems to be mostly about mental health and self-esteem and only incidentally about the Gospel of Jesus Christ—a perfect theological justification for a North American culture of abundance.

Luther’s focus on reaching the common people through simple speech, along with Finney’s conviction that acceptance of the Gospel is the result of well-planned homiletical strategies, appear to have produced theologically questionable fruits. The result has been a homiletic that elevates a concern for the feelings in and response of the listener over concerns about the theological and biblical content of the sermon, combined with a focus on the presentation of the messenger rather than the divine source of the message. As contemporary Protestant preachers attempt to be faithful to the evangelical thrust of the Gospel all around the world, as they attempt to speak a Word that can be accepted by those who have not yet heard, they will continue to struggle with issues of biblical fidelity. Graham’s evangelistic preaching for decision, and Schuller’s preaching as entertainment meant to help people with their problems, provide the antecedents for much of the preaching in the so-called “MEGA-CHURCHES” that were the late twentieth century’s most dramatic contribution to Protestant ECCLESIOLOGY. In these churches, vast congregations gather to hear a Gospel proclaimed unashamedly in a decidedly contemporary, secularized idiom, often augmented by slick technological sounds and images. The traditional vocabulary of Christianity, along with the historic images of the faith like the cross and sacraments, are downplayed or even ignored by many mega-church preachers. Whereas most of these preachers think of themselves as within the evangelical tradition, their preaching sometimes seems more indebted to the “therapeutic life-situation” preaching of the liberal Fosdick than to the “come down to the altar and be saved” EVANGELISM of Graham. Cut off from the well-springs of the liturgy of the church, devoid of orthodox Christian vocabulary, and without explicit ties to creed, denominational tradition, or sustained, extensive dialogue with Scripture—traditional Protestant means of keeping a sermon grounded in the historic Christian faith—these preachers face a great challenge. When does their preaching drift from proclamation of the Gospel into pop-psychological therapy or right-wing political advocacy? How does a preacher utilize the media of the consumer culture without having his or her message tainted or irrevocably diverted by those media? When the listener’s alleged ability or inability to accept the message becomes the criterion for what is said in a sermon, Protestant preachers are right to be troubled by the possibility that they may have jettisoned their historic homiletical birthright for that which is merely therapeutic,

merely moral, or merely entertaining—a Word that cannot be heard as well elsewhere by more congenial means than a sermon.

These challenges and others will continue to perplex the homiletical tradition known as Protestant. At this juncture in the history of the Reformation, it is not known whether Protestantism will continue as a set of distinct homiletical practices or whether it shall eventually come full circle and merge into some new assimilation of the Catholic tradition. Yet the experience of Protestant preaching affirms that the Word of God is infinitely resourceful, indomitable, and a fire inextinguishable, that this Word of God is sharper than a double-edged sword, and that the church, reformed and ever reforming, is bound to be the recipient of even greater Gospel-induced reformations. Although empires wax and wane, and all of our human aspirations come to dust, the Word of the Lord is forever.

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PREDESTINATION

The word *predestination* comes from the Latin “*praedestinatio*,” meaning “a determining before-hand.” Theologically the term primarily refers to God’s ELECTION or choice of those who will receive SALVATION, although it has also been used for aspects of providence. “Single” predestination applies the word only to God’s gracious choice of those who will be saved, attributing reprobation to causes in the damned themselves. “Double” predestination refers to God’s free choice to save some and God’s free choice to damn others. To some, predestination is based on God’s foreknowledge of people’s merit or faith, whereas to others predestination is a choice solely within God’s will.

The doctrine of predestination has been a subject of contention throughout the history of the church, and particularly within Protestantism. Churches of the Reformed tradition are known for concern with this DOCTRINE more than any other.

Pre-Reformation

The Greek verb “*προορίζω*”, meaning “to decide upon beforehand” or “to predetermine,” appears in the New Testament, particularly in Romans 8:29–30, and Ephesians 1:5 and 11. This was translated in the Vulgate as “*praedestinare*” and into English by the verb “to predestine.” These texts present an apparent conflict with passages like I Timothy 2:4, which proclaim God’s desire that all be saved.

In the early Church predestination was interpreted as God’s foreknowledge of people’s good works. The earliest exception was the fourth-century theologian Athanasius. In his “Second Oration against the Arians,” Athanasius supported his argument for the eternal divinity of the Word with Paul’s claim that those who will be saved are predestined in Christ and by Christ.

More influentially, in the fifth century, Augustine made predestination the defense of the primacy of God’s GRACE in salvation. The Pelagians insisted that people were able to obey God and live holy lives. Augustine believed that this made salvation depend on human works. In Augustine’s understanding, humanity is weakened by SIN, unable to seek salvation or persevere in holiness without God’s gracious intervention. Predestination is God’s free gracious choice to save some, but not others, from the mass of guilty humanity. All are guilty, so condemnation of the nonelect is just.

These views were immediately controversial and rarely fully accepted. However, Augustine’s general influence and clarity of argument ensured that these views were never fully abandoned. “Semipelagians” in European monastic circles soon argued that neither Pelagian reliance on works nor Augustinian reliance on grace was sufficient. Salvation required both effort at holiness and grace. The Council of Orange (529) formally rejected semipelagianism, affirming Augustine’s teaching on predestination and grace but softening its harder edges by rejecting predestination to evil or damnation.

By the thirteenth century the consensus view was a type of single predestination. According to Thomas Aquinas, God predestined individuals to receive grace. Empowered by grace they would do good works, which would be meritorious. God foreknew their works and merit, thus predestining them to glory. In the fourteenth century alternate views arose, with Peter Aureol teaching general election to life and Gregory of Rimini teaching double predestination.

Lutheran

For the first Lutheran and Reformed theologians, predestination affirmed God's grace as the source of salvation and gave assurance to believers. In his preface to Romans, MARTIN LUTHER wrote that faith and forgiveness, as well as their absence, proceed from God's eternal predestination (see LUTHERANISM). In *The Bondage of the Will* (1525) Luther taught that God's will is twofold. Scripture shows God working for people's salvation; however, in a hidden mysterious sense, God works out the damnation of the rest. Still, Luther did not develop a prominent doctrine of double predestination.

In the *Loci Communes* of 1521, Luther's colleague PHILIPP MELANCHTHON held a fairly strong doctrine of predestination, but by the 1543 edition his view had softened: Although Christ is the cause of our election and JUSTIFICATION, the Gospel offers salvation to all. Finally he moved explicitly away from double predestination: the idea that God's decree caused damnation implied human passivity, removing ethical responsibility. One must participate in justification, at least by accepting the promise, a view that came to be known as "synergism."

The GNESIO (or "true") LUTHERANS of the next generation sought to follow Luther's position, opposing the synergism of the "Philippists" who followed Melanchthon. The Formula of Concord of 1577 settled the debate, distinguishing clearly between predestination and mere foreknowledge. The Formula attributed salvation to predestination, but argued that damnation was justice for people's own sins.

Since the REFORMATION, the Lutheran Churches have not been immune from change or controversy on this topic. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Lutheran ORTHODOXY taught that predestination was based on God's foreknowledge of those who would respond to the gospel with persevering faith. In 1877 in the United States, LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD theologian C.W.F. Walther pointed out that this was in conflict with the Formula of Concord because it placed a cause of election in human beings. The ensuing controversy divided the Missouri Synod from other American Lutheran Churches, a division that has not healed although the conflict has passed.

Reformed: Sixteenth Century

The Zurich reformer HULDRYCH ZWINGLI also taught predestination in opposition to meritorious works. In his *Commentary on True and False Religion* (1525) he linked predestination to providence, with providence as the "mother" of predestination. God's providence directs all things; within the category of all things, God's providence predestines those who will be saved. Election is from God's goodness, apart from any

actions of those elected. Zwingli's focus was on election to life, although God's will also plays a role toward the damned. Faith proceeds out of election, and those with faith have good evidence of their election.

Genevan reformer JOHN CALVIN is the name most associated with predestination (see CALVINISM). For Calvin predestination is God's choice of some for eternal life and God's choice of others for damnation. He believed that the plain teaching of scripture, and the obvious implications of that teaching, led to double predestination. His pastoral sensibility led him to frame it differently than did Zwingli. In the authoritative 1559 edition of his *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*, Calvin did not treat predestination as a part of providence. Instead he added it to the discussion of justification and faith. In this position the doctrine assures the worried believer that salvation depends solely on God's gracious choice, not on personal holiness. If one is in Christ, responding to Word and Sacrament with faith in obedience, then one is surely elect. It was, to Calvin himself, a terrifying mystery, acknowledged as part of revelation but not to be explored. The reasons are hidden in the secret counsel of God. The doctrine can, however, be of benefit. It explains why not all hear the Gospel and fewer still respond in faith. It also should keep believers trusting in God's grace alone, humbly glorifying God.

Calvin's teaching on predestination gave rise to significant controversy during his life. Even HEINRICH BULLINGER, Zwingli's successor at Zurich, objected to the double decree as presented by Calvin, believing that this made God the author of sin. Bullinger favored the view that election was by grace but reprobation was by justice.

Peter Martyr Vermigli took another distinctive approach to predestination among the sixteenth-century Reformed theologians. With similarities to Gregory of Rimini, Vermigli taught that election is in the eternal will, not the foreknowledge, of God and is exclusively to eternal life. Reprobation also is in the eternal will of God, but actual condemnation is worked out in time as justice for human sin.

THEODORE BEZA, Calvin's successor in Geneva, looked more closely into the order of the divine decrees than Calvin had, arguing that the decree to save some and damn others was logically before the Fall, a position known as "supralapsarianism." In some works Beza linked predestination to providence, portraying all of salvation history as the outworking of God's decrees. However, in more systematic works such as his *Confession de la foi chrétienne* (1559), predestination is not presented as part of providence, but rather as part of the assurance of salvation. Taking Beza's work as a whole, predestination is not the organizing principle it was once thought to be.

Reformed: Post-Reformation

In Reformed theology after the sixteenth century there was a shift toward an "infralapsarian" view. In infralapsarianism, God's decree predestining the elect to salvation logically follows after the Fall, removing the implication that God intended sin. In DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHES this teaching is found in the Canons of the Synod of Dort (1618–1619) (see DORT, CANONS OF).

The Synod of Dort was primarily concerned with the teachings of JACOBUS ARMINIUS, a Dutch theologian who argued that predestination by divine decree is

inconsistent with God's grace and human freedom. Arminius taught that predestination is God's foreknowledge of those who will believe and persevere in faith. The Synod decided against ARMINIANISM, affirming predestination as a decree of God's will to salvation and reprobation. The Arminians were nevertheless able to form churches after 1625.

In the nineteenth century, ABRAHAM KUYPER sought to renew Calvinism in the NETHERLANDS and elsewhere. Although he saw predestination as a central Reformed doctrine, he did not emphasize it, being more concerned with God's common grace working in the world. Some of the Dutch Churches abroad have held the doctrine firmly, although they have also faced problems. The CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA faced protests against the doctrine of reprobation, both in the writings of Harold Dekker of Calvin Theological Seminary in 1962 and in an official grievance by missionary theologian Harry R. Boer in 1977. In both cases the church maintained its traditional doctrinal stance. The most tragic misuse of the doctrine of predestination was in the South African Church, where from the mid-nineteenth century to the late twentieth it was used to give credence to white racial superiority and apartheid.

In ENGLAND, double predestination was affirmed in the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION of 1646, long the doctrinal standard of Presbyterians in SCOTLAND and America (see PRESBYTERIANISM). The Westminster Confession placed the double decree of predestination in the doctrine of God as the first expression of the decrees by which God governs all things, much as Zwingli had done.

In the UNITED STATES a number of forces, including REVIVALS and the ENLIGHTENMENT, have led to a general decline of predestinarian teaching in the Reformed tradition. In the early nineteenth century, under the leadership of WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, the Congregationalists of New England suffered the loss of their liberal party (which became the AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION), partly out of the liberals' objections to predestination (see CONGREGATIONALISM). Presbyterians have been reshaped by Arminianism structurally and theologically. The 1810 birth of the CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH was attributed in part to the Arminianism of revivalistic ministers who were forced out of the larger Presbyterian Church. The split between Old School and New School Presbyterians in 1837 was also influenced by the New School's embrace of revivalistic methods. These seemed to assume Arminian doctrinal positions, and in CHARLES FINNEY and other leaders Arminianism was explicit. Presbyterian confessions still teach predestination, but the doctrine is not prominent in the churches. It has been officially softened or removed in some cases. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church developed its own confession to avoid Westminster's predestinarian teaching, and in 1903 the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. added a moderating "declaratory statement" to the Westminster Confession.

Some major Reformed theologians since the Reformation have defended the doctrine, and some have adapted it. American JONATHAN EDWARDS in *Freedom of the Will* (1754) defended predestination against Wesleyan Arminianism, and Charles Hodge did the same in response to the Arminianism of the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS). FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER rooted predestination in God's good pleasure rather than foreknowledge, but he held to a universal predestination to life and none to reprobation. KARL BARTH saw election as the sum of the gospel, but did

not view predestination as a pair of opposite choices, to life or to damnation. Drawing on Athanasius he argued that Christ is both the elect human being, and the electing God. Because he taught that all people find themselves elect in Christ, Barth has been accused of UNIVERSALISM, although he denied this was a necessary conclusion.

Anglican

In England theologians taught predestination as early as during the reign of HENRY VIII. The THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES (1571) proclaim a mild doctrine of single predestination, and the Lambeth Articles (1595) approved double predestination by God's will, not foreknowledge. At the end of the sixteenth century Anglican theologians such as RICHARD HOOKER and Puritans such as WILLIAM PERKINS taught predestination, although with some differences (see ANGLICANISM; PURITANISM). Perkins denied that predestination was at all based on foreknowledge. Hooker claimed that, although this is true of election, reprobation is based on foreknowledge of people's rejection of God's gracious offer. In the reign of James I, the High Church party, under the leadership of WILLIAM LAUD, supported Arminianism in their struggle against the Calvinists. They argued that predestination, despite its presence in the Thirty-Nine Articles, was contrary to the free promise of the Gospel as embodied in the LITURGY. After the 1626 York House Conference they were able to ban the teaching of predestination, first at Cambridge and then throughout England, and to place Arminians in most bishoprics.

The EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States in the nineteenth century tolerated both predestinarian and Arminian interpretations of the Thirty-nine Articles. In the latter part of the century the dominant view was "ecclesiastical election," by which God elects individuals to the visible church but salvation is still subject to human free will.

Wesleyan

Anglican priest JOHN WESLEY was a convinced Arminian, believing that Calvinist predestination was a blasphemous teaching portraying God as unjust, arbitrary, and in fact worse than the DEVIL (see WESLEYANISM). Throughout his remarkably successful evangelistic and organizational career Wesley engaged in a public struggle against the doctrine. His 1739 sermon "Free Grace" was the first of several written works on the subject, and his steady teaching against predestination led to an acrimonious public parting with his friend and colleague, the Calvinist GEORGE WHITEFIELD. The influence of METHODISM in the United States has contributed to the pervasive assumption of Arminian views there.

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PRE-RAPHAELITES

Pre-Raphaelitism was a mid- and late-Victorian movement in ART and poetry. The seven young men of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (P.R.B.) sought to restore to British painting sincerity, high purpose, and earnest scrutiny of visible facts. After the P.R.B. disbanded, a second group of Pre-Raphaelite artists coalesced around Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The artistic agenda of this second phase of Pre-Raphaelitism was distinct from the earlier project and led to the Aesthetic Movement in British art and LITERATURE of the 1880s and 1890s.

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood

The P.R.B. was formed in London in 1848 with Rossetti, John Everett Millais, and William Holman Hunt as founding members and central figures. Rossetti (poet and painter), although lacking the artistic training and proficiency of Millais and Hunt, through genius and force of personality became the natural leader of the brotherhood. Hunt was the theoretician of the group and invented their detailed, glowing painting technique. Millais was a brilliant painter who commanded virtuoso technical skill. The brotherhood was completed by Thomas Woolner (sculptor), James Collinson (painter), F.G.Stephens (painter and later art critic), and William Michael Rossetti (art and literary critic and the memoirist of the movement). Other close associates were the painters Ford Madox Brown, Walter Deverell, and Charles Allston Collins, and Rossetti's sister, the poet CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

In 1850 the P.R.B. established a journal, *The Germ: Thoughts toward Nature in Poetry, Literature, and Art*, as an organ to expound its views. *The Germ* contained treatises on art, short stories, critical reviews, and a substantial body of verse, most

notably by Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, and Coventry Patmore. Although it survived for only four issues, it set themes and motifs characteristic of later Pre-Raphaelite poetry.

Early Paintings

The Pre-Raphaelite visual style was instantly recognizable, with its clarity of outline, vivid coloration, and natural lighting effects brought to bear on historical, literary, or religious subjects. The P.R.B. shared the conviction that English painting was feeble, conventional, and stagnant, mainly through its reliance on academic conventions codified in the time of Raphael, hence their self-characterization as “Pre-Raphaelite.” Rejecting Joshua Reynolds (calling him “Sir Sloshua”) and the Royal Academy, they sought to reestablish an earlier artistic spirit of individuality and freedom. Their canvases were heavily symbolic and moralistic, minutely detailed yet at the same time suggestive of spiritual meanings beyond exterior realities.

The earliest paintings were exhibited anonymously, signed only with the mysterious signature “P.R.B.,” and were notable for deliberate archaism and medieval flavor, presented with scrupulous fidelity to fact. Hunt’s *Rienzi Vowing to Obtain Justice for the Death of His Brother* (1849), Millais’s *Lorenzo and Isabella* (1849), and Rossetti’s *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (1848–1849) were greeted with critical favor. In 1850 and 1851, however, the meaning of the secret signature became generally known, and the P.R.B. came under serious attack, particularly for their unconventional representation of religious subjects. Charles Dickens led the bitter criticism, calling Millais’s *Christ in the House of His Parents* (1850) “mean, odious, repulsive, and revolting.” The crisis passed when, in 1851, famous art critic John Ruskin wrote two letters to *The Times* supporting the P.R.B.’s artistic practice.

Pre-Raphaelite paintings evince Protestant influences of both evangelical and High Anglican flavors. The P.R.B. certainly attempted to develop a new style of religious art for the contemporary age, one that was modern, historically accurate, and—some would argue—distinctly Protestant in its use of figural methods as described by Ruskin in *Modern Painters*. In their subject matter and typological figural mode, many of the paintings and poems also showed the influence of the OXFORD MOVEMENT and its sacramentalism and ritualism. Various Pre-Raphaelite paintings make pictorial references to ANGLICO-CATHOLICISM and its newly introduced Catholic rituals and ornaments, particularly Rossetti’s *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* and *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* (1849–1850), Collinson’s *The Renunciation of St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (1850), Millais’s *Christ in the House of His Parents*, Collins’s *Convent Thoughts* (1850–51), and Hunt’s *The Light of the World* (1851–1853). In poetry, the influence is evident as well: Rossetti gathered early versions of his poems, including “The Blessed Damozel,” “Ave,” and “My Sister’s Sleep,” titling the manuscript collection *Songs of the Art Catholic* (1847). Rossetti, however, made use of religious symbolism without having any definite spiritual commitment himself.

By 1853 internal differences had broken up the P.R.B. Millais eventually joined the establishment that the P.R.B. opposed, becoming a member of the Royal Academy and its president, and later a baronet. Hunt throughout his life remained committed to the laborious method and spiritual intent of the P.R.B. In 1854 he made the first of three

journeys to the Holy Land to paint biblical events with strict historical and geographic accuracy. The paintings produced, most notably *The Scapegoat* (1854), baffled Hunt's English audiences. The verdict that *The Scapegoat's* symbolism was incomprehensible, that it particularly failed to impress on viewers a correspondence between the scapegoat and Christ, signaled the failure of the P.R.B.'s attempt to revitalize in mid-nineteenth-century ENGLAND a sacramental religious art.

Later Pre-Raphaelites

Pre-Raphaelitism continued to develop, with a new set of artists forming around Rossetti, including William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, Arthur Hughes, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and Richard Watson Dixon. The soft-edge painting of this second group differed dramatically from the style of Hunt and Millais between 1848 and 1858. This second generation turned away from both the moral earnestness and the careful exactitude of the first period, taking their inspiration from art rather than from NATURE.

Rossetti's own style changed, with his symbolism becoming more private and esoteric, and his paintings more enigmatic. His wife, poet and painter Elizabeth Siddal, whom he had envisioned as Beatrice to his Dante, had been his early muse. After her death in 1862 Rossetti depicted a new and influential ideal of female beauty—a large and loosely dressed woman, with full and red fleshy lips, masses of hair, and soulful eyes—an embodiment of a secular religion of beauty and spiritualized femininity.

The Pre-Raphaelite movement enjoyed successes in poetry with Morris's *The Defence of Guenevere* (1858), Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (1862) and *The Prince's Progress and Other Poems* (1866), and Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* (1866). Finally, and only after he had the unique manuscript of his compositions exhumed from Siddal's grave, Rossetti published *Poems* (1870), which included his important sonnet sequence, *The House of Life*. However, this poetic achievement was blighted by "The Fleshly School" controversy, which began in 1871 when Robert Buchanan accused Rossetti and fellow PreRaphaelite poets of lewd sensuality. Rossetti suffered a breakdown from which his recovery was only partial, although he continued to write and paint, especially pictures of his new muse, Morris's wife Jane.

Pre-Raphaelitism continued to confront prevailing aesthetic norms in various aspects of Victorian life. The "Arts and Crafts Movement" was inspired by Morris and the firm he founded in 1861 with various other Pre-Raphaelites. Valuing craftsmanship and design, they provided architecture, furniture, fabrics, tiles, wallpaper, stained glass, church decoration, book design, and illustration to meet a purified, more medieval, aesthetic. Morris, always prodigiously energetic, continued to write prolifically in a variety of genres; he also ardently supported Socialism and was a founder of the Socialist League (1884). Rossetti turned toward Aestheticism and the "art for art's sake" movement, which valued intensity in the experience of art. Although the original impulse of Pre-Raphaelitism was diffused, to the end the movement retained an opposition to convention and to mainstream bourgeois Victorian culture.

See also Aesthetics; Architecture, Church

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MARY ARSENEAU

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U.S.A.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) identifies itself with the one, holy, catholic, apostolic church, and accepts the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures as its "rule of faith and life" as well as the Apostles and Nicene (325) creeds of the early church. It traces its origins especially to JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) of Geneva. Calvin's influence spread, especially through his INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION (1536) to FRANCE, Holland, GERMANY, HUNGARY, and to the British Isles under the leadership of JOHN KNOX (1513–1572) of SCOTLAND. During the Puritan Revolution (1642–1660), Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Congregationalists produced the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION OF FAITH, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and a Directory for the Public Worship of God. The leaders of the various churches could not resolve issues of church POLITY, as indicated by their denominational titles. Presbyterians adopted the offices of CLERGY and lay elders (presbyters) and DEACONS, who preached, taught, governed, and cared for the welfare of congregations. Numerous Scots along with Presbyterians from Northern Ireland began to emigrate to America, many to settle in the middle colonies in the eighteenth century.

Early History in America

There they founded churches and the first PRESBYTERY in Philadelphia (1706) under the leadership of Irishman Francis Makemie (c. 1658–1708). This body grew into a Synod (1716) under clergy and lay elders. The SYNOD adopted the Westminster doctrinal standards in 1729 with reservations about its Erastian references. To build an indigenous leadership, William Tennent Sr. (1673–1746), another Irishman, began to educate his sons and others at a "log college," which later became the College of New Jersey (1747) and Princeton University. Influenced by GEORGE WHITEFIELD, Tennent and his two sons, William and GILBERT (1703–1758), stimulated the Great

AWAKENING, joined by JONATHAN EDWARDS and SAMUEL DAVIES (1723–1761). Awakening “enthusiasm” caused a “New Side-Old Side” division in 1740. The Old Side accused the New Siders of stirring up uncontrolled emotionalism. In 1758 the two Sides reunited, agreeing to preserve in religious matters a balance between ardor and order. They formed the Synod of New York and Philadelphia with ninety-four ministers and approximately 200 congregations. United, Presbyterians joined the British in fighting the French and Indian War on the Frontier.

Presbyterians were alienated from the mother country during the debate over American political rights in the 1760s and 1770s. Led by JOHN WITHERSPOON (1723–1794), called from Scotland to the presidency of Princeton College, Presbyterians in general supported the American Revolution. Witherspoon was the only clergyman to sign the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (1776). Numerous clergy and LAITY provided leadership during the conflict, including ELIAS BOUDINOT (1740–1821), a Philadelphian who served as president of the UNITED STATES (1782–1783) as well as presided over the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY. With his SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM, Witherspoon made a profound impact on his student, JAMES MADISON, an Episcopalian, who became a chief architect of the United States Constitution (1788–1789) and the BILL OF RIGHTS (1791) with its First Amendment, guaranteeing religious and civil rights and defining church-state relations in the new nation. Presbyterian clergy and elders organized the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which met for the first time in Philadelphia in 1789. The commissioners adopted the Westminster creedal standards and developed a Directory for Worship and a Form of Government and Discipline based on “general principles” of the PCUSA. These affirmed that “God alone” is the “Lord of Conscience,” that “Truth is in order to goodness,” that all church pronouncements are only “ministerial and declarative” and do not bind the conscience or impair civil rights. These statements, among others, still guide the denomination.

Western Migration and Expansion

Along with other Christians, Presbyterians pressed westward. With Congregationalists, such as TIMOTHY DWIGHT, they entered a Plan of Union (1801) to plant churches across the nation. They also cooperated with others to form VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES—educational societies (e.g., to publish and distribute Bibles, tracts, and to form SUNDAY SCHOOLS), reforming societies (e.g., to promote peace, TEMPERANCE, and to oppose SLAVERY or to colonize freed slaves in AFRICA), and home and foreign missions (e.g., the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS). Influenced by CAMP MEETING revivals under James McGready, some Presbyterians in Kentucky formed the CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (1810), modifying strict standards for the ordination of ministers and doctrine with Arminian overtones (see ARMINIANISM). New York revivalist CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY (1792–1875) promoted “New Measures” (e.g., “protracted meetings” and “anxious benches”), offensive to the more conservative. Finney helped cause a division between New School (NS) and Old School (OS) Presbyterians (1838) who thought “Presbygationalists,” as they were called, had diluted

Calvinist doctrine, low-ered qualifications for ministers, and promoted the antislavery cause (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). African-American Presbyterian Samuel Cornish (1795–1858), pastor of the First Black Presbyterian Church in New York, promoted that cause in his *Freedom's Journal*, the first Black American periodical.

In the meantime the PCUSA founded theological SEMINARIES, such as Princeton (1812), Union, Virginia (1812), and Union, New York (1835); produced national leaders, for example, John Holt Rice (1771–1831), Archibald Alexander (1772–1851), and LYMAN BEECHER (1775–1863); and prominent theologians, for example, James Henley Thornwell (1812–1862), Henry Boynton Smith (1815–1877), and Charles Hodge (1797–1878), whose *Systematic Theology* (3 vols., 1872–1873) was widely used. Believing in a well-educated citizenry, Presbyterians promoted public education, along with a few private schools, assisted by William McGuffey (1800–1873) through his widely used MCGUFFEY READERS. They also planted numerous institutions of HIGHER EDUCATION, colleges and universities for women and men.

Tension and Division

Increasingly the PCUSA had to deal the national debate over slavery, which intensified after the passage of the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law. These laws prompted Beecher's daughter HARRIET BEECHER STOWE to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851), a widely read novel that brought greater attention to the situation. In 1858 the NS in the South withdrew from its party, and in 1861 the OS, South and North, split over issues such as state sovereignty, slavery, and the responsibilities of the church in public affairs. Under the presidency of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the nation fought a bloody fratricidal conflict. After the CIVIL WAR hostilities, the PCUSA failed to heal the church's divisions. Southerners organized the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) (1865), holding among other things to the "spirituality of the Church." In the North the OS and NS reunited in 1870. It could not establish fraternal relations with the PCUS until later in the century. In the meantime the denomination continued to plant churches, even in Alaska, under the leadership of such leaders as SHELDON JACKSON. In 1870 the PCUSA numbered 446,564 members, 4,526 churches, and 4,238 ministers.

To help meet its responsibilities, the PCUSA established church boards, which had headquarters in Philadelphia and New York. Church officials, under the General Assembly, continued to meet the pastoral, educational, and mission needs of members. Presbyterians, many in the middle and upper classes, had to deal with the growth of an industrialized and urbanized society with its inequalities and injustices. They did so by proclaiming a "Social Creed," to awaken the conscience, and by supporting institutions, such as the Labor Temple in New York, which championed the cause of working people. The PCUSA also helped found the Federal Council of Churches (1908), an ecumenical body concerned about such matters (see ECUMENISM). Presbyterians had to deal with the rising women's rights movement, led by ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, who grew up Presbyterian. The PCUSA sponsored women's organizations and over the years admitted women to the diaconate in the 1890s, the eldership (1930), and finally to the ordained ministry (1954) (see WOMEN CLERGY). Presbyterians also had to deal with racism, the legacy of slavery. Supreme Court justice, elder John Marshall Harlan, showed

the way by being the lone dissenter in the “separate-but-equal” *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) decision. The PCUSA developed special denominational programs for African Americans, and supported the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. in the 1950s and 1960s.

With regard to War the PCUSA officially supported armed conflict on “just and necessary” occasions. Presbyterians were divided over the Spanish-American War, but generally supported as “just” World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. They were divided again over the Vietnam War. Presbyterian presidents WOODROW WILSON (1856–1925) and Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969), and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (1888–1959) gave national leadership during many of these years. The PCUSA supported the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization (UNO). Because of worldwide MISSIONS work, Presbyterians helped to establish self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches in various regions of the world. After World War II the denomination redefined its role as a “partner in obedience” with these new bodies to transcend the paternalism of the early mission enterprises. In these efforts, elder ROBERT E. SPEER (1867–1947) provided executive leadership and ecumenical vision.

Modern Times

After the Civil War the PCUSA faced with other Christians the intellectual ferment of the times, including DARWINISM, HIGHER CRITICISM, and calls for confessional revisions. Some proposed new confessional standards to replace the Westminster documents, but only managed amendments that emphasized the work of the “Holy Spirit” and the “Love of God and Missions” (1903), which reflected the interests of the DENOMINATION at the time. Some prominent Presbyterians, including revivalist BILLY SUNDAY and politician WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, opposed evolution. The PCUSA continued to affirm Christian belief in a Creator, the uniqueness of human life, and underscored that in the struggle for human existence might does not make right. The denomination dealt with the critical study of the BIBLE, during the HERESY trial of Charles Briggs (1841–1913) over the authorship of the biblical books. In this connection they faced the controversy between FUNDAMENTALISM and MODERNISM, not only over the “inerrancy” of Scripture (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY), but doctrines, such as the “virgin birth” of Jesus, “miracles,” the “substitutionary atonement,” and the “bodily resurrection” of Christ. Led by moderates such as Speer and HENRY SLOANE COFFIN (1877–1954), the PCUSA affirmed the Westminster doctrinal statements of the denomination and allowed presbyteries to decide on a case by case basis what were “essential and necessary” articles of faith. This did not satisfy conservatives, such as biblical scholar J. GRESHAM MACHEN (1881–1937). He was further angered by the mission board that seemed to support the liberalism of prize-winning novelist Pearl S. Buck, a teacher under the board in the 1930s. Machen withdrew to form the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in 1936.

During this latter period, Presbyterian theologians began to draw insight from European thinkers, such as KARL BARTH, EMIL BRUNNER, and others, including Americans REINHOLD NIEBUHR and H. RICHARD NIEBUHR, whose works shaped

the NEO-ORTHODOXY MOVEMENT. This theological renewal also led them to draw more insight from theologians of the Ancient and Reformation churches. With assistance of these sources the PCUSA adopted a *Book of Confessions* (1967), which included the familiar Apostles and Nicene Creeds, together with the Reformation's HELVETIC CONFESSION (1566), HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563), the Westminster Confession and Short Catechism, and BARMEN DECLARATION (1934) of the German Confessing Church, and a new Confession of 1967. The latter was based on the theme of reconciliation found in II Corinthians 5:18f. The PCUSA spoke in an ecumenical spirit, while emphasizing the need for the reconciling love of Christ to help deal with contemporary issues such as relations among nations and races, between rich and poor, and within the family. The PCUSA has continued to wrestle with these issues especially with regard to conflicts over MARRIAGE, HOMOSEXUALITY, same-sex marriages, and ABORTION.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, with a new taste for the past, the PCUSA began to revisit its liturgical legacy and its WORSHIP needs. For example, Charles W. Baird (1828–1888) published *Eutaxia, or the Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches* (1855), which explored the worship ideas and practices of Calvin and Knox before the rise of PURITANISM in the seventeenth century. Clergymen Louis Benson (1855–1930) and Henry Van Dyke, assisted by laity, organized the Church Service Society (1897) to enhance public and private worship. Despite some resistance the PCUSA recommended a *Book of Common Worship* (1906) for “voluntary use” only. The liturgical movement grew. This earlier volume was revised and adopted officially by the church. Recently the denomination adopted a new *Directory for Worship* and the *Book of Common Worship* (1933), a rich historical, ecumenical, and liturgical treasure for use by clergy and laity. Benson published *The Hymnal* (1895), which set the model for later volumes, and deepening Presbyterian praise leading to the *Presbyterian Hymnal, Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs* (1990) representing the praise of the whole Christian family.

Ecumenism and International Connection

Over many decades the PCUSA has been engaged in the ecumenical movement beginning in the nineteenth century. Historian PHILIP SCHAFF (1819–1893) gave impetus to this cause with the publication of *Creeds of Christendom* (3 vols., 1877) and through his efforts in organizing the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES (1876) and the Evangelical Alliance (1870), which led to cooperation among all Protestants. The PCUSA helped shaped these organizations as well at the Federal Council of Churches (1908), the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1950), the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1948), and the CONSULTATION ON CHURCH UNION (COCU, c. 1960) embracing Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists among others. In addition to Speer, JOHN A. MACKAY (1889–1983), HENRY P. VAN DUSEN (1897–1975), and EUGENE CARSON BLAKE (1897–1975) gave support and leadership to these efforts. Blake served as general secretary of the World Council of Churches (1966–1972). The PCUSA joined with the United Presbyterian Church of North America (1854) to form the United Presbyterian Church in

the United States of America (1954). It reunited with many Cumberland Presbyterians in 1906, and with the PCUS in 1983, healing the Civil War wound. The Rev. J.Randolph Taylor (1930–2002), a southern Presbyterian, took the leadership in this reunion and presided over the PCUSA as its first moderator in 1982–1983.

The PCUSA moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky. During recent years the church elected its first black moderator, Edler Hawkins (1908–1977) in 1964; its first woman moderator, Lois Stair (1923–1981) in 1972; and its first Korean moderator, Syngman Rhee (1931–) in 2001. It carries on dialogue and cooperates not only with other Protestants worldwide, but with Roman, Orthodox, and Evangelical churches, Jews, Muslims, and other religions (see DIALOGUE, INTER-CONFESSIONAL). The PCUSA has been emphasizing the denomination's responsibilities for peacemaking throughout the world, and keeps an office at the United Nations Organization in New York City. Because of the aging American population and other reasons, the PCUSA has been losing membership. In 2000 the denomination counted 2,525,330 members, 11,178 churches, and 21,065 ministers. In 1984 the denomination added the Scots Confessions (1560) to its Book of Confessions, along with the Westminster Larger Catechism, and in 1991 a Brief Statement of Faith. In the latter, Presbyterians continued to express belief in the Scriptures, the triune God, and the conviction that in life and death Presbyterians belong to God and commit to God's love, the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit.

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JAMES H.SMYLIE

PRESBYTERIANISM

Presbyterianism emerged during the REFORMATION, a protest beginning in the fifteenth century against Roman Catholicism. The word derives from the Greek for elder (*presbuteros*). Presbyterians were associated with the Reformed Movement, as distinguished from Lutherans and Anabaptists, mainly on the European continent, and from Anglicans, or Episcopalians, and Congregationalists who emerged in the British Isles. It also spread in the following centuries to North America and to much of the rest of the world to form a global Presbyterian and Reformed family. This religious movement also influenced educational, economic, political, and cultural shifts that emerged at the time of the Reformation. *The Reform Family Worldwide* (1999), compiled and edited by Jean-Jacques Bauswein and Lukas Visser, provides a detailed overview of this subject.

Presbyterianism was influenced mainly by French-Genevan JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564), through his biblical commentaries, the INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION (1st ed. 1536), essays, and correspondence. His influence spread to FRANCE, GERMANY, HUNGARY, NETHERLANDS, and other places where Protestantism is found. These Christians adopted the BIBLE as the rule of faith and life, asserted a PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS, with simpler forms of WORSHIP, involving the preaching of the Word, the SACRAMENTS OF BAPTISM, (child and adult), and the LORD'S SUPPER. They accepted the Apostles and Nicene Creeds as well as regional doctrinal statements such as the BELGIC CONFESSION (1561), HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (1563), HELVETIC CONFESSION (1566), and later, the Dutch decrees of the Synod of Dort (1610) (see DORT, CANONS OF). This latter favored a view of unconditional ELECTION over JACOBUS ARMINIUS'S view that humans may resist God's grace (see ARMINIANISM). The Reformed adopted a nonhierarchical form of church government, with General Assemblies, SYNODS, Presbyteries, and Sessions, composed of elders—clergy and lay, who preached, taught, and exercised CHURCH DISCIPLINE—along with DEACONS who cared for the welfare of congregations. Hungarians, it should be noted, developed an office of bishops-in-presbytery. Now most Presbyterian churches admit WOMEN to all these offices. Further the Reformed contributed to the rise of public and theological EDUCATION, DEMOCRACY and representative government, and a middle class, INDUSTRIALIZATION, and capitalism. It also contributes to women's rights.

Presbyterianism in the British Isles

The Reformation in Britain was often marked by turmoil and bloodshed in its earliest years beginning with John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384) and lasting to the end of the seventeenth century. MARTIN LUTHER'S influence was felt in Britain, but HENRY VIII, interested in ENGLAND'S independence from Rome, took reform in his own direction. THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556) sympathized with Reformed influences.

In the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES (1536–1563), adopted under ELIZABETH I (1533–1603), Anglicans attempted to restate ORTHODOXY with Catholic, Calvinist, and Anabaptist elements. In the meantime SCOTLAND fell under Genevan influence also. JOHN KNOX (c. 1514–1571) composed a Scottish Confession (1560) and encouraged Reformation in Scotland. Scots, such as ANDREW MELVILLE (1545–1622), continued reform. The Reformation ebbed and flowed during the age of the Stuarts, whose reigns were interrupted by the bloody Puritan Revolution under OLIVER CROMWELL (1599–1658). During this period the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY (1643–1648) was called. Scots joined Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Erastians to revise the Thirty-nine Articles. Instead they produced a *Directory of Church Government* (1644), *A Directory of Public Worship* (1645), and the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION with the *Larger and Shorter Catechisms* (1647). The church government tended toward Presbyterianism, and the worship was simple. Presbyterians were Psalm singers, but they were and still are influenced by dissenter ISAAC WATTS (1674–1748), who believed Psalms should be modernized with a Christian focus and that believers could sing hymns of human composition (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS).

The doctrinal statements drew on Augustine Scholastics as well as Calvin. They acknowledged God sovereign, a sovereignty as manifested in the “light of nature,” the works of creation and providence, and also emphasized the Bible as the inspired rule for Christian faith and life. They went on to confess God as Trinity, as “wise and holy” in “decrees” and the “COVENANT” made with Adam and all human beings. They confessed human sinfulness, and also God’s work of forgiveness, SANCTIFICATION, and SALVATION through Christ’s ATONEMENT. They recognize that Christians become members of Christ’s body, the CHURCH, through the rite of baptism and are nurtured at the Lord’s Supper. Much of these doctrinal statements are devoted to the life of Christians as citizens and civil magistrates in council with one another. Christians look forward to the resurrection and the KINGDOM OF GOD. The Shorter Catechism’s first question and answer underscores the purpose of human life:

Q 1. What is the chief end of man?

A 1. Man’s chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever.

These documents still shape Presbyterianism.

The Assembly could not resolve all questions, especially about PREDESTINATION, which was raised by Arminians, and about church POLITY. These contentions remained and were carried on after the restoration of the Stuarts. With the bloodless GLORIOUS REVOLUTION (1688), William III and Mary of Holland established a Bill of Rights and Settlement, which curbed royal power and brought Scotland and IRELAND under English control with limited TOLERATION.

After 1689, Presbyterianism in England remained in some disarray, at first because of debates over relations with Congregationalists and Unitarians (see UNITARIAN, UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION). Later, however, Congregationalists joined with Scottish settlers in north England to form an autonomous Presbyterian Church in 1836. Other such Presbyterian bodies organized, eventually to unite in the Presbyterian Church of England (PCE) in 1876, uniting those who were English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish by birth. The denomination produced noted scholars such as John Oman (1860–1939). In

1972 the PCE united with other Congregationalists to form the United Reformed Church, embracing most of their members. In 1980 the Reformed Association of Churches of Christ joined this body, which confesses the Apostles and Nicene Creeds, a Statement of Faith adopted at the union in 1972. It ordains women as elders, and numbers approximately 102,600 members. It has been unable recently to keep up its ecumenical concerns to unite with other bodies. The Presbyterian Church of Wales was originally known for its Calvinistic Methodist connection in 1894. It has nearly 53,900 members and close ties to the Reformed family.

The established CHURCH OF SCOTLAND remained in place when England and Scotland united in 1707, although the Westminster Parliament allowed patrons to name ministerial candidates to churches. This act caused a number of eighteenth-century divisions, Seceders and Covenanters, who opposed patron control and oath taking. Presbyterians suffered a major split over patronage in 1843, resulting in the Free Church of Scotland. Over the years denominations were drawn together. In 1929 the FREE CHURCH reunited with the Church of Scotland under Declaratory Articles that defined the new body as both *national* and *free*. The church worship is guided by a Book of Common Order, which emphasizes the reading and interpretation of Scripture, singing, especially Psalms, and which encourages celebration of the Lord's Supper on a monthly basis. It accepts the Apostles and Nicene Creeds, and the Westminster Standards. During the early days of Reform, Scots rejected the episcopal office, but instituted superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers. The polity was not fixed, and the church is now governed by a General Assembly and presbyteries, with pastors, elders, and deacons, including women ordained to all offices (see WOMEN CLERGY). During the eighteenth century, layman ROBERT RAIKES (1735–1811) started SUNDAY SCHOOLS, which spread throughout Protestantism. The church promoted MISSIONS worldwide with enthusiasm, DAVID LIVINGSTONE and ROBERT MOFFAT being only two examples of Scottish international reach. Intellectual ferment gave rise to SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM. DAVID HUME'S experimental philosophy stimulated skepticism, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) advanced industrial capitalism, whereas W.ROBERTSON SMITH helped introduce biblical criticism in the nineteenth century. All had Presbyterian backgrounds. In 2000 the Church of Scotland numbered approximately 1,220,000 members.

Although Roman Catholicism dominated Ireland, Presbyterian ministers founded churches under William and Mary, especially in ULSTER, where they organized an Irish Presbytery (1642). Growing in number, mainly in the North, they were able to organize the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI), confessing the Apostles and Nicene Creeds and Westminster Standards in 1840. Early in the eighteenth century some Presbyterians, dissenting from English rule, began to support home rule in cooperation with Catholics. Because Ireland was divided in 1922 into the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, Ulster Scots Presbyterians and other Protestants have grown anxious about violence involving attempts to unite north and south. Many, however, have attempted to develop common interests among all Christians. The PCI numbers about 308,000 members and cooperates with other Presbyterians in a BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES founded in 1942.

Presbyterians in North America

During British exploration and colonization of the New World, Presbyterian immigrants began to settle and grow in number (see COLONIALISM). Anglicans and Congregationalists settled first, in Virginia and New England, beginning in the seventeenth century, thus bringing the Reformed movements to the colonies. Presbyterians arrived in force in the eighteenth century, settling mainly in the Middle and Southern colonies. Most were Scotch-Irish. Under the leadership of Francis Makemie (1658–1708) they organized the first Presbytery (1706) and then a Synod (1716), so steady was the migration. They began to develop an indigenous leadership, especially at a log college presided over by William Tennent (1673–1746), finally located in Princeton, New Jersey. The Synod divided, 1741–1758, during the Great AWAKENING, led by JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758) and SAMUEL DAVIES (1723–1761), over the nature of CONVERSION and pastoral leadership. Later, Scot JOHN WITHERSPOON, called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), gave leadership to the American Revolution (1776) as the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. He trained a number of laymen who engaged in writing the American Constitution adopted in 1788. The Synod organized the General Assembly of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in the United States of America (PCUSA) in 1787–1789 with Witherspoon presiding and John Rodgers (1727–1811) as first moderator. The denomination adopted an American *Directory of Worship*, the *Westminster Standards*, and adopted a *Form of Government and Discipline*, rejecting the establishments of the British Isles. Presbyterians have lived under these documents, with modifications, for over two centuries. During this period they had to deal with ecclesial, national, and international challenges.

As Americans pressed westward, Presbyterianism grew. Presbyterians experienced conflicts within for various reasons. In 1810 some left the denomination to form the CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, differing with others over ordination requirements for frontier ministry and over ARMINIAN sympathies. This division was partially healed in 1906. The Old School (OS)—New School (NS) divided over a Plan of Union (1801), encouraging Presbyterian-Congregationalist cooperation. The Old School held that New Schoolers, many in northern states, were too liberal theologically and were opposed to SLAVERY. After the CIVIL WAR, OS and NS were able to reunite in 1870. Southerners organized the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) to champion the “spirituality of the church,” opposing entanglement in civil affairs. In 1858 Scottish immigrants from the covenanter tradition organized the United Presbyterian Church of North America, which joined resources with the PCUSA in 1958. Finally with the diminishing of racism and sectionalism, the PCUSA and the PCUS reunited in 1983. Korean Presbyterians, it should be noted, have a sizable presence in the United States and have been organizing their own denominations.

Although these various entities differed on some points, they shared some basic agreements. With regard to worship, directories focused on biblical PREACHING, free and liturgical PRAYER, with the baptism of infants and adults, and with celebrating the Lord’s Supper at times on a monthly basis. In the liturgical revival of the nineteenth century, the PCUSA began to use a *Book of Common Worship* (1906) for voluntary use. Enlarged in 1993, it is more ecumenical in character and uses inclusive language.

Whereas in the Old World, Presbyterians first sang metered Psalms, often ISAAC WATTS paraphrases, they now may also sing hymns of various contemporary poets and musicians. With regard to DOCTRINE, these denominations affirmed the Apostles and Nicene Creeds and the Westminster Standards. However, in 1967 PCUSA adopted a Book of Confessions that, in addition to those mentioned, now includes the SCOTS CONFESSION, Heidelberg Catechism, Second Helvetic Confession, BARMAN DECLARATION of the German CONFESSING CHURCH, a Confession of 1967, and an added Brief Statement of Faith in 1983. Presbyterianism is governed by a General Assembly with Synods and Presbyteries. All offices are open to women, and more and more of them exercise leadership in the denomination, It carries on a global mission in cooperation with Reformed and other Christians. It has been deeply involved in seeking economic justice and civil rights for women and racial minorities world-wide. The PCUSA numbers about 3,644,000 members with about 12,700 congregations. In recent years its membership has aged. It has been losing membership, and has been disrupted with debates over human SEXUALITY and confessing the faith in the twenty-first century.

Because of differences over liberalism involving evolution, HIGHER CRITICISM, and FUNDAMENTALISM, J. GRESHAM MACHEN led an exodus from the PCUSA in the 1930s. In 1973 some conservative bodies, joined by adherents of the PCUS, formed the Presbyterian Church in America. It focuses on ancient ORTHODOXY and the Westminster Standards, and does not ordain women. It numbers nearly 278,000 members.

Although French Catholics first explored and began to settle CANADA, the English took over the area in 1763, and French Protestant (HUGUENOT) immigrants also began to settle there. Immigrants from Scotland and Ireland, joined later by Loyalists from the United States, organized Presbyterianism, shaped by conflicts inherited from the Old World. Secessionists who opposed the patronage laws were among the first to organize in 1817. The Church of Scotland soon founded a Synod in 1833, whereas the Free Church organized in 1843. Then in 1875 these bodies came together to form the Presbyterian Church of Canada in time to meet continuing mission challenges of the west. Neo-Orthodox in theology in recent years, the church affirms the Apostles and Nicene Creeds along with the Heidelberg Catechism, Helvetic Creed, and Westminster Standards. It ordains women to all offices of the denomination. It is the largest Presbyterian body in Canada, with about 267,000 members. Like other denominations it is declining in membership, attributed in part to lack of interest by younger Canadians. In 1925 about 70 percent of its members merged with Congregationalists and Methodists in the UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA, preserving much of the Presbyterian tradition.

Presbyterians of the PCUSA and PCUS, among others, began to converge on MEXICO when it gained independence as a nation from Spain in 1857, beginning a postcolonial life. The educator Melinda Rankin (1811–1888) of the PCUSA crossed the border and helped prepare indigenous pastors and leaders, such as Arcadio Morales (1850–1888), for young churches. The mission spread rapidly and by 1883, through much cooperation, converts were able to organize the National Presbyterian Church in Mexico (NPCM) in 1901. Reconstruction of Mexico after the Revolution (1917) stimulated indigenization of Presbyterianism, although conservative Christians grew in numbers. The NPCM adheres to the Westminster Standards, Confession of Dort, Belgic

Confession of 1561, and the Heidelberg Catechism. It is a multilingual community. Women engage in much church work, but are not ordained.

Presbyterianism Worldwide

The Reformed tradition spread globally, from Albania to ZIMBABWE, through European and American colonization and missionary endeavors on a world frontier, beginning in earnest in the eighteenth century. Missionary efforts often went hand in hand with explorers, traders, and settlers to spread the Gospel, especially in connection with the growth of the British Empire. Missionaries carried on their work through VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES, for example, the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM) founded in 1810, and by denominational boards and agencies of various denominations led by clergy and laity. American Presbyterian layman Robert E. Speer (1867–1947) emerged as a world statesman. These leaders engaged not only in EVANGELISM and conversion but also in education, founding schools at every level, including seminaries, building hospitals, and engaging in other works of PHILANTHROPY and nation-building. This effort by various Presbyterian denominations caused some confusion among indigenous populations. Therefore, even before the postcolonial age, indigenous ecumenical endeavors and theologies emerged in various countries. Furthermore, Presbyterian emphasis on the priesthood of all believers, an educated ministry and membership, and participation in church governance fostered education, DEMOCRACY, and HUMAN RIGHTS along with economic ferment in host countries. Bauswein and Vischer demonstrate how widespread this development was. An early study *Rethinking Missions* (1932), edited and written by WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, aided by laymen Speer and Methodist JOHN R. MOTT, underscored the breadth of this development.

Reformed Christians began to evangelize in the Middle East in the middle of the eighteenth century. They found ancient Eastern Orthodox churches there and aimed to reform them, a purpose the Orthodox did not always appreciate (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). The ABCFM sent Congregationalists to the area in the early nineteenth century. They were followed by Presbyterians. American Henry H. Jessup (1823–1910) went to Syria where he helped to establish what is now the University of Beirut; his ministry reached all the way to Iran. He spent over fifty-three years in the area, became a missionary statesman, and was offered a diplomatic post by President Chester Arthur, a position he did not take. The UPCNA missionaries built the largest Presbyterian presence in Egypt, beginning with an attempt to revitalize the Coptic church there in 1854. They organized the first Presbyterian Church in Cairo in 1863, and started educational and medical institutions in later years. In 1858 the Coptic Evangelical Church-Synod of the Nile became independent. It holds the Apostles and the Westminster Standards, and claims about 300,000 members. It ordains women to all church offices, and it works for better relations with the Coptic Christians.

Dutch Reformed colonists settled in SOUTH AFRICA as early as 1652 and began to dominate the area. They were followed by English-speaking Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which founded a mission in 1829. In 1897 mission stations around the country founded the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa,

integrated now with about 90,000 adherents living under the Apostles Creed. Scot Robert Moffat took the Gospel north into Rhodesia, now called Zimbabwe. The Presbyterian Church of Africa, an all-black denomination, was started under the leadership of Pamboni Mzimba in 1898. The denomination now claims 927,000 members. It lives under the Apostle's Creed and the Westminster Standards, and ordains women to all offices of the church.

Central Africa was colonized first by FRANCE and then by Belgium, which exploited its resources. PCUS missionaries began to found churches there in 1891 whose influence spread through the Kasai. In the first decade of the twentieth century missionaries William H. Sheppard, an African American, and William M. Morrison won Congolese hearts and minds by protesting the brutal exploitation of Africans by King Leopold. They exposed his company's injustices to natives for not making their rubber quotas. The Presbyterian Community of Kinshasa founded a Synod in 1955, subscribes to the Apostles Creed and Westminster Standards, and ordains women to all church offices. It claims 1,250,000 members, is a member of the Church of Christ in Zaire, and is deeply concerned about civil rights not only in Central Africa but elsewhere. The Presbyterian Church of NIGERIA began in 1846 under the leadership of freed slaves from Jamaica sent out by the Church of Scotland. Later, missionary MARY SLESSOR (1848–1915) carried on work as a teacher, preacher, and health provider—and promoted reform in this Muslim country. Through her work, along with that of others, the church grew and became autonomous in 1954. It accepts the Apostles and Nicene Creeds and the Westminster Standards, and ordains women to all offices of the church. It has almost 124,000 members and is engaged in extended medical work throughout the country. It should be noted that freed American slaves sent out by the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY in 1822 helped found LIBERIA and assisted in building a Presbyterian Church there. There is a strong Reformed place in countries such as Ghana and Cameroon.

Presbyterians also traveled down under to Oceania and built churches in AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND as well as INDONESIA. Although the Dutch touched base in the area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Scottish Presbyterians and Congregationalists settled there early in the nineteenth century. In 1840 Presbyterians established the Synod of Australia connected with the Church of Scotland. Even though they experienced disagreements over the years, they were able to unite as the Presbyterian Church in Australia in 1901. In 1977 many went into the UNITING CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA with Methodists, holding to a presbyterial structure. The denomination holds to a range of Reformed Confessions as well as JOHN WESLEY *Sermons* as its affirmation of faith. It has a membership of about 1,386,000. About 70,000 adherents continue in the Presbyterian Church in Australia.

British settlement of New Zealand began as early as 1814. By 1840 Presbyterians were able to form congregations as Scots of various denominations continued to move down under. They were able to unite in 1901. The Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand adheres to the Apostles Creed, Westminster Standards, and a New Zealand Statement of Faith. Australian and New Zealand Presbyterians carry on a number of ministries in a variety of indigenous languages.

Portuguese Roman Catholics planted Christianity in South America. Later Calvin himself sent pastors to BRAZIL to serve Huguenot settlers encouraged by the French

government to move there. Later Reformed and Presbyterian missionaries planted churches in various countries on the continent, for example, Argentina, Chile, and Peru. When the Brazilian government broadened its religious toleration in the nineteenth century, Scot Robert Reid Kalley (1809–1882), a Presbyterian physician, founded a congregation in 1858. A year later Ashbel Green Simonton of the PCUS arrived in Rio de Janeiro to spread the Word and organized a presbytery in 1865. The PCUSA missionaries joined this effort and, together with the PCUS, built the strong Presbyterian Church of Brazil (PCB) in the 1880s. Others with a sense of Brazilian enterprise organized an indigenous Independent Presbyterian Church (IPCB) in 1903 under the leadership of Eduardo Pereira. The PCB adheres to the Apostles Creed and Westminster Standards. It has approximately 480,000 members, with no women officers. The IPCB also adheres to the Apostles Creed and Westminster Standards and ordains women ministers. A number of ethnic churches have emerged. Over the years Brazilians have strengthened bonds of the Reformed family in the nation. JOHN A. MACKAY, another Scot who had studied in Spain, served as educator in Peru. There is still a Peruvian Presbyterian presence.

Presbyterians also spread to Asian lands, such as, CHINA, KOREA, and JAPAN. Although Christianity had been planted in the area earlier by Roman Catholics, Scottish missionaries arrived in China as early as 1807. They were followed by other Presbyterians from Britain and the United States who translated the Bible and spread the Gospel (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). They believed, as did other Christians, that if China could be won to Christianity, the whole world would be converted. By 1906 Presbyterian churches, joined by the Reformed Church in America, formed a Council of Presbyterian Churches. By 1927 this body, in a spirit of cooperation, joined other Christians to form the Church of Christ in China. Western interest in China and the Chinese was stirred by author Pearl S. Buck, a missionary educator of the PCUSA. Her novel *The Good Earth* (1931) awakened the world to the struggles of Chinese peasants. The Church of Christ centers its attention on the Bible, and adheres to the person and work of Christ and the Apostles Creed. It holds to the Presbyterian form of government. After the repression of churches under the Peoples Republic of China, Presbyterians in the postcolonial and postdenominational age cooperate with the China Christian Council and affirm the Three-Self Formula popularized by Presbyterian John L. Nevius (1829–1893), that is, the call to build self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches to serve the whole Christian community (see POST-COLONIALISM).

Presbyterianism has grown fastest over the years in Korea, often ruled by its neighbors through the centuries. Jesuits first planted the Gospel in Korea in the eighteenth century and were persecuted. Later a layman, Suh Sang-Yoon, was converted in 1876 while in Manchuria by Scottish missionaries, and helped to translate the New Testament in Korean. He brought it home and formed a small Christian community. PCUSA missionaries, Horace Allen, a physician, and Horace G. and Lilius Underwood, also a physician, arrived with others to evangelize, establish schools and seminaries, and offer medical care. They began to build the Korean church. In a Revival Movement of 1907, led by Presbyterian Sun-Joo Kim (1869–1935), Presbyterianism spread with the use of the Three-Self Formula. The Korean Presbyterians seemed to flourish in difficult times under Japanese domination and Korea's authoritarian governments, protesting such oppression in a Theological Declaration (1973). Although Korean Presbyterianism is divided into a bewildering number of denominations, there are four large bodies. The

Presbyterian Church of Korea (Hap Dong) numbers around 2,160,000 members, the Presbyterian Church of Korea (Dong Hap) records 2,095,300 adherents, the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (Ki Jang) has 326,000 supporters, and the Presbyterian Church in Korea (Kc Shin), ministers to 363,000 Koreans. Some of these bodies are more liberal than others; some are fundamentalists. Most hold to the Apostles Creed and Westminster Standards, and the largest ordain women to all offices of the church. Korean Presbyterians have spread across the world to build congregations and denominations, to carry on EVANGELISM, and to make contributions to their adopted countries. For example, Syngman Rhee, with roots in North Korea, served as moderator of PCUSA in 1999. He encourages and works for the unification of North and South Korea, and for contacts with other Christians of the area. Presbyterian missionaries established churches in Japan, and many converts belong to the United Church of Christ in Japan (Kyodan), founded in 1941. Presbyterians motivated Toyohiko Kogawa, noted Japanese reformer.

The Dutch also planted the Reformed tradition in INDIA as early as the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century Scottish Presbyterians sent Alexander Duff (1806–1878) to India. He and others began to established churches, schools, and hospitals. Presbyterians tended to identify with untouchables, challenge the caste system, and tried to impart a sense of dignity to India's masses. Later American Presbyterians, such as layman Sam Higginbotton (1874–1959), and the PCUSA mission introduced modern agricultural methods to Indians and founded Allahbad University (1932). His wife, Liliias, cared for India's lepers. Over the years Presbyterians joined other Protestant denominations to form the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA (1947) and the CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA (1970). The Presbyterian Church of India (PCI), in Northeast India, began under Welch mission efforts in 1841. The first presbytery was organized in 1867, followed by a Synod formed in 1896 and a General Assembly. This is the largest such body in the area. The church allows Synods much freedom. The PCI adheres to the Apostles Creed and Westminster Confession, and ordains women as ministers. It carries on a multilingual mission and counts almost 798,000 members. Presbyterianism has been at work in Pakistan as early as 1849 in Lahore.

As already indicated, the ecclesiastical bodies mentioned here represent only a few of the larger Presbyterian bodies founded by the British and North Americans, and more recently by mission efforts of younger churches. They do not embrace the accomplishments of the larger Reformed family. Over centuries these efforts have shaped the worldwide community of independent bodies of diverse ETHNICITY. They have given rise to cultural revivals in various parts of the world and to indigenous theologies and programs. As also suggested, Presbyterians have had their differences and divisions, although they have continued to confess belief in the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church, and they have cooperated, mended divisions, and still seek the unity of the whole Christian community. In 1875 they joined other Reformed bodies to organize the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES throughout the world holding to the Presbyterian system (WARC), headquartered first in Knox's Scotland, now in Calvin's Geneva. American Presbyterian PHILIP SCHAFF (1819–1893), born in SWITZERLAND, played a leading role in founding this body. In 1970 WARC merged with the International Congregational Council to found WARC (Presbyterian and Congregational), with 211 denominational affiliates, and numbering an estimated 70,000,000 members.

Presbyterians have also fostered ecumenical endeavors in their own countries, such as the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and Churches Uniting in Christ in the USA, and world conferences, such as the EDINBURGH MISSION CONFERENCE (1910) and the LAUSANNE CONFERENCE (1927) to promote theological consensus among Christians. They were present at the founding of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1948) in Geneva, often led by Presbyterians, such as Scot JOSEPH H. Oldham (1874–1969) and American EuGENE CARSON BLAKE (1906–1985). They have promoted INTERCONFESSIONAL DIALOGUE, not only with other Protestants but also with Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, and built bridges to non-Christians, Jews, Muslims, and others, while still holding to the transforming power of Christ. They have also supported the CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, the United Nations, and defended human rights as a witness to Christian life as well as faith.

See also Anabaptism; Anglicanism; Congregationalism; Lutheranism; Methodism

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JAMES H.SMYLIE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH GOVERNMENT

The theological premise that the will of God must be sought in community is the foundation of Presbyterian POLITY. With historical roots in the Scottish reformation, PRESBYTERIANISM has developed a form of government distinctly different from episcopal and congregational polities. LAITY and CLERGY together make decisions under this polity. Different levels of governing bodies interact to create mutual accountability. At its best, Presbyterian government allows the delicate balance between the wisdom of the community and the prophetic voice of the individual to work together toward discerning the will of God. When this balance has not been maintained, however, Presbyterian polity has been particularly susceptible to schism and denominationalism.

The origins of polity in Presbyterian churches, like their THEOLOGY, lie in the Scottish Reformation of JOHN KNOX, and before that, in JOHN CALVIN’S Geneva. From these sources Presbyterians derived the ordained offices of their polity, as well as their hierarchical structure of governing bodies. The adoption of the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION of Faith in the seventeenth century as the sole confessional standard of Presbyterian denominations until the mid-twentieth century brought to these churches a tension between the ORTHODOXY of the community and the individual right of conscience. Ongoing disputes as to the degree of adherence to the Westminster Confession required of ordained offices, particularly in the Presbyterian denominations in the UNITED STATES, reflected this tension, and deeply shaped the balance of AUTHORITY within the Presbyterian form of government.

Theologically, Presbyterian polity rests on a Reformed concern that leaving decision making in the church to individual church leaders, particularly in a hierarchical structure, has the potential to corrupt the CHURCH, given humanity’s fallen nature. On the other hand, with the bywords “all things decently and in order,” Presbyterians, consistent with their Reformed roots, place a high priority on orderly governance. Presbyterians thus believe that decisions made in community reflect God’s covenant with humanity, and that seeking to discern God’s will in this way imitates the communion of the triune God.

Presbyterians recognize the ordained offices of DEACON, elder, and minister of Word and Sacrament, tracing the roots of each to the New Testament church. Deacons do not have specific governing responsibilities but rather carry out ministry to persons in need or distress. Both elders (in some traditions called “ruling elders”) and ministers (in some traditions called “teaching elders”) are presbyters (from the Greek word *presbuteros* or elder) responsible for the government of the church at all levels. At all levels above the

congregation, elders and ministers are typically represented in as equal a number as possible in all decision-making bodies.

Governing Bodies

Although hierarchical in appearance, governing bodies in Presbyterian denominations have a more complex interrelationship. Sessions, consisting of elders elected for a term and the minister or ministers serving a congregation, govern individual congregations. Presbyteries oversee the work of local congregations and carry out mission within their bounds. Synods and general assemblies (some Presbyterian denominations have both; other smaller denominations either call their highest governing body a SYNOD or have a general assembly without synods) care for the broader mission of the church and resolve disputes as to DOCTRINE and practice.

Deacons and elders are elected and ordained by local congregations. Ministers are ordained only by the presbyteries. The reservation of these rights to congregations and presbyteries serves as a check on what could otherwise become the dominating power of a general assembly (or in some Presbyterian denominations, the SYNOD) to control the church. In addition, all powers not specifically delegated to other bodies are reserved to the presbyteries.

A core component of Presbyterian polity is expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith: "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his Word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship." Thus, although the elders on a session are elected by the congregation, and members of higher governing bodies are elected by lower governing bodies, Presbyterian polity is not a representative DEMOCRACY. Rather, members of governing bodies are commissioned to seek God's will in their decision making. This obligation to faithfully seek the will of God can allow a fruitful tension between the prophetic voice of the individual and the collective wisdom of the community. However, when a persistent minority concludes that the majority has not found God's will, the high value placed on individual conscience tends to lead to schism, as evidenced by the fractious history of Presbyterian denominations both in SCOTLAND and the United States.

Presbyterian polity differs from episcopal polity in its distrust of vesting power in individual religious leaders, particularly bishops, and by relationships between its various levels of governing bodies that are based on mutual accountability, rather than a hierarchical structure. On the other hand, Presbyterian polity rejects the autonomy vested in local congregations under congregational polities based on the view that the lack of mutual accountability between different levels of church government makes each more likely to err.

Presbyterian polity has been troubled in recent years by conflicting tendencies toward more hierarchical vesting of power in national governing bodies and a local tendency toward CONGREGATIONALISM. This tension is compounded by growing consumerism among church members, which makes obtaining commitments to lay leadership difficult on a consistent basis. On the other hand, in a period of community breakdown and resulting alienation, Presbyterian polity offers a model of community

decision making in which the will of God is sought together, and the body of Christ built up and renewed.

See also Bishop and Episcopacy

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JAMES A. WILSON

PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS

Although formulated for a narrower historical range, the title of Hans von Campenhausen's magisterial study, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, describes a definitive tension in the larger Christian tradition. Priest and prophet, apostle and charismatically endowed congregation, duly called pastor and energized LAITY confront one another uneasily in the church's sources and history, commonly contending over leadership, sometimes coming together in mission and service. The phrase "priesthood of all believers," historically associated with MARTIN LUTHER and the REFORMATION, arises from the side of spiritual power. It has been used as a critical principle over against perceived clerical domination; positively, to describe the vocations of the faithful in everyday life. In Protestantism the priesthood of all believers has been invoked for more democratic forms of church governance.

The Sources

Appealing to a prior authority of the Scripture, Protestant theories of the priesthood of all believers have emerged out of conversation with the Old and New Testaments. Whatever the disclaimers, though, TRADITION has also played a significant part in the discussion.

In the Old Testament, priesthood is generally associated with rituals of sacrifice. So, for example, in Leviticus and Numbers, priestly codes are spelled out, defining both the quality and quantity of the appropriate sacrifices in circumstances that demand them. The priests' office derives its authority from this sacrificial service, which is understood to maintain the community's standing in relation to the divine COVENANT.

Embedded deeply within the Old Testament narrative, however, lies a trenchant critique of priestly claims, predating the emergence of the sacrificial cultus and

accompanying it. As the definitive priest, responsible for prescribing ritual by mediating God's law, Moses is also the original prophet, setting standards for its authenticity (Numbers 12:6–8). Also a priest, Samuel has a standing defined by the spiritual power with which he has been endowed—he is a charismatic judge, overseeing the legitimate functions of authority in the community (I Samuel 8:10–22). Later prophets, like Hosea and Amos, evidence greater distance from the priestly cultus. “I hate, I despise your festivals...” God says in the hearing of Amos, “Even though you offer me your burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them” (5:21). If the priest's authority is defined by association with sacrifice, the prophet's arises exclusively out of the divine word, with which he has been entrusted as speaker.

With the distinction in forms of authority, the prophets also set out a different standard for the covenant community. The ritual cleanliness required for sacrifice gets replaced by justice and righteousness, defined in terms of particular forms of service—to the widow, the alien, and the poor, for example. It is in this sense that the people of Israel are spoken of as a “nation of priests” or a “priestly kingdom” (Exodus 19:2). God has made covenant with Israel for the sake of the other nations of the world, a theme struck resoundingly in the books of Ruth, Jonah, and Isaiah.

Apocalyptically charged, shaped by Christ's death and resurrection, the New Testament emerges out of the prophetic tradition of ministry and radicalizes it accordingly. The tension between official authority and spiritual power is tipped so decisively in favor of an outpouring that offices survive only at the margins, in emergent forms. There are several factors in this tipping.

One factor is historical origins. Identified with Nazareth in Galilee, Jesus comes from the Diaspora, where the normative form of WORSHIP was not sacrifice but the PREACHING and teaching services of the synagogue. The Gospels report various visits to the temple in Jerusalem, where the rituals of sacrifice continued to be practiced, but they are fraught with conflict—whether in the report of a child prodigy confounding the elders (Luke 2:41–52), more spectacularly in an onslaught on the money changers and temple profiteers (Matthew 21:12–17), or in the quiet prophecy before the passion, “Do you see these great buildings? Not one stone will be left upon another” (Mark 13:2).

A second factor involves Jesus's mission. Baptized by John, Jesus from the beginning identifies himself with sinners in need of renewal and promises the transcending of such moral overhaul in a BAPTISM of the Spirit (Luke 3:15–22). He travels through the countryside as a wandering rabbi, gathering adherents—twelve disciples, formally identified as such, and untold others, including among them women who take a critical role in the narrative, crucially identified with the passion and the resurrection. Breaking moral and GENDER boundaries, Jesus presses at the geographic borders of the sacred as well, reaching out to those excluded by ETHNICITY: among the tax collectors and prostitutes there are also Roman soldiers (as well as their terrorist counterpart, zealots), Syro-phoenicians, and Samaritans.

However, the decisive factor in this tipping from the official is the cross and the resurrection. For the community that he gathered, the death of Jesus was a disaster of such proportions that not even the Easter accounts could negate it. “We had hoped he would be the redemption of Israel,” Cleopas and his companion say, speaking in the past perfect without knowing the identity of the one to whom they speak (Luke 24:21). Jesus

appears as both the crucified and the risen one, bearing the marks of his death even as he appears from beyond it.

The sacrificial tradition of Israel plays a critical part in the church's interpretation of the death of Jesus. Although the terminology is different, the conceptuality of the sacrificial tradition serves as a container for the Christ hymn of Philippians 2:5–11, one of the earliest Christian creeds: "he emptied himself, taking on the form of a servant, becoming obedient unto death, even death on a cross." Speaking specifically against Israel's sacrificial cultus, the Letter to the Hebrews describes Jesus's sacrifice as "once for all" (Hebrews 7:27), the ultimate fulfillment, and therefore completion and end. In effect the death of Jesus is the final manifestation of his own words, familiar from the prophetic tradition but now enacted, "I desire mercy, not sacrifice" (Matthew 9:13).

Once Jesus's cross has torn open the temple curtain (Mark 15:38), the resurrection follows as apocalyptic outpouring. Manifesting him as Lord, God in the flesh (Romans 1:4), Easter also reveals a new condition of life, in which the gifts of the end time—forgiveness of sins, deliverance from death and its allied powers—are present realities. As such, the resurrection places every earthly power, whether official or unofficial, in question, and turns loose a divine flood in the everyday.

The Apostle Paul declares the negation, most emphatically in I Corinthians 15. Risen from the dead, Christ is presently undermining "every ruler, and every authority and power," and will complete this mission when death itself is suborned (vss. 23–25). A present reality among believers, this hope delayed the development of offices in the Christian community for virtually a century. "Call no man on earth your father," Jesus is quoted as saying, "you have one father, who is in heaven" (Matthew 23:9). The apostles, so important in the Gospel accounts and in the early mission of the church, are told in the midst of self-promotion that the first will be last (Mark 9:35) and exposed again and again in the narratives for their foolishness. Peter can only be "the rock" (Matthew 16:13–28) when he is also identified as three times the betrayer. In fact, the office of apostle is so closely associated with Jesus's historic presence that it is restricted to the first generation. Thus Paul describes himself as the "least of the apostles" or "afterbirth" (I Corinthians 15:8).

Given the political necessities of communal life—such as "waiting on tables," in Acts—some official function would be demanded, no matter how powerful the critique. In fact, the two congregations that appear in the New Testament—in Jerusalem and Corinth—both show some movement in this direction. In Jerusalem, Luke, considered the author of both the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, is particularly concerned to show the divine origin of the apostolate and describes the election of deacons, called to other forms of service while the apostles preach. Confronted by the claims of Corinthians who believe that the resurrection has carried them beyond all earthly limits, Paul is at some pains to move beyond a merely personal to a more public authority. In the Pastoral Epistles, toward the end of the New Testament period, three offices are developing: with the deacons there are also bishops and presbyters. However, as Ernst Schweizer observed conclusively, "there is no theory of church order in the New Testament." Jesus's lordship leaves every human office in shards, which have value only in their connection with him.

Terminating the sacrificial, undermining the official, with the cross the resurrection of Jesus is also an outpouring. In Luke's account this happens at Pentecost. The Spirit of the risen Christ, sent to the church after his ascension into heaven, breaks out in wind and

flame. In the process the ethnic and linguistic borders that have divided the human community are blown, burned away like so many leaves—“they all heard the word, each in his own language” (Acts 2:8). With this, through the apostolic preaching, the Spirit assaults a host of other impediments, be they economic, social, political, or immunological. Christ’s resurrection has released the Spirit of life in a world previously under the uncontested control of death.

In a passage beloved of various Protestant traditions, Paul defines “GRACE” or *charis* in the Greek, in terms of the resurrection: “the wages of sin is death but the free gift of grace is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord” (Romans 6:23). As the power of the resurrection, grace manifests itself in the life of the believer as well as the larger community in the shape of particular gifts, given for service—*charis*—at the same time that it carries those so possessed by the Spirit beyond death, also producing *charismata*, specific endowments given for service in the mundane relations of everyday. So endowed, those graced by the Spirit of the risen Christ become *charismatic*—the Spirit has invested its particular gifts, whether prophecy or administration or otherwise, in the continuing reclamation of a rebellious world that was begun in Christ’s death.

Not surprisingly, given deep rootage in the prophetic tradition, in Paul’s language the Spirit’s outpouring results in a reorientation of the language of sacrifice. “Present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God,” he writes when he turns to the earthly dimensions of grace, “which is your spiritual worship” (Romans 12:1–2). Justifying the godless, the triune God turns sacrifice away from ritual qualification and appeasement, taking hold of the body—the self in all of its concrete dimensions and relationships—to make believers useful to the divine purpose of the Creator, in the creation and with other creatures. The self-seeking, heaven-storming, religious person, intent on gaining control over the powers of death, in being released from such bondage is turned back to the creation in the confidence that bringing in the new creation, the Holy Spirit can make even such a creature some earthly good.

Whether in Luke’s historicizing account or Paul’s more theological treatment, their vision of the out-pouring opened by Christ’s death and resurrection is shared by all the New Testament. “All authority, in heaven and earth, has been given to me,” Jesus says in Matthew 28:19–20. On this basis the community is called to “go and make disciples of all nations” by baptizing and preaching. When the work is complete, in the authority and power of the risen Christ, the whole creation—in Ephesians and Colossians, the whole cosmos—will have been restored. Then, according to Revelation 21, there will be no temple, neither any church. Both ecclesiastical authority and spiritual power will have been transcended by the presence of God.

Given the historic tension between ecclesiastical office and spiritual authority, it is to be expected that even having been overwhelmed in the defining events of the New Testament, the official side would reassert itself soon. The lack of a comprehensive theory of church order left an opening to be filled; the disorder of the Pauline congregations, seemingly in constant conflict, and the press of community maintenance combined with other factors to move the church in this direction. So in the post-Apostolic fathers, as traditionally named, what began in the later reaches of the New Testament continues to develop. Ignatius of Antioch, for example, reflecting regional theories of leadership, can make the presence of the bishop, or someone appointed by him, necessary to the gathering of the church.

Ignatius's employment of local Antiochene tradition points to the ongoing influence of nonbiblical, nontheological factors in the development of church order. The various traditions within the Christian faith—Orthodox, Catholic, or Protestant—commonly appeal to the Scripture for ratification of a particular theory, whether for official authority or spiritual power. In fact the appeal is generally cloaked in terms of necessity with claims to the eternally proper or only correct form, although communal leadership, no matter what the scale, is also a political matter. Thus transient factors such as traditional leadership patterns, local circumstance, and current need have a dramatic way of affecting what is said to be eternal.

The office of BISHOP becomes particularly strategic with the growth of the church, the bishops being effectively senior pastors in larger parishes, served in turn by presbyters or priests and deacons. Occasionally, there is a minority voice from the other side—Tertullian, in North Africa, for example—and the laity may retain the power of election in various communities, as they did with such legendary bishops as Ambrose and Augustine. By the second century, however, the New Testament balance has changed, ecclesiastical office claiming the ascendancy.

Two events are critical in subsequent developments of church order. One is the Constantinian and Theodosian settlement, in the fourth century, in which Christianity became established as the religion of the Roman Empire. As it joined the state, sharing the coercive power necessary to maintaining a common order, the church bureaucratized its ministry. The bishop is now a regional official, on par with a magistrate, enforcing ORTHODOXY, overseeing a staff of ministers. Another signal event is the fall of Rome and the later loss to militant Islam of safe passage through the Mediterranean. With public life atomized, reduced to its smallest components, the local bishop and under him the parish priest became the local embodiment of the church.

The office that benefited most significantly from these developments is the papacy. Into the fifth century the bishop of Rome is one office holder among others, advancing the same ultimate claims for himself as bishops in Alexandria, Antioch, or Constantinople. However, a series of dramatically powerful popes—Leo I, Gregory I, and later Gregory VII, with or without the theorizing of Pope Damasus and Gelasius—consolidated the powers of the Roman bishop-ric, making it the one workable international office in early medieval Europe. Thirteenth-century figures like Innocent III and Boniface VIII completed the process, describing the papacy in sacerdotal terms as the physical embodiment of Christ's rule on earth. Such a sacerdotalism makes any talk of a tension between ecclesiastical authority and spiritual power an abstraction.

Luther and the Reformation

Traditionally Protestants have told the story of the Reformation as a narrative of biblical recovery—Luther leading the way back to the Scripture. In fact, there is an element of truth to the old account. With a newly minted doctorate Luther was a professor of biblical studies, working his way particularly through the Psalms and Paul's letters, especially to the Romans. Sometime late in the teens of the sixteenth century, the date perennially disputed, Luther came to what for the later Middle Ages was an unusual way of reading

the texts, in terms of their apocalyptic meaning, with a particular emphasis on the cross. The result was an exegetical revolution.

Revolutions, no matter how radical, are generally not driven by exegesis alone. A maelstrom of historic causes gathered around his early protest, swirling, accelerating, propelling his initial complaints into a protest as wide as Northern Europe. Some of the factors were regional, particularly a long-standing hostility to Mediterranean dominance. Other were socioeconomic, the most important being population growth and a developing cash economy that combined to force migration from farm to city. A powerful Moslem military threat, sporadic outbursts of plague, and a pervasive disgust with public morality all fed a profound sense of the nearness of the end times.

In this mix Luther's appeal to the priesthood of all believers proved catalytic. As he himself worked with it, the argument moved in both of the directions set classically in the New Testament. Initially it was a critique of an ECCLESIOLOGY dominated by office, restoring what von Campenhausen called the "spiritual power" side of the tension, even if such language would be strange to Luther. As such, the critique did not develop into a full-blown doctrine of church governance in either Luther or the Lutheran confessions, definitive for the church that still bears his name. With its critical edge, however, the priesthood of believers was also linked to what has been called "the doctrine of vocation," which for Luther specified the place of Christian service.

In the view of Luther as well as the humanist reformers gathered around Erasmus—HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS, MARTIN BUCER, and others—the medieval papacy was predicated on the sacrifice of the mass (see LORD'S SUPPER). This dogma, officially defined by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, held that in presenting the transubstantiated elements of the sacrament—the bread and wine having become the actual historic body and blood of Jesus of Nazareth—the priest performing the sacramental action was effectively re-presenting Christ's sacrifice to God. Just as the authority of the Old Testament priesthood derived from the sacrificial act, the authority of the pope as *sacerdos*, physically embodying Christ on earth, derived from the sacrament. Through the bishops, the papacy controlled both those who administered the sacrament, legitimizing ordination, and those allowed to participate and therefore benefit, through the sacrament of communion. The cutting edge of papal authority was in excommunication, exclusion from the sacrament or in its greater form, membership in the larger community.

The Upper Rhine reformers, students of Erasmus concentrated in Southwest GERMANY and SWITZERLAND, attacked this theory of authorization of the papacy by denying the connection between the historic body of Christ and his Eucharistic presence, in the elements. So doing, they set footings for much of modern Protestantism, in which the sacrament has historically been interpreted as a memorial meal.

Luther went a different direction. Reaching back into the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament as interpreted in the New, he argued that the means of Christ's presence is God's word, whether in its preached or sacramental form. As the vehicle or means of God's presence, the word is at the same time God's power at work in the human community to affect the divine purposes. Thus "priesthood" and "sacrifice" have both been reoriented—instead of humankind's service to God, they are exercised in proclamation of the word that bespeaks God's presence in Christ for the restoration of the creation. Instead of simply communicating information, which must then be understood

by reason and applied by the will, the word in its preached and sacramental forms actually accomplishes God's intentions among the faithful for the larger world.

Early on in what became the Reformation, Luther did not spell out some of the more radical consequences of his interpretation. However, as the papal bureaucracy moved to quell what was becoming a major uprising in Germany, Luther became more and more specific about the implications. Two of the great treatises of 1520, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* and *To the German Nobility*, set benchmarks in his critique of the medieval church. "Therefore," he writes in the former, analyzing the medieval sacramental system, "I can have mass every day. For I can set before me the word of God." Then, having broken the papal sacramental lock on God's grace, he called on the German nobility to put its hands to the reformation of the church. Because the means of God's activity in the human community is the word, it can be both held over and against those who claim it and spoken by all who hear it. "The Word of God is incomparably superior to the church," he can write.

As the Wittenberg reform unfolded, Luther continued to use the concept of the priesthood of all believers critically. So, for example, in *The Right and Power of a Christian Congregation or Community to Judge all Teaching and to Call, Appoint and Dismiss Teachers, Established and Proved from Scripture*, he argued that the word's authorization of the community gives it a basis to challenge unfaithful CLERGY. Similarly, in *Concerning the Ministry*, Luther wrote to a congregation of Hussites who were without a properly ordained pastor that given the presence of the word, they could elect one of their own, setting that person aside for preaching and the administration of the SACRAMENTS.

As tellingly as he brought the critique, however, Luther did not develop the priesthood of all believers into a formal DOCTRINE or theory of church order. Neither did the Lutheran confessors. The concept of the priesthood of believers is altogether absent from the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, an absence lamented by some—including Regin Prenter, a critically important interpreter in twentieth-century Luther studies—and rejoiced in by others, such as Arthur Carl Piepkorn, seeking to establish a more official theory of ministry in American Lutheranism. The Formula of Concord of 1577 in its tenth article identifies circumstances that require resistance to the impositions of ecclesiastical authority, but again with little more than passing reference.

There have been attempts, among both European and American Lutherans, to develop Luther's and other confessional statements into a theory of church order, some of them emphasizing office, others the congregation. However, as Edgar Carlson, a Swedish-American Luther scholar of a prior generation argued, the sources themselves rest with a dialectic: God's continuing presence in the word requires a human office set aside for its speaking but limits the authority of the office to the speaking, whether in preaching or the sacraments; God's word establishes the congregation that therefore has a right to word and sacrament but at the same time limits the authority of the congregation accordingly. It is von Campenhausen's tension, both ecclesiastical authority and spiritual power being constitutive of the church and its ministry.

The priesthood of all believers takes a more positive turn in the doctrine of VOCATION. Luther did not directly employ the Pauline progression of grace and graces, *charis*, *charism*, *charismata*, although he followed the same down-to-earth movement of grace in everyday life. So in *On Christian Liberty*, the third of the great treatises of 1520,

he argued a dialectic: “The Christian is the perfectly free lord of all, subject to none”; just so, the Christian is also “the perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.” In the contemporaneous *Sermon on Two Kinds of Righteousness*, another classical source, he spoke of Christ’s righteousness being realized in a provisional but nevertheless actual righteousness of the believer, realized in everyday service. In later essays of the 1520s, particularly *On Monastic Vows* and *Concerning Married Life*, he located this service in the vocations or callings of the daily round—the formative relations of work and family, citizenship, and the life of the Christian community. Providing a platform for a relentless critique of either clericalism or congregationalism, the priesthood of all believers is realized in service of the word and the neighbor.

Later Protestantism

In the Reformation and after, the Lutheran willingness to leave church order in a dialectic proved an invitation to others seeking more precise definition. Protestant reformers were in general more careful, filling out more complete theories, although when Europeans began immigrating to America, the priesthood of believers found fresh and compelling grounds.

Losing significant allegiances in South, West, and even Northern Germany toward the end of the Reformation and later in the Thirty Years War, LUTHERANISM maintained its hold in Eastern Germany and the Scandinavian countries. The Peace of Augsburg in 1555, followed by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, ratified a relationship already developing in the Reformation, whereby political officials provided a rudimentary structure for the church. Generally, actual governance of the church fell to consistories, gathering of pastors under the leadership of a superintendent who in function, though with rare exceptions not in title, replaced the bishops (see CONSISTORY). In the Scandinavian folk churches, citizenship and church membership came together. The priesthood of all believers became a rallying cry for various renewal movements that swept the nations, seeking to activate or “awaken” fidelity in the citizenry.

JOHN CALVIN was not one to rely on chance. Considering himself to be completing what Luther began, he resolved the Lutheran dialectic into a theory of church order intended to transform Geneva into the “beacon on the hill” of Jesus’s Sermon on the Mount. For this purpose he took over the language of the Pastoral Epistles, although without the title “bishop” so compromised by late medieval Catholicism. The pastors, the elders, and the deacons worked together in a system of check and balance, each of them theoretically subject to “the glorious company”—the assembled laity who as object of ministry also had the power of a vote. Although eventually contained in FRANCE, Calvin’s homeland and first objective, CALVINISM spread to Western and Northern Germany and with some roots in ENGLAND, eventually established itself in SCOTLAND.

That which was predictable in Europe became unpredictable in America. In the old European order, established churches could rely on the states’ coercive powers, just as the early church following the Constantinian settlement. Where they were established by the state, Protestant churches accepted definitions of ministry focused on office, although as Sidney Earl Mead, longtime dean of American church historians pointed out, in the

United States the churches surrendered access to coercion. Initially the surrender was geographically enforced—dissenters, like ROGER WILLIAMS, simply moved, finding an open frontier. The disestablishment clause of the constitution made the geographical reality legal as well. Those churches that had relied on coercion in Europe were forced in America to accept persuasion as the means to the desired end: voluntary association.

Even on the western side of the Atlantic, established European churches did not always surrender easily. There were attempts to replicate the old patterns, some of them—such as folk church Lutheranism—proving surprisingly enduring. Generally, however, the communities of faith best prepared for religious freedom were those that in Europe had already had some experience with supporting themselves through appeal. The various renewal movements that had moved through the state churches, the dissenters and heirs of the radical Reformation, had learned through hard experience how to survive as minorities, dependent on appeal, and they put the experience to good use. It did not take long for previously established churches to follow their lead, adopting the anxious bench, the crusade, and other paraphernalia calculated to move the will to acceptance of God's proffered grace.

The priesthood of all believers was conceptually made to order for the American situation. In historic churches that had defined themselves and their ministry top-down, it had been a critical principle. In churches building themselves bottom-up, seeking adherents, the priesthood of all believers became a *de facto* necessity of church order. So, for example, High Church Episcopalians, deriving the authenticity of the church through the succession of the bishops, were soon forced to put candidates up for popular vote, thereby emplacing in practice another form of authorization. The clergy learned quickly to adapt. As ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE noticed in a famous observation, "everywhere in America where one expects to meet a priest, one finds a politician"—a pastor who had learned the power of the annual meeting, and therefore the necessity of getting along with the congregation.

Denominationalism and congregationalism are two important consequences. Neither has European, not to speak of earlier roots in the life of the church; both are adaptations to voluntary association. The DENOMINATION bands congregations of similar background and purpose in a common effort; congregationalism gives the priesthood of all believers a political form, so that those who have joined the congregation have the last word in its governance. No matter what form the theory of ecclesiastical authority may take, power—be it spiritual or otherwise—tells the tale.

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JAMES ARNE NESTINGEN

PRIESTLEY, JOSEPH (1733–1804)

English theologian and scientist. Priestley was born on March 13, 1733, a few miles southwest of Leeds, where his father was a Yorkshire weaver at Fieldhead in the parish of Birstall. His mother died when he was seven and shortly afterward he was adopted by an aunt, Sarah Keighley, at Heckmondwike. He attended various schools nearby and at an early age began to learn Greek, Latin, and then Hebrew. His proficiency at these and other languages led his aunt to abandon her intention to place him in commerce. His family having had a long history of DISSENT, Priestley was unable to proceed to either of the English universities. Accordingly, in 1752 he began studies at a new Dissenting Academy at Daventry. Here Priestley began studies in science, encouraged by a local Dissenting minister who was well versed in Newtonian science and philosophy. He encountered modern chemistry in the influential *Elementa Chymiae* of Boerhaave. He also read widely in THEOLOGY and began a long career of writing. A manuscript from this period, *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, although actually published seventeen years later, signaled a growing interest in natural theology. At Daventry he encountered Hartley's *Observations on Man*, which became crucially important for introducing him to the philosophical ideas of JOHN LOCKE and extending his early grasp of the science of ISAAC NEWTON.

In 1755 Priestley left Daventry to become assistant minister at Needham Market in Suffolk. Three years later he moved to Nantwich in Cheshire, an important center for the extraction of salt, serving the church there and opening a school where pupils could learn science as well as the more conventional subjects. In 1761 he accepted the post of tutor at the famous Warrington Academy, and a year later married Mary Wilkinson, sister of the future iron-master John Wilkinson. During this period he wrote books ranging from *Rudiments of English Grammar* and a *Chart of Biography* to *The History and Present State of Electricity*. This last volume appeared just after his election as FRS (Fellow in

the Royal Society). By now he had become ordained and in 1767 became minister of Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds. More books poured from his pen during the six years in his native Yorkshire, some thirty in all, and his lively interest in science led to the invention of “soda water” (in which carbon dioxide is dissolved in water under pressure).

In 1767 he accepted an invitation from the Earl of Shelburne to become his librarian, and to act as tutor to his two sons, chiefly at Bowood House, near Calne in Wiltshire. Offering in effect part-time employment in a congenial place, the post left him ample time for scientific research (as had been the Earl’s intention). For another six years Priestley labored intensively in his laboratory, developing techniques for manipulating some of the gases that were being discovered by him and others, and obtaining a highly reactive gas that kindled glowing splints, which we know as oxygen but which he could never recognize as such. By now he was clearly one of Europe’s leading chemists.

His final, and longest, appointment in England saw him again as a minister, to the New Meeting congregation in Birmingham. Here he met many leading men of science (in the famous Lunar Society), and developed not only his science but also his political ideas. A series of broadsides against the establishment, including the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, brought him into disrepute and, in 1791, a crowd burned down several chapels and Priestley’s own house in the notorious “Church and King” riots. Forced to flee to London, Priestley found himself so unpopular that, in 1794, he emigrated to America, where he died on February 6, 1804.

Theologically Priestley moved from the most conservative to the most liberal form of Christianity. Turning from the strict CALVINISM of his youth, he had accepted Arianism by the 1750s, and by 1767 enthusiastically embraced SOCINIANISM, the thought of Laelio So. His rejection of the Trinity stemmed partly from his reading of scripture (where the actual term is not used), partly from his expressed desire to secure the CONVERSION of Jews and Muslims, and probably from his inherited tradition of radical dissent in which Unitarianism had often been an element of differentiation from the hated Established Church. His views were so extreme—and so clear—that he even opposed orthodox Dissenters, and in his final years was sadly despised by unbelievers and by orthodox Christians. His theology accepted the AUTHORITY of scripture, provided it be interpreted by rational means, but rejected Calvinist ideas of ATONEMENT and double PREDESTINATION.

Politically he detested SLAVERY, sympathized with the French Revolution, and expressed his views without inhibition. However, the revolution he sought was primarily in the mind, for he believed that rational thought would inevitably lead to reform in state and church. So in education the function of teacher was to eliminate prejudices and myths. His science, theology, and politics were inextricably linked by this fundamental belief. One such error in his sight was the notion of “spirit.” Opposing a theological dualism he denied spirits, which in chemistry (he thought) had exerted a retarding effect. Inert matter, with its attractions and repulsions, was the object of his concern.

Priestley did not believe in “arbitrary” divine interventions in either personal SALVATION or the natural world, which was grounded in God’s own creativity. Hence arose the laws of NATURE, so facts rather than hypotheses were the goal of science. Above all he wanted to establish a system of nature. His refusal to recognize the existence of oxygen was partly at least attributed to his mistrust of hypothetical schemes, like those invented by his rival Antoine Lavoisier. His devotion to the old idea of

phlogiston was far from unusual at that time. To his many enemies he was wrong in all three areas: politics, theology, and chemistry. To posterity he was a most gifted man of science and a notable warrior for ENLIGHTENMENT Rationalism.

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COLIN A.RUSSELL

PRIMITIVE BAPTIST

Primitive Baptist is a general term referring to Baptist churches that have roots in the antission movement of the antebellum era in the UNITED STATES, specifically those churches that interpret Calvinist doctrine to require opposition to missionary means (including MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS, Bible and tract societies, and the like) to spread the gospel. "Primitive" in this context comes from the nineteenth-century usage of the term, meaning "original," and carrying with it the connotation of restoring the ancient faith of Christians dating back to apostolic times from the corruption of modern innovations. Primitive Baptist churches are scattered throughout the United States, and a few exist overseas, although the bulk of their strength is in the Southeast and Appalachian regions. Primitive Baptist churches represent the decentralized, small-scale, traditionalist world of rural Protestantism.

Origins of Primitive Baptists

From their early days the BAPTISTS practiced a congregationalist system and BAPTISM by immersion, the two beliefs that have characterized virtually all Baptists through their history. However, very few doctrines have united what historically has been a disputatious tradition that has spread by division. Primitive Baptists emerged from one of these splits. In the 1820s in North Carolina, the Kehukee Association of Baptists became a leading advocate for the "Hard-shell" or "Old School" Baptists, those known for their strict adherence to Calvinist doctrines of limited ATONEMENT. They made known their opposition to the entire benevolent project of mission societies that were beginning to become prominent in American Protestantism.

In the fall of 1832, Baptists in Baltimore county, Maryland, called a meeting at the Black Rock Church. Attendees included Old School Baptists from all over the young country. The “Black Rock address” of 1832 set the agenda for the theology and practice of Primitive Baptists very largely down to the present day. In the doctrinal polemic the Primitive brethren explained their opposition to tract societies, SUNDAY SCHOOLS, BIBLE SOCIETIES, missions organizations, SEMINARIES, and protracted meetings (REVIVALS). All were contrary to God’s sovereign will; all encouraged the expansion of man’s wisdom and the diminution of God’s sover-eignty. The difference, as they saw it, came down to this: missionary Baptists “declare the gospel to be a system of means; these means it appears they believe to be of human contrivance.... But we believe the gospel dispensation to embrace a system of faith and obedience.” Those who honestly reflected on biblical commands “must be, like us, convinced that this religion must remain unchangeably the same at this day, as we find it delivered in the New Testament.... And if persons who would pass for preachers, will come to us, bringing the messages of men, &c., a gospel which they have learned in the schools, instead of that gospel which Christ himself commits unto his servants, and which is not learned of men, they must not be surprised that we cannot acknowledge them as ministers of Christ.”

Primitive Baptist Theology and Structure

The Primitives uphold the total depravity of natural man; personal and unconditional ELECTION; special atonement; irresistible GRACE; and preservation of the SAINTS. Primitive Baptists historically have eschewed larger denominational structures above the level of associations, that is, groupings of churches in local areas that meet annually for fellowship. DENOMINATIONS were seen as human contrivances that lacked any justification from the New Testament. In the twentieth century, however, groups such as the Progressive Primitive Baptists and the NATIONAL PRIMITIVE BAPTIST CONVENTION (the black Primitive Baptists) accepted into their organizations Sunday schools, denominational organizations, and a paid CLERGY.

Although in agreement on opposition to “means,” Primitive Baptists have been just as susceptible to schism as were other groups. Theological and social controversies—over issues as serious as the exact province of PREDESTINATION, and as seemingly trivial as the advent of indoor plumbing to the simple and spare meeting houses that characterize Primitive Baptist CHURCH ARCHITECTURE—have wracked Primitive Baptists virtually from their origins. After World War II, Primitive Baptists have gone into some decline, largely because of the exodus of population from the rural and Appalachian South where the Primitives historically were at their strongest. Nevertheless some contemporary Primitives have shown a greater ability than their predecessors to adopt to some of the mechanisms of modernity, including websites and radio broadcasts.

Primitive Baptist Practices

Aside from their theological insistence on predestinarian views of SALVATION and their opposition to organized and monied organizations to win CONVERSION from

others, Primitive Baptists are best known for carrying on older traditions of WORSHIP; indeed, the most conservative Primitive Baptist churches are virtual time capsules of Baptist church practice from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Historically, most Primitive Baptist churches have been pastored by lay elders, men (never WOMEN) who feel called to preach and have no expectation of making a living doing it. Primitive Baptist sermons, especially those in Appalachia, are usually long and chanted in a high-pitched, rhythmic, nasal-sounding whine, punctuated by grunts of “ha” as the preacher catches his breath between long and poetic discourses on the nature and sovereignty of God and the “sweet hope” of salvation. Most Primitive Baptists oppose instrumental church music, believing that nowhere in the New Testament are believers commanded to play instruments in sacred worship, and that instrumentalists call attention to themselves and thus draw proper focus away from the sovereignty of God. Generally, the more conservative the church, the more likely that church is to sing in the time-honored way with extremely slow tempos, a DEACON or elder lining out the hymn, and mournful minor keys being predominant. Primitive Baptists also typically practice foot-washing (see FEET, WASHING OF) as an ordinance. Although the Primitives see it as an ancient “landmark,” in fact the practice seems to have arisen mostly in the early twentieth century, as the Primitives sought to distinguish themselves more from mainline missionary Baptist practice. Washing feet often climaxes services, as the brethren and sisters tearfully bond over the powerfully affecting ritual.

Primitive Baptists carry out the faith once delivered to the saints, in highly decentralized organizations that uphold TRADITION over innovation, a stalwart trust in the sovereignty of God over the inroads of new theologies or SCIENCE, and what they see as a simple apostolic form of Christianity over hyperorganized and efficient church organizations.

See also Baptists, United States; Calvinism; Congregationalism

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PAUL HARVEY

PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH

The Primitive Methodist Church's roots lie in an early nineteenth-century English revival movement led by Methodist lay leaders HUGH BOURNE and William Clowes, who espoused CAMP MEETING revivalism as promoted by Methodist revivalist Lorenzo Dow (see REVIVALS). An 1807 camp meeting held at Mow Cop in Northern Staffordshire became the rallying point of the movement. In 1812, after its leaders were rejected by the more staid English Wesleyan Methodist Connexion (see METHODISM, ENGLAND), they organized The Primitive Methodist Connexion popularly known as "Camp Meeting Methodists" or "Ranters." The church's advocacy for the laity and its simplicity of worship made it an attractive home for the struggling members of the rising British working class, some of whom became leaders of the British labor movement. By century's end it was the second largest Methodist body in England. The British Primitive Methodists united with the British Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1932.

In 1829 the Primitive Methodist church had sent missionaries to the UNITED STATES. Churches were founded across the country, but only in the northeastern part, among coal miners of Pennsylvania, in any significant concentration. The mission churches organized as the American Primitive Methodist Church in 1840. "American" later was dropped from the name. In 1889 the several conferences united under a common general conference, and in 1975 both the annual and the general conferences were united as the Primitive Methodist Church in the United States of America. The church has missions in Spain and Guatemala. It is affiliated with the National Association of Evangelicals and as a WESLEYAN HOLINESS body associates with The Christian Holiness Partnership.

See also Wesleyan Holiness Movement; Methodism; Revivals Holiness Movement

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MELVIN E. DIETER

PROCESS THEOLOGY

Process theology depends on philosophies that have replaced the substance categories, dominant in the Western tradition, with events and processes. There are both scientific and philosophic reasons for this shift, and process theologians believe there are also theological advantages. Although it can include theologies influenced by GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL and Henri Bergson, the term refers chiefly to those

influenced by WILLIAM JAMES, John Dewey, C.S. Peirce, Alfred North Whitehead, and CHARLES HARTSHORNE. Of these, Whitehead and Hartshorne have been most important for theologians.

Distinctive Teachings

Process theology claims to recover a more biblical understanding of God from the overlay of Greek philosophy in the tradition. Traditional THEOLOGY depicts God as ideal substance. It thereby accents God's immutability, denying that God is genuinely affected by human joy and sorrow. Process theology argues, in contrast, that God, as love, is perfectly responsive to every occurrence.

Traditional theology has emphasized God's allcontrolling power. Because of the arbitrary rendering of El Shaddai as God Almighty, many Christians suppose that such omnipotence is a biblical teaching. Process theology points out that this denies that human beings have any power at all. Instead of explaining the history of the interaction between God and creatures characteristic of the biblical story, this doctrine implies that God unilaterally determines all that occurs, including human responses to divine calls. Some back away from this implication, affirming that God freely limits the exercise of divine power so as to leave decisions to human beings. Process theologians argue, instead, that the true nature of divine power is persuasive, empowering, and liberating rather than controlling, and that this is the kind of power revealed in Jesus and celebrated by Paul, when he speaks of divine power as manifest in the "weakness" of Christ crucified (cf. I Corinthians 2:21–25).

The doctrine of God's all-controlling power raises doubts about God's goodness. If God causes or allows the terrible events of history, it is hard to believe that God is good. Process theologians hold that, if we understand God's power as it is revealed in Jesus, the goodness of God is clear. God is working in all situations for the good of creatures, calling people to join in this work, and empowering them to do so.

Substance thinking teaches that relations are external to the things that are related. That is, these things would be just what they are even if their relationships were different. Process thinkers teach, instead, that relations largely constitute the events that make up the world. This is the doctrine of internal relations. God is internal to creaturely experiences, and creatures are internal to the divine experience. The latter is the doctrine of panentheism—all in God. Its clearest biblical expression is in Paul's speech at the Areopogus: in God "we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts 17:28). This differs from pantheism, which affirms that God and the world are the same reality viewed in two ways.

Process theology affirms the classical doctrine that God was in Jesus, participating in constituting Jesus's existence. God is in all humans in this way. Its Christological task is to clarify what is distinctive about the way God was in Jesus and what was accomplished through his life, death, and resurrection.

The doctrine of internal relations also applies to relations among God's people. We humans are deeply formed by our natural environment and especially by the human communities in which we live. We become persons only in community and are truly "members one of another" (Ephesians 4:25).

Because so much of the natural and social sciences, especially economics, is based on substance thinking, which excludes these constitutive relations, process theologians try to reformulate these sciences and the policies that follow from them. They believe that Christian thinking should be informed by what can be learned from others and should, in turn, challenge others to consider different interpretations of their data.

Criticism and Influence

Criticism comes from diverse directions. The philosophy employed by process theologians is metaphysical or speculative at a time when many believe that such philosophy is outdated. It affirms the independent reality of the nonhuman world at a time when many limit reality to the sphere of human experience or human language. Process theology overrides disciplinary boundaries at a time when many believe that theology should be a self-contained academic discipline largely independent of other sources of knowledge and should respect their independence. Process theology engages in extensive revision of the TRADITION at a time when many take that tradition as normative. Process theology denies that God's power is the sort that can determine what happens, when many believe that only such controlling power can evoke our worship.

The adoption of this philosophic view leaves much of theological importance open. There are Roman Catholic, Unitarian, and Jewish process theologians who formulate the beliefs of their respective traditions in ways influenced by process thought. Much of Western process thought resembles insights attained by Buddhists more than two thousand years ago, and today there are Buddhists who find this thought useful.

Nevertheless, process theology has been largely Protestant. This is partly by historical chance. Much of it developed out of the sociohistorical school that flourished at the University of Chicago Divinity School from the end of the nineteenth century to World War II. Henry Nelson Wieman, Bernard Meland, Bernard Loomer, and Daniel Day Williams were among the early shapers of process theology there. It retained a foothold at Chicago, but it has also spread, largely through Chicago graduates, to other seminaries and graduate schools. Quite independently of Chicago, Norman Pittenger made a large contribution to the literature and influence of the school. Among Catholics, the major center for the study of process theology has been the University of Leuven. It has attracted significant attention in East Asia and AUSTRALIA as well.

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JOHN B. COBB, JR.

PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION

The Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC) emerged in 1961 from a break with the parent body, the NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION U.S.A., Incorporated (NBCI), over two principle points: tenure of convention officers and strategies for civil rights. Headquartered in Washington, D.C. the convention has almost 2,000 churches in some forty-six states and the District of Columbia. The membership of approximately 1.8 million is mainly northeastern and urban, far less strong in Southern and rural areas. It has missions in at least two west African countries, LIBERIA and NIGERIA, as well as the Caribbean nation of Haiti. The *Baptist Progress* is the official organ of the convention, published on a bimonthly basis; the convention owns no publishing press. Its motto, some-what revised from the original, is “Unity, Service, Fellowship, and Peace.”

There are a few white congregations holding dual alignments with the PNBC but far more black Baptist churches dually aligned with predominantly white bodies, such as the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION and the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES. Officers serve for two years, but the president of the convention has a term limit of eight years, resulting in a more frequent turnover of presidents than in other black Baptist groups. The PNBC has boards and commissions typical of Baptist conventions, including those for pensions, civil rights, foreign MISSIONS, WOMEN, and youth. The convention is organized in four major geographic regions: the East, Midwest, South, and Southwest.

Founded in 1895, the National Baptist Convention U.S.A. has had relatively few convention presidents, given that these officers tended to serve long terms. Early in the 1950s some Baptists had grown increasingly concerned about such long tenures. Joseph Harrison Jackson, a Chicago pastor, was elected in 1953 in part with the promise that he would serve a limited number of terms. However, in 1956 Jackson refused to stand down for reelection, insisting that a convention rule limiting presidential terms had been enacted in an irregular fashion. The courts agreed. In addition to the issue of tenure, some convention members believed that the NBC should be more aggressively involved in the direct action, mass demonstrations approach to civil rights. Jackson had supported the Montgomery Bus Boycott and was a lifelong supporter of the NAACP and civil rights, although he believed that continued mass demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience adversely affected race relations. Rather, Jackson placed greater emphasis on the pursuit of civil rights through the courts and legislatures and eco-nomic development of the black community. His philosophical opponents backed the Reverend Gardner Taylor, a prominent Brooklyn pastor in his electoral challenge to Jackson in 1960. Jackson succeeded in outmaneuvering his opponents in the convention meeting and secured the federal court’s decision that the group that had “elected” Taylor was indeed a nonofficial meeting. After another defeat in 1961, this one supervised by the courts, the Taylor faction conceded to Jackson but the latter proceeded to eliminate Taylor’s allies from their convention offices.

At that point the Reverend L.Venchael Booth, who for years had voiced need for the formation of a “progressive” convention, issued a call for interested Baptists to assemble at his Zion Baptist Church in Cincinnati, Ohio in November 1961. At least thirty-three

Baptists from fourteen states answered the call and formed the PNBC. Along with Taylor and Booth the new group included MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., Martin Luther King Sr., Ralph Abernathy, and Benjamin Mays. T.M.Chambers served as the first convention president until 1967, when Gardner Taylor succeeded him. Over the years the group sought to live up to its “progressive” title by being more directly involved in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, taking public stances against the Vietnam War, giving support to the black power movement, and fostering job training, education, and support for the black family. Interestingly it has taken no official, convention-wide position regarding women’s ordination (see WOMEN CLERGY).

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, decades after the civil rights movement and the subsequent defeat of Jackson as NBC president, the two Baptist groups have had no serious, continuous, public conversations regarding a reunion. Although the PNBC held steady and growing membership strength, it appeared unlikely to command the majority of African American Baptists’ allegiance, although many churches were dually aligned with the PNBC and one of the other black groups.

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SANDY DWAYNE MARTIN

PROSTITUTION

Prostitution is often described, somewhat jokingly, as the “world’s oldest profession,” and there have certainly been individuals who traded sex for money in most of the world’s cultures. Recently historians have questioned the appropriateness of labeling all exchanges of sex for money as “prostitution”—a word that was devised in the commercial economy of Western cultures in the nineteenth century—and have encouraged greater attention to the context of such exchanges. In the era of imperialism, for example, although European authorities generally labeled the relationships between European men and indigenous women “prostitution,” they were often understood

differently by indigenous people, who saw them as temporary MARRIAGE or concubinage, both practices that were respectable forms of sexual relationships to them. Whether labeled “prostitution” or not, however, Protestant CLERGY and lay people have generally opposed the trading of sex for money, along with all other forms of sexual relationships other than monogamous marriage.

The Middle Ages and the Reformation

Christian opinion about prostitution during the Middle Ages was more tolerant. During the late Middle Ages, many cities and towns throughout Europe opened official municipal houses of prostitution or designated certain parts of the city as places in which selling sex would be permitted. Generally this was done with little recorded discussion, but sometimes authorities justified their actions, usually with reference to St. Augustine, who regarded prostitution as a necessary evil that protected honorable girls and women from the uncontrollable lusts of young men. Prostitutes—or at least those who lived in municipal brothels—were integrated fairly well into urban society, appearing as a group at city festivals and publicly welcoming visiting dignitaries; in some cities brothels were owned by bishops.

The integration of prostitutes into urban society was never complete, however, and during the later fifteenth century many cities, particularly in northern Europe, began to restrict prostitutes’ movements and appearance more sharply, requiring them to wear clothing that distinguished them from “honorable” women and to stay in the brothel at all times. This process of marginalization culminated in the closing of official brothels. During the period from 1520 to 1590 almost all cities in GERMANY closed their municipal brothels, sometimes quietly and sometimes with great fanfare and proclamations against “whoredom” (*Hurerei*) and “procuring” (*Kuppelei*). In ENGLAND the Bankside brothels, the only legal and protected brothels in the country, were closed by royal statute in 1546. Until very recently scholars linked this wave of closings to fears about syphilis, which first entered Europe in 1493, and to the Protestant REFORMATION. Intensive study of city records has shown that leaders were much more concerned about moral issues than about disease, however. Although Protestants may have been more harsh in their criticism of brothels, both Protestants and Catholics in central and northern Europe increasingly regarded prostitutes as worse than other criminals because they seduced other citizens from the life of moral order that authorities regarded as essential to a godly city.

The language used by reformers about prostitutes was often very harsh. MARTIN LUTHER called them “stinking, syphilitic, scabby, seedy, and nasty” tools of the DEVIL and accused them of bewitching students and other unmarried men; he shared the common sixteenth-century opinion that women were more sexual than men and so regarded prostitutes as responsible for their own situation. Luther and many other reformers also used the word “whore” metaphorically to describe their religious opponents; English anti-Catholic writers in the 1680s were particularly vituperative, terming the Catholic Church “a foul, filthy, old withered harlot...the great Strumpet of all Strumpets, the Mother of Whoredom.”

Women charged with prostitution were most often so poor that punishment by fine was impossible, so they were imprisoned, punished corporally, and then banished; by the seventeenth century in England this banishment occasionally included deportation to the colonies. By contrast, Catholic cities in southern Europe generally favored regulation over suppression, although they did support the establishment of conventlike institutions (often termed “Magdalene houses”) for women who wished to give up prostitution.

The closing of municipal brothels and the increasingly harsh punishments did not, of course, end prostitution, and the religious wars brought about by the Reformation may have actually led to an increase in the number of women—and occasionally men—who made their living at least in part by selling sex. By the seventeenth century some Protestant cities followed the example of Catholic cities such as Florence and Venice and either permitted prostitution or did not enforce laws against it. In Amsterdam houses termed *speelhuizen* combined dancing, nightlife, and the sale of sex; they were the favorite haunts of the thousands of sailors from the East and West India companies who came to Amsterdam every summer.

Similar establishments could be found in Protestant colonial cities such as New York, where large numbers of soldiers and sailors provided a steady customer base and official prohibitions were enforced only sporadically. In the Asian and African regions of the Dutch and British Empire, the number of European women was very small, and most trading of sex for money involved indigenous women, which was generally tolerated by colonial authorities.

Moral Reform Movements

Such tolerance (or indifference) came under increasing attack in the middle of the eighteenth century, when Protestant evangelicals in both Europe and colonial areas began a series of reform campaigns that lasted more than a century, designed to eradicate or lessen “vice” and convince people to lead more moral lives. Reforming prostitutes was an important part of these campaigns because their moral salvation and personal redemption were emblematic of those of all sinners, and their activities a symbol of the moral disintegration of society, the worst of the “social evils.” Clergymen such as the Presbyterian minister Ezra Stiles Ely of New York and politicians such as the British prime minister WILLIAM GLADSTONE ventured into poor neighborhoods in search of “fallen” women to “rescue.” Their aims were shaped by a different attitude toward female sexuality than that prevalent in the sixteenth century; although non-white and working-class white women might still have strong sexual drives, middle-class women were supposed to be pure and asexual, and even lower-class women might not be responsible for their own abject situation. Thus most prostitutes merited sympathy rather than punishment and were often portrayed in the pamphlets and speeches of reformers as the innocent victims of male seducers.

Reformers organized groups such as the London Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Children and the New York Magdalene Society; first in London and other cities around Britain, and then in New York and Philadelphia, they opened hospitals or smaller refuges and asylums for penitent prostitutes. These reform institutions sought to bring women to physical and moral health and provide them with occupational training

that would allow them to support themselves once they left the hospital; religious instruction was a major part of daily life in such asylums.

Attempts at encouraging women to reform voluntarily were accompanied in the middle of the nineteenth century by coercive measures; in an effort to combat venereal disease, prostitutes in many parts of Europe were required to be examined regularly by government doctors and forced to enter special locked prison hospitals if they were found to be infected. In 1864 Britain went further than this and passed a series of “Contagious Diseases Acts,” through which women in the port cities of Britain who were simply suspected of being prostitutes could be arrested and sent to a lock hospital. Men who frequented prostitutes were not detained or examined, however, so such measures were completely ineffectual against venereal disease. The unfairness of these laws was recognized by many reformers, most prominently JOSEPHINE BUTLER—the wife of a clergyman—who founded the Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. This group held prayer meetings, sent petitions to Parliament, and applied continual pressure; in the 1880s it was successful in having the Contagious Diseases Acts repealed and the age of consent raised from twelve to sixteen.

Along with efforts at reforming prostitutes and repealing unfair laws, Protestant evangelical reformers also sought to end prostitution by preventing young women from becoming prostitutes in the first place. In Britain, for example, there were over one hundred local Ladies Associations for the Care of Friendless Girls by the 1880s, which sought to provide occupational training (usually in household service) and moral instruction to young working-class women. This double purpose continued among such groups into the twentieth century; an advertisement in the English magazine *Punch* in 1926 for the London Female Guardian Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Girls pled “for help to maintain its large family of young girls rescued from the danger of the streets” and noted, “the Society’s chief aim [is] to lead them to Christ for true reformation.”

Another aim of moral reformers was the encouragement of male chastity and the end of the sexual double standard. Prostitution, they argued, would never be ended unless men could be convinced to restrain themselves. Organizations such as the White Cross Army, the Church of England Purity Society, and the National Vigilance Association in England, and the Seventh Commandment Society and Female Moral Reform Society in the UNITED STATES, worked to hold men to a higher moral standard and demanded punishment for men who frequented prostitutes or had other “licentious habits.” They argued—usually not very successfully—that such men were to be excluded from respectable society and kept out of public office. As in Butler’s National Association, middle- and upper-class women were often prominent leaders in these groups; their experiences in such groups and in those involved in other social reforms such as abolition and prison improvement often provided them important skills for their later work in women’s rights groups (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

Reformers often conceived of their efforts at moral reform in the cities of Europe and North America as missionary work, and they also carried their moral campaigns into the mission fields of Asia, AFRICA, the Pacific, and AUSTRALIA. Male and female missionaries in Hawaii, for example, discouraged traditional dancing and dress styles (the muu-muu was a missionary invention), and labeled as “prostitution” any relations between indigenous women and American or European men in which goods or money

were exchanged. Missionaries in many areas objected to company and government policies that allowed only unmarried men to serve as colonial officials, employees, and soldiers, arguing that these encouraged prostitution; such objections were largely ineffective in lifting the marriage ban, although European companies and governments often came to favor long-term concubinage over short-term prostitution in imperial settings. These policies changed once more European women were allowed in the colonies in the early to mid-twentieth century and marriage became permissible and possible for a larger share of the European male population. At this point prostitution reemerged as the most common type of sexual relationship between European men and indigenous women, although again Protestant clergy both in the colonies and in the home countries decried this.

Protestant opinion about prostitution—as about so much else—became more diverse after the First World War. Conservative Protestants tended to view prostitution as a moral issue and encouraged the reform of prostitutes and their customers, whereas liberals and later those influenced by LIBERATION THEOLOGY and FEMINIST THEOLOGY viewed it more as an issue of ECONOMICS and the exploitation of women. These two views both influenced government policies toward prostitution in countries that were predominantly Protestant; they generally restricted prostitution along with other activities judged harmful to morality (such as pornography) to certain districts, but enforced these restrictions—which targeted the women involved rather than their customers—only sporadically and selectively.

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MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS

PROTESTANT ETHIC

See Ethics

PRUSSIAN UNION

During the preparations for the festivities surrounding the 300th anniversary of the posting of MARTIN LUTHER'S theses on October 31, 1517, the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III proclaimed on September 27, 1817 that he desired a "truly religious unity" of the two Protestant faiths in his country (Lutheran and Calvinist/Reformed). On the forthcoming Reformation day, Lutherans and Reformed Christians were to celebrate the LORD'S SUPPER together. This notion was on one hand the realization of a long-held wish of the Hohenzollern dynasty, who had reigned as Reformed Christians over a predominantly Lutheran populace. At the same time, PIETISM, ENLIGHTENMENT, and revival movements (see REVIVALS) had erased many of the confessional discrepancies in Protestantism to the extent that such distinctions appeared meaningless to most contemporaries. The unions that had been established in a number of German territories provided the evidence—for example, in Nassau, Baden, and in the Palatinate. Finally the political and administrative reconfiguration of Prussia after the Vienna Congress (1815) increased Prussia's role, where unified church authorities were integrated in the eight Prussian provinces (Brandenburg, Pomerania, Western Prussia, Eastern Prussia, Saxony, Silesia, Westphalia, and the Rhineland).

The idea of imification met with approval in the churches, particularly in the West. It was the king who held up its implementation because he tried starting in 1822 to impose a uniform LITURGY on this new church. Confessional Lutheran groups, however, voiced their opposition, because—as did for example FRIEDRICH W.SCHLEIERMACHER—they were not ready to tolerate the absolutist intervention of the crown into church matters. As the king increased his pressure in 1830, some resolute Lutherans (the so-called Old-Lutherans) decided to split off in Silesia and later in Pomerania; many of them later emigrated to AUSTRALIA and the UNITED STATES. Although the king declared in 1834 that he wished only for an administrative union, the limits on the imposition of a confessional union (consensus union) were rather fluid.

Even though the successor to the throne, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, initially gave the impression in 1840 that he wanted to dissolve the union, it continued to exist and won increasing approval in Prussia. Although it experienced only limited opposition in Prussia from small groups of confessional Lutherans, Lutherans in other states—especially in Hannover, Mecklenburg, Saxony, and Bavaria—attacked it vigorously and uncompromisingly. Objections in theology, church polity, and massive political

opposition to the hegemony of Prussia blended together. Bismarck took such sentiment into account insofar as he did not incorporate the Lutheran churches of the areas Prussia annexed in 1864 and 1866 (among them Schleswig-Holstein, Hesse-Kassel, and Hannover) into the Council of the Prussian Church. The Prussian Union was limited to the eight old provinces (see above). From then on it was called the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union (Altpreuussische Union or APU).

The dispute surrounding the union order of worship, especially the reaction that it entailed in 1817, blocked the expansion of a church constitution. Restorative forces within the APU worked toward that same goal in the 1850s. In 1835 the Church Order of Rhineland Westphalia may have been introduced and combined the Presbyterian-synodal expansion of the congregation with consistorial supervision; however, a church constitution existed in the provinces of the APU beginning only in 1876. This constitution organized the church along the same lines all the way to the general synod. Confessional differences continued to play a role in German Protestantism, but they were increasingly overcome by the comprehensively effective actions of the church leadership, as well as by the activities of the Inner and Foreign Mission that focused on all of German Protestantism, and especially, around the turn of the century, by an expanding sense of a national Protestant mentality.

The strength of the Prussian Union became visible in 1918. The fall of the House of Hohenzollern and the end of the sovereign church regiment was in way an end of the APU. It gave itself a new constitution in 1922 and in May 1933 concluded a treaty with the State of Prussia. In the church elections of May 23, 1933 the “Germanic” Christians emerged overwhelmingly victorious—just as in most German territorial churches—and they took over the leading committees. The controversy between churches that ensued was especially bitter in the APU. In addition to Berlin, the church provinces of Brandenburg, Rhineland, and Westphalia were at the center of an intense dispute and under growing pressure by the Nazi government. The first confessional synod of the new APU took place on May 29, 1934 in Barmen, just two days before the confessional synod of the German Evangelical Church that would adopt in the same town the famous Theological Declaration. The twelfth and last confessional synod of the APU was held on October 16–17 in Breslau.

At the end of World War II, the Church of the APU lost about one third of its territory with the loss of East and West Prussia, large parts of Pomerania and Silesia to POLAND and the Soviet Union. Confessional Lutherans inside and outside of the APU now pressed for a dissolution of the Union and for confessionally constituted churches. That did not happen. However, individual church provinces—starting with Rhineland and Westphalia—split off from the Evangelischen Ober Kirchenrat (EOK) in Berlin and organized autonomous regionally organized churches, although there existed great hesitancy to sacrifice the unity of the APU. A special general synod legitimized this development in February 1951.

Because the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) did not recognize the decisions of that synod and raised objections to the use of the word “Prussia” in the name of the church, the APU renamed itself the Evangelical Churches of the Union (Evangelische Kirchen der Union or EKU) after 1953. In principle, with this name, the limitation to the formerly Prussian areas was lifted and hence the Evangelical Churches of Anhalt joined the EKU in 1960. Pressure from the GDR did not lead to a separation,

but it did result in a breakdown into an Eastern and Western region. This arrangement was in place until January 1, 1992.

Currently, a process of integration of the EKU is taking place with the churches that cooperated with the Arnoldshain Conference. This conference was formed in 1967 as an organization that encompasses those churches that do not belong to the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church (Vereinigte Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche Deutschlands or VELKD). Once the merger of the EKU and the Arnoldshain Conference succeeds as planned in the summer of 2003, only the church in Oldenburg and Württemberg will belong to neither the VELKD or UEK within the Evangelical Church of Germany (EKD).

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

PUBLISHING

Before the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century, religious publishing was a tedious business. From the advent of Christianity to the Middle Ages, the audience for published material was very small. Literacy rates rose significantly between the first and the fourteenth centuries, but the financial means that allowed individuals to own manuscripts did not accompany this rise in literacy. Even by the fourteenth century, European society was so deeply divided by economics and education that reading and owning manuscripts was the province primarily of a wealthy elite class and the church. Those manuscripts owned by the church were transmitted primarily through the work of monastic communities, whose task was primarily preservation. The reproduction of manuscripts in these communities was performed by hand, with members copying and recopying one manuscript after another.

The invention of the printing press brought the new profession of publishing. Not only was it now possible to produce more copies of manuscripts than ever before, but there was also demand for people to run these presses. Close on the heels of the introduction of the press was the Protestant REFORMATION, and one of the first books to be published on the press was MARTIN LUTHER'S translation of the BIBLE. Although before the late sixteenth century the church controlled its congregations by controlling manuscripts and the language in which those texts were written, suddenly there was a proliferation of books written in the language of the people. Because the literacy rate had been increasing, some peasants for the first time could read a copy of the Bible that they owned in a language that they could understand. In many ways, then, publishing and the rise of Protestantism go hand in hand.

By the seventeenth century, Protestant publishing in England was flourishing. Sermons, pamphlets, devotional manuals, essays, and didactic works were the mainstays

of publishers during these years. Patronage was still the primary manner in which an author could advance his or her career, so publishers that were devoted to producing particular kinds of books had not yet developed as a distinct private industry. Even though the new publishing industry now made religion books available to a wider audience, the audience consisted primarily—as it had a century earlier—of CLERGY. The colonial experiment in the New World helped broaden the audience for the books, but most of those living in the colonies had brought their books with them from ENGLAND. It was not until the eighteenth century and Benjamin Franklin’s introduction of the printing industry to the colonies that publishing began to flourish on American soil.

By 1792, religious publishing had experienced both a decline and a revival. Printing presses in the eighteenth century were occupied more with producing political and social pamphlets than with devotional manuals. In addition, writers like Richard Steele, Joseph Addison, and SAMUEL JOHNSON were instrumental in producing some of the first newspapers in the English world, the *Tatler* and *The Spectator*. Such papers reported gossip and attracted a large readership in local taverns and pubs, but they contained little religious content. The papers were moralistic and didactic, but they approached morality from the standpoint of philosophy rather than religion. In general, religion in the eighteenth century found itself in decline and was replaced by an emphasis on classical LITERATURE and humanistic values. Even though religion publishing and religion experienced a decline in the eighteenth century, by century’s end JOHN BUNYAN’S *PILGRIM’S PROGRESS* had gone through 160 editions.

Publishing in the New World

In the colonies, Franklin’s printing presses focused on producing newspapers (the first published in the American colonies in Philadelphia), books of moral instruction, and political pamphlets. The bookstalls of the cities were also flooded with revolutionary essays and pamphlets, such as Thomas Paine’s “The Rights of Man” and “Common Sense.” At the same time, Puritans had access to a number of readers that they had published and used to teach their children about their faith (see PURITANISM). Children would learn their alphabet by reading verses like “In Adam’s fall, we sinned all.”

Succeeding generations of American seekers have sought to reshape their faith to incorporate or reflect the cultural forces of the times. By the nineteenth century, the desire of European immigrants to hold onto their indigenous religions as safe havens in a new world resulted in the rise of American denominationalism. During these years, religious publishing was a largely sectarian enterprise, with church-owned presses like the Methodist Book Concern (founded in 1789 and later known as the United Methodist Publishing and Abingdon Press), Augsburg (founded in 1848), and Broadman House (then a trade division of the Sunday School Board of the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, founded in 1898) publishing devotional books, curriculum resources, and hymnals for a niche audience of clergy and LAITY.

By the 1960s, many Americans had become disenchanted with traditional institutional religious authority, turning away from what they perceived as rigid authoritarianism and moving toward religious expressions that fostered introspection, individuality, and creativity. Trade publishers like Macmillan, Bobbs-Merrill, Harper & Row, and New

Directions began to release titles that appealed to disaffected churchgoers. Macmillan scored big with Harvey Cox's *The Secular City* (1965), while Bobbs-Merrill released Thomas Altizer's *The Death of God* in 1966. New Directions, the preeminent publisher of the modernist poetry of Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams, poured out a steady stream of Thomas Merton's protest writings, Zen poems and essays, while Harper & Row published the writings of Dorothy Day, as well as Sam Keen's celebratory paean to the body and its role in Christian faith and worship, *To a Dancing God* (1965).

After the religious and spiritual ferment of the 1960s, Americans seemed to go through much of the 1970s and 1980s seeking not so much spiritual renewal as individual gratification, with unparalleled consumption of material goods and a focus on the self (the so-called "me generation"). A turn from Godcenteredness to self-centeredness and individual experience in religion could be seen during this period in movements as diverse as LIBERATION THEOLOGY and the JESUS MOVEMENT in the 1970s. The self-help and recovery movements of the 1980s eventually became a significant influence on religion publishing through such titles as *The Road Less Traveled* by M.Scott Peck and *When Bad Things Happen to Good People* by Harold Kushner.

One of the great surprises of religious publishing in the 1970s was the growth of evangelical Christian publishing. Driven by the popularity of new forms of Christianity among young people, publishers like Tyndale House and Zondervan began to publish books to appeal to this new generation. Tyndale's *Living Bible* (1971) sold three million copies in its first year, and Zondervan hit the jackpot with Hal Lindsey's apocalyptic thriller *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1972).

In 1984, Robert Bellah and colleagues published *Habits of the Heart*, a now-classic book that acknowledged the problems and promises of INDIVIDUALISM for society and religion. That same year, Harvard theologian Harvey Cox's *Religion in the Secular City: Toward a Postmodern Theology* surveyed the resurgence of religion in CULTURE and predicted that religious grassroots movements like political FUNDAMENTALISM and liberation theology would shape the religion of the 1990s and beyond. Bellah's and Cox's books played a pivotal role in gauging the spiritual temperament of America by opening new conversations about the role of religion and spirituality in American life.

Contemporary Trends

The baby boomers who were formed by the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s today constitute the largest segment of book-buying consumers, and as they enter middle age and begin to confront their own mortality, their spiritual search has intensified. If religion appeared to be absent or marginal in the 1970s and 1980s, it has returned to the American landscape in the 1990s with a vengeance. Popular culture is filled with references to religion and spirituality, from the reverential depiction of angels on prime-time television ("Touched by an Angel") to the quirky lyrics of Joan Osbourne's pop song "What If God Was One of Us?" Polls in 1997 indicated that 96 percent of Americans believed in God or a universal spirit. But how does such a statistic translate into practice? How are Americans religious in the early twenty-first century? Where do they find their religion, and how are their religious questions shaped? Is there an "American religion," and, if so, what is it?

In his *The Index of Leading Spiritual Indicators* (1996), researcher George Barna characterized 1990s religion in America as “a personalized, customized form of faith views which meet personal needs, minimize rules and absolutes, and which bear little resemblance to the pure form of any of the world’s major religions.” The syncretism, relativism, and individualism that Barna points to reflect the central ways Americans reinvented their religion in the 1990s, and the striking commercial success of trade books about spiritual and religious topics, may be both the clearest indicator and the most central facilitator of that approach to religion.

Who could have guessed that a simple and sentimental little inspirational book called *Chicken Soup for the Soul* would sell millions of copies in trade bookstores and spawn a whole series of books for various kinds of “souls,” including women, teenagers, Christians, and so on (not to mention a rash of book titles with the word “soul,” many having only the most tenuous connection to anything spiritual)? Who could have known that a biography of God, written by journalist-turned-academic Jack Miles, would win the Pulitzer Prize? The enormous popularity of books like these, which thirty years ago likely would have been published (if at all) by a sectarian religious publisher or an academic press and found only small audiences, reflects not only the unexpected resurgence of religion in American culture, but also the transformation of the trade publishing of religion.

The success of Jack Miles’s *God: A Biography*, Harold Bloom’s *Omens of Millennium*, and Walter Wangerin’s *The Book of God* provided a signpost for the way things will be in commercial publishing about religion. Not only are people finding religion in its various forms a fascinating topic, they are also engaged in their own varied quests to fill the spiritual void that rampant consumerism and greed have left in their personal lives. The success of books like Kathleen Norris’s *The Cloister Walk*, the Jesus Seminar’s *The Five Gospels*, and Karen Armstrong’s *A History of God*, demonstrated the publishing industry’s new willingness to release books that popularized esoteric subjects like monastic disciplines and New Testament theology.

Of course, as Protestant religion publishing has been reshaped by our history, over the past thirty years it has also examined that history through a number of key books. The most popular and comprehensive may be Sydney Ahlstrom’s monumental *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), which after more than thirty years is still in print. Edwin Gaustad’s *A Religious History of America*, first published in 1966 and now in its third edition, is still in print and selling steadily. The dean of American church historians, Martin Marty, recently completed the third volume of an anticipated four-volume work, *Modern American Religion*, and brought his study of American religious history into the 1960s. And in 1992, cultural critic Harold Bloom declared in *The American Religion: The Emergence of a Post-Christian Nation* that American religion was a kind of gnosticism, a religious system emphasizing the possession of secret knowledge and practices of religious exclusivism.

Challenges and Possibilities

American Protestants have been reinventing their religion since the Puritans first built their “city upon a hill” in the New World, and that process continues into this new

millennium. The religion publishing industry continues to experience exciting successes and dismal failures. The success of evangelical Protestant publishers with fiction and Bible translations has been mirrored by the disappointing performances of denominational publishers' with trade books. Just as the printing press offered a new technology for publishers to use to disseminate writings more widely, so has the advent of the Internet and electronic books provided the same opportunities for religion publishers in the twenty-first century. More and more readers will now have an opportunity to read books that are readily available in a variety of affordable formats. How such technology will affect American Protestant publishing over the next fifty years is anyone's guess. One thing is certain—the floodgates have opened, and books will continue to play a leading role in shaping the uniquely American Protestant religious quest.

See also Best Sellers in America, Religious; Bible Translation; Mass Media; Periodicals, Protestant

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HENRY L. CARRIGAN, JR.

PUFENDORF, SAMUEL (1632–1694)

German Lutheran philosopher. Pufendorf was born in Saxony in 1632, the son of a Lutheran minister, and was originally bound for the ministry himself. He pursued an education in THEOLOGY at the University of Leipzig, a center of Lutheran learning, but eventually he abandoned the study of theology in order to study law. He was a professor at the universities of Heidelberg (1661) and Lund (1670).

Pufendorf is famous for his contribution to the philosophy of moral, civil, and NATURAL LAW, and for his arguments regarding the relationship between church and state. In his treatise *The Whole Duty of Man According to the Law of Nature* (1673), Pufendorf argued that moral law was the result of revelation, civil law was the jurisdiction of the state, and natural law was necessary for the functioning of society. God wills each individual to live a social life, which is the moral obligation of all humans.

In *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Reference to Civil Society* (1687) Pufendorf argued for religious tolerance. He concluded that by making religion a private matter rather than a public one, societies will achieve religious tolerance. Pufendorf originally wrote the treatise as a reaction to Louis XIV's oppression of the French

HUGUENOTS. Later the treatise influenced debates elsewhere regarding the separation of church and state.

See also Church and State, Overview; Enlightenment; Toleration

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JAY LAUGHLIN

HENRY PURCELL (1659–1695)

English composer. Working in England's politically and religiously tumultuous seventeenth century, Henry Purcell is considered among the greatest English composers. Purcell was born into a family of court musicians in London in 1659, just after the restoration of the monarch and the reestablishment of ANGLICANISM. As a boy he sang as a chorister in the King's Chapel Royal, and later studied composition with John Blow and Christopher Gibbons.

In 1677 Purcell began his lifelong career as a composer and musician for church and court when he was appointed to write pieces for the violins of Charles II's court. He became organist at Westminster Abbey in 1679 and at the Chapel Royal in 1682. While serving the court, Purcell wrote dozens of church anthems, the *Service in B-flat minor*, the *Burial Service*, and *Te Deum*.

In 1685 a Catholic king, James II, ascended the English throne. Purcell and other musicians serving the Anglican Church met with hardship as a result. Although Purcell did not lose his position, the Chapel Royal's status was greatly diminished. His career hardly benefited when Anglican-friendly William and Mary claimed the throne in 1689. Their court lacked a focus on music and Purcell was forced to supplement his income by

writing more music for the theater. His operas include *Dido and Aeneas* and *The Fairy-Queen*. Purcell died in London in 1695 and was buried in a plot near the organ at Westminster Cathedral.

Purcell's compositional style developed within the context of great political and religious change in England. Charles II's Anglican sympathies and devotion to the French music he encountered during his exile spurred a reinvigoration in church music upon his return in 1660. The new king's support of church music stood in direct contrast to the period of decline under OLIVER CROMWELL'S rule. Under Charles II, Purcell and his contemporaries brought back some older forms of polyphonic, or many-voiced music. However, they also experimented with dramatic solo vocal lines in their music for the church.

Purcell's particular contribution to this experimentation came in the form of word painting, or pictorialisms. Purcell used a variety of musical gestures to dramatize individual words of the text. His anthems, including *O Give Thanks unto the Lord* and *Blessed are They that Fear the Lord*, exemplify his ability to vivify hymn texts through music. His devotional songs include emotional settings of penitential texts and solo versions of the traditional form of biblical dialogue. Purcell's innovative settings of English texts, both for church and theater, have made him renown among composers working in the English language.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Music, English Church

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JENNIFER GRABER

PURITANISM

Any description of the Puritan movement must begin by acknowledging that in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, the very word *puritan* was a term of abuse that contemporaries applied indiscriminately to anyone who was critical of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND or, even more indiscriminately, to persons of a certain temperament. London stage plays of the late sixteenth century caricatured the "puritan" as ridiculously overzealous and yet hypocritical. Politically, the monarchy and church treated the term as synonymous with sedition and schism, a strategy based on the assumption that any challenge to the authority of the officers of the church (the bishops) was also a challenge to the authority of the monarchy. None of these contexts tells us much about the real

thing. Not until the early seventeenth century did some English men and women begin to use the word in a positive sense, although “the godly” was probably a more prevalent self-reference. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, puritanism came to stand for mental narrowness and a moral authoritarianism. Again, none of these uses of the term informs us about Puritanism as a religious movement in its own time and place, except that it was always controversial.

Puritanism was a movement of religious reform that arose within the Church of England during the reign of ELIZABETH I (1558–1603). Summoning Christians to intensify their level of religious practice, and calling also for changes in worship and church government, the movement could not avoid becoming entangled in politics in a country where, as a consequence of the REFORMATION, the head of the civil state was also head of a single, comprehensive state church. Never supported by Elizabeth or her successors James I (1603–1635) and Charles I (1625–1649), the movement unexpectedly came into power in the early 1640s after Parliament asserted its authority and its army defeated the king in a CIVIL WAR (1643–1645). This moment of triumph was short-lived because the moderates and conservatives who dominated Parliament were alienated by the ascendancy of left-wing puritanism in the army under the leadership of OLIVER CROMWELL. The radicals had their way with the execution of Charles I in 1649, and a Commonwealth was established with Cromwell as its head (1653–1658). After Cromwell’s death and the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660, the new government enacted stringent rules of “conformity” that thousands of clergy and lay people could not accept. Leaving the Church for good, these “Nonconformists” or “Dissenters” (see NONCONFORMITY, DISSENT) practiced their faith under conditions of great difficulty. The presence of Puritans in America began in the 1620s and 1630s, when a significant number of emigrants founded the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven in New England. There they were able to implement distinctive patterns of ministry, worship, and church organization and to maintain these patterns well beyond the close of the seventeenth century. Beginning with a common parent and continuing to share many of the same ideas, Puritanism in America enjoyed a hegemony that puritans in England never achieved.

Like many other reformers, Puritans did not agree among themselves on means and ends. The movement encompassed a spectrum that ranged from radicals impatient with the “corruptions” of the church to conservatives who preferred unity and order to schism or sectarianism. During the reign of Elizabeth I, some reformers agitated for replacing the office of bishop, or episcopacy, with a ministry of equals, and for transforming the rituals of worship in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER by eliminating all “remnants” of Catholic practice. Such Puritans were influenced by the example of Reformed churches in GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, and the NETHERLANDS. Leaders of the Reformed tradition—JOHN CALVIN but also HEINRICH BULLINGER, MARTIN BUCER (who came to ENGLAND in 1549 and taught briefly at Cambridge University), and THEODORE BEZA—provided the core ideas that were publicized in the 1560s and 1570s by a small group of English clergy, some of whom had encountered the Reformed model during their years as exiles on the Continent during the reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558). These ideas included the following: (1) that the “lawful” form of church government was prescribed in the New Testament, which contained rules that must be followed exactly; (2) that Catholic forms of worship were “idolatrous” violations of the

Second Commandment, and that Protestant worship should eliminate all vestiges of Catholicism; (3) that the proper relationship between CHURCH AND STATE was not to allow one to dominate the other, as the monarchy in England did the church, but to regard them as constituting two distinctive realms or kingdoms, the first spiritual, the other temporal, each independent of each other yet conjoined under God; and (4) that the visible church should be a purified, ethical community that administered the SACRAMENTS of BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER only to persons who could demonstrate their worthiness. "Forward" reformers in England, chief among them THOMAS CARTWRIGHT and John Field, brought most of these ideas together in a manifesto that others within the movement regarded as too extreme, *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572).

Everyone within the movement agreed, however, on the imperative to elevate the quality of the ministry and to demand much more of the LAITY. From a puritan perspective the average English person was too ignorant and uncaring to qualify as a "real" Christian. Nor were the mass of the CLERGY considered much better. The founding of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1584) was undertaken expressly to train a different kind of minister for the church, men devoted to PREACHING and to practicing a rigorously disciplined lifestyle. Another aspect of the puritan program was to address such problems as poverty, drunkenness, violence, unrestrained sexuality, and illiteracy. This concern for "social discipline" was in keeping with a widely held principle—vigorously renewed in the second phase of the Protestant Reformation and, in the wake of the Council of Trent, within the Catholic COUNTER-REFORMATION—that the church was responsible for supervising the moral and social health of a Christian society. Puritanism thus became a factor in the social life of English communities as reformers, often with the support of local magistrates or notables, encouraged the regulation of social behavior, stricter observance of the Sabbath (Sunday), or SABBATARIANISM, more schooling to promote literacy, and better care of the disabled and disadvantaged.

Puritanism as a Devotional Movement

The deeper goal was to bring about a deeper, more systematic piety among lay people and clergy, a piety expressed in practices such as prayer, meditation, attending sermons, reading the BIBLE and other "godly" books, maintaining an orderly household, and, above all, constant, routinized self-examination. The ministers who described this piety insisted that religious practices were useless if they were performed only mechanically, out of a sense of obligation. Anyone who did so was a hypocrite or formalist, someone trapped in the externals of religion. The true Christian was someone whose "heart"—the spiritual center of the self—was stirred up to seek after Christ. Self-examination taught the fundamental lesson that humans were sinners entirely without merit, and that SALVATION was solely theirs thanks to divine mercy. Self-examination also taught the imperative of repentance: the true Christian mourned with a broken heart the condition of being a sinner. Only then was it possible to respond in faith to the gospel promise of free GRACE, a promise conveyed through preaching. By about 1600 or 1610, a handful of preacher-theologians, most notably WILLIAM PERKINS (1558–1602), who taught at Cambridge, had expanded this description of the spiritual life into a well-rehearsed

“practical divinity,” a description of what the would-be Christian must do to experience his or her election, that was widely reiterated by a “spiritual brotherhood” of like-minded ministers within the church.

Preaching was the principal means of propagating this way of life, but preaching was seconded by a lively market in printed books. One important publication was a translation of the Bible that became known as the “Geneva Bible” (1560) because most of the work on it was done by English clergy in exile on the Continent during the reign of Mary Tudor. (Not until the publication in 1611 of the “King James version” was the Geneva Bible replaced, at least for official purposes.) Another of great significance, although too bulky and expensive for most persons to own, was JOHN FOXE’S deeply anti-Catholic and apocalyptic retelling of the history of the Christian church, and especially the most recent century of English history, *The Acts and Monuments* or *Book of Martyrs* (1559). By the early seventeenth century, manuals or guides on how to be a true Christian were being frequently reprinted in response to reader demand; among the more popular or influential was Arthur Dent’s *The Plain Mans Pathway to Heaven* (1610) and Richard Rogers’s *Seven Treatises*.

The theological framework of these manuals was broadly Calvinist, although always a CALVINISM tilted toward the practical divinity. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, much of the church leadership shared with the reformers the concept of an all-sovereign God who determined which of humankind were destined to be saved; whether God also elected others to a state of reprobation (damnation) was more controversial. That is, the Church of England officially supported certain aspects of Calvinism. A wide spectrum of clergy followed St. Augustine in always rejecting Pelagianism, or salvation through works-righteousness. Yet differences also emerged; for example, William Perkins has been termed a “hyper-Calvinist” for his emphasis on double predestination; that is, God decided that much of humankind was “reprobate” and others were of the elect without regard in either instance to their actions in the world. Nonetheless, the order of salvation endorsed in sermons and manuals encompassed a voluntarism that the clergy justified on the basis of certain scholastic or philosophical truisms, and also on their own role as means of grace, intermediaries between Christ and humankind who pleaded with sinners to acknowledge and accept the gospel promise. For some of the clergy, this voluntarism was linked to an idiom of a “COVENANT” between God and humankind, with faith and repentance as conditions to be fulfilled on the part of humans in response to the promise of free grace (see COVENANT THEOLOGY).

A Movement Beset by Tensions

This description of the “practical divinity” poses anew the question as to what was distinctive about Puritanism. The anti-Catholicism of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* was the meat and drink of popular Protestantism in early seventeenth-century England. Many Puritans who taught or practiced the order of salvation accepted some version of episcopal church government; William Perkins conformed to the rules of the church. Nor were “forward” Puritans committed to the “Presbyterian” form of church government that most of the Reformed churches on the Continent had adopted (see PRESBYTERIANISM, PRESBYTERY, CHURCH GOVERNMENT). Although a

substantial number of clergy and laity were uncomfortable with Catholic “remnants,” an undisciplined clergy, and the “mixed” or unpurified nature of church membership, the Puritan movement of the early seventeenth century cannot be neatly summarized, in part because it contained an incipient radicalism and a de facto “CONGREGATIONALISM” that grew up within Puritan-controlled towns and parishes, especially in the counties of Essex and Suffolk. Any movement founded on a vision of the “true” church, and wielding also the categories of “unlawful” and “idolatrous,” was bound to spawn purists who rejected any accommodation with the “corruptions” of the Church of England. A leading example of this purism was “Separatism,” or secession from the Church of England on the grounds that, having violated the law of God, it was no longer a true church. The most important of the early Separatists was the clergyman ROBERT BROWNE, who laid out this argument in a brief, illicitly published pamphlet entitled *Reformation without Tarying for Anie* (1582). Other Separatists followed him in denouncing the church as untrue and in acting out of “conscience” to form independent congregations in which they experimented with covenants and lay-centered governance. Facing heavy fines, imprisonment, or execution, most of the Separatists moved to the Netherlands. One such group of exiles, originating as a congregation in Yorkshire under the leadership of JOHN ROBINSON, settled in Amsterdam and afterward in Leiden (1609); some of this group sailed on the *Mayflower* in 1620 and founded the colony of Plymouth in New England.

Those clergy who rejected schism and remained within the church faced another set of tensions. Should they work vigorously to exclude the ignorant and the scandalous in their parishes from the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper? To attempt such a process of discipline in local churches was to risk arousing anger and conflict within a town or parish. Yet to accept everyone was to admit pollution into the church. No less perplexing was the dilemma of whether to practice some aspects of nonconformity, as in refusing to wear the vestments of a priest or omitting the sign of the cross in the service of baptism, irregularities that appealed to many members of the spiritual brotherhood. The fundamental tension, present within the Reformed tradition but exacerbated in the English context, was theological, whether to understand the visible church as comprehensive or as selective. Every puritan-minded minister also faced the moral dilemma of whether schism was preferable to conformity.

When the authority of the crown collapsed in the early 1640s and Parliament assumed control of the church, these tensions made it impossible for the reformers to agree on how to reorganize the church. At the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY, a gathering of English and Scottish clergy commissioned in 1643 by Parliament to prepare a new scheme of church order, the great majority favored some version of presbyterianism. A minority insisted that the true apostolic model was “independency” or congregationalism, that is, a church order centered on the authority of each autonomous (and selective) congregation. The Assembly did, however, prepare the widely acknowledged WESTMINSTER CONFESSION and a CATECHISM. As this debate was taking place, thousands of lay men and women, together with some clergy, were rethinking the relationship between Scripture and the Holy Spirit, the place of the “law” in the order of salvation, the timing of the coming kingdom, and the proper basis for church and state. Out of this period of confusion and innovation emerged three enduring religious communities in England, each with puritanism as its parent: the Independents or Congregationalists; the

BAPTISTS, who repudiated infant baptism and who, like the Independents, favored the autonomy of local congregations; and the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, or Quakers, a group that began to take shape in the early 1650s and that rejected all external “forms” (ministry, sacraments, instituted church) in favor of an indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Not surprisingly, these groups challenged the authority of the civil state over the church. Certain radicals such as JOHN MILTON, Oliver Cromwell, and ROGER WILLIAMS (who published in England even though he lived in New England) began to argue for a wider liberty of conscience and the toleration of Jews and Protestants.

This extraordinary period came to an end in 1660 with the restoration of the monarchy. The 1662 Act of Conformity forced those clergy and laity who still wanted to pursue the puritan program to leave the Church of England and to practice their faith under conditions that sometimes approached those of persecution. Many Nonconformists, and especially Quakers, were jailed; all were excluded from major institutions such as Parliament and the universities. Slowly, the several groups of Nonconformists built up a system of alternative institutions: first and foremost, churches, congregations, or societies, but also educational and charitable institutions, together with systems of publishing. During this period the Baptist lay minister JOHN BUNYAN wrote the greatest masterpiece of Puritan prose, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World, to That Which Is to Come* (Pt. 1, 1678; Pt. 2, 1684). At the beginning of the reign of William III, who overthrew James II in the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688, moderates on both sides proposed that the church find ways of accommodating the presbyterian and congregational wings of Nonconformity. For political and other reasons, no such accommodation occurred. Nor were the Presbyterians and Congregationalists able to overcome their own differences and combine into a single denomination, in part because some of the Presbyterians were turning away from Reformed orthodoxy as defined by the Westminster Confession. This liberalizing trend is one sign that the Puritanism of the late sixteenth century was winding down. However, a more important sign is that by the mid-1690s Nonconformists no longer aspired to reform the entire Church of England. That is, they gave up on their historical goal of attaining comprehensiveness. A movement dedicated to transforming a national church had given way to denominations or sects and to an acceptance of pluralism in place of uniformity.

Puritanism in New England

The chief motive behind the migration to New England in the 1630s of some 15,000 English men and women was their wish to worship as they pleased, although many may have also hoped to improve their economic situation. The emigrants, most of whom came as families, included a large contingent of clergy whose authority helped to ensure that the colonists were spared most of the confusion that undermined the English movement in the 1640s and 1650s. Compared to the situation in England, Puritanism in New England may seem remarkably coherent, as in certain respects it was. Yet no culture is static or completely homogeneous, and so change and conflict also figure in the New World side of the story.

The emigrants experimented in various ways with how to reorganize church, ministry, and worship. By 1636 a normative pattern was taking shape, a pattern described in a

document drafted and approved by a “synod” of ministers that met in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1646 and 1648 and subsequently approved by individual churches and the Massachusetts civil government. Published in 1649 in Cambridge and London under the title *A Platform of Church Discipline Gathered Out of the Word of God*, but familiarly known as the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM, this document defined the true church as covenanted and selective in its membership; declared that such membership was confined to “visible saints,” that is, adults who could make a profession of the “work of grace,” together with their children; asserted that each congregation was autonomous—hence, “Congregationalism”; democratized the structure of church government by specifying that the “power of the keys” (Matthew 18:17) rested with the entire congregation (although the right to vote on church affairs was limited to men); and provided a new basis for church and state, the “two-kingdom” theory that was favored within the Reformed tradition.

The Platform was at once radical and moderate, uncompromising and flexible. Although it seemed firmly to reject the idea of the visible church as comprehensive in favor of a highly selective standard for admitting members, in several places it urged that congregations exercise the “judgment of charity.” Empowering the laity in a manner akin to the experiments of the Separatists, it also insisted that God had man-dated a clerical “office” with privileges and powers unique to those who were called to this vocation. Moreover, although it affirmed the autonomy of each congregation, it also permitted interchurch synods and sanctioned a role for the civil magistrates as guardians of church order.

The flexibility of the Platform and the new-found hegemony of puritan practices, however, did not prevent radical critics from attacking the new church order. Roger Williams, an ordained clergyman in the Church of England who emigrated in 1631 and was briefly attached to the church in Salem, felt that the “Congregational Way” erred in sanctioning a religious role for the civil magistrate and, Separatist-like, accused the emigrants of not fully renouncing the corruptions of the Church of England. Williams was banished from the colony in 1635, and moved to unclaimed territory to the south that became the town of Providence in a new colony, Rhode Island. The most dramatic reliving of old tensions was a controversy that arose in 1636 and 1637 over matters of doctrine, style, Biblical interpretation, and church membership. The majority of the ministers were dismayed to find themselves being criticized as “legal preachers” and “popish factors” (i.e., claiming too much authority) by some of the laity. Especially outspoken was ANNE HUTCHINSON, an articulate, self-confident woman member of the Boston church in her early forties, whose father had been a nonconformist clergyman in the Church of England and whose husband was a substantial merchant. The ministers were further dismayed to discover that their colleague JOHN COTTON, a minister in the Boston church and a man of great personal authority, was questioning some aspects of their preaching. Together, Cotton and Anne Hutchinson complained that the other ministers were resting assurance of salvation on evidence that tilted in the direction of “SANCTIFICATION,” or “works.” Rhetoric quickly overtook reality. The majority riposted by equating Hutchinson and her followers with ANTINOMIANISM and by warning that social and religious order would be turned “upside down” if WOMEN were allowed to assert themselves in public, as Hutchinson seemed to be doing. Cotton eventually yielded to the pressure put on him to disavow Anne Hutchinson and to cease

criticizing his colleagues. Hutchinson, who asserted a role as prophetess and veered off into murky waters, theologically, was banished from the colony in 1638. A number of persons, most of them members of the Boston church, were also banished or penalized in other ways.

Historians continue to debate whether John Cotton and the “legal” preachers, of whom the most important were Thomas Shepard, THOMAS HOOKER, Richard Mather, and Peter Bulkeley, were at odds with each other or out of step with Reformed ORTHODOXY. Regardless of any such differences, the Westminster Shorter Catechism became the catechism of choice among the colonists by the end of the seventeenth century, and the clergy affirmed the Westminster Confession (technically in its “congregational” version, known as the Savoy Declaration of 1658) as their doctrinal standard.

Uniformity, Change, and Identity

The “Congregational Way” fulfilled the longstanding ambition of the Puritan movement to restore the apostolic model of the church, in their eyes the only “lawful” system of church governance. Christian primitivism—that is, the goal of eliminating all “humane inventions” and restoring the purity of the “first times”—also shaped the earliest compilations of “laws and liberties” (1641; 1648) in Massachusetts and New Haven. The rules and practices that governed civil society were consistent in other ways with the Puritan program. The colonists substituted numbers for the customary “pagan” names of the months and days of the calendar, eliminated all of the holidays and feast days of the traditional liturgical calendar, restricted the sale of alcohol, and required families to teach their children to read. More unusual, even unexpected, was the restricting of freemanship, a legal status that entitled those admitted to it to vote in civil affairs, to men who were church members. In the two colonies (Massachusetts and New Haven) where this law was enacted, its purpose was to protect the churches from unwarranted intrusions, not of giving the churches authority over civil affairs. Simultaneously, although informally, the colonists resolved to exclude the clergy from holding civil office, a means of safeguarding the civil state from undue influences. Yet the underlying assumption was that the two “kingdoms,” the one “spiritual,” the other “temporal,” constituted a harmonious whole grounded on the principle that God wanted both forms of government to enforce the moral law and defend truth against heresy. Yet the extent to which everyday life was regulated by a strict moral code or families by patriarchy is often exaggerated, as it was by Nathaniel Hawthorne in *The Scarlet Letter* (1850).

The consolidating of this social and religious system was abetted by institutions that dated back to the beginnings of settlement. In 1636 a group of ministers initiated the founding of a college, shortly to be named Harvard after a minister who died in 1638 and left half of his estate to the new institution. Its leading purpose was to provide a ministry fully literate in the classical languages and in the “arts” of thinking and writing, as then understood, to take the place of the men who emigrated in the 1630s. Because it was also assumed that truth—that is, a Reformed Protestant understanding of God’s Word—was clearly revealed to anyone who honestly sought it, differences of opinion were regarded as inappropriate, possibly subversive of good order, and potentially as sins against the

divine will. The well-being of the godly commonwealth depended, therefore, on preventing any such differences of opinion, which the magistrates and ministers likened to infectious disease. The colonists acknowledged a “liberty of conscience” that could be exercised privately, aside from civil obligations. Otherwise, they assumed that the civil state was responsible for suppressing religious dissent.

The colonists’ policy of uniformity was put to the test in the 1640s, when it attracted the attention of English radicals, but more severely so in the late 1650s when the first Quaker missionaries arrived in Massachusetts, and again in the 1660s when a small group of Congregationalists renounced infant baptism and organized a Baptist church (1665). Whippings, fines, and imprisonment proved ineffective; and the execution of four Quakers in Massachusetts between 1659 and 1661 led the English government to order that no more such executions take place. When the civil government in Massachusetts was reorganized in 1691 on the basis of a charter granted by William III in place of the original charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, the crown mandated a certain measure of toleration.

Meanwhile the Congregational system had been evolving in several respects. The Cambridge Platform left unresolved a question that eventually had to be addressed: were the children of a parent who had been baptized as an infant entitled to the sacrament themselves? Strictly speaking the answer was no because baptism belonged only to the children of persons who qualified for membership on the basis of describing the work of grace. In the 1630s and 1640s, the original system worked well enough to incorporate at least half, and perhaps closer to three-quarters, of the colonists and their children within the church. However, as those children came of age and had families of their own, a much smaller percentage of them came forward as adults to offer the customary testimony. Were all those who were simply members by virtue of their baptism entitled to remain as members, and to pass the privilege of membership on to the next generation? First in 1657, then in 1662, two councils of ministers answered this question affirmatively. In authorizing what was later nicknamed the “half-way covenant,” they ended up creating two categories of visible saints: “full” members, entitled to vote in church affairs and participate in the Lord’s Supper, and members in the “external” covenant, entitled mainly to have their children baptized. Schisms and ongoing conflict followed upon the decisions of 1662, for some congregations and a handful of ministers resisted any deviation from the original rules, labeling them “humane inventions.” Gradually the second category of members surpassed the first in size. As this happened, the Congregational Way became a hybrid: selective or gathered in one respect, but very nearly a parish church system in another. Moreover, local practice varied from one town to the next, with towns and churches in the Connecticut River Valley always a little out of step with those along the coast.

From the beginning, the Puritan colonists puzzled over the meaning of their venture across the Atlantic. The framework of Christian primitivism served them well in some respects. Another framework was providence, a framework the colonists shared with most other Christians of their day. The answer to a great many questions (e.g., why safe passage across the Atlantic, why that drought or storm or illness) was the intention (and attention) of a God who watched over and arranged every event in human life. Discerning the signs of God’s providence, and deciphering their significance, was an ongoing challenge that engaged the ministers, the civil leaders, and a great many ordinary people.

Most of these people also assumed that the colonists had entered into a national covenant with God, a sequel to the great prototype in Deuteronomy. A covenanted people were obligated to obey God's rules and persist in holiness; if they faltered, then God was sure to indicate his anger. As early as the late 1630s, the ministers were beginning to warn that the colonists were losing some of their fervor, and by the 1660s and 1670s these warnings had coalesced in a sermon form known as the JEREMIAD. INCREASE MATHER, a second-generation colonist and longtime minister in Boston, became perhaps the most persistent preacher of jeremiads. He was also drawn to APOCALYPTICISM, or the expectation that the final events foretold in Revelation were beginning to occur. It has often been suggested that the Puritans in New England were millenarians who thought of themselves as distinctively "chosen" and their land as the site of the New Jerusalem of the end times, although the prevailing world view was closer to primitivism and providentialism (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM).

Well into the eighteenth century the "Congregational Way" remained the dominant system of church government in the New England colonies, and the "practical divinity" that can be traced back to William Perkins reigned as well. Given these continuities, and given the thorough implementing in New England of the Reformed program with respect to worship, doctrine, ministry, church and state, sacred space, and time, dating the "end" of Puritanism in New England is almost an artificial exercise. Yet the hegemony of Puritanism in New England can easily mislead historians and interpreters in the twenty-first century into exaggerating its importance. Much of the intellectual baggage of the colonists, together with the social rules they employed about such matters as property distribution, child rearing, and inheritance, drew on far more complex sources: custom, humanism, and the English common law, to name but three. Separating out these influences from those that originated within the Puritan movement of the late sixteenth century is crucial, as is recognizing that Puritanism modified its tone or coloring in response to changing historical circumstances and in its multiple local settings.

Puritanism and Modernity

In the twentieth century, Puritanism attracted a great deal of attention as a likely source of MODERNITY. The German social theorist MAX WEBER advanced the most influential argument in this regard. He proposed that Protestants, but especially the Puritans, had transformed the "other-worldly asceticism" of the Catholic system as practiced by monastics into a "this-worldly asceticism," that is, a disciplined approach to time and work that drew its energy from anxieties about being one of the elect. In turn, this "work ethic," or making work normative and regular, had been a critical agent in the making of capitalism, which incorporated this self-discipline and transmuted it into an unrelenting urge to work and therefore to acquire. The American sociologist Robert Merton complemented Weber's broad argument by proposing that English Puritans had played a distinctive role in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century (see NATURE). More recently, social historians of early modern England have proposed that Puritans took the lead in suppressing the communal and morally extravagant modes of "traditional popular culture" with a proto-middle-class culture of discipline centered on the FAMILY and the individual (see INDIVIDUALISM). Historians of Puritanism in America have

followed a different path in suggesting that the movement served as a source of democracy. The equivalent argument among British historians, now generally rejected, is that Puritans advocated the authority of Parliament and “the people” over against the authority of the monarchy. To this day, Puritanism is an irresistible “x” that historians, social theorists, and cultural critics interpret in light of the ever-changing shape of modernity.

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DAVID D.HALL

PUSEY, EDWARD BOUVERIE (1800–1882)

English scholar and church leader. Pusey was born August 22, 1800 and died September 16, 1882. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church (Oxford) and was elected a fellow of Oriel College in 1823. Urged by his teachers to become versed with the new intellectual movements coming out of GERMANY so that they might be refuted, he studied at Göttingen, Berlin, and Bonn between 1825 and 1827. There he encountered

J.G.Eichhorn and FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, and established friendships with FRIEDRICH THOLUCK and JOHANN AUGUST NEANDER.

During this period Pusey, expressing sympathy with some of the German religious trends, published *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rational Character lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany* (1827). He was later to repudiate this sympathetic account and become an archcritic of the ENLIGHTENMENT theologies. As a result of his scholarship he was appointed Regius professor of Hebrew at Oxford and canon of Christ Church. He was ordained to the priesthood in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in 1828.

Pusey's religious and political sympathies moved to the right as liberal criticism of the religious establishment grew, and by 1832 he had become convinced that the Church of England was being threatened by the growing liberal agenda. In 1833 he formally associated himself with the OXFORD MOVEMENT and its defense of the traditional tenets of the church. His first contribution to the Tracts for the Times—Tract XVIII (“Thoughts on the Benefits of the System of Fasting”)—was signed with his initials (EBP). Pusey's signature to what had been theretofore anonymous publications associated both Pusey with the movement and the movement with Pusey. His academic and social standing gave status to the fledgling movement, which frequently came to be labeled “Puseyism.”

During 1836 he published a series of tracts on BAPTISM that appealed to early church teachings and emphasized the seriousness of postbaptismal sins. His interest in SIN and GRACE led him to be an advocate of priestly CONFESSION. His interest in the early church also led him to organize the republication of much of the literature in the *Library of the Fathers*. Also during the late 1830s he served as an important apologist for the Oxford Movement and published his *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford* (1839).

After 1841, and JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S withdrawal from active participation in the movement on account of the negative reactions toward Tract XC, Pusey became its most important leader. In 1843 he published *The Holy Eucharist: A Comfort to the Penitent*, which emphasized the doctrine of the real presence. The vice chancellor of Oxford and six faculty of divinity condemned the sermon as heretical (see HERESY), and he was suspended from the university pulpit for two years. The harshness and questionable legality of the decision, however, earned Pusey a large degree of public sympathy.

With Newman's secession to Rome in 1845, Pusey's leadership assumed even more importance and he gave the Catholic revival within ANGLICANISM new themes. One was the focus on parish ministry. He underwrote the rebuilding of St. Saviour's, Leeds, as a memorial to his wife, and this church became a ministerial model for later Catholic-revival parishes. He participated (and financially supported) the move to reestablish religious orders within Anglicanism. He continued to emphasize the importance of priestly confession. Although not a Ritualist himself, he strongly defended the movement among members of the Catholic revival to restore traditional ritual and ceremony in Anglican worship. Finally in the decade of the 1860s he worked to advance the cause of reunion with Rome. He argued that popular devotions and beliefs, not official doctrines, separated the two churches. The First Vatican Council and its definition of papal infallibility disappointed him profoundly.

Throughout the latter decades of his career Pusey actively assumed the role of defender of the traditional teachings of the Church of England against liberal threats. He attacked the attempt by men such as BENJAMIN JOWETT to reform (and declericize) the education at Oxford; he criticized the publication of *Essays and Reviews* (1860) and its advocacy of an historical critical approach to the BIBLE; he vigorously supported the retention of the Athanasian Creed in the Anglican BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER; he defended the belief in eternal punishment; and he fought those who wished to reconceptualize the miracles of the gospels to make Christianity more palatable to modern science.

Pusey died September 16, 1882 and was buried in the nave of Christ Church (Oxford). His library (purchased by followers of his) became the foundation of Pusey House in Oxford, an institution that continues to be a memorial and study center dedicated to his principles.

See also Anglo-Catholicism

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ROBERT BRUCE MULLIN

Q

QUAKERS

See Friends, Society of; Society of Friends in North America

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R

RADE, MARTIN (1857–1940)

German theologian. Rade was born at Rennersdorf/ Oberlausitz April 4, 1857, and died at Frankfurt/Main April 9, 1940. His father was a Lutheran pastor, and he studied THEOLOGY in Leipzig, a stronghold of LUTHERANISM. His most important theological teacher was ADOLF VON HARNACK. After a brief tenure as a private tutor he became a pastor in Schoenbach/Oberlausitz in 1882, serving there for ten years. From 1892 to 1899 Rade served as minister at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt/Main.

While he was serving in his first parish, Rade also began to work as a journalist. In 1886 he founded the journal *Christliche Welt* together with theologians Wilhelm Bornemann, Paul Drews, and Friedrich Loofs. Until 1931 he remained editor and publisher of this magazine, which represented the voice of “culture Protestantism” (*Kulturprotestantismus*) in GERMANY. Rade supported the politics of national liberals. As did his brother-in-law FRIEDRICH NAUMANN, Rade later became a liberal theologian and politician. Theological and political liberalism were decisive for his religious engagement.

To devote himself to publishing the *Christliche Welt*, Rade left his parish in 1898 and began to teach at the University of Marburg. Marburg became the center of his political and journalistic work.

As a liberal theologian Rade supported the *Evangelisch-sozialer Kongreß*, which was founded in 1890. In various controversies with conservative church leaders he afforded critical voices the opportunity to publish in his journal.

Early on Rade supported the demands for a democratic Germany. After 1918 he supported the Weimar republic. Together with other liberal theologians he was active in the liberal *Deutsche Demokratische Partei*.

After 1933 Rade did not belong to the “CONFESSING CHURCH” (*Bekennende Kirche*). Despite his distance from National Socialism and his personally courageous support of individual persecuted Jews, Rade did not perceive the unjust character of the Nazi regime.

See also Cultural Protestantism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism

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NORBERT FRIEDRICH

RADIO EVANGELISM

See Mass Media

RAGAZ, LEONHARD (1868–1945)

Swiss theologian. Ragaz was born to Bartholome and Luzia Ragaz, a farming family, in Tamins in the Grisons of SWITZERLAND on July 28, 1868. Familiar with economic

hardship, and marked by his rural mountain community's cooperative movement and common ownership of the surrounding forests and meadows, Ragaz early embraced democratic socialism. After theological study in Basel, Jena, and Berlin, and ordination in 1890, he served three different congregations of the Swiss Reformed Church. The plight of the poor, problems related to alcoholism, peace, and—as a result of his marriage to Clara Nadig—WOMEN'S rights claimed much of his energy alongside PREACHING. In 1908 he was called to the University of Zurich to teach systematic and practical theology. He resigned from that position in 1921, moved to the city's workers' district, and attempted to establish a settlement house there. He sided with the strikers in the highly political Swiss strikes of 1903, 1912, and 1918. A card-carrying socialist, he fought the Bolshevik and Nazi ideologies, and engaged in efforts to bring their victims into Switzerland. Ragaz died December 6, 1945.

At the heart of his religious socialism was the theology of the "KINGDOM OF GOD." For Ragaz this kingdom was a vision of the Christian revolution. The recovery of New Testament ESCHATOLOGY and its teaching of God's present and coming reign caused Ragaz to renounce the individual-focused faith of culture Protestantism. Interpreting Jesus's death and resurrection as events of a revolution that both judges the world and propels it toward its own coming resurrection, Ragaz preached a double hope: one that awaits the great change at the end of time and one that expects and works for change even now in the present. He saw such latter changes in renewal movements like democracy and socialism, and in the work for peace and women's rights while never identifying them with God's kingdom.

See also Cultural Protestantism; Socialism, Christian; Theology

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MARTIN RUMSCHEIDT

RAIKES, ROBERT (1735–1811)

English social reformer. Born in Gloucester, ENGLAND on September 14, 1735, Robert Raikes was the son of a printer who founded a local newspaper. Succeeding to the editorship of the paper after his father's death in 1757, Raikes became known for his local benevolence. In 1768, for example, he appealed in the paper for reform of abuses in

the local jail's treatment of prisoners, gaining the notice of leading English philanthropists in the process. His initiative, his access to the press, and the attention he had received set the stage for his most notable achievement, the creation of four small schools to educate poor children of Gloucester, the first of which opened in July 1780. In November 1783, his newspaper mentioned the success of these schools, attracting considerable attention and encouraging similar initiatives elsewhere. Thus, Robert Raikes became known as the creator of the SUNDAY SCHOOL.

However, Raikes cannot be credited with originating educational programs for children. There is an extensive history of Christian initiative in this respect, especially programs under evangelical sponsorship in the mid-eighteenth century. But Raikes drew together several previously disparate themes: the necessity of basic Christian education for children, the possibilities inherent in education for poor children, and the role of independent, lay-led programs to supplement the churches. Initially Sunday schools functioned as ecumenical agencies (see ECUMENISM). But by the midnineteenth century, they became aligned with denominational programs and were subject to CLERGY oversight. Raikes found support for his own work from influential Anglican bishops. He retired from business in 1802 and died in Gloucester on April 5, 1811.

See also Education, Overview; Denomination

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WILLIAM SACHS

RAMABAI, PANDITA (1858–1922)

Indian educator and Christian activist. Ramabai was born April 23, 1858 in rural INDIA and died April 5, 1922 in Kedgaon, India. The daughter of an aging Hindu holy man and his young second wife, Ramabai learned from her parents to read and write. From her father she gained remarkable familiarity with Hindu sacred texts. The family's religious pilgrimages took them across India. By 1881 Ramabai alone had survived the poverty and famines that decimated her family.

In 1878 Ramabai had come to fame in Calcutta where the faculty of the University of Calcutta recognized her abilities by bestowing on her the coveted titles, Pandita and Sarasvati, distinctions generally not attained by WOMEN. She began her lifelong agitation for social reform, especially as it pertained to Indian women. An ardent champion of female education, Ramabai testified on behalf of Indian women before a British Commission in 1883. Shortly thereafter she sailed for ENGLAND. There, under

the auspices of an Anglo-Catholic religious order (see ANGLO-CATHOLICISM), she converted to Christianity. In 1886 she arrived in the UNITED STATES, intent on studying education and raising support to accomplish her dream of educating high-caste Hindu widows.

Between 1886 and 1888 Ramabai traveled in the United States, often under the auspices of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In December 1887 Edward Everett Hale chaired a large meeting in Boston's Channing Hall at which a Ramabai Association was formed. PHILLIPS BROOKS, George A. Gordon, FRANCES WILLARD, and Mary Hemenway joined him on its board. The Association pledged the support of leading American Protestants in the task of creating a residential school in Bombay for high-caste Hindu widows. Over the next ten years Ramabai more than fulfilled this dream. Her efforts for social change soon assumed a distinctive Christian cast and drew larger numbers of evangelically minded Protestants to her support. Within a decade she had established two institutions, the larger of which housed nearly 2,000 widows and orphans in a community she called "Mukti," or "Salvation." She maintained close ties to American and British Protestants and welcomed various missionaries to assist in her efforts. She undertook a translation of the BIBLE into colloquial Marathi, with study notes included to enable Indian women to work as village evangelists.

For two decades, Ramabai captured the hearts of American Protestants. She affiliated with no American DENOMINATIONS, but most of them supported her. She carried on her work as an Indian venture in which missionaries could be partners, although Indians retained control. A TEMPERANCE advocate and ardent supporter of the "uplifting" of India's women, she seized a critical moment and has been recognized since as a precursor of feminism whose efforts inspired not only Anglo-American Protestants but also the builders of modern India.

See also Bible Translation; Education, Overview

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EDITH BLUMHOFER

RAMSEY, ARTHUR MICHAEL (1904–1988)

Archbishop of Canterbury. A biblical theologian, archbishop, and keen ecumenist, Ramsey saw the need for the church to hold together the extremes of catholic sacramental TRADITION and reformed concern for scriptural AUTHORITY.

Arthur Michael Ramsey was born November 14, 1904 in Cambridge, ENGLAND and died April 25, 1988 in Oxford. He was brought up within a Congregationalist heritage, of Anglo-Catholic formation, and educated at CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. Ramsey was ordained in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in 1928. He served in parochial ministry and lectured in THEOLOGY at the universities of Lincoln and Durham. In 1950 he was appointed Regius professor of divinity at Cambridge. Two years later he was elevated to bishop of Durham, and archbishop of York. He was archbishop of CANTERBURY from 1961 to 1974.

Despite a liberal political instinct, Ramsey was theologically conservative, and maintained that gospel truth is recognized through the CHURCH and sacramental participation. This ignored the contribution of theologians outside ecclesiastical structures. Ramsey would have struggled to engage with later feminist and liberation theologians. Influenced by KARL BARTH'S commentary on the book of Romans, his most significant work, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, stresses the cross as the starting point for theological truth, with the BIBLE as the living word that opens the heart to Christ's living presence. Reading FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, Ramsey became increasingly unimpressed by Protestantism's lack of creational and incarnational appreciation in its focus on a gulf between God and the world.

Once at Canterbury, Ramsey established dialogue, declarations, and papers with Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. By conviction a disestablishmentarian, he worked, unsuccessfully, toward reunification with the Methodist church, and closer ties with LUTHERANISM. Criticized by liberals for not being radical enough, and by fundamentalists for encouraging Catholic rites and ritual, Ramsey would have been gladdened by the increased engagement by Protestants with the ascetical tradition (such as retreats), and by Catholics with biblical theology. His primacy was made difficult by his producing reactionary defenses of ORTHODOXY, poor administration, and disinterest in the appointment of bishops.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism; Fundamentalism; Methodism, England; Orthodoxy, Eastern; Neo-Orthodoxy

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JAMES CHAPMAN

RAPTURE

The term “rapture” comes from the Latin *raptus* or *rapio*, denoting “caught up.” This derives from St. Paul’s description of the Second Advent: “For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up [*harpagesometha*] together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord” (I Thessalonians 4:16–17, King James Version). Now although this “catching away” was understood throughout most of the history of the church as referring to what would happen to the people of God at the return of Christ, during the nineteenth century a more specific understanding was formulated whereby the rapture of the church by Christ was distinguished from the second coming of Christ with the church. This development itself produced a variety of eschatological scenarios associated with whether the rapture would occur before, during, or after the tribulational period understood to precede the second coming and millennial reign of Christ.

The Rapture as Distinct from the Second Advent

The emergence to prominence of the specific notion of the rapture from the more general doctrine of the second coming must be understood against developments in eschatological ideas during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Given developments in the new world, the amillennial view of Augustine dominant during the Middle Ages was gradually displaced initially by a growing acceptance of a postmillennialism (of not necessarily 1,000 literal years) thought to be ushered in by the church. However, the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the Second Great AWAKENING and associated REVIVALS at the turn of the nineteenth century precipitated a more apocalyptic perspective resulting in British and American mid-century Millenarian movements like MORMONISM, SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM, Irvingism (followers of Edward Irving), and PLYMOUTH BRETHERNISM. The RESTORATIONISM of these groups led to a literalistic and futuristic reading of biblical prophecies, especially Revelation chapters 6–19, and a retrieval of what might be called the historic premillennialism of the early (pre-Constantinian) church whereby the second advent would inaugurate the 1,000-year reign of Christ.

This set of premillennialist ideas were forged into a system known as DISPENSATIONALISM by JOHN NELSON DARBY (1800–1882). Central features of Darby’s dispensationalism included a distinction between scriptures addressed to and regarding the two ages of Israel (the former preceding Christ and the future millennium)

and scriptures regarding the parenthetical age of the church (present) and addressed to the church. This dispensationalist reading of the BIBLE concluded that the future literal millennial reign of God would fulfill all the prophecies concerning the “Day of the Lord” made to Israel; that there would be a transition period between this present age of the church and the future millennium of about seven years (derived from various interpretations of the frequent references to three and a half years made in the books of Daniel and Revelation); that this transitional period would be one of “great tribulation” (Matthew 24:21) upon the earth; and that the church would be removed or raptured secretly and suddenly (see also I Corinthians 15:52 and Matthew 24:40–41), thereby releasing the tribulational forces and inaugurating this “hour of temptation” (Revelation 3:10, KJV). In this way, it was thought, the scriptural teachings regarding the imminent return of Christ on the one hand and the Second Advent as preceded by signs on the other could be reconciled. The former referred to the secret rapture for the church and the latter to the second coming of the Messiah with the church.

Theological Perspectives and Debates

Darby’s dispensationalism in general and pretribulationist rapture theory in particular gained a following across large segments of conservative North American Protestantism through the Bible Conference movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The publication of the widely distributed SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE (1909, improved edition 1917) both popularized and further solidified this pretribulationist and premillennialist ESCHATOLOGY. By the mid-twentieth century, however, sufficient questions had been raised about the pretribulationist theory to result in a variety of premillennialist scenarios.

Posttribulationists, for example, called attention to the many scriptural texts that indicated the church would endure rather than be exempt from persecution, thus questioning the function of the rapture to preserve the saints. Further, they were unconvinced that the two-stage return of Christ—*for* the Church first and then *with* the Church—could be sustained exegetically, thus affirming the historic premillennialist understanding of a single Second Advent. Finally, and perhaps more subtly decisive, posttribulationists are neither staunch dispensationalists nor biblical literalists.

Midtribulationism, by far the minority of the three positions, describes the attempt of those who responded to the posttribulationist questions by distinguishing between a “milder” tribulational period during the first half of the seven years and the more “wrathful” tribulational period during the last three and a half years. Whereas the church will endure the tribulation, she will be saved “from the wrath to come” (I Thessalonians 1:10; cf. I Thessalonians 5:9) at the sounding of the seventh trumpet (Revelation 11:15–19). Finally, the partial-rapture view is advocated by those who wish to acknowledge the call of the New Testament texts to vigilance and faithfulness. Those like the five virgins with oil in their lamps (Matthew 25:1–13) will be taken whereas the rest will be saved, but only through enduring the tribulation.

See also Millenarians and Millennialism

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RAUSCHENBUSCH, WALTER (1861–1918)

The leading exponent of the American social gospel movement. Rauschenbusch was admired for the clarity and passion of his speaking and writing. Considered a social prophet in church circles, he was known to the public through books, magazine, and newspaper articles in which his social and religious thought appeared. Rauschenbusch both contributed to and was swept along by the multifaceted Progressive movement of the early twentieth century. Like many progressives, his views were informed by a mild form of socialism, belief in progress in history, the importance of democratic freedom, and American MANIFEST DESTINY. He believed the KINGDOM OF GOD would come in America if the church could be motivated to join the social movement already underway in society.

Rauschenbusch, who spent part of his childhood and his high school years in GERMANY, was fluent in German and English. He was born October 4, 1861 to August and Caroline Rauschenbusch in Rochester, New York, where his father had joined the German department at Rochester Theological Seminary (RTS) after serving as a German Baptist missionary to the Missouri frontier. They eventually returned to Germany. A graduate of the Free Academy of Gütersloh, Germany (1884), the University of Rochester (1884), and RTS (1886), he later returned to Europe four times to visit relatives, for independent study in Germany, and to observe the effects of social Christianity in ENGLAND. In 1893 he married Pauline Rother, a German Baptist born in Silesia. They had five children.

Rauschenbusch served as the pastor of a German-speaking Baptist immigrant congregation on the edge of “Hell’s Kitchen” in New York City for eleven years before becoming a professor of the New Testament in the German Department at RTS in 1897. While still a pastor he published German translations of gospel hymns with IRA D. SANKEY (1840–1908) and a life of Jesus in German. A move to the English

Department of the seminary in 1902 as professor of church history marked the beginning of his remarkable career as a social prophet to American Protestants. Although dozens of pastors and professors were associated with the Social Gospel, Rauschenbusch attracted a national following as a platform speaker, lecturer, and writer after the publication of *Christianity and the Social Crisis* in 1907. After that he crisscrossed the country speaking at public forums, in college, seminary, and YMCA lecture series, and at Baptist and ecumenical church gatherings. Among his favorite topics were “The New Evangelism,” “What About the Woman?” and “The Freedom of Spiritual Religion.”

In addition to *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, he wrote seven other books in English. The best known were *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912); *The Social Principles of Jesus* (1916), written as a study book for the YMCA; and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917). *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, his only sustained engagement with theological reflection, is an important link in the development of modern American theology and social ethics.

As the young pastor of an immigrant congregation, Rauschenbusch was deeply disturbed by the traumatic effect of city life on the poor, and the sudden economic fluctuations and social unrest marked by the labor problems, riots, strikes, and boycotts of the late 1880s. Many of his views about the church and social issues were formed at that time through his study of writers such as the Christian economist Richard Ely (1854–1943), the social theorist Henry George, the utopian visionary Edward Bellamy, and English social Christians like FREDERICK D. MAURICE (1805–1872) and Frederick W. Robertson. He refers to German theologians like FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) and ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822–1889) in his later writing, but his approach to “the social question” and theology was shaped by the American context of his ministry, Anglo-American social Christianity, and the theology of HORACE BUSHNELL (1802–1876).

Rauschenbusch was a founding member of The Brotherhood of the Kingdom, a group of Social Gospel leaders who met annually from 1893 to about 1912 for study, discussion of position papers, prayer, and communion. The goal of his ministry was the same as the stated purpose of the brotherhood, to reestablish the idea of the Kingdom of God in the thought of the church and to assist in its practical realization in the world. This meant using every available means of communication to influence and change public opinion.

Rauschenbusch continued to write and speak until a year before his death from cancer at the age of fiftyseven. As Europe moved toward war in 1914, there were growing allegations that he was a German sympathizer. The loneliness he had experienced as a young pastor stricken by serious hearing loss returned to haunt his final years. When he died, Social Gospel and seminary colleagues set aside political and theological disagreements and acknowledged him as the most influential figure in the development of the social gospel in America. Harry F. Ward (1873–1966), a Methodist social gospeler, predicted that future leaders of religion would continue to find guidance and inspiration in his writing.

The Social Gospel, a Movement and a Theology

Theologians are usually associated with a school of theology, but the Social Gospel is both a movement and a theology. A leading propagandist for the movement, Rauschenbusch had an extensive network of people across the country who corresponded with him, received copies of his books, and invited him to speak. Although many social gospelers published books with a similar combination of social and religious thought, only those by Rauschenbusch continue to move and impress readers. With the exception of *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, his theological convictions were rarely stated directly, a characteristic that made it possible for him to address several audiences simultaneously.

Although social gospel theology was one of several new theologies written to defend the credibility of Christian beliefs seriously challenged by DARWINISM and biblical criticism, social gospelers always gave priority to social problems and social ethics. In his quest for a new synthesis, Rauschenbusch incorporated theories from Bushnell about moral law, language, and the progressive unfolding of truth with social theory, popular science, and political economy. Emboldened by a belief that revelation is always mediated through personal contact between God's spirit and the human spirit, he was highly selective in his use of the BIBLE, drawing most often on the Old Testament prophets and the life and ministry of Jesus for inspiration. He regarded parts of the Bible as outmoded, even harmful to modern moral principles.

The theme of unity and social cooperation pervades Rauschenbusch's thought. He had observed the reactionary response of doctrinal denominations like the Baptists to social and intellectual change, and was convinced that theological conflict and competition between denominations worked against God's Kingdom on earth. Because he believed that metaphysical issues and the language of orthodox theology were also divisive, he expressed himself in noncreedal, nondoctrinal language. For similar reasons he participated in ecumenical organizations like the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE and the Federal Council of Churches.

In the first paragraph of *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, Rauschenbusch writes that the church needs a theology large enough to match the social gospel and vital enough to back it. He was well aware of the difficulty of consolidating "the old faith" with the new aim of social salvation, but felt constrained to respond to a growing chorus of detractors who said the social gospel had no theology. His use of the term "social gospel" was ambiguous. His earlier books appealed to an amorphous Protestant public associated with American manifest destiny, and relied on phrases like the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, slogans with religious overtones also frequently used by politicians.

A Theology for the Social Gospel, written originally for a Yale University lecture series, reflects the knowledge of a professor of New Testament and church history. In each chapter Rauschenbusch contrasted old and new theology, describing differing interpretations of doctrines like sin, salvation, eschatology, and atonement. He critiqued old ways of thinking, then offered a new social approach to each doctrine. Saying that the social gospel had already become orthodox, he clearly believed theology was behind the times.

Christianity and the Social Crisis, written during a period of Protestant cultural hegemony, challenged readers to recognize and respond to the changing social order. Rauschenbusch urged Christians to recover the social purpose of Jesus's ministry and make it their own. He argued that the Kingdom would come if Christians accepted their social responsibility. Otherwise, society could regress or worse, fall into social chaos, a powerful argument at a time when early twentieth-century optimism was tempered by constant fear of social disorder.

In *Christianizing the Social Order*, Rauschenbusch claimed that God was acting through a social awakening already underway to create a new social order that would fulfill the highest ideals of democratic freedom. Describing family, church, education, and politics as already Christianized, he urged Christians to give their attention to the economic order, which he regarded as the primary source of social unrest and individual moral failure. He outlined the ways Christians could contribute to or even hasten the coming Kingdom, consigning women to "the home" while calling men to social amelioration in the world of business and politics.

Always alert to the impact of religious language and ideas, Rauschenbusch chose his words carefully, more like an evangelist than a classical theologian. He was critical of the negative impact of older theologies on both church and culture. In 1894 he presented a paper to a Baptist congress in which he explained that using language inappropriate to the age to represent God would retard progress. He almost always referred to God as Father, a familial reference to the love, justice, and brotherhood that characterize the Kingdom of God, but deplored references to God as Judge as too individualistic to inspire and undergird modern social faith.

Rauschenbusch prized the freedom of American democracy because he considered freedom essential to moral development. He evaluated the social maturity of nations, historical periods, religions, and social groups according to the extent to which they were capable of living a moral life in an immoral society. Although his ideal was a society in which moral maturity for all was a possibility, he never expected social perfection due to the fluctuating nature of society. He regularly cited the freedom of American women as a sign of progress, but gave limited support to women's suffrage, saying that women lacked the moral maturity needed to participate in politics.

Legacy to American Protestantism

Walter Rauschenbusch longed for a faith to give unity to the whole of life, and found it in the Kingdom of God. It was the grand overarching vision through which he saw his own work as unifying theology and ethics, sacred and secular, church and state. He used the phrase to signify God's coming Kingdom on earth, the importance of doing God's will, personal union with Christ and God, unity in the church, nation, and world. It was important to him that Jesus introduced the Kingdom idea to his followers, died for the Kingdom, and instructed his followers to sacrifice themselves for it.

During his lifetime some critics regarded his theology as heretical. By the 1920s, early fundamentalists declared him an enemy of the church and orthodoxy. Yet as the most kindly, collegial apologist of the Social Gospel, Rauschenbusch played a major role in the restoration of historic Protestant concern for civic order and justice in American

denominations. Never before in American church history had so many pastors, professors, and church members been caught up in the social issues, politics, and practical reform measures of their time.

Rauschenbusch participated in limited civic reform in Rochester, but his primary social ministry was his work as a scholar seeking social change by changing minds. His understanding of the potential of human nature for goodness and the reality of social change was overly optimistic. Scientific theories of social evolution widely accepted at the time led him to believe there would be far less need for government and laws to protect people from each other as capitalism was gradually replaced by a cooperative social order. In the meantime, he challenged the churches to replace the old individual motive with the new social motive essential to moral and social progress. In his gradualist, noninterventionist understanding of progress there would always be a place for religion as the source and safeguard of moral progress in society.

A moralist at heart, the legacy of Rauschenbusch to Protestantism is mixed. The ethicist and theologian REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971) was an articulate critic of Rauschenbusch’s optimism about human nature, history, and social progress; yet without Rauschenbusch it is unlikely that Niebuhr would have written a book like *Moral Man in Immoral Society*. While Rauschenbusch undoubtedly laid foundations for a Christian social ethic, in their haste to attack his theology, his critics often fail to notice the extent to which his social ethic incorporated nineteenth-century popular science, psychology, and biological dualism.

Rauschenbusch’s political agenda was far more conservative than his theology due to his belief that by the early twentieth century, laissez-faire capitalism had been contained, making the moral development and maturity of the American people a real possibility. He opposed the use of legislation as an instrument of social change, holding that a new law should represent an existing consensus of public opinion. He objected to the Sherman antitrust law, saying it worked against the law of progress by association. He opposed any idea or action that interfered with the potential of every individual for moral development through the use of the faculty of moral sense. In the final analysis his social ethic depended on a utopian vision of a society in which, as he liked to say, “good men can be good.”

Walter Rauschenbusch, first-generation American, social theorist, and theologian, laid the foundations for a pragmatic theological ethic based on a rational view of the world. The power of his vision was matched by his ability to express his concern about the future of church and society through engaging writing and speaking. A seminary professor who never lost touch with church people, Rauschenbusch addressed the public at a moment in history when church and state came together around a very Protestant belief in American manifest destiny.

See also Baptist: Biblical Interpretation; Church and State; Manifest Destiny; Social Gospel.

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JANET F.FISHBURN

REFORMATION

The Reformation of the sixteenth century with deep medieval roots and variegated fruits affected every aspect of early modern life. Its evangelical sprouts not only hardened into many of the contemporary branches of Protestantism, but also intertwined with the growth of early modern Catholicism. The taxonomy of the Reformation focuses on the reformers with the supposition that without them there would have been no Reformation. At the same time, to carry our garden image a bit further, it is clear that any analysis of growth must take into account the soil and environment.

Interpretations of the Reformation

How one sees the Reformation depends on one's commitment and vantage point. Interpretations now range far beyond the stock church-historical categories of "magisterial" (led by academics—*magistri*—and supported by magistrates: Anglican, Lutheran, Calvinist); "radical" (or "left wing," dissidents and Anabaptist movements); and "Catholic" (in pre-ecumenical days, "Counter") Reformations. Political and social historians have provided a multitude of new perspectives informed by political history, Marxism, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Older interpretations formulated by the great German scholars Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), ERNST TROELTSCH (1865–1923), and KARL HOLL (1866–1926) were, in one way or another, efforts to relate the modern German identity and state to the Reformation. For Ranke, the Reformation was a unique epoch of history bracketed by MARTIN LUTHER'S "Ninety-Five Theses" (1517) and the "Religious Peace" of the Diet of Augsburg (1555). Troeltsch, on the other hand, viewed the magisterial Reformation, especially in its Lutheran form, as the last gasp of the Middle Ages. For Troeltsch, the break from the unified, authoritarian medieval culture and the initiation of the modern world came with the Calvinist, but even more so the Anabaptist decoupling of CHURCH AND STATE,

and in the quest for individual freedom of conscience and faith. Holl strove to refute Troeltsch's position by concentrated research on Luther's theology and ETHics as key to the integration of German CULTURE.

Marxist historians, informed by Friedrich Engels' (1820–1895) study of the Peasants' War (1524–1525), interpreted the Reformation as an early bourgeois revolution against feudalism that facilitated the next stage of social formation, capitalism. The Marxist interpretive model stimulated social-historical interests that have greatly increased knowledge of the social, economic, and theological bases of the Reformation. Informed by constructs such as “social disciplining,” “CONFESSIONALIZATION,” and “popular religion,” there has been a growing sense that “the Reformation” consists of a number of messily inter-twining movements with such labels as “princes' Reformation,” “urban Reformation,” “communal Reformation,” and “peoples' Reformation” that extend back to medieval renewal movements and into the early modern period. While the debate over the plurality of Reformations and their interpretations shows no sign of slackening, some scholars remind us that there would not have been a Reformation without reformers. The reformers themselves were driven by the question that Luther posed in a 1524 letter to Strasbourg, “What makes a person a Christian?”

In continuity with the early church, the reformers sought answers to this question in the praxis of the worshipping community: “*lex orandi, lex credendi.*” Hence, although the Reformation is traditionally dated from Luther's posting of the “Ninety-Five Theses,” it is important to remember that this formal academic disputation focused on the sacrament of penance and its associated issues of justification, indulgences, purgatory, and ecclesiastical authority. Sharply put, the Reformation began with a focus on the central pastoral praxis of the church. Luther and his colleagues brought THEOLOGY out of the academic closet with vernacular sermons and devotional writings addressed to the fundamental issues of the religious life: the need for God's love and acceptance, personal anxiety before DEATH, and guidance in life.

A constant Reformation refrain was the recovery of biblical PREACHING and pastoral theology. The reformers benefited in this task by the works of their humanist predecessors and contemporaries such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1460–1536) and Desiderius Erasmus (1469–1536). The former promoted a unified reading of Scripture by a spiritual, christological vision in his biblical prefaces, Pauline commentaries, Psalm comparisons, and French lectionary and homilies. The latter promoted textual advances in biblical understanding by his edited version of the Greek New Testament (first edition in 1516), as well as hermeneutical perspectives in his many other writings. Preachers now became translators, and translators became preachers. The conviction that theology serves proclamation is succinctly expressed in Erasmus' rendering of the opening verses of the Gospel of John: “In the beginning was the *sermon.*”

The Reformation in Germany

The theological and pastoral problem that plagued Luther was whether SALVATION is achieved or received. The medieval scholastic answer, that it is both, did not resolve the issue for him, because the necessity of even the smallest human contribution to salvation threw the burden of proof back on the person. Luther's teaching responsibilities at the

recently founded (1502) University of Wittenberg, as well as his own quest for certainty of salvation, led him to intensive study of the BIBLE. Here he discovered that righteousness before God is not what the sinner achieves, but rather what the sinner receives as a free gift from God. Thus salvation is no longer the goal of life, but rather the foundation of life. Luther reversed the medieval piety of achievement: Good works do not make the sinner acceptable to God, but rather God's acceptance of the sinner prompts good works.

The Reformation motif of FAITH active in love energized innovative approaches to a broad range of early modern social issues including reform of social welfare, literacy and public EDUCATION, and political issues of AUTHORITY and the right to resistance. The reformers rejection of mandatory clerical CELIBACY not only struck at church authority, but also "civil"-ized the clergy in the sense that they became citizens with homes, families, and a stake in civil responsibilities. Scholars such as MAX WEBER noted that this liberation from "otherworldly asceticism" released human energy and material resources for this-worldly activities.

While Luther referred to the early evangelical movement in Wittenberg as "our theology," fissures among erstwhile colleagues began appearing by the early 1520s. ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT (1486–1541), sometimes referred to as the forerunner of PURITANISM, insisted that evangelical insights must be instituted without tarrying for anyone. One effect of this, paralleled in other centers of reform such as Zurich, was an outbreak of ICONOCLASM during efforts to sweep out the old faith. Luther's response was that to coerce people into Gospel perspectives by forced reform was only to revert back to a religion of laws, and thus undermine the insight that JUSTIFICATION is a free gift.

Tensions and conflicts between the German reformers escalated in relation to the Peasants' War (1524–1525) as THOMAS MÜNTZER (c. 1490–1525) joined the late phase of the war with the rallying cry that "the godless have no right to live." The extremely volatile mix of late medieval APOCALYPTICISM, oppressive social and economic conditions, coupled with the Reformation motifs of the "freedom of the Christian" and theological critiques of canon law and papal authority fueled the peasants' social and religious expectations but horribly misfired at their disastrous defeat at Frankenhausen in 1525.

The Emperor Charles V's (1500–1558) military preoccupations with FRANCE (the Habsburg-Valois Wars, 1521–1559) and the Ottoman Empire (Sultan Süleyman I the Magnificent, r. 1520–1566) continually frustrated Charles's efforts to eliminate the Reformation movements in his realm apart from his hereditary lands, the Low Countries. Charles needed the support of the Protestant princes (the pejorative term "Protestant" arose from the protest by evangelical princes against imposition of the EDICT OF WORMS outlawing the evangelical movement at the 1529 DIET OF SPEYER) in his military campaigns. The Protestant princes presented an irenic confession of their faith to the Emperor at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg. Composed by Luther's colleague, PHILIPP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560), the AUGSBURG CONFESSION did not sway the Catholic Emperor to rescind the Edict of Worms, but it did become the foundational document for Lutheran churches up to today (see LUTHERANISM).

The rejection of the Augsburg Confession led the Protestants to form a military alliance, the SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE, that managed to protect the Protestant

movement until its defeat by imperial forces in 1547. By this time, however, the evangelicals had gained sufficient strength that a series of settlements led finally to their TOLERATION in the 1555 Peace of Augsburg.

The Reformation in Switzerland

The Reform movement in SWITZERLAND under the leadership of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) proceeded along roughly parallel lines in Zurich, and then under the leadership of JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) in Geneva. Unlike Luther, these Reformers lacked the protection of a benevolent and supportive prince and thus had to develop and implement their movements in cooperation (and tension) with their respective town councils.

Influenced by Humanism, Zwingli's intensive biblical study and preaching led to his 1518 appointment by the city government to the major preaching post in Zurich. His commitment to the Reformation principle, *sola scriptura*, was evident immediately. His sermons, no longer based upon the church's lectionary, methodically expounded book after biblical book. By 1525 he had established "prophesyings," weekly Bible studies for the Zurich CLERGY and advanced students. A similar practice was established in Geneva in 1536 under Calvin and GUILLAUME FAREL. All of life, personal and communal, was to be normed by Scripture.

Controversy, however, soon erupted on multiple fronts. At home, Zwingli and his colleagues found themselves in a double-fronted conflict with those who wanted to halt reforms and those who wanted to expand and radicalize them. The former were led by Hugo, the bishop of Constance, whose diocese included Zurich; the latter were led by CONRAD GREBEL (1498–1526), the reputed founder of ANABAPTISM. The Anabaptists (i.e., "re-baptists"), in applying biblical norms to faith and life, understood BAPTISM to be contingent on a mature confession of faith rather than a sacrament administered to infants who neither understood nor evidenced a Christian life. The Anabaptist confession of faith, the SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION (1527), also rejected what most of their contemporaries assumed were normal obligations of citizenship: oaths, tithes, and military service.

Added to these challenges facing Zwingli was the years-long dispute with Luther over the correct interpretation of the LORD'S SUPPER. The German Lutheran prince, PHILIP OF HESSE, hoping for a united Protestant front, brought Luther and Zwingli to the negotiating table in Marburg in 1529. At the MARBURG COLLOQUY, the Lutherans and Zwinglians agreed on 14 of 15 articles. They repudiated TRANSUBSTANTIATION and the belief that the mass is a sacrifice for the living and the dead, and they insisted on communion in both kinds. The two evangelical parties however remained apart on whether the Lord's Supper is primarily an act of thanksgiving for the Gospel (Zwingli's symbolic and memorial view) or a concrete offer of the Gospel (Luther's sacramental emphasis on Christ's real presence). The differing Protestant theologies of the Eucharist continued to divide the church despite Calvin's later ecumenical efforts informed by his own emphasis on the gift character of the sacrament. Calvin did achieve agreement with Zwingli's successor, HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575). In 1549 they signed the

Consensus Tigurinus, but by this time many second-generation Lutherans suspected that this was more Zwinglian than Lutheran.

Unable to achieve recognition at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, Zurich was vulnerable to Catholic pressures. In 1531 the Zurich forces were routed at the Second Battle of Kappel, during which Zwingli was killed. The consequent political resolution that divided Switzerland by confessional allegiance foreshadowed the fate of Europe. In 1555 the Peace of Augsburg ratified confessional divisions with the faith of the ruler. This arrangement was later summarized by the motto *cuius regio, eius religio*, “whose reign, his religion.”

At the time of Zwingli’s death, Geneva had not yet adopted the Reformation and neither had its future reformer John Calvin, who was just completing his legal studies in France. Sometime in 1533–1534, Calvin experienced his so-called “unexpected CONVERSION.” Trained in law and imbued with humanist learning, Calvin echoed Luther’s fundamental understanding of salvation. In his *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*, Calvin described justification by faith in terms of God’s acquittal of the guilty sinner.

In early 1535 Calvin sought refuge in Basel from the intensifying persecution of Protestants in his native France. Here he completed and published the first edition of his *Institutes*, prefaced by a masterful appeal to Francis I for a fair hearing of the evangelical faith. Calvin then settled his affairs in France and set out for the free imperial city of Strasbourg, where he hoped to settle down to a life of evangelical scholarship. Forced to detour through Geneva, Calvin was confronted by his compatriot, Guillaume Farel (1489–1565), who had been preaching reform in Geneva since 1532. Only months before Calvin’s arrival in July 1536, Geneva had finally achieved independence, with the aid of its neighbor Bern, from the Duchy of Savoy and its imposed Episcopal rule. The citizens voted to adopt the Reformation and to expel all clergy who disagreed. Faced by the enormous task of institutionalizing reform in Geneva, Farel made it clear in no uncertain terms to Calvin that God had sent Calvin to Geneva for precisely this task. Furthermore, he told Calvin that to shirk this duty would incur his damnation; thus Calvin stayed!

The reforming colleagues’ emphasis on CHURCH DISCIPLINE and authority soon alienated the Geneva council and many of its citizens. Exiled in 1539, Calvin now finally made it to Strasbourg, where he spent the next years learning about institutional reform and church organization from that city’s reformer, MARTIN BUCER (1491–1551). Here, too, he married. Geneva, now concerned about faltering reform, appealed to Calvin to return. Not without misgivings, but with the promise that he could develop a reformed order for the church, Calvin returned in 1541. Within six weeks of his return, Calvin completed and submitted to the magistrates of Geneva his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*. Soon ratified, the *Ordinances* organized the Genevan church according to four categories of ministry: doctors, pastors, deacons, and elders. The doctors were to maintain doctrinal purity through theological study and instruction. Pastors were responsible for preaching, administering the SACRAMENTS, and admonishing the people. Deacons were responsible for the supervision of poor relief and the hospitals. Elders, laymen, were responsible for maintaining discipline within the community. The institutional organ for church discipline was the CONSISTORY, a kind of ecclesiastical court that included the pastors and elders. The Consistory was a bone of contention through most of Calvin’s

career in Geneva due to its supervision of public morality and its power to excommunicate.

Challenges to Calvin's authority came not just from those who resented what they considered meddling by the Consistory. Two doctrinal debates threatened to unravel the fabric of "the most perfect school of Christ," as Scottish reformer JOHN KNOX called Geneva. The first of these was a sharp public attack on Calvin's doctrine of PREDESTINATION by Jerome Bolsec, who claimed that it was unbiblical. The charge that the Genevan reformers were unclear about a point of Scripture was not a narrow theological challenge, because the reform movement rested on popular confidence in its biblical basis. Calvin's response was to reiterate that PREDESTINATION is an expression of unconditional GRACE: God chooses the sinner, not vice versa. Bolsec himself was banished from Geneva for life.

The second controversy was the trial and execution of MICHAEL SERVETUS (c. 1511–1553) for his denial of the DOCTRINE of the Trinity (see ANTI-TRINITARIANISM). Already notorious throughout Europe for his written attacks on the Trinity, Servetus escaped execution in France (where the Catholics had to be satisfied with burning him in effigy) and ended up in Geneva, where the Protestants did the "honor." From a political perspective, the Genevans were in a bind if they did not try and execute Servetus, because the city had gained a reputation as the haven for heretics, but the operative motive was theological. It was this to which the Genevan schoolmaster exiled by Calvin, SEBASTIAN CAS-TELLIO, responded when he wrote: "To burn a heretic is not to defend a doctrine, but to kill a person." Castellio's 1554 *Concerning Heretics, Whether They Are to be Persecuted* is one of the most well-known early modern pleas for religious toleration.

Calvin's Protestant contemporaries did not view Geneva as a vengeful theocracy; large numbers of religious refugees flocked to Geneva. Thousands of refugees came from nearly every province in France as well as from ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, Holland, ITALY, Spain, GERMANY, POLAND, and Bohemia. When they returned home, they took CALVINISM with them.

The Reformation in France

Once Calvin's leadership was established in Geneva, he and the French exiles living there directed an effective evangelization program toward France. Although French evangelicals were called "HUGUENOTS," these Calvinists preferred the term "Reformed." By 1567, more than 100 pastors sent from Geneva were organizing Reformed congregations patterned on the Geneva church. In 1559 the first national SYNOD of the Reformed church in France met in Paris. Calvin himself provided the first draft of its CONFESSION of faith, the GALLICAN CONFESSION. It was modified at the Synod of La Rochelle in 1571 and continues to inform French Reformed churches to this day.

As in England, the crown played a major role in the course of the Reformation in France. Until the late 1520s, reform-minded humanists and reformers found shelter under Francis I's enthusiasm for Renaissance humanism. But the Gallican tradition of "one king, one law, one faith," plus the crown's considerable power over the church

guaranteed by the Concordat of Bologna (1516), precluded state endorsement of Reformation ideas. By 1516, Francis I had everything that HENRY VIII broke with the church to get. Thus as Reformation ideas began to take root not only in the “middle class,” but also in the nobles of the Bourbon (next in line for the throne after the ruling Valois) and Montmorency houses, the crown began a policy of persecution designed to root out Protestantism.

The resulting civil strife prompted the crown’s call for a public Protestant-Catholic debate. Any hope that the COLLOQUY OF POISSY (1561) would contribute to peace was dashed when THEODORE BEZA (1519–1605), Calvin’s heir apparent in Geneva and leader of the Huguenot delegation, unequivocally rejected transubstantiation in his opening address. To Beza and his colleagues, the Catholic belief that the Mass was the community’s supreme good work of offering and receiving the corporeal Christ was no more than idolatry and rejection of the gospel. The Catholic rage against such blasphemy was not merely a reaction to theological disputation, but also reflected the offenses visited on their faith by a generation of iconoclasts who had desecrated churches and holy objects including the consecrated sacramental bread.

The crown’s effort to overcome the failure at Poissy by an Edict of Toleration (January 1562) lasted barely two months before armed attacks on Huguenot congregations occurred, and the country sank into decades of barbarity fueled by religious hatred. The most infamous event in the French Wars of Religion was the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre (August 24, 1572), when thousands of Huguenots were massacred in a frenzy of state terrorism. A generation later, weary of bloodshed and assassinations, the Protestant Bourbon, Henry of Navarre, became king as Henry IV, converted to Catholicism (“Paris is worth a Mass”), and set forth a policy of limited toleration in the EDICT OF NANTES (1598) that lasted until its revocation by Louis XIV in 1685.

The Reformation in England

Henry VIII, whose drive for a male heir, among other things, prompted his break with Rome, informed the traditional view of the English Reformation as an act of state. Indeed, the top-down imposition of ECCLESIOLOGY continued in his heirs: Protestantism with Edward VI, Catholicism with Mary Tudor, and Protestantism with ELIZABETH I. Yet, without gainsaying the significant roles of the various Tudors, the Reformation in England benefited from a residual Lollard anticlericalism, humanist interest in reform, and Continental Reformation influences spread by young CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY scholars, pamphlets, BIBLE TRANSLATIONS, the return of English students studying in the centers of Switzerland, and then the influx of Protestant refugees fleeing the 1548 AUGSBURG INTERIM imposed by Charles V after his victory over Protestant forces. Later, of course, with the accession of Elizabeth I (1558), the Marian exiles returned from such Protestant centers as Frankfurt and Geneva and began to radicalize reforms in England in the direction of Puritanism.

Translations of the Bible into English were significant means of introducing Reformation ideas. WILLIAM TYNDALE (c. 1494–1536), one of the most influential translators, carried out most of his work in exile on the Continent. His translation of the

New Testament (first printed in 1525) used Luther's translation and included many of the prefaces to Luther's Bible. MILES COVERDALE (1488–1568) assisted Tyndale in translating the Old Testament, and was responsible for the first complete English translation of the Bible (1535). Largely through the influence of THOMAS CROMWELL (c. 1485–1540), Henry VIII's chief minister in state and church, and Archbishop THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556), the king was persuaded to put the Bible in all the churches.

Theological ideas, both home-grown and imported, were not however the source for the English break with Rome, but rather the king's "great matter." Henry's marriage to his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon, arranged to continue the alliance with Spain, necessitated a papal dispensation because Leviticus 18:6–18 prohibited marriages within close relationships. The only child to survive from the marriage was Mary Tudor. Henry wanted a male heir and hoped that Anne Boleyn would do the honors. He appealed to Pope Clement VII for an annulment on the biblical basis that one should not marry a brother's widow (Leviticus 20:21). Henry's demand put Clement in an ecclesiastical and political bind. If he granted an annulment, then he would undermine papal authority by reversing a previous pope's action. The political problem was that Clement was virtually a prisoner of the emperor Charles V (the Sack of Rome, 1527), who as Catherine's nephew was adamantly opposed to Henry's plan to divorce her. Henry's solution, after a very long and convoluted process, was to get satisfaction through the English court. To free himself from papal interference, Henry declared himself and his successors head of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND (Act of Supremacy, 1534). Henry wanted Rome, but not Catholicism, out of his realm. Hence the Act of Six Articles (1539) reaffirmed pre-Reformation ORTHODOXY.

Reformation theology—oriented to the Swiss Reformed—came to the fore during the reign of the child king, Edward VI (1547–1553). Cranmer provided the Prayer Book (1549, revised 1552) and a statement of faith, the Forty-Two Articles (revised to the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES under Elizabeth). The tide was reversed with the accession of the ardent Roman Catholic Mary to the throne (1553–1558). Ironically, her efforts to restore Catholicism strengthened Protestant resolve. Her marriage to Philip of Spain linked her faith to foreign influence; her efforts to restore church properties alienated their present owners; her persecution of Protestants created the host of martyrs celebrated by JOHN FOXE'S martyrology (see ACTS AND MONUMENTS); and through the flight of hundreds of leading Protestants, she exposed English Protestants to Continental theology that they eagerly brought back on her death.

The pendulum of reform swung to the middle with Elizabeth whose long reign (1558–1603) facilitated the establishment of English Protestantism. Elizabeth's *via media* retained traditional VESTMENTS and liturgy now in English with sermon and prayers informed by a Reformed COVENANT theology and normed by the Thirty-Nine Articles. The theology of Eucharist, a perennial focal point of dispute, denied transubstantiation on the one hand and Zwinglian symbolism on the other while remaining open to a range of Lutheran and Calvinist interpretations. The Scriptures were affirmed to be the source and norm of faith, and the Creeds were accepted as expressions of Scripture. As "Supreme Governor" of the church (1559 Act of Supremacy), Elizabeth proceeded to appoint moderate clergy who conformed to her program. Significant support came from such apologists as JOHN JEWEL (1522–1571; *Apology for the Anglican Church*) and

RICHARD HOOKER (c. 1554–1600; *Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*). Elizabeth resolved the challenge from Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, with her French Catholic connection, by executing Mary in 1587, and destroying the Spanish Armada in 1588. The challenge from Calvinists of varying persuasions was a continual bother with “Presbyterians” rejecting Episcopal polity and “Puritans” striving to purify the church of all vestiges of Catholicism (see PURITANISM). Elizabeth charted a course between Catholicism and Calvinism, because the former denied her legitimacy and the latter rejected the episcopacy she believed supported monarchy. To rule the Church of England through her bishops, Elizabeth had to reject the decentralized polity of European Reformed churches and of Scottish PRESBYTERIANISM. Her successor, James I, agreed with his succinct phrase: “No bishop, no king.”

Scandinavia and Eastern Europe

Humanism and Catholic reform movements prepared the ground for the introduction of the Reformation in DENMARK, which at that time included NORWAY, ICELAND, a number of provinces in present-day SWEDEN, and the associated duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, where the Danish king was duke. Lutheran influences were evident in Schleswig already in the early 1520s, and King Christian III (r. 1534–1559) officially established the Lutheran Reformation in Denmark in 1537. The king’s own evangelical commitment may have begun when he saw Luther at the Diet of Worms; he later married a Lutheran; corresponded extensively with Luther, Melancthon, and JOHANNES BUGHENHAGEN (1485–1558) on theological subjects; and provided economic support to the Wittenberg reformers. Christian appointed Luther’s colleague Bugenhagen, known as the “Reformer of the North” for his introduction of the Wittenberg reforms throughout northern German cities and his native Pomerania, to lead the reform of the Danish church. Stationed in Copenhagen from 1537–1539, Bugenhagen led the reorganization of the church, ordaining seven new Lutheran bishops, thus ending apostolic succession, and reforming the University of Copenhagen according to the model of the University of Wittenberg. Influential Danish theologians, such as the bishops Peder Palladius, HANS TAUSEN, and Niels Palladius, were trained at Wittenberg. In 1538 the Augsburg Confession was made the theological foundational document of the Danish church.

Luther’s theology was brought to Sweden and FINLAND by OLAUS PETRI and his brother LAURENTIUS, both of whom had studied in Wittenberg. The Swedish king Gustavus Vasa (r. 1523–1560) established the Reformation there in 1527. One consequence in Finland was the sending of Finnish students to Wittenberg, the most famous of these being MICHAEL AGRICOLA (c. 1510–1557). Agricola is known as the father of written Finnish through his prayer book (1544) and New Testament translation (1548). In Eastern Europe, the Reformation was established in Prussia and Livonia but remained a minority movement in other areas.

Early Modern Catholicism

Well before Luther came on the scene, reform movements found personal expression in corporate devotional movements such as the Beguines and Beghards (twelfth century), the Brethren of the Common Life or *Devotio Moderna* (late fourteenth century), and institutional expression in the conciliar movement (fourteenth century on) that called for reform of the church “in head and members.” By the eve of the Reformation, Catholics, Humanists, and theologians were exploring and translating the Bible, preachers (e.g., Girolamo Savonarola, d. 1498) were endeavoring to instill piety and ethics, and confraternities and oratories provided vehicles for lay spirituality and CHARITY. The continuation of medieval monastic reforming movements may be seen in the person and work of Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), whose interest centered on the promotion of pastoral and mission work rather than the reform of doctrine.

On the other hand, the late medieval papacy’s antipathy toward conciliarism was a major factor in Roman foot-dragging in response to repeated Protestant calls since 1520 for a council to deal with the issues raised by the Reformation. When the council finally began in 1546 in Trent, a generation of strife had hardened positions. By the eve of the Council, various mediating efforts (e.g., Cardinal Contarini and Philipp Melanchthon at the COLLOQUY OF REGENSBURG in 1541) had been rejected by both sides as unacceptable compromises of the “truth.”

The Council of Trent, meeting in three distinct assemblies (1545–1547, 1551–1552, and 1561–1563), focused on both the moral, spiritual, and educational renewal of the Catholic Church and the refutation of Protestantism. The latter goal found expression in the Council’s repudiation of *sola Scriptura* by the elevation of TRADITION to an equal source of revelation; the supplementation of *sola gratia* with human cooperation; and reaffirmation of the seven sacraments and the doctrine of transubstantiation. Papal authority, although not officially established in the modern sense until Vatican I (1870), was reaffirmed at the conclusion of the Council of Trent by the papal bull *Benedictus Deus* that reserved authentic interpretation of conciliar decrees to the pope.

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CARTER LINDBERG

REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

The Reformed Church in America (RCA) is a Protestant denomination with roots in the Reformed Church in THE NETHERLANDS. It is presbyterian in church government (see PRESBYTERY, CHURCH GOVERNMENT) and holds as standards of faith the ecumenical creeds, the BELGIC CONFESSION, the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM, and the CANONS OF DORT. Currently there are 300,000 baptized and confirmed members and 950 churches in the UNITED STATES and CANADA.

Origins

The Reformed Church is the state church of the Netherlands and was shaped by the THEOLOGY and practices of JOHN CALVIN in Geneva in the sixteenth century. In the 1620s the Dutch West India Trading Company established a community in New Amsterdam (Manhattan). People emigrated primarily for economic reasons, but the Classis of Amsterdam wanted to establish a religious presence there. The RCA officially began in April 1628 when the Rev. Jonas Michaelius arrived in Manhattan and held the first communion service. The Dutch settlers had previously attended worship services led by *krankenbezoekers* [visitors of the sick] who held the office of deacon and were authorized to lead WORSHIP and read Dutch sermons.

The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church (RPDC), as it was called until 1867, grew slowly where Dutch immigrants settled in Manhattan, Long Island, New Jersey, along the Hudson River to Albany, and west along the Mohawk River. Worship services were held in Dutch, which meant that few non-Dutch people joined, and that children who spoke

more English than Dutch often left for English-speaking churches. The British took over New Netherlands in 1664 but allowed Dutch churches and CULTURE to continue.

The Classis of Amsterdam supervised the Reformed churches and expected ministers to be trained and ordained in the Netherlands. It assumed the right to make most decisions concerning the colonial churches. New initiatives were rare because letters traveled slowly over the ocean. A rift developed in the eighteenth century between those who wanted to develop an independent American body called a Coetus, and those of the Conferentie group who preferred a minimal structure that would submit most decisions to Amsterdam. The conflict was complicated by the fact that the Coetus advocated contemporary religious practices such as revivalism (see REVIVALS), and the Conferentie opposed such innovations and preferred formal piety and worship. Theodorus Frelinghuysen was a pastor and a controversial advocate of revival in the 1720s and 1730s. He stirred his congregations in central New Jersey to conflict as much as to piety. He also became a strong advocate of the Coetus after two of his sons drowned en route from education and ordination in the Netherlands.

Dutch Reformed congregations also disagreed about the Revolutionary War. Some pastors and clergy emphasized Romans 13 and the need to obey the current government. Others insisted on the need for liberty. Rev. John Henry Livingston helped unite the factions by drafting a new constitution in 1792 that made the RPDC into a DENOMINATION separate from Amsterdam. In 1784 he had been chosen to offer formal theological education at what would become New Brunswick Theological Seminary. The church had already founded Queens (Rutgers) College.

During the nineteenth century the Reformed Church cooperated with other Protestant denominations in missions and benevolent societies. The RPDC became Americanized, although the Dutch influence continued. Because the Reformed Church required such extensive education for CLERGY, it never had enough ministers and did not experience growth on the frontier as did the BAPTISTS and Methodists (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA).

In the Netherlands during the 1830s some pietist Reformed Church members criticized the state church and eventually separated from it. The ensuing conflict as well as poverty sparked a desire to emigrate. Rev. Albertus Van Raalte led a group to Holland, Michigan in 1847 and Rev. Hendrik Scholte led a group to Pella, Iowa. The RPDC gave financial aid to Van Raalte and invited the new Dutch congregations to join the denomination, which they did. As more immigrants arrived during the next few decades a number of them decided that the Reformed Church was too Americanized because it used hymns in addition to Psalms, and permitted Freemasons to be church members (see FREEMASONRY). Schisms in 1857 and 1882 resulted in the formation of the CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH in North America.

The eastern branch of the RCA was larger until the middle of the twentieth century when many congregations lost members because of suburbanization. Dutch immigrants and their children settled in western Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, and northwest Iowa. The RCA formed a college and seminary in Holland, Michigan and two colleges in Iowa. It started a number of new churches in Florida, Colorado, and California. Conflicts occasionally arose because the churches in the East tended to be more ecumenical and Americanized whereas those in the Midwest emphasized piety, purity, and ethnic identity (see ETHNICITY). The RCA considered merger with the Reformed Church in the United

States (German) in 1893, with Northern Presbyterian groups in 1930 and 1949, and with the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) in 1969 (see PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U.S.A.). All failed, largely because of midwestern resistance. The RCA was a founding member of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908, the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1948, and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1950.

The RCA established MISSIONS in CHINA, JAPAN, INDIA, Arabia, MEXICO, and AFRICA. Its most notable missionaries were Samuel Zwemer in Arabia and Dr. Ida Scudder in India. Missions were both evangelistic and institutional, and the RCA helped to build schools and hospitals in the belief that missions should affect the whole person and not simply the soul.

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LYNN JAPINGA

REFORMED THEOLOGY

See Theology

REGENSBURG COLLOQUY

The Regensburg Colloquy of 1541 was a discussion between Protestant and Catholic theologians convened by Emperor Charles V in conjunction with the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles's quest for political and religious unity within the empire matched the theological agendas of moderate theologians on both sides, such as MARTIN BUCER of Strasbourg. At an earlier colloquy at Worms at the end of 1540, Bucer and reform-minded Catholic Johann Gropper of Cologne had drawn up a set of compromise articles, which now served as basis for the Regensburg discussions. Two other major participants in the discussion, Protestant PHILIPP MELANCHTHON and Catholic John Eck, were skeptical of what they saw as the utopian proposals of their colleagues. The imperial chancellor Granvella and other important political figures were

also present at the discussion, whereas behind the scenes stood the papal legate Gasparo Contarini, charged with protecting papal interests but also sympathetic to evangelical doctrine.

After initial rejection of the Worms article on JUSTIFICATION by both Eck and Melancthon, a slightly altered formula found acceptance from both sides. In this theory of “double justification,” inherent righteousness of the individual believer is essential, but initial and final justification both depend on the imputed righteousness of Christ received by FAITH. Further agreement proved elusive, however. The discussion of ECCLESIOLOGY broke down over the question whether councils can err, and a fatal impasse arose over the Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER). Gropper and his Catholic colleague Pflug were ready to compromise, but Contarini insisted on the term “TRANSUBSTANTIATION” to avoid Protestant evasiveness. This marked the effective end of any hope of reunion, though discussion continued on the sacrament of penance. The emperor and Granvella tried unsuccessfully to bring the theologians to a partial agreement, based on the sixteen articles on which agreement had been reached. In July, both the Catholic and Protestant Estates rejected the Regensburg Book as a whole. Even the colloquy’s major achievement, the compromise on justification, did not in the end find favor with either Rome or Wittenberg. Although religious colloquies continued to be held during the 1540s and 1550s, none of them came close to reaching agreement.

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EDWIN TAIT

REIMARUS, HERMANN SAMUEL (1694–1768)

German biblical scholar. Reimarus was born in Hamburg on December 22, 1694, and died there March 3, 1768. He studied philosophy, THEOLOGY, and philology at Jena in 1714 and Wittenberg in 1716, where he completed a postdoctoral thesis and became an outside lecturer in philosophy in 1719. Appointed headmaster at Wismar (1723) and Hamburg (1727), Reimarus was professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at the *Akademisches Gymnasium* of Hamburg. He was strongly influenced by his teacher at Hamburg, who was also his father-in-law, the important classical philologist J.A.Fabircius, who was responsible for Reimarus’s meticulous research methods.

Reimarus also influenced the rather rationalistic philosophy of GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ and CHRISTIAN WOLFF. Reimarus acquired an excellent knowledge in oriental studies, mainly through self-education.

A research trip at the end of his studies led him to Holland and ENGLAND where he first encountered the works of the English Deists (see DEISM) such as MATTHEW TINDAL, JOHN TOLAND, and Thomas Morgan who were critical with regard to the BIBLE and revelation. This explains why Reimarus was, on the one hand, a convinced representative and committed vindicator of the concept of “natural religion” solely based on reason, and why, on the other hand, he became a tough-minded critic of any kind of belief based on revelation (as exemplified in the Old and New Testament Scriptures). Reimarus’s rejection of any kind of revealed religion was not disclosed to the public until his death. Rather, he was known to be an acknowledged thinker and scholar who spoke up for a natural and reasonable religion by emphasizing its fundamental importance with regard to moral behavior and human existence as such.

This conviction is echoed throughout one of his works, entitled *Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion* (The Noblest Truths of Natural Religion) (1791; reprint 1985), first published in 1754 and reprinted several times. To his contemporaries, this study represented an excellent description and successful vindication of all those religious truths that could be accounted for by reason alone. Just two years later, an essay on logic, entitled *Die Vernunftlehre* (The Doctrine of Reason) (1790; reprint 1979) followed. His devout, yet rationally based attitude manifests itself in another work written in 1760 (1798; reprint 1982), which contained several treatises on animal instinct and was clearly dominated by a scientific yet theological discourse that relied heavily on the concept of a divine world order ruled by wise Providence.

Soon after 1735, however, Reimarus secretly drafted the first outline of a work that he would constantly remodel throughout the years that followed and finally leave behind in a state ready for publication. The first rendition was entitled *Gedancken von der Freyheit eines vernünftigen Gottesdienstes*; the final version was *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* (Apology or Defense of the Reasonable Worshipers of God). The entire work—from which Lessing, without disclosing the author’s name, culled certain parts between 1774 and 1778 that were critical of the concept of revelation and published them as “Anonymous Fragments”—went unprinted until 1972! The fact that Reimarus, even at an early age, had already turned his back on the then dominant, explicitly theological methods of biblical exegesis and hermeneutics has been verified by Peter Stemmer in his study.

In his *Apologie* Reimarus now took radical logical steps. His plea to practice a “Toleration of the Deists”—thus the title of the first fragment published by Lessing in 1774 and taken from an early rendition of *Apologie*—is connected to a devastating historical critique of the foundational testimonies of both JUDAISM and Christianity: on the one hand, the narrative of the Exodus, especially of “The Israelites’ [miraculous] procession through the Red Sea”; and on the other, the narratives concerning the resurrection of Jesus crucified. By means of intricate meticulousness and expert historical criticism, Reimarus deconstructed these biblical testimonies and shattered their credibility. Especially in *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger*—the last of the fragments that Lessing ascribed to the “Anonymous Author of Wolfenbüttel” (it was not until 1814 that Reimarus’s authorship was publicized)—the Christian creed was

interpreted as a cunning deception and intentional web of lies on the disciples' part. This work may be considered a prelude to the research on the life of Jesus (see JESUS, LIVES OF) that dominated the nineteenth century.

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ARNO SCHILSON

REINDORF, CARL CHRISTIAN (1834–1917)

Ghanaian clergy. Reindorf was a first-generation Ghanaian Protestant pastor and historian who worked for the BASEL MISSION in the Gold Coast (now Ghana). His parents were traders from Accra, Ghana who had a Danish background. He was a product of the Basel Mission school at Christiansborg, Osu, and Abokobi (after 1854). He became a teacher, church organizer, and a pastor under the auspices of the Basel Mission church in Ghana. The training that Reindorf received from the Mission, which emphasized the use of the mother tongue in mission work, as well as the influence of his colleague J.G.Christaller, enabled him to publish the important book *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante* originally in Ga language and later translated into English by the author and published in SWITZERLAND. This book has been acknowledged as ground breaking for the use of oral history; Reindorf interviewed more than 200 people in writing his work. This achievement made Reindorf the first African to publish a remarkably substantial and systematic history that conforms to standard Western academic tradition. His experience with the Basel Mission's characteristic style of integrated mission helped him to see Christian mission as holistic, involving such aspects as church organizing, language learning, EDUCATION, industrial training, and agriculture.

Reindorf was a man of varied achievements; his peers described him as “very gifted,” and he was respected for his deep spirituality, particularly his gift of healing. He was able to assert himself as an independent thinker even if he had to differ from the Mission whenever the need arose. Reindorf’s students displayed self-confidence and clear self-consciousness as African Christians who saw it as their task to contribute to the religion and intellectual tradition of their society.

See also Africa; Missions; Missionary Organizations

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CEPHAS N.OMENYO

REMONSTRANTS

After theologian JACOBUS ARMINIUS died in 1609, the defense of his views against misrepresentations by professors Sibbrandus Lubertus and FRANZ GOMAR was taken up by Johannes Uytenbogaert. With the support of forty-four Arminian CLERGY (see ARMINIANISM) of the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, and after consultation with Holland’s official chief legal advisor Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, in 1610 Uytenbogaert presented a “Remonstrance” to the States of Holland and West Friesland (the provincial parliament) to obtain continued protective toleration within the Reformed Church for the Arminian theological position, which was summarized in five points contained in the document. A reply by anti-Arminian opponents—called the “Contra-Remonstrance”—followed at the Hague Conference in 1611. The two parties in the ongoing conflict between the Arminians and the adherents of Gomar’s rigid interpretation of THEODORE BEZA’S reduction of CALVINISM thus acquired their names. Eventually, the Arminian clergy and their followers would be known as the Remonstrant Brotherhood, forming a separate DENOMINATION that continues to exist.

Enjoying the support of factions of Holland’s urban leaders, the Arminians requested a national synod that was expected to supervise and adjudicate the theological dispute. The Arminians also suggested that the BELGIC CONFESSIO and the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM should be subjected to biblical critique and, where necessary, modified.

Such a synod was opposed by the GOMARIANS, who wanted the authority of the government subordinate to that of the clergy and who attributed the binding AUTHORITY of Scriptural revelation to the Confession and Catechism. The jurist Hugo Grotius went to ENGLAND to explain the controversy from an Arminian point of view. Contra-Remonstrants, however, spread rumors that Remonstrants were more than sympathetic to SOCINIANISM. Despite the Arminian agreement with the principles by which a king could properly be superior to the bishops, the rumors reached King James I of England who intervened against the appointment of Conrad Vorstius, nominated to be successor to Arminius, ultimately preventing him from taking up his duties in Leiden. The traditional balance in Leiden's theology faculty was restored when the Arminian Simon Episcopius was appointed professor in 1612, as successor to Gomar. Episcopius continued the public disputes with the Gomarian Johannes Polyander.

In 1618 Prince Maurits, hired by the States General to lead the army in the war against Spain, used military force to eject Arminians from city governments throughout the country, replacing them with Gomarians willing to support his coup, and maneuvering himself into a position of control over his former employer, Parliament. This coup ensured a return to war with Spain, as desired by many Calvinistic refugees from the southern Low Countries. Military victory might enable them to return. Arminians had been associated with the politics of peace, which would have left boundaries as they were when the war was interrupted by the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Arminian politics represented a logical outcome of their view of the role of choice in personal acceptance of the means of GRACE. (If choice were involved, Catholics might be converted through peaceful contact and education, best furthered by expanded trade.) Van Oldenbarnevelt was tried on trumped-up charges of treason and executed. Rombout Hoogerbeets, Hugo Grotius, and others were sentenced to life imprisonment. Uytenbogaert fled to Antwerp. Remonstrant ministers were removed from their duties. Assured of dominance, the Gomarians then called for a national synod, the Synod of Dordrecht (Dort), to which foreign observers from other Reformed countries including England were invited. The Remonstrant clergy were summoned to appear and were treated as if accused before an ecclesiastical court, which in 1619 found them guilty of HERESY. They were dismissed from the Reformed Church and banished. Laws suppressing DISSENT were passed by Parliament, marking the end to Holland's famed TOLERATION.

Exile and Return

In exile the Remonstrant clergy immediately organized their brotherhood, secretly sending pastors on brief visits to care for Arminian congregations that continued to exist despite persecution. The most famous was Passchier de Fyne who often narrowly escaped capture, even preaching while on ice skates. Some congregations lacking pastors formed collegial meetings. The meeting at Warmond later moved to nearby Rijnsburg, where people who attended were known as the Rijnsburger Collegiants. Spinoza and other thinkers were attracted to the undogmatic and egalitarian gatherings in which all were allowed to "prophesy."

After the death of Prince Maurits in 1625, his brother Frederik Hendrik succeeded him. Toleration was revived and exiled Remonstrants returned. The Remonstrant

Seminary was established in Amsterdam in 1634; Episcopius became its first professor, well known for his *Institutiones Theologicae*. He continued Erasmus's philological emphasis in exegesis. This approach was to be a characteristic of Remonstrant biblical study, seen also in the works of Grotius and C.P. Tiele (nineteenth century). After Episcopius's death (1643), Etienne de Courcelles (Steven Curcellaeus) became the Remonstrant professor. A friend and translator of Descartes, Curcellaeus developed further Episcopius's tendency to emphasize the role of reason in assessing revelation. From 1668 to 1712 the Remonstrant professor was Philippus van Limborch. His friendship and influence among the CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS is well known. From a Remonstrant perspective, Van Limborch championed toleration in various writings. He was author of a widely read study of the Inquisition, *Historia Inquisitionis cui subjungitur Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosonae ab anno Christi 1307 ad annum 1323*. This was based on a manuscript made available to Van Limborch by his Rotterdam friend, the Quaker Benjamin Furly (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). Through this contact Van Limborch's ideas must have reached WILLIAM PENN, a guest of Furly's. Both Van Limborch and Furly were friends and hosts of JOHN LOCKE during his exile in Holland. Locke acknowledged Van Limborch's influence on his ideas on religious toleration. Van Limborch's involvement in the liberal Mennonite Galenus Abraham de Haan's projects to coordinate relief, both material and diplomatic, to MENNONITES persecuted in SWITZERLAND and the Palatinate is indicated by Van Limborch's inclusion of a letter (February 14, 1660) from the city of Rotterdam to the city of Bern. This letter, arguing for toleration of Protestant dissenters, appears in Van Limborch's monumental third edition (1704) of collected letters of contemporary theologians *Praestantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolae Ecclesiasticae et Theologicae* (by Uytenbogaert, Vorstius, Vossius, Grotius, Episcopius, Barlaeus, et al.). Van Limborch's theological works, translated as *Christian Theology*, became a standard text for the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Similar to Van Limborch's publication of source materials contributing to a history beyond the official Reformed point of view (or contrary Catholic versions) was Gerard Brandt's four-volume *History of the Reformation*, also published in English. Brandt supported his narrative, which demonstrated that the Remonstrants represented the continuation of a broadly tolerant stream that had existed from the beginnings of the Dutch Reformation, with numerous original documents published in extenso. This dominated English views of the Dutch Revolt until the works of John Motley in the nineteenth century.

Later Developments

During the eighteenth century, Remonstrants were significant in ENLIGHTENMENT societies for social improvement, natural science research, contemporary literature, and drama. At mid-century, Remonstrant theologian Cornelis Nozeman, also an important ornithologist, was one of the last who needed to write against Dutch Reformed antagonists, in defense of toleration. Toleration was becoming a generally accepted enlightened social virtue. When the Dutch Reformed Church lost its privileged status in 1795, Remonstrants participated in the new democratic government of the Batavian

Republic. Membership dwindled, however, and the organization contemplated abolishing its seminary under the influence of rationalism. In the nineteenth-century romantic reaction, the oratory of preacher and professor Abraham des Amorie van der Hoeven attracted new converts. His students Martinus Cohen Stuart and Johannes Tideman were notable for abolitionist activity and historical research, respectively. Tideman, professor from 1855 to 1872, applied the modern historical research methods of the period to a study of the origins of the Remonstrant Brotherhood *De Stichting der Remonstranse Broederschap, 1619–1634*. Tide-man was succeeded by C.P.Tiele, who oversaw the move of the seminary to Leiden. Tiele was not only Remonstrant professor; he also became the first Dutch professor of comparative religion. His broad comparative and contextual approach was augmented by association with the Dutch Reformed professor Abraham Kuenen, a pioneer in the application of historical criticism to Old Testament studies. The Remonstrants, having been associated with the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, became adherents of nineteenth-century MODERNISM, the combination of historical, contextual study of the BIBLE and religion generally, with a belief in scientific progress.

WOMEN were welcomed into the Remonstrant clergy in 1921, having been allowed to preach since 1915 (see WOMEN CLERGY). Also in 1921 Professor G.J.Heering reconceived the task of the CHURCH in his paper “The Church as Social Conscience.” Like many others reacting to the scientific progress embodied in the First World War, he wanted to move the church beyond late romantic INDIVIDUALISM with its characteristic emphasis on personal experience. Typically, the Remonstrant Brotherhood continued to debate the question of whether the church should be society’s conscience for the next sixty years and longer, without arriving at any conclusion for fear of infringing on its principle of not allowing dogma to become binding on individual conscience. After the Second World War, the Remonstrant Brotherhood, despite steadily decreasing membership, reached out to ever-expanding international contacts through the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and With CONGREGATIONALISTS and UNITARIANS. Church leaders including Professors H.J.Heering and G.J.Hoenderdaal developed an emphasis on church and secular social and moral issues such as nuclear disarmament and ethical aid to developing countries, as well as the concern for liturgical art in contemporary society.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Remonstrants were experiencing declining membership (c. 7,000) in a society that has adopted many of its principles of toleration. Although Arminian emphasis on personal responsibility underlay support for ending SLAVERY in the nineteenth century (a condition that could be justified as part of God’s predestined plan), in the twentieth century Arminian responsibility was a basis for involvement with existentialist philosophy. However, Dutch society was largely secular, with secularized Calvinist PREDESTINATION theory justifying the Dutch status quo. The selection of government officials predominantly by co-optation leads to general apathy.

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JEREMY DUPERTUIS BANGS

RESTITUTION, EDICT OF

Issued by the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II in March 1629 the Edict of Restitution sought to reestablish the religious and territorial settlement achieved by the Peace of Augsburg some seventy-five years earlier in 1555. The declaration came after the opening decade of bitter fighting in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Bolstered by a series of military and diplomatic gains, the Catholic imperial government saw an opportunity to fortify Catholicism and weaken significantly the Protestant position. The Edict aimed at a general realignment of the religious and political balance in the German world. The specific goal was the return of church lands that Protestants, principally Lutherans, had seized from Catholics during the preceding three-quarters of a century. The Edict also meant to strengthen the political position of Catholic ecclesiastical princes and bar the practice of CALVINISM, whose followers were a growing presence within the empire. Yet the measure was difficult to enforce and provoked considerable opposition. Accordingly the emperor was obliged to suspend the Edict by 1635 and eventually abandoned the initiative completely.

Ferdinand initially claimed to be doing no more than reinstating the status quo of 1555 and insisting on proper observance of imperial law. Protestants had illegally usurped, according to the emperor's interpretation, land belonging to Catholic archbishoprics, bishoprics, monasteries, and endowments. The property, which these Catholic entities had possessed as of the Treaty of Passau of 1552, the moment stipulated by the Peace of Augsburg, must be returned to them. In addition prelates who had left the Catholic Church could not continue to hold imperial church lands. Finally ecclesiastical rulers would have the same rights as secular princes in compelling confessional uniformity among their subjects. As imperial commissioners set out to enforce the Edict, it quickly became the most contentious political issue in Germany.

The decree caused enormous disruption, especially in northern and central Germany. Implementation meant adjustment of borders and threatened Protestant princes who had prospered from the confiscation of ecclesiastical possessions. A number of bishoprics and

perhaps 500 former monasteries or similar church properties were affected. The duke of Württemberg stood to lose land that had once belonged to fourteen large monasteries and thirty-six convents. The duke of Wolfenbüttel, to take another example, held considerable property from the bishopric of Hildesheim as well as from thirteen former convents. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony were also decidedly ill-disposed toward the new arrangement. Although both governments had secularized ecclesiastical assets long before 1552, they feared that their position might nonetheless be jeopardized by the Catholics' uncompromising stand and the possibility of additional legislation. Experiences elsewhere, particularly in the cities, suggested that imperial commissioners were exceeding the terms of the Edict and reclaiming church lands confiscated by Lutherans before the Peace of Augsburg.

The free imperial cities were understandably alarmed. Many found themselves required to return properties secularized before 1552. More serious was the situation for cities that had been Catholic at the time of the Augsburg settlement. By the seventeenth century some had, at best, a handful of Catholics within their walls. Lutheran Magdeburg, for instance, had technically been Catholic in 1552. By 1628 Catholics numbered no more than a few hundred of the city's 30,000 inhabitants. One small monastery remained in Catholic hands, whereas the city government had confiscated the cathedral and other churches. Dortmund had only thirty Catholics and all the churches were Protestant.

If, furthermore, the Peace of Augsburg's principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio* (roughly, "he who rules, his is the religion") and the right of the territorial princes to impose religious uniformity on their subjects were maintained, and expanded to include ecclesiastical principalities, Protestants residing in lands restored to Catholic authorities would soon find themselves forced to conform or emigrate. In short the Edict of Restitution menaced property rights that dated to mid-sixteenth century, and earlier in some cases. Furthermore, it meant the reduction of political and social clout among the Protestant feudal nobles and urban burghers. The Edict caused unease even among some Catholics. The elector Maximilian of Bavaria, who had his own political aspirations, had reservations regarding the increase in land and power that the Edict promised the imperial Habsburg family.

In all of this the commissioners and other officials executed the Edict in heavy-handed and unpleasant fashion. The emperor stood ready to deploy soldiers toward installation of a Catholic bishop at the Lutheran town of Magdeburg. Even Augsburg, long a Lutheran stronghold and, equally important, a free imperial city with a time-honored tradition of municipal self-governance, to include religious affairs with the arrival of the REFORMATION, was obliged to submit to Ferdinand's will. It was situated in the center of a Catholic bishopric and had been officially Catholic in 1552. Thus Lutheran worship was forbidden, the pastors were expelled, and thousands of Protestant towns-people sought refuge elsewhere.

Ultimately Swedish entrance into the war with a formidable army under the command of King Gus-TAVUS ADOLPHUS altered the dynamics of the conflict and frustrated the emperor's plans. To meet the new challenge Ferdinand needed broad military and political support. Although papal diplomats and William Lamormaini, the emperor's Jesuit confessor, opposed any compromise on the Edict, Ferdinand had little choice. In 1635 imperial officials suspended enforcement and by the 1640s, in the negotiations leading to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, abrogated the Edict. The entire project was,

in retrospect, ill-fated. Apart from obvious military and political obstacles, confessional identity among Protestants had set deep roots and was not amenable to the facile transformations implicit in the Edict. The endeavor to return church lands and, more broadly, recatholicize Protestant regions proved impossible.

See also Adolphus, Gustavus; Calvinism; Lutheranism, Germany; Reformation

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RAYMOND A. MENTZER

RESTORATIONISM

Restorationism is an often overlooked and yet foundational concept in the religious world. Synonymous with primitivism, restorationism as manifested in BIBLE-based movements seeks to restore in present society a perceived ideal based on biblical times. Restorationism assumes a departure from the original ideal; therefore, the original must be brought about anew. This is different from a reformation, which seeks to change or reform an institution already present. For restorationists, the original is no longer present; therefore, the need to restore, to bring it into being again. Because of this aspect restorationists usually consider themselves out of step with classical Protestantism. Nevertheless traces of restorationism can be found throughout Protestantism as well.

Restorationism has been a motivating concept throughout the centuries in many Bible-related movements that appear quite different from each other. Under the broad category designated “Christianity,” the initial impulse of restorationism manifested between differing bodies may not be immediately obvious. For Mormons, restorationism seeks to restore the office and AUTHORITY of the original apostles. For Pentecostal and Holiness traditions, restorationism seeks to restore the New Testament gifts and power of the Holy Spirit. For Anabaptists, restorationism appears as a focus on New Testament lifestyle and piety. For Churches of Christ, restorationism seeks to recreate the apostolic pattern of New Testament church organization and member initiation. These, and other differences, come about as each group focuses on one aspect or another in need of restoration. Yet the central defining characteristic throughout these differing expressions of restorationism judges the present times by standards of the past and not vice versa.

Restorationism can be further defined and clarified as it is seen in contrast with FUNDAMENTALISM. These two systems of belief in particular have many similarities; yet there are major differences that must not be confused or overlooked. Fundamentalism

seeks to remake the political and social world according to a combination of origins, traditions, and present-day CULTURE. Restorationism seeks to remake the personal and communal world strictly from origins. Fundamentalism is present and future oriented, whereas restorationism re-creates the past in the present. Changes from the original are often perceived as developments by fundamentalists and departures by restorationists. One may say that fundamentalism is preoccupied with modernity, or MODERNISM, and as such uses current means—for example, social and political structures—to create society according to its own design. Restorationism sees modernity as a hindrance, or at best as offering no help. Yet both in a sense are seeking to change society, one by working directly on society, and the other by changing individuals who will then make up the society that is changed. Ultimately restorationism seeks to recover an accurate perception of the “original” and use that model to restore a foundational, primeval ideal.

See also Anabaptism; Christian Churches, Churches of Christ; Holiness Movement; Mormonism; Pentecostalism

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DAVID L.LITTLE

RÉVEIL

The word *réveil* (awakening) is used to describe a French-speaking evangelical movement that began in SWITZERLAND in the early nineteenth century. With Pietist and Moravian roots, but also significantly influenced by British Evangelicals like Thomas Erskine and Robert Haldane, those identified with the *réveil* rejected much of the rationalism of the ENLIGHTENMENT and embraced many of the attitudes of the romantic movement. In their emphasis on spiritual experience (particularly that of CONVERSION) and a recovery of REFORMATION dogma they were reverting to the Augustinian worldview to which the Enlightenment had taken exception.

In the aftermath of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, the Genevan Church had effectively muted any public expression of distinctively Protestant dogma, preferring a conservative system of morality that shunned any sort of “enthusiasm.” Although many of the early protagonists of the *réveil* were not separatists by choice, they found themselves effectively silenced or excluded by the Genevan establishment. Candidates for the ministry like Henri Louis Empaytaz, Henri Pyt, and Émile Guers established the *petite église* at Bourg-de-Four in 1817, and although some ordained ministers, who were sympathetic to the *réveil*, retained their positions, others like Ami Bost and the Rochat brothers in the canton of Vaud chose to secede. Another such seceder was Henri

Abraham César Malan whose *Église du Témoignage* in Geneva attracted a considerable following. A typical product of the Swiss movement was the missionary Samuel Gobat, who later became the second Anglican bishop of Jerusalem.

When in 1830 ministers like Louis Gaussen and JEAN HENRI MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ established the *Société Évangélique* (with its services at the Oratoire and its *École de Théologie*) the "neo-Protestant" ecclesiastical authorities suspended them from the ministry. The continuing reluctance of the establishment to accommodate the *réveil* (which was stigmatized as foreign, fanatic, and exclusive), and the hostility of radical politicians led others who were associated with the movement, like Alexandre Vinet, to advocate more strongly the separation of CHURCH AND STATE. With the political upheavals of the 1840s, the *réveil*, encouraged by the example of Scottish secessionists in 1843, found institutional expression in the *Églises Évangéliques Libres* in Geneva and Vaud.

The response among French Protestants to the *réveil* varied. Thanks to the enthusiasm of JOHANN FRIEDRICH OBERLIN, the respected pastor from Alsace, many Protestants in the Midi welcomed the establishment of Bible and Tract Societies (see BIBLE SOCIETIES). In several parishes the consistories (see CONSISTORY) were prepared to cooperate and harness the enthusiasm and dedication of evangelists like Félix Neff and of pastors like Frédéric and Adolphe Monod, although elsewhere there was opposition to the perceived separatist tendencies of the movement. In the seminary at Montauban there were a number of sympathetic professors, and the activities of the English Methodist missionary Charles Cook gave the *réveil* further impetus. In Paris the movement gained support both among Lutherans and in the Reformed Church and for a while the *réveil* was associated with the salons of Madame de Stael's daughter, the Duchesse de Broglie, whose husband was a minister in the government from 1830. Indeed in the early 1840s when the Protestant François Guizot was the effective head of the government, a wave of optimism characterized the outlook of many supporters of the *réveil* in FRANCE. By 1850, however, the exclusive tendencies latent in the movement, aggravated by the extreme position taken by separatists like Comte Agénor de Gasparin and Frédéric Monod, led to a break with the traditional Protestant churches and the establishment of the *Églises libres françaises*.

The *réveil* must not be treated in isolation from the flowering evangelical movement in English-speaking countries or its contemporary counterpart, the German *Erweckung* associated with the BASEL MISSION (founded in 1815) and with men like FRIEDRICH AUGUST THOLUCK OF HALLE. There was an international dimension to nineteenth-century EVANGELICALISM and part of the strength of the *réveil* lay in its links with the wider movement.

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TIMOTHY C.F.STUNT

REVIVALS

Religious revivals are periods of religious fervor characterized by repentance among Christians and numerous conversions. MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN laid the groundwork for revivals by teaching JUSTIFICATION by FAITH and by calling for ongoing reform in the CHURCH. By the seventeenth century many Christians believed that the REFORMATION had bogged down in formalism, doctrinal disputes, and political controversy. In response, Lutheran Pietists such as PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER and AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE promoted individual CONVERSION, Bible study, and social reform. One of Francke's students, Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF, organized refugees from Moravia into a Pietist Christian community (see PIETISM). Traveling bands of Moravians spread the doctrine and experience of conversion throughout Europe and America (see MORAVIAN CHURCH).

Meanwhile English-speaking Calvinists increasingly called for a pure church of converted "saints." Like the Pietists, these Puritans gathered the most fervent believers into household religious meetings (see PURITANISM). They preached against the evils in church and society and called for a "revival of religion." In SCOTLAND, Calvinist clergymen held outdoor communion festivals that drew hundreds of participants and produced numerous conversions.

These religious precedents combined with cultural changes like the industrial revolution, the expansion of international trade, and the ENLIGHTENMENT to produce the full flowering of revivals in the eighteenth century. Revivals proved to be a popular alternative to the economic insecurity, vice, and rationalism of the era. Taking advantage of new methods of communication and transportation, an international network of Calvinists, Methodists, and Pietists spread the stories, beliefs, and methods of revival (see CALVINISM; METHODISM). With the encouragement of Moravian missionaries, Anglican clergyman JOHN WESLEY experienced his own "new birth" in 1738. He preached revival to the common people of ENGLAND and formed them into Methodist religious societies. Other revival participants like CHARLES WESLEY, John Newton, and ISAAC WATTS wrote HYMNS that transformed Protestant WORSHIP in this era. In the American colonies a dramatic period of revival, later called the First Great AWAKENING, began around 1720. The high point came in 1740 when English Calvinist GEORGE WHITEFIELD toured the colonies and preached to massive crowds. Congregationalist minister JONATHAN EDWARDS provided a key theological defense of the movement.

Later Revivals

Beginning at the turn of the nineteenth century a new wave of revivals called the Second Great Awakening transformed the UNITED STATES. On the frontier Americans gathered for religious CAMP MEETINGS. One of the most famous of these took place at an 1801 communion festival in Cane Ridge, Kentucky. Thousands of participants experienced conversion and many displayed behaviors like fits of shouting, muscle jerks, and falling. Culturally marginalized individuals like slaves, WOMEN, and children spontaneously preached to the crowds. This camp meeting tradition heightened the emotional element in revivals and revealed their democratizing potential.

Similar frontier and urban revivals between 1800 and 1850 contributed to the dramatic growth of the Methodist and Baptist denominations in America and led to the founding of numerous new denominations and sects. This period also saw the large-scale Christianization of the African American population. Slaves and free blacks created their own version of revivalism that emphasized the liberating power of the Christian message.

Presbyterian clergyman CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY aroused controversy with the use of “new measures” in his revival meetings in upstate New York in the 1830s. Finney allowed women to pray in mixed gatherings, called on sinners by name to repent, and called seekers forward to sit on the “anxious bench.” Finney also taught Arminian and holiness doctrines (see ARMINIANISM; HOLINESS MOVEMENT) and claimed that a revival was “not a miracle” but the result of correct application of God’s appointed means. Converts in these revivals led campaigns against alcohol, slavery, PROSTITUTION, and other vices. They established MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS, homes for the poor, hospitals, and colleges. This period of revivalism came to a close with the 1857–1858 Businessmen’s Revival.

In the 1880s DWIGHT L. MOODY and his musical partner IRA SANKEY led revival meetings in Britain and North America. This era saw the publication of numerous new “gospel songs,” which functioned as the music of revivalism for the next seventy-five years. These revivals also produced social service agencies like WILLIAM BOOTH’S SALVATION ARMY in England and rescue missions in American cities. Others converted through organizations like the Student Volunteer Movement and the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE devoted themselves to foreign MISSIONS.

Contemporary Expressions

The twentieth century saw the globalization of revivals. Word of the Welsh revival of 1903–1904 spread throughout the world, sparking revivals in KOREA, CHINA, SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, Scandinavia, and the United States. Participants in the Welsh revival influenced the Pentecostal revival of 1906–1909 that spread around the world from its center in the AZUSA STREET MISSION in Los Angeles. The East African Revival of 1933–1935 spread to Rwanda (formerly Ruanda), Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Burundi under the leadership of Simeoni Nsibambi and Blasio Kigozi. Between 1965 and 1970 massive revivals broke out in INDONESIA. In LATIN AMERICA, evangelical and Pentecostal revivals doubled the number of Protestants between 1970 and 1990.

Indigenous leadership increasingly characterized revivals in AFRICA, Asia, and Latin America.

Beginning with his highly publicized Los Angeles Crusade of 1949, BILLY GRAHAM became an international leader in EVANGELISM and revival. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Jesus People movement combined the hippie youth culture with revival (see JESUS MOVEMENT). At the same time the charismatic movement brought the Pentecostal experiences of Holy Spirit baptism, healing, and speaking in TONGUES to millions of Protestants and Roman Catholics around the world. The resulting revivals of the 1970s led to the widespread acceptance of praise choruses and more exuberant styles of worship.

Influences

Although the causes and impact of revivals have been much disputed, several patterns have emerged. First, revivals have produced both renewal and schism in the Christian churches. Second, social and economic instability enhance receptivity to revivals, and help explain their appeal among the middle and lower rungs of society. Third, revival converts often establish educational, social service, and missionary organizations that transform society. Fourth, revivals have significant yet complex political consequences. Finally, although key innovations took place in North America, revivals have most often been international in origin and scope.

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THOMAS E. BERGLER

RICHARDSON, HENRY HOBSON (1838–1886)

American architect. Born in Louisiana of well-to-do parents, Richardson was educated at Harvard and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He returned to the United States in 1865, practicing first in New York before relocating his office and family to Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1874, where he remained until his death.

Although Richardson's work was predominantly secular, institutional, and domestic, his Trinity Church in Boston remains an outstanding contribution to nine-teenth-century Protestant architecture. Completed in 1878, following three earlier, more conventional, churches (also in Massachusetts), it immediately established Richardson as an architect of exceptional power and sophistication. The exterior is essentially southern French Romanesque (a style admired by Richardson), while the tower draws freely upon Salamanca's former cathedral. The overall effect is not eclectic pastiche, but, with its pervasive rockfaced cladding, is of genuine monumentality. The large, cruciform interior consciously fuses Romanesque liturgical space (with comprehensive polychrome decoration) with both the historic "auditorium" tradition of New England Protestantism and the famed oratorical skills of Trinity's first incumbent, PHILLIPS BROOKS. Richardson's other potential masterpiece—his 1883 competition design for an Episcopal cathedral at Albany, New York, again in the Romanesque style—was, unfortunately, deemed too complex and expensive to secure the commission.

In retrospect, it is clear that both Richardson's religious outlook and his architecture were shaped by his Unitarian roots (his mother was the granddaughter of chemist JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, 1733–1804), his membership of Boston's Unitarian elite, and the normative transcendentalism of his own professional and social circle. If Ruskin's strong impact ("all art must be based on truth"), and the architect's own formative encounters with the Romanesque are also taken into account, then what one contemporary called Richardson's "power to appreciate the value both of ancient forms consecrated by persisting sentiment and of practical modern needs, and to put one without violence to the service of the other" becomes both convincing and self-evident.

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GRAHAM A.K.HOWES

RICHER, EDMOND (1559–1631)

French political theorist. Richer was born September 15, 1559 at Chesley, near Chaours, FRANCE and died November 29, 1631 at Paris. A student at the College du Cardinal Lemoine in the University of Paris and at the Sorbonne, he received the doctorate in THEOLOGY around 1592, became (1595) grand master and principal of the College du Cardinal Lemoine, and then syndic of the Parisian theology faculty. That position he held until 1612 when he was forced out of office by the hostility of the papal nuncio the cardinal du Perron to the views expressed in his celebrated *Libellus de ecclesiastica et politica potestate* (1611). Having in earlier years been a supporter of the Catholic Ligue and an admirer of Cardinal Bellarmine's high papalist views, he later rallied to the cause of Henri IV and emerged as a proponent both of the divine right of the French monarchy and of Gallican views.

While making common cause with the politique Gallicans of the Parlement de Paris, Richer's central aim was to reinvigorate the theological heart of the Gallican tradition by reviving the knowledge of the great conciliarist doctors of Paris and by promulgating, among other things, their advocacy of the jurisdictional subordination of the pope to general council. He realized that aim through an extensive array of editions, treatises, and works of compilation, notably the *Libellus* of 1611, his influential 1606 edition of the works of Jean Gerson (d. 1429), and his reprinting of the conciliarist tracts of Jean de Paris (d. 1306), Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1420), Jacques Almain (d. 1505), and John Mair (d. 1550). Herein—as disseminator to future generations of the old tradition of conciliarist constitutionalism in the church, rather than as the alleged (if shadowy) precursor of far more radical and supposedly heterodox views smacking of what in the eighteenth century was labeled as *richerisme*, *multitudinism*, *presbyterianisme*, and *parochisme*—lies his historical significance.

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FRANCIS OAKLEY

RITSCHL, ALBRECHT BENJAMIN (1822–1889)

German theologian. Ritschl was born in Berlin on March 3, 1822. His father was a Protestant theologian as well as the Pomeranian general superintendent of the Prussian regional church with the title of bishop. After studying in Bonn, HALLE, Heidelberg, and Tübingen, Ritschl received his doctorate and qualified to teach at a university. He became a lecturer in church history in 1864 and later in systematic theology at the University of Bonn. In 1865 he was appointed professor of systematic theology in Göttingen and eventually known as the most important scholar of systematic theology in Protestant GERMANY in the last third of the nineteenth century. He died on March 20, 1889 in Göttingen.

Development of Thought

Ritschl's THEOLOGY takes as its starting point the branch of scholarship known as *Vermittlungstheologie*, or mediating theology. After a short-lived turn toward the speculative theology of Richard Rothe, Ritschl joined the school of thought from Tübingen dominated by FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR. This school combined strict criticism of historical sources with the interpretation of church history formulated by the German philosopher GEORG W.F. HEGEL, which understood history in terms of a dialectically unfolding process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The systematic clarity of this approach impressed Ritschl, but it also caused him to grow less convinced of its treatment of source materials. In the second edition of his study *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche (Origins of the Early Catholic Church, 1857)*, Ritschl broke with Baur. From then on he advocated a more sober positivism based on close readings of texts.

The principal work that made Ritschl well known and famous initiated a turning point in theology when it was published from 1870 to 1874 in three volumes under the title *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung (The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation, 3d edition, 1889, English translation 1966)*. In 1875 an abbreviated synopsis of the larger work was published as *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion (Instruction in the Christian Religion)*. Given the realities of the industrial age and the overwhelming power of SCIENCE and technology, Ritschl wanted to safeguard the irreducibility of the individual and especially the religious experience of the individual.

The theological concept that Ritschl formulated to this end began with the knowledge and experience found in a community of believers, the basis of which is the revelation of God. Ritschl sought to raise what is in the BIBLE to a truth attested to by history. His attempt to support this approach by turning to IMMANUEL KANT'S theory of cognition convinced few, however, and Ritschl's students felt obliged to look for other solutions. By following this path, however, Ritschl could exclude any natural theology.

Ritschl described the love of God as the content of Christian revelation and argued that this love seeks to find a form as the self-revelation of God. SIN hampers movement toward this goal and so must be eliminated, which, according to Ritschl, occurs by doing

the work of Christ. Although Ritschl uses common theological terminology, his approach does not refer to traditional CHRISTOLOGY or soteriology. Christ communicates to a community of believers because God is love. They know from this that God forgives sins and confers a state of peace. In this respect Ritschl's theology focuses strictly on Christ, although in doing so, it is a more intellectually sober position that leaves no room for religious emotion. It makes no sense, then, to speak of the Catholic church mediating SALVATION. According to Ritschl the forgiveness of sins and reconciliation with God supply all the information needed to assure a congregation.

This knowledge offers a devout community the possession of a special value. Behind it is the notion that in contrast to the natural sciences, religion concerns not judgments of fact but judgments of value. The value of a religion rests in the extent to which it promotes morality, and the religion of greatest value is the one that enables the greatest morality. That such a statement holds true only for Christianity was a central message in Ritschl's theology.

He demonstrated this contention as follows: Reconciliation with God brings one a freedom understood as independence and detachment from the world. Christ is thus not bound to the laws of rational logic, but stands in spiritual contrast to them. This is precisely the fundamental condition that allows the individual to develop as a moral person.

Concern for the Kingdom

In addition to the notion of individual, subjective growth, Ritschl's theology included a notion of the whole. True morality endures only in service, and for Ritschl this meant that Christ participates in establishing the KINGDOM OF GOD in the world. In this respect, Ritschl broadened the doctrines of JUSTIFICATION and reconciliation to include an ethical imperative.

His theological program, like an ellipsis, had two focal points. Forgiveness of sin and reconciliation with God form one, and the kingdom of God understood as an ethical imperative forms the other. For Ritschl it is essential that ethics have no specific Christian content. What matters most is living up to the demands of the everyday in the place in which one is situated: family, profession, country.

Ritschl insisted on this notion of the Christian's relationship to the world with enormous sobriety and emphasized its distinction from Catholicism and PIETISM. Catholicism falsely identified the kingdom of God with the CHURCH; Pietism divided in a fateful way the kingdom of God from the world. From 1880 to 1886 Ritschl composed a massive three-volume *Geschichte des Pietismus (History of Pietism)*. The work—parts of which are so rich in their use of source materials that no other work has yet surpassed them—sets out to prove that Pietism constituted not a further development of the REFORMATION but an eruption of late-medieval Catholic mysticism into Protestantism.

Assessment

Ritschl's theology had an enormous impact for two reasons. On the one hand Ritschl focused little on fundamental concepts in theology; on the other hand his theology represented not only a cognitive theoretical approach but also a study in positivism—a method that corresponded well to the conscious selfunderstanding of the period. Ritschl conceived and developed a combination of religious transcendence and strict fulfillment of duty that to a great degree met the expectations of the Protestant bourgeoisie in late 19th century Germany.

It was no coincidence that this theology dominated Germany and affected instruction in the schools through World War I. Ritschl influenced not only various representatives of systematic theology—for example, Wilhelm Herrmann, MARTIN RADE, and ERNST TROELTSCH—but also church historians and interpreters such as Julius Wellhausen and ADOLF VON HARNACK.

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

ROBERTS, GRANVILLE ORAL (1918–)

American evangelist. Roberts was born on January 24, 1918, in Pontotoc County, Oklahoma. Reared in the parsonage of a Pentecostal minister (see PENTECOSTALISM) he experienced the hardships of poverty during the Depression era. At age seventeen Roberts collapsed on the basketball court. Diagnosed with tuberculosis he spent five months in convalescence. He claimed complete healing when attending a service conducted by George Moncey. He entered the ministry in 1935, having been ordained by the Pentecostal Holiness Church. For eleven years he pastored churches in Oklahoma. By 1946 he was serving one of his DENOMINATION'S largest churches, teaching classes at Southwest Bible College and taking coursework at Phillips University.

In 1947 he abruptly changed course. Influenced by the recent success of evangelist William Branham, Roberts resigned his pastorate and launched an interdenominational healing and evangelistic ministry (see FAITH HEALING). He set up headquarters in Tulsa, Oklahoma, started a magazine titled *Healing Waters*, published a book, *If You Need Healing, Do These Things*, and began a weekly radio broadcast. He began

crisscrossing the UNITED STATES, holding tent REVIVALS on the outskirts of America's largest cities. Thousands attended every meeting with scores claiming healing in every crusade.

He helped found the FULL GOSPEL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION in 1951. The Association's impact, together with Roberts's ecumenical crusades, laid much of the groundwork for the Charismatic Movement that burst on mainline North American Christianity in the 1970s. With three hundred crusades behind him, he returned to Tulsa to start a university in 1967. Oral Roberts University gained full accreditation within six years and had over 4,000 students at the turn of the century.

Roberts's move to establish a medical school proved to be the most controversial decision of his ministry. The City of Faith Medical and Research Center failed to gain financial solvency, closing within ten years of its 1981 opening.

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D.WILLIAM FAUPEL

ROBERTSON, FREDERICK WILLIAM (1816–1853)

English clergyman. Robertson was born in London on February 3, 1816, and died in Brighton, Sussex, ENGLAND, on August 15, 1853. He received his B.A. in 1840 and his M.A. in 1841, both from Brasenose College, Oxford. After a rather undistinguished six years of ministry Robertson became minister at Trinity Chapel, Brighton, and made Trinity Chapel one of the most famous churches in England by his PREACHING. At Brighton he helped establish the WorkingMan's Institute, which was a library, reading room, and cultural center.

Robertson was a brilliant BIBLE expositor and an outstanding pastoral preacher. Although he believed that Jesus Christ was divine, he stressed his humanity in sermons such as "The Sympathy of Christ," "The Loneliness of Christ," and "The Sinlessness of Christ." He was sympathetic to Christian Socialism as was illustrated in his sermons "The Message of the Church to Men of Wealth" and "Christ's Moral Judgment Respecting Inheritance." Robertson insisted that Christianity is the revelation of the love of God and a demand of our love by God. Christianity is the revelation of forgiveness and a requirement that we should forgive each other.

Robertson was very effective in telling biblical stories. Sermons such as "Jacob's Wrestling," "Triumph Over Hindrances—Zaccheus," and "The Doubt of Thomas" were vivid in detail and undoubtedly captured the hearers' attention. Thus he observed about Thomas: "The faith of Thomas was not merely satisfaction about a fact; it was trust in a person."

See also Christology; Socialism, Christian

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DONALD S. ARMENTROUT

ROBERTSON, PAT (1930–)

American evangelist. Marion Gordon Robertson (known as Pat) was born on March 22, 1930, in Lexington, Virginia, the son of Absalom Willis Robertson and Josephine Ragland Willis. Robertson's father was an attorney who served terms in the Senate of Virginia, the U.S. House of Representatives, and in the U.S. Senate.

Robertson graduated from Washington and Lee University *summa cum laude* and in 1955 received a law degree from Yale University. After a series of disappointing career moves, Robertson underwent a religious conversion, including a tongues-speaking experience, and enrolled in the conservative Biblical Seminary in New York City. After a brief period of ministering in the slums, Robertson purchased a run-down UHF television station in Portsmouth, Virginia, to which he gave the grandiose name "the Christian Broadcasting Network." By the mid-1960s CBN had a solid core of supporters and in 1966 the station began broadcasting a program hosted by Robertson, the "700 Club." That show became one of the longest-running television programs in the history of the industry. Robertson's network was unashamedly religious, although it also promoted a conservative political and economic agenda.

The expansion of CBN was an unbroken success story. In 1979 a newly constructed headquarters building housed two state-of-the-art television studios and recording facilities. A year earlier Robertson unveiled plans to build a graduate university; the opening of Regents University (originally called CBN University) vastly expanded the reach of Robertson's ministry. At the end of the twentieth century Regents was the most prestigious education institution associated with the Pentecostal/charismatic movement. In 1988 CBN took the name "The Family Channel" and the network became one of the nation's leading cable systems. The prosperity of the ministry's television enterprise threatened its tax-exempt status and in 1997 it was sold, producing large endowments for Regents and the ministry.

Robertson was a natural to lead the political awakening of American evangelicals in the 1970s. Well-known to and trusted by the millions of Americans who had embraced the Pentecostal/charismatic movement, he was also equipped by upbringing and education to discuss political and economic issues. He became one of the most visible leaders of the religious right in the last quarter of the twentieth century. In 1988 Robertson entered the primaries as a Republican candidate for the presidency and surprised many by winning the Iowa caucus. After his presidential campaign faltered, he placed his brand on the conservative political agenda by founding the Christian Coalition of America.

Robertson is the author of ten books, several of them best-sellers. His ministry is presently housed on a 700-acre complex in Virginia Beach, Virginia. The elegant Williamsburg-style buildings symbolize the success and patriotism of Pat Robertson. In addition to its educational activities, the ministry has a major presence on television in America and in about fifty other countries, and through Operation Blessing International is one of the largest private relief organizations in America. The ministry's annual budget exceeds \$200 million and CBN employs about one thousand people.

See also Pentecostalism; Evangelicalism; Televangelism

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DAVID EDWIN HARRELL JR.

ROBINSON, HENRY WHEELER (1872–1945)

English biblical scholar. Robinson was an Old Testament scholar, theologian, English Baptist clergyman, historian, and educator. Born in Northampton, ENGLAND, February 7, 1872, he and his mother lived with his mother's uncle. He left school at an early age and worked in the leather business.

He became associated with College Street Baptist Church where he was baptized in 1888. Attracted to the Christian ministry he began attending Regent's Park College in London. A year later he moved to Edinburgh University where he graduated in 1895. He completed his university studies at Mansfield College, Oxford with a concentration in Old Testament studies.

Brief pastorates at Baptist churches in Pitlochry and Coventry led to a call to be a tutor at Rawdon Baptist College. His lectures attracted considerable attention as did his books, in particular *Deuteronomy and Joshua* (1907) and *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (1913).

In 1920 Robinson was appointed principal of Regent's College, a post he held until 1942. His career blossomed with the new responsibilities. He became a member of the London Society for the Study of Religion and a major figure in the Society for Old Testament Study. He participated in the planning and editing of the "The Library of Constructive Theology." He wrote *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit* (1928). He was active in the Baptist Historical Society, serving as president, and he published important books in Baptist history, including *The Life and Faith of the Baptists* (1927).

The great achievement of his career was his role in moving Regent's College from London to Oxford. In Oxford he became a well-known theological lecturer and a reader in biblical criticism. In 1937 he became the chairman of the board of the faculty of theology, the first Free Churchman so honored. Robinson died May 12, 1945.

See also Baptists

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JOHN PIPER

ROBINSON, JOHN ARTHUR THOMAS (1575 OR 1576–1625)

English Separatist and Pilgrim pastor. Robinson was born in Sturton-le-Steeple, Nottinghamshire. He entered Corpus Christi College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, in 1592, was awarded a B. A. in 1596 and an M. A. in 1599; in 1598 he became a fellow of the college but resigned his fellowship in 1604 and married Bridget White. At Cambridge, the CALVINISM of WILLIAM PERKINS (1558–1602) influenced him. Early in 1604 he was appointed curate of St. Andrews, Norwich, although he had already disclosed his Puritan sympathies (see PURITANISM) by denouncing church courts and unlearned ministers; no later than 1606 he was suspended for his dissident views. Robinson joined the Separatist circle of English nonconformist JOHN SMYTH (1554–1612) and affiliated with the Separatist congregation gathered in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, which included William Brewster (1566–1644) and William Bradford (1590–1657), both later leaders of the Plymouth colonists in New England. Troubled by the local ecclesiastical courts, the Scrooby group moved to the NETHERLANDS, settling in Amsterdam in August, 1608, where they chose Robinson their pastor and came in contact with English Separatists led by Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622). By April 1609 they had moved to Leiden.

Robinson's 1610 treatise *A Justification of Separation* proves him by then a Separatist who believed that the CHURCH OF ENGLAND was so corrupt that the godly should no longer remain within it. Identifying with the earlier Separatist tradition of Henry Barrow, he argued that a true visible CHURCH was a disciplined community of gathered SAINTS, covenanted together for mutual edification (see COVENANT). But he modified his Separatism, probably as a result of contact with such non-Separatist Congregationalists as WILLIAM AMES (1576–1633) and Henry Jacob, to the extent of allowing that one could have spiritual fellowship with godly persons within the Church of England and even hear sermons in its parish churches. When Smyth rejected infant BAPTISM, Robinson defended it against him and other Baptists. Robinson also attacked Smyth for denying original SIN, and in 1624 he defended PREDESTINATION against the Baptist John Murton; earlier, in 1613, he had assisted the Dutch Calvinists' assault upon ARMINIANISM by publicly debating Simon Episcopius (1583–1643).

In 1620 part of Robinson's Leiden congregation left for Plymouth in New England, and though he planned eventually to join them, he died before doing so, though his wife and children later settled in New England. His reported exhortation to the departing

Pilgrims that “the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word,” has been taken to indicate the tolerant tenor of his thought, but he remained a committed Separatist and Calvinist.

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DEWEY D. WALLACE, JR.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

See Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

ROMANIA

The modern state of Romania in southeastern Europe emerged after the 1920 Treaty of Trianon at the end of the First World War. The vast majority of those living in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. In Transylvania and counties to the west of the Carpathian mountains, Romanians mostly adhere to EASTERN ORTHODOXY or the Greek Catholic Church. The German and Hungarian communities of Transylvania belong to a range of churches, including the Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian churches. Many German and Hungarian communities in Transylvania have remained faithful to Protestantism since the middle decades of the sixteenth century.

The Reformation in Transylvania

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Transylvania and the lands between the river Tisza and the Carpathians were part of the Hungarian kingdom. In 1526 the armies of Sultan Suleiman “the magnificent” won a decisive victory at the battle of Mohács over the Hungarian king, Louis II. The Ottomans were able to consolidate control over

southern and central HUNGARY during the middle decades of the sixteenth century. The remainder of the medieval Hungarian kingdom was divided in two. To the north and west, the Habsburgs became kings of Royal Hungary, which stretched from the Adriatic coast to the mountains of modern Slovakia. To the east native nobles were elected as princes over Transylvania proper and the Hungarian *Partium* beyond the river Tisza. This Transylvanian principality had a diet of three estates: the Hungarian nobility, the German towns, and Szekler people.

REFORMATION ideas spread first to the German or Saxon towns during the 1540s. Johannes Honter gained acceptance for Lutheran reforms from the urban magistrates of Braşov (Kronstadt), and Braşov's example was quickly followed in other Saxon towns. The fledgling Transylvanian state authorities took advantage of growing support for reform to bring all church property under princely control in 1556. Having bolstered his position, Prince János Zsigmond Zápolyai then accepted the diet's demand for the legal recognition of Protestantism, and in 1557 the Saxon towns received approval for the free practice of LUTHERANISM. Although communication linkages with GERMANY helped establish loyalty to Lutheranism in the German-speaking community, Hungarian speakers were also at first influenced by Lutheran PREACHING.

However, from the late 1550s Hungarian nobles and towns moved to embrace Reformed religion. Debates were held between German and Hungarian clergy over understanding of the SACRAMENTS, and especially the Eucharist, or LORD'S SUPPER. Reformed or Calvinist clergy could not agree with Lutherans that Christ was "really present" in the sacrament, and their statements on DOCTRINE argued that the Eucharist was merely a sign and pledge of SALVATION by faith. In 1564 the diet recognized two Protestant churches in Transylvania, one for Germans and the other for Hungarians. The doctrine of the emerging Reformed Church was clearly established by a CONFESSION drawn up by Péter Méliusz Juhász at Debrecen in 1567, and Reformed clergy also recognized the Second HELVETIC CONFESSION.

Transylvanian Protestantism split again in the 1560s over understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity. FERENC DÁVID led a group of anti-Trinitarian clergy, whose message that "God is one" received some support from prince János Zsigmond Zápolyai. In 1568 the diet met at Turda (Torda) and reached the remarkably tolerant decision to devolve to ministers the responsibility of preaching the word of God "according to their understanding of it." The diet described FAITH as a gift from God that could not be compelled against conscience. Legal status was therefore granted to the Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and anti-Trinitarian (or Unitarian) churches, and ownership of church buildings was decided by the majority in each parish (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION).

By the 1570s the Catholic Church had virtually ceased to exist in many areas. German-speaking towns remained Lutheran, whereas the Reformed and Unitarian churches were dominated by Hungarian speakers. Although a sense of linguistic and ethnic community may have made some contribution to the outcome of the Reformation in this region, the role of the socially privileged elite of nobles and urban magistrates was generally decisive in establishing the form of religion in each locality. The Romanian peasantry in Transylvania remained mostly Orthodox, although attempts were made by both the Lutheran and Reformed churches to stimulate reform, and a Romanian

Reformed Church was established in southwestern Transylvania in the seventeenth century.

Support for ANTI-TRINITARIANISM in Transylvania was badly disrupted by internal divisions. Some anti-Trinitarians moved toward non-adorantism of Christ in the 1570s, despite a 1572 law preventing any further religious innovation. Although outlawed, a minority, so-called Sabbatarian strain of anti-Trinitarianism, which denied the divinity of Christ and adopted Mosaic laws, persisted in eastern Transylvania into the seventeenth century (see SABBATARIANISM). In the 1620s the range of legal religions expanded still further with princely approval for a settlement of Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM).

The Protestant Churches

The Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian churches each adopted a hierarchical form of government, governed by superintendents who were confirmed in their offices by the prince. All the Protestant churches recognized the importance of improving the standards of the CLERGY and made efforts to develop their EDUCATION. Local schools were established in many towns, and in the early seventeenth century a princely academy was established at the capital, Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár). However, because the principality did not have a university of its own, many Protestant student ministers were sent abroad to foreign universities. Saxon Lutherans attended German universities, particularly Wittenberg. Reformed students traveled to Heidelberg university toward the end of the sixteenth century, and later to Dutch universities and to ENGLAND.

Protestant ideas spread throughout Transylvania through preaching and printed literature (see PUBLISHING). Printing presses were established in major towns, producing Protestant creeds, statements of doctrine, sermons, CATECHISMS, school books, and HYMNALS. The first complete translation of the BIBLE into Hungarian was available from 1590 thanks to the work of Gáspár Károlyi, minister at Vizsoly in northeastern Hungary (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). In the early seventeenth century Reformed clergy were inspired by contact with western Calvinist centers, and especially the Dutch Republic and England, to produce practical theological literature for their communities. These so-called Puritan clergy aimed to improve popular piety and moral discipline and also supported the development of presbyteries to enforce higher standards of morality (see PURITANISM). Although the formation of presbyteries received some support, the traditional form of church government by a clergy hierarchy was upheld by a national SYNOD at Satu Mare (Szatmár) in 1646. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Pietist Lutheran clergy also appealed for moral discipline and spiritual renewal (see PIETISM).

From 1568 the legal freedoms of the Protestant churches in the Transylvanian principality were clearly established. However, the Habsburg kings of Royal Hungary sought to restore Catholicism across Hungary and to gain control over Transylvania. Attempts in 1604 by Rudolf II to close down the Lutheran church in Košice (Kassa) in Upper Hungary provided one of the sparks of rebellion against Counter-Reformation in the region. A Reformed noble, István Bocskai, led his forces to victory over Habsburg armies in eastern Hungary. By February 1605 Bocskai had been elected as the first of a

series of Calvinist princes in Transylvania. Under these princes Transylvania remained largely unaffected by the COUNTER-REFORMATION in the seventeenth century. Princes Gábor Bethlen and György I Rákóczi intervened in the Thirty Years' War against the Habsburgs, claiming that they were defending Hungarian constitutional freedoms and Protestant liberties. They supported Protestant nobles in Royal Hungary who complained that church buildings were being seized by Catholics. This period of Transylvanian autonomy under Calvinist princes saw the Reformed Church become in effect the public church of the principality. However, Reformed-dominated Transylvania was gravely weakened by the attempted invasion of POLAND by György II Rákóczi in the late 1650s, with a subsequent loss of territory to the Ottomans.

Protestantism in Habsburg Transylvania

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the Habsburgs extended their territory at the expense of the Ottomans. In 1686 the Transylvanian diet appealed to Leopold I for protection and in 1691 agreed to the Diploma of Leopold I, which brought the principality under Habsburg sovereignty. This Diploma maintained the privileges of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian churches. Although the Habsburg court supported Catholic interests, the Protestant churches retained their legal privileges throughout the eighteenth century. The old political and religious order came under increasing challenge in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the rise in Hungarian and Romanian nationalist politics. The continuing inequalities that Protestants faced in Hungary formed part of their agenda for reform, and the inequalities facing Transylvania's Romanians, both Orthodox and Greek Catholic, formed part of their reform proposals.

Hungarian-speaking Protestants in Transylvania enthusiastically supported the 1848 revolution in Hungary, and the declaration of Hungarian independence in April 1849 took place at the Reformed college chapel in Debrecen, announced by the Lutheran Lajos Kossuth. After the 1848 revolution had been crushed Habsburg rule was restored, but by the 1867 Compromise, Transylvania was returned within the governmental structures of Hungary. In 1881 the Reformed Church held its first national synod at Debrecen, including clergy from Transylvania. This synod was able to lay down the foundations of a national church, with a synod to meet every tenth year to decide on church laws, and a council that represented the church between these synods. The late nineteenth century saw increased educational and publishing activity from all the Protestant churches, and concern for domestic mission from the 1880s in the face of some decline in church numbers.

In 1895 the Hungarian parliament passed a law declaring the free practice of religion. The full benefit of these laws was offered to the traditional churches: Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian, Jewish, and Orthodox. These churches and their schools could all gain state subsidies, their clergy were offered a minimum salary, and their religious teachers were given a state salary. A second category of religions, including a Baptist Church that had emerged in the nineteenth century, enjoyed full legal freedoms but could not claim state subsidies (see BAPTISTS, EUROPE). Finally small tolerated denominations were allowed to function under rights of free association.

Protestantism in Twentieth-Century Romania

After Hungary's defeat in the First World War, Hungarian territory was reduced by two-thirds by the 1920 Trianon peace treaty. Transylvania and parts of eastern Hungary to the west of the Carpathian mountains were brought within the Romanian state. The Hungarian minority complained of mistreatment by the Bucharest government and sought to overturn the terms of the Trianon peace treaty. The churches provided key means of expressing the identity of the ethnic minority communities in Romania. The Lutheran Church had long been closely linked with the German community, and the Reformed, Unitarian, and Catholic churches played a similar role for the Hungarian minority. Militant NATIONALISM increased in the interwar period, and none of the Christian churches had a distinguished role in opposing the rise of fascism and ANTI-SEMITISM in Romania in the 1930s (see JUDAISM). During the Second World War both Romania and Hungary were allied to the fascist powers, partly aiming to secure German support for rival territorial claims. In 1940 Hungary temporarily regained control over northern Transylvania as part of their agreement with Germany. In 1944 Romania switched to join the Allies, and the Trianon border was restored at the end of the Second World War.

In the postwar period the churches found themselves increasingly marginalized under the new Communist regime (see COMMUNISM). This was particularly the case for the churches of ethnic minorities, including the Protestant churches. By far the largest Protestant church, the Reformed Church had around 700 ministers in Romania, supported by around 12,000 active presbyters. However, the ability of these clergy and presbyters to carry out their functions was increasingly restricted by the government. In 1949 new laws required all churches to be registered with the Department of Cults, which gained administrative and financial control over the churches. In 1950 the small communities of BAPTISTS, Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM), and SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS were forced to unite into a Federation of Protestant Cults. The larger Protestant churches were forced to accept a united seminary college, which was attended by Reformed, Lutheran, and Unitarian students at Cluj (Kolozsvár) and by Lutheran students in Sibiu (Hermannstadt). The state restricted the numbers of students who could attend these colleges, and as a result by 1989 there were 70 unfilled parishes in the Transylvanian Reformed province alone.

After the 1956 Hungarian Revolution the churches of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania came under particular oppression from the Bucharest regime. Some clergy, students, and teachers were imprisoned, connections between the churches and foreign countries were cut, publishing activity curtailed, and no Bibles could be produced. The Protestant church hierarchies were emasculated by state officials, and the appointment of parish ministers was influenced by the state. Ministers who were deemed to be beyond official control could face forced retirement or arrest. Opposition to a move to a remote village enforced on the Timișoara (Temesvár) Reformed minister, László Tőkés, became one of the sparks of the revolutionary movement that ended the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceaușescu in 1989.

In the period after the downfall of the Ceaușescu regime, the Orthodox Church has come to dominate the public culture of the Romanian state. Overall 85 percent of the Romanian population are claimed to belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. The largest Protestant church remains the Reformed Church with between 800,000 and 900,000

members. The Unitarian church has around 80,000 members in 140 churches, mostly located in eastern Transylvania. There are also around 30,000 Hungarian Lutherans. However, the rapid decline of the German community in Romania from 800,000 to a very few thousand has meant the reduction of the Lutheran Church to small numbers of active congregations. In addition there are perhaps up to 100,000 other Protestants across Romania, including both Hungarian and Romanian-speaking Baptists and Pentecostals. The churches have again become a prime means of expressing the identity of ethnic minorities in Romania, which has invited suspicion and hostility from Romanian nationalist politicians. Efforts to regain church property have been slow, but vacant parishes have received new ministers, contact has been reestablished with Western Protestants, and some new schools have opened. The historic Protestant churches of Transylvania face many challenges in post-Communist Romanian society, including competition from some new Protestant groups.

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GRAEME MURDOCK

ROMANTICISM

European Romanticism has been described in many ways, ranging from a narrowly defined historical period to metaphors of a “boiling” or “fermentationpoint” producing a fundamental change of state. For some we are still in a Romantic age; for others, a post-Romantic one. For those involved, however, one strikingly common characteristic was a feeling of *loss*. In many poets, this longing—at once personal and cultural—for something lost, unattainable, or incomplete, was an obsession amounting to a personal reinvention. In both the *Immortality Ode* and the autobiographical *Prelude* WILLIAM WORDSWORTH displays nostalgia for a state of childhood ecstasy that cannot quite be recalled or re-created, but remains liminal, just *beyond* the threshold of consciousness. Similarly SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE’S *Ancient Mariner* is haunted by the idea of a state of innocence that is the more desirable because unrecoverable. John Keats’s

Odes hanker after health as much psychological as physical. Even Lord Byron's mockery has a hint of whistling in the dark. Perhaps most startling of all is WILLIAM BLAKE'S discovery that to recapture the prophetic sense of meaning in current events, he has to invent a completely new mythology of history.

Above all, what had been lost was religion. Not in the popular evangelical sense of a relationship with a personal God, but rather a general and collective world picture in which there was no boundary between the sacred and the secular, in which supernatural or divine power was everywhere apprehended through type, symbol, and sacrament. Although in their own idiosyncratic ways, Blake, Wordsworth, and Coleridge were devout Protestants, unlike their predecessors; to be devout, they *had* to be idiosyncratic. The union of personal piety and collective sensibility of the Metaphysical poets was no longer viable. If, as some claim, this progressive separation of the sacred and the secular began with the REFORMATION, the conflicts of the sixteenth century still belonged to a world where religious belief was an instinctive part of life. In contrast, however much the newer forms of eighteenth-century religious revival may have differed, they had in common a perceived sense of loss—often expressed in the new Evangelical terminology as “a sense of sin.”

In the first enthusiasm for the French Revolution, the language of politics merged with that of religious revival. Hailing the dawn of this new age, Richard Price (1723–1791), a nonconformist preacher (see NONCONFORMITY), saw political and spiritual freedom as inseparable:

Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious. Your labors have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold, the light you have struck out, after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze, that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE! (Price 1789:49)

Echoes of Acts 12:7 and 16:23–33 are obvious, as is Christian's release from Despair in JOHN BUNYAN'S *PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*, and CHARLES WESLEY'S famous lines on conversion from “And can it be”:

Long my imprisoned spirit lay
Fast bound in sin and nature's night;
Thine eye diffused a quickening ray—
I woke, the dungeon flamed with light;
My chains fell off, my heart was free,
I rose, went forth, and followed Thee.

However, political disillusion, after 1793 and the Terror, only increased hunger for revolution that was spiritual and aesthetic.

In FRANCE and GERMANY, ravaged by Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, immediate exhilaration was counterbalanced both by loss and a quest not just for new religious experience, but to reinvent religion rather than accept established forms. Paradoxically the conservative Catholicism of R.F.A.de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) draws him into a quite new romantic religious synthesis in *The Genius of Christianity* (1802): “What particularly distinguishes Christian eloquence from the eloquence of the Greeks and the Romans is, in the words of La Bruyère, *that evangelical sadness which is the soul of it*, that majestic melancholy on which it feeds” (his italics) (Chateaubriand 1856:438). Novalis (Friedrich Von Hardenberg 1772–1801) invokes “the infinite sadness of religion.” FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) has a similar sense of what he calls a “holy sadness” in religious feeling “which accompanies every joy and pain” (Schleiermacher, 1988:217). All sought a quite new relationship with a past where, it was felt, such a loss had not yet occurred. W.H.Wackenroder (1773–1798) turned back to the Italian Renaissance as an imaginary golden age for his *Confessions from the Heart of an Art-Loving Friar* (1797). Novalis turned to the seventeenth-century world of JAKOB BÖHME, and beyond that other-worldly mysteries of Gnosticism and Neoplatonism, but nevertheless proclaimed that “true religion” had not yet arrived (Forstman 1977:47–63). This attempt to return to a unified world picture made a deep impression on his friend Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), who was with him when he died at the age of 29. Partly under his posthumous influence, Schlegel and his wife converted to Catholicism in 1808. “If only because it is so ancient,” wrote Dorothea Schlegel, “I prefer Catholicism. Nothing new is of any use” (Eichner, 1970:106–111). Schleiermacher and the Schlegels shared a distaste for contemporary LUTHERANISM, and the evangelical Protestantism of his *Speeches on Religion* almost amounts to a re-created Romantic Christianity of his own.

The background to this almost universal desire to reinvent religion lies both in the general temper of eighteenth-century DEISM and, more specifically, in new near-Eastern scholarship. In 1791 the former aristocrat Constantin-François Chasseboeuf de Volney (1757–1820) presented the Revolutionary French National Assembly with a monograph entitled *Les Ruines, ou méditation sur les revolutions des empires*. Despite its gothic-sounding title, it was less a “meditation” than a polemic on the origins of religion—particularly Christianity. Not merely all IndoEuropean and Semitic religion, Volney argued, but even astrology could be traced back to ancient Egypt at least 17,000 years ago. All supernatural and revealed religions were nothing more than the misplaced products of primitive nature-worship, time, and the accidents of historical diffusion. The gods of ancient Egypt, through the Aryans, had been eventually reduced by the sixth century B.C. in Persia to a single deity. This new syncretistic monotheism was then appropriated by the Israelites during their Babylonian and Persian captivities, transmitted to the Christians, and thence in the sixth century A.D. to the Arabs. To any historian the conclusion was clear: “Jews, Christians, Mahometans, howsoever lofty may be your pretensions, you are in your spiritual and immaterial system, only the blundering followers of Zoroaster” (Volney, 1881:83).

Following ENLIGHTENMENT assumptions, Volney attributed miracles to imagination, gods to forces of nature, and moral codes to natural law and self-love (14–15:93). His dazzling erudition, ranging from Hindu cosmology to the esoteric doctrines of the Essenes (83–5), together with his revolutionary and anticlerical bias, made for

immediate popularity. At least three English and one Welsh translation appeared by 1800 (eleven by 1822) and extensive summaries appeared in radical magazines. Both Shelley's *Queen Mab* and *Ozymandias* show his influence, as does Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. In 1817 Mary Shelley gave the *Ruins* further mythopoeic status by making the Monster read it in *Frankenstein*.

Worse even than Volney's refusal to separate Christianity from other near-Eastern religions, was the claim for pre-Biblical texts 17,000 years old—contrary to Archbishop Ussher's date of 4004 B.C. for the Creation—and that the Old Testament was not the earliest writing. Many still assumed that Hebrew was the oldest language—containing elements of the original unfallen Adamic speech where words stood in an essential rather than a contingent relationship to what they described (Aarsleff, 1982:58–60). Thus J.G. Herder (1744–1783), in his *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (1782), took it for granted that Hebrew poetry “expresses the earliest perceptions, the simplest forms, by which the human soul expressed its thoughts, the most uncorrupted affections that bound and guided it.”

Yet, for all its ICONOCLASM, there is a “gothick,” even mystical, quality to *The Ruins* that often seems to prelude a new religion than demolish old ones. This suggestion (never quite substantiated) that readers, far from passing from superstition into the light of Reason, were to be initiated into the mysteries of a new age, differentiated Volney from other Enlightenment skeptics and points toward the more psychological questioning of later critics, such as Schleiermacher and LUDWIG FEUERBACH. Comte's transformation of Volney's key to all mythologies into a positivist religion of humanity was, as GEORGE ELIOT saw, not a perversion but a logical extension of qualities implicit in *The Ruins*.

Thus even as Christianity's historical origins were challenged, many of its central ideas were being reappropriated. Biblical typology was recycled as poetic “symbolism.” Blake supports his radical and antinomian ideas with a personal mythology, which includes “conversations” with the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1793). Coleridge and Wordsworth, although more orthodox Protestants, both attach greater importance to personal experience than to either “evidences” of Christianity (such as arguments from design) or history. Despite obvious philosophic differences, all use reconstituted religious imagery in their poetry. Shelley, who was expelled from Oxford University for writing *The Necessity of Atheism*, nevertheless uses in *Mont Blanc* a range of language previously belonging to religion to describe nature as a vast organic process now inseparable from the psychology of the perceiver, concluding with:

And what were thou, and earth, and stars, and sea,
If to the human mind's imaginings
Silence and solitude were vacancy? (142–4)

Similarly, the posthumous *Defence of Poetry* subsumes both Jesus and the Old Testament prophets into Shelley's tradition of poets “as the unacknowledged legislators of mankind.”

In Germany the “Jena” Romantics, centering around the Schlegel brothers in the late 1790s, which included Fichte, Hölderlin, Hegel, Novalis, Schleiermacher, and Schelling, explicitly cast religion in aesthetic terms. “Belief in God,” insists the young Schleiermacher, “depends on the direction of the imagination” (Schleiermacher 1988:138). A similar secular blending of the aesthetic and religious lay at the heart of Friedrich Schlegel’s strategy for creating a theoretical basis for Romanticism itself:

Feeling that is aware of itself becomes spirit; spirit is inner conviviality, and soul, hidden amiability. But the real vital power of inner beauty and perfection is temperament. One can have a little spirit without having any soul, and a good deal of soul without much temperament. But the instinct for moral greatness which we call temperament needs only to learn to speak to have spirit. It needs only to move and love to become all soul; and if it is mature, it has a feeling for everything. Spirit is like a music of thoughts; where soul is, there feelings too have outline and form, noble proportions, and charming coloration. (Schlegel 1991:69)

Here “spirit” (*Geist*) has a secular force never achieved by its feebler English equivalent, and with Hegel the word was to infuse history with an extraordinary religious dynamic.

Significantly, the full implications of the radical subjectivity of the English romantics come to fruition only in Schleiermacher, who disproves the cliché that French Romanticism was radical, but German conservative. His *On religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers* (1799) challenged not merely the dominant Kantian philosophy, but also his own circle of Romantic friends (the “cultured despisers”). Whereas Volney’s historical and evolutionary theory of the origins of religion shows little sense of interpretational problems, Schleiermacher saw that the problems lay less in the history than on our relationship to it. For him there is an almost infinite range of possible interpretation. Hermeneutics was less a matter of a “correct” understanding of the past, still less of decoding a fixed and universally valid content, but of a much subtler and less determinate process of bringing author and reader into a relationship that made understanding and interpretation possible. No simple key would unlock the Scriptures, no formula bared a final transhistorical meaning; for the true reader “understanding is an unending task.”

What was clear for British, French, and German romantics alike was that although religion was essential for any wholeness of life, there was no return to a collective age of faith. For all their backward glances to a mythical and timeless middle ages, they are firmly historical, recognizing that belief could now only be personal, internalized, and subjective—to the point where it is often difficult to distinguish in practice between orthodoxy, pantheism, and naturalism. In this sense Chateaubriand is often as “Protestant” as Blake, Coleridge, Schleiermacher, Shelley, or Wordsworth. “I must create my own system, or be enslaved by another’s,” wrote Blake. There remained a yawning gulf between the immediacy of personal experience and that acquired on trust from other authorities—the difference between what Newman (one of the last true romantics) was to call “real” and merely “notional” assent. For Schleiermacher such authority was ultimately fatal to true religious experience:

What one commonly calls belief, accepting what another person has done, wanting to ponder and empathize with what someone else has thought and felt, is a hard and unworthy service, and instead of being the highest in religion, as one supposes, it is exactly what must be renounced by those who would penetrate into its sanctuary. To want to have and retain belief in this sense proves that one is incapable of religion; to require this kind of faith from others shows that one does not understand it. (Schleiermacher 1988:134)

Such a statement of Romantic religion does not merely leave space for individual experience; it makes the foundation stone. However, Schleiermacher, no more than Newman, urges the *sole* sufficiency of personal experience because, as the context makes clear, this is less an evangelical *credo* as a psychological observation about the nature of human belief. The age of passive acceptance is gone. From henceforth, "real assent" is inevitably a matter of imagination and engagement. As such it is also part of a debate about aesthetic theory belonging as much to the English Romantic tradition of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Blake and Shelley, as it does to the German.

See also Blake, William; Böhme, Jakob; Bunyan, John; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Deism; Eliot, George; Enlightenment; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Iconoclasm; Lutheranism; Pilgrim's Progress; Reformation; Schleiermacher, Friedrich; Wesley, Charles; Wordsworth, William

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STEPHEN PRICKETT

ROSSETTI, CHRISTINA (1830–1894)

English poet. Christina Rossetti was a major Victorian poet and author of a substantial body of devotional prose. The youngest in an exceptionally artistic and literary English-Italian family (her brother was poet and painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti), Rossetti was closely associated with the pre-Raphaelite movement in ART and poetry. Born on December 5, 1830, Rossetti's religious tendencies were stimulated by the THEOLOGY and poetics of the OXFORD MOVEMENT, which reached London in the 1840s. A devout Anglo-Catholic and longtime resident of London, she died there on December 29, 1894.

Rossetti established her poetic reputation with *Goblin Market and Other Poems* in 1862, followed by *The Prince's Progress and Other Poems* (1866), *Sing-Song: A Nursery Rhyme Book* (1872), *A Pageant and Other Poems* (1881), and *Verses* (1893). Her lyric poetry is exquisite in its simple diction, pure tone, and suggestive symbolism; the inconstancy of human love, the vanity of earthly pleasures, renunciation, individual unworthiness, and the perfection of divine love are recurring themes.

Rossetti also wrote several prose volumes, including the fictional works *Maude* (published posthumously in 1897), *Commonplace and Other Short Stories* (1870), and *Speaking Likenesses* (1874) as well as six volumes of devotional prose, the composition of which occupied Rossetti's creative energies for the last decades of her life: *Annus Domini* (1874); *Seek and Find* (1879); *Called to Be Saints* (1881); *Letter and Spirit* (1883); *Time Flies* (1885); and *The Face of the Deep* (1892). Often structurally complex, these volumes include meditations on NATURE, commentary on SAINTS and scripture, personal reflection, and poetry. Rossetti is considered the most significant poet to develop out of the literary tradition of the Oxford Movement.

See also Anglo-Catholicism; Bible; Keble, John; Pre-Raphaelites

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MARY ARSENEAU

ROTHMANN, BERNARD (1495–1535)

Anabaptist reformer. Rothmann was born in or near Stadtlohn to the west of the Münster diocese in GERMANY about 1495. He attended schools in Münster, Deventer, and Alkmar, became a teacher in Warendorf near Münster, and studied at the University of Mainz, receiving a master's degree in 1524. After his ordination to the priesthood he became chaplain at the church of the monastery of St. Mauritz near Münster. To enhance his theological studies, the canons sent him to Cologne. It is not known whether it is here or elsewhere that Rothmann came in contact with reform ideas. After his return he advocated Lutheran doctrines in his sermons and gained followers among the tradesmen who financed a study trip for him in 1531. After a visit with Lutherans in Marburg (Buschius, Schnepf), in Wittenberg (PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, JOHANNES BUGHENHAGEN), and in Strasbourg (WOLFGANG CAPITO, CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD) Rothmann returned to St. Mauritz in the summer of 1531. He declined to practice or participate in church rituals (e.g., requiem masses) that had no biblical mandate. In August of 1531 this resulted in denunciations by Catholic townsmen, but also in higher attendance on the part of Lutheran sympathizers. Rothmann had to set up his pulpit in the churchyard to accommodate the crowd.

Because Rothmann ignored the prohibition of his church authorities (both the bishop and cathedral chapter of Münster) not to preach, his opponents pressed for an order by emperor Charles V to bishop Friedrich von Wied (1522–1532) to restore peace and quiet and to expel the unwanted preacher. Before the order issued on December 28, 1531 in Brussels was received in Münster, the citizens had called on the authorities (city council and guild leadership) to protect Rothmann and to allow his teachings, the main features of which were clear, to be preached in Münster. Anticipating the impending expulsion order, Rothmann sought the protection of the city of Münster and took up residence in the house of the Merchants Guild.

With the support of preachers sent by the Protestant Landgrave of Hesse, Münster became an evangelical, or reformed, city. In August of 1532 Rothmann was PREACHING at the church of St. Lamberti, the main Münster church, while other Lutheran clergy preached at five other parish churches in the city.

A year later, in April of 1533, Rothmann introduced a new church order which the city council had commissioned. Because some of the theologians from Marburg had reservations about it, Rothmann received the help of five preachers who had been banished from Wassenberg in Jülich. Rejecting in principle all nonbiblical customs, they denounced infant BAPTISM. Rothmann followed them, as his writings of October and November showed: He declared that the introduction of infant baptism had brought about the beginning of the desolation of faith and the apostasy of the Roman Catholic church from the truth of Christ. On the basis of the date and duration of the apostasy that Paul (II Thessalonians 2:3–4) had described, numerous calculations had been made for the imminent return of Christ and the Last Judgment. Rothmann and others such as MELCHIOR HOFMANN and Michael Stiefel had determined that the time of Christ's

return would be the end of 1533. A postponement of the date by three and a half months to Easter of 1534 had been initiated by JAN MATHIIS in Amsterdam, whose “apostles” arrived in Münster at the beginning of 1534. They baptized Rothmann and the preachers from Wassenberg, a practice that was derided by its opponents as “rebaptism.”

While the town of Münster was besieged by troops of the neighboring counts for its Anabaptist orientation, Rothmann developed his ideas of the regeneration (or restitution) of the true church of Christ that should take shape in Münster as the “New Jerusalem.” When Jon von Leiden took over leadership from Jan Mathiis, who was killed in a skirmish, Rothmann was given the rank of “enunciator of the word” whose responsibility included defining new forms of communal living (joint property, polygamy) and new forms of church worship in theological terms, and communicating that to the outside world through letters and announcements. Rothmann probably did not survive the occupation of Münster on June 24, 1535, but his body was never found.

From the earliest texts that have been handed down (1531), Rothmann’s theological positions are clear: he was convinced that the Catholic church had moved away from the teachings of Christ and that it had introduced human fabrications (such as purgatory, requiem masses, intercession of the SAINTS, fasting, holy water, last rites, forgiveness of sins through CONFESSION) not mentioned in the Scriptures. He believed the end of times and Last Judgment were near; thus all Christians had to be brought back to the right faith before these events. These changes were required to bring an end to papal HERESY and abuses.

The main works of Rothmann’s doctrine were first (at the beginning of January 1531) formulated (Stupperich, pp. 78–86) by his followers and then published extensively by Rothmann himself (epitome, Druck: *Ibid.*, pp. 64–77). A list of “Mißbräuche der römischen Kirche” (“Abuses of the Roman Church”) was done in August of 1532 (*Ibid.*, pp. 58–59). After a successful defense (*Ibid.*, pp. 94–118) Rothmann printed in October of 1532 his first main work “Bekenttnis von beiden Sakramenten” (“Confession of both Sacraments”) (*Ibid.*, pp. 138–194). In the months during the siege (starting in February of 1534) four further treatises followed, among them the “Restitution,” a programmatic piece on the reinstatement of a “rechten und gesunden Lehre” (“just and healthy Christian doctrine”) (*Ibid.*, pp. 208–283). A final essay, written in May of 1535, has survived only in a fragmentary copy (*Ibid.*, pp. 372–404).

See also Anabaptism; Capito, Wolfgang

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KARL-HEINZ KIRCHHOFF

ROUSSEAU, JEAN-JACQUES (1712–1778)

French philosopher. Rousseau was born into a Protestant family descended from French HUGUENOTS exiled in Geneva on June 28, 1712. Raised by an aunt and uncle, he ran away from Geneva at age sixteen to nearby Savoy (1728). Here, as he later said, for reasons of expediency and in ignorance of Catholicism, he quickly renounced his Protestantism, and converted to the Catholic Church. He made his way to FRANCE where he spent many years and achieved fame because of two of his writings, *Discours sur les arts et sciences* (1750) and *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1753). He returned to Geneva in 1754 and, now in his early forties, reconverted to Protestantism and regained Genevan citizenship. Two of his most famous works, *Emile, ou de l'éducation* and *Du contrat social* (both 1762), were condemned by the parliament of Paris and burned by the government of Geneva. He then, in his early fifties, renounced his Genevan citizenship (1763), although not specifically his Protestantism, and spent most of his remaining years at no fixed address in France. His *Les Confessions* (written by 1770, published posthumously in 1782) depicted his life in an autobiographical genre. Rousseau died at Ermenonville, near Paris, July 2, 1778.

Both during his lifetime and continuously since, Rousseau's interpreters have represented him in quite opposite ways, whether as Genevan Protestant, French Catholic, exponent of new civil religion, ENLIGHTENMENT rationalist and deist, French proto-revolutionary, or pristine romantic.

In spite of the severe rejection of Rousseau's works in Geneva, later interpreters have sometimes detected Protestant motifs in certain of his writings, especially the controversial *Emile* and *Contrat social*, written while a Genevan citizen, and *Confessions*, recalling the tradition of intimate self-disclosure linked to St. Augustine. The "profession of faith of a Savoyard vicar" found in *Emile*, commonly assumed to suggest Rousseau's own beliefs, had a self-acknowledged Protestant ring in its approval of dogmas contrary to the Church of Rome, its low esteem for the ceremonies of WORSHIP, and its attention

to the promptings of the heart. The civil society displayed in *Contrat social* seemed more like Calvinist Geneva than anything French, Catholic, or secularist. In *Confessions* he characterized Catholics as people who accept decisions made for them, and associated himself with the trait of Protestants who learn to think for themselves.

See also Deism; Enlightenment; Huguenots; Romanticism

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C.T.MCINTIRE

ROYCE, JOSIAH (1855–1916)

American philosopher. Born in 1855 in Grass Valley, California, Royce grew up in a home where a pious and devout father was frequently absent, searching for jobs that would provide a living for the family. Royce's mother ensured that he received an education, and after his promising work as a high school student, he attended the University of California at Berkeley. After postgraduate study in GERMANY he moved to Johns Hopkins University and began an auspicious career in philosophy. While at Hopkins he met WILLIAM JAMES, who later was instrumental in securing Royce a position at Harvard.

Although many observers often place Royce in the school of American Pragmatism that developed under James and others at Harvard in the late nineteenth century, Royce developed his ideas about philosophy and religion from the standpoint of the idealism of GEORG W.F.HEGEL and German philosophy. He also incorporated Darwin's notion of evolution (see DARWINISM) into his philosophy in ways that James and others did not, thus building a philosophical system that incorporated the insights of SCIENCE and religion, which he believed were compatible.

In his first book, *The Sources of Religious Insight* (1885), Royce put his idealism into practice as he tried to offer a rational basis for religion, as opposed to the pragmatic and instrumental version that James was offering. In his later work on Christianity, Royce built on this early study and his work in *The Philosophy of Loyalty* to construct what he called a "religion of loyalty." Transcending the tension between morality and religion, Royce argued that devotion to a cause, which results in a loyal life, directs the individual's will to the common good. Such devotion takes on a religious character because the cause is an object that comes from outside the individual. The cause is a unique form of reality—a "real spiritual unity"—that binds many different people into

one community. Members of this beloved community share a common faith and a common hope.

Royce believed that religion emphasized the social rather than the individual. His Beloved Community represented his ideal community in which his ideas of loyalty and devotion would be the hallmarks of the religious life.

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HENRY L.CARRIGAN JR.

RUSSELL, CHARLES TAZE (1852–1916)

American religious figure. Russell was born on February 16, 1852 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Scottish-Irish parents. His mother died when he was nine years old, and his father raised him as a Presbyterian. Although religious as a young boy, by age sixteen Russell had repudiated his Presbyterian background and rejected all religion. As a teenager he went into business with his father operating a chain of successful clothing stores. He accumulated a substantial fortune from these business interests, much of which he ultimately used to support his religious activities. In 1879 Russell married Maria Francis Ackley, who contributed to Russell's work until their contentious divorce seventeen years later. Through his adult life "Pastor Russell," as he was called by his followers, was a prolific writer (Barbour and Russell 1877). He produced tens of thousands of pages of written work, his writings were published in thousands of newspapers, and many millions of his books were distributed internationally. Russell was the founder of the Bible Students movement, which ultimately became the JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, and by the end of his life the movement had gained several thousand members around the world. Russell died unexpectedly on October 31, 1916 in Pampa, Texas.

Theology

Russell developed a distinctive THEOLOGY based on his own scriptural study and liberal borrowing from both the Adventist and contemporary American Protestant traditions. His major theological tenets include the following: (1) There was no biblical basis for the trinity. (2) The DEATH of Christ was the ransom price for humanity, but

humans had been ransomed from death rather than eternal hell. (3) Christ was not part of a trinity but rather a lesser god who had been created by his father. (4) The dead will remain unconscious in their graves until the resurrection. (5) Christ was resurrected in spirit but not in the flesh in 1874 as the first step in a two-stage coming (parousia). (6) The church and all of its constituent branches lost their legitimacy after the death of the apostles. Although Russell initially rejected Adventist date setting, he soon became caught up in the practice. He set a number of dates for the end time—1874, 1878, 1881, and 1914—and each time offered a reassessment and new date. Russell taught his followers that they should be prepared for the climactic events when his followers would be transformed into spirits and taken to HEAVEN. The remainder of humanity, Russell preached, would achieve SALVATION during the millennium and form a “Great Company” that would live on an Edenlike earth.

Organization

It is clear that when he began his religious career Russell did not intend to establish a church but rather slowly adopted more formal organization over several decades. When he was sixteen Russell formed his own BIBLE study group that initially consisted of a small group of friends and his father. The following year he attended a religious meeting led by Jonas Wendall, an Adventist preacher who ignited his religious passion. In 1876 Russell met another Adventist, Nelson Barbour, who was the editor of *The Herald of the Morning*, and the two worked together for three years before parting company over doctrinal differences. Russell then founded his own competing magazine, *Zion’s Watch Tower and Herald of Christ’s Presence* to disseminate his theological message. Beginning with the single congregation that Russell established in the late 1870s, new congregations formed quickly, and by 1880 congregations existed throughout the eastern and central states. Russell gradually created formal organizations to administer his growing movement. In 1884 he founded the Zion’s Watch Tower Tract Society, and he was installed as its first leader. In 1889 he established the Bible House in Pittsburgh as headquarters; in 1909 the headquarters were moved to Brooklyn, New York and a second corporation, The People’s Pulpit Association, was established.

As Russell gradually created a congregational style of organization, he emphasized voluntaristic, democratic governance. “Ecclesias,” as congregations were termed, were loosely linked to Russell through “pilgrims,” representatives from each ecclesia. Congregational leaders were to be elected, collections were not taken during services, and members were free to express their own conscience but could not dispute fundamental doctrinal tenets. Dissidents were free to form separate ecclesias. However, Russell clearly was the dominant influence within the Bible Students movement. His personal wealth was a major source of movement funding, his writings were the primary source of movement theology, and he administered Zion’s Watch Tower Tract Society. As time went on he directed the topics of Bible study of each ecclesia. Bible Studies members began referring to Russell as the “faithful and wise servant” (referred to in the book of Matthew), the “Laodicean Messenger” (referred to in the book of Revelations), or “the man with the inhorn” (referred to in the book of Ezekiel). Whichever title was used,

there is little doubt that Russell was viewed within the movement, and regarded himself, as a prophetic figure.

Russell's unexpected death in 1916 produced a period of tumult within the movement. For many members the failure of Russell's last prediction was disillusioning. In the wake of his death the movement was weakened by defections, struggles for power among potential successors, and schisms. Russell was succeeded by Joseph Franklin Rutherford, who led the movement through a period of schism and persecution and renamed the group the Jehovah's Witnesses. Over time the Witnesses' doctrines changed significantly, and a number of the schismatic groups have claimed to be the legitimate heirs to the original Russell tradition.

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DAVID G.BROMLEY

RUSSIA

Terminology

In Russian, the term “Protestantizm” serves in general as a designation for all of those Christian churches and congregations that come out of the Reformation. Specifically, the term is applied to all of the denominations (BAPTISTS, evangelical Christians, Adventists, etc.) that have had a footing in Russia since the nineteenth century. Lutherans have been resident in Russia since the sixteenth century and in general are referred to as

“l’juteranskij,” the reformists that settled in Russia a bit later than the Lutherans are designated as “reformatskij” or “kalvinskij.”

Current Statistics

The number of Protestants in Russia is currently estimated to be about 1 million, which corresponds to about 0.6 percent of Russia’s total population (147,307,000). As a result of the Law on Religion, a law that took effect in 1997 and that mandated registrations for all new religious institutions in Russia, it is apparent that with about 3,800 institutions, Protestantism (after the Russian Orthodox Church with 10,912 and before Islam with 3,048) is the second largest statistically. Within Protestantism, the Pentecostal Christians represent the largest group (1,323), followed by Evangelical Christians-Baptists (975), Evangelical Christians (612), and Adventists (563). Lutherans represent a relatively small group, with 213 registered institutions.

History, An Overview

Historically, Protestantism in Russia goes back to immigrants from various countries, people that emigrated to Russia at the behest of Russian czars, already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later, especially after the manifests of the year 1763 by Catherine II (1762–1796) and similar statements by Alexander I (1801–1825). (Between 1763 and 1769 about 25,000 and between 1804 and 1824 about 54,000 immigrants settled in Russia.) Russia is dependent on the technical know-how of immigrants and requires the agricultural migrants to settle virgin soil or the territories around the Black Sea that have been depopulated after wars. The motives of the immigrants are economic, political, and/or religious. (For example, religious are the motives of the tide of settlers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, people who, motivated by the apocalyptic speculations of JOHANN ALBRECHT BENDEL and JOHANN HEINRICH JUNGSTILLING, tried save themselves from the impending disaster.) In general, there have been three big migrant tides: in the eighteenth century coming from the Rhineland, the Electorate Trier, and the Hessian possessions (to the Volga region); at the beginning of the nineteenth century especially from parts of Southern GERMANY, but also from Prussia, Saxony, and HUNGARY (to Southern Russia and the Caucasus); and finally in the mid-nineteenth century from the area of interior POLAND (to Volhynia). At the end of the twentieth century, there were migrant movements out of this area. From the migrant community of the Lower Volga alone, more than 90 dependent communities were formed in the years 1772–1909.

During the Czarist system, compared to the Russian Orthodox Church, Protestant congregations, if recognized at all, faced legal restrictions, for example, the prohibition to convert a Russian-Orthodox believer of Slavic origin to Protestantism. However, they also received specific privileges, including tax relief and exemption from military service.

For Protestant congregations, the time after the October Revolution of 1917 brought a certain period of religious freedom, because antireligious state terror at that time was

directed primarily at the Russian Orthodox Church as the former state church (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). But with the regulations “concerning all religious communities” in the year 1929, all of the elements were in place for the systematic elimination of all religious institutions, a move that resulted in the persecution, ban, and often the obliteration of Protestant congregations.

World War II marked a break insofar as from then on, congregations were not so much exposed to persecution. But a positive turn of events occurred only in the aftermath of the political changes of the 1980s and 1990s. The current legal basis for religious institutions is the Law on Religions of 1997. The Law on Religions guarantees the general freedom of religion; but nevertheless, among others, Protestant churches and congregations are discriminated against, because the preamble of the Law on Religions offers the Russian Orthodox Church a special role with regard of the Russian CULTURE, before Islam and before other religious institutions.

Characteristics

Protestantism in Russia is characterized by a diasporalike situation: Protestantism represents a widely dispersed minority composed largely of ethnic minorities (German, Swiss, Dutch, Estonian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Finnish, Swedish, and others) in a society that is shaped mainly by Orthodox Christianity, but increasingly also by Islam. This situation has had three major effects. First, the Protestant congregations are strongly shaped by the respective countries of origin, and church services are performed in multiple languages (in the mother tongue of the members of the congregation and in Russian). Second, because they are in the minority, the congregations are faced with defection of its members to the Russian Orthodox Church, just as the Russian Orthodox Church perceives Protestant congregations as a threat. (Historically, such conversions can be proven in one direction: Protestant believers have converted to the Orthodox Church—often during a mixed marriage or for the sake of a better education. Inversely, in the 1860s, the influence of revivalists among the German settlers in Southern Russia led to the creation of the Russian free-church movement, the so-called “Stundists.”) Third, to this day, the diaspora situation has forced congregations to concentrate their efforts primarily on basic preservation of their existence. Under these circumstances, the development of a specific theological science has not been possible. And, hence, unlike in Germany or in SWITZERLAND, Protestantism has not become a source of cultural influence.

Yet, before 1917, (especially German-speaking) Protestantism did have some influence in different areas: through the agriculturally influenced (Mennonite) congregations in agricultural production and in the agricultural craft, through the Protestant elites in the palaces of the rulers (Alexander I, for example, was greatly influenced in a revivalist sense after his meeting with Jung-Stilling, the baroness BARBARA VON KRÜDENER, and others), through the participation of the Russian Bible Society (1812–1826) and then the Evangelical Bible Society (1831–1902), through various missionary services (for example, the reformist-inspired Bale Mission at the beginning of the nineteenth century), and through the German Protestant theology that

allowed advances in the education and development of a scientific Orthodox theology in Russia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Protestant Churches and Congregations

Lutherans

The first German-Lutheran congregation was founded in 1576 in Moscow (see LUTHERANISM). Since 1704, evangelical congregations (Franco-German, German-Swedish, and German-Dutch) emerged in the newly created capital of St. Petersburg. Between 1734 and 1832, the Justice Council, set up under Peter the Great (1682/89–1725), was in charge of dealing with all matters pertaining to evangelical congregations. In 1832, a new Church Order was passed that was closely modeled on the Swedish Church Order and thus was more strongly geared toward a Lutheran understanding than other evangelical congregations in Russia as a whole with regard to matters of organization and church service. (Consistories were created, where members are not elected, but were appointed by the czar in consultation with the general CONSISTORY. The same applies to the secular president and the spiritual vice president of the general consistory, thus practically eliminating any influence on the part of congregations and synods.) The church that emerges is partly a state church; it is in charge of maintaining the registry of civil unions and adjudicates divorces. On the other hand, it is a free church with limited rights, because it is restricted by law from recruiting converts from the Orthodox faiths. Internally, the church is subjected to tensions between the need for independence on the part of congregations that are often separated by a great distance and the need for unity with regards to intercongregational matters. In 1850, the foundation of a “Support Fund for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in Russia” helps further the desire, held over the course of the nineteenth century, to go beyond particularized congregations and towards transcongregational awareness. The church was characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity, both in terms of its social structure (engineers, tradesmen, merchants, farmers) and its ethnic makeup (in 1914, 1.3 million Latvians, 1.1 million Estonians, 1.1 million Germans, and 150,000 Finns belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church).

After 1917 (with the Decree of January 23, 1918 separating CHURCH AND STATE), the church’s operation was impeded and its assets confiscated (“nationalized”). Thus it becomes necessary to reorganize the church, a task that the general synod meeting of 1924 in Moscow tackled. Until the end of the 1920s, the church enjoyed a degree of freedom (in 1925, the preacher’s seminar was founded, and publication of church publications, such as the magazine *Our Church*, was allowed). After 1929, the church lost a large number of pastors and active members. Churches and chapels had to close and were converted to production or repair shops. The Petri Paul Church in Moscow was the last Lutheran church to be closed in the Soviet Union. The situation grew worse with the deportations that begin in 1941, a move that resulted in the destruction of a number of congregations. Even though the outer structure of the church was dissolved, there remained a loose organization of local congregations (“Brotherly Circles”). The experiences in incarceration camps contributed to a spirit of community.

After World War II, the collection and support for congregations continued under Harald Kalnins, the pastor of the Latvian Jesu Church in Riga, who was appointed bishop in 1988. The appointment was recognized by the state, thus resulting in the official recognition of the Lutheran Church in Russia. At the general synod that took place on September 27–29, 1994 in St. Petersburg, the former deputy Georg Kretschmar became Kalnins' successor. From then on, the official name of the church became the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Russia and Other Countries (ELKRAS). Not all Lutheran Churches in the CIS countries are part of the German-inclined ELKRAS. With more than 600 congregations, the ELKRAS constitutes the most important Lutheran church in the current CIS countries.

In 1992, the Finnish congregations Ingermanlands and Karelias created the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ingermanlands, an organization under the leadership of Bishop Leino Hassinen, then led by Bishop Aarre Kuukauppi since 1995. In December 2000, the Belarus Evangelical-Lutheran Church was created against the efforts of the ELKRAS to incorporate Lutheran and reformed teachings, but with the help of the Missouri synod and the theological institute in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Its goal is to establish an Evangelical Church in Belarus that is decidedly confessional. (According to its constitution, the organization confers membership only to churches that reject the ordination of WOMEN (see WOMEN CLERGY), applies the justification doctrine, teaches real presence, and advocates that HOMOSEXUALITY is a sin.) Similar tendencies can be observed in Siberia, where the creation of a third Lutheran church organization in Russia (in addition to ELKRAS and the Evangelical-Lutheran Church Ingermanlands) hints at an unmitigated Russian profile.

Reformed

The first Reformed congregation in Russia was founded in 1632 by Dutch and French immigrants in Tula. Among the settlers that streamed into Russia over the coming centuries, the Reformed represented about one-sixth. Their share was further reduced over time, because they were absorbed into what were counted as Lutheran congregations. Prohibited initially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (in 1714, Thomas Ivanov, a surgeon major in the Moscow Infantry Regiment, was executed in public for his commitment to Reformist teachings), the position of the Reformed congregations was incorporated into Evangelical Lutheran consistories in the form of a "Reformed caucus" in charge of the matters pertaining to Reformed congregations. Like the Lutheran church, the Reformed congregations were faced with the antireligious policies of the Soviet government, and in 1991 the Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches in Russia was founded, leading in 1992 to the establishment of the Reformed Fundamentalist Church in Tula.

Mennonites

After the manifesto by Catherine the Great, a few thousand (Flemish and Friesian) MENNONITES settled in the area around Danzig, first near Dnepr (west of the Dnepr island Chortica) and then around the region north of the Crimea (near the small stream of Molocnaja). In the nineteenth century, dependencies were formed in Siberia. Before

World War I, Mennonites in Russia counted a population of around 120,000 (approximately 10 percent of all Germans in Russia).

With the clemency of Czar Paul I (1796–1801) in 1800, the Mennonites received special privileges, including free trade and commerce, exemption from military service, and the right to open distilleries. In 1874, as the exemption from military service was lifted, 18,000 Mennonites emigrated to North America. Subsequently, the Russian government offered a kind of civil service. Because of their tradition (Baptist) and their dialect, Mennonites were considered distinct from other German congregations in Russia. From an economic standpoint, they were reputed to be exemplary. For their spiritual development, the revivalist movement (especially through Pastor Eduard Wüst and the “separate” congregations he shaped) was of special importance; the repercussions resulted in a split between the so-called “Mennonite Brother Congregation” and the traditional “churchly” Mennonite congregation. Other smaller secessions occurred. Because the Mennonites were considered “Kulaks,” they were subjected to even more repression on the part of the Soviet government than other Germans. (Between 1922 and 1926, 21,000 Mennonites emigrated from the Soviet Union; from 1926 on, emigration was made more difficult.) In the 1930s, the Mennonites were subject to widespread persecution; in 1941, this persecution took the form of deportation and incarceration in camps. In addition, after 1945, among some 35,000 Mennonite refugees, 23,000 were affected by “repatriation,” the forced return to the Soviet Union. In 1963, the Mennonites were forced to join the ALL UNION COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS-BAPTISTS.

Baptists

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, continental Baptists expanded into all areas where evangelical Christians in Russia settled, probably through Memel. While German-speaking Baptist congregations gained state recognition in 1879, and while the conference of the Federation of the Faithful and Baptized Christians and So-Called Baptists of Southern Russia and the Caucasus took place in 1884 in Novo-Vasil’evka, the czarist government sought to avoid Baptist-inspired free-church groups, having gained an organizational structure in 1884. In 1907, however, a break occurred between Baptists who were committed to a strong order within the congregations and those who were open to an open federation of evangelical Christians. After the “golden” 1920s, after persecution and banishment in the 1930s, the two Baptist federations were accorded legal status in 1944. For better monitoring, they had to join the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, the same organization that Pentecostals (in 1945) and Mennonites (in 1963) were forced to join. In 1961, about half of the congregation members left the All-Union Council (because of the initiatives against the Soviet leadership of the All-Union Council called “Initiativniki”) and joined the underground Council of Congregations.

In 1991, the All-Union Council was renamed the Russian Federation of Evangelical Christians. Since 1990, a number of new groups have emerged. Among them is the Union of Brotherly Congregations that grew out of the circle of the Initiativniki, the socially oriented Association of Evangelical Christians (1992; also called Prochanov supporters), the Missionary Federation of Evangelical Christians (1996) that originated from the All-

Union Council and the Council of Congregations with a strongly missionary aim, and the Association of Congregations of Evangelical Christians (1998), which emerged with support of the American organization East-West-Missionaries.

Adventists

The Adventists began to expand in the Russian Empire starting around 1880, almost exclusively under German influence. As in the case of other FREE CHURCH movements, for the Adventists the 1920s represented “golden years” of unprecedented freedom and progress in the life of the congregation: All-Unions Congresses with representatives of the entire Soviet Union were held yearly. In 1926, 600 Adventist congregations could be counted in Russia. But for Adventists, the 1930s brought persecution and obliteration of their congregations. After World War II, Adventists were allowed to build an organization, but they had to submit to the control of the All-Union Council. Since 1997, a number of Adventist institutions have been registered.

Pentecostals

Active since the beginning of the 1920s, the Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM) formed the Union of Christians of Evangelical Beliefs (Pentecostals) in 1924. After 1945, a small number of Pentecostals were represented by the All-Union Council. Most congregations opted to exist in the underground. Of these congregations, the United Church of Pentecostals was formed in 1961. The Federation of Christians of Evangelical Beliefs/Pentecostals was recognized by the state in 1989, while the nonregistered United Church continued to exist. In the meantime, the Federation of Christians and the United Church cooperate. In addition, there are charismatic groups, including the New Generation movement, founded with the participation of the influential American missionary Bob Winer; the Word of Life missionary movement, created under the influence of the former Lutheran pastor Ulf Eckman; and the rapidly expanding Church of God and the Russian United Church of Christians of Evangelical Belief/Pentecostal. Tensions often arise between the “traditional” Pentecostal Christians and the charismatic groups over such issues as the composition of the church service and the assessment of ecstatic phenomena. Common to both groups is their strong social and missionary commitment.

Advisory Council

In 2002, the leaders of the most important freechurch movements (Baptists, Adventists, and Pentecostals) formed the Advisory Council of the Leaders of Protestant Organizations. This council is meant to represent a large share of evangelical adherents in Russia.

See also Lutheranism; Orthodoxy, Eastern

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JENNIFER WASMUTH

RUSSWURM, JOHN BROWN (1799–1851)

African American church leader. Russwurm was born in Jamaica in 1799, the son of an English merchant and his African slave. After receiving his early education in Quebec he taught for several years at the African School in Boston, Massachusetts. He graduated

from Bowdoin College in 1826, becoming only the second black to earn a degree from an American college. From 1827 to 1829 he edited *Freedom's Journal* in New York City, the first black newspaper in the UNITED STATES. This made him a controversial figure. When he announced his growing support for African colonization, the voluntary relocation of African Americans to the African continent, black leaders in the northern United States were outraged. However, Russwurm had come to believe that blacks would never achieve equality with whites in the United States. After earning a master's degree from Bowdoin in 1829 he immigrated to LIBERIA.

After arriving in Monrovia Russwurm assumed the post of superintendent of schools for the colony and actively participated in colonial politics. He founded the *Liberia Herald* in 1830 and served as editor for its first half-decade, a role that made him the most prominent black advocate of African colonization. In 1836 officials of the Maryland Colonization Society appointed him as governor of their Maryland-in-Liberia colony at Cape Palmas. As the first black governor of an African colonial administration Russwurm promoted actions that were often viewed as confirmation of black capacity for self-government. He provided exemplary leadership, in spite of continued challenges, encouraging agricultural development and trade, organizing a militia, establishing a judiciary and uniform legal code, and negotiating relatively peaceful relations with indigenous Africans. Despite occasional conflict with Protestant missionaries he established a setting in which missionary efforts could flourish. Before his death in 1851 he began working for the annexation of the colony by the newly independent Republic of Liberia.

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ROY E.FINKENBINE

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SABATIER, AUGUSTE (1839–1901)

French theologian. Born in Vallont-Pont-d'Arc in 1839, Louis-Auguste Sabatier was a French Reformed Protestant theologian and philosopher of religion. He first lectured on reformed dogmatics in the Protestant Faculty of Theology at Strasbourg (1867–1872), and later helped to found the Protestant Faculty of Theology at Paris (1877), where he remained professor of THEOLOGY until his death, and from 1895 served as dean. Amid the religious and political complexities of the Third Republic, he proudly affirmed his allegiance to Huguenot traditions (see HUGUENOTS), his antipathy to the Catholic Church of FRANCE, and his objection to the absolutization of science within Positivism. Sabatier died in Paris in 1901.

He was a prolific writer of theology who combined studies in biblical theology, psychology, and philosophy with the critical study of the history of religions and the history of Christianity. His works included *L'Apôtre Paul, esquisse d'une histoire de sa pensée* (1870), *Les origines littéraires et la composition de l'apocalypse de Saint Jean* (1888), *La doctrine de l'expiation et son évolution historique* (1903), and *Les religions d'autorité et la religion de l'esprit* (1904), as well as the work that brought him fame, *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire* (1897). All were translated into English, extending his influence, with the most powerful book being *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion Based on Psychology and History* (tr. 1897).

Sabatier is usually classified as a liberal theologian whose influence reached both Protestant and Catholic modernists. He is also called a symbolist because of the role he grants to metaphor and nonfixity in the formulation of theological doctrine. The labels are inadequate to indicate his theological program, however. In *Esquisse d'une philosophie*, he emerges as a staunch advocate of both the Reformed Church of France and Protestant doctrines. To reach these positions, however, he does not start with the creed or orthodox doctrine or ecclesiastical institutions or the BIBLE. He starts instead with what he calls "the instinct of every being to persevere in being," that is, the religious impulse inside every person. The impulse, rightly followed, results in PRAYER as the filial movement of the soul to live in relation with God the Father. This Sabatier knows through what he calls psychology, something like study of the soul. Then, through historical study, he discovers that amid all the religions of the world Christianity emerges as the only one within which reconciliation with God is complete. Likewise he detects within the history of Christianity a clear progression from an initial Messianic form to the later Catholic form and finally to the higher Protestant form, which alone brings the original inner impulse of religion to fulfillment. Protestants successfully unite the promptings of the inner spirit with the authority of Scripture, the doctrines of SALVATION, and the common life of the CHURCH.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Modernism

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C.T.MCINTIRE

SABATIER, PAUL (1858–1928)

French theologian. Born in 1858 at Saint-Michael-de-Chabrilanoux, Ardèche, Sabatier served one Reformed Church pastorate in Strasbourg until being forced to leave in 1889 for not relinquishing his French citizenship, and a second at St-Cierge-la-Serre in the Cévennes until resigning in 1893 because of poor health. He then spent long periods in ITALY, especially Assisi, where he engaged in research on medieval spirituality and became a historian of St. Francis of Assisi. In 1919 he became professor of church history at the Protestant Faculty of Theology at Strasbourg. He died in Strasbourg in 1928.

His book *La vie de St. François d'Assise* (1893), written while serving his pastorate in Cévennes, became a standard study of St. Francis of Assisi in his day. He depicted St. Francis as something like a Protestant who followed the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ, distanced himself from the Roman Curia, and stimulated a reformation of the church. The Vatican placed the book on the Index of Prohibited Books (1894). Unusual for a Protestant, he was an active leader in international and national societies of Franciscan studies, and a rigorous researcher after documents relevant to medieval religious themes. He was also fluent in Latin and Italian. His Franciscan interest boosted his own reputation as a mystic.

Within FRANCE he was a avid commentator on the religious condition of the nation. His book *L'orientation religieuse de la France actuelle* (1911), following upon *À propos de la separation des eglises et de l'état* (1905), and *Les modernistes, notes d'histoire religieuse contemporaine* (1909), provided an analysis of the religious history of France during the Third Republic, especially since the Law of Separation (1905). His works played down the evident polarization of religious partisanship and aimed to persuade Protestants to accept the new realities. He showed immense sympathy for Catholic Modernists (see MODERNISM), whom he interpreted as devoted Catholics desiring to help their church, and for Free Thinkers, whom he saw as authentic searchers after truth and not antireligious. He criticized his fellow Protestants for in-fighting and squandering their opportunities for timely leadership. His eye focused on the new generic *morale laïque*, which the government had established in the public schools of France, displacing Catholic teachings. He regarded this action as not antithetical to Catholic or Protestant traditions. The *morale laïque* was, he urged, the clearest expression of the new religious orientation of France. It tapped a universal morality common to society as a whole, and harmonized with the best elements of Protestantism.

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C.T.MCINTIRE

SABBATARIANISM

An often misunderstood movement that cut across denominational boundaries, Sabbatarianism is best considered under two rubrics, the restorationist and the reformist. Advocates of the former type sought a return to the Old Testament Sabbath, and therefore set aside Saturday, the seventh day of the week, for WORSHIP and rest. Most prominent among restorationists are the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS and Seventh-Day Baptists. Advocates of the reformist brand of Sabbatarianism, on the other hand, maintained that the Sabbath was transferred to Sunday when Christ rose from the dead on that day. They sought through measures both coercive and persuasive to ensure that Sunday was properly observed as a Sabbath. Although each type of Sabbatarianism was evident in the sixteenth century, it was not until industrial and commercial rhythms and styles of work, rest, and worship remade societies in Western Europe and North America that they flourished. This process occurred in various communities at different times, following different paces and mandates, but it was most accelerated and pronounced in ENGLAND, colonial America, and later the UNITED STATES. This entry primarily focuses on reformist Sabbatarianism because the restorationist type, now institutionalized in a variety of Seventh-Day denominations, is addressed elsewhere.

The early Protestant reformers, above all JOHN CALVIN and MARTIN LUTHER, cast Sunday as a day for religious assembly and PRAYER, but did not seek to abolish restful and harmless sports from the day. It is well known, for instance, that Calvin played bowls on Sundays, as did many of his prominent followers on the Continent and in England. As part of their larger efforts to eradicate the superstition that they felt corrupted the Catholic Church, the early reformers taught that the Fourth Commandment applied exclusively to the Jews, and that Christians were only obligated to set aside a convenient day for rest and religious duties. Perhaps spurred by the Catholic Church's Council of Trent's publication of a treatise on the Fourth Commandment in 1567, Protestants in England and on the Continent began to closely consider Christ's actions and words in relation to the Old Testament law of the Sabbath. Out of this close reading emerged a great variety of sentiments about the Sabbath, including the restorationist and the reformist brands of Sabbatarianism.

Restorationist Sabbatarianism

Before 1617 no Christian congregations observed the seventh day (Saturday) as the Sabbath. The emergence among a handful of Protestant congregations of the seventh-day Sabbath was an aspect of the larger impulse to return to the practices of the apostolic

church and to rid Christianity of papist innovations. Many of the early Sabbatarians, who could be found in small numbers from Silesia to WALES and were known to their peers as Jews, believed that Sunday worship violated God's command, and was one of the many errors imposed on Christians by the Roman Catholic church. They argued that the Sunday-Sabbath was as tainted as the many red letter days that bled into one another on the Roman calendar. Most zealous about the Saturday-Sabbath were BAPTISTS, some of whom restored the seventh-day Sabbath along with foot washing (see FEET, WASHING OF), abstinence from unclean meats, and the laying on of hands. Chief among the radical critics of the Sunday-Sabbath was the English theologian Theophilus Brabourne (1590–1661), who wrote the first seventh-day Sabbatarian treatise, *A Discourse Upon the Sabbath Day* (1628). In it and in a subsequent, more influential publication titled *A Defence of...the Sabbath Day* (1632), Brabourne made the case for observance of the Mosaic Sabbath. In the following decades several independent congregations formed with the intention of observing the Saturday-Sabbath, most prominently the Lothbury Church and the Mill Yard Church, and their leaders were often tried, and on occasion executed, for hewing too closely to the Old Testament, the Mosaic code, and the seventh-day Sabbath. Led by the nonconformist Francis Bampfield (1615–1684) the “seventh-day men” sought to radically reform the calendar by abolishing all saints days and the Sunday-Sabbath too.

Puritan Sabbatarianism

The majority of Protestants in the seventeenth century as in our own, however, were content to leave the Sunday-Sabbath intact. The Puritan brand of Sabbatarianism, the best-known and most lampooned type, developed in England during the seventeenth century (see PURITANISM). It too was part of the broader reforms of popular culture and of the Roman calendar. In seeking to regularize the rhythm of work and rest by abolishing all saints days and holidays such that on six days men and women could and would work without interruption, Puritans infused the Sunday-Sabbath with much more importance than it had held previous to the REFORMATION. For medieval and early modern Europeans there were many opportunities for revelry, worship, and rest, and for completing the irregular, seasonal, syncopated work that characterized the largely agricultural and subsistence economy. However, with the parallel rise of Protestantism, mercantile capitalism, and industrialism, pressures to regularize rhythms of work and rest accelerated (see INDUSTRIALIZATION). Thus the Fourth Commandment, “thou shalt work six days and rest on the seventh,” resonated deeply with other currents in the culture and economy such that Sunday became the site of all that was meant to be restful and worshipful. This was first evident in Great Britain.

Under the reigns of ELIZABETH I and James I, Puritan divines and Anglican authorities clashed over the observance of Sunday (see ANGLICANISM). Although the crown forbade the performance of plays on Sunday in London (1680) it also vetoed a Parliamentary bill promoting strict observance of Sunday (1684). All agreed that church attendance should be mandatory, but it was over amusement, trade, and work that conflict

developed. Puritans sought to abolish the fairs, games, frolics, and mayhem that erupted after morning services in favor of religious education and public and private prayer. The crown and its bishops, however, sanctioned church in the morning and play in the afternoon, which James I's "Book of Sports" (1618) codified. James I was concerned that without Sunday "the poorer sorts" would have no chance for recreation at all. Near mid-century, Parliamentary law established one Tuesday a month as a day of "recreation and relaxation," but it did not take long for this ruling to fall into abeyance. The crown's revision and enforcement of moderate Sunday codes irked Puritans and other reformers on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus, many treatises about the Sunday-Sabbath were penned and published, including Nicolas Bownde's *The Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595), Gilbert Ironside's *Seven Questions of the Sabbath* (1637), Thomas Shepard's *Theses Sabbaticae* (1649), and William Pynchon's *Holy Time, or, the True Limits of the Lords Day* (1654). The Restoration by no means resolved the debates over the meanings and obligations of Sunday. However, fierce theological parries diminished in power and frequency, the rationalization of the yearly calendar continued its course, Sunday observance was firmly understood as a matter for both religious and civil law, and many parties in the divided English church cherished Sunday as a day of rest and worship.

Sabbatarianism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

So it is out of the collapse of medieval Europe's variegated and elaborate calendar that pressures on and hopes for Sunday coalesced. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain and North America, Sunday was the safety valve for many communities during a time when work days extended beyond twelve hours and religious duties remained rigorous. An array of expectations and disappointments split the large numbers of Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, who treated Sunday as the day of rest, and out of these hopes and frustrations arose a number of Sabbatarian organizations and leaders who tried to mold Sunday into their ideal of the Sabbath. These ideals changed over time, of course, such that early Sabbatarians condemned all reading but that of the BIBLE, whereas later ones actively worked in support of opening on Sundays libraries stocked with a full range of secular works. Sabbatarian goals and issues were defined far more deeply by contemporary understandings of the meaning and nature of rest than by beliefs about worship, the sacred, and biblical injunction. By charting the history of the meaning of rest, one can predict with a fair degree of surety the contours of the Sabbatarian crusade in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It is no surprise then that the great Sabbatarian crusades began in both the United States and Great Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, gained momentum at mid-century, and spread to the Continent before the turn of the twentieth century. This was the age when industrial rhythms of work and rest permeated the countryside as well as the city, with railroads, telegraphs, and electricity remaking all aspects of everyday life. Societies to suppress Sunday trading, established in London in 1809 and 1810, inaugurated the practices of publishing and distributing Sabbatarian tracts and pamphlets. At about the same time in the United States a nationwide controversy over the

transportation and distribution of mails erupted, eventually giving rise to the first American Sabbatarian organization, the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath (1828). In addition to publishing tracts, this organization took the novel step of petitioning the federal congress and senate in favor of a strict Sunday law prohibiting the distribution and transportation of mails. (This law was not passed until 1913.) Across the Atlantic the newly formed and long-lived Lord's Day Observance Society (1831) sounded the alarm that the nation faced immediate ruin if its people continued to desecrate Sunday. Although its successes were few, and the General Union failed in its campaign and disbanded, their formation heralded a century of Sabbatarian activity on the local, national, and international levels.

In both the United States and England, Sabbatarian organizations formed through the 1840s and 1850s with the intention of preventing the running of trains on Sundays, the sale of goods, and sundry other activities that characterized market economies and cultures. In 1843 American-born TEMPERANCE activist Justin Edwards founded the American and Foreign Sabbath Union, an umbrella organization for a variety of Sabbatarian groups and causes. Members and leaders of Sabbatarian organizations tended toward ORTHODOXY and conservatism, but came out of the great variety of Protestant denominations. In the 1850s the old question of Sunday amusements again became chief among Sabbatarian concerns. In Britain controversy about opening the Crystal Palace on Sunday afternoons caused a deluge of pamphlets, tracts, and editorials on the question, which only prepared the public for the widespread protests against a bill limiting the Sunday hours of public houses and another bill restraining Sunday trade. One witness to the demonstrations in Hyde Park during the summer of 1855, Karl Marx, was convinced that the English revolution had finally begun. Later that year a bill proposing the opening of the British Museum on Sunday afternoon to provide uplifting entertainment divided the nation. Robert Morrell, a member of England's Radical Party, formed the National Sunday League (1855) in favor of Sunday opening. Two years later opponents countered by forming the National Lord's Day Rest Association (1857), which recruited members from the working classes and dissenting churches (see DISSENT). At the end of the tumultuous decade John Stuart Mill attacked Sabbatarianism in his *laissez-faire* statement of political philosophy, *On Liberty*.

Although the 1850s was not as active a decade for American Sabbatarians as for those in Britain, in 1857 the influential New York Sabbath Committee (NYSC) formed in reaction to the "Continental Sabbath" activities—beer drinking, concert going, ex-cursion taking—of the large numbers of German and Irish immigrants. As in Britain, recreation, amusements, and, above all, drinking, were at the heart of the controversy. With the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, the NYSC lobbied President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and Union general George McClelland, urging them to ensure Sabbath observance among the troops. Troops, trains, and supplies moved on many Sundays during the Civil War, and some of the bloodiest battles were also fought on that day, despite Sabbatarian pleas for restraint. For the most part Sabbatarians were quiet during the 1860s and 1870s. Their twin successes in keeping the Boston Public Library and the 1876 World's Fair in Philadelphia closed on Sundays were temporary. By 1893 the Chicago World's Fair, along with nearly all public libraries, art museums, and public parks in the United States and Great Britain, were open Sundays.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Sabbatarians formed hundreds of organizations, including the National Sunday League (England), the American Sabbath Association (United States), and the Lord's Day Alliance (United States). Led by career reformers and ministers like Londoner Frederick Peake, Canadian J.G.Sherarer, and Americans Wilbur F.Crafts, William Wallace Atterbury, Alexander Jackson, and Martin D.Kneeland, these groups mostly campaigned against Sunday opening and worked to have their convictions written into civil law. On the local level Sabbatarian laws proliferated, but as the economy became more and more diversified, so did the laws legislating what could and could not be done Sunday. In the 1890s more than thirteen million Americans petitioned the United States Senate to pass a federal Sunday law enjoining it as a day of worship and rest. NATURAL LAW, historic precedent, and biblical mandate were all invoked in support. Sabbatarianism was one of the leading topics of the time, and sermons, pamphlets, editorials, short stories, and tracts concerning Sunday observance were widespread and frequent. Despite the widespread disagreement over the particulars, consensus was that Sunday was and should remain the day of rest.

During this same period the first Sabbatarian organizations began to form in Continental Europe, but unlike their Anglo-American brethren, these associations were animated by concern over Sunday work. Between 1876 and 1915 a series of international congresses on Sunday rest were held, usually in conjunction with world's fairs. The proceedings of these conferences highlight the tremendous variety, and at times conflict, within Sabbatarianism. Biblical injunctions against Sunday amusement and recreation animated the more conservative Anglo-American Sabbatarians. A broad and liberal interpretation of Mark 2:27 ("The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath") characterized the more heterodox Sabbatarians. A concern with the conditions of working people motivated the nonreligious Sabbatarians, many of whom were Continental Europeans. By the twentieth century many European countries had passed labor legislation limiting the hours and days of work, and in these places Sabbatarianism all but disappeared. In the United States and England, too, Sabbatarianism as a movement slowly disappeared. Controversies over the popularity of concerts, motion pictures, spectator sports, and automobile driving on Sundays continued through the 1930s. Sabbatarianism lived on in the courts, as men and women were occasionally prosecuted for violating a Sunday law. In one case that went to the United States Supreme Court in 1961, *McGowan v. Maryland*, the justices decided that although Sunday laws may have had religious origins, they had been sufficiently secularized so as not to violate the constitutional guarantee of a separation between CHURCH AND STATE. Nevertheless, in the 1970s and 1980s Sunday laws were widely repealed.

The inability, and at times refusal, of Sabbatarians to address the most significant and widespread form of "Sabbath breaking"—work—compromised the movement's success. Throughout the nineteenth century Sabbatarians agitated for Sunday closing of cultural and recreational sites, but at the same time trains set and followed Sunday schedules, factories ran continuously, and even in homes domestic laborers ran to and fro preparing large dinners and sewing buttons on church pants. This hypocrisy was glaringly obvious to many contemporaries, who sought to fashion movements of their own against Sunday work or in favor of healthful and uplifting activities on Sundays for those who worked tirelessly through the week. However, because those who gladly took the name "Sabbatarian" were on the one hand committed to preventing all amusements, excursions,

and diversions from tainting Sunday, and on the other hand turned a blind eye to the steam and smoke pouring forth from factories, some of which they owned, the movement for a Sunday-Sabbath was doomed. To be sure, Sunday is the day of worship for most Protestants, but the aspirations and ideals of the earliest Sabbatarians have been lost in the tides of industrialism and commercialism. So the legacy of Sabbatarianism is mixed: in more conservative congregations a strict regard for Sunday as the Sabbath holds sway, but most Protestant Sundays are similar in their essentials to pre-Reformation Sundays—a little church, a little revelry or sport, and some shopping.

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ALEXIS MCCROSSEN

SACRAMENTS

A sacrament (from the Latin *sacramentum*) is defined in Protestantism as visible sign of an inward GRACE. Traditionally sacraments denote those rites which the church understands to be “means of grace” for the recipient. Protestant churches have recognized two such rites, both of which are explicitly ordained by Christ in the New Testament: BAPTISM and the LORD’S SUPPER (or Eucharist or Holy Communion). In this, they rejected the Catholic affirmation of seven sacraments, insisting that a sacrament required the specific institution by Jesus and the promise of the conveyance of grace. Protestant churches affirming the former, but not the latter, prefer the term “ordinance.”

Seeking to correct a perceived overemphasis on the externality of sacramental performance in the medieval Catholic church, the reformers of the sixteenth century stressed the FAITH of the believer as a prerequisite for sacramental efficacy. Thus the Protestant doctrine of the sacraments came to be regarded as a corollary of the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by faith alone. While MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN retained the sacraments as a visible means of grace, and continued to emphasize the ecclesial significance of their outward practice, they placed preeminent importance on the sacraments’ role in the strengthening of the faith of the believer. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI sought to redefine a “sacrament” as an “oath” between the believer and God, and as a public demonstration of the believer’s allegiance to the church.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with their stress on interior faith had several lasting effects on Protestant sacramental practice, ranging from significant changes (such as the shift from infant to adult believer’s baptism by the BAPTISTS) to a moderation of the ceremonious aspects of sacramental worship (PURITANISM and PIETISM). In some cases, the result was the elimination of sacramental ceremony from the liturgical order altogether (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). While some countercurrent sacramental movements arose within Protestantism, such as the largely communal practices of early METHODISM, and although the aesthetic concerns of ROMANTICISM provided a catalyst for the renewal of ceremony in Protestantism, the individual notion of sacramental WORSHIP remained pervasive through the nineteenth century.

The ecumenical movement of the twentieth century restored the importance of the communal church to Protestant sacramental worship. United by the perceived common mission of all Christians in the world, churches (both Protestant and Catholic) witnessed remarkable convergence in their understanding and use of the sacraments, especially as attested to in the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES report on *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*. These developments have done much to address the practical concerns of sacramental worship, but doctrinal divergences, both within Protestantism and between Protestants and Catholics, remain points of serious contention. This is due in large part to the fact that questions of practice have not as readily led Protestant theologians to propose the sacraments themselves as doctrinal loci. Where such work has occurred, the way forward appears to depend on the extent to which the role that the sacraments played

in constituting the liturgical life of the church in the early REFORMATION could be recovered today.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Ecumenism

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NATHAN R.KERR

SAINTS

The figure of the saint is found in all world religions. Saints embody ideals of personal transformation, or holiness, which is common to all religious traditions. However, the meaning of holiness, the functions of saints, and forms by which saints are recognized and honored vary among and within religions. In all religious traditions, however, the recognition of saints is narratively constructed; that is, individuals are identified as saints through the stories told of them, for imitation and celebration, by communities of faith. Although the Protestant reformers rejected the medieval Christian cult of the saints, especially their veneration and their role as intercessors with God, the churches of the REFORMATION continue to emphasize the Christian call to holiness. Moreover, reverence for and even devotion to certain saints of the pre-Reformation church persists, most notably in ANGLICANISM. Distinctions must be made, therefore, between the veneration of saints and their intercession, as found in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox traditions (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN), and the memorializing of certain martyrs and champions of faith, which is manifest in various Protestant traditions.

Saints in World Religions

Outside of Christianity, where official sainthood is conferred posthumously in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox traditions, veneration of saints includes both the living and the dead. Buddhists venerate their *arahants*, their *bodhisattvas*. Hindus revere a wide range of divinely human and humanly divine figures, including their personal gurus or spiritual teachers. Muslims acknowledge various *alwailya Allah* (close friends of God) and assorted Sufi masters. Even in JUDAISM, which discourages the veneration of individuals, one can find popular devotion to the Biblical prophets, particularly Moses and Elijah, to assorted Jewish martyrs, and to beloved rabbis and other *tsaddikim* (just men), primarily among the Hasidim.

However, if the saint is a familiar figure in world religions, the meaning of sainthood and the functions of the saint differ according to traditions. Although all saints inspire admiration, some are considered so extreme in behavior, or so extraordinary in their manifestation of holiness, as to be inimitable. On the other hand, whereas not everyone is a saint, in most traditions the expectation is that all should aspire to holiness. Thus, in every tradition there are various schools of spirituality that have as their goal the achievement of holiness, variously understood, which constitutes sainthood.

Functionally a saint is an exemplar of holiness. In their capacity as paradigms, saints embody the mode of personal transformation that every religion puts forward as the goal

of human existence. Thus the Hindu saint is one who realizes in his own life the divinity of the Self; that is, the realization that within him or her is the Atman that is identical with the Brahman. The Buddhist saint is one who realizes the emptiness of self and true compassion. In monotheistic traditions, God alone is holy. Yet saints are said to achieve a kind of holiness of their own through Divine GRACE, usually manifest through PRAYER, exceptional virtue, austerities, and other spiritual disciplines. Typically, saints are seen as charismatic figures. In all traditions saints work miracles; in Hinduism and Buddhism, miracles are regarded as supernormal powers that the saint acquires in the course of attaining progressively higher levels of spiritual liberation from the attachments of normal human existence. In the monotheistic religions, miracles ascribed to the saints are generally regarded as the work of the Holy Spirit acting through the agency of the saint. There is also in each tradition an intimate connection between personal holiness or transformation and the power to work miracles. In classic rabbinic Judaism, for example, the goal of every Jew is not simply to study the Torah but to “become” the Torah. Thus in the Talmudic literature we find exceptional sages whose holiness also included the power to work miracles. In certain Hasidic traditions the rebbe is regarded as a figure whose soul is rooted in God; in this capacity, he functions as a mediator between God and the members of his Hasidic circle. In Islam sainthood is mostly identified with Sufi mysticism; that is, miracles are attributed to those who have drawn close to Allah through mystical practices.

In sum we can say that in all traditions, a saint is someone who has been transformed, who is often credited with working miracles as the sign of that transformation, and who embodies to an exceptional degree the holiness or spiritual liberation that is held out as the perfection of human existence. It is not surprising, therefore, that saints (as charismatic figures) are often in tension with the protectors of ORTHODOXY. This has been particularly evident in the history of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. At the same time, saints are also figures whose appeal bridges the gap that often exists between popular religion and religion’s intellectual elites.

Saints in Christianity

From a sociological perspective a saint is anyone who is recognized as such by others. The Christian cult of the saints, therefore, began as a process of recognizing certain individuals who have conformed their lives to Christ in an extraordinary manner. Theologically speaking, a Christian cannot be a Christ in the way a Buddhist, for example, can become a Buddha. However, through the power of the Holy Spirit, a Christian’s life can be transformed—a “new creation,” as the Apostle Paul declared—so that Christ can be recognized through the members of His body.

For the early Christians what mattered most about Christ was his DEATH and resurrection. Therefore, those who were martyred for Christ were those whose witness (in Greek, *martyrs* means “witness”) was considered complete. Although the first Christians referred to all baptized believers as saints (in Greek, *hagioi*), before the first century was out the term was reserved for MARTYRS: just as BAPTISM signified incorporation into

the body of Christ, so martyrdom signified a dying with Christ and a rising again into the fullness of everlasting life.

All this is evident from the story of the protomartyr in the Book of Acts. There we see that the story of Stephen's arrest, testimony to Christ, his forgiveness of his enemies, and his death replicates the passion and death of Jesus. Here we have the first example of what was to become a tradition: to be recognized as a saint was to have one's death remembered and told as the story of Jesus all over again. Put differently, the only way the Christian community was able to recognize Stephen as a saint was to see in him the story of Jesus. To this day, in fact, wherever saints are formally canonized or informally recognized by a community of Christians, that recognition takes the form of constructing the saint's story so that it reveals—in new and individual ways—the transformation that occurs in those who allow Christ to live in them.

The martyr, then, was the first model for the Christian saint, and martyrdom remains the privileged form of sainthood to this day, although other models were soon added. One of the earliest was the confessor—individuals who confessed their willingness to die for Christ but whose lives, for various reasons, were spared. Once Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire, anchorites and hermits who fled to the desert wastes of Syria and Egypt were shown the deference usually accorded to martyrs. Just as the martyrs were purified by their suffering and death, so, it was thought, these ascetics were purified by the rigors of their self-denial—and by the temptations of Satan (see DEVIL). Thus to the “red martyrdom” of those who shed their blood was added the “white martyrdom” of the ascetics.

The cult of the saints developed out of the cult of the martyrs. Their stories were recited as examples to the faithful. Their feast days were celebrated not on the day of their birth, but on their *dies natalis*, the day of their rebirth into everlasting glory. Because Christians believed in the resurrection of the body, saints' bones were preserved as relics. Altars were built over their tombs, which later became places of pilgrimage. Moreover, because the martyrs were with God in heaven, they could, it was believed, intercede with God on behalf of the faithful still on earth (see HEAVEN AND HELL). Believing as they did in the “communion of saints,” Christians prayed to those in heaven for help, protection, cures, and other favors. In this way miracles attributed to the saints while they were alive were extended to include those that they could work posthumously through their relics. As historian Peter Brown has observed, the cult or veneration Christians gave to their martyrs challenged the “accepted boundaries” in the Greco-Roman world between the realm and role of the living and the realm and role of the dead.

In later centuries the list of recognized saints came to include missionaries and bishops and other nonmartyrs who were considered holy for the way they lived. It also came to include biblical figures like John the Baptist and Anne, the mother of Mary, as well as figures of legend like Christopher “the Christ-bearer” and even nonhuman figures like the archangel Michael. In short, the cult of the saints brought the dead to life, breathed life into legend, and provided every community of Christians with their own heavenly patrons.

Seeing that the cult of the saints was rivaling the worship of Christ, several early church fathers took pains to distinguish between the veneration (*latría*) accorded to saints and the worship (*dulia*) reserved for God alone, although this abstract distinction had little practical effect.

Canonization: The Transformation of Lives into Texts

To “canonize” means to place a name in a canon or list of saints. The earliest lists were “martyrologies” or lists of local martyrs. Gradually these lists were expanded to include local calendars with the names and burial places of the saints. Whatever else it was, the veneration of the saints was a liturgical act: on their feast days, their stories were read out for the community. In a few cases, like the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, the local churches possessed the Roman notary’s actual transcript of the dialogue between the magistrate and the accused. More often, these dialogues were apocryphal texts composed by the community, to which were attached *libelli* or stories of the miracles ascribed to the saint as further proof of Divine approbation. In some cases, these texts became full-blown hagiographic biographies like the hugely popular Life of St. Martin of Tours. By the fifth century, therefore, all the key elements existed that would eventually be codified in the formal canonization procedures of the Catholic church. Saints were identified as such by their reputations for holiness among the people; by their stories and legends into which their lives were transmuted as exemplars of heroic Christian virtue; and by their reputation for producing miracles, especially those worked posthumously at shrines containing their relics. On this last point, the fourth-century discovery of the relics of the proto-martyr Stephen played an important role. After collecting stories of the miracles produced by the relics, Augustine proclaimed them proof of the resurrection of the body—and divine confirmation that saints are truly with God in heaven and therefore worthy of veneration. Luxuriant in its growth, the cult of the saints took on a life of its own. Detached from the body and separate from the tomb, relics assumed a thaumaturgic power that confirmed the triumph of the concept of the saint as source of miraculous power over the saint as an example of the imitation of Christ. Clearly some form of quality control was required lest Christianity become a Hinduism of the West.

Initially saints were recognized by popular acclamation of the local Christian community. In the early Middle Ages, however, bishops began to assume control over the cult of the saints. In the first phase residential bishops required petitioners to prove a saint’s reputation for holiness by providing them with written accounts (called *vitae*) of the saint’s life and virtues, together with accounts of miracles he or she performed. Later the bishops demanded to hear from eyewitnesses to these events. Still later tribunals were established to investigate the lives and miracles claimed on behalf of candidates for sainthood. Eventually, as the institution of the papacy developed, the authority to investigate lives and to canonize those found worthy passed into the hands of the pope and his curia. One result is the process of canonizing saints became more fastidious and—more bureaucratic. Another is that the number of officially recognized saints radically declined. Today the Roman Catholic Church regards as official only those saints canonized since 1234, when Pope Gregory XI published his *Decretals* (in which he asserted the papacy’s universal jurisdiction over the canonization process), although the church regards as valid the cult of many saints recognized before this date.

Even so, throughout the later Middle Ages many local bishops resisted handing over canonization to Rome, and on the popular level, Christian communities continued to recognize and venerate their own local patron saints. As Andre Vouchez has shown, the popular interest in saints focused on their miracles and especially their power to answer

prayers, whereas the church's elites were interested in recognizing only those who manifest exemplary virtue. Either way, the saint was perceived as someone whose life was far beyond the capabilities of all but a few Christians. Nevertheless humble sinners could take hope: the perfect few, the church taught, had produced a "treasury" of vicarious "merits" that the church could dispense through indulgences practiced by the masses. It was this spiritual economy that was effectively challenged by MARTIN LUTHER. In the name of a purer Gospel he would reject both the spiritual athletes put forward by Rome and the panoply of wonder-working patron saints invoked by the common believer.

The Reformation

Luther was hardly the first to question the cult of the saints. Medieval figures and movements, such as the Cathars and Waldensians, vigorously denied the intercession of the saints. However, Luther's criticisms carried a personal edge. He had become a monk in part because he had promised St. Anne that he would do so if she saved him from a thunderstorm. As a monk he gave himself over to the penances and ascetic disciplines exemplified by many of the saints, hoping thereby to merit saving grace, although these practices only intensified his sense of personal SIN and never gave him the certainty of personal SALVATION that he sought. Thus, having found devotion to the saints useless in his own life, he rejected them in the Reformed practices he laid down for others.

The immediate object of Luther's criticism was the system and its cash nexus whereby the papacy conferred indulgences for sins in return for payment, although it was his mature theological convictions that caused him to reject the cult of the saints. Because salvation is through personal faith alone, no one—not even the saints—can merit salvation through his/her own good works, much less assign that merit to others. Because Luther could find no support in scripture for invoking the saints, he rejected their veneration, mediation, and supplication for favors as pagan practices. God alone, he insisted, is deserving of a Christian's worship and devotion. Luther did retain belief in "the communion of saints," but by that he meant the mutual edification and support that all true Christians ought to give each other. Because Luther believed that even Christians justified by faith remain sinners, he rejected the notion that grace might bring a believer to the perfection of a saint.

HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, JOHN CALVIN, and the other leaders of the Protestant Reformation, none of whom had been monks like Luther, were even firmer—and terser—in rejecting the cult of the saints as unscriptural. Thus, wherever the Reformation churches took root in continental Europe, saints, their cults, their statues, and their stories gradually disappeared. Since the Reformation, the cult of the saints has largely disappeared from Protestant Christianity, although even among conservative Evangelicals special reverence is attached to the prophets of the Old Testament and the apostles of the New. Something like the cult of the saints continues among Anglicans and Lutherans, who maintain feast days and calendars of saints (see LUTHERANISM). Thus, besides acknowledging biblical and later classic figures as saints, Lutherans from time to time

recommend new, more contemporary names (for example, DIETRICH BONHOEFFER and Dag Hamarskjold, are recent additions) for special thanksgiving and remembrance by the faithful. Formal theological conversations between Roman Catholics and various Protestant churches in the late twentieth century suggest that the role and function of saints represent a permanent difference in religious imagination, but not a barrier to ecumenical reconciliation. This optimistic view, however, was somewhat chastened by the offer of indulgences by Pope John Paul II during the Roman Catholic Church's celebration of Jubilee year 2000, which expressed the important role saints play in the Catholic understanding of the economy of salvation.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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KENNETH WOODWARD

SALT, TITUS (1803–1876)

English businessman. In mid-Victorian Britain, Titus Salt was much admired as the paragon of the virtuous, Christian capitalist who both cared for his workers and sought to reduce class tensions. It was for this reputation he was made a baronet in 1869.

Born at Morley in Yorkshire September 20, 1803, his parents raised him in the region's Independent dissenting tradition (see **DISSENT**). His father, Daniel Salt, was a farmer and wool merchant who relocated to the town of Bradford, Yorkshire, in 1822. After an apprenticeship in the wool trade, Titus joined the family firm, and by the mid-1830s had established himself as an owner of wool textile mills. He pioneered the production of blended, especially alpaca, wool fabrics, benefited from the mechanization and expansion of Bradford's textile industry, and so accumulated a large personal fortune.

He was a civic-minded man of liberal, reformist opinions who supported the extension of the franchise to working men but opposed factory legislation limiting hours of work. Although a poor public speaker he served as Mayor of Bradford (1848–1849), president of its chamber of commerce (1855–1856), and its member of Parliament (1859–1861). He was a life-long, devout supporter of the Congregational Church (see **CONGREGATIONALISM**), which he generously patronized with large donations. He also helped other denominations and steadfastly declined to support anti-Catholic organizations (see **CATHOLICISM**, **PROTESTANT REACTIONS**).

Salt's great legacy was his planned industrial community of Saltaire near Bradford, which opened in 1853 and was under construction until 1872. Its large mill employed 3,000 people and the model town was provided with superior housing, churches, educational institutes, and recreational facilities. To both British and foreign dignitaries who toured the site, Saltaire was an exceptionally advanced urban environment for its time.

Titus Salt, who died December 29, 1876, is now seen as an exemplar of the paternalist employer whose career demonstrated for many Victorians that capitalism could be consistent with Christian virtue. He left little in the way of letters, personal papers, or writings that reveal his inner thoughts. Instead his permanent bequest to posterity is Saltaire, which has become a UNESCO world heritage site.

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FRED DONNELLY

SALVATION

The term salvation corresponds, via the Latin *salus*, to the Greek *soteria*, which suggests both physical and spiritual wholeness. It is with the latter that Christians most often associate “salvation.” Salvation refers to God’s restoration of the world to the life appointed for it through the life, death, and resurrection of Christ. The precise nature of this restoration and its benefits—the subject of the discipline of *soteriology*—is construed in various ways throughout the history of Christian theology, and this variation is an irreducible part of the idea of salvation. That is, no “neutral” or “official” soteriology exists to which various expressions are given (see CHRISTOLOGY, which does have an orthodox formulation). Rather, the variety in formulations of the human problem with which God is concerned, the way in which that problem is addressed, and the manner in which human beings appropriate the divine assistance is intrinsic to the doctrine and reflects the several Christian renderings of salvation in the New Testament and in its Hebraic and Greek backgrounds. The discipline of soteriology is a close relative to theological and moral anthropology, and the notion of salvation is a close companion to those of HEAVEN AND HELL, GRACE, and ATONEMENT.

Salvation in the New Testament

Early Christian views of salvation developed against the background of Jewish and Hellenistic thought. The Jewish commitment to the observance of the law as participation in the life-giving covenant with God envisioned right relation to God as the primary end of humanity. The Greek mystery religions contemporaneous with early Christianity aimed at participation in the divine life of the gods, usually through ritual initiation practices. Not a few of the gods associated with these practices were given titles that included the term *soter* (savior). Christian views of salvation were direct descendants of neither of these approaches but were affected by both, as well as by the forms of thinking labeled (somewhat erroneously) as “gnosticism,” which tended on the whole to devalue the body. New Testament notions of salvation reflect the classical moral anthropology found in Plato, Aristotle, and others in which the soul, rather than the body, is fundamental to human identity. At the same time, lying somewhat uneasily alongside this classical model is a more Hebraic reverence for the body and a confidence that salvation will somehow involve the body as well as the soul; thus, the Gospel accounts of Jesus’s resurrection as a glorified state inclusive of some form of physical presence, and Paul’s account of the resurrection of the saints in which their bodies, too, will rise.

There are several lines of thinking about Christian salvation in the New Testament, none mutually exclusive. In various texts, salvation is seen as deliverance from coming judgment, forgiveness of SIN, the remedy of ignorance, release from captivity to the powers of this world, the gift of immortality, or the intrinsic blessing of the just life. Arguably four models of salvation emerge as the most prominent and well-formed among these ideas. The earliest is probably the identification of salvation with “the day of the Lord” in which the just will be rewarded and those who have been wronged will be vindicated. Salvation on this model is awaited as a future event. It is especially visible in the early writings of Paul and is rooted, at least in part, in Jewish apocalyptic thinking. In this model the shape of the salvation that is to come is manifested in Jesus Christ.

Alongside this future-oriented model of salvation is the idea of atonement for past sins. Also rooted in Jewish practice, the precision that we associate with this idea awaits later theological developments. In the New Testament the death of Christ simply brings the forgiveness of sins in which the church participates by forgiving others as Christ did in his ministry, taught in the Lord’s prayer, and modeled on the cross. Salvation as atonement draws vigorously on the Hebraic sacrificial system and on the Isaian imagery of the suffering servant found in the gospel of Luke.

Salvation is also seen in the New Testament as deliverance from DEATH. Although mortal life may be subject to extinction, the life that is given through Jesus will not be extinguished—a life that, in the gospel of John, begins in the present time and survives our physical demise. In the epistles the victory of Jesus over death is frequently depicted in battle imagery, in which Satan or the ruler of this world is vanquished by Jesus’s incarnation and passion. It is this model of salvation that will capture the imagination of such later theologians as Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa; Gregory did not shy from describing salvation as a victory achieved by a divine deception in which the life of humanity is ransomed from the DEVIL.

A fourth prominent model of salvation in the New Testament is the flourishing that comes from a personal relationship with God. Through Jesus, the way is opened for a return to COVENANT (alternatively, a new covenant) with God, whose Spirit is poured out on those who believe and from whom one is no longer separated by sin. This model focuses not so much on salvation from the conditions of existence (e.g., mortality) as salvation within them.

Development of the Second through Fourth Centuries

New Testament models of salvation combined and recombined in the theology of early church writers, often existing in tension within the thought of a single writer. Many worked within the classical Greek moral anthropology in which the soul is composed of reason, will, and the appetites: reason, rightly oriented, provides will its object of the good while ordering and chastening the appetites accordingly. For the early writers who worked within this model, salvation remedies not so much a defect in the will but a failure of knowledge. This knowledge may be moral in character, as in the Didache’s contrast of the “two ways” that lead to life or death, or it may tend toward the mystical, as

in Clement of Alexandria's rendering of Christ as the true gnosis through whom "our darkened understanding springs up to the light" (*I Clement* 59). Justin Martyr also inclined toward the identification of right knowledge as the content of salvation: he referred strikingly to candidates for baptism as "illuminands" (Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, 61).

Whereas Justin, Clement, and others focused on the intellectual defect of the human person, other models of salvation continued to thrive in the second century as well. The *Epistle of Barnabas*, written around the turn of the second century, lauds the deliverance of Christ's flesh to corruption so "that we should be sanctified by the remission of sin, that is, by his sprinkled blood" (*Ep. Barnabas*, 5.1). Ignatius of Antioch, in his *Letter to the Ephesians*, referred to the Eucharist as the "medicine of immortality," connecting the SACRAMENTS and work of Christ through the notion of salvation from mortality and death. Gregory of Nyssa, writing two centuries later, offered a similar interpretation of the Eucharist in its connection to salvation.

It is in the context of this theological diversity that one must evaluate the claim of the Swedish Lutheran Gustav Aulén that the soteriology of the early church was mainly a ransom theory of atonement aimed at deliverance of humanity from death. Aulén's classic study, published in English as *Christus Victor* in 1931, overstates the predominance of this theory as a coherent system of thought, but accurately points to an important fourth-century trend. The ransom theory reckons humanity in debt to Satan as a result of the fall; through Christ, God deceives the devil by concealing divinity under the form of flesh and "catches" the devil as a fish is caught on a hook. Thus, humanity is released from the power of death. This version of the ransom theory is that of Gregory of Nyssa, although the idea originated with Origen. It is not without soteriological alternatives, even in the fourth century. Gregory of Nazianzus, although accepting immortality as the primary benefit of salvation, rejected both the idea that God was compelled to pay a ransom and that God would engage in deception to achieve salvific ends. Gregory of Nazianzus held a position closer to that of Athanasius who, writing earlier in the fourth century, proposed that in death Christ is our substitute. Because the divine Son takes on humanity and dies the death that human beings merit by their fall, humanity is thus taken up by adoption into the divine life, receiving incorruption. Athanasius's position lies somewhere between the idea of salvation as the conferral of immortality and the forgiveness of sin. His notion of substitution laid the groundwork for the theory of satisfaction that, with important differences from Athanasius, would be developed in the eleventh century by Anselm of Canterbury.

Before turning to such later developments, one must take note of Augustine's writing, which gives a strong account of the role of grace in salvation. Sharing the classical moral anthropology through which earlier writers identified the illumination of reason as the focus of salvation, Augustine shifted the emphasis in thinking about salvation to the entrapment of the will. Through the Fall it is no longer possible for the human being not to sin (*non posse non peccare*); even if one identifies and desires the good, one is unable to choose it because the ability to will the good is fundamentally compromised by the Fall (original sin). Although Augustine seeks the illumination of the intellect, he is clear that the grace of God must liberate the will for one to choose rightly and order all goods in light of what God reveals. John Cassian, Pelagius, and others proposed a more cooperative relationship between divine grace and the human will, but the Augustinian

account of the problem of the will and the paradoxical interaction of grace and human freedom would later combine with Anselm's atonement theory in the views of the major reformers.

As noted above, the doctrine of salvation is closely related to the doctrine of heaven/hell and no less variety of thinking about this doctrine existed in the early period than on the idea of atonement or grace. Augustine's own position, shaped by the pressure of conflict with Pelagius and others who felt that Augustine's strong version of grace threatened human freedom, implied a predestination of some to damnation, although he did not teach this directly. Gregory of Nyssa, on the other hand, assumed the invincibility of God's saving intent, providing a strong connection between salvation and the moral life. Offering an extremely nuanced account of the conditions under which some are able more easily to choose the good than others, Gregory suggests that salvation is ultimately intended for all, although some will enter into this blessed state more quickly than others. Ultimately all will be saved, but the morally vicious may not do so until "cleansed" by the fire of hell and judgment, which are not the emblems of the failure of salvation but are tools by which God achieves it, even beyond this life. The contrast between possible damnation and universal salvation set the two extreme ends of the spectrum in subsequent Christian soteriology, although the latter is arguably a minority position.

Medieval Developments in Christian Soteriology

The formulation of salvation in the Middle Ages turns again to the theory of the atonement, although reflection on the operation of divine grace and the role of the human moral action is never far in the background. In the context of a feudal social system Anselm shifts the focus of the fourth-century view on the debt by which human beings are bound: our obligation, as the result of the Fall, is to God, not to the devil, yet our predicament is insurmountable because in our sin and our finitude we cannot repay the infinite debt we owe. Our salvation is achieved by Christ who takes the form of sinful humanity, yet does not sin, and dies paying a debt he does not owe for those who owe the debt but cannot pay. This was necessary so that God's honor is reaffirmed and humanity is saved from payment for sin. This theory of "satisfaction" for sin is not accepted by all—Abelard offers a nontransactional moral theory of salvation whereby we are saved in our response to the death of Christ whose love inspires us to right action—but the shift in focus to a debt owed to God, rather than to the devil, predominates in subsequent theology. The position is considerably modified by Thomas Aquinas who, anxious to maintain a sense of God's freedom, suggests that this manner of salvation was not a necessary action but a gift of superlative grace because the mortal debt we owed was satisfied by an action of infinite worth. At the same time, Aquinas refashions Aristotelian moral theory as a component of his view of salvation: human beings are sinful yet God causes in them both the inclination to good and, cooperatively, the grace to develop dispositions toward virtue. Simultaneously, supernatural virtues are also infused in the soul. The grace God gives to empower the human enjoyment of God as the highest good is one that blesses human nature with a capacity beyond its natural state.

Reformation and Modern Developments

The classic reformers focused on the forgiveness of sin as the primary aim of salvation and tended, like Augustine and Paul, to identify the human will as flawed. Thus, MARTIN LUTHER proclaims that the law commands but we are unable to do anything; yet, by acceptance of grace offered in Christ, we can do all. Luther's theology of salvation fleshed out his criticism of medieval theology's excessive valuation of the human contribution to the state of blessedness. For Luther, God acts in Jesus Christ who substitutes for us as a sinner; his death is our JUSTIFICATION by divine grace, despite our sin. What actions we take toward God and the good of the neighbor are construed primarily as a response to this grace rather than as an active contribution to our salvation because nothing we do can earn salvation that is already freely given. The response we make is, as with Augustine, by virtue of the grace of God that sets the will free to act. In similar fashion JOHN CALVIN understood Christ to incur by his death the penalties of the law that were due to sinners, but combined this with a high view of the instructive use of the law, by which we are tutored in the commands of God toward right action. Consistent with this the judgment we incur for our continuing sin is, by virtue of Christ's sacrifice, no longer punitive but rehabilitative. Yet Calvin's emphasis on the sovereignty of God in acting toward humanity's salvation led him, like Augustine, to pose a doctrine of predestination that somewhat downplayed the capacities of human freedom to contribute to the enjoyment of the blessed state. All the reformers—Lutheran, Calvinist, English, and Swiss—were largely united in viewing Christ's death as a sacrifice with saving effect, to which human effort added nothing substantial; in this, the reformers both recovered the singular significance of the cross for salvation and struggled, at times, to connect salvation with the moral life (SANCTIFICATION).

The resistance once exemplified by Abelard to Anselm's view of salvation as satisfaction for sin continued to live in the REFORMATION in the new forms of SOCINIANISM and ARMINIANISM. The former, largely condemned by other reformers, was associated with two Siennese theologians, Lelio and FAUSTO SOZZINI. Socinianism denies the idea of original sin and, as a result, any sense in which the death of Christ was a satisfaction. Salvation is found, by contrast, in the response to his death as a moral example and with trust in that death as a pledge of forgiveness. Arminianism is less a rejection of a transactional view of salvation by the death of Christ, but insists that this gracious and sovereign act of God is more compatible with human freedom than allowed for by Calvin's strong sense of grace. Both Socinian and Arminian ideas still exercise some influence in modern reformed theology through the continuing influence of Unitarianism (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION).

The modern period has seen the modification of these classical positions in various forms. In the climate of the ENLIGHTENMENT and the scientific revolution, objective or transactional soteriologies fell out of favor for a time; preferred alternatives were versions of Abelardian exemplarism or, as in PAUL TILLICH'S fully developed version in the twentieth century, renderings of Christ as the living symbol of human capacity to transcend the stresses and anxieties of existence. However, the enormity of the human capacity for evil and our awareness of it kept the classic approach alive, in which salvation is an objective reality wrought through Christ who enacts God's freedom to

unite the human to the divine (e.g., KARL BARTH). Of equal significance in the twentieth century has been the attention of biblical studies to Jesus's teaching on the *basileia tou theou*, the reign of God. The corresponding soteriology is eschatological: the blessed life is one lived in practical anticipation of the coming reign and conformed to it. This eschatological soteriology comes to its fullest expression in the work of JÜRGEN MOLTSMANN and in both Catholic and Protestant Liberation Theologies. Here, soteriological force is shifted to the life of Jesus, whereas his death and resurrection are a vindication of his teaching and a source of hope.

The horizons of soteriology in the twentieth century were set by a number of other critiques of the classic approaches. Feminist theologians raised productive questions about the soteriological significance of "sacrifice" that may undermine the ability of women and children to resist victimization in situations of abuse. The encounter of Christian theology with work of René Girard raised questions in a similar vein about the integral role of violence in theories of atonement. African American theologians have criticized traditional accounts of salvation for being insufficiently attentive to ethical practice. Finally the increased cross-cultural encounters between Christian theology and other religions revived attention to the internal relationships within traditions between their models of salvation and their conception of the *telos* of human life.

See also Feminist Theology; Liberation Theology; Theology

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JAMES W. FARWELL

SALVATION ARMY

The Salvation Army was founded in 1865 by WILLIAM (1829–1912) and CATHERINE (1829–1890) BOOTH as a mission to England's urban, working-class communities (see REVIVALS, HOLINESS MOVEMENT). It drew upon METHODISM, revivalism and holiness theologies, the women's rights movement, the emerging urban commercial culture, and the neighborhood culture of England's working class to create a distinctive religious organization. In the 1880s, its evangelizing reached into Europe, North America, and parts of the British Empire. In the 1890s, a social service wing was established that offered shelter to the homeless, programs for the unemployed, and homes for unmarried mothers. By the early twentieth century it was best known as a provider of social services, but its evangelical mission remained at the core of its work.

The Origins of the Salvation Army

The religious census of 1851 revealed that ENGLAND'S urban working class had the lowest rate of religious attendance of any social group. Christians, motivated by both compassion and fear, reacted with alarm to these statistics. Religion was associated by many with respect for the authority of the crown and government. Social commentators noted that many continental revolutionary movements attacked the church as well as the government. Working-class indifference to religion therefore posed a serious threat.

It was commonly believed that cities, with their crowding, filth, and the temptations of the public house and theaters, made urban dwellers more subject to disease and immorality than those who lived in the countryside. East London was regarded as an especially difficult neighborhood to evangelize because it was so vast and uniformly poor and it was not well served by the existing parish structure. Beginning in the 1850s, this area grew dramatically. Thousands of people moved to East London seeking work in the burgeoning industries there. It was also home to many Irish immigrants and after 1880, the majority of Jewish immigrants. Because they were neither English nor Protestant, these immigrants seemed doubly foreign. The term "heathen masses" was often used to describe these seemingly irreligious people. Anglicans and nonconformists responded by creating various agencies to bring working-class people into the churches (see ANGLICANISM; CHURCH OF ENGLAND; NON-CONFORMITY). The London City Mission, the Open Air Mission, Ranyard's Biblewomen, the Mildmay Mission, and the Metropolitan Tabernacle of CHARLES M.SPURGEON were all examples of organizations designed to bring Christianity to the urban working class with methods

developed particularly for them. The Salvation Army was one part of that wider mission to the urban working class.

William Booth was particularly concerned with the state of England's "heathen masses." He felt a call to bring them into the church. He was ordained by the Methodist New Connexion in 1855 and worked as a circuit preacher and itinerant evangelist. His wife, Catherine Mumford Booth, was also a preacher. In 1859 she published a widely read pamphlet in support of female PREACHING and soon after began to preach herself. She proclaimed the "women's right" to preach the gospel and, unlike most of her contemporaries, did not believe women required a special call to preach nor did they need to cast themselves as the weak and low. She believed women's preaching was sanctioned in Scripture and was an absolute necessity given the dire state of England, and the world's, people. She preached by invitation with her husband and alone. Her unusual work gained her considerable attention and criticism, but she was not permitted to preach in many churches and chapels.

In 1861 William Booth resigned from the Methodist New Connexion because he felt its restrictions impeded his ability to do soul-saving work. For four years the Booths preached in Cornwall, Wales, the midlands, and north, finally coming to London in 1865.

The Establishment of the Christian Mission

William Booth was engaged by the editors of the evangelical weekly, *The Revival*, to conduct services in the East of London for three weeks in July 1865. He drew substantial crowds and with the encouragement of London evangelicals and philanthropists, William Booth agreed to continue the work. Catherine also received invitations to preach in London, and the couple determined to make the city the focus of their efforts. With the financial support of wealthy philanthropists and members of several evangelical organizations, William Booth began the East London Christian Mission, soon renamed the Christian Mission. He preached in the streets and rented halls for weeknight and Sunday services. He slowly drew a following of evangelists and volunteer workers to assist in him this work. By 1868 a London newspaper estimated that between 7,000 and 14,000 people attended the 140 weekly services. In that same year, William Booth began publishing a monthly magazine, *The East London Evangelist*, renamed the *Christian Mission Magazine* in 1870. It included reports on the mission's activities, biographies and autobiographies, and articles on religious questions. The mission continued to grow and by 1872 had twelve London stations and eight outside London.

The mission was modeled on the Methodist structure with class meetings, elders meetings, circuits, and annual conferences. William Booth was the general superintendent. Membership in the mission required active participation in both worship services and the work of running the organization. The mission's doctrines were essentially Methodist with a strong emphasis on holiness. Members were to abstain from alcohol, could not work in any aspect of the drink trade, and were to shun wasteful and cruel pastimes like betting, boxing, and animal sports.

Creating an Army

In 1879 the Christian Mission was reorganized into the Salvation Army. The committees, conferences, and voting procedures were disbanded and William Booth appointed himself general of this army, with direct control over the organization. It had grown into a dynamic, national organization with mission stations along the south coast, the midlands, the north, the northeast, and Wales. It employed 127 paid evangelists and another 700 worked part-time without salary. There is little evidence to explain the abandonment of a Methodist style of organizing and the adoption of a military style structure except the leaders' own assertion that the committees and annual conferences were too awkward, slow, and inefficient for a growing organization. The Deed Poll gave William Booth "oversight, direction and control" of the organization. He could expend all money donated and was required to publish an annual balance sheet. He was also to appoint his successor. This gave Booth greater authority over this organization than that of most Protestant leaders and some criticized him for enjoying greater powers than the pope. The name Salvation Army was adopted in 1879 and was intended to capture its aims as well as the dedication, faith, and obedience required of its members.

The Salvation Army created an organizational structure with a series of ranks and duties assigned to each. A corps was a town, or portion of a town, and it included all soldiers who lived in that area. It was run by a paid officer, usually a captain, assisted by a lieutenant, with a group of volunteers each with their own rank and duties. Corps were grouped into districts under the command of a major, and several districts formed a division under the command of a colonel. As the army moved outside Great Britain, it created territories that were a country or group of countries with a marshal in command. This structure provided a clear, unequivocal chain of command and division of responsibility. The duties and beliefs of each individual member were described in the *Orders and Regulations* (first published in 1878 and regularly updated) and the *Doctrines and Discipline* (first published in 1881). In 1880 uniforms were first introduced. The dark blue, military style uniform allowed officers and soldiers to be recognized instantly, but were criticized by some journalists and social commentators because they appeared to presume the authority and dignity of the British military. The sight of uniformed women particularly offended the army's critics.

Beginning in 1882 the Salvation Army required all soldiers to sign the Articles of War. This document listed the Army's principle beliefs and the requirements of membership. Every soldier had to promise that "Believing solemnly that The Salvation Army has been raised by God, and is sustained and directed by Him, I do here declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of The Army until I die."

William Booth remained general of the Salvation Army until his death in 1912. His eldest son, Bramwell Booth, succeeded him. He served until 1929 when he was deposed and the Deed Poll altered to allow a council of leading officers to select a general. That system, with some modifications, has continued to the present day.

Holiness Theology

Holiness was the distinguishing feature of the movement's theology. The doctrine was the most frequently explained and advocated in Christian Mission, and later Salvation Army, publications. JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791), in *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, had stated that holiness could be attained by Christians in this life but was not required. In the 1820s and 1830s, some theologians reinterpreted this doctrine and asserted that it was the duty and privilege of all Christians to attain holiness. The Booths were fervent advocates of that position. Holiness meant that any Christian could be delivered from sin. William Booth wrote in *Doctrines and Discipline* (1881), “Entire sanctification supposes complete deliverance. Sin is destroyed out of the soul and all the powers, faculties, possessions, and influences of the soul are given up to the service and glory of God.” Holiness was an absolute necessity for office in the Salvation Army. Salvationists also believed it was the only assurance of heaven.

This theology meant that the usual education required for clerical office was far less important than a sanctified soul. Salvationists believed the experience of entire sanctification empowered them to do God's work far better than the performance of religious ritual or memorizing a creed. Many clergy, journalists, and social critics denounced the Salvation Army because it allowed previously dissolute men and women with none of the education or knowledge usually required of clergy to preach and even to question the work of learned clerical men.

Women's Work

This doctrine was particularly important for WOMEN. Because holiness was believed to remove sin, the burden of Eve's transgression was lessened and distinctions between men and women were diminished. It also allowed converts to justify unconventional behavior when called by the Holy Spirit. This doctrine also relied heavily on the events described in the Acts of the Apostles, where women figured prominently. The Christian Mission authorized women to preach, hold any office, and to vote at all meetings. In 1875 Annie Davis was the first woman to take charge of a mission station, which gave her authority over both spiritual and practical matters. This degree of responsibility and authority was matched in virtually no other denomination or voluntary organization at that time. The women who joined the army were predominantly working class and many had little formal education or other qualifications usually required for ministry. They learned to preach by addressing meetings, visiting homes, and speaking to people in the streets. There is evidence of some resistance within the organization to women's work; an 1875 conference resolution affirmed that the conference could not “obstruct the admission of females to any work or office in the Mission.” Some converts also recalled their initial

horror at the sight of female preachers. Still, the women preachers, dubbed, “Hallelujah Lasses,” drew considerable crowds and many credited their conversion to a woman. In the early years, women’s wages were equal to men’s, but there was no set scale and wages were determined by the individual’s family circumstances and experience. By 1882, however, male captains earned twenty-one shillings per week and female captains only fifteen shillings.

Salvationists were expected to make all aspects of their lives part of an effort to evangelize the world. In 1882 the army adopted the Articles of Marriage. All Salvationists who wished to marry had to sign the document promising that “we do not seek this marriage simply to please ourselves, but that we believe it will enable us to better serve the interests of the Salvation Army.” Officers were not permitted to marry anyone who was not a member of the Salvation Army until 2000 when that particular regulation was dropped.

Until 1883 the Salvation Army offered communion. It was given monthly by the corps officers, male and female alike. This was among the first instances of women offering communion in Britain. Even denominations that allowed women to preach, such as the Methodists, still distinguished between lay ministers and ordained clergy, allowing only the latter to perform sacraments. Salvationist women who offered communion received strong criticism from clergy. The practice of communion was given up in 1883 because Salvationists feared it might be mistaken as a means to salvation. In her book, *Popular Christianity* (1887), Catherine Booth warned, “What an inveterate tendency there is in the human heart to trust in outward forms, instead of inward grace! And when this is the case, what a hindrance rather than help have these forms proved to the growth, nay to the very existence, of that spiritual life which constitutes the real and only force of Christian experience.” The theology that allowed women to offer communion also justified abandoning the practice. The army’s refusal to regard outward, physical distinctions between men and women as meaningful also meant that material means to receive the Holy Spirit were not deemed necessary.

In 1880 the Salvation Army instituted formal training for officers. Two training homes, one for women, one for men, were opened. Basic accounting and record keeping were taught along with theology, preaching, and singing. Women made up nearly half of all those trained prior to World War I. By 1881 the Salvation Army employed just over fifteen percent of all the women in England listed by the census as missionaries, scripture readers, and preachers.

Evangelizing

The Salvation Army created a battle plan especially suited to the urban geography and culture of working-class communities. Mass commercial culture was new; in the 1870s working-class Britons began to have enough leisure and disposable income to enjoy music halls or trips to the seaside, as well as traditional pleasures like the public house and local sporting events. Salvationists borrowed aspects of popular entertainment to draw crowds and to transform the culture they believed fostered sin. They held services

in music halls, sang hymns in front of public houses, and appropriated the language and much of the style of commercial entertainment. The services were lively and audiences were encouraged to join in the hymn singing, shout out responses to the preacher, and stand and testify to their own experience of sin and salvation. The Salvation Army copied advertisements from the music halls or circuses so closely that sometimes the audience was not aware they had come to a religious service. Salvationists took popular music hall tunes and wrote new words. “Champagne Charlie” was among the most popular of the Victorian music hall songs and the Salvation Army published their own version of the song in 1882, entitled “Bless His Name He Set Me Free.” It became a popular song with Salvationists, but one Anglican clergyman complained in a church newspaper about the shocking impropriety of crowds singing sacred words to this music hall tune, voicing a concern shared by many (see MUSIC, POPULAR; HYMNS AND HYMNALS).

Salvationists wanted to draw a crowd and eagerly seized on sensational methods to attract attention. A preacher might dive off the platform, making swimming motions, to demonstrate the sea of God’s love, or tear a hymn book into shreds to show how the devil attacks sinners. They adopted special titles like the Hallelujah Fishmonger. In 1880 Eliza Haynes hung a sign around her neck saying “I am Happy Eliza” and marched through the streets of London’s Marylebone neighborhood handing out invitations to a service while playing a fiddle. Her antics got written up in the London papers, she was followed by the police, and a music hall song was written about her. These techniques, decried as sensationalism, earned the Salvation Army criticism from many other denominations. The *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review* in 1883, for example, opined that the effect of the army’s activities was to make people incapable of any religious life “as they destroy the very foundation of religion in the human soul—reverence.”

Salvationists were also the focus of local, neighborhood opposition from the earliest years through the 1890s. In some locales, gangs of young men attacked Salvationists when they marched through the streets and the police arrested Salvationists for disturbing the peace. Some communities passed bylaws forbidding marches on Sunday in an effort to contain the army’s work. Eastbourne and Torquay witnessed street frays that included more than 1,000 people in the early 1890s. The army’s leaders succeeded in overturning the laws restricting their use of the streets and affirmed their right to march in the public thoroughfares.

The Salvation Army’s uniformed preachers, dramatic techniques, and energetic evangelism drew converts. The army never published regular statistics on its membership and it is difficult to assess with any certainty. In 1883 the Salvation Army had 528 corps and 1,340 officers in the United Kingdom. By 1886 that number had grown to 1,006 corps and 2,260 officers, but it is impossible to know how many people attended the services or joined the Salvation Army. In 1886 and 1902, religious censuses were conducted in London indicating that fewer than one percent of London’s population attended a Salvation Army hall on a given Sunday. But in 1902 the army accounted for eighteen percent of all nonconformist attenders in London. Some scholars have suggested the Army was more successful in provincial towns. It is difficult to make any strong claims about membership. Salvationists were, however, very successful at getting and keeping public attention, and certainly by the 1880s, they were well-known figures in working-class communities throughout the country as well as stock figures of fun in comic magazines and music halls.

International Expansion

The Salvation Army sent a group of officers to begin evangelizing in the UNITED STATES in 1880, to AUSTRALIA in 1881, and to CANADA in 1882. These largely Protestant countries were, it was hoped, fertile ground for the kind of work the army had pioneered in Britain. The army did succeed in establishing strong national organizations in these countries, which continue to the present day. In FRANCE and SWITZERLAND the army's officers were not welcomed. The Booth's eldest daughter was jailed and expelled from Switzerland in 1882; even after she obtained permission to evangelize there the Swiss were not sympathetic to these foreign evangelists. In 1882 the Salvation Army commenced work in INDIA. They focused their efforts on the non-Christian population and found some success with the lowest caste peoples. In 1883 the army began work in Cape Town, SOUTH AFRICA, by 1886 the army was active in nineteen countries with 1,932 officers at work outside Britain. Again, it is difficult to ascertain how many people attended army services or joined the movement, but the army has remained active in various countries in North and South America, Europe, AFRICA, Asia, Australia, and NEW ZEALAND up to the present day.

Social Services

In 1890 William Booth published *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. England's "submerged tenth," its poorest citizens, needed help. Booth likened the "cannibals and pygmies" of darkest Africa to these citizens of "Darkest England." His solution, he claimed, would be "as wide as the scheme of Eternal Salvation set forth in the Gospel.... If the scheme...is not applicable to the Thief, the Harlot, the Drunkard, and the Sluggard, it may as well be dismissed without ceremony." Existing charitable programs and state assistance helped too few and were ineffective. He proposed to establish city, farm, and overseas colonies. The city colonies would gather together the destitute, provide for their immediate needs, and commence with moral regeneration. They would then proceed to farm colonies, where they would restore their health and character. Finally they would find work either at home or in an overseas colony. In addition, Booth proposed to extend the army's already established network of shelters for the homeless and cheap food depots. Booth stated that it was his goal to bring the clothing, food, and shelter of everyone up to the standard of those provided to the London cab horse, a graphic comparison mentioned by many reviewers.

Scholars have debated why Booth proposed this scheme at this time. Historian Norman Murdoch (1939-) argues that Booth realized he had failed to reach England's very poorest and hoped that social services would attract them. Murdoch regards this program as an important departure from the army's previous work. Others, notably Jenty Fairbank, instead emphasize the continuity of the darkest England scheme with earlier programs. Fairbank notes that only three of the ten social services did not begin before 1890. In 1883 the army had, for example, opened a home for "fallen women," a category

that included unmarried, pregnant women and prostitutes. Under the direction of Florence Booth, daughter-in-law of William Booth, the program grew to include 117 homes for women in Britain and overseas by 1914. It was one of the largest, and some argued, the most innovative of the rescue programs in Britain. The work extended to maternity hospitals, homes for women awaiting birth, adoption services, and programs for new mothers and infants. The stated goal of all these programs was to bring about the CONVERSION and salvation of these “fallen women.”

The army’s social services grew very quickly to include a large number of full-time officers, a publication devoted to their activities, and a strong public presence. The Salvation Army ran shelters for the homeless; distributed soup to the unemployed; provided homes for orphaned or abandoned children; established a farm colony, Hadleigh, beginning in 1891; and created a service to locate missing persons. By the time of the 1909 Royal Commission on the Poor Law, some experts who addressed the committee advocated providing state subsidies to the Salvation Army to extend its social service work with the poor. During World War I, the army offered food and shelter to refugees; setup canteens for military men, where they first introduced doughnuts to many soldiers; and provided services for those who lost their livelihoods or homes due to war. These programs were well regarded. It offered similar services during World War II. In both wars, the army offered services to all, regardless of nationality, but their programs were far more extensive in the Allied nations because of the army’s English origins and the difficulty of any religious organization operating independently under the Nazis. An enormous variety of people came into contact with the army’s services during the war, greatly enhancing the army’s public profile and support after 1945.

The Salvation Army Today

In 1999 the Salvation Army worked in over 100 countries. There were over 14,000 corps worldwide and social service programs operated in more than 140 languages. The army ran 152 centers for alcoholics, 200 children’s homes and day nurseries, 13 holiday camps for children, 800 shelters for the homeless, and 130 centers for refugees. The army ran 2,000 food distribution centers and 450,000 prisoners in jail were visited that year. It is among the world’s largest providers of social services.

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PAMELA J.WALKER

SANCTIFICATION

Sanctification is the process of making something or someone holy. (Biblical Greek and Hebrew have no separate words for sanctification and holiness.) In Protestantism, the doctrine of sanctification refers to believers being made holy. In Protestant theology, sanctification occurs after religious CONVERSION, or JUSTIFICATION. “Entire sanctification” is the distinguishing doctrine of the Protestant HOLINESS MOVEMENT.

MARTIN LUTHER’S sixteenth-century Protestant insight reversed the assumed order of justification and sanctification in Christian SALVATION. In Luther’s understanding, Catholicism taught that sanctification preceded justification. Believers had to make their lives holy (sanctify themselves) before God would declare them righteous (justify them). Luther believed that placing sanctification before justification promoted righteousness by works and that justification by faith could be preserved only by placing justification before sanctification.

For Luther, justification was a judicial process whereby God declared sinners righteous apart from any righteousness of their own. In justification, God imputed Christ’s righteousness to sinners on the basis of faith. Sanctification, the attainment of holiness, followed justification, but the believer’s holiness was always alien to the believer because justification was always God’s gift to sinners. For Luther, therefore, sanctification could not result in moral transformation. Believers were always sinners and could never possess holiness of their own. Sanctification was the ever deeper awareness of one’s sinfulness. At the same time, however, Luther also insisted that the Christian was called upon to live a godly life.

JOHN CALVIN accepted Luther’s understanding of imputed righteousness, but made holiness the goal of Christian life. In the Calvinist tradition, therefore, a believer’s quest for holiness posed no threat to justification by FAITH. The believer’s holiness, although always a gift of grace and incomplete before death, was not entirely alien. CALVINISM allowed for genuine moral transformation as Christians were sanctified.

The eighteenth-century Anglican cleric JOHN WESLEY taught the doctrine of Christian perfection, which optimistically asserted that Christians could experience perfect love toward God and human beings before death. Among Wesley’s followers, this doctrine became identified as “entire sanctification.” The qualifier “entire” distinguished Wesleyan sanctification from the less-optimistic Calvinist sanctification. For Wesleyans, to be “entirely sanctified” was to love God and neighbor perfectly.

Although Wesley founded the Methodist Church in America and led the Methodist movement in Britain, by the mid-nineteenth century entire sanctification was primarily taught in interdenominational North American settings under the auspices of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness (later the Christian Holiness Association). Most “holiness” denominations (e.g., CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, FREE METHODIST CHURCH OF AMERICA, and WESLEYAN CHURCH) originated from this American holiness movement.

Nineteenth-century evangelical preachers like CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY and DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY also preached sanctification and equated sanctification with spirit BAPTISM (e.g., Acts 2). Such doctrines of sanctification emphasized the believer's empowerment for witness and service without espousing perfectionist themes ("sanctification" rather than "entire sanctification"). The charismatic tradition often follows this evangelical doctrine of sanctification and emphasizes the gift of speaking in tongues as the evidence of one's sanctification.

See also Evangelicalism; Methodism; Methodism, England; Methodism, United States; Sin; Tongues, Speaking in

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THOMAS E. PHILLIPS

SANKEY, IRA DAVID (1840–1908)

Gospel hymn singer and composer. Sankey joined preacher DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY to form one of the most popular evangelistic teams in nineteenth-century America. Born in 1840 in Edinburg, Pennsylvania, Sankey joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856 (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA) and sang at SUNDAY SCHOOL gatherings throughout Pennsylvania and Ohio. He met Moody at a Young Men's Christian Association (see YMCA, YWCA) convention in Indianapolis in 1870.

After witnessing Sankey's ability to move an audience through song, Moody asked him to be his partner. Sankey's text-driven, emotion-filled renderings of old Sunday school songs complemented Moody's PREACHING style. The pair found initial success in a Revival campaign in Britain from 1873 to 1875 (see REVIVALS). Upon returning to the UNITED STATES, the pair established evangelistic crusades in major cities that won thousands of converts.

For his own compositions and hymn collections, Sankey chose lyrics focused on testimony rather than DOCTRINE. In his songs, humans passively receive God's grace in an emotional, intimate experience with Jesus. Several of Sankey's settings became widely popular, particularly "The Ninety and Nine."

Audiences urged Sankey to publish the songs he performed. In 1873 he issued a sixteen-page pamphlet, *Sacred Songs and Solos*. Sankey eventually added 1,200 songs to this collection, which sold more than 80 million copies. Sankey also joined with composer Philip Bliss to compile a six-volume series, *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs*, released from 1874 to 1891. These volumes became the standard gospel hymn collection in America. Sankey died in Brooklyn in 1908.

See also Evangelicalism; Evangelism; Hymns and Hymnals; Music, American

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JENNIFER GRABER

SATTLER, MICHAEL (c.1490–1527)

Swiss Anabaptist leader. Sattler was a former prior of a Benedictine monastery and the short-lived leader of the Swiss Anabaptist movement in the Zurich *Unterland*. Little is known of his early life beyond the fact that he was born in Staufen in the Breisgau near Freiburg in about 1490. He likely did not have university training, although he was fluent in Latin. Appointed prior at the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter's northeast of Freiburg sometime between 1518 and 1525, Sattler left that position—probably in May of 1525 amid the religious and economic unrest associated with the Peasants' War—and moved to the area around Waldshut-Schaffhausen, a region noted for its radical religious DISSENT. In November of 1525 Zurich authorities arrested Sattler for his association with Anabaptists, and extracted an oath of loyalty before expelling him from the territory.

It is probable, though not certain, that Sattler was baptized as an Anabaptist in the summer of 1526 (see ANABAPTISM). He next appeared in Strasbourg, where he had friendly encounters with the reformers MARTIN BUCER and WOLFGANG CAPITO, both of whom he addressed as “beloved brothers in Christ” in a farewell letter to them written early in 1527. The letter to Bucer and Capito contained the essential features of Sattler's theological position, features that found fuller expression a few weeks later in his most important writing—the so-called SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION (*Bruderliche Vereinigung*). Ratified on February 24 by a gathering of leaders in Schleithem am Randen, this brief affirmation of Anabaptist distinctives became a foundational reference point for Swiss Anabaptist THEOLOGY as it took shape in subsequent decades. The christocentrism and ecclesiological separatism central to the CONFESSION—rooted in believer's BAPTISM, the practice of mutual aid and CHURCH DISCIPLINE, and a rejection of the oath, violence, and magisterial offices—show clear traces of Sattler's Benedictine background and underscore the debt owed by the Swiss Anabaptist movement to late medieval Catholic piety as well as to evangelical Protestantism.

In late February of 1527 Sattler, his wife Margarethe, and several other Anabaptists were arrested in Horb (Württemberg). After some two months of imprisonment—during which time Sattler wrote a lengthy letter of encouragement to the persecuted Anabaptist congregation at Horb—the group was transferred to a prison in Rottenburg, a territory under the jurisdiction of ARCHDUKE Ferdinand of Austria. On May 20, 1527, after a HERESY trial of several days, Rottenburg authorities tortured, then executed Sattler by burning. His wife was drowned in the Neckar river on the following day.

Despite the abbreviated nature of his leadership, Sattler gave the fledgling Swiss Anabaptist movement a theological coherence—sealed with the authority of his martyrdom—that helped to ensure its viability even amid persistent persecution in subsequent decades.

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JOHN D.ROTH

SCHAFF, PHILIP (1819–1893)

American church historian. Schaff was born in Chur, SWITZERLAND, on January 1, 1819. His piety led him to a religious career, not in ministerial service but rather in academic studies. While studying at universities in Tübingen (1837–1839) and HALLE (1839–1840), he came under the influence of FERDINAND C.BAUR, whose ideas about the historical development of Christian thought and practice became a permanent part of his thinking. Finishing his studies in Berlin (1840–1841), Schaff obtained a licentiate in THEOLOGY and began teaching as a *Privatdozent* (lecturer). While there he was befriended by JOHANN AUGUST NEANDER, another seasoned scholar of the history of Christianity, who greatly affected the young instructor's religious and intellectual life. In 1844 he accepted an invitation to become professor of church history and biblical literature at a fledgling institution in the New World. Arriving at the German Reformed Seminary in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, he quipped that he was Swiss by birth, German by education, and American by choice.

At the seminary the newcomer became associated with JOHN W.NEVIN, a vigorous theologian in the Reformed tradition, and during Schaff's tenure there (1844–1863) the two developed the "MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY," a distinctive emphasis on broad confessionalism based on historical continuity. The CIVIL WAR interrupted normal activities in central Pennsylvania, and so Schaff moved to a place of greater safety, serving from 1864 to 1869 as secretary for the New York Sabbath Committee and lecturing occasionally (1868–1871) at Andover, Drew, and Union Theological Seminaries. Beginning in 1870 he occupied various professoriates at Union, lecturing on theology, scripture, and history until retirement in 1893. Vigorous and energetic throughout his career Schaff remained active up to the last month of his life, dying on October 20, 1893 at his home in New York City.

Schaff's most important contribution lay in historical studies of Christianity, lectures, and publications that ranged from biblical times to his own age. His efforts for a half century were sustained by a conception of developmental change that resembled a broadly Hegelian process, one that drew strength from positive, although often conflicting, forces in past times and pointed to future possibilities for improvement. As soon as he arrived in this country Schaff began articulating ideas about dialectical processes in history, patterns familiar to him but startlingly novel to many new compatriots. Most Americans in the Reformed tradition held a much more static view of church history, suspicious of the idea that they had departed from earlier precedent and resentful of any charitable thought that regarded Roman Catholicism as a valid form of Christianity (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). In 1845 such Nativists (see NATIVISM) charged the young German professor with HERESY, hinting also that he leaned toward "popery." Schaff defended himself in open debate and in two classic books: *The Principle of Protestantism, As Related to the Present State of the Church* (Chambersburg, 1845) and *What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of*

Historical Development (Philadelphia, 1846). In the end Schaff was completely exonerated, and, reassured by that overt vindication, he continued to disseminate attitudes about broad ecclesiastical cooperation and ideas about dynamic progress in historical experience.

Breadth of Interests

Although primarily a historian, Schaff was interested in an impressively wide range of topics in religion studies. In the area of primary concentration his work culminated in his six-volume *History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1882–1892) and in his successful coordination of other scholarly efforts in a thirteen-volume collection of denominational histories known as *The American Church History Series* (New York, 1893–1897). Schaff's warm, perennial interest in theology yielded many academic reflections, notably *Theological Propaedeutic* (New York, 1892), whereas cumulative liturgical studies eventuated in *Bibliotheca Symbolica Ecclesiae Universalis: The Creeds of Christendom* (New York, 1877). All in all, more than eighty publications bore his name, and these finished products plus his continuing example helped create a greater appreciation in this country for critical scholarship, especially that which displayed dispassionate and open-minded attitudes about all forms of religious expression.

During a lifetime of variegated academic and ecclesiastical activities Schaff was sustained by an abiding ecumenical vision (see ECUMENISM). Indeed, his view of historical development led him to expect that Protestantism and Catholicism would eventually progress to a higher level of institutional life, an "evangelical catholicism" that moved beyond current malpractices while retaining the present-day benefits of each form. Pursuing that end he lectured, wrote, and organized to promote better understanding among various branches of Christianity. He served, for example, as a key figure in the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE and worked from 1866 to 1873 to organize an American chapter of that group, hoping also to convene one of its international conferences in New York City. Most of Schaff's historical research was based on an irenic ecumenical perspective, and his instrumental presence in founding the AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY in 1888 served as another expression of this conviction that future growth stemmed from an adequate grasp of the past. Other pivotal activities such as committee work on creedal revision and on new biblical translations were also characterized by the hope that greater mutual understanding among churches would facilitate greater toleration and cooperation.

In 1893 the city of Chicago hosted a Columbian Exposition, and a WORLD PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS was held in conjunction with it. Schaff was determined to attend the meetings and present a paper there, entitled "The Reunion of Christendom." Doctors advised against such strenuous activity, but he pursued his objective with the same dogged persistence that he had exhibited for more than five decades. Travel by train so exhausted the old American professor that he was forced to remain seated on the rostrum while a colleague read his address for him. The return trip further depleted Schaff's strength, but he was glad to have articulated his vision one last time, even

though the effort shortened his life. Emotionally and physically drained, he died less than a month later.

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HENRY W. BOWDEN

SCHELLING, FRIEDRICH WILHELM JOSEPH VON (1775–1854)

German philosopher. Born in Württemberg, GERMANY, in 1775 Schelling was a leading representative of German Idealism. Some of his major works are *Ideas towards a Philosophy of Nature* (1797), *System of Transcendental Idealism* (1800), and *Philosophical Inquiries into the Nature of Human Freedom* (1809). He also left behind a considerable body of lectures, published posthumously as the *Philosophy of Mythology* and *Philosophy of Revelation*. He died in Ragaz, SWITZERLAND, in 1854.

Schelling's main contribution to nineteenth-century Protestant theology was to provide an alternative to GEORG W.F. HEGEL. Schelling's emphasis on God's freedom contrasted favorably with Hegel's tendency to make creation a matter of logical necessity. An indication of the anxiety about the pernicious effect of Hegel's philosophy was the decision by the Prussian government to bring Schelling to Berlin as professor of philosophy in 1841. The express purpose of this appointment was to combat the influence of Hegel.

In the twentieth century Schelling's influence on Protestant thought is best seen in the theology of PAUL TILLICH. Tillich was attracted to several aspects of Schelling's philosophy. First, he credited Schelling with recognizing the importance of the unconscious as a philosophical principle. Second, he found Schelling's understanding of the divine presence within NATURE appealing. Third, he found valuable resources for existential philosophy in Schelling's later thought. Fourth, his doctrine of God corresponds roughly to Schelling's. For both, God is the ideal harmony of polar opposites. Both represented God as a dialectical movement between identity and difference.

See also Boehme, Jakob; Theology

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SAMUEL M. POWELL

SCHILLER, JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH (1759–1805)

German playwright. Schiller (von Schiller after 1802) was born on November 11, 1759 in Marbach, and died on May 10, 1805 in Weimar. From 1767 to 1773 he attended grammar school in Ludwigsburg. On the order of Duke Carl Eugen von Württemberg he entered the Karlschule, a military preparatory academy. He began studying law in 1774 and medicine in 1776, and in 1780 he served as an army physician in Stuttgart.

His play *Die Räuber* (*The Robbers*) premiered in 1782, which prompted the duke to prohibit him from further writing. Schiller fled to Mannheim, where in 1783 he secured a position as a playwright. In 1787 he traveled to Weimar and met JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER and Christoph Martin Wieland. In 1789 he moved to Jena and became a professor of philosophy. In 1790 he married Charlotte von Lengefeld. In 1791 he was gravely ill, and it was at this time that he began his study of the work of IMMANUEL KANT. He became close friends with JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE in 1794, and in 1796 he met the philosopher FRIEDRICH WILHELM JOSEPH VON SCHELLING. He moved to Weimar in 1799.

Schiller grew up in the setting of what was known as Württemberg Protestantism, which characterized by the moderate PIETISM influenced by JOHANN ALBRECHT BENGEL, and he originally wanted to become a minister. In the last hours of his life he is said to have called out many times for a *Judex* (judge). Schiller is considered the most important dramatist of German classicism. After the tragedies *Die Räuber* (1781) and *Kabale und Liebe* (1784), his dramas portray historical situations of crises in different European countries and address the problem of freedom: *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua* (1783), *Don Karlos: Infant von Spanien* (1787), *Wallenstein* (three parts, 1798–1799), *Maria Stuart* (1800), *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801), *Die Braut von Messina* (1803), *Wilhelm Tell* (1804), and *Demetrius* (1805; posthumous fragment). In his philosophical treatises, especially *Philosophische Briefe* (1786), *Über die tragische Kunst* (1792), *Über die Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795), and *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795–1796), he provides a theoretical foundation and justification for his art.

See also Literature, German

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ULRICH KARTHAUS

SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH DANIEL ERNST (1768–1834)

German theologian. Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, Reformed theologian and pastor in Prussia (at that time an independent German state), was the founder of a new epoch in Protestant THEOLOGY. He proposed a distinctive theological method based on the centrality of Christian experience that took seriously ENLIGHTENMENT criticisms and understandings and moved beyond them to articulate a Protestant vision in a new framework. He is widely regarded as the founder of “modern” or “liberal” Protestant theology. Schleiermacher’s recasting of Protestant theology in this-worldly, existential terms has led some to hail him as a renewer of faith and theology and others to condemn him for having sold out the faith to the intellectual and cultural currents of his day. Such diversity of evaluation has continued since his own lifetime.

Schleiermacher was born on November 21, 1768 in the city of Breslau into a family of Reformed CLERGY; his father and both grandfathers were pastors, and an uncle was a professor of theology. Although he is known to posterity for his theological contributions, he was also a pastor. He preached weekly for almost forty years and was pastor of the 12,000-member Trinity Church in Berlin from 1810 until his death there on February 12, 1834. In his pastoral role, he was a participant in the creation of the Prussian Union Church in 1817 that brought Lutheran and Reformed traditions together in one church. Schleiermacher supported the Union because he recognized the commonalities between the two versions of Protestantism. At the same time, he resisted King Friedrich Wilhelm III’s imposition of a common LITURGY. He and eleven other pastors (the “twelve apostles”) held out against the King for seven years before finally succumbing when threatened with losing their pastorates. Throughout his career, Schleiermacher advocated for the independence of the church from the state in a period when state control of all aspects of life in Prussia was on the increase (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW).

Schleiermacher’s Theology in Historical Context

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Schleiermacher pioneered an approach that moved Protestant theology beyond the rationalism, ORTHODOXY, and PIETISM of the previous century into a new era. Schleiermacher’s theology resonated with such Protestant themes as the centrality of GRACE of Christ in SALVATION, the church enlivened by the Spirit as the means by which salvation is made known, and the experiential accent in the theology of MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN. Self-

consciously Protestant, Schleiermacher also participated in the ongoing reformation of church and theology. His theology evidenced significant material continuity with REFORMATION concerns, even as it recasts the theological enterprise so that it makes sense in the post-Enlightenment world. Particularly in his magnum opus, *The Christian Faith*, Schleiermacher set forth a theological vision grounded in Christian experience and explicating the faith in organic, naturalistic, and this-worldly terms.

The new epoch that Schleiermacher inaugurated is variously termed the New Protestantism (see ERNST TROELTSCH) or, more commonly, modern or liberal theology. Academic theology in the nineteenth century was dominated by thinkers who took important clues from Schleiermacher, although he had few disciples. Figures as diverse as JOHN CAMPBELL, Wilhelm Hermann, ADOLPH VON HARNACK, HORACE BUSHNELL (the “American Schleiermacher”), ALBRECHT RITSCHL, Ernst Troeltsch, and WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH belong to the liberal tradition and show the influence of Schleiermacher. None of these figures follows him slavishly, however.

Liberal theology in general and Schleiermacher in particular came in for deep suspicion by the dialectical theology, or NEO-ORTHODOXY, of KARL BARTH and EMIL BRUNNER in the early twentieth century. Brunner accused Schleiermacher of psychologism and mysticism that obscure the way that the word of God comes to the self from beyond. Barth’s interpretation is more nuanced than Brunner’s, and he recognized potential in Schleiermacher for a theology of the Holy Spirit. Still, Barth concluded that Schleiermacher’s anthropological starting point ends up selling out revelation for religion and the Word for cultural accommodation.

The negative verdict of dialectical theology dominated Schleiermacher interpretation well into the 1960s. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing into the twenty-first century, there has been a Schleiermacher renaissance led in GERMANY by scholars including Martin Redeker, Heinz Kimmerle, Kurt-Victor Selge, and Hans-Joachim Birkner and in the UNITED STATES by Richard R. Niebuhr and B.A. Gerrish. These thinkers called for a reassessment grounded in careful analysis of Schleiermacher’s theological method and the results that it produced. They demonstrated the connections between Schleiermacher and classical Protestantism and extolled the depth and creativity of his work without seeking to obscure his departures from traditional theology.

The Young Rebel and the Speeches on Religion

While a student at the Moravian seminary in Barby from 1785 to 1787, Schleiermacher experienced a community at once joyous in its assurance of salvation and rigidly disciplined, as “worldly pleasures” such as swimming, skating, card games, and board games were prohibited and rigorous educational and religious practice were required. Schleiermacher received a solid biblical and classical education at Barby even as his doubts about traditional theological claims came to the fore. He became a leader in a small group of “independent thinkers” that read banned books, such as the works of JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE and IMMANUEL KANT. The group was found out

by seminary leaders and commanded to desist. Schleiermacher, meanwhile, wrote his father and shared his doubts about the divinity of Christ, Christ's death as vicarious ATONEMENT, and eternal damnation of unbelievers. Father Gottlieb wrote back a letter full of sorrow, admonition, and pleading. In the end Schleiermacher was asked to leave the seminary. He had no place to study and no place to live, but his father agreed to support him for a year of study at the University of HALLE.

Schleiermacher completed his study, passed his ordination examinations, and worked as a tutor and a pastor for several years before being assigned to the Charité hospital in Berlin. In the Prussian capital from 1796 until 1802, Schleiermacher moved in fashionable but countercultural society. He became a member of the Romantic circle of poets and thinkers that included FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL, A.W.Schlegel, and the poets Novalis, Ludwig Tieck, Friedrich Hölderlin, and Jean Paul. The Romantics rebelled against the Enlightenment and its focus on reason and science, order, morality, and universality, instead focusing on feeling and art, mystery, intuition of the infinite, and individuality (see ROMANTICISM). Schleiermacher was both a full member of the circle and unique. He was no poet or aesthete and would lead persons beyond ART to religion, although, to be sure, his conception of religion was cast in Romantic, aesthetic terms.

Schleiermacher also became part of Berlin's "salon society," gatherings of cultured folk and intellectuals who met in the homes of the growing bourgeoisie to hear presentations on artistic and scientific topics and discuss the cultural issues of the day. The salons were scandalous in their day for the mixing of Jews and Gentiles, commoners and nobility, and men and women. They were part of the "new Berlin," moving beyond some of the strictures that kept folk of different status separated. Schleiermacher thrived in this atmosphere, as he was with people who stimulated his mind and heart and provided the community so necessary to his life and work.

Schleiermacher burst on the cultural scene in 1799 with the publication of *Speeches On Religion (Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern)*. The book caused a tremendous stir with its unorthodox interpretations of Jesus and the Bible and the surprising and unconventional way it spoke about religion. Although the book was published anonymously, soon everyone knew the author to be Schleiermacher, the thirty-one-year-old minister serving as a chaplain at the Charité hospital.

The style of *Speeches* is conversational and confessional—a breezy, informal tone with the cultured "despisers" and a critical, even biting tone when talking about the status quo in religion and society. Questions are addressed to the cultured despisers; the speaker goes so far as to join them at the point of their contempt for religion. And sharp criticism is leveled against the dominant understandings and practices of contemporary religion, even as the speaker clings firmly to religion in its pure state. Confessing that "religion was the maternal womb in whose holy darkness my young life was nourished," the speaker says,

Religion helped me when I began to examine the ancestral faith and to purify my heart of the rubble of primitive times. It remained with me when God and immortality disappeared before my doubting eyes (Schleiermacher 1988:84).

The key distinction operative in the *Speeches* is that between “intuition” on the one hand and knowledge or action, on the other hand. The *Speeches* insist that religion in its essence is a matter of inward, lived experience; religious knowledge and action are secondary, derivative, a step removed from true religious experience. In this way Schleiermacher connected with the emphasis on FAITH in classical Protestantism. Although his conception was strikingly different, the focus on the passive and receptive character of religion resonated with conceptions of faith in Luther and Calvin. For them, faith is a gift given by God; for Schleiermacher in the *Speeches*, religion is intuitive reception of the universe. Echoes of and striking differences from REFORMATION formulations are evident.

The *Speeches* also proposed startling interpretations of Revelation, the BIBLE, the visible church, and Jesus. In place of the supernaturalism of traditional theology, the *Speeches* proposed a naturalistic understanding of such concepts as “miracle” and “revelation.” The speaker states that “‘Miracle’ is merely the religious name for event...To me, everything is miracle.” “Revelation” is similarly defined in a naturalistic and personalistic way: “Every original and new intuition of the universe is [a revelation], and yet all individuals must know best what is original and new for them” (Schleiermacher 1988:131).

The Bible and Jesus are also subject to critique and reconstruction. The *Speeches* emphasize oral communication and see written forms, including the Bible, as secondary and derivative. Personal, communal, living communication is valued over written expression. Here the young minister departed from the Reformation affirmation of *sola scriptura*—the Bible as the only norm for faith and life.

The *Speeches* also articulated what PAUL TILLICH was later to call the “Protestant Principle”—the call for ongoing reform and searching self-criticism. When the *Speeches* reflected critically on Jesus, it concludes that Jesus never claimed to be the only Savior. To be true to itself and to Jesus, Christianity must remain essentially free and open, imposing no restrictions, allowing no narrowness. True Christianity is always expansive, anticipating further disclosures of the Christian principle manifest in Jesus. In the *Speeches*, Schleiermacher claimed the reform dynamic of Protestantism, and it led him to conclusions notable for their discontinuity with traditional Protestant theology.

Halle and Christmas Eve

Schleiermacher left Berlin in 1802 under pressure from his ecclesiastical superiors. Between the furor caused by the *Speeches*, his deep friendship with the controversial poet Friedrich Schlegel, and his public courting of Eleanore Grunow, a married woman, scandal had mounted to the point where it was deemed that Schleiermacher had to leave his beloved Berlin. From 1802 to 1804 he was miserable in his pastorate at Stolp on the Baltic Sea, but the following years in Halle (1804–1809) were a turning point for him in terms of his ecclesial career and theological development. In Halle, he wrote his *Christmas Eve: Dialogue on the Incarnation (Weihnachtsfeier)*. This work marked a move away from the *Speeches*, wherein Schleiermacher began with religion in general

and only at the conclusion of the work moved to consider Christianity in particular. In *Christmas Eve* Schleiermacher began from within the standpoint of Christian faith.

Christmas Eve portrays a conversation among friends about the meaning of Christmas set in the parlor of a middle-class home on Christmas Eve. What emerges in the course of the dialogue is the insight that the Christian experience of a new and higher life may be found in and through the community, its remembrance and ritual. A prime example of this is the celebration of Christmas itself. As the originator of the Christian community and the experiences it mediates, Christ must be the possessor of a unique and powerful consciousness of God in which Christians now share. This is a “CHRISTOLOGY from below” that starts not with creeds or scripture, but rather with the Christian experience of new life, then works backward to who Christ must be. This shift in method—focusing not on religious experience, but rather on Christian experience—was to be decisive for the further development of his theology. This approach was continued in Schleiermacher’s great work, *Der Christliche Glaube (The Christian Faith)*.

The University of Berlin and the *Brief Outline*

Upon his return to Berlin in 1809, Schleiermacher earned his way onto the planning committee for the new university by writing an independent essay on the character that a modern German university ought to have. This work so impressed Wilhelm von Humboldt that he made Schleiermacher his chief collaborator in the project. Other contributions made by Schleiermacher include selecting the university’s original theological faculty, serving as its dean for four terms, and teaching a wide array of courses in theology and philosophy. In this connection he also wrote his *Brief Outline on the Study of Theology*, a programmatic work that sets forth a plan for a theological curriculum. This work conceived of theology as comprising subdisciplines that come together to form an organic whole. Theology is an academic enterprise with a practical goal. Theological work brings together the results of biblical, historical, and dogmatic study informed by insights from all of the secular sciences. What holds all of this disparate knowledge together, infusing it with unity and life, is its orientation toward the upbuilding of the church and faith. The community of the faithful is at once the ground and goal of theology. Theology does not seek to prove faith, but rather seeks to understand its meaning and significance for human life and to explicate how faith lives in the world. This makes practical theology the “crown and goal” of all of the theological disciplines, for it connects most directly with the life of the church, delineating methods to be used for leadership.

The *Brief Outline* made two signal contributions to its vision of theology as a discipline. On the one hand, it oriented theology toward the practical goal of leadership for life in the church. It made explicit the role of theology in service in the church. On the other hand, it affirmed the historical character of theology in a new way. Faith and theology are manifest in the lives of real human beings, persons limited by concrete circumstances of their lives. There can be no absolute formulation of truth that transcends the limits placed on people by their location in history. Theology is always limited by

being historically conditioned. For Schleiermacher, there was a relativity to all theological claims, and this opened the door to his “revisionist” program in theology. As the faithful in the past have expressed the faith in ways that spoke to their particular situations, so the contemporary person of faith is called to theological revision for the sake of the credibility of the faith in the contemporary world. The historical character of theology comes to the fore in a new way.

The Christian Faith

Schleiermacher’s magnum opus, the *Christian Faith*, is a comprehensive dogmatics comparable to St. Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologiae* or Calvin’s INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, but distinctive in its theological method by making faith as experienced by contemporary Christians the dominant center. Where older dogmatics had typically begun with the dogmas of the church and/or Scripture, the *Christian Faith* begins with Christian piety. Indeed, the work has been aptly called “a theology within the limits of piety alone” (Gerrish 1982:163). Schleiermacher once again stood in a relationship of continuity and discontinuity with Protestant forebears, especially Calvin. Schleiermacher appropriated Calvin’s insight that piety is the crucial touchstone for authentic theology. But for Schleiermacher, piety also became the limiting principle beyond which theology may not go, in this way departing significantly from Calvin. The *Christian Faith* argues that claims about origins (e.g., of the world or of SIN) and about the future (especially traditional Christian eschatological claims) are not, properly speaking, theological, for they go beyond what can be known on the basis of Christian piety or feeling. Theology is to explicate the contents of Christian piety, and while claims about God and the world can be made, theology most fundamentally deals with states of consciousness. Claims about God and the world have a secondary, derivative status. Theology is reconceived in terms that are strictly experiential, naturalistic, and this-worldly.

The structure of the *Christian Faith* also parallels that of Calvin’s *Institutes* in its attention to a twofold knowledge of God as creator and redeemer. This twofold knowledge provides the organizational principle for both works. Of course, in Schleiermacher’s work this knowledge is rendered in terms of Christian consciousness, and so knowledge of God as creator is expressed in terms of an immediate self-consciousness of absolute dependence. That is, Christian piety includes a sense of oneself (and the world) as not being self-caused. Underlying feelings of relative freedom and relative dependence is the sense of utter dependence on an other. This feeling of utter dependence resonates with the emphasis on the sovereignty of God articulated by Calvin and the Reformed tradition generally. Knowledge of God as redeemer is the other aspect of Christian consciousness. This is the sense that one has been delivered to a higher form of life in which one’s consciousness of God is pervasive in a way it had not been previously. This higher life includes a sense of newness and joy; it derives from and participates in the perfect God consciousness of Jesus, mediated to people in the present by means of the Christian community. Christian piety then includes these two moments

bound together inextricably: a higher and living awareness of absolute dependence on God made known through Jesus as He lives on in the community that He founded.

The Christian naturalism of Schleiermacher's system is evident in his treatment of the twin doctrines of Christ and CHURCH, which together stand at the very heart of his theology. Christian consciousness includes within itself the awareness that all blessedness is "grounded in the new divinely-effected corporate life" (Schleiermacher 1928:358).

The church is a natural, living organism. To be sure, it is enlivened by Christ, but it is also caught up in the flux of social and historical life like every other human movement or institution. This conception of the church as a living organism reclaims the organic images of the New Testament. There the church is imaged as the living branches of the one true vine and as the living members of the body of Christ. The church is a true community of persons united by a common spirit that is more than the individuals who make up the community. This common spirit that Schleiermacher identifies as the spirit of Christ or the Holy Spirit, at once the community's source and the one made known in and through the community. This means that the church can be comprehended and analyzed as a natural historical entity in many ways similar to any other human movement. For believers, it is the source of the new and higher life in Christ.

Schleiermacher's christology in the *Christian Faith* has much more substance than is found in the *Speeches*. In the mature dogmatic work focus is on the humanity of Christ. Christ is the sinlessly perfect human one and thereby the culmination of God's intention for humanity. Here is the one remaining "supernatural" element in Schleiermacher's otherwise seamlessly "naturalistic" system. Jesus's perfection cannot be explained by his historical context. He was born into a sinful world. Still, Christ is only relatively supernatural, for he manifests what is possible in theory for any human being—a perfect consciousness of God.

Schleiermacher's method in this christological reflection was consistent with his usual approach. He began with the new and higher form of life that the believer receives in and through the Christian community and then moved archeologically, tracing backward to the origin. The immediate source of the experience of salvation is the Christian community. The community in turn traces its origin to its founder, Jesus Christ, and attributes all its blessedness to the founder. Schleiermacher's method, then, was to retrace steps and discover who Jesus must have been to communicate this new and higher life to believers. He concluded that Jesus must be the possessor of a unique and unblemished consciousness of God, the human ideal in whose blessedness the believer participates. Schleiermacher cannot achieve a literal restatement of orthodox views of the person of Christ—"two natures in one person"—or the Trinity—three persons in one being. He asserted that such claims are beyond our ken. But as the ultimate source of the reality of salvation in believers' lives, Jesus must be perfect in his God-consciousness, and divine and human in that sense. And Schleiermacher can affirm a trinity of God, Christ, and Spirit in the church. Here the revisionist character of Schleiermacher's enterprise is again evident: He refuses to take traditional formulas at face value. Instead, he crafts revised understandings that resonate with the spirit of the tradition even as views of God and Christ are significantly reconceived.

Schleiermacher's companion to the *Christian Faith* was his similarly mammoth work, the *Christian Ethics*. This work, pulled together posthumously from Schleiermacher's lecture notes and those of students, is the complement to and completion of the *Christian*

Faith. The *Ethics* provides a comprehensive analysis of actions in the church and the wider society, and sets forth the teleological drive of Christian faith: transformation of life in this world.

See also Calvinism; Ecclesiology; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Moravian Church

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SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION

Often referred to as the Schleithem Articles or Brotherly Union, the Schleithem Confession was adopted by Swiss Anabaptists in the town of Schleithem, in the area of Schaffhausen on February 24, 1527. Originally entitled *Brüderlich vereinigung etlicher Kinder Gottes, sieben artickel betreffend* (*Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God Concerning Seven Articles*), the confession did not influence ANABAPTISM as a whole, but it did come to play a formative role in the development of the Swiss Anabaptist tradition, to which present-day AMISH, HUTTERITES, and some MENNONITES are related.

Scholars assume that a former Benedictine monk, MICHAEL SATTLER, drafted the CONFESSION, including the prefatory letter and concluding postscript. Sattler had likely been prior at Saint Peter's monastery in the Black Forest near Freiburg. In the mid-1520s he joined the Anabaptist movement, and his missionary activities took him to the vicinities of Zürich and Strasbourg. After conversations with reformers MARTIN BUCER and WOLFGANG CAPITO in Strasbourg, Sattler led the conference at Schleithem. Soon after, he was arrested, tried by Austrian authorities, and then executed on May 21, 1527.

The confession was polemical in tone and sought to demarcate the boundaries of Swiss Anabaptism over against other expressions of belief. Some scholars have concluded that the confession was directed against mainline reformers, while others have asserted that the confession represents an internal Anabaptist discussion. Whatever the immediate occasion, the confession did serve the purpose of distinguishing Swiss Anabaptist practice from that of Catholicism, mainline Protestantism, as well as other Anabaptist streams.

The Schleithem Confession takes for granted the essential beliefs of Christian orthodoxy such as belief in the triune God, the ATONEMENT, and the ongoing activity of the Holy Spirit. Attention in the confession is given to concerns that highlight the distinct beliefs of the Swiss Anabaptism community: BAPTISM, CHURCH DISCIPLINE, the LORD'S SUPPER, the relationship between the CHURCH and the world, church leadership, the sword, and the oath.

The article on baptism rejects the practice of infant baptism and emphasizes that before the rite can take place, there must be genuine repentance and amendment of life. Baptism is given to those who truly understand, believe, and have a desire to be buried with Christ, and who want to "walk in the resurrection." It is a practice that links the inner desire of repentance with an outer practice of walking in Christ's footsteps.

The article on church discipline focuses on the ban and assumes that the members of the Christian community are accountable to one another, having been baptized into the body of Christ, and having committed themselves to a life of discipleship. In cases where Christians have fallen into error and SIN, the pattern set in Matthew 18 is in force. Christians may be warned twice in private, and a third time admonished before the

community of believers. This is to be done before Christians can participate in the Lord's Supper, to ensure that unity of the community is maintained.

The theme of unity continues in the third article dealing with the Lord's Supper, which is a commemorative rather than sacramental event. The community of faith that gathers to participate in the breaking of bread according to the command of Christ must before hand be united through baptism. The validity of the Supper is dependent on the character of the community whose head is Christ. For this reason, only the true children of God have a rightful place at the table.

The emphasis on separation is given attention in article four, which makes a strong distinction between the faithful community and the sinful world. By rejecting all worldly associations, and by highlighting the radical dualism between the church and the world, the Swiss Anabaptists underscore their resolve to maintain a sectarian ECCLESIOLOGY.

The fifth article attends to the various responsibilities of leaders within the Christian community. Pastors must have a good reputation outside of the church; they are called by the local congregation and must be accountable to it. If they are driven away or killed, another pastor is to be ordained that same hour—an arrangement that not only highlights the context of persecution, but also indicates the importance of church leadership among the Swiss Anabaptists.

The final two articles are concerned with how Christians are to relate to civil authorities. In the article on the sword, the role of government is affirmed and seen as ordained of God. Yet, the article's main point is that the sword is "outside the perfection of Christ." Government is necessary in the world to protect the good and to punish evildoers, but among true Christians only the ban is used as a disciplinary measure. While the world is armed with steel and iron, Christians are armed with the Word of God. Christians cannot take up the sword because of Christ's teachings and example.

The final article is concerned with the swearing of oaths, which the civil authorities often demanded of its subjects on an annual basis. Again, the Anabaptists point to Christ as the basis for their point of view: Christians cannot swear the oath, because Christ forbids it.

As to the question of the confession's theological nature and origins, there is no scholarly consensus. Mid-twentieth-century historiography tended to see the confession as representing a continuation of Zürich Anabaptist beginnings. Since then, scholars have asked whether the confession may ostensibly represent some continuation of peasant aspirations, a continuation of late medieval ascetic traditions, a continuation of a Benedictine communal tradition, or perhaps some combination of these influences.

See also Free Church; Grebel, Conrad; Hubmaier, Balthasar; Martyrs and Martyrologies; Mathiis, Jan; Pacifism; Sectarianism; Switzerland; War

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KARL KOOP

SCHMALKALD ARTICLES

This confessional document, penned by MARTIN LUTHER in December 1536, is a series of interrelated doctrinal statements (“articles”). It became known by the town (Schmalkald, in Thuringia, GERMANY) where the SCHMALKALD LEAGUE met in February 1537. A testamentary document, it was written under the pressure of the reformer’s supposed imminent death and summarized Luther’s mature Reformation Theology, as well as his critique of the sixteenth-century Catholic Church.

In May 1536, when Pope Paul III called a general council of the church to meet the following spring, Luther’s ongoing bouts with illness made death seem near. Therefore Luther’s ruler, elector John Fredrick of Saxony, took the proposed council as the occasion to commission the reformer to write a summary of his theological priorities—and thereby dampen the smoldering doctrinal disagreements of second-generation reformers and also provide a theological statement for the council. The elector’s concerns over Luther’s health were well founded—not only did Luther suffer numerous illnesses in the early and mid-1530s, he suffered an apparent heart attack while composing the document itself, forcing him to dictate the last few articles from his sick bed.

Secondarily John Fredrick wanted a doctrinal statement that could serve as the basis of the Schmalkaldic League’s response to the papal council. When the League met at Schmalkald, in February 1537, the articles did not come to the floor of the meeting—the princes decided not to attend the council and Luther became deathly ill, preventing his participation in the deliberations.

After Schmalkald, Luther regained his health, made some changes in the document, added a preface, and had it published at Wittenberg in 1538. Later it was incorporated into various Lutheran *corpora doctrinae* (“bodies of doctrine”), designed to summarize Lutheran teaching. These local *corpora* were eclipsed by the definitive collection of Lutheran confessional writings published as the BOOK OF CONCORD in 1580, which gives prominent place to *The Schmalkaldic Articles*.

Luther organized the content of the articles into three sections. Part I, “The Lofty Articles of the Divine Majesty,” briefly summarizes Western Trinitarian, creedal doctrine. In four short articles Luther quotes and refers to the three catholic creeds, as well as his own Small Catechism, as he demonstrates the Catholic starting point of evangelical teaching. He ends with a summary: “These articles are not matters of dispute or conflict, for both sides confess them. Therefore, it is not necessary to deal with them at greater length now.”

Part II, “The Office and Work of Jesus Christ, or Our Redemption,” contains four articles. The “First and Chief Article” delineates Luther’s understanding of JUSTIFICATION by GRACE alone through FAITH alone. Significantly he constructs this article with biblical citations designed to demonstrate the Scriptural foundation of Lutheran DOCTRINE.

On the basis of this statement of his central doctrinal conviction, Luther criticized various churchly practices and their underlying theologies, thereby pointing to the heart of his reform agenda. Article Two critiques prevailing understandings of the Mass—"a human invention, not commanded by God." Article Three critiques "foundations and monasteries"—they are not "better than everyday Christian walks of life." Article Four critiques the papacy—the pope is "not the head of all Christendom 'by divine right'."

In Part III Luther integrates the catholicity of Part I with the evangelicalism of Part II, providing a constructive outline of "catholic-evangelical" doctrine for discussion "with learned, reasonable people." The key is article four, "Concerning the Gospel." The first three articles (Sin, Law, and Repentance) lead to the Gospel and the succeeding articles (Baptism, Holy Communion, the Keys, and Confession) flow from it. The concluding six articles deal with various matters of church practice (Marriage of Priests, Good Works, "Human Regulations," etc.).

This document was to Luther himself one of his most significant works, serving as a confessional capstone to his REFORMATION career. However, a number of factors (e.g., polemical tone, appearance late in Luther's career, etc.) have kept it from receiving the attention it deserves. Nevertheless, it is ecumenical and evangelical in scope, clearly schematizing the main doctrinal features of Martin Luther's reform initiatives.

See also Baptism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Clergy, Marriage of; Lord's Supper; Lutheranism; Sin

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SCHMALKALD LEAGUE

This defensive military alliance of REFORMATION-era German Protestant princes was formally organized in February 1531 at Schmalkald (in Thuringia, GERMANY). The League was established as a political response to imperial and pro-Catholic moves (e.g., Regensburg Alliance in 1524, the Recess of the Diet of Speyer in 1529), culminating in the Recess of Augsburg (1530), which gave Protestants six months to acquiesce to the Catholic Church or face legal and military action from the emperor. It was meant as a defensive alliance.

From the beginning, the twenty-three cities and territories that joined the League confronted enormous internal differences. Politically questions of finances and leadership dogged the alliance. Theologically disagreement arose over the fundamental question of propriety of armed resistance to defend the gospel (with MARTIN LUTHER initially opposed to such action), as well as over various theological issues.

These disagreements inhibited development of a coherent strategy in response to imperial incursions during the Schmalkald War (1546–1547). With the victory of Charles V's forces at Mühlberg and the surrender of Wittenberg in 1547, the League disbanded. However, the League was an important part of the religious and political dynamics of the era, which culminated in the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. This agreement codified the principle "*cuius regio, eius religio*," granting Protestant princes the right to determine the religious practices within their jurisdictions. In sixteen years of existence the League provided the nascent Protestant movement with a degree of protection from Imperial attack.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Pacifism; Schmalkaldic Articles; War

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WILLIAM R. RUSSELL

SCHMUCKER, SAMUEL SIMON (1799– 1873)

American Lutheran theologian. Schmucker was an influential Lutheran American in the early nineteenth century. He was a revivalist who made significant contributions in EDUCATION and ECUMENISM.

Schmucker was born in February 28, 1799 in Hagerstown, Maryland. After serving as a pastor for several years, in 1826 he became the first professor of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, an institution whose founding Schmucker had encouraged. The seminary quickly established a classical school or prep school, which in 1831 became Gettysburg College.

Among Lutherans, Schmucker's revivalist tendencies evoked controversy. Antirevivalists, called Old School, favored retention of the German language, and they embraced confessionalism and the CATECHISM. Schmucker and other New School Lutherans preferred English and methods associated with CAMP MEETINGS, including emotion and spontaneous conversion, although Schmucker kept the most exuberant worship at arm's length. Old School conservatives charged that revivalists distorted LUTHERANISM, but New School Lutherans cited the Pietist heritage within their tradition. Among Lutherans the tide ran against Schmucker, and had he not retired in 1865, his continued service at Gettysburg might have been difficult.

Schmucker exemplified the marriage of heartfelt faith and interdenominational reform that typified eighteenth-century Pietists and nineteenth-century revivalists on both sides of the Atlantic. He participated in a variety of reform societies, including those promoting SUNDAY SCHOOL, TEMPERANCE, Sabbath-keeping, and social work. He was particularly active in the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE movement, which encouraged Christian unity and ecumenism.

Schmucker died of a heart attack on July 26, 1873.

See also Christian Colleges; Ethnicity; Evangelicalism; Higher Education; Pietism; Revivals; Seminaries

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STEPHEN LONGENECKER

SCHÖN, JAKOB FRIEDRICH (LATER, JAMES FREDERICK) (1803–1889)

German missionary. Schön was born in Baden, GERMANY in 1803 and died in Chatham, ENGLAND on March 30, 1889. He offered for mission service through the BASEL MISSION and attended their seminary, but like many of his contemporaries received his commission through the (Anglican) CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY. He attended their college in Islington and was ordained in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND (deacon 1831, priest 1832). In 1832 he was appointed to SIERRA LEONE and spent the next fifteen years based in Freetown and the villages of “liberated Africans” taken from intercepted slave ships. Unlike many missionaries in Sierra Leone, such as HANNAH KILHAM, Schön studied African languages, both local vernaculars and the languages of the “liberated African” communities. Stationed at the village of Kent, he made studies of the grammar and vocabulary of Bullom, spoken in the area, and made some translations. (Gustav Nylander, 1776–1825, the pioneer translator of Bullom, was the father of Schön’s first wife.)

As he changed stations, Schön essayed languages spoken by large numbers of the liberated, notably Igbo and Hausa. In 1841 he was appointed, together with the Yoruba teacher SAMUEL ADJAI CROWTHER, to represent the missionary interest on the British expedition to the Niger. This was inspired by the ideas of Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786–1845) about producing an economic alternative to the slave trade that would allow Christianity and economic and technological development to spread in the African interior. The disastrous loss of life on the expedition (some forty members died, all Europeans) discredited these ideas and cooled any public interest in AFRICA. Schön’s report, however, insisted that the evangelization of inland Africa was still possible, provided it was based on African rather than European missionaries. These would be people of Crowther’s type, recruited and trained in Sierra Leone, where, among the liberated slaves, all the main languages of West Africa were already in use, despite predictions that they would die out and be replaced by English. During the expedition the interpreters, almost all from Sierra Leone, had been im-pressive, and Crowther’s Yoruba useful; and although his own Igbo had been too rudimentary to be much use, Schön had preached in Hausa and been understood.

So far as circumstances allowed, Schön’s recommendations formed the core of the CMS West African policy for the next two decades. For Schön, Hausa became his life’s work. The French scholar Maurice Delafosse called Schön the “discoverer” of Hausa, in that he made the language known to science and revealed the vast numbers who spoke it. Schön, whose literary output was enormous, translated most of the BIBLE and composed a major grammar and dictionary.

Schön left Africa through ill-health in 1847 and became chaplain of the Melville Hospital at Chatham naval base, taking British nationality in 1856. His duties allowed

him time for his linguistic studies. Besides working on Hausa he acted as an honorary linguistic adviser to the CMS, revising in particular—not always to their satisfaction—the work of the missionaries of the Niger Mission. The mission and its African staff came under heavy fire in the 1880s, and Schön's competence was also questioned by people who had no means of assessing it. He was defended, however, by the redoubtable writer on languages, R.N.Cust (1821–1909), who opened the way for Schön to receive an honorary doctorate from Oxford. The Institut de France also awarded him their gold medal for his linguistic studies.

Although neither a trained linguist nor an encyclopedic scholar like SIGISMUND W.KOELLE, Schön was tireless and thorough. He did much to improve the standard of missionary translation and laid the foundation for the study of Hausa, West Africa's most spoken language. He was the father and grandfather of CMS missionaries.

See also Bible Translation; Missions; Missionary Organizations

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ANDREW F.WALLS

SCHÜTZ, HEINRICH (1585–1672)

Composer. Heinrich Schütz, also known as Henricus Sagittarius, was a Lutheran composer and church musician who wrote Music for the whole church. He was one of the finest composers of the seventeenth century and one of the most important composers in the church's history. He linked the evangelical and the catholic, the Renaissance and the Baroque, the Italian and the German. He wrote for large and small forces, pieces of tonal splendor and ones with a more archaic and delicate flavor. He set Latin texts skillfully, but also broke open German texts with remarkable musical capacity.

Born in Köstritz, GERMANY, on October 8, 1585 and baptized the next day, he and his family moved to Weissenfels in 1590. Eight years later Landgrave Moritz of Hesse convinced his parents to send him to the court at Kassel. There, in 1599, Schütz became a choirboy who sang and studied well.

In 1608 he went to Marburg to study law. Landgrave Moritz intervened again and paid his way to Venice to study with Giovanni Gabrieli from 1609 to 1612, when Gabrieli died. Back to Germany in 1613 his parents urged him to study law, but Moritz gave him the position of second court organist at the court in Kassel.

Johann Georg I, elector of Saxony, then intervened. He first got Moritz to lend Schütz to him and then in 1617 got him officially released from the Kassel court and employed as music director in Dresden, the largest and most significant Protestant musical enterprise in Germany. Until his death in 1672 Schütz remained with the Dresden court, although his conducting responsibilities ended in 1657. Because the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) severely limited musical resources in Germany, Schütz took three leaves: from 1628 to 1629 he went to Venice to study with Monteverdi; from 1633 to 1635 and from 1642 to 1644 he worked at the court in Copenhagen.

In 1619 Schütz married Magdalene Wildeckin, who was eighteen. The union was apparently an unusually happy one, but it abruptly ended in 1625 when Magdalene became ill and died. Her death was a great blow to Schütz; he never remarried.

Works

In *The Psalms of David* of 1619 Schütz brought to Germany Gabrieli's Venetian technique, with polychoral and instrumental splendor. In 1625 forty Latin four-voice motets called the *Cantiones sacrae* were published. If these two works exhibit a Lutheran and Catholic spirit, a harmonized set of German metrical versions of the Psalms (1628, revised and enlarged in 1661) might be seen with the Calvinist Genevan Psalter in the background. Called the "Becker Psalter" after the Leipzig theologian Cornelius Becker

who prepared the texts, some of these were originally conceived for the morning and evening devotions of his choirboys for whom Schütz also wrote table graces.

Three *Symphoniae sacrae* (“spiritual concerts”) appeared in 1629, 1647, and 1650—the first twenty Latin biblical texts, mostly from the Old Testament; the second in German with reduced musical forces because of the war; and the third in the Italian polychoral style of *The Psalms of David* again. All three sets were influenced by Monteverdi, whom Schütz greatly admired. Two sets of *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* (“Little Spiritual Concerts”) on generally biblical texts were published in 1636 and 1639 with modest forces dictated by the war. *The Musikalische Exequien*, which influenced Johannes Brahms’s *German Requiem*, also was published in 1636. It contains a *Missa Brevis* (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*), a motet for two choirs, and a *Nunc Dimittis* with a superimposed text that Brahms would later employ, “Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.”

Schütz set the core of the New Testament in several works: *The Resurrection History* in 1623, *The Seven Words of Jesus Christ on the Cross* in 1645, *The Christmas Story* in 1664, and three *Passions* according to Luke, John, and Matthew in 1665 and 1666. The Passions, especially the one according to Matthew, are among the most remarkable of Schütz’s output, although written in his eighties. Unlike the Christmas and Resurrection histories that use instruments, the Passions followed Dresden’s traditional practice of not using instruments during Holy Week and are unaccompanied. They are vernacular liturgical works modeled after the Gregorian Passions, with newly composed modal recitatives for each individual influenced by Florentine operatic monody and German Lied. Each individual has a characteristic flavor and range. The groups (*turba*) are given to a chorus, mostly in four parts. The text is simply the Passion narrative from the respective gospel with an introductory announcement and a stanza of a hymn as a conclusion, both for the choir. The *St. John Passion* alone uses the hymn’s cantus firmus. The *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* employ musical material totally from Schütz’s hand, his more usual practice.

Death

Schütz died on November 6, 1672. Martin Geier, first court preacher at Dresden, delivered the funeral sermon on November 17. Biographical details were appended, but the sermon itself, at Schütz’s request, was about a Lutheran understanding of music in the life of the church.

Schütz was an orthodox Lutheran who regularly went to CONFESSION, heard the Word, and received the LORD’S SUPPER until September 15 of his last year when illness confined him to his house. He lived out his faith by charitable concern for his neighbors, including support for needy musicians, and through his VOCATION of composing music for the church. For his funeral he chose Psalm 119:54, “Your statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage.” Geier treated that as both generally applicable and representative of Schütz’s outlook: the whole understanding of God’s will was to be put into devout and edifying songs for the congregation in its public

WORSHIP, at home, and in travels. Geier also worked from Ecclesiasticus 43:30, which Schütz had inscribed on his music cabinet: “Glorify the Lord and exalt him as much as you can, for he surpasses even that.” Geier took this to mean that the church musician, exemplified by Schütz, was to exercise the finest craft for the praise of God as a joyous, holy, laborious, and endless work of delight.

See also Lord’s Supper; Music, Northern European; Vocation

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PAUL WESTERMEYER

SCHWEITZER, ALBERT (1875–1965)

German biblical scholar and medical missionary. Born on January 14, 1875 in Kaisersberg (Alsace), Schweitzer grew up in Günsbach, a town in the Alsatian Münstertal. Here his father administered the parish of the Lutheran community. Having attended school in Günsbach and Mühlshausen in Alsace, Albert Schweitzer studied THEOLOGY and philosophy at the University of Strasbourg from 1893. In 1894 and 1895 he did his military service in the Prussian Army (Alsace then belonged to the German Empire). A man of many talents, Schweitzer also took organ lessons from Charles-Marie Widor in Paris. In the Whitsun holidays of 1896, Schweitzer made a vow that as of his thirtieth birthday he would serve his fellow humans, but until then would concentrate on scholarly activities. He did so with great academic success: in 1899 he obtained his doctorate with a dissertation on *Die Religionsphilosophie Kants* (Kant's Religious Philosophy). After this Schweitzer passed both theological examinations and became a vicar at St. Nicolai in Strasbourg, an office he occupied until 1912. In 1901 he qualified as a lecturer at the theological faculty with his study *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimnis. Eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu* (The Mystery of Messiahship and Suffering. A Sketch of the Life of Jesus) and in 1902 began teaching as an outside lecturer at the University of Strasbourg.

During this period Schweitzer managed a remarkable amount of work in a day. After intensive studies on Johann Sebastian Bach (1903–1904) and during his preoccupation with research on the life of Jesus (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*; From Reimarus to Wrede, 1906), in 1905 he began to study medicine at the faculty of medicine in Strasbourg. He successfully completed these studies in 1913, obtaining a medical degree with his work *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu. Darstellung und Kritik* (The Psychiatric Study of Jesus. Exposition and Criticism).

His interest in medicine was linked to the decision that he had already made in 1904 to enter the service of the Paris Missionary Society. However, this Missionary Society mistrusted the liberal theologian, and Schweitzer looked to find a meaningful field of occupation independently in AFRICA as a doctor rather than a theologian. Having been appointed as a professor in the meantime, Schweitzer gave up his position as a vicar and his university career, married Helene Breslau, a nurse (1879–1957), studied tropical medicine in Paris for a further year, and in 1913 went to Lambaréné in Equatorial Africa (Gabon). There he established a hospital with personal funds. The hospital had to be closed in 1917, however, because Schweitzer and his wife were interned by the French authorities for being citizens of the German Empire. In 1918 Schweitzer returned to Alsace, again took up his service as vicar in St. Nicolai, and sought to pay off the debts he had incurred in Africa by giving numerous organ concerts and lectures. In 1920 he decided to continue his work in Lambaréné and in 1924 he emigrated to Africa for the second time. There he spent a total of thirty years in his jungle hospital. In 1957 and 1958 Schweitzer, who kept out of day-to-day politics, spoke out in three radio addresses on

Radio Oslo—as the holder of the Nobel Prize for peace, which he had been awarded in 1952—against the dangers of a nuclear war. These addresses attracted much criticism of Schweitzer and contributed, along with the increasing reproaches of COLONIALISM, to his loss of popularity in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1959 Schweitzer left Europe for good and died on September 4, 1965 in Lambaréné.

Range of Interests

Schweitzer's multifaceted works cover the areas of theology, cultural philosophy, and Music. His activities in the field of medicine, for which he was renowned and on the basis of which many are still aware of him today, can be regarded as an integral part and consequence of his theological and philosophical research. Committed to liberal theology, Schweitzer emphasized his support of the school of thought of consistent ESCHATOLOGY: Jesus is the future Messiah whose expectation that upon his sacrifice on the cross the KINGDOM OF GOD would set in immediately was, however, disappointed. Thus, he believed, for today's faith only the spirit of the historical Jesus counted, which came from his word and would conquer the world. Schweitzer also remained true to eschatological ETHICS in his studies on Paul, who is consistently interpreted on the basis of early Jewish writings on the Apocalypse. For Schweitzer, his theological achievement lay in developing an eschatological ethic from an ethic of readiness for the heavenly kingdom to an ethic of being delivered (*Mystik des Seins in Christo*). As a philosopher of CULTURE Schweitzer, who imposed on philosophy the decline of culture that he had diagnosed, was seeking the basic principle of morality. He found this in his ethic of reverence for life. The key phrase of this was "I am life that wants to live in the midst of other life that wants to live." He came to the conclusion from this that it was good to preserve life but bad to destroy life (*Werke V*, 158). This "reverence for life" also includes reverence for all animals and plants; for the ethic of reverence, every life is sacred. Schweitzer was fully aware that the development of conflicts from this position was absolutely inevitable: life can exist only at the cost of other life. Yet in this ever-recurring situation of conflict between life and DEATH only the individual can make subjectively justifiable decisions. According to Schweitzer there are no objective criteria for these decisions. In the area of music Schweitzer dedicated his attention to Johann Sebastian Bach and organ playing. He not only produced *Kritisch-Praktische Ausgabe des gesammten Orgelwerkes von Bach* (New York 1912–1967), but with his study *Johann Sebastian Bach* (1908) Schweitzer produced a standard work for Bach research.

Schweitzer's impact on today's Protestantism is limited. Whereas his work in Lambaréné is continued in the Albert-Schweitzer Hospital, there is—with few exceptions (Erich Gräßer for example)—little attention paid to Schweitzer in contemporary theology. References to his cultural philosophy have also been marginal. However, a change appears imminent. Schweitzer broke the traditional restrictions of anthropocentric ethics and cleared the way for a global ethic of responsibility, the basic principle of which

is “reverence for life.” With a worldwide ecological crisis and unrestricted possibilities in gene technology, Schweitzer’s ethical guidelines are receiving increased attention.

See also Colonialism; Ecology; Jesus, Lives of; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Missions

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ANDREAS MÜHLING

SCHWENCKFELD, CASPAR (1489–1561)

German spiritualist reformer. Schwenckfeld was a noble and a courtier in his native Silesia. He became a follower of MARTIN LUTHER in 1519. In 1525 he broke with Luther over the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER). Pressured by Lutheran and Catholic authorities, in 1529 Schwenckfeld went into lifelong exile. Schwenckfeld was distressed by the splintering of the church into competing confessions, and he argued that a visible true church had not existed since the death of the Apostles and that only divine intervention, a new Pentecost, could reestablish it. He denied the CHURCH, the CLERGY, the SACRAMENTS, or even the BIBLE any role in producing saving faith. His followers in South Germany were primarily of the upper classes. The Silesian Schwenckfelder movement, however, embraced entire communities and still survives in Pennsylvania.

Schwenckfeld was born in 1489 at his family's estate in Ossig. He attended university at Cologne (1505) and Frankfurt/Oder (1507), although he left without a degree, as was usual for students of his rank, and in 1510 began his career at court. Responding to Luther's teaching, the young courtier underwent in 1519 the first of several "divine visitations" (*Heimsuchungen*). These events combined revelation or illumination with a wrenching CONVERSION experience. Schwenckfeld became an important lay leader of the Silesian Lutheran movement. However, Schwenckfeld was disappointed by the lack of moral improvement brought by Luther's REFORMATION. This provoked his second *Heimsuchung*.

The Eucharistic controversy pitting Luther against ANDREAS KARLSTADT and HULDRYCH ZWINGLI drew Schwenckfeld's attention to the Lord's Supper. Schwenckfeld blamed the missing improvement on confidence in the Lord's Supper to save souls because of Luther's teaching that Christ was present in the bread and wine. Schwenckfeld agreed that if Christ were really present in the bread and wine, the Lord's Supper should in fact bring SALVATION, given that participation in the body and blood of Christ could not fail to cleanse and transform the believer. It was clear, however, that not everyone who received the Lord's Supper manifested such a change. After all, the DEVIL entered into Judas after Judas partook of the bread at the Last Supper. Christ could not be in the Outer Supper, but must be received directly in an Inner Supper. At Schwenckfeld's request and as the result of divine revelation, the humanist Valentin Crautwald provided a new exegesis of the applicable biblical texts using his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. A 1525 visit to Wittenberg failed to procure Luther's agreement to Schwenckfeld's Eucharistic theology and Crautwald's biblical interpretation. Instead Luther and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON began to warn against the Silesians.

During 1525 and 1526, influenced by Crautwald, Schwenckfeld developed a thoroughgoing SPIRITUALISM. Schwenckfeld's third *Heimsuchung* (1527) ratified his repudiation of "external" Christianity that he identified with Luther. Schwenckfeld's symbolic interpretation of the Lord's Supper was quite similar to the position of Swiss

and South German Reformers such as JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS and MARTIN BUCER, although Schwenckfeld also applied similar reasoning to BAPTISM, the church, and the Bible. The Christian did not only commune directly with Christ through the Spirit in the Lord's Supper; the Spirit also inspired saving FAITH directly, not through PREACHING or the Bible. Only after faith was infused could the Christian use the Scriptures with profit. The Outer Word, the Outer Baptism, and Outer Supper merely reflected the Inner Word, Inner Baptism, and Inner Supper that the Christian received directly and that created a new human capable of leading a visibly Christian life. Reliance on the Outer Word and Sacraments produced a dead faith that neither changed the inner person nor produced newness of life.

Schwenckfeld's emphasis on participation in the body and blood of Christ in the Inner Eucharist made his CHRISTOLOGY his most distinctive teaching. He and his followers often described themselves as Confessors of the Glorified Christ. Schwenckfeld taught that God was Father to Christ both in his divinity and humanity. After Christ's death and glorification, his humanity became fully one with the Godhead. Participation in that humanity, and through it the divinity, saved and divinized Christians.

Condemned by both Lutherans and Catholics, Schwenckfeld was forced to leave Silesia in 1529. Despite an initially warm welcome in Strasbourg, he was soon at odds with the clergy. Schwenckfeld's Spiritualism led him to advocate religious TOLERATION and to oppose state churches as unchristian. When combined with his dismissal of the outward church, Schwenckfeld's position made him a threat to the new Protestant churches in the cities of GERMANY and SWITZERLAND. He was asked to leave Strasbourg in 1533. The vehemence of the clergy of Ulm also led that city to expel him. For the rest of his life he remained peripatetic, spending varying periods of time in cities and in the castles of nobles sympathetic to him. He died in Ulm in 1563.

Schwenckfeld built a network of landed nobles and urban patricians throughout South Germany. With them he conducted an extensive correspondence, much of which survives. WOMEN were especially prominent recipients of his letters, and often were the leaders of Schwenckfelder groups. He seemed especially popular with physicians and lawyers. Because of his many powerful supporters, he was also able to publish extensively, much to the chagrin of his clerical opponents. His books won him disciples among the middle classes in the cities, and this put him in direct competition with Anabaptist groups. Although often categorized with the Anabaptists, Schwenckfeld's controversy with PILGRAM MARPECK made clear the differences separating ANABAPTISM and Schwenckfeld's Spiritualism.

See also Lutheranism, Germany

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R. EMMET MCLAUGHLIN

SCIENCE

The origins of modern science are usually traced to seventeenth-century Europe. The fact that the rise of science follows closely upon the Protestant REFORMATION has led to considerable speculation about the impact of Protestantism on the emergence of modern science, and on the ways in which Protestant doctrines and practices may have encouraged the development of the sciences. The Protestant work ethic, theological voluntarism, Protestant anthropology, biblical literalism, and antisacramentalism are aspects of Protestantism that have been plausibly linked to the emergence of modern science in the seventeenth century. The subsequent relationship between Protestantism and science throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was mostly positive, largely because of a strong tradition of natural theology that informed the natural sciences. From the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the advent of evolutionary theory and the growing influence and prestige of the sciences together provoked diverse reactions from different sectors within Protestantism. The historical interactions of Protestantism and science are an important aspect of the history of modernity.

The Merton Thesis

As early as the seventeenth century, figures associated with the new sciences drew attention to possible connections between Protestantism and the new forms of natural philosophy. In the seminal work *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), FRANCIS BACON maintained that the reformation of the Christian church was part of a more comprehensive reformation of knowledge that had been ordained by providence to take place at this time. Arguments suggesting a common origin in divine providence for parallel reformations in religion and learning were not uncommon among Protestant thinkers in the seventeenth century. Not until the twentieth century, however, were formal attempts made to establish more direct causal connections between Protestantism and the emergence of modern science. In the 1930s the sociologist Robert Merton identified a strong link between Puritan commitment and scientific achievement. Merton argued that Protestants, and Puritans in particular, were disproportionately represented in the ranks of seventeenth-century scientists, pointing out that of the ten figures who formed the nucleus of the Royal Society in its formative stages, seven were Puritans. By 1663, he observed, almost two-thirds of the Society were Puritans at a period during which Puritans constituted a minority in the general population. To account for this apparently remarkable correlation, Merton invoked the “Weber-Tawney” thesis, which associated the rise of capitalism with the “Protestant work ethic” (see MAX WEBER).

Merton suggested that the same “this-worldly asceticism,” which inspired Puritans to more energetic economic activity, also promoted an engagement with the natural world and motivated diligent, scientific enquiry.

The Merton thesis has not proven convincing to all historians. The term “puritan” is problematic, and it has often been pointed out that a number of the individuals Merton identified as “puritans” had broader religious commitments than those suggested by this narrow designation. Moreover, many of the pioneers of early modern science—JOHANNES KEPLER, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, and William Harvey—had made their most important contributions well before the ascendancy of PURITANISM, a movement that was in any case typically English. Galileo and Descartes, of course, were Catholics, as were other leading figures in the new sciences. Such criticisms allow for a more general link between Protestantism and science, and even for the possibility that Protestantism might have provided fertile ground for the development of science once it had been established, but they cast some doubt on the nexus of the Calvinist doctrine of ELECTION, the Protestant work ethic, and scientific activity.

Voluntarism, Original Sin, and Experimental Science

Another widely held view that links Protestantism with the development of empirical science is the “voluntarism and science” thesis. Theological voluntarism is generally understood as the DOCTRINE according to which God’s will is his primary attribute, and is prior to his reason and goodness. For the voluntarist none of God’s acts is necessitated by such considerations as wisdom and goodness. In the moral realm this means that what is good is so only because God wills it. In the physical realm voluntarism is thought to entail the view that all events that occur in NATURE do so contingently, and it follows that nature must be investigated empirically. To put it another way, for the voluntarist, God could have instituted any one of an infinite range of natural orders. To determine which of these God actually chose, recourse must be had to observation of nature. Moreover, because God’s choices in this regard were not driven by reasons, rational speculation can provide no insights into the particular laws that God chose to institute in the physical realm. Voluntarism is said to have originated among certain late medieval thinkers, and is associated with the Protestant reformers. It is commonly asserted that the promotion of a voluntarist conception of God on the part of Protestant theologians provided one of the metaphysical foundations for the development of empirical science.

Aspects of this view have also been subjected to criticism. Whether voluntarism can be characterized as a typically Protestant theological position is open to question, not least because such prominent Catholic natural philosophers as Pierre Gassendi and Descartes were also voluntarists. The case of Descartes further complicates the issue, given that not only was he an extreme voluntarist but, unlike Gassendi and most other voluntarists, he was famously committed to rationalism. Thus, for Descartes, at least some fundamental laws of nature could be known through reason alone, without empirical investigation of natural states of affairs. The case of Descartes weakens any thesis of an exclusive connection between Protestantism, voluntarism, and empiricism.

Yet there is little doubt that voluntarism played an important role in the early modern development of the concept of laws of nature, a concept of central importance in modern science. The Aristotelian science of the Middle Ages typically sought explanations in terms of the inherent properties of physical objects. It tended, moreover, to be qualitative rather than quantitative. During this period the domain of “natural laws” had been the moral rather than the physical realm. Laws of nature were then typically understood as universal moral principles that could be known through the exercise of reason (see NATURAL LAW). The early modern period witnessed the extension of the idea of natural laws to the physical world, and voluntarism was central to this development. The notion that God directly exercised control over nature through the external imposition of mathematical laws replaced the older view of a natural world that was ordered according to the intrinsic properties of self-governing matter. Inasmuch as science now concerns itself with the discovery of laws of nature, it is indebted to the voluntarist conception of a divine legislator who imposed laws on the physical universe. Although it is clear that such Protestant thinkers as ROBERT BOYLE and ISAAC NEWTON played a key role in this transition, voluntarist contributions to this new science of nature were not confined to Protestant thinkers, as the cases of Gassendi and Descartes illustrate.

Another explanation for the rise of experimental science that finds a special place for the role of Protestant thought relates to the reformers’ stress on the limited capacities of the fallen human mind. MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN both argued that the human mind had been corrupted as a consequence of the Fall—a view that differed from the standard Thomist position according to which Adam’s mind had merely suffered a privation of supernatural gifts. This stance also contrasted with that of Aristotle, who had assumed that the mind and the senses were generally reliable, and that science could therefore be premised on commonsense observations of nature in its normal state. The more pessimistic assessments of human cognitive capacities that the reformers promoted informed the mitigated skepticism of what came to be known as “the experimental philosophy,” championed by Francis Bacon, Robert Boyle, and the Royal Society. This inductive approach eschewed the certainty and confidence that characterized both the uncritical empiricism of Aristotelian science and the optimistic rationalism of Descartes. For the experimentalists, knowledge of nature would come as the end result of long and laborious procedures and the cumulative labors of many generations. Even then, it would produce knowledge that was probable at best. Related to this approach was the conviction that because nature itself had fallen, it was no longer transparent to human investigators in the way it had been for Adam in the Garden of Eden—hence, again, the need to manipulate nature experimentally and to probe its secrets more actively than had previously been thought necessary. In this manner the renewed emphasis on the Fall and on its cognitive effects that followed in the wake of the Reformation helped shape the experimental approach to nature that plays so important a role in the history of the natural sciences.

Science, Scripture, and the Symbolic View of Nature

It is often supposed that an emphasis on the AUTHORITY of scripture, particularly when combined with a preference for literalism, will inevitably give rise to conflicts with scientific conceptions of nature. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, literal approaches to the interpretation of scripture actually made an important contribution to the revolution that was taking place in the sciences. From the time of the Church Fathers, and for most of the Middle Ages, the literal sense of scripture formed the foundation on which figurative or allegorical readings were constructed. Although in principle the literal sense enjoyed primacy, in practice allegorical readings of scripture often displaced the literal. This tendency to elevate the importance of nonliteral readings was vigorously opposed during the Renaissance by both humanist scholars and Protestant reformers, who insisted that scripture be interpreted primarily in its grammatical or literal sense.

The relevance of this for the rise of science lies in the fact that the allegorical mentality of medieval scholars was premised on a particular view of nature. Allegory entailed the view that natural objects bore moral and theological meanings. As both Augustine and Thomas Aquinas had explained, determination of the literal sense of scripture lay in identifying the objects to which the words referred. The allegorical meaning, however, had to do with the meanings of the objects. In the literal sense words referred to objects; in the allegorical sense objects referred to other objects. Allegorical readings thus extended to the natural world, which was at that time regarded primarily as a locus of transcendental truths. Nature was scrutinized primarily for its meanings, rather than being understood in terms of causal or mathematical relations. The demise of allegory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—a situation to which the Protestant preference for the literal sense was a major contributing factor—was thus accompanied by the need to reorder a natural world now evacuated of its rich symbolic theological and moral associations. The mathematical sciences along with new classificatory schemes of natural history that we associate with the new sciences came to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the symbolic world of the Middle Ages. The rise of biblical literalism was thus one of the factors that paved the way for a scientific understanding of nature.

Other features of Protestantism, in particular a suspicion of images and of the visual realm, further contributed to the decline of the symbolic understanding of nature. Central to medieval WORSHIP had been the spectacle of the mass, and religious experience was mediated by additional sacramental performances, along with images, statuary, and VESTMENTS. The reformers had not only vested authority in the literal words of a single text, but had changed the emphasis of worship to the PREACHING of the word. As a further consequence of their elevation of word over visual representation, “idolatrous” images and statues were replaced by inscriptions of the Decalogue or other passages of scripture. Protestant reforms thus utterly transformed the sensory context of religious worship, and arguably revolutionized religious experience generally. In all of this Protestant reformers evinced a profound distrust of the visual sense, which was held

responsible for idolatry in religion and illicit curiosity in matters of the sciences. This suspicion of all things visual was inevitably felt in the empirical sciences, and complemented the general skepticism about the possibility of knowledge that arose out of the more pessimistic anthropology of the reformers. Experimentation, the use of magnifying instruments, the development of protocols for judging observation reports, communal witnessing, emphasis on the corporate nature of the scientific enterprise, and the development of formal theories of vision were all part of a response to the crisis of visual representation precipitated by the Protestant Reformation.

Biblical literalism also promoted the new sciences of the early modern period in another way. New, purely historical readings of the creation narratives in Genesis provided seventeenth-century thinkers with powerful motivating images for pursuing the natural sciences. Adam was thought to have possessed a perfect knowledge of all sciences, a knowledge lost to posterity when he fell from grace and was expelled from the Garden of Eden. Seventeenth-century scientists such as Bacon and his successors in the Royal Society saw as their goal the regaining of the scientific knowledge of the first man. Indeed, for these individuals the whole scientific enterprise was an integral part of a redemptive endeavor that, along with the Christian religion, was to help restore the human race to its original perfection. The biblical account of the creation, shorn of allegorical elements, provided these early scientists with an important source of motivation, and in an age still thoroughly committed to traditional Christianity the new science was to gain social legitimacy on account of these religious associations.

The Age of Physico-Theology

Throughout the Middle Ages, plants, animals, and stones had served the human race not merely for practical purposes but had represented moral and theological truths. All of this had been part of the symbolic and sacramental view of medieval Catholicism. The denial of symbolic functions to natural objects, which came in the wake of the Reformation, brought with it a renewed emphasis on the practical uses of the creatures. It was still held that God had made the creatures for human use, but these uses were increasingly understood in terms of how they might be exploited for practical purposes rather than what they might have represented symbolically. Throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, an important justification for scientific investigation was that these practices enabled human investigators to discern the practical uses of natural objects that God had intended for God's human creatures.

At the same time, some theological truths were still held to be apparent in nature. If animals and plants no longer symbolized theological and moral truths, they nonetheless constituted evidence of God's wisdom and goodness. The study of nature thus served not merely to minister to physical human needs, but remained in some sense a theological activity. This was particularly so in ENGLAND, where a strong tradition of natural theology flourished. The study of nature was thought to demonstrate the wisdom and power of God, and natural theology and natural history were virtually indistinguishable. To investigate the natural world was to study God's providential handiwork, and the

discipline of natural history consisted largely of the enumeration of instances of divine design or contrivance. So intimate was the connection between theology and the study of nature that a new hybrid discipline known as “physico-theology” emerged at this time. WILLIAM PALEY’S *Natural Theology* (1801) is the best known example of the genre. It became one of the standard texts at CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, and influenced the young Charles Darwin during his student days there. For their part, Catholic thinkers, too, contributed to this tradition, although not perhaps with the same enthusiasm as English clergymen. Relations between Protestantism and science throughout the eighteenth century and for much of the nineteenth thus tended to be congenial and close.

The Conflict Myth

Two developments in the latter half of the nineteenth century and one in the early twentieth century were to disturb the happy alliance represented by the discipline of physico-theology. First, the appearance in 1859 of Darwin’s *Origin of Species* seemed to challenge both biblical authority and theological claims about the uniqueness of human beings. Second, the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the professional scientist and the beginnings of a concerted campaign to improve the social standing of the sciences. Attempts were made to give science a central place in the university curriculum, to establish mechanisms for its public funding, and through the formation of professional societies, generally to enhance its social prestige. The final development, which took place early in the twentieth century, was the emergence in the UNITED STATES of a conservative form of evangelical Protestantism that became known as FUNDAMENTALISM. Together, these factors led to a new phase in the relationship between Protestantism and science.

With regard to DARWINISM, it must be pointed out that nineteenth-century criticisms came from a variety of sources, not all of them religious. As was the case with Galileo’s advocacy of the heliocentric hypothesis, there were significant disputes within the scientific community itself over the merits of the theory. Two issues proved controversial: the mechanism of natural selection, and the method that Darwin had used to arrive at his theory. By the third decade of the twentieth century, however, most scientists had come to accept both natural selection and the Darwinian hypothetico-deductive method. To a degree, the reactions of both Catholics and the major Protestant denominations mirrored those of the scientific community. Genesis was interpreted in ways that could be reconciled with evolutionary theory, and it was argued that the special status of human beings was unaffected by a common ancestry with apes. Up until the 1930s many conservative Protestants regarded the “days” of creation set out in the first Genesis creation narrative as long periods of time, and were thus able to give qualified support to evolutionary thought.

As for the nineteenth-century attempts to raise the profile of the sciences, one common strategy called for the complete elimination of all religious and moral elements from the sphere of the natural sciences. Science was to be a secular discipline, and its methods were to be informed by methodological agnosticism. This development coincided neatly

with Darwinism, which had made the alliance between natural religion and natural history superfluous. Some went further in prosecuting this agenda to make the additional claim that science and religion were, in fact, inimical. Andrew Dickson White's *History of the Warfare between Science and Religion* (1896) and John Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1875) famously advanced the thesis that throughout history religion had been a regressive force that had obstructed scientific progress. Thus was the myth of an ongoing warfare between science and religion born. Although its historical merits are dubious, its legacy is pervasive, and it continues to attract adherents. Subsequent fundamentalist rejections of science also fueled the perception of conflict. Equally significant is the fact that the improved fortunes of the sciences—the consequence of these nineteenth-century developments—effected a subtle inversion of the power relations between science and religion. Scientists assumed the mantle of authority that once had rested on the CLERGY. By the end of the nineteenth century science had become a cultural force to be reckoned with.

Twentieth-Century Developments

The newly established independence of science, along with its growing prestige, led to a number of reactions within the Christian church. On the one hand, over the course of the twentieth century, Protestant and Catholic thinkers alike have sought to reconcile theological doctrines with the findings and methods of the sciences. WOLFHART PANNENBERG is perhaps the most prominent Protestant theologian to attempt such a rapprochement. The beginning of the twenty-first century has seen the development of a burgeoning field of “science and theology” that has attracted the attention of theologians and theologically inclined scientists. This development represents not only a defensive apologetic strategy on the part of some theologians, but a genuine rekindling of interest in theological issues on the part of some within the scientific community. In certain instances, the primacy of the sciences has led to major reformulation or even abandonment of fundamental Christian doctrines. PROCESS THEOLOGY might be regarded as an instance of the latter.

On the other hand, the perceived displacement of religion from the center of the cultural life of the West has provoked an entirely different response from some conservative Protestants, particularly in North America. Fundamentalist groups, to some degree correctly, regard science as having been responsible for the increasing marginalization of Christianity in the modern West and for its waning influence in public life. For such groups science, and more specifically the teachings of evolutionary scientists, represent a threat to the literal truths of Scripture and to important Christian beliefs, and as a consequence must be vigorously resisted. By the same token fundamentalists have also rejected the “liberal” theological positions of fellow Protestants who, in their view, have too easily capitulated to the sciences and have under-played genuine areas of conflict. Paradoxically, even fundamentalists have tacitly acknowledged the cultural prestige of the sciences, representing themselves as adhering to an alternative scientific thesis—CREATION SCIENCE. If biblical literalism helped to pave the way for

the emergence of scientific culture in the early modern period and provided motivations for its first practitioners, the same cannot be said for the twentieth century.

Some Qualifications and Concluding Remarks

General claims about purported relationships between Protestantism and science need to be viewed in the light of four important qualifications. First, caution needs to be exercised in taking at face value the claims of contemporary historical actors for the positive influence of Protestantism on the development of science. In the seventeenth century, when tension between rival modes of Christianity in Europe was at a high point, utterances about some supposed connection between Protestantism and the advancement of knowledge could function as anti-Catholic polemic. It suited the purposes of Protestant apologists to portray Catholicism as dogmatic, authoritarian, and backward looking. Similarly polemical motives are apparent in the distorted historical treatments written by the nineteenth-century progenitors of the warfare model, although in this instance, criticism was extended to religion generally. It is important, in short, to consider likely sources of historical bias in accounts of the historical relations between science and religion.

Second, although this article has alluded to possible positive influences of Protestantism on the development of early modern science, its silence with regard to Catholicism should not be interpreted to mean that no contribution was forthcoming from that quarter. Mention has already been made of Descartes and Gassendi. A comprehensive account of the relations between science and Christianity would include a more complete account of Catholic contributions.

Third, "Protestantism" is not now, if it ever was, a monolithic phenomenon. The range of attitudes toward science exhibited by Protestants from the end of the nineteenth century is sufficient testimony to this principle. Ideally, claims about relationships between Protestantism and science should specify which Protestants, in what place, and during which historical period. Moreover, in seeking to identify possible historical influences it is important to distinguish Protestant doctrines from Protestant practices. With respect to the Reformation, likewise, the social and political conditions that ensued in its wake need to be considered separately from the explicit intentions of its principal architects. To speak of the impact of Protestantism, then, is to have regard to its doctrines, its practices, and the conditions that it generated. These are not the same and may have different and even contrary consequences.

Fourth, similar considerations apply to science. There is a popular image of "science" as a unitary entity that endures over time, and that generates reliable knowledge through the application of "the scientific method." However, the cultural institution "science," as we currently understand it, is really the product of the nineteenth century. It was then that the term "scientist" first appeared, that professional associations were formed, that the sciences began to consolidate their place in the university curriculum, and that the study of nature became a genuinely secular enterprise. This is not say that the seventeenth-century developments usually referred to as "the scientific revolution" are not central to

the genealogy of modern science. However, inasmuch as scientific and religious concerns were inextricably bound together at this time, the study of nature was of necessity a somewhat different activity from the secular sciences of late modernity. In addition, now more than ever, there is a plurality of sciences each with a distinct subject matter and range of methodologies. Indeed, it is these differences that account for the fact that it is evolutionary biology that generates the most conflict in science-religion discussions, whereas cosmology tends to be cordially embraced as a useful ally—almost the reverse of the situation of the eighteenth century.

With these qualifications in mind, three broad conclusions can be drawn about Protestantism and science. First, there are good reasons to suppose that Protestantism played a significant role in the emergence of modern science, both because of its doctrines and practices, and as a consequence of the social conditions that it generated. Second, cordial relations between Protestantism and science persisted through the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. Third, current diversity within both Protestantism and the sciences is reflected in a diversity of relationships.

See also Biblical Inerrancy

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PETER HARRISON

SCIENTISM

Scientism in the strongest sense is the view that everything could and should be understood in terms of science. Science is then typically interpreted in a narrow way, referring only to the natural sciences. A weaker version of scientism holds that as much as possible could and should be understood in terms of science. It is assumed that there is something problematic, inferior, or even irrational about activities or enterprises that could not be understood in such a way.

In what follows a background to scientism is given, different versions of scientism are distinguished, and the criticism that scientism has received especially from Protestant thinkers is presented.

Background

The overwhelming intellectual and practical successes of SCIENCE have led some people to think that there are no real limits to the competence of science, no limits to what can be achieved in the name of science. There is nothing outside the domain of science, nor is there any area of human life to which science cannot successfully be applied. A scientific account of anything and everything constitutes the full story of the universe and its inhabitants. Or, if there are limits to the scientific enterprise, the idea is that science at least sets the boundaries for what we humans can ever know about reality. This is the view of scientism.

The historical roots of scientism can probably be traced to the ENLIGHTENMENT with its ideology of progress and perfectibility. Perhaps its most well-known historical advocate is the French social philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857) and his attempt to create a religion based on science: the “Religion of Humanity.” Another interesting and far-reaching attempt to have science take over many of the functions of religion and thus itself become a religion was made by the German chemist and Nobel Prize-winner Wilhelm Ostwald (1853–1932). He argued for science as an “Ersatzreligion”—a substitute religion. Yet many different forms of scientism have emerged over the last three centuries.

During the last three decades, an increasing number of distinguished natural scientists, including Peter Atkins, Richard Dawkins, Carl Sagan, and Edward O. Wilson (as well as philosophers like Daniel D. Dennett and Michael Ruse), have advocated scientism in one form or another. Besides receiving a number of prestigious scientific prizes and awards, these scientists have sold an enormous number of books. Their views have been discussed in newspapers and have been broadcast on radio and television. If scientism has

been around for a while, the great impact these advocates of scientism have had on popular Western CULTURE is new. They have brought not only science, but also scientism, into the living room of ordinary people.

Different Versions of Scientism

All advocates of scientism believe that the boundaries of science (i.e., the natural sciences) could and should be expanded in such a way that something not previously understood as science can become a part of science. Thus a possible synonym for scientism is *scientific expansionism*. How exactly the boundaries of science should be expanded and what more precisely it is that is to be included within science are issues on which there is disagreement, and for this reason, scientism cannot immediately be equated with scientific naturalism or materialism (although such an equation is often correct). *Scientific naturalism* or *materialism* is roughly the view that all genuine knowledge about reality is to be found through science and science alone, and that matter (or matter and energy) is the fundamental reality in the universe.

The most common way of defining scientism, however, is to say that it is the view that science tells us everything there is to know about reality. The epistemological version of scientism is an attempt to expand the boundaries of science in such a way that all genuine (in contrast to apparent) knowledge must either be scientific or at least be reducible to scientific knowledge. Everything outside science is therefore taken as a matter of mere belief and subjective opinion. Consequently, the agenda of the scientists who accept this form of scientism is to strive to incorporate many other areas of human life within the sciences, so that rational consideration and acquisition of knowledge can be made possible in these fields as well. This is a part of the mission of the scientific faith: In a demon-haunted world, science is the candle in the dark. *Epistemic scientism* raises an obvious challenge to Christianity (or any other religion). Christianity could give us knowledge about God, human beings, and the world only if those knowledge claims could be confirmed by the methods of the natural sciences, because genuine knowledge—according to this version of scientism—could be obtained only through such methods.

Another way of expanding the boundaries of science is to maintain that science not only can fully explain morality, but also can replace traditional ETHICS and tell us how we ought to behave. Science, contrary to what we previously have thought, can justify ethical norms and beliefs and provide us with a new, scientific ethic. However, for a claim to be scientific in this sense, it must maintain more than that science is relevant to ethics. Nobody would deny that. Rather, it must state that science is the sole (or at least by far the most important) source for developing a moral theory and explaining moral behavior. To the extent that advocates of *normative scientism* offer an account of morality that contradicts a Christian understanding of morality, it creates a challenge to Christianity. So, for instance, if science (as some evolutionary biologists claim) can show that morality is an illusion and ultimately about selfishness or maximizing one's reproductive success, then genuine altruism of the Mother Teresa kind seems not to be

possible or at least irrational. But, according to Christians, altruistic people such as Mother Teresa behave rather in the most rational way, because they actually reflect the unselfishly loving character of God.

Perhaps the most astonishing kind of scientism is the one that expresses a belief in the salvific mission of science. The idea is that because we have modern science, we no longer have to resort to superstition when faced with such deep problems as “Is there a meaning to life?”, “What are we here for?”, and “What is human nature?”, because science is capable of dealing with all these questions and constitutes in addition the only alternative to superstition. Science can be our new religion and answer our existential questions. Indeed, we ought to become “science believers” and leave our traditional religions behind. Scientism in this form is the idea of SALVATION through science alone. *Salvific scientism* is the view that science alone cannot only fully explain traditional religion and but also replace it.

Criticism of Scientism

Scientism (including scientific naturalism) has been severely criticized by many Protestant thinkers, including Ian Barbour, Alvin Plantinga, Huston Smith, Mikael Stenmark, and Keith Ward, as well as by other groups of scientists and scholars. The critical responses have differed, depending on what form of scientism is being analyzed and what understanding of Christianity is being defended. The main criticism, however, is that the advocates of scientism, in their attempt to expand the boundaries of science, base their arguments not merely on scientific, but also on philosophical premises, and thus scientism is not science proper, but rather naturalism or atheism disguised.

Perhaps the most embarrassing problem for spokes-persons for scientism is that one of its central claims seems to be self-refuting. The difficulty is that the scientific belief that we can only know what science can tell us (epistemic scientism) seems to be something that science cannot tell us. How can one set up a scientific experiment to demonstrate the truth of that claim? It seems impossible. But we cannot *know* that scientific knowledge is the only mode of knowledge unless we are able to determine this by scientific means. This is so simply because science—according to epistemic scientism—sets the limits for what we can possibly know. Hence the claim that we can only know what science can tell us falsifies itself. If it is true, then it is false.

See also Natural Law

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MIKAEL STENMARK

SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE

The *Scofield Reference Bible* emerged as one of the most influential texts in twentieth-century evangelicalism and fundamentalism shortly after Oxford University Press published the first edition in 1909. Conceptualized and compiled by the Reverend Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843–1921), the BIBLE contained a series of connected topical references known as “chain links,” extensive annotations, attractive paragraphing, and supplementary material aimed at explaining and clarifying the KING JAMES VERSION text for average readers. Theologically, Scofield’s commentary supported, reflected, and somewhat modified the views associated with John Darby and the Plymouth Brethren, dividing the Bible into seven historical periods known as dispensations and arguing for the pre-tribulation secret rapture of the true Christian church. The reference bible proved extraordinary popular and has sold tens of millions of copies since its initial appearance. Scofield himself revised and prepared a second edition in 1917, and Oxford issued a third edition in 1967 under the supervision of an editorial board that consisted of leading evangelical and fundamentalist scholars.

Cyrus Ingerson Scofield

Details concerning Scofield’s life remain somewhat sketchy and controversial. Supporters and detractors have contested various biographical facts and drawn deeply contrasting portraits of the man, but several common themes and elements emerge from their accounts. Scofield was born on August 19, 1843, in Lenawee County, Michigan, not far from the Ohio border, where his parents farmed and operated a saw-mill. At some point, probably in the late 1850s, Scofield migrated to Wilson County, Tennessee, and at the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, enlisted in the Confederate army, serving one year with the Tennessee infantry. By the late 1860s, he had relocated to St. Louis, married into a prominent local family, and commenced the study of law under the patronage of his wealthy in-laws. Politics and legal work occupied Scofield for the next decade as he moved his family to Kansas, earned election to the state legislature as a Republican, and was appointed U.S. attorney for Kansas. Personal problems, legal troubles, and continual bouts with alcohol apparently cut short his political career in the early 1870s, and Scofield subsequently moved back to St. Louis, leaving his family behind. His wife ultimately secured a final divorce decree in 1883, retaining custody of the couple’s two children.

At some point in 1879, Scofield apparently underwent a conversion experience in St. Louis. He began studying Christianity under the prominent Presbyterian minister and

ardent dispensationalist James Hall Brookes, assisted in DWIGHT L. MOODY'S urban evangelistic campaign, joined the Pilgrim Congregational Church, and became acting director of the St. Louis YMCA. Within a very short time, Scofield earned a considerable reputation with the growing pan-denominational coalition of conservative Protestants that would eventually coalesce into the fundamentalist movement. In 1882 the Congregationalist Church's American Home Missions Board for the Southwest called Scofield to Dallas, Texas, where he remarried and spent the next twelve years slowly transforming a struggling congregation into the influential First Congregational Church, subsequently renamed Scofield Memorial Church. After pastoring Moody's Trinitarian Congregational Church in East Northfield, Massachusetts from 1895 through 1902, Scofield returned to Dallas and served basically as an absentee pastor while working on his reference Bible project. Scofield severed his connection with the Dallas church and with congregationalism generally in 1909, perhaps owing to his conviction that the denomination had grown too liberal and modernist in its sympathies. He affiliated with the Southern Presbyterian Church at Paris, Texas, and relocated to Long Island shortly thereafter. Scofield launched a popular correspondence course and night school in New York City and successfully completed his second edition of the *Reference Bible*. Plagued by ill health for the last several years of his life, Scofield died at Douglaston, New York, on July 24, 1921.

Scofield's prominence in evangelical and fundamentalist circles owed principally to his cultivation of, and participation in, a growing network of conservative Christian institutions that began to take shape in the late nineteenth century. He participated regularly in the annual Bible conferences that drew together a national evangelical cohort interested in exploring prophecy belief and debating premillennial themes each summer in pleasant resort settings. Scofield also developed his own correspondence courses based on his interpretations of biblical text. Indeed, he proved instrumental in conceptualizing, founding, and/or managing several important Protestant institutions, including: Lake Charles College, Northfield Bible Training School, New York Night School of the Bible, Central American Mission, and Philadelphia School of the Bible. His writings reflect a consistent commitment to dispensational premillennialism; his career pattern illustrates his effort to forge a broad Christian coalition that transcended denominational boundaries. The publication of *The Scofield Reference Bible* in 1909 most clearly articulated his theological views and proved to be a critical document in both coalescing conservative Christian sentiment and providing coherence to the somewhat inchoate fundamentalist movement.

First Edition

Scofield's closest friends and associates recalled that he began formulating his plan for a reference bible during the early years of his Dallas pastorate, but that he did not thoroughly commit himself to the endeavor until July 1901, while attending a summer Bible conference at Sea Cliff on Long Island. Evangelical colleagues enthusiastically embraced the concept and encouraged him to persist. Initial financial support came from

Alwyn Ball, Jr., a wealthy New York City real estate broker attending the Bible conference, and from John T. Pirie, the Chicago-based department store magnate whose Sea Cliff estate hosted the Christian gathering. Recognizing the need to minimize pastoral responsibilities, Scofield returned to First Congregational Church in Dallas in December 1902 and negotiated a protracted sabbatical. He spent the next several years working on the Bible project, primarily in Europe, where he also established a connection with Henry Frowde, the head of Oxford University Press. Frowde promoted the reference Bible to officials at Oxford's American Branch, and the first edition appeared in 1909.

Several core principles, reflected both in the introduction to the 1909 edition and in discussions with colleagues, undergirded Scofield's work. First, and perhaps foremost, he committed himself to using the King James text rather than the Revised Version of 1885. Although he acknowledged the significance of nineteenth-century biblical scholarship and the discovery of ancient monastic manuscripts in the 1840s and 1850s, Scofield believed that these developments confirmed the essential accuracy of the Authorized Version and that minor corrections might be addressed through emendations and textual notes. The reference Bible thus both confirmed and contributed to the general popularity of the King James Version and, in Scofield's view, allowed him to combine up-to-date scholarly viewpoints with the perceived literary merit of the 1611 translation.

Second, he sought to base his book on the soundest contemporary scholarship, while avoiding interpretations that he viewed as representing mere novelties. "The Editor disclaims originality," he proudly announced in his introduction, and Scofield clearly intended the reference bible to reflect evangelical orthodoxy rather than to offer interpretive breakthroughs. Accordingly, he assembled an impressive list of consulting editors in order to lend broader credibility to the project, and their names constituted many of the leading conservative voices in early twentieth-century Protestantism: Arno C. Gaebelein (1841–1945), ARTHUR T. PIERSON, James M. Gray, William J. Erdman, Henry G. Weston, Elmore Harris, and W. G. Moorehead. Scofield composed much of the text abroad, working at Oxford, England, and Montreaux, Switzerland where he claimed to have consulted several leading European biblical scholars and have used the most sophisticated academic libraries.

Third, Scofield's distinctive method of linking topical references and concepts throughout the Bible remained in his mind a significant advance over older "unscientific" methods. His chain links allowed readers to systematically trace keywords and themes throughout the Scriptures, thereby creating a sense of unity, consistency, and coherence across the entire text. Scofield especially emphasized prophetic beliefs, carefully linking their exposition in the Hebrew Bible to their fulfillment in the New Testament. Further, Scofield intended the topical references to provide readers with a holistic view of Scripture that discouraged them from drawing hasty generalizations and from quoting material out of context.

Other editorial decisions also differentiated his work from the growing body of biblical commentaries, study helps, and exegetical literature that flooded the early twentieth-century Christian book market. Scofield offered simple and straightforward definitions of such controversial concepts as sin, grace, and justification. Brief introductory notes preceded each book of the Bible, and italicized subheads guided the reader topically through the subsequent text. Explanatory notes appeared on the same page as the concepts under review, thus facilitating ready reference. Difficult and obscure

words received pronunciation aids. Throughout his introduction Scofield repeatedly emphasized the average reader as his intended audience and his principal aim involved making the Bible more accessible and understandable to a broader reading public.

In the final analysis, the most distinctive feature of *The Scofield Reference Bible*, and the characteristic that ultimately proved most influential and controversial, involved his incorporation of dispensational beliefs into the annotations. Scofield believed wholeheartedly in the verbal, literal inerrancy of Scripture, and argued that the Bible contained a series of progressive divine revelations that articulated and explained God's dealings with humankind. He divided biblical history into seven broad chronological periods, known as "dispensations." Each dispensation constituted a period of time during which human beings were tested by some specific revelation of God's will and each could be traced to a particular biblical passage that inaugurated a new dispensation. Scofield defined the seven dispensations as follows: Innocence (Genesis 1:28), Conscience (Genesis 3:22), Human Government (Genesis 8:20), Promise (Genesis 12:1), Law (Exodus 19:8), Grace (John 1:17), and Kingdom (Ephesians 1:10).

Subsequent History

Critics initially greeted *The Scofield Reference Bible* with mixed reviews; liberals rejected its intellectual assumptions while some conservatives felt that it relied excessively on good works as a means of salvation and that it suffered from theological inconsistency. Still, after modest but promising initial sales, the volume quickly gained considerable popularity. The prominent consulting editors aggressively promoted the book and it proved especially attractive to participants at Bible conferences and evangelistic campaigns. In 1911, Oxford issued a 300th anniversary commemorative edition of the King James Bible containing Scofield's chain links along with a "carefully corrected text" scrutinized by prominent biblical scholars.

Within a few years, Scofield decided that a completely new and improved revision of his 1909 compilation seemed necessary, and Oxford agreed to issue a second edition in 1917. One major change involved the incorporation of exact dates into the text, based on Archbishop James Ussher's (1581–1656) chronology and pinpointing the date of creation at 4004 B.C. Scofield also incorporated a new section, entitled "A Panoramic View of the Bible," that sought to emphasize unifying themes throughout the Bible and present the compiler's understanding of the relationship between various textual elements. For Scofield, Christ remained at the center of the Bible, and all sixty-six books could be grouped under five thematic concepts: preparation for Christ, constituting the entire Old Testament; manifestation of Jesus in the world, explicated through the Gospels; propagation of Jesus's message, contained in the Acts; explanation of Christ's ministry, described in the Epistles; and consummation of God's work through Christ, revealed in the Apocalypse.

The reference bible remained a best-seller for Oxford into the mid-twentieth century. Oxford University Press offered a complete Scofield product line and numerous foreign language translations appeared. Oxford even contracted with E. Schuyler English (1899–

1981), former president of Philadelphia School of the Bible and editor of *Our Hope* magazine, to abridge the annotations into a popular *Pilgrim Edition* (1948), which employed the King James text and was designed primarily for young readers. By 1954 Oxford concluded that recent archaeological discoveries, exegetical advances, and changes in the English language justified a revision of Scofield's work. Accordingly, the press commissioned a third major edition of the reference bible and selected English to chair the editorial committee. The eight other committee members represented the leading fundamentalist and evangelical scholarly institutions in mid-twentieth century America: John F. Walvoord (1910-) of Dallas Theological Seminary, William Culbertson (1905–1991) of Moody Bible Institute, Wilbur M. Smith (1894–1976) of Fuller Theological Seminary, Frank E. Gaebelein of The Stony Brook School, Alva McClain (1888–1968) of Grace Theological Seminary, Clarence E. Mason, Jr., of Philadelphia College of the Bible, Charles L. Feinberg of Talbot Theological Seminary, and Allan MacRae of Faith Theological Seminary.

The 1967 edition retained Scofield's dispensational system, revelatory outlook, and pretribulationist stance. The editors did change the sixth dispensation from "Grace" to "Church Age" and attempted to clarify a related doctrinal issue by carefully noting that salvation in every dispensation depended upon grace through faith. This modification sought to combat critics' claims that Scofield had implied that humanity might be saved through good works rather than faith, and that he limited salvation by grace to one particular dispensation. Other alterations attempted to place the 1967 volume more in conformity with contemporary textual and critical scholarship, as well as with twentieth-century developments in Bible prophecy. The revisers abandoned Ussher's chronology, for example, acknowledging that no date earlier than 2000 B.C. could be accurately fixed and that subsequent dates could only be approximated in most instances.

The editorial committee continued to rely on the King James Version as its biblical text, but it introduced numerous changes designed to make the language more intelligible to a late twentieth-century public. English and his colleagues altered obsolete and archaic words, modernized spellings, changed relative pronouns, and occasionally clarified questionable translation decisions, carefully noting modifications in the text. They also greatly expanded the editorial apparatus, nearly doubling the number of notes to over 1,500, and providing approximately 50,000 cross-references in contrast to the 27,000 in the 1917 edition. The committee also included new maps drawn in accordance with contemporary archaeological and cartographical advances, a concise concordance especially prepared for the revision, revised subheadings that more clearly differentiated editorial commentary from biblical text, and expanded introductions to each book. Sales figures indicate that the 1967 Scofield proved popular, though not as revolutionary or influential as its early twentieth-century predecessors. Oxford estimates that the third edition has sold millions of copies since its appearance, and sales numbered in the tens of thousands annually through the late 1990s. Clearly, *The Scofield Reference Bible* continued to satisfy a loyal audience of theologically conservative Protestants who remained devoted to the King James Version and who sought interpretive aids that remained faithful to dispensationalist teachings.

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PETER J. WOSH

SCOTLAND

Contempt and Scottish Protestantism seem to have gone hand in hand. Viewed from the eighteenth century, arguably Scotland's finest hour, the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND and its clergy appear almost to deserve the same opprobrium as the Catholic church, complete with its prelatic hierarchy and indulgences, from which Protestantism had dramatically removed itself at the time of the REFORMATION. The professor of divinity at Aberdeen, Alexander Gerard, in a series of "Theological Prelections" published in 1799, under the title *The Pastoral Care*, cited the oft-repeated list of contemptible practices of the clergy as both an admonition to his students and as a historical reminder. In timely fashion Gerard's instruction was also intended as a corrective to the "misrepresentation" not just of "abuses" but, more important, of the relation of Protestantism's official church in Scotland to the national character itself, and indeed of "religion itself."

The "disrespect" and "detestation of mankind" fell on ministers purportedly guilty of "hypocrisy, superstition, ambition, vanity, party-spirit, rancour, and revenge." As enthusiastic in its "malicious eagerness and exultation" as some of those religious parties were themselves, this mischief converted "imaginary faults" into "real vices," and "small failings" into "atrocious crimes." Moreover, throughout all of these "great blemishes" it made no allowance for the "weakness of human nature, or the temptations of the world." Significantly, Gerard makes reference here to his countryman DAVID HUME'S "Essay on National Characters," recognizing perhaps that this Scottish Trojan horse threatened to "confound" the "natural and primary tendency" of Scotland's national church and to fell the "city," this great "Athens of the North" (Edinburgh, the eventual seat of the combined Church of Scotland's Assembly Hall). But what was that "tendency," that the Orkney poet and critic Edwin Muir should, on traveling through the Borders region and encountering Melrose Abbey, also muse that after the Reformation something of "transcendent loveliness" should have passed out of Scotland's life?

Protestantism and Scottish Nationalism

Protestantism in Scotland has ever been tied inextricably to the nation's character and its fortunes. The nineteenth-century historian H.T. Buckle went so far as to charge that the Scotch church had "dwarfed and mutilated" the national character in the seventeenth century, thereby making the work of Scotland's "Enlightenment" thinkers all the more difficult, in their attempt to wrest from what some have called that "glacial age of Calvinism" a society and an economy worthy of its people. However, mutilation can infect all those who would tamper with, or confound, the body. As he reflected on the

patronage that had sustained the reign of the so-called Moderates in eighteenth-century Scotland, a youthful Dr. THOMAS CHALMERS, whose sheer oratory later helped to bring about the Disruption from which emerged the Free Church of Scotland in 1843, proclaimed utter distaste. A student still at St. Andrews, and a contemporary of James Mylne who earned a reputation as a radical “sensationalist” after he left a curacy at Paisley Abbey to become Glasgow’s professor of moral philosophy, Chalmers admitted that he and his fellow students had “inhaled not a distaste only, but a positive contempt, for all that is properly and peculiarly gospel” (McCosh 1875:394).

Their contempt had the ring of earlier cries of disdain not, however, as the young Chalmers then supposed, for things “peculiarly gospel,” but for the empty rhetoric as well as practices that had come to distort and malign the “everlasting Gospel” of the “true Church of Scotland,” in the words of his friend and fellow “Disrupter,” James McCosh. It was the same ring that two centuries before had been heard in the voices of JOHN KNOX and ANDREW MELVILLE, in successive stages the catalysts, if not strictly the founders (that “Headship” belonged, of course, to Christ, as Covenanters and Free Church ministers never failed to remind their flocks) of Protestantism in Scotland. The object of Knox’s and Melville’s contempt had rather been popery, episcopacy, and kings (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). If these three objects were the seeds of PRESBYTERIANISM, the contempt born against them planted itself deep in the Scottish mind. Its issue, a creature of ironic form, was no less than the flowering of a spirit of national liberty and the fruit of a fanatical intolerance.

That intolerance has sometimes had its share of almost comical twists. Although antipapistical, antiliturgical, and antiepiscopal invective may be regarded as extreme rebukes of other persons’ forms of WORSHIP, under the shifting, acrimonious, high-stakes, and frequently destructive tides of political maneuvering, especially in the seventeenth century, the installation of a bishop or prelate here, the imposition of “popish words” such as “CLERGY” and “LAITY” there, and “anti-christian” liturgical forms everywhere (so said JOHN BAILLIE, the Presbyterian preacher and principal of Glasgow University, of the “beautiful prayers” of the Scottish Prayer Book forced on them by Charles I and the archbishop of Canterbury WILLIAM LAUD, in 1636), were enough to turn blood and sea red. Tit for tat, Scottish Covenanters hit back with their own peculiar logic. Unlike the fairly evenly balanced forces of Catholicism and Protestantism then in ENGLAND,

“in Scotland it was not so; nearly all (for the Catholics were mere Ishmaelites) were then Presbyterian. When the Covenanters insisted that Charles I and when the protesters insisted that Charles II should force Presbyterianism on England and Ireland, they returned, unconsciously, to Tudor principles. If it was wrong for the king to compel Scotland to accept the Liturgy [however slightly modified, in deference to the Scots], it was right for him to compel England and Ireland to accept Presbyterianism. Such was Covenanting logic” (Lang 1904:28).

The niceties of this logic notwithstanding, Lang was under no illusions about the temper that fueled and fired it time after time during the same century. Protestantism in Scotland, he recounts, like its counterpart in England, owned a “savage religious temper.”

THOMAS HOBBS had attested as much, and had built an argument for political authoritarianism on the basis of just such a ruthless intolerance of anyone standing in one's way, yet with a zeal and a relish for blood not in the converted, but in the natural human soul.

H.T.Buckle, who has earned his own share of Scottish nationalist wrath, described the Presbyterian body that grew out of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century conflicts as a "restless and unscrupulous body, greedy after power, and grossly intolerant of whatever opposed their own views" (Buckle 1970:110). The fearlessness of religious intolerance made even kings and nobles want to ally themselves to this energy, if not strictly to its principles. As Buckle noted, albeit with his own disdain, the Scotch clergy "covered with contempt" the "great ones of the earth" and "cast down" all "who were above them." Those bitterly and cruelly divisive conflicts to which many historians have alluded had arisen in large measure out of Presbyterian concerns to reclaim ecclesiastical properties seized by the Crown with the help of self-interested nobles; to ensure the democracy (the system of equality insisted on by Knox and his leadership successor Andrew Melville, as early as 1575) of the elect against the almost irresistible tides of hierarchical thinking; and to discipline (to "inure," in a word much favored by Scottish educationalists in the eighteenth century) the soul not only against political restorations, which would eventually lead to such torments for the Scots as the Act of Union of 1707, but also against the *instauratio*, the celebration of new beginnings predicted by FRANCIS BACON, which would bring about the advancement at once of learning and of luxury. Buckle himself had to concede that even when the Church of Scotland fostered a feeling "almost...of disgust," its most fanatical adherents were nevertheless to be admired for having "kept alive the spirit of national liberty."

Change

Ironically, that same spirit has among modern Scots succeeded in hoisting Buckle with his own petard. The guiding principles of his historical reading of the Scots—ignorance and fear—have seemed to thinkers such as George Davie rather to cover, and to color, himself. Fear leads to all sorts of excesses, none more so than in contagiously colorful historical accounts. Buckle had taken the servile and ignominious fear, with which he claimed the Scots clergy had crushed all the noblest feelings of human nature, and had splashed it over the entire Scots character, painting the latter, under the name of "Scottish Calvinism," as now permanently "dwarfed and mutilated." This virtual defacement of the Scots character, ironically by its own Presbyterian and egalitarian ethos, survives in spite of, or paradoxically because of, the winds of metaphysical, educational, scientific, jurisprudential, and indeed cultural change that blew across Scotland during the eighteenth century and made it, a worthy companion to FRANCE itself, one of the bastions of the new, distinctly modern and secularist age. Davie recognizes a certain restraint in Buckle's, as also in the historian F.W.Maitland's, judgment, tempered as they are by an acknowledgment of the dramatic changes in post-1707 Scotland, but he expresses chagrin that other historians, such as Hugh Trevor-Roper and even the Scottish

Gordon Donaldson, have taken up the cudgel of mutilation to beat the excesses of Scottish EVANGELICALISM into the less repugnant, more moderate, conformity of Scottish with English forms of Protestantism that the Act of Union (a political, not a religious settlement) supposedly made possible.

If there is such a thing as a religious monopoly in Scotland, a CALVINISM so deeply branded into the Scots character as to “dwarf” all other features, then a historical decision of considerable moment comes to the fore. Either pre-Union Scotland was a pure backwardness of austerity and fanaticism that even the long shadow of the post-Union eighteenth century was only gradually able to erode (as Scottish historians such as H.G.Graham and James Young have urged), or not even the civilizing force of political union with England nor the dynamics of Scotland’s own great enlightenment could quite efface the savagery, the dogmatic tone, the inflexibility, and the ignorance of this largely middle- to lower-class religious outlook. (If the Moderate Presbyterianism of the eighteenth century seems positively genteel by comparison, the reason lies in the fact that the Church of Scotland was for a sustained period under the sway of the cultured and intellectual upper classes.) The idea that Scotland might have evolved a “distinctive blend,” as George Davie puts it, of the “secular and the sacred,” that Protestantism in Scotland might over time have actually transformed itself from within into an entity combining disciplines of mind with those of soul and body, has until quite recently not been taken as seriously as it might be. Among others, more recent thinkers such as Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull have endeavored to change the religious face of Scotland, as it were, uniting it more positively, less on the long-held note of “inferiorization,” with the real cultural and political forces at work in the Scottish nation.

Even Edwin Muir characterized his own people as “a dull drove of faces harsh and vexed.” The blame rested squarely on the shoulders, or rather in the “preaching palms,” of Knox and Melville. Scottish Calvinism had created a joyless countenance; the faces of its children, according to others, are those of the starving and culturally destitute. Beveridge and Turnbull counter “this mindless endorsement of metropolitan prejudice” by citing what they regard as the strengths, not weaknesses, of Knox’s legacy or rather of Scotland’s Calvinist inheritance more generally—“moral seriousness, distrust of complacency [and] passion for theoretical argument” (Beveridge and Turnbull 1989:10). To their modern list might be added, perhaps more judiciously, the insights of the Rev. Hugh Blair, a Moderate preacher as well as professor of rhetoric and belle lettres at Edinburgh, and thus very much a product of that age of transformation that one might rather call, in deference to Davie’s principle of a distinctive blend in Scottish culture, the age of “polite Calvinism.” In a sermon entitled, “On the Mixture of Joy and Fear in Religion,” Blair achieves his own blend of religious discipline with practical fulfillment, the rigors of “duty” and “obedience” with the “cheerfulness” of “performance.” Wanting this combination, he asserted, “our religion discovers itself not to be genuine in principle, and in practice it cannot be stable. Religious obedience, destitute of joy, is not genuine in its principle.” It is possible that Buckle could not see the “joy” behind the faces of ignorance and fear in the children of Knox and Melville. It is also possible that the *Books of Discipline*, as they were called, could not see the joy within themselves.

The Reign of Discipline

The physical face of Scottish Protestantism had never shown itself to be a thing of aesthetic grandeur or even comeliness. It, too, bore the marks, it seems, of austerity, or perhaps only of neglect, whether truly spiritual or simply zealously indifferent. In the *First Book of Discipline*, preserved in Knox's *History of the Reformation*, a series of "recommendations," between April 1560 and January 1561, to "the lords" (a provisional governing body of Protestant nobles and lairds), the principles of austerity had been enunciated. They were directed, of course, primarily against the legacy of "idolatry" that had led to the "holy Sacraments" being "[wrongly] ministered" in buildings as diverse as abbeys, nunneries, cathedral kirks, and colleges. Significantly, the only exceptions to this "suppression" of idolatry were to be the "parish Kirks or Schools" which had found a home in the properties confiscated after the Reformation. Nevertheless, however austere might have been the recommended "doors, close windows of glass, thatch or slate able to withhold rain, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a basin for baptism, and tables for the ministration of the Lord's Supper," repairs were to be made in the event that "unseemliness of the place [should] come in contempt."

In spite of this attempt to put distance between Scottish Protestants and such "contempt," Andrew Lang notes a description of St. Giles' Church in 1627 as telling of a colorless, if not joyless, setting for worship, but also of a spiritual discipline run amok in the growing capitalism of the day: "Bare walls and pillars all clad with dust, sweepings and cobwebs...and on every side the restless resorting of people treating of their worldly affairs; some writing and making obligations, contracts, and discharges, others laying counts or telling over sums of money" (Lang 1904:iii,25). Part of the resistance in 1638 to the infliction on the Scottish Church of an orderly or "decent" LITURGY, one that was as uniform throughout the churches as it was free of "barbarisms" or political jibes, was that it lacked "conception" or the free springing to mind of inspired thoughts or radical opinions. The General Assembly at Perth in 1618 had enjoined that "everie minister...sall make choice of severall [*sic*] and pertinent texts of Scripture, and frame their doctrine and exhortation thereto, and rebuke all superstitious observation and licentious profanation" of the appointed holy days of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsuntide. Nevertheless both the "choice" and the "framing" were to be freely "conceived."

The other element in Scottish Protestantism's resistance to liturgical order was that it gave *de facto* recognition to the hated prelatial rule of that hierarchically defined church, now spitefully termed "the Devil." With free "conception" logically came the principle of egalitarianism whereby each preacher was to be deemed equal to every other. Just as the feisty Covenanters claimed to be fearless in "bearding [standing up] to [the] face" of James VI, so they would "beard" to any prelate and certainly to that "Romane [*sic*] Antichrist" the Pope. Sentiment against all things papistical ran high. The so-called Negative Confession of 1581, which was later to form part of the 1638 National Covenant, sets the "kyrk of Scotland" against "all contrarie religion and doctrine, but cheifly [*sic*] all kynd of papistrie in generall and perticular headis [*sic*] even as they are now damned and confuted by the worde of God and kyrk of Scotland...." Against "all his tyrannous lawes," against the multitude of abominations from "worshipping of imagrie and

crocecs” to “vane allegories, ritis, signes and traditioneis” [*sic*], the Kirk pitted its own stern “discipline” and canons of “obedience.” The Negative Confession makes clear that “Godis [*sic*] good creatures” owe allegiance only to the “words of God,” to “Christ our head,” to the incorruptible and unsubverted “true religion within the kirk.”

Within that same kirk no one was to go wanting, either of care (provided that the person had “honestly fallen into decay”) or of education, more specifically, a “virtuous education and godly upbringing,” either at the hands of an appointed schoolmaster or, in rural areas, of a kirk reader or the minister himself. The yearly election of elders and deacons, “by common and free election,” would ensure the democracy of the faithful, while at the same time adding moral impetus to the task of assisting the minister in “all public affairs of the Church; to wit, in judging and decerning [*sic*] causes; in giving of admonition to the licentious liver; [and] in having respect to the manners and conversation of all men within their charge.” Democracy also worked to sharpen the attentiveness of the faithful to all that was going on around them, but more particularly, to the “life, manners, diligence and study” of the ministers themselves. The power to admonish, to correct, and, if necessary, to depose was ever to be with the people.

A Free Disruption

In part, it was to recover that very freedom, the power to elect or not to elect, that Chalmers, McCosh, Thomas Guthrie, David Welsh, and other “Free Churchmen” packed the halls of the General Assembly being held at Edinburgh in 1843 and brought about disruption, secession (several minor “secessions” had already occurred in 1690, 1733, and 1761), and the Free Church of Scotland. (It was not until 1929 that the breach between the Free Church and the Church of Scotland was healed, and even then not for all Free Churchmen.) The disciplines of the seventeenth century had fallen prey to the lure of patronage, to cultural and intellectual pretension, and to unconceived prayers and sermons, as appointed ministers gave scant notice to their congregations and even left the preparation of their sermons to some of the now classic texts of other minds. The *Second Book of Discipline* of 1578, fashioned by the energetic Andrew Melville after his return to Scotland from Geneva, made it clear that discipline was something actively, not passively, to be engaged. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Moderatism had obviously allowed the Kirk to drift too far in the direction of a passive sense of what it means to be the “disciplined” elect.

Ironically, the Free Churchmen identified as the root causes of that failure of discipline many of the ills against which the two *Books of Discipline*, effectively the legacies of Knox and Melville, had been conceived. Scottish Protestantism had always opposed any usurpation of the true “Headship” of the church by any form of civil authority, whether king or lord or, as largely became the case in the secularizing eighteenth century, the magistrate. The “licentious liver,” as we recall, had been the concern of an ever-vigilant elect, elders, deacons, ministers. Now, the perennial drunkard, McCosh complained, could go to the magistrate and gain license to drink at the communion table itself, the disciplinary restraints of the parishioners notwithstanding.

Likewise, position and privilege had been eroding the democratic spirit of free election, such that clerical appointments were frequently in civil or influential hands rather than in the hands of congregations, often of far humbler station in society. McCosh openly wondered whether, in the shifting sands of history, trust in privileges had taken the place of trusting in God. Above all perhaps, in what has to be seen as a presentiment of the social upheavals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the work of moral, social, and even cultural improvement, the necessary accompaniment of any rights of discipline, was being lifted out of the hands of the religious elect and placed in the allegedly more capable and more responsible hands of the politically elect. The very measures of modernity that one would otherwise herald, the very steps to humanity's improvement and progress, had become as a sty not in the "devil's" but in the kirk's own eye.

Polite Protestantism

The institution of parish schools throughout the country, which the Church of Scotland had regarded with the utmost seriousness from its very inception, had indeed served to project the role of EDUCATION on to center stage. As the *First Book of Discipline* had enjoined, the "Grammar and the Latin tongue" taught by the parish schoolmaster would enable the "children and youth of the parish" not only to read the catechism, "as we have it now translated in the Book of Common Order, called the Order of Geneva," but also, at a later stage, the arts of "Logic and Rhetoric, together with the Tongues," as taught at the colleges, then at least, of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. In short, religious discipline was to be directed toward such improvements, of mind as much as of manners, as might be furnished by ever higher levels and broader compasses of education. If the duty to improvement would later sow religious dissension, if it would serve to revolutionize Scottish society itself, ushering in a greater role for secular as opposed to sacred interests, then Protestantism in Scotland would have to live with the consequences.

One of those consequences was that Presbyterianism in Scotland inevitably went the way of social division. As the historian Christopher Hill has argued, even the theology of PREDESTINATION was made subject to the revolutionary changes wrought within British society as a whole during the seventeenth century. Predestination theories were particularly susceptible to moods of social and economic insecurity that, with the rise and fall of kings and Cromwellians, were unsettling to the English and aggravating to the Scots, of both higher and lower social orders. Somewhat brought to heel by the Act of Union, the Scottish nobility nevertheless reestablished itself with enough security that it could begin the long process of extricating itself from the clutches of predestination theory. If not wholly in the company of the "elected" ones, they could still be confident of their position as the "selected" ones in society. Hence Presbyterians of this "higher social group" could afford to "abandon Calvinism in the eighteenth century," observes Hill, although not as easily or as thoroughly as this might suggest.

The situation for the "meaner sort," the middling and lower middling classes, was manifestly more "beleaguered," less secure, at times even precarious. Presbyterianism in Scotland finds itself reflected in this division as the eighteenth century wears on. Unlike

the socially selected ones, the elected members of Scottish society had little with which to defend themselves, except a stern, no doubt also proud, sense of their religious superiority over the reprobate of the world, whether above or beneath them. Although their erstwhile Calvinist countrymen of the higher orders might enjoy the fruit of their cultural and intellectual improvement (Alexander “Jupiter” Carlyle best epitomized this trend), they themselves relished strict discipline of self and others. This cultivated monitoring of lives positively feasted on capabilities of attentiveness and reflection that were truly peculiar to the Scots. Ironically, their counterparts of a more polite Calvinism also came to appreciate the “art” of attentive reflection, indeed making it one of the mainstays of Scottish HIGHER EDUCATION. Prefectors in the four Scottish universities (Edinburgh being now the fourth), especially those charged with not only the philosophy of the human mind, but also its cultivation, from rudimentary sense experience to the refinements of rhetorical discourse in the public forum, were truly masters of this “art.” Key to the philosophy as to the culture of the mind was the instrument of attentive reflection, long a Calvinist virtue and one instilled in the minds of the young as early as their assiduous learning of the Catechism.

A Very Scottish Blend

McCosh always held firmly to the view that, whatever distortions the Kirk might have suffered at the hands of Crown and government in the eighteenth century, distortions that essentially deprived the church of its critical prerogative of election, there was no necessary antagonism between the philosophy that Scotland evolved in that century and “true theology.” There were indeed “new lights” everywhere, “moderates” who tended to put the interests of patronage and their high moral seriousness before the strict obedience required of the elect who, by rule, were to lend themselves to be governed at “God’s good pleasure.” It is also quite true that the very reason in which the age was to bask did not always “yield and withdraw, to give place to the Holy Spirit.” It was never intended that new lights of any sort should play the moon to that divine Light that was the sun itself holding it, as it were, in a long eclipse. Yet far from denying that moral power, McCosh chose instead to endorse it.

What George Davie later saw as the peculiar “democratic intellect” of Scotland was precisely constituted of both an egalitarian principle of freedom and an equally egalitarian, but also highly cultured intellect. McCosh knew the power of education (he went on to become the president of Princeton University) as well, and he was grateful for that surge of “intelligence and love of freedom” that he thought any “spiritually-minded observer” (not, apparently, one of H.T. Buckle’s strengths) would recognize in what Scotland had brought to pass in its “new light” age. The Calvinist theology was firmly there in the seeds that the Scots had planted during that century: “in the schools and colleges planted throughout the land; in the love of education instilled into the minds of the people; and, above all, in their acquaintance with the Bible, and in their determined adherence to what they believed to be the truth of God” (McCosh 1875:20). How had Buckle seen so much of darkness in Scottish Protestantism when the same theology had

clearly produced so much of light? More to the point perhaps, could thinkers such as McCosh be grateful on the one hand for all that the age had bestowed on the nation and ungrateful on the other for the age's polite shifting of the Headship from Christ to reason, or worse, to its governing patrons? Had the nation paid too high a price?

Virtue and Gratitude

If Protestantism in Scotland was indeed forever changed by the social and intellectual upheavals of the eighteenth century, far supplanting the tortured political ones of the previous century; if not even the evangelical fervor of the Disruption in the next century could halt the force of that movement or dampen its own brand of enthusiasm; perhaps the highly articulate Hugh Blair might serve as a final measure of the extent of the damage or, perchance, improvement to Protestantism. As minister of Knox's own St. Giles, on the High Street in Edinburgh, he forms a significant bridge between discipline and cultivation, between the rule of religious piety and the rule of secular morality. With Blair, one steps both backward and forward. Somewhere on the arch of that bridge, one may perhaps discover flowing beneath the living waters of Scottish Protestantism.

For all his literary flare, and perhaps pride therein, Blair never confused, except to deepen their relationship, piety and morality. In a sermon entitled, "On the Union of Piety and Morality" Blair sought to dispel any concerns that Protestantism in Scotland had deserted the sacred in favor of the secular. He made it abundantly clear that any morality not "seconded by piety" was "mere morality," a morality not merely answering only to the voice of Reason, but suffering from "irregularity and defect." As Knox had urged on the Scots a "care of the poor," so Blair reiterates that when piety is joined "with active virtue," it issues in the "honourable [as opposed to "irregular"] discharge of the duties of the active life," not a life dark, hateful, and cringing with violent fears, but a life of "true worth," noble and free, in which honorable duty follows naturally on the heels of "Charity to men." Subtly playing on the motif of the stranger, made famous in his countryman Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, Blair exposes the vital weakness of the Scotsman without religion, of the secular attempt to create a national society without the earnest discipline of pious reflection. All the disciplines of the attentive mind cannot aspire to any completeness, nor can they ever broaden life's circle, unless they are "touched," stirred as it were out of virtue's complacency, by "gratitude to him for all his goodness."

The ineffectualness of morality, of the secular, of life itself, without that tincture of "gratitude to him," and the discipline arising from it, was ever the theme of Protestantism in Scotland. "The man of mere morality," admonished Blair from the pulpit, "is a stranger to all the delicate and refined pleasures of devotion. In works of beneficence and mercy, he may enjoy satisfaction. But his satisfaction is destitute of that glow of affection, which enlivens the feelings of one who lifts his heart at the same time to the Father of the Universe, and considers himself as imitating God...when beneficence and devotion are united, they pour upon the man in whom they meet, the full pleasures of a good and pure heart. His alms connected him with men; his prayers with God...."

Scottish culture and its active virtues have indeed been no stranger to Protestantism, but therein lie not grounds for contempt, but rather appreciation of its very strength.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Church Discipline

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J.CHARLES STEWART-ROBERTSON

SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM

In the wake of FRANCIS BACON'S "augmentation" of learned experience (1623) the Scottish mind felt increasingly at home in a world of real things, cultivated minds, and progressive human and civic advantages. Even the skeptical DAVID HUME had a firm grip on what the mind does "naturally," if not rationally, believe. The "common sense" philosophy that emerged in SCOTLAND during the eighteenth century built itself on this same assurance.

Historical Challenges

Epistemologically the "Scotch School" had staked itself against Hume's skeptical conclusions, the sensationalism of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, and the materialism of Claude-Adrien Helvétius. Morally it had accepted Francis Hutcheson's "moral sense" challenge to Hobbesian self-interest (see HOBBS, THOMAS) and the rationalism of Samuel Clarke. Religiously it credited the "Supreme Being" with "inspiring" in us the intelligence and self-consciousness to be "informed" both of the Supreme Being's works and of the mental operations by which we apprehend them. On those bases, it had established a view of the constituent "powers" of the mind, both intellectual and active, that were said to "furnish" the mind with the requisite "faculties" for reasoning inductively about, and responding virtuously to, the world.

Thinkers such as Thomas Reid, James Beattie, and James Oswald (criticized by the materialist JOSEPH PRIESTLEY), and later Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown, resisted skeptical as well as idealist assaults on the notions of the self as existent and identical; of causal efficacy; of the veracity of objects of sense as well as of memory; and of the existence of conscious acts, whether in regulating thought or in initiating change. Our "natural" or "intuitive" judgments concerning these features of our experience, touching the interaction of the conscious subject and the world as perceived and attended to in reflection, were said to be "immediate" and "irresistible."

Main Tenets

Although not uniformly enunciated, these tenets or "axioms" of the Scottish position served as what Reid himself called "common Principles." They constituted "the

Foundation of all Reasoning and all Science” and were the basis for that “common Understanding” among persons that rendered discourse and thus civic harmony possible. Not to believe our own eyes or to give regard to the testimony of our senses was to be “destitute of common Sense,” he told his Glasgow students after 1764. Moreover, in questioning any of these first principles or the evidence of even the “simplest” or “most familiar” of our sensory devices, we bring “confusion” and “perplexity” to those “reflex senses” whereby we discern the morally agreeable in society and the aesthetically beautiful in NATURE. Nodding their approval once again to Bacon Scottish philosophers sought to free the mind from “prejudice” and “error” so that it might be brought into “the knowledge of those truths which tend to enlarge and elevate the mind.” These in turn would ensure “habits of virtue and true goodness” consonant with the “dignity of [our] rational and immortal Nature.” The common principles of sense were thus the first steps toward a worthier as well as “future” existence for humankind.

The Credible Real

Scottish theories of perception hinged on the factor of belief. Although conception engages our consciousness in attending to an object (attention being the key to any reflective activity of the mind), it does so without passing judgment, without any feeling of the object’s pastness (Brown broke ranks somewhat on this point), but above all without any belief in its existence. In perception, however, not only is the object made present to consciousness, but it is given credence as existing in the world. Acts of consciousness are granted no less credibility. Together, the objects of outer and inner sense constitute the real, that which is intuitively known, as McCosh later rephrased it.

The credible real did admit of some uncertainties, such as the underlying physical causes that generate expectations of consequent effects. However, if Scottish thinkers sometimes held back, largely for religious reasons, from penetrating too deeply into the nature of things, both physical and mental, they were unreserved in their application of the rule of belief, founded as that was on “common sense.” (This “modest” skepticism later appeared as a poor cousin to the strictures of critical philosophy in limiting the human understanding.) Always carefully distinguished from their Aristotelian predecessor, the principles of common sense arose as a considered response to the shifting epistemological ground of the early eighteenth century. They affirmed that there were modes of evidence, of testimony, and of human self-assurance that met the highest standards of reason as well as religious humility.

In Retrospect

Scottish common sense realism was judged by many post-Kantian readers as an “intellectual monstrosity,” parading ordinary opinions of human beings as, in William

Hamilton's approving words, *a priori* principles. Few appreciated that Scottish philosophers had been intent to stem the tide of various forms of "superficial" empiricism in the interests of a more "profound" one. Common sense realism was not the philosophy of the "common man," but a highly "technical" attempt to counter conflicting theories about our apprehension of the "worlds" of mind and body.

Joseph Priestley had damned the Scottish movement as "dogmatic" and "arbitrary." In the next century, Hamilton, James Frederick Ferrier, James McCosh, and Victor Cousin tried to articulate and, in doing so, to reshape its principles. Ferrier came closest to identifying its (and Reid's) real weakness. It had failed, he maintained, to get its "facts" straight. It was not the object that was "real" (the primary fact) nor the act of consciousness entertaining it, but the "consciousness of the object." His criticism highlights the seriousness with which Scottish philosophy wrestled with the problem of the real or, in another vein, with Berkeleian idealism. In 1853 J.P. Alison, a student of Dugald Stewart, summed up the tenor of that Scottish philosophy that he had inherited, but he did so rather by citing Cousin: "Our perception of simple and primary truths may be separated...from the fallible reason of man, and referred to that Reason which is Universal, Absolute, Infallible, and Eternal, beyond the limits of Space and time, above all contact with error or disorder...to that Mind, pure and incorruptible, of which ours is only the reflection."

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J.CHARLES STEWART-ROBERTSON

SEABURY, SAMUEL (1729–1796)

North American theologian and first American Episcopal bishop. Seabury was born in Groton, Connecticut on November 30, 1729. He was educated privately, at Yale (B.A., 1748) and at the University of Edinburgh (1752–1753), where he studied medicine. In 1753 he was ordained into the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, being appointed a missionary for the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG) to New Brunswick, New Jersey. In 1757 he moved to Jamaica, Long Island, where he served as an SPG missionary and as rector of the parish. In 1766 he served in a similar arrangement at Westchester, New York.

Before the American Revolutionary War, Seabury engaged in a pamphlet attack on the proposed measures of the first Continental Congress. This led to his brief imprisonment at New Haven in 1775. At the commencement of the Long Island campaign in 1776, Seabury fled for safety behind the British lines, where he served as a chaplain and supplied General Howe's army with logistical information. For the remainder of the war, he lived in British-controlled New York City, where he practiced medicine, wrote political pamphlets, and served in a variety of clerical positions. At the conclusion of hostilities Seabury supervised the exodus of Loyalists to Nova Scotia. After abandoning his opposition to American independence, he wrote a prayer for Congress. He was elected bishop by Connecticut clergy in 1783. He died in New London, Connecticut on February 25, 1796 and was buried at St. James' Church. More than anyone else, Seabury was responsible for shaping the character of the Episcopal Church along sacramental, liturgical, and historic lines, in keeping with the beliefs and practices of the wider Anglican Communion.

Career in the Church

After his ordination in the Church of England, Seabury had served in a succession of minor clerical positions in New Jersey and New York. As the Revolutionary War drew nearer, he began to be drawn into the leadership of the clergy in the northern colonies and was among the first to recognize the potential threat to the church posed by Independence. After his election as bishop Seabury sailed for ENGLAND, hoping to persuade the bishops to consecrate him for service in America, although—despite both patience and intense effort on his part—this proved unsuccessful: Parliament refused to withdraw the loyalty oath, which Seabury refused to take. Seabury also refused (despite his high church convictions) to submit to the crown's authority. He thus traveled north where, on November 14, 1784, at Aberdeen, he was consecrated by three bishops of the

Non-juring Scottish Episcopal Church (see EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SCOTLAND). No oath of loyalty was required. On his return to America he served as rector of St. James' New London, bishop of Connecticut, and (after 1790) bishop of Rhode Island.

Seabury was a gifted leader of the CLERGY during difficult times, and an able and hard-working administrator. He held regular visitations of his parishes, preached frequently before his clergy, ordained numerous new deacons and priests, consecrated a number of new churches, and confirmed over ten thousand people. Implementing a "high" ECCLESIOLOGY, he governed his diocese through a series of convocations, which effectively limited lay influence; he thus circumvented the aims of WILLIAM HALE WHITE and those from Pennsylvania southward for the reorganization of the church along democratic lines.

Despite Seabury's rigid adherence to high church principles, a series of compromises allowed the delegates from Connecticut and Massachusetts to attend the General Convention of 1789, meeting in Philadelphia, where Seabury's consecration was recognized (he thus became the first presiding bishop in the church), a constitution for the new Episcopal Church was completed, a system of canon law was established, and an American version of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER was adopted. The division between the northern and southern dioceses had effectively been healed, as had the division between the Scottish and English successions in America. (White and a colleague had recently been consecrated by the English bishops, without the necessity of a loyalty oath.)

Seabury was the first bishop of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States. The Church of England in America, the forerunner of the Episcopal Church, made an important contribution to Colonial religious history, although its influence was limited by the absence of a local episcopate: those seeking ordination were required to travel to England to be ordained by an English bishop. The church also suffered from the outbreak of hostilities between the colonies and Britain. Internally both clergy and LAITY were divided over the war. Externally many Patriots abandoned the church because of its close constitutional ties to the English crown. Moreover, after the cessation of hostilities, many Loyalists (including a number of clergy from the Episcopal Church) fled to CANADA or returned to England, thus diminishing the ranks of the church still further. Those who remained behind, however, soon began to formulate various proposals for the reorganization of the church in the new Republic.

A serious impediment stood in the way, however: there were no bishops in America, and, moreover, those seeking ordination in England were required to take an oath of loyalty to the British crown. To address this, in 1782 William White, the Latitudinarian rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, proposed a series of principles that would have reorganized the church without its historic episcopate, or, in essence, as a voluntary association of clergy and laity. Until the church could secure its own bishops from England, a temporary form of presbyterian ordination would be implemented. These proposals provoked sharp debate among both clergy and laity, with those in New England objecting most strenuously to White's proposal. Consequently in 1783 ten clergy from Connecticut met secretly in Woodbury and elected Seabury as their first bishop.

See also Bishop and Episcopacy; Latitudinarianism

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GRAYSON CARTER

SECTARIANISM

Sectarianism is the process whereby new religious communities develop as alternatives to a prevailing sacred TRADITION or cultural regime. These new communities, called “sects,” often form as protests against traditional religious or cultural AUTHORITY. They typically claim to embody the true or purified form of a religious tradition, or to have discovered a new form of religious truth and life altogether. Accordingly, their beliefs and practices frequently express particular religious themes such as healing or predictions about the end of the world. Sects usually gather around charismatic leaders, but their institutions tend to emphasize the equality and mutual responsibility of members. Their tightly knit communities characteristically take radical stances toward traditional religious and political authority that range from extreme separatism to revolutionary action. Sects have occurred in all of the world’s major religions, but they have had perhaps the most profound influence on Christianity and especially on Protestantism, which has spawned sectarian movements continuously from the REFORMATION to the present day.

Sectarianism as a Theoretical Category

While sectarianism is a long-standing religious phenomenon, its theoretical definition and interpretation are distinctly modern developments created by social scientists using data drawn primarily from Protestant sects. During the Reformation, the term “sect” acquired pejorative connotations that dominant European churches and political regimes continued to use against dissenting religious groups during three centuries of religious violence. These tensions abated by 1900, and in the early twentieth century historians and sociologists brought the history of Protestant sects to the forefront of social theory. In his landmark study *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–1905), German sociologist MAX WEBER argued that the early Protestant sects possessed distinctive organizational and intellectual characteristics fundamentally different from those of Catholicism and the Lutheran and Calvinist state churches of Western Europe. According to Weber, the voluntary membership and strict moral discipline of Protestant sects during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries created an ethical standard of “worldly ASCETICISM” that mandated economic productivity for the glory of God while forbidding excessive consumption as sinful. Weber interpreted the INDIVIDUALISM and activism of this “Protestant ethic” as the spiritual and moral underpinning of capitalist ECONOMICS, and thereby located Protestant sectarianism as an essential element of modernity.

At the same moment, French historian Elie Halévy was researching the influence of Methodist sects on eighteenth-century English society. In two 1906 essays later published as *The Birth of Methodism in England*, Halévy presented the controversial thesis that METHODISM had played a major role in preventing revolution in eighteenth-century English society. Halévy based this judgment on the comparative claim that while INDUSTRIALIZATION had produced more revolutionary potential in ENGLAND than in FRANCE, something specific to English CULTURE had prevented the middle and lower classes from resorting to political violence. That element, he argued, was Methodism, JOHN WESLEY’S sectarian movement that channeled social discontent into a quest for moral perfection and religious community while enjoining strict loyalty to the English crown.

While Weber and Halévy used historical evidence from Protestant sectarian movements to show the social, economic, and political influence of religion in the modern West, German sociologist ERNST TROELTSCH developed a theoretical distinction between sectarian and churchly forms of the Christian religion itself. In *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (1912), Troeltsch presented models of the church and the sect as polar opposite forms of Christianity extending back to the very beginnings of Christian history. In Troeltsch’s typology, the church was a universal compulsory religious institution, closely aligned with the state, which was governed hierarchically and transmitted its doctrines and sacramental rituals through an elite priesthood. The sect was everything the church was not: a voluntary religious institution,

separated from the state, governed democratically by an elected ministry, and imparting its truths through spiritual experience and moral discipline.

Troeltsch used this series of opposing traits to explain what he took to be the most basic church-sect polarity of all, that of “social teaching” or social ETHICS (*soziallehren*). In his view, Christianity’s political triumph under Constantine committed it to embracing the Stoic NATURAL LAW philosophy of the Roman elite and conferring moral legitimacy on the secular social order, thereby producing the conservative, hierarchical social teaching of the church type that dominated medieval Europe. Sects, on the other hand, insisted on what Troeltsch called the “pure divine law” ethics of individual obedience to other-worldly standards of behavior, which entailed rejection of traditional institutions and criticism of human failure to follow biblical commands. Troeltsch devoted half of *Social Teaching* to interpreting all of the Reformation churches and movements through his church-sect typology, but his treatment gave far less attention to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Protestant sects than Weber’s had.

During the mid-twentieth century, many scholars debated the sectarian theories of Weber, Halévy, and Troeltsch, especially their association of sects with the rise of capitalism. R.H.Tawney reversed Weber’s argument in his 1926 book *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, asserting that instead of causing capitalism Protestant churches and sects had actually accommodated themselves to it by legitimizing the worldly success of their followers. In the American context, H. RICHARD NIEBUHR offered a similar class analysis in his 1929 book *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, arguing that while Protestant sects began among the poor as otherworldly “religions of the dispossessed,” their aptitude for capitalistic discipline fostered material prosperity and an adjustment of their social teaching from radicalism to conservatism.

Since 1960, a new wave of sectarian studies has provided historical and empirical evidence and theoretical formulations that carry challenging implications for understanding Protestantism. Preeminent among these studies was George Huntston Williams’s 1962 book *The Radical Reformation*, a masterly reconstruction of sixteenth-century Anabaptist and Spiritualist groupings on the Continent. In addition, an important series of historical studies of seventeenth-century English sects appeared, some of which followed Weber in emphasizing their religious ideologies of social radicalism and political revolution, most notably Michael Walzer’s *The Revolution of the Saints* (1965) and Christopher Hill’s *The World Turned Upside Down* (1972). On the other hand, E.P.Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) and Eric Hobsbawm’s *Primitive Rebels* (1963) reaffirmed Halévy’s judgment that religious sectarianism inhibited political radicalism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.

American Catholic sociologist Werner Stark synthesized many of these historical studies into a major new theoretical statement in his three-volume 1967 work *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom*. Stark placed heavy stress on evidence that Protestant and Russian Orthodox sects were led by discontented class groups like peasants, weavers, and merchants. He concluded that the major social cause of sects was not religious difference, but rather status discontent. He cast Christian sects into three binary categories: “retrogressive” or “progressive” movements based on social programs, “rigoristic” or “antinomian” sects defined by their internal legal codes, and “violent” or “nonviolent” groups distinguished by their teachings on the use of coercion. These defining characteristics reflected Stark’s reversal of the relationship between religion and

culture that Weber, Halévy, and Troeltsch had proposed, seeing religion as a dependent cultural variable that follows rather than leads the process of social, economic, and political change.

The most important recent response to classical theories, however, has been to abandon the Christian church-sect distinction altogether and to redefine of sectarianism as a fundamental type of religion found in all the world's major traditions. Many scholars have contributed to this new formulation, none more than English sociologist Bryan R. Wilson. In his 1970 book *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study*, Wilson proposed an approach to sectarianism based on many of Troeltsch's attributes, but he added a new defining element of sectarianism that he called "deviant responses to the world." Rather than concentrating exclusively on religious beliefs and social mechanisms to explain sectarianism, Wilson argued that in the modern world sects come into being because their leaders and members are alienated from the world. This alienation takes a number of major forms, each of which acquires its own characteristic religious formulation. Wilson identified seven such responses and their corresponding sectarian type: conversionist, revolutionist, introversionist, manipulationist, thaumaturgical, reformist, and utopian. In *Religious Sects*, Wilson illustrated these types with examples drawn from the Euro-American Christian tradition, especially Protestant sects. Three years later, in *Magic and the Millennium*, he applied his typology to a global range of non-Christian religious movements, freeing the theory of sectarianism from its Christian derivation and inviting many provocative comparisons across the world's religions.

Theoretical work on sectarianism has continued through the 1980s and 1990s, but it is fair to say that over the past decade scholarly attention has shifted from historic Protestant sectarian movements to the sectarian qualities of contemporary worldwide religious FUNDAMENTALISM. In the American context, Nancy Tatom Ammerman has contributed the most notable study of Protestant fundamentalism and sectarianism in *Baptist Battles: Social Change and Religious Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention* (1990). The most significant examination of global fundamentalism and sectarianism to date is *The Fundamentalism Project* (1991–1995), a five-volume comparative study of Christianity, JUDAISM, Islam, and Hinduism edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby. Sectarian theory has thus gained a new relevancy for interpreting the contemporary religious world, but it remains essential to any critical understanding of the history and nature of Protestantism.

While the definition and causes of sectarianism continue to be debated, there can be little doubt that it has been a primary shaping force in Protestantism. Indeed, there are good reasons to regard Protestantism itself as a sectarian movement. MARTIN LUTHER'S own protest certainly had sectarian implications. His critiques of the SACRAMENTS and papal authority attacked Catholic religious culture at its ritual and institutional foundations, while his formulation of the salvific process located it in an irreducibly individual experience of GRACE through FAITH in the scriptures. H. RICHARD NIEBUHR called this "the Protestant protest," capturing in that phrase not only Luther's challenge to Catholic tradition, but also Protestantism's subsequent tendency to foment protest, even against fellow Protestants. In this sense, Protestantism has always contained an element of DISSENT ready to explode into sectarian radicalism. The immense history of Protestant sectarianism demonstrates this enduring quality. Indeed, at the outset of the twenty-first century there are more Protestants worldwide

whose traditions lie in sectarian origins than in the mainstream Reformation communions of Luther, JOHN CALVIN, and ANGLICANISM. To explain how this circumstance came about over the past five centuries is the task of this article.

The Reformation

The earliest Reformation sectarians appeared almost immediately after the publication of Luther's three great Reformation tracts of 1521. They were a group subsequently called the Zwickau Prophets, men from a small city in Saxony who believed that they had experienced direct revelations from the Holy Spirit, rejected infant BAPTISM, and proclaimed Christ's imminent return to destroy the ANTICHRIST, whom they identified as the ascendant Ottoman Turks. With Luther absent in the Wartburg, the Prophets visited Wittenberg on December 27, 1521, where they urged ANDREAS RUDOLPH BODENSTEIN KARLSTADT and PHILIPP MELANCHTHON to endorse their claims. Melanchthon hesitated, while Karlstadt embraced some of their teachings on the LORD'S SUPPER, then broke with the Prophets after they fomented iconoclastic riots in the city during January and February of 1522. Luther returned on March 6, restored most of the Latin Mass, and condemned the Prophets as "fanatics" (*schwärmer*).

Radical Protestants like the Zwickau Prophets have been called "spiritualists," because of their fundamental assertion that the same Holy Spirit that inspired the biblical prophets and the apostles also dwells in them, granting the same supernatural abilities to heal, prophesy, and interpret the Word of God. The earliest Spiritualists also held radical political views based on their demand that all secular and ecclesiastical institutions be remodeled according to the Mosaic Law and their expectation of the imminent second coming of Christ. Chief among these Revolutionary Spiritualists was THOMAS MÜNTZER, minister of the Zwickau parish that had nurtured the Prophets. Comprehensively articulated in his remarkable *Sermon before the Princes* (1524), Müntzer's program was rejected by Duke John of Saxony but vigorously embraced by an aroused laity. Rural peasants and urban artisans throughout GERMANY soon demanded the reform of feudal arrangements, town charters, and territorial constitutions. When their demands were not met, they rebelled in the Peasants' War of 1524–1525. The war was a disaster for the rebels, however, who were slaughtered in three decisive battles during May 1525 at Böblingen, Frankenhausen, and Zavern. Müntzer himself was imprisoned and executed after Frankenhausen, and the Revolutionary Spiritualist phase of Reformation sectarianism soon collapsed.

After the Peasants' War, the sectarian impulse relocated in a new form called ANABAPTISM. Even before the Peasants' War, agitation over baptism had broken out in Zurich, where HULDRYCH ZWINGLI'S sacramental theology had denied the infusion of divine grace through ritual action. Radicals there, known as the Swiss Brethren and led by Felix Mantz, CONRAD GREBEL, and George Blaurock, argued that if SALVATION indeed came by grace through faith in the scriptures, then only believing adults should be baptized. Accordingly, they began rebaptizing their followers in 1525,

gaining the name Anabaptists from the Greek for “those who baptize again.” The Anabaptist movement spread quickly through SWITZERLAND.

The Anabaptists convened two synods in 1527 that prefigured their subsequent development. In February, MICHAEL SATTLER presided over a meeting of the Swiss Brethren at Schleithem that addressed the urgent need to define the movement institutionally. The Twelve Articles of Schleithem rejected antinomian excess; imposed excommunication (“the ban”) on disobedient members as a means of purifying the community; embraced separation from the profane world; established the office of pastor as teacher, liturgist, and administrator of the ban; and refused to bear arms or take part in civil government, including the swearing of oaths before secular authorities (see SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION). Six months later, Denck and Hut presided over the Martyr’s Synod in Augsburg, a gathering of apocalyptic radicals who debated when the Kingdom of Christ would begin (they agreed on Pentecost 1528) and how to organize Anabaptist missions in the last days. The leaders of this aggressive assembly were arrested, tortured, and executed by city authorities.

After the Martyr’s Synod, Radical Anabaptists took up the apocalyptic cause of preparing the world for Christ’s imminent return. The most spectacular example of Radical Anabaptism was the remodeling of the Westphalian city of Münster into the New Jerusalem during 1534–1535 by JAN MATHIIS and Jan van Leiden, Dutch followers of MELCHIOR HOFMANN, an influential millennial Anabaptist whose “covenants” also fomented an abortive insurrection in Amsterdam in March 1534. At Münster, the Anabaptists practiced community of goods, polygamy, and military defiance of secular and ecclesiastical rulers. For these excesses the city was besieged and taken in June 1535 by the army of the prince-bishop of Westphalia, and its inhabitants were slaughtered. Münster became a byword for radical extremism, and all Anabaptist movements suffered persecution after its demise.

For their part, the Anabaptists abandoned revolutionary radicalism after Münster, turning to the Schleithem model of sectarianism to construct purified, separatist, communal, and nonviolent communities that could survive and even thrive under the most difficult cultural conditions. The most important new Anabaptist groups of this type were the MENNONITES in the NETHERLANDS, the HUTTERITES in Moravia, and the Socinians in POLAND. Named for MENNO SIMONS, the West Frisian Anabaptist leader who gathered them together after 1537, Mennonites generally followed the Schleithem Confession’s teaching on adult baptism and the covenanted community of believers. Menno added a more rigorous deployment of the ban including not only the excommunication of the disobedient, but also total avoidance, or “shunning,” of them by the faithful. With the 1540 publication of Menno’s *Foundation of Christian Doctrine*, the defining text of Mennonite Anabaptism, his movement grew quickly in the Low Countries and by 1550 stretched east along the Hanseatic coast all the way to Königsberg.

In east-central Europe, a similar Anabaptist movement emerged under JAKOB HUTTER, who became leader of the Tyrolean Anabaptists in 1529. Hutter supervised the emigration of his followers from the Tyrol to Austerlitz and Auspitz in Moravia, where he organized a federation of all Moravian Anabaptists in 1531. Hutter speedily advanced a vision of apostolic community grounded in the community of goods, carefully organized economic cohesion, strict obedience to leaders, and spiritual and material

preparedness for facing persecution and exile. These preparations quickly proved their value. In the spring of 1535, at the height of the Münster episode, King Ferdinand of Bohemia ordered the expulsion of all Anabaptists from Moravia. Hutter was captured, tortured, and publicly burned in 1536, but his movement survived fierce persecution under his successor Peter Riedemann, whose *Account* (1540) became the definitive formulation of Hutterite belief and practice.

Other Anabaptists fleeing Habsburg persecution in Austria migrated east into Poland and Lithuania, where they created a powerful but theologically diverse radical presence. During the 1550s and 1560s, they were molded into the Minor Reformed Church by Peter Gonesius, Francis Stancaro, and George Blandrata. These leaders were heavily influenced by the anti-Trinitarian theology of the Basque physician MICHAEL SERVETUS, burned by Calvin as a heretic at Geneva in 1553. After continuing theological and political controversy, the Lithuanian Brethren in 1577 separated under Simon Budney to form a Unitarian, nonpacifist Anabaptist community, while the Minor Church embraced PACIFISM and the esoteric anti-Trinitarian theology of FAUSTO SOZZINI (Socinus).

A somewhat different pattern of Protestant sectarianism occurred in ENGLAND. HENRY VIII had effected a magisterial reform of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND during the 1530s and 1540s shaped principally by the thought of Luther and MARTIN BUCER of Strasbourg. Decades of unrest followed under Edward VI and the Catholic Mary, then a stabilizing Anglican settlement by ELIZABETH I. During Elizabeth's reign, however, English Calvinists led by THOMAS CARTWRIGHT organized the Puritan party to press for further reformation of the national church along Genevan lines. When their attempt failed, several Puritan communities, most notably Cartwright's own congregation at Middleburg, went into sectarian exile in the Calvinist NETHERLANDS.

Other English Puritans condemned the magisterial polity and liturgical practice of the Church of England altogether and organized Separatist conventicles. Henry Barrow organized the first of these Separatist sects in London in 1587, followed by ROBERT BROWNE'S Norwich community in 1581 and JOHN SMYTH'S Arminian Separatist-Baptist congregation in London in 1612. The Separatists called for absolute separation of CHURCH AND STATE, a purified church of believers only, and WORSHIP restricted to PRAYER, biblical teaching, and "prophesying"—congregational testimony and dialogue with the teacher. For these beliefs and practices, they suffered persecution and martyrdom, which in turn drove other Separatists to seek asylum in the Netherlands. One of these groups, JOHN ROBINSON'S Separatist congregation at Leyden, chose an even more extreme voluntary exile, emigrating in 1620 to North America where they founded the Plymouth Colony. Americans know them as the Pilgrims.

The ongoing and increasingly violent clash between Anglicans and Puritans for control of both the Church of England and the nation's government continued to be the main source of seventeenth-century English Protestant sectarianism. The controversy escalated under James I and Charles I, exacerbated by the persecution of Puritans by WILLIAM LAUD, who was named archbishop of CANTERBURY by Charles in 1633. A significant number of Puritan ministers withdrew from the Church of England to preside over Congregationalist or Independent churches. Soon (Calvinist) Particular Baptists began to break away from the Independents, beginning in 1633 with Spilsbury's Broad Street congregation in London, joined by the Seventh-Day Baptists who believed

that the New Testament mandated worship on Saturday, the Jewish sabbath, not on Sunday. The most important of these early Baptists was ROGER WILLIAMS, who founded the New England colony of Rhode Island in 1647 as a refuge for all of English DISSENT.

The Anglicans, returned to power with the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II in 1660, mounted persecution of dissenters through the Clarendon Code until the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1689. This protracted religious and political struggle produced a host of sectarian movements bearing extreme eschatological and political teachings but generally lacking the Continental sectarians' demand for rebaptism as a sign of true faith. Oliver Cromwell's "New Model Army" of the 1640s was the seedbed for many of them. The most notable eschatological sects during the war were the Ranters, a loose group of extreme apocalyptic and chiliastic seers reminiscent of the Zwickau Prophets; the Seekers, an equally inchoate movement of spiritual pilgrims, the most prominent of whom was the unitarian, universalist, and perfectionist preacher William Erbery; and the Fifth Monarchists, who proclaimed the imminent return of Christ to rule over earth's final era of history. Of a more political bent were two sects of the late 1640s. John Lilburne's LEVELLERS demanded that Christian government derive from the people through a universal franchise, separation of powers, and protection of inalienable rights. The Diggers, or True Levellers, led by GERRARD WINSTANLEY and William Everard, were radical pacifists and communarians who from 1649 to 1651 occupied and farmed common lands on St. George's Hill near London.

The most important seventeenth-century English sect, however, was the Society of FRIENDS, or Quakers. Founded by Leicestershire lay preacher GEORGE Fox in 1648, the Friends taught the universalistic doctrine that all humans were born with the Inner Light of God's spirit, which, when embraced by the will, would produce apostolic gifts of revelatory experience, inspired utterance, and healing. Gaining their nickname from agitated "quaking" brought on by extreme charismatic states, the Friends gathered into semicomunal congregations characterized by severe moral discipline, an ascetic lifestyle, consensual decision making, incessant missionary activity, and a distinctive form of silent worship broken only by speech regarded as directly prompted by the Inner Light. The Friends also embraced radical social doctrines of pacifism and egalitarianism, including in the latter a categorical refusal to acknowledge their social superiors in Restoration England. Fox's movement gained thousands of converts even as it endured persecution under both the Puritan Commonwealth and the Restoration monarchy. By 1691, the year of Fox's death, the Friends had become the largest Protestant sect in England and had established important enclaves in the West Indies as well as in British North America, including Quaker WILLIAM PENN'S colony of Pennsylvania.

The Eighteenth Century: Pietism and Evangelicalism

On the Continent, the end of the religious wars in 1648 ushered in a period of theological systematization in the Lutheran and Reformed churches. This "scholastic" emphasis on the rational consistency of DOCTRINE helped launch the ENLIGHTENMENT, but it

also tended to devalue the importance of lived religion. Reaction came quickly with the publication of *Pious Desires* by Lutheran pastor PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER in 1675, who called for the revitalization of local congregations by creating “colleges of piety,” small lay groups guided by their pastors to study the Bible, pray together, share their experience of God’s grace, and assist one another in their common pursuit of the Christian life. Popular LUTHERANISM enthusiastically embraced Spener’s program and it soon spread to the German Reformed churches as well. The most prominent characteristic of PIETISM was its intense emotionalism. The spiritual intimacy of Pietist societies fostered a new vocabulary of powerful personal relationships to Christ, especially a grief-stricken sense of SIN in contemplating the crucifixion and a child-like feeling of dependency on the Savior.

By 1700 Pietism had swept German-speaking Protestantism and heavily influenced Reformed communions in England and France. Pietism became the most important source of Protestant sectarianism over the next century, especially in Britain and America. One of the earliest Continental Pietist sects was the Labadists, a communal inspirationist fellowship founded by Jean de Labadie, a Jesuit from Provence who renounced Catholicism in 1650, was excommunicated from the French Reformed Church in 1670, and led his followers to Germany, where he died in 1674. Another French Pietist sect was the Cevenole Prophets, or French Prophets, a group of apocalyptic convulsionary charismatics who emerged during the persecution of Protestants in the Cevennes following the revocation of the Edict of NANTES by Louis XIV in 1685 and emigrated to England in 1703. Two German Pietist sects found permanent homes in Pennsylvania, where William Penn had welcomed Mennonites as early as 1683. In 1732 Conrad Beissel, a preacher grounded in the German Seventh-Day Baptist tradition, founded Ephrata Cloister near Reading. The Ephratans were organized into three orders of married householders, celibate men, and celibate women who practiced an ascetic life of work, meditation, and frequent worship including midnight watch services.

The most important Continental Pietist sect, however, was the Renewed United Brethren, popularly known as the Moravians. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the long-underground remnant of Jan Hus’s proto-Protestant *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, began to revive in Catholic Silesia and Moravia. In 1717 one of its leaders, Christian David, began to search for a Protestant refuge for the often-persecuted sect. David encountered Count NICHOLAS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF, who granted the Brethren asylum on his estate in Saxony in 1722. Five years later, the community formally reorganized at HERRNHUT as the Renewed United Brethren. Meanwhile, Zinzendorf had embraced an ecumenical vision of what he called “the pure religion of Christianity of the heart” and after becoming Moravian bishop in 1737 stamped the movement with an urgent missionary zeal (see MORAVIAN CHURCH).

One of the earliest Moravian missionary groups sailed in 1736 from London to the new British colony of Georgia. Aboard the same ship were Georgia governor James Oglethorpe and two young Anglican priests, JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, who were assigned to organize the church and government of the colony. Leaders of a Pietistic “holy club” while at Oxford in the early 1730s, the Wesleys were strongly impressed by the Moravians’ fervent piety and hymn singing. Back in London after their Georgia mission, the Wesleys experienced emotionally charged assurances of personal salvation at Peter Böhler’s Moravian meeting in Aldersgate Street. They soon began itinerant

preaching and organizing Methodist societies, modeled on Pietist and Moravian precedents, among Anglican artisan and working class people. The Wesleys' insistence on "the necessity of the New Birth" and their advocacy of sanctified "Christian perfection" helped spark the Evangelical Revival in England during the 1740s. John Wesley authorized a separate Methodist Episcopal Church in America in 1784 but resisted schismatic tendencies in his movement at home. Shortly after his death in 1791, however, the Wesleyan Methodists seceded from the Anglican Church to create English Protestantism's largest sectarian family of the nineteenth century, which also included Alexander Kilham's Methodist New Connexion (1797), HUGH BOURNE'S PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH (1807), and William O'Brien's Bible Christians (1815).

The eighteenth century was also a period of sectarian proliferation elsewhere in the Anglo-Atlantic world. In SCOTLAND, John Glas and Robert Sandeman led a schismatic Presbyterian communion after 1728 that held strict predestinarian ideas of human will and observed dietary prohibitions prescribed in Acts 15. More important Scottish sects were the Associate Presbytery formed by Ebenezer Erskine in 1733 and the Reformed Presbytery gathered in 1753. Both of these movements combined evangelical theology with an imperative to restore the classical Reformed beliefs and practices of Calvin and JOHN KNOX. After 1800, another burst of British sectarianism took a more apostolic and millenarian character. In 1830 Anglican priest JOHN NELSON DARBY gathered the PLYMOUTH BRETHREN in Devon around his radical anticlericalism and advocacy of lay exhortation and spiritual gifts. Two years later Presbyterian minister EDWARD IRVING founded the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church according to his Arian Christology and millenarian interpretations of the Book of Revelation.

It was in the American colonies, however, that the most dramatic sectarian implications of EVANGELICALISM appeared. GEORGE WHITEFIELD'S preaching in the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) divided American Calvinists, especially Presbyterians in the South and Middle Colonies and Congregationalists in New England. Among Presbyterians, the itinerant revival preaching of GILBERT TENNENT and doctrinal controversy over the New Birth created a thirteen-year schism (1743–1757) between the evangelical New Side and the traditionalist Old Side. New England Congregationalists polarized along similar lines into New Light and Old Light parties, but the Radical Evangelical wing of Separate or Strict Congregationalists, nearly one-third of the communion, permanently withdrew during the 1740s and 1750s. The Separates endorsed itinerant preaching, absolute congregational autonomy, charismatic gifts as evidence of the New Birth, lay testimony and exhortation in worship, and separation of church and state.

The Separate Congregationalists provided the seedbed for what would eventually become the most important American Protestant sectarian movement. During the early 1750s, some of the Separates made contact with Particular Baptists in Rhode Island who persuaded them that the old Anabaptist tenet of adult baptism upon profession of faith was true. Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall organized new Separate Baptist congregations in Connecticut, then migrated to the North Carolina Piedmont, where they organized the Sandy Creek Association in 1755. The Separate Baptists grew into the largest Baptist group in America by 1775 and propelled the Baptists to become independent America's largest denominational family by 1790.

As a hybrid sect, however, the Separate Baptists were themselves prone to internal dispute and sectarian division. During the American Revolution, three New England sects, the SHAKERS, the Universalists, and the FREE-WILL BAPTISTS, recruited most of their members from the Separate Baptists. The Shakers were a charismatic, celibate, pacifist, and apocalyptic sect born in the Whitefieldian evangelical milieu of Manchester, England during the 1750s. ANN LEE, the most extreme of the Manchester leaders, settled with a small band of followers at Niskayuna, New York in 1776 and conducted a highly successful mission to New England during the early 1780s, preaching CELIBACY, communalism, and millennial perfectionism. In 1787 Joseph Meacham, a Separate Baptist elder from Enfield, Connecticut, was chosen to lead the fast-growing sect. Meacham organized the Shakers into twelve communal societies scattered throughout New England and New York. UNIVERSALISM first came to America from similar English sources. John Murray, convert of one of Whitefield's associate preachers James Rely, founded the first American Universalist congregation at Gloucester, Massachusetts in 1779. Universalism's main impetus, however, came from New England Separate Baptist elders Elhanan Winchester and Hosea Ballou, who embraced universal salvation and proto-Unitarian christologies during the 1780s and built lasting institutional foundations for the emerging sect. Despite their common Separate Baptist constituency, the Shakers and the Universalists did not practice adult baptism, while the FREE-WILL BAPTISTS did. Founded by New Hampshire Separate Baptist Benjamin Randel in 1779, the Free Will Baptists rejected Calvinism for the esoteric and pacifist Arminian theology of HENRY ALLINE, yet another New England Separate Baptist who gathered a large evangelical pacifist and ecumenical sect among Yankee expatriates in Nova Scotia during the 1770s and 1780s.

The Nineteenth Century: Protestant Sectarianism in the United States

The American Revolution struck down religious establishments in the southern colonies and eventually in New England as well, while the First Amendment to the United States Constitution separated church and state in the new national government. Absent the religious establishments against which it had always struggled, sectarianism came to be redefined in America exclusively as a matter of alternative religious belief and practice. One important effect was the early Republic's receptivity to refugee sectarian movements, especially radical Pietist communions fleeing persecution in Germany. These groups generally followed a common pattern of charismatic leadership, communalism, and perfectionism. The most important of these were George Rapp's celibate colonies of Harmonie (1805) and Economy (1825) in Pennsylvania and New Harmony (1814) in Indiana, the Society of Separatists or Inspirationists at Zoar, Ohio (1817), and Christian Metz's Community of True Inspiration at Ebenezer, New York (1842) and AMANA, Iowa (1855).

Among American evangelical Protestants, religious competition and denominational schism replaced political and cultural resistance as the hallmarks of sectarian movements. These new conditions produced luxuriant results fuelled by the Second Great Awakening,

another wave of intense popular concern about personal salvation and correct belief and practice that swept across America from the 1790s through the 1840s. The Methodists benefited most from the Second Awakening, in part because their institutional structure of class meetings, circuits, and conferences, carefully maintained by Bishop FRANCIS ASBURY, mitigated major sectarian ruptures. The only major American Methodist schisms before 1843 were James O'Kelly's Republican Methodists in 1794 and the Methodist Protestant Church in 1830, both of which rejected Episcopal polity. Methodists also organized the first independent denominations among African Americans, RICHARD ALLEN'S AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH in 1787 and James Varick's AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH in 1796.

Among the Reformed denominations, however, the Second Awakening proved deeply divisive. Controversies over the proper training of ministers and the use of highly emotional preaching at CAMP MEETING revivals added to the doctrinal fractures already present among Presbyterians and Baptists. Most of the early sects of the Second Awakening were regional. In 1801 Vermonters Abner Jones and Elias Smith organized the Christian Connection, an Arminian Baptist sect based on the principle of "Gospel liberty." James O'Kelly's Republican Methodists joined the Christian Connection in 1809 to create a distinctively American sect with congregations from Maine to the Carolinas. Anti-Calvinist Pietistic sects also emerged during the Second Awakening among German-speaking Pennsylvanians. The most important of these were the BRETHREN IN CHRIST (1800), founded by German Reformed minister William Otterbein; the Evangelical Association (1800), organized by Lutheran pastor Jacob Albright and Mennonite leader Martin Boehm; and the Church of God (1830), gathered by German Reformed pastor John Winebrenner.

In the West, two years after the first great camp meeting at Cane Ridge, Kentucky in 1801, the Presbytery of Springfield, Kentucky dissolved and declared all nonlocal ecclesiastical institutions unscriptural. Some of its members followed Springfield leader Richard McNemar into Shakerism after 1805, while most joined BARTON W.STONE, convener of the Cane Ridge revival, in a search for a nondenominational Christianity based on the New Testament narrative. Thomas Campbell gathered a similar sect, the Christian Association, in 1808 among Presbyterians in western Pennsylvania and Virginia, following the motto "where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent; where the Scriptures speak, we speak." In 1810 yet another group of pro-revival Presbyterians in eastern Tennessee and Kentucky broke away from the parent denomination over standards of ministerial training and creedalism to form the CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. At the same time, some strict Calvinist Baptists, beginning in 1792 with the Kehukee Association in Virginia, resisted the revival, condemned missionary activity, and began to practice foot-washing as an ordinance of worship (see FEET, WASHING OF). These churches created a loosely organized southern sect known as Anti-Mission Baptists or PRIMITIVE BAPTISTS.

Sectarianism continued to grow in America after the War of 1812, sparked by the resurgence of the Second Awakening. The powerful doctrinal disputes of this period fostered a sectarian search for new sources of religious authority. New England Unitarians cited reason as their guide in seceding from the orthodox Congregationalists in 1824 to pursue a Christianity free from what they considered superstitious and irrational teachings such as miracles and the doctrine of the Trinity. ESCHATOLOGY and

perfectionism were also important sources of authority for antebellum sects. The most extreme eschatological sect were the Adventists, whose founder WILLIAM MILLER, a Baptist minister from upstate New York, summarized their chiliastic teachings in his 1835 book *Evidences from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year 1843*. Thousands embraced Miller's prediction, and when the promised apocalypse did not occur in 1843 or on the recalculated date of October 22, 1844, the movement survived through the visions of Hiram Edson and ELLEN GOULD WHITE, who saw Christ entering God's temple in heaven to begin his work of purification and judgment. White assumed leadership of the movement, which she reorganized in 1863 as the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS, introducing dietary codes and worship practices modeled on the Hebrew Bible. A smaller sectarian branch of the Millerites organized after 1863 as the rival ADVENT CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Perfectionism, already widely diffused in American evangelicalism though Methodism, found its most spectacular sectarian expression in John Humphrey Noyes's Putney Association in Vermont (1840) and Oneida Community in upstate New York (1848). Noyes taught that Christ had returned in 70 C.E. and initiated the kingdom of millennial perfection, of which he was now the chosen leader. The most controversial features of Noyes's communal regime at Oneida involved collective sexual practices including "complex marriage," the sharing of sexual partners; "male continence," intercourse without ejaculation; "ascending fellowship," the initiation of virgins by the community's elders; and "stirpiculture," the breeding of community children by parents selected by Noyes.

The most important source of antebellum sectarianism, however, was RESTORATIONISM, the search for a "restored" nondenominational church based strictly on Scriptural standards. In western Pennsylvania and Virginia, Thomas Campbell affiliated his noncreedal Christian Association with the Baptists in 1815; his son Alexander Campbell gathered a new restorationist sect called the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST in 1827. By 1832 Barton W. Stone's Ohio Valley "Christians" had joined the Disciples, who also aligned with Elias Smith and James O'Kelly's Christian Connection in the East, establishing restorationism as a major sectarian force in early America. In 1844 John Thomas left the Disciples to form the CHRISTADELPHIANS, or Brothers of Christ, who developed an anti-Trinitarian theology and the distinctive tenet that the souls of the unredeemed would be annihilated after death while the souls of the redeemed would sleep until Jesus returns. Among Baptists in the Deep South, in 1854 J.M. Pendleton and J.R. Graves gathered the Landmark Baptists, who believed themselves part of the continual existence of Christ's true apostolic churches since his earthly ministry.

The Latter-day Saints also proclaimed a restorationist Gospel, but with a new scripture and a new prophet to proclaim and interpret it (see MORMONISM). In addition to the Bible, the Saints followed the teachings of *The Book of Mormon*, published in 1830 by JOSEPH SMITH of Palmyra, New York, as an ancient inspired text shown to him by an angel who also provided miraculous instruments for its translation. The book told the story of the Nephites, an Israelite tribe who fled the Babylonian Captivity, crossed the Atlantic, landed in Central America, gradually migrated across the North American continent, received the Gospel directly from the preaching of the risen Christ, and died at the hands of their apostate relatives called the Lamanites. Smith, regarded by his

followers as the prophet of this restored Gospel, organized the Latter-Day Saints as a communal sect and led them from upstate New York to Ohio, Missouri, and eventually Nauvoo, Illinois in search of a place to build a new American Zion. Amid rumors of polygamy and military insurrection, Smith was arrested, jailed, and murdered by a mob at Carthage, Illinois in 1844. BRIGHAM YOUNG succeeded Smith as leader of the Saints, and in 1849 brought them en masse to Utah, where Mormonism has continued to flourish as one of America's most successful and distinctive sectarian movements.

While radical groups like Latter-day Saints, Adventists, and Oneidans remained on the social periphery, the culturally legitimized location of most American sects permitted them to engage in mainstream political activity. From this position they experienced serious and ultimately schismatic controversies over SLAVERY, the greatest political issue in antebellum America. From the 1830s, Alexander Campbell steered his DISCIPLES OF CHRIST toward an apolitical position on slavery, claiming that it was a civil, not a religious, question. Presbyterians, on the other hand, divided along sectional lines into New School and Old School camps in 1837. The climax of the slavery crisis in the American churches occurred in 1843–1844, when America's two largest communions broke apart explicitly over the question of whether ministers should own slaves. In 1843 Methodists divided into the proslavery Methodist Episcopal Church South, the antislavery Methodist Episcopal Church North, and the abolitionist Wesleyan Methodist Connection. A year later the Baptists split into rival Northern and SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTIONS. These slavery schisms permanently altered the religious landscape of the United States, reinforcing a sectarian sensibility of denomination conflict and confrontation. The Presbyterian and Methodist divisions did not heal until the late twentieth century; while the Southern Baptist Convention and the Northern Baptist Convention, now called the AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES, remain separated. After 1845, separations continued over the slavery issue, the most important being the antislavery Free Methodist schism of 1860.

After the trauma of CIVIL WAR, the abrupt arrival of modernity in the form of industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and the rise of SCIENCE became a new source of Protestant sectarianism. Dominant liberals in the mainline American denominations accepted the new conditions and accommodated their theologies and ecclesiastical institutions to modern conditions through the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement. Evangelicals in the South, however, adhered to “the old-time religion” as a badge of traditional identity while their counterparts in the North responded to their growing cultural alienation by asserting traditional biblical authority, the imperative of spiritual rebirth, and systematic doctrine as the antidote to what they called “MODERNISM.” Darwinian liberals' denial of the biblical creation account and the Social Gospel's Christian socialism were especially galling developments against which Evangelicals reacted.

During the late nineteenth century, that reaction generally took sectarian form as the reassertion of traditional evangelical beliefs and practices. Revivalism returned during the 1870s with the northern urban campaigns of Congregationalist DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY and the rural southern itinerancy of Methodist Sam Jones. Restorationist principles, applied to the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, informed the separation of GEORGE DAVID CUMMINS and the Reformed Episcopal Church from the Anglican communion in 1873. A renewal of adventism informed the JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES,

founded in 1881 by CHARLES TAZE RUSSELL, who proclaimed that Christ would return in 1914 and instructed converts to observe biblical dietary and sumptuary rules. Increasing concern for foreign and domestic MISSIONS drove Albert B. Simpson to organize the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE in 1887 and prepared the way for the favorable American reception of WILLIAM and CATHERINE BOOTH'S SALVATION ARMY, founded in 1878 in London.

A salient exception to these traditionalist sectarian movements was MARY BAKER EDDY'S Church of Christ, Scientist, organized in Lynn, Massachusetts in 1879. Reflecting popular interest in SPIRITUALISM and her own experience of medical hypnosis, Eddy de-clared in her 1875 book *Science and Health* that only spirit is real and that matter is illusory. Illness, she concluded, was caused by spiritual error and could be healed by proper faith. Jesus had known this "scientific" truth, used it in his healing ministry, and proclaimed it in the gospels. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE converts, drawn principally from middle- and upper-class New Englanders, accepted *Science and Health* as a scriptural text that supplemented the Bible and sustained Eddy's absolute charismatic and institutional authority over one of the most successful sectarian movements in American history.

The largest group of postbellum sects, however, emerged from METHODISM as the result of the HOLINESS MOVEMENT. The Second Great Awakening had produced perfectionistic Methodist sects like the Wesleyan Methodists (1843), but after the war a broader popular concern for Christian perfection emerged with the organization of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness in 1867. Holiness leaders proclaimed a "second blessing" of complete SANCTIFICATION for the truly regenerate. The movement spread quickly, inducing a number of sectarian Holiness communities to separate from the Methodists. The most important of these were the CHURCH OF GOD, ANDERSON, INDIANA (1881) and the Holiness Christian Church (1889). In 1894 the Southern Methodists rejected Holiness claims, leading to the separation of more than two dozen Holiness sects, the largest of which were the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE (1895), the Pilgrim Holiness Church (1897), and the INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL HOLINESS CHURCH (1898). The Holiness movement also reached the African American Methodist mainstream, drawing off a number of sects, most importantly Charles Price Jones and Charles H. Mason's CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST (1897).

The Twentieth Century: Fundamentalist and Pentecostal Sects

Doctrinal tensions and conflicts over spirituality continued to escalate in American Protestantism after 1900, finally producing FUNDAMENTALISM and PENTECOSTALISM, movements carried forward primarily by sectarian and schismatic communities. Fundamentalism was originally a northern urban phenomenon, a systematic formulation of essential evangelical doctrines by leading pastors and theologians in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Central to fundamentalism was its claim that the Scriptures are verbally inspired by the Holy Spirit and entirely inerrant as historical and

religious narratives. From this foundation, Fundamentalists maintained traditional doctrines such as the seven days of creation, the virgin birth of Christ, and the historicity of miracles. They also produced an elaborate political and theological interpretation of the prophetic biblical texts and urgently promoted foreign and domestic missions.

Fundamentalism spread quickly to the south and west where its classic documents appeared. The SCOFIELD REFERENCE BIBLE, published in 1909 by C.I. Scofield of Dallas Theological Seminary, provided extensive running eschatological commentary on the biblical text. The definitive statement of the movement's doctrines was *The Fundamentals* (from which the movement drew its name), published in four volumes in Los Angeles between 1912 and 1915. After World War I, fundamentalists battled unsuccessfully for control of the Northern Baptists and Presbyterians, agitating heresy trials of leading liberals and campaigning for major denominational offices. In the Northern Baptist Convention, William Bell Riley of Minneapolis led the fundamentalist minority to form the BAPTIST BIBLE UNION in 1923 and the schismatic GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTIST CHURCHES in 1932. Among Presbyterians, fundamentalist professors from Princeton Theological Seminary resisted the liberal Auburn Declaration of 1924, eventually resigning to form Westminster Theological Seminary in 1929 and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in 1936.

Pentecostalism was a more complex phenomenon than fundamentalism, and it produced many more sectarian movements. Some of the new Holiness churches had used the term "Pentecostal" to identify themselves, claiming that Christian perfection was a spiritual promise given to the church when it received the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost described in Acts 2:1-13. This controversial text, however, also described the Apostles as speaking in unknown tongues (*glossolalia* in Greek), thereby opening the possibility that it might be a "third blessing" for true Christians. In 1901 Charles G. Parham began teaching glossolalia as a sign of the Spirit's presence, and shortly thereafter "the gift of tongues" appeared among his community at Topeka, Kansas. William C. Seymour, one of Parham's African-American students and tongue-speakers, took the message of glossolalia to Los Angeles, California, where in 1906 he led a protracted charismatic revival at the AZUZA STREET MISSION that launched the modern Pentecostal movement.

Over the next decade, Pentecostalism divided many American Protestant constituencies, none more than African Americans. In 1907 Charles H. Mason, co-founder of the Church of God in Christ, experienced the gift of tongues. Following an intense struggle over the legitimacy of glossolalia, Mason gained control of the denomination, driving his colleague Charles Price Jones to form a new communion called the Church of Christ, Holiness. After World War I, African Americans moved to the urban north in great numbers, creating a host of small "storefront" Holiness and Pentecostal sects. Several of these movements, including "Father" M.J. Divine's communal Universal Peace Mission Movement (1914), Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (1914), and Wali Farad and Elijah Muhammed's Nation of Islam (1930), also included non-Christian and Afrocentric elements in their beliefs and practices. Garvey's influence was particularly important, extending to AFRICA and his native Jamaica, where his Afrocentric teachings were later incorporated into Rastafarianism after the coronation of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia in 1930, whom Rastas considered a divine embodiment of African Christianity.

A similar developmental pattern produced a number of white and interracial Pentecostal communions in the South. Beginning as a Holiness movement, Richard Spurling's Christian Union (1886) embraced Pentecostalism in 1908 and under the leadership of A.J. Tomlinson reorganized as the CHURCH OF GOD OF PROPHECY, only to suffer a schism itself in 1923 with the founding of the rival Church of God, Cleveland, Tennessee. Although Pentecostals generally embraced fundamentalism, doctrinal conflicts deeply divided them, especially the Oneness Controversy, a Trinitarian debate over whether Christ alone was God. The interracial PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE WORLD emerged after 1914 as the leading Oneness sect, while its Trinitarian rival the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, founded in the same year in Hot Springs, Arkansas, became the most successful of the early Pentecostal sects. After 1925, fundamentalists and Pentecostals proved adept at using mass media, especially radio, to gain converts. Although most of these media ministries did not develop into full-fledged sects, one of them did. The Radio Church of God (since 1968, the Worldwide Church of God), was founded in 1934 by Herbert W. Armstrong and grew through the anti-Trinitarian and eschatological teachings broadcast on his program "The World Tomorrow."

By 1935, the first wave of fundamentalist and Pentecostal sectarianism had subsided. While the media ministries of fundamentalist preacher BILLY GRAHAM and Pentecostal GRANVILLE ORAL ROBERTS sustained these movements through the 1950s and 1960s, the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and the Vietnam War fractured several conservative denominations. The most notable example was the schism of the PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION (PNBC) from its parent the National Baptist Convention (NBC), the largest African-American denomination (1866). Protesting the NBC's fundamentalist theological bent, its leaders' refusal to observe term limits on their offices, and its rejection of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and the Civil Rights Movement, the PNBC organized in Cincinnati in 1961 and now numbers 2.5 million members.

By the mid-1970s, however, fundamentalism and Pentecostalism were poised to exert worldwide Protestant influence. Triggered in America by the Catholic Charismatic Renewal and the Bicentennial Revival, new media ministries like JERRY FALWELL'S MORAL MAJORITY, PAT ROBERTSON'S 700 Club, and Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker's Praise the Lord Club gained enormous popularity in the decade after 1975 (see TELEVANGELISM). The characteristic sectarian expression of this recent revival, however, has been "MEGA-CHURCHES," exemplified by Willow Creek Community Church, a vast nondenominational congregation founded by Bill Hybels in 1975 at South Barrington, Illinois, near Chicago, with thousands of members and more than 100 ministries located on a 155-acre campus. Thousands of such megachurches now dot the United States landscape, combining eclectic beliefs with a total community environment that provides members everything from health facilities and education to economic networks and arts collaboratives.

The most spectacular and disturbing recent examples of American Protestant sectarian extremism are Jim Jones's People's Temple and David Koresh's BRANCH DAVIDIANS. Jones, a locally ordained Disciples of Christ minister, gathered a progressive interracial community in Indianapolis, Indiana during the 1950s. Over the next two decades, Jones relocated the community in California and made increasingly

extreme claims, professing powers of spiritual and physical healing and teaching the doctrine of “translation” whereby the souls of believers would be transported to another planet after death. Growing instability led Jones to move the People’s Temple again to Jones-town, an isolated agricultural site in tropical Guyana in South America where, after the catastrophic death of visiting Congressman Leo Ryan, Jones and nearly 1,000 of his followers committed ritual suicide.

Vernon Wayne Howell came from Seventh-Day Adventist roots in Texas. In 1981 he joined the Branch Davidians, a small adventist sect founded in 1935 by Victor Houteff near Waco, Texas. Howell took over the community in 1990, changing his name to David Koresh and claiming to be God’s true prophet in the restored royal line of David. Amid reports of illegal stockpiling of firearms and child abuse, federal agents stormed the Branch Davidian compound at Mount Carmel near Waco on April 19, 1993. Mount Carmel was destroyed and eighty-six Davidians, including Koresh, were killed.

Beyond the United States, an immense upsurge in Pentecostal and fundamentalist sects has occurred since 1975, especially in LATIN AMERICA, Africa, and East Asia. Estimates of Pentecostalism’s worldwide membership ranged as high as 400 million by the year 2000. Pentecostals claim nearly 20 percent of the population in Chile and El Salvador and twice as many adherents as traditional Protestant churches in Guatemala and Venezuela. BRAZIL is the center of Latin American Pentecostalism, where it has drawn an estimated 25 million converts from the Catholic Church and traditional Spiritist religions. In addition to joining American missionary denominations like the 12-million-member *Asambleas de Dios* (Assemblies of God), Brazilian Pentecostals have organized a host of indigenous sectarian communions. The largest of these is Edin Macedo’s six-million-member *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (Universal Church of the Reign of God), a controversial movement founded in 1977 and widely accused of promoting spiritual blessings for monetary contributions.

In Africa, Pentecostalism has followed an earlier wave of indigenous anti-colonial and charismatic Protestant sects known as the AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES. These included SIMON KIMBANGU’S Church of the Lord Jesus Christ on Earth in Zaire (c. 1920), JOSIAH OLUNOWO OSHITELU’S Church of the Lord (Aladura) in Nigeria (1930), JOHN MARANKE’S Apostolic Church and Samuel Mutendi’s Zion Christian Church in ZIMBABWE (1930s), and Alice Lenshina’s Lumpa Church in Zambia (1950s). Recent African Pentecostalism has been largely dominated by the Faith Gospel movement, a sectarian form that preaches earthly success as a sign of true faith, and by Christian Zionism, the belief that the restoration of Israel is a sign of the imminent return of Christ. Among the leading new African Pentecostal communions are Nicholas Duncan-Williams’s Christian Action Faith Ministries (1979) and Mensa Otobil’s International Central Gospel Church (1984) in GHANA, Grace Faith Ministries (1993) and Nevers Mumba’s Victory Faith Ministries (1984) in Zambia, and John Obiri Yeboah’s National Fellowship of Born-Again Churches (1986) in Uganda.

Elements of the Faith Gospel have also appeared in Korean Protestant sectarianism along with a mixture of esoteric shamanistic and Buddhist elements. SUN MYUNG MOON’S Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, popularly known as the UNIFICATION CHURCH (or “Moonies”), was founded in 1954 in Seoul. Claiming that Jesus had authorized him to unite all Christians in a new global church, Moon was excommunicated by the Presbyterian Church of KOREA in 1948, then

published his manifesto *Divine Principle* (1954) and organized his own sect. Famous for its aggressive evangelism, esoteric beliefs, mass marriages, and questionable financial practices, the Unification Church enjoyed its greatest influence in America between 1972 and 1984. The most successful Korean Protestant sect today is Paul Yonggi Cho's Yoido Full Gospel Church. Founded in Seoul as an Assemblies of God tent revival in 1958, Cho's church now numbers more than 700,000 members, making it the largest single congregation in the world and a powerful sectarian influence. Cho's controversial doctrines about the spiritual and material powers of speech and the existence of a fourth dimension, along with his practice of healing rituals drawn from traditional Korean shamanism, illustrate the strong syncretistic element associated with many of the new Pentecostal sects outside America and Europe.

Conclusion

Sectarianism has played an essential role in the shaping of Protestantism from the Reformation to the present. Once unleashed in the 1520s by Thomas Müntzer, the Zwickau Prophets, and the Anabaptists, the sectarian impulse has flowed through virtually every Protestant communion with paradoxical results. Sectarianism unquestionably disrupts the unity of any church, causing deep doctrinal and social divisions. It almost always weakens the parent body by drawing off some of its members. On the other hand, sectarianism raises questions about faith and practice that extend the intellectual reach of Protestantism and ultimately bring more members into its religious tradition. This pattern of growth through conflict has proven nothing less than endemic in Protestant history and must be accounted one of the chief sources of Protestantism's survival and continuing vigor.

Why Protestantism produces such a pattern has never been adequately explained. The century-long theoretical debate over whether sectarianism is an intrinsically religious phenomenon or a function of secular causes is an essential interpretive discourse that continues to offer fruitful insights into how Protestantism works. Both views possess undeniable merit, but from the historian's perspective the approach of Weber and Troeltsch seems to explain more evidence. It is not possible to understand Protestant sectarianism without accounting for the religious beliefs that so powerfully influenced the self-conscious attitudes and behaviors of believers. Weber and Troeltsch isolated this religious factor in the social and moral teachings of the sects.

But, as this historical survey has suggested, there seem to be other powerful religious sources for Protestant sectarianism as well. Persistent themes of sectarian identity have included ritual practice and especially believers' baptism, eschatological expectation, esoteric beliefs about the Trinity, the quest for spiritual perfectionism, and the search for a restored apostolic church. None of these themes relates as directly to secular social behavior as did the calling for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sectarians, according to Weber, yet all of them have been more explicitly and more consistently articulated as distinguishing marks of Protestant identity by the sectarians themselves. Similarly, it is difficult to regard such themes as genuine parts of Troeltsch's "social teaching"; they

address quite different realms of religious experience, activity, and meaning. It is in those realms and in Protestantism's fundamental doctrinal, ritual, and institutional instabilities that further insight into the elusive sources of Protestant sectarianism is to be found.

See also Anglicanism; Antinomianism; Anti-Trinitarianism; Apocalypticism; Arminianism; Baptist Family of Churches; Campbell Family; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Chiliasm; Congregationalism; Covenant; Covenant Theology; Denomination; Ecumenism; Evangelicalism, Theology of; Iconoclasm; Itineracy; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Millenarians and Millennialism; Plural Marriage; Presbyterianism; Puritanism; Sociology of Protestantism; Spiritualism; Statistics; Wesleyanism

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SECULARIZATION

Secularization refers to the historical process in which religion loses social and cultural significance. As a result of secularization the role of religion in modern societies becomes restricted. In secularized societies faith lacks cultural authority, religious organizations have little social power, and public life proceeds without reference to the supernatural. Secularization captures a long-term societal change, but it has consequences for religion itself. In Western countries, where it has been most pronounced, it has made the connection to their Christian heritage more tenuous. Yet secularization is important beyond the formerly Christian West, given that many of the forces that first sustained it there affect other societies as well.

Before 1648 the term *secularis* had been used to denote one side of Christian distinctions between sacred and mundane. In the Catholic Church secular priests were those serving society at large rather than a religious order; secularization had referred to the dispensation of priests from their vows. After the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia ended the European wars of religion, secularization was used to describe the transfer of territories held by the church to the control of political authorities. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, it had come to refer to the shifting place of religion in society many scholars associated with modernization. Used in this way the very notion of secularization has provoked contention for more than a century. Once at the center of conflict between traditional advocates of strong public religion and secularist intellectuals striving to reduce its role, it has more recently become the subject of scholarly controversy. Although since the 1960s prominent sociologists of religion have charted the course of secularization, partly guided by the work of MAX WEBER (1864–1920), others have questioned the validity of their interpretations.

This article first conveys what secularization means and why it happened. It then addresses the reservations of scholars. It shows how critiques have enriched our understanding of secularization without refuting the best accounts of the process. These continue to capture convincingly a significant historical transformation in and of society. This transformation still reverberates across the world stage, not least because the value and viability of secular society remains the subject of global debate.

Meaning

In Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, a sanctuary built by a Catholic monarch to house Christ's crown of thorns, stands empty, its aesthetic appeal substituting for its old religious function. Across the NETHERLANDS church buildings no longer needed to serve

shrinking congregations have been razed or converted into community centers. In ENGLAND majestic cathedrals that manifest in stone and glass the splendor of an old faith now often attract more tourists than believers. Where once a sense of the sacred marked the landscape itself, where social order used to be visibly embedded in sacred order, architectural relics attest to a profound change: the vanishing of the supernatural from the affairs of the world, the waning power of religion to shape society at large. In landscapes and architecture, secularization has become visible.

Secularization describes the world the West has lost. In that world faith in the supernatural was pervasive and important, indeed taken for granted. A Christian version of that faith commanded unique AUTHORITY, shaping collective understanding of the world. Its influence extended to ART and architecture, Music, and LITERATURE (see ARCHITECTURE, CHURCH). Worldviews that denied the validity of Christian DOCTRINE, let alone the existence of the supernatural, were taboo. Religious elites maintained clear standards of transcendent belief and applied them to all spheres of cultural activity. In that world every community was also a community of faith. To be a member meant identifying with that faith. Overt unbelief constituted dangerous deviance, hence cause for exclusion. Community life, its rhythm shaped by religious ceremonies and events, was tinged with the transcendent. Political authority required religious legitimation; rulers in turn were expected to sustain the cause of religion. In principle, at least, state and church had a common mission. Precisely because religion mattered greatly in public affairs, it also contributed at times to WAR or civil strife. Organized religion commanded major resources, such as valuable land, buildings, and trained staff. Supported by such resources the church long played a key role in providing EDUCATION and social services. Its worldly influence reinforced a shared sense of overarching order, in which human affairs were subject to higher forces. This world had a tangible connection with God. It was a society suffused by the sacred.

Secularization also describes the world the West has gained. In this world, CULTURE is marked by pluralism: religious faith takes many forms, and meaning has many nonreligious sources. The specifically Christian message is one among others, only one way to make sense of the world. It is there, available for individuals to choose, although turned into a preference, religion has no binding force. Conceptions of the supernatural, Christian or otherwise, carry little authority in SCIENCE, art, and literature. No church can determine society's standards of knowledge, beauty, and morality. Even when they make their way into popular culture, supernatural notions thereby lose any sacred aura. In this world citizenship requires no religious attachment, and society sets no rules for religious conformity. Secular events shape the rhythm of public life; publicly significant religious occasions tend to lose their transcendent content. Political authority derives its legitimacy from legal procedures and public support. State institutions execute policy with scant consideration of religious purposes. In modern media, education, or business, religious institutions exercise greatly diminished influence. Their resources are dwarfed by those of secular institutions. Because religious strife is less likely to spill over into the public domain, it diminishes as a cause of domestic and international conflict. Operating within such a secular environment, the nature of religion itself changes as well. Churches are organized as the voluntary effort of citizens who choose to belong; they come to terms with pluralism by giving up claims to exclusive truth; they comfort individuals more than they shape society. In this world an encompassing sacred order turns into a

specialized spiritual sphere. Modern society has no sacred canopy. It makes room for religion, but operates on human terms.

This simplified before-and-after description conveys in broad strokes what happened. Secularization theories have sought to explain how and why this epochal change took place in the West.

Explanation

Secularization theories explain the process as a conjunction of cultural conditions, structural changes, and specific historical events.

The Christian tradition provided an impetus toward secularization by making a secular world conceivable. The Judaic conception of a single high God stripped the natural world of magical elements; pervasive supernatural intervention was replaced by a tradition in which ethical and legal precepts governed human affairs. The Christian church added to this incipient separation of sacred and secular by setting itself up as a distinct corporate body that was not identified with a people or community. Protestant reformers further shrank the scope of the sacred in the world by treating God as removed from ordinary life, not accessible through mediation, and by specifying only FAITH and GRACE, rather than good works, as the path to SALVATION. Protestant thought legitimated the autonomy of the secular world. Weber's classic but controversial argument supported this point by suggesting that the Calvinist doctrine of predestination produced in believers existential questions that could be resolved only by successful, methodical work in a calling. It thus put a religious premium on worldly activity, which in turn helped to set capitalist development in motion, leading to an economic system that could dispense with its originally religious underpinnings.

Christianity also contributed to secularization by breaking up as a single tradition in its European heartland. The aftermath of the REFORMATION undermined throughout Europe the broad authority of a universal church, the unquestioned truth of a single faith, and the possibility of maintaining one sacred order. Christian conscience began to make Europe secular by allowing many religions or no religion in a state. In principle, at least, no one henceforth would be pressured into accepting society's religious axioms; in principle, again, it became possible to think of society cohering despite religious difference. Emerging religious pluralism fostered decline in religious authority. In Protestant lands, the emphasis on the BIBLE as the source of truth, displacing church TRADITION, gave rise to textual disputes that in turn furthered DISSENT and schism. When the faith came in many versions, the authority any single one could command gradually diminished. Civil conflicts precipitated by religious difference ultimately led to settlements, such as the "separation" of CHURCH AND STATE in the American Constitution, that formally limited the public role of religion (see AMERICANS UNITED FOR THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE).

Secularization stems above all from societal rationalization. The key element in most sociological accounts of secularization is the idea that, over the last several centuries, institutions in the West have become differentiated. First state, law, market, and science,

then education, media, and other institutions, increasingly operated according to formal procedures, methodically carried out by specialists, for purposes inherent to those institutions. Institutional function dispensed with transcendent faith. Secular means sufficed to reach secular ends. In modernizing societies differentiation or rationalization eroded any lingering sense of organic unity anchored in a shared conception of the transcendent. Secularization, then, came to represent the way differentiation “played out” in the religious sphere. Religion became one institution among others, operating in its own specific arena.

In many societies particular social struggles also contribute to secularization. The nature of such struggles depends mainly on the “frame,” the overall structure of the religious system, with which a society enters periods of modernizing change. For example, as in the case of FRANCE, countries that long retained a religious monopoly are likely to experience more violent opposition between defenders of tradition and advocates of secular change, with religion becoming more marginalized where the latter are successful. A starker case is that of the Russian revolution, in which a deliberately secularizing elite intended to secularize the new Soviet society by extinguishing its once-organic religious tradition (see RUSSIA). By contrast, in religiously pluralistic societies conflict is less likely to pit religious against secular forces; instead, public institutions will tend to accommodate religion in its own sphere, and conflict among elites over the direction of such institutions, as was the case around 1900 in the UNITED STATES, is more likely to be piecemeal and peaceful.

Secularization can take on a life of its own. Once society is broadly defined as a secular enterprise, religious culture becomes pluralized and rationalization takes hold—the process feeds on itself. In many instances, secularization receives increasing institutional support, for example in the form of legal provisions separating church and state, as well as cultural support, for instance in the form of liberal theological currents. The secular principle of religious freedom, construed as a fundamental human right, legitimates pluralism. In debates about the future of particular societies, the burden of proof increasingly rests on those arguing for restoration of some organic order.

In sum, secularization theories account for the process by arguing that it occurred in societies where the religious culture fostered separation of the world from the transcendent, religious tradition fragmented in a manner that undermined its former authority, social institutions underwent rationalization that reduced the social role of organized religion, contingent conflicts further undermined its authority, and over time a secular societal framework became self-sustaining. This explanation entails variation because it presents secularization as the unintended consequence of the conjunction of multiple factors in particular contexts. No single country shows the way. To analyze the course of the process in any particular case, one must first ask which religion, if any, was historically dominant, how deeply the society was affected by the Reformation aftermath, how thorough has been the experience of societal rationalization, whether religion has been involved in key conflicts, and how entrenched, if at all, in law and theology the model of a pluralistic, secular society has become.

Discussion

Secularization theory is in dispute. Scholarly controversy has focused on the issues examined below.

Historical Premises. Did secularization happen? Secularization accounts assert a shift: once religion did *x*, now only *y*. Historians have objected, first, that the timing is left fuzzy: precisely when did the process start? Any date is problematic. For example, neither the Reformation nor the European settlement of 1648 alone ushered in clear-cut secularization. Its proponents would acknowledge that they rarely supply precise dates, although this is no great problem. Watershed events such as the American and FRENCH REVOLUTIONS clearly do mark advances in secularization in those societies. Precise dates also can be misleading, insofar as the timing of secularization is in fact bound to vary from case to case. Broad comparisons over many centuries, although insufficient for fine-grained historical analysis, are themselves useful to show the depth of change. A second historical criticism is aimed at an apparent assumption behind the notion of a shift: there once existed a religious golden age, in which belief was commonly held and publicly affirmed. The evidence does not seem to support such a romantic vision because even in the heyday of medieval Catholicism heterodoxy was prevalent, commitment to the church tenuous, and conflict between church and secular authority common. However, secularization accounts need not assume general ORTHODOXY, deep commitment, or a triumphant church on the part of medieval Europeans; nor do they depend exclusively on decline in Christian influence. Their key claim, more difficult to measure but supported by evidence, is about decline in significance. This claim appears valid, although the historical criticism has shown that it is also a deliberate simplification. Societies that in fact varied in the role, meaning, and practice of faith underwent a process that had common elements and a common direction, but did not produce a single result.

Role of Christian Tradition. Did Christianity serve as its own gravedigger? To the idea that elements of Christian belief contributed to the decline in its influence, one might object that leaders never contemplated such an outcome. Reformers who in retrospect appear to have played a role in secularization themselves focused on rebuilding confessional states. Cases in point are various German states, where enforcing religious discipline became a public task. Similarly, JOHN CALVIN'S Geneva and William Bradford's Massachusetts attest to the concerted efforts of several Protestant communities to keep their faith whole, public, and pure. Catholic reaction to Protestant growth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries further tightened the bonds of church and state (see CATHOLIC REACTIONS TO PROTESTANTISM). Even as Europe was divided along religious lines in 1648, the cultural and social significance of the dominant local faith was rarely in question. Secularization proponents would acknowledge that only in hindsight did the Reformation set the stage for future decline. Attributing some causal force to the content of Christian, specifically Protestant, belief is not to argue that history proceeded as the unfolding of a Christian script. In fact Christianity could not

simply cause its relative decline, for secularization only came about as the unforeseen conjunction of Christian ideas with broader cultural and social change. Secularization accounts make plausible that secularization as understood today first occurred in the Christian West, although they stress that what appears as the “natural” consequence of Christian thought from the perspective of the twenty-first century is the contingent effect of complex processes.

Rationalization as Continuous. Is rationalization as relentless as the Weberian account suggests? To the idea of rationalization as a juggernaut moving in one direction, one might object that this is implausible as a historical scenario. Change is conflictual, resistance likely, reversal possible. Case in point is the experience of Dutch Calvinists in the late nineteenth century. Led by ABRAHAM KUYPER, they resisted secularizing trends in society and government. To advance their “anti-revolutionary” cause, they built new institutions (such as a party, university, and newspaper), imbuing modern forms with faithful content. Together with Catholics, they ultimately gained public funding for religious schools. Kuyper provided a platform for such desecularizing activity with a doctrine justifying a Christian sphere within modern society. Because Catholics built a parallel “pillar” of institutions, the Netherlands in some respects was less secular in 1950 than it had been in 1850; however, secularization proponents can respond that nothing in their accounts rules out reversals. The key question is whether reversals can take hold. The case of Dutch pillarization, for example, was one of defensive action in which religious communities adopted existing rationalized institutions and accepted the legitimacy of a secular public sphere. Church control and specifically supernatural symbolism, for instance in schools, gradually dissipated. Pillarization made the religious modern rather than the modern religious. The process complete, rapid secularization within the religious communities themselves ensued. Rationalization, so secularization proponents infer, is neither smooth nor continuous, but once in motion cannot easily be turned back.

Religion as Defense. Does religion remain socially significant where it is the core of a culture under threat? On the empirical importance of this point, there is little argument. For example, throughout the twentieth century IRELAND and POLAND remained overwhelmingly Catholic. People and nation identified with the church. This was a way to preserve some autonomy, to keep a national community intact, against a stronger foe. Secularization accounts treat this as a prime instance of external conflict that heightens the social significance of religion. Critics submit, however, that stressing the causal role of such conflict becomes a large loophole in the theory. If secularization theory allows such apparently major exceptions, then it is difficult to refute. Secularization proponents in turn counter that no immunization is intended. Arguments about religion as collective cultural defense can be recast in refutable form. For instance, if the conditions, specifically the primary external conflict, that triggered such defense disappear, then ordinary secularization should occur, leading to measurably diminished collective identification with the formerly dominant religion. Surrounded by friendly neighbors, Poland should become less Catholic. Overall, secularization accounts emphasize that contingent societal conflict affects the pace and form of secularization.

Secularization as Self-sustaining. The claim that a secular framework can become embedded in culture and law, and therefore self-sustaining, is vulnerable for two reasons. First, secularization could be self-limiting: if it supplies a product in a market, and if the

latent demand of consumers is constant, then any decline in the market share of old producers will create opportunity for new ones. Competition will lead to revived religious growth over time. However, such a market argument does not address key secularization claims because it says little about the social significance of growing churches. It assumes incorrectly that demand for supernatural meaning is constant, and it actually depends on the validity of secularization accounts: to “market” religion is to operate by secular standards. A second criticism would hold that secularization is reversible, as the rise of fundamentalist movements in seemingly secularized countries demonstrates (see FUNDAMENTALISM). As indicated, secularization proponents agree that reversals are possible in principle, although they also argue that bringing institutions under a previously torn canopy is always difficult, that fundamentalists in modern societies are bound to take on features of their environment, that entering the fray of social conflict often entails co-optation into secular society, and that the burden of proof is not easily shifted back to secularizing opponents. The historical record shows few, if any, instances of full-fledged reversal.

Secularization as Privatization. What happens to individual religiosity in modern society? Secularization accounts argue that modernity means choice. Individuals may believe as they see fit. One interpretation suggests that secularization trickles down into the private sphere, and hence produces less belief, commitment, and attendance. This scenario may apply to certain European countries, and it is not surprising that British scholars have made this case, although as a general rule it is questionable. In the United States a large majority of people retain some core religious beliefs and a large minority regularly attends church. In parts of LATIN AMERICA neo-Pentecostal growth has raised commitment and attendance among converts (see PENTECOSTALISM). This does not rule out private decline over the long haul, but the record does not support such an expectation. Another interpretation posits that secularization carves out a viable sphere for individual religious practice, guided by private spiritual choices. In principle, faith can flourish and churches proselytize. This view therefore does not claim that modernity spells the demise of religion. Neither the conventional description of secularization in before-and-after terms nor the factors commonly cited in secularization theories foretell the “death of God.” Yet in many instances secularization produces profound effects even in the private sphere. The place of faith is bound to change. In the case of Latin America, for example, Pentecostal growth has meant the dismantling of an older organic model of church and society, replicating the secularizing effects of earlier, similarly vibrant Protestant movements. As it turns into private choice rather than public fate, religion casts no halo throughout peoples’ lives. Less collectively affirmed, it is less easily accepted. Exposed to alternative interpretations of human problems and natural events, it becomes less plausible. Even private belief is likely to lose some supernatural content. To vary a classic phrase, although individuals may still hold transcendent belief, they can no longer be held by it. On this point, however, critics insist that privatization underestimates the public consequences of private choice, as in the case of the communities and politics of Latin-American evangelicals. Made by millions, private choices cease to be private.

Exceptions

The American Exception. Does the American experience fit any secularization scenario? Many American scholars would reply that whereas secularization may be useful to describe the Western European course of societal change, it does not apply to the United States. Far from creating a secular republic, the “separation” of church and state in the late eighteenth century created opportunities for proselytizing churches to “Christianize” America. By the early twentieth century America had become far more “churched.” Throughout the twentieth century Americans continued to profess faith in God and to fill the pews more than people in other industrialized countries. Their religiosity has public significance. Across the American South the landscape itself offers evidence in the variety of prominent church buildings, physical evidence of a living faith. Church influence is especially prominent in places such as Utah, home of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (see MORMONISM). Novels with a prophetic and supernatural cast often outsell the secular competition. Many congregations provide services beyond the spiritual, not least for minorities; belonging shapes the lives of the faithful in numerous ways. For immigrants religion often constitutes the core of their communities, bridging old and new societies. At times religion becomes a focal point of political activity, as illustrated by the conservative evangelicals of the so-called CHRISTIAN RIGHT in the 1980s and 1990s. Nor has the religious inspiration that gave a powerful impetus to major reform movements of the past, such as the TEMPERANCE and CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS, disappeared. Religion serves as a resource in defining some public issues, from ABORTION to peace. Religious perspectives on natural phenomena still contend in the public sphere, as recurrent opposition to the teaching of evolution shows (see DARWINISM; CREATION SCIENCE). In public life, references to God and religious tradition are common and legitimate; the United States remains a “nation under God.”

In some respects, such examples show, the United States is not a fully secularized country, although proponents of secularization would insist that it has undergone secularization. America’s religious pluralism and competition constitute the form secularization has taken there. Its religious vitality is that of voluntary organizations minding their business within a secular republic. Christianization and secularization went hand in hand. Even though religion retained some and gained other public functions, for example as the key element in various subcultures, its relative significance in all sectors of society diminished over time. The most overt attempts to reassert a religiously inspired agenda in the public sphere, such as that of the Christian Right, had little effect on policy. In debates about evolution, defenders of creationism are at a legal and intellectual disadvantage. In conflicts that involve religion, the specifically supernatural elements tend to diminish over time. The way in which religion becomes a resource among others actually shows its diminished authority. In the life of the churches themselves, secular ideas, techniques, and expectations gain influence. On balance, America is not so much an exception as a variation on a theme. It has secularized without becoming fully secular.

The Islamic Exception. Does the experience of Islamic countries show that secularization is an ethnocentric Western idea? In spite of the enormous variety among Muslim countries, all treat Islam as part of their collective identity, assign some public

role to precepts of the faith, and allow little religious competition. Islam is not a “private” choice, given that it helps to shape family and community life. Nor can it be merely private, for in principle its key doctrines do not recognize any basic distinction among the spheres of society, no “church” to be separated from the political realm. Even where rulers do not appeal to Islam directly for legitimation, they must work to uphold the faith. In many places Islamist movements strive to restore faith to power by reimposing Islamic law. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 actually reversed prior secularization by instituting an Islamic republic. Only in Turkey has a secular republic been imposed with success, but this was done by force, according to foreign example, and at the cost of continued strife over the place of Islam in society. Its record seems only to confirm that Islam is an exception to the presumed rule of secularization. The exception is gaining ground, as mosques dotting the urban landscape in Europe suggest.

Described in these terms, Islam does not pose a problem for secularization theories. They do not claim that any society must become secular, but rather argue that the process is contingent on several factors. Many of these do not prevail in Muslim lands. Typically, no tradition separates sacred from secular realms, little pluralism has flourished, rationalization has made few inroads as yet, defining conflicts with outside powers have reinforced the collective significance of religion, and resources to make a secular framework legitimate on its own terms are few. Under such conditions, secularization is unlikely; at the same time, these conditions are not immutable. Pluralism can grow, rationalization spread, old conflicts recede, thus making some secularization more likely. Overall it has not been shown that societies that were once pervasively religious can become “modern” without reducing the broad significance of religion. Here, though, secularization theory runs up against its limits because it assumes that secularization is a natural process, a set of events that follow from objective conditions in particular societies. In the Islamic context, however, secularization is also a political issue, a target of criticism, a model to be feared. Secularization has a reflexive quality. Islam is therefore not an exception by virtue of not being secular; rather, it provides a counterpoint by showing that becoming secular is more contentious than conventional accounts have recognized.

Neither of the exceptions refutes secularization theory, although each supplements it. The Islamic case, in particular, calls into question an old, tacit assumption: secularization was something that happened to coherent, independent societies, specifically nationstates. Instead, once secularization occurred for the first time, dramatically, in the formerly Christian orbit, it could then be incorporated elsewhere as desirable model or dangerous precedent, to be locally adapted. As a rule social change occurs not simply as a natural process within separate units. People and institutions compare their experiences; change in one society often occurs as a semiconscious response to the example set by another; some historical events or experiments are turned into models for others to follow. In modernity reflexive comparison becomes more common in world society. With regard to secularization, this means that, attuned to the way particular groups construe its meaning and respond to precedent, we must view it as a relational process. Put another way, secularization has become a societal possibility, a course to be debated. Whether, and if so, how, to become secular is part of the ongoing struggle over how to be modern. In some societies this old issue has been settled; in many others, it has not. Secularization

therefore remains subject to contestation in the real world, a phenomenon that has yet to be fully incorporated into secularization accounts.

Conclusion

As a thesis asserting the demise of religion, secularization has been discredited; in this form it points, at best, to the now-ineradicable tension between conceptions of the transcendent and ever more assertive forms of worldly human reason, conscience, and desire. As description, secularization effectively captures the long-term decline in religious (especially, but not only, Christian) influence over culture and society. As academic theory, it explains both the common pattern in the process and the different ways in which religious tradition refracts under local conditions of modernizing change. As a contested concept, it reflects scholarly dispute over the interpretation of historical change and ongoing struggle over the place of religion in world society. Secularization therefore remains vital as an idea about the past and a problem for the future.

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SEEKER

The concept of seekership was introduced into the study of religious movements by John Lofland and Rodney Stark in a pioneering study of conversion mechanisms into the Unification Church (“Moonies”) in 1965, with further elaboration by Lofland in his 1966 monograph, *Doomsday Cult*. The original definition was a “floundering among religious alternatives, an openness to a variety of religious views, frequently esoteric, combined with failure to embrace the specific ideology and fellowship of some set of believers” (Lofland and Stark 1965). This approach represents a *process model* of conversion in which predisposing conditions interact with situational contingencies to effect specific religious commitments. A key aspect of the model was that subjects defined themselves as seekers and take action to change through interaction with selected others that allowed affective ties to develop between them. Later work by Colin Campbell demonstrated that the seekership model was consistent with the “mysticism type” identified by Ernst Troeltsch in his *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (1912) as one of three manifestations of the religious impulse. Troeltsch saw it as that form most neglected by institutionalist analyses that centered solely on the churchly and sectarian alternatives that were Troeltsch’s other types, the types that had been deployed in the prior half century through the analytical device of “church-sect theory.” Campbell pointed out that in his mystical type Troeltsch was not simply speaking of a personal disposition, but a religion in its own right that regards religious experience as a valid expression of a universal religious consciousness that is based in an ultimate divine ground—a view that leads to an acceptance of religious relativity as well as to religious polymorphism, in which the “truth of all religions” is recognized. Subsequently seeker-type religiosity has come to be identified by religious studies scholars with the emergent spirituality of the American “boomer” generation (persons born between 1943 and 1962), most notably in Wade Clark Roof’s research published in 1993 as *A Generation of Seekers*.

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SEEKER CHURCHES

Sometimes also termed “MEGA-CHURCHES” or “new paradigm” churches, seeker churches represent a development in late twentieth-century American evangelical Protestantism that attempted to draw boomer and post-boomer-generation Americans (persons born since 1943) into institutional religious affiliation. Drawing on the insights of social scientific studies of changing American religious sensibilities—and major technological innovations and cultural shifts—these new congregations, usually dissociated from well-known denominational labels, replace the traditional evangelical emphasis on converting sinners with a new approach that attempts to win SEEKERS, preeminently by presenting worship and educational emphases and programs that diverge dramatically from both high and low traditional Protestant styles.

The archetypical seeker church and defining institution of the new paradigm is Willow Creek Community Church, a suburban Chicago congregation, and its founding pastor, Bill Hybels. Not only does Willow Creek minister to thousands of people each weekend in an auditorium that may be the largest in the Chicago metropolitan area, but it has also spawned the Willow Creek Association (WCA) encompassing over five thousand seeker churches worldwide.

There are theological, organizational, and practical differences between new paradigm seeker churches and old paradigm American Protestantism.

Theologically, a seeker church does not emphasize the CONVERSION of sinners. Potential members are approached as choice-making individuals who seek a better way to live, rather than as persons alienated from God and in danger of eternal damnation. Becoming an active Christian is seen as a process in which the seeker participates in a rational evaluation of life options. Christianity is presented as a lifestyle that is beneficial in the here and now, not just the beyond. Although seeker churches certainly hold many traditional evangelical beliefs, they are normally articulated as true within the context of the local setting, rather than by appeal to a theological tradition (whether denominational or more broadly creedal). Historically rooted senses of duty and conformity as constitutive of authenticity are replaced by personal experiences of good feeling.

Organizationally, the existence of the WCA notwithstanding, seeker churches uniformly eschew denominational labels and may avoid the word “church” as well—using instead such terms as “fellowship,” “community,” or “Christian center.” Team leadership is emphasized, and a wide variety of programs are encompassed within the scope of the institution. Hierarchical and formal criteria for leadership are subordinated to competency for a task. Persons are often “set apart” for specific ministries within a congregation or are hired from the outside because of demonstrated abilities rather than denominational credentials or training.

It is in the practical realm, however, that the seeker church is most likely to be identified as “different.” Music, or the musical program, in the seeker church is dramatically different. Hymnals are unknown. Instead a contemporary theatrical style

emphasizing upbeat singing, in which the congregation's participation may be limited to choruses or clapping; instrumental music by live praise bands; and multimedia acoustical and lighting effects directed by competent sound technicians are the normal fare. Gone too is the traditional sermon, to be replaced by drama presentations and shorter, practical talks. Not only are there no vested clergy or choirs, but the congregation also is more likely to dress and comport itself as if it were at a concert than in a traditional Protestant worship service. Moreover, the building itself is designed intentionally to present this aspect of relative compatibility with secular experience, often in a park-like setting. A wide variety of activity programs are offered, ranging from athletics to social action/environmental programs. Counseling and child development services are especially emphasized as benefits to affiliation with a seeker congregation. Seeker church leadership staff offer weekday and weeknight study sessions that are intended to provide more traditional theological and biblical study for those who wish to "deepen their religious experience."

Seeker churches are consciously and unabashedly molding evangelical Protestantism to contemporary cultural models. Their leadership would argue that this is not new, but rather represents the continuing efflorescence of Christian truth at all times and all places. They would argue that, for example, the Protestant churches that have European REFORMATION roots molded Christianity to fit that time and place. Likewise, American frontier EVANGELICALISM structured itself to meet the sociocultural conditions of a different era, while still seeking to maintain fidelity to core DOCTRINES. This was succeeded by urban revivalism in its day, through the mass crusades of figures like BILLY SUNDAY and, later, BILLY GRAHAM.

The issues at the turn of the twenty-first century create a new context for religious outreach and organization. Whereas the debate at the turn of the twentieth century might have been over pew rents, today pews themselves are the obstacle. Group singing, once widespread through both Europe and the United States, has similarly waned, but not the desire for mass entertainment, as expressed through huge concert venues. Lecture classes were once a norm in educational institutions; now a variety of alternative pedagogies are more likely to be employed. The new paradigm church seeks to integrate Christianity into this cultural setting as other innovations did in earlier times.

From the standpoint of the history of religious organizations, however, one can also see similar processes of restructuring and sedimentation taking place as characterized earlier innovations. In spite of eschewing "denominationalism," for example, the WCA in fact works like a DENOMINATION in many respects. It defines appropriate "liturgy," prepares materials, trains leaders and teachers, assists in hiring staff, and provides networks for the sharing of information. Hence, it is likely that in spite of the structural free-wheeling that seems to characterize the new paradigm, a more historically informed view of likely outcomes would anticipate greater formalization in succeeding decades.

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SEMINARIES

Protestantism originated during the cultural and educational excitement of the Renaissance. The new print technology made ancient texts more available and encouraged their detailed study. Because of a popular interest in preaching, the intellectual training of the clergy became more important. In GERMANY new universities were established for this purpose.

MARTIN LUTHER'S career took place in a university context. His order, the Augustinian Hermits, like other mendicant orders, saw education as its most important mission. Because the need for university teachers was so great, Luther's own preparation for teaching was accelerated so that he could become professor of BIBLE at Wittenberg, a recently established school. PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, a young humanist and educational activist, joined him in 1518. Drawing on patristic and other sources the duo stressed thorough classical education as the necessary preparation for theological study. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and JOHN CALVIN, also deeply influenced by the new thought, reached similar conclusions. Within a century the majority of Euro-pean Protestant CLERGY had both classical and theological training.

The Protestant model did not, however, completely replace the older medieval ideal, rarely achieved, of the synthesis of philosophical and theological study. As the Protestant churches increasingly faced an intellectually reborn Roman Catholicism, they needed pastors with well-developed apologetic and philosophical skills.

ENGLAND and SCOTLAND developed their own style of theological education. In England, deeply influenced by Renaissance humanism, the classical bachelor of arts was transformed into a course focused on the classical languages. Although a ministerial candidate was expected to read Divinity, perhaps with the Regius professor, the faculties of THEOLOGY atrophied. The minister was thus educated in much the same way as the gentry and other public leaders, and theology in England tended to take the form of treatises directed toward the learned public. In contrast, Scotland retained the medieval philosophical model, and its theologians used a scholastic form to present their conclusions.

These basic Protestant models of theological education have proven elastic with different intellectual movements transforming (not replacing) them at different times. In the eighteenth century, for instance, European Pietists, who tended to identify "true" religion with a heartfelt experience of Christ, emphasized personal biblical study. When the king of Prussia asked AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE to lead in the establishment of his new university at HALLE, Francke made the reading of the Bible in the original languages the heart of the theological program. Moreover Francke insisted that theological lectures be delivered in German, rather than the traditional Latin. Francke also established a number of voluntary associations near the university where ministerial students could get direct experience in ministry.

The modernization of university education, begun by Francke, continued throughout the eighteenth century. As the ideals of modern SCIENCE spread, research became an important component of the training of German professors, and the seminar was developed to help students develop advanced skills. New philosophical and scientific developments suggested that the Bible and theology needed to be studied from a different perspective. Meanwhile the professionalization of the German civil service pointed to the need for higher standards for ministry. Led by Prussia, the various German governments adopted state examinations that reviewed a candidate's academic preparation for the ministry.

Prussia's defeat by Napoleon led to the establishment of the new University of Berlin. FRIEDRICH DANIEL SCHLEIERMACHER, already well known for his epoch-making *Speeches on Religion to Its Cultured Despisers*, brought together the various reforms of the previous century, particularly the specialization of the faculty. Although theological professors continued for some time to teach different branches of theology, the ideal was for each faculty member to concentrate his research and teaching in a particular field.

Schleiermacher used the new historical critical method in his classes, setting the stage for a century of debate over the new approach's values and limits (see HIGHER CRITICISM). The new biblical studies reopened many literary questions about the Bible's composition, including the authorship and date of many books, and questioned whether many biblical events actually happened. Even scholars who resisted the new approach had to consider the issues that its practitioners raised.

Schleiermacher was also responsible for changing the basic theological agenda. He maintained that theology, rooted in religious experience, had to be reformulated in the light of contemporary knowledge. Not only did this make parts of the tradition problematical, it also required each generation of theologians to begin their work on a clean slate.

American theological education began in the British traditions with the establishment of colleges that continued either the English pattern, such as Harvard and Yale, or the Scottish tradition, such as William and Mary. The post-Revolutionary separation of CHURCH AND STATE changed this pattern. Because the government no longer maintained religious ORTHODOXY, each DENOMINATION or even party with a denomination formed its own theological "seminary" to support its understanding of Christian faith. Significantly, the first such school, Andover Seminary in Massachusetts, was only for college graduates. Although most subsequent schools adopted this same ideal, few attained it before the Second World War.

Intellectually, American Protestant theological schools developed much as their European, particularly German, counterparts. The new biblical criticism was introduced into American theological schools in the early nineteenth century and—despite a series of nasty HERESY trials—had become normative in many of the better schools by 1900. Those who dissented from the new methods, however, continued the battle by founding their own seminaries bound to an older understanding of biblical AUTHORITY. Far more than denominational background, the attitude of a school toward Scripture tends to distinguish American theological schools from each other.

Americans innovated in use of social science as part of ministerial preparation. Initially social science was introduced as part of a broad-based interest in social reform. From 1885 to 1920, SOCIAL GOSPEL theologians attempted to demonstrate that

Christianity had valuable insights into labor relationships and urbanization. In time this concern led them to use social science to train ministers for specifically religious tasks. Clinical pastoral education, for instance, placed ministerial candidates in hospitals where their interaction with the sick could be observed and criticized. Although many American techniques have spread to churches in the Third World, they have not been as popular in Europe.

The separation of church and state also affected American theological education. Whereas in European countries the academic quality of theological studies continued to be guaranteed by the state, this was not true in the UNITED STATES. Consequently the various schools banded together to form The Association of Theological Schools to set appropriate voluntary standards for themselves.

See also Bible Colleges and Institutes; Education, Overview; Education, Theology: Asia; Education, Theology: Europe; Education, Theology: United States; Higher Education

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GLENN T.MILLER

SEMLER, JOHANN SALOMO (1725– 1791)

German historian and theologian. Noted scholar at the University of HALLE, Semler pioneered the historical critical method in the theological disciplines and challenged Protestant orthodox assumptions on canon formation, unity of the testaments, and the traditional authority of dogma.

Son of a Lutheran minister in Saalfeld, Thuringia, Semler grew up in a strong Pietist milieu but distanced himself early from its expectations of CONVERSION and intense personal piety. In 1743 he attended the University of Halle, where he became an avid student of SIEGMUND JAKOB BAUMGARTEN. Semler graduated from Halle in 1750. After a brief stint as a journalist, he became professor of history and Latin poetics at Altstedt. In 1753 he was called back to Halle, where he worked closely with Baumgarten. As professor of THEOLOGY he lectured widely across the theological disciplines including hermeneutics, biblical exegesis, dogmatics, and ETHICS.

After Baumgarten's death in 1757, Semler took a leading position within the theological faculty at Halle. Against the Pietists who emphasized the cultivation of piety and scholarly study, Semler sought to include more secular disciplines in theological studies and emphasized academic rigor. Under his leadership the theology faculty at Halle would become the foremost representative of ENLIGHTENMENT theology in GERMANY.

Semler built on Baumgarten's legacy, but he aimed to go beyond the "scientific theology" of Baumgarten and other Wolffian theologians by applying historical critical analyses to dogma, scripture, and the CHURCH. Semler argued that dogma was not immutable but developed over time in response to the exigencies of each age and was thus subject to critical investigation. Semler granted no special AUTHORITY to the early church or councils and argued that the validity of dogma should be based solely on the proper interpretation of scripture. In contrast to dogma, which was binding only on the teachers and CLERGY of the church, Semler understood the kerygma of Jesus Christ as propagating true Christianity throughout history.

Semler's criticism of the canon and the authority of the biblical texts was more controversial. In *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Canon* (1771–1775), his most influential work, he argued that the Christian sacred canon was itself a historical product that took various forms as it emerged in the early church. He rejected the verbal inspiration, divinity, and equal authority of the biblical texts. Semler still held that the biblical texts contained the Word of God but that the Holy Scriptures themselves could not be identified as the Word of God.

Semler made a series of distinctions between theology and religion, dogma and kerygma, public and private, which allowed him to affirm personal religious freedom and the right of free critical inquiry while at the same time requiring clergy and professors of

theology to subscribe to the church's confessions and symbols. In the controversy concerning the REIMARUS FRAGMENTS (see HERMANN SAMUEL REIMARUS) Semler openly disagreed with GOTTHOLD LESSING'S decision to publish them. At the end of his life Semler's stance on this and other issues alienated him from more radical rationalist theologians. Later, Semler would be identified among the leading Neologists in Germany (see NEOLOGY). His work on textual criticism and hermeneutics was foundational for nineteenth-century biblical scholarship.

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JONATHAN N.STROM

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

See Americans United for the Separation of Church and State

SERMONS

See Preaching

SERPENT HANDLERS

The term refers to a practice carried out by a small group of independent churches in the southeastern UNITED STATES, notably North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Occasionally, the WORSHIP of these churches includes the handling of poisonous snakes. There is, however, in these churches no requirement to “take up” snakes; those under eighteen years of age are strictly forbidden to do so. The movement has had a varied history, mainly localized in Tennessee (Grasshopper Valley). At issue is, of course, the stark reality that there are regularly victims of poisonous bites among the members of these churches.

The churches prefer to be known as “churches of God with signs following,” and their origins lie in the early twentieth century among Pentecostal-Holiness churches (see PENTECOSTALISM; HOLINESS MOVEMENT). Ewent Hensley of Tennessee is generally considered the founder of the movement, whose size, although fluctuating over time, has probably never been more than a few thousand. Hensley traveled extensively as an ardent advocate of snake handling and died from snakebite in Florida on July 25, 1955 at the age of 70.

Theologically the phenomenon of serpent handlers raises the question of the literal exegesis of biblical verses and passages, which in mainstream THEOLOGY have been interpreted symbolically or allegorically. Snake handlers are given to a literal interpretation. The belief system of the churches practicing the handling of snakes or serpents accordingly is based on a literal interpretation of the BIBLE, specifically of several New Testament passages (Mark 16:17–20; Luke 10:19). “And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues: they shall take up serpents and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.”

Adherents of the movement argue that these passages contain direct admonitions on the part of Jesus. They insist that, upon repentance, remission of sins, and a new life through SANCTIFICATION, the baptism of the Holy Spirit includes such gifts as speaking in tongues, casting our demons, healing the sick, and taking up serpents (see TONGUES, SPEAKING IN; FAITH HEALING). Thus, the believer goes through the three stages of salvation, sanctification, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The key consideration is that the new life in Christ has the same spiritual gifts of which the New Testament speaks in I Corinthians 12:8–10. In a way, therefore, “taking up serpents” is but one facet of the new life of the sanctified, Holy Spirit-baptized believer, which also finds expression in other matters as simplicity of dress and attire, disapproval of alcohol, and so forth. The snake-handling churches do not believe that the “taking up” of serpents will leave the handler immune to poison or bite. The serpents are “taken up,” that is, handled in response to the Biblical command. Believers will not take up snakes unless they believe they are “anointed,” or that the power of God is sufficient to protect them.

There is, however, also the sense that those who take up snakes will be protected because of their faithfulness to the biblical command.

The snake-handling churches are another instance of the important legal and constitutional issue of whether government has the right to intervene with the free exercise of religion when possible deaths of members of a religious movement are involved (an issue also posed by members of the Watchtower Society/ JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES or by followers of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE). When a member of the Dolly Pond Church of God with Signs Following died from snake handling in 1945, the Tennessee legislature banned the practice because public sentiment quickly ran high. Other states, such as Kentucky (1940), Georgia (1941), Tennessee (1947), Virginia (1947), North Carolina (1949), and Georgia (1950), followed suit, raising the question of the free exercise of religion. A decision of the Tennessee Supreme Court affirming the ban appears to have settled the legal issue of constitutionality.

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

SERVETUS, MICHAEL (c.1511–1553)

Spanish anti-trinitarian. Servetus was born in Villeneuve de Sijena, Spain, in either 1509 or 1511. His family social origins are vague, but it seems he came from a petty, albeit noble family and it is known that his brother was a sometimes agent for the Spanish Inquisition. Servetus left Spain for study in Toulouse in either 1528 or 1529 and subsequently traveled extensively, visiting Strasbourg, where he met MARTIN BUCER and WOLFGANG CAPITO. In Basel he lived with JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS for ten months. The publication of his extremely heretical treatise, *Concerning the Errors of the Trinity De Trinitatis erroribus* (1531), and *The Righteousness of Christ's Kingdom Dialogorum de Trinitate* of the following year, brought him instant notoriety.

In these writings he challenged the authenticity of the orthodox DOCTRINE of the Trinity, arguing that it was neither scriptural nor monotheistic but the result of pagan Greek thought. Ancient Greek gods, Servetus argued, possessed divine aspects. This concept was then translated back into Christian thought as separate and distinct personalities. Servetus advanced the notion that the Godhead was composed of various modes or guises that, like hats, God changed according to the specific historical context. Although Servetus cited a host of ancient heterodox Christian authorities to make his case, he was also familiar with medieval Rabbinic thought which also interpreted the different names of God mentioned in the Old Testament as various guises or attributes of a single God. Servetus's early works were universally condemned and he was declared an outlaw. As a result, from 1533 to 1538 Servetus used the alias Michel de Villeneuve and studied medicine in Paris.

Eventually he made his home in Charlieu, Lyon, and Vienne, in Southern France where he practiced medicine and published a series of medical and astrological treatises under his alias. His medical writings dealt with the conflict between "Greeks" and "Arabist" interpretations and he was the first to describe the pulmonary circulation of the blood, a century before William Harvey. His geographical writings championed the cause of comparative geography and his exegetical writings advanced a historical-contextual method to interpret Scripture so that the text was interpreted both etymologically and conceptually within the context of the times and not from the vantage point of subsequent prophetic developments.

In 1552 he published his magnum opus, *The Restitution of Christianity*, a compendium of virtually every heretical idea of the late medieval and early modern period. His true identity was eventually discovered and he was tried for HERESY in Vienne, France. After a considerable trial he was condemned to death but in 1552 he escaped from prison and secretly made his way to Geneva in hopes of eventually getting to ITALY. He was found out, however, put on trial for maintaining heretical views, and was executed a year later in Geneva.

Although no church bears his name, Servetus contributed greatly to REFORMATION Age intellectual life. Unlike orthodox Protestants, Servetus did not hope to merely

cleanse Christianity of an erroneous Catholic tradition, but to restore ancient Christianity in all of its vibrancy. In seeking the historical roots of Christianity, Servetus used a score of ancient heterodox religious thinkers to refabricate what he perceived as the original Christian message. He was also one of several Christian intellectuals to become familiar with medieval Jewish thought through contact with *convertos*, Jewish converts to Christianity. Like Servetus, they too sought to reinterpret both ancient religions' traditions into a new Judeo-Christianity that would better represent "what the first Christians believed." Despite an early death, Servetus greatly influenced subsequent radical religious developments in POLAND and Lithuania and his followers were among those who eventually founded Unitarianism.

Servetus was also important to the Reformation and the development of Protestantism for other reasons. His death in Geneva served as a clarion call for the cause of religious TOLERATION. Although he had committed no civil or religious offense in Geneva—indeed, was anonymously on his way to safer refuge in Italy—Servetus had not been tried by legal authorities because of any views he propagated or preached, but purely because of views he maintained within his conscience, within the privacy of his own being. JOHN CALVIN'S active role in Servetus's prosecution has also proven troubling because where the town council wished merely to condemn and exile Servetus, Calvin convinced the council to condemn Servetus and have him burned at the stake. Calvin acquired the reputation for intolerance, and SEBASTIAN CASTELLIO and other advocates of liberty of conscience made Servetus's death a rallying cry for religious toleration.

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JEROME FRIEDMAN

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

The Seventh-day Adventist church is an international church headquartered in Silver Spring, Maryland, with membership exceeding twelve million worldwide. The church originated in the northeastern UNITED STATES as a surviving strand of the Millerite movement. The salient teachings of Seventh-day Adventists include a belief in the biblical account of creation and mankind's fall into SIN from an originally perfect state, salvation alone through the atoning death of Jesus, the return of Jesus to earth followed by the restoration of a sinless world, and observance of the seventh-day Sabbath. Seventh-day Adventists have an organized presence in more than 200 countries and operate global networks of publishing plants, healthcare institutions, and schools, ranging from elementary to tertiary schools and a variety of postbaccalaureate programs.

Organization

The Seventh-day Adventist Church organized in 1860 in Battle Creek, Michigan after emerging from the Millerite movement, named after WILLIAM MILLER, a veteran of the War of 1812 living in Low Hampton, New York. Miller concluded that biblical prophecies predicted a premillennial return of Jesus to the earth and began preaching in 1831 in New England and New York. Other students of prophecy in the United States, Europe, and LATIN AMERICA advanced these or similar beliefs (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM).

The Millerite movement culminated on October 22, 1844 when Jesus did not return to earth as anticipated. By that time Millerites were also called Adventists in recognition of their belief in the second advent of Jesus. After 1844 the movement faded; however, a nucleus of Adventists who continued to believe in the premillennial return of Jesus met frequently for Bible study and PRAYER. Led by Joseph Bates, a retired sea captain from Massachusetts, and James and ELLEN WHITE from Maine, they developed a body of identifying doctrines by 1850. Bates became a leading force in doctrinal development and the Whites strongly influenced organizational and institutional growth.

J.N.Andrews, who became a president of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the first officially sponsored worker outside the United States, joined the group in 1846. Uriah Smith, who developed into a prolific writer, editor, and one of the church's leading expositors of biblical prophecy, joined in 1852, as did J.N.Loughborough, who became a prominent evangelist, administrator, and writer.

In 1860 this group numbered more than 3,000 and organized an official church, choosing the name Seventh-day Adventist. Between 1861 and 1922 the church developed

a four-tiered administrative organization. In 1861 individual congregations grouped together to constitute local conferences. Two years later an overarching organization, the General Conference, was organized as the seat of AUTHORITY for the entire church. John Byington from New York state was the first president of the General Conference.

In 1901 the church underwent major reorganization. Clusters of conferences were organized into unions, a practice that Australian Adventists had followed during the 1890s. To provide constant church leadership in distant regions, in 1903 the General Conference began assigning a vice president to a large area, which in time became known as a division of the General Conference. By 1922 the division system was finalized.

Originally conferences sent delegates to annual gatherings called General Conference sessions to transact church business and elect church officers. Since 1970 these sessions convene every five years. Delegates approximate 2,000 and include selected lay members and representatives from the conferences, unions, and thirteen divisions that embrace all regions of the world. Between sessions the General Conference Executive Committee convenes each fall and spring to handle budget and policy matters. Officers of divisions and unions also meet every five years; conferences conduct business sessions on a three-year cycle.

Between 1860 and 1901, Seventh-day Adventists developed numerous organizations, frequently called “societies,” that were semi-independent units promoting church activities. EDUCATION, religious liberty, literature publication and distribution, healthful living, TEMPERANCE, and Sabbath School (the Adventist equivalent of SUNDAY SCHOOL) were among the early societies. As a part of the 1901 reorganization these societies became departments of the General Conference, each with a leader answerable to the General Conference president. New departments have since formed, and divisions, unions, and conferences have also organized corresponding departments. The numbers of departments and leaders vary among the unions and conferences, depending on needs and financial resources.

Individual churches organize according to policies set forth in *The Church Manual*, a digest of organizational instruction periodically revised and circulated throughout the Adventist community. A church board governs each congregation by establishing local operational and financial practices within the framework of conference and union policies. Congregations also control their membership by granting or withdrawing membership to individuals by general vote. Conferences rather than congregations employ pastors, and pastors are responsible to conferences for the operational integrity of their congregations.

Teachings

Seventh-day Adventist doctrine derives from a belief in a cosmic controversy between good and evil resulting from Lucifer’s challenges to God’s authority as the creator of a moral universe. The stage for this conflict is the earth and the human soul. The BIBLE is the revelation of God’s will for humans and is the sole source of belief about God’s mercy and the divine plan to save humans from evil. God created humans with the

capacity to make moral choices. By choice Adam and Eve fell from their perfect state and produced a race naturally prone to sin, but each individual continues to exercise a choice in this controversy. Scripture describes the final eradication of sin and the restoration of a perfect earth.

Adventist doctrines form a systematic body of beliefs surrounding the plan of SALVATION in which Christ is central as the redeemer of a fallen human race. These beliefs begin with salvation alone through the ATONEMENT of Christ and the intercessory ministry of Jesus as part of a final judgment of humans based on the law of God. Adventists teach that Scripture foretells a specific time of final judgment; thus humans do not receive their eternal reward when they die, but remain in “sleep” until Christ’s return to pronounce divine judgment. Adventists reject the doctrine of immortality of the human soul as commonly held by Christians in favor of a conditional immortality.

Among the identifying teachings of the early Adventists led by Bates and the Whites was the seventh-day Sabbath (see SABBATARIANISM). Bates introduced the Sabbath after adopting it from a Sabbath-keeping congregation in Washington, New Hampshire, which is regarded as the first Seventh-day Adventist church. Adventists first understood and continued to teach Sabbath observance to signify their allegiance to God’s authority as creator and God’s power to restore the world to its original sinless state.

Adventists also teach that spiritual gifts as described in I Corinthians 12 would be present in the church and that Ellen White exercised the gift of prophecy. They believe that she received visions, dreams, and other special communications from God as did biblical prophets, but neither she nor the Seventh-day Adventist Church taught that her messages shared canonical status with Scripture. She believed her role was to render advice about organization and administration, clarify understanding of biblical teachings, and promote an Adventist lifestyle through public and personal counsel.

Adventists teach that God’s law defines sin because it is an unchangeable expression of divine character, but deny that humans merit salvation through obedience. Humanity is by nature sinful and totally dependent on God’s forgiving GRACE made possible through Christ’s atoning death and intercessory ministry. Adventist doctrine better defines obedience as a way of life consistent with God’s character, voluntarily chosen as a loving demonstration of faith in and commitment to Christ rather than compliance with the law’s written form for the purpose of earning salvation. Ellen White’s books, *The Desire of Ages*, *Steps to Christ*, and *Thoughts from the Mount of Blessing*, all written after 1880, became classic Adventist statements of these beliefs.

Adventists emphasize healthful diet and teach abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, and narcotics. These teachings stem from a wholistic view of human life, that is, the human body deserves respect because it was created perfect in God’s image and, although marred by sin, is still the temple of God.

Preserving the Integrity of Beliefs

Because Seventh-day Adventists believe in *sola scriptura* and a progressive understanding of Scripture they have never adopted a formal creed. Adventist doctrines are open for discussion and church leaders have issued successive official statements of beliefs. Although the wording of these statements differs to reflect updated understanding in light of continued study, the essence of fundamental beliefs has remained.

The first document, *Fundamental Principles*, published in 1872, embodied twenty-five propositions. It remained the official pronouncement of beliefs until the second version appeared in 1931. This second statement summarized the “principal features” of “fundamental beliefs,” condensing the propositions to twenty-two. In 1980 the number was revised to twenty-seven, which are commonly called the “twenty-seven fundamental beliefs.”

The 1980 statement places a heavier stress on the Trinity and the heavenly sanctuary, especially the intercessory ministry of Christ. Although Seventh-day Adventists have always been creationists, for the first time the biblical explanation of the origins of life became a fundamental belief. The statement also confirms the sanctity of MARRIAGE and the family, and recognizes the broad Christian community as the prophetic body of Christ.

Primarily in the United States and AUSTRALIA a debate developed in the 1970s about Adventists’ traditional understanding of Ellen White’s role as a fulfillment of the biblical gift of prophecy. Questions also arose about church teachings associated with final judgment and the 2,300-day prophecy of Daniel 8. Coincident with these discussions was a wave of concern about JUSTIFICATION and righteousness by FAITH. Careful study contributed to the revision of fundamental beliefs in 1980, which clarified the wording but did not alter the substance of church teaching.

Two service departments of the General Conference help to maintain the scriptural integrity of church teachings. The Biblical Research Institute concentrates on theological studies and biblical interpretations. The Geoscience Research Institute conducts ongoing research in scientific evidence to resolve conflicts between Scripture and SCIENCE (see CREATION SCIENCE).

Adventists universally accept the 1980 statement of fundamental beliefs. Guides to scriptural study for all age groups are published by the General Conference to be used in Sabbath Schools around the world. The *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, published between 1953 and 1957 and subsequently updated, helps to standardize beliefs, although understanding of scriptural instruction affecting lifestyle and social matters may vary from region to region. At the 1990 and 1995 General Conference sessions vigorous debate about ordination of WOMEN produced a final negative vote, reflecting differences of opinion between Adventists in the Western and developing worlds (see WOMEN CLERGY).

Prospective members voluntarily commit themselves to a concise statement of fundamental beliefs that constitutes their baptismal vow. BAPTISM is by immersion.

Adventists do not baptize infants because they cannot make a voluntary choice of belief, but children who show an understanding of the meaning of such a commitment may be baptized.

Institutions

In 1849 Adventists began a paper, *The Present Truth*, in which the editor James White reviewed Adventist teachings and urged unity among believers (see PUBLISHING). The following year he changed its name to *The Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, published weekly. Since 1850 it has undergone several name changes, the last in 1978 to the *Adventist Review*. It has become the general paper for Seventh-day Adventists and is intended primarily for church readership. Variations of the *Review* appear in Spanish, French, and Portuguese, prepared by local editors in fields where membership in those languages exist in substantial numbers.

To facilitate Adventist publishing, White established a press in Rochester, New York, but in 1853 he moved it to Battle Creek, Michigan. This enterprise became the first centralizing institution among Adventists and Battle Creek became a *de facto* headquarters to which prominent leaders gravitated. Organizational actions between 1860 and 1863 established Battle Creek as the capital of the DENOMINATION.

A new journal, *The Signs of the Times*, appeared in 1874 edited by James White. It was the first major paper that presented Adventist views to the non-Adventist public. The next year the Whites founded the Pacific Press Publishing Association in Oakland, California, which became the home for the new publication. This periodical became a model for similar journals for non-Adventist readership around the world. Some use the title, *The Signs of the Times*, but are edited and published in divisions outside North America. Divisions, unions, and many conferences publish periodicals for their own members. Departments of the General Conference promote their own specialized programs with magazines for both the Adventist and non-Adventist public. Better-known publications are *Liberty* (religious freedom), *Vibrant Life* (healthful living), and *Listen* (temperance).

Their wholistic view of human life led Adventists to make health one of the strongest aspects of their teachings. In 1866 the Whites founded the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek. It promoted natural foods, rest, and exercise, and advocated natural remedies in treating sickness. In 1876 Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, a graduate of Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York, became the director of the Institute. Under his leadership the center came to be known as Battle Creek Sanitarium and gained an international reputation for teaching principles of health as a lifestyle. The Sanitarium became a clinical institution for a nursing school in 1883 and a school of medicine, American Medical Missionary College, in 1895.

Kellogg's interest in diet motivated him to advocate vegetarianism and develop a line of nut-based foods and dry cereals made from grains. Following this example, Adventists established health food factories in many countries, which became known for meat analogs, cereals, and natural foods. Sanitarium Health Food Company, established in

1897 in Australia, came to be one of the most widely known food enterprises of its kind in Australia and NEW ZEALAND.

The church lost control of Battle Creek Sanitarium to Kellogg, who separated from the church in 1907. On property purchased in 1905 in southern California, Adventists reestablished their emphasis on health by equipping a new sanitarium and nursing school. In 1910 they added a school of medicine. This institution was chartered under the name of College of Medical Evangelists until 1961 when it changed to Loma Linda University. Besides offering degrees in medicine it engages in projects of academic medicine, notably in proton treatment of cancer and heart transplants among children. It operates a school of dentistry, confers doctorates in public health and selected fields of science, and offers baccalaureate and advanced degrees in other health-related fields. Adventist health-care units around the world range from small clinics to critical-care institutions and serve more than 9,000,000 outpatients annually.

In 1872 James and Ellen White encouraged the General Conference to establish an Adventist school in Battle Creek. Goodloe Harper Bell, a convert to Adventism who had attended Oberlin College, was the first teacher. Two years later the school became Battle Creek College. The purposes of the institution were to provide an education for Adventists of all ages and to train denominational employees, primarily ministers, teachers, and various lines of office workers. Through the 1880s and 1890s enrollment fluctuated from 400 to above 800, including all levels from elementary through college.

Partly as a result of reorganization in 1901, church leaders dismantled Battle Creek as the Seventh-day Adventist headquarters. In 1901 they sold Battle Creek College and moved the school to Berrien Springs in southwestern Michigan, renaming it Emmanuel Missionary College. In 1959 the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary moved from Washington, D.C., where it had operated since its founding in 1936, to the Berrien Springs campus. The college changed to Andrews University and developed doctoral programs in theology, pastoral ministry, and education, and offered advanced degrees in other fields in the arts and sciences (see CHRISTIAN COLLEGES; HIGHER EDUCATION).

In 1903 the General Conference office transferred from Battle Creek to Takoma Park, Maryland, on the north side of Washington, D.C. It remained there until 1989 when it moved to Silver Spring, Maryland, still in the Greater Washington area. Simultaneously the Review and Herald Publishing Association moved from Battle Creek to new quarters adjacent to the church offices in Takoma Park. In 1983 it transferred to a new plant in Hagerstown, Maryland.

Internationalization of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church

J.N.Andrews became the first official Seventh-day Adventist worker outside North America in 1874. Under his leadership the church set up administrative offices and a press in Basel, SWITZERLAND. At the General Conference session of 1882 a Foreign Mission Board was formed to oversee missions in countries beyond the United States. Adventism also spread informally through literature exchange, emigration, and volunteer

workers. M.B.Czechowski preached twelve years in Europe after 1864 without financial support from the church. By 1900 Seventh-day Adventists had spread to Scandinavia, ENGLAND, GERMANY, RUSSIA, Romania, Argentina, BRAZIL, MEXICO, Central America, the CARIBBEAN islands, AFRICA, CHINA, INDIA, Australia, New Zealand, and some Pacific islands.

Prominent Adventists participated in this movement. Ellen White spent two years in Europe, 1885–1887, advising Adventist groups from ITALY to NORWAY about evangelism and organization. From 1891 to 1900 she and her son, William C.White, lived in Australia, where they implemented organizational and evangelistic plans. A.G.Daniells was involved in church administration in New Zealand and Australia from 1889 to 1900. L.R.Conradi, a German immigrant to the United States who converted to Adventism, returned in 1886 to preach in eastern Europe. Frank Westphal, a German-speaking North American, settled in Argentina in 1894 to establish Adventism in lower South America. J.G.Matteson, a Danish-born immigrant to the United States, published the first non-English Adventist periodical in 1872, and in 1877 returned to Denmark, where he organized the first conference of churches outside North America. G.W. Caviness, formerly president of Battle Creek College, moved to Mexico in 1897 to lead general evangelistic activities.

In many of these locations workers established printing presses and schools that later developed into major institutions. The Norwegian Publishing House started in 1879. A worker-preparation school that became Avondale College near Cooranbong, Australia traces its beginnings to 1892. Buenos Aires Publishing House in Argentina started in 1896; in 1898, also in Argentina, River Plate Adventist University began as a small school to train church workers. Hamburg Publishing House in Germany began operations in 1895, and near Magdeburg, Germany, a school that became Friedensau University opened in 1899.

By 1921 Seventh-day Adventist membership totaled 198,088, slightly more than half of which was outside North America. This number grew to more than a million in 1955. In all of the world divisions Adventists operated health-care institutions, publishing enterprises to handle literature needs for both internal and external use, and schools with the dual purpose of providing an education in an Adventist setting and preparing church workers. During these years the world fields depended heavily on financial and personnel support from North America. At the same time church growth and organization either stopped or seriously declined in the Soviet Union, China, and other countries where political conditions hampered ecclesiastical activity.

Among the leading twentieth-century evangelists in the United States were J.S.Washburn and Carlyle B. Haynes before World War I; and J.L.Shuler, Fordyce Detamore, and R.Allan Anderson in the decades before and after World War II. H.M.S.Richards experimented with radio evangelism during the 1930s and in 1942 launched the *Voice of Prophecy*, the first coast-to-coast radio program by Seventh-day Adventists. W.A.Fagal started *Faith for Today*, a televised devotional program that began in New York in 1950 but by the end of the decade was available to viewers nationwide. A third Adventist telecast, *It Is Written*, first appeared in 1955, featuring George Vandeman. *Breath of Life*, a television program designed to attract black audiences, went on the air in 1974. All of these programs represented direct EVANGELISM by conducting live meetings and offering free literature or Bible correspondence courses to listeners.

Frequently the programs were exported to other countries or became models for similar programming by Adventists in other parts of the world, most notably in Latin America, where Marcio Braulio Perez pioneered with *La Voz de la Esperanza*, a Spanish version of *The Voice of Prophecy*.

Between 1955 and 1970 Adventist membership grew to more than two million and by 1978 it exceeded three million. In June 2001 it reached twelve million. For the most part, growth occurred in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, KOREA, and the PHILIPPINES. Big city evangelism underwent serious revision by, among others, Walter Schubert, Arturo Schmidt, and Salim Japas, all from Latin America, but church leaders attributed membership growth to witnessing by individual members more than to formal evangelism. To accommodate the expanding church, General Conference leaders repeatedly redrew territorial borders to create new administrative divisions in Africa and Asia.

At the General Conference session of 1990, president Neal Wilson and his successor, Robert Folkenberg, launched Global Mission, a movement to penetrate all unentered areas of the world with special emphasis on the so-called 10–40 Window, the heavily populated lands between ten and forty degrees north latitude. Much of the membership increase after 1990 occurred in this region.

Beginning in the 1970s Adventist schools in the world fields upgraded to degree-granting institutions, some of which also offered postbaccalaureate degrees. Adventists own ninety-five schools of higher learning, most of them outside North America. In Latin America Adventists operate schools of medicine at the University of Montemorelos (Mexico) and River Plate Adventist University (Argentina). In the Philippines Adventists maintain a campus devoted exclusively to graduate education, the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies. The largest Adventist school in the world, Korean Sahmyook University in Seoul, South Korea, offers doctorates in theology and pharmacy besides other graduate degrees.

From the 1970s onward it became increasingly customary to elect non-North Americans to leadership roles in the General Conference and the divisions. In the year 2001 national leaders headed all except one of the divisions, and ten of the seventeen administrative posts in the presidential wing and secretariat of the General Conference were occupied by persons from Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the South Pacific.

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FLOYD GREENLEAF

SEXUALITY

All religions regulate sexual conduct and regard sexual behavior as part of a moral system. Within Christianity, Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant teachings differ on some matters, such as clerical marriage, but agree on others, such as monogamy (see CLERGY, MARRIAGE OF). Protestants themselves have varied (and continue to vary) widely in terms of sexual attitudes and practices: leaders of the radical Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) at the German city of Münster in the sixteenth century practiced polygamy, or PLURAL MARRIAGE; Moravians determined marital partners by a lottery; SHAKERS saw complete chastity as the model of the Christian life for all believers; Ranters during the English CIVIL WAR and “perfectionists” in the American Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) held that religious CONVERSION made anything they did free from sin, a view echoed occasionally by twentieth-century revivalists (see REVIVALS). In every group official attitudes and policies regarding sexual issues also differed from actual behavior. Variety has only increased in the last century as Protestantism has grown more diverse, so that on some issues relating to sexuality, such as HOMOSEXUALITY or ABORTION, the opinions of liberal Protestants are closer to those of liberal Catholics (and liberals in other religions), whereas conservative or fundamentalist Protestants are closer to conservative Catholics (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

Early Christian attitudes toward sexuality were shaped by the (relatively few and somewhat complex) words of Jesus as recorded in Scripture; the writings of Paul and the early Church Fathers; especially St. Augustine; Jewish norms and traditions, and ideas and practices of Greek, Roman, Middle Eastern, and Germanic societies. By the fifteenth century, official Christian teaching held that the only permissible sexual relations were those between husbands and wives, and that even these were tainted by original sin. Virginitiy and CELIBACY were more worthy states than MARRIAGE, with numerous works idealizing abstinence and denigrating sexuality. Because most of these works were written by men, they are also extremely misogynist, viewing women’s sexuality, personified in Eve, as the source of evil in the world. DIVORCE was not allowed, although unhappy spouses could get a legal separation or perhaps an annulment. Sexual matters were handled by a system of church courts, guided by increasingly elaborate canon law and staffed by canon lawyers trained at universities. Priests in Western Christianity could not marry, although married men could become priests in the Orthodox church (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN).

The Reformation Period: Ideas and Institutions

Sexuality was an integral part of the Protestant REFORMATION from its beginning. One of MARTIN LUTHER'S earliest treatises attacked the value of vows of celibacy, and argued that marriage was the best Christian life; Luther followed his words by deeds and in 1525 married a nun who had fled her convent, Katherine von Bora. Both HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and JOHN CALVIN regarded the regulation of sexual activities as just as important as the regulation of DOCTRINE, and established special courts to handle marriage and morals cases, which came to have wide powers. Many of the radical groups developed distinctive ideas of the proper sexual life for their members, and punished those who did not follow their rules with complete social ostracization, termed shunning or banning. Because Protestant theology expected good works as the fruit of saving faith, one's sexual activities—and those of one's neighbors—continued to be important in God's eyes, and order and morality were a mark of divine favor.

In a number of matters regarding sexuality, Protestants did not break sharply with medieval tradition. They differed little from Catholics in regard to basic concepts such as the roots and proper consequences of gender differences, or the differences between “natural” and “unnatural” sexual practices. Although Luther flamboyantly rejected canon law—publicly burning canon law books before the students of the University of Wittenberg in 1520—it eventually formed the legal basis of much Protestant law regarding marriage and sex. Breaking with TRADITION in terms of the power of the papacy or the meaning of key rituals turned out to be easier than breaking with tradition in terms of sexual and gender relations.

Luther was faithful to Augustine's idea of the link between original sin and sexual desire, but saw desire as so powerful that the truly chaste life was impossible for all but a handful of individuals. Thus the best Christian life was not one that fruitlessly attempted ascetic celibacy, but one in which sexual activity was channeled into marriage. Marriage was not a sacrament—Luther was adamant that it conferred no special grace—but it was the ideal state for almost everyone. The centrality of sex to marriage led Luther to advocate divorce in the case of impotence, adultery, desertion, absolute incompatibility, or the refusal of a spouse to have sex; reconciliation was preferable, but if this could not be effected, the innocent party should be granted a divorce with the right to remarry. Although it still carried the taint of SIN, marital sex was also a positive good in itself and not simply because it led to procreation; sex increased affection between spouses, and promoted harmony in domestic life.

Calvin agreed with Luther in simultaneously rejecting the sacramentality of marriage and praising its God-given nature, although he was more guarded than Luther on the virtue of marital sex; he and later English Puritans (see PURITANISM) recommended limiting the frequency and vigor of marital sex so as not to appear “bestly.” Calvin condemned those who sought to impose restrictions on marriage that had no biblical base and accepted divorce in cases of adultery (he saw desertion as a type of adultery), although he advocated attempts at reconciliation first. New England Puritans largely

agreed with their English counterparts: sexual relations within marriage were a positive good, as long as they were not excessive; all sexual relations outside of marriage were unacceptable; sexual deviancy and religious HERESY were often linked.

Most reformers did not regard sexual conduct as a matter to be left up to individuals, so advocated the establishment of courts that would regulate marriage and morals, wrote ordinances regulating marriage and other matters of sexual conduct, and worked closely with the secular rulers in their area, whether city councils or princes. To make sure the ordinances were being followed and determine what other measures were necessary, church and state officials often conducted joint investigations termed visitations, in which they questioned pastors, teachers, and lay people about their religious and moral life. These institutions and activities reflected the values and aims of both religious and political elites, who both regarded marriage and moral order as essential to a stable society.

The first Protestant court was the marriage court in Zurich, established by Zwingli in 1525, which served as a model for similar courts in many other Swiss and German cities. The most famous of these courts was the CONSISTORY established in Geneva under Calvin's leadership in 1541 and made up of the city's pastors and twelve lay elders. As CALVINISM spread into FRANCE, GERMANY, SCOTLAND, the Low Countries, northern IRELAND, and eventually the New England colonies, ordinances were adopted regulating marriage for Calvinist Protestants and consistories were established to oversee doctrine and morals. These courts heard a wide range of cases and their focus varied over the years, but in general between 30 and 80 percent of their cases involved sex. Offenders were required to confess openly before the consistory, and often before their home congregations as well, and could be punished with fines or excommunication.

Among the radical reformers, marriage was generally not a sacrament—some of them rejected the idea of SACRAMENTS completely—but many of them placed more emphasis on its spiritual nature than Luther had. Marriage was a covenant—a contract—between a man and a woman based on their membership in the body of believers, and thus was linked to their redemption. Because of this the group as a whole or at least its leaders should have a say in marital choice, broadening the circle of consent far beyond the parental consent required by Luther, Calvin, and other less radical reformers. A few of the radical groups spiritualized sexuality along with marriage, emphasizing the goodness of all aspects of human sexuality, including the sexual organs and intercourse. A small German group called the Dreamers, for example, saw intercourse simply as obedience to God's command to "be fruitful and multiply," rather than linking it to disobedience and sin. In the eighteenth century the Moravians sang hymns to Jesus's penis and Mary's breasts and uterus. The leader of the Moravians, Count NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF (1700–1760), defended their hymns by asserting that shame about Jesus's or Mary's sexual organs was a denial of the full humanity of Christ (see MORAVIAN CHURCH).

Although most radical groups, including the Moravians, developed stringent sexual and moral rules for their members, there were also a few who regarded the Christian message as giving them an inner light that freed them from existing religious and secular law. This position, termed ANTINOMIANISM, only very rarely led to any long-term sexual experimentation or break with traditional marriage patterns in Europe. Radical

groups that developed slightly later in North America, such as the Shakers, did institute major changes, although they did not regard themselves as above the law.

The many radical Protestant groups also developed institutions to regulate the sexual and moral behavior of their members. In some cases these were bodies of elders to whom accusations were made or who ferreted out wrongdoing themselves, and in some cases the disciplinary body was the entire group or its male members. The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (the Quakers), begun in seventeenth-century ENGLAND by GEORGE Fox, developed the most distinctive institution, a women's meeting that oversaw the readiness of candidates for marriage, upheld the maintenance of decorous standards of dress, and at times ruled on other moral issues; the first women's meetings were established in British North America in 1681.

The Reformation Period: Actual Changes

What was the impact of these new Protestant ideas and institutions? That is more difficult to trace than ideas or institutions because the sources are scattered in thousands of court records. One of the most immediately visible changes brought by the Protestant Reformation was clerical marriage. Almost all of the continental Protestant reformers married, some, such as Luther, to former nuns. Some pastors' wives were still jeered at as "priests' whores," and they had to create a respectable role for themselves, although they had no official position in the new Protestant churches. They did this largely—and quite successfully, within a generation or so—by being models of wifely obedience and Christian charity, attempting to make their households into the type of orderly "little commonwealths" that their husbands were urging on their congregations in sermons. Maintaining an orderly household was just as important for Protestant pastors as teaching and PREACHING correct doctrine, with officials investigating charges of sexual improprieties or moral laxness just as thoroughly as charges of incorrect doctrine.

Pastoral households were not the only ones scrutinized for moral failings, as church and state authorities in Europe and North America attempted to make their vision of orderly households a reality. Orderly households required a proper foundation, so consistories and courts paid great attention to the wedding ceremony, requiring it to be public and have a pastor officiating. Parental consent was another key issue, and marriage ordinances in many Protestant areas required parental consent even for children who were no longer minors. Authorities in many areas also prohibited their citizens from marrying those of different denominations, although mixed marriages continued to occur, particularly in areas where Catholics and Protestants lived in close proximity to one another. Once a marriage had taken place, the key aim of religious and political authorities was to keep the couple together. They generally did not intervene in any disputes between spouses unless they created public scandal or repeatedly disturbed the neighbors, and attempted reconciliation first for serious cases.

Accusations of adultery were taken very seriously because adultery directly challenged the central link between marriage and procreation as well as impugning male honor. Many legal codes, including the criminal code of the Holy Roman Empire of

1532, made adultery a capital offense; this law made no reference to gender differences, but in city ordinances of the 1560s in Geneva and the 1650 Adultery Act in England, adultery was made a capital offense for a married woman and her partner, but was only punished by a short imprisonment for a married man (see CAPITAL PUNISHMENT).

Following the ideas of their reformers, Swiss, German, Scottish, Scandinavian, and French Protestant marital courts allowed divorce for adultery and impotence, and sometimes for contracting a contagious disease, malicious desertion, conviction for a capital crime, or deadly assault. This dramatic change in marital law had less than dramatic results, however, at least judging by sheer numbers. In contrast to today, when divorce is a large part of all civil legal procedures, Protestant marriage courts heard very few divorce cases because marriage was the economic and social foundation of society.

The vast majority of cases involving sexual conduct actually heard by Protestant church courts in Europe and lower courts in New England were for premarital intercourse, usually termed fornication, which became evident when the woman showed signs of pregnancy. Many of the cases of fornication were actually between individuals who intended to marry, and the solution was a quick wedding. Both spouses were generally subject to punishment as well, which might include fines, public shaming rituals, and imprisonment.

If the man disputed the woman's claim that there had been an agreement, she or her father could take him to court to force him to marry her, although this often did not work, and might result in both individuals being tortured until one changed her/his story.

The consequences of having an illegitimate child with no father identified varied widely across Protestant Europe and North America, and were often related more to economic structures than to religious ideology, with areas in which there was a labor shortage being relatively tolerant. Pregnancies in which the father was the woman's married employer or was related by blood or marriage to her were especially disastrous for the woman, for this was adultery or incest rather than simple fornication and could bring great shame on the household. Women in such situations were urged to lie about the father's identity or were simply fired.

With justifications that spoke of a rising tide of infanticide, early modern governments, both Protestant and Catholic, began to require all unmarried women who discovered they were pregnant to make an official declaration of their pregnancy; if they did not and the baby subsequently died before baptism, they could be charged with infanticide even if there was no evidence that they actually did anything to cause the death. In some areas midwives were ordered to help enforce these laws by checking the breasts of women who denied giving birth to see if they had milk, and at times even checking the breasts of all unmarried women in a parish for signs of childbirth. Such examinations of the bodies of unmarried women indicate how far early modern governments were willing to go in their attempts not only to stop infanticide, but also to control the sexual activities of those who did not gain the rights to such activities through marriage.

Along with punishing those found guilty of fornication, Protestant authorities also attempted to restrict occasions that they increasingly viewed as sources of sexual temptation, such as parish festivals, spinning bees, and dances. Pastors harangued against male clothing styles in which the penis was contained in a separate codpiece, often brightly colored, stuffed to make it more prominent, and worn with a shortened doublet

so that everyone could see it; municipal sumptuary laws that regulated the clothing of urban residents sometimes specifically prohibited codpieces. Dancing was attacked in great detail in laws and sermons in Calvinist cities such as Geneva and Nîmes, where along with dancing the consistories condemned low-cut necklines, cosmetics, certain hairstyles, codpieces, comic plays, games of cards and dice, masquerades, and carnival (Mardi Gras) parties. Sodomy was generally a capital crime, although the number of actual sodomy cases in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was very small; the Puritans who ruled England during the period 1640 to 1660 and New England in the colonial period were much more worried about blasphemy and illegitimacy than sodomy.

The Colonial World: Sex and Race

The Protestant Reformation occurred concurrently with the beginning of European colonization, which took Christianity around the world. Christian officials tried to impose European sexual patterns, including monogamous marriage and limited (or no) divorce, but where these conflicted with existing patterns they were often modified and what emerged was a blend of indigenous and imported practices. Colonial officials and missionaries generally regarded indigenous sexual practices that deviated from Christianity, including polygyny, incest, same-sex relations, concubinage, and temporary marriage, as markers of inferiority, and invoked them as a justification for European conquest and imperialism. The first wave of colonization and missionary activity in the sixteenth century primarily involved Catholic powers and personnel from Spain, Portugal, and France. Dutch Protestants were active in Southeast Asia and SOUTH AFRICA by the seventeenth century; English Protestants in AFRICA and Asia by the middle of the eighteenth century; and American Protestants in many parts of the world by the early part of the nineteenth century.

European accounts of exploration and travel almost always discuss the scanty clothing of indigenous peoples, which was viewed as a sign of their uncontrolled sexuality. Hot climate—which we would probably view as the main influence on clothing choice—was itself regarded as leading to greater sexual drive and lower inhibitions. By the eighteenth century leading European thinkers such as Adam Smith and DAVID HUME divided the world into three climatic/sexual zones: torrid, temperate, and frigid—words that still retain their double climatic/sexual meaning. They, and many other European writers and statesmen, worried about the effects of tropical climates on the morals as well as the health of soldiers and officials, and devised various schemes to keep Europeans sent to imperial posts from fully “going native,” adopting indigenous dress, mores, and who knew what else. They also linked this climatic/sexual schema with the advancement of civilization; in the torrid zones, heat made people indolent and lethargic as well as lascivious, whereas a temperate climate (like Britain) encouraged productivity and discipline along with sexual restraint and respect for WOMEN. This schema was devised by northern European Protestants, who judged southern European (and Irish) Catholics to be an intermediate category: not as moral as themselves, but less lazy and lascivious than those who lived in the tropics.

The aspect of “going native” that most concerned colonial authorities was, not surprisingly, engaging in sexual relations with indigenous people, and the colonial powers all regulated such encounters. In some cases, such as the earliest Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonies, sexual relations and even marriage between Europeans and indigenous peoples were encouraged as a means of making alliances, cementing colonial power, and increasing the population; rape and enforced sexual services of indigenous women were also a common part of conquest. The directors of the Dutch East India Company gave soldiers, sailors, and minor officials bonuses if they agreed to marry local women and stay in the Dutch colonies as “free-burghers.” This policy was opposed by some Dutch missionaries, but accepted by others, who hoped marriage with local women would not only win converts but give missionaries access to female religious rituals. The directors of the British East India Company gave additional encouragement in 1687, decreeing that any child resulting from the marriage of any soldier and native woman be paid a small grant on the day of its christening.

There were limits to this acceptance of intermarriage, however, often explicitly along racial lines. Rijkloff von Goens, one of the Dutch governors of Sri Lanka, supported mixed marriages, but then wanted the daughters of those marriages married to Dutchmen so that the Dutch “race” would “degenerate” as little as possible. In the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa), although the races were not segregated and there was much sexual contact between European men and African women, this color hierarchy was so strong that it largely prevented interracial marriage. Until 1823 slaves in Cape Colony could not marry in a Christian ceremony; a man wanting to marry a slave had to baptize and free her first. Slaves marrying among themselves often devised their own ceremonies, or married in Muslim ceremonies even though Islam was not a recognized religion. Some of these were slaves, and by the second and third generation many of them were women of mixed race. In Dutch and English areas some of these women were Catholic, the children of marriages between Portuguese men and local women; Protestant church authorities worried about the women retaining their loyalty to Catholicism, raising their children as Catholics and perhaps even converting their husbands. Thus although they often tolerated Catholicism in general, they required marriages between a Protestant and a Catholic to be celebrated in a Protestant church and demanded a promise from the spouses that the children would be raised Protestant.

The fate of children from extramarital, interracial unions varied enormously. Some of them were legitimated by their fathers through adoption or the purchase of certificates of legitimacy, and could assume prominent positions in colonial society. For example, two of the sons of François Caron, who had worked for twenty years for the Dutch East India Company and had five children with a Japanese woman, later became well-known ministers in the Dutch church. The East India Company Council in Batavia tried to solve the issue of mixed-race children born out of wedlock by banning their fathers from returning to Europe, a policy that was counterproductive because it simply discouraged European men from recognizing or supporting their children.

Like state and company policies, church policies regarding marriage and morality were often counterproductive. In Dutch colonies, for example, marriages could be solemnized only when a pastor visited, which in remote areas might be only every several years. This did not keep people from marrying, however, but instead encouraged them to maintain traditional patterns of marriage, in which cohabitation and sexual relations

began with the exchange of gifts, rather than a church wedding. Protestant missionaries advocated frequent church attendance, viewing sermons as a key way to communicate Protestant doctrine; the Asian wives of European men took this very much to heart and attended church so frequently and in such great style that sumptuary laws were soon passed restricting extravagant clothing and expenditures for church ceremonies. In the Danish Lutheran colony of Tranquebar, children of European men and local women born out of wedlock were denied baptism, but they were simply taken down the road and baptized in Portuguese Catholic churches, clearly not the intent of the Danish political or religious authorities.

Because initially almost all Europeans in colonial areas were men, interracial sexual relations generally did not upset notions of superiority. Once more women began to immigrate, official encouragement and even toleration of mixed marriages generally ceased, although informal relations ranging from prostitution through concubinage continued. The sexual activities of European women, the wives and daughters of missionaries and governors, were closely monitored, however.

In the colonial world, both sexual and racial categories were viewed as permanent moral classifications supported by unchanging religious teachings. They were not viewed as socially constructed, but as under-girded by an even more fundamental boundary, that between “natural” and “unnatural.” Thus same-sex relations were defined as a “crime against nature,” but then often tried in church courts. This link between natural and godly began to lessen in intensity during the eighteenth century, but the importance of nature in setting boundaries only intensified, and “nature” came to lie at the basis of modern understandings of sexuality.

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there were two somewhat contradictory tendencies shaping the intersections between Protestantism and sexuality. On the one hand, the basic paradigm of sexuality for educated people in the West changed from religion to science, with sexual issues viewed in medical or psychological terms as part of the “natural” or material world. On the other hand, the rise of fundamentalist Christianity affirmed the strong beliefs on the part of many people that sexual ideas and practices continued to be religious issues (see FUNDAMENTALISM). These two paradigms were sometimes in opposition to one another; for example, doctors and psychologists increasingly defined certain actions as uncontrollable sexual “fetishes,” whereas religious authors labeled them as (im-)moral choices. At other times they fit together. Pornographic literature, which had been a significant share of printed works in Europe since the development of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, was not legally banned because of its sexual content until the mid-nineteenth century with laws such as the Obscene Publications Act passed by the British Parliament in 1857. Both medical and religious leaders supported prohibitions of pornography, with the former regarding viewing pornographic literature as unhealthy and the latter as immoral. (For an additional example of such agreement, see PROSTITUTION.)

In medical terms sex was increasingly regarded as an aspect of health, with physicians, not pastors, determining what was “normal” and “abnormal.” Sexual disorders were labeled and identified, and treatments suggested that involved drugs, therapy, and surgery, not prayer. Western governments sought to promote a healthy society as a way of building up national strength, and anything that detracted from this became a matter of official and often public concern.

Moral and religious attitudes clearly shaped the new science of sexology, however. This can be seen very well in the obsession with masturbation that developed in the nineteenth century and continued well into the twentieth. Doctors drew on the older idea of bodily humors to argue that men had only a limited amount of sperm—often labeled the “spermatic economy”—so that too early or too frequent spilling of sperm might cause them to become weak and feeble, incapable of serving their country. Masturbation would also weaken boys’ sense of morality, argued both doctors and pastors. This fixation was shaped by notions of race and class as well as GENDER; lower-class and non-white servants were often accused of teaching white, middle-class children to masturbate. A British soldier in Kenya, Robert Baden-Powell, founded the Boy Scouts in 1908 explicitly to teach British boys what he regarded as the right sort of manly virtues and keep them from masturbation, effeminacy, physical weakness, and homosexuality. These were traits he regarded as particularly common among the non-white subjects of the British Empire, and also among the residents of British industrial cities. If they were not counteracted with a vigorous program of physical training and outdoor life, Baden-Powell and numerous other writers, physicians, politicians, and church leaders predicted an inevitable “race degeneration” or even “race suicide.”

Devotion to God (and country) was an explicit part of Boy Scout teaching, both in Britain and in other parts of the world where Boy Scout groups were organized. Boy Scouts spread fastest in Protestant areas because Catholic leaders regarded them with some suspicion, although by the later twentieth century Scouts could be found in many Catholic areas as well. Belief in God remains an explicit part of the Boy Scout motto (although now this is more generic, to allow for non-Christian members), and boys can be dismissed if they publicly deny such belief, as a 2002 case involving a Washington teenage Eagle Scout made clear. Baden-Powell’s moral concerns still shape Scout policies on other matters as well because openly gay individuals are not allowed to be members or troop leaders.

Changes in ideas about sexuality shaped other quasi-religious groups as well. The Young Men’s Christian Association (see YMCA, YWCA), for example, began in England in 1848 as a Christian men’s movement in which young unmarried men were expected to strengthen their character and morality through passionate attachments to one another, a union of souls that would lead to greater love for God. During the nineteenth century individuals had often expressed same-sex desire in very passionate terms, but these were generally regarded as “romantic friendships,” expected as a part of growing up and, especially in women, not a sign of deviancy even if they continued throughout an individual’s life. Historians debate whether such friendships should be labeled “homosexual” because this was not yet a category in people’s minds, but in the decades around 1900 sexologists turned their attention to same-sex desire. They initially labeled this “inversion,” although eventually the word “homosexuality,” devised in 1869 by the Hungarian jurist K.M.Benkert, became the common term. The medicalization of same-

sex desire as a form of sexual deviancy changed attitudes, and intimacy between girls or between boys was increasingly regarded with distrust. By the 1920s the YMCA's official statements condemned same-sex attraction and espoused a "muscular Christianity," centered on basketball (invented at a YMCA), swimming, and other sports, and on "normal" heterosexual relationships.

At about the same time as the founding of the Boy Scouts, many Protestants, particularly in the UNITED STATES, came to understand themselves as "fundamentalists," affirming orthodox dogma, downplaying more complicated issues of doctrine, and largely supporting a conservative social agenda. Fundamentalist Protestants grew in numbers throughout the twentieth century, and became increasingly vocal opponents of abortion and gay rights, while advocating what were labeled "traditional family values." Fundamentalist groups often broke from the Protestant denominations that had developed in previous centuries to form non-denominational community churches, although some denominations, such as the Southern Baptist Convention, were also largely fundamentalist. At the same time some Protestant denominations, or individual congregations within them, became increasingly embroiled in issues of gender and sexuality, focussing on the question of practicing homosexuals as members and clergy.

Fundamentalist Protestantism became an increasingly important part of Christianity throughout the entire world in the era after World War II; in 2000 nearly two-thirds of the world's Christians lived outside Europe and North America, with many of them belonging to nondenominational and fundamentalist churches rather than traditional mainstream Catholic or Protestant churches. These churches are appealing to people whose cultural values are shaped by animism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and other religions, and the norms they are establishing in regard to sexuality and gender also draw on many traditions, with churches often deciding individually how they will handle issues such as polygamy, child marriage, remarriage of widows, and other issues in which local traditions conflict with traditional Christian teachings. As Protestantism, and Christianity in general, declines in importance in Western society—except for the United States—Protestant ideas and practices about many aspects of sexuality may also change. Because of migration, these debates will be played out not only in the former colonies, but in Europe and North America as well.

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MERRY E.WIESNER-HANKS

SHAKERS

The Shakers are a Christian sect that originated in ENGLAND in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1774 under the leadership of ANN LEE, a handful of Believers, as they were also known, emigrated to America. This community expanded and prospered during the first half of the nineteenth century, but began a steady decline thereafter. In the twenty-first century a small number of Shakers remain in one village in the UNITED STATES. The history of this dissenting community embraces inauspicious beginnings, remarkable success in antebellum America, sagging fortunes during the twentieth century, and yet astonishing cultural stature at the start of the new millennium. Over the course of two and a half centuries Shakerism has reflected certain Protestant ideas and practices, but also has departed from those religious patterns in significant and distinctive ways.

Beginnings

Eighteenth-century England gave rise to many dissenting sects (see DISSENT; NONCONFORMITY) that resisted conformity to the established CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Among such dissenters was a group of religious enthusiasts in Manchester whose ecstatic worship and spiritual activity were often accompanied by trembling. From this they were dubbed “Shakers,” or sometimes “Shaking Quakers.” Led by two tailors, James and Jane Wardley, this small community first emerged in the 1740s. Historical evidence from the period is sparse. Ann Lee (b. 1736), the illiterate daughter of a blacksmith, joined the group in 1758. The Shaking Quakers attracted public attention. The frenzy of their worship provoked curiosity and criticism, the latter because of the disturbances they caused when assembling in the homes of members. They also openly condemned the Anglican Church and other religious groups (see ANGLICANISM). The Shaking Quakers derived inspiration from the radical French Prophets who came to England from the Cévennes district of FRANCE. Bold and enthusiastic in style, the Shakers invaded sanctuaries during worship and denounced the clergy. For these actions they were arrested, tried, convicted, fined, and jailed. In the early 1770s Lee, the frequent recipient of visions, emerged as the prophetic leader of the sect. She was incarcerated more than once for her activities. Lee and the others proclaimed an apocalyptic message and called for separation from the churches.

In 1774, as the result of a vision, Ann Lee and eight followers left England and traveled to America, arriving in New York City, where the group disappeared from public view. Two years later they had reassembled in Niskeyuna, a rural location adjacent to Albany, New York. However, the revolutionary context in America proved hostile

because the Shakers were pacifists (see PACIFISM), and colonial patriots accused them of supporting the British cause. Again Lee and several disciples found themselves in prison because of these charges.

The community began its public ministry in 1780 with the opening of the Shaker gospel to their neighbors. The first American converts came from the ranks of evangelical BAPTISTS in the region. The Believers, who lived together, soon attracted others to their new and strange religion. Lee's charisma endeared her to her followers, who called her "Mother." They credited her with miraculous gifts and powers, including prophecy and healing (see FAITH HEALING).

In 1782 Lee and several others traveled throughout eastern New York and New England in search of converts and in support of those who had already accepted the Shaker gospel. This missionary journey lasted for twenty-six months and produced more disciples throughout the region, although on this trip Lee and other Believers experienced physical harassment and persecution in several localities. In 1784, one year after returning to Niskeyuna, Lee died, and leadership passed to her English disciple, James Whittaker. He began the process of community building outside the original settlement. Under his leadership Shakers gathered on land near Lebanon, New York, a location that subsequently became the headquarters of an emerging regional society. Whittaker, however, died three years after Lee in 1787.

Nineteenth-Century Success

At this point American converts stepped into administrative roles in the society and began systematically organizing and staffing Shaker settlements at sites where Lee's travels had generated converts. Leadership in the emerging movement rested in the hands of Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, the former exercising influence until his death in 1796 and the latter until she died in 1821. During their combined tenure, the society gathered scattered Believers, consolidated local villages, and established uniform religious and social arrangements, the result being the formation of a national organization eventually spanning from Maine in the East to Indiana in the West. The move into the Ohio Valley in 1805, directed by Wright, resulted in both geographical and numerical expansion. By the 1820s sixteen Shaker villages were in existence containing around four thousand residents. In this period the society adopted a set of Millennial Laws governing all aspects of collective and individual activity. Leadership responsibilities were divided between men and women, elders and eldersses, who constituted the society's ministry. Economic affairs fell under the supervision of DEACONS who managed the agricultural and light manufacturing activities.

Converts who joined the society frequently came from Protestant denominations. Shakers often attended evangelical REVIVALS or CAMP MEETINGS where they conversed with potential converts, challenging them to consider a higher form of Christianity in Shakerism (see EVANGELICALISM). Individuals who accepted the Shaker gospel and the challenge of separating from the "world" sacrificed much, including former beliefs, relationships with family and friends, sexual activity, individual

decision making, and economic independence. Persons who were curious about the society or potentially interested in joining were housed in separate living units—the Gathering Order—before they were admitted as full members. The latter status required Believers to leave behind their former lives, confess their sins to the ministry, accept the principle and practice of CELIBACY, obey the leaders in all things, and turn over all private property to the community. The United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, the formal name of the organization in the nineteenth century, was a communal society, practicing a form of Christian COMMUNISM.

Life in Shaker villages was carefully regimented. Residential and economic “families” were the organizational units within the villages, each presided over by male and female leaders. Believers lived in sexually segregated quarters under close supervision of the ministry. Interaction between males and females was strictly regulated. When husbands and wives joined the society, they were separated, becoming as brother and sister; children were raised communally. Spiritual values theoretically permeated all aspects of life in the villages as spelled out in the rules set down in the Millennial Laws. All able-bodied members were to contribute to the economic well-being of the society, carrying out assigned tasks without complaint. Labor was a highly sanctioned positive value, not unlike the Protestant work ethic. Even children were assigned communal responsibilities, which they carried out under supervision.

The economic result of this collective work ethic was growing financial success at most of the Shaker villages. The Believers produced agricultural surpluses and a variety of manufactured goods, both of which were sold to the outside world. Shaker peddlers traveled widely as they marketed items, from garden seeds, herbs and herbal extracts, to baskets, brooms, and buckets. The Believers also sold cattle, wool, lumber, chairs, and other furniture items. Several villages owned gristmills and sawmills for their own use and for generating income, too. The Shakers enjoyed a widespread positive reputation for the quality of their goods.

However, labor was also a spiritual term with another meaning for Believers, who spoke of WORSHIP as “labor.” Shaker worship departed from prevailing Protestant patterns in several ways. Meetinghouses were plain, with no altar or pulpit, nor other traditional physical appointments except for movable benches (see ARCHITECTURE, CHURCH). Shaker meetings resembled Quaker meetings in some respect because they included periods of silence and also individual testimonies. They were, however, filled with song and exhortation, dancing and marching, and a variety of ecstatic physical “exercises” not unlike phenomena associated with camp meetings and revivals. During the 1830s and 1840s the society experienced a burst of extraordinary religious activity known within the community as Mother Ann’s Work. This outburst of spiritual “gifts” anticipated the Spiritualist movement that flourished in America during the second half of the nineteenth century (see SPIRITUALISM). Believers at every location functioned as mediums or instruments through whom gifts and messages were received from deceased members of the society, including Ann Lee, as well as from biblical, historical, and imaginary figures. Among the gifts received were songs and hymns, dances and marches, and elaborate rituals performed in mime, which the Believers identified as proof of the truth of the Shaker gospel. Not surprisingly, this outpouring of ecstatic activity was controversial and led to stress and conflict within the society as well as ridicule and criticism from the outside world.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of theological innovation and reflection. Shaker leaders found themselves defending the society against public criticism and seeking to clarify beliefs for potential converts. Two major publications merit special comment. In 1808 a first edition appeared of *The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing*, a volume that rationalized the faith and practice of the community. In it Benjamin Seth Youngs, the primary author, asserted the role of Ann Lee as a Christ figure and also the nature of God as involving both male and female aspects as Father-Mother. These judgments fueled religious opponents who attacked Shaker theology as blasphemous and heretical. In 1816 the society published an edited volume entitled *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of Our Ever Blessed Mother Ann Lee, and the Elders with Her*, a compilation of memories and testimonies from those who had known Lee. This collection reasserted the special VOCATION of the founder and the status she continued to enjoy among members in the years after her death. This publication also provided the basis for the ongoing construction of the image of Lee as "Mother Ann."

The American CIVIL WAR was a moment of collective trauma for the society because of the Shakers' Pacifism and because the conflict spilled onto the Kentucky sites at Pleasant Hill and Union Village. Most of the male Believers conscripted refused service; some sought exemption; many were fined. The general tax levies for the war worked economic hardship, too.

Changing Fortunes

After the war the society began a slow but steady geographical retreat from locations in the Ohio Valley and elsewhere as a result of a decline in membership and the loss of economic well-being. The Shakers were increasingly unable to attract new converts, especially male members. The result was both an aging and a feminization of the membership. Agriculture and industry both suffered from this decline. By 1900 the society numbered approximately 850 Believers, a majority of whom were women. In the following years when villages both east and west closed, remaining members at those sites moved to other locations or left the society entirely.

Despite decline, signs of religious vitality still existed. A faction of progressive Shakers was active at several sites, including the North Family at Mount Lebanon, New York (formerly called New Lebanon), and at Canterbury, New Hampshire. During the decades after the war and in the opening years of the new century, these liberals seized the public initiative and were responsible for identifying the Shakers with a variety of social causes, including women's rights and animal rights, the TEMPERANCE movement and the anti-tobacco crusade, prison reform, and diet reform. Among the most prominent voices supporting such causes were Frederick W. Evans, Antoinette Doolittle, and Catherine Allen. In 1905 the Mount Lebanon Believers sponsored a Peace Conference, attended by Shakers and prominent outsiders, that attracted national attention. These same years, however, witnessed the growing influence of evangelical Protestantism in the society's ranks. At several sites Shaker worship began to reflect

Protestant patterns in hymnody and devotional life. Sometimes evangelical ministers were invited to preach in Shaker meetings.

As village after village closed, the aging female leadership debated the proper course to follow. By the middle of the twentieth century some Believers, reconciling themselves to an eventual closing of the society, saw their role simply as final guardians of a spiritual and cultural legacy. Others disputed that judgment and determined that the Shakers must continue as a living religious society. By the 1980s the two remaining villages—Canterbury, New Hampshire and Sabbathday Lake, Maine—were divided in their judgments. The ministry at Canterbury formally closed the society to new members, but in open defiance of that decision the Believers at Sabbathday Lake accepted several new converts. The death of the last sister at Canterbury in 1992 proved decisive in the contest. The Shakers in Maine have carried the living tradition into the twenty-first century.

Stature in American Culture

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed two important developments with implications for the society. First, Shakerism became the object of sustained attention by persons interested in American history, religion, and CULTURE. Shaker artifacts, in particular, became favorite items for collectors and antique dealers. Shaker religion was cast as an attractive spirituality because of its work ethic and simple lifestyle. The remaining Shakers themselves became the object of great affection by patrons, friends, and well-wishers, many of whom were eager to finance Shaker causes, buy Shaker objects, and worship with the Believers. This renaissance of interest has fueled unending publications, the restoration of historic sites, and a host of commercial enterprises linked with Shakerism. Second, the Shakers themselves reached out in ecumenical fashion to other religious groups—for example, Catholic monastic orders and the Father Divine movement. Their own worship meetings now reflect the impact of liturgical influences from main-line churches even though they retain the rich Shaker heritage of song, exhortation, and testimony. The Believers have been participants in seminars on spirituality at such distinguished institutions as Yale Divinity School. These activities represent the mainstreaming of Shaker religion.

The future is less uncertain than it may have appeared in the late 1980s. The small but devoted group of Believers in Maine under the powerful leadership of Frances A. Carr are confident that they will carry the Shaker tradition forward, that it will be a leaven in the Christian world, and that the legacy of this movement will, in fact, be a living legacy. The Shakers, once the target of religious and social opponents, have now become near celebrities in American culture.

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- STEPHEN J. STEIN

SHARP, GRANVILLE (1735–1813)

English philanthropist. Sharp was born in Durham, ENGLAND, March 10, 1735, and he died at Fulham, near London, on July 6, 1813. He was the son of an archdeacon and grandson of an archbishop. Being a youngest son, he was apprenticed to a draper. Later he became a clerk of Government Ordnance, but resigned rather than send weapons for use against the American revolutionaries, with whom he sympathized.

High-principled, generous, and somewhat eccentric, Sharp possessed—although self-taught—considerable biblical, historical, and legal learning. He was devoted to the interpretation of prophecy and was also tireless in humanitarian causes, above all to the abolition of SLAVERY. After a long battle, conducted in the face of conventional legal opinion, he won from a reluctant Lord chief justice the so-called Mansfield Judgment of 1772, which had the effect of negating masters' rights over slaves in England, thus undercutting the legal basis of slavery there.

Sharp was equally concerned about the distress and destitution in the African community in Britain, which he knew at first hand. He was the principal architect of the project launched in 1787 for a "Province of Freedom" in West Africa where the "Black Poor" of London could find dignity and security and build their own prosperity. His program for the settlement incorporated long-forgotten Anglo-Saxon institutions derived from his antiquarian reading.

Sharp was more a traditional churchman than an evangelical, but he worked happily with the CLAPHAM SECT abolitionists. When the Clapham-related Sierra Leone Company took over responsibility for SIERRA LEONE in 1792 after the collapse of the

original settlement, Sharp continued active involvement. Although he held no public position or special status, no one did more than Sharp to make slavery a public religious and political issue in Britain.

See also Slavery, Abolition of

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ANDREW F.WALLS

SHELDON, CHARLES MONROE (1857– 1946)

American pastor and author. Born in Wellsville, New York on February 26, 1857, Sheldon graduated from Brown University (B.A.) and Andover Theological Seminar (B.D.) before accepting the pastorate of Central Congregational Church in Topeka, Kansas, where he served from 1889 to 1919. Thanks to his writings on SOCIAL GOSPEL issues, by 1900 he was ranked among the nation's best-known Protestant clergymen. His fame derived from two sources. In 1900 he edited the *Topeka Daily Capital* for one week "as Jesus would," wherein he printed only positive news, rejecting all lurid tales of violence and questionable advertisements. Four years earlier he had penned a novel, *In His Steps*, in which the main characters all ask themselves, "What would Jesus do?" before making any decision.

Because of a technical error, *In His Steps* entered the public domain and so many publishers reprinted it that it became known as "the second best seller to the Bible alone." It is impossible to determine actual sales figures, which range from eight to thirty-five million. Sheldon's melding of personal EVANGELISM and social concern initially bolstered the liberal wing of Protestantism, but a century later the book attracted a largely conservative readership. Still, his timeless appeal to the idealism of young people has ensured his reputation. Later, Sheldon drew on his fame to pen over fifty books and lecture widely on such issues as ECUMENISM, world peace, and especially prohibition. He died in Topeka on February 24, 1946.

See also Publishing; WWJD

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FERENC M.SZASZ

SHEPPARD, RICHARD (1880–1937)

English clergy. Hugh Richard Lawrie, popularly, “Dick” Sheppard was the vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, magazine editor, church reformer, religious radio broadcaster, and supporter of the PACIFISM movement. He was born at Windsor Castle, ENGLAND September 2, 1880 and was educated at the University of Cambridge and Cuddesdon Theological College. In 1907 Sheppard was ordained chaplain and dean of Oxford House, which was a mission to the urban poor of London’s East End. In 1911 Sheppard became curate of Grosvenor Chapel of the Church of St. Georges in Hanover Square, London.

St. Martin-in-the-Fields, a large Anglican church in Trafalgar Square, received him as vicar in 1914. There he became King George V’s honorary chaplain. At St. Martin’s he assumed the position of editor of the *St. Martin’s Review*, a monthly news commentary with an approximate circulation of 10,000. Starting in 1924 the BBC broadcast the worship services from St. Martin-in-the-Fields every month.

Sheppard became involved in ecclesiastical reform when he joined the Life and Liberty Movement in 1917. The Movement sought reform in the areas of financial accountability, appointment of ministers, and the extending of church council membership to WOMEN. His ideals for reform were recorded in *The Human Parson* (1924) and *The Impatience of a Parson* (1927).

Because of ill health Sheppard left St. Martin’s in 1926. He was appointed dean of CANTERBURY (1929–1931), to be followed by service as canon of St. Paul’s Anglican Church (1934–1935). In his final years he became involved in the Peace Pledge Union of London, a peace movement whose membership included Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell, and Rose Macaulay. Sheppard died October 31, 1937.

See also Anglicanism; Chaplaincy; Conscientious Objection; Ecclesiology; Peace Organizations

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CHRISTOPHER M. COOK

SHEPPARD, WILLIAM HENRY (1865– 1921)

African American missionary. Sheppard was born into a family of freed slaves, began to attend Hampton Institute at the age of twelve, and then went on to Stillman College, where he became immersed in the missionary fervor. Initially, upon his graduation, a pastor, he determinedly attempted to receive an appointment as missionary to AFRICA under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, South. It was not until a white missionary was found to be the official head of the mission station that Sheppard received his own appointment.

During his decades as missionary in the Congo, Sheppard both criticized the Belgium government and business interests in the land, and accepted the notion of white supremacy. Sheppard was instrumental in recruiting numerous black missionaries for Africa. Because of his scholarly pursuits in geography, the Royal Geographic Society made him a member.

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HANS J.HILLERBRAND

SIERRA LEONE

The boundaries of the modern West African republic of Sierra Leone follow those of the former British colony and protectorate combined. Before the declaration of the protectorate in 1896, however, the term "Sierra Leone" signified a much smaller area, usually the peninsula on which Freetown, the capital, stands. During the nineteenth century its population played a determinative part in the development of African Protestantism as a whole.

Antislavery campaigners, and especially GRANVILLE SHARP, concerned about destitution among Africans in London, devised a scheme for emigration to a piece of land purchased in Sierra Leone. Sharp designed a self-governing "Province of Freedom." In 1787 four hundred "Black Poor" left ENGLAND with a clergyman, but the settlement broke up through disease, war, and maladministration. It was reconstituted in 1792 under a Sierra Leone Company whose directors held CLAPHAM SECT ideals, with Henry Thornton as chairman.

During the American Revolutionary War the British recruited soldiers from the slave population, many of them influenced by evangelical revival movements, with promises of land and liberty. Some were later transferred to Nova Scotia, where revival movements were flourishing (see REVIVALS). The promises of land not being fulfilled, THOMAS PETERS (d. 1792) came as their delegate to London. He met directors of the Sierra Leone Company, who offered land in AFRICA. Over 1,100 people from the African congregations in Nova Scotia responded. They brought to Sierra Leone their own church organization and leadership. The Baptist preacher DAVID GEORGE (d. 1810) came with his congregation, and there were congregations of Methodists (see METHODISM, ENGLAND) and the countess of Huntingdon's Connexion (see HASTINGS, LADY SELINA). These, rather than the Colony's official chapel and chaplain, were the center of religious life. Their enthusiastic, revivalistic religion represented a different style of EVANGELICALISM from the sober, churchly form displayed by the Company's directors and officials. As political differences sharpened and trust broke down, the Nova Scotian settlers increasingly rejected European church ministry.

Several early British mission agencies tried to use Sierra Leone as a base to reach the interior, mostly with disastrous results. Only a mission of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) among the Susu, northward of the colony, building on the work of an earlier Scottish mission, lasted more than a year or two.

Growth and Population Expansion

In 1800 the British government transported a company of “Maroons” (escaped slaves who had conducted a guerilla war in Jamaica) to Sierra Leone. Despite their slight previous contact with the Christian faith and communal tensions with the Nova Scotians, the Maroons gradually assimilated to the religious pattern of the earlier settlers.

More drastic augmentation of the population began in 1808 when the slave trade was declared illegal in Britain. The British navy became proactive in intercepting slave ships; Sierra Leone was the only feasible center to which they could be brought. The Sierra Leone Company was disbanded, and Sierra Leone became a crown colony. Year by year people from the slave ships, originating in all parts of an area stretching from Senegal to the Congo, were brought to Sierra Leone. At first they were “apprenticed” to the Nova Scotians, but the numbers were soon too great. Sir Charles MacCarthy (governor from 1816 to 1824) developed a system of villages, each with a church and school, and looked to the missions, especially the CMS, to provide the clergy and schoolmasters. The CMS closed its Susu mission to concentrate on Sierra Leone.

Missionaries, who were mostly—like the first, Melchior Renner (d. 1822)—German Pietists, had to take charge of villages as superintendents (see PIETISM). Many died or broke down, but gradually the villages became Christian communities, marked by literacy and worship in English, there being no single language common to those from the slave ships. The most dramatic transformation was at Regent village, where W.A.B. Johnson (d. 1823) was the missionary. Similar developments took place in Freetown, where the Methodist mission was active. In both Freetown and the villages the Nova Scotians acted—sometimes to the displeasure of the missionaries—as evangelists and role models. Sometimes communal tensions led to church disruption; both Maroon and “Liberated African” churches broke away from their Nova Scotian mentors. The West African Methodist Church, which continues today, was a Liberated African breakaway from a Nova Scotian church. It amalgamated with the (British) United Methodist Free Churches in 1859.

Sierra Leone’s literacy rates and school populations were often higher than those of many European countries. Church-related grammar schools (boys’ and girls’) produced an educated elite. The Fourah Bay Institution, established by CMS for the ablest students, was by the 1870s teaching degree courses of the University of Durham in arts and divinity. Sierra Leone was one of the earliest successes of Protestant MISSIONS in Africa, producing a community (usually called Krio, popularly Creole) for whom Protestant Christianity and English literacy and education were constituents of identity.

Reaching Beyond Borders

Liberated Africans, as prosperity increased, traded along the West African coast. Some Yoruba found their way to their homeland in what is now Western Nigeria, resettled there, and, retaining their Christian faith, called on the missions to follow them. The Niger Expedition of 1841, although failing in its immediate objectives, increased mission awareness of the vast populations in inland Africa. The mission representatives on the Expedition, JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN and SAMUEL ADJAI CROWTHER, both Sierra Leone-based, identified Sierra Leone as a principal resource for the evangelization of West Africa. The majority of the early CMS missionaries to Yorubaland were from Sierra Leone, and even the Europeans among them had first served in Sierra Leone. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, hundreds of Sierra Leonean missionaries, ordained and lay, served in the territories that now make up NIGERIA and in other regions of Africa. At first most were “Liberated Africans,” who often already spoke the languages in use where they worked, although later missionaries were born in the colony. Bishop Crowther once planned a Sierra Leone mission to the Congo; in the 1880s the United Methodist Free Churches sent a Sierra Leonean to the Kenya coast. Sierra Leone traders, clerks, technicians, and professionals often preceded the missions as the first contact for inland people with Christian life and worship.

Missions among the peoples of the hinterland of the colony—Temne, Bullom-Sherbro, Mende—saw little response for a long time. Here too Sierra Leoneans served in the missions, or represented African Christianity and “civilization” as traders or in other occupations. Many adopted local children who became assimilated to the Krio Christian community.

The first American missions were directed to the Mende and Sherbro. An African American Christian settlement was attempted in Sherbro in 1821, and another in Rio Pongas in 1822. The *cause célèbre* of the Amistad trial led to the formation of the interde-nominational (and multiracial) AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION (AMA), which in 1841 inaugurated a Mendi (*sic*) Mission at the same time as repatriating survivors from the *Amistad*. The United Brethren in Christ (UBC), a church of German Pietist immigrant origin, opened a Mende mission in 1855; it took over the AMA’s Mendi Mission in 1883. American missions developed practical and technical, rather than academic, education and introduced some light industries. The establishment of the Protectorate was followed by major risings of Mende and Temne. In Mendeland American and Krio missionaries suffered appallingly in a mass attack on foreigners.

Shifting Demographics

The Protectorate permanently altered the religious balance of Sierra Leone. Earlier, Gustav Warneck, the German missiologist, had declared the colony “an evangelical land.” The new colonial arrangements gave it an overwhelmingly non-Christian population, with significant Muslim communities. Poro and Sande, the powerful societies into which young men and women were initiated at puberty, often saw Christianity as a threat to tradition. New missions came from the UNITED STATES, especially to the northern peoples of the Protectorate; the older Anglican and Methodist missions started new work inland. A division that took place in the United States within the United Brethren church made one section of it, the Evangelical United Brethren, the largest church and mission in the Protectorate. (A later merger in the United States brought a change of name to UNITED METHODIST CHURCH.)

After World War II large numbers of people from the Protectorate moved into Freetown, transforming its ethnic composition. The older churches, bastions of Krio identity and using English in worship, were not usually in a position to approach them. Newer churches, especially Pentecostal (see PENTECOSTALISM), had a notable impact on certain groups, such as the Limba, who had largely resisted both Islam and Christianity in their northern homeland, but in Freetown divided between church and mosque. One result was that Freetown congregations tended to reflect ethnic identity. Since independence in 1961 the political leadership has usually lain with the hinterland peoples. Muslim influence has spread widely, but up to the beginning of the twenty-first century, despite a troubled political and military history, interfaith relations have been equable. War has led to endemic problems of uprooted and displaced populations, with the churches playing a major role in relief and resettlement of refugees.

Sierra Leone produced one of the pioneers of the new African academic theology in Harry Sawyerr (1909–1986) of Fourah Bay College. Prophet WILLIAM WADÉ HARRIS visited Sierra Leone several times in his later years and took a Sierra Leonean wife, but his preaching there did not have the electrifying effect it had elsewhere. AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES of the prophet-healing type, led by the Church of the Lord (Aladura) and Emmanuel Owoade Adeleke Adejobi, arrived from Nigeria from the 1950s. A wider and deeper effect has come from the charismatic movement, especially since the 1970s. This has affected the older Anglican and Methodist churches (and especially their young people); it has also increased the appeal of the older Pentecostal churches such as the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD; and, particularly in Freetown, it has produced a host of new churches and “ministries,” large and small. Most are indigenous; some have affiliations elsewhere in West Africa or in the United States. Healing and deliverance from malevolent powers are features of their ministry. They often have multiethnic congregations, using the Krio language, Seehe, the national lingua franca.

See also Colonialism; Missiology; Missionary Organizations; Missions, British; Missions, German; Slavery, Abolition of

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ANDREW F. WALLS

SIMEON, CHARLES (1759–1836)

Anglican evangelical clergyman. Simeon was born into an aristocratic Oxfordshire family, his mother's background including two archbishops of York. He attended Eton, where he was not known as an accomplished or pious student. Nevertheless, he won a scholarship to King's College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY where he enrolled in 1779, becoming a fellow in 1782 and graduating with his B.A. a year later. During his first term at Cambridge, Simeon discovered that he was required to receive Holy Communion and this obligation became the catalyst of his CONVERSION. His subsequent interaction with Anglican evangelicals John and Henry Venn shaped his theological thinking and he became a convinced lowchurch Evangelical.

Simeon was ordained to the Anglican priesthood in 1783. Through his father's influence he was named to the prestigious living of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. Holy Trinity's parishioners opposed his appointment and Simeon was unsure at first about accepting it but did so, beginning a life-long PREACHING ministry there. Strong opposition, indeed open hostility, from parishioners, students, and faculty did not immediately abate. Slowly, however, Simeon won the grudging acceptance of his community and, eventually, he gained their genuine affection by his generous pastoral care and winsome message.

Within the established church at large Simeon ultimately became a key leader of the evangelical party. He was involved in the founding of several important evangelical organizations, including the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (1797) and the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (1804). Although a keen Evangelical, Simeon was committed to Establishment and to the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. He disliked theological controversy and sought to be a voice of moderation and conciliation in the then divisive debate between Arminian and Calvinist Evangelicals. Through many students and assorted younger curates Simeon proved to have a wide influence. He penned the multivolume *Horae Homileticae*, a practical expository commentary on the BIBLE (completed in 1819–1820).

When Simeon died in 1836, much of the town and university attended his funeral. After his death Simeon continued to shape the character of his CHURCH OF ENGLAND. The trust he had founded purchased advowsons and thereby ensured parish appointments for clergy of an evangelical stripe.

See also Evangelicalism

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GILLIS J.HARP

SIN

In a religious sense, sin designates the human person's failure to be a properly ordered relational self. It is contrary to one's constitution as a creature of and before God and damages human relationships and community.

In the Hebrew scriptures sin is revolt against Yahweh's COVENANT (Exodus 20:1–17) and is a consequence of idolatry (Wisdom 14:22–31; cf. Romans 1:18–32). Because the Hebrew prophets insisted sin concomitantly harms one's neighbor, maintenance of the covenant required proper WORSHIP of Yahweh and the practice of justice and loving kindness with all persons, the latter dynamic serving to authenticate and ratify one's God relation (e.g., Amos 2:6–16; Micah 6:6–8). In the New Testament Paul gave to sin the character of an impotent will unable to choose righteousness (Romans 7:13–25).

Augustine (d. 430) established the parameters of a Christian THEOLOGY of sin by characterizing it as disordered loving in which one fails to love God above all things and all things through one's primary love of God. He connected sin with pride and construed it as inordinate individuation and estimation of one's capacities, a human "no" to its divine ground. In acknowledgment of the goodness of the created order (Genesis 1), sin has neither an allotted place nor intelligibility in creation. It is a privation of the good. For Augustine and MARTIN LUTHER (d. 1546), to be a sinner is to be curved in on oneself and voluntarily shut off from God and neighbor. SØREN KIERKEGAARD (d. 1855) agreed and suggested that sin is also expressed in a despairing weakness in which one has too little self or fails to be oneself before God.

In the twentieth century PAUL TILLICH (d. 1965) characterized sin as the uncentered and estranged quality of existence produced when one's ontological polarities are separated rather than integrated, the healing of which comes from the New Being in Jesus Christ. REINHOLD NIEBUHR (d. 1971) underscored collective egoism and the corporate dimension of sin, observing that sin is the only Christian DOCTRINE for which there is empirical evidence; one need only observe human beings in society for its verification. KARL BARTH (d. 1968) echoed Augustine's insistence that sin is unreal and so impermanent, and suggested GRACE negates the self-negation of sinful humanity and redetermines humanity in Jesus Christ to covenant fidelity (Romans 6), to which the appropriate human response can only be praise and gratitude.

See also Atonement; Christology; Covenant Theology; Predestination; Salvation

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JOHN N.SHEVELAND

SISTERHOODS, ANGLICAN

The first sisterhood in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND was founded in 1845; by 1900 more than ninety women's religious communities had been founded within the borders of the United Kingdom, with perhaps a dozen more within ANGLICANISM and Episcopalianism worldwide. Despite the Protestant identification of the Church of England, the great majority of these sister-hoods took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, in forms that directly reflected the vows of Roman Catholic religious. Many evangelicals and nonconformists in Victorian Britain refused to accept the Anglicanism of these groups, accusing them instead of being Jesuits in disguise, and imagining that they were founded to lure honest Protestants into the embrace of Rome.

The social, religious, and cultural forces that led to the foundation of sisterhoods was a complicated amalgam. The women who joined (and over 10,000 British women at least tried the life in the first fifty years of the movement), seem to have been moved by a mixture of motivations, including philanthropy, religious devotion, and a desire for a life independent of the family. They effectively served as unpaid but highly disciplined social workers, nurses, teachers, and care workers in a social system that had long been content to ameliorate the suffering of the poor in an sporadic and individualistic way. The first systematic training of hospital nurses began at St. John's House (later the Community of St. John the Divine) in 1848, twelve years before Florence Nightingale founded the training school at St. Thomas's Hospital. The first creches for working-class mothers, the first baby hospital, and the first seaside convalescent hospital, were all sisterhood achievements. Teaching sisters, especially those of the Community of the Sisters of the Church, were providing thousands of school places for working-class children by the end of the century, and a number of sisterhoods, most notably St. John Baptist, Clewer, were sheltering up to 7,000 prostitutes and other deviant women a year in refuges, homes, and penitentiaries. Many more sisters simply worked as district visitors—essentially prototypical social workers—in the urban slums of ENGLAND, INDIA, SOUTH AFRICA, and the UNITED STATES.

The religious views of most sisterhoods were decidedly "high church." Virtually all women's orders aligned themselves with the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England, placing great weight upon the regular reception of the sacraments, the importance of the seven daily offices of prayer, and emphasizing the duty of charitable work among the destitute. While relatively few of them were in direct contact with English cardinal JOHN HENRY NEWMAN (1801–1890) (except for Marion Hughes, founder of the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity), a number of early communities were directly or indirectly influenced by English cleric Edward B.PUSEY and his followers.

The dominant cultural forces that led to the establishment of women's communities in mid-Victorian Britain were largely linked to the issue of women's work and their status in society. Most sisters were middle or upper class (although working-class women could

join, they did so only in small numbers), and their families and society assumed that all women who could, would marry. Spinsters were an object of pity or derision to many, and were even described as having “failed in business.” Equally, it was considered inappropriate for ladies to work for pay. This meant that unmarried women of the middle and upper classes were expected to live lives without either the satisfactions of family life, or the absorbing interests of employment. They were instead expected to either devote themselves to their parents or to any sibling whose family might need assistance; if no family duty called, some trifling and amateurish philanthropic work was considered the natural sphere of the unmarried woman.

Sisterhoods upended the accepted view of unmarried women. They argued that women who did not marry might be following a higher vocation than that of family life, and that women had the right to leave their parents and siblings in order to follow this calling. The very fact of their wide-ranging programs of nursing, teaching, and caring, emphasized their insistence that such work be performed in an organized and disciplined manner. Women who entered a community could be sure they would be offered a lifetime of hard but meaningful work, both within and without the convent walls.

The mainstream Protestant reaction to these groups was mixed. On the one hand, few were willing to criticize the communities’ active work: it was too widespread, too popular, and too socially useful. However, Protestants viewed the habit, the vows, and the communal life as suspiciously similar to Roman communities. Some concluded that Anglican sisters were sadly deluded in their imitation of Roman models, but that the women themselves were essentially harmless. Others, and this was the position adopted on the harder wing of Protestant opinion, saw sisters as witting or unwitting proselytizers for Rome. It was claimed in some quarters that members of women’s communities were Jesuits in disguise, actively working to subvert Protestant principles and to lure unsuspecting victims into the Roman Catholic Church. Others felt that the women themselves were dupes of priestly schemes to convert England under a façade of Anglican conformity. The extreme lunatic fringe, led by the MP Charles Newdegate, saw no difference between Anglican and Roman orders at all, writing of nameless horrors awaiting the women who entered “prisons disguised as convents.” Such warnings were unnecessary, as women were free to leave Anglican communities both before and after taking the vows, but such fantasies were long a stock item in extreme Protestant circles.

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SUSAN MUMM

SLAVERY

The linkage between slavery and religion dates back to ancient times. Portuguese Catholics introduced African Muslim slaves into the Western world in the 1440s during religious wars against the Moors. Slavery entered British North America in 1619 when Dutch traders sold twenty Africans to English colonists at Jamestown, Virginia. Nowhere in the world is the relationship between Protestantism and racial slavery more complex than in the Southern UNITED STATES, where the institution developed between 1619 and the end of the CIVIL WAR in 1865. Although the first recorded Christian BAPTISM of an enslaved African in North America took place in 1641, widespread CONVERSIONS did not occur until the religious REVIVALS of the Great Awakening reached the Southern colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century (see AWAKENINGS). Between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, African-American slaves embraced evangelical Protestantism in large numbers, even as slavery became an increasingly divisive force among white evangelicals, whose denominations split along sectional lines in the 1840s and 1850s. As antislavery and proslavery Protestants exchanged acrimonious volleys of rhetorical fire, they prepared the moral ground for the Civil War.

I. Early Efforts to Convert Slaves to Christianity

Although there is evidence of the practice of Christianity in AFRICA as early as the first century, wide-spread conversions of Africans to Protestant Christianity accompanied the forced migration of 400,000 African slaves to North America. Upon arriving in the colonies most slaves practiced a traditional African religion that emphasized the appeasement of a pantheon of gods who otherwise threatened harm to humans. A Supreme Creator God presumably remained aloof from human affairs and consequently played less of a role in everyday religious practices than did lesser deities.

African religious traditions endured and even flourished among slave communities in South America and the CARIBBEAN to a greater extent and for a longer duration than among North American slaves. This difference can be explained in part by noting that the Catholicism practiced in countries such as BRAZIL, Cuba, and Haiti was more conducive than Protestantism to syncretism. African traditions such as divination, altars, charms, and worship cults found close parallels with Catholic rituals surrounding, for instance, SAINTS, candles, and crucifixes. More important, in the American context African theologies and practices quickly disappeared because of the relative absence of a continuous influx of new slaves from Africa. As first-generation immigrants became

separated from traditional social structures and as second- and third-generation slave communities matured in a novel environment, they forgot many of the traditions of their ancestors. White slave-owners, moreover, sought to eradicate African CULTURE because of its power to unify slaves, thus making resistance and rebellion easier. Although historians have debated the extent to which African religions persisted in North America, most scholars agree that specific theological contents and expressions fared less well than more general styles, such as call-and-response and rhythmic cadences.

Protestant efforts to convert African slaves to Christianity proceeded slowly in Britain's North American colonies. Some slaves adopted Christianity as soon as they learned English and could understand PREACHING; many other first- and second-generation Africans remained indifferent or hostile to Christianity, even when they did receive instruction from their masters or from Protestant preachers. The first documented slave baptism in North America took place in Massachusetts in 1641. Hoping to stimulate more systematic missionary efforts, King Charles II of ENGLAND commissioned the Council for Foreign Plantations to christianize slaves in 1660. The SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL began the first significant institutional efforts at slave conversion in 1701. Yet there were relatively few slave conversions before the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century, in part because white masters feared that Christians could not be slaves. Indeed, because early justifications of slavery distinguished between heathen and Christian peoples, some converts hoped that baptism would lead to emancipation. In 1667 the Virginia Assembly set an important precedent by legislating that baptism did not grant worldly freedom to slaves. Baptized slaves did, however, often receive more lenient treatment before slave courts than did non-Christian slaves.

A number of factors impeded the progress of Christian missions among slaves in North America. Christianization worked against slave-owners' economic interests. Some masters justified working their slaves on the Sabbath by arguing that blacks were too brutish to be encompassed in biblical injunctions to rest on the seventh day. Although the Anglican church encouraged masters to instruct their slaves in Christianity, such instruction involved time-consuming memorization of the CATECHISM, a process that took time away from crop production. The exposure of slaves to Christianity was, moreover, uneven, because many lived in isolated areas where preachers seldom visited, and because some slave-owners refused to allow their slaves to hear preaching when it was available. The first recorded slave congregation, a group of BAPTISTS, was organized in 1758 on the plantation of William Byrd in Virginia.

Fear of rebellion, especially in areas where blacks outnumbered whites, further impeded missionary efforts. Christianization of blacks proceeded most slowly in the South Carolina and Georgia low country, areas densely populated by slaves. The South Carolina legislature prohibited teaching slaves to write after the Stono Rebellion (1739). After Gabriel's Rebellion (1800), an attempted insurrection in Richmond, Virginia, resistance to slave conversions deepened. Gabriel, known as the Black Sampson, used Old Testament themes to inspire his followers to revolt. Fearing that other rebellious slaves could use religious meetings as recruiting grounds and arenas for plotting, the Virginia Assembly passed a law prohibiting blacks from assembling between sunset and sunrise for religious worship or instruction.

II. The Great Awakening and Slave Conversions

The religious revivals of the Great Awakening reached the Southern colonies by the mid-eighteenth century, stimulating renewed interest in christianizing slaves (see EVANGELICALISM). The evangelists of the Great Awakening emphasized the universal need of all humans for redemption from SIN, and the equal value of all Christians as brothers and sisters in the family of God. Revivalists preached to blacks as well as whites, sometimes sidestepping questions about the morality of slavery to persuade masters to allow them to preach to their slaves. Although JOHN WESLEY spoke against the institution of slavery, GEORGE WHITEFIELD urged masters to execute their duty to provide religious instruction to their slaves. The Great Awakening's privileging of religious experience over formal theology made Christianity more accessible to slaves than did the more lengthy processes of catechismal instruction. Emphasis on an immediate "new birth" experience, moreover, paralleled African religious practices by offering more room for emotional and physical expressions of the agonies of sin and the joys of SALVATION.

"New Light" Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian preachers gained many of their converts from among lower and middle-class whites and black slaves. Evangelical teachings attracted such groups—and alienated many wealthy white planters—by stressing humility, mutual submission, and the equality of all people before God. During the eighteenth-century revivals, black and white converts prayed, sang, and shouted together, scorning the religious formalism of the Anglican upper classes (see ANGLICANISM). African-influenced worship practices shaped the religious expressions of both black and white revival participants, for instance in the spread of the ring shout. Evangelical preachers encouraged unordained blacks as well as WOMEN and children to exhort and preach to others across lines of race, GENDER, and age. Baptists offered greater opportunities for black participation than did other denominations, even licensing black preachers.

During the eighteenth century slaves frequently attended the churches of their masters. Influenced by the egalitarian teachings of the Awakening many Southern churches welcomed black members between 1750 and 1790, often granting slave congregants equal rights in religious instruction and communion. In 1776 evangelicals accounted for just 10 percent of the adult white Southern population, and a much smaller percentage of the black Southern population. By 1790 14 percent of Southern whites and 4 percent of Southern blacks had affiliated with evangelical churches. As of 1815, 40,000 or nearly one third of all Methodists were African American; blacks constituted a similar proportion of Baptist church adherents. Smaller numbers of enslaved African Americans joined Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Catholic churches. On the eve of the Civil War nearly half a million slaves, or roughly 12 percent of the enslaved population, had affiliated with a Protestant church.

As the number of black church members increased, so too did the concerns of white church members with distinguishing between the prerogatives of white and black Christians. The practice of evangelical CHURCH DISCIPLINE, or the "watch care" of the church, implied that all church members should be treated alike, and that slaves could accuse white members of misconduct—a dangerously egalitarian principle that

threatened the patriarchal social order on which the institution of slavery depended. The mere presence of blacks in Southern churches raised questions about the morality of slavery, calling attention to the degradation of the slave family in such instances as when slave church members were accused of adultery after the sale of a spouse.

By the 1790s evangelical church fellowship had weakened. Many churches began to seat blacks in separate pews or consign them to the galleries, or designate separate services for black congregants. As such discrimination increased, black Christians more often expressed a preference for worship services free from white supervision. Some state legislatures, recognizing the empowerment and potential danger to the social order that religious practice afforded, passed laws prohibiting slaves from establishing their own places of worship. Independent black denominations developed their greatest strength in the mid-Atlantic rather than the Southern states. First organized in 1816 the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (AME) gained a total membership of more than ten thousand by 1831, the year of founder RICHARD ALLEN'S death. By 1861 there were more than fifty thousand AME members. The AME ZION CHURCH organized in New York City as an independent denomination in 1821, and gained 42,000 members by the end of the Civil War. Where Southern slaves were prohibited from forming independent churches, they attended week-night meetings for PRAYER and singing, sometimes gathering illicitly in secluded places apart from the scrutiny of their masters.

III. Protestantism and the Slave Community

As AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM developed, religious expressions took on distinctive forms and meanings. African American worship was characterized by the call-and-response structure of sermons and of spiritual or sorrow songs, and by preaching that emphasized liberation and justice both on earth and in heaven. Black Christians more often identified with the Old Israel, whereas white Christians frequently envisioned themselves as the New Israel. Even when whites and blacks shared common texts, beliefs, and rites, they experienced religion differently, creating their own meanings in response to distinctive needs and contexts. Christianity offered enslaved African Americans emotional and psychological strength and a sense of spiritual victory and release. Christian slaves asserted their dignity by such acts as rejecting secular music, dressing up on Sundays, and placing money in the church collection plate. Black Christians particularly seized on the Bible's teachings about the deliverance of God's people from bondage and persecution. Slave preachers replaced white messages about the religious duty of obeying AUTHORITY with accounts of Moses leading the Israelite people out of bondage to the Egyptians. As slave preachers drew on the Exodus story they viewed Christ as a second Moses, rhetorically merging Moses and Jesus into a vision of a this-worldly and otherworldly deliverer.

The slave preacher played a central role in the life of the slave community as he acted in his roles as religious leader, politician, idealist, and healer. Preachers proclaimed a message of hope that sustained slave communities and developed an oratorical tradition that provided a potent mode of expression for African American activists. Black

preaching emphasized oral storytelling traditions, given that many slaves, including many slave preachers, were illiterate. Like white folk preachers, black ministers frequently employed memorized verses, repetition, vivid imagery, and dramatic delivery. In the course of a sermon, a slave preacher might begin with conversational address that built to a rhythmic cadence punctuated by congregational exclamations, and that climaxed in a tonal chant accompanied by shouting, singing, and ecstatic behavior when the Holy Spirit fell upon the meeting. Spirituals, an important component of religious meetings in the slave community, made one person's joy or sorrow into a communal expression as the congregation invited the immediate presence of God's Spirit in the midst of the gathering. In addition to leading the slave community in preaching and singing, slave preachers presided over such important events in the religious life of the community as baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Religious gatherings, under the direction of slave preachers, served as a refuge from a hostile white world, and as a center for social, economic, political, and educational activities that promoted individual and collective dignity and identity.

The slave preacher's principal rival in shaping community life was the black conjurer. Although traditional African voodoo practices took firm root in New Orleans, in other areas of North America a more diffuse system of magic, divination, and herbal medicine, known as hoodoo or conjure, developed. Hoodoo was one way that slaves expressed a belief that powers other than whites intervened in their everyday affairs. When in need, slaves resorted to potions, charms, and rituals to ward off evil, cure diseases, and harm enemies. The same individuals and communities often embraced Christianity and conjure, without necessarily experiencing contradictions between belief systems that seemingly fulfilled different communal functions.

Even as conjure constituted a mode of resisting the dominance of white masters, Christian teachings held the potential to sanction either accommodation or resistance to slavery. Historians have debated whether slave religion was more a matter of resignation or implicit resistance. It is too simple to conclude, as have some scholars, that blacks passively accepted religion handed down from their masters, or that religion bred either rebellion or docility. Although some slave-owners attempted to use religion as a means of racial control, at the same time Christianity held revolutionary potential. W.E.B.DUBOIS claimed that slaves used religion as a weapon against captivity. Dubois argued that for more than a century slave religion consisted of a Christian veneer that masked slaves' use of African traditions to resist slavery. In Dubois's view Christianity produced more docile laborers, who were also more prone to indulgence and crime.

Yet Christian slaves actively shaped a religious culture all their own. In some circumstances, Christian slaves developed short-term resignation and fatalism, coupled with hope of eventual freedom in heaven. At other points slaves used Christian beliefs to justify their decisions to flee or revolt against their masters. Christianity produced in Nat Turner, a Baptist slave preacher and revolutionary, the determination to enact vengeance on a wicked white ruling class. Most often slave resistance accepted the limits of what was and was not politically possible. Christian slaves developed spiritual strength, and yet political weakness, as they accepted the political and social dominance of an oppressive ruling class. Protestant Christianity, as practiced by African-American slaves, did not merely compensate for worldly unfreedom in hopes of spiritual freedom and otherworldly rewards; religion allowed slaves to retain their identity as persons, as it

offered them meaning, freedom, and transcendence of their circumstances. Religious practice was itself in many instances an act of rebelliousness, a way of asserting independence that sometimes involved defiance, such as in attending secret meetings. Black Christians developed a sense of being a people set apart, and through this idea, expressed through distinctive worship styles and theologies, created collective identity and communal pride. Scholars have even argued that Protestantism encouraged the development of a proto-national black consciousness. Religion endowed the enslaved community's experiences of suffering and struggle with meaning and significance and gave slaves the resources to endure.

IV. Protestantism and Slavery in the Southern United States

As Southern evangelical institutions matured between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, white Protestants sought to control black religious practices more rigidly. Evangelicals became increasingly concerned with gaining social acceptability and respect from nonevangelicals. Many slave-owners welcomed evangelical ministers who wanted to preach to slaves, provided that they emphasized sections of the Bible that exhorted slaves to obey their masters, rather than sections that emphasized spiritual equality among all Christians. Slave-owners and the CLERGY who supported them drew selectively from Old Testament passages to argue that slavery was a divinely ordained institution. Slave-owners used religion to teach slaves morality, discipline, and respect for their superiors. Fearing the consequences of teaching slaves to read for themselves, some slave-owners read the Bible to their slaves and prayed with them in special services.

After Nat Turner's Rebellion (1831), Southerners imposed new restrictions on black preachers and used more tightly controlled plantation missions to gain greater control over slaves' religious meetings. At the same time that Southerners passed laws against black preachers and against teaching slaves to read and write, they also encouraged oral instruction of slaves in Christianity and initiated campaigns for the more humane treatment of slaves. By making slave life more bearable masters hoped to make it safer for themselves. Frequently Protestant slave-owner motives combined self-interest with genuine concern for the spiritual welfare of their slaves and themselves.

The plantation missions of the 1830s represented an attempt to demonstrate that the Bible allowed slavery and that instructing slaves constituted a religious duty for masters. In the 1830s, in addition to sending out itinerant ministers, Protestants published an unprecedented volume of sermons and essays on slave EDUCATION, emphasizing the duties of masters to give their slaves religious instruction and of servants to submit to their masters. Religious newspapers, such as the *Episcopal Gospel Messenger*, the *Presbyterian Charleston Observer*, the *Baptist Christian Index*, and the *Methodist Southern Christian Advocate*, all endorsed religious instruction of slaves. Southern clergy used slave instruction to control the religious practices of slave communities and to counter mounting abolitionist complaints about the irreligion of slaves.

V. Protestant Disputes over the Morality of Slavery

Many white Evangelicals who participated in the revivals of the Great Awakening opposed slavery as an immoral institution, spiritually and physically harmful to both masters and slaves. In 1784 the Methodist General Conference officially condemned slavery as a sin (see *METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA*). The highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church made formal declarations supporting abolition of slavery no less than six times between 1787 and 1836 (see *PRESBYTERIANISM; PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U.S.A.*). Early Methodists, Quakers (see *FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF*), and Baptists helped fugitive slaves, taught slaves to read and write, and worked through other informal channels to undermine the slave system. Most major denominations backed away from their antislavery positions by the end of the eighteenth century, as slaveholder pressure dissolved antislavery sentiments among white church members between 1790 and 1830. Many abolitionist preachers left the South voluntarily or after being expelled by proslavery majorities. A few Southern Quakers, Baptist Friends of Humanity, and urban evangelicals remained committed to the antislavery cause through the 1820s, a period when proslavery clergymen flocked to join the ranks of overseas and domestic plantation missionaries.

Slavery became an increasingly divisive issue among white Protestants between the 1830s and the onset of the Civil War. In 1844 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church passed a resolution prohibiting bishops from owning slaves. This incident led to the secession of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Similarly, the Baptists split along sectional lines in 1845. Old and New School Presbyterians, having already divided in 1838 in part because of the slavery question, formally split into Northern and Southern branches in 1857 and 1861, respectively.

By the 1830s increasing numbers of Northern Protestants condemned slavery as a sin that must be removed, opposing the extension of slavery into the territories or even joining an expanding movement for the immediate *ABOLITION OF SLAVERY*. Antislavery evangelicals argued that the institution undermined virtue and pure religion, producing a low state of morality throughout the Southwest that posed a formidable obstacle to evangelization. *HARRIET BEECHER STOWE'S* *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851–1852) influentially argued that genuine Christianity was incompatible with the evil institution of slavery. Stowe condemned the hypocrisy of churches that defended slavery and urged individual religious conversion as the remedy for a national sin.

In response to hardening antislavery sentiments in the North, Southern Protestants developed more sustained proslavery arguments. No longer conceding that slavery was a necessary evil, clergy began to defend slavery as a “positive good” on moral as well as practical grounds. Southern Protestants argued that slavery benefited African slaves by civilizing and christianizing them. The Baptist minister Richard Furman, writing an “Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Coloured Population in the United States” (1822), argued that slavery, “when tempered with humanity and justice, is a state of tolerable happiness; equal, if not superior, to that which many poor enjoy in countries reputed free.” The Presbyterian James Henley Thornwell similarly articulated the doctrine of the “Spirituality of the Church,” denying that the church should intervene in social institutions under the purview of the state, instead restricting itself to matters of

personal morality, such as card playing, dancing, and drinking (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW).

Some Northern Protestants joined Southerners in articulating proslavery arguments. George Washington Blagden, the pastor of Boston's Old South Church, published a sermon, *Remarks, and a Discourse on Slavery* (1847), which denied that slavery was at odds with Christian tradition or values. The foremost nineteenth-century American biblical scholar, Moses Stuart of Andover Theological Seminary, published *Conscience and the Constitution* (1850), which presented a detailed analysis of biblical passages that Stuart considered supportive of slavery.

As proslavery proponents responded to antislavery arguments using moral and biblical arguments, they prepared the way for a Civil War laden with millennialist expectations and apocalyptic imagery deployed by Northern and Southern Protestants alike.

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CANDY GUNTHER BROWN

SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF

The transatlantic slave trade and the practice of SLAVERY disintegrated throughout the European colonial empires between 1792, when Denmark first denounced the trade, and the final emancipation of Brazil's slaves in 1888. Religious REVIVALS moved many antislavery advocates from a gradualist to an immediatist abolitionist position: compensation for slave-holders or any delay in emancipation represented unacceptable compromise with sin. Perfectionist theology taught that individuals were able and therefore morally obligated to adopt lifestyles of personal and social holiness, which constituted an essential precondition for the coming millennium. Protestants played the most decisive roles in advancing abolition in Britain and the United States. Mainstream churches adopted moderate antislavery positions, but provided the membership for more radical abolitionist societies and antislavery denominations. Religious and political abolitionists joined forces in stirring U.S. antislavery sentiment in the two decades preceding the American CIVIL WAR (1861–1865), an event that destroyed one of the world's most entrenched slave systems.

Global Comparative Perspectives

Every European colonial power participated in the transatlantic slave trade between Europe, Africa, and the Americas until the nineteenth century. Abolition proceeded gradually and unevenly for the European nations and their colonies. Denmark advocated abolition of the slave trade in 1792. In 1794 France enacted the first European law abolishing slavery in its colonial possessions and granting all French subjects the rights of citizens. The French decree did not grow out of humanitarian or religious motives so much as practical necessity. It was a response to threats posed by the self-liberated West Indian slave armies of St. Domingue and an imminent British invasion. The first French emancipation was short-lived; Napoleon reinstated colonial slavery in 1802. Britain became the first country to enact enduring abolitionist legislation, outlawing the slave trade in 1807 and abolishing the practice of slavery in 1833.

Official denouncement of the transatlantic slave trade occurred before full emancipation in most countries. Britain, Denmark, and the United States all ended their support of the international slave trade in the first decade of the nineteenth century, whereas the Dutch, French, Cuban, and Brazilian trades continued until the second, fourth, sixth, and seventh decades, respectively. The European Congress of Vienna declared in 1815 that all the European powers would discourage the international transportation of slaves. Because demand for slaves in colonial plantation economies

continued unabated, such resolutions and even direct legislation did not, however, end international commerce in slaves (especially in Brazil and Cuba) until the 1870s. Laws abolishing slavery were passed in the northern United States in the 1780s; in British, Swedish, Danish, and French colonies by the 1840s; and in Spanish Puerto Rico and Cuba in 1873 and 1880, respectively.

In contrast to mass-participation Anglo-American abolitionist campaigns, the French antislavery movement was dominated by elites who enjoyed state sanction. Abolitionist leaders avoided mass recruitment tactics such as the use of petitions, newspaper publishing, public meetings, and boycotts. French abolitionists maintained a gradualist approach to emancipation, insisting on property rights and financial indemnification for slaveholders. The Protestant press and some Catholic clergy became visible participants in the French abolitionism relatively late, from 1846 to 1847, when religious networks did begin to circulate petitions on a massive scale. Ultimately the February Revolution, rather than religious or humanitarian lobbying, proved the decisive factor in permanently abolishing slavery in France and its possessions in 1848.

The Netherlands was the final European nation to join the antislavery crusade. Under British pressure the Dutch ended the slave trade in 1814 and abolished slavery in 1863. The Dutch were the last of the Europeans to sign the Brussels Act of 1890, repressing the African slave trade. The Dutch case calls into question two economic models that scholars have used to explain the rise of abolitionist sentiment throughout Europe. Studies have overwhelmingly demonstrated that slavery was economically profitable during the very same decades that abolitionist campaigns undermined the institution of slavery in one country after another. According to the “market model,” societies making the transition to mercantile capitalism, long-distance commerce, banking and credit networks, and participation in world markets found slave economies outmoded. In contrast, the “free labor ideology” model views abolition as legitimizing industrial wage labor by attacking traditional labor systems for their moral failings. By the market model the earlier development of Dutch mercantile capitalism should have led to more rapid abolitionism; by the free labor model Dutch industrialization should have advanced earlier than it did.

The Brazilian example similarly challenges scholarly generalizations about the relationship between economic development and abolition. Contrary to what economic theorists would have predicted, abolitionist sentiment emerged first in the geographic regions and enterprises least involved in economic growth and modernization. Importation of African slaves by Brazil reached its apogee just before the 1851 enforcement of an 1831 law banning the transatlantic recruitment of slaves. The Rio Branco law of 1871 freed slave offspring from hereditary bondage. Brazil was the last country in the Americas to emancipate all of its slaves, through the Golden Law of 1888. Only in the last decade of the abolitionist movement did its supporters employ mass participation tactics such as newspaper campaigns, rallies, and an underground railroad. Nabuco (de Ara'jo) founded the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society and led the abolitionist campaign through the national chamber of deputies beginning in 1878. Unlike the British and American examples, churches and religious institutions played a relatively minor role in Brazilian abolition.

Paradoxically, abolition of the international slave trade encouraged the expansion of slavery in Africa. The price of slaves on the international market fell at the same time that

an expansive world market heightened its demand for African agricultural commodities. African political leaders responded to the shifting economic climate by employing more slaves domestically as agricultural workers. African slavery abated, however, by 1914, by which point European nations had enforced colonial rule throughout much of Africa.

Protestant Roots of Abolition

Religion was a motivating factor for many people who became involved in campaigns to abolish the slave trade and the practice of slavery. Religious abolitionists included Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), Unitarians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, as well as those with non-Christian faiths. Nevertheless a special affinity existed between the principles of abolitionism and evangelical Protestantism. Participation in religious revivals convinced many Protestants that individuals were morally accountable and that slavery was a sin that demanded immediate repentance and abandonment. By 1830 many abolitionists, especially in Britain and the United States, had turned from gradualist to immediatist philosophies and tactics. Most gradualist antislavery agendas assumed compensation for slaveowners and colonization or apprenticeship periods for newly freed slaves. If, however, slavery was a sin, abolitionists began to reason, any form of compensation or delay in acting constituted sin. Immediatists used moral suasion to argue that action to end the evil practice of slavery must begin right away, even if it might take some time to complete the emancipation process.

The reform movements that grew out of the nineteenth-century religious revivals were grounded in a theology that emphasized human ability in the salvation process and benevolent action as the fruit of genuine religious conversion. American theologians NATHANIEL WILLIAM TAYLOR, LYMAN BEECHER, and CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY modified Calvinist theology in the direction of greater human initiative. According to the doctrine of perfectionism, which gained prominence in many Protestant circles in the 1830s, Christians could, subsequent to justification, become entirely sanctified or holy during their present lifetime. Confidence in the possibility of perfection led to an ultraist mentality, an unwillingness to compromise with sin, and an insistence that nothing short of millennial standards for perfection should be tolerated. Proponents of entire sanctification argued that both individuals and society must separate from impure institutions and establish a sanctified religious and civil order. The theology of the revivals implied social and political activism, by teaching that individuals had an ability, and therefore a moral obligation, to do good to benefit other individuals and to redeem the world. Many revivalists believed that perpetuation of the slave system would invite God's judgment, whereas the end of slavery was an essential prerequisite to the coming of the millennium.

Some abolitionists preached immediate emancipation as a way to reform both society and religious institutions that, in the evaluation of the reformers, had allowed the purity of the early church to become tainted. Such activists feared loss of moral control and found in abolitionism a moral community in the midst of an immoral society. Whereas

many antislavery advocates pushed their churches to higher levels of holiness, other abolitionists left the institutional church, making antislavery crusades a surrogate for organized religion, an avenue through which they channeled their pietistic, anti-institutional, and perfectionist zeal.

Protestants and Abolition in Great Britain

The abolitionist movement in Britain merits special attention because of its priority and influence in ending the transatlantic slave trade and the practice of slavery internationally. The antislavery movement took shape in the late eighteenth century, under the leadership of evangelical Protestants, and embraced a new immediatist agenda by 1830. Methodist founder JOHN WESLEY articulated his most comprehensive condemnation of slavery in an essay “Thoughts Upon Slavery” (1783). British Quakers first presented a petition to the House of Commons seeking abolition of the slave trade in 1784. Women and African American Protestants, including the English Quaker Elizabeth Heyrick and the Anglo-African Methodist Olaudah Equiano, made significant contributions to the British antislavery movement.

GRANVILLE SHARP, first chairman of the Abolition Committee, founded in 1787, denounced slavery as violating common law, the law of reason, and the law of God. In the Somerset case Sharp convinced the Court of the King’s Bench in 1771, presided over by Chief Justice William Murray, baron of Mansfield, to declare slavery incompatible with the “free air” of England. Ten to fifteen thousand blacks living in England gained their freedom as a result of this judgment, which effectively abolished slavery within England. Sharp also gained Parliamentary authority to colonize a free black community named Freetown in SIERRA LEONE in 1791.

Parliamentarian WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, converted to evangelical Protestantism in 1785, took a lead in fighting for passage of the British Abolition of the Slave Trade Act in 1807, which prohibited the slave trade in the British West Indies. Wilberforce cofounded the British Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery in 1823. The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 was passed one month after Wilberforce’s death, finally accomplishing his vision of freeing all slaves in the British Empire. The law freed 800,000 slaves on a gradual and compensated basis, and set a precedent for other European imperial powers to free their slaves.

When outlawing the slave trade did not quickly end the slave labor system, British reformers attempted to use government regulation to limit the extension of slavery and, through the Canning Resolutions, to ameliorate the conditions under which slaves lived and worked. When these efforts also failed to achieve their intended results, the reformers urged the general registration of slaves to protect their rights. The failure of registration efforts led reformers to seek direct, gradual emancipation by the British crown. The resistance of planters to even such gradualist measures convinced abolitionists of the necessity of a more aggressive, immediatist strategy. British (like American) abolitionism had reached a crucial juncture by 1830. The shift in antislavery strategy resulted not only from frustration with slaveholders’ intransigence, but from a transition in reformist

assumptions away from a rationalist view of human history that favors step-by-step reform of complex social institutions to an evangelical view that refuses any compromise with sin.

Scholars have been quick to point out that the growth of abolitionist movements in Britain and the United States coincided with the rise of industrial capitalism. Studies have suggested that religious benevolence served as a hypocritical mask for baser economic self-interest in motivating antislavery sentiment. Abolitionists, by this view, were ideological imperialists who attacked the practices and social customs of slaveholding societies to rationalize the social and economic changes essential to the triumph of free-market capitalism. Abolitionist rhetoric allowed the British to reinforce their identity as the world's standard-bearer of liberty, while ignoring the exploitation of industrial workers, including many women and children, in English mills and mines. A variant on the economic view is that abolition arose not from the dialectic of class conflict, but from the interplay of market-fostered values that yielded a new "cognitive style" that favored efficient, disciplined labor.

Protestants and Abolition in the United States

In colonial America members of the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, or Quakers, pioneered in opposing slavery because of its inconsistency with the Christian principles of nonviolence, equality of all people in God's sight, and the sin of ostentation. Four Pennsylvania Quakers, JOHN WOOLMAN, Anthony Benezet, William Southeby, and Benjamin Lay, signed an antislavery petition in 1688, and spoke publicly against slavery during the 1740s to 1750s. The Society of Friends prohibited slavery among its members in 1774. In 1780 Pennsylvania enacted the modern world's first gradual emancipation law. Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches all spoke out against slavery in the 1780s to 1790s, but backed away from antislavery positions for fear of alienating Southern whites and losing the ability to preach the gospel to slaves. By the 1820s most white Southerners, including church leaders, responded to Northern attacks on slavery by defending slavery as a God-ordained social system or as a civil institution irrelevant to the "spirituality of the church."

The first major U.S. antislavery society, the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY (ACS), formed in 1816 on gradualist principles. The ACS attracted prominent politicians and even slaveholders who wanted to rid American society of free blacks. In ten years the ACS never succeeded in transporting more than two thousand blacks to the African colony of LIBERIA. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison founded a newspaper, *The Liberator*, to advocate immediate abolition. Garrison organized the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832 and the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) in 1833. Women were excluded from the AASS's founding meeting, and only three of the sixty-two delegates were black, although both women and African Americans organized their own antislavery organizations, such as the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society and the American Society of the Free People of Color. Women abolitionists, such as Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Maria Weston Chapman, Antoinette Brown, Lydia Maria Child, and

LUCRETIA MOTT, supported the antislavery cause by speaking publicly, editing abolitionist newspapers, raising funds, and organizing petition campaigns. Former slaves, including FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and William Wells Brown, undertook international speaking tours on which they gave first-person accounts of slavery's abuses.

In part through the activities of women and African Americans, the AASS gained a membership of a quarter million by 1838 and a total of 1,300 auxiliaries. Admission of women to the AASS in 1839 nearly destroyed the society. Election of a woman officeholder, Abby Kelley, in 1840, did split the AASS, when the women's issue combined explosively with other tactical disputes regarding pacifism, political involvement, and Garrison's leadership. Garrison was a controversial personality who abandoned the institutional church because he considered it hopelessly corrupted by sin, and who took unconventional positions on such issues as the Sabbath, nonresistance, and women's rights. Anti-Garrisonians formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, which forged alliances with Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominational antislavery movements.

Although most Northern states had abolished slavery by 1800, immediate abolitionism remained a minority position among Northern Protestants until the Civil War. Although some Protestants followed Garrison's lead in giving up on organized religion, many others persisted in calling churches and nondenominational reform societies to higher levels of holiness. Lewis Tappan was among the most influential church-centered abolitionists, through his leadership of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION. Tens of thousands of Protestants joined "come-outer" sects based on the theological argument that Christians should refuse fellowship with other professed Christians who persisted in the sin of countenancing slaveholding. Come-outers viewed their action as protecting their own souls and as pressuring older denominations to adopt stronger antislavery positions. The most important come-outer sects were the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, Free Presbyterian Church, American Baptist Free Mission Society, Franckean Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Progressive Friends, and Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. Abolitionists similarly tried, without success, to sway the leaders of nondenominational reform societies, such as the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, American Tract Society, American Sunday School Union, AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, and American Home Missionary Society, to adopt immediate abolitionism. After a decade of fruitless lobbying, in the 1840s abolitionists formed their own rival religious benevolent institutions, including the American Missionary Association and the American Reform Tract and Book Society.

The largest segment of the Northern churches might be classed as antislavery moderates who supported gradual emancipation, but objected to abolitionist characterizations of all slaveholders as sinners or demands that slaveowners be expelled from church membership, and thus be relinquished from moral accountability. Mainstream denominations contributed to emancipation by spreading a relatively vague antislavery ideology that proved more acceptable to public opinion than radical abolitionist rhetoric and tactics. In articulating antislavery principles without calling for specific, immediate action, the churches in effect practiced a highly effective form of moral suasion. The Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominations all split along

sectional lines, in 1844, 1845, and 1857, respectively; even after these schisms, the Northern denominations still refused to declare slave-owning inherently sinful or to subject slaveholders to church discipline.

Scholars have widely debated the constituency, motives, and effectiveness of abolitionists in influencing emancipation. An earlier generation of scholars argued that most abolitionists were young, middle-class, New England-born heirs of declining Federalist families, who embraced abolition to restore their declining political and social authority and to gain an exhilarating sense of self-affirmation. More recent studies have revealed the prominence of artisans, shopkeepers, and rural cash-crop farmers among the antislavery rank-and-file, and questioned whether there is any statistical difference between the occupational structure of abolitionists and the general population.

Questions regarding the motives of abolitionists have similarly generated considerable controversy, with scholars debating whether religion, economics, ideology, or psychological factors best account for abolitionist leanings. The individual and collective personalities of abolitionists have been stereotyped as impractical, self-righteous, fanatical, humorless, vituperative, disturbed, and, ironically, racist. More recently, scholars have sought to rehabilitate abolitionists from accusations of mental instability resulting from the rapid social and economic transformation of the urban North, and, more generally, to challenge generalizations about the dysfunctionality of abolitionist personalities.

Abolitionists did not directly influence the passage of much legislation, nor ever gain widespread popularity. Antislavery agitation did provoke sectional animosities that hastened the Civil War. Ultimately the strategy of moral suasion convinced Northern churches, voters, and political leaders to accept many of the arguments that the abolitionists had been making for decades.

The American Civil War and the Demise of Slavery

Tensions between the Northern and Southern United States over slavery accelerated between the 1830s and 1850s. Congress's bipartisan "gag rule" prohibiting discussion of antislavery petitions in 1836, the annexation of Texas as a slave state (1845) and disposition of territory from the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and HARRIET BEECHER STOWE'S publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, the Dred Scott decision of 1857, and John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859 all paved the way for sectional division over conflicting views of slavery.

Religious and political antislavery leaders formed a powerful alliance in the 1840s to 1850s. Although Garrisonians rejected political action as requiring unacceptable moral compromises, evangelical abolitionists joined new, antislavery political parties. The earliest antislavery politicians denounced slaveholding as a sin and endorsed nonfellowship with slaveowners. The Liberty Party, formed in 1840, ran James G. Birney for president, on a platform of immediate abolition and repeal of racially discriminatory legislation as a moral and political duty. Birney secured only 7,000 votes in 1840, and

62,000 in 1844, indicating that the single issue of slavery was insufficient to draw a significant number of evangelical votes away from the Whigs, a party that supported other evangelical issues such as SABBATARIANISM and prohibition.

The Free Soil Party, created in 1848, attracted more voters than the Liberty Party by adopting a more moderate antislavery platform. The 1848 ticket of Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams received 290,000 votes. Free Soil united a coalition of former Liberty voters with nonextensionist Whigs and Democrats, including those who opposed expansion of slavery into the territories because they feared blacks rather than hating slavery for moral reasons. Some Protestant abolitionists felt betrayed by the Free Soil Party's weakened antislavery platform and political compromises. Yet even the party's more moderate nonextensionist position encouraged Northerners to view slavery as a morally unacceptable institution.

The Republican Party attracted former adherents to the Liberty and Free Soil parties and disaffected non-extensionist Whigs and Democrats. The new party attracted a still broader constituency than its predecessor, including those primarily interested in economic development and protection against competition from black labor. Abolitionists were so effective in keeping the Republican program on track with nonextension that most political abolitionists and even some Garrisonians endorsed the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln as a morally principled means of combating slavery.

Despite abolitionist campaigns, the institution of Southern slavery was still firmly entrenched in 1860. The Civil War began as a fight for nonextension of slavery and preservation of the Union, and became a war to destroy slavery. Although the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 freed a relatively small number of slaves, it transformed the Union armies into a liberationist vanguard. The Northern churches came to envision the war as a sacred cause with clear millennial overtones, and to perceive slavery as the crucial moral hurdle to overcome to preserve the nation from divine judgment. Yet post-war Northern failure to end discrimination indicates the inability of abolitionists to convert Protestant churches into advocates for racial equality.

See also American Bible Society; American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; American Colonization Society; American Missionary Association; Beecher, Lyman; Civil War, United States; Douglass, Frederick; Finney, Charles Grandison; Liberia; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; Revivals; Sabbatarianism; Sharp, Granville; Sierra Leone; Slavery; Society of Friends in North America; Stowe, Harriet Beecher; Taylor, Nathaniel William; Wesley, John; Wilberforce, William; Woolman, John

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CANDY GUNTHER BROWN

SLESSOR, MARY MITCHELL (1848–1915)

Scottish missionary. Born in Aberdeen, SCOTLAND on December 2, 1848, Mary Slessor was destined to become one of the best-known missionaries of her era to her compatriots; her death at Use Ikot Nkon, NIGERIA on January 13, 1915, after thirty-eight years of service, was noted around the world.

Mary's father suffered from alcoholism and, after the family moved to Dundee, eleven-year-old Mary was obliged to seek work in a mill to help support the family. Her mother was a devout Presbyterian (see PRESBYTERIANISM), who saw that Mary and her siblings grew up hearing about the church's mission work, especially that in the Calabar district of West Africa. Slessor was accepted as a "female agent" for the United Presbyterian Church and sailed for Calabar in August 1876. During her years of service she drew criticism in some circles because of her unorthodox habits and methods. She climbed trees, dispensed with Victorian petticoats, marched barefoot and bareheaded through the jungle, cut her hair short, refused to filter drinking water, and allowed the use of a native oath in court cases.

An educator and church planter, Slessor pressured the mission to allow her to establish stations in new areas. In addition to teaching and PREACHING, she brought an element of stability in a time of social upheaval, as she advised and settled disputes. She lived like the native peoples and spoke the language so well that she won their respect and became known as *eka kpukpro owo*—everybody's mother.

Slessor was not the first to rescue unwanted twins and orphans, but she was more determined than some colleagues. Statues in Cross River and Akwa Ibom states depict her holding a baby in each arm. Many children found shelter in her home, eight of whom she adopted. She also fought to elevate the status of WOMEN and continued the missionary struggle to eliminate such practices as trial by ordeal of poison bean or boiling oil, ritual human sacrifices, killing of twins and orphans, and ethnic wars.

The British government appointed Slessor a magistrate during the colonial period (see COLONIALISM). This meant she continued to judge local court cases, as she had already been doing informally. In 1913 she was named an honorary associate of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the highest honor then available to a British woman commoner.

Mary Slessor's Reformed faith (see CALVINISM; REFORMATION) was an integral part of her life; she considered PRAYER central to her ministry, as she endeavored to see lives transformed.

See also Africa; Church of Scotland; Free Church; Missions, British

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JEANETTE HARDAGE

SMITH, HANNAH WHITALL (1832–1911)

American higher life evangelist, best-selling author, and reformer. Hannah Whitall was born a Quaker on February 7, 1832 in Philadelphia. In 1851 she married Robert Pearsall Smith. The birth in 1852 of their first child sidetracked her intellectual ambitions. That first child died in 1858, driving Smith to search the BIBLE for its “plan for salvation.” She decided that, for wholly consecrated readers, the Bible functioned as a guidebook.

Smith resigned from the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS in September 1859, proclaiming “the fact of the complete and finished salvation offered to us in Christ, our *perfect* Saviour.” She received baptism and Communion, and intensified her contacts with the Methodist Holiness movement. Smith published her first article in 1867 titled “How to Live a Life of Practical Holiness.”

By 1871, Smith recognized her gift for public work. Her eldest son died in 1872, and she wrote of him in *Frank: The Record of a Happy Life* (1873). The loss of the son undid her husband, who sailed for Europe in early 1873 under doctors’ orders. Over the next two years, Robert and then Hannah preached the Higher Life throughout Europe. Her book *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life* (1875) emerged from this period. In 1875, however, leaders in the movement rejected Robert’s ANTINOMIANISM. This break ended Robert’s career and he died in 1899.

The later 1870s saw Hannah Smith active in TEMPERANCE, women’s uplift, and suffrage movements. In 1888, the family moved to ENGLAND. Smith served in the front ranks of the British Women’s Temperance Union. Around 1900 she retired from public work and devoted her energies to the guardianship of her granddaughters. She died in England on May 1, 1911.

See also Higher Life Movement; Temperance.

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ANNE BLUE WILLS

SMITH, JOSEPH (1805–1844)

Mormon prophet and founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Joseph Smith, the unlearned visionary and prophet, went beyond the bounds of normative Protestantism in establishing MORMONISM in nineteenth-century America. Unlike other reformers of his day who strove to restore the doctrines of New Testament Christianity, Smith sought to restore its powers, including direct revelation and spiritual gifts. His followers believed Smith's revelations were scripture and equal to the Bible. In the same vein, he restored priesthood authority, including the priesthood of Melchizedek, ordained twelve apostles, and sought to build a city of Zion with a temple. Although based on passages in the Bible, Smith's doctrines went to extremes that most Protestants could not tolerate.

Smith was born in Sharon, Vermont, to Joseph Smith, Sr., and Lucy Mack Smith on December 23, 1805. The Smith family farmed in Topsfield, Massachusetts, near Salem, for four generations before hard times forced Smith's grandfather Asael Smith to move to Vermont in the 1790s. In making the move, the Smiths left behind their traditional Congregational faith. Asael became a Universalist, and Smith's father a seeker who lost faith in all the churches and had prophetic dreams about the desolate condition of the religious world. Although touched by revivals in Vermont, the Smiths did not attend church until they moved to Palmyra, New York, in 1816. Lucy Smith and three of the children joined the Presbyterians, but young Joseph stayed home with his father. Confused by the division in the family and pressured by the revival preaching in upstate New York, Smith reported a vision in 1820 in which he was forgiven of his sins and told not to join any of the churches.

The Smith family was typical of many New England migrants who spun free from the traditional churches in the early nineteenth century, and yet hungered for supernatural experience. The Smiths dabbled in treasure-seeking and magic and were part of the inchoate visionary culture that was visible also in early METHODISM. While alienated from the churches, the Smith family yearned for religion. Joseph Smith came under the influence of Methodist preaching, and for a short time joined a Methodist class after marrying Emma Hale in January 1827, a woman with Methodist connections. However, instead of finding a home in any existing religions, Smith began to receive revelations that carried him away from conventional Protestantism.

The Book of Mormon

On September 22, 1823, according to Smith's report, an angel named Moroni appeared in his bedroom to tell him about golden plates on which were engraved the history of an ancient people who had once resided on the American continent. Smith was led to the location of the plates in a nearby hill, which was later called Cumorah after a name in the record. He was permitted to view the plates but not to remove them from their hiding place until he had purged himself of the desire to profit from their value as gold. On September 22, 1827, he finally obtained the thick book of thin metal sheets, and began the process of translation. According to the story, the record was written in a combination of Egyptian and Hebrew, and Joseph was expected to translate the characters with the help of "interpreters" that came with the plates. The task was completed in June 1829, and the Book of Mormon was published in March 1830.

The Book of Mormon purported to be a history of an ancient people from whom modern American Indians had descended. The main action took place between 600 B.C. and A.D. 421, and concerned a group of exiles from Jerusalem who left the city on the eve of the Babylonian captivity and voyaged to the Western Hemisphere. Although telling a novel story, the record's basic idea of Indians being lost Israelites had been hypothesized by Christian observers since shortly after European discovery of the New World. In the Book of Mormon account, the migrants divided into two nations who battled one another for a thousand years until one group, the one not keeping the record, destroyed the other, and the story came to a close. From the survivors came the Native Americans of Joseph Smith's time. One of the Book of Mormon's stated purposes was to help restore this remnant of lost Israel to a knowledge of God.

The idea of Indian Israel would not have surprised readers familiar with speculations about Indian origins, but most Protestants would have been taken aback by the thoroughly Christian nature of the writing. Book of Mormon prophets taught the standard Christian gospel much more plainly than Isaiah or Ezekiel. Long before Christ's ministry, they preached his birth and resurrection, knew the name of his mother, taught Christian baptism, and organized Christian churches. Almost no distinction between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations was evident in the Book of Mormon. According to the book, Christ appeared to these American Israelites soon after his resurrection, but his gospel confirmed the prophetic teachings of the previous six centuries.

While the Christian nature of the Book of Mormon merely surprised Protestants, they angrily protested the Book of Mormon's presumption to be scripture of equal worth with the Bible. Without learning or ecclesiastical standing of any sort, Smith claimed that the 588-page book of prophecy and historical narrative was an expansion of the Bible, and was more likely than the Bible to be authentic because it was not damaged by editorial interventions and multiple translations. In an age that lived by the principle of *sola scriptura*, the Book of Mormon could only be looked upon as an audacious fraud.

At first the Book of Mormon was thought to be a clumsy attempt to deceive people and ultimately defraud them. After the unlikelihood of an uneducated farm boy producing

such an intricate narrative dawned on the critics, the book was judged to be an imitation of a lost novel by a more learned and competent writer named Solomon Spaulding. Decades later, when Spaulding's book was found and the similarity to the Book of Mormon disproved, scholars went back to the idea of the Book of Mormon as the product of Smith's own inventiveness, the general opinion of non-Mormons today.

Church Organization

Smith began to attract followers who believed in his supernatural gifts, and on April 6, 1830, he organized them into a church in Fayette, New York. Smith's revelations, given usually by inspiration rather than vision, carried a strong millenarian message. In the calamities that would precede the Second Coming of Christ, the revelations said, the only safe refuge would be Zion, a place the Lord would designate for believers to gather. Church members, termed "saints," were to locate this site and build a holy city called the New Jerusalem. Missionaries were sent to Missouri in 1830 in search of a place for Zion, and Joseph Smith followed in the summer of 1831. A revelation identified Independence, Missouri, on the edge of American settlement, as the site of the New Jerusalem and the place for a temple.

Over the next few years, Smith's followers began to collect in Missouri, and at another site in Kirtland, Ohio, near Cleveland, where missionaries had gained nearly one hundred converts. The movement grew rapidly as a result of numerous short-term proselyting tours by the male members. No sooner was a person baptized than he was ordained and sent out to preach. The missionaries taught a simple New Testament form of salvation requiring faith, repentance, baptism, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. Mormonism resembled other restoration movements of the time, such as the Campbellites, who also sought to restore a pure New Testament gospel that circumvented the strenuous emotional ordeal of evangelical conversion.

Smith's revelations, however, did not stop with these familiar New Testament principles. He also claimed to restore priesthoods that were required to perform authorized baptisms and other sacred ordinances. John the Baptist was said to have restored the Aaronic priesthood, while Peter, James, and John, Christ's original apostles, along with other angelic visitors, were reported to have restored the higher or Melchizedek priesthood. The restoration of priesthood implicitly invalidated the sacraments of other Christian churches and made Mormons the exclusive possessors of divine authority.

Within the Mormon church, the priesthood was widely distributed. Smith did not reserve it for a clerical group set off from the laity as in most denominations. Every male member was ordained to the priesthood and authorized to perform sacred ordinances. No priestly class ever developed. Each congregation was led by lay priesthood leaders who called upon members of the congregation to preach, rather than reserving that duty for a trained ministry. Women did not receive the priesthood and did not give sermons except to other women.

Smith's revelations explained that through the priesthood believers might prepare themselves to see God and receive exaltation in the afterlife. Along with the program of gathering in Zion, Smith began to focus on the construction of temples where the saints could be instructed in the mysteries of godliness and taught to know God. The elders of the church were formed into a "School of the Prophets" to learn their duties and be shown how to purify themselves. Their schooling culminated in the 1836 dedication of a temple in Kirtland, where men, women, and children enjoyed a pentecostal outpouring.

The revelations containing these doctrines were published in 1835 as *The Doctrine and Covenants*, the second book of scripture produced by Smith that had equal standing with the Bible. Additions were made through the years as the revelations continued to pour forth.

Opposition to Mormonism

Almost from the beginning, Mormonism aroused opposition. The astounding claims to direct revelation, the exclusiveness of the religion, and the fear of a scheme to defraud people accounted for much of the anger. Smith was dragged from his house one night in 1832, threatened with emasculation, and tarred and feathered. In 1833, local settlers drove the Mormons from their farms around Independence, and refused to let them claim their property. The underlying problem was the Mormon practice of gathering. By concentrating members in one location, they threatened to become a majority and so control elections. Non-Mormons who might tolerate a minority of religious fanatics in their midst could not accept their dominance.

Joseph Smith's effort to found a bank in Kirtland in 1837 made still more enemies. Many of his own followers came to doubt his judgment and honesty and believed him to be a fallen prophet. In 1838 he was compelled to flee to Caldwell County, Missouri, where the saints had assembled in a largely unsettled region. Their growing power led to a fight at a polling place in the late summer of 1838, and violence erupted on both sides. The governor of Missouri ordered the Mormons expelled from the state or exterminated. In November 1838 Joseph Smith was arrested and charged with treason. He spent the winter of 1839 in prison in Missouri while his followers moved eastward toward Illinois in search of a new home.

In the spring of 1839, Smith escaped his guards, perhaps with their connivance, and joined his people. He purchased land at a place on the Mississippi called Commerce and renamed it Nauvoo. The Illinois legislature granted a charter that gave the Mormons control of local courts and a city militia. Smith wanted to erect barriers that would allow him to collect his followers and continue their instruction without fear of disruption by hostile forces. Strengthened by a flow of converts from England as well as every section of the United States, Nauvoo grew to a city of ten thousand over the next five years, with another five thousand members in the surrounding regions.

During the Nauvoo years, Smith elaborated on the temple doctrines that more than anything else differentiated his teachings from Protestantism. Family and lineage came to occupy a large place in his revelations. One of them instructed the saints to perform

baptism vicariously for people now gone from the earth so that the requirement of baptism could be met by everyone. Smith said the ordinance, to be done only in temples, fulfilled the prophecy of Malachi about the hearts of the children being turned to the fathers. Another revelation made marriage a prerequisite for exaltation in the celestial kingdom. Men and women had to be sealed by priesthood authority in the temple in order to reach the highest degree of heaven.

The most controversial of Smith's revelations commanded the saints to practice plural marriage, like Abraham in the Old Testament. Smith may have received this revelation as early as 1831 and held it back, knowing the furor it would cause. His wife Emma, among others, was bitterly opposed. Beginning in 1842, he told a few of his most trusted followers about the revelation and instructed them to take additional wives as he did himself—perhaps as many as thirty-three of them. Although plural marriage was not publicly taught and was even denied until an announcement in 1852 in Utah, rumors flew about the city, turning many of the leading people in the church against Smith.

Smith's teachings in the Nauvoo years went far beyond traditional Protestantism. Though every doctrine had some foundation in the Bible—as did the polygamous practices of Abraham—Smith's revelations drove biblical passages to extremes that most Protestants could not comprehend. He taught, for example, that the phrase “be ye therefore perfect as your father in heaven is perfect” was to be taken literally. Christians were to work toward the goal of becoming gods themselves. Smith told people they were to become kings and priests, a phrase from the book of Revelation, and had himself ordained a king and priest. He established “endowment” ceremonies in the temple where the saints were instructed in how to prepare to meet God.

In the winter of 1844, Joseph Smith announced his candidacy for president of the United States. He never explained his reasons for conducting this hopeless campaign, but he sent missionaries throughout the country to promote his candidacy. Before the election, however, he was killed. Smith had closed down a reformist newspaper, *The Nauvoo Expositor*, in early June, believing that accusations by his disillusioned followers in the paper's pages were incendiary. Newspaper editors and politicians in the surrounding region were already calling for his blood, fearing the rising power of the Mormons. Closing the press was the last straw. Smith was arrested and taken to the county seat at Carthage, Illinois, where a mob attacked the jail in which he had been placed for safekeeping. He was shot on June 27, 1844.

Although building on the Bible and the Christian tradition, Smith cannot be thought of as another Protestant reformer. Untrained and inexperienced, he did not set out to revise established doctrines or to purify worship. Rather than reinterpreting the Bible, he took his cues from his own revelations. His followers thought he was more like Moses and Jeremiah than MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) and JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564). To this day, Mormons consider themselves to be Christians, but not Protestants, and speak of Joseph Smith as “the Prophet.”

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RICHARD LYMAN BUSHMAN

SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON (1846– 1894)

English biblical scholar. Smith, Hebrew BIBLE and comparative religion scholar, introduced the literary-historical methods of German HIGHER CRITICISM to English-speaking Victorian Protestants. He propounded a theory of ritual sacrifice, totemism, and kinship that influenced the development of early sociological, anthropological, and psychological theorists of religion such as Emile Durkheim, James Frazer, F.B.Jevons, and Sigmund Freud.

Career

Born at Keig, Scotland, November 8, 1846 and raised in the recently formed Free Church of Scotland (see CHURCH OF SCOTLAND; FREE CHURCH), Smith entered the University of Aberdeen at age fifteen and became professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis at the Free Church College, Aberdeen, nine years later.

The 1875 publication of his entry “Bible” in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* provoked intense controversy over his denial of Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy and postexilic dating of the levitical code. A five-year HERESY battle within Free Church assemblies (1876–1881) brought Smith international acclaim as a loyal churchman willing to be an outspoken advocate of the new biblical scholarship. Although accusing him of violating his oath to uphold the WESTMINSTER CONFESSIOIN, the Free Church General Assembly eventually dropped all formal charges. Nevertheless, it removed Smith from his academic post in 1881. He went on to become editor-in-chief of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, to which he personally contributed over 200 articles. In 1883 he moved to CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, becoming professor of Arabic, fellow of Christ College, and university librarian. He returned to the University of Aberdeen from 1888 to 1891 to deliver the Burnet Lectures, published as *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, his most seminal work in the field of religious studies.

Smith died of tuberculosis at Cambridge, ENGLAND, on March 31, 1894.

Assessment

Robertson Smith's use of literary-critical methods to reconstruct the history of ancient Israelite religion, which he defended as consistent with REFORMATION hermeneutics, helped clear the way for English-speaking Protestant biblical scholars to break free of the constraints of literalism and doctrinarism. For Smith, Hebrew biblical history revealed the story of an unfolding understanding of God, culminating in the prophetic consciousness of pure ethical monotheism and divine GRACE. He also expanded the study of Israelite religion by embedding it in the wider Semitic cultures of the Near East, including Arabia. As a result, Protestant Old Testament scholars could no longer ignore comparative issues.

In addition Smith gave direction to the academic study of religion by stressing the theoretical priority of rituals and symbolic actions over beliefs and myths in primal societies. He maintained that sacrificial rituals were originally totemic and constitutive of kinship bonds. Rejecting a propitiatory view of early sacrificial practices, he interpreted them as communal in nature, centering on the commensality established between divine and human participants in sacrificial meals. Although not fully accepted today, his views led to the treatment of religion as a positive and universal dimension of human life and society.

As a product of his times and influenced by ALBRECHT RITSCHL and German neo-Kantians (see KANT, IMMANUEL), Smith assumed an evolutionary scheme of human religious development from "primitive," ritually materialistic social stages to more private and less ritualistic stages of pure monotheistic awareness, culminating in the theology of Protestant Christianity. Thus, despite a passion for comparative studies, the privileged status he accorded Victorian Protestantism supports what Edward Said characterized as Smith's "Orientalism," that is, hegemonic Western cultural presumption.

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Colenso, John William; Cultural Protestantism; Drummond, Henry; Lagarde, Paul de; Nonconformity; Schleiermacher, Friedrich; Sociology of Protestantism; Westminster Catechism

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WILLIAM M.KING

SMYTH, JOHN (c.1572–1612)

English Baptist. Often designated “the first Baptist,” John Smyth (or Smith) was successively a Puritan, Separatist, Baptist, and Mennonite. Perhaps born in Sturton-le-Steeple, Nottinghamshire, ENGLAND, he was at Christ’s College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY from 1586 to 1598, earning a B.A. in 1590 and an M.A. in 1593 and becoming a fellow in 1594, but also studying medicine along the way.

Smyth was a Puritan city lecturer in Lincoln 1600–1602, losing that position because of a local political dispute (see PURITANISM). He wrote two books displaying standard Puritan theology: *The Bright Morning Starre* (1603) and *A Patern of True Prayer* (1605). He was a leader in a Puritan CONVENTICLE, which covenanted to become an English Separatist congregation (that is, a believers’ church separate from the CHURCH OF ENGLAND) about 1606–1607. In *Principles and inferences concerning The visible Church* (1607), he defined a true CHURCH as being composed only of saints (believers) bound together in a COVENANT, and argued that such a congregation had AUTHORITY directly from Christ to appoint leaders, administer the SACRAMENTS, and exercise discipline, for example. Smyth further defended and defined Separatist churches in *Paralleles, Censures, Observations* (1608). After the congregation fled to Amsterdam in the NETHERLANDS in 1608, Smyth supported himself (and apparently assisted the poor in the congregation financially) through the practice of medicine while also leading the congregation. He wrote *The Differences of the Churches of the Separation* (1608), in opposition to the Ancient Church, another English Separatist congregation in Amsterdam; in this book Smyth argued that books, including translations of Scripture, should not be used in WORSHIP (a prohibition perhaps aimed at the Anglican BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER and at the GENEVA BIBLE, which contained many Calvinist notes and interpretations); that a congregation should be led by several equal pastors/elders/teachers assisted by DEACONS/DEACONESSES (as opposed to the Puritan/Calvinist model, which made pastor, teacher, and elders separate positions); and that a congregation should not accept donations from outsiders.

In 1609 Smyth rebaptized himself and forty to fifty members of his congregation, thus re-establishing believer’s BAPTISM, reconstituting his congregation using believer’s baptism as a substitute form of the Separatist covenant, and creating what might be considered the first Baptist congregation. Smyth defended believer’s baptism in *The Character of the Beast* (1609) and later in *Argumenta Contra Baptismum Infantum* (an unpublished work in Latin). John Robinson led a large group out of the Smyth congregation, disagreeing with Smyth in his argument against the ancient church and with his move to a believer’s baptism position; in the spring of 1609 this group moved to Leiden in the Netherlands, where they eventually formed the nucleus of the PILGRIM FATHERS and thus helped lay the foundation for American CONGREGATIONALISM. By 1610 Smyth and most of the remaining congregation made an alliance with a group of Waterlander MENNONITES, in the process accepting Mennonite positions on the

incarnation (that Christ's "first flesh" was divine and did not come from Mary), free will, and separation of CHURCH AND STATE—as evidenced by two confessions issued by the congregation, *Corde Credimus* and *Propositions and conclusions* (1612), as well as a *Defense* Smyth wrote supporting a Mennonite CONFESSION written by Hans de Ries.

Regarding free will, Smyth denied original sin and argued that Christ's death on the cross freed all human beings to the point that they were able to freely choose whether to accept or reject SALVATION—a free will position derived from the Mennonites rather than from the Reformed dissenter, JACOBUS ARMINIUS. A group of about ten members of the congregation, led by Thomas Helwys, although accepting much of this Mennonite theology, refused to follow Smyth into merger with the Mennonites. Helwys did not accept Mennonite views on the incarnation, accused Smyth and the Mennonites of not keeping the Sabbath, and held to a traditional Protestant view of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH (in opposition to the Smyth/Mennonite view that salvation was by both justification by faith and regeneration). Helwys accepted the Mennonite doctrine of separation of church and state (that the state should not interfere in religion) but differed with the Mennonites in saying that true Christians could nevertheless take part in secular government. Helwys defended the Smyth congregation's reinstatement of believer's baptism, accusing the Smyth congregation of returning to a form of apostolic succession by wanting to merge with the Mennonites; Smyth denied the charge, arguing that it is permissible to reinitiate believer's baptism but that this should be done only when baptism is not available from other baptized believers. The Helwys faction returned to England by 1612 and founded the GENERAL BAPTISTS.

Smyth died of tuberculosis in Amsterdam in 1612. In his *Last Book* (1612), Smyth affirmed his final theological position but repented some of his harshness in theological debate. In a biography published with the *Last Book*, his congregation briefly described his godly life and godly death at the end of August 1612. A common feature throughout Smyth's written works is the use of Aristotelian logic. Also central to his thought, beginning with *The Differences of the Churches of the Separation*, was a strong distinction between Old Testament and New Testament, letter and Spirit, sinners and saints, false churches and true churches. Smyth was accused by his critics of being gifted but unstable for changing his theological positions so frequently, a charge Smyth refuted on the basis of the "further light clause" in the Separatist covenant—the idea that God would progressively lead true Christians into new truth.

See also Arminianism; Baptists; Baptists, Europe; Dissent; Nonconformity

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JAMES R. COGGINS

SOCIAL GOSPEL

The Social Gospel was a diffuse theological movement, emerging in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western Protestantism, that sought to apply Christian teachings to contemporary social reform issues. Integrating evangelical and liberal theological traditions, the Social Gospel is often classified under the larger rubric of “social Christianity” associated with a number of Protestant churches and church leaders in western Europe (chiefly Great Britain) and North America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The term “Social Gospel” has been used with greatest regularity to define the theological and social reform initiatives undertaken by church leaders, theologians, and denominations in the United States during the Progressive Era of the early twentieth century. The Social Gospel as a theological movement focused on issues of social salvation. Whereas many Social Gospel leaders continued to emphasize the importance of personal CONVERSION, they also reinterpreted traditional Protestant understandings of soteriology, the theology of SALVATION, to emphasize how Jesus’s social teachings could be applicable to questions of economic justice and social equality. Although never a unified theological tradition, Social Gospel proponents articulated an optimistic theology, stressing human potential, the imperative for social reform, and the creation of a just social order. The most influential exponents of the tradition in Western Protestantism included the American church leaders WASHINGTON GLADDEN and WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH.

The Social Gospel served as a major catalyst for the emergence of the Protestant ecumenical movement in the twentieth century, symbolized by the founding in the United States in 1908 of the Federal Council of Churches in Christ (see ECUMENISM). Although the Social Gospel would be eclipsed by NEO-ORTHODOXY after World War I, the tradition remained influential in Western Protestantism up through World War II. Social Gospel theological themes, stressing social equality and the interrelationship between Christian theology and secular politics, were evident in many social movements and theological traditions in the latter half of the twentieth century, including the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT and genres of LIBERATION THEOLOGY.

The Rise of the Social Gospel

Scholars have identified the emergence of the Social Gospel as a response to late nineteenth-century industrialization in the United States. At the same time the Social Gospel was also a theological synthesis emerging from a variety of disparate

developments impacting North America and western Europe in the late nineteenth century.

Four factors may be cited to explain the emergence of the Social Gospel as a historical and theological tradition. First, the Social Gospel's roots can be connected to American postmillennial evangelical revivalism of the early and mid-nineteenth century. Focusing on the aftermath of the Second Great AWAKENING, scholars have linked the Social Gospel's rise to the social reform crusades that emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although early and mid-nineteenth century Protestant evangelicals such as CHARLES FINNEY and PHOEBE PALMER advocated an individualistic view of Christian salvation, their view of salvation emphasized the Christian's responsibility to reform society. This belief in personal salvation led many antebellum Protestants to address social issues related to temperance reform, women's rights, and the abolition of SLAVERY.

The legacy of Protestant evangelicalism spawned a number of movements in the late nineteenth century that became important conduits for the Social Gospel's emergence in Europe and North America. Organizations such as the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA) and the Student Volunteer Movement, a Protestant ecumenical organization that recruited university students for foreign missionary service, produced many leaders who would become associated with the Social Gospel in the early twentieth century (see MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS). Although proponents of the Social Gospel moved beyond a solitary focus on personal salvation, the movement by and large continued to stress the importance of individual salvation as a necessary component to build a just society.

The second factor contributing to the Social Gospel, and one cited by the majority of scholars as the primary catalyst for the tradition's emergence, was the rise of liberal theology in the latter half of the nineteenth century (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERATION). Embodied by theologians and ministers like ALBRECHT BENJAMIN RITSCHL, HORACE BUSHNELL, and HENRY WARD BEECHER, liberal theology served as a transition between traditional Protestant evangelicalism of the early nineteenth century and emerging theologies of the Social Gospel by the end of that century.

As opposed to a view of God's transcendence and separateness from history, liberal theologians stressed God's imminence and involvement within historical processes. Additionally, the development of liberal theology paralleled the emergence of biblical criticism from Germany. Both movements shared similar intellectual suppositions, including a tendency to view emerging nineteenth-century developments in the natural sciences, including DARWINISM, favorably.

Although not all liberal theologians embraced what would become the Social Gospel, the majority of the Social Gospel's theological exponents emerged from the legacy of liberal Protestantism. By the end of the nineteenth century, Social Gospel liberal theologians emphasized how the prophetic witness of the Old Testament prophets and Jesus's ethical teachings in the synoptic gospels could enable churches to address contemporary social problems. Among the prominent liberal theologians associated with the Social Gospel were SHAILER MATHEWS (1863–1941), a professor of New Testament at the University of Chicago, and Francis Peabody (1847–1936), a professor of ethics at Harvard University. Mathews's *The Social Teaching of Jesus* (1897) and

Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (1900) investigated the historical context of Jesus's ministry, relating Christ's teaching to contemporary social problems. These works highlight the way many Social Gospel leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries applied liberal theology and emerging currents in biblical scholarship to specific questions of social reform.

The rise of liberal theology also paved the way for the emergence of several Protestant clergy whose sermons and writings in the 1880s and 1890s are often seen as marking the beginning of the Social Gospel as a historical era in Western Protestantism. The minister often identified as the first major proponent of the Social Gospel was Washington Gladden. Throughout his career as a Congregational minister, Gladden authored several books dealing with the church's relationship to labor and capital. Like many early Social Gospel leaders, his reform agenda stressed the application of Christian social teachings to the pressing problems of urbanization and INDUSTRIALIZATION. The popularity of Washington Gladden's writings in the 1880s and 1890s coincided with the emergence of other Social Gospel clerics, whose writings became popular in both North America and Europe. These clergy included American Congregationalists Theodore Munger (1830–1910), whose book *The Freedom of Faith* (1883) was considered one of the most influential studies of theological liberalism, and Lyman Abbott (1835–1922), editor of the Progressive Era periodical, *The Outlook*. In Great Britain several clergy played a major role in propagating the rise of the Social Gospel, including the Methodist leader Hugh Price Hughes (1847–1902). Although these late nineteenth-century clergy leaders were influenced strongly by liberal theology, they also emphasized a personal piety reminiscent of earlier Protestant evangelicalism.

The intersection between Protestant evangelicalism and theological liberalism was also evident in a number of popular books published in North America and Europe in the late nineteenth century, the most prominent of which was CHARLES SHELDON'S 1896 novel, *In His Steps*. Sheldon's novel closely modeled William Stead's 1894 book, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* Stead (1849–1912), a prominent British journalist, detailed Chicago economic conditions in the 1890s, calling on churches to follow the example of Christ by serving the city's poor. Sheldon's novel describes the efforts of a congregation in a fictitious midwestern American city to follow Jesus's teachings for one year, asking one another the question, "What Would Jesus Do?" He explored many themes that became theological cornerstones for the Social Gospel. First, Sheldon emphasized the synoptic model of Jesus's ministry, epitomized by the teachings of Jesus's Sermon on the Mount. Second, his novel illustrated the vision, prominent among many American Protestant church leaders of that era, of creating a unified Protestant global culture. This vision of a "Christianized" Protestant society was predicated on the cultural assumptions held by the majority of Anglo-American Social Gospel leaders in the late nineteenth century. The book that epitomized this vision of Protestant culture was Josiah Strong's 1885 book, *Our Country*. A Congregational minister, Strong (1847–1916) reflected the hope that Protestant churches in America and western Europe (primarily Great Britain) could build a Christian cooperative society. His vision of a Christian commonwealth echoed both evangelical and liberal themes characteristic of many late nineteenth-century Social Gospel leaders.

A third factor contributing to the rise of the Social Gospel was the popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century of what has been termed Christian socialism (see

SOCIALISM, CHRISTIAN). Church leaders associated with this movement attempted to integrate liberal Christian teachings directly with emerging political and economic theories of nineteenth-century democratic socialism. Like other proponents of the Social Gospel, Christian socialists focused their analysis primarily on the social problems associated with nineteenth-century urbanization, stressing the importance of labor reform. In some cases, Christian socialists encouraged political mobilization and alliances with secular socialist organizations and political parties. The rise of the Social Gospel in Great Britain and the United States has been linked primarily with several clergy within the Anglican Church in Great Britain and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The popular writings of Anglican church leaders such as F.D. Maurice and CHARLES KINGSLEY created a foundation for Christian socialism in the 1840s and 1850s. A strong tradition of Christian socialism also existed within German Protestantism in the late nineteenth century, represented by church leaders such as ADOLF STOECKER (1835–1908), a pastor in the German Evangelical Church.

These currents of Christian socialism played a key role in the emergence of numerous Christian socialist societies in North America and Europe in the 1880s and 1890s that have been associated with the rise of the Social Gospel. Examples of these Social Gospel fellowships include the Christian Social Union, founded by the Anglican Church in 1889; the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor and the Society of Christian Socialists, founded by the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1887 and 1889, respectively; and the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, founded in 1892 by a group of American Baptist clergy. Christian socialist teachings were also evident in such leaders as George Herron (1862–1925), Congregational minister and professor at Grinnell College in Iowa, and William Dwight Porter Bliss (1856–1926), Episcopal clergyman and editor of the *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (1897), considered the first comprehensive study of nineteenth-century social Christianity. Although some Christian socialists, like Herron, argued strongly for a political model of democratic socialism, the majority of Christian socialist movements tended to be non-doctrinal, stressing social equality among the rich and poor.

The most influential figure associated with Christian socialism in the Social Gospel era was the American economist, Richard T. Ely (1854–1943). A professor of economics at Johns Hopkins University and the University of Wisconsin, Ely's writings used liberal Protestant theological themes concerning Jesus's teachings, relating them to questions of emerging socioeconomic theory. He was a founder of the American Economic Association, and his popularity in the 1880s and 1890s reflected a growing interest among British and North American church leaders in the wider application of the social sciences (especially sociology) to questions of Christian faith and practice.

A final factor that contributed to the rise of the Social Gospel was the impact of a number of women's organizations. These groups were connected to the tradition of Protestant voluntary societies in the antebellum United States. In the aftermath of the American CIVIL WAR, Protestant women established organizations that often addressed social problems associated with urban reform.

Included in the rubric of women's organizations that served as precursors to the Social Gospel were denominational home missionary and deaconess societies, founded primarily to provide a way for women to work in a variety of intercity ministries to the poor. The rise of the home missionary movement in the 1880s within American

Protestantism often complemented the intercity mission work of the institutional Settlement House movement of the times. The Settlement House movement, represented by leaders like Samuel Barnett (1844–1913), Graham Taylor (1854–1938), and Jane Addams (1860–1935), was designed to offer fellowship and self-help initiatives to poor urban residents and, in the American context, to recent immigrants. The movement integrated many secular philanthropic ideals within distinctive liberal theological and Christian socialist underpinnings, becoming a main reform movement during the Progressive Era.

Another women's organization reflecting an emerging Social Gospel consciousness was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Established in 1874 as an organization devoted to enacting temperance reform in North America and Great Britain, its most prominent leader was FRANCES WILLARD. As the longtime president of the WCTU, Willard's interests ranged broadly from women's suffrage to economic reform. Although American leaders like Willard reflected a distinctive piety reflective of earlier Protestant evangelicalism, many of these women also carried a strong interest in liberal theology and Christian socialism, serving as an important linkage between Social Gospel leaders in North America and Great Britain.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, women's organizations, Christian socialists, popular writers, ministers, and theologians were drawn to the Chautauqua Institute in western New York State. Established in the 1870s as part of the SUNDAY SCHOOL movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Chautauqua Institute became a major Progressive Era arena for speakers on social questions, including many representatives of the Social Gospel. The model of the Chautauqua Institute spawned regional Chautauquas, held throughout the United States until the early twentieth century, that featured prominent spokespersons of the Social Gospel.

Although early Social Gospel church leaders advocated solidarity with the working class and poor, the movement defined itself largely around the interests of white middle-class Protestant suppositions, often neglecting issues focused on racial justice. At the same time, however, a distinctive Social Gospel legacy emerged within African American churches, producing clergy and women's organizations committed to racial justice (see AFRICAN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM). One of the most prominent African-American leaders associated with the Social Gospel was Reverdy Ransom (1861–1952). Ransom, a minister and later bishop in the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, established numerous churches that engaged in urban settlement work directed toward African Americans. Some African-American Social Gospel leaders were also instrumental in the organization in 1909 and the early leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), one of the major civil rights organizations of the twentieth century. Scholarly debate continues, however, as to how the social ministries of African-American Protestantism fit into the larger Social Gospel movement in the United States.

The Maturity of the Social Gospel

The individual most identified with Protestant institutional acceptance of the Social Gospel was the German-American Baptist clergyman Walter Rauschenbusch. His formative writings, written between 1907 and his death in 1918, emphasized the interconnection between the doctrine of the KINGDOM OF GOD and contemporary imperatives for Christian social reform. More critical of economic capitalism than leaders like Josiah Strong and Washington Gladden, Rauschenbusch's theology rejected purely eschatological understandings of Christianity, maintaining that the Christian imperative to build the Kingdom of God required harsh judgments against the social and economic values of Western society. He believed that Jesus's condemnation of wealth needed to be taken literally as an indictment against contemporary socioeconomic conditions and challenged Protestant churches to devote their ministries to eradicate these inequalities. His books, including *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917), resonated with many church leaders who identified themselves with the Social Gospel and were widely read in North America and Europe.

Rauschenbusch's popularity was a catalyst for numerous publications emphasizing similar themes, and related to the imperative of churches to engage both theologically and practically in questions of socioeconomic reform. Prominent Social Gospel authors in the first two decades of the twentieth century included Vida Scudder (1861–1954), American Episcopalian laywoman and college professor; Samuel Batten (1859–1925), American Baptist clergyman; Charles Stelzle (1869–1941), American Presbyterian minister; and George Albert Coe (1862–1951), American Methodist clergyman and professor. Some Social Gospel leaders, like Stelzle, became active in the creation of institutional churches designed to provide outreach and ministry to poor urban populations. Other leaders of the movement wrote popular Protestant hymns, including "O Master Let Me Walk With Thee" by Washington Gladden and "Where Cross The Crowded Ways of Life," written by Methodist clergyman and ecumenical leader Frank Mason North (1850–1935). The rise of the Social Gospel also paralleled a similar movement of social Christianity within the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The most prominent exponent of the Social Gospel in American Catholicism was the economist John Ryan (1869–1945).

Rauschenbusch's popularity symbolized the apex of the Social Gospel tradition in the United States, before American entry into World War I in 1917. Although Social Gospel proponents never formed a majority of Protestant church members, the movement's leaders became associated with numerous reform efforts within churches and in wider secular reform movements in the Progressive Era. In particular the ideals of the Social Gospel were embraced by many influential denominational church leaders by the second decade of the twentieth century. Symbolic of this acceptance was the establishment in 1908 of the Federal Council of Churches in Christ in the United States (FCC). The foundation of the Federal Council coincided with the creation of a number of

denominational organizations and caucuses designed to promote awareness of social questions within their traditions.

The most influential denominational Social Gospel organization in the early twentieth century was the Methodist Federation for Social Service (MFSS). Founded in 1907 by five American Methodist clergy, the work of the MFSS was instrumental in leading the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1908 to adopt the first social creed by any American Protestant denomination—a creed that formed the basis for the one adopted later that year by the Federal Council of Churches (see *METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA*). Among the primary issues addressed by the Methodist and Federal Council creeds were limitations on working hours, the abolition of child labor, and the assertion that the Golden Rule of Christ be applied as the primary law to govern societal conduct. For the next decade the Federal Council's Commission on Social Service conducted numerous social survey reports designed to enable Protestant churches to eradicate social problems in both urban and rural contexts. The efforts of the Federal Council were supplemented by numerous Protestant initiatives intended to promote social service efforts in denominations, ecumenical assemblies, and local churches.

The early twentieth century also witnessed the emergence of a strong Social Gospel tradition in Canadian Protestantism that included leaders such as J.S. Woodworth (1874–1942) and Charles Gordon (pseudonym, Ralph Connor) (1860–1937). Although Canadian churches and leaders developed social service and ecumenical ministries that paralleled their American counterparts, the Canadian context produced one institutional synthesis that never occurred in the United States or Great Britain: the creation of a new denomination. The growing prominence of the Social Gospel tradition in both the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Canada was a contributing factor to the creation of the UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA in 1925.

Although the Social Gospel has been credited with giving Protestant churches in the United States a vision of theological and cultural unity, the rise of the movement also signaled a growing theological rift within Western Protestantism. The emergence of PENTECOSTALISM and FUNDAMENTALISM in the early twentieth century signified what would become a divide between Protestants who believed exclusively in individualistic views of salvation and the literal interpretation of scripture and liberals who stressed diverse modes of interpretation. In this regard the liberal imprint of the Social Gospel contributed to the fundamentalist-modernist controversy that would lead to divisions in Western Protestantism after World War I.

Decline

The Social Gospel went into decline as a theological movement in the United States after World War I. Although scholars have pointed to the deaths in 1918 of Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden as a sign of the tradition's demise, the theological idealism of the Social Gospel remained prominent in Western Protestantism in the aftermath of World War I. Two factors can be identified as contributing to the

movement's decline: the theological fractioning of the tradition and the rise of the theological tradition of NEO-ORTHODOXY.

The immediate cause for the decline of the Social Gospel was the splintering of the tradition's proponents in the aftermath of World War I. In 1918 the founding of the INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT (IWM) in the United States was a symbol for many Social Gospel leaders of their longstanding hope of building a cooperative world society in which Protestant churches would play the primary role. American postwar dissent, however, characterized by a series of major labor strikes and the vitriolic reaction of the American public against the 1917 Russian Revolution, created a rift among many Social Gospel proponents. Some proponents favored more gradualist reform initiatives and viewed the Allied victory in World War I as a sign of the coming Kingdom of God in Western society. Other church leaders, however, emerged dis-illusioned by the war's outcome. Many Social Gospel ministers, such as HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, had served as YMCA chaplains in western Europe at the climax of World War I. Their experiences in Europe led to the emergence of a strong movement of Christian pacifism in American Protestantism during the 1920s.

Additionally, many Protestant leaders embraced more radical visions of Christian socialism, inspired partly by the example of communism in the Soviet Union. Several Social Gospel leaders were concerned about the American government's crackdown against the civil liberties of left-wing movements after World War I and became active in the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The resulting factionalism among Social Gospel leaders contributed to a disintegration of the IWM and symbolized the emerging fragmentation of the earlier Protestant vision of building a unified Protestant society based on Western cultural suppositions.

Second, the ascendancy of Neo-orthodoxy in the 1920s and 1930s challenged many of the liberal theological underpinnings of the Social Gospel. The writings of the Swiss theologian KARL BARTH signaled a strong theological challenge to the liberal idealism of the Social Gospel. In the United States the writings of REINHOLD NIEBUHR were especially important in challenging the optimistic, liberal theological roots of the Social Gospel. Niebuhr's 1932 work, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, symbolized a growing disillusionment with theological liberalism among many church leaders in the wake of America's Great Depression and the rise of international fascism.

The neo-orthodox critique of the Social Gospel centered on two primary points. First, theologians like Reinhold Niebuhr and his brother H. RICHARD NIEBUHR critiqued the Social Gospel for its failure to differentiate the message of the Gospel from historical events. In juxtaposition to the Social Gospel emphasis that God worked through human institutions, the neoorthodox movement stressed God's transcendence and the view that salvation could not be understood as solely connected to historical processes. Second, although not dismissing the imperative to work for social justice, neo-orthodox theologians attacked the Social Gospel for what it believed was the tradition's myopic view of human progress. The movement's leaders reacted to the rise of European fascism in the 1930s and critiqued the Social Gospel for its inability to develop an adequate theology of sin. Although some neo-orthodox theologians credited a few Social Gospel leaders such as Rauschenbusch for maintaining a theology that held in tension divine sovereignty and God's involvement in history, neo-orthodoxy castigated the general

tendency of the Social Gospel to overemphasize human goodness and the perfectibility of society.

At the same time, the heirs to the Social Gospel theological tradition remained prominent in both British and North American Protestantism throughout the 1920s and 1930s. WILLIAM TEMPLE, Anglican clergyman and later the archbishop of Canterbury, was a major leader of the international ecumenical movement that emerged in the aftermath of World War I. The “Life and Work Conference” held in 1925 in Stockholm, Sweden, frequently viewed as the first modern international ecumenical conference of the twentieth century, echoed many of the predominant themes and theological suppositions of the Social Gospel, especially the conference’s emphasis on the Kingdom of God. In the United States, several clergy, theologians, and church leaders continued to propagate many of the reform sentiments of the Social Gospel. In addition to Fosdick, influential liberal leaders who rose to prominence in the 1920s and 1930s included Francis McConnell (1871–1953) and G. Bromley Oxnam (1891–1963), both Methodist bishops, and GEORGIA HARKNESS, the first woman to hold an academic chair of theology in a North American theological seminary.

The 1920s and 1930s also witnessed the growing popularity of the Protestant periodical *The Christian Century*. This periodical’s writers and its longtime editor CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON (1874–1966) reflected many germane theological emphases of the Social Gospel that related to theological liberalism and Christian pacifism. Distinctive themes of Social Gospel liberalism were also evident in the teachings of non-Western religious leaders in the 1930s, including Indian independence leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) and the Japanese Protestant leader TOYOHICO KAGAWA. The writings of these leaders were very popular within Western Protestantism, contributing to the growth of pacifist movements in Western Protestantism before World War II.

Many of the practical ideals espoused by Social Gospel leaders before World War I, particularly regarding government regulation of economic practices in the private sector, were enacted legislatively in many Western nations. In America the dissemination of Social Gospel ideals was evident within the state-sponsored economic initiatives enacted during the presidential administrations of Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930s. By the beginning of World War II, however, the majority of Western Protestant leaders had rejected the earlier progressive ideology of the Social Gospel era.

Assessment

Scholarship on the Social Gospel highlights the difficulty of defining the tradition because it never embodied a coherent systematic theological tradition. However, the tendency to apply the term “Social Gospel” chiefly to Protestant developments in the United States reflects the association of the tradition with the larger history of American Protestantism. The Social Gospel was analogous to the final historical era in American Protestantism in which Protestant churches assumed a taken-for-granted hegemony over the dominant religious and cultural lives of most Americans. As a historical movement,

the Social Gospel reflected many of the cultural and class biases associated with the larger movement of progressivism in western Europe and North American society. The decline of the Social Gospel movement symbolized the ultimate demise of a larger Protestant vision of religious and cultural unity.

At the same time, the Social Gospel had a major impact on the future historical and theological development of twentieth-century Protestantism. The Social Gospel theological legacy stressed the necessity that Christian faith be integrated within the social institutions of secular society. This theme was critical to the subsequent development of many twentieth-century mainline Protestant traditions whose ministries were predicated on a belief that the church needed to embrace and reform social, political, religious, and cultural institutions. The Social Gospel also contributed to a larger theological tradition that Christian belief and practice needed to work on behalf of the poor and the oppressed in society. In addition to the impact of the tradition on twentieth-century ecumenical social teachings, the theological writings of the Social Gospel have had a germane influence on many currents in late twentieth-century theology and social ethics. The American civil rights leader and Baptist minister MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. cited Walter Rauschenbusch as one of his major intellectual influences. Theological themes of many Social Gospel writers, especially the tradition's emphasis on the rights of the poor, have been evident within currents of late twentieth-century liberation theology.

The Social Gospel embodied a high optimism in human progress that accentuated many of the larger social and theological aspirations of Western Protestant churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the same time, the tradition crafted a larger legacy of social activism that has been a pre-dominant feature of many Protestant leaders and denominations throughout the twentieth century.

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SOCIAL REFORMERS AND PREACHERS

See Social Gospel

SOCIALISM, CHRISTIAN

Although Socialism arose as a Continental European phenomenon, the term “Christian Socialism” is generally used to describe a particular Protestant movement that originated in ENGLAND around 1848. Led mainly by Anglican priests this movement responded to the severe economic crisis, which had created great hardship among English industrial workers, as well as to the widespread influence of capitalist economic thought that praised competitive business and self-interest. Christian Socialists sought to create a more just society in which the working class could earn fair wages, have decent standards of living and education, and share political responsibilities with the middle and upper classes. They believed that any economic order should be based on a sense of fellowship among human beings as equal children of God, and they were confident that true Christian belief would necessarily lead to socialist principles and action, including cooperation and shared ownership of certain kinds of property. Although Christian Socialism declined in England in the 1850s (with a revival in the 1880s), socialist ideals were later taken up in other countries and by other schools of Christian thought such as LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM and LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Historically, Christian Socialism as a school of thought tended to flourish most where economic and political injustice is felt most keenly, whereas it often fades into the background during times of prosperity.

Background and Context in England

In 1776 Adam Smith (1723–1790) published *Wealth of Nations*, which is generally considered to mark the beginning of political economy as a discipline (see ECONOMICS). In it he proposed that human economic behavior (like working, buying, and selling) is motivated by individual self-interest, but that even when individuals act selfishly, a force (sometimes referred to as an “invisible hand”) guides their actions so as to work toward the benefit of society as a whole. Because of this faith that the economy essentially runs by itself, Smith and his successors thought the most appropriate way for governments to handle economics was through *laissez-faire* capitalism; that is, to leave people and markets alone and let them act without too many regulations. This kind of freedom would ensure the best outcome for everybody.

The trouble that many people found with this view of economics was that wealthy people who owned the means of production tended to benefit the most, whereas wage laborers tended to suffer. This was especially true when the economy was weak and there were not enough jobs to go around, as was the case in England in the mid-nineteenth

century. As a result members of the working class had begun to call for government action. In the 1820s and 1830s a socialist named Robert Owen (1771–1858) had advocated trade unions for laborers as a way for them to earn better wages, but struggles and failures within the Owenite movement caused it to fail. Another movement, Chartism (named for the People’s Charter of 1838), called for political reform, including voting rights for all males, although Chartism, too, lacked unified leadership, as well as being undermined by trade unionism, and this movement had also failed.

Socialism in France and Germany

As INDUSTRIALIZATION began to spread, and with it the ideals of capitalism, workers found themselves laboring under cruel conditions with little or no power to change them. A number of French thinkers began to argue for socialist ideals—such as cooperation among workers and the sharing of wealth—often with a religious flavor. Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) said Jesus’s golden rule of loving one’s neighbor as oneself should govern both employers and laborers. Pierre Leroux (1797–1871), one of the first to use the term “socialism” in FRANCE, called Jesus the “greatest economist” and advocated making the kingdom of God a reality on earth. Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais (1782–1854), a Catholic priest, undertook social reform with the idea that society would be most just under the head of the church, although he denied that he was a socialist if socialism meant the abolition of private property. Other French socialist thinkers were less overtly religious. In 1840 Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) published his pamphlet *What is Property?*, in which he declared that private property is essentially theft.

Socialism in France remained a largely intellectual movement until workers themselves began joining in. In Paris in 1848 conditions were ripe for revolt; industrial workers were concentrated in the city, but because of recent crop failures and subsequent depression, unemployment was high and living conditions were harsh. Tensions came to a head at a demonstration in June and workers began to riot, leading to the accidental death of Archbishop Denis-Auguste Affre, who had been sympathetic to the workers’ cause. In addition thousands of other demonstrators were killed by government forces. With this violent revolt, the poor lost much political support from the Catholic Church. Because workers and their intellectual allies felt the church had turned against them, French socialism developed with a largely anticlerical tone and did not use the qualifier “Christian.”

Socialism was moving among German-speaking people as well. Franz von Baader (1765–1841), a Catholic layperson and prolific writer who admired Lammenais, was the first to write in German of a “Christian social principle,” by which he meant Jesus’s command to love God and love one’s neighbor as oneself. Later on, the Catholic archbishop of Mainz, Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811–1877), who felt a special concern for the plight of workers and the poor, would continue to seek a “third way” between unquestioned capitalism and greed on the one hand and total COMMUNISM of property on the other. Drawing largely from the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Ketteler

affirmed the human right to own private property (and therefore rejected political socialism), but he qualified this right by emphasizing that all creation is ultimately God's and therefore to be used for the common good. He called on wealthy Christians not only to give alms for the poor, but also to address the actual causes of poverty; and he encouraged laborers to form associations or trade unions to improve their wages and working conditions. There were a small number of Protestants who also aligned themselves with the Catholic social movement in GERMANY, such as Victor Aimé Huber (1800–1869) and Lutheran pastor JOHANN HEINRICH WICHERN (1808–1881), although political hostility between Catholics and Protestants at the time prevented widespread collaboration. German-speaking Protestants, including LEONHARD RAGAZ (1868–1945) and Swiss theologian KARL BARTH (1886–1968), would become more prominent in the religious socialism of the twentieth century.

Although socialist causes in Germany enjoyed greater support from Catholics than in France, not all German-speaking socialists were open to Christian influences. A group of German exiles who called themselves the Communist League gathered in Brussels in 1847. Among them were Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) who would publish the *Communist Manifesto* in London in 1848. Marx believed religion was little more than an “opi-ate” for the poor, a tool to keep them resigned to their low status in life, and he wanted his movement to have nothing to do with Christian ideas of any kind. He referred to Ketteler as a “dog,” and attacked one of his predecessors in the socialist movement, Wilhelm Weitling (1808–1871), who portrayed Jesus as a revolutionary communist and favored the abolition of private property as the means to fight poverty. Steeped in the tradition of Adam Smith, Marx believed economics should be treated scientifically rather than morally, and he sought to create a nonreligious basis for socialism that relied less on ethical norms and more on social science.

The Christian Socialist Movement in England, 1848–1854

Conditions in England in 1848 seem to have provided the fertile ground necessary for the birth of an explicitly Christian Socialism. England had observed the bloody revolts in France with horror, and fears arose that a similar violent revolt would break out among British workers who were likewise suffering under industrialization. A lawyer, John Malcolm Forbes Ludlow (1821–1911), who had been educated in France, wanted to Christianize the socialism he saw being imported to England from the Continent. He wrote to Anglican vicar FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE (1805–1872) of his idea to start a movement, and together with another clergyman, CHARLES KINGSLEY (1819–1875), they wrote a proclamation for the workers of London telling them that the Anglican Church sympathized with them but encouraged them not to riot (see ANGLICANISM). The group then briefly published a newspaper for workers called *Politics for the People*, which upheld the ideals of socialism but presented them as Christian, rather than as political, concepts. They redefined “liberty, equality, and fraternity,” watchwords of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, in Christian terms of human

connection and fellowship, appealing to common humanity under God rather than precise political or economic equality.

The Christian Socialists also taught against the doctrine of self-interest that had taken hold of politics and economic thought. They were not against the possibility of capitalism in principle, nor against the idea that some people must labor while others own property. Rather than self-interest and competition being the inherent laws of economics, however, Christian Socialism preached that cooperation was God's plan, serving the common good rather than the selfish individual good.

None of those who began this Christian Socialist movement was a member of the working class. To diversify their group, the founders began a BIBLE study under Maurice's leading to which they invited some leaders of the workers' movement. At the same time Maurice began teaching at conferences for workers to bridge the chasm between workers and the church, which workers tended to associate with the wealthy. He also taught to educate the bourgeoisie, who (because of what they had seen in Europe) associated the term "socialism" with atheism and general immorality. Maurice believed that the CHURCH—which was "communist in principle"—was the only body in which all were included and equal; but he believed strongly that the state was not meant to be communist. Although all are equals in the sight of God, the state rests on the need for diversity and even inequality.

The Christian Socialist movement was thus more Christian than socialist in 1848. This changed somewhat when the group came into contact with a French socialist, Jules St. Andre le Chevalier (1806–1862), who helped to politicize the movement. They learned from him more about the socialist principles of Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier (1772–1837), Proudhon, and others; and he learned from them to believe that the church was the true embodiment of the socialist principles of fellowship or "association." The task of Christian Socialism was thus laid out more clearly: to challenge the theory of political economy that glorified competition, and to set good examples of Christian production, distribution, and consumption. With this, Christian Socialism moved out of the realm of ideas toward a policy of action. They began setting up workers' associations that divided profits on labor, as a way of protesting against competition and demonstrating that cooperation could work.

Maurice began publishing *Tracts on Christian Socialism* in 1850 to make the movement's objectives clear to the public. He wrote that the only true foundation for socialism was Christianity, and that Christianity would necessarily lead to socialism. He rejected any socialism that did not have its basis in religion (this would include Marxism) and also blamed church leaders for not teaching Christianity properly. Fellowship was God's natural order for humankind, but competition was a creation of human sinfulness. Socialism was thus not a threat to social order nor was it even a political agenda, but was a way of organizing society on Christian principles.

As Maurice sought to educate the upper classes, Ludlow began to publish another newspaper in 1850, *The Christian Socialist*, to correct what he considered wrong socialist views among workers. He emphasized that socialism was primarily spiritual, a church movement seeking to realize itself in the world of industry. Any economic system not based on the teachings of Christ was wrong; thus the "laws" of economics as seen by political economy were false. Unlike Maurice, Ludlow was in favor of common property, given that he believed Christian principles left no room for class distinctions. He

approved of a democracy in which all members have equal rights and duties, and this led him to call also for reform in the Anglican Church itself, which he believed was too hierarchical.

As the movement grew it established a board to administer what it now called the “Society for Promoting Working Men’s Associations” (SPWMA). Whereas Ludlow and others focused mainly on producer-based cooperation (e.g., the Working Tailors’ Association), some in the group, such as Edward Neale, began to focus on consumer-based cooperation, setting up the Central Co-operative Agency. Ludlow feared consumer associations (for purposes of acquiring goods) were not as spiritual as producer associations. Ludlow and Neale also clashed on whether members of the movement should necessarily be Christian; Neale felt it was more important to include as many people as possible than to insist on Christian doctrines. Maurice sided with Neale; he also believed (against Ludlow) that Christian Socialism should not seek to become a political party. The name of *The Christian Socialist* was changed in 1852 to the *Journal of Association*, and because of Maurice’s fame, Christian Socialism under his leadership gained much sympathy among workers and wealthy alike. Association was seen as being good for the poor and workers and it helped revive England’s social conscience. It opened the door among politicians for serious thought about socialism and cooperation, which had previously seemed too threatening. Christian Socialism also stimulated a new tone in trade unionism, eventually leading to legislation that protected workers’ cooperatives.

Nevertheless, the movement had begun its decline. The *Journal of Association* ceased printing, leading to a loss in profile for the movement. In 1853 Maurice was fired from his teaching position and decided to found a Working Men’s College (1854), which would educate workers to make them fit for greater social responsibility. This model was widely imitated across England. When Maurice shifted his attention and energy from associative movements to EDUCATION, the movement followed, including a disillusioned Ludlow. This marked the end of the first wave of Christian Socialism in England.

Revival and Legacy of Christian Socialism

England enjoyed relative prosperity in the 1860s and 1870s, providing little impetus for workers’ movements, although in the latter 1800s the Fabian Society and trade unions carried on socialist ideals. When recessions hit in the 1880s Christian Socialism found a wide audience again. In 1888 the LAMBETH CONFERENCE of Anglican bishops declared its sympathy for the state taking an active role in improving the workers’ conditions, believing that to be compatible with Christian morals, and by 1900 Christian Socialism had become a prominent political force in England. Christian Socialism encouraged critique of English society and helped to create communication between the church and workers. Thus workers in England did not feel obligated to become either atheists or revolutionary communists, and instead were able to use the tools of democracy

to further their objectives. In 1893 a number of Christian Socialists were influential in the formation of the Independent Labour Party.

The great change in the situation between 1848–54 and the 1880s and 1890s must be properly understood. At the former time, Socialism was just beginning. It had no generally accepted definition and little political influence. By the latter time, the working class had grown massively in numbers and political influence, not the least because of the extensions of the franchise. A Socialist party was a major force not only in England but most European countries. Karl Marx had emerged as the most influential Socialist thinker, against whom other Socialists had to define themselves, even if (as in the case of most Christian Socialists) they rejected many of his ideas. Clergymen were now seldom in a position to take a lead in the way Maurice and his colleagues had done in 1848, and the influence of Christian Socialism was exercised mainly through those individuals who became active in trade unions and Socialist parties.

Socialism also caught on in the UNITED STATES. In 1872 the Christian Labor Union formed to promote just wages and just prices; Marxists organized the Socialist Labor Party in 1877; and in 1889 the Society of Christian Socialists was founded. By 1912 the Socialist Party had 120,000 members, 1,200 elected officials, and 300 periodicals, including *The Christian Socialist*, which had 20,000 readers. What they shared in common was a rejection of the economic principles of competition and INDIVIDUALISM, and a desire to foster a just society through a sense of cooperation and fellowship. American churches were also sympathetic to the movement, and a Protestant theological movement known as the SOCIAL GOSPEL became prominent around the turn of the twentieth century, led by such preachers as WASHINGTON GLADDEN and WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. These Christians rejected any use of religion as an “opiate of the people” and sought ways to make the KINGDOM OF GOD a reality on earth, not only within the church but also in the realms of politics and economics. The belief that Christianity must include active involvement in the fostering of justice had a deep impact on twentieth-century American theology, and was furthered by such key figures as MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. and JAMES HAL CONE.

The prominence of Christian socialism in England and the United States stood in contrast to Continental Europe, where socialism still had a largely anticlerical tone arising from a persistent sense that the Catholic Church was unsympathetic to workers. Historically the Catholic Church was against socialism because of the church’s belief that private property is in accordance with NATURAL LAW (MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN likewise protected the right to private property against the Anabaptists of their time who promoted common property; see HUTTERITES), as well as because of socialism’s frequent association with atheism and Marxism. In 1891 Pope Leo XIII (who referred to Archbishop Ketteler as “our great predecessor”) sought to address the divide between the church and the poor. After commissioning a number of social and economic study groups in Rome and elsewhere, he wrote his papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (“New Things” or *On the Condition of Workers*). In it he advocated for workers’ rights, encouraged the formation of Christian labor unions, and called for industrial reforms to improve working conditions. At the same time, however, he still rejected socialism (including Christian socialism) because of its call to abolish private property, as well as because of its previous tendencies toward revolution. Many workers and socialists at the time felt that Leo’s encyclical was too mild in its criticism of capitalism and merely

supported the status quo. Nevertheless, the pope's boldness in directly addressing economic matters encouraged Christians to become more engaged in politics. Catholic popes after Leo, including John XXIII and John Paul II, took seriously the need to protect workers from the more extreme consequences of capitalism. They rejected the idea that humans were merely instruments of production and, although they did not embrace socialism, they affirmed that much of what was good in socialist principles could be found in Christianity. Christian Socialism in the late twentieth century, although not calling itself socialism, thus found one of its most persuasive voices in Catholic Liberation Theology. Advocated by such Latin American thinkers as Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutierrez (*A Theology of Liberation*, 1973), Liberation Theology sought to reconcile Marxist social ideas with Christian theology and ETHICS.

In Germany, an Association of Religious Socialists (*Bund Religiöser Sozialisten Deutschlands*) was formed after World War I. Small in size, this association consisted of both those who sought to combine Marxian socialism with Christianity and those who were concerned about a proper Christian response to the various social issues and problems of the day. In a way, the pioneering efforts in this regard had come from SWITZERLAND already, late in the nineteenth century, with such figures as HERMANN KUTTER and Leonhard Ragaz. At issue was their conviction that Christianity had not succeeded in dealing with the social issues of the late nineteenth century.

In many European countries, the restructuring of political life after World War II brought the formation of political parties, which combined the terms "Christian" and "Social" or "Socialist" in their names, for example the *Christlich Soziale Union* in Bavaria. Though mainly supported by Catholics, these parties were a major political force for decades; at this time, however, only in Germany does this legacy continue to exist.

See also Oxford Movement

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KATHRYN D. BLANCHARD

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) was founded in 1699 by a CHURCH OF ENGLAND priest, THOMAS BRAY (1656–1730), and four lay associates, supported by the archbishop of Canterbury. Its purpose was to promote “Religion and Learning in any part of His Majesty’s Plantations abroad, and to provide Catechetical Libraries and free Schools in the parishes at home.”

The context in Britain was the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1688, which had secured an unequivocally Protestant monarchy. Here, “at home,” there was need for catechetical and general education for the impoverished mass of children, and provision of theological and general libraries for the poorer clergy. The context “abroad” was the emergent British empire, competing with the imperialism of the Roman Catholic nations, FRANCE and Spain. Bray’s appointment as the bishop of London’s commissary for Maryland alerted him to the needs of the church among settlers, indigenes, and slaves in North America. This appointment also prompted his other great creative achievement in 1701, the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (S.P.G.), to recruit and send missionaries. These two societies inaugurated Protestant mission from Britain and Ireland, their work largely complementary. They represented a High Church form of Protestantism, exemplified in S.P.C.K.’s provision of bibles bound with the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. As societies dependent on voluntary support, they were characteristic creations of the golden age of philanthropy in Britain.

There have been various aspects to S.P.C.K.’s work in Britain. The commitment to “free Schools” was realized in the eighteenth century through support for the Charity Schools, which catechized and gave extremely basic education to poor children. For similar schools in WALES, S.P.C.K. published books, chiefly religious, in Welsh. The nineteenth century saw the state beginning to assume responsibility for schools, although the Church of England continued to educate large numbers with S.P.C.K. funding teacher training, school inspection, and publishing. Publishing in support of children’s religious education and general theological publishing continued through the twentieth century. Bray’s support for the large number of poor clergy in poor parishes was by the provision of parish libraries, work that S.P.C.K. sustained through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, adding book grants for ordinands.

Initially S.P.C.K.’s work in the “Plantations” was through the provision of libraries, although S.P.G. became increasingly responsible for this in North America. Tens of thousands of books were sent there during the eighteenth century, these having a significant impact on religious and cultural developments. An unexpected but important role for S.P.C.K. came with a request in 1709 to support Lutheran missionaries beginning work then in South India, a role more appropriate to S.P.G. but precluded by its constitution until 1826, when this task was devolved to it. With the extension of British

colonial rule S.P.C.K. translation, publishing, and distribution work became virtually global throughout the Anglican Communion. The society entered the third millennium with such work in 120 countries and autonomous sister S.P.C.K. organizations in INDIA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, and the UNITED STATES.

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DANIEL O'CONNOR

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL

Founded by Royal Charter in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) was the CHURCH OF ENGLAND'S response to the Roman Catholic Propaganda Fide (1622). The founder was THOMAS BRAY, previously creator of the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE (SPCK). Continental Protestants were co-opted. The charter authorized the Society to send missionaries to work among settlers, indigenes, and slaves in areas under British sovereignty, although its range was later widened. More than 400 missionaries, including a number of WOMEN, were sent to North and Central America, the CARIBBEAN and AUSTRALIA in the eighteenth century, and thousands were sent into Asia, South America, the Pacific, and AFRICA in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, laying the foundations of the Anglican Communion of Churches.

Nineteenth-century developments of the Evangelical Revival and the OXFORD MOVEMENT had the effect of fragmenting the Church of England's missionary endeavors, although the SPG continued to seek to serve the whole church. In 1965, amalgamation with the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and subsequently with other, smaller agencies, led to the SPG becoming the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Educational and medical initiatives accompanied the SPG's evangelizing efforts, with hundreds of schools, colleges, and hospitals established. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some SPG missionaries (e.g., ROLAND ALLEN, Mark Trollope, and J.C.Winslow) effectively promoted inculturation of church and belief, whereas a small number, including Krishna Mohan Banerjea, CHARLES FREER ANDREWS, and A.S.Cripps, bravely opposed COLONIALISM. In the later twentieth century, the Society was vigorous in opposition to apartheid in SOUTH AFRICA, and, into the twenty-first century, was doing effective medical work in the field of AIDS as well as advocating solutions to global indebtedness.

See also Missions; Missionary Organizations

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DANIEL O'CONNOR

SOCIETY OF BROTHERS (BRUDERHOF)

In early twentieth century Germany, Eberhard Arnold began a search for “true Christian community” that led him, his family, and a few disciples to establish a small Christian communitarian settlement in the 1920s, later called the Society of Brothers or Bruderhof. University studies in church history acquainted him with Anabaptist Writings (see ANABAPTISM), the most attractive of which were those of the sixteenth-century HUTTERITES, with whom he came to share views of community of goods. Only later did he discover that the Hutterites were not extinct but maintained a vibrant existence in the United States and Canada, still following the centuries-old customs and traditions he had read about. After a lengthy correspondence and a personal visit by Arnold, the Bruderhof in Germany united with the American and Canadian Hutterites in 1931.

The rise of National Socialism and the death of Arnold in 1935 created havoc for the Bruderhof church. Eventually forced out of Germany, the members settled briefly in England. However, with the outbreak of war, English society was uncomfortable with a strange, largely German group in their midst, and again they were forced to leave. They found refuge in Paraguay and Uruguay, where they struggled to survive while holding on to their Christian communitarian outlook and practice. Socioeconomic difficulties and internal strife in South America and the promise of a more suitable situation caused them to migrate en masse in 1961 to the United States where they established settlements in New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. There were later efforts to establish settlements in Germany and Nigeria.

From the beginning of the union of Arnold’s group with the “Western Hutterites” (whose settlements were primarily in the U.S. Midwest and central plains of Canada), distance and circumstance plagued the concerted efforts of both to enrich the relationship. Despite significant ideological and theological similarities, differences in historical background, socioeconomic perspectives, and especially views of what constitutes true Christian discipleship created considerable tension. The “Western Hutterites” share a much narrower, homogeneous Germanic genealogy dating to the mass migration from Hutterite settlements in Russia in the 1880s, and they maintain almost exclusively an agricultural economy. The continued intermarriage within this group over the decades reinforced social homogeneity and their numerical growth was through a high birth rate rather than “outside” converts. On the other hand, the “Eastern Hutterites” (now called Society of Brothers) settled in the north-east United States and developed a small industry economy. Their membership is largely made up of converts from the outside, although a few trace their heritage to the Arnold family and early disciples. They are much more aggressive in EVANGELISM, largely centered on promoting PACIFISM and activism against such practices as capital punishment, and many have joined them from other types of communitarian endeavors. Tensions between the Western Hutterites and

the Society have led to periods of estrangement from 1955 to 1974 and from 1995 to the present.

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WES HARRISON

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN NORTH AMERICA

From its English origins in the seventeenth century, the Society of Friends in North America has evolved and splintered to encompass broad diversity, ranging from fundamentalists to devotees of New Age spirituality.

Beginnings

The roots of Quakerism lie in ENGLAND, with GEORGE Fox (1624–1691). Seeking the true church among the competing sects of the English revolution, between 1647 and 1652 Fox had a series of what he called “openings” in which he was convinced that God had spoken directly to him. Among Fox’s teachings were the existence of an “Inward Light” of Christ in all people; direct revelation from God without priestly intermediaries; worship based on silent waiting, with all worshipers theoretically able to preach if led by the Holy Spirit; pacifism; the equality of men and women in the ministry and most religious affairs; and a series of peculiarities, such as a refusal to swear oaths or to use the titles of social superiors. The popular impression that Fox’s followers quaked when under the influence of the Holy Spirit led to the pejorative nick-name “Quaker,” one which Friends began to use themselves.

In 1656 several English Quakers, women prominent among them, visited New England, New Netherland, Maryland, and Virginia. Only in Rhode Island did they find toleration. Persecution was worst in Massachusetts; between 1659 and 1661 Massachusetts authorities hanged three men and one woman.

Persecution in England in the 1660s led Friends to establish colonies in North America as havens. The major Quaker colony was Pennsylvania, granted to WILLIAM PENN (1644–1718) in 1681. Penn’s government was a curious amalgam of Quaker liberalism and medieval lordship; he guaranteed toleration to all Christians, provided for an elected assembly, and tried to deal fairly with Native Americans, while at the same time reserving ultimate authority to himself.

In the mid-eighteenth century, a feeling of spiritual deterioration developed. Quaker leaders, most notably JOHN WOOLMAN (1720–1772), led a reform movement designed to return Friends to spiritual fervor and disciplinary rigor. Through rigid enforcement of church discipline, especially rules against marriage with non-Quakers, this movement was responsible for the loss of thousands of members. On the other hand, while attempting to build up Quaker defenses against “the world,” it made Quakers leaders in various humanitarian movements, particularly those involving American Indians and

African Americans. Friends became public opponents of slavery. By 1784 all of the American yearly meetings had ruled that members who owned slaves must free them unconditionally.

The nineteenth century witnessed the splintering of American Quakerism in a series of schisms whose impact is still visible. At their center was an influential minister from Long Island, Elias Hicks (1748–1830). Hicks saw himself as a defender of traditional Quakerism. He emphasized the power and authority of the Inward Light over that of the written Scriptures. He also defined the divinity of Christ in Sabelian terms: Christ had become divine, the Son of God, through His perfect obedience to the Inward Light. Hicks encountered opposition especially among the leaders of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, whose views on Christ and the Bible were similar to those of non-Quaker evangelicals. Their attempts to silence Hicks and his supporters led to a split in 1827 and 1828, with the orthodox emerging as the majority.

Quaker fractiousness continued after this schism. In the 1840s and 1850s Hicksite Friends found themselves badly divided over how they should respond to the abolitionist, women's rights, and nonresistance movements. Some Hicksites, most notably LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT (1793–1880), championed Quaker participation. A majority of Hicksites were more conservative, denouncing ties with non-Friends as threatening Quaker peculiarity. Many of the radical Hicksite reformers split off to form what they called Congregational or Progressive Friends meetings.

Orthodox Friends also experienced tensions between 1830 and 1860. An English Quaker minister, Joseph John Gurney (1788–1847) championed an evangelical vision of Quakerism, including the necessity for an instantaneous conversion experience, the superiority of the Bible to the Inner Light, and the desirability of joining with non-Quaker evangelicals in good works, such as temperance, education, prison reform, and SUNDAY SCHOOL movements. Gurney traveled in the United States between 1837 and 1840, winning considerable support among a majority of Orthodox Friends, but some Orthodox Friends criticized Gurney as compromising Quaker distinctiveness, most notably Rhode Island Friend John Wilbur (1774–1856).

These gaps widened after the CIVIL WAR. Hicksite Friends became more self-consciously liberal. They also developed or adapted new institutions, like Sunday Schools (First Day Schools for Hicksites), and opened the third Quaker college in the world, Swarthmore in Philadelphia, in 1869. In 1900 the Hicksite yearly meetings merged biennial conferences on education and reform under an umbrella organization, Friends General Conference.

Orthodox Friends changed more radically. After 1870, most Gurneyite Friends meetings were swept up in a wave of revivalism imported largely from the interdenominational second-experience holiness movement. Under its influence, pastors were hired, music and choirs became part of worship, the Peace Testimony was abandoned, and in many places meetings were renamed the "Friends Church." Such Friends also championed Quaker work in foreign missions, laying the groundwork for the growth of Quakerism in AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, the CARIBBEAN, and Asia. This movement brought in thousands of new members, but also led to a new round of splits between 1877 and 1904.

The 1890s saw a reaction develop among Gurneyites. This movement found its leader in Haverford College professor RUFUS M. JONES (1863–1948), who tried to meld

Quaker doctrine with the modernist movement. But his work, especially his editorship of the periodical, the *American Friend*, aroused considerable opposition from other Gurneyites, who embraced views that were similar to those of the emerging Fundamentalist movement. Modernist and Fundamentalist Friends battled for control of the central Gurneyite organization, the Five Years Meeting, formed in 1902, culminating in the formation in 1947 of the Association of Evangelical Friends, now known as Evangelical Friends International (EFI).

The most visible Quaker activities in twentieth-century America involved social activism. Best known has been the American Friends Service Committee, formed by Friends of all persuasions in 1917 as a vehicle for Quaker nonviolent service during World War I.

American Quakerism today spans the spectrum of Christianity and beyond. Many pastoral Friends are allied with the most conservative elements of American EVANGELICALISM. Many in the unprogrammed yearly meetings embrace a Universalist outlook that argues that Quakerism is not necessarily Christian or even theistic. Total membership is now about 90,000.

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THOMAS D.HAMM

SOCINIANISM

Socinianism refers to a number of Antitrinitarian churches in POLAND, Lithuania, and elsewhere shaped by the thought of FAUSTO PAOLO SOZZINI (see ANTITRINITARIANISM). Several groups and religious entities fall within the definition of eighteenth-century Socinianism. The term itself was created by Protestant theologians in the seventeenth century and was rejected by Socinians. Although “Socinianism” was meant to describe them, they preferred to be called “Christians,” “Polish Brethren,” or “Unitarians.”

History of Socinianism in Poland

Socinianism is considered to be a continuation of sixteenth-century Antitrinitarianism, despite the fact that reforms by Augusto Sozzini changed its doctrinal shape. Between 1601 and 1602 Sozzini worked as a tutor in Rakow, a town that soon became a capital of the movement, which it remained until 1638. In 1606–1609 and 1619 Sozzini’s favored successor Valentius Smalcus continued the work of his teacher. Even though the name of the famous theologian from Siena was remembered, believers themselves opposed being called Socinians.

Rakow was also the place where a Socinian educational institution was founded in 1601. Excellent teaching made this academic institution (the first students arrived in 1603) extremely challenging. No wonder it attracted many Protestant and even Catholic students. The school in Rakow also included a modest theological faculty for future Socinianic clergy. It never regained its former glamour after it was closed in 1638 and moved to Kisielin in the Wolyn district.

Rakow was also the place of Sebastian Sternicki’s print shop that published some 250–300 books in Polish, German, Flemish, and Latin, a great majority of which were in theology (for example, the *Racovian Catechism* [first Polish edition, 1605; first German edition, 1608; first Latin edition, 1609]). A vast number of books from the Rakow press were secretly distributed throughout the whole of Europe. Many of the Socinians in the Polish-Lithuanian Common-wealth were German. Together with the Poles they formed the administrative and intellectual elites of the movement. This included such names as Johann Volker (d. 1658), author of the basic Socinian doctrinal work entitled *De vera religione* (“Concerning true religion,” 1630); Johann Crell (1590–1633), an intellectual and biblical scholar; and Joachim Stegman, senior (1592–1633), mathematician and theologian. The vast majority of German Socinians—for example, Valentius Smalcus—were Polish citizens who adapted to the new culture. On the other hand, German presence

in the community allowed the church to maintain its missions in areas where German was a native language.

Although Socinianism enjoyed relatively good conditions during its early development, subsequent years brought problems and defeats caused by the Catholic Counter-Reformation, which considered Socinianism its greatest enemy.

An act of the Polish Senate in 1638, passed after schoolboys were allegedly seen throwing stones at a wayside cross, ordered the closing of schools and the printing office in Rakow. The seminary was moved to Wolyn, where it did not manage to regain its former importance and reputation. In 1647 Socinians were refused the right to any pedagogical or PUBLISHING activity in the territory of the Commonwealth. Finally in 1648 Catholics excluded Socinianism from the so-called Warsaw Confederation (1573), an act that had been the guarantee of freedom of religion to all.

Nevertheless, the main blow to Polish-Lithuanian Socinianism came after the Swedish War, during which part of the non-Catholic gentry and leaders declared their support for SWEDEN. This caused an increase of reluctance skillfully fomented by Catholic propaganda. On July 10, 1658 Parliament ordered the expulsion within three years of the "Arians" (Socinians) under the penalty of death or confiscation of all property. This, however, was only binding for those Socinians who refused to convert to Catholicism. In 1659 Parliament decided not to delay any longer and enforced the earlier law. Socinians were refused protection, and their religion was found unlawful in 1660.

Socinian Emigration

Probably only a couple of thousand Socinians decided to leave the country. Not only did the rest stay and officially agree to practice the religion of the majority, but also supplied the outlawed Socinians with financial aid. This phenomenon, which existed until the end of the eighteenth century, is known as Crypto-Socinianism. Despite the draconian law, none of the Socinians was sentenced to death. However, cases of expulsion from the country or fines for delays in converting to Catholicism were common.

Intensified Socinian emigration from Poland took place in the fall of 1660, when a couple hundred Socinians were forced to Transylvania. Robbed of the last penny along the way, Socinians were hospitably welcomed by the Hungarian Unitarians. The refugees established local religious communities that managed to preserve the national identity of their members. They lasted until 1784. Years of Hungarian influence on the younger generations weakened differences and enabled Socinians to join the national church of HUNGARY.

The situation of emigrants in East Prussia and Neumark was worse. Despite being constantly attacked by Lutheran CLERGY, the small community managed to survive until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A third group, led by a historian and astronomer Stanislaw Lubieniecki, unsuccessfully looked for protection in North GERMANY and the Palatinate, but the influence of the Lutherans was too strong. Therefore a part of the group decided to settle in the NETHERLANDS with their famous leader Anrzej Wiszowaty (1608–1678), the

author of the masterpiece *Religio rationalis* (“Rational religion”). He and his son Benedict (who died after 1704 as a pastor of exiles) tried to preserve the heritage and history of Socinianism. Thus between 1665 and 1668 Andrzej Wiszowaty published the eight-volume work called *Bibliotheca a Frerum Polonorum* (*Library of Polish Brethren*) consisting of pieces written by F.Sozzini, J.Crell, J.Szichling, and J.L.Wolzogen. (An incomplete collection of works by Samuel Przytkowski titled *Cognitiones sacrae* published in 1692 was a ninth volume.) New editions of “the Racovian Catechism” (1665, 1680, 1681, 1684), *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum* (*Antitrinitarian Library*) (1684) by Christoph Sondius, and *Historia reformationis Polonicae* (*History of Polish Reformation*) (1685) by Stanislaw Lubieniowski were issued thanks to Wiszowaty’s devotion and persistence.

The Socinian diaspora remained in continuous contact among themselves. This contact was lost in the eighteenth century when local churches absorbed emigration. Until this time Transylvania and Prussia were the places where regular synods met. The latter also included representatives of Crypto-Socinianism from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Leaders of emigration churches—Stanislaw Lubieniowski, Samuel Przytkowski, and Andrzej Wiszowaty—endeavored often to encourage their English and Dutch brethren to be generous. They also sought to return to Poland through fruitless efforts to obtain the repeal of the act that declared Socinians outlaws.

The Spread of Socinianism in Europe

Fausto Sozzini and his successors had made promoting religion one of their top priorities. Books printed in Rakow were dispersed all over Europe. Traveling Socinians, who were sometimes specially trained for that kind of mission, soon became the main instruments of propaganda.

German universities, attended by Polish students and tutors who were Socinian activists, also became an extremely important terrain for missionary activity. The reputation of Ernst Solar, a philosopher popular among students, was one of the greatest Socinian successes at the University at Altdorf. This center of Crypto-Socinianism (from 1605 to 1616) that had remained in close relations with Rakow was closed after an intervention of University activists.

The dissent of Rakow occasioned a great concern and a brisk polemics among Lutheran clergy. Earl M. Wilbur suggested that in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany some 700 proceedings against Socinians took place.

Before that time, as early as 1598, there were signs of Socinian activity in the Netherlands. That is the time when Andrzej Wojowski and Christoph Ostrorodt appeared there. However, they were soon dismissed from the country and the books from Rakow they brought with them were burned. Although their ideas were treated with reserve, Socinians maintained close relations with the Remonstrants in the Netherlands. They never managed to attract their friends with Trinitarian and soteriological notions. Nevertheless, the influence of Socinianism on two representatives of the “left wing” of the Remonstrants, also known as Collegiants, was significant. Two leaders of this stream,

Johannes Geestteranus (1586–1622) and Dirk Camphuysen (1586–1622), were in a close contact with Rakow while translating biographies of F. Sozzini and V. Smalcus into Dutch.

Socinian propaganda found a fertile ground in ENGLAND as well. Two editions of the Racovian Catechism in 1614 and 1624 (with a false issue date of 1609) initiated the process. The real expansion of the movement began in the thirties of the seventeenth century. Theologians from the so-called Tew Circle, John Hales (1584–1654) and Wiliam Chillingworth (1602–1644) seemed to be interested in Socinianism. Both had a significant influence on English religious thought, including JOHN LOCKE, who was familiar with Socinianism. John Biddle (1615–1662), also known as a father of English Unitarianism, translated the works of Samuel Przykowski and Joachim Stegmann. Nevertheless, he had a separate view of the role of the Holy Spirit. Socinianism seemed to have interested ISAAC NEWTON as well.

The Doctrines of Socinianism

Although Fausto Sozzini was a source of the vital part of concepts that became Socinian doctrine, his successors enriched it with new ideas or modified some important issues.

The function of the Holy Trinity is the most important part of Socinian belief. It was also the main subject of Socinian literature. Nevertheless, Socinian thought produced no new argumentation beyond what is already found in early works of Antitrinitarians from ITALY, Poland, or Transylvania. The reflection on God, on the other hand, was without doubt deepened by seventeenth-century philosophy. Socinians believed God to be the only creator of the world and an eternally existing matter. According to Socinians, God is a substance localized in HEAVEN, acting gradually (*per gradus*) over time in the world. He is immutable and his decisions do not belong to his substance.

Christ is a human being (*purus homo*) born without SIN from the VIRGIN MARY. However, he is not everlasting. According to F. Sozzini and other Socinian theologians, Jesus was in heaven where he received instructions from his Father before he was sent on a mission to earth.

Socinianism—just like Sozzini—rejected the redemptive role of the crucified Christ, claiming that his main aim was to teach people the way to SALVATION. They also rejected the dogma of original SIN, insisting that it never destroyed the perceptive abilities or moral dispositions of humankind. Humans must have a full disposition of their free will, otherwise any good deed would be impossible and God would be responsible for sin.

Humans are mortal. Immortality is a gift only to those who believe in Christ and fulfill his commandments. The souls of unbelievers will be annihilated.

Elements of religious rationalism are an important part of Sozzini's thought. Sozzini pointed out that religion must be in conformity with the intellect. In his opinion it is impossible for humans to discover the nature of God because revealed truth is partial. Sozzini's position was questioned by other theologians who proposed the idea of natural religion, giving an important role to the senses as a source of perception. Such notions

were a substantial part of Joachim Stegmann and Samuel Przykowski's already mentioned treatises *Religio rationalis* ("Rational Religion") published by Andrzej Wiszowaty. The mind is the highest judge on earth; therefore the Bible must be interpreted according to rational rules. The Holy Gospel is a source of truth (*supra rationem*) existing above the mind. This means that, even though the teachings of the Gospel cannot be fully understood, they are not contrary to reason (*contra rationem*).

The social and political doctrines of Socinianism in its early stage were not much different from the views of Sozzini. As a source of the new approach he tried to find a connection between the radical ideas of the first Antitrinitarians and everyday life. He was not against possession of goods, feudalism, or holding offices, but was against CAPITAL PUNISHMENT and the active participation of believers in WAR (see PACIFISM).

The discussion over the state and wars was open by a Dutch Collegiant Daniel Brenius (1594–1664). His negative approach was expressed in *De qualitate regni Christi* ("About the Quality of Christ's Kingdom") (1641), a first statement of disapproval of both the state and its institutions. It became the catalyst of a long dispute between Socinian thinkers: Johann Ludwig Wolzoe (c. 1599–1661), Joachim Stegmann, Jr. (c. 1618–1678), Daniel Zwicker (1612–1678), Jonasz Szlichtyng (1592–1661), and Samuel Przykowski (1592–1670). Wolzoe, Stegmann, and Zwicker declared their unambiguous opposition to supporting the state, whereas Szychtyng and Przykowski sought to defend the old order. Treatises by Przykowski played a most important role: *Animadversiones in bellum cui titulus est De qualitate regni Christi* ("Remarks on a Book with the title The Quality of Christ's Kingdom"), c. 1650; *De iure Christiani magistratu* ("About the Right of Christian Office"); *Apologia prolixior de iure Christiani magistratu* ("The Extended Apology about the Right of the Christian Magistracy"); *Vindiciae tractatus de magistratu* ("The Defense of the Treaty of the Magistracy"). In these works the author argued that because the spheres of the two institutions are not contradictory, state and church should cooperate for the sake of the citizens' best interest (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). Whereas the clergy is meant to use spiritual power with all those who voluntarily obey their orders, the state uses force to maintain order. Only cooperation of both organizations is a guarantee for a proper spiritual and secular life of communities. Przykowski criticized Sozzini's argumentation, which closed the way of political participation for the members of the Socinian Church.

During the late phase of Socinian activity, both tendencies—the sectarian one close to ANABAPTISM and the civil one proposing Christians' full participation in the social and political life—coexisted. Nevertheless, emigrants seemed to appreciate the first more.

Socinian doctrine fascinated many eighteenth-century philosophers. Those with Protestant roots tended to overestimate the meaning and reach of Socinianism and saw it as a major danger for Catholicism. At the same time Western European Catholic thinkers seemed to be far less interested in it.

A majority of positive and moderate attitudes existed among philosophers who appreciated tolerance and the high level of morals in Socinian communities, although this should not imply the lack of any critique. The Socinian attempts to create a rational religion were disapproved by French philosopher PIERRE BAYLE (1647–1706). In his opinion any religion was irrational by its very nature. Another famous philosopher, Voltaire (1694–1778), sympathized with Socinians but considered their actions

anachronistic—they should not attempt to attract new members in times indifferent to religion.

See also Unitarian Universalist Association

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LECH SZCZUCKI

SOCIOLOGY OF PROTESTANTISM

Since its emergence, the discipline of sociology has concerned itself with an analysis of the role of religion in society. Beginning with Auguste Comte, the father of the discipline of sociology, and continuing in the works of the classical pioneers of the discipline, Emile Durkheim and MAX WEBER, sociology was intensely interested in the role of religion in society. The interest in religion was strongly linked to the rise of the modern world and changes brought about by INDUSTRIALIZATION and political transformation. In the midst of these social changes, the perception emerged that modern societies were moving from social orders dominated by religion and tradition to modes of social life dominated by bureaucracy and instrumental rationality. Weber devoted special attention to Protestantism, because he saw in it a key contributing factor to the emergence of the modern economic order. Durkheim, in *Suicide* (1897), considered Protestantism to be a more modern form of religion than JUDAISM or Catholicism, and a form that was less effective in creating social cohesion and integration than they were.

This article considers a number of perennial issues in the sociological study of Protestantism, beginning with the discussion of Durkheim and Weber. One issue raised by Durkheim is the question of the relationship between voluntaristic Protestantism and INDIVIDUALISM. Weber's study *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905) addressed the impact of Protestant forms of religiosity on economic life. Closely related to this issue is the question of the political impact of Protestantism. One of the most fruitful perspectives in the social analysis of religion, sect-church typology, emerged from Max Weber's and ERNST TROELTSCH'S considerations of the various social forms of Protestantism. Finally, this article considers the ongoing sociological debate about SECULARIZATION and Protestantism and the importance of the globalization of Protestantism, especially in its evangelical and Pentecostal forms.

The Consideration of Protestantism in Early Sociology

Emile Durkheim, the central figure in early French sociology, was concerned throughout his career with the problem of social order in modern society. His first work, *The Division of Labor* (1893), proposed that in traditional society, social order and cohesiveness were maintained by the homogeneity of the population. Because the diversity of occupations and social roles was limited, the beliefs and perspectives of the populace tended to be relatively uniform and unified. This traditional social order contrasts with modern, urban, industrial society, which has a highly developed division of labor and tremendous diversity of occupation, outlook, and interest. Here social order and

cohesiveness are maintained by the functional interdependence of people engaged in specialized occupations.

Durkheim formulated the concept of the “collective conscience” to describe what he believed to be a vital component of a unified society. He defined the collective conscience as the “totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society” (Durkheim 1933:79). In traditional society, the collective conscience was strong and extensive; that is, most people were in substantial agreement about the essential truths and moral values of their society. Unity and solidarity in traditional society rested on the homogeneity of the population.

In modern society, however, the collective conscience was less extensive in scope, and its hold on the population was weaker. This idea concerning the collective conscience becomes central to Durkheim’s later theorizing, which serves to demonstrate the validity of this concept and clarify its nature. Increasingly, he comes to view the basis of the collective conscience as religious and also to regard it as having continued vital importance even in modern society.

In the bulk of his work, Durkheim does not give full attention to an analysis of Protestantism. His definitive work on the sociology of religion, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912), focuses on the religious life of the Australian aborigines as an example of what is most basic to all religious life, even in more complex societies. However, Durkheim’s important statistical study of suicide rates in Europe, titled *Suicide*, focuses on contrasts between Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism. Durkheim compared suicide rates in different regions of Europe, particularly FRANCE and GERMANY, in an effort to understand the causes of the variations in rates. He found that provinces and regions with predominantly Protestant populations tended to have higher suicide rates than did regions where Catholicism predominated. By conclusively demonstrating a religious influence on suicide rates, Durkheim supported the notion of a collective conscience exerting a profound influence on social behavior. He inferred that Protestantism produced a weaker collective conscience than did Catholicism. As a result, individuals were less socially integrated in Protestant regions than in Catholic regions and experienced weaker forms of social control. Under these circumstances, anomie and egoism were less thoroughly checked, and the incidence of suicide increased. Durkheim suggested that Protestantism, because of its insistence on individual assent on matters of FAITH and conscience, created a more individualistic society with weaker social integration and cohesion than a more corporate Catholic society. Protestantism here was viewed as being related to those changes of modernity that opened the way to free inquiry and undermined medieval, traditional society. This connection between Protestantism and individualism continues to be important in present-day sociological considerations of Protestantism.

Weber’s study, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, was a defining work in his understanding of the emergence of the modern economic order. The central concept in much of Weber’s writing was the idea of rationalization. Weber argued that history had progressed in such a way that rational thought and rationalized procedures increasingly dominate social existence. He sought to show in this study that Protestantism had been a key factor in this process of rationalization. A significant transformation of social existence occurred in the modern world in the shift from a limited economy of agriculture, craft production, and localized trade in the medieval period to the new

capitalist economy of continuous investment, manufacturing, and global trade that characterizes the modern era. Marx's dialectical materialism claimed that ideas and beliefs were ultimately rooted in the social arrangements of economic life. Weber, on the other hand, argued that ideas and beliefs could have a profound effect in shaping the social and economic order.

Weber argued that the spirit of modern capitalism was more than simply the quest for economic gain, which, he said, has always been a part of the world's history. Rather, modern capitalism is based on the rational, methodical organization of economic life in the pursuit of gain. Whereas merchants in previous eras certainly sought to get rich, modern capitalism is characterized by the continuous investment and reinvestment of earnings to create more profit. This disciplined and rationally organized economic system is something new on the scene of world history.

Weber argues that to some degree Protestantism has provided a stimulus to the development of this new economic order. He begins by pointing out the relative importance of Protestant regions in the development of the capitalist system. He also finds a preponderance of Protestants among businessmen and skilled tradesmen in Germany in his time. Weber argues that Protestantism altered the ETHICS of medieval Christianity in such a way as to promote capitalist enterprise. He labels this new behavioral and ethical orientation inner-worldly ASCETICISM.

Weber argues that MARTIN LUTHER'S contribution to the Protestant economic ethic was the doctrine of VOCATION (*beruf* in German). In his polemic against MONASTICISM, Luther argued that people could serve God best not by abandoning the life of the world by entering a monastery or convent, but rather by serving God in the context of their everyday life and work. As Luther put it, a milkmaid faithfully milking and caring for the cows with trust in Christ in her heart served God better than a monk who sought to please God through a self-chosen righteousness of works. Weber stated that Luther's emphasis on godly labor in a vocation gave a new positive valuation to earthly economic activity that differed from the characteristic medieval attitude, where mundane economic activity was considered to be inferior to contemplation and otherworldly religious activity.

However, Weber argues that LUTHERANISM'S focus on passive acceptance of God's GRACE through Word and Sacrament did not provide the powerful inducement to the rational discipline of economic life that other forms of Protestantism, especially CALVINISM, did. Thus Lutheranism, although it provides an ethical impulse toward economic activity as a means to serve God (it is "inner-worldly" as opposed to monasticism and the medieval ethic), is not ascetic because of its emphasis on objective grace, and so it does not induce a high level of discipline in its adherents.

Calvinism, on the other hand, is ascetic in that it promotes a disciplined and consistent ethical discipline to a degree not found in Lutheranism or in Catholicism outside the monastery. The Calvinistic emphasis on the doctrine of PREDESTINATION as the inscrutable decree of God, in the absence of a strong sacramental emphasis, left the believer with the question, "How do I know I am one of the elect?" Whereas Lutheranism directed the believer to the written Word of God, the SACRAMENTS and confession, and Catholicism also directed the believer to the sacraments, Calvinism emphasized an unmediated relationship between the individual and God. Although both Calvinism and Lutheranism vigorously asserted the doctrine of justification by grace through faith,

Calvinism in practice directed individuals to confirm the reality of their election through faithfulness in Christian living. One could be assured of one's ELECTION by the reality of one's renewed Christian life. Although one was not saved by works, one could produce the evidence of SALVATION by one's works. As Weber put it:

The Calvinist...creates his own salvation, or, as would be more correct, the conviction of it. But this creation cannot, as in Catholicism, consist in gradual accumulation of individual good works to one's credit, but rather in a systematic self-control which at every moment stands before the inexorable alternative, chosen or damned (Weber 1998:115)

For the Calvinist, to prove one's election, one must display a systematically consistent Christian life, while for the Lutheran or Catholic, Weber says, daily Christian ethics are more a matter of living from hand to mouth. When one sins, one returns to the sacrament and confession for grace or the promise of grace.

So where Luther provided the religious impulse toward inner-worldly economic activity, Calvinism provided the ascetic impulse that led to the transformation of Europe's economic traditionalism into capitalism. For the Calvinist, the best way in which one can live out one's Christian life is by consistent and disciplined work in one's calling. This is to be combined with an avoidance of worldly pleasure and frivolous expenditure. The result is an economic ethic of hard work, savings, and careful accounting of all that one has to the glory of God.

Weber sees this as a matter of unintended consequences. Certainly, Calvin was no supporter of a worldly orientation toward life, but Weber sees a gradual drifting from the rigorous and otherworldly Calvinism of the REFORMATION to a more worldly form that sees material prosperity as a sign of God's favor. Weber sees the ideal type of the secular form of the Protestant ethic in Benjamin Franklin with his worldly maxims encouraging hard work and savings.

Weber's thesis concerning Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism, although not without its opponents, has had wide influence in sociology and other fields and continues to shape debates today about economic development and the globalization of Protestantism.

Sect-Church Typology

In contrast with Durkheim, who viewed religion primarily as a force promoting social unity, Weber was much more interested in the divisions of society by groups and interests that are in conflict. In his analysis of religious groups and their social orientation, he came up with a distinction that has since been very fruitfully used as a typology for the analysis of Protestant, as well as other, religious orientations to the world. In Weber's essay "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," he describes the *church* as a "compulsory association for the administration of grace" and the *sect* as a "voluntary association of religiously qualified individuals." This fundamental distinction has been

worked and reworked by a number of sociologists of religion since that time. The basic contrast in church-sect typology comes from the emergence of voluntary religious groups in the context of European Christendom where one religious organization exercises a religious monopoly, but it has proven to be a typology that can be applied more broadly to examine the orientations of various religious groups to the wider society. Weber's basic idea is to contrast those groups in which membership is voluntary and which one must be religiously qualified to enter (sects), and those groups where membership is presumed to be coterminous with society and is given at birth (churches).

The most influential proponents of this typology have in fact been not professional sociologists, but rather theologians. Troeltsch took Weber's basic distinction and fleshed it out both theologically and sociologically in the context of Christian churches in his *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*. Troeltsch views the two sociological types, church and sect, as being rooted in the New Testament. The church type is based theologically on the Pauline emphasis of universal grace. The church type develops sociologically after Constantine's CONVERSION, as the church becomes an institution that embraces all of society. People are born into the church (membership is ascribed rather than achieved), and this is best demonstrated by the practice of infant BAPTISM. From a sociological standpoint, it is important to note that Troeltsch stresses that the church type tends to have a professional CLERGY and to ally itself with the ruling powers and upper classes.

Troeltsch relates the sect type theologically to Jesus's call to radical repentance as found in the Gospels. "Come out from among them and be separate" (II Corinthians 6:17) would be the text that perhaps best describes the orientation of the sect to the wider society. Whereas people are born into the church, they enter the sect voluntarily. Adult baptism symbolizes this commitment to voluntary membership.

Troeltsch's development of sect-church typology looks at each type as having a series of paired contrasting characteristics. Whereas the church emphasizes grace, the sect tends toward legalism. Whereas the church embraces all of society, the sect is exclusive. Lay participation and a strong fellowship are social characteristics that describe the internal functioning of the sect type. Professional clergy and a view of the church as more of an institution and less of a community characterize the church. The sect tends to be associated with the poor. In contrast, the church tends to be allied with the ruling classes. The sect stands in opposition to society and in rebellion against it; the church seeks to direct and incorporate society. The medieval Roman Catholic Church epitomizes the church type and the Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) of the sixteenth century, the early Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) of the seventeenth century, and the early Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM) would be good examples of the sect type. The Protestant state churches following the Reformation in Europe would be good examples of the church type as well.

The second theologian who developed and popularized church-sect typology, especially within the context of the UNITED STATES, is H. RICHARD NIEBUHR in two of his best-known works, *Christ and Culture* and *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. For theologians and ethicists, the first work has been more significant, but for sociology of religion, the second is the more interesting work. In *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Niebuhr built on Troeltsch's basic scheme, applying it to the American context. He developed the idea of the DENOMINATION as

a third type mediating between the sect and church types. In the American context of disestablished religion, the denomination combines the voluntarism of the sect with a more relaxed attitude toward the world and other religious groups. Niebuhr is also very interested in the development and change of religious groups and in their relationship to the social class structure. In this regard, his analysis benefits from a post-Marxian understanding and interest in social stratification.

Niebuhr discusses the development of certain sectlike groups that he refers to as the “churches of the disinherited.” He describes how the theology and practice of these churches were related to the social status and situation of their adherents. He suggests that churches of the poor often emphasized emotion and informality in WORSHIP, while churches among more prosperous sectors of the population emphasized formality and more abstract thought. Churches of the disinherited, in keeping with the sect type, also tended to be more lay oriented than the churches of the prosperous with their professional and highly educated clergy. Because of a greater inconformity with existing social arrangements, the church of the disinherited had a higher tension with the world and tended to be more legalistic.

However, Niebuhr points out that groups that at one time were very sectarian in orientation evolve toward a more churchly type as their social status changes. Churches that began as movements of the disinherited evolve into middle-class denominations as they rise socially. Niebuhr points to METHODISM as an excellent example of this process. In ENGLAND, JOHN WESLEY appealed to the working classes, and Methodism was particularly successful among them. In the United States, Methodism expanded on the frontier, often among people of little education. Its REVIVALS and CAMP MEETINGS were emotional and unsophisticated. The movement depended on strong lay leadership operating in organized classes. Adherents were warned against worldliness. However, as time went on, Methodists became an established presence on the American scene. Methodists prospered and rose into the middle class. With these social changes came a demand for more social respectability. Methodists began to expect and develop an educated professional clergy. Sectarian tension with the world diminished. In his own time, Wesley noted that as his converts prospered they seemed to become less zealous. Niebuhr sees this as a continuing trend in American denominationalism. Sect-like churches of the disinherited become transformed into church-like denominations as their adherents move up in the social class system.

Protestantism, Secularization, and the Modern World

When Martin Luther stood at the DIET OF WORMS, refused to retract, and appealed to Scripture and reason, a challenge was issued to the medieval principle of religious AUTHORITY. Henceforth, in Protestantism, TRADITION and constituted religious authority in a hierarchy no longer held sway over the conscience of the individual. With this challenge to traditional religious authority came a new relationship of the individual both to the hierarchy of the church and to the religious community. The old idea of Christendom would soon break down under the strain, and a new relationship between

religion and the social order would emerge. Protestantism also brought a new view of the LAITY. No longer passive recipients of a religion administered and controlled by the clergy and religious bureaucracy, they were called to understand the doctrines of the church and their foundation in Scripture. They were also called to act themselves to preserve and extend the church. Luther's "Address to the Christian Nobility" called the German princes to act independently from the church hierarchy to defend and support biblical faith. The social consequences of these ideas would be profound.

The immediate consequence of Luther's Reformation was to establish state churches where the relationship between CHURCH AND STATE was similar to that between the Catholic church and the empire. As the power of the state grew in the modern era, the state's power over religious life grew in both Protestant and Catholic societies. Yet, Luther had clearly taught a distinction between the two kingdoms, the left-hand kingdom of secular power and the right-hand kingdom of God's proper work, the proclamation of the Gospel. Where the Pope had claimed authority in both temporal and spiritual matters, the Protestant Reformation led to a distinction and a separation between two spheres, the secular and the religious. In addition, the rise of new sects and quarreling among Protestants led to an even greater disintegration of the old medieval unity of society and faith.

Although in most European countries, state churches were established that attempted to maintain religious monopolies within their territories, the seeds of the political principle of separation of church and state had been sown. In the United States, these seeds led to fully disestablished religion after the American Revolution. Rather than disestablishment leading to religious decline, it led in the United States to more vigorous and lay-oriented religious life.

Classical sociology assumed that secularization was an inevitable process of the modern world. Most sociologists argued that religion was destined to shrink under the assault of reason, SCIENCE, and marginalization from influence over political and economic life. Its influence was to be confined to private life, and even there it was viewed as an anachronism that would slowly fade away.

From the perspective of Durkheimian sociology, Protestantism was a part of this weakening of religious life in society. In traditional society, religion was largely unchallenged, because it held a central role in integrating social life and was uniformly adhered to by all. Protestantism, however, appealed to the individual conscience. It required individual assent. No longer did all in a society hold the same religious views. Rather, everyone examined religious convictions for themselves. The collective conscience was weakened. The increasing pluralism and individualism of modern life, of which Protestantism was a part, would lead to a diminishing plausibility of religious belief, which depended on social affirmation and collective ritual. Peter Berger's *The Sacred Canopy* (1967) makes this Durkheimian argument that secularization is a phenomenon brought about by religious pluralism.

However, many sociologists of religion, including Berger, no longer hold this secularization paradigm. On closer examination, various scholars have argued that there is in fact insufficient evidence to conclude that religion is disappearing from the modern world. There *is* a separation of spheres in modern society, where political, economic and other institutions operate free of direct religious influence and control. However, it is not

at all clear that religion is destined to diminish in influence or be restricted to the private sphere.

Although in Europe state-supported churches seem to have sapped the vitality from Christian faith, in the United States, where churches have operated free from direct state support and control, religion has maintained a strong position in the culture. A number of historians and sociologists of religion have indeed argued that religious influence in the United States, rather than shrinking, has actually grown since colonial times. Certainly, church membership as a percentage of population has grown since then.

It is important to note, however, the trends in growth within Protestant denominations in the United States. Researchers following Kelley (*Why Conservative Churches Are Growing*) have found that it is the more conservative churches, those that resist the trends of secular society, that grow in numbers, while those churches that most clearly accommodate themselves to secularism are shrinking. Kelley argued that people are looking for clear authoritative religious answers. Churches that supply those answers attract and hold on to adherents, while those that do not dwindle in numbers and influence. Thus, the traditional mainline denominations in American society, such as the Methodists and Episcopalians, are declining, while the conservative evangelical church bodies are growing.

The strongest challenges to the secularization paradigm have argued that a free market for religion and religious pluralism, rather than undermining the plausibility of religion, actually strengthen its practice and influence and mobilize greater participation from the population. Europe, with its highly secularized population and state-supported churches, rather than representing the trend of modernity, is a particular response to a unique history and social organization of religious life. Protestantism, because it allows for religious competition and pluralism, can maintain its vigor also in modern societies.

The Globalization of Protestantism

Some of the greatest challenges to be faced in the sociological study of Protestantism are being raised by the globalization of Protestantism. Historically Protestantism arose and developed in the countries of northern Europe and was taken by immigrants to the United States and the countries of the British Commonwealth. The growth of Christianity worldwide, however, has shifted the demographic balance of the Christian church in general and Protestantism in particular. LATIN AMERICA has experienced tremendous growth in Protestant, especially Pentecostal, adherents in the twentieth century. Sub-Saharan AFRICA has had great increases in numbers of both Protestant and Catholic Christians. In CHINA, Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic, has grown since the Communist revolution in 1949 (see COMMUNISM). Estimates of the current number of Christians run as high as 100 million (Jenkins 2002:70). Most of this growth has been in the underground church, which is mostly Protestant and evangelical (Martin 2002:155). South Korea (see KOREA) has experienced high rates of Christian growth and Protestants have become a significant part of the population there. Understanding the sociological dimensions of the worldwide growth of Protestantism and its implications

for the world's societies and for the future of Christianity is a major task for sociologists of religion.

The most important sociological studies of global Protestantism have focused on the rise of Pentecostalism. Protestant growth worldwide has been most notable among Pentecostal and Pentecostalized Christian movements, particularly among the poor of the Third World. Since its beginnings in the AZUSA STREET REVIVAL in 1906 in Los Angeles, California, Pentecostalism has been a religious movement that carries some of the same social characteristics earlier associated with Methodism. It has had great success among the poor and disenfranchised. Its roots in the United States are associated with the African-American community and the poor white community. As it has grown, Pentecostalism and Pentecostal influences have become important and significant among the middle classes as well. Like Methodism in its early stages, Pentecostalism is grassroots religion; it is responsive to the religious needs of the masses and gives a voice to the LAITY. Its leaders are not primarily seminary trained, but rather rise up from the ranks of the membership because of their demonstrated charismatic qualities. Among the urban poor in squatter settlements around the world, Pentecostalism provides community and moral discipline for people who are uprooted from their old traditions and living in an economically hostile environment.

David Martin calls Pentecostalism "the Christian equivalent of Islamic revivalism" (Martin 2002:167). It is comparable to Islamic revivalism in its global scope and in its dynamism among the urban poor. However, Martin points out that its political logic is much different. Because Christianity conceives of two distinct spheres of authority, church and state, based on Jesus's words "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's," Pentecostalism represents a religious revolution that is voluntaristic and not directly political. In fact, as Martin points out, Pentecostalism thrives as previous religious monopolies begin to break down, as is the case in Latin America. Pentecostalism represents a break with the past but at the same time, because it concerns itself with issues of spiritual power, healing, exorcisms, and spiritual warfare, it addresses itself directly to issues of concern to peoples emerging from animistic religions concerned with shamanism and the power of spirits.

Due to the dramatic growth of Pentecostalism in Latin America, the most detailed sociological studies of its growth in the developing world have been done there. A brief outline of the various sociological interpretations offered for the global rise of Pentecostalism would include the following: (1) a Weberian, developmental understanding of Pentecostalism as being tied to processes of modernization and the expansion of capitalism; (2) a Marxian critique of Pentecostalism that sees it as a form of false consciousness brought on by the expansion of that same global capitalism; (3) a perspective that links Pentecostal growth to its responsiveness to the needs of WOMEN and its reformulation of domestic morality; and (4) an interpretation that seeks to explain Pentecostal growth in terms of its responsiveness to concerns about healing and spiritual power.

Martin's work is a good example of the first perspective. He sees Pentecostalism and Protestant growth in the developing world in the context of life-long work on secularization processes. Pentecostalism grows when religious monopolies begin to decay. It both benefits from the social free space that is created when these monopolies weaken, and at the same time works to create a cultural free space for voluntaristic

religious DISSENT and expression. Martin suggests that though Pentecostalism is apolitical, it can nevertheless impact political life by working in the sphere of culture. While proponents of LIBERATION THEOLOGY often criticize Pentecostalism as a form of false consciousness, Martin and others point out that it meets the felt needs of the poor and does indeed bring helpful change into their lives.

The Marxian interpretation popular among a number of Latin American interpreters of Pentecostalism focuses on this issue of false consciousness. As global capitalist markets penetrate third-world societies, these societies are transformed in ways that break down traditional social relationships and economic patterns. The resulting alienation in the lives of the poor leads them to Pentecostal religiosity as a form of escape, an “opiate of the masses.” This interpretation, whether in the hands of secular critics or liberation theologians, tends to view Pentecostalism as inauthentic and often charges that Pentecostalism is a cultural import from the United States. Martin and others counter that though Pentecostalism did originate in the United States, it has become thoroughly indigenous in other parts of the world and reproduces itself through local, rather than foreign, leadership and cultural forms.

Elizabeth Brusco, in a work titled *The Reformation of Machismo*, provided the most complete exposition of the third point of view, that Pentecostalism is successful because of its appeal to women. Brusco argues that women are attracted to evangelical Protestantism because it transforms the ethic of their husbands. Although Pentecostalism generally affirms biblical injunctions in favor of patriarchy, at the same time it succeeds in enforcing a domestic morality of marital fidelity, abstinence from alcohol, and an investment of the families’ limited income in the home. This is a powerful attraction for the urban poor, whose lives are often devastated by the vices and temptations of the city.

Finally, some researchers (e.g., Chesnut 1997) have focused on Pentecostal responsiveness to concerns about healing and spiritual power. They have found that belief in divine healing plays a major role in Pentecostal conversion and growth. This is due in part to the fact that the poor often have little access to adequate medical care and suffer from health problems related to poor sanitation and malnutrition. In addition, traditional belief systems focus on the power of spirits, SAINTS, and magic to effect healing or to cause illness or trouble. While Pentecostalism challenges these traditional beliefs, it does so in a way that takes the concerns about spiritual power and threats seriously. Thus, there is both continuity and a break with traditional belief systems.

Weber linked Protestantism to the rise of the modern world. Studies of global Protestantism are influenced by many of Weber’s ideas. Protestantism is proving to be adaptable in many cultures even (or perhaps especially) in the face of modernity. Given the social and political importance of religion in today’s world, an understanding of the global growth and dynamism of Protestantism today makes the sociology of Protestantism as important as it was a century ago.

See also Culture; Economics; Evangelicalism; Methodism, England; Methodism, North America; Modernism; Politics; Sectarianism

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ERIC MOELLER

SÖDERBLOM, NATHAN (1866–1931)

Swedish Lutheran archbishop and pioneer in ecumenism. Söderblom was born January 15, 1866, at Trönö, Hälsingland, Sweden, and died February 12, 1931, at Uppsala, Sweden. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1893, Söderblom became the rector of the Swedish Church in Paris. He studied the ancient religions of Iran and received his doctorate in history of religions in 1901 at the Sorbonne. While in Paris he made a significant friend in AUGUSTE SABATIER. After Söderblom's disputation, he was immediately made professor of the history and philosophy of religions at the University of Uppsala. That post was linked to that of vicar of one of the parishes at Uppsala. As a priest as well as a professor, he made strong impressions on an entire generation of students. From his own years as a student onward, he was influenced by the theology of A. RITSCHL and J. Wellhausen, and he counts as a "modern" theologian. In his work *Uppenbarelsereligion* (The Religion of Revelation, 1903), he distinguished between natural-cultural religion and prophetic religion, and also between the non-Christian mysticism of indefiniteness and the specifically Christian mysticism of personality. This work marks the declaration of his theological program. Between the years 1912 and 1914 he was professor of the history of religions at the University of Leipzig. During that period he wrote *Gudstrons uppkomst* (The Emergence of Belief in God, 1914). As a summary of his research into the history of religions, his Gifford Lectures—*The Living God. Basal Forms of Personal Religion*—were posthumously published in 1933 (Swedish translation in 1932).

In 1914 Söderblom was appointed archbishop of Uppsala and thus became the head of the Church of Sweden. Already as a student, his interests had extended to the international scene. He took part in the YMCA World Congress in 1888 and again in 1891, and in the Christian Student Movement International Assembly at Northfield, Massachusetts in 1890. At Northfield the experience of the universality and unity of the Church became overwhelming and DWIGHT L. MOODY made a great impression. Thanks to his extensive and lifelong international contacts, Söderblom considered the First World War a challenge for the worldwide Christian churches to seek closer interconfessional and ecumenical relations. Immediately after his appointment as archbishop, he became a public critic of the political leaders of the nations at war, challenging them to work "for peace and Christian fellowship." In 1925 he issued the invitation to The Universal Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm, which gathered representatives, not only for the churches and denominations of the Reformation, but also for the Orthodox churches. The invitation had also been issued to the Holy See. Söderblom is thus the founder of the current Life-and-Work Movement as well as the inspiration behind it. This marks him as a portal figure of modern ecclesiastical ecumenism (see ECUMENISM). Inspired by Sabatier, Söderblom's ecumenical program was determined by the conflict he perceived between what he called the body and the soul of the Swedish Church (*Svenska kyrkans kropp och själ*, 1915), that is, between the

temporary organization, confessions, and forms of services on the one hand and, on the other, the abiding prophetic calling of the church throughout the ages. He summarized his view on the nature of the church in the concept of "evangelical catholicity," thus clearly demarcating his position against both the Roman Catholic claim to universality and the liberal catholicity championed by some Anglicans. The church is "the one and only holy catholic and apostolic church," the global Christian community of "all honest souls in every specific denomination." As archbishop, he emphasized the historic ministry of episcopacy as well as the apostolic succession of the Church of Sweden, and he also consecrated bishops for the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Estonia, Lithuania, and Slovakia. As an ecumenist, Söderblom, more than any other Swede, made an active contribution to international ecclesiastical developments. In 1930 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in acknowledgment of his ecumenical achievements.

In 1941, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of Söderblom's birth, Nathan Söderblom-Sällskapet (Societas Soederblomiana Upsaliensis) was established in Uppsala, as a learned society of scholars, chiefly in history of religions and in exegetics; its yearbook is entitled *Religion och Bibel (Religion and Bible)*.

See also Sweden

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OLOPH BEXELL

SOUTH AFRICA

Throughout history, religion has played a major role in the South African context. This is equally true of Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism. In a historical overview, attention is given to the origin and rise of Protestantism in three major periods in South African history. Aspects such as the sociopolitical context and theological developments also receive necessary focus.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The original inhabitants of South Africa consisted primarily of the indigenous Khoikhoi (Hottentot) herdsmen and San (Bushmen) hunters, together known as the Khoisan. Elsewhere in southern Africa there dwelt various Bantu-speaking peoples. Although the Khoisan and black groups had a common origin, thousands of years of separated development resulted in widely different lifestyles, languages, and cultures. With the permanent settlement of Europeans, beginning at the Cape in 1652 and reaching toward the interior, came radical changes to the structure and nature of South African society.

Europe made first contact with indigenous South Africans in 1488 when Bartholomeu Diaz (d. 1500) rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The period between 1488 and 1652 saw intermittent contact between the Khoisan and the Portuguese, English, and Dutch navigators. The temporary nature of the European visits to the Cape allayed any fears the Khoisan might have had that the visitors would establish themselves permanently at the Cape and subdue them, creating a false sense of security among the Khoisan.

In the periods of European imperialism (1500–1800) and Western neo-imperialism (1880–1920), the establishment of overseas colonies took a variety of forms. The colony at the Cape was originally established by Jan van Riebeeck (1619–1677) as a replenishment station. The Reformed tradition in South Africa had its beginnings with the arrival of the Dutch in 1652, the early German settlers in the 1660s, and the French Huguenots in 1688. Except for a few cases, these settlers were Protestants. The Dutch and French settlers were Calvinists.

On April 6, 1652 Jan van Riebeeck arrived in Table Bay. For the first few months his company of some ninety people lived in tents. Work immediately commenced on the erection of a fort, and on June 4 the first “sick-comforter,” Willem Wylant, and his family moved in. The sick-comforters were initially responsible for the spiritual welfare of the settlers. Before any man could be appointed sick-comforter, he had to furnish a testimonial to his life and beliefs, pass an examination in doctrine, and prove his competence in reading aloud and in leading in singing. A commission of the *classis*

(PRESBYTERY) of Amsterdam was charged with the task of examining and recommending sick-comforters to the directors of the company.

Although a number of Khoikhoi became economically involved in the establishment of the replenishment station at the Cape, there was little involvement on their part in the church. No Khoikhoi was, for instance, baptized before 1662.

The first thirteen years of the settlement at the Cape can be seen as the period when the church was incompletely constituted. Although there was no established church, it existed nonetheless: the faithful gathered for public worship and the sacraments were administered.

The ideas of European ENLIGHTENMENT had only a limited influence on the colony. Bearers of enlightened ideas to the Cape were chiefly travelers on the ships that called regularly at the Cape. They were mainly representatives of political movements, students who traveled to Europe to study, correspondents between the two continents, and adventurers and retired sailors who sometimes acted as teachers. Colonists at the Cape were also influenced by the Eighty Years War (1568–1648) in Europe and the patriotic movement in the NETHERLANDS. As a consequence of the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789), the rights and freedom of citizens became subjects of intense discussion. It was a stormy period, concerned to some extent with righteousness, justice, and freedom. There was a widespread spirit of distrust in and opposition to the government.

The year 1688 saw the population of the Cape considerably increased, and Protestantism (more specifically the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH) further strengthened with the arrival of the French Huguenots. The Edict of Nantes, which had granted the Huguenots a certain degree of religious freedom, was revoked in October 1685, resulting in a great number of Huguenots fleeing from France. Many emigrated to the Netherlands, where French-speaking Protestant communities already existed. These “Walloon” congregations dated from the period when French-speaking Reformed Church members fled from the southern Netherlands (the present Belgium), to escape Spanish domination.

In the course of the next decades the Dutch colonists gradually trekked further into the hinterland. The great distances prevented them from attending church services regularly. At times ministers journeyed to their members in the remote districts to conduct services and administer the sacraments. Governor General van Imhoff (1705–1750) undertook a journey through the colony in 1743. On his return he made Governor Swellengrebel (1700–1760) aware of the need to create two new congregations with a school-master for each.

Shortly after the first Dutch Reformed minister, Van Arckel’s, arrival in 1665, the church council decided that Lutherans of good standing would be permitted to partake of the Lord’s Supper, but a letter written by the church council to the *classis* of Amsterdam in 1714 indicates that by that date this provision had been set aside. The *classis* replied that if they held to a correct doctrine of justification, Lutherans might certainly be admitted to the sacrament. As a result several Lutherans presented themselves at the Lord’s table. These people had been in the habit of attending divine worship, and they already constituted a considerable section of the population.

In 1742 a petition signed by sixty-nine people was presented to the Council of Policy, asking for permission to request from the Dutch Council of Seventeen a minister for the local Lutherans and to be allowed to hold public worship. The Council of Policy rejected

the petition on the grounds that it was ill timed. In the course of the next years various further requests for permission were submitted.

Eventually, in 1780, the first Lutheran minister, Andrew Kolver, landed at the Cape. On December 10 the warehouse built by Martin Melck and the grounds on which it stood were granted to the congregation and formally consecrated as a church. The Dutch Reformed church council of Cape Town now had to accept the inevitable.

To begin with, a good understanding prevailed between the two congregations, though the departure of the Lutherans from the Dutch Reformed Church had the immediate effect of decreasing the number of young people coming forward to profess their faith. This led the church council to take what steps it could to ensure that the Lutherans did not expand at the expense of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Lutherans were granted freedom of worship on the same basis as their fellow-Lutherans in Batavia. One of the stipulations was that in the case of parents belonging to different churches, the boys were to be baptized in the father's church, the girls in the mother's church. These parents were also permitted to have all their children, boys as well as girls, baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church, if they so desired.

The Nineteenth Century

The British settlers of 1820 were to have a considerable influence on developments in South Africa. These settlers came from Europe and Britain which, after the French Revolution and the following Napoleonic wars, faced serious political, economic, and social problems. Although the influx of English people to the eastern Cape was small in comparison to their emigration to other parts of the world, the approximately 4,000 settlers were strongly resolved in their determination to improve the quality of their lives. This goal was not to be realized in the short term; the climatic conditions to which they had to adapt and various disturbances on the eastern border were serious setbacks. Accustomed as they were to the rule of law and a parliamentary government, the settlers were critical of the authoritarian style of government at the Cape. After 1825 the process of constitutional government and the development of the legal system gradually took place.

The Great Trek was not "great" because of the numbers participating in it, but rather because of the far-reaching sociopolitical implications it was to have. By the middle of the nineteenth century the interior had been transformed into an interdependent multiracial society characterized by both cooperation and conflict. With the passage of time, the Great Trek was regarded as an Afrikaner national movement, and the great majority of the Afrikaner people were later to identify themselves with its ideals.

The discovery of gold and diamonds had explosive economic, social, and political results for the subcontinent of South Africa, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was to become the heart-beat of the South African economy, ushering in the industrial period and giving rise to a new capitalist society. The process of urbanization, especially in the diamond city of Kimberley and the gold city of Johannesburg, brought about radical changes in South African demography. Dramatic

political developments left their mark on relations both within and outside the country. For the black community, all these events brought about the disintegration of their traditional socioeconomic structures.

The Church Order of de Mist, formally known as the “Provisional Ecclesiastical Decree of the Batavian Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope,” appeared on July 25, 1804. It was an important watershed in South African church history, particularly because of its implications for the relationship between church and state and for wider religious freedom at the Cape.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a split among Afrikaans churches into three churches: the larger Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*), the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*, and the *Gereformeerde Kerk*. Theological issues and ecclesiastic and political differences played a role. (Because it is virtually impossible to translate the names of these churches into English and still to be able to differentiate between them, the Afrikaans names are used.) The *Nederduitse Gereformeerde* was born in South Africa as a historical continuation of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. The *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika* also lays claim to this continuation, but was in fact a new church that originated in the Transvaal with the arrival of the Reverend Dirk van der Hoff (1814–1881) in 1853. The *Gereformeerde Kerk* was founded in 1859 by Reverend Dirk Postma (1818–1890). The *Gereformeerde Kerk* objected to hymns sung in the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* at the Cape.

The missionary calling of the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* in the late nineteenth century seems to have receded into the background in the face of problems of institutional consolidation. Pastoral care in the new situations created by the diamond mining and slums seems to have been neglected. One generation later, Pentecostal services on the Rand drew huge crowds of poor whites, including many *Nederduitse Gereformeerde* members.

One of the key reasons why British missionaries came to South Africa was the great missionary thrust of European Protestant churches during the nineteenth century. Also, when British rule was established for the second time (1806), soldiers from different British denominations came looking for fellowship and a spiritual home. At the time, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND based at the Cape thought of itself as an outstation of Canterbury, with all the rights of the establishment, only to find out inadvertently (in the Colenso litigation) that legally this was not the case. Although the first bishop, Robert Gray, had been appointed in 1847, the diocese was only given the status of an Anglican Province in 1866.

Missionary work was undertaken by the Anglican Church, though missionaries reported directly to the bishop and were therefore in a different position than other clergy; thus the organizational unity of the church was not jettisoned. This work continued quietly, with the result that the church of the province was able to create the dioceses of St. John’s (Transkei, 1873; and Zululand, 1870). Concern for the welfare of members on the goldfields prompted the bishop of Zululand to proclaim the diocese of the Transvaal—a fine example of the give and take between outreach to the heathen and the unchurched.

Long before a Methodist minister could be sent to the Cape, the initiative was taken by laypeople to gather members of this confession into a fellowship. Even when Barnabas (1788–1857) and William Shaw (1798–1872) arrived in their far-flung parishes, their call

to minister to the needs of the white settlers could not stifle their concern for the salvation of the local people, work that was undertaken almost from the start, true to the spirit of the founder of this denomination. Work proceeded in Namaqualand, Caffraria, and Bechuanaland and a chain of mission stations was established from Caffraria to Natal. Frontier warfare not only destroyed mission buildings, but also greatly affected the evangelism. Lack of funds necessitated the transfer of some of the mission stations north of the Orange River, respectively, to the Rhenish Mission, to the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*, and to the Anglicans from the late 1860s. This purposeful mission to black South Africans ensured that the Methodist Church would eventually have more black members than any of the other mainline denominations.

The work to convert whites had already commenced in Cape Town, as well as by the 1820 Settlers. By 1860 there were 132 Methodist missionaries/ministers in the eastern Cape and Natal, and their flock numbered 5,000. English immigration swelled the number of whites, particularly in the Kimberley and Reef areas, and the Methodist Church became the largest of the English-speaking churches in South Africa. The whole church was divided into different geographical circuits. The Methodist missionaries were more sympathetic to the colonists' point of view regarding the frontier situation in the Ciskei, most probably because they worked among white settlers as well as with the black tribes beyond the frontier. Though John Philip regarded the Methodists as traitors to black people, they did much to restore the image of the missionary among the colonists.

By 1829, when the Presbyterians erected their first church, St. Andrew's in Cape Town, Presbyterian services had already been started by Thomas Pringle in the Eastern Province, John Brownlee was working at Chumic, and Lovedale had also been established. Lovedale produced not only indigenous ministers but provided artisan and academic education on an interdenominational and nonracial basis. It was rated as one of the foremost educational centers in South Africa. Missionary outreach, especially by the Glasgow Mission Society, London Mission Society (LMS), Free Church of Scotland, and expansion of the work to convert whites to Natal in the Orange Free State (OFS), and later to Kimberley and the goldfields continued. Adams, Grout, and Lindley did pioneer work among the Zulus in Natal.

The beginnings of the Baptist Church in South Africa were modest, and were primarily concerned with finding members and establishing fellowship groups among the 1820 settlers. The first Baptist service was held by William Miller in the Albany district. Baptists, too, had a passion for reaching the unconverted, something they shared with the Methodists, in contrast to the complacent Anglican attitude toward mission work at the time. Their numbers were appreciably swelled with the arrival of co-religionists among the German Legion settlers (1857), who settled in the King William's Town area.

The Baptists were the first of the Protestant English-speaking churches to begin conversion of Afrikaans-speaking people (Vrede). Once white congregations had been started in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, work began with the Zulu by the Swedish Baptists. The Baptist Union of 1877 evidenced the determination of this small and relatively poor denomination to live out its commission faithfully. Like the Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches (the last until the 1920s), the Baptists became a multiracial union with separate congregations and work.

Early in the nineteenth century, the LUTHERAN CHURCH was shaken by theological controversies over baptism and missionary work among the slaves at the Cape, a most emotive issue in those pre-abolition days. This led to a split in the congregation. An Afrikaner, who had served as interim minister, was not appointed as third minister to cater to the Dutch-speaking members of the congregation, and a German-speaking congregation seceded from the parent body, in which services were held regularly in both Low German and Dutch. This struggle between mission-consciousness and culture-oriented churchmanship stunted further expansion.

The missionary outreach, which the local white Lutheran congregation seemed to lack, was imported, so to speak, in the form of the Rhenish and Berlin Missions. They were located within the settled areas, Wuppertal, Stellenbosch, and the eastern frontier, but also far away in Namaqualand-Bethanie in the Orange Free State. Not only did their workers occasionally serve the dispersed white settlers in their jurisdictions, but sometimes they were also called to serve a white community, such as Sachs in Pretoria. Some even left mission work for this new calling (e.g., Döhne in Pietermaritzburg).

The Norwegian Mission Society workers served the Scandinavian community in Natal, just as the Hermannsburg missionaries served the small German communities in the Transvaal. The image of constant enmity and mutual accusations and suspicion between all missionary bodies and white settlers, especially in the Afrikaans Republics, seems to be a distortion.

During the period 1652 to 1795 the Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*) was the state church in the Cape Colony. In the period of English rule from 1806 to 1875, both the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* and the Anglican Church were subordinated to the Cape government. After the introduction of the Voluntary Bill in 1875, these churches were allowed a far greater measure of freedom and independence. During this period both the Anglican and the Dutch Reformed churches experienced difficult heresy trials (the Colenso, Kotzé, and Burgers trials), after which they became increasingly unhappy about too close a relationship with the state. In both these cases, after an appeal by the accused to the state, the latter upheld the appeals. Disestablishment seemed the only option open to the churches. Therefore, contrary to their usual position on church-state relations, they supported Saul Solomon, a member of both Parliament and the CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, who tried for some time to convince Parliament to withdraw state aid to the churches. Finally in 1875, the Voluntary Bill was passed, and there has been no officially established church in South Africa since that time. All the churches in the Cape henceforth became free churches; free to pursue their affairs in their own way. The year 1875, therefore, is an important watershed in South African church history.

The Twentieth Century

Among the English-speaking Protestant churches, the Methodist Church has the second largest number of white members, and the largest number of black members. The Methodist Church in South Africa, which was started by Sergeant Kendrick, gradually

spread throughout South Africa. At the local level, most congregations were still segregated according to race, while the multiracial character of the church was expressed in the highest of its church bodies, the conference. That multiracial character has also become increasingly expressed in district synods, and from January 1980 congregations became multiracial.

The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa was formed in 1967. It was a merger of three groups: the Congregational Union, which consisted of a union of separate congregations after the London Missionary Society withdrew from the Cape Colony in 1859; the London Missionary Society Church of Botswana and Zimbabwe; and the Bantu Congregational Church, which was a product of the labors of the American Board of Missions in Natal. Ecclesiastical authority is centered in the local church meeting, although each region holds a yearly meeting. An annual assembly is also held consisting of representatives of churches throughout South Africa.

The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa traces its history at the Cape to 1806, when a Scottish regiment founded a Calvinist association. In 1812 the first Presbyterian congregation was founded, with the Reverend George Thom (1789–1842) as its minister. From Cape Town the work spread over the entire country. In 1897 the Presbyterian Church accepted as its doctrinal standard the Twenty-four Articles of the Faith, which were drawn up in 1890 by the Presbyterian Church of Britain. At the general assembly level the races are united, but they are divided on a congregational level.

It could be agreed that various theological, and some other factors, helped to influence developments in the English-speaking churches: The English-speaking churches came to South Africa during or shortly after European upheavals and the rise of British movements such as the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the Methodist revival. This means that they were in varying degrees under the influence of biblical and theological criticism, scientific optimism, liberal and pietistic evangelicalism, and deeply aware of and influenced by the struggle against slavery, child labor, and in the case of the nonconformists, the struggle against the established church itself.

The Lutheran Church, and in particular the German, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and American Lutheran missionary societies, made a major contribution to the evangelization of South Africa. The Moravian, Rhenish, Berlin, and Hermannsburg missionary societies were among the first to pioneer missionary work in South Africa. The missionary activities of the Lutheran churches fall into three clear phases: a pioneering period (1829–1889), a period of cooperation (1889–1959), and a period of consolidation (since 1959).

Various attempts were made during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries toward greater understanding between the churches in South Africa. Movements were launched from various quarters, either to promote Christian and church unity, or to protect the churches against deviant teachings. One of these was the Evangelical Alliance, which, for instance, the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* joined as far back as 1857. The emphasis was on Christian unity in and through prayer. The alliance played a prominent role for many years with Dr. Andrew Murray as one of the leading figures.

The Presbyterian Alliance, which was founded in 1875, was very significant for the South African churches that followed the Presbyterian Church order. Contacts are still maintained between these churches. Delegates from the English-speaking churches and from the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* have regularly attended the alliance's

international congresses. Even during the turbulent years of the Anglo-Boer War, a delegation of the *Nederduitsch Hervormde* or *Gereformeerde Church of the Transvaal* (the present *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*) attended the alliance's conference overseas. The former Presbyterian Alliance is now known as the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES, to which several South African churches still belong.

The Methodist Church of South Africa, as well as the Lutheran, Baptist, and Anglican Churches, all participated in the great international gatherings of their respective denominations (the Anglican Lambeth conferences are particularly well known). This worldwide interaction between churches of the same confession or church order helped to promote ecumenism, albeit in a restricted sense.

There have also been various attempts to bring about unity between the English-speaking churches. In 1928 the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist churches sought closer cooperation because, in their view, a divided church in South Africa could not effectively uphold the principles of evangelical religion. After the Methodists withdrew, the matter was taken up again in 1934. After various fruitless attempts to unite, the attempted union was abandoned in 1947. After the instigation of the Lambeth Conference in 1958, the Anglican Church initiated discussions with the Presbyterian Church in 1960. These talks were extended to include the Tsonga Presbyterian Church, the three Congregational Churches, and the Methodist Church. Talks between the three Presbyterian churches and the Congregationalists have shown the most progress. However, this was checked in 1976 when the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa advocated a federation, while the other three churches supported organic union. The Church Unity Commission has, nonetheless, continued to work for unity between the Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists, and several united churches have already been formed.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) remains one of the few comprehensive ecumenical organizations in South Africa. Its weakness is that it does not represent all the churches and missions in the country. At first, all the Afrikaans churches and the majority of Evangelical churches remained outside its organization. Nonetheless, it has created a fellowship for dialogue among a wide and representative group of churches. At present the SACC is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and ecumenical church organization in South Africa, embracing churches of all racial groups and almost all languages. Its aim is to promote church unity, coordinate church and missionary endeavors, and undertake joint enterprises.

The strained situation experienced in South Africa during the 1950s and 1960s acquired a fresh dimension with the Soweto riots in 1976, when black youth demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the state's education policy and the existence of certain laws, which broke up homes, families, and ordinary life. In 1976 there was widespread unrest that assumed far greater dimensions than the events following the Sharpeville uprising in 1960. Young people were no longer prepared to accept the situation in which they found themselves. Soweto gradually became a national symbol of a new generation of nationally and politically conscious black people in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Afrikaans-speaking churches followed the national government in the crucial matter of racial discrimination. However, some South African churches (including the Afrikaans-speaking churches), were part of the rapid developments in social and

political reforms. They have expressed their concern and involvement through discussions, talks, conferences, and concrete action.

During the 1980s events in the church were in continued flux and change: the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* resigned from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the banning order on Dutch Reformed Church Clergyman and anti-apartheid activist Beyers Naudé was lifted, Bishop *Desmond Tutu* received the Nobel peace prize, and documents like “Church and Society,” “Evangelical Witness,” and the “Kairos Document” were published.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the progress of ecumenical relations in South Africa remained uncertain. Within South Africa the gulf between the so-called evangelical churches on the one hand and members of the SACC on the other remained, and there were few signs of reconciliation or greater mutual understanding.

The political situation in South Africa was charged with a desire for negotiations between the major political players, and a spirit of uncertainty and expectancy emerged in broader society. In this connection, the consultation of Christian Churches at Rustenburg in November 1990, where leaders of different churches gathered to discuss their Christian witness, proved historically significant, because it was the largest and most representative gathering of Christian churches ever held in South Africa.

In the critical period of negotiations and transition toward a new South Africa in the last decade of the twentieth century, church and religion in general, and Protestantism more specifically, played a decisive and formative role. Naturally, not all the positive developments during these years can be attributed to either the direct or indirect role of the churches. It can, however, be stated that without the presence, witness, and involvement of the Protestant Churches, South Africa may have advanced further along the road to violence and possibly civil war. Without the churches, the uncertain process of transition would have been far more difficult and much more dangerous.

Involvement in church life and church affairs in South Africa is still at a high level, both in rural and urban areas. The different Protestant churches are well served by ministers, officials, and laity. Ministers of churches are still respected members of the community, and apart from the ministry, they serve in various other spheres as well. The church enjoys freedom of worship and is therefore free to fulfill its prophetic task toward governmental institutions. By and large, the importance of religion in South Africa cannot be overemphasized, and Protestantism plays a major role in the consolidation, expansion, and development of church and society.

In the global context of the twenty-first century, issues such as democratization, high moral values, non-racism, justice, reconciliation, reconstruction, and development will probably be the order of the day. In some ways South African society, particularly because of the Protestant churches’ involvement, is showing the way to that future.

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J.W.HOFMEYR

SOUTH INDIA, CHURCH OF

On September 27, 1947, the same year in which INDIA achieved her independence, the Church of South India was inaugurated. This event concluded nearly thirty years of negotiations, which concerned matters of DOCTRINE, LITURGY, ordination, and SACRAMENT. The Church of South India united the Anglican dioceses of India, Myanmar (Burma), and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) with the Methodist Church of South India and the South Indian United Church (SIUC). The SIUC itself was established in 1908 and included Presbyterian, Reformed, and Congregational churches. The South Indian union scheme sought to preserve distinctive features of each of its historic traditions, while tailoring them to the Indian context.

The formation of the Church of South India was the product of two distinct, but overlapping processes: movement toward ecumenical cooperation between Western-based churches and missionary societies, and the rise of Indian NATIONALISM. To a great extent, this spirit of cooperation was prompted by the imperatives of missionary work in societies where Christians were in a small minority. Limited resources in the field, conflicts over spheres of influence, and a growing need for churches to accommodate local converts from wide-ranging ethnic and denominational backgrounds all prompted ecumenical dialogue.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, mission societies in India established regular conferences to discuss their common objectives. Local or provincial conferences during the 1850s and 1860s were followed by a General Missionary Conference held in Allahabad in 1872, consisting of 136 missionaries who were predominantly European. In 1900, the South Indian Missionary Conference in Madras drew nearly 150 missionaries representing forty-five missionary organizations. Among these were the London Missionary Society, CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, American Baptist Mission, and SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL. Subsequently, missionaries in the main Christian centers of South India, Madras, and Bangalore organized themselves into missionary conferences. Organizations such as the Christian Literature Society, the YMCA (see YMCA, YWCA), and the Christian Endeavor Convention, along with the leadership of Madras Christian College were instrumental in bringing European and Indian church leaders together in dialogue. This climate of ecumenical dialogue helped prepare the way for the formal union of churches embodied the Church of South India.

In 1919, delegates from Anglican and SIUC churches met in Tranquebar to explore a scheme that would lay the groundwork for the formation of the Church of South India. G.Sherwood Eddy, H.A. Popely, V.Santiago, Meshach Peter, and V.S.AZARIAH drafted a manifesto that stressed the importance of church unity. This manifesto sought to reconcile the Anglican emphasis on the historical episcopate with the SIUC's emphasis on the spiritual equality of all believers. The delegates proposed a union on the basis of a common regard for the Old and New Testaments, belief in the Apostle's and Nicene

Creeds, the sacraments of BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER, and the historic episcopate, "locally adapted" (Sundkler 1954:102). At the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops the following year, questions of "reordination" and "rebaptism" for members of the united church and intercommunion were discussed at length.

Since the deliberations of 1919, the relationship between the "Church of England in India" and the colonial government weighed heavily on those involved in negotiations for church union. Leaders of free churches insisted that they would enter a union only with a disestablished church. In response to such concerns, a decision was made in December 1927 to replace the designation "Church of England in India" with "Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon." Anglican leaders were willing to regard the same as a "disestablished Anglican province" (Sundkler 1954:157). This decision significantly raised hopes that ecumenical union between Anglican and non-Anglican churches could be realized in India.

Influence of Nationalism

The disestablished character of the envisioned church union was particularly significant in light of the rise of Indian nationalism. Into the 1920s and 1930s, Mohandas K. Gandhi led Indians in a campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience against the British *raj* in India. An important aspect of Indian nationalism was *swadeshi*, a doctrine of economic, political, and cultural self-reliance. Under the influence of this ideology, Indian Christian leaders stressed the need to "Indianize" Christianity.

For some, Indianization involved efforts to make the church more "Hindu" or Sanskritic in its LITURGY, hymnody (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS), and ARCHITECTURE. For others, Indianization called for greater representation of Indians within the ranks of Christian institutions. At a time when the British *raj* itself was implementing policies of devolution, which increased Indian representation within every branch of government, ecumenical circles stressed the need to implement ideas of the former Church Missionary Society secretary, Henry Venn. Known today as the father of the "indigenous church" principle, Venn advocated the rapid transfer of influence and responsibility of church administration into indigenous hands.

Since the late nineteenth century, several key indigenizing projects emerged: Pulny Andy's National Church, Sadhu Sunder Singh's Christo Samaj, and the Christian Ashram Movement. Together, these move-ments envisioned an Indianized Christianity that was to be free from the denominational divisions that afflicted the Western church. Some advocates of this vision expressed their views through the evolving Christian press of South India, most notably the newspaper *The Guardian*.

In 1938, a group of Indian Christian intellectuals published *Rethinking Christianity in India*, which among other things took objection to the South Indian union scheme. According to theologian Vengal Chakkarai, the union scheme was a Western invention that addressed Western denominational illnesses more than it did Indian realities. Another member of the Rethinking Group, P.Chenchiah, contended that the debates over the church union scheme were steeped in Western ecclesiastical history. As such, they were

irrelevant to the masses of illiterate Indian laypersons far removed from that history. Attitudes of the Rethinking Group downplayed the church as a visible, dogmatic institution, drawing attention to its “inner core” of spirituality that suited the Indian ethos.

Such criticisms show how participants in the debate over church union were able to view it either as a genuinely Indian project or as a Western one that was being foisted on Indians. J.E.LESSLIE NEWBIGIN, former Church of South India Bishop in Madura and Ramnad and an ardent ecumenist, advocated the union precisely because it addressed the heterogeneous character of Indian congregations and provided a more effective means for EVANGELISM. Alternative perspectives were put forth not only by advocates of a more “Indianized” Christianity, but also by those who would later embrace Donald MacGavran’s principles of church growth, which emphasized the value of segregating congregations on the basis of caste.

See also Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism; Missions; Missionary Organizations

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CHANDRA MALLAMPALLI

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

This is the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, numbering some 17 million members in 38,000 congregations. While its largest constituency remains primarily in the American South, the convention includes churches that are located throughout the United States and Canada. Its missionary task force at home and abroad is also one of the largest in the world.

The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) was founded at First Baptist Church, Augusta, Georgia in May 1845, as a result of a schism with Baptists in the north regarding the appointment of slaveholding missionaries by the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions (Triennial Convention). The Baptist missionary society, founded in 1814 as a means of promoting and funding the mission enterprise, was the first national organization of BAPTISTS in the United States. After years of remaining neutral on the slave question, the Triennial Convention was confronted with a test case when Georgia Baptists demanded the appointment of James Reeve, a southern slaveholder, as a home missionary. When the mission board denied the appointment, declaring “we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery,” Baptists in the South formed a new convention to promote their own missionary cause.

Convention Organization

The SBC soon established a convention system that was much more connected than the earlier society method of forming Baptist organizations. Societies were autonomous, freestanding agencies funded by churches, associations of churches, and individuals to carry out specific functions such as home and foreign missions, publishing, and education. The convention system linked those agencies in a more centralized, connected organization. While boards and agencies retained their own boards of trustees, they were not completely autonomous, but agencies of the entire convention. Trustees were appointed by the convention, not by self-perpetuating boards. Nonetheless, local Baptist churches retained their autonomy and could unite with local associations of churches, state Baptist conventions, and the national Southern Baptist Convention. State conventions, many formed before the SBC itself, maintained their own regional organizations and programs. They founded and supported state Baptist colleges and universities, hospitals, and other regional endeavors. Many Baptist colleges in the South were founded before the beginning of the SBC. These include what is now the University of Richmond, Virginia (1832); Wake Forest University, North Carolina (1834); Furman

University, South Carolina (1826); Samford University, Alabama (1841); and Baylor University, Texas (1846).

Associations of churches were formed for fellowship, ministry, and mutual encouragement by churches in a given geographic area, roughly paralleling townships or counties. Associations extended the work of local congregations within a more proximate region. All these connections meant that individual churches could maintain connections on local, regional, national, and (through the mission boards) international, operations.

This system encouraged the development of elaborate denominational programs for education, missions, publications, and evangelism. Home and foreign mission boards were established almost immediately. The first Southern Baptist foreign missionaries were appointed to China in 1846. In 1847 and 1848 the board also appointed two African Americans, John Day and B.J.Drayton, as missionaries to the African colony of LIBERIA.

The Domestic Mission Board, later called the Home Mission Board, was founded in Marion, Alabama in 1845. Russell Holman (1812–1879), a northerner, served as its first executive secretary, encouraging work with blacks, native Americans, and immigrants. Conflicts with Northern Baptist home missionaries after the CIVIL WAR and difficulties in raising funds made Southern Baptist efforts difficult until the 1880s, when I.T.Tichner (1825–1902) assumed leadership and put the organization on more solid financial and organizational foundations.

In 1859 the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was founded in Greenville, South Carolina, to provide ministerial education for the new denomination. Its first faculty was composed of four prominent educators: John A.Broadus (1827–1895), James P.Boyce (1827–1888), Basil Manley, Jr. (1825–1892), and William Williams (1804–1895). Following the Civil War the school was relocated in Louisville, Kentucky in 1877.

Southern Baptists supported the Confederacy during the Civil War and experienced the desolation of defeat and Reconstruction. After the war, the denomination became one of the primary vehicles for perpetuating the “religion of the lost cause,” a reassertion of Southern morality and idealism amid the devastation of Northern conquest. Programmatic organization, evangelical zeal, and loyalty to the South combined to create a powerful denominational system and identity for Southern Baptists from Virginia to Texas. It is impossible to understand the development of the SBC apart from the relationship between Southern Baptist denominational programs and Southern culture that characterized the convention throughout the first 150 years of its history. The Foreign Missions Board was located in Richmond, Virginia. In 1882 the Home Missions Board was moved from Marion, Alabama, to Atlanta, Georgia. The Sunday School Board was founded in 1891 with headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee. It was charged with publishing monographs, denominational literature, and other resource materials for use in churches and schools. Concerns for the financial needs of ministers led to the founding of a relief and annuity board in 1918. In 1925 the SBC developed a cooperative program of collective funding whereby local church monies were sent to state Baptist conventions that retained a portion and then sent a percentage on to the national denomination, which then funded specific boards and agencies. Also in 1925, the convention established an executive committee to oversee denominational administration. A full-time president of the executive committee of the SBC is the chief administrative agent of that committee.

The Woman's Missionary Union (WMU) was founded as an auxiliary to the Southern Baptist Convention in 1888. Many of the males who led the convention were not sure that women should be included in the operations of the convention, and thus it began as a freestanding body alongside the official denominational organization. Its purpose was to raise support for women missionaries, to provide programs in mission education for youth, and to raise offerings for support of home and foreign missions. In 1907 the WMU founded a missionary training center for women in Louisville, Kentucky, a school that ultimately merged with the Southern Baptist Seminary in 1962 as the Carver School of Missions and Social Work. The school was closed in the 1990s.

The Women's Missionary Union sponsors two annual offerings for foreign and home mission programs, which raise millions of dollars for the support of Southern Baptist missionary activity. The Lottie Moon Christmas Offering, begun in 1888, honors the work of Charlotte Diggs (Lottie) Moon (1840–1912), one of the Southern Baptists' first single female missionaries in China. The Annie Armstrong Easter Offering for home missions is named for Annie Walker Armstrong (1850–1938), a founder of the WMU.

The Laymen's Missionary Movement of the Southern Baptist Convention was formed in 1907 for the purpose of educating and enlisting men in the church's missionary calling. It later became the Brotherhood Commission and is currently known as Baptist Men.

The Southern Baptist Convention meets annually, usually in mid-June, to elect officers, approve the annual budget, and conduct other matters of business. Worship services include elaborate music and a "convention sermon." The president of the convention is elected annually, and may serve two one-year terms. The president has primary responsibility for appointing nominating committees that name trustees to convention boards and agencies. Decision making at the annual meeting is vested in messengers sent from member congregations. To this day, congregational size and a minimal amount of financial support determine the number of representatives from each church. Southern Baptists distinguish delegates who might speak officially for congregations from messengers whose votes do not necessarily reflect the consensus of opinion in their specific church. No church may send more than ten messengers. A resolution admitting women as messengers was approved in 1918. Messengers are required to provide information regarding church contributions to the convention, and sign a statement that neither they nor the church they represent supports or affirms homosexuality in any way.

In 1919 Southern Baptists instituted the Seventy-five Million Campaign, an effort to raise \$75,000,000 to alleviate debt and move the convention into a new era of denominational solvency. While the goal was not met, the convention did receive over \$58,000,000.

The Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention publishes books on Baptist history, polity and doctrines, devotional works, and wide variety of materials for use in church educational programs. Its Sunday school materials, which include weekly lessons, provide Bible study guides for millions of Southern Baptists from Sunday to Sunday across the United States and throughout the world. Throughout much of the twentieth century, Sunday evening programs known variously as the Baptist Young People's Union (BYPU), Training Union, and Church Training, provided study courses in church history, Baptist studies, ethics, and Christian discipleship. While it continues in various forms, these evening events have declined steadily during the last two decades.

During the 1990s the names of many of the denominational agencies were changed. The Foreign Mission Board became the International Mission Board of the SBC, and the Home Mission Board became the North American Mission Board of the SBC. The Sunday School Board was renamed Lifeway Christian Resources of the Southern Baptist Convention.

By the 1950s the SBC had established six theological seminaries, funded by the denomination, and offering ministerial training at locations spread across the continent. These included the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky (1859); Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas (1905); New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana (1918); Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, Mill Valley, California (1950); Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina, (1956); and Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri (1957). During the latter decades of the twentieth century, one out of five seminarians in the United States was registered in one of these schools. Southwestern Baptist Seminary, with an enrollment of several thousand students, remains the largest Protestant theological seminary in the world.

Evangelism

Evangelical zeal has long characterized the Southern Baptist Convention and its churches. One of the reasons for its dramatic increase in size following the war was its efforts to convert persons to faith and bring them into Baptist churches. Revival services were scheduled seasonally in most Baptist churches well into the twentieth century. These evangelical campaigns often ran for weeks at a time with calls for sinners to be converted, Christians to be renewed, and young people to surrender for full-time Christian service as ministers, missionaries, or other Christian workers. By the twenty-first century one- or two-week revivals were shortened to three or four days. Some churches, particularly in the southwest, continued the practice, while others gave it up all together, promoting abbreviated “renewal” services, “deeper life” conferences, or “preaching” series.

Many Southern Baptist churches and individuals place great emphasis on personal evangelism, or “soul winning,” the direct, one-on-one presentation of the “plan of salvation” culminating in an invitation to “trust Christ as Savior.” In many congregations, members are taught how to “witness” and encouraged to do so at every opportunity. Southern Baptist church members often testify to their conversion and entrance into Christian faith. At the same time, Southern Baptists also give serious attention to the nurturing of children to faith. The average age of baptism in most Southern Baptist churches is somewhere between nine and twelve years of age. Thus some members describe dramatic conversions while others testify to gradual nurturing into Christian faith.

Baptist Distinctives

Southern Baptists identified themselves with the broader Baptist movement, a tradition that began in 1608 in Holland when a group of Puritan Separatists, exiled from England, renounced their earlier infant baptism and received baptism on the basis of a profession of faith. A portion of the group returned to England in 1612, constituting a church in Spitalfields, just outside the walls of London. These were called General Baptists and were Arminian in their theology, affirming Christ's death for all persons, the role of human free will in salvation, the need for all persons to repent and believe in Jesus Christ, that God's grace could be accepted or resisted, and the possibility that believing individuals could fall from grace, thereby rejecting an earlier salvation. By the 1630s another group of Baptists had appeared in England, affirming the basic tenets of Calvinism or reformed theology. These Particular Baptists insisted that Christ died only for the elect, a number chosen unconditionally by God before the foundation of the world. Grace was irresistible to the elect and would ultimately claim them before they departed this world. Those who received grace could not reject it and would persevere to the end.

The first Baptist church in America was founded in Providence, Rhode Island, around 1639 by Roger Williams (1603–1683), the quintessential colonial dissenter. Baptists came into the south in the late 1690s when a Baptist congregation from Kittery, Maine, moved to Charleston, South Carolina, founding the first Baptist church there.

Baptists in the south were influenced by numerous Baptist traditions. These included the Regular Baptists, who came to Charleston and emphasized classic Calvinist doctrines, preferred ordered worship, and sang the Psalms, not “man-made” hymns. They were evangelicals in their concern that the elect be brought to salvation, but were often suspicious of revivalistic methods as too “enthusiastical” (overly emotional). Regulars encouraged their ministers to seek formal education. Revivals and awakenings throughout the colonies in the 1740s and 50s influenced the development of Separate Baptist churches that encouraged emotionalism in conversion and worship, permitted women to preach, and were suspicious of written creeds or confessions. Separate Baptists disparaged an educated or paid ministry. Separate Baptist presence in the South began in North Carolina in 1755 with the founding of the Sandy Creek Baptist Church by Shubal Stearns (1706–1771) and Daniel Marshall (1706–1784), popular preachers and church planters. As revivalism came to permeate Southern evangelicalism, many Southern Baptists softened their original Calvinism and placed greater emphasis on the general atonement of Christ and the possibility that all persons might freely choose salvation through repentance and faith.

From their beginnings in 1845, Southern Baptists were heirs of certain basic Baptist “distinctives,” common to the tradition worldwide. These included:

1. The authority of the Bible as the guide for faith and practice.
2. Freedom of conscience in matters of religious faith and practice.
3. A regenerate church membership. Each congregation was to be composed of believers only.
4. The autonomy of each local congregation.
5. Associational relationships between congregations.

6. Congregational polity.
7. The priesthood of the laity.
8. An ordained clergy to provide ministry in the churches.
9. Religious liberty in the church and the state.
10. Immersion baptism and the Lord's Supper as "ordinances" of the church.
11. A strong concern for evangelism and the missionary enterprise.

While Southern Baptists share these distinctives, they have not hesitated to disagree over the nature and meaning of each characteristic. The autonomy of the Southern Baptist system at almost every level insured differences of opinion, debate, and even schism, especially in local congregations. Indeed, denominational controversies and church splits have been so prevalent as to reinforce the saying: "Baptist churches multiply by dividing."

Throughout their history, Southern Baptists have differed on questions of doctrinal uniformity and denominational participation. Some insist that a basic doctrinal consensus is necessary for cooperation, while others suggest that Baptists may disagree on doctrinal definitions and work together in ministry. Freedom of conscience and autonomy of the local congregation are often promoted as allowing churches and individuals room for interpretation and disagreement. The need for orthodoxy and doctrinal consistency are viewed as essential for denominational stability and order. Those differences, long present in the SBC, became more pronounced in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Worship Practices

Southern Baptists also reflect a variety of styles in the practice of public worship. Heirs of both the Regular and Separate Baptist traditions, Southern Baptist churches could be formal and orderly, as well as informal and spontaneous in their orders of worship. Heirs of a strong evangelical, revivalistic ethos, most placed great emphasis on preaching, calls to conversion, and opportunities for public commitment usually known as "invitations," or "altar calls," in which persons were invited to come forward in public professions of faith. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, shouts of "amen" or "hallelujah" were not uncommon in certain congregations across the South. HYMNS, usually sung to the accompaniment of organ or piano, included traditional English hymnody as well as frontier revival songs, and, more recently, simple praise choruses. The standard worship service incorporates prayers, hymns, Bible readings, an offering, musical selections from choirs or ensembles, and a sermon. Services generally conclude with an "invitation," or "call to Christian discipleship." The sermon remains the central element of Southern Baptist Sunday worship. It involves an extended commentary on specific texts of scripture in an effort to expound biblical teachings, encourage ethical behavior, and address pastoral needs of the worshipping congregation.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries some Southern Baptist clergy wore black "frock coats" (tails) in the pulpit. In some the ministers now wear pulpit robes. In certain contemporary worship services, the ministers were casual clothing in an effort to

promote a less formal style. Most, however, conduct worship in business attire. Choirs in most Southern Baptist churches generally wear matching robes. In the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, Southern Baptists generally held services on both Sunday and Sunday night, with a mid-week prayer meeting on Wednesdays. While that remains the norm in many congregations, other, particularly urban, congregations have given up Sunday evening services. Some have added two or three services on Sunday morning both to accommodate crowds and the schedules of their parishioners.

During the waning years of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, a growing number of Southern Baptist churches developed what is sometimes known as contemporary worship services, aimed at younger audiences or at “seekers” who have little background or interest in traditional worship. These services promote informality in dress and content, utilize skits, videotapes, film, and drama along with sermons and praise choruses projected on screens above the congregation. Some of these services reveal the influence of the charismatic movement as practitioners lift their hands heavenward in prayer, clap and shout in worship services, and, perhaps, even speak in tongues. Debates over this more folksy, contemporary style have resulted in a variety of “worship wars” among Southern Baptists. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Southern Baptist worship practices are increasingly varied and demonstrate significant diversity in theology and practice.

Controversies

Controversy has been a hallmark of Southern Baptist life since the beginning of the convention. Begun in schism and racism, the SBC struggled throughout its history with issues of race, generally supporting the institution of slavery before and during the Civil War, cooperating or at least acquiescing to Southern segregationists, and dividing over the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. For example, Richard Furman (1755–1825), pastor of the First Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina, and one of the South’s most prominent ministers, articulated one of the most famous Biblical defenses of slavery (1822) produced in America. Although there were significant exceptions, most Southern Baptists participated in or remained silent about Jim Crow laws and other segregationist policies throughout most of the twentieth century. During the Civil Rights movement in the South, the SBC passed various resolutions calling for peaceful responses from blacks and whites, and urging an end to segregationist legislation. Nonetheless, innumerable churches debated and divided over the integration of schools and churches. In some cases church deacons stood at the doors of church buildings in an effort to obstruct the entry of African Americans and even Africans seeking a place to worship. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (1929–1968) was invited to speak in the chapels of only two Baptist-related schools in the South, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and Wake Forest University. In 2000 the denomination officially apologized for its participation in the support of slavery and all that accompanied it. While the number of people of color was increasing significantly in the SBC in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the SBC remains an overwhelmingly AngloSaxon denomination.

Another enduring controversy involved the Old Landmark Movement that began around 1859 in Tennessee and Kentucky. Initiated by J.R.Graves (1820–1893), Nashville Baptist preacher and editor, it involved the question of whether non-immersed ministers could officiate in Baptist churches. Graves's colleague, J.M.Pendleton, pastor of First Baptist Church in Bowling Green, Kentucky, concluded that they could not because their "pedobaptism" (infant baptism) was invalid. Landmarkists took their name from Proverbs 22:28, "Remove not the ancient Landmark, which thy fathers have set." They insisted that Baptist churches were the only true churches of Christ because they alone could trace their history in a succession of dissenting churches all the way back to Jesus's baptism by John the Baptist in the River Jordan. Landmark Baptists required the immersion of all those not baptized in Baptist churches and practiced "close" communion, limiting the participation in the Lord's Supper only to members of the congregation where it was being celebrated. While the SBC resisted Landmark attempts to impose their interpretations on the entire denomination, the Landmark legacy shaped baptismal and communion practices in many churches into the twenty-first century. Likewise, Landmark concern for the absolute autonomy of the local congregation led them to oppose denominationally-based mission agencies, financial programs, and general operations as too "hierarchical."

Anti-denominationalism was also a facet of the fundamentalist movement that developed in America in general and Baptist life in particular in the early twentieth century. Fundamentalism called the church to reassert the basic doctrines of Christianity, such as biblical inerrancy, Christ's virgin birth, his sacrificial atonement, his bodily resurrection, his second coming, and literal miracles. While Southern Baptists were theologically conservative and generally affirming of these dogmas, they resisted efforts to impose them on the entire convention. J.Frank Norris (1887–1952), pastor of First Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas, was a strong proponent of fundamentalism who denounced the denominational "machine," and charged that liberalism was present in many Baptist seminaries and universities in the south. His efforts were unsuccessful and he ultimately distanced himself from the SBC, helping to form the independent Baptist movement.

Largely in response to the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, the SBC approved its first official confession of faith known as the Baptist Faith and Message in 1925. Taken largely from the nineteenth-century New Hampshire Confession of Faith, it contained basic statements on biblical authority, the need for conversion, baptism by immersion, local church autonomy, and other doctrines. The confession was revised in 1963 and in 2000 and remains the denomination's doctrinal standard.

During the 1960s the denomination confronted two controversies regarding biblical authority and the use of historical/critical methods of biblical studies. In 1961 Broadman Press, the denominational publishing house, released a book entitled *The Message of Genesis*, written by Ralph Elliott, professor at the Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kansas City, Missouri. Elliott's use of critical methods of biblical scholarship provoked an immediate response from Southern Baptist conservatives who felt that the book undermined the authority of the Scriptures. In response to the controversy, Broadman Press ceased publication of the book and Elliott was dismissed from his teaching position, not for his scholarly views, but for insubordination when he resisted a mandate from the seminary that he not republish the book.

In 1969 another controversy over biblical authority developed with the publication of a commentary on the book of Genesis in *The Broadman Bible Commentary*, a series published by Broadman Press. Written by British Baptist professor G.Henton Davies, the commentary also made use of critical methods of biblical study, with attention to the JEDP theories of multiple compilers of the Hebrew Torah. Convention conservatives again demanded that the book be rejected. Broadman Press editors responded by discontinuing publication of the volume and contracting with Southern Baptist Seminary professor Clyde Francisco for a new edition.

These controversies highlighted increasing division between convention conservatives and moderates over the theological underpinnings and leadership of the denominations. Conservatives insisted that the denomination was perched on a slippery slope that would lead to liberalism and the loss of orthodoxy. They were particularly concerned that professors in SBC seminaries did not adhere to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy, the belief that the Bible is totally without error in its original manuscripts on every subject it addresses.

In 1979 conservatives, led by Houston Appeals Court Judge Paul Presslar and conservative educator Paige Patterson, began a concerted effort to elect a series of SBC presidents who would use the appointive powers of that office to add trustees to convention boards who would promote inerrancy and other conservative agendas. At the annual SBC meeting in Houston, Texas they succeeded in electing Adrian Rogers, pastor of Bellevue Baptist Church in Memphis, Tennessee (a conservative), to the convention presidency. Conservatives declared that they were simply offering a “course correction” that would return the SBC to its orthodox origins. Moderates charged that the conservatives were attempting a take-over in order to gain political control of America’s largest Protestant denomination. For a decade, conservative and moderate Southern Baptists confronted each other every June in an effort to elect presidents sympathetic to their vision for the convention. Conservatives won every election and succeeded in changing the denominational boards enough to gain complete control of the national convention structure. So intense were the divisions that the 1985 SBC meeting in Dallas, Texas attracted some 45,000 messengers, the largest such gathering in the denomination’s history.

Biblical inerrancy was not the only divisive issue between the two groups. One significant debate involved the role of women in the church, particularly focused on the ordination of women to the Baptist ministry. The first ordination of a Southern Baptist woman occurred in 1964 when Addie Davis was ordained by the Watts Street Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina. Others soon followed, and conservatives challenged such actions as a violation of biblical mandates that they believed limited the pastoral office only to males. In 1984 conservatives at the annual SBC meeting approved a (nonbinding) resolution stating that women should be excluded from the pastoral office on the basis of 1 Timothy 2:12ff in order “to preserve a submission God requires because the man was first in creation and a woman was first in the Edenic fall.” In 2000 the revision of the Baptist Faith and Message (the denomination’s confession of faith) declared officially that women were not to serve as pastors.

The controversy between conservatives and moderates had significant long-term effects on the nature and organization of the SBC. It produced a variety of divisions, even formal schisms, throughout the old SBC system. During the 1980s and 1990s, numerous

Baptist colleges and universities chose to distance themselves from the state Baptist conventions that controlled them and appointed their trustees. The University of Richmond, along with Wake Forest, Furman, Samford, and Baylor Universities were among the schools that renegotiated their relationships with their parent bodies and asserted the right to appoint their own trustees while retaining varying Baptist connections. Likewise, as the six Southern Baptist seminaries came under complete control of the conservatives, new Baptist-related seminaries and divinity schools appeared. These included Beeson Divinity School at Samford University; Baptist Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia; George Truett Seminary at Baylor University; Logston School of Theology at Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Texas; McAfee School of Theology at Mercer University, Atlanta, Georgia; Christopher White School of Divinity at Gardner-Webb University, Boiling Springs, North Carolina; Campbell University Divinity School in Buies Creek, North Carolina; and Wake Forest University Divinity School in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Baptist houses of study were also established at Duke Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina; Candler School of Theology at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; and Brite Divinity School at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas.

State Baptist conventions also reexamined their relationship with the national denomination. Baptist conventions in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina generally affirmed the conservative directions of the convention, while the state conventions in Virginia and Texas reflected more moderate sentiments. In Texas and Virginia, conservatives formed their own state conventions, creating formal schisms with the traditional state organizations. The Baptist General Convention of Texas not only developed its own denomination-like programs, but also invited moderates from throughout the nation to join them. In other southern states moderates and conservatives maintained an uneasy coalition, often by permitting a variety of alternative funding possibilities for churches, thereby enabling them to designate money to conservative or moderate causes.

New Baptist organizations also developed out of the controversy in the Southern Baptist Convention. The Alliance of Baptists was founded in 1986 as a moderate/liberal “conscience” within the convention. Its member churches moved away from the denomination more rapidly than other moderate congregations. The alliance affirmed women’s ordination, academic freedom, and freedom of conscience.

The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, founded in 1991, became a clearinghouse for moderate Baptist missionary, educational, and benevolent endeavors. Based in Atlanta, Georgia, it sends out missionaries, funds theological education, and provides resources for churches in areas of Christian education, Baptist identity, and church leadership. Many of its member churches retain their affiliation with the SBC.

In the year 2000 the denomination’s revision of its confession of faith, the Baptist Faith and Message, delineated more specific doctrinal and ethical concerns of the conservatives and further delineated the differences with the moderates. The revised document included additions regarding the “total truthfulness” of Scripture; opposition to abortion, adultery, and homosexuality; and the denial of the pastoral role to women. In their public statements on the role of the denomination in the “public square,” SBC leaders often believe themselves to be a counterculture movement, at odds with an

increasingly secular society and churches that have sold out to the culture. All this makes it more difficult for moderate churches to continue formal association with the SBC.

The Southern Baptist denominational system was one of the most elaborate and enduring religious organizations in American religious history. Continued controversy between conservatives and moderates has led to significant restructuring of the denomination, the redefining of the nature of the convention, and the realignment of institutions and individuals connected with it. These changes make the Southern Baptist Convention an important case study in transitions in American denominational life, theology, and practice.

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BILL J. LEONARD

SOUTHERN PROTESTANTISM

The Southern United States, popularly called the Bible Belt, has long been a bastion of an evangelical Protestantism inclined toward ORTHODOXY in belief. Historical reality undergirds that perception, although there has also consistently been a substratum of diversity even within Southern Protestantism. This complex story has roots in the earliest English colonial settlements in the region.

English immigrants who made their first permanent settlement in Virginia in 1607 were decidedly Protestant, by birth members of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, by inclination attracted to Puritan ways. In each Southern colony, although the timetable differed, the Church of England in time became legally established, supported by tax monies and often the only recognized form of Christianity. Throughout the colonial period Anglican churches in the South had too few CLERGY to make this tradition vital and dynamic and had to rely on the bishop of London for episcopal oversight (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPALY). In addition, when the first Africans forced to migrate as slaves arrived in 1619, Anglicans were ambivalent about whether to seek slave CONVERSIONS; they were also ignorant of how African tribal sensibilities continued to provide a substratum of religious meaning for the slave population. White Anglican laymen assumed greater control over parish life than was the case in ENGLAND, and, for many, religion was more an expression of rational gentility than of deep piety.

Before the era of independence, however, other Protestant currents were undermining Anglican dominance. Evangelist GEORGE WHITEFIELD in the mid-eighteenth century preached a more enthusiastic style of the gospel, whereas the steadily increasing migration of Scots-Irish into the Southern upcountry along the eastern slopes of the Appalachian mountain chain also brought a decidedly more evangelical cast to Southern religious life. By the time of independence, which left the Church of England in disarray, EVANGELICALISM was poised to dominate Southern Protestantism.

Evangelicalism's penetration into the South owed much to itinerant Methodist CIRCUIT RIDERS and Separate Baptists preachers whose mobility enabled them to reach people where they were (see BAPTISTS, UNITED STATES; METHODISM; METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA). With a more emotionally charged emphasis on personal conversion, evangelicals appealed especially to WOMEN and to African Americans. The evangelical message offered spiritual power to those on the margins of the larger society. In addition, by stressing experience over intellectual formulation, Evangelicals shunned the formal education for preachers thought necessary for Episcopal priests or even Presbyterian clergy. Powerful African-American preachers, often unable to read Scripture but with an ability to speak dynamically about their own experience of conversion, attracted a biracial audience. The disorganization independence brought to the Church of England also aided evangelical growth; in many areas Anglican women found spiritual needs better met by Evangelicals, especially when parishes lacked priests.

The Impact of Frontier Camp Meetings

After independence, as Euro-Americans migrated west of the Appalachians, the frontier CAMP MEETING further secured evangelicalism's dominance of Southern Protestantism. The date and location of the first camp meeting are lost to history, but the notable revival at Cane Ridge in Kentucky in 1801 became a model for those that followed along much of the Southern frontier. Attracting preachers from different denominations, the REVIVALS lasted two weeks or so, during the time between the maturing of crops and their harvest. The revivals drew thousands, providing opportunities not only for spiritual experience but for socializing with neighbors who lived so great a distance away that the camp meeting was the only time for coming together. The revivals also drew African Americans into their orbit, furthering the biracial character of much Southern Protestant life.

With dramatic manifestations of the Spirit as individuals were seized by the jerks or began to bark like animals, frontier camp meetings were also times of emotional excess. Yet they had a more somber cast, with a celebration of the LORD'S SUPPER often closing the gathering. This sacramental dimension most likely reflected the influence of the Scots-Irish; similar celebrations were part of Scottish religious culture in the eighteenth century. In the camp meetings, too, lie some forerunners of Southern gospel as a musical genre, for camp meetings songs added distinctive rhythmic patterns and refrains to familiar HYMNS.

Among the organizers of the Cane Ridge camp meeting was BARTON W. STONE, who with Alexander Campbell (see CAMPBELL FAMILY) sought to restore Christian practice to patterns thought to prevail in New Testament times. Abandoning the notion of denominations, these Christians saw themselves reconstituting the church according to apostolic models. In time the movement spawned several divisions; the Churches of Christ, which retain pockets of strength in parts of Tennessee and Texas, originated in the Stone-Campbell movement (see CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, CHURCHES OF CHRIST). Linked today by colleges, lectureships, and a variety of publications, the Churches of Christ continue to eschew denominational structures. The other major body rooted in Stone-Campbell RESTORATIONISM, but stronger outside the South, is the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

The frontier experience made revivalism a hallmark of Southern Protestant life. In the twentieth century, for example, the nation's most well known evangelist was BILLY GRAHAM, a native North Carolinian.

Controversy over Slavery

The early nineteenth century not only cemented the hold of the evangelical denominations on Southern Protestantism, but also led to increasing concerns over chattel SLAVERY and the moral issues involved. Debates over slavery were not limited to the South, nor were concerns over race regionally exclusive. As antislavery sentiment

mounted in the North, Southern Protestants became more strident in efforts to support slavery on biblical grounds and to resist moves toward abolition (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Among Presbyterians in the South there developed the idea of the “spirituality of the church,” articulated forcefully by James Henley Thornwell and Benjamin Morgan Palmer. This notion insisted that only spiritual matters like SALVATION were the proper concern of the church; on political issues, like slavery, the church should remain silent. Such thinking allowed Southern Protestants formally to avoid the moral dilemma posed by slavery. It also elevated an individual ethic over a social ethic in much popular thinking, such that social matters became issues of political concern, not religious; in time, this narrower ethical perspective would almost restrict ethical concern to the realm of personal behavior, although some, even among Evangelicals, always called for a gospel with ramifications for the social order.

Within the churches, increasing angst over slavery led to the introduction of balconies where African Americans would be required to sit, although most Southern worship remained biracial. This move paralleled moves in the North that followed on the ejection of RICHARD ALLEN and a few others during worship at Philadelphia’s St. George’s Methodist Church in 1787 for refusing to move to the balcony. That episode spurred the organization of separate congregations and also of separate denominations for African Americans. In the South there were already a few congregations that were entirely or predominantly African American, with Silver Bluff Baptist Church near Augusta, Georgia, among the oldest. However, in the South, creating racially separate congregations and denominations was largely a post-Civil War phenomenon.

As regional tensions over slavery increased, the major evangelical denominations eventually split, foreshadowing the national schism that came when the Confederate States of America formed after South Carolina seceded from the Union in 1860. The Methodists divided in 1844, not reuniting until 1939; the Baptist division in 1845 still endures, with the SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION by the later twentieth century becoming the largest Protestant group in the nation. Among major Protestant bodies, only the Episcopal Church did not divide over slavery, although during the war, separate conventions were held in the South and in the North. Ironically, the CIVIL WAR years furthered the evangelical grip on Southern Protestantism. Revivals spread among the Confederate army from time to time, leading many soldiers to reaffirm their commitment to an evangelical understanding of Protestant Christianity.

After the war, Northern-based groups like the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL and AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION churches made inroads among former slaves in the South, as did the Christian (formerly Colored) Methodist Episcopal church that emerged from Southern Methodism in 1870 and various Baptists denominations (see BLACK METHODISTS; NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA; NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A.). The result was that race continued to mark Southern Protestantism. The white denominations, in an effort to seize victory out of defeat, helped promote a civil religion that glorified a mythic past and celebrated presumed Confederate virtue, whereas the African-American denominations became centers of social life for the free black population that had to contend with a virulent racism that replaced slavery.

African-American churches kept alive profound ways African religious sensibilities buttressed Southern Protestantism, by fashioning an underlying foundation in theology

and practice that drew on both the African and the slave experience (see AFRICAN-AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM). For example, for a time the African-American pastor was as much conjurer and root doctor as educated cleric, fusing roles and moving freely from one to the other. In addition, the black church became and remained a center of social and political life, providing opportunities for leadership, recreation, and expression of social welfare concern that white Protestantism readily yielded to other cultural institutions. Thus, when the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT erupted with the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1955, a pastor, MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., became its acknowledged spokesman and the churches became cradles of leadership and support.

Holiness and Pentecostal Expressions

Not all who came into the Appalachian mountains in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries moved on to the Southern frontier. Some who remained developed distinctive styles of Protestantism, many influenced by currents of Holiness that took the BIBLE very seriously and greatly emphasized how the Holy Spirit empowered personal behavior and experience. Many churches scattered through the mountains lack denominational affiliation, although most major denominations are represented. Among the unaffiliated congregations are those that look to the Gospel of Mark, chapter 16, for signs that accompany faith. Since the early twentieth century, these signs have often included handling serpents and ingesting strychnine (see SERPENT HANDLERS). Several Southern states tried to outlaw such practices, but freedom of religion ideals prevailed. Serpent handling churches rarely proselytize. Handlers usually come from families where several generations have engaged in the practice, but most children born of handlers eventually affiliate with nonhandling groups.

In the mountains, too, came the first Southern stirrings of PENTECOSTALISM, although the modern American Pentecostal movement tracks its roots to the 1906 AZUSA STREET REVIVALS in Los Angeles. A decade earlier Pentecostal experiences were reported around Camp Creek, North Carolina. Pentecostals accept "gifts of the Spirit" such as glossolalia (see TONGUES, SPEAKING IN). At first biracial, in time most Pentecostal congregations divided along racial lines. Several groups, such as the CHURCH OF GOD and the Church of God of Prophecy, maintain headquarters in Cleveland, Tennessee, whereas the largest African American Pentecostal body, the CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST, is based in Memphis, Tennessee. By the twenty-first century the growth of Southern Pentecostal groups outpaced that of other evangelical denominations, spurred by immigration of Hispanic Pentecostals into the South as well as by the appeal of Pentecostal experience. As well, the enthusiasm characteristic of Pentecostalism was influencing WORSHIP in congregations affiliated with most Protestant denominations.

The South has also been fertile ground for many smaller religious groups. Groups as diverse as Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) and Unitarians (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION) have found a place in the South. There are also a

variety of smaller Baptist bodies, such as Old Regular Baptists, Seventh-Day Baptists, and PRIMITIVE BAPTISTS. Alongside larger denominations are smaller ones that represent offshoots, often over matters of DOCTRINE, POLITY, or social policies. Among them are the Southern Methodist Church and the Presbyterian Church of America. Groups popularly identified as more sectarian, such as the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS, have likewise flourished in the region. Even so, their combined presence only modestly challenges the continuing dominance of the Southern Baptist Convention and the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH among the region's Protestants.

The Impact of Fundamentalism

By the second decade of the twentieth century, FUNDAMENTALISM had made inroads into the South, although its primary impact had first been among northern Baptists and Presbyterians. In 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee, the conviction of John Scopes on charges of teaching evolution in a public school signaled that fundamentalism or an extreme Protestant orthodoxy had come to the South. Until then most Southern Protestants believed that MODERNISM had only a small following in the South and that most remained consistently orthodox in belief and practice. Aided by the long history of evangelistic revivals and camp meet-ings, linked by a network of BIBLE COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES (including Bob Jones University), and adept at using the most advanced communications media, fundamentalists became a force within most Southern Protestant denominations by the middle of the twentieth century. The rise of Southern fundamentalism also reinforced the evangelical emphasis on a personal ethic, although groups like the FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN represented an alternative perspective that sought to promote a SOCIAL GOSPEL in the region.

When the Civil Rights movement challenged the racism long taken for granted in the South and U.S. courts moved to eliminate prayer and Bible reading from the public schools, fundamentalists perceived that the religious substratum of the region was crumbling. Many congregations started private schools, both to maintain racially segregated educational opportunities and to ensure that children would receive instruction in traditional evangelical moral values. Televangelists like JERRY FALWELL and PAT ROBERTSON sought to translate fundamentalist leanings into political power through organizations such as the MORAL MAJORITY and other so-called CHRISTIAN RIGHT groups (see TELEVANGELISM). Such political organizations represented a significant break with earlier understanding that had seen religion's role almost exclusively concerned with the SALVATION of individuals, not with political matters.

Within the Southern Baptist Convention, similar concerns over a perceived erosion of traditional faith and practice by the late 1960s led more conservatively inclined leaders to launch a campaign to wrest control of the denomination's bureaucracy and affiliated institutions, such as colleges and SEMINARIES, from those thought too moderate or liberal. Although the effort was successful, the internal controversy left the region's largest Protestant body deeply divided, with many institutions and local congregations

forming a parallel network through the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship to keep a less conservative presence flourishing.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, Southern Protestantism remained predominantly evangelical in style and orthodox in belief. However, there were increasing challenges to that hegemony, many from other Protestant bodies whose approach was different, and the Protestant landscape was becoming decidedly more diverse. Ethnicity continued to signal some of that diversity, with a growing Hispanic population joining people of African descent in offering alternatives to the white evangelical style. As well, Pentecostal groups were growing at a faster rate than had been the case a half century before. Protestants also had to confront a rapidly increasing proportion of Southerners who were not Protestant or even Christian. Roman Catholicism and JUDAISM both had a distinguished history in the region, and, after immigration laws changed in 1965, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam also took their place in Southern religious culture.

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CHARLES H.LIPPY

SOZZINI, FAUSTO PAOLO (SOCINUS, FAUSTUS) (1539–1604)

Italian reformer. Born in Siena, ITALY on December 5, 1539 to a famous family of lawyers, Sozzini spent his childhood in Siena, Bologna, and Scopeto. He planned for a career as a lawyer, traditional for his family, but in his studies he only marginally dealt with jurisprudence and instead concentrated on humanist studies and writing poetry in Italian and Latin. He became a member of the Accademia degli Intronati in Siena, the intellectual salon of the city. He soon became expert in the organization of various games and plays that were popular in Siena.

He also developed an interest in religious issues at a very young age. His family was under the influence of reform ideas very early. Sozzini's cousins Camillo, Celso, Cornelio, but above all Lelio (1525–1562) were supporters of reform. From 1547 on Lelio Sozzini, who had left Italy, proved to be a skeptic intellectual and convinced Antitrinitarian linked to radical REFORMATION circles. He also enjoyed warm and even friendly relations with many leaders of the Reformed Church.

The anti-Catholic sentiment of the Sozzini family, including Fausto, was closely observed by the Catholic Inquisition, which arrested a few of its members in November 1560. Alerted in time, Fausto managed first to hide out in the Siena area but then to leave for Lyon in FRANCE in April 1561. He represented his family's interests there, corresponding with his friends. Religious issues became of even greater interest to him, and when he learned about the death of his uncle Lelio in Zurich, he immediately left for that city to secure Lelio's manuscripts. He later often noted that Lelio's works highly influenced his own religious convictions. Fausto's commentary on the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, *Expiatio primi capituli Ioannis* ("Explication of the first chapter of John"), an interpretation of this passage in the spirit of radical ANTITRINITARIANISM with his rejection of Christ's eternity, is an example of Lelio's influence. During his stay in SWITZERLAND, Sozzini came to know SEBASTIAN CASTELLIO, whose thought also shaped his religious beliefs.

Return to Italy

Toward the end of 1563 Sozzini returned to Italy. His stay, presumably with the intent to take care of inheritance matters, was supposed to be short, and he planned to return to Switzerland quickly to undertake theological studies. Nevertheless, he remained in Italy almost twelve years. This is an enigmatic period of Sozzini's life. Sozzini was in Rome between 1565 and 1568, probably as secretary of the auditor of the Roman Rote Serafin

Razzali. Between 1569 and 1575 he entered the service of Isabelle de' Medici and her husband Paolo Giordano Orisini. Socinius later described these years as lost in unproductive activities. At the same time he had secret contacts with Italian religious dissenters in Switzerland (see DISSENT). In 1568 Sozzini's commentary appeared in Alba Julia, Transylvania, and shortly thereafter the Polish version was published in Krakow by Grzegorz Pawel from Brzeziny.

At the end of 1575 Sozzini left Italy for good and moved to Switzerland, where he spent three years. This stay was characterized by intensive writing and numerous debates during which Sozzini defined the main lines of his theological system. Presumably he had developed most of these ideas while in Italy.

The first important debate, in which Jacques Covet—a Huguenot theologian—was his main opponent, touched on soteriological, or SALVATION, issues (see HUGUENOTS). Sozzini rejected the redemptive character of Christ's DEATH on the cross, claiming that Christ's saving mission consisted of showing the right way of life. This debate led him to write the important work *De Iesu Christo Servatore* ("About Christ the Savior"), published in 1594 in POLAND. The second debate with Italian religious emigrant Francesco Pucci included anthropological problems—the state of the first human before original SIN. Sozzini claimed that human beings were mortal by nature. This debate, *De statu primi hominis ante lapsam* ("About the state of the first man before the fall"), was published after his death in 1610.

Move to Poland

In June 1579 Sozzini moved to Krakow, where he established close relations with the Polish Antitrinitarian Church known as the "Minor"—that is, "smaller"—church. While stressing his desire to join this church, he did not hide his own views on numerous matters. BAPTISM by immersion practiced in the Minor Church represented the main point of disagreement. He rejected this practice, stating that it was not relevant for Christians. This position, as well as his ideas about eternity, JUSTIFICATION, and Christ's sacrifice on the cross, prevented the synod in 1580 from accepting him into the church. Nevertheless, he quickly gained a high informal position within the church.

At the end of the 1580s Sozzini fought for leadership in the Polish Antitrinitarian Church, putting forward his soteriological concepts, defending his belief about the symbolic character of the LORD'S SUPPER. A prolific writer, he answered vigorous Jesuit attacks against Antitrinitarians. The treatise against Jacob Wujek, *Refutatio libelli, quem Iacobus Vyjekus Iesuita edidit* ("Refutation of the books published by the Jesuit Jacob Wujek"), in 1595 and the Calvinist Andrzej Wolan, *De Iesu Christi Filii dei natura* ("About the nature of Jesus Christ son of God") in 1588 are the culmination of these efforts.

At the Lublin synod (May and June 1593) he imposed his positions on redemption, justification, and the Lord's Supper on the Minor Church. In political and social issues he was not that successful. The synod agreed to welcome lay rulers but did not enable its

members to take part in court proceedings. From the synod in Lublin (1598) on, Sozzini occupied a leading spiritual role among Polish Antitrinitarians.

Sozzini married Elzbieta Morsztyn in May 1586. In May 1587 his daughter Agnieszka (mother of the Socinian thinker Andrzej Wiszowaty) was born. In September of that year his wife died, and in October his Tuscan protector Ferdinando de' Medici also died. The new ruler, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, had no friendly feelings toward Sozzini and did not prevent the Inquisition from charging him with HERESY on February 3, 1591. He was sentenced to death but was burned in effigy because of his absence. This, however, put an end to his income from the property in Italy. He had to lead a very modest life, relying on the help of his friends and cobelievers.

Final Years

On April 29, 1598 Sozzini was attacked by Catholic students in Krakow, who managed to get into his apartment and destroy his manuscripts and books. They intended to drown him in the Vistula River. Already sick at the time, he was saved by several professors from the University of Krakow. He could not overcome the loss of his manuscripts and books, particularly his treaty against atheism. He left Krakow on April 30 and spent the remainder of his life at various places. Works including *Commentarius in Epistolam Ioannis Apostoli prima* (*Commentary to the First Letter of St John the Apostle*) (1614) and the unfinished *Lectiones sacra* (*Sacred lectures*) were published after his death. Troubled with failing eyesight, Sozzini dictated both works. He did not finish another work against Jesuits and a CATECHISM, which were important to him. The treaty to Reformed Evangelicals asking them to join the Antitrinitarians (*Manifestation...*, 1600) was his only work published in Lutoslawce. He died in Lutoslawce on March 3, 1604 and was buried there.

Despite his long stay in Poland, Sozzini did not learn to speak Polish (he had a passive understanding of the language). He remained a patrician from Tuscany, dreaming of a return to his native country. At the same time he understood that Poland was the only country where he could develop his program of radical Christian reform.

Sozzini influenced Polish Antitrinitarianism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and European SOCINIANISM. Many of his works have also been published (in the original language or translated) in other countries, mainly ENGLAND, Holland, and GERMANY. His grandson Andrzej Wiszowaty prepared a collection of his works, including some unedited ones. It appeared in Amsterdam in 1688 as t. I and t. II *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*.

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LECH SZCZUCKI

SPALDING, JOHANN JOACHIM (1714–1804)

German theologian. This leading personality of the religious ENLIGHTENMENT was born on November 11, 1714 in Tribsees, at that time a part of Swedish Pomerania, and died on May 22, 1804 in Berlin. His father was the principal of the municipal school in Tribsees. After studying THEOLOGY in Rostock and Greifswald and receiving his doctorate in 1736, Spalding worked as a tutor and then as a parish minister in Pomerania. He moved to Berlin, where his responsibilities included not only those of a parish clergy but also the position of provost and membership on the supreme CONSISTORY council for Prussia.

Spalding is considered the main representative of NEOLOGY, the new theology of the eighteenth century. This “modern theology” sought to overcome Protestant ORTHODOXY and PIETISM. The optimistic view of this theology understood God as a loving father whose wisdom and providence worked to lead humanity to its moral perfection. Ethics played a central role in this theology.

Much of what new theologians advocated was taken from English theologians. Spalding was one of the most important purveyors of moderate antideist literature, made famous through his translations. These included Joseph Butler’s *Analogy of Religion*, an apologetic work that weaves together Christian creed, scientific knowledge, and the fundamental principles of the Enlightenment.

In 1748 Spalding won literary fame and significant ecclesiastical influence with his *Gedanken über die Bestimmung des Menschen* (*Thoughts on the Human Destiny*). In this work he opposed the French philosophical materialism of the court of the Prussian king Frederick II. Among his other successful publications were *Gedanken über den Wert der Gefühle im Christentum* (*Thoughts on the Value of Emotion in Christianity*, 1761; 5th ed., 1784); *Über die Nutzbarkeit des Predigtamtes und deren Beförderung* (*On the Usefulness of the Preaching Office and its Enhancement*, 1772; 3rd ed., 1791), in which he opposed the dog-matic doctrines broadcast from the pulpit; and a kind of bequest, *Religion, eine Angelegenheit des Menschen* (*Religion, a Human Affair*, 1797; 4th ed., 1806).

In Berlin and beyond, Spalding maintained a vigorous correspondence with many important personalities, including J.F.W. Jerusalem, JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, Christoph Friedrich Nicolai, FRIEDRICH ERNST DANIEL SCHLEIER-MACHER, Moses Mendelssohn, and IMMANUEL KANT. In protest against the religious edict of Johann Christoph Wöllner, which required CLERGY in Prussia to teach only officially recognized DOCTRINE, Spalding resigned his leadership positions in the church in 1788.

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

SPCK

See Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

SPENER, PHILIPP JAKOB (1635–1705)

German Pietist. Spener is known for having spearheaded a movement of moral and religious renewal within German LUTHERANISM known as PIETISM, which blossomed in the aftermath of the destructive Thirty Years War (1618–1648).

Early Life and Education

Born in Alsace, the son of a councilor to the duke of Rappolstein, Spener was influenced in his youth by his reading of JOHANN ARNDT'S *Wahres Christentum (True Christianity)*, which countered a formalized system of orthodox Lutheran DOCTRINE with an emphasis on a new birth, understood in terms of the categories of late medieval German mysticism. His reading of Puritan literature (see PURITANISM), especially RICHARD BAXTER and Lewis Bayly, also heightened his interest in self-examination and predisposed him to theological study at the University of Strasbourg, where, under Johann Conrad Dannhauer's influence (1603–1666), he was led to value the role of the LAITY, the vernacular reading of Scripture, and a casuistic approach to personal ETHICS and Sabbath observance. As was customary for theological students, he spent two years as a traveling scholar in SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, and GERMANY. In Geneva he fell under the influence of the radical HUGUENOT preacher, Jean de Labadie (1610–1674).

Ministry in Frankfurt am Main (1666–1686)

After completing a doctorate in theology at Strasbourg, and marrying, Spener was called at the age of thirty-one to become senior of the Lutheran CLERGY at Frankfurt/Main. Here he gave emphasis to reviving the rite of confirmation through a program of catechization of the youth, as well as befriending the youthful GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ. He also instituted his method of activating the laity to assist the clergy in renewing parish life, by means of the *collegia pietatis*, private gatherings of “earnest” laity, first held biweekly in his home, where the sermon of the previous Sunday was discussed. In time, other devotional literature was studied, and the central focus eventually became BIBLE Study.

A prolific writer, Spener's most noted work, which was highly acclaimed throughout Germany, was his *Pia Desideria* (1675). It appeared as the preface to a new edition of Arndt's *True Christianity*, but it created such a sensation that it was soon published separately. It was organized in three parts: an account of the shortcomings of the church of the day, the possibility of reform, and a program of specific proposals for effecting that end. These proposals were intended to address such abuses as churches controlled by the absolute pretensions of local princes, the rigid observance of class and ecclesiological distinctions, and the duplicity implicit in a church life that was outwardly flourishing but which appeared to yield little evidence of producing genuine Christian life. Spener's response to these conditions included a call for a more extensive use of Scripture, charity when engaged in controversy, PREACHING for purposes of edification, and the reform of schools, especially theological education (see EDUCATION, THEOLOGY: EUROPE).

Spener's book reflected his efforts to activate the universal Christian priesthood, as announced in a sermon in 1669, which called for committed members of the congregation to serve with the clergy in reforming parish life. There was a tendency for the *collegia pietatis* to be regarded as the heart of the church, as an *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*, a church within the church, although this was not Spener's intention. To avoid charges of Donatism and to circumvent rumors of raging ANTINOMIANISM in the *collegiae*, he attempted to forestall the unchecked proliferation of conventicles, the small Bible study groups, by letters and tracts, and by requiring that they be held in the church, under the pastor's leadership, rather than in private homes. They were to be vehicles for parish reform and renewal, although they also precipitated withdrawal from the church on the part of the Frankfurt separatist leader Johann Jakob Schutz (1640–1690).

Although Spener wrote against the separatists, he did not regret forming the *collegium*, particularly because it represented the only place where all three social classes (the clergy, nobility, and general laity) could meet and strategize in the work of the CHURCH. Nonetheless, despite his initial enthusiasm for this structure, that Spener refrained from instituting CONVENTICLES in his later parish appointments.

Service in Dresden (1686–1691) and Berlin (1691–1705)

After twenty years in Frankfurt, Spener accepted the post of first court chaplain to the elector of Saxony in Dresden (1686–1691). Here he found some respite from controversy, with more leisure for serious theological writing. He also became acquainted with a younger teacher at Leipzig, AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE (1663–1727), whom he helped to obtain a post at the new Saxon university of HALLE. Spener's final post was as inspector of churches and preacher in the Church of St. Nicholas in Berlin (1691–1705). Here he became more involved in the controversies of the Pietist movement, including several doctrinal and moral charges leveled against it by the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg, the hotbed of Lutheran Orthodoxy. In his latter years, he consented to publish his voluminous letters and papers. He also served as sponsor at the

baptism of NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF (1700–1760), providing a link with that renovator of the MORAVIAN CHURCH.

Conclusion

Spener differed from those Orthodox Lutherans who placed the doctrinal content of the Lutheran symbolical books on a par with Scripture. He balanced the Lutheran concern for the inspiration of Scripture with an emphasis on the effects of the Bible on persons, through the activity of the Holy Spirit. There was also an implicit doctrinal shift from the centrality of forensic JUSTIFICATION to the biological metaphor of regeneration.

With an eschatological interest grounded in his doctoral dissertation on the Revelation of John, he held out hope for “better times” for the church on earth, and regarded Christian existence from the standpoint of its goal, its perfection in Christ. Spener’s devout, modest, and even cautious style belie the extent to which he became a central figure for church renewal in seventeenth-century Germany.

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J. STEVEN O’MALLEY

SPEYER, DIETS OF

Two imperial diets, or legislative assemblies, met in Speyer, GERMANY in 1526 and again in 1529 primarily for the purpose of dealing with the religious controversy that had arisen within the Holy Roman Empire because of the theological teachings of MARTIN LUTHER. The first diet resulted in a unanimous agreement among the estates to suspend in effect the EDICT OF WORMS (1521), which had outlawed Luther's teachings, until a general ecumenical council could be called. Three years later a council had not convened, so a second diet was held to decide the issue. Here the Catholic majority voted to rescind the 1526 Recess and to enforce the Edict of Worms. The evangelical minority formally protested the decision, but was disregarded. Their objection revealed a new corporate character of the REFORMATION and led to a new designation for followers of reform—Protestants.

The Diet of Speyer, 1526

In February 1525, Emperor Charles V achieved a decisive military victory over the French, allowing him to deal with the religious controversy within the German estates at an imperial diet. The diet was to convene in Speyer in the spring of 1526, but by March it was apparent Charles would be unable to attend because of renewed conflict with the French, the papacy, and the Turks, so he sent his brother, Ferdinand, instead. The business of the diet opened on June 25 with the proposition sent by Charles instructing those assembled to resolve the religious issue by prohibiting liturgical innovation and requiring enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The Emperor also sent secret instructions to Ferdinand informing him to cease all business if the discussion of the diet proceeded in a contrary direction. When the proceedings diverged, however, Ferdinand revealed Charles's instructions.

The estates were forced to delineate the nature of their AUTHORITY in relation to the emperor's. From recent conflicts, particularly the Peasants War of 1525, they had learned they could maintain their authority without Charles's assistance through the formation of alliances, even transconfessional alliances. Thus, the estates stood together in unanimous agreement. On August 27 they resolved in the Recess that, with respect to the Edict of Worms, each ruler along with his subjects would "live, govern, and carry himself as he hopes and trusts to answer to God and His Imperial Majesty" until a general council convened. This agreement was meant as a temporary solution to the question of the enforceability of the Edict of Worms. Many of the estates insisted that the edict could simply not be enforced. The Recess, supported by the Catholic estates, was meant to

petrify the status quo. As time passed and a general council was not convened, the temporary solution became more permanent, especially since the reform-minded estates proceeded to undertake reform.

The Diet of Speyer, 1529

Two years later, as Charles continued his struggle against FRANCE and its new English allies, Ferdinand, recently crowned king of both Bohemia and HUNGARY, also confronted political problems. First was the prospect of violence among the opposing religious parties in the German lands. Additionally he faced possible war with the Turks, which would require financial support from these same estates. Hoping to resolve these difficulties, Ferdinand, as the emperor's representative, called for a diet to convene in the spring of 1527. It was postponed twice, first when Ferdinand was unable to attend and then because of Charles's objections. Realizing the inevitability of such a meeting, Charles called for a diet to meet in Speyer in February 1529, again with Ferdinand as his representative.

To Ferdinand's benefit, the imperial messengers were delayed, allowing him to modify the Proposition read to open the business of the diet on March 15. The proposition called for the revocation of the 1526 Recess of Speyer as well as the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. A committee drafted several new provisions: estates observing the Edict of Worms should continue to do so; evangelical estates in which the new teaching could not be abandoned without considerable trouble should discontinue all innovations; the mass could not be outlawed; communion in one kind could not be forbidden; those convicted of practicing rebaptism would be sentenced to death; CLERGY were forbidden to preach against the church's standard teachings; and the confiscation of property was outlawed. All provisions would be obligatory until a general council would make a final decision.

On April 19 the Catholic majority voted to approve the committee's proposal while simultaneously rejecting the evangelical opposition. The next day the evangelical estates submitted an official protest to the majority's action. Appealing to the constitutional *protestatio* principle, they argued that the unanimous decision of the 1526 Recess could not be overturned by a majority decision. They contended further that in matters concerning God's honor and the SALVATION of souls they were bound by conscience not to concede to the majority. Ferdinand and the Catholic majority rejected the protest. The Recess, approved on April 22, included only the majority decision.

With their communal stand the newly dubbed "Protestants"—John of Electoral Saxony, Philipp of Hesse, George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Wolfgang of Anhalt, Ernst and Franz of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and the cities of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Heilbronn, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Reutligen, Isny, Saint Gall, Weissenburg, and Windesheim—achieved a new corporate character for the evangelical movement. Although they remained in Speyer, some took steps to form a defensive alliance should the dispute turn violent, but this was later hindered by theological disagreements. Many of these Protestants, however, would come together

again in 1530 to make a theological defense of the evangelical movement with the AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

See also Lutheranism; Lutheranism, Germany

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MARY ELIZABETH ANDERSON

SPIRITUALISM

Spiritualism is described as a theological tendency and religious movement that seeks direct spiritual communication with God, while minimizing or rejecting external, material media, for example, SACRAMENTS, CLERGY, and Scripture. Spiritualism derives ultimately from the BIBLE and the Platonic tradition. In the early church the impact of both can be seen in pneumatic movements such as Montanism and theologians such as Origen and Augustine. Although the elements of spiritualism were pervasive in THEOLOGY thereafter, the mass of the population adhered to a materialist approach in the cult of the SAINTS, the sacraments, and the clergy. That is, because they imagined spirit as a fine material substance, they readily accepted its presence in and transmission by material objects.

Beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries spiritualism became much more prominent both among the orthodox and the heterodox (heretics) as a reaction to growing clerical power and increased emphasis on the objective sacrality of the CHURCH, the clergy, the sacraments, and other holy objects. The REFORMATION is the result and heir to these concerns. All Protestant theologies were spiritualist as compared to Catholic DOCTRINE and practice. The Radical Spiritualists (e.g., THOMAS MÜNTZER, SEBASTIAN FRANCK, CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD) went beyond the Magisterial Reformers (e.g., MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN). They denied the need for any visible church, clergy, or sacraments. The erection of state churches made Spiritualism attractive to those who resisted the legal imposition of belief and who complained of the lack of fervor that they decried in the established churches. Spiritualism provided thinkers like JOHN LOCKE with arguments for religious TOLERATION. A pervasive non-aggressive spiritualism allows Western societies to escape the cycle of religious conflict and WAR seen elsewhere.

At the root of “Spiritualism” is the “Spirit.” Christian Spirit derives from two quite different sources: Platonic “Mind” and biblical “Spirit.” Both Platonic “Mind” and Ideas are immaterial—the Ideas exist apart from Mind and physical reality in a superior realm of which the physical universe is an inferior reflection. The Ideas are eternal, unchanging, and absolute. SALVATION for the human is achieved by looking within and ascending to this higher reality through use of the rational powers of the intellect. The mind “turns its back” on the external, material world and the physical desires and emotions (which Platonists associated with the body) that it provokes. The goal is eternal rest in the static perfection of the Ideal realm. Platonism accepts a stark dualism between mind and body, immaterial and material, with the latter incapable of containing or conveying the former. Rather, material reality, the world of bodies, is a distraction and obstacle to be avoided.

By contrast, biblical Spirit, in both the Old and New Testaments, is a force that shakes NATURE, transforms humans, and drives them to do God’s will. The Bible does not describe the Spirit as immaterial and Spirit’s behavior suggests physical power and presence. Its effects on humans can include a quiet wisdom, but more often involve

heightened states of faith, fear, hope, love, anger, and the full range of human emotions. Spirit is an active force that works upon humans, not a crystalline perfection toward which humans strive. Although Spirit sometimes made use of an initial period of withdrawal to remake the human into a fitting instrument of God's will, Spirit normally propels humans to work in the world, not to flee it. Unlike the INDIVIDUALISM often associated with Platonism, biblical Spirit created community—the People of God or the church. Biblical Spirit could dwell in, be conveyed by, and make use of bodies and physical objects, although it also worked directly. Its effects ranged from military victory, to miracle, to prophecy, to individual enlightenment. Spirit was often associated with resistance to injustice, the rescue of the weak, and the punishment of the powerful. Biblical Spirit's dualism was not mind and matter, but spirit (reliance on God) and flesh (reliance on self or other humans).

Early movements like Montanism continued the biblical tradition. They appealed to prophecy against a growing clericalism, increasing reliance on the written Word, and marginalization of the pneumatic elements so characteristic of New Testament Christianity. Although structure eventually won out over spirit, biblical Spiritualism remained an option wherever the Bible was known. Radically dualist Gnosticism drew on Platonism. Within the institutional church, however, Christian thinkers trained in classical philosophy planted the seeds of Platonic Spiritualism. Already visible in Clement of Alexandria and Origen, Platonism was pervasive after the CONVERSION of the emperor Constantine when the learned elites joined the church and created sophisticated theological systems using Greek philosophy. Neoplatonists like Augustine produced a Christian understanding of the Spirit and of God by equating Platonic immaterial mind with biblical spirit. The implications for the Eucharist or LORD'S SUPPER were apparent in Augustine's famous line "Why do you prepare your teeth, if you have faith you have already eaten." Protestant reformers cited that passage repeatedly.

The fall of the Roman Empire, the decay of education, and the reduction of the learned elite to a few scattered clerics prevented the spread of Platonic Spiritualism to the church as a whole. A materialist understanding of Spirit remained common for the mass of the population and clergy. The theological defense of a real presence (see TRANSUBSTANTIATION) of Christ in the bread and wine of the Eucharist resulted.

The revival of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries established a spiritualistic trajectory leading to the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation. The weight of new bureaucracies in church and state provoked popular resistance and HERESY that drew on the biblical Spirit for its authorization. Monastic (see MONASTICISM) and university cultures produced mysticism (direct ecstatic union with God) and further elaborated immaterialist theologies. New religious orders (e.g., Franciscans and Dominicans) spread both intellectual/religious currents in the wider culture, primarily through PREACHING. Joachim of Fiore predicted a new Age of the Spirit; rigorist Franciscans who rebelled against the church were labeled the Spirituallists; and the spiritual human (*homo spiritualis*) became the goal of ascetic and devotional regimens. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, "spiritual" had become a term that was promiscuously used to describe any form of piety or practice of which one approved, a meaning that it retains to this day.

A Neoplatonist revival on the eve of the Reformation caused the rediscovery and publication of the entire surviving corpus of Platonic and Platonist writings. Erasmus of

Rotterdam, who influenced many first-generation Protestant reformers, recast Neoplatonic thought into a Christian vision marked by simplicity, inwardness, and lack of interest in the outward trappings of medieval Catholicism.

The Reformation

Every form of sixteenth-century Protestantism embraced a more “spiritualized” Christianity than did medieval Catholicism. The number, frequency, and sacrality of the sacraments were drastically reduced. Popular piety was curtailed or eliminated. The cult of the saints was outlawed. The clergy were denied a superior sacral status. All post-biblical miracles were viewed with suspicion or rejected. After a brief flirtation with late medieval mysticism, however, Luther was little affected by Platonism as his retention of a real presence in the Lord’s Supper shows. His core teachings of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone and Scripture alone also owed little or nothing to that spiritualistic tradition. Reformed Protestantism (e.g., HULDRYCH ZWINGLI and Calvin), by contrast, owes much to the Platonic tradition, as its arguments against a real presence and its hostility toward religious art make manifest. The Radical Spiritualists drew the logical, if unacceptable to the other Protestant reformers, conclusions.

Radical Spiritualism assumed three identifiable forms whose differences derive from their ultimate biblical and Platonic sources. Müntzer is the purest representative of the biblical spirit among the Radicals and, perhaps, in the Reformation as a whole. Assuming the role of an Old Testament prophet, he thundered against secular rulers and clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, as enemies and oppressors of the people of God who corrupted God’s Word and practiced “idolatry.” He emphasized God’s continuing revelation to Christians, the need for inspiration to understand Scripture, and the direct implantation of faith by God, that is, not through the Bible. Müntzer denied the real presence and criticized infant BAPTISM, but he retained both the Lord’s Supper and infant baptism. Franck offered the most thoroughgoing Platonic Spiritualism. He dismissed all the sacraments as toys that God had given to the earliest Christians in their childish weakness. They were no longer necessary or useful. Rather, they were an impediment. The clergy were also superfluous, but dangerous, because they sought to impose their fantasies on others. Franck found no use for the church as a body of believers. His was an intensely individual appropriation of the Christian message. As for the Bible he found it a dark and contradictory book whose obscurity forced Christians to look elsewhere—inward—for the true Word of God. He and Schwenckfeld were two of the most consistent defenders of religious toleration in the Reformation. Schwenckfeld’s Spiritualism owed much to medieval Catholic Eucharistic piety. Medieval theologians had overcome the spirit/matter dualism by arguing that material objects, including the flesh and blood of Christ, could in fact “contain” and “convey” Spirit, despite the manifest contradiction involved. Schwenckfeld retained that mystery, but internalized and “spiritualized” it so that the entire interchange took place within the believer. An Inner Word, Inner Baptism, and Inner Supper replaced the outer Bible and sacraments. Christ, the inner teacher, replaced the clergy. Schwenckfeld’s rejection of the outward or

visible church was less thoroughgoing than Franck's. Although the church had vanished with the Apostles, it would return with Christ at the end of time. The outward Eucharist and baptism would also be reinstated, but as mere symbols of the true inner rites.

Although Spiritualism became pervasive during the Reformation and thereafter, it is impossible to determine exactly the extent of its influence. Müntzer had imitators, but the violence that they ignited quickly consumed them. We know of many other writers from the sixteenth century whose thinking was Spiritualist or at least spiritualizing in the way of Franck or Schwenckfeld (e.g., Valentin Crautwald, Hans Bänderlin, Christian Entfelder, Johannes Campanus, VALENTIN WEIGEL, Dirk Volketszoon Coornhert). Schwenckfeld had a popular following in Silesia whose descendants now live in the UNITED STATES. However, the vast majority of practicing Spiritualists were Christians who maintained a silent resistance where state churches ruled (see CONFSSIONALIZATION), or an independence of all churches (called "libertinism" by Calvin) in areas where membership in the official church was not legally required, as in the NETHERLANDS. In the seventeenth century PIETISM'S call for a more heartfelt faith continued the Spiritualist tradition, although so did a Rationalism that led to DEISM and beyond. John Locke drew on Spiritualist arguments to advocate religious toleration and that has reshaped the religious landscape in Anglo-Saxon countries.

In the modern West the Spiritualist conviction that each believer has direct access to the divine Spirit, that no person or institution can or should impose a faith on another, and that external rites—"empty rituals"—are inessential has become a new ORTHODOXY for many and, perhaps, most Christians.

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SPORTS

Overview

Serious academic study of the relationship between Protestantism and sports has been a product of the new interest in social history that began in the 1960s. Despite a great deal of detailed historical research, no one overarching theory that convincingly explains the interaction between the two has achieved widespread assent. This is partly because of the diversity of Protestant denominational attitudes to sports, but also because the nature of sports has changed considerably over time. For this reason it is helpful to begin by looking at sports and Protestantism in preindustrial society.

In the period from 1500 to 1800, sporting activities were largely local in character and formed part of a wider and predominantly rural pattern of leisure that could include religious festivals, fairs, and holidays that were governed by the rhythms of the agricultural year. Protestants viewed many of these traditional kinds of sporting activity with suspicion, but we need to be careful not to caricature Protestant and particularly Puritan attitudes to sports as entirely negative.

The period from 1800 to about 1880 can be characterized as the formative period in the creation of modern sport. Seen by historians as intimately connected with the growth of INDUSTRIALIZATION and urbanization, sports became more national in character and more governed by explicit rules. Protestant attitudes to sports underwent significant changes in this period. Beginning in ENGLAND, what was called “muscular Christianity” emphasized the links between sporting and spiritual prowess. This ideal assumed that sports were participant and amateur activities. Finally, the late nineteenth century saw the advent of modern professional sports as forms of mass entertainment. Although many professional teams owed their beginnings to Protestant initiatives aimed at EVANGELISM, in the twentieth century sports came to seem more of a rival than an aid to Protestant Christianity. Sport in this period was often described as a new form of religion. Nevertheless, among some evangelical Protestant groups attempts to convert men to Christianity continued to associate the gospel with sportsmen and with sporting achievement, although as a form of consumerist entertainment modern sport is less closely identified with Protestant theology and practice than in the nineteenth century.

Protestantism and Sports: Theorizing the Relationship

The new forms of social history that emerged in the 1960s stimulated interest in this subject from two different directions. On the one hand, historians of religion were encouraged to move beyond a theological and institutional focus in their studies of Protestantism and of the REFORMATION and to study the interaction between these movements and elite and popular CULTURE. Although much of this work has concentrated on topics such as SEXUALITY, MARRIAGE, and GENDER, some work has been done on the impact of Protestantism on other aspects of culture including sports. On the other hand, social historians began to study the history of sport in its social and cultural context, although much of this work has emphasized the relationship between modernization and sports, and has tended to neglect religion. One notable earlier pioneering thinker who attempted to combine these approaches was MAX WEBER in his 1904–1905 work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber argued that what he called Protestantism's doctrine of worldly ASCETICISM, in which work became part of the Christian's calling, created a hostility to traditional forms of recreation and sports. Weber's insights remain valuable and still inform our understanding of the relationship between PURITANISM and sports. However, attempts to build on his work and to create a coherent theoretical perspective for understanding the relationship between sports and Protestantism have remained problematic because many researchers have noted not only hostility between the two, but also notable affinities. Jay Coakley has suggested that this contradiction may be more apparent than real, given that the Weberian Protestant ethic—with its emphasis on rationality, organization, self-discipline, hard work, and success in one's calling—is compatible with, and may well have contributed to, the development of modern forms of sports. However, because interest in sports has not been limited to Protestant cultures, and because Protestantism has been an exceptionally diverse form of religious belief and practice, it seems more helpful to regard such theoretical perspectives as stimuli to thought and re-search and to proceed by adopting a more historically based approach to this subject.

Sports and Protestantism in Preindustrial Society

On the eve of the Reformation, sporting activities were very different in form and social significance from the kinds of professional codified sports that we now associate with the term sport. Upper-class pursuits included hunting, hawking, jousting, and tennis. Archery, an important form of military training, and horse racing tended to transcend class distinctions. There also existed a range of more exclusively popular activities such as football, bowling, wrestling, animal baiting, and cockfighting. The latter were often conducted according to local rules and took place on the great religious holidays such as

Christmas, Epiphany, Shrove Tuesday, and Pentecost, or on the feast days of the patron SAINTS of particular parishes or guilds. Such events were also marked by more general communal celebrations that might include mystery plays, dancing, and beer drinking.

Like their medieval Catholic predecessors, early Protestant reformers were often hostile to popular sports because they linked them to what they regarded as dangerous and immoral habits including drinking, gambling, sexual license, and failure to attend church. However, Protestants had two further distinctive theological reasons of their own for suspicion of sports. First, they associated them with a Catholic way of life that they rejected as superstitious. Second, LUTHERANISM sought to emphasize the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS within the Christian scheme of SALVATION. This was in reaction to what Protestants believed had been the false dichotomy within medieval Catholicism between the priestly and monastic religious life of the elite and that of the rest of the population. One result of this change was to endow work, along with all other aspects of secular life, with a new kind of importance. One's worldly occupation and recreations became part of one's calling as a Christian. Although this meant that sports could be engaged in as a means of maintaining physical health or as part of a regime of military training, without such justifications, sports appeared to be forms of idleness that hindered the Christian's struggle to lead a godly life and thereby attain eternal salvation.

MARTIN LUTHER exemplifies this attitude in his 1523 work, *On Temporal Authority: To What Extent it Should be Obeyed*. After stressing the high calling of the Christian prince to lead a life of devoted service to the needs of the people, Luther considered the objection that this would leave no time "for princely amusements—dancing, hunting, racing, gaming and similar worldly pleasures." His reply was that, "We are not here teaching how a temporal prince is to live, but how a temporal prince is to be a Christian, such that he may reach heaven." Nevertheless, such rigorism was combined with a sense of proportion. In his 1524 program for the education of boys who were not destined to be scholars, Luther advocated one to two hours of schooling each day. This was to be combined with teaching at home or learning a trade to limit, but not eliminate, the amount of time that boys would otherwise spend in "ball playing, racing, and tussling." The Zurich reformer HULDRICH ZWINGLI took a similarly balanced, but cautious view. Games with educational value, such as chess—which taught mathematics and strategy—were permissible, but only in moderation, "since there are some who neglect the serious business of life and devote themselves to this alone." Dicing and card playing were to be banned. Games such as "running, jumping, throwing, fighting and wrestling" were, Zwingli acknowledged, prevalent among almost all nations, but especially among the Swiss who found them "useful in many different circumstances." Wrestling, however, was to be engaged in only with moderation, and Zwingli found no great value in swimming, although he admitted that it was on occasion "pleasurable to immerse our limbs in water and become a fish."

In the draft of Ecclesiastical Ordinances that he drew up for the city of Geneva in 1541, JOHN CALVIN made a similar distinction between different kinds of sports, decreeing that "no one is to play at games played for gold or silver or at excessive expense." In practice Calvinist authorities were more diligent than their Lutheran counterparts in their attempts to regulate the lives of Christian citizens through the religious sanctions imposed by CONSISTORY courts. The same was true of Puritans in

England in the seventeenth century, although their efforts did not go uncontested. In 1618 King James I issued a declaration that came to be known as *The King's Book of Sports*, which was written in response to disputes in Lancashire between Puritans on the one hand, and Anglicans and Roman Catholics on the other, as to the morality of traditional sports. Conservative Protestant Anglican opinion rejected the Puritan case (see ANGLICANISM). The declaration stated that it was the king's wish that after the end of divine service, activities such as "archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation" were not to be prohibited. During the English CIVIL WAR, when Puritan influence was in the ascendant, Parliament in 1644 issued an ordinance stating that "no person or persons shall hereafter upon the Lord's Day use exercise, keep, maintain, or be present at any wrestlings, shootings, bowling, ringing of bells for pleasure or pastime, masque, wake, otherwise called feasts, Church-ale, dancing, games, sport, or pastime whatsoever." Again, we should notice that sports were viewed here as part of a much wider range of suspect activities and that the thrust of the legislation was aimed at Sabbath-breaking rather than at sports as such. When in 1647 Parliament abolished the traditional church festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, it decreed that alternative days for recreations should be established on the second Tuesday of each month. The same pattern of a Puritan attempt to limit what were deemed to be unsuitable types of sporting activities, tempered by Protestant denominational variety, was exported to colonial America. For example, Puritans in Massachusetts Bay, although conceding what the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, John Winthrop, called the need to "recreate the mind with some outward recreation," were far from accepting the passion for horse racing that characterized the plantation society of Anglican-dominated Virginia.

Protestantism and Sports in the Era of Industrialization

During the nineteenth century profound changes began to occur in the nature of sporting activities. As a result of industrialization, urbanization, and the revolution in communications, sports such as football and cricket began to be organized on a national rather than a local basis. Agreed systems of rules and new forms of record keeping of results and of sporting achievements also contributed to this change. The modernization of sports was also, however, partly created by a revolution in Protestant attitudes to such activities that, as we have seen, had hitherto been at best ambivalent. This change began in the great English private boarding schools in which the playing of organized sports came to be associated with team spirit, masculinity, and Christian virtue.

This revolution has come to be associated with the reforms of the Anglican Liberal Protestant clergyman, THOMAS ARNOLD, at Rugby school after he became its headmaster in 1828. In fact Arnold saw the organized playing of games such as rugby, football, and cricket as only one of many methods designed to instill new standards of discipline into the hitherto often violent and unruly world of boys' boarding schools. The equation of sporting activity with Christian holiness was popularized much more effectively by another Liberal Protestant clergyman and novelist, CHARLES

KINGSLEY, to whose writings the term “muscular Christianity” was first applied (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Although Kingsley repudiated this label, arguing that he did not seek to exalt physical qualities above spiritual ones, many of his heroes are characterized as engaging in sports. Even more important, Kingsley identified participation in sporting activities with English Protestantism and with English nationalism. By contrast, he depicted Catholicism as characterized by a foreign, unhealthy, and ascetic rejection of the body and of sporting activities (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS). For example, in Kingsley’s 1851 novel *Yeast* the hero may be a “poor wild uneducated sportsman,” but in contrast to his unflattering portrait of the sickly Roman Catholic priest, Kingsley depicts him as “full of manhood.” Rightly in Kingsley’s view, his ideal Christian prefers the physical discomforts of duck shooting to the false asceticism of wearing hair shirts. The belief that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton can thus be seen as a product of Kingsley’s heady blend of English Protestantism, sports, and NATIONALISM. Kingsley’s identification of Protestantism, not Catholicism, with sporting achievement was of course a myth, although it was one that could influence the reality. Partly because of the association between sports, Protestantism, and nationalism, in the nineteenth century major Catholic boarding schools, such as Stonyhurst, were slower to adopt the cult of athleticism that characterized schools such as Eton and Harrow. When they did so, however, there is no evidence that their pupils were any less accomplished sportsmen.

Muscular Christianity and its sporting ethos found a ready reception among many American Protestants. The incorporation of organized sports into elite colleges paralleled English developments. Yale inaugurated the first rowing club in 1843 and baseball, football, and athletics followed in the 1860s and 1870s. American advocates for the new cult of sports and Christianity were as persuasive as their English counterparts. For example, in the 1861 edition of his widely read book *Christian Nurture*, the Congregationalist minister HORACE BUSHNELL was highly critical of the puritanical strain within American culture and with what he saw as its overemphasis on work. Sport and recreation were, he argued, fully compatible with faith. A major vehicle for the practical outworking of these ideas was the Young Men’s Christian Association (see YMCA, YWCA), which had been founded in London in 1844 and first appeared in America in Boston in 1851. Branches created gymnasiums for physical training and promoted sports such as basketball and volleyball. By 1915 it seemed a commonplace for the Association’s Bible Study secretary, Fred Goodman, to comment that “the risen Jesus is a member of every gymnasium class, of every athletic team in which there are Christians.” The benefits of such activities could also be extended to women, although Protestant writers drew the line at their engaging in competitive sports because this, they feared, would encourage qualities deemed to be unfeminine.

Scandinavian and German Protestants developed similar ideas about the beneficial role of sports in Christian EDUCATION, although they tended to place less emphasis than in America and Britain on the role of competitive team games and more on gymnastic training in the curriculum. German Protestantism had its own native tradition of Christian athleticism exemplified by the eighteenth-century Pietist JOHANN KASPAR LAVATER, who regarded efforts to perfect the human body as following on naturally from the Christian doctrine of the incarnation. By the end of the nineteenth

century, Protestant advocates of sports and gymnastics struck much the same tone as their muscular Christian counterparts in Britain. Thus the Protestant school teacher Konrad Koch, in his 1900 work *Education for Courage through Gymnastics, Games and Sport*, identified the development of willpower and character with sports, Christianity, and patriotism.

The further spread of these ideals across the globe was one of the consequences of nineteenth-century COLONIALISM. Protestants who believed in their Godgiven role to disseminate Christian civilization often saw sports as one of its essential elements as well as being a useful means of its dissemination. The bestknown example of sporting missionary enterprise was the Cambridge and England cricketer C.T. STUDD. A devout Evangelical, Studd became famous as one of “the Cambridge Seven,” a group of sportsmen who joined JAMES HUDSON TAYLOR’S CHINA INLAND MISSION in 1885. The effect of Studd on a group of university students encapsulated the ideals and hopes of the muscular Christian movement. According to one observer he soon dispelled the then prevalent idea that Christians were “unfit for the river or cricket field, and only good for Psalm-singing and pulling a long face.” The spread of sports such as cricket and rugby throughout the British empire was one result of such enthusiasm.

Protestantism and Modern Sport

The latter part of the nineteenth century saw the creation of modern sport as an activity characterized not only by participation by large numbers of people for health and recreation, but also by the existence of large-scale professional sports organizations that exist primarily to provide forms of mass entertainment. The role of Protestantism in this change was a complex one. Muscular Christians envisaged sporting activities as forms of character building through self-discipline and not as means to financial gain. For this reason the ideal of amateurism was deeply ingrained in school and university institutions. In Britain, for example, the playing of football or soccer as it was often called was shunned by most private schools, especially after it became associated with the creation of a predominantly professional league in the 1880s. Rugby football was preferred because it retained its amateur status. For similar reasons in America, the YMCA’s Athletic League stressed the virtues of amateurism in sport and in 1911 severed its ties with the Amateur Athletic Union when it proposed to field professional teams.

Despite these reservations, Protestant churches contributed significantly, if often unwittingly, to the development of sports as forms of professional entertainment. This was partly because of their belief that the spiritual benefits of sports should be spread to not just the middle, but also to the working classes. Sports were also seen as a form of EVANGELISM, as a means of making the Christian gospel attractive to what the churches saw as the alarmingly large numbers of the working class who had no contact with Christianity. One result of this in Britain was that a number of football clubs that went on to become the backbone of the professional football league owed their origins to the initiative of local churches. This was true, for example, of Aston Villa in Birmingham, which was formed by young men associated with the local Methodist

chapel. In the industrial town of Sheffield in 1879 the local newspaper recorded the fortunes of eight church or chapel clubs. More of a pointer to the future was the outcome in Bolton where the football club was formed by a local CHURCH OF ENGLAND school in 1872 with the support of the local vicar. In 1877 it changed its name from Christ Church to Bolton Wanderers after a dispute with the vicar, thereby becoming a purely secular organization.

The growth of mass sports as a form of entertainment that threatened to compete with, rather than support, religion was part of a much wider crisis that befell the movement to associate sports with Protestant Christianity in the early twentieth century. There were a number of reasons for this. Despite the enthusiasm of a generation of propagandists, not all Protestant leaders ever accepted that there was a beneficial link of this kind. More seriously, many facets of the cult of athleticism and games had causes that either had no logical links with Christianity or were antithetical to Christian beliefs and practices. These included fears over the supposedly declining virility of the white Anglo-Saxon male transported from the morally bracing atmosphere of rural life to the sickly environment of the city; alarm over levels of teenage delinquency; and an often negative response to feminism and the supposed feminization of the churches. The First World War also dealt a severe blow to the concept of heroic Christian sportsmanship. If it had been believed that the battle of Waterloo was the result of prowess on the games field, then the slaughter of millions of young men in the trenches of Europe could be said to have had similar ideological roots. Denominational rivalry proved to be another unintended consequence of linking sports and religion. A notable example of this was the identification of Scotland's two principal football teams, Celtic and Rangers, with Catholicism and Protestantism, respectively. Finally, despite the assertions of Charles Kingsley, it became increasingly apparent that Protestantism had no convincing claims to a monopoly of interest in sport. As Pope Pius XII explained near the end of the Second World War, the Catholic Church regarded sport as a form of education and one that was closely related to morality.

Yet interestingly, the symbiotic relationship between Protestantism and sports still continues, particularly in America. The belief that sports can be a means of evangelism has not disappeared. For example, the television evangelist JERRY FALWELL argued at the inauguration of the sports program at his Liberty University in the 1970s that Christian witness to young people worked better when Christians proved themselves to be their equal on the playing field. The evangelical men's organization The Promise Keepers, founded by a football coach at the University of Colorado, also enlists sport in its outreach to men, associating it with traditional models of MASCULINITY. Successful Christian sportsmen and women continue, as in the past, to be enlisted as potentially attractive exemplars of the Protestant Christian lifestyle. According to the National Basketball Association player David Robinson, playing sports provides "a great opportunity to model Christ in front of a lot of people by the way I play and the way I conduct myself." The belief in the character-building effects of sports is also still in evidence. For instance, the evangelist BILLY GRAHAM argued in 1971 that "The Bible says leisure and lying around are morally dangerous for us. Sports keeps us busy; athletes, you notice, don't take drugs."

Graham's mention of drugs and sport does in some respects have an unintentionally ironic ring given their misuse as performance enhancers in modern competitive sports.

This is one of a number of factors that suggest that the relationship between sports and Protestantism has become, for very different reasons, as problematic in the twenty-first century as it was in the fifteenth. Although the examples of individual Christian sporting heroes and heroines can be presented as part of a gospel of self-discipline and success, the aggression and naked materialism that surround much of modern sport as a form of mass entertainment make this connection difficult to sustain. Whether this heralds the end of the long, complex, and changing relationship between Protestantism and sports remains to be seen.

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SEAN GILL

SPURGEON, CHARLES HADDON (1834–1892)

English revival preacher. The greatest preacher of the later nineteenth century in the English-speaking world was Charles Haddon Spurgeon. Born in Kelvedon, Essex, ENGLAND, on June 19, 1834, he was converted and baptized as a believer in 1850 and, before he was twenty, he became minister of the prestigious New Park Street Baptist Church in London. When the congregation outgrew the premises, in 1861 Spurgeon started to preach in the purpose-built Metropolitan Tabernacle. He established a college to train pastors, issued weekly sermons, and wrote popular religious works. In 1887–1888 he criticized other members of the Baptist Union in the “Down-Grade Controversy” for drifting into theological liberalism (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM) and withdrew from his DENOMINATION. He maintained his ministry, although with increasing bouts of ill health, until his death at Mentone in FRANCE on January 31, 1892.

Early Life

Spurgeon was molded by the powerful Puritan (see PURITANISM) tradition of East Anglia. His father, John Spurgeon, was Independent minister at Tollesbury near Colchester in Essex and also worked as a coalyard clerk, while his grandfather James served as another Independent minister in the same county, at Stambourne. There Charles spent part of his childhood, devouring the works in the library that had been assembled by successive ministers since the seventeenth century. In January 1850, at the age of fifteen, he was converted to a personal faith after hearing a sermon by a PRIMITIVE METHODIST local preacher in Colchester. In May, as a matter of personal conviction, he was baptized as a believer at Isleham in Cambridgeshire and, moving to Cambridge to teach, became the pastor of the small church in the nearby village of Waterbeach in 1851. His PREACHING was so remarkable that in 1854 he was called to the ministry of New Park Street Baptist Church in Southwark, London, which had previously been the congregation of John Gill and John Rippon, leading Baptist theologians.

London Ministry

Spurgeon rapidly became a pulpit sensation. Seemingly uncouth and certainly very young, he nevertheless possessed a self-command, a mastery of evangelical theology and a directness of address that deeply stirred his hearers and brought many CONVERSIONS (see EVANGELICALISM; EVANGELICALISM, THEOLOGY OF). He was censured for vulgarity, but the criticism only enhanced his celebrity. While his chapel was being extended, he preached in the Exeter Hall, the meeting place of the great evangelical societies, but it soon became necessary to secure an even larger building. To the disgust of his critics, he hired the Surrey Gardens Music Hall, a place of secular amusement, for evening services. On the first day there, October 19, 1856, there was a malicious cry of fire, the crowd panicked, and, to Spurgeon's great distress, seven people died. Yet his ministry continued to attract thousands. To accommodate them permanently, a vast new church, the Metropolitan Tabernacle, was opened in 1861. There, for the next thirty years, Spurgeon became one of the sights of London. His church grew from 232 members in 1854 to 5,311 at the end of 1891. He added a series of institutions to the church—prayer meetings, evening classes, almshouses, and even an orphanage. The church magazine, called *The Sword and the Trowel*, a Colportage Society for distributing Christian literature, and a Book Fund for poorer ministers run by Spurgeon's wife, Susanna, extended the influence of his ministry. Most significant among Spurgeon's creations was the Pastor's College, designed to train candidates for the ministry without regard for their financial circumstances or their educational qualifications. The theology taught in the college, like that of the founder, was distinctly Calvinistic (see CALVINISM). Spurgeon often supported his students in pioneering EVANGELISM and church planting. By the end of his lifetime over a fifth of the Baptist ministers in England and WALES had been trained at his college (see BAPTISTS).

Spurgeon remained an outspoken Baptist and conservative Evangelical all his life. In 1864 he denounced Anglican Evangelicals for remaining in a church that taught baptismal regeneration, and he became increasingly restive about the growth of liberal opinion in NONCONFORMITY. In 1887 *The Sword and the Trowel* carried a series of articles warning of doctrinal downgrading, and Spurgeon withdrew from the Baptist Union. He was not opposing ARMINIANISM, as has sometimes been supposed, for he had a Methodist preach for him in the aftermath of the "Down-Grade Controversy." Rather he was concerned that younger men were lax in their views on the ATONEMENT, biblical inspiration, and JUSTIFICATION by FAITH. He was disappointed, however, that few of even his own trainees followed him in severing denominational links. His sense of isolation was accentuated by separation from the Liberal Party that he had previously strongly supported when, in 1886, he could not accept its policy of Home Rule for IRELAND. Rheumatic gout had brought on Bright's disease, and in his last years he often traveled to recuperate in Mentone in the south of France, where he died in 1892. His writings, many of which remain in print, constitute a lasting memorial. They include the popular and witty *John Ploughman's Talk* (1868) and

a multivolume extended commentary on the Psalms, *The Treasury of David* (1870–1886). His sermons, published weekly until 1917, continued to enjoy a huge international sale.

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D.W.BEBBINGTON

STAHL, FRIEDRICH JULIUS (1802–1861)

German political theorist. The influential legal theorist and ecclesiastical policy maker was born on January 16, 1802 in Würzburg as Julius Jolson and died on August 10, 1861 in Bad Brückenau. Stahl grew up in an orthodox Jewish merchant family, but, inspired by Protestant neohumanism, he converted in 1819 to LUTHERANISM and took the new name for which he is known.

Stahl studied law and graduated in 1827. In 1832 he became professor of the philosophy of law in Würzburg, and in 1834 he moved to Erlangen, where he came under the influence of Lutheranism. The Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV, shortly after his coronation, saw to Stahl's appointment as a professor in Berlin, with the expectation of finding in him a sharp, convincing advocate who shared his understanding of the state during the period of German restoration. Stahl did not disappoint the king's expectations, and his reputation and influence in politics and church policy grew accordingly.

The two-volume *Philosophie des Rechts (Philosophy of Law)* that appeared in 1830 (vol. 1) and 1837 (vol. 2) is Stahl's greatest work. Influenced by FRIEDRICH WILHELM JOSEPH VON SCHELLING, Stahl formulated the foundation of the state not in liberal or romantic terms but in terms of divine right, which consequently laid the foundation for the Christian state. According to Stahl any form of popular sovereignty was the same as revolution, something he considered a continuous threat whose only cure was the Christian state. To establish such a state, the idea of nation needed a theory that reasserted the duty of the throne, the state, and the CHURCH. With this intention Stahl wrote *Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestanten (The Constitution of the Church according to Protestant Doctrine and Law, 2nd ed., 1862)* and *Über das monarchische Prinzip (On the Principle of Monarchy)* in 1846. In 1853 he gave his idea its most pointed conception in the work *Der Protestantismus als politisches Prinzip (Protestantism as Political Principle)*.

Stahl was a brilliant speaker who had a tremendous impact not only as a professor but also as a popular writer and politician. In 1848 he helped found the Conservative Party in Prussia and its main newspaper, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. Because of the iron cross on the title page, it was generally known as "Kreuzzeitung." The end of the period of restoration (1858–1861) also brought an end to his influence. His conception of the Christian state had a lasting impact, however, not only in Prussia and GERMANY but also beyond.

See also Church and State, Overview

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MARTIN GRESCHAT

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY (1815–1902)

U.S. women's rights leader. Born in Jonestown, New York, into a prominent Presbyterian family (see PRESBYTERIANISM), Elizabeth Cady married attorney Henry Stanton in 1840; they raised seven children. Active in the abolitionist movement, Stanton and her husband spent their honeymoon at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). There she, LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT, and other women delegates were prohibited from being seated because of their sex.

This discrimination prompted Stanton and Mott to organize the first U.S. women's rights convention in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York. Stanton wrote the convention's Declaration of Sentiments modeled after the Declaration of Independence, stating that "all men and women are created equal." For the next fifty years, she was the leading theorist of the women's rights movement. In 1866 Stanton established the American Equal Rights Association with Mott and Lucy Stone; founded the National Woman Suffrage Association with Susan B. Anthony in 1869, serving as its president until 1890; coedited *The History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–1886) with Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage; and wrote numerous articles on women's right to vote, equal wages, fair DIVORCE laws, access to EDUCATION, and property ownership.

Stanton devoted her final decades to attacking women's oppression by organized Christianity. In 1895 and 1898 she published *The Woman's Bible*, two volumes of seething critiques of women's roles in the Old and New Testaments. Although a committee was credited with the work, Stanton wrote over half the commentaries herself. She lauded uppity biblical women like Eve, Jael, and Esther, and vilified contemporary Christian women who obeyed clerical injunctions to submission. This radical work alienated her from many suffragists. Stanton died in 1902 in New York City. Her legacy is an indomitable faith that women can think and live for themselves apart from men, church, or state.

See also: Women; Women Clergy; Feminist Theology; Womanist Theology

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EVELYN A.KIRKLEY

STATISTICS

This article outlines the quantification of Protestant affiliation in the context of global Christianity and world religions. Every year, virtually all of the world's 8,600 Protestant denominations conduct an in-house census asking clergy and lay leaders a wide variety of statistical questions. These cover in aggregate 180 major religious subjects and number more than 1,000 different variables. This whole exercise costs the churches \$600 million annually. Its long-established purposes are threefold: to assist the churches in analyzing their past, in deploying their resources for the present, and in planning for the future. Table 1 summarizes the results of these censuses worldwide and across the years 1900–2050, the latter being conservative future predictions based on current long-term trends.

Origin of the Term “Protestant”

In the year 1529 in Germany, the Second DIET OF SPEYER voted to rescind previously agreed-upon Lutheran geographical expansion. A minority of five German princes of the Holy Roman Empire and fourteen free cities then issued a formal “Protestation” (Latin, *protestatio*). Thereafter, supporters of Lutheran doctrines on the European continent began to be called, and to call themselves, “Protestants.” After 1600, Calvinists, who up to this point were termed “Reformed,” began to be included in the term Protestants. Two distinct applications of the term then gradually arose, resulting in widely differing statistics, as follows and as systematized in Table 2.

Core Protestants. This term is used here to depict the original Lutheran and Reformed churches of Europe together with the vast number of denominations linearly descended from them, holding to the basic REFORMATION doctrines and calling themselves (and called by others) by the same term “Protestants” (in German, *evangelischen*; in French, *evangéliques*; in Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, *evangelicos*). Major dictionaries agree with this definition; thus Protestant churches are “Christian churches separating from the Roman Catholic Church in the Reformation of the 16th century or from another Protestant church to defend beliefs and practices held vital” (*Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of the English Language [WTNIDEL]*). Their numbers are represented in Table 1 by the one single line “Protestants” across the table in bold type. In the year 2000, their total of affiliated church members can be seen to have been 342,002,000, increasing at a rate of approximately 4,565,000 per year. These may be regarded as constituting the whole of mainstream historic Protestantism (in German, *Protestantismus*; in French, *Protestantisme*). As well as “historic Protestants,” they could

also be called “classical Protestants,” “inner Protestants,” and even “Protestants proper.” For convenience, the term “Core Protestants” is adequately descriptive.

Table 1. The Pilgrimage of Protestantism and its Affiliated Church Members in the Context of Global Christianity and World Religions, 1900–2050

Year: Religion	1900 Adherents	%	1970 Adherents	%	Mid-1990 Adherents	%	Annual change, 1990–2000				Mid-2000 Adherents	%	Mid-2025 Adherents	%	Mid-2050 Adherents	%	Countries in 2000
							Natural	Conversion	Total	Trend							
Christians	558,131,000	34.5	1,236,574,000	33.5	1,747,462,000	33.2	22,709,000	2,501,000	25,210,000	1.36	1,999,564,000	33.0	2,616,670,000	33.5	3,051,564,000	34.3	238
Unaffiliated Christians	36,489,000	2.3	106,268,000	2.9	101,889,000	1.9	1,305,000	-382,000	924,000	0.87	111,125,000	1.8	125,712,000	1.6	124,655,000	1.4	232
Affiliated Christians	521,642,000	32.2	1,130,106,000	30.6	1,645,573,000	31.3	21,404,000	2,883,000	24,287,000	1.39	1,888,439,000	31.2	2,490,958,000	31.8	2,926,909,000	32.9	238
Roman Catholics	266,547,000	16.5	665,954,000	18.0	929,702,000	17.7	13,118,000	-355,000	12,763,000	1.29	1,057,328,000	17.5	1,361,965,000	17.4	1,564,603,000	17.6	235
Indep den	7,931,000	0.5	95,605,000	2.6	301,536,000	5.7	4,496,000	3,925,000	8,421,000	2.49	385,745,000	6.4	581,642,000	7.4	752,842,000	8.5	221
Protes tants	103,024,000	6.4	210,759,000	5.7	296,349,000	5.6	4,224,000	341,000	4,565,000	1.44	342,002,000	5.7	468,633,000	6.0	574,419,000	6.5	232
Orthodox	115,844,000	7.2	139,662,000	3.8	203,766,000	3.9	751,000	386,000	1,136,000	0.54	215,129,000	3.6	252,716,000	3.2	266,806,000	3.0	134
Anglicans	30,571,000	1.9	47,501,000	1.3	68,196,000	1.3	1,072,000	74,000	1,145,000	1.56	79,650,000	1.3	113,746,000	1.5	145,984,000	1.6	163
Marginal Christians	928,000	0.1	11,100,000	0.3	21,833,000	0.4	269,000	153,000	423,000	1.79	26,060,000	0.4	45,555,000	0.6	62,201,000	0.7	215
Non religious	-2,609,000	-0.2	-29,781,000	-0.8	-154,615,000	-2.9	-2,458,000	-1,558,000	-4,016,000	2.34	-194,780,000	-3.2	-308,402,000	-3.9	-413,844,000	-4.7	93
Doubtly affiliated	-592,000	0.0	-10,694,000	-0.3	-21,193,000	-0.4	-68,000	-82,000	-150,000	0.69	-22,695,000	-0.4	-24,897,000	-0.3	-26,102,000	-0.3	11
Disaffiliated	1,061,495,000	65.5	2,459,774,000	66.6	3,518,980,000	66.8	56,152,000	-2,501,000	53,651,000	1.43	4,055,485,000	67.0	5,207,033,000	66.6	5,857,531,000	65.8	238
Muslims	199,941,000	12.3	553,528,000	15.0	962,357,000	18.3	21,723,000	865,000	22,589,000	2.13	1,188,243,000	19.6	1,784,876,000	22.8	2,229,282,000	25.0	204
Hindus	203,003,000	12.5	462,598,000	12.5	685,999,000	13.0	13,194,000	-660,000	12,534,000	1.69	811,336,000	13.4	1,049,231,000	13.4	1,175,298,000	13.2	114
Non religious	3,024,000	0.2	532,096,000	14.4	707,118,000	13.4	6,639,000	-535,000	6,104,000	0.83	768,159,000	12.7	875,121,000	11.2	887,995,000	10.0	236
Chinese universities	380,006,000	23.5	231,865,000	6.3	347,651,000	6.6	3,801,000	-86,000	3,716,000	1.02	384,807,000	6.4	448,843,000	5.7	454,333,000	5.1	89
Buddhists	127,077,000	7.9	233,424,000	6.3	323,107,000	6.1	3,531,000	157,000	3,688,000	1.09	359,982,000	6.0	418,345,000	5.4	424,607,000	4.8	126
Ethnor eligionists	117,558,000	7.3	160,278,000	4.3	200,035,000	3.8	4,098,000	-1,265,000	2,833,000	1.33	228,367,000	3.8	277,247,000	3.5	303,599,000	3.4	140
Atheists	226,000	0.0	165,400,000	4.5	145,719,000	2.8	1,315,000	-878,000	437,000	0.30	150,090,000	2.5	159,544,000	2.0	169,150,000	1.9	161
New-Reli gionists	5,910,000	0.4	77,762,000	2.1	92,396,000	1.8	1,032,000	-36,000	996,000	1.03	102,356,000	1.7	114,720,000	1.5	118,845,000	1.3	60
Sikhs	2,962,000	0.2	10,618,000	0.3	19,332,000	0.4	364,000	29,000	393,000	1.87	23,258,000	0.4	31,378,000	0.4	37,059,000	0.4	34
Jews	12,292,000	0.8	14,763,000	0.4	13,189,000	0.3	195,000	-70,000	125,000	0.91	14,434,000	0.2	16,695,000	0.2	16,695,000	0.2	134
Spiritists	269,000	0.0	4,603,000	0.1	10,155,000	0.2	137,000	81,000	218,000	1.96	12,334,000	0.2	16,212,000	0.2	20,709,000	0.2	55
Baha'is	10,000	0.0	2,657,000	0.1	5,672,000	0.1	117,000	26,000	143,000	2.28	7,106,000	0.1	12,062,000	0.2	18,001,000	0.2	218
Con fucianists	640,000	0.0	4,759,000	0.1	5,856,000	0.1	56,000	-11,000	44,000	0.73	6,299,000	0.1	6,818,000	0.1	6,953,000	0.1	15
Jains	1,323,000	0.1	2,618,000	0.1	3,868,000	0.1	75,000	-40,000	35,000	0.87	4,218,000	0.1	6,116,000	0.1	6,733,000	0.1	10
Shintoists	6,720,000	0.4	4,175,000	0.1	3,082,000	0.1	9,000	-41,000	-32,000	-1.09	2,762,000	0.1	2,123,000	0.0	1,655,000	0.0	8
Taoists	375,000	0.0	1,734,000	0.1	2,402,000	0.1	25,000	0	25,000	1.00	2,655,000	0.0	3,086,000	0.0	3,272,000	0.0	5
Zoro astrians	108,000	0.0	122,000	0.0	1,959,000	0.0	45,000	13,000	58,000	2.65	2,544,000	0.0	4,440,000	0.1	6,965,000	0.1	22
Other religi onists	49,000	0.0	784,000	0.0	964,000	0.0	10,000	0	10,000	1.03	1,067,000	0.0	1,500,000	0.0	1,938,000	0.0	78
Doubtly-counted religionists	0	0.0	-4,000,000	-0.1	-11,879,000	-0.2	-215,000	-50,000	-265,000	2.04	-14,531,000	-0.2	-20,665,000	-0.3	-25,516,000	-0.3	24
Global population	1,619,626,000	100.0	3,696,148,000	100.0	5,266,442,000	100.0	78,861,000	0	78,861,000	1.41	6,055,049,000	100.0	7,823,703,000	100.0	8,909,095,000	100.0	238

Notes.
 1. The six columns headed “%” give the size of adherents as a percentage of world population.
 2. Christian megabibles are ranked by size in 2000; Non-Christians also by size in 2000. For definitions of terms, see *World Christian Trends*, 2001.
 3. The four lines in bold type across the page make up the category of Wider Protestants. The line labeled “Protestants” is called and explained in the accompanying article as Core Protestants.
 4. The main category “affiliated Christians” refers to church members. “Unaffiliated Christians” are those professing to be Christians but without affiliation or contact with the churches.
 5. Under the heading “Annual change,” “Natural” means births minus deaths per year, “Conversion” means converts (the newly baptized or initiated) minus defectors, and “Trend” gives each line’s rate of change as a percent.

Wider Protestants. Dictionaries record the narrow or straightforward definition above but all add a second, wider definition. Webster’s *New World Dictionary of the American Language (NWDAL)* defines “Protestant” as not only a member of German/French/Lutheran/Calvinist churches, but also as “any Christian not belonging to the Roman Catholic or ORTHODOX EASTERN church.” This is a huge expansion of the definition. Many government census organizers, administrators, journalists, and even scholars follow this definition of Protestant to cover and include all other non-Catholic and non-Orthodox traditions.

This wider usage has arisen over the last five centuries, both in popular usage and in ecclesiastical parlance, as well as in those scholarly circles. It arose to meet the need for a

shorter, simpler overall classification and typology of Christians for those persons working with or frustrated by the vast complex of more than 300 different varieties of Christian denominations. The most widely used such typology simplifies the nomenclature to three categories only—dividing all Christians into Catholics, Orthodox, or Protestants.

Table 1 shows the numerical implications of this enlarged definition. While Core Protestants are shown in bold on the line “Protestants,” this second usage, here termed Wider Protestants, now includes all four lines in bold type—those four basic megablocs known as Protestants, Anglicans, Independents, and Marginal Christians.

A caution needs to be stated at this point. These last three additional megablocs do not normally call themselves Protestants. First, although *NWDAL* had extended its core definition of a Protestant to include “a member of any of the Christian churches as a result of the Reformation,” it expanded the definition by adding the words “especially a Lutheran, Calvinist, or Anglican.” Anglicans themselves preferred (and still prefer) to describe themselves not as “Protestant,” but rather as “Catholic and Reformed.” Since the High Church OXFORD MOVEMENT of 1833, several thousand Anglican clergy of Anglo-Catholic or Anglo-Roman persuasion overtly rejected the label “Protestant” for themselves, for the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and for the entire Anglican Communion. Moreover, *WTNIDEL* states that to define “a member of the Anglican Church” as “Protestant” is now an “archaic” usage, invalid since the reign of Charles I. This whole subject is investigated in depth in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1997:1338–1340).

Second, “Independents” are defined here as those claiming to be “independent of historic Protestant denominationalism.” In most cases they do not trace their roots to the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe—one thinks of the 75 million affiliated to the African Independent Churches, the 50 million in China’s HOUSE CHURCH movement, or the 15 million nonbaptized Hindu believers in Christ. The vast majority of these 140 million indigenous believers in Christ do not understand the main languages of the Reformation—German, French, English—and hence there is little empirical sense in calling them “Protestants.”

Finally, “Marginal Christians” is the self-definition of those churches rejecting both Protestantism and mainstream Trinitarian Christianity (e.g., Unitarians, JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES) although regarding themselves as still on its margins.

Having given this evidence, it is still valuable to accept this usage of “Wider Protestants,” although many scholars or journalists do not indicate which usage they are using. For the credibility of the science of empirical Christianity, all quantitative use of the term “Protestants” needs to make clear what exact definition is meant. Table 1 assists in this clarification by analyzing the magnitude of its composition under those four lines in bold type labeled “Protestants,” “Independents,” “Anglicans,” and “Marginal Christians.” The total shows that by mid-2000, wider Protestants numbered 833,457,000 affiliated church members, increasing at a rate of approximately 14,554,000 per year (adding the four numbers under “Annual Change, Total”).

Table 2. Terminology, Usages, and Statistics of Protestantism in AD 2000 The table depicts relations between the two major statistical constructs: Core Protestants and Wider Protestants.

<i>Column A</i>	WIDER PROTESTANTS				Totals
	833,457,000				833,457,000
	<i>Column B</i>				<i>Column C</i>
	<i>Column D</i>	<i>Column E</i>		833,457,000	
	CORE PROTESTANTS	NON-CORE PROTESTANTS			
	342,002,000	491,455,000			
Basic Protestant Statistics in 2000					
	INDEPENDENTS	ANGLICANS	MARGINALS		
		<i>Column F</i>	<i>Column G</i>	<i>Column H</i>	
1. Affiliated to churches	342,002,000	385,745,000	79,650,000	26,060,000	833,457,000
2. Affiliated, % of world	5.7	6.4	1.3	0.4	13.8
3. Growth p.a.	4,565,000	8,421,000	1,145,000	423,000	14,554,000
4. Growth % p.a.	1.44	2.49	1.56	1.79	1.74
5. Worship centers	952,800	1,587,000	91,700	106,100	2,737,600
6. Denominations	8,600	22,100	300	1,470	32,470
7. World Communion	39	92	40	25	196
8. Countries present in	232	221	163	215	238
Relations with and Interest in Protestantism, % (0% =none, 100%=maximum)					
9. 16th-century Reformation	90	0	60	0	50
10. Subsequent heritage	80	0	40	0	40
11. Major locations	Europe	Asia, Africa	Europe	Americas	World
12. Contact with core	100	1	50	10	60
13. Use of term "Protestant"	100	0	30	0	60
14. Main autonym	Protestants	Charismatics	Anglicans	Marginal Christians	Christians
15. Subsidiary autonym	Lutherans /Reformed	Postdenominationalists	Episcopalians	Neo christians	Believers
16. Component autonym	Evangelicals	Apostolics	Catholics /Evangelicals	Unitarians	Followers
17. Official use of term	90	0	20	0	50
18. Interest in the "Protestant"	70	0	10	0	30
19. Confessionalism	90	10	60	10	60

20. Conciliarism (councils)	80	20	80	0	70
21. Church union (mergers)	70	0	60	0	40
22. Denomina tionalism (HQs)	100	0	80	0	60

A further complexity arises because 194,780,000 Christians are doubly affiliated, which means that they are individually members of two or more Protestant denominations at the same time, or members of one Protestant and one non-Protestant body, or collectively members in congregations affiliated with two Protestant denominations. Likewise, 22,695,000 persons are disaffiliated (baptized members who have subsequently abandoned Christianity but without rescinding or notifying their old affiliation). Again, 14,530,000 persons are doubly counted religionists, these being mostly Hindus who are also followers of Christ. All of these factors enumerate Christians correctly, but their precise definitions must be stated and recognized by their users.

The relationship between core Protestants and Wider Protestants and their subcategories is set out in Table 2. The first half of the table, "Basic Protestant statistics in 2000," gives a statistical profile of the five categories of Protestants. Its eight statistical measures demonstrate how core Protestants (column D) and the three non-core Protestants (Independents in column F, Anglicans in column G, and Marginal Christians in column H) all add up to Wider Protestants (column B). Particularly noteworthy in passing is line 7, stating in column C that of the world's 196 distinct and different Christian World Communions (CWCs) of Protestant origin or character, ninety-two have been created by Independents with little or no assistance from the thirty-nine CWCs in column D or the forty CWCs in column G.

The second half of Table 2, "Relations with and Interest in Protestantism," gives a descriptive verbal profile of the five statistical varieties of Protestants. The final line (22) sums up the whole typology and its status; all Core Protestants belong to denominations characterized here as "Denominationalist," that is, controlled to some extent by strong centralized head-quarters and bureaucratic staff. Most Anglicans (80 percent) likewise belong to dioceses exercising centralized control over members and churches and finances. In strong contrast, virtually all Independents are Postdenominationalists, which means that although they have created thousands of new networks, new denominations, and new communions, they steadfastly reject all centralized denominationalist power or control over members and their local churches and finances.

The Current Situation of Protestantism

A further analysis of several aspects of Protestant phenomenology can now be made. From their humble beginnings in Central Europe in the early sixteenth century, Protestants are now found in every country of the world, in some 32,470 wider Protestant denominations with more than 2.7 million congregations claiming more than 833 million

followers. Today's Protestants, like other Christians, who were more than 80 percent white in 1900, are now found mainly in AFRICA, Asia, and LATIN AMERICA. This diverse collection of cultures and denominations at first may seem difficult to enumerate. But seen in the context of global efforts of counting Christians, there is actually a remarkably consistent wealth of data to draw on. To further understand the Protestant situation, one must first outline in more detail how all Christians and other world religions enumerate their followers.

The Overall Context of Counting

Vast efforts are put into the collection of statistics relating to the 10,000 or so distinct and separate religions in today's world. The most detailed data collection and analysis is undertaken each year by some 34,000 Christian denominations and their constituent churches and congregations of believers. This massive, decentralized, and largely uncoordinated global census of Christians includes both local and global contexts. Around 10 million printed questionnaires are sent out in 3,000 different languages. This collection of data provides a year-by-year snapshot of the progress or decline of Christianity's diverse movements, offering an enormous untapped reservoir of data for the researcher to track trends and make projections. The most extensive of these inquiries is that done by the Roman Catholic Church. As with many other church leaders, all Roman Catholic bishops are required to answer, by a fixed date every year, a twenty-one-page schedule in Latin and one other language asking 140 precise statistical questions concerning their work in the previous twelve months. Results are then published every January in *Annuario Pontificio*. The entire operation, undertaken in varying degrees by all Christian bodies and some non-Christian religions as well, is best termed the annual "religion megacensus."

Government Censuses of Religion

At the same time, the world's governments also have—since the twelfth century—collected information on religious populations and practice. A question related to religion is thus asked in more than 120 of the world's countries in their official national decennial population censuses. Until 1990, this number was slowly declining each decade as developing countries began dropping the religion question as too expensive (in many countries, each census costs well over a half a million dollars per question) and, apparently, too uninteresting. This trend appears to have reversed by 2001. Thus Britain, which produced the world's first national census of religious affiliation (the Compton Census in 1676), and later a religion question in the national census of 1851 although none thereafter, reintroduced the question in Britain's 2000 census as the best way to get

firm data on each and every non-Christian minority to fairly apportion education, broadcasting, health care, and other benefits.

Analyzing and Defining

The starting point in any analysis of religious affiliation is the United Nations' 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 18: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." Since its promulgation, these phrases have been incorporated into the state constitutions of a large number of countries across the world, with many countries instructing their census personnel to observe this principle: If a person states that he or she is a Protestant, or a Catholic or other Christian (or Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh, Jew, etc.), then no one has a right to say he or she is not. Public declaration or profession must be taken seriously. The result is a clear-cut assessment of the extent of religious profession in the world.

Resolving Apparent Contradictory Data

Meanwhile, a formidable amount of new material for each year is being collected by the religious bodies themselves. In a particular country, the results from these two methods (government censuses and religion megacensus) can be strikingly different. For example, in Egypt, where the vast majority of the population is Muslim, elaborate government censuses taken every ten years for the last 100 years show that only some 5 percent of the population declare themselves as or profess to be Christians. However, detailed church censuses reveal the number of Christians affiliated with churches to be 15 percent of the population. Why this discrepancy? The reason appears to be that due to Muslim pressure on the Christian minority, to avoid being discriminated against many Christians are recorded in censuses by enumerators, or record themselves, as Muslims. Thus, any understanding of religious affiliation must take into account precisely what is being measured by these two approaches.

A Threefold Dynamic of Change in Religious Affiliation

Both of these sources—religions and governments—must be explored to gain an understanding of the total context of religious affiliation. With this in mind, the dynamics of change in religious affiliation over time can be limited to three sets of empirical

population data. Overall numerical growth among religious adherents (increase or decrease, per year) may be measured by adding three components: (1) births minus deaths, (2) converts minus defectors, and (3) immigrants minus emigrants. All future projections of religious affiliation within any subset of the global population (normally a country or region) depend on this dynamic.

Births Minus Deaths. The primary mechanism of religious change globally is births and deaths; the number of adherents goes up with the number of births and down with the number of deaths. Children are almost always counted to have the religion of their parents (this is the law in NORWAY and many other countries). This means that a religious population has a close statistical relationship to demography. The change over time in any given community is expressed most simply as the number of births into the community minus the number of deaths out of it. Many religious communities around the world experience little else in the dynamics of their growth or decline.

The impact of births and deaths on religious affiliation can change over time. For example, the recent Northern IRELAND census revealed a closing of the gap between Protestants and Catholics over the past three decades. Protestants used to make up 65 percent of the population, but by 2001 this had dropped to 53 percent. Catholics, in the meantime, had grown from 35 percent to 44 percent of the population. This shift is due primarily to the higher birthrate among Catholic women. One would expect that, given time, Catholics would eventually exceed 50 percent of the population. But the census also revealed two countertrends: (1) the death rate among Protestants is falling and (2) the birth rate among Catholics is falling. Given these trends, forecasters believe that, barring any other factors, Protestants are likely to remain in the majority in the coming decades.

Converts Minus Defectors. Nonetheless, it is common observation that individuals (or even whole villages or communities) change allegiance from one religion to another (or to no religion at all). Within a specific Christian community, it should be noted that “converts per year” is often similar, or even identical, to the number of new persons baptized over the last twelve months. Defectors, in contrast, are never enumerated or recognized or even known about by each and every religion. In the twentieth century, this change was most pronounced in two general areas:

1. Tribal religionists, more precisely termed “ethnoreligionists,” have converted in large numbers to Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism.
2. Christians in the Western world have defected to become nonreligious (agnostics) or atheists in large numbers. Both of these trends slowed considerably by the dawn of the twenty-first century, however.

Immigrants Minus Emigrants. At the national level, it is equally important to consider the movement of people across national borders. From the standpoint of religious affiliation, this can have a profound impact. In the colonial era in the nineteenth century, small groups of Europeans settled in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. In the late twentieth century, people from these regions emigrated to the Western world. Thus, in the United States, such religions as Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism grew faster than either Christianity or the nonreligious and atheists. This growth is due almost entirely to the immigration of Asians. In Europe, massive immigration of Muslims has not only been transforming the spiritual landscape, but also has now become a major political issue, notably in FRANCE, GERMANY, Austria, and ITALY and also in plans for European

Union expansion. In the Central Asian countries of the former Soviet Union, Christianity has declined significantly every year since 1990, due to the mass emigration of Russians, Germans, and Ukrainians.

Methodology

In a recent survey volume, tables have been prepared enumerating both the Christian and religious situation for each of the world's 238 countries; see Country Tables 1 (religions) and Country Tables 2 (Christian denominations) in Volume 1 of *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World* (WCE). A further analysis of the world's 12,600 ethnic peoples and their 10,000 distinct religions has provided much additional context for these tables (WCE Vol. 2). Detailed descriptions of methodology explaining how the formidable technical difficulties were resolved in these tables are found in the WCE and *World Christian Trends, AD 30-AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus* (WCT). Every two years since 1950, the databases have incorporated the updates of the United Nations' population database for all countries from 1950 to 2050 and for some 100 variables each. A summary global report on the religion megacensus has been published annually in *Encyclopaedia Britannica's Book of the Year* since 1987.

Christian data are more complete globally than data on other religions. These data are presented in Country Tables 2 in WCE Part 4, "Countries," for each of the world's 238 countries. Statistics on the world's 33,800 denominations are given for 1970 and 1995. Christian data can then be presented in the total context of other religions and demographic data. This is done in Country Tables 1 for each country in WCE Part 4, "Countries." Here one finds a breakdown of the population into all of its constituent pieces—religious and nonreligious for the years 1900, 1970, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2025. The growth rates of all categories from 1990 to 2000 are presented here as well. The results of this method have for selected years been shown in Table 1.

Further Details on Protestant Trends

Table 1 illustrates the changing fortunes of Protestants over the twentieth century. First is their apparent decline in percentage of the world's population, dropping from 6.4 percent in 1900 to 5.7 percent in 2000. This decline can be explained largely by the meteoric rise of Independents in the same period from only 0.5 percent to, coincidentally, 6.4 percent. Many of these Independents are schisms from Protestants and Anglicans (thus the tendency for scholars to consider them all as Protestants). If one combines Anglicans, Independents, Protestants, and Marginal Christians, then a different picture emerges. Together, these represented 8.8 percent of the world's population in 1900, but had risen

to 13.4 percent by 2000. Nonetheless, the fastestgrowing segment remains the Independents.

Second, as noted earlier, another significant trend is the changing ethnic and cultural mosaic of the Protestant world. What was largely a white church 100 years ago is now largely nonwhite. These “new Protestants” have emerged largely from three phenomena:

- a. The CONVERSION of Roman Catholics in Latin America has been so pronounced that a major study was recently published with the title “Is Latin America turning Protestant?”
- b. The conversion of ethnoreligionists in Africa has meant that since 1900, thousands of tribal groups have been penetrated by Protestant missionaries in sub-Saharan Africa. Although many of these new Protestants later split off and became Independents, most have remained within the Protestant denominations.
- c. To a lesser extent, Protestant MISSIONS among world religions, such as Islam or Hinduism, have begun to make more progress in recent years. Most of these are found in Asia.

Third, Protestants across the world have been impacted by the Postdenominationalist movement. Many churches no longer identify their denominations in their titles. Leadership structures have become less hierarchical. WORSHIP has become less formal. What Protestants have to offer amidst the fast-growing Post-denominationalist world, ironically, may be its continuity with historic Christianity. Many Independent Christian leaders are studying the lives and writings of MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN in an attempt to find theological moorings for their movements. It is likely that Core Protestants will remain in a unique position to thus guide their Independent neighbors.

Protestants and Catholics Each Reach 1.5 Billion

Table 1 extends its statistical coverage into the future by cautious extrapolation from existing long-term trends. Four columns near the right edge depict the situation in 2025 and 2050. One startling finding is that Core Protestants in 1900 and in 2050 both show a percentage of global population unchanged at 6.7 percent. Wider Protestantism, in contrast, is expanding unabated, to become 17.2 percent of the world by 2050. Observers carefully comparing all these figures in the total context will have observed the even more startling finding that for the first time ever in the history of Protestantism, Wider Protestants will by 2050 have become almost exactly as numerous as Roman Catholics—each with just over 1.5 billion followers, or 17 percent of the world, with Protestants growing considerably faster than Catholics each year. Many believers born in the twentieth century will be the church leaders guiding both constituencies at that time.

The Long-Term Future of Protestantism

The future of the Protestant enterprise may be found in its growth outside of its European and American homelands. One hundred years from now, while continuing its traditions and doctrines, its cultural forms may be largely unrecognizable to Western Protestants. That may be an unintended consequence of its commitment to world evangelization, but it augurs well for its richness of cultural and linguistic diversity that Luther advocated for German Christians nearly 500 years ago.

See also Anglicanism; Anglo-Catholicism; Calvinism; Denominations; Lutheranism; Sectarianism

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TODD M.JOHNSON AND DAVID B.BARRETT

STOECKER, ADOLF (1835–1909)

German theologian. Stoecker is remembered as a Christian socialist, anti-Semite, ardent German nationalist, outspoken critic of Marxist socialism, prolific journalist, controversial court preacher in Berlin, member of the Reichstag, the German parliament, for twenty years, and leader of the *Freie Volkskirche* movement. He was born in Halberstadt in northern GERMANY in 1835 and studied for the ministry at the universities of HALLE and Berlin. In 1874 Stoecker was appointed by Emperor Wilhelm I to be a court preacher in Berlin, where he preached sermons based on biblical Christianity, patriotism, and social reform until he was dismissed by Bismarck in 1890.

Stoecker became convinced that the traditional methods of pastoral care and charitable activities were inadequate responses to the needs of impoverished people and the challenges of social problems. In addition, he realized that the Social Democrats, with their Marxist-oriented revolutionary and atheistic agenda, would alienate the disestablished classes from both the church and the state. Therefore, in 1878 Stoecker organized the Central Association for Social Reform and founded the Christian Socialist Workers Party based on Christian and nationalistic principles as an alternative and competing political and social movement for the purpose of renewing and reforming society. After the party failed to elect any candidates, Stoecker reorganized it as the Christian Social Party and added ANTI-SEMITISM to its platform because he had become convinced that the *Judenfrage* was one of the key elements of the social problem. In 1880 Stoecker was elected to the Reichstag, where he served until 1893, and then again from 1891 to 1908.

In spite of his anti-Semitism and his linking of German NATIONALISM with Christianity, Stoecker made a significant contribution to German Protestantism by reinterpreting individualistic and private faith (see INDIVIDUALISM) into a politically and socially oriented Christianity. For Stoecker, the gospel was not just evangelical but a significant force that belonged in the everyday lives of people and the nation. Although not a blueprint, the gospel, claimed Stoecker, provided the necessary impetus and appropriate grounding for social change. Understanding human existence in historical terms, he argued that social change must be evolutionary because revolutionary attempts to sever humans from their past were alienating and dehumanizing. Stoecker supported shaping social structures by the gospel vision of the KINGDOM OF GOD, although he recognized that this very vision always relativized any human effort to create it. Rejecting both individualized CHARITY and revolutionary approaches, he advocated the alternative of CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. Adopting the human-in-community perspective, Stoecker argued for the dual approach of religious-ethical renewal (a change in individual human consciousness) and structural reform (an evolutionary change in the social, political, and economic structures of life and living). Although unsuccessful relative to the church and nation at large, Stoecker along with other Christian socialists

injected a significant perspective and alternative for those Protestants concerned with the plight of people marginalized by industrialized society.

See also Industrialization

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RONALD L.MASSANARI

STONE, BARTON (1772–1844)

American church leader and theologian. Born on December 24, 1772, at Port Tobacco, Maryland, Stone became a New Light Presbyterian pastor in Kentucky in 1793 and hosted the Cane Ridge (Kentucky) REVIVAL of 1801, before founding a movement of churches that embraced what they understood to be New Testament Christianity and took the name Christian. An advocate of Christian unity, Stone led his churches into a relationship with the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST movement of Thomas and Alexander Campbell in 1832.

Stone had broken with the Presbyterians over doctrinal matters in 1804. Unable to reconcile Calvinist understandings of PREDESTINATION, the Trinity and substitutionary atonement found in the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION of Faith, with his understanding of the New Testament, Stone joined fellow ministers in dissolving the Springfield Presbytery of Kentucky with the “Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery.” In 1805 Stone became embroiled in a debate over the ATONEMENT and published a pamphlet entitled *Atonement*, in which Stone argued that Christ’s DEATH served not to appease God’s wrath but to lead all humans to repentance by demonstrating the nature of human SIN. Stone’s advocacy of unity and simple biblical Christianity gave birth to a movement of churches called CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, which adopted both a noncreedal form of Christianity and BAPTISM by immersion. By 1830 the Christians had more than sixteen thousand members in at least five states. In 1826 Stone began publishing the *Christian Messenger*, a monthly journal, as a way of communicating with the growing network of Christian Churches and to advance his vision of Christian unity. After the 1832 merger Stone continued to publish the *Christian Messenger*, pushing his vision of Christian unity until his death on November 9, 1844.

See also Calvinism; Presbyterianism; Salvation

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R.D.CORNWALL

STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER (1811–1896)

American author. Harriet Beecher was born June 14, 1811 at Litchfield, Connecticut, the seventh child of Roxana Foote and the Congregationalist minister LYMAN BEECHER. She was educated at her sister Catharine's Hartford Female Seminary, where she became a teacher in 1827. In 1832 she moved with the family to Cincinnati when Beecher became the president of Lane Theological Seminary and the pastor of a Presbyterian church there. At Cincinnati she again taught in a school headed by Catharine, until her marriage in 1836 to the recently widowed Calvin Stowe of the seminary faculty. The Stowes moved to Bowdoin College in Maine in 1850, and to Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts in 1852. Beginning in 1867 they divided their time between homes in New England and in Florida. Mentally incompetent during the last years of her life, Stowe died July 1, 1896.

Although she authored over thirty books, Stowe is usually remembered for her epic antislavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or, Life among the Lowly* (1852). Angered by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Stowe—already a published author—wrote this novel (first serialized in the *National Era*) to expose the systemic evils of SLAVERY, and to indict Northerners and Southerners who countenanced its continuance. Although the Beecher family was antislavery without being abolitionist (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), there was little in Harriet's education or previously expressed sentiments to indicate that she would become "the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war," as ABRAHAM LINCOLN is said to have quipped upon meeting Stowe in 1862. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was an immediate commercial success; over 300,000 copies were sold in the year after its publication, and millions have been sold since. Indeed, it is often described as the best-selling novel of all time. That it helped galvanize antislavery sentiment in the North in the years leading up to the CIVIL WAR is unquestioned.

The critical reaction to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was immediate and diverse. Southerners attacked it for inaccuracies in its description of slavery, for its overly generous estimation of the capabilities and character of African Americans, and for its clarion call for active resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law. In the South, distribution of the book was often forbidden. Northern critics debated its portrayal of slavery, its radicalism, and its artistry; the critical reception in the North was, however, mainly positive. The book was also popular overseas, where it was critically acclaimed; within a few years it had been translated into over twenty languages. In response to questions about its portrayal of slave life, Stowe documented her knowledge of slavery in *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853). She also wrote another, less successful, antislavery novel, *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856). After the Civil War, plays based on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which often severely distorted the original message, remained popular with the general public. The book itself was little read, however, and critics became increasingly negative in their

estimation of its artistry, calling it “popular” and “sentimental,” a work by one of that mid-nineteenth century “mob of scribbling women” (the dismissive words with which Nathaniel Hawthorne had described his female rivals). By 1900 Stowe and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* were largely ignored in literary history and theory.

Critical rediscovery of Stowe came in the mid-twentieth century, initially under the impetus of attacks on her alleged racism. James Baldwin pilloried *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in a 1949 article, accusing Stowe of racism (for her frequent use of racial stereotypes), “theological terror” (for her threatened divine retribution against slaveholders), and for robbing the central character of the book of his manliness (by making him a longsuffering and forgiving Christ-figure). Baldwin’s provocative criticism was followed by that of J.C.Furnas, in his book *Goodbye to Uncle Tom* (1956). Although recognizing the truth in these critiques, especially that Stowe’s racial stereotyping (even when intended to be benevolent) could be destructive, critics soon began to enunciate more nuanced interpretations. The ensuing discussion of not only her antislavery books, but of the larger corpus of her work—especially that portion focusing on life in New England, and her controversial *Lady Byron Vindicated* (1870)—has continued to the present. Feminist, and to a lesser extent African-American, scholars have taken the lead in examining a wide range of religious, racial, political, economic, and social issues in her books, as they attempt to understand her within the context of her own time.

As a result of this reexamination of her work, Stowe has reappeared within the canon of American literature from which she was ejected in the late nineteenth century. Her racial attitudes, her feminism (she supported women’s suffrage and equal pay for equal work, but rejected some ideas and programs of the more radical feminists), her friendships with other women writers and reformers, her reaction to personal tragedies (especially the deaths of three of her children), and her religious views (she significantly altered her inherited Calvinist theology, becoming an Episcopalian in her later years) all continue to be widely discussed.

Many critics, from her time to ours, have noted that much of Stowe’s writing was essentially sermonic. As the daughter of a Protestant minister, and the sister of several others, including the famous HENRY WARD BEECHER, this is hardly surprising. Her own self-understanding was primarily religious and moral; she struggled creatively all her life with the theological ideas and ethical convictions that she had learned from her New England Puritan upbringing.

See also Calvinism; Congregationalism; Episcopal Church, United States; Presbyterianism; Puritanism; Weld, Theodore Dwight

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DONALD L.HUBER

STRAUSS, DAVID FRIEDRICH (1808–1874)

German theologian. Born in Ludwigsburg, GERMANY, in 1808, David Friedrich Strauss produced one of the most important theological and historical works of the nineteenth century. His landmark volume *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*, first published in 1835, was revised and edited again through several successive (and very different) volumes. Strauss's 1,400-page masterpiece, written in just one feverish year, was originally translated into English by the British novelist GEORGE ELIOT in 1846, introducing Strauss's revolutionary ideas to the English-speaking world. Strauss's major contribution was to place the life of Jesus in a broader mytho-historical context and pioneer in the techniques that eventually came to be known as the HIGHER CRITICISM of the BIBLE. Rejecting both the rationalist approach to biblical study, which attempted to dismiss biblical stories as fairy tales that could be attributed to natural explanation, and the supernaturalist approach, which held to the direct miraculous intervention of God in history through the life of his son Jesus, Strauss proposed that the life of Jesus as recounted in the various gospels was best explained through setting the biblical literature in the context of Judaic myths about the coming of the Messiah on earth. Strauss meant by myth "the representation of an event or idea in a historical form but characterized by the pictorial and imaginative thought and expression of primitive ages" (Lawler 1986:42). Strauss's influence was far-reaching because his work set the stage for the revolution in the historical-critical study of the Bible that was developed in nineteenth-century German academic institutions and soon spread through Christendom. Although some of Strauss's ideas are dated, and some of his historical research long since surpassed, Strauss's notion of understanding Jesus within the messianic Jewish thought of his own time is now accepted as a commonplace in biblical studies, even among biblical conservatives.

The Life of Strauss

Born to a Protestant German family, Strauss was clearly destined for a ministerial and theological role in life from his early days. However, his revolutionary study of the biblical literature on Jesus's life blocked his career opportunities both in academia and in the church world, leaving him a mostly frustrated and bitter man from the time of the publication of *The Life of Jesus*, when he was just twenty-seven and recently graduated from theological seminary, until his painful death from an ulcer in February of 1874. After publication of his work on Jesus, Strauss lost his post as a college lecturer, and was blackballed as well from any pastoral positions in German Protestant parishes. He

subsequently lived in Stuttgart, Germany, where he carried on an extensive correspondence with both supporters of and detractors from his work. In 1839, after much local controversy, Strauss was offered a professorship in dogmatics and church history in Zurich, SWITZERLAND. Local reaction in the strongly Protestant hamlet was intense; and when put to the vote of the citizenry, the Swiss citizens overwhelmingly rejected use of their tax money to pay the notorious professor. From the early 1840s forward, with money from the Swiss government that bought out his contract as well as a family inheritance, Strauss spent his remaining thirty-four years as an author, short-term politician, avid suitor but failed husband of a troubled opera singer, biographer, journalist, book reviewer, prolific and dyspeptic correspondent, and polemicist with and against the “Young Hegelians” in German academia. In his last decade he authored a failed popular work, *The Life of Jesus for the German People*, a kind of biography that would set the stage for countless other “Jesus Life” books to come in the twentieth century. In 1873 he left instructions to his son for his very secular funeral; by that time his youthful dream to deepen the Christian faith through his landmark scholarship and engagement with the ideas of the likes of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER and GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL had long since died.

The Life of Jesus: Background Preparation

As a young man, from 1821 to 1825, Strauss studied with the historian FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR at a preparatory seminary in Blaubeuren, Germany. From there he moved on to university studies at Tübingen. From 1827 to 1830 he continued advanced theological studies and came under the influence of the famous German theologian Schleiermacher, as well as Hegel. He also completed a Ph.D. dissertation, his only substantial piece of writing before *The Life of Jesus*. Entranced by the Hegelian dialectic, Strauss came to Berlin in October of 1831 to study further with the philosopher-king, although Hegel died of cholera a few weeks later. Strauss expressed his dismay at the news in front of the proud theologian Schleiermacher, who normally expected more deference from his students. Strauss later wrote: “Schleiermacher has greatly stimulated me and I owe him a lot; but the man has still not satisfied me. He only goes half way; he doesn’t pronounce the final word.” Strauss determined to go intellectually where Schleiermacher, and no man, had gone before (Harris 1973:35).

Strauss decided to put before the public a life of Jesus that would deconstruct the older but no longer satisfactory ways of understanding the Gospels and the life of Jesus. He would strip away the accretion of false DOCTRINE and rationalistic simplicities that had distorted biblical study, and in doing so “re-establish dogmatically that which has been destroyed critically” (Strauss 1840:757).

What he soon learned was that “what has been destroyed critically” was about all the shocked and horrified reading public could talk about; and that Strauss as a thinker and writer was simply better at annihilation than at creation. The results of his work were that the foundations for the doctrines of the Christian faith were undermined, and Christian THE-ODOLOGY could never again be the same. Point by point, incident by incident,

Strauss ruthlessly dissected the Gospel stories, showing again and again how little real knowledge could come from them, and how many of the supposed sayings and doings of Jesus fulfilled and arose out of older Jewish traditions and rabbinic literature. Jesus's DEATH, although real in Strauss's mind, could not have been followed by a literal physical resurrection. Older myths and legends, he contended, were recast into reports on the ostensibly empty tomb, whereas Jesus's later appearances to the disciples were clearly hallucinatory; Jesus's final ascension into HEAVEN capped the story with the ultimate messianic denouement.

In his younger years Strauss innocently believed he could carry on his work but that the essential faith would remain pristine; that the virgin birth, the miracles, and the death and resurrection would remain deep truths even if one might question their exact historicism. However, once doubt was cast on them as historical facts—and doubts coming *not* from known infidels such as Voltaire and DAVID HUME, but rather from a sturdy German Protestant scholar and parish minister whose intent was to deepen and enrich contemporary understanding of the Christian faith—the revolution was on. Strauss's own happiness was to be a casualty of the German culture wars of the mid-nineteenth century.

The Life of Jesus: Major Ideas

“Our standpoint,” Strauss announced in his major work, “allows the same laws to hold sway in every sphere of being and activity; and, therefore, where a narrative runs contrary to the laws of nature, it must be regarded as unhistorical” (Harris 1973:42). With that dictum in mind Strauss calmly picked apart what could be known truly about the historical Jesus. The result, as he himself put it, was that “the boundless treasure of truth and life, on which humanity has been nurtured for eighteen centuries, now seems to have been destroyed...God divested of his GRACE, man of his dignity, the bond between heaven and earth rent asunder” (Harris 1973:51). As he told a friend, however, all this destruction to “partly shake the infinite significance which faith attributes to this life,” was in the service of restoring it again “in a higher way.” This reconstruction would begin by “showing first, the crudity of supernaturalism; secondly the emptiness of rationalism, and thirdly the truth of SCIENCE” (Harris 1973:33–34).

By “science” Strauss meant that

“which sees in the life of Jesus the consciousness which the Church has of the human spirit objectified as divine spirit; this consciousness is not projected into particular features, into miracles which are then allotted their significance; in the history of Jesus' death and resurrection, however, that idea in its whole process sums itself up systematically and shows that the Spirit attains the true positivity, the divine life...only through the negation of the negation” (Harris 1973:34).

The Hegelian influence is obvious: supernaturalism was the historic *thesis*, the truth that had comforted Christians for centuries (the notion that the Gospels record history accurately and nothing can be discarded, as Strauss summarized it); rationalism was its *antithesis*, the crude village atheist rejection of the supernatural (such as the notion that Jesus did not really walk on water but must have been stepping on rocks submerged just beneath the surface, and other like trivializations of the profound stories of the Bible). Strauss used the Hegelian method of using the thesis and antithesis positions to refute one another; the truths of supernaturalism refuted the trivial empiricism of rationalism, whereas the historical investigation of the rationalists undermined the simplistic faith of the supernaturalists. Strauss's view—the mythical approach—would provide the majestic *synthesis*, by proposing the new interpretation of Jesus's life as the representation of the Infinite Spirit in finite form, expressed in the Bible in the poetic and mythological language of the Jewish messianic authors of the Gospel (with the notable exception of the Gospel of John, which Strauss, at least in the first edition of his work, denied as too untrustworthy and internally fallacious to bear up under study).

Most radically, Strauss proposed that the essential truth was the unity of God and man, with Jesus being the individual physical representative of that unity for the ancient mind that needed a concrete symbol of that unity, although modern man could understand the idea philosophically. The fructifying contact of the Infinite Spirit of God with the finite being of man no longer needed the mythological props of the quasi-historical Jesus. The union of the divine and the human transcended the historic Jesus; the union was realized in the spirit of the human race as a whole. Indeed, Strauss saw Jesus himself as given to dubious and time-bound forms of a fanatical messianism, hardly an appropriate symbol for the more profound ideas of the modern age. Through the various editions of the work Strauss wavered somewhat on his opinion of Jesus the person, but even in his most positive readings he found Jesus the individual to be a shaky symbol for the more profound immanence of God as Spirit in Man.

Strauss's use (and, in the analyses of many critics, *abuse*) of Hegelianism in an attempt to wrest the deeper truths of religious thought from the time-bound conventions of the Gospels was the least successful portion of his work. As explained by scholar Peter Hodgson, “instead of a *hermeneutics* of symbols and religious myths, he proposed to *destroy* them, together with the historical tradition in which they were imbedded. It is no wonder that his constructive program remained barren and unfruitful” (Hodgson 1972: xxx vi).

Impact of Strauss's Work

Strauss put out three versions of his work in the late 1830s, during a time in which he remained intensely religious and sought to help his critics understand that he was not the devilish infidel that was quickly becoming his public persona. At one point, nearly pleading with the public, he proclaimed that “to this historical, personal Christ belongs everything from his life in which his religious perfection is portrayed: his discourses, his moral actions and his suffering.” That was as close as Strauss came to endorsing

Protestant ORTHODOXY. In later editions he drew back from such forms of apologia. His efforts were without much success. After his rejection by the seminary in Zurich, the jobless Strauss, unable to fulfill his dream of being an august university professor and exiled from the church that had raised him, grew increasingly bitter. By that point he was inclined to be the very ogre to the faithful that he had been (falsely) reputed to be in his more pious years in the 1830s.

Strauss grew less concerned about defending the Christian faith, but as the years progressed was more agitated by the Hegelian left, notably LUDWIG FEUERBACH. The young Hegelians, picking up where Strauss left off, turned the idea of God itself into a projection of human desire; rather than God creating man, it was instead the case that man created God in his own image, they insisted. It was the beginnings of what would later be called the DEATH OF GOD theology. By that time Strauss was no longer truly a revolutionary, for the young Hegelians had surpassed him. Strauss despised them, in part because they had stolen his thunder. By that time he was the object of hatred from the traditionalist Christian right, and of scorn from the revolutionary left. Perhaps for this reason Strauss grew more conservative and conventional in his own political views.

Whatever its faults and limitations, whatever its own time-bound and abstruse Hegelian formulations, Strauss's work revolutionized theology by introducing into it the anthropological concept of myth and symbol. Since that time thousands of theologians and writers have grappled with the life of Jesus; none has come close in intellectual impact and international controversy to the work of David Friedrich Strauss.

See also Jesus, Lives of; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism

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PAUL HARVEY

STRONG, JOSIAH (1847–1916)

American clergy. Strong was born in Naperville, Illinois on January 19, 1847. After studying at Lane Theological Seminary between 1869 and 1871, he assumed pastorates in various Congregational churches in Ohio. In 1886 he became the general secretary of the American branch of the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, which had been founded in ENGLAND in 1846 as a reaction to the OXFORD MOVEMENT. This gave Strong a national platform and position of considerable importance. Strong's commitment to Christian solutions to contemporary social problems found expression in his editorship of the journal *The Kingdom and Social Service*, in which the ideals of the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement were reiterated incessantly. All the same, his efforts to commit the Evangelical Alliance to the approach of the Social Gospel proved not overly successful.

More important was Strong's commitment to American imperialist expansion. In his numerous books—all in all, Strong published eleven books, alongside countless articles—he sought to make the case not only for the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon, that is, English-speaking race (which would forever retain its superiority because of its growing numbers) but also for American expansion. This argument was embedded in the moral dicta of Christianity and is found in such books as *Our Country* (1886), which sold over 25,000 copies, and *Expansion: Under New World Conditions* (1900).

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HANS J. HILLERBRAND

STUDD, CHARLES THOMAS (1860–1931)

English missionary. Studd was born near Andover, ENGLAND in 1860, and he died in Ibambi, Belgian Congo July 16, 1931. Both missionary and mission advocate, he was the son of a wealthy retired tea planter who had been converted through DWIGHT L. MOODY'S campaigns. At Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, Studd became one of the leading cricketers in England and toured Australia with the Test team of 1882–1883 that regained the Ashes.

Studd was the best known, although not the moving spirit, of the small group of CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY students and army officers known as the Cambridge Seven who volunteered for service with the CHINA INLAND MISSION in 1885. The Seven—who between them represented wealth, social standing, and athletic fame—made a deep public impression. Their evident spirit of sacrifice (Studd gave up a considerable inheritance) promoted the idea of missionary service among English university students and the upper classes generally, sectors not previously noted as major sources of missionary recruits. In 1894 Studd left CHINA, sick, and engaged in missionary advocacy for the Student Volunteer Missionary movement. In 1900 he returned to mission service, this time in INDIA, until 1906 when, again ill, he resumed mission advocacy and home EVANGELISM.

In 1910 he went to the south Sudan, and in 1911 established the nondenominational Heart of Africa Mission for the evangelization of the African interior, leading it himself from the Belgian Congo from 1913. He spent the rest of his life there. His charismatic presence and eloquence in person and in print moved many, but his eccentric behavior, dictatorial style, and increasing dependency on drugs brought controversy and disruption to the mission. His abiding monument is the large and international Worldwide Evangelization Crusade, embodying his principles without his eccentricities, and shaped by his son-in-law, Norman P. Grubb. Studd's brother Kynaston (1858–1944), lord mayor of London from 1928 to 1929, was also a prominent spokesman for MISSIONS and evangelism.

Studd was a leading representative of one important strand in the Protestant missionary movement during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its features included energetic verbal evangelism, a spirituality based on “a blessed interior life of peace and triumph”; a call to consecration and sacrifice; and a strong premillennial ESCHATOLOGY. It displayed little interest in THEOLOGY or intellectual activity. The missionary movement of the period accommodated other strands of thought, outlook, and activity. The Cambridge Seven, of which Studd was a vital component, gave impetus to the founding of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. This in turn, with the support of the university Christian unions, especially at Cambridge and Oxford, gave rise to the Student Christian Movement and thereafter to the INTERVARSITY CHRISTIAN

FELLOWSHIP. Between them these organizations reflected most of the determinative forces in twentieth-century Anglo-Saxon Protestantism and affected ecumenical thought and action.

See also Africa; Ecumenism; Missionary Organizations; Missions, British

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ANDREW F. WALLS

SUDAN INTERIOR MISSION

The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) began with the vision of three young men: Canadians Walter Gowans and Rowland Bingham, and Thomas Kent of the UNITED STATES. In 1893 they banded together to carry the Gospel to the “Soudan,” a vast expanse stretching eastward from the Niger river across the central tier of sub-Saharan AFRICA. They landed at Lagos in late 1893 and made their way into the interior. Within a year Gowans and Kent had died of malaria. Bingham was stricken, and returned to CANADA gravely ill, but unbroken. After being driven back by illness on his second attempt, Bingham returned home and committed his life to recruiting and funding others for the task. By 1902 the first party of missionaries had established a base in the interior, and the Sudan Interior Mission was born.

Although the first decade of work was not particularly fruitful, two of the first wave of missionaries would make a considerable impact on the breadth and depth of the work. A.W.Banfield established Niger Press, which would evolve into a wide-ranging translation and Christian publication service. Dr. Andrew Stirrett came in the first decade of the new century, and would serve for over fifty years, establishing clinics and hospitals throughout Africa. SIM quickly developed into a general mission, with work in translation, education, publication, medicine, and social ministry. However, the focus always remained centered on EVANGELISM and church planting.

In the early 1920s several candidates from AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND entered service with SIM. Mr. Bingham traveled “round the world” to establish offices in those locations, and in the process his vision for the work of SIM was considerably broadened. Ethiopia was the first field outside the “Soudan,” and in time SIM missionaries were at work in many other fields throughout the world.

Ministry Characteristics

Four characteristics have marked out SIM from the beginning: evangelical, interdenominational, international, and church centered. All SIM personnel must affirm the doctrinal statement of the organization, which places it squarely within the conservative evangelical tradition of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Euro-American Protestantism. The statement affirms the BIBLE as the “inerrant and authoritative Word of God,” the Trinity, the lost estate of the race, SALVATION by GRACE through FAITH in Jesus Christ, and a commitment to fulfill the Great Commission.

Although the statement is clear, it is narrowly drawn, omitting such issues such as BAPTISM, the LORD’S SUPPER, church offices, gifts of the spirit, church government,

PREDESTINATION, or ESCHATOLOGY. This is consistent with the firm commitment to be an interdenominational mission, open to a wide range of Christian believers. This was so from the beginning: Walter Gowans was a Presbyterian, Thomas Kent a Congregationalist, and Rowland Bingham was an Anglican who joined the SALVATION ARMY and was ordained by the BAPTISTS. SIM has opened its ranks to missionaries from a wide range of denominational backgrounds and has consistently opposed the introduction of denominational “distinctives,” tensions, or hostility into its varied ministries, or into the host of churches spawned from its endeavors. However, in some areas those churches have joined together in indigenous bodies that have many of the marks of a DENOMINATION. The Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA) is the clearest example, a faith community of several thousand churches that sits most comfortably in the broad evangelical Wesleyan tradition.

SIM is also international in scope. From the beginning the mission looked to the United States, Canada, SCOTLAND, and ENGLAND for funds and personnel. This base soon expanded to Australia, New Zealand, then to other “sending” nations.

Finally, SIM is church centered. From the initial vision of the founder down to the present, SIM has remained convinced that the church is God’s primary agent for transforming the world. The mission works closely with local churches for the purpose of starting churches where none exist, and then building up and strengthening those churches so that they might fulfill their part in the Great Commission. Again, the Evangelical Church of West Africa stands as a clear example of that goal. In 1976 ECWA assumed responsibility for most of the social, medical, literature, educational, and church expansion ministries of SIM in NIGERIA. Today ECWA has over 1,200 missionaries, working primarily with unreached people in Nigeria and other West African nations.

In the early 1980s the International Christian Fellowship (a mission working primarily in INDIA) and the Andes Evangelical Mission merged with the Sudan Interior Mission to form the new SIM, the Society for International Ministries. Currently SIM assists local churches in over forty different nations to send out some sixteen hundred cross-cultural missionaries to over fifty fields, ranging from Togo to Ecuador to India to Italy.

See also Anglicanism; Biblical Inerrancy; Congregationalism; Missionary Organizations; Missions; Presbyterianism

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JAMES D.CHANCELLOR

SUN YAT-SEN (1866–1925)

Chinese nationalist politician. Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) was born in Guangdong province in south CHINA, but raised and schooled in Hawaii and Hong Kong. He was actively dedicated to the overthrow of the Qing (Manchu) government from the 1890s until the Revolution of 1911. Sun was first president of the provisional government of the Republic of China in early 1912, but was outmaneuvered politically and relegated to an outsider's role, although after 1912 he became leader of the new Kuomintang (Guomindang, Chinese Nationalist Party).

Relatively powerless for a number of years, Sun's fortunes skyrocketed in the 1920s when his Kuomintang became the beneficiary of strong new nationalistic currents among urban Chinese. Sun also allied himself and his movement with the Comintern and the Soviet Union, which provided advisors as well as military and material assistance for the small but dynamic Kuomintang power base around Canton, as well as brokering an alliance with the Chinese Communists. At this point Sun died, leaving his protégé Chiang Kai-shek to inherit his leadership role in the Nationalist Party. Sun is known as the "father of the country," and is claimed as a hero by both Communists and Nationalists today.

Sun's Christian identity is hard to pin down. He attended an Anglican school in Hawaii (see ANGLICANISM), and studied medicine at missionary hospitals in Hong Kong and Canton. He was baptized by the American missionary Charles Hager in 1884, the same year he had an arranged marriage that produced three children. Sun's Christianity, although well known, does not seem to have strongly colored his political career. In 1914, however, in a second marriage that scandalized Protestant circles, he wed Soong Ch'ing-ling (Song Qingling), daughter of Charles Jones Soong, patriarch of the large and well-connected Soong clan, the single most politically influential Chinese Protestant family of the twentieth century. This association alone makes Sun an important figure in Chinese Protestant history.

See also Communism

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DANIEL H. BAYS

SUNDAY SCHOOL

Sunday School is a form of religious instruction undertaken as a supplement to Sunday worship for children. ROBERT RAIKES is conventionally recognized as the founder of the Sunday School, a “ragged school” set up for the poor in the English city of Gloucester in 1783. There were in fact a number of Sunday Schools in existence before Raikes’s experiment, the earliest of which may have been set up by Hannah Ball in 1763. The Charity School Movement of the early eighteenth century had sought to transform the lives of the poor in WALES, and then in ENGLAND by the use of “dame schools” to teach the children to read. The use of Sunday for education was the result of a pragmatic recognition by the 1780s that weekday schools were ineffective for children who were already employed. Raikes’s description of the school in the *Gloucester Journal* created widespread interest in other towns. The experiment was not confined to one DENOMINATION and was often organized by community committees quite separate from any local church. They had among their goals the preservation of society from social anarchy, rather than just religious knowledge.

These early schools taught reading and used the BIBLE as their primary text. They were always envisaged as catering primarily to the children of the poor. By 1787 some 250,000 children were enrolled and by 1831 some 37 percent of all children—and a much higher proportion of factory children—were attending. Conservatives sometimes feared the scale of the organization involved and its potential for giving the poor ideas above their station. However, the British Sunday School Union, founded in 1803, continued to exert significant influence.

The schools slowly became located in local churches and came under the control of the religious bodies. In 1800 the large Manchester Sunday School split up into Anglican and nonconformist schools (see ANGLICANISM; NONCONFORMITY), with the Methodists particularly successful in their efforts (see METHODISM, ENGLAND). A building spree resulted to house the classes in the urban districts. The growth of child employment in the factories meant that the Sunday School remained a vital social instrument, while Sunday School teachers were often former successful students. The Sunday School gained huge popularity in the working class community, and its festivals—awarding prizes, picnics, and church parades—could attract a huge attendance. There were fierce debates about the place of reading in the curriculum, and this led to some splits and the establishment of radical Sunday Schools with an amended curriculum.

Sunday Schools in the United States

Americans adopted the vision of religious instruction in Sunday Schools soon after the War of Independence. A broadly based First Day school was organized in Philadelphia about 1790. However, there was less urgency while America remained predominantly rural. Two New York women sought to establish a Sunday School in their city in 1816, but the major breakthrough came when the prominent minister LYMAN BEECHER moved a resolution in 1828 creating the American Sunday School Union, “eminently adapted to promote the intellectual and moral culture of the nation, to perpetuate our republican and religious institutions, and to reconcile eminent national prosperity with moral purity and future blessedness.” In the urban crisis of the 1830s and 1840s, concern about the “street arabs” led to fresh attempts to plant Sunday Schools in the cities, led by followers of CHARLES G. FINNEY, who idealized the Sunday School as a critical social instrument.

American schools soon developed a broader scope and the Sunday School became a symbol of republican inclusiveness. Theological debates about the legitimacy of childhood CONVERSION made the curriculum of the school controversial. HORACE BUSHNELL urged that conversion be seen as a process in which education should not be coercive. In 1872 what became the International Sunday School Lesson plan was commenced by the Sunday School Union, and this was subsequently widely adopted by liberal schools in many countries. Meanwhile the American Sunday School expanded to a period of religious instruction for adults as well as children. In contrast, in Britain and British countries Sunday Schools became the last link of the masses with the church.

After the 1960s the scope of Sunday Schools declined dramatically. They have largely catered to the children of church members and been run parallel with the main morning church service. Moreover, a declining sense of the value of voluntary education for the young has taken away the value of the Sunday School. Its efficacy is being questioned.

The Sunday School has often been viewed as a key instrument used by middle-class interests to redirect the leisure and radicalism of the working class. Thomas Laqueur offered another explanation, that the Sunday School helped the formation of working class identity by giving them literacy and entrusting them with their own education.

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PETER LINEHAM

SUNDAY, BILLY (1862–1935)

American evangelist and prohibition advocate. Born William Ashley Sunday on November 19, 1862 in a log cabin near Ames, Iowa, the evangelist frequently spoke of his hardscrabble childhood. A promising small-town baseball player, he was recruited by the Chicago Whitestockings in 1883, converted to evangelical Christianity at Chicago's Pacific Garden Mission in 1886, and married Helen Amelia Thompson (1868–1957), the daughter of a prosperous Chicago ice cream-manufacturing family, in 1888. Sunday continued to play professionally for various teams until 1890; thereafter he worked full-time for the YMCA and then became an assistant to J. Wilbur Chapman (1859–1918), a well-known traveling evangelist. In 1896 Sunday struck out on his own, assisted by his wife, and continued in full-time evangelistic work until he died of heart failure in Chicago at age 72 on November 6, 1935.

Sunday's distinctive pulpit manner, marked by athletic gestures, liberal use of slang, and excoriation of his opponents, won him wide popularity as he preached in cities across the northern United States. He was famous for exhorting converts to "hit the sawdust trail" at his upbeat urban revival meetings. Music was also an important component of Sunday's revival meetings; from 1909 to 1927 song leader Homer A. Rodeheaver (1880–1955) accompanied him, warming up audiences with stirring gospel choruses and trombone solos and coordinating performances by visiting ensembles.

By World War I, Sunday was the most recognized American preacher, but thereafter his popularity declined, due partly to his increasingly strident tone and partly to theological fissures within American Protestantism that made organizing citywide crusades increasingly difficult.

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JAY BLOSSOM

SUNG, JOHN (SUNG SHANGJIE) (1901–1944)

Chinese revival preacher. Sung was born in Fujian, CHINA on September 27, 1901 into the family of a Methodist pastor, Sung Xue Lien. When he was very young he began to imitate his father, both in PREACHING and in handing out tracts. Because of his alert mind and Christian commitment, Shangjie (“noble and frugal one”) was sent, with the support of Methodist missionaries, to the UNITED STATES to study for pastoral leadership. In 1920 Sung began his studies at Ohio Wesleyan College, where he completed a bachelor’s degree in three years. He then went on to complete a master’s and Ph.D. in chemistry at Ohio State University by the summer of 1926.

Remembering his reason for studying in the United States, Sung turned down lucrative offers in chemistry (including an offer to help develop explosives for GERMANY) and turned to study THEOLOGY at Union Seminary in New York. In his first semester at Union, Sung heard a fifteen-year-old girl evangelist at Calvary Baptist Church. His CONVERSION or awakening was remarkable. Sung began evangelizing his fellow seminary students, and he would sing HYMNS until late into the evening. His behavior was understood to be caused by mental problems, so Sung was placed in a mental asylum for 193 days. During this time he read through the BIBLE, according to his account, forty times, tracing different themes with each reading. This would become the foundation for his seventeen years of preaching in East Asia.

Sung then returned to China in 1927, married (Yu Chin Hua), and began teaching chemistry three days a week at the Methodist Christian High School in Fujian. His heart, though, was in preaching and so the bulk of his time was spent as an apostolic preacher in South China. He came into contact with Andrew Gih, an evangelist of the Bethel Worldwide Evangelistic Band, and cooperated with this group from 1931 to 1933. The Band was short-lived but very influential. Their doctrine of eradication of all SIN was not accepted by Sung, but their methods of organization and itineration were adopted. By 1934 Sung was on his own and he was widely known in most of south and east China. He did not approve of the work of most missionaries because of their emphasis on nonessentials (i.e., not focused solely on the Bible) and their liberal theology (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

From 1935 to December 1939 Sung traveled to preach to Chinese communities throughout Southeast Asia: TAIWAN, PHILIPPINES, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, and INDONESIA. His impact was great as he brought together Chinese from many denominations and dialects, and he also organized the converts in “evangelistic bands” reminiscent of the Bethel Worldwide Evangelistic Band. These local bands of ten or twelve would meet weekly to study the Bible, pray, and go out to evangelize their communities. His impact was so great that in some towns local shops would close for the week of Sung’s meetings.

Sung's preaching style was full of emotion; he preached from all of the Bible and he often confronted people directly with sins of gambling, sexual affairs, or stealing. Sung lived a very simple life, prayed for great lengths of time, and held meetings for healings (see FAITH HEALING). Although not strictly speaking Pentecostal, Sung emphasized the role of the Holy Spirit in personal transformation and healing, which brought him into conflict with most missionaries (see PENTECOSTALISM). Sung, along with WANG MINGDAO, Andrew Gih, and others, pioneered an indigenous form of Chinese Christianity that has had much success among the Chinese masses both in China and overseas.

Sung and his wife had five children, but after years of preaching with great pain, John Sung died August 18, 1944 of tuberculosis (and probably cancer) at the early age of forty-three.

See also Asian Theology; Evangelism, Overview; Missions

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SCOTT W.SUNQUIST

SWABIAN SYNGRAMMA

The Swabian Syngramma was an antisacramental treatise written by fourteen Lutheran theologians, advocating the real presence of Christ in the elements of bread and wine in the LORD'S SUPPER.

All the reformers rejected the Catholic position of TRANSUBSTANTIATION. However, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI took the further view that the Lord's Supper was a thanksgiving in which Jesus was spiritually present. JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS published an attack on MARTIN LUTHER'S position, which held for the real presence of body and blood in the elements of bread and wine. Arguing for Christ's being only figuratively present at the Eucharist, Oecolampadius dedicated his book to the "beloved brethren" in Schwabia, his former students, intending to win them over. The region was strategically important as the reformers continued to compete for the spiritual and political allegiance of southern GERMANY.

However, Luther's influence was strong, and under the leadership of JOHANNES BRENZ some fourteen theologians responded by drafting a statement—the Syngramma Suevicum—on October 14, 1525 in support of Luther. Meant as a document to be sent to Oecolampadius, it was published with an introduction by Luther and given its title by the printer. It offered a positive affirmation of Christ's actual presence in the sacrament. The document argued that as the word of peace from Christ confers peace, and saying that sins are forgiven gives pardon, so the word of Christ imparts into the bread and wine the very body and blood of Christ. When the sacrament is consumed the believer is sanctified by the body and given the creative power of the word, whereas the unbeliever is condemned.

MARTIN BUCER responded to the document, arguing that the real presence in the Lord's Supper produces no benefit for the Christian, whereas Oecolampadius composed his Anti-syngramma noting that the Swabians had erred in an un-Lutheran spiritual activity by denying that the body of Christ is broken by hands and chewed by teeth. The ensuing controversy between Zwingli and Luther promptly overshadowed any significance the Syngramma may have had.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Sacraments

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SWEDEN

One of the Scandinavian countries located in northern Europe. Sweden has a population of 8,847,625 (1998), of whom 7,907,189 are Protestants (90 percent). Roman Catholics number 165,691 (1.5 percent); Eastern Orthodox, 68,260 (0.5 percent); and the Oriental denominations (Monophysite), 37,282 (0.25 percent). Non-Christian religious groups total 152,766 members (1998), of whom one-third are Muslims. Six percent of the total population or 546,656 people (1998) have declared that they have no religious affiliation.

Out of the 90 percent who are Protestant, 86 percent of the population belongs to the Lutheran Church of Sweden, leaving 4 percent as adherents of non-Lutheran Protestant churches. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the so-called Dissenter Law was passed, it was illegal to belong to any other church other than the Lutheran State Church of Sweden. The twentieth century witnessed a marked religious pluralization of Swedish society.

Medieval Background

Protestantism was ushered into Sweden in the sixteenth century when the Protestant Reformation swept across Europe during that era. Unlike the craving for church reform that welled up in GERMANY, Swedish people were, by and large, content with the ministrations of the medieval Roman Catholic Church.

To understand the rise of Protestantism in what is today called Sweden, it is necessary to remember that three southern provinces of Sweden (Skane, Halland, and Blekinge) were actually a part of DENMARK until 1658. Thus Protestantism in Sweden is intimately intertwined with the Protestant Reformation in Denmark as well. It is also necessary to remember that Scandinavia in the sixteenth century was not composed of five separate, independent countries as it is today, but actually one. This was the result of the Kalmar Union of 1397, which united Denmark, NORWAY, and Sweden under Queen Margaret of Denmark, who ruled with a firm hand. Under her weak successor, Erik of Pomerania, Swedish NATIONALISM erupted in 1433 under Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, who sought a strong, native Swedish rule. After the death of Engelbrekt in 1436, Karl Knutsson rallied the lower classes and was elected king on three occasions, only to be deposed by a union king from Denmark.

Much of the fifteenth century in Sweden therefore witnessed a struggle for a strong, indigenous ruler championed by the Swedish lower classes as opposed to the Swedish *Riksråd* (Council) composed of nobles and bishops who were pro-union and pro-Danish in their sympathies. By the mid-fifteenth century, nobles and bishops had become so

internationalized through intermarriage that they had no real national ties to either Sweden or Denmark. People like Archbishop Gustav Trolle of Uppsala, who was actually Danish, owned property in both Sweden and Denmark. This tended to minimize national loyalties to either country.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, Sten Sture the Elder became the Regent of Sweden and frustrated the Danish rulers' efforts to effectively gain control of Sweden. Svante Sture and Sten Sture the Younger continued this policy by deposing the Regent, Erik Trolle, but in 1515, Erik's son was elected archbishop of Uppsala. Two years later, Sten Sture the Younger succeeded in getting the *Riksdag* (Parliament) to depose Gustav Trolle. This took place before October 31, when MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) nailed *The Ninety-five Theses* on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. It signified a significant breach with Rome because Leo X had just recently appointed and recognized Gustav Trolle as archbishop of Uppsala. Family feuding between the Sture and Trolle families had been going on for some time and there was no love lost between them.

The new Danish king (Christian II, 1513–1523) was determined to bring the unruly Swedes and Sten Sture the Younger under control. Upon the death of Sten Sture in battle (1520), Christian II was crowned king of Sweden on November 4. As a goodwill gesture, the Danish king invited the leading Swedish nobles and two Swedish bishops to a sumptuous reconciliation banquet. After dinner, instead of dessert and toasts to future cooperation, goodwill, and amnesty as had been expected, Danish soldiers barred the exit doors and the infamous Stockholm Bloodbath took place, in which over eighty of Sweden's leading noblemen were beheaded, including two Swedish Catholic bishops. Historians have long debated the identity of the instigator of the bloodbath. Fledgling history students are often assigned the task of wading through the sources in their introductory historiography courses. The blame has usually been assigned to the archbishop, Gustav Trolle, or to Christian II, referred to as "The Tyrant" by patriotic Swedes.

Instead of the Swedish unrest subsiding, the Stockholm massacre caused Sweden to erupt in rebellion under the leadership of Gustav Vasa, son of one of the beheaded Swedish noblemen. After struggling for three years, Sweden won its independence and Gustav Vasa was crowned king of Sweden in 1523.

Initial Stirrings of Protestantism

The election of Gustav as king of Sweden took place in the city of Strengnas, where a young Swedish disciple of Luther by the name of OLAUS PETRI (1493–1552) had been preaching for five years. Often called the "Luther of Sweden," Olaus Petri returned from Wittenberg in the summer of 1518 after having studied there for two years. When Petri arrived at Wittenberg in 1516, the German reformer was just beginning his lectures on Galatians. Petri soon joined his mentor in strong opposition to indulgences, and was present during the eventful days when *The Ninety-five Theses* were published. Late in 1518, after Luther had expounded his theology of the cross at the Heidelberg Disputation before his Augustinian brothers, Petri returned to Sweden aglow with his new evangelical

insights. However, there was no thought of leaving the Roman Catholic Church. John Eck would not raise the “Saxon Hus” label until the next year at Leipzig. The REFORMATION treatises of 1520 and the famous “Here I stand” declaration at the DIET OF WORMS in 1521 were still in the distant future. Thus the evangelical theology that inspired Olaus Petri was very conservative and was to remain so all his life.

Olaus Petri also had a younger brother, Laurentius Petri (1499–1573), who studied at Wittenberg some years later. Upon his return to Sweden in 1527, Laurentius was ordained as the first evangelical (Protestant) archbishop of Uppsala in 1531 by two Erasmian reform-minded Catholic bishops, thus preserving the historic episcopate in what was to become the Lutheran State Church of Sweden. Together, the two Petri brothers introduced a gradual transformation of the medieval Catholic Church in Sweden along evangelical (Protestant) lines.

It was not the intention of the Petris to break with Rome, introduce a Lutheran confessional subscription, or establish a “Protestant” church. Rather they were convinced that the pure Word of God was all that was needed to recall the Catholic Church from the error of her ways. Holy Scripture was the Word of God and upon this rock the church could prevail against the gates of hell itself. All one needed for salvation was *sola scriptura* (the Word alone).

There was little pressure to adopt any particular confessional creed. The ancient ecumenical creeds (Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian) were seen as aids in the preparation of sermons and as guides for a faithful interpretation of Scripture for those who could not understand the message of Scripture as a whole, but they had no confessional validity as such. A corollary to the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of Scripture would negate the necessity for any formal confession. Any human attempt at writing a confession endangered the *sola scriptura* principle of the evangelical reform movement within the Catholic Church.

The Protestant Reformation

During the 1520s Gustav Vasa, the Swedish king, was hard-pressed to maintain political stability and unite his followers, who had become divided on the religious issue. Many who favored the “old faith” supported the 1527 uprising in Dalarna. In desperation, Gustav Vasa turned to the pope and asked what could be done to reform the Swedish church.

This was a golden opportunity for the pope (Clement VII) to heal the breach that was developing between Rome and the Swedish church, but instead of proposing reforms of significance, Clement VII ordered the reinstatement of Gustav Trolle as archbishop of Uppsala. This was something no Swede could contemplate after the Stockholm Bloodbath of 1520. Thus an opportunity for a throne-and-altar alliance to reform the church in Sweden was lost. In the midst of all this, burdened with a huge debt to Lübeck for its help in overthrowing the yoke of the Danish king with no hope of raising the necessary funds, struggling to suppress the revolt in Darlana, and with no encouragement from Rome, Gustav Vasa resigned in 1527. This action galvanized Sweden into

supporting Gustav Vasa because no one could contemplate a return to the political domination of Denmark or the suzerainty of Lübeck.

At a hastily called meeting at Vesteras, the estates prevailed upon Gustav Vasa to continue as king and promised to crush the rebellion in Dalarna. With no hope of reform coming from Rome, the Diet of Vesteras (1527) also effectively severed the Swedish church from obedience to the Roman pontiff and established a national Catholic Church in Sweden. From that time forward, the CLERGY came under the jurisdiction of civil law. The king received the church's income in order to repay the Lubeck debt. All material goods given to the church before 1454 were returned to the legal heirs, and all complaints against the "new faith" were to stop provided that the Word of God was preached in its purity. Bishops were instructed to see that their parishes were staffed with preachers of ability, otherwise the king was empowered to intervene. There was no Lutheran or Protestant confession enunciated except "to teach and preach according to the Word of God."

In the decades that followed the Diet of Vesteras, there was very little discussion or explicit mention of Lutheran confessional subscription. The Church of Sweden was becoming an evangelical Protestant church without any formal confessional subscription. Nevertheless, the Petri brothers maintained a consistent, though conservative, Lutheran stance as seen in the HYMNAL (1526), the pastors' manual (1529), and the Swedish Mass (1531), which came from the pen of Olaus Petri.

It was not until the reign of Erik XIV (1560–1568) that confessional subscription became a problem. The new king leaned toward CALVINISM and was very sympathetic toward the many Calvinist refugees who fled to Sweden. In 1564 some Calvinists drew up a confession of faith that they claimed was Lutheran, but it was quickly seen to be a Swedish translation of the Calvinistic GALLICAN CONFESSION of 1559. For the first time, the AUGSBURG CONFESSION of 1530 was invoked to define what was authentically Lutheran. Laurentius Petri, as archbishop of Uppsala, also effectively thwarted Erik XIV from introducing Calvinism into Sweden by royal decree while at the same time quietly withdrawing his own *Church Ordinance* for a more opportune time.

The long life of Laurentius Petri, his faithful service under three kings, and his conservative but consistent Lutheran theological principles gradually came to the forefront. Slowly but surely, and in the absence of any official Lutheran confessional subscription, popular religious loyalty slowly swung from a Roman Catholic to an evangelical and increasingly Lutheran theological position. Ten years after his failed attempt to introduce his *Church Ordinance*, Laurentius Petri placed the capstone on his career when he persuaded the new king John III (1568–1592), the younger brother of the Calvinist Erik XIV, to adopt it as the law of the land in 1571. There was no confessional subscription espoused in this ordinance, nor was there any in the oath pastors took upon their ordination. Instead, the tried and true formula that everything was to be judged by the Word of God was reiterated. Ordinands were asked if they would "at all times remain steadfast in the pure Word of God and flee all false and heretical doctrines." Clergy were admonished to "preach the Word with all freedom" so it might grow in the hearts of people and be fruitful (see PREACHING). To proclaim the Word meant that the archbishop preached repentance and forgiveness of sin through Jesus Christ. Two years later (1573), Laurentius Petri died after having served as the first Protestant archbishop of Uppsala for forty-two years.

The Counter-Reformation

After the death of the archbishop, the theological battlefield shifted from Calvinism to Roman Catholicism. The new king had a decided predilection in that direction. Shortly after Laurentius Petri's death, John III, who saw himself as a liturgical scholar, issued his *Red Book* (named after the color of the covers), which manifested his leanings toward Rome. It has been much debated whether John III actually converted to Roman Catholicism, but it is known that he was greatly influenced by his Polish wife's Jesuit chaplains and his own father confessor, the Norwegian Jesuit Laurentius Norvegus (Lars the Norwegian).

Though the Peace of Augsburg (1555) had no legal validity in Sweden, it was nevertheless conceivable that if the king of Sweden became Roman Catholic, the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* (whoever the king, his religion) enunciated at the close of the Smalcald War (1555), could be extended to Sweden also. Thus it was that Pope Gregory XIII launched Operation Sweden (*Missio suetica*) under the direction of Laurentius Norvegus and the secretary of the Society of Jesus, Antonio Possevino. The plan of the Jesuits was to establish a rival "high church" theological school in Stockholm to counter the "anti-liturgical" Lutheran theological faculty at Uppsala. With the king's acquiescence, the Jesuits established the Royal Stockholm College under the pretext of educating a new generation of theological students who were more in agreement with the king's high-church predilections. In reality, it was a front for the secret Jesuit mission to turn Sweden back to Rome.

On the verge of success in 1580, Operation Sweden suddenly soured when John III insisted on three concessions before he would publicly announce his conversion to Roman Catholicism. The post-Tridentine papacy was not, however, inclined to compromise on the issues of clerical CELIBACY, vernacular WORSHIP, and communion in both kinds (communicants received both bread and wine). Against the strong counsel of Laurentius Norvegus, Possevino tried to force the hand of John III by publicly announcing the king's CONVERSION.

Instead of the intended effect, John III immediately renounced Roman Catholicism and ordered the Jesuit mission out of Sweden. As a result of Operation Sweden, the Swedish people had become thoroughly aware of the dangers of the COUNTER-REFORMATION, but Rome needed only to bide her time because Sigismund III, the Roman Catholic son of John III who had just recently been elected king of POLAND, stood ready to become king of Sweden as well upon the death of his father. When John III died in 1592, it was just too much for the clergy and people of Sweden to contemplate. "Bloody" Mary's reign in England, the "Reign of Terror" in the Lowlands, and the St. Bartholomew Day Massacre in France had all occurred during the lives of most Swedes living in the 1590s.

Triumph of Lutheranism

At a hastily called church assembly gathered at Uppsala in 1593 (only the king could convene the *Riksdag*), the unaltered Augsburg Confession became the legal confessional basis for the Church of Sweden for the first time. From that time forward, one could speak of the Lutheran State Church of Sweden. All Swedish sovereigns had to be Lutheran in the future. As a result, Sigismund III was never able to gain his Swedish throne, though he tried to regain Sweden by a military assault that was repulsed by his uncle, Duke Charles of FINLAND. For all practical purposes, the Protestant Reformation and LUTHERANISM had become synonymous in Sweden in spite of the Calvinist leanings of Duke Charles, who became Carl IX in 1599.

Southern Sweden (Eastern Denmark)

The three southern provinces of what is today Sweden, as was said, were controlled by Denmark in the sixteenth century. Unlike Sweden, where Lutheranism was introduced through a century-long process of ecclesiastical transformation led by the clergy and people who often opposed the wishes of the king, the Protestant Reformation in Denmark was introduced by a royal decree of Christian III (1536–1559). Here it was definitely a case of *cuius regio eius religio*, with LUTHERANISM being the order of the day. The decree of 1536 also applied to the three southern provinces of Skaane, Blekinge, and Halland.

It was not as though there had not been a grass roots reform movement in Denmark and southern Sweden. Indeed there had. Under HANS TAUSEN (1494–1564) and Jens Sadolin, a strong evangelical movement had arisen in Jutland, which was brought to Copenhagen by the sympathetic Danish king Fredrik I (1523–1533). Another center of reform was in eastern Denmark (what today is southern Sweden) centered around the city of Malmo. Here was the hotbed of an Erasmian-type of Christian humanism that clamored for reform. The leaders were disciples of the “Erasmus of Scandinavia,” Paul Helie, who remained within the Roman Catholic Church to the end of his life. However, his followers, Claus Mortensen, Frants Vormordsen, Peder Lauritzsen, and Oluf Chrysostomus, went beyond their mentor and embraced Protestantism and Lutheranism in particular. With their theological leadership and the support of the Danish king, Christian III, Lutheranism swept across eastern Denmark and by 1658, when this part of Denmark came under the political control of Sweden, all of what is today the country of Sweden was found to be firmly within the fold of Protestantism and the Lutheran State Church of Sweden.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

During the next two centuries, Protestantism and Lutheranism in Sweden were one and the same. Both people and king had to be Lutheran; no other choice was allowed. The seventeenth century saw Sweden reach the height of political greatness during the reign of GUSTAVUS II ADOLPHUS (1612–1632). During the Thirty Years War, the “Lion of the North” was credited with saving Protestantism. It was also during his reign that plans were laid for a colonial venture in the New World that resulted in the founding of New Sweden along the Delaware River in 1638. Though taken over by the Dutch and in 1664 by the English, the settlement continued to be supplied by Swedish pastors into the nineteenth century, when the Swedish language died out and the congregations migrated to the EPISCOPAL CHURCH. One lasting legacy of the Swedish colony was the preservation of the Delaware Indian language through the translation of Luther’s Small Catechism by Johan Campanius, the first translation into an American Indian language by a European.

After the successful struggle to preserve Protestantism in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the next century witnessed the dominance of Lutheran ORTHO DOXY in Sweden. The Lutheran confessional writings were stressed, as was correct doctrine. It is interesting to note that in Campanius’s work with the Delaware Indians, he did not translate the BIBLE into their language as might have been expected, but instead chose to translate Luther’s Small Catechism. The leading exponent of Lutheran orthodoxy in Sweden at this time was Johannes Rudbeckius (1581–1646), bishop of Vesteras.

During the years following the Great Northern War (1700–1721), a conservative churchly PIETISM grew (see also FRANCKE, A.H.; and SPENER, P.J.). Regeneration, conversion, the new life in Christ, and assurance of salvation were stressed. A decade later, a more radical Pietism arose similar to that championed by Gottfried Arnold in Germany as well as Moravian Pietism under the leadership of NIKOLAUS ZINZENDORF (1200–1260). Devotional literature came to play a dominant role in the Pietist movement and its adherents were often known as “Readers.” Toward the latter part of the eighteenth century, the theological rationalism of CHRISTIAN WOLFF (1679–1754) of HALLE made its presence felt in Sweden.

Spiritual Awakenings in the Nineteenth Century

In 1809, in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars, Sweden lost Finland to RUSSIA. This caused a great deal of soul searching on the part of clergy and laity alike. Religious freedom, which had been experimented with during the era of the ENLIGHTENMENT, though still on the books, was for all practical purposes abrogated. Censorship was imposed, and rationalism with its internationalism was found wanting. In its place arose a strong nationalistic and religious AWAKENING. In the old Danish archbishopric of Lund, Henrik Schartau (1757–1825) labored for forty years to bring about a spiritual awakening along Lutheran orthodox lines, while to the north in Stockholm, a Pietist-type

revival broke out under the leadership of George Scott and Carl O. Rosenius (d. 1868). Scott was actually a Methodist pastor stationed in Stockholm (1826–1842) to minister to English sailors and other English-speaking people in Sweden. Through his work, the Methodist Church came into being in Sweden (see METHODISM, EUROPE). Rosenius, on the other hand, was a Lutheran theological student who never chose to be ordained but who worked closely with Scott. Through their partnership and especially through the prolific writings of Rosenius, which have been translated into over twenty different languages, a spiritual renewal swept across Sweden. Rosenius stressed the objective grace of God coupled with a strong emphasis on sanctification. Far to the north, LARS L. LAESTADIUS (d. 1861), spearheaded a REVIVAL movement that bears his name to this very day and has spread across to Norway and especially Finland. Much of the awakening was inspired by the hymns of Johan Wallin (d. 1830). These were brought to America in the latter half of the nineteenth century by Swedish immigrants and sung into the hearts of the people by the renowned “Nightingale of Sweden,” Jenny Lind, much like “How Great Thou Art” (another Swedish hymn) was sung by George Beverly Shea during the Billy Graham Crusades.

As an outgrowth of the spiritual awakenings, many VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES were founded such as the Swedish Missionary Society (1835), the Lund Missionary Society (1845), and various Bible and tract societies. In 1856 the *Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelse* (Evangelical National Society) was founded by Rosenius, which sought to reach all of Sweden through evangelistic activity. Five years later it expanded its scope worldwide.

Rise of Non-Lutheran Protestantism

In the wake of the revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe, the new religious impulses welling up in Sweden, the writings of SOREN KIERKEGAARD (1813–1855), and the example of Norway and Denmark, the old CONVENTICLE Law of 1726 was abolished in 1858 in spite of high church Lutheran opposition. This allowed Lutheran laymen to gather and lead devotional meetings and religious assemblies. Two years later, the Dissenter Law was passed, allowing nonLutherans freedom of religion and worship.

It did not take long before various “free churches” or “dissenter churches” came into being. The first were the BAPTISTS, who trace their beginnings back to 1848 when it was still illegal to be a non-Lutheran. F.O. Nilsson, a Swedish seaman who had been converted in America, returned to Sweden as a lay preacher and championed the cause of adult BAPTISM, but the real leader of the Baptist movement in Sweden, until his death in 1887, was Anders Wiberg. He had been an ordained pastor in the Lutheran State Church of Sweden for nine years when he resigned his position in 1851. The following year F.O. Nilsson, the lay preacher, rebaptized him. The same year (1852) Wiberg published *Vilken bor dopas och varuti bestar dopet? (Who Should Be Baptized and What Is Baptism?)*. This was the first exposition of the Baptist DOCTRINE of baptism ever written in Swedish. Also in 1852, Bethel Seminary was founded to train Swedish pastors and evangelists for the new church. A church newspaper and a foreign mission society

followed in quick order. By 1889 the Baptist Church in Sweden numbered some 33,500 members, but the movement splintered thereafter, and in the year 2000 numbered only 18,631 members.

The Methodist Church also came into being in Sweden through the work of Swedish seamen who had been converted while in America. The initial Methodist work had been done by the English Methodist pastor, George Scott, in the 1830s but congregations made up of Swedish citizens had not been allowed. With enactment of the Dissenter Law, Methodist work resumed in 1868. In 1876 the Methodist Church in Sweden was uniquely and legally recognized as an independent faith community with the right to perform marriages and burials. This lasted until 1951, when other churches obtained the same right. In the year 2000, there were 5,177 members in the Methodist Church.

Another religious impulse from England led to the founding of the SALVATION ARMY in 1882. As it had in several other countries, the leadership fell to a woman, Hanna Ouchterlony. Under her ten-year leadership, the Salvation Army grew to 10,000 soldiers (members) and 500 officers. In 1905, having deteriorated under the centralized generalship of WILLIAM BOOTH (1829–1912), a schism occurred in the Salvation Army in Sweden which, since 1988, has become a nongeographical district within the Mission Covenant Church. In the last decade of the twentieth century, the Salvation Army membership declined thirty percent to 18,789.

The Mission Covenant Church (MCC) grew out of a theological dispute over the doctrine of ATONEMENT. Its members had been part of the Evangelical National Society (ENS) founded by Rosenius, which sought to evangelize, among others, the new proletariat in the urban centers created by the Industrial Revolution. Unlike Rosenius, the leader of this more radical wing of the ENS, Paul P. Waldenstrom (1838–1917), urged his followers to withdraw from the Lutheran State Church, which they did in 1878. Waldenstrom taught a subjective doctrine of the atonement as opposed to the traditional forensic (or objective) doctrine, which stated in effect that a person was justified (see JUSTIFICATION) by Christ because Christ died “for you” and not because Christ dwelled “in you” as Waldenstrom taught. This theological position of Waldenstrom, who had been a Lutheran pastor up until that time, not only caused a rupture within the Lutheran State Church of Sweden, but caused the other free churches and societies like the Swedish Mission Alliance to distance themselves from Waldenstrom and the MCC. In the year 2000, the MCC had some 70,000 members in Sweden. Much of its membership emigrated to the United States in the early twentieth century and founded a DENOMINATION by the same name. The Swedish Baptists followed a similar path.

PENTECOSTALISM developed in Sweden when the Norwegian Methodist pastor, T.B. Barratt, who had experienced “the baptism of the Holy Spirit” while in the United States, drew a young twenty-three-year-old Swedish Baptist pastor from Linköping into his orbit. The young pastor, Lewi Pethrus, became the pastor of the famous Pentecostal congregation in Stockholm (Filadelfia) and the leader of the Swedish Pentecostal movement. When he retired in 1958 after a forty-seven-year pastorate, the congregation numbered 6,500 members. At the outset of the twenty-first century, Swedish Pentecostals number some 91,000.

Secularism and Modernity

The rise of the free churches following the passage of the Dissenter Law in 1860 and the accompanying spiritual awakenings can be misleading and paint too rosy a picture of religious life in Sweden at this time. Swedish society was actually bifurcating and going in two different directions. At the time Protestantism was experiencing religious revivals, the inroads of modernity were coming into play. The Industrial Revolution was having its debilitating effect on huge segments of Swedish people, alienating them from the church. Marxist philosophy (see MARXISM), secular materialism, political liberalism, biblical higher criticism, and the teachings of Darwinian evolution (see DARWINISM) all combined to form a modern schism in which the masses of Swedish society became accustomed to ordering their lives without much need for the ministrations of the church.

Ecumenism and Lundensian Theology

In the twentieth century, Swedish Protestants (Lutherans) made a huge contribution to the modern Ecumenical Movement (see ECUMENISM). After the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE at Edinburgh in 1910 and the Armistice had been signed ending World War I, many Christians around the world longed to work together to help solve the horrendous human problems caused by the war. Under the leadership and inspiration of NATHAN SODERBLOM (1866–1931), archbishop of the Lutheran State Church of Sweden, the first meeting of the Life and Work Conference was held in Stockholm in 1925 seeking to relate the Christian faith to social issues, POLITICS, and ECONOMICS without first having to arrive at a theological consensus. During these years Swedish theologians also made a major theological contribution to what has been called “Lundensian Theology,” with its motif methodology as epitomized by ANDERS NYGREN’S (1890–1978) *Agape and Eros* (1930) and Gustav Aulen’s study on the atonement (*Christus Victor*, 1930).

Pluralization of Swedish Society

After World War II, Swedish Protestants and especially the Lutheran State Church of Sweden continued to be challenged by the ever-increasing SECULARIZATION of Swedish society. At the same time, Swedish society was becoming much more pluralistic as a result of its liberal political asylum policy, its generous attitude toward providing a haven for world refugees, and the influx of workers from southern Europe. This accounts for the increase in the non-Protestant churches mentioned at the outset of this article, as well as for the increased number of Muslims from Bosnia, Kosovo, and Turkey. During the last decade of the twentieth century, JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES grew to 23,393

members and the Mormons to 8,817, while the historic free churches from the nineteenth century leveled off in their membership growth.

Separation of Church and State

With the increased pluralization of Swedish society during the latter half of the twentieth century and the ongoing pressure from the free churches and those who had voluntarily withdrawn from the Lutheran State Church of Sweden and declared themselves to be without religious affiliation, legislation was set in motion during the 1990s to separate church and state. This legislation took effect on January 1, 2000. Today the Lutheran Church of Sweden is no longer a state church. It is legally recognized as one church among several. The state now collects the church tax for those churches that so desire on a proportionate basis and not for the Lutheran Church alone. Every Swedish citizen in the future, however, will have to pay a cultural tax for the maintenance of historic Swedish church buildings as well as a cemetery tax.

Facing the Twenty-first Century

New challenges in the twenty-first century facing Swedish Protestantism (and not just the Lutheran Church of Sweden) include the need for an ongoing spiritual revitalization of its church life, bold evangelical initiatives to reach the unchurched people of Sweden, and outreach to the non-Protestant Christian churches as well as to the non-Christian faith communities.

See also Bible; Book of Concord; Christology; Colonialism; Confession; Darwinism; Dissent; Ecumenism; Francke, August Hermann; Herrnhut; Justification; Marriage; Marxism; Methodism, Europe; Missionary Organizations; Missions; Mormonism; Preaching; Spener, Philipp Jakob; Theology; Universities.

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TRYGVE R.SKARSTEN

SWEDENBORG, EMANUEL (1688–1772)

Swedish reformer. Born on January 29, 1688 in Stockholm, SWEDEN as the second son of Jesper Svedberg, court chaplain and later professor and bishop of Skara, Svedberg studied in Uppsala from 1699 and devoted himself intensively to studies both in the humanities and natural sciences. Having gained his doctorate in 1709 he traveled to Holland, ENGLAND, FRANCE, and GERMANY until 1715 in connection with his studies, before joining the civil service. In 1719 he was ennobled together with his brother and took the name Swedenborg. In 1747 he gave up his position as a Swedish civil servant to work as an independent researcher and live alternately in France, ENGLAND, Sweden, and Germany. Swedenborg died on March 29, 1772 in London.

Swedenborg's writings and his impact can be divided into two sections: 1745 was the decisive year dividing these two periods. As can be gleaned from Swedenborg's record of his dreams (which was not published within his lifetime), he experienced a deep religious crisis in 1743/44. At the end of this crisis Swedenborg felt himself called as a prophet to bring a religious message to the people.

In his first creative period, before 1745, Swedenborg made a name for himself as a natural scientist whose work attracted much attention. From 1716 to 1718 he published Sweden's first scientific journal (*Daedalus Hyperboreaues*). In addition, he published popular works on mineralogy (*Opera philosophica et mineralica*, 1734) and anatomy (*Oeconomia regni animalis in transactiones divisa*, 1740/41; *Regnum animale, anatomice, physice et philosophice perlustratum*, 1744/45).

His second creative phase began after 1745 and constituted a complete break in terms of methodology. After his sudden CONVERSION, which signified a rejection of DEISM and mechanistic natural philosophy, Swedenborg made clear in his first theological work *De cultu et amore dei* (1745) that he had not given up the search for a synopsis, an all-embracing synthesis. However, the paths of discovery were entirely different. He left the analytic method of the natural sciences behind and searched along spiritual paths for religious certainty, which was expressed in an exegetic interpretation of the story of the Creation in Genesis. For Swedenborg it became clear that the Book of Genesis contains a teaching of correspondences. He believed that everything has its natural, spiritual, and divine significance. He held on to the outer form of the written Word, but considered the inner meaning to be definitive. Chosen by God to interpret the spiritual meaning of the Scripture and to establish contact with the spiritual world, which he saw as corresponding to the earthly world, Swedenborg believed he was able to give an insight into the divine secrets in his *De cultu et amore dei*, an interpretation of the books of Genesis and Exodus. This was Swedenborg's principal theological work.

Adjusting the Canon

Taking his teaching of correspondences as a basis, he removed all biblical books from the canon that do not fit in with this theory. Thus the entire writings of Paul are discarded, as Swedenborg strictly rejected Paul's teaching of JUSTIFICATION. He maintained that it is not the literal but rather the spiritual sense that is decisive for an understanding of the Scriptures. Swedenborg summarized his THEOLOGY in *Summaria expositio doctrinae novae ecclesiae* (1769). In this he rejected a Christian concept of the Trinity. God is regarded as a person who is differentiated within Godself. God is the spiritual original being in whose image we are formed. However, only the spiritual person in us is the image of God, which means that our goal lies in shedding the natural and being taken up in the spiritual kingdom. Reconciliation with God takes place not in God's acquittal of humans but rather through rebirth and revival in the spiritual world.

Swedenborg's conviction that the Last Judgment had already taken place in 1757 and the parousia of the Lord had already occurred are of great significance for his ECCLESIOLOGY. This parousia, Swedenborg maintained in his interpretation of St. John's Apocalypse *Apocalypsis revelata* (1766), was not the physical appearance of the Lord but synonymous with the disclosure of the inner meaning of the Apocalypse. Swedenborg's interpretation of the Apocalypse testified to the parousia of the Lord. A new era had come, he said, a new church had been born—a new church that, according to Swedenborg's optimistic conviction, all believers would join as soon as they had been told of its teaching.

Swedenborg's ideas on correspondences between this and the heavenly world prompted comment from IMMANUEL KANT and Friedrich Christoph Oetinger as well as JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE, WILLIAM BLAKE, Honore de Balzac, Charles Baudelaire, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Butler Yeats, and Jorge Luis Borges.

Within a relatively short space of time after his death, the first Swedenborg followings were formed (London 1787, Baltimore 1792). In 1810 the first society was founded under the name of "The Swedenborg Society in London," which saw its most important task in translating and printing his writings. In the Anglo-Saxon sphere, in particular in the UNITED STATES, further followings were rapidly established ("General Convention of the New Jerusalem," Philadelphia 1817; since 1980 "Swedenborgian Church of North America"). In 1897 a group strongly emphasizing the priesthood split off and formed the "General Church of the New Jerusalem," centered around Bryn Athyn in Pennsylvania. In Europe groups who felt committed to Swedenborg's interpretation of the BIBLE did not develop until after the liberalization of religious laws in the mid-nineteenth century. Today there are a large number of groups in Europe, in JAPAN, KOREA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, BRAZIL, and CANADA, as well as in over twenty states in the United States.

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ANDREAS MÜHLING

SWIFT, JONATHAN (1667–1745)

Irish essayist. Swift was born in Dublin of English parents on November 30, 1667. He was educated in IRELAND, graduating from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1686, and was ordained a priest in the Church of Ireland in 1695. Early in his career he played a significant role in obtaining the remission of certain Crown taxes to the Irish church. As its agent in London he negotiated with Robert Harley, leader of the Tory ministry, and following the success of his mission in 1710, he accepted Harley's offer to lend his pen in support of the ministry's efforts to end the war with FRANCE. For his services he was appointed dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin in 1713. With the fall of the Tory government in 1714 he returned to Dublin to take up his duties as dean. Although for much of the remainder of his active life his opposition to ENGLAND'S political and economic domination of Ireland frequently involved him in public controversy, he discharged his decanal duties conscientiously and effectively until 1742, when a series of strokes incapacitated him. He died on October 19, 1745.

In a collection of aphorisms, *Thoughts on Various Subjects* (1711), Swift wrote that "We have just Religion enough to make us *hate*, but not enough to make us *love* one another." The pertinence of this observation to conditions in eighteenth-century Ireland is borne out by Swift himself. He shared the bias held by most English Protestants against Roman Catholicism and that held by many Anglicans against Protestant DISSENT. He approved of the Penal Laws, which deprived Irish Catholics of virtually all their rights, and of the Sacramental Test Act, which effectively excluded dissenters from holding civil and military posts. Swift's endorsement of this measure was grounded in his belief that episcopacy (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY) was closer to the primitive church than were other ecclesiastical institutions, and that as the established religion, ANGLICANISM should be maintained to preserve stability in the state. Protestant dissent, on the other hand, he associated with the English CIVIL WAR, the execution of Charles I, and the military dictatorship of OLIVER CROMWELL. To Swift the growing economic and political strength of the ULSTER Presbyterians and their increasing agitation for the repeal of the Test Act represented a serious threat to the Church of Ireland. Throughout his career he wrote pamphlets opposing efforts to repeal, including *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (1711), *The Presbyterians Plea of Merit* (1733), and, most notably, the ironic masterpiece *An Argument against Abolishing Christianity* (1711). Swift's implacable antipathy to both Protestant and Roman Catholic dissenters informs one of his major secular writings, *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), a brilliant satire on these and other targets.

The available evidence suggests that Swift was a competent, although not inspiring, preacher. In *A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately enter'd into Holy Orders* (1720), he cautioned against highly rhetorical sermons and speculations on abstruse theological points. The aim of PREACHING should be "to tell the People what is their Duty; and then to convince them that it is so." This prosaic conception of homiletics is illustrated by

his eleven extant sermons. They are commonsensical rather than profound, and their topics more often treat temporal than spiritual concerns. The most emotionally charged of them, *Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I* (published 1765), is principally an intemperate attack on the Puritans, who beheaded Charles, and on their successors, “our present dissenters.” The sermon that deals most centrally with Doc-TRINE is *On the Trinity* (published 1744), a conventional defense of the Christian mysteries against those “who are Enemies to all Revealed Religion.” The doctrine of the Trinity is beyond the comprehension of human reason and must therefore be accepted on implicit FAITH. A telling statement occurs in a collection of Swift’s miscellaneous remarks, published posthumously as *Thoughts on Religion* (1765): “I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavors to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.”

The sermon *On Mutual Subjection* (published 1744) urges the duty of believers to practice CHARITY, a virtue Swift performed both privately and publicly. In addition to gifts to the needy, he established an alms house for destitute widows and regularly extended small loans at low interest to distressed tradesmen. He served on various philanthropic committees, was active in the charity-school movement, was a charter member of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, and was a trustee of Dr. Steevens’ Hospital. His most noteworthy benefaction was St. Patrick’s Hospital, established and endowed by him as an asylum “for Idiots, Lunatics and Incurables.”

No assessment of Swift’s place in the history of Irish Protestantism can ignore the narrow range of his influence. His loyalty was exclusively to the Established Church. Granting this limitation, his contributions to the Church of Ireland were substantial. Although Swift is best known as the author of *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), he had in his own day a distinguished reputation as a clergyman as well. According to contemporary accounts, large crowds attended his sermons—evidence not only of his renown as a secular writer but also of the public’s recognition of his conspicuous services to his church.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions

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SWITZERLAND

The late-medieval development of the Swiss Confederation is crucial to understanding the course of the REFORMATION in Switzerland. The Confederation was in many ways a relic of the older Germanic CULTURE in which valley communities came together in alliances of mutual support. Founded by three states (Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden) in 1291, the Swiss Confederation grew during the next two centuries to thirteen by 1501, along with a collection of associated and communal territories. The importance of the Swiss Confederation to Europe was primarily attributed to the trade routes from ITALY over the Alpine passes to the Rhine. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, the Confederates won a series of major battles against their principal enemies, the Habsburgs and Burgundy, securing for themselves a formidable reputation as soldiers. Foreign rulers were quick to take advantage of the young men from these poor lands, and the history of the Swiss quickly became closely intertwined with mercenary service. There were various attempts to draw the members of the Confederation into a closer bond, but essentially each of the Confederates remained autonomous, able to conclude alliances with whomever it chose. The fragility of this arrangement was demonstrated in the Old Zurich War of 1439–1450, when Zurich made a serious attempt to gain hegemonic control of the Confederation. By the start of the sixteenth century the Confederation was an unequal mixture of wealthy urban members (Zurich, Berne, Basel [older Basle], Schaffhausen, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solothurn) and the poorer, largely rural states (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Appenzell, and Glarus).

Although victory in the Swabian War of 1501 had essentially guaranteed independence of the Confederation from the Holy Roman Empire, the Swiss were still closely bound by language, trade, and religion to the southern German world. The cities of Berne, Basel, and Zurich belonged to the civic culture of the Imperial cities of the southwest, and this was crucial for the Reformation. There was only one university in the Confederation, Basel, so Swiss students regularly crossed the Rhine to the north to study in GERMANY. Basel was itself key to the Reformation. A cosmopolitan center, it had a flourishing printing industry and it was here that MARTIN LUTHER'S works were printed in the crucial years of the early Reformation. Also, Basel had been the residence of Erasmus, who had developed a circle of reform-minded humanists around him in the city. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI had studied in Basel, knew Erasmus personally, and was drawn into this world. Basel University was a crucial point of contact for many who would lead the Reformation in the Confederation.

Role of Zwingli

It was, however, the work of Zwingli in Zurich that was the beginning point. From his arrival in 1519 as stipendiary priest in the Grossmünster, Zwingli began a program of *lecto continua* PREACHING—sermons on the whole book and not simply selected passages. These sermons were the catalyst for reform, and from the pulpit Zwingli attacked the venality of the hierarchical church and the profiteering of the mercenary service, and he inveighed against idolatrous worship and moral turpitude. God, Zwingli argued, is pure and demands that his people be pure. There was a strong ethical dimension to Zwingli's message—men and women should lead lives of moral rectitude. Drawing on a mixture of St. Paul, Augustine, late-medieval scholasticism, Luther, and Erasmus, Zwingli emphasized both the sovereignty of God and the complete separation of the spiritual and material. God who is spirit must be worshipped in spirit, and true religion, therefore, must be purged of all attempts to reduce the divine to material representations (i.e., the mass and religious images). The role of the Holy Spirit is central to Zwingli's thought because it was the means by which men and women, as well as the world in which they lived, could be transformed into the new reality of the Christian life.

Zwingli's preaching brought him notoriety and infamy. His denunciation of established religion and mercenary service jarred with influential elements of Zurich society, and there were protests from other parts of the Confederation. The influence of Luther's teachings, particularly in the cities of Berne and Basel, was creating unrest along the lines found in Germany. For his part Zwingli saw little difference between what he was preaching and what he read by Luther. The crucial year was 1523, when two disputations were held in Zurich resulting in the *de facto* establishment of the new faith. The result of Zwingli's alliance with sympathetic magistrates was a new POLITY that envisaged a central role for the political rulers. Zwingli developed the model of Christian government based on the Old Testament monarchy. The kings (magistrates) were to govern with laws and the sword, and the prophets (essentially Zwingli) were to convey to them God's message. Thus by 1523 Zwingli had a new vision of the CHURCH as the gathering of those united by the spirit. He had essentially rejected the medieval church, but to realize this new church he was dependent on the good will of the political masters in Zurich. The immediate consequence of this, however, was the alienation of those who had been attracted to Zwingli's more radical message articulated in his early sermons. This group around CONRAD GREBEL broke away at the start of 1524, focusing their opposition on the issue of infant BAPTISM.

Reformation Unrest

By the middle of the 1520s the evangelical movement was present in both urban and rural areas and the Swiss found themselves caught up in the vicissitudes of the Peasants' War. The tumults made the magistrates extremely nervous about the effects of evangelical preaching, and in Berne and Basel there were attempts to control what was taught from the pulpits. Catholic opposition, however, was weak and disorganized, and evangelical sympathizers, most of whom were friends of Zwingli, made progress. In Zurich, however, opposition remained considerable and the Reformation Mandate of spring 1525 was only narrowly passed by the Council at a poorly attended session. Zwingli was very much in charge, but he worked with close colleagues such as Leo Jud and the printer Froschauer. The first reforms pertained to worship and a new order for celebration of the LORD'S SUPPER was introduced on Maundy Thursday 1525. Other key institutional reforms included morals mandates, a new marriage court, and the Prophezei, the foundation of higher education. The nature of reform in Zurich was fairly conservative: the parochial system was retained and virtually all of the urban and rural clergy remained in post. The main inspiration for the institutional reforms was drawn from the decrees of the Council of Basel.

In Berne and Basel evangelical movements were struggling, and these movements lacked a person with the authority and charisma of Zwingli, although the crucial role of the writings of JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS in Basel in formulating the theological character of the Swiss Reformation has been recently recognized. Nevertheless, in contrast to Zurich, the LAITY played a much more significant role in the implementation of the Reformation in Berne and Basel. The guilds gave decisive weight to the movement, forcing the hesitant Councils in the cities to act. In Berne, however, one must also acknowledge the pivotal role played by Niklaus Manuel, the painter and politician. The Disputation of Berne in 1528, which led to the implementation of the Reformation in the city, was the most important gathering of Swiss reformers and a decisive stage in the formation of Swiss Reformed theology. In Basel revolutionary activity among the lower guilds succeeded in strengthening the Council's hand to introduce the new faith in early 1529.

By the end of 1529, Zurich, Berne, Basel, and Schaffhausen had adopted the Reformation. Furthermore, the movement had made stunning gains in the eastern part of the Confederation in St. Gall, Appenzell, and Glarus. Zwingli was the dominant figure, but his authority must not be overstated. Both Basel and Berne had their own traditions and they were not prepared to follow Zurich. This became very clear in the years 1529 to 1531, when Zurich under Zwingli led a campaign to force the remaining parts of the Confederation to accept the new religion. The focus for hostilities between Catholics and Reformed was the Mandated Territories (lands jointly governed by the Confederates), where numerous local conflicts inflamed passions. Zwingli came to the conclusion that only war could overcome Catholic resistance, although Berne and Basel disagreed. The First Kappel War of 1529 saw virtually no military conflict, but it stirred bad memories

of Zurich's previous attempts at domination of the Confederation. Particularism in the Confederation overrode confessional solidarity, and Zwingli was dismayed by the lack of support from the other Reformed states. Relations between Zurich, Berne, and Basel were fragile and the failure to find common purpose led to the rash attempt by Zurich to force the matter in 1531, when an army was sent out and defeated at a surprise battle at Kappel in the night of October 11. It was more of an ambush than a battle, but it left Zwingli and a good number of Zurich ministers dead.

Zwingli's death brought to an end a period of rapid reform and great conflict. During his ten years as a reformer he had given shape to a reform movement that focused on the creation of a new form of church. In so doing he had incurred the wrath of Catholics, Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM), and—most famously—Luther, with whom he fell out so disastrously and venomously over the LORD'S SUPPER. In connecting the reform movement so closely to Zurich he had also alienated the other Swiss states, which feared that the Reformation was simply a renewed form of hegemony by Zurich. It is also important to note that the reform movement under Zwingli was almost entirely guided by an urban core that had little time for the rural population, who in turn became disenchanted with the Reformation.

New Unity, New Tension

The result of Kappel was the fragmentation of the Swiss Reformation. It was the work of Zwingli's successor, HEINRICH BULLINGER, which eventually succeeded in restoring unity to the Swiss Reformed churches. Bullinger, in his forty years as head of the Zurich church, established a new relationship with the political authorities, gave the Swiss Reformation a clearer theological profile through his leadership, international influence, and writings (in particular the SECOND HELVETIC CONFESSION of 1566), and became a father figure to reform movements across Europe, from HUNGARY to ENGLAND. Under Bullinger and men like Konrad Pellikan and Theodor Bibliander, Zurich remained the theological center of the Swiss Reformation. Of particular importance was the ongoing work on the Zurich BIBLE, which first appeared in 1531. Zurich also became a center for religious refugees, particularly from Italy and England, and this did much to spread the influence of Bullinger's ideas across Europe. Bullinger also played a key role in securing the position of JOHN CALVIN in Geneva. Although the two men were not especially close, Bullinger was Calvin's key ally among the Swiss and their agreement on the Lord's Supper (*Consensus Tigurinus*) in 1549 marked an important stage in the development of Reformed thought.

In both Berne and Basel the Reformed tradition of Zwingli and Oecolampadius was locked in a struggle with Lutheran influences, and during the 1530s and 1540s both saw rancorous theological struggles that led to the clampdown by the magistrates on the churches. Although Bullinger's status as the leading churchman was recognized, neither Berne nor Basel saw itself as subordinate to Zurich. Basel had extensive contacts with the Empire and was involved in the network of southern German cities, whereas Berne was preoccupied with the conquest of the Pays du Vaud and the expansion toward Geneva

after 1536. Berne's influence was in the French-speaking west, whereas Basel regained its place as a center of learning and culture, and like Zurich attracted many refugees who helped to create a diverse religious culture. Until the end of the sixteenth century Basel retained a distinct theological character and refused to sign the *Second Helvetic Confession* of 1566, which was the key theological document of the Swiss Reformation.

For about a century after Bullinger's death in 1575 the SECOND HELVETIC CONFESSION and Calvin's Genevan CATECHISMS remained the theological standards of the Swiss Reformed churches. To this must be added the Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht, or Dort (see DORT, CANONS OF), which were officially adopted by the Swiss churches. Theologically, the Swiss were greatly influenced by the Dutch Reformed churches. The period 1575 through the middle of the seventeenth century did not produce theologians of great distinction among the Swiss. There were, however, some notable figures, such as Johann Jakob Grynäus in Basel, Johan Jakob Breitinger in Zurich, and THEODORE BEZA and then Theodor Tronchin in Geneva. Basel, so often the renegade in the sixteenth century, had, under Grynäus, become a bastion of Reformed ORTHODOXY. The Swiss churches felt extremely vulnerable during the Thirty Years War. They remained unreconciled with German Lutherans, and they were surrounded by the Catholic forces of FRANCE, the Spanish Habsburgs, and the Austrians. There was considerable instability within the Confederation as numerous confessional disputes, particularly in the Grisons, threatened to upend the precarious Peace of Kappel of 1531. The most dramatic, or infamous, even, was the massacre by Catholics of six hundred Protestants in the Veltelina on July 23, 1620. The Grisons saw the only major confessional change of the seventeenth century, as many of the areas which had adopted the Protestant Reformation were forcibly re-Catholicized. At the same time there was trouble in the west as the Waldensian communities were being persecuted by Savoy.

Although the Swiss formally received their independence from the Holy Roman Empire with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, confessional dissonance remained. The third religious war (after the First and Second Kappel Wars of 1529–1531) was the First Villmerger War of 1656, which was a defeat for the Reformed Confederates, above all Zurich, and led to the Peace of 1656. Swiss Protestantism was largely on the defensive during the period from 1650 to 1750 as Baroque Catholicism seemed to prevail everywhere. The Formula Consensus of 1675 was issued as a response to doctrinal controversies and was the principal articulation of late-orthodox Swiss theology. It enshrined a strict understanding of the doctrines of verbal inspiration and double PREDESTINATION and was meant to be binding on all the Swiss Protestant churches, but already there was considerable opposition to the imposition of Reformed creeds.

Influence of Pietism, the Enlightenment

With the emergence of PIETISM and the ENLIGHTENMENT in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), confessions lost much of their credibility. Opposition to the form of Protestantism which arose out of the state churches of the Reformation took the form of Pietism, which flourished in Swiss lands from the second half of the seventeenth century.

Many of the first members of the Pietist movement were HUGUENOTS fleeing France. The Pietist awakenings took place in Berne and Zurich, and the state churches responded aggressively against these movements, which they regarded as heterodox. During the eighteenth century there was a strong movement among the Pietists to separate from the established Protestant churches. At the same time, the eighteenth century saw the rise of “rational orthodoxy,” an accommodation with ideas of the Enlightenment. What both of these movements shared was a rejection of the religion of theological confessions, and by the late eighteenth century the formal obligation to the traditional confessions of faith was gradually abolished. The eighteenth century also saw the last religious war, the Second Villmerger War of 1712, which was a victory for the Protestants over the Catholics, shifting political weight decisively towards the Protestant Confederates in the Swiss Confederation, where it would remain.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Swiss Protestant churches developed their own unique structures and traditions, but to preserve a sense of unity they continued to meet regularly at Aarau. In each case the church was a part of the state, and the clergy were officials of the ruling government (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). These institutions would remain intact until the end of the old regime following 1789.

The rise of liberal theology in the nineteenth century led to further conflict (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). Perhaps the most significant theologian of the nineteenth century was FRANZ OVERBECK (1837–1905), professor of church history in Basel and close friend of FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE. The protest against liberal theology and governmental interference in church life (e.g., the abolition by decree of the traditional confessions of faith) as well as the general impulses of the Revival Movement led to secessions of Reformed free churches: 1846 in Vaud, 1849 in Geneva, 1873 in Neuchâtel. The Geneva Free Church still exists today, but the free churches in Neuchâtel and Vaud reunited with the official Reformed Church in 1966 and 1943 (see FREE CHURCH). In addition to these Reformed free churches, a number of pietistic associations were formed following the Revival in the nineteenth century. They were organized as groups within the Reformed churches; e.g., Evangelical Societies (the first in Berne in 1831) or the Pilgrim’s Mission St. Chrischona (beginning in 1869). The Swiss Reformed churches owe much to Pietism and the Revival Movement. Most of the church-related social service and missionary organizations go back to the initiative of Revival groups. Although structurally independent, these organizations have spiritual ties to the churches. Basel was the center for most of these organizations with the most significant being the BASEL MISSION, which was founded in 1815. The social and pastoral orientation of the Swiss churches was reflected in the dominant theological figures of the twentieth century, so-called neo-orthodox EMIL BRUNNER (1889–1966) and KARL BARTH (1886–1968), both of whom had enormous international audiences, above all in the UNITED STATES.

Until the nineteenth century the Swiss Reformed churches remained dependent on the political authorities of the cantons. This changed during the twentieth century so that the churches were regulated separately in each canton, resulting in major variations among the cantons. Basel (since 1905), Geneva (since 1907), and Neuchâtel (since 1943) separated church and state, while Berne, Zurich, Vaud, and also Basel-Land have retained the close relationships forged at the Reformation.

The Swiss Reformed churches have no central AUTHORITY. In 1858, following the foundation of the Swiss Confederation (1848), the churches founded a Swiss Church Conference, which met annually, as the Reformation churches had done. After World War I, partly in response to the American Federal Council of Churches, which sought a partner to coordinate reconstruction help for war-damaged Europe, the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches was founded in 1920. The Federation is not itself a church but an alliance of autonomous churches.

In addition, the Swiss Reformed churches have created a series of organizations for specific tasks. In the French-speaking area of Switzerland the *Département missionnaire des Eglises protestantes de la Suisse romande* (DM) and in German-speaking Switzerland the *Kooperation evangelischer Kirchen und Missionen* (KEM) are responsible for church partnerships. The *Hilfswerk der evangelischen Kirchen der Schweiz* was founded to do relief work, while *Brot für alle* is the Reformed churches' agency for development work.

Conclusion

A brief summary does little justice to the complexities of the Swiss Reformation. In character it was created by a small network of humanist-minded reformers who drew their inspiration from Erasmus, Luther, and Zwingli. Zurich was the dominant force and without the Reformation in Zurich there would have been no Swiss Reformation. However, there were crucial differences between the states reflecting the manner in which the Confederation had evolved historically. Zwingli had created a dynamic reform movement that was closely enmeshed in the political and cultural realities of the Confederation, yet his ideas concerning God, the SACRAMENTS, and WORSHIP spread across Europe. Heinrich Bullinger turned the Swiss Reformation into an event of profound importance for the sixteenth century, and for a period of decades in the sixteenth century this backward Confederation was a center of religious and intellectual development. After his death in 1575 the Swiss churches became part of the international Reformed world but in the shadow of those areas, such as England, the NETHERLANDS, France, and SCOTLAND, they had once influenced.

See also Calvinism; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Lutheranism

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F.BRUCE GORDON

SYNOD

The word “synod” comes from the Greek *synodos*, which means “a group of people traveling together,” a “gathering,” an “assembly,” “a meeting,” “together on the way,” and “going the same way.” A synod is a meeting of the CLERGY, and sometimes the LAITY, of a particular CHURCH, nation, province, or diocese to discuss ecclesiastical matters, make decisions, and promulgate regulations related to issues of DOCTRINE, LITURGY, ethical concerns, and discipline (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). In the early church the terms “synod” and “council” were interchangeable. Sometimes a meeting covering a large area was called a council and one covering a smaller region was called a synod. Gradually, the ecumenical councils were called councils and not synods, and synod was used for regional meetings.

The earliest synods were those held in Asia Minor in response to Montanism and those held in the East and the West to settle the quartodeciman (date of Easter) controversy. Possibly the first official synod, the calling together of the clergy of a diocese, was held by Bishop Siricius of Rome in 387. Later Pope Benedict XIV (1758–1769) ruled that a synod was a convocation of the diocese, and the meeting of all the bishops was to be called a council. The major synod in Roman Catholicism is the Synod of Bishops, sometimes called the World Synod of Bishops, which was mandated by the Second Vatican Council’s Decree on the Bishops’ Pastoral Office in the Church, and established by Pope Paul VI on September 15, 1965, in the document *Apostolica Sollicitudo* (Apostolic Solitude). The Synod of Bishops meets every few years at the call of the pope, and is an opportunity for bishops from around the world to discuss issues with the bishop of Rome.

The Synod in Protestantism

In Protestantism, synod has been used in a variety of ways. At the time of the REFORMATION, the Reformed/ Presbyterian tradition introduced synodical structures of church government (see PRESBYTERIANISM). The first synod of the canton of Zurich was held in April 1528, and consisted of the pastor and two lay deputies from each parish. It was primarily a means of maintaining standards for the ministry. In late May 1559, in Calvinistic FRANCE, representatives of about fifty churches met in Paris and adopted a form of discipline and the GALLICAN CONFESSION. It established a synodical form of church government. At the local level was the CONSISTORY and above that was the colloquy, composed of the pastor and one elder from each congregation. The colloquy was subject to the provincial synod, which was attended by

each pastor and two elders. The supreme AUTHORITY was the annual national synod, which consisted of two ministers and two elders from each of the provincial synods. A similar system was arranged in the NETHERLANDS, which had three synods meeting annually, and at the top, biennial national synods.

The CHURCH OF ENGLAND replaced the General Assembly with the General Synod in 1969. It consists of the CONVOCATIONS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK joined together in a House of Bishops and a House of Clergy joined by a House of Laity. It is the highest authority in the Church of England.

In the American colonies, synods were used in New England CONGREGATIONALISM as early as 1637. One of the most important of the colonial synods was the Cambridge Synod, which met on September 1, 1646. At the request of the General Court of the Bay Colony, Massachusetts, a synod consisting of elders (ministers) and messengers (laymen) from the four Puritan (see PURITANISM) colonies—Bay Colony, New Haven, Plymouth, and Connecticut—met to discuss issues of ECCLESIOLOGY. Chapter xvi of the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM was “Of Synods.” It noted that Acts 15 referred to a synod, so synods are the ordinance of Christ, but not absolutely necessary to the being of the church. Synods are necessary for the well-being of the church because of the iniquity of men and the perverseness of the times. Synods could be called to debate and determine controversies of faith, cases of conscience, directions for the public worship of God, and the good government of the church. It gave synods strong advisory and admonitory powers, but not legal coercive authority. The first synod of the Presbyterians in the American colonies met at Philadelphia in 1717.

The EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States is organized into nine provinces. Each province has a synod consisting of a House of Bishops and a House of Deputies. The Provincial Synod has a president who may be a bishop, presbyter, deacon, or lay person in the Province.

LUTHERANISM also uses the term synod. In 1807 FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER made a proposal for a new constitution for the Protestant Church in Prussia, which included the adoption of a synodical system. Gradually this synodical system dominated European Lutheranism. Synods became very important after World War I. Participation of pastors and laymen in synods during the *Kirchencampf* increased the prestige of synods. The first synod of the CONFESSING CHURCH at Barmen, May 29–30, 1934, drew up the BARMEN DECLARATION in response to the Nazi GERMAN CHRISTIANS.

In American Lutheranism, synod has been used in several ways. One is as a national label, such as the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD and the WISCONSIN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD. The primary use of synod in American Lutheranism has been as a geographical area. The first Lutheran synod was held in Philadelphia in 1748. The EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA has sixty-five synods. There are two small bodies in the UNITED STATES that use the word synod in their titles—the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and the Lutheran Ministerium and Synod-United States of America.

The MORAVIAN CHURCH in America (Unitas Fratrum) is divided into three provinces. The highest administrative body in each is the provincial synod, which is composed of ministers and laypersons, and meets every three or four years.

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DONALD S. ARMENTROUT

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T

TAIT, ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL (1811–1882)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Tait was born and educated in Edinburgh. He moved from Edinburgh High School to the University of Glasgow in 1827. Although born into a Presbyterian family, he decided to enter the ministry of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. He joined Balliol College, Oxford in 1829 and was confirmed in the Church of England in 1830. After securing a first-class degree in classics in 1833, he taught in the university as a fellow and tutor of Balliol College and became one of the most respected tutors in the university, lecturing in logic and ethics. Tait was not drawn to the OXFORD MOVEMENT of the time and contributed to a public protest against Tract 90, in which JOHN HENRY NEWMAN attempted to show that the Calvinist THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the Church of England were compatible with Roman Catholic teaching. In 1842 Tait was appointed headmaster of Rugby School in succession to THOMAS ARNOLD, and in 1849 he became dean of Carlisle.

In 1856 family tragedy overtook Tait. In one month, from March 10 to April 10, the Tait family lost five daughters to scarlet fever. In the same year he was appointed bishop of London. Here he was prepared to be innovative, preaching in public places like transportation depots and encouraging popular services in Westminster Abbey and in London theaters. He was active in the cholera epidemic of 1866.

In 1869 he became archbishop of CANTERBURY. He attempted to curb the excesses of the Anglo-Catholic ritualists through the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. He incurred much criticism by adopting a liberal attitude to the use of non-Anglican forms by nonconformists who exercised their right to burial in Anglican churchyards (see NONCONFORMITY). Tait was judged to have had greater influence in the House of Lords than any other archbishop since the REFORMATION and was an able and persuasive speaker. During his tenure the LAMBETH CONFERENCE, begun in 1867, was consolidated as a meeting for Anglican bishops from overseas, thus changing the role of archbishop into a leader of a worldwide communion.

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TAIWAN

The island of Formosa ("beautiful [island]") was inhabited solely by aboriginal peoples of uncertain origins until the modern period. Less than a century after Japanese and Chinese established communities on the island, the Dutch arrived (1626) and occupied a southern region of Formosa in 1642. The Dutch came not as missionaries, but as a multinational corporation known as the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to protect their spice trade from the north. The rule of the VOC in the south lasted only thirty-eight years. When the Dutch were expelled (1662), a long period of Chinese domination began that included a long and steady exodus of Han Chinese from the mainland to Taiwan. This Chinese domination of the island was ended only by the newer imperial power of Japan (1895–1945). Upon the defeat of the Japanese, and then the victory of the Communists in China, in 1949, Taiwan became the refuge of great numbers of Nationalists from CHINA.

The earliest Christian presence on Formosa began in the 1620s with Dutch Reformed ministers who were funded by the VOC. Thirty-two ministers came to serve the Dutch community but also with the clear purpose to evangelize the Aboriginal population. During their brief stay, over 17,000 local people were baptized, and a good amount of catechetical material was translated into the local tongue.

The next Protestant phase in Taiwan began in 1860, after the signing of the Tien-chin Treaty (1858), an agreement between Qing China and a number of Western powers that opened various treaty ports for evangelization. In September 1860 Carstairs Douglas and H.L.Mackenzie, English Presbyterians who had been working in South China, made an exploratory trip to the island. Thus begins a long tradition of Christian development in Taiwan being closely linked with China. The first resident missionary to Taiwan was a physician, Dr. James L.Maxwell, who arrived from Amoy, China with three Chinese assistants. For the next half-century, church work in Taiwan was dominated by Presbyterians from the United Kingdom, CANADA, and later the UNITED STATES. Most notable of the early missionaries was Canadian George Leslie Mackay (1844–1901). His work, mostly with the Han Chinese, helped to establish the first hospital, first college (Oxford), and established the first Presbytery in the North (1914). Antiforeign persecution, as in China, periodically cropped up on Taiwan, aimed both at missionaries and at Christian converts. Other institutions founded in the nineteenth century include the Taiwan Theological Seminary (1876), the first Presbytery (1896), and the Taiwan Church Press (1884).

In 1915 another turn occurred when Japanese rule was established in Taiwan. This meant a greater encouragement to self-support as well as greater cooperation among churches, enforced by the Japanese. Still there was a close relationship with mainland China. In the 1920s the recently formed True Jesus Church (TJC, 1918; Beijing), an indigenous Chinese Pentecostal Church, began work in Taiwan. The TJC became an important church on the island, having its greatest influence among the poor and less educated. Also during this time of Japanese occupation, the aboriginal work went

forward. Although the impetus to this growth came from both Western mission and Japanese mission leadership, the growth in the work was mostly the work of indigenous Christian leaders like Loh Sian-chhun, Kho Iu-chai, and others.

Another great shift in the Christian presence and Christian influence occurred at the close of the Pacific War. The Japanese influence ended, but very quickly the island was dominated by Guomindang personnel under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. Along with the various refugees fleeing Maoist rule were a number of Christians. This marks the end of the Presbyterian and Reformed domination of Protestant MISSIONS in Taiwan. Soon both Chinese Christians and missionaries were arriving from Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, and other churches. Numerous smaller churches sent missionaries to evangelize the mainland Chinese, adding further to the church diversity. Some of these missionaries came from China, already speaking certain dialects of Chinese, but few spoke Taiwanese. Thus the division between ministry to Han Chinese and local Taiwanese and aboriginal peoples increased.

After nearly four centuries of often interrupted Christian witness, Taiwan is still less than 7 percent Christian. More Taiwanese are members of newer, non-Christian, religious groups than are members of Christian churches. One of the ongoing themes in Christianity in Taiwan is the appropriate role of political involvement. For some, independence from the People's Republic of China is a central concern, but for others the main issue is the domination of political life by "foreign" Nationalist elements from China. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan is the largest Protestant church, although it is still only half the size of the Roman Catholic Church. PENTECOSTALISM, even though it arrived very late in Taiwan, is followed by about one-third of the Christian population. It seems that indigenous forms of Christianity such as the True Jesus Church and the Little Flock will continue to have influence, but that overall Protestant Christians will remain a significant but small minority of the population.

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SCOTT W.SUNQUIST

TAUSEN, HANS (1494–1561)

Danish Lutheran reformer. Tausen was born in Birkende on the island of Fyn in 1494. Little is known of his early childhood. As a young monk in the Order of St. John in Antvorskov, he was sent in 1516 to study theology at Rostock. Upon his return to Copenhagen in 1521, he came under the influence of Paul Helie, the leading Christian Humanist in Scandinavia and a disciple of Erasmus. Tausen continued his theological studies at the University of Wittenberg, where he was strongly influenced by MARTIN LUTHER.

Upon his return to DENMARK in 1525 Tausen began to preach in Viborg (Jutland), where an evangelical, grassroots awakening broke out. Imprisoned for his preaching and expelled from his order, Tausen came under the personal protection of Frederik I who appointed him to be his personal chaplain in 1526. A printing press set up in Viborg in 1528 greatly aided the dissemination of Tausen's views. By 1529 when Tausen was called to be the pastor of St. Nicholas Church in Copenhagen, a popular evangelical renewal movement had spread throughout Jutland.

In July 1530 Tausen led a group of like-minded evangelical preachers in presenting Forty-three Articles (*Confessio Hafniensis*) to the Danish National Assembly. This Copenhagen Confession was avowedly Lutheran and more polemical in tone than the AUGSBURG CONFESSION. However, in 1537 when JoHANNES BUGENHAGEN drew up the Danish Church Ordinance, the Augsburg Confession came to overshadow the *Confessio Hafniensis* as a confessional statement of the Lutheran Church of Denmark.

In 1538 Tausen was appointed lecturer at the Cathedral School in Roskilde, one of the last Roman Catholic strongholds in Denmark. As "superintendent" (bishop) of Ribe (1542), Tausen spent the rest of his life introducing the vernacular into congregational hymn singing and worship while augmenting his influential collection of *Sermons (Postil)*.

See also Evangelicalism; Hymns and Hymnals; Lutheranism, Scandinavia

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TRYGVE R. SKARSTEN

TAYLOR, JAMES HUDSON (1832–1905)

English missionary to China. Taylor was born on May 21, 1832 in Barnsley, ENGLAND. He was a pioneer Protestant missionary to inland CHINA and the founder of the interdenominational CHINA INLAND MISSION (CIM). He raised funds for missionary work and served as a recruiter of missionaries to China. By the time of his death, on June 3, 1905, the CIM had sponsored over 800 missionaries to China. Throughout his missionary work Taylor traveled on eleven journeys.

Early Years as a Missionary

Taylor received his calling to serve as a missionary at age seventeen. His first missionary work was with the Chinese Evangelization Society. This Society paid for him to undergo medical training in London. He arrived in China for the first time in 1854 at Shanghai aboard the ship the *Dumfries*. Shanghai was one of five port cities opened to foreign trade through the signing of the Treaty of Nanking (1842), which also gave control of Hong Kong to Great Britain.

At the time of Taylor's arrival, China was in the middle of the Taiping rebellion (1850–1864), a revolt against the Chinese emperor Xian Feng led by a pseudo-Christian religious fanatic. The rebellion was reported initially to have the effect of opening up China to foreign missionaries.

South of Shanghai, Taylor worked in the missionary hospital at Ningpo. In 1857 Taylor resigned from the Chinese Evangelization Society. He had objected to being supported by borrowed money. It was Taylor's conviction that a Christian should not be indebted to anyone. Taylor instead believed that monetary support for MISSIONS work should come from God, asked for in PRAYER. He continued to work as an independent missionary in China after his work with the Society.

Hudson Taylor differed from other missionaries of his time. He adapted himself cross-culturally throughout his work in order to fit in more easily with the Chinese people. Having won the affections of Maria Dyer, a missionary daughter, Taylor married her in 1858. He gave up Western attire and wore Chinese robes, dyed his hair black, and attached a queue, resembling a pigtail, to his hair. Taylor later required all missionaries serving with the CIM who traveled into the Chinese interior to do likewise.

Returning to England in 1860 on account of ill health, Taylor asked for additional missionaries to China. Before he returned to China in 1865 he revised the translation of the New Testament in the Ningpo dialect. His book *China: Its Spiritual Needs and Claims* (1865) motivated many to consider missionary work to China.

Work with the China Inland Mission

Missionaries usually remained near the shore provinces of China. Taylor, however, intended to travel inland with the gospel message. This shift in Protestant Chinese missionary work resulted in the establishment of the China Inland Mission in 1865 in London. Taylor returned to China under the auspices of the CIM. The CIM was to be a “faith mission,” in which the missionaries would rely on God’s help to finance their labors. The CIM was an international organization, represented by England, SWEDEN, the UNITED STATES, CANADA, and others. Taylor had brought sixteen missionaries on his second voyage. Arriving at Shanghai in 1866, the missionaries spread the gospel message into interior China.

Taylor’s wife, Maria, died in July 1870 at age thirty-three. She had borne eight children. In 1871 Taylor married Jennie Faulding in England. One year later, the whole family returned to China.

China’s Millions, the monthly journal of the CIM, was first published in 1875. This journal continued being published until 1952, when the CIM was renamed the Overseas Missionary Fellowship. Taylor had contributed numerous articles to the journal, including “To Every Creature” (1889). In that article Taylor outlined an ambitious plan to evangelize the whole of China. The article was inspired by the Conference of Missionaries, held in Shanghai in 1887.

The Chefoo Convention, signed between Great Britain and China in 1876, had the effect of allowing missionaries to travel into inland China. For the next two years Taylor traveled over thirty thousand miles in the nine interior provinces of China. He was accompanied by eighteen missionaries, who Taylor believed were an answer to many prayers. Against criticism by other MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS, Taylor brought single female missionaries to work in teams to inland China in 1878. They served an important role with the CIM, establishing mission settlements in the Chinese interior. He was the first to involve single women in missionary work to China.

Among the missionaries traveling to China with Taylor in 1885 were the “Cambridge Seven.” They were a group educated at the University of Cambridge who gave up careers in England for the missionary work in China and sparked a student movement.

Taylor left China for SWITZERLAND in 1900 because of his failing health, and entered into semiretirement. While Taylor was convalescing, the Boxer Rebellion, (1900), directed against foreigners in China, took the lives of over a hundred CIM missionaries—men, women, and their children.

James Hudson Taylor lost his second wife (1904) in Switzerland, a year before his own death. He undertook what was to become his final journey to China in 1905. That year Taylor took ill and died in Changsha, Hunan Province. He was buried near the Yangtze River. Taylor is remembered as a man of faith who had a pioneering missionary spirit that opened inland China to foreign missions.

See also Bible Translation; Cambridge University; Missions, British; Studd, C.T.

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CHRISTOPHER M.COOK

TAYLOR, JEREMY (1613–1667)

English theologian. Jeremy Taylor was born on August 15, 1613, at Cambridge, and died on August 13, 1667, at Lisburn, Ireland. He studied at Gonville and Gaius College, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. Taylor lectured at St. Paul's, London, and attracted the attention of WILLIAM LAUD, archbishop of Canterbury. He served as rector of Uppingham and then chaplain in the Royalist army. After imprisonment for a short time he retired in 1645 to WALES, where he lived as a chaplain and where he wrote many of his best works. On January 27, 1661, he was consecrated bishop of Down and Connor, to which the small adjacent diocese of Dromore was later added, in IRELAND.

Taylor's fame rests almost entirely on his devotional writings. In 1646 he published *Theologia eklektike; a Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying*, in which he asked that deprived CHURCH OF ENGLAND clergy be allowed to function. It is a plea for TOLERATION that advocated a more liberal attitude to religious differences. It had an impact on the American colonies and was highly regarded by ROGER WILLIAMS. *An Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy* (1646) was an attack on the *Directory of Public Worship*, which was opposed to all forms of written prayers including the Lord's Prayer. *Doctor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience* (1660) was a treatise on moral theology. *A Dissuasive from Popery* (1664) was an attack on Roman Catholicism in which he argued that councils are not infallible, that Scripture is sufficient for understanding SALVATION, and that indulgences were a Roman innovation.

Taylor's two major devotional writings were *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650) and *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651). These are probably the most widely known writings of any seventeenth-century Anglican divine. Both volumes describe how a Christian can live a holy life and die a holy death. Both volumes had an impact on JOHN WESLEY and influenced his understanding of perfection and sanctification.

Because he lived through the chaotic period of the Commonwealth, Taylor had a great fear of ANTINOMIANISM and moral chaos. Justification by GRACE through FAITH should not weaken insistence of living a good life. For Taylor JUSTIFICATION was a process, and holy living was a matter of constant repentance. He argued that Christ is the medium to God, but obedience is the medium to Christ. Before one receives Holy Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER) there must be the complete removal of any known sin or desire to sin as well as an earnest belief never to commit sin again.

Taylor was a great prose stylist and he has been called the prose Shakespeare, the English Chrysostom, and the Anglican Bossuet. He was a pre-Tractarian High Churchman.

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DONALD S.ARMENROUT

TAYLOR, NATHANIEL WILLIAM (1786–1858)

American theologian and educator. Born in Connecticut June 23, 1786, Taylor graduated from Yale in 1807, where he studied theology under TIMOTHY DWIGHT, and became his amanuensis. In 1812 he was ordained and became the pastor of the First Church of New Haven. He was handsome and dignified, and a powerful preacher. Taylor was called to be Dwight professor of didactic theology in 1822 at Yale Divinity School, where he remained until his death on March 10, 1858.

The theology of JONATHAN EDWARDS, modified by SAMUEL HOPKINS, Bellamy, and Dwight, was the orthodox belief held in most New England churches. It taught that man's only freedom of choice is liberty to obey the strongest motive. Taylor disagreed, denying the doctrines of total depravity and original SIN. He stated that no one is depraved but by his own acts because the sinfulness of the human race does not pertain to human nature as such. "Sin is in the sinning," he declared, and therefore it is "original" only in being universal. Humans always had, in his famous phrase, "power to the contrary." Fully in accord with the AWAKENINGS of the time, his intention was to formulate a revival theology that could prosper in the democratic ethos of Jacksonian America, and prevent the feeling of inability in people. Taylor taught that preachers must confront sinners with their state, and demand immediate response to the gospel. He regarded human beings as free and rational, and therefore fully responsible for everything they did.

In 1828 Taylor presented his New Haven Theology in his *Concio ad Clerum* address before the Congregational clergy of Connecticut, shocking many and dividing the churches into "Taylorites and Tylerites," the latter following his chief opponent, Bennet Tyler. The controversy among Congregationalists became so heated that a more orthodox and Calvinistic seminary was formed in 1833, with Tyler as president. Taylor's influence soon passed beyond the borders of New England and was a factor in the Presbyterian Church schism of 1838, with the New School faction generally accepting his views. Taylor's works include *Practical Sermons* (1858), *Lectures on the Moral Government of God* (1859), and *Essays...upon Selected Topics in Revealed Theology* (1859). See also Congregationalism; Presbyterianism

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KEITH J.HARDMAN

TELEMANN, GEORG PHILIPP (1681– 1767)

German composer. Telemann, born March 14, 1681, was GERMANY'S most eminent and prolific composer during the first half of the eighteenth century. A musically precocious child, he began formal study of singing in 1691 and claimed to have learned to play several instruments—organ, violin, and zither, and later, flute, oboe, chalumeau, viola da gamba, double bass, and trombone—with little or no instruction. Two years later, at the age of twelve, he wrote his first opera, *Sigismundus*, and began writing a motet almost every week for the church choir at his school in Zellerfeld.

In 1701, apparently giving in to the wishes of his family that he not follow a musical career, he began to study law at Leipzig University. Even so, he was soon commissioned to write music for both the Thomaskirche and Nikolaikirche. He also founded a student Collegium Musicum, became director of the Opernhaus (writing four operas before leaving Leipzig), and was appointed (in 1704) to the posts of organist and music director at the Neukirche. Telemann left Leipzig in 1705 to take up the post of Kappellmeister at the court of Count Erdmann II of Promnitz in Sorau (now Żary in Poland).

During these early years, he wrote most of his motets, masses, and psalm settings. In 1708 Telemann left Sorau to take up the appointment of *Konzertmeister* to Duke Johann Wilhelm of Saxony-Eisenach, and was promoted Kapellmeister the following year. He married Amalie Louise Juliane Eberin, a musician's daughter and a lady-in-waiting to the countess of Promnitz, who died in 1711 giving birth to their daughter. The child's godfather was Erdmann Neumeister (poet-theologian and court chaplain at Sorau), whose texts Telemann set the same year for an annual cycle of cantatas; these pieces helped establish the "mixed" style of cantata, in which operatic arias and recitative were interspersed with chorales.

The death of Telemann's wife and a dissatisfaction with court politics may have contributed to what Telemann described as a religious awakening that led him to seek church employment. In 1712 he took the post of city director of music and Kapellmeister of the Barfüsserkirche in Frankfurt, where, among other duties, he was responsible for providing music for two city churches and for civic gatherings. Over the following three years he started a public concert series with a revived Frankfurt Collegium Musicum, married Maria Catharina Textor (the sixteen-year-old daughter of the council clerk, who in subsequent years bore eight sons and one daughter), and began publishing his instrumental works. In 1716 he performed his setting of the Hamburg poet B.H. Brockes's passionatorio, which was to become a favorite Lenten piece in Germany even up to the early nineteenth century. During the same year he visited the Eisenach and Gotha courts and was installed as the nonresident Kapellmeister to the former. He was offered a resident position at the Gotha court, which he declined after negotiating a salary increase from the city of Frankfurt. Three complete cantata cycles survive from these

years (1714–15; 1716–17; 1717–18) that show Telemann's conscious attempt to master national styles and also demonstrate his lifelong interest in incorporating the styles of secular, including operatic, music into his church music.

In 1721 he left Frankfurt to become Kantor of the Johanneum Lateinschule (where he gave a Latin oration on the superiority [*excellētia*] of church music) and musical director of Hamburg's five main churches. Before settling in at Hamburg, however, he applied (in 1722) for the post of Thomaskantor at Leipzig. He was selected over six other candidates, including J.S. Bach, but negotiated a salary increase that convinced him to remain in Hamburg. His many duties there included giving music instruction four days each week at the school and providing a sacred oratorio and serenata each year for the military, two sacred cantatas each week, and a new passion each Lent. Twenty-three of these passions, which are for liturgical use—he set each Evangelist's account in turn—are still extant. In spite of such a heavy workload, Telemann found the energy to direct the weekly concerts of the Hamburg Collegium Musicum, two years later expanding the series to two concerts each week. He also became director of the Gänsemarktoper, where he performed his own, Handel's, and Keiser's operas.

In 1725 he began to concentrate on publishing his music, bringing out forty-three publications (not counting second editions) over the next fifteen years. Telemann's published cantata cycles from these years [1725–26; 1726–27; 1731–32] consist of practical music for fairly small scorings, suitable for domestic as well as small church settings. In 1736 his marriage (which had deteriorated twelve years earlier) ended when his wife left home, possibly to stay in a convent. Although by 1740 he had effectively retired, the death of his eldest son, Andreas, in 1755, led to Telemann's taking responsibility for his musically gifted seven-year-old grandson, Georg Michael. This seems to have rejuvenated him, ushering in his last phase of creative activity, during which he concentrated on writing sacred oratorios; one of his finest, *Der Tag des Gerichts*, dates from 1765. Telemann died June 25, 1767, at the age of eighty-six, having produced over 3,000 works, including 1,700 cantatas (1,400 of which are still extant). His popularity (attributed to his native talent for melody and to his dramatic sense) and the freedom that he found in church employment enabled him to bring music of a quality generally reserved for the most wealthy courts to a new urban and middle-class concert-going public.

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WILLIAM T. FLYNN

TELEVANGELISM

The new communications technologies of the twentieth century challenged the Protestant, especially evangelical, understandings of the Great Commission, ultimately resulting in the massive proliferation of television ministries, often referred to collectively as the “Electronic Church.” The flamboyant early twentieth-century revivalist BILLY SUNDAY, although active before the advent of television, anticipated the methods of later televangelists by measuring the economic costs of bringing souls to Christ. Television dropped the costs of God’s saving GRACE, at least in the minds of televangelical pioneers, through large potential audiences. The transition from tent REVIVALS to television, however, necessitated changes in the way televangelists presented the Gospel. Driven by financial imperatives and the need to purchase broadcast time, televangelists developed styles of programming that, although individually unique, relied heavily on continuous financial appeals. Moreover, the large influx of funds combined with often secretive and careless accounting standards resulted in suggestions of corruption. Besides accountability problems and other moral improprieties, however, a group of televangelists began garnering attention for their active role in national politics beginning in the late 1970s. Despite the mostly unfavorable attention televangelism has received, it has survived, albeit with a changing cast of characters. Finally, although its potential audience of regular viewers and contributors appears finite, its cultural and political influence appears disproportionate to its numerical base because of both its own media strength and the sense of panic its activities trigger among its secular detractors.

The Rise of the Electronic Church: Historical Elements

Evangelists have typically used new methods and technologies as quickly as these could be harnessed, despite the occasional reservations of evangelical laypersons and critics within the mainline churches. The Second Great AWAKENING (c. 1800–1860), for example, witnessed the rise of a phenomenon known as urban revivalism, which allowed talented evangelists to reach larger audiences. The first of these, CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY (1792–1875), introduced *new measures*, or techniques designed to win converts more effectively. Finney also organized his revivals to an extent previously unknown, especially through his use of advance publicity. Finney’s successors, DWIGHT L. MOODY (1837–1899) and Billy Sunday (1862–1935), further augmented Finney’s techniques with musical performances, vaudeville entertainment, and an urgent sense of “the soon coming of Christ.” Sunday further rationalized Moody’s methods, actually organizing his ministry around the belief that it cost \$2 to save a soul.

Such rational calculation in business matters, combined with emotional and dramatic presentations of the Gospel, prepared the stage for broadcast ministries.

Evangelical broadcasters, however, met with resistance from regulatory agencies and mainline churches. The government's initial reluctance to provide time for evangelical broadcasts can be traced to several factors, although two personalities had much to do with federal decisions. AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON, the famed INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF THE FOURSQUARE GOSPEL revivalist, dominated the airwaves with her radio broadcasts and even refused orders from secretary of commerce Herbert Hoover to desist from broadcasting because of her unregulated use of radio bandwidth. Hoover, however, lacked sufficient authority to implement his directive. McPherson's defiance, along with the increasingly radical political statements of another broadcaster, Father Charles Coughlin, necessitated tighter control of the airwaves by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Established by the Communications Act of 1934, the FCC created a special category of broadcast time for edifying programming called "sustaining," or "free time." Stations and networks allotted this time through the mainline Federal, later NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (NCC) to mainline broadcasters who provided inoffensive programming to fill the required slots, continuing a tradition begun in 1928 with the relationship between the NBC network and mainline churches. Most stations also proved reluctant to sell time outright; thus evangelical broadcasters found themselves scrambling for airtime.

The first religious television broadcasts occurred on Easter Sunday 1940, with the airing of Catholic and Protestant services. In 1952 Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, who officiated the Catholic broadcast, became the first religious figure to offer a regular program, the Emmy-award winning "Life is Worth Living." Although Bishop Sheen benefited from network sponsorship, evangelical broadcasters required more startup capital and advocacy. To help obtain the necessary airtime evangelical broadcasters formed the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB) in 1944, a group that gained increasing clout as a Washington lobby. By 1953 televangelist Rex Humbard began broadcasting to local stations in Ohio, and ORAL ROBERTS interrupted his tent revivals to broadcast on January 10, 1954. JERRY FALWELL rounded out the triumvirate of evangelical broadcast pioneers in 1957, and his "Old Time Gospel Hour" helped launch Liberty University along with his later political ambitions.

Several landmark changes beginning in the 1960s marked the end of the NCC's dominance of religious broadcasting. First, the FCC ruled in 1960 that no difference existed between "paid-time" and "sustainingtime," at least as required by FCC regulations for edifying programming. This meant, in practice, that networks could sell their allotments of sustaining time at significant profit while still fulfilling FCC requirements. Mainline denominations could not afford such luxuries; but televangelists, relying on extensive donor support, could. Second, the development of tape in the early 1960s allowed broadcast distribution and syndication. Finally, by the 1970s satellite and cable distribution became possible, which further allowed the proliferation of the Gospel over the nation's airwaves.

Televangelism: Personalities, Messages, and Audiences

Among the televangelical superstars, BILLY GRAHAM stands most prominent, although his crusades appear only irregularly as media events. Nevertheless, he typically appears in prime time, a practice few televangelists can afford. The next tier includes the other pioneers of the 1950s: Falwell, Humbard, and Roberts. PAT ROBERTSON joined this group with the purchase of a defunct UHF station in 1959 in Portsmouth, Virginia for far less than its market value. His flagship program, “The 700 Club,” although initiated by Jim Bakker, became a staple of religious programming, helping Robertson build a cable television empire, Regent University, and, ultimately, the Christian Coalition. Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker launched their own cable network in the 1970s, and their “Praise the Lord” program regularly drew hundreds of thousands of viewers until the Bakkers’ scandalous collapse in 1987. Much the same could be said of Jimmy Swaggart, whose rise in the 1970s was equaled by his rapid decline after a series of sex scandals. Robert Schuller completed the list of early heavyweights with his message of positive thinking gleaned from noted optimist NORMAN VINCENT PEALE of the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City. The only mainline televangelist with a significant following, Schuller is best known for his “Crystal Cathedral” in Garden Grove, California, an all-glass edifice complete with drive-in stalls for cars, hearkening back to Schuller’s humble beginnings preaching on the roof of a snack bar at a drive-in theater.

Current celebrities include Paul and Jan Crouch, whose own cable and satellite ministry, the Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), has grown into a televangelical empire, providing airtime for almost every major televangelist. TBN has also moved aggressively into international markets, buying stations and beaming broadcasts to an ever-expanding list of countries. Benny Hinn appears frequently on TBN, broadcasting miracle crusades from across the country that feature Hinn’s healing powers. Kenneth Copeland, also a noted healer and former pilot of Oral Roberts, appears often on TBN’s only rival, the DayStar Network founded in 1997 by Marcus and Joni Lamb.

Among the multitude of programs, one can trace five basic formats, excepting church broadcasts that remain mostly local phenomena: revival crusades that often feature live music and healing, talk-show formats modeled after “The Tonight Show,” prophecy programs that highlight current events as “signs of the times,” newsmagazines that resemble major network morning news programs, and a fifth category characterized by its familiarity and “living room” feel. Billy Graham and Jimmy Swaggart have both used the crusade format with great success. Jim Bakker’s defunct “Praise the Lord” program featured him as an evangelical Johnny Carson, mixing in the country-gospel melodies of Tammy Faye. Jack van Impe’s weekly broadcasts interpret news headlines in light of his eschatological perspectives. Pat Robertson’s “700 Club” has perfected the newsmagazine format, featuring a slick newscast that leads off the program before the anchorperson turns to Robertson for his interpretation of world events. Co-hosted by Terry Meeuwson, the “700 Club” also spotlights testimonials of CONVERSION and miraculous deliverance from sickness and debt, along with “soft” segments that deal with mundane

topics such as cooking and investment strategies. TBN's "Praise the Lord" program best typifies the fifth format, as guests make themselves at home amid an elaborate, *nouveau riche* rococo backdrop that suggests material success, with participants alternating between PRAYER, prophecy, discussions of current events, and an occasional country-gospel performance.

Despite the diversity of formats, however, the program content remains somewhat homogeneous. Most, with the exception of Graham and Swaggart, suggest that Christians ought to have abundant success in *this* world. Kenneth Copeland claims the believer can be freed from the demons of disease, whereas Oral Roberts, to name just one example, believes in "seed faith" and "giving out of one's need." That is, if one lacks sufficient material success, one ought to give to the televangelist who will ensure that God will provide a positive turn on the "seed," or investment. A second pervasive theme of televangelism is its conservative political content. Although not all ministries adopt such political tones, Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, and James Robison, especially, have acted centrally in the development of the so-called Religious or CHRISTIAN RIGHT.

Program audiences tend to be disproportionately female. Jimmy Swaggart did best among male viewers, at least before his departure, despite a two-to-one female-to-male ratio. The elderly are also overrepresented, tuning in especially to Jimmy Swaggart, along with prosperity programs like those of Oral Roberts, and, more recently, TBN. Pat Robertson's "700 Club" reverses the age trend somewhat, attracting many younger viewers, attributed in part to the high production values and content geared toward working professionals. Minorities are also overrepresented, along with those on the economic and social margins. Finally, viewers tend to concentrate in the South. Robert Schuller, whose "Hour of Power" has done reasonably well on the West Coast and in the Midwest, provides a notable exception.

Controversies

Televangelism has been an object of controversy from its earliest days. Its heavy reliance on financial appeals has raised suspicions and many critics have suspected, and occasionally found, widespread fraud. The criticism of the Electronic Church seems at least partially validated by the embarrassing financial and sex scandals of Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart in the late 1980s. Moreover the same period also witnessed Oral Roberts's increasingly intense appeals for funds, including his vision in 1980 of a 900-foot Jesus who commanded him to raise funds for a new hospital, along with his 1987 claim that God would "call him home" if he failed to raise \$8 million for the project. Combined with the high-profile scandals of lesser figures like Robert Tilton, whose ministry collapsed after the 1991 airing of a *Prime Time Live* expose, audience shares fell dramatically by 1992.

The entry of televangelists into national POLITICS in 1980 proved even more alarming to its critics. After James Robison and a consortium of televangelists unofficially blessed the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan at the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, Texas, critics became shrill in their assaults on the Electronic Church.

Jerry Falwell's MORAL MAJORITY helped consolidate a cross section of conservative Protestantism to further their mutual political interests, intensifying the anxieties of many on the left. Even Pat Robertson's failed bid for the Republican nomination in 1988 led to a more powerful political entity, the Christian Coalition, which by 1992 became a major force within the Republican Party.

Beyond money and politics, however, some critics have charged that the Electronic Church has not only failed to follow the Great Commission but, through its application of a rational, businesslike calculus to spiritual matters, has cheapened the grace it purports to dispense. Critic Quentin J. Schultze, who has conducted extensive studies of the Electronic Church from both sociological and theological perspectives, has also questioned whether the mere presence of the Electronic Church has weakened the creedal emphasis and theological gravity of nonbroadcast ministries. Noting the increasing de-emphasis of THEOLOGY in evangelical churches in favor of entertainment ministries, Schultze fears that new generations of Evangelicals, raised at least partially on TV PREACHING, will demand less substance and more style, mirroring the inherent limitations of the televisual format. Such claims will require time to evaluate as cultural trends develop. Nevertheless, Schultze's charges seem more apt than the cynical observations of those who perceive rampant hucksterism. On the contrary, as Schultze notes, televangelists for the most part are probably sincere in their beliefs, which may, ironically, intensify the allegedly harmful effects they have on more traditional theologies and styles of WORSHIP.

Conclusions

Despite aggressive international expansion, televangelism persists as a distinctly American phenomenon, enduring despite periodic scandals. New figures continue to emerge, and even veterans like Pat Robertson strive to reinvent themselves, adapting to ever-changing audience demands. This audience, however, appears finite. Although it is inconclusive whether electronic ministries siphon funds from brick-and-mortar ministries, televangelists do seem to compete against each other for a limited supply of potential donors. Nevertheless, the electronic church perseveres because, in spite of its critics, it does appear to provide a service to some that brick-and-mortar churches either cannot or will not provide. In a spiritual economy the donations flow to those who best meet the needs of consumers; and televangelism, built on a business ethos, rapidly perceives and adapts to those needs. This is both its strength and a major source of its criticisms. Nevertheless, like its revivalist forebears who rankled the sensibilities of established churches, televangelism will continue as a unique blend of American pragmatism and popular entertainment, combined with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Thus while critics may decry it as fraudulent or even idolatrous, it will likely endure so long as pious viewers find benefit in its programming. Whether it furthers the Great Commission and preaches to more than the choir, however, remains unclear.

See also Evangelicalism; Evangelism, Overview; Faith Healing; Mass Media

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GLENN W.SHUCK

TEMPERANCE

When the ship *Arabella* came into port in the Massachusetts Colony in 1630, the new settlers unloaded 10,000 gallons of beer and 12 gallons of distilled spirits, and this was only the communal supply. Each family had packed its own liquor and home-brewing equipment. Although a few of the Puritan colonial governments passed laws against excessive drinking, colonial New Englanders in general tranquilly imbibed their rum in moderation. Kentucky and Pennsylvania frontier settlers swilled their corn and bourbon whiskey, the latter, supposedly, first produced by a minister. Although the Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) had taken an early temperance stand (seen in minister Elizabeth Levis's temperance pamphlet of 1761), churched and unchurched Americans generally viewed alcohol as essential as bread and safer than water. Men, women, and even children downed their "toddlies" at breakfast, had "eleveners" at mid-day instead of tea, and sipped their afternoon whiskey "drams." In the mid-1800s, after the arrival of hundreds of thousands of German immigrants and major technological advances in mechanical refrigeration and integrated transportation, beer became the all-American drink of choice, especially lager beer.

After the Revolutionary War, some elites in the newly established nation feared that the people lacked the self-control necessary to handle an experiment in democracy. Religious, political, and economic leaders feared the fine line between democracy and anarchy. For "rule by the people" to work, the people had to be self-restrained, disciplined, educated, and focused. A little alcohol-induced pleasure was good—even necessary—when the colonials faced British oppression, but a keen mind and strong body would be needed to keep the fledgling democracy afloat.

Changing Attitudes

Medical authorities provided the theoretical grounding for this shift in attitude toward alcohol, but it was evangelical CLERGY who launched the "temperance" movement into a major reform crusade. In his pamphlet *An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind* (1784), Dr. Benjamin Rush reversed conventional wisdom by pronouncing distilled liquor bad for human health. Protestant clergy carried this torch of medical discovery into the moral and political sphere. About the time of the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS), with its perfectionist message that humans could hasten the coming millennium by improving themselves morally, well-known preachers like LYMAN BEECHER gave sermons on the biblical basis for temperance. Evangelical clergymen led the way in forming organizations to promote

temperance, the most widespread being the American Temperance Society (ATS), founded in 1826. Basing its organization closely on evangelical tract and missionary societies, the ATS spread its gospel of temperance via the spoken and written word. It sent out itinerant temperance speakers to organize local auxiliaries and deluged the country with temperance tracts and a weekly newspaper. Temperance as an issue transcended doctrinal infighting, bringing white Protestants together around their common interest in moral reformation and national prosperity. By 1835, the ATS reached a peak of 1.5 million members, possibly as many as one in five free adults. The membership was varied in age and gender, with about 50 percent female and a significant contingent of young men in college as a result of campus REVIVALS that combined Christianity and abstinence in the call to CONVERSION.

In the 1830s, the ATS became a largely middle-class movement when it changed its abstinence pledge from a focus on distilled liquors (aimed at the poor) to include a pledge against wine (aimed at the upper classes). Members from the upper classes rejected this new “teetotalism” of the renamed American Temperance Union (ATU), and a significant number of clergy and lay people also rejected teetotalism, but for a different reason: its impact on their communion, or LORD’S SUPPER, service. For example, although the Methodist Episcopal Church strongly advocated temperance, it did not accept the substitution of unfermented wine in communion until fifty years later, in 1880.

Teetotalism caused the Protestant-initiated movement to fragment during the 1840s, but a new type of temperance group emerged to renew enthusiasm. In 1840, six working-class, unchurched tavern drinkers founded the Washingtonians, the first temperance group among the poor and working classes. Most of the Protestants who joined the Washingtonian societies came from Methodist and Baptist churches; conspicuously absent were the Congregational, Unitarian, and Presbyterian clergymen who had led the early temperance movement.

Cultural Weapons

Almost all of the temperance efforts until the 1850s focused on moral suasion. In addition to formal societies, the temperance message spread through popular culture, usually according to heavily Protestant plots and narratives that positioned conversion and piety as the solutions to intemperance. Temperance literature hit the print market as popular authors like Timothy Shay Arthur, Louisa May Alcott, E.D. E.N. Southworth, and others gave the country heroes and heroines who eschewed booze or courageously recovered from it. Arthur’s “Ten Nights in a Barroom” (1854) sold millions of copies and was a Broadway blockbuster even in the early 1900s. In this pathos-packed story, Joe Morgan’s life is ruined because evil saloon-keeper Simon Slade gets him hooked on booze. Joe finally turns his life around after Slade accidentally kills Joe’s daughter, little Mary Morgan, in a saloon brawl. There were visual images as well: “Drunkard’s Progress” (1846) by Nathaniel Currier etched into people’s minds the steps of degeneration from “first glass to drunkard’s grave.” The well-dressed man sips a glass of whiskey with a friend in the first frame and by the last frame, he has suffered jail (for robbery and

rioting), disease, unemployment, humiliation of his family, loss of friends, poverty, and suicide.

This massive cultural assault against liquor, combined with the influx of Italian, German, and Russian immigrants, convinced many native-born Protestants that moral suasion alone would never solve the problem of intemperance. In 1851, Maine was the first state to make the sale of liquor illegal, and several other states followed with similar laws. The temperance movement's shift from moral suasion to legal coercion provoked thousands of evangelical Protestant women to join, and eventually take over, the temperance movement.

Although the male temperance fraternities (the Sons of Temperance, founded in 1842, and the Independent Order of Good Templars, founded in 1851) revived after the CIVIL WAR, it was female temperance activism that flourished between 1873 and 1901. Protestant women, including Annie Wittenmyer (first president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union) and Mother Eliza Stewart (leader of the Woman's Temperance Crusade), served as federally appointed "sanitation" leaders during the Civil War and found they liked public leadership. Temperance work, they discovered, was an "acceptable" arena for them to continue their public advocacy. Because evangelical Protestantism had pedestalized WOMEN as the morally superior sex, women in the Northeast and Midwest used this to their own advantage when critics accused them of moving out of their "proper" sphere. Temperance, they replied, was a moral problem requiring legal action, and the best solution lay in the work of the morally superior sex.

A Women's Movement

In the Woman's Crusade of 1873–1874, hundreds of thousands of women in thirty-one states marched in bands to pray and sing in front of local saloons. Women usually sought to avoid saloons by crossing the street or detouring for blocks. When they had to enter a saloon to purchase milk or other items, they would use the discreet "ladies' entrance." But the Woman's Crusade marchers went right to the front doors. They had an axe to grind (sometimes literally) with saloons, because women tended to suffer the most from excessive drinking. An alcoholic husband had the legal right to liquidate all communally held property, as well as his and his wife's wages in the saloons. Drunken men frequently beat or abandoned their wives and, because of the saloon's reliance on prostitution as a drawing card to clients, they also passed on syphilis and gonorrhea to their wives. If not threatened at home by a violent or negligent alcoholic male, women faced the threat in streets where they were often physically and verbally harassed. Drunken rowdies even disrupted church services by making commotion in the aisles or hurling bottles through the windows. Women were virtually powerless over the quality of their own and their children's lives, and they were barred by law or custom from divorcing inebriate husbands. Without the ballot, they could not vote against the liquor industry either. Women were eyewitnesses to the way that saloons, as they believed, caused the irreversible degeneration of men and boys. Saloon-smasher Carry Nation saw her first husband go to an early grave, leaving her in poverty, because of a saloon in her

hometown's Masonic lodge. Eliza Thompson, the revered leader of the Woman's Crusade of 1873, grieved the loss of her minister son, who died in an asylum for "inebriates."

The saloons, in addition to ruining their lives and livelihoods, reinscribed women's political marginalization, because they served as clearinghouses for underground exchanges of money and favors to which women did not have access. They were bastions of male privilege. Saloons also were often used as polling stations, where unknowing wanderers enticed inside for a drink could be persuaded to vote a certain way. In New York City during the late nineteenth century, more than one-half of the nominating conventions held by major parties occurred in saloons. The saloons also symbolized the rise of male leisure and a growing commercialism that tapped into it. Already alienated from the market economy and lagging behind men in "leisure" consumption, women were angry at the saloons for further cordoning off spaces of male privilege and taking the men (and their money) away from the family.

The greatest contribution of the 1873–1874 Woman's Crusade was its galvanization of women into the first mass organization of women, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The WCTU was founded in 1874 by Protestant women, many of them connected through the Methodist-initiated summer Chautauqua program. By the late nineteenth century, the WCTU outnumbered all other women's politically oriented organizations, including all of the various national suffrage associations combined. Unlike the suffrage organizations, the WCTU did not permit male sympathizers or affiliates to vote; it was an organization run by women for women. Under the leadership of President FRANCES WILLARD (1879–1898) and her "do everything" policy, the WCTU added many other reforms to its temperance agenda, including suffrage—an agenda that further made it impossible for conservative Protestant Southern women to join. The WCTU functioned as a political training school where women learned about constitutional law, petitioning, lobbying, partisan politics, public speaking, organizing marches, planning large meetings, labor issues, infrastructure, public education, advertising, and more. The WCTU paper admonished members to own three books: "the Bible, a copy of the state laws, and a copy of the city laws."

Most women entered the WCTU because it was a religiously inspired effort to promote the moral virtues of temperance and purity. But once in the WCTU, many initially conservative women began to work for progressive reforms like suffrage, welfare, sanitation, and child labor laws. Historians debate whether the WCTU ultimately liberated women or simply reinforced conventional GENDER roles, but clearly in many cases, the WCTU empowered women to assert policy and legislation that they believed would liberate their sex from the clutches of liquor-lubricated oppression. Without a doubt, the organization never lost its original religious inspiration. Even though efforts were made to include Catholic women and unchurched women, the WCTU remained an "arm" of the Protestant churches. Significantly, whereas most Protestant denominations did not ordain women into the preaching ministry until the mid-twentieth century, the WCTU gave those with an aptitude and desire to preach the opportunity to have a career as an "evangelist" or "lecturer," and many women discovered their aptitude for PREACHING through lecturing on temperance. Mabel Madeline Southard, for example, was the only female member of the ministerial association at her college. But when she

graduated and realized that she would not be given a Methodist Episcopal pastorate like all of her male colleagues, she entered the WCTU to work as an “evangelist.”

Drive to Prohibition

The WCTU was at the forefront of temperance advocacy during the 1880s, joining other organizations, including the Prohibition Party, to fight for national prohibition. But the prohibition movement became divided over procedure and goals, especially in the 1890s. Some activists were “abolitionists,” whose goal was immediate abolishment of the entire liquor industry because it was seen as a moral and social evil and the main cause of other problems such as poverty, disease, and corruption. These radical reformers also tended to be “broad gaugers,” uniting around a constellation of reforms like women’s suffrage and pro-gressive taxation. They expressed impatience with the “regulationists” like the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), who sought to work within existing political structures to regulate liquor consumption and keep the liquor industry in check through licensing. Unlike all of the other temperance organizations, the ASL had a single goal: prohibition. Founded in 1893 by Congregationalist minister Howard Hyde Russell, the ASL rose to dominate the temperance movement in the early 1900s. Most historians credit the ASL’s lobbying, single-mindedness, and local-option gradualism with achieving the Eighteenth Amendment, which was finally ratified in 1919. The Protestant churches played a key role in the success of the ASL. Whereas the Prohibition Party had become so alienated from the Protestant denominations that it formed its own “prohibition churches” during the 1890s, the ASL aligned itself with the Protestant churches, describing itself as “the Church in Action Against the Saloon.” Threefifths of the ASL leadership was composed of Protestant clergymen, and they relied on local pastors to build up the League’s grassroots organization. Cooperating churches set aside one Sunday each month for an ASL “field day” at which representatives solicited pledges and gave reports on the progress of the movement.

After a successful campaign effort to have Republican Herbert Hoover elected over the “wet” Democratic (and Catholic) candidate Al Smith in 1928, the ASL lost influence. The economic crisis shifted attention away from alcohol as the burning issue. Americans voted in Franklin D. Roosevelt, a wet, for the economic recovery he promised, knowing that he favored repealing national prohibition. The Twenty-First Amendment was ratified in 1933.

New Methods

Thereafter, the most influential efforts to address drinking steered away from both moral suasion and legal coercion, focusing instead on a fusion of selfimprovement and loosely defined spirituality. Certainly many Pentecostal, Fundamentalist, and Evangelical

Protestant churches preached abstinence throughout the twentieth century; however, they usually limited their preachments about alcohol to their own members. As with many aspects of social and political life in an increasingly religiously diverse society, Protestants had to give up their custodial role regarding American drinking habits. Secularized “experts” in a burgeoning treatment industry took over the mantle of alcohol awareness and recovery; nonetheless, segments of this industry bore the marks of the spiritual origins of temperance concerns.

Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) invites people with drinking problems to rely on their “higher power” for help in overcoming addiction, as well as faithfully attend meetings and be accountable to another person who has achieved sobriety. AA was founded in 1935 by Wall Street businessman Bill Wilson and Dr. Robert Smith after Wilson had experienced a spiritual awakening in a hospital for alcoholics. The founders drew heavily from the evangelical Protestant movement called the Oxford Group (later called MORAL REARMAMENT). For example, Wilson and Smith incorporated several of the Oxford Group’s practices: the self-survey, confession, amends to those harmed by one’s actions, service to others, and sense of group support. But Wilson and Smith avoided those aspects that turned people off, such as the pressure to make a religious commitment and the requirement to identify oneself. By the late 1970s, AA claimed some 1 million active members worldwide, including 350,000 in the United States.

The popularity of AA rose at the same time that drinking became more and more widespread, with abstinence decreasing from 45 percent of the adult population in 1959 to 29 percent in 1977. In previous times, Protestants would have blamed such low abstinence rates for social chaos, family breakdown, and economic malaise. The failure of national prohibition changed this. However, although late twentieth-century Protestants rarely mentioned alcohol, they did carry on the temperance crusade’s legacy of political and legal coercion to advance their position on a variety of moral issues, from ABORTION to same-sex marriage to the legalization of drugs. The issue changed, but the strategy of legislating morality remained.

See also Evangelism

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FRAN GRACE

TEMPLE, FREDERICK (1821–1902)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Noted for his involvement in some of the most controversial issues facing the Victorian Church, Frederick Temple was born on November 30, 1821 in Santa Maura (Lefkada) in the Greek Ionian Islands. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford and ordained to the Anglican priesthood in 1847. His early career as an educational reformer culminated with his appointment as headmaster of the prestigious public school at Rugby in 1857.

Temple contributed the lead article to the controversial *Essays and Reviews*, a collection of works by noted Anglican liberals published in 1860 to the dismay of traditional churchmen. The article gained Temple a reputation as a liberal and caused some public embarrassment when he was elevated to the bishopric of Exeter in 1869. As bishop he supported the Education Act of 1870 and, in 1884, delivered the Bampton Lectures at Oxford on religion and science, an attempt to reconcile orthodox Christian beliefs with DARWINISM. In 1885 Temple was consecrated bishop of London and, in 1897, was elevated to the archbishopric of CANTERBURY, where he served until his death on December 22, 1902. Frederick Temple married Beatrice Blanche in 1876 and had two sons, including WILLIAM (b. 1881), who was also archbishop of Canterbury from 1942 to 1944 and was one of the most prominent Anglican churchmen of the twentieth century.

Frederick Temple's active career spanned an important period in the history of the English Church when Christianity was confronted with the challenges of modernization and unbelief. He participated in debates over such issues as the relationship between religion and science, the role of the Christian churches in public education, the relationship between the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and the Roman Catholic Church, and the nature of Anglican ritual. Temple was essentially a moderate who attempted to reconcile modernist trends in Victorian CULTURE with orthodox ANGLICANISM and a conservative acceptance of ecclesiastical AUTHORITY.

See also Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Modernism

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RICHARD J.JANET

TEMPLE, WILLIAM (1881–1944)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Of all the archbishops of Canterbury, William Temple has been described as the most distinguished successor to St. Anselm. He was born in the Bishop's Palace in Exeter on October 15, 1881; and apart from brief terms as fellow and lecturer in Queen's College, headmaster of Repton School, as rector of St. James, Piccadilly, and head of the Life and Liberty Movement, he lived most of his life in bishop's palaces. In 1916 he and Frances Anson were married. After a brief canonry at Westminster he was consecrated bishop of Manchester in 1921, and enthroned as archbishop of York in 1929. At the time of his death on October 26, 1944, he was archbishop of Canterbury. He is buried alongside his father, FREDERICK TEMPLE, in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral; they are the only father and son to sit on St. Augustine's throne.

Natively brilliant and classically trained, he was the author of more than fifty books and a vastly larger number of essays. The master influences on his life, he said, were Plato, St. John, and ROBERT BROWNING. His lifelong socialist convictions were developed while an Oxford undergraduate in Balliol College, and his philosophical theology begins with a view "far nearer to Materialism than Idealism."

In the nineteenth century "natural theology" consisted of thought about God conducted without reference to the BIBLE, whereas "revealed religion" was human response to the self-disclosure of God as contained in the Bible. By the 1930s, when Temple delivered his Gifford Lectures, this distinction had been changed, and concern had shifted from the "content" of particular beliefs to the "method" that underwrote and supported them. Is the Bible itself the revelation, or the record of revelation? Is revelation in the book or the events recorded in the book? Temple's answer was succinct: plainly revelation cannot be in the book unless first in the events recorded in the book. Revelation, in his view, does not consist in propositional truths about God; instead, it is the "coincidence of divine event and human appreciation," and must incorporate both communication and apprehension. What is offered, therefore, in any specific revelation is not a truth concerning the subject, but the living subject him/herself.

Temple held that philosophy attempts a problem—to construct a conception of God (or "Mind") equal to the universe, whereas THEOLOGY attempts a theorem—to show that God is equal to the universe. Were philosophy able to achieve its goal of a single system, explanatory of the world, we would have a theistic worldview. However, philosophy cannot achieve its goal because it confronts a world over whose destiny we appear to have little control. The most important question, therefore, inquires about the nature and character of that AUTHORITY that does order and control the world process.

Yielding that question to sheer *ratio*, Temple believed, results in frustration and uncertainty because we cannot comprehend the full range of experience and fact. Lacking that comprehensiveness and clarity, the philosophical method of intellection is driven back on itself and readied, through despair, for the answer that Christian theism posits.

While at Repton School Temple wrote in *Religious Experience and Other Essays and Addresses* (1913): “The whole of my theology is an attempt to understand and verify the words, ‘He that hath seen me hath seen the Father’” (p. 21); and four years later the first book of the trilogy that would define his theology was published.

Mens Creatrix (1917) was Temple’s response to Henri Bergson’s *Creative Evolution*. It was his philosophical attempt to show that the Christian Incarnation supplies the central point: actual belief in a living God rests primarily on religious experience, but it finds intellectual support because it is a belief that is capable of supplying an explanation of purpose in the universe, which no other hypothesis available to us offers any hope of doing. Temple’s theism is dialectical, resting on a convergence of both philosophy and religious experience, rationality, and faith.

Temple’s CHRISTOLOGY is more concerned about the character of God than the identity of the historical Jesus. In *Christus Veritas* (1924), the theological companion to *Mens Creatrix*, he argued that the human search for meaning finds its answer only in the central event of Incarnation. Although rejecting any form of external compulsion, Temple nevertheless believed that the miracle of Incarnation—because it offers persons a reference for meaning, purpose, and value that is other than themselves—is (almost!) irresistibly attractive. One does not worship a principle, and Jesus Christ’s “human personality is actually the self-expression of the Eternal Son” (pp. 150–151). Temple graphically represented the many points of human experience as on the circumference of a circle, all of which point inward in search of a unifying core postulate that, in turn, points outward to embrace the entire circumference of the circle. That core postulate is Jesus Christ who emancipates us from failed attempts to discover for ourselves our own *raison d’être*: “You could not cure yourself; but God has offered the means of your cure in Christ.”

Temple’s Gifford Lectures, *Nature, Man and God* (1934) laid out his “dialectical realism.” In it he argued for personal theism by beginning with the world as offered by science and, thereafter, showing how only a special revelation of the God who is both immanent and transcendent makes it finally intelligible. Reality exists in a series of ascending and descending grades or strata; and he employed a Platonic motif to describe a perceptible scale of reality that ranged “from mere inorganic matter at one end, through organic matter, vegetable life, animal life, to personality as we know it in human life” (Muirhead 1925:214).

“Matter, life, mind, and spirit” were his abbreviated categories for this continuous whole. In his scheme the lower forms are necessary to the actualization of the higher ones, whereas, coincidentally, the lower forms find their purpose and meaning only when employed by a higher one as the instrument of its self-expression. These strata were presided over by what he called “personality” or “intelligent purpose,” which provides the “governing principle” of the world process. Mind is purposive when it no longer merely adjusts itself to its environment but adjusts its environment to its own ends.

Experience is thus always of the real world; and mind, when conscious, is always engaged directly in apprehending reality. This basic correspondence of mind with reality is the core postulate for value inasmuch as it is good to know the real. Things do not possess value as an extended attribute of a knowing mind; value in real objects is primarily in the object. Still, value *qua* value is latent until actualized by an appreciating subject, and value only becomes actual in and through subjective appreciation of the

value of an object. Value is a relational category that signifies that what is given to us in experience is the value *of* an object and a value *for* the subject.

A further clue from this ontology, epistemology, and axiology is what Temple calls the “sacramental universe,” in which the apparent good is also the real good and where the “material” has been made a vehicle for the “spiritual.” On these terms “inward and spiritual grace” is conveyed only through matter, and the sacraments are “real” because they are not dependent on psychological verification or validation for their efficacy.

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HARMON L.SMITH

TENNENT, GILBERT (1703–1764)

Presbyterian minister and Great Awakening evangelist. Tennent was born in IRELAND, the oldest, most gifted son of a Scotch-Irish minister who immigrated to Pennsylvania. Educated in his father's "log college," Gilbert received his M.A. from Yale and entered the Presbyterian ministry in 1725. The Scottish tradition of promoting REVIVALS through prolonged LORD'S SUPPER celebrations bore fruit in his New Jersey parish. Tennent led a minority group in the Philadelphia Presbytery, called the New Lights or New Side, which supported the AWAKENINGS and assessed ministerial candidates on personal piety rather than education.

Interaction with GEORGE WHITEFIELD further emboldened Tennent's demand for revival. The mounting tensions in the presbytery increased with Tennent's famous sermon of 1740 on "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry," which derisively likened antirevival ministers to a "Man who would learn others to swim, before he has learn'd it himself." In 1741 Old Side pastors responded, enacting seven protestations expelling the New Lights. The Tennents and their supporters formed the conjoint presbyteries of New Brunswick and Londonberry, which later joined with the New York Presbytery to form the Synod of New York.

The Old Side/New Side schism lasted until 1758 with Tennent laying the groundwork for reunion and serving as the first moderator of the reunited synod. The fervor of the revivals waning, he backed off the extreme characterizations of his opponents, and in 1749 Tennent passionately argued for Christian union in "Irenicum Ecclesiasticum." Seeking middle ground, Tennent combined education with piety in the training of ministers. He left an institutional legacy in Princeton College, for which he and the Rev. SAMUEL DAVIES solicited the initial financial support in Great Britain.

See also Presbyterianism

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STEPHEN R.BERRY

TENNYSON, ALFRED (1809–1892)

English poet. More than any other Victorian poet, Tennyson is remembered for struggles with religious FAITH and doubt. The son of an Anglican priest, Tennyson's Christianity was more intuitional and practical than doctrinal. He was only twenty-four when his closest friend from Cambridge, Arthur Hallam, a young man of brilliant promise, died in 1833. For the next seventeen years Tennyson, who shared the depressive tendencies of many of his family, fought to reconcile his grief with some kind of Christian belief. The result, *In Memoriam*, a series of over 100 short lyrics meditating on Hallam's death, his memory, the meaning of life, and the possibility of immortality in the light of new scientific discoveries in geology and paleontology, was an instant popular success. The tightly controlled verse form, combined with memorable and pithy phrases, produced some of the finest poetry of the period. Many of his lines, "Tis better to have loved and lost/Than never to have loved at all" and "Nature red in tooth and claw," have passed into the language.

Although it provided few answers, *In Memoriam* caught the then-current mood of metaphysical insecurity, as none of his other works, such as the Arthurian *Idylls of the King*, were to do; and its conclusion, that Hallam was a forerunner of a higher evolutionary type of humanity, seemed to offer a solution that was both scientifically and religiously satisfactory. In retrospect, after Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) had made Tennyson's Lamarckian evolution seem facilely optimistic, and the definition of "faith" as "believing where we cannot prove" was questioned, many saw the poems more in terms of expressive doubt than triumphant faith. Nevertheless, it gave Queen Victoria "inexpressible comfort" after the death of Prince Albert, and fame and royal patronage were assured—Tennyson reluctantly accepted both poet laureateship and, eventually, a peerage.

See also Darwinism; Death and Dying; Literature

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STEPHEN PRICKETT

TETRAPOLITAN CONFESSION

The Tetrapolitan Confession (*Confessio Tetrapolitana*), or “Confession of the Four Cities (Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau),” was written by MARTIN BUCER and WOLFGANG CAPITO during the 1530 Augsburg Diet.

Emperor Charles V had convened the Augsburg Diet to deal with the REFORMATION controversy besetting the empire, pledging to “hear everybody’s opinion” in the matter. This prompted the various Protestant parties to consider drafting statements of their beliefs. MARTIN LUTHER and his Wittenberg colleagues prepared, at the request of Elector John of Saxony, a brief statement but quickly found (because of Johannes Eck’s *404 Theses*) that they had to write a more lengthy Confession (the AUGSBURG CONFESSION). The delegates from Strasbourg, in an attempt to unite the Protestant free imperial cities in South Germany with the northern Protestant princes, hoped to secure their signatures to the Augsburg Confession. Because of political complications and distrust between the two factions over Holy Communion (see MARBURG, COLLOQUY OF), this proved impossible. Jacob Sturm, the lead Strasbourg delegate to the diet, hoped to overcome theological disagreement and called on Bucer and Capito in hopes that they might convince the princes to allow Strasbourg to sign the Augsburg Confession.

Bucer was an ideal candidate. Converted to the notion of theological reform by Luther in 1518 and a close theological ally of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI’S for a time, Bucer believed that unity was of the utmost importance and dedicated himself to its pursuit. Failing in their attempts to persuade the Lutheran theologians and forbidden by Elector John to sign the Augsburg Confession, the Strasbourg delegates were forced into writing their own confession. Bucer and Capito drafted the Tetrapolitan Confession, which purposefully mimicked PHILIPP MELANCHTHON’S Augsburg Confession. Even the article on Holy Communion (Article XVIII) was written in an attempt to persuade the Lutherans of the essential agreement of the Strasbourg position with their own. Ultimately only three other South German cities joined in their support of the Tetrapolitana; the Lutherans rejected it completely. Because it ultimately satisfied no one it was later replaced by other more specific Reformed Confessions.

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DAVID M. WHITFORD

THEOLOGY

Protestant theology is faith seeking understanding, *fides quaerens intellectum*. It is a way of speaking of God that arises naturally from the biblical witness to God's saving presence in the world, and which thereby has as its ultimate origin God's Word, the crucified Christ. FAITH in this sense is God's gift of God's Son, in which gift lies the meaning of creation and of ourselves as God's creatures.

Faith seeking understanding is a definition of theology that was made famous by its appearance in the work of Anselm of CANTERBURY, but which comes to characterize most appositely those changes in European thought that occur in the sixteenth century and which have come to be recognized as the Protestant REFORMATION. By understanding faith as something that comes from God, rather than human discovery or ingenuity, the first reformers were able to identify the single most important aspect of how human beings understand their relationship with God. That quality is the way in which humans live *coram deo*, before God. "Living before God," properly understood biblically as a relationship with Jesus of Nazareth, is the starting point of any deeper understanding of Protestant theology.

The biblical origin of this way of thinking about theology can be recognized if one considers the sophisticated interpretation of *coram deo* in MARTIN LUTHER'S early career. Luther, teaching the exegesis of Scripture in Wittenberg 1513–1515 and reacting against the received conventions of several versions of scholasticism, was involved in the study of the Psalms. His work was characterized by a strong emphasis on the fallen nature of human existence as a consequence of SIN, and in particular by the abject unworthiness of human beings in God's eyes. For Luther this reality was constantly in evidence through the manifold temptations that confront humanity, and which humanity constantly fails to resist. Luther's word here for temptation—*Anfechtung*—is vitally important for any understanding of the origins of Protestant theology because of its ability to characterize humanity's fallen nature.

The notion of *Anfechtung* remains with Luther throughout his career, so that not only his own work up until his death in 1546, but also the work of his successors, is best understood in its immediate light. It is, as Gordon Rupp so memorably named it, "that unremitting spiritual conflict which never ends until death" (Rupp 1953:105), and which crucially is nothing less than humanity's just deserts for its sinful nature. Or, better expressed: *Anfechtung* is the manifestation of not only humanity's sinfulness, but also God's righteous anger when faced by that same sin. God's righteousness, therefore, is for the early Luther God's justified condemnation of our sinful lives, and the fear and collapse we feel as a result is the necessary consequence of our realization that we stand condemned before God—*coram deo*.

Anfechtung has another popular translation in Luther's Bible: the wrath of God. For Luther the Psalms are replete with evidence of humanity's dereliction before this same divine anger. Here one recognizes again and again Luther's acknowledgment of this

situation and, as significantly, his confirmation of the theology that binds humanity's fate to the outcome of this condemnation. Out of this apparently hopeless predicament, however, arises a deeper and more positive understanding of God's love, and ultimately an insight that comes to characterize all true Protestant theology, both Lutheran and Reformed. Stated simply, Luther began to realize in 1514–1515 that the most profound manifestation of our temptation is the "*tentatio cogitationum de securitate*," that temptation to seek and believe that one has obtained the security of holding faith beyond all doubt; namely, spiritual certainty. Such an understanding does violence to faith, argues Luther, because it fails to recognize that faith is always in the balance; faith is never secure, but must always be delivered by God. That faith comes from God, and that God freely gives it to the repentant sinner not because of anything he/she has done, but in spite of everything he/she is.

When Luther starts to understand the fragile character of humanity's grip on faith, and yet the sovereign immortality of faith itself as God's gift to the world, then he begins to understand that faith as a gift is not the product of a righteous anger and condemnation—however justified this might be—but rather of a divine love that cannot be constrained but that must be freely given. The resolution of humanity's *Anfechtung*, consequently, is to be found not in a doctrine of justification by endless religious observation, but rather in Luther's famous doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by faith alone, which Luther identifies by working through the depth of humanity's rejection of God, and God's insistent overcoming of that same rejection.

There is a consistent logic at work in Luther's theology after this primary discovery. Luther understands after 1515 that faith is about love, and love is about God's embrace of the world, not its rejection. Although it is true to say for Luther therefore that sin always remains a visceral reality in a man's life, nevertheless the meaning of his faith, and the true origin of Protestant theology, is to bring people before God, so that they might hear the Word, repent, and slowly learn to follow lives of Christian discipleship. It is this quality, rather than the more melodramatic images of Luther nailing theses to a church door in 1517, or before the DIET OF WORMS in 1521, that characterizes Luther's deepest insights. It is why Protestant theology, at its outset, is about God's love of people and where those same people discover that love, rather than being about the church. It is this very practical emphasis, rather than a rejection of mediation, that brings Luther to his split with the Catholic Church in 1517–1521.

The clearest example of this development in Luther's theology came in 1522 in his famous Wittenberg sermons, which were delivered over eight consecutive days and in which Luther gives his first sustained exposition of his theology. The occasion was Luther's return from the Wartburg, and the anxieties caused by the overly accelerated rate of reform in Wittenberg effected by other figures there, most notably ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON KARLSTADT. What makes these sermons so significant is the way in which they establish those same principles that will inform not only the development of the German Reformation in the 1520s and 1530s, but also the consistent development of Protestant theology ever since.

The first sermon was preached on March 9, 1522, *Invocavit* Sunday. Luther admonishes Wittenberg for its sins, judging the reformers' conduct in the light of God's will, rather than their own ecclesial aspirations. In so doing he clearly outlines the basis of his belief and theology:

Dear friends, the kingdom of God—and we are that kingdom—does not consist in talk or words, but in activity, in deeds, in works and exercises. God does not want hearers and repeaters of words, but followers and doers, and this occurs in faith through love. For a faith without love is not enough—rather it is not faith at all, but a counterfeit of faith, just as a face seen in a mirror is not a real face, but merely the reflection of a face. (LW 51:68)

Luther returns to this theme again and again throughout the sermons, reiterating constantly his main theme that the BIBLE teaches the faithful to be justified before God, to understand this justified faith as the basis of all Christian practice, and to support each other in building up God's people on earth. Such, Luther states, is the heart of the Gospel, and all other questions, concerning images, the sacraments, and CONFESSION and absolution, are secondary to this principal doctrine. As Luther concludes, at the end of this same first sermon: "If we do not earnestly pray to God and act rightly in this matter, it looks to me as if all the misery which we have begun to heap upon the papists will fall upon us" (LW 51:70).

There are five key themes that arise naturally from Luther's Wittenberg sermons, and that characterize orthodox Protestant theology: the authority of the Bible as the proclaimed Word of God; human existence before God, which embraces repentance and justification by faith alone; the relationship between faith and reason; the pastoral emphases of Protestant theology, which includes questions of church-state relations and theological education; pietism as the mark of the true congregation. In what follows, an understanding of these central themes will be developed in conjunction with an interpretation of the evolution of Protestant theology.

The Authority of the Bible

For Protestantism the Bible is the proclaimed word of God, identified in its theological meaning with the revealed Word of God, Jesus Christ. The Bible's authority rests on its unique status as the divinely inspired witness to God's act of self-disclosure. That uniqueness is not to be understood contingently, as if the Bible were unique because it just happens to be the only record to what took place in the first Christian communities. Rather, the Bible is unique because it, like Christ himself, is God's gift of God to creation. In the Bible we receive God as God speaks to us, its words resonant with God's Word.

The origin of such a reading of biblical authority lies in the development of Luther's understanding of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, meaning also that the distinctively Protestant sense of biblical authority is linked with Luther's rejection of scholasticism. This fact is significant, not because it implies that scholastic theologies were uninterested in the Bible (which would be erroneous), but because it identifies a tension with other forms of AUTHORITY that, for Protestantism, must always be resolved in favor of the Bible. For Protestantism, scholasticism's emphasis on the power

of reason to resolve questions of divine being must always be secondary to the disclosure of revealed knowledge in the Bible. Thus, although it is undoubtedly true that many Protestant theologians have sought to place reason (and other cognate authorities) within their work, nevertheless such attempts must always give way to the Bible in a genuinely Protestant theology.

This requirement has not always been met without tension. Although it was true, therefore, that the primacy of biblical authority was largely unchallenged during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the advent of biblical criticism in the eighteenth century, founded on a developing appreciation of the significance of scientific reasoning, presented important challenges. Similarly, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER'S Reformed theology constituted a diminution of biblical authority in favor of more philosophical arguments derived from IMMANUEL KANT, which was certainly how KARL BARTH responded to Schleiermacher's work in the early part of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding Barth's great significance in that period, however, nineteenth-century neo-Kantianism continued to exert an influence on Protestant theology into the 1950s, a situation that one finds in the background to the work of such figures as JÜRGEN MOLTMANN, WOLFHART PANNENBERG, and Eberhard Jüngel.

Such challenges are significant because they make Protestantism think again about the role of the authority of the Bible in its understanding of faith. The Bible is not authoritative because it is old; rather, the Bible is authoritative because it is God's. In this respect neither philosophies, nor social theories, nor cultural and aesthetic achievements are in the same way God's. They are humanity's achievements, and as such are of necessity secondary to the Bible. None of this requires human reflection to avoid attempting to make sense of the Bible, and none of it vitiates the significance of biblical exegesis and theological interpretation. The simple given of the authority of the Bible, however, is the origin of all Protestant theology. Everything else flows from it.

Coram Deo

If one asks why the Bible has this authority, moving on from the simple fact of its being given by God, one recognizes that in the Bible one stands before God; that *coram deo*, as Luther had it, is the defining characteristic of biblical humanity. Again, if one contrasts that with, say, philosophy or social theory, then one would say that standing before philosophy is standing before a human construct; or at best, standing before certain principles of indeterminate status. The best philosophers, GEORG W.F. HEGEL and Martin Heidegger for example, are clearly aware of this distinction and do not understand their philosophies as functioning in the same way, or with the same character, as faith. This fact did not stop theologians like RUDOLF BULTMANN from attempting to draw together certain methodological and conceptual parallels with, for example, Heidegger's historical phenomenology. It must be acknowledged, however, that the attempt was not always successful, and certainly not universally popular with Protestant churches, both Lutheran and, particularly, Reformed.

The same comments about the authority of the Bible, therefore, also apply to the doctrine of *coram deo*, with the qualification that certain theologians, for example Schleiermacher, have taken the *coram deo* argument seriously, without necessarily

positioning the Bible as its sole medium. Schleiermacher's idea of religion's "sense and taste for the infinite," for example, could be argued to take very seriously a notion of standing before God. Schleiermacher would not be willing to limit it to the Bible, however, preferring instead to position the idea as something akin to a universal opportunity for the individual, which is clearly problematic for orthodox Protestantism. The idea of *coram deo* itself can be problematic for Protestantism, if it is so closely restricted to the Bible that it does not leave sufficient room for the DOCTRINE of the church. One might argue, under such circumstances, that a fundamental distinction between Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism is in their doctrine of the church, and the mediating role the church plays in communicating God's presence to believers. If orthodox LUTHERANISM has rather more of an emphasis on Word and People, therefore, it is probably true to say that Reformed Protestantism understands "Church and People" as being as key a component as "Bible and People." Certainly, that would be the sense emerging from figures like HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, MARTIN BUCER, and JOHN CALVIN in the Swiss Reformed Churches in the sixteenth century.

If the question is about *coram deo*, therefore, it is also about mediation, and indeed immediation, an issue that has always been problematic for Protestantism because of the close historic ties between mainstream and radical (often Anabaptist) Reformations. There is a radicalism in Protestantism, evident today in the many conservative evangelical movements (see EVANGELICALISM), that wants to think in terms of a Pentecostal and immediate inspiration for the Christian life, imbued with the Spirit and independent of mediation by church and sacrament and even, arguably, the Bible. Although it is undoubtedly wrong to suggest simply that such positions constitute bad theology, nevertheless it is more plausible to argue that, properly understood, orthodox Protestantism is as much a religion of mediation in principle as Catholicism—the principle being, however, mediation through the Bible, *coram deo*.

Faith and Reason

Because of its historical origins in the sixteenth century, and particularly the intellectual shift from medieval to modern mindsets, Protestant theology has generally been coincidental with the development of scientific reasoning, something that particularly came to characterize Protestant exegesis of the Bible from the early eighteenth century onward. This coincidence can be understood in terms of the relationship between faith and reason that to a great degree becomes in modernity the relative tension between epistemology in general, and theological epistemology in particular. Or, stated differently: the tension is between general theories of how we know things, which are commonly the domain of philosophy or science, and theological theories of how we know things, which for Christianity are theories of how God makes God known in the world. As has been demonstrated, for Protestantism the latter questions are ones of biblical authority.

The shift from medieval to modern here is informative because the various schools of scholastic theology, against which Luther struggled, were concerned with understanding

how reason could be employed to demonstrate the will or mind or being of God, often in terms of how, by analogy, theology could reason itself philosophically back toward the divine by starting from the natural. To turn Luther's thoughts around, for certain strands of scholasticism it was not so much *coram deo* as *coram mundo*—the latter allowing us to demonstrate how and why God created the world, including humanity. For Protestantism, by contrast—both Lutheran and Reformed traditions—God's creative will/being/mind allows of no demonstration: it is axiomatic that God wills to create, because—as the Bible states—God is love. So as God is love is axiomatic, so also is the medium by which God communicates this will to the world; that is, the Word and the word, Jesus and the Bible. One thereby arrives at a very arresting view of the relationship between faith and reason, established in the confessed authority of the Bible: we know things because God tells us things, a proposition that cannot be demonstrated, but rather only confessed as Word and Gospel.

This understanding of the relationship between faith and reason has dominated Protestant theology ever since Luther and Calvin, both positively and negatively. Positively, it has allowed generations of theologians, from GOTTHOLD LESSING through to SØREN KIERKEGAARD and on to FRANZ OVERBECK and Barth and then Moltmann, to return to biblical first principles, certain in the conviction that their Protestantism is determined by the axiomatic character of the Protestant witness to truth. Negatively, however, it has also provoked generations of Protestant thinkers, from Kant and Schleiermacher through neo-Kantianism and ADOLF VON HARNACK to Bultmann and Pannenberg, to struggle with the precise role of general or philosophical reflection in relation to Christian belief. It is probably best not to understand these tensions as either right or wrong *per se*, but rather as indicative *per accidens* of the Protestant struggle with Luther's doctrine of *coram deo*. It is more a matter of understanding—and then teaching—something of what it is to be human, to understand axiomatically what it is to be divine, as hearers and Speaker of the Word, respectively. Orthodox Protestant doctrine, however, argues that the relationship between faith and reason is one in which the former always conditions the latter, not vice versa.

Theology's Pastoral Character

The Protestant understanding of the relationship between faith and reason helps to make sense of theology's pastoral character, which otherwise can too often be reduced to an echo of biblical images of the Good Shepherd that, although not insignificant, are perhaps too open to naïve interpretation. Protestant theology's pastoral character, as exemplified by Luther's Wittenberg sermons, is really a matter of lay education. The pastoral quality of Protestant theology consists in leading the People of God to a deeper understanding of their position *coram deo*, and a better understanding of their faithful responsibilities to God in the light of Christ's saving death on the cross. Gerald Strauss characterized this initiative in the 1520s as "Luther's House of Learning" (Strauss 1978), and the early Reformation's commitment to the provision of new CATECHISMS, family Bibles, village pastors, and public confessions, was evidence not so much of the desire to build a

new church, as to make the ordinary people understand and own their responsibilities to God. To a large extent similar initiatives were followed by Zwingli in Zurich and Bucer in Strasbourg, and slightly later Calvin in Geneva, who codified these protestant pastoral concerns into a more systematic understanding of what it was to be a Reformed Christian.

The important features of this turn in Protestant theology, and why it is best described as “pastoral,” can be enumerated quite straightforwardly. First, Protestant theology originates in the conviction that there is a right relationship with God, as realized in Jesus Christ, and as proclaimed in the Gospels and the Letters of St. Paul. Properly understood, therefore, the role of the pastor is to teach people how to return to this right relationship with God, something that God achieves in peoples’ hearts and which is known in repentance and confession. This in turn leads, second, to the need to keep people together as the People of God, which means avoiding fragmentation and individualization by teaching people as communities, and equipping them with the means to remain together; that is, Bible and WORSHIP, or better, Word and the SACRAMENTS of baptism and Eucharist (see LORD’S SUPPER). Only in this way, third, can the People of God realize its moral commitments to God, commitments that are better realized as the cost of discipleship.

Even today these central features of Protestant theology’s pastoral character are realized in countless congregations in very straightforward terms. The difficulty with modernity, however, has been in the way that this pastoral character has been replaced on occasions by a more secular understanding of the therapeutic role of religion, which has tended historically to work against the communal character of Protestantism, toward a more individualized notion of what it is to be saved. As with faith and reason the tension here is chronic, something that remains always a major part of being a modern religion. At its worst, however, arguably in many Western, outwardly Protestant denominations, this tendency has produced religious movements that are not really Protestant congregations in any orthodox sense, but rather collections of amorphously religious individuals.

Pietism

One might argue that the tendency toward such individualization is an inherent weakness in Protestantism, as with the relationship between faith and reason, stemming from its peculiar historical origins. On such a reading, one might argue that it is Protestantism’s inherent PIETISM that is both its greatest strength and its greatest weakness, if that same pietism is defined as Protestantism’s instinct for life before God, in the light of Word and sacraments. On such a reading there is something almost inevitably human in the desire or need to understand standing before God as something pious individuals must own for themselves, just as the same pious individuals must repent for themselves, and indeed confess for themselves. In these terms the question of the right response to God, which characterizes so much of Protestantism’s heart and soul, is inevitably for most people going to be an individual response to God. It is the way human beings relate to others, and therefore The Other: as individuals.

Here one arrives at the heart of the matter. In keeping with what has been said about the relationship between faith and reason, one might acknowledge that it is intrinsically human to behave as individuals, and that this tendency is something sciences like anthropology and psychology can elucidate for theology. Nevertheless, this is not the same thing as saying that this is the way in which human beings should behave, and certainly not the same thing as saying that this is how they should behave *coram deo*. Protestantism teaches that human beings before God are called to return to the People of God, which means they are called to return to being together one with the Lord (to state it devotionally). This is why all of the essential structures of Protestant theology—the authority of the Bible, standing before God, the tension between faith and reason, and Protestant theology’s pastoral character—are properly understood as communal realities, as principles that are true because they are shared, with each other and, most important, with God. Properly understood, the principles of Protestant theology pull people back toward the Protestant understanding of Trinitarian Incarnationalism, the central doctrines of the Christian faith that are only intelligible as the actions of the communal God.

The historical origins of the Protestant Reformation demonstrate this reality clearly enough, so that it is justified to speak of pietism as a shared practice of devotion that arose as early communities, orthodox and Anabaptist (see ANABAPTISM), were placed under considerable duress by Catholic and secular authorities in the sixteenth century. The Hutterite Communities (see HUTTERITES), which later evolved to include the Moravian Brethren and which in turn profoundly influenced Schleiermacher and subsequently Karl Barth, typify this pietistic tendency. Pietism, on this reading, is a distinctive feature of Protestantism not simply because it reflects the essential characteristics of its theology, but also because it was the historical lived experience of generations of Protestant Christians in Europe and subsequently around the world. As such it is exemplified in the many social and cultural achievements that Protestantism has given the world, from the integration of civil and religious understandings of shared authority through to the great traditions of hymnody and chorales that are often the bestknown features of Protestantism, and arguably some of its finest theologies (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS; Music).

If this analysis comes close to speaking of Protestant theology as the elucidation of first principles in the tense relationship between the KINGDOM OF GOD and the kingdom of the world, then that is simply to state the case in Luther’s explicit terms. The key point for Protestant theology then becomes how to teach people fidelity to these first principles, all the time being sensitive to the fact that those same people are called to become one in the midst of a world that pulls them away from God and each other, toward a misguided sense of themselves as free agents. To refer to this conviction as “Pietism” is not to trivialize Protestant religiosity as emotive or sentimental, but rather to identify Protestantism as a religion of observation and devotion, one in which the taught praxis of discipleship is as important as the theological sense of the confessed Word.

Protestant Theology Today

Even though these historic strands remain normative for orthodox Protestant theology, contemporary social and cultural pressures obtain. Although the question of justification remains central to Protestantism, therefore, as the recent dialogue with Rome demonstrates, Protestant theology has also to come to terms with a very wide range of issues, including human SEXUALITY, HIV/AIDS, interfaith Dialogue, ECOLOGY, and so forth (see DIALOGUE, INTERCONFESSIONAL). These pressures mean that the tension between theological consistency, on the one hand, and theological relevance, on the other, are probably more heightened than at any time since the sixteenth century. The differing theologies of Pannenberg and Moltmann, for example—the former inherently conservative, pursuing the classical themes of Protestant thought, the latter far more attentive to contemporary issues, albeit within an orthodox framework—highlight the kind of tension that now exists. This is to reckon without the very many practicing theologians who would regard themselves as Protestant, and who would yet be generally identified far more with one particular issue, as is the case, for example, with various feminist theologians (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY).

In a world where there are now literally thousands of Protestant denominations, many of them taking a profoundly conservative view of the evangelical character of the Christian faith, particularly in relation to social issues, it would seem likely that any defining sense of orthodox Protestant theology is doomed to increasing fragmentation. The possibilities, however, are more promising, particularly if one returns to an authentic sense of the origins of faith itself. If Christian BAPTISM functions for Protestantism as the entry into a new creation, therefore (II Corinthians 5:17), binding all believers together into one People of God, then the requirement to address the salvation of the old creation becomes a religious responsibility identifiable with the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost. If there is one consistency in Protestant theology that holds together Lutheran and Reformed Churches, it is the conviction that the eschatological character of revelation marks human existence out in a unique way, and that that uniqueness is really a oneness of which many aspects are but reflections and refractions.

The apparent fragmentation of contemporary Protestant theology, consequently, albeit a symptom of the identity crisis of contemporary society, is also implicitly acknowledged in the original understanding of the Christian faith itself. No one believed that resolving the tension between old and new was ever straightforward. Paul and Luther did say, however, that it would be necessary, if the Word of God were to be genuinely confessed to souls in need of redemption. Such was the gist of Luther's sermons to the Wittenberg congregation in 1522: that the path would be rocky because the needs of the faithful were many and the Word of God was One.

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THEOLOGY, AFRICAN

See African Theology

THEOLOGY, ASIAN

See Asian Theology

THEOLOGY, BLACK

See Black Theology

THEOLOGY, COVENANT

See Covenant Theology

THEOLOGY EDUCATION: ASIA

In the earliest centuries of Christianity in Asia, theological education was very much linked with the theological developments in the West. Although Antioch is technically in West Asia, we usually speak of early Asian Christianity as Christian communities east of the Roman Empire, in Persia and thus east of Antioch. Some of the themes of theological education from this early period—close relations with the West, contextualization of theology in Asia, and languages used in theological education—continue throughout the history of Christianity in Asia. Before the advent of Protestant churches in Asia, theological education was generally monastic, focused on memorization of scripture and learning to follow the exegesis of the “great teachers.” In the School of Nisibis, for example, the basic curriculum was the BIBLE, taught in Syriac, following the teaching of the great Nestorian doctors. The theology of this school was determined by its relationship with the West.

Protestant theological education came to each new region with the earliest resident missionaries. Protestants pioneered most all of the BIBLE TRANSLATION work in Asia, and this meant that people needed to learn to read. Thus, the normal progression would be from a small group of language helpers studying the Bible in a missionary’s home, to a small class of recent converts to a “school” taught by one or two missionaries, to a more formal “Bible college.” Some of the early Protestant missionaries saw the need to establish seminaries, but little was done until the nineteenth century. In the East Indies, for example, Dutch chaplains working mostly with Dutch, but with a concern for training Ambonese pastors, proposed in the 1630s that a seminary be established in the East Indies. The Dutch could not yet envision theological education anywhere except in Europe, so these ideas were never carried out. For a brief period of one decade in the middle of the eighteenth century (1745–1755), the first Protestant seminary was established in the East Indies, but in its 10 years it graduated only two students. The Dutch seemed to have more commitment to Asian theological education in Ceylon. After rooting out the Portuguese, they imitated the Iberians by starting two SEMINARIES, one in Colombo (1685) and another in Jaffna (1690). And yet Europeans, both Roman Catholic and Protestants, still sent most of their candidates for ministry to Europe to get a “proper” theological education. Only in the later part of the nineteenth century can we talk about seminary education carried out by Europeans in Asia with the confidence that future pastors could be educated for ministry without going to Europe. The very earliest Protestant missionaries (as opposed to chaplains) in Asia, the Danish-Pietist mission in Tranquebar, South India, began to teach catechists who were to be ordained as the first Protestant pastors in INDIA. Until the development of the Baptist college at Serampore, this method of private tutoring was the standard used.

Developments in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century, most of the pioneering Protestant theological centers were established from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. Virtually all countries in Asia, excluding KOREA, Vietnam, JAPAN and Nepal, had developed some type of Protestant Bible colleges or institutes for preparing local pastors in the nineteenth century. One of the first countries that developed schools for training pastors was India. In 1818 the Serampore Trio of WILLIAM CAREY, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward established Serampore as the first Protestant college in India. As with many Christian colleges in Asia, Serampore began with the dual mission of reaching out to the non-Christian elite and providing theological training for the young Christians. It was not until 1910 that higher theological education was added, and in 1918 a consortium of Christian schools under the "Serampore Senate" was established. By this time, BIBLE COLLEGES and seminaries were being established in most other regions of Asia. For the most part, schools established in the nineteenth century were started by MISSIONS or denominations and reflected the particular theological outlook of the mission. In the twentieth century, with the rising tide of the ecumenical movement, many union or ecumenical schools were established.

In Burma, formal theological education began with the Baptist school started by E.L. Abbot in Thandwe in 1840. Originally founded to educate converts in the faith, this school developed into a seminary for training Baptist clergy. The first Protestant seminary in Thailand was the Evangelistic Training School, founded by the Laos Mission of the Presbyterian Church in 1889. After various starts and stops, the school was finally named after the great Protestant pioneer in northern Thailand, Daniel McGilvary. The McGilvary Theological Seminary taught advanced courses in English beginning in 1926, but soon added the Thai medium. In Pakistan, the Punjab Synod of the Presbyterian Church of North America established the first seminary for the region. Immediately, other churches (including Scotch Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans, and others) began to establish their own schools. In Korea, the first resident Methodist missionary in Korea, Henry Appenzeller, began training three Korean Christians in his home. This group became the core of a theological class that in time became Methodist Theological Seminary in Seoul.

Theological Education Comes of Age in Asia

In northern Korea, a Presbyterian pioneer, Samuel A. Moffett, also began teaching young pastors in his home in Pyongyang in 1901. Classes were held during the off seasons for farmers and those in rhythm with the agricultural calendar. Students were taught for three or four weeks, and then they returned to their villages and passed on what they had learned during their planting or harvesting seasons. This became what today is one of the largest seminaries in the world, The Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, now based in Seoul.

In CHINA, the basic strategy of the Protestant denominational missions was to reach China through education. Thus, colleges and universities providing Christian perspectives on the sciences were as much of a priority as theological seminaries. By 1876, there were a reported 20 training centers for Christian leaders with 231 students. By 1906, this had increased to 68 schools with 772 men and 543 women enrolled. It is clear from these last statistics that from the very beginning in China, the training of both WOMEN and men was important to the effort to reach all of the society. Women were generally educated to be “Bible women,” passing out Bibles and engaging local households and villages in the study of the Bible. Some of the theological education for women however, was on par with the education given to men, requiring courses in church history and theological studies, as well as in the Bible.

Although new seminaries were being started in CHINA, as in other countries in Asia, there was also a movement to consolidate or combine efforts in larger institutional work such as seminaries, colleges, and hospitals. In 1910, for example, Nanking became a Union Bible School by combining three older schools from four missions. In the first decades of the twentieth century, with the rapid increase in Christian college graduates, there developed in China as much as anywhere in Asia a two-tiered type of theological education. Some students received a four-year certificate after completing a basic theological education. These students had little or no previous formal education. Other students had graduated from the new “Western-style” colleges and would follow the more traditional three-year Bachelor of Divinity or Masters of Divinity program from the West.

In Vietnam, the Nhatrang Bible and Theological Institute was founded in 1921 by missionaries of the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE (CMA) Church. The seminary (first called the Tourane Bible College) grew from eight students that first year to sixty-six students in 1927. The CMA later started Bible colleges in Cambodia in 1925, Thailand in 1936, and then Laos in 1957. With the Communist victory in Vietnam, the Institute was closed in 1976, with 264 students studying at the time. All Protestant theological education in Vietnam had found its home in this important school.

Along with the rapid development of theological education in the twentieth century came movements of NATIONALISM and contextualization. As more and more pastors are taught in their local contexts, in their own language, a pool of indigenous theologians has begun to develop. Christian leaders are often among the better-educated people in Asian countries, and they often respond to social and political issues with greater understanding. Although we see the results of this theological development in such movements as the Korean Independence Movement (1919) and the number of theological leaders supporting the end of the Qing Dynasty in China, it was not until after the Pacific War and the ensuing independence movements that indigenous Christian leaders began to make a national and continent-wide impact.

During the height of Japanese imperialism, it became most clear that theological education is both shaped by and shapes cultures and countries. In Japan, the rise of Japanese imperialism brought with it state-directed reordering of Christian institutions. To ensure close supervision by the Japanese government, church institutions were forced to combine efforts and organizations. As a result, the fifteen seminaries and departments of theology started by various denominations in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century were merged to form three seminaries in 1941. After the war, these

merged into Tokyo Union Theological seminary. A similar development occurred with the Communist victories in China. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of regional seminaries were started in China (such as the Sheng Dao Guan [Methodist]), and other theological schools were attached to the Protestant colleges (such as at Shanghai Baptist College). However, after 1951, these regional schools were again consolidated. Yenching Union Theological Seminary, for example, was the merger of thirteen Protestant seminaries from northern China and Nanjing (“Jinling”) seminary was the product of a merger of twelve Protestant Bible schools and seminaries in East China directed by the Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee in 1952. In 1961 these two seminaries were merged to form Nanjing Union Theological Seminary, the one national seminary of the China Christian Council in China. The other regional seminaries were also organized through the CCC as approved by the government.

Diversification and Growth After Independence Movements

In the last half of the twentieth century, theological education in Asia exploded, both in terms of increased diversity and in terms of the number of schools and organizations for overseeing theological education. A number of trends deserve mention for this most recent period. First, newer missions and churches began to establish their own schools for training pastors. The day of the ecumenical cooperation ended and the day of free-market proliferation of seminaries had begun. Many missions and churches, in both Asia and the West, became critical of the liberal orientation of established seminaries. Thus, schools like Union Biblical Seminary (originally in Yeotmal) were founded to provide an alternative to the more liberal education of Serampore or United Theological College. Union, in fact, was started by eleven church and mission groups, including the Evangelical Fellowship of India. In Singapore, the ecumenical or union seminary, Trinity Theological College, was founded in 1948 (English medium) and Singapore Theological Seminary (now Singapore Bible College) was founded four years later (Chinese medium). Two other theological divisions from the West, fundamentalism and pentecostalism, promoted the founding of other seminaries supporting these particular theologies. In Nepal, one of the earliest theological schools after Nepal opened up to Christian worship was an ASSEMBLIES OF GOD institute established in 1980 as a nine-month training program for pentecostal pastors. Pentecostal schools are now the fastest-growing schools in Asia.

In the 1950s and 1960s, these newer seminaries and Bible colleges were mostly founded by Western leaders. By the 1970s, however, an increasing number were being founded by Asian leaders. Most of the theological schools founded since 1980 in Asia were started by Asians who felt constrained by the older seminaries built on Western models. Indians have founded schools in Nepal, Singaporeans have started schools in Cambodia, and Koreans are founding schools all over Asia.

A second trend since World War II is the development of Asian forms of theological education. In south Asia, this has meant using the pattern of the Ashram or “retreat” center for theological education. The Nepal Bible Ashram, for example, was founded on

May 14, 1981 in the village of Jorpati, east of Kathmandu. The first group of 11 students were all converts from Hinduism. This Ashram, like many others, has developed a local curriculum (including reading through the whole Bible, because most of the students would not have done so), health care, agricultural studies, and adult literacy.

A third trend worth noting is the development of associations for the standardization of theological education in Asia. These associations help coordinate theological education, and they usually provide some type of accrediting for seminaries and Bible schools. Most of these associations had some type of relationship with theological education in the West, either as a reaction to other developments or as an extension of these developments. In 1968 the Philippine Association of Bible and Theological Schools (PABATS) was formed to bring together in cooperation Philippine schools that shared a common evangelical heritage. At its founding it included 17 schools, but by the twenty-first century more than one-half of the Protestant schools had been involved in some way in PABATS. The ecumenical Association for Theological Schools in Southeast Asia was formed in 1957 in Singapore, with 16 schools in the original membership. This is one of the most active associations (now called the Association for Theological Education in Southeast Asia), accrediting theological schools in Southeast Asia, publishing the *Asia Journal of Theology*, as well as operating the Southeast Asia Graduate School of Theology (SEAGAST). Like the Serampore Senate in India, SEAGAST pools the faculty and libraries of member schools in the region to provide advanced training in theological studies. A parallel organization, the Asia Theological Association, does the same thing for schools that are more evangelical in theology. There are some schools that have dual membership, demonstrating that the divisions in Asia are not always the same as those in the West.

A fourth trend in Asian theological education is the contextualizing of the curriculum and the courses themselves. In most Asian seminaries, a general course in church history, as well as a course in national or regional church history, is required. Most seminaries also are teaching in a local language (with India the major exception to this), but another research language, like English, is required. Thus, in most seminaries modern languages are being taught along with biblical languages. Theological studies in seminaries often include required courses such as “Asian theologies” and “Minjung theology,” as these movements continue to develop. Most Asian seminaries also require courses in other Asian religions (e.g. Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam). These three subrends (local languages, local theologies, and local religions) are mutually enhancing to theological formation in Asia.

A fifth trend would have to be the rapid increase in Asian publications that are available and are being used in theological education. This is related to the fourth trend just mentioned, but it also has an economic cause: Books and periodicals printed in Asia are much more affordable for Asian students. For example, in 1973, supported by the German East Asia Mission Society, the Korea Theological Institute was formed, with the express purpose of promoting the best of modern, especially Korean, theological thinking. Its journal, *Shinhak Sasang (Theological Thought)*, as well as its translations of contemporary theological works, provides material for Korean seminaries and Bible colleges. Newer publications, like the *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, are beginning to express global movements from an Asian perspective. Larger projects, such as the

Church History Association of India's multivolume history of Christianity in India, are giving greater credibility and honor to Christianity as an Indian religion.

Finally, the last trend is the increasing number of women in theological education. Women entered theological education in Asia later than men, although from early in the nineteenth century, women were involved in ministries of teaching, EVANGELISM, and (later) medical work. Not until late in the twentieth century were women involved in higher theological education as both students and teachers. Through such regional organizations as the Christian Conference in Asia, as well as at national levels, women-supported networks and conferences were developed to meet the special needs of women in theological education. In 1978, for example, the Association of Women in Theology (AWIT) was formed in the Philippines with the purpose of supporting women's movements in theology. The AWIT was supported in part by the Asian Christian Women's Association. In some countries, including China, women are the backbone of theological education.

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THEOLOGY, EVANGELICAL

See Evangelicalism, Theology of

THEOLOGY, FEMINIST

Origins and Agenda

Feminist theology may be said to have appeared in the nineteenth century in the context of women's struggles in Europe and North America to better their legal, social, and economic condition, following on from the attempts of women in the period of the American and European revolutions in the eighteenth century to improve their lot. That early phase is classically represented by Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), which remained influential through the next century as women assimilated its arguments. Feminism and feminist theology has always been a "protest" movement, and North American Protestant women launched feminist theology on its way.

Although she was by no means the first to struggle with the biblical texts and their connections with women's position in church and society, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, a veteran campaigner for women's voting rights and for the abolition of slavery, coordinated a team of female collaborators to produce a best-seller, *The Woman's Bible* (1895–1898). This work attempted critically to evaluate what the Bible did and did not say about women, from the perspective of women. This was the first serious attempt to dislodge an exclusively male-centered (androcentric) perspective in biblical criticism and exposition. So from the beginning, feminist theology has been concerned with what is nowadays referred to as "gender," that is, relationships between the sexes, as these vary over time in different social and cultural conditions, and, crucially, the interaction of gender with how human beings respond to and understand God. Feminist theology has always been engaged with questions about how the use and interpretation of the Bible impacts on women's lives, and inevitably, therefore, also on their relationships to men. From this perspective, a central conviction is that women's perspectives are to be taken with utter seriousness in theology, because being female is just as important a dimension of being human as being male. A male-only focused understanding of reality is a distortion, and the Christian tradition needs to come to terms with the insights of feminist theology if it is to be reinvigorated and not to be seen to be yet one more religious tradition that does not unequivocally uphold the full human dignity of women. Feminist theology rejoices in complexity, readily acknowledging the need for much sensitivity to the complications of race and class, "grass roots" experience, and the legacies of colonialism, as well as working to have an impact on church and the academic world. No one group of feminist theologians presumes to speak for another, and learning to appreciate the perspectives of feminist theologians across the globe is an

important dimension of theological reflection. The names of Chung Hyun-Kyung, Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz, Mercy Amba Oduyoye, and Delores Williams are key here.

Feminist Biblical Theology

Feminist theologians endeavor to explore the riches and the limitations of biblical and related literature, even as many factors will affect the weight still to be given to biblical perspectives. Biblical texts have been used to argue for the submission of women to men and women's incapacity to represent God or Christ, since they have not seen to bear the image of God independently of men. Of particular interest to Feminist theologians are "feminine" images for God found in Biblical texts, especially the association of "Sophia," divine wisdom, with the dignity and intelligence of the human female/feminine. Related has been the complexity of allowing women to gain access to theological education, and to the linguistic and critical tools of biblical scholarship as it developed in the course of the twentieth century. Feminist theology has found common cause with feminist perspectives on biblical material from a whole range of other academic disciplines.

Outstanding work has been done, by Phyllis Trible for example, in her re-reading of texts from Genesis and the Song of Songs in her *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (1978). Here she finds resources to challenge convictions about women's inferiority and thus necessary subordination to men, and explores the way in which the "love-story gone wrong" is redeemed in the love lyrics of the Song of Songs. Trible tracks down overlooked female/feminine-related language for God in the Bible, language that is as reality-depicting as much as any language for God may be. Her *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (1984) explored appalling cases of violence to women in the Bible, prompting questions about the connections between the devaluation of women and their abuse, as well as the abuse of dependent children, which continues to be a live issue even in Christian contexts.

The most outstanding contribution to feminist theological interpretation of the New Testament is that of Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, first woman President of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1987, almost a century after the publication of *The Woman's Bible*. Fiorenza's book *In Memory of Her. A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (1983) was a Feminist landmark study. Central to this book is the conviction that women may claim Jesus and indeed the habits and practices of the earliest Christian communities as a prototype (not a blueprint) of their own history. The point here is that by taking clues from the beginnings of Christianity, with a future-orientated perspective rather than a backward-look, Christianity remains open to future transformation as it did in the first centuries of its existence. The implications are considerable, not only for the ways by which human beings understand God, but also for the structures of ecclesiology and ministry—sore points in many devout women's lives. By paying attention to what was at stake in the movement initiated by Jesus of Nazareth, the women and men associated with him, and the way they and later generations came to understand him, we can find resources to shift toward mutual acknowledgement of the full dignity and worth of all individuals. Some of her critics have insisted that Fiorenza is too generous in her

evaluation of early Christianity painting an idealized picture. Important, however, is Fiorenza's argument that faithful representation of the discipleship and apostolic leadership of women supports women in their efforts to appropriate Jesus' notion of love and service, so that they too may be seen as the image and body of Christ.

In another monograph, *Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet* (1994) Fiorenza turns her attention to Jesus' execution and the theology of the cross. This relates to Phyllis Trible's perspective in *Texts of Terror*, for feminist theology is suspicious of texts and traditions of interpretation which urge the willing suffering of violence, even when such suffering is allegedly redemptive, since such suffering makes the dominated serve the interests of the dominant. Rather, in the New Testament is evidence of the way in which the earliest Christians struggled to make sense of the disaster of Jesus' death, with the presence of women ascribed a leading role in the stories of his suffering, death and resurrection. At the center of these narratives is the future-orientated empty-tomb proclamation of Jesus as the vindicated, resurrected one, who is always ahead to summon a new future. Thus the challenge to believers, and to women especially, is to position themselves, as it were, within the "open space" of the empty tomb and the open road to Galilee, to experience and proclaim divine and life-enhancing transformation and empowerment.

Assessment and Further Agenda

Apart from the interests of feminist biblical theologians, attention to the texts of the Bible has characterized other fields of feminist study, such as archaeology, linguistics, social history, economics, literature, history, and anthropology. The interests of feminism have ensured that biblical criticism and biblical theology did not remain only the concerns of faculty of Religion and Theology in the academic world or institutions concerned with the training of future clergy, into which women have moved in large numbers in the latter half of the twentieth century. In turn, the insights of faculty in Religion and Theology that have an interest in "gender matters" help refresh biblical theology, and, not gender in relation to women, but also in relation to men.

One of the weaknesses of feminist theology in some of its modes, has been its indifference to the materials from the pens of historians, which illuminate the lives of women in the churches through the centuries. The legacy of the Reformation era deserves particular attention. There is much to be learned here, for the interpretation and evaluation of biblical texts and doctrines has never been a simple matter, not least where the lives of women have been concerned.

Feminist Doctrinal Theology

Doctrinal or systematic theology has been the central feature of the theological discipline, as the study of the first millennium alone reveals. In these times, creeds, doctrinal

reflection, and the Bible interrelated with one another, not least as the New Testament writings came into being, and were gradually established as an authorized list of readings. It is important to remember that one of the long-term aims of feminist theology is the reintegration of areas of theology too long and too often kept apart in the interests of habits of “academic” theology as that developed in universities over the last three centuries. At times neglected are sacramental theology, liturgy, pastoral practice, ethics, and popular piety. The reintegration of different areas of theology could have a major impact on the way not merely these disciplines, but also the topics within them, are to be treated. For instance, “liturgical theology,” that is, the context of worship in which most people learn their theology, has been engaging the attention of Protestant as well as Roman Catholic theologians for half a century, and it concerns itself with the work of poets and hymn-writers, as the work of Teresa Berger exemplifies. Feminist theology has only begun to engage with this area, or with inter-faith dialogue. The prospects are promising, however, because of the range of theological approaches both East and West, though feminist theology as yet has few interpreters from within the Orthodox family of churches, except on the issue of ordination, a touch-stone for many women of how they are regarded within their churches.

Key Developments

In the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church, two books by Mary Daly were the major catalyst for reappraisal of Christian doctrine. What Elizabeth Cady Stanton was to the nineteenth century, Mary Daly was for the twentieth. Defending her tradition in *The Church and the Second Sex* (1968), Daly wrote herself out of it. A groundbreaking book by Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Towards a Feminist Theology* (1983), recalled a fundamental principle that an understanding of Christ must be adequate for the salvation of women as well as men. The Incarnation reverses and undermines claims to privilege and status as Jesus undoes all claims to male dominance in his very vulnerability, thus revealing God to us. Ruether has become one of the most significant of recent voices in theology in the course of her career.

The most important writer of feminist doctrinal theology at the present time, however, is Elizabeth A. Johnson, not least in Roman Catholic-Lutheran interchurch discussion in the United States. She has tackled the issue of language for God, both biblical and non-biblical. Given the theological principle that God transcends both sex and gender, and the hope that God is given to us and we respond to God in humanly inclusive ways, we may name God in a variety of ways, each of which acts as a corrective to every other, reminding us of the mystery of God. To overcome the unease in formal expressions of belief about the association of the “feminine” with the divine, however, we need to go further than that and say that the “feminine” can of and by itself represent God in as full and in as limited a way as God is represented by the “masculine”: “She Who Is.” All of our language for God is inadequate, but it may be feminist theological insight that will revitalize the Trinitarian tradition and enable the praise of God in many ways. The use of

the doctrines and liturgies of the past for the insights they preserve, should be enriched. Johnson also wrote a major book on the “Communion of Saints,” taking the cue for her book title (“friends of God, and prophets”) from Wisdom 7.27. At once biblical and feminist, attending to the insights of ecological theology as well as to those of the Reformation and JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, her work is a major example of feminist ecumenical theology, exploring a credal doctrine and enlightening it for our time.

At this juncture, many women from different ecclesiastical backgrounds are contributing to the reshaping of theology, and it may be helpful to think of a theological schema based on the traditional pattern given by the creeds developed in the early period of the Church’s formation. One re-appreciation of a creed as a whole is the book by Elizabeth Rankin Geitz, and we may follow that with attention to new understandings of creation written by Celia Deane-Drummond, based on “wisdom theology.” A book by Shannon Shrein discussing two contrasting Christologies (those of Sallie McFague and Elizabeth Johnson) is illuminating, since these represent two approaches to Rosemary Radford Ruether’s perceptive question, “Can a male saviour save women?” The latter’s most recent book discusses the many ways in which women past and present have engaged with Christianity. The most pungent critique of sentimentality about women in some feminist theology is that by Angela West; and the most profound exploration of the experience of evil is Melissa Raphael’s book about women in Auschwitz, a feminist study of the meaning of holiness. Elina Vuola’s book tackles the limitations of liberation theology in dealing with the suffering and death of women in Latin America; Denise Ackerman’s book raises acute questions about “redemption” from South Africa. Serene Jones has written on the reconfiguration of the Church, tackling such central topics as “sanctification and justification,” and Susan Ross writes on the renewal of sacramental theology. And since some men are now feminist theologians, in addition to Elizabeth Johnson’s book on the Trinity, the work of Gavin D’Costa is much to be recommended.

See also Gender; Theology; Women; Women Clergy

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ANN LOADES

THEOLOGY, LIBERATION

See Liberation Theology

THEOLOGY, PROCESS

See Process Theology

THEOLOGY, TWENTIETH-CENTURY

The twentieth century began with great confidence in the powers of Western civilization. Europe was still in control of many of its colonies, and industrial and economic progress was celebrated in the United States. Nevertheless, the two World Wars, the HOLOCAUST, and the Depression of the U.S. economy soon changed this confidence and raised new questions that would have a deep impact on the future of theology. In this context, Protestant theology found itself in an ongoing struggle between adaptation and resistance.

Early Developments in Mainline Theology in Europe and North America

In the early decades of the twentieth century, academic Protestant theology was concentrated in Europe and the UNITED STATES, with German theology occupying one of the most prominent positions. Theologians in training from all over the world would spend time at German universities. Most theological discourse outside of Europe and the United States was shaped by the debates at the theology centers.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the most prominent manifestations of Protestant theology developed in close relationship with the interests and concerns of Western CULTURE. What was not seen as clearly at the time, however, was that this also implied a close relationship with political and economic developments.

The theologians of what has become known as “culture Protestantism” (see CULTURAL PROTESTANTISM) in GERMANY, for instance, were interested in showing the relevance of Christian theology in a culture that did not expect much from Christianity, and they sought to reestablish the place of Protestantism as a major force of civilization. In the very last decades of the nineteenth century, ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822–1889), seeking to leave behind metaphysics as a premodern discipline, grounds the theological enterprise in “the particular structures of revealed religion” and the “actuality of those structures in the founder and in the community” (Ritschl 1972:210). Here theology becomes a practical matter, embedded in history. Following in these footsteps, the project of ERNST TROELTSCH (1865–1923) is summarized in the foreword to his *The Social Teaching of Christian Churches* (1960) as “think[ing] through and formulat[ing] the world of Christian thought and life in frank relation to the modern world.” In these approaches, the ethical aspect of Christianity is central—“Christianity is first and foremost a matter of praxis”—and theology needs to make use of other disciplines, including history, philosophy of religion, and sociology to create a harmony

with state and society “in such a way that together they will form a unity of civilization.” (Troeltsch 1960:19, 32)

In the United States, similar efforts took shape. The work of SHAILER MATHEWS (1863–1941), a prominent representative of the liberal Chicago school of theology, is interested in the embeddedness of Christianity in the world. Christian belief in God is belief not in a force removed from the universe, but rather in a cosmic force that produces individual and social relationships. In this context, the work of WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH (1861–1918) introduces a different note. Rauschenbusch, like most other theologians of the early decades of the twentieth century, emphasizes the immanence of God and the social implications of Christianity. But Rauschenbusch opts for CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM rather than the liberal capitalism promoted by Mathews or the liberal state promoted by Troeltsch. Rauschenbusch, more aware than most theologians of his day of the devastating underside of industrial society (see INDUSTRIALIZATION), particularly in the lives of the workers and the unemployed of the inner cities, turned the attention of theology to the internal limits of Western culture and set out to “christianize” it. While he saw the failures of the modern world in sharper relief than most of his contemporaries in Europe and the United States and thus was less interested in adapting his theology to it, he did not give up the fundamental optimism of the liberal perspective and continued to believe in the possibility of reform (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

Theology and the World Wars

While the major theme in the early decades of the twentieth century was adaptation and in some cases reform, new voices after the end of World War I refused to adapt and introduced themes of resistance. Sensing that things have gone wrong in liberal society and in the liberal theology that catered to it, the most prominent voice of resistance was that of Swiss theologian KARL BARTH (1886–1968), who would emerge to be the most prominent theologian of the twentieth century. Barth critiqued the synthesis between Christianity and society of his predecessors and introduced a sharp contrast. Already early on, as pastor of bluecollar workers in Safenwil, SWITZERLAND, Barth picked up a new theological theme when he began to address God’s otherness. God is not with the powers that be, but rather where we usually do not expect Him: on the underside, with those who suffer.

The contrast between God and humanity emphasized by Barth has been developed in different ways by other members of what has been called “dialectical theology,” or NEO-ORTHODOXY, including Swiss theologian EMIL BRUNNER (1889–1966) and the German theologians FRIEDRICH GOGARTEN (1887–1967) and RUDOLF BULTMANN (1884–1976). While, under the shock of World War I, these theologians saw the shortcoming of liberal theology in focusing too strongly on humanity and not enough on God, they refused to sever the relation of God and humanity in their theological thinking. Brunner, in contradistinction to Barth, continued the search for a “point of connection” between humanity and God, and Gogarten tried to identify God in

the midst of human history to such an extent that in 1933 he united with the so-called “GERMAN CHRISTIANS” who found God at work in National Socialism (Gogarten, nevertheless, maintained a certain level of resistance when he rejected their racist ideology). Bultmann’s later efforts at demythologizing the Gospel to make it more understandable and useful for modern humanity show not only his efforts to adapt to the modern world (the remaining challenge of Christianity, where it must not adapt, has to do with the fact that God’s GRACE is given without merit), but also another aspect characteristic of this group of theologians: Humanity is seen by and large in terms of the modern middle class, with little awareness of the lower classes (except for the early Barth) and relatively little awareness of non-Western and non-European humanity. This is the case also in the work of the German-American theologian PAUL TILLICH (1886–1965) and his attempt to develop a “method of correlation” that brings together theological answers and existential human questions. Tillich’s questions identify the Western middle class’s anxiety, meaninglessness, and despair as universal human questions.

In this regard, the theology of DIETRICH BONHOEFFER (1906–1945), a theologian who was executed at the end of World War II for his resistance to Adolf Hitler and National Socialism, introduced a new element. In agreement with the new theological focus on the reality of God, Bonhoeffer argued for theology’s need to follow God where God has preceded us—not only out of the church into the world in general, but also to the underside of history—and to see things from that perspective. “Our relation to God is a new life in ‘existence for others’, through participation in the being of Jesus” (Bonhoeffer 1971:381). Bonhoeffer, whose life ended on the underside of Western culture and in persecution and imprisonment, provided new theological impulses without being able to pursue them to the next level.

In the United States, resistance took a different shape. Theologians like REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971) and his brother H. RICHARD NIEBUHR (1894–1962) began in their own ways to question the adaptation of the cultural characteristics of liberal theology. The central theological theme in their work and in a broader movement of that time known as neoorthodoxy is, as in continental dialectical theology, the sovereignty of God. In these approaches, however, this theme is connected with a stronger focus on the nature of human sinfulness. This leads to what is often seen as a more realistic assessment of the human predicament, picked up by so-called “Christian realism.” Against liberal optimism, these theologians seek to develop a view of God and the world that takes into account our limitations. H. Richard Niebuhr’s reflections on Christ and culture, for instance, expanded Troeltsch’s “historical relativism in the light of theological and theo-centric relativism” (Niebuhr 1951: xii). Niebuhr did not advocate relating Christ and culture either in terms of a synthesis (here he resisted liberal theology) or in terms of a contradiction (here he resisted more radical theologies of resistance). His sympathies tended to be closer to his final model, according to which Christ transforms culture. One of the achievements of these approaches is that they reintroduce concerns about sociopolitical developments into theological reflection. Reinhold Niebuhr’s assessment of colonialism is a case in point that demonstrates both the broad perspective of his work and the principles of Christian realism. Niebuhr is one of the few theologians to deal with the moral ambiguity of COLONIALISM. At the same time, however, Niebuhr defends U.S. imperialism by economic means as a more advanced model that

provides a service to the world. The European sense of ethnic and cultural superiority, in his opinion, was much worse and caused much more harm.

The Second Half of the Twentieth Century

The second half of the twentieth century was heavily influenced by the events of the first half. Theologians from both Jewish and Christian traditions have raised questions as to how theology can still be done in light of the murder of six million Jews in the Holocaust and in light of the two World Wars. Such questions have been taken up by German Protestant theologians like JÜRGEN MOLTMANN (1926–) and Dorothee Sölle (1929–2003), and American Protestant theologian Frederick Herzog (1925–1995). In an effort to inspire Christianity's engagement with its Jewish heritage, Moltmann's work developed to a significant degree in dialogue with Jewish theological themes, including fresh research on messianic and apocalyptic traditions.

Other mainline theologians went back to the basic tenets of liberal theology to develop them further. In the United States of the 1970s, John Macquarrie announced that the star of FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834), the father of liberal Protestant theology, was rising once again. The work of Schubert M. Ogden (1928–) builds on the foundations laid by the work of Rudolf Bultmann and tries, in conversation with other contemporary perspectives, to be "at once appropriate" to Christian witness "and credible to men and women today" (Ogden 1992:19). John B.Cobb, Jr. (1925–), one of the founders of PROCESS THEOLOGY, seeks to develop another natural theology (one of the classic concerns of liberal theology) on the basis of the process philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947). In Germany, WOLFHART PANNENBERG (1928–) is attempting to connect theology with a future-directed universal history.

In the United States, resistance to this new liberal theology, sometimes called "revisionist theology," emerged in postliberal theology. George Lindbeck (1923–) questions liberal theological approaches that are based on general religious experience and proposes an approach to theology built on the texts of the CHURCH and the cultures that are based on those texts. Postliberal theology aims at reshaping the world in terms of the texts of the church. This agenda shares various parallels with certain strands of so-called "evangelical theology," particularly in its emphasis on the BIBLE as represented in the work of theologians like Donald Bloesch (1928–) and others, and in similar critiques of what is seen as the "secular culture" of modernity. Nevertheless, evangelicals generally prefer a more realist view of the biblical texts than postliberals. Despite significant differences, however, liberal, postliberal, and evangelical paradigms share in common a focus on cultural phenomena and a focus on the Western world. There is little awareness of political and economic horizons and virtually no discussion of questions of power. Of the theologians that belong to these groups, only John B.Cobb in his later work breaks the mold in significant ways by dealing with economic and ecological issues and by introducing themes of resistance.

The second half of the twentieth century also gave birth to a strong ecumenical theology movement, closely related to the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. This

movement significantly extends the narrow focus on the Western world that characterizes much of twentieth-century theology. Often overlooked by “firstworld” Protestant theology is the work of such theologians as D.T.Niles (1908–1970) from Sri Lanka and M.M.Thomas (1916–1996) from INDIA. Thomas’s reflections on SALVATION as “humanization” pushes beyond Western anthropocentrism, and Niles reminds theology of the significance of the presence of the Holy Spirit outside of traditionally Christian contexts.

Transitions Into the Twenty-first Century

It might be argued that twentieth-century theology ends not with a particular date. The themes of mainline twentieth-century theology are interrupted by new themes and issues raised in Protestant theology in the final decades of the century that come from voices that have not traditionally been part of academic theological discussions. These voices include various political theologies and liberation theologies as well as feminist and African-American theologies in the United States. In these contexts, the horizon of theology is expanded to include questions of POLITICS and ECONOMICS and the lives of people crushed by these powers. In the process, the notion of culture is broadened significantly to include not only popular cultures, but also many other expressions and struggles that have not been part of mainline Protestant theology. Academic theology is thus no longer centered solely in the middle classes in the United States and Europe, even though these affiliations continue. Some of the most prominent newer names in Protestant theology at the end of the twentieth century include José Míguez Bonino (1924–) from Argentina, C.S.Song (1929–) from Taiwan, and Elsa Tamez (1950–) from Costa Rica. This diversity in theology has led to a wealth of new theological insights that complement some of the mainline twentieth-century debates that are still with us and that continue to be addressed by such European thinkers as Moltmann and Pannenberg as well as Rowan Williams, John Milbank, Sarah Coakley, Miroslav Volf, and Michael Welker. Add to these voices those of the evangelical Protestant theologians and this diversity has also led to concerns that theology is becoming more fragmented and fractured. Nevertheless, new forms of unity emerge in the midst of this diversity where theologians address God’s responses to human suffering and where they come up once again with theological forms of resistance rooted in their own experiences of the power of God.

See also African Theology; Asian Theology; Black Theology; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism; Evangelicalism, Theology of; Feminist Theology; Theology, Twentieth Century British; Theology, Twentieth Century, North American; Womanist Theology.

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JOERG RIEGER

THEOLOGY, TWENTIETH-CENTURY, BRITISH

Since the English Reformation, theology in Britain has had a significant impact on the character and direction of Protestant theology throughout the world. Its primary contribution to twentieth-century Protestant theology has arguably been its dialogue concerning Incarnational CHRISTOLOGY, its appropriation of KARL BARTH in giving new impetus to Trinitarian thought, discussions on SCIENCE and THEOLOGY, studies on the ATONEMENT, and developments in the field of New Testament.

Twentieth-century British theology must be understood through several historical factors shaping its direction, including the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity (1559) which proposed a *via media* between Catholic and REFORMATION Theology for ANGLICANISM, the development of nonconformist churches (see NONCONFORMITY), the influence of Cambridge and Oxford Universities as centers of theological education (see CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY), two World Wars, Britain's geographical and consequently theological role as an interface for North American and continental theology, the attack of logical positivism on theology, the liberal-fundamentalist debate, and particularly the ENLIGHTENMENT.

David Ford (1997; 2000c) contends that British theology is best understood not by tracking doctrinal tendencies, but rather through interaction with various disciplines. He opts for a taxonomy of: (1) theology through history, (2) theology through philosophy, and (3) theology and society. The advantage of this approach is that it highlights that British theology has never been performed in a vacuum. Nevertheless, it tends to omit several important areas of theological contention. The approach herein highlights the general tripartite Protestant "parties" and provides an overview of several significant areas of theological discussion in Britain.

Theologies in Conflict: Liberalism, Anglo-Catholicism, and Evangelicalism

Broadly speaking, theological positions in Britain can be divided into liberalism, ANGLO-CATHOLICISM, and EVANGELICALISM, with numerous variations and intersections between them. Theological liberalism (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM) arose in Britain from the Enlightenment critique of supernatural religion and was expressed in LATITUDINARIANISM. Old liberalism (i.e., pre-World War I) was characterized by a perception of the BIBLE as historically fallible, a denial of the miraculous, and a reinterpretation of biblical doctrines such as creation, incarnation,

and atonement. Liberalism was also distinguished by social action (see SOCIAL GOSPEL) and the development of an ethical spirituality. R.J.Campbell's work *The New Theology* (1907) made a forthright case for liberal theology but amounted to virtual pantheism. World War I had a cataclysmic effect on liberal theology, destroying its optimism about human benevolence and the immanence of the KINGDOM OF GOD in human society. Yet it did not wane completely in Britain, with the Modern Churchmen's Union founded in 1928. It was revived further by such scholars as John Macquarrie, who incorporated existential philosophy into their liberal tendency. In the post-World War II setting, the "DEATH OF GOD" debate reached ENGLAND with Bishop JOHN A.T.ROBINSON'S *Honest to God* (1963), which drew heavily from PAUL TILLICH, for whom God was "the ground of being." Don Cupitt advocated similar ideas in *Sea of Faith* (1984), couching Christianity in postmodern terms and promoting theological antirealism. D.E.Nineham represented the liberal wing of biblical scholarship and popularized form criticism and RUDOLF BULTMANN'S demythologization. The introduction of comparative religion in Britain had far-reaching consequences, chiefly through John Hick and Maurice Wiles, who vigorously attacked Christian exclusivism.

Anglo-Catholicism is predominantly, but not exclusively, an Anglican phenomenon. Its heritage lies in the Tractarians, especially JOHN HENRY NEWMAN and E.B.Busey, as well as the OXFORD MOVEMENT. It stresses the encounter of God through LITURGY, the need for community, the visible nature of the church, continuity with Roman Catholicism, the centrality of the episcopacy, and a synthesis of scripture, reason, and TRADITION. It reached prominence in the 1920s and 1930s and attracted well-known converts such as authors T.S.ELIOT and C.S.LEWIS. Two notable archbishops of Canterbury, A.M. RAMSAY and Rowan Williams, have given scholarly support to AngloCatholicism. Rowan Williams's *On Christian Theology* (1999) has granted Anglo-Catholic theology arguably its most succinct and cogent theological expression to date. He avers that theology operates in three domains: the celebratory, the communicative and the critical. In a work titled *Radical Orthodoxy* (1999), Anglo-Catholic scholars such as John Milbank, Catherine Pickstock, and Graham Ward have endeavored to engage postmodernism (see POSTMODERNITY) from an Anglo-Catholic perspective and yet retain their essentially orthodox beliefs.

British evangelicalism is a transdenominational phenomenon that owes its roots to PURITANISM, PIETISM, and Revivalism (see REVIVALS), and emerged more fully from the liberal-fundamentalist debate. The overarching agenda was to maintain biblical AUTHORITY, an emphasis on personal CONVERSION, and a focus on the atonement. The movement has had several prominent preachers and theologians. J.I.Packer has been a leading evangelical exponent, with works such as *Fundamentalism and the Word of God* (1958). John Stott is another evangelical voice known for Bible exposition as well as his concern for evangelical unity and social action. G.Campbell Morgan and Martin Lloyd Jones were prominent preachers, with Lloyd Jones even calling for evangelicals to leave their liberal-run denominations. The Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research has attempted to promote evangelical biblical scholarship. Gordon Wenham, F.F.Bruce, and I.Howard Marshall are examples of evangelicals who made in-roads into biblical scholarship. Alister McGrath has endeavored to help evangelicalism recapture its reformed heritage. A charismatic stream of evangelicalism has also emerged in figures such as Michael Green (see PENTECOSTALISM). The tension in evangelical theology

has been one of defense against liberalism, the quandary of relating to other Christian groups, self-definition, and balancing evangelistic zeal with social action.

Significant Areas of Theological Discourse

An important development in British Christology began with Charles Gore in an edited work *Lux Mundi* (1889), which attempted to reconcile chalcedonic christology with the conclusion of critical scholarship. The solution was a Kenotic theology that emphasized Jesus's self-emptying of his divine attributes to participate fully in humanity. The view found prominent defenders in H.R.Mackintosh and PETER TAYLOR FORSYTH. JOHN BAILLIE represented a synthesis of NEO ORTHODOXY, liberalism, and mysticism that saw revelation given uniquely in Christ but not exclusively to Christianity. His brother Donald Baillie, in *God Was in Christ* (1948), reaffirmed the humanness of Christ and defended the liberal view that Jesus was a man who fully discovered God and in whom God dwelt. The incarnation is understood as a paradox of GRACE wherein God dwells in Christ, who ascribes all goodness to God. John Macquarrie used existentialism as a matrix for christology. John Hick advocated a pluralistic framework for christology and a view of the incarnation in terms of myth and metaphor. Historical treatments of christological origins were published by C.F.D.Moule and I.Howard Marshall. James D.G. Dunn, in *Christology in the Making* (1981), examined the development of christology from its Jewish framework, alleging that Jesus did not think of himself as pre-existent and neither did Paul, who instead used Adam and wisdom motifs to express Christ's cosmic significance. In contrast, Richard Bauckham, in *God Crucified* (1998), advocated that second-temple Jewish was indeed a "strict monotheism," but the concept of God was constituted in such a way as to make it possible for Jesus to be incorporated into the divine identity. N.T.Wright has argued similarly that early Christianity redefined God so as to accommodate their belief in Christ. This suggests (contra Macquarrie 1990:327) that British christological discussion is more than a commentary and criticism of Continental ideas.

In contrast to the liberal view of ESCHATOLOGY that saw the Kingdom of God progressing immanently through human society and the wholly futurist eschatology of ALBERT SCHWEITZER, C.H.Dodd set forth a "realized eschatology" that saw the kingdom as present and manifested in Jesus's ministry dislocating futuristic hopes of the kingdom. Popular as Dodd's thesis was, it has been eclipsed by a more balanced approach to biblical eschatology that stresses the kingdom as being both a present reality and a future event. Such a view was arguably foreshadowed in the work of JOSEPH B. LIGHTFOOT. JOHN A.T.ROBINSON attempted to revive the idea of a nonapocalyptic eschatology by focusing on the Gospel of John as being indicative of Jesus's eschatology. The parousia of Christ is a symbolic presentation of what happens when Christ comes in love. Richard Bauckham popularized JÜRGEN MOLTMANN'S "Theology of Hope," making it more widely known in Britain. G.B.Caird questioned the nature and function of apocalyptic language in the Bible, contending that attempts to invest political events with cosmic meaning were problematic.

In terms of the doctrine of God, the most vigorous discussion centered on the Trinity. Heavily indebted to KARL BARTH, Thomas Torrance and Colin Gunton were the vanguard of a resurgence of Trinitarian thought in the British academy. For Gunton, the Trinity is not a mathematical enigma, but rather encapsulates the heart of the Christian gospel. Ultimately, it is Christ who makes the Trinity visible and accessible to us. Moreover, the church is an institution called to reflect on earth the eternal divine community of the Trinity.

British theology has been the battleground for competing interpretations of Christ's death. The view of penal substitution was attacked by liberalism on the grounds that it rested on the unacceptable notion of original sin and the idea of vicarious sacrifice was morally reprehensible. H.Rashdall, in *The Idea of Atonement* (1919), launched a barrage of criticism against the historical doctrine, instead arguing for a moral improvement theory. According to Donald Baillie and John Macquarrie, the atonement is not a once-for-all activity, but rather illustrates God's continuing reconciliation with creation and constitutes a continual or eternal event. P.T.FORSYTH wrote several works on the atonement, including *The Cruciality of the Cross* (1909) and *The Justification of God* (1916). In conjunction to his defense of penal sacrifice, Forsyth suggested that the cross is God's means of restoring justice in the cosmos. His emphasis on christology and grace largely foreshadowed Karl Barth. Similar apologies for substitutionary atonement were offered by James Denney, Vincent Taylor, John Stott, J.I.Packer, and I.Howard Marshall. Alister McGrath's study of justification represents an effort to restore the doctrine back to centrality in evangelicalism. Richard Swinburne's *Responsibility and Atonement* (1989) put forward the notion that Jesus's sacrifice is a gift of utmost value to God that humans may plead upon. Colin Gunton in *The Actuality of Atonement* (1988) and Vernon White in *Atonement and Incarnation* (1991) have defended an objective approach to the atonement, contending that genuine rec-onciliation is contingent on a real, extrinsic action by God in the cross that confronts SIN and moral evil.

The tradition of British biblical scholarship that commenced with F.J.A.Hort, B.F.Westcott, and J.B.Lightfoot continued on in the twentieth century. The *International Critical Commentary* series has provided an outlet to express the finest of British biblical scholarship. The Biblical theology movement evolving out of GERMANY gained a foothold in Britain through H.Wheeler Robinson, H.H.Rowley, F.V. Wilson, and Vincent Taylor. Several glaring criticisms were leveled at the movement by James Barr, which significantly diminished its influence. Anthony Thiselton sought to awaken biblical scholarship to the challenges posed by hermeneutics. Postmodern reading strategies have received support on various fronts, particularly from John Barton. James D.G.Dunn coined the term "the New Perspective on Paul," which asserts that Paul's problem with Judaism was not over Jewish legalism, but rather over Jewish exclusivism. Patristics studies have also been furthered by Hendry Chadwick, Rowan Williams, Maurice Wiles, and Frances Young advocating their significance for the modern church.

Since the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of the Species* (1859), theologians have had to wrestle with scientific theories and their relationship to theological doctrines (see DARWINISM). The relationship between the two disciplines has been explicated by Arthur Peacocke, T.F.Torrance, John Polkinghorne, and Alister McGrath. Keith Ward, in *God, Chance and Necessity* (1996), attempted to expose the scientific and philosophical inadequacies of scientific atheism. An integration of

philosophy and theology was attempted by Richard Swinburne and Donald MacKinnon. The former attempted to demonstrate the philosophical coherence of Christian doctrine, while the later studiously engaged metaphysics, evil, and Marxism in relation to Christian doctrines such as christology and the Trinity. Logical positivism made a strong challenge to theology in Britain by asserting that theological language was unverifiable and therefore meaningless. Several responses followed, including that of John Hick, who saw religious belief as eschatologically verifiable. Others tried to legitimize God-talk through Wittgensteinian philosophy.

ECUMENISM gained a strong following in Britain in the twentieth century. Advances were made at the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE of 1910 in Edinburgh, the 1920 LAMBETH CONFERENCE, and from the Faith and Order Movement. JOHN R. MOTT, John Baillie, and WILLIAM TEMPLE were instrumental in providing the theological rationale behind ecumenism and formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. This coincided with several studies on the church by British scholars such as L. Thornton, A. M. Ramsay, R. N. Flew, and J. E. LESSLIE NEWBIGIN. However, ECCLESIOLOGY has generally been eclipsed by other doctrinal discussions, and publications in Continental Europe by Barth, Karl Rahner, Hans Küng, and Jürgen Moltmann have dominated debate. The Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission has maintained steady contact between CANTERBURY and ROME, dialoguing on such issues as authority, CHURCH, eucharist, ETHICS, justification, and ministry.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY found expression in urban theology, the "Radical Evangelicals," the British Jubilee group, and a scholarly voice in Christopher Rowland. Feminist, black, and gay theologies likewise have respectively emerged since the 1970s with the formation of such journals as *Theology and Sexuality* stimulating thought in adjacent areas (see FEMINIST THEOLOGY; HOMOSEXUALITY; BLACK THEOLOGY; WOMANIST THEOLOGY). Despite the critique of Barth, the British tradition of natural theology that started with WILLIAM PALEY was continued by F. R. Tennant, Basil Mitchell, John Hick, and Richard Swinburne and publicized through the Gifford lectures.

Conclusion

A distinguishing feature of British twentieth-century theology is that it has never been dominated by one school or figure. Although significant inroads were made by Barth, Tillich, and Bultmann, various philosophies such as existentialism and logical positivism, and theological movements like death of God theology and neo-orthodoxy, none came to dominate Britain's theological landscape. This is perhaps attributable to the emergence of a significant breadth of theological diversification in Britain, further enhanced by the fact that since the Reformation the British have never taken to religious excesses and have always preferred the *via media*.

Whereas in the twentieth century British theologians had to grapple with Christianity and MODERNISM, it appears that in the twenty-first century a similar struggle will be

waged over Postmodernity. The gradual de-Christianization of Britain through an increasingly secularized and multifaith population, the rise of relativistic epistemologies, and religious pluralism will present their own unique challenges to British theology in the future.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Education, Overview; Evangelicalism, Theology of; Secularization; Theology, Twentieth-Century; Theology, Twentieth-Century, Global

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MICHAEL BIRD

THEOLOGY, TWENTIETH-CENTURY, GLOBAL

Theology is reflection on God; for Christians, it is “faith-seeking understanding.” It may also include fundamental theology or natural theology, which are attempts to provide rational support to belief in God and God’s self-revelation that faith grasps. Christian theology began with the second-century church fathers; Protestant theology arose in the sixteenth century with the reforming movements led by MARTIN LUTHER, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, and JOHN CALVIN. The nineteenth century was a particularly successful one for Protestant theology, in that it flourished and underwent several renewals. During that century, Protestant theology in Europe began to come to terms with the ENLIGHTENMENT and scientific revolutions. FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER and ALBRECHT RITSCHL gave great impetus to the progressive movements in Protestant theology during the nineteenth century. They sought to do theology in a manner consistent with modern philosophy’s “turn to the subject”; their theologies took seriously universal human experience as a source and norm for Christian theological reflection. Also during the nineteenth century, Protestant ORTHODOXY underwent a revival, especially in North America, where a dynasty of conservative Protestant thinkers at Princeton Theological Seminary influenced generations of Protestant ministers and theologians for a theology of Reformed retrieval (“back to the sources”) that opposed accommodation to the modern thought world.

Divergent Directions

As the twentieth century dawned, two opposing forces of Protestant theology threatened to tear it apart. On the one hand, the heirs of Schleiermacher and followers of Ritschl developed various forms of liberal Protestant theology, which was labeled “MODERNISM” by its more conservative critics (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM). On the other hand, the followers of the Old Princeton School theologians Charles Hodge and Benjamin Warfield joined forces with revivalists influenced by evangelist DWIGHT L. MOODY to form the fundamentalist movement to oppose liberal theology. Fundamentalists emphasized the AUTHORITY of Scripture interpreted relatively literally and promoted what they regarded as “traditional Christianity.” They condemned any deviation from what they considered the “fundamentals” of the true Protestant Christian faith. Among their fundamentals were the verbal inspiration of Scripture, the virgin birth of Jesus Christ, and the substitutionary ATONEMENT. Some added the “premillennial return of Christ” to the list of Christian

fundamentals. FUNDAMENTALISM came in many variations, all of which opposed progressive Protestantism's tendency to accommodate to the spirit of modernity. The most influential fundamentalist theologian was the last representative of the Old Princeton School of Protestant theology, J.GRESHAM MACHEN, whose book *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923) declared the theology being developed by Schleiermacher's and Ritschl's progressive heirs not authentically Christian but a different religion altogether.

Liberal Protestant theology's leading defender and expositor at the opening of the twentieth century was German church historian ADOLPH VON HARNACK, whose *What Is Christianity?* (*Das Wesen des Christentums*) was published in 1900. Interpreting his mentor Ritschl's revisionist approach to Protestant theology, Harnack summed up Christianity with three basic principles: the KINGDOM OF GOD and its coming, God the father and the infinite value of the human soul, and the higher righteousness and the commandment of love. According to Harnack and most other progressive Protestants, the essence of Christianity has little or nothing to do with supernatural events or the traditional dogmas of the person of Jesus Christ; rather, it has to do with the message proclaimed by Jesus Christ about the historical kingdom of God as a real possibility within history. In the UNITED STATES, Baptist theologian and church historian WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH and other progressives formed a type of liberal theology known as the SOCIAL GOSPEL that blended the liberal emphasis on the historical kingdom of God with evangelical themes of CONVERSION and transformation. Rauschenbusch's influential manifesto, published in 1917 as *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, proclaims the essence of Christianity as the kingdom of God as a society organized according to love. Whereas liberal theology revolved around an optimistic vision of human nature and history, fundamentalist theology was pessimistic about humanity and the future. It stressed humanity's sinfulness and incapacity for good apart from supernatural transformation by God; liberal theology viewed God's transforming activity as in and through human social progress. Liberal theology encouraged a spirit of free inquiry and nondogmatic theology within the churches, whereas fundamentalist theology promoted commitment to what it saw as Protestant Christianity's foundational beliefs even against the allegedly assured results of modern SCIENCE and philosophy. By the 1920s, fundamentalism and liberal thought were locked in mortal combat over the souls of most mainline Protestant denominations, many of which experienced divisions over the issues raised in the fundamentalist-modernist strife.

Dialectical Theology

Many commentators believe that twentieth-century theology was actually born in 1919 with the publication of Swiss Protestant theologian KARL BARTH'S *Der Römerbrief* (*The Epistle to the Romans*), a theological commentary on Romans. According to one historian, the book "fell like a bombshell on the playground of the theologians." A new school of Protestant theology that would indelibly place its stamp on twentieth-century theology was being born that would be known popularly as NEO-ORTHODOXY and as

dialectical theology by most scholars. Its two main early representatives were Barth in Basel, SWITZERLAND and EMIL BRUNNER, who taught theology in Zurich, Switzerland. Barth's magnum opus, the multivolume *Church Dogmatics* (1932–1967), is the classic of the movement, whereas Brunner's smaller three-volume *Dogmatics* (1946–1960) and other writings first introduced neoorthodoxy to English-speaking audiences. In *Der Römerbrief*, Barth countered liberal Protestant theology with a strong emphasis on the transcendence of God and God's Word and a stress on humanity's sinfulness and need for obedience to the Word that is foreign to its own thinking. Although many liberals—including Barth's teacher Harnack—regarded the first soundings of neo-orthodoxy as little more than a sophisticated version of fundamentalism, it was in actuality far from fundamentalistic.

Neither Barth nor Brunner, nor any other dialectical theologian, affirmed the verbal inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture (see BIBLICAL INERRANCY). Brunner denied the virgin birth (although not because of antisupernatural bias) and raised questions about many of the Bible's miracle stories. Both Swiss theologians and their followers decried liberal theology's perceived maximal acknowledgment of the claims of modernity and fundamentalism's perceived slavish adherence to its own "paper pope," the BIBLE. For neo-orthodox thinkers, the Bible "becomes the Word of God" in the moment when God chooses to speak through it; the Word of God is event and not propositions. Nevertheless, they averred, the Word of God in and through Jesus Christ, Scripture and the proclamation of the CHURCH, contradicts every human ideology and *zeitgeist* (spirit of the age) and invites people into crisis with God, where they are judged and called to repent. Against both liberal theology and fundamentalism, neo-orthodoxy embraced paradox as a necessary form of theological expression. Lurking behind dialectical theology was the figure of nineteenth-century Protestant philosophical prophet SÖREN KIERKEGAARD OF DENMARK, who embraced the incarnation as the "absolute paradox" and eschewed attempts to achieve a synthesis of truth based on human reasoning.

Twentieth-century Protestant theology can be understood largely in terms of these three major movements of thought and their permutations: liberal Protestantism, Protestant fundamentalism, and neoorthodoxy. In 1959 Protestant publisher Westminster Press presented three volumes by proponents of these three general theological movements with the intention of summarizing twentieth-century theology under this rubric: *The Case for Orthodox Theology* by EDWARD JOHN CARNELL, *The Case for a New Reformation Theology* by William Hordern, and *The Case for Theology in Liberal Perspective* by L. Harold DeWolf. Carnell, who was president of Fuller Theological Seminary, was not representative of the militant wing of fundamentalism; his book was influenced by the Protestant orthodoxy of the Old Princeton School of Hodge and Warfield. Hordern preferred "new Reformation theology" to "neo-orthodoxy," but his volume presented dialectical theology. However, these three types of Protestant theology hardly exhaust the range of theological opinion in the twentieth century.

Two of the century's most influential Protestant thinkers cannot be comfortably categorized by them. REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892–1971) and PAUL TILLICH (1886–1965) broke out of the molds of liberal Protestant theology without becoming neo-orthodox. Neither was fundamentalist. Niebuhr's magnum opus *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (1941–1949) represented a manifesto for "Christian realism" that blended

elements of neo-orthodox pessimism about humanity with liberal elements of accommodation to modern CULTURE. Niebuhr also affirmed the traditional symbols of Protestant orthodoxy even if he did not interpret them literally. According to Niebuhr, liberal theology overestimated the human potential for per-fection and underestimated human depravity as pride. He retrieved the classical Augustinian doctrine of original SIN from its neglect by liberal Protestantism while leaving behind the literalism of the fall of humanity in the primeval garden. He interpreted the kingdom of God as an impossible ideal that is always coming but never arriving, and warned against eschewing harsh justice because it falls short of the perfection of love. Tillich's three-volume *Systematic Theology* (1951–1963) presented a chastened liberalism heavily influenced by existentialist philosophy with its tragic sense of the human condition. According to Tillich, God is not to be thought of anthropomorphically as “person” but ontologically as “Being Itself” or “the Ground of Being,” and humanity is not infinitely perfectible, but rather is caught in the polarities of a predicament that leads inevitably to sin. Nevertheless, human beings can come to accept that they are accepted by Being Itself and thereby achieve the “courage to be” in the face of the threat of nonbeing.

Other Theologies

The 1960s witnessed the fragmentation of Protestant theology with the rise of secular and radical theology, the theology of Christian atheism, PROCESS THEOLOGY, theology of hope, and the beginnings of LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Conservative theology also experienced a renewal as it emerged out of militant fundamentalism into a less restrictive and separatistic “new evangelical theology.” One of the most influential Protestant voices in the 1960s was that of one who died in a German concentration camp in 1945—DIETRICH BONHOEFFER. His *Letters and Papers from Prison* was published by one of his students in the 1950s and 1960s (it appeared in several editions containing different collections of letters and papers) and aroused a great deal of excitement, especially among so-called secular and radical Protestants who hailed the arrival of “religionless Christianity” in a “world come of age.” Precisely what Bonhoeffer meant by these and other enigmatic phrases is a matter of debate, but many radical Protestant theologians interpreted them as promoting a secularized church that allows the world to set its agenda. A few more radical Protestant thinkers proclaimed the “DEATH OF GOD” in modern culture and promoted the “gospel of Christian atheism,” which was a message about the way of Jesus Christ devoid of a transcendent divine being. In GERMANY, JÜRGEN MOLTMANN published *A Theology of Hope* (1964) and *The Crucified God* (1968), in which he expounded an alternative theological vision to secular and radical theology that placed God in the future and traced the arrival of God out of the future in the promises of God and in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. WOLFHART PANNENBERG also created an eschatological theology that defined God as the God of history whose full deity would appear and be finally established only at the end of history. History itself is divine revelation, and God is realizing or actualizing Godself in and through humanity's discovery of God. For all their differences, the two German

theologians presented a way of thinking about God and the world that took with utmost seriousness the secularity of the world and the evil within history without discarding God or the sacred.

The 1960s also witnessed the rise of “POLITICAL THEOLOGY” within both Roman Catholic and Protestant theological communities. In Germany, Johannes Baptist Metz, Dorothee Sölle, and Jürgen Moltmann called for greater application of the Gospel to the creation of a just society of equal persons; they decried the continuing tendency of some theologians to focus attention on questions of secularity and atheism while the poor became poorer and the rich became richer. In LATIN AMERICA, various liberation theologies arose beginning in the late 1960s and gained strength throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s. Argentinian Methodist theologian Jose Miguez Bonino joined Catholic theologian Gustavo Gutierrez of Peru and other Catholic and Protestant thinkers in calling for *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation* (1975). For liberationists, theology must recognize God’s preferential option for the poor and the privileged insight into God provided by poverty. It must also side with the poor in their struggle for liberation from all that dehumanizes and oppresses them. In North America, Presbyterian feminist theologian Letty Russell attempted to do liberation theology from a feminist perspective and joined with Catholic feminists Rosemary Radford Ruether and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza in calling for a radical revision in Christian theological categories and language to rid them of patriarchy and misogyny. The second half of the century saw Protestants of various theological orientations entering into positive dialogue and alliances with Roman Catholic thinkers, overcoming many, if not most, of the hostilities that separated Protestant and Catholic communities of scholars before the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

Non-Western Protestant theologians increasingly weighed in to the theological conversations during the second half of the twentieth century. One of the first Asian Protestant theologians to gain worldwide notice was Japanese Lutheran thinker Kazoh Kitamori, whose 1946 *Theology of the Pain of God* went through many editions and translations. Kitamori reflected on the suffering of God in the tragedies of history against the background of his own country’s defeat at the end of World War II. He questioned the traditional doctrines of God’s immutability and impassibility and brought resources from his own culture to bear on reconstructing the doctrine of God’s transcendence and immanence. About a year before Kitamori’s book was published, Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote that “only the suffering God can help.” Their dual influence led to a vast reconsideration of God’s involvement in the historical travail of humanity.

During the last few decades of the century, other Asian theologians contributed to the ongoing discussions about contextualization of the Gospel and the nature of theological reflection. Kosuke Koyama, a Japanese theologian working in Thailand and Singapore, drew on South Asian cultural resources to shape a new Christian theology specifically for Asian Christians. His best-known and most influential volume of Asian theology is *Waterbuffalo Theology* (1974). A Chinese theologian, Choan-Seng Song of Taiwan, published several volumes of theology that sought to integrate Christianity with traditional and modern Chinese culture. His *Third-Eye Theology* (1979) argued for the development of a new vision for Christian theologians that incorporates Asian culture with its mystical insights into Christian theology shaped by the more rational West.

The continent of AFRICA contributed a number of fresh Christian approaches to theology during the 1970s through the 1990s. Among them was a creative new interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity based on African tribal and family structures titled *On Communitarian Divinity: An African Interpretation of the Trinity* (1994). In North America, Puerto Rican Methodist church historian and theologian Justo González helped create a Christian theology from a Hispanic perspective in his *Mañana: Christian Theology from a Hispanic Perspective* (1990). There he argued for greater attention by theologians of all ethnic and denominational background to the plights of powerless minorities in cultures dominated by powerful majorities and sought to show that such powerless minorities have the right and the responsibility to develop their own forms of Christian life, worship, and theology.

As the twentieth century drew to a close, Protestant theology was more fragmented than ever. Many Protestant theologians were less concerned about carrying the torch for Protestantism and its distinctive themes than about developing contextual theologies that cross traditional boundaries.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Evangelicalism, Theology of; Theology; Theology, Twentieth-Century; Theology, Twentieth Century, British.

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ROGER E. OLSON

THEOLOGY, TWENTIETH-CENTURY, NORTH AMERICAN

The great majority of North American Protestant Christians in the twentieth century was influenced by theologies of the Reformed and Evangelical traditions. The First Great AWAKENING, typified by North America's preeminent theologian, JONATHAN EDWARDS, and the revivals of the nineteenth-century Second Great Awakening, set the general terms of North American theological thought and practice. It was liberal theology, however, that became the prominent antagonist in twentieth century theological schools and mainline denominations (see LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM AND LIBERALISM).

The European ENLIGHTENMENT'S disruption of orthodox Christianity arrived in full force in North America only after the CIVIL WAR. Devastating dismissals of Christianity and theology by the doubt and atheism of the modern intellectual world led to the enduring twentieth-century conundrum: how to reestablish theology's integrity as a discipline. Five crises have confronted twentieth-century American theology, and at least the first four have their roots in the Enlightenment. The first crisis is epistemological, that is, the problem of knowledge, introduced classically by JOHN LOCKE and IMMANUEL KANT. If we become clear about the limits of human knowledge, then theology must press the question: Can God really be known, and if so, how?

The second crisis is one of AUTHORITY. The modern dedication to the new criteria of historical reliability was eventually applied to the BIBLE and the Christian TRADITION. This led to questions that are still current: To what extent must theology recover the Christian past, or can theology do without the "house of authority"? If we are conditioned by many factors in our context as we seek to interpret the past, what would constitute true interpretation of scripture and tradition? Should the primary task of theology be establishing the identity of the Christian faith or demonstrating its relevance to MODERNITY?

A third crisis was prompted by the application of scientific approaches, such as historical critical methods, to religion itself. Modern thinkers such as Karl Marx, Charles Darwin (see DARWINISM), and Sigmund Freud offered alternatives to the traditional story of Christianity (embracing creation and new creation) and in the process gave alternative, reductionist explanations of religion. Can theology describe religion in such a limited way as to protect it from the "science" of history, or does theology need an altogether new overarching conception of history? A fourth crisis stems from the violence, oppression, and suffering of the twentieth century, which was dubbed at its beginning "the Christian century" but, as it unfolded, mocked the Enlightenment visions of eternal peace, freedom, and justice. Two World Wars, Fascism, state COMMUNISM, the nuclear threat, the massive growth of technology, and the global market with the attendant degradation of the environment, recalcitrant forms of racism, GENDER

oppression, and neocolonialism were negations that contradicted everything modernity stood for. Theology in the twentieth century ended with a final crisis, that is, the collapse of modernity itself. How could theology proceed without its failed modernist partners?

North American theologies in the twentieth century, whether in the Reformed/Evangelical strands or in the “liberal” strands, can be categorized according to their responses to these pressing questions of “modernity.” At the turn of the century liberal theology on both sides of the Atlantic was thriving. It was recognizable by its attempt to rehabilitate theology in the face of modernity by stressing practical reason, subjectivity, ethical/moral content, the immanence of God, and the centrality of freedom. It recommended abandoning doctrines that seemed clearly antimodern, such as original sin, and reinterpreting other doctrines according to the spirit of the age, for example, jettisoning the divinity of Jesus in favor of his ethical teachings. It grounded theology in immediate human experience, following the lead of the first “liberal” theologian, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, thus obviating the problem of mediating God through scripture or tradition.

A second skein of liberal theology shaping much of American theology through the 1930s sprang from what some scholars call the “Third Great Awakening” or the SOCIAL GOSPEL. Informed by the theology of ALBRECHT BENJAMIN RITSCHL, it was inspired by a vision of human progress. The “KINGDOM OF GOD” was interpreted as a realm of static values guiding society toward perfection. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH and SHAILER MATHEWS provided the theological framework for the radical criticism of the unjust economic conditions produced by unregulated industrial giants and the first modern economic globalization. An old theological motif of the coming of the kingdom of God in America was revived.

There were three strands of North American theology that radically broke off from liberal and modernist theology during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The initial torrid enemy of liberal theology arose in the form of FUNDAMENTALISM and extreme EVANGELICALISM, movements that thoroughly resisted modernity, although it is widely recognized that in their opposition to modernity these thought forms took on modern characteristics. Fundamentalists used doctrines like biblical inerrancy and the premillennial return of Christ as barriers to separate themselves from secular culture. It is generally thought that fundamentalism as a major force ended with the Scopes “monkey” trial of 1925, but its temper continued to influence some evangelicals until it was repudiated by the “new” evangelicalism after World War II.

A second type of theological criticism of liberal secular culture uses a thought system of modernity (such as idealist, empiricist, or historicist philosophies or a combination of them) to overcome the challenges of modernity, but in so doing assumes that Christianity has validity only insofar as it fits into a modern philosophical framework. Out of this approach arose the first peculiarly American theologies of the twentieth century based on the empirical philosophies of WILLIAM JAMES and John Dewey, the idealist philosophy of JOSIAH ROYCE, and the pragmatist philosophy of Charles Pierce. These theologies, eschewing liberal subjectivism and romanticism, prized reason and scientific enquiry above all. The vanguard of these movements was concentrated in what was known as the “Chicago School” and was best exemplified by the empirical theology of Henry Nelson Wieman.

A third general criticism of liberalism characterizes the middle third of the twentieth-century North American theology and, in part, is given various patterns by the different directions taken by the so-called German “dialectical” theologians of the 1920s (KARL BARTH, PAUL TILlich, RUDOLF BULTMANN, and FRIEDRICH GOGARTEN), who were united in their criticism of a liberalism that foundered on the concussions of World War I but who later disagreed about how and what to retrieve from the best of nineteenth-century theology.

Barth, perhaps the most generative theologian of the twentieth century, has been called on by a wide spectrum of American theologians who are primarily concerned to protect Christian identity over against what they consider modernity’s pretensions. Christianity must develop its own framework of interpretation and verification, although it must responsibly engage modernity in all its promises and threats. Although Barth came into vogue again in the last third of the twentieth century, in large part through the sway of Postliberal Theology, in the 1930s the main thrust of North American theology appreciated Barth’s cautions but wanted to maintain the questions and some answers of nineteenth-century theology, especially as summarized in the thought of ERNST TROELTSCH, whose work provided a framework for much of liberal theology in the remainder of the twentieth century.

The brothers REINHOLD NIEBUHR and H. RICHARD NIEBUHR were prominent in setting the North American theological agenda in the middle third of the twentieth century and, in their quite distinctive ways, cast the largest shadows over American theology in the last fifty years of the twentieth century through their teaching of two generations of theologians, Reinhold at Union Theological Seminary in New York and Richard at Yale. Reinhold’s experience as a pastor among the families of automobile workers in Detroit led to his thoroughgoing criticism of liberal theology as ineffective in dealing with the new situation of industrial democracy because of its naive doctrines of human perfectibility and progress. His theology tended to be largely anthropological and his social criticism benefited from a recovery of the doctrine of SIN, but his thought left much to be desired in terms of CHRISTOLOGY, ESCHATOLOGY, and ecclesiology.

In the theology of H. Richard Niebuhr is found both an appreciation of the radical insights of Barth and SØREN KIERKEGAARD, but also a loyalty to the liberal tradition, especially the Schleiermacherian experiential root of theological reflection and a Troeltschian historical and sociological orientation. In the former he found a radical monotheism that replaced liberal anthropomorphism with the sovereignty of God’s being and action over the human. From the latter he learned that theology cannot escape its locus in the historical relativity of the language and experience of the believing community. He dealt with the problem of revelation and history by describing the way each human being, even a scientist, expresses faith in Being’s peculiar revelation of itself to him or her.

The revolt against a superficial modernity took yet another form in the theology of Paul Tillich, who in effect became an “American” theologian after leaving Nazi Germany. Tillich developed a theological method of “correlation,” which was devoted to both the relevance and identity of the Christian faith. It does not claim an overarching integration that would obviate either the essence of Christianity or modernity but juxtaposes them in a variety of dialogical patterns. Basic existential questions are raised

through philosophical analysis in expectation of answers in the form of the reinterpretation of various Christian symbols, especially of Jesus as the Christ.

North American theology in the middle third of twentieth century was also deeply affected by the theology of Rudolf Bultmann and his philosophical mentor, Martin Heidegger. Bultmann joined the most extreme conclusions of the History of Religions School with Heideggerian existentialism for an answer to the question of history. He demythologized those elements of the New Testament that did not fit the modern consciousness. This left an isolated kerygma of Jesus, which can be proclaimed as an offer of freedom, without the necessity of historical mediation, to the individual conscience in the present.

The 1960s represent a watershed in North American theology, which now seemed to be declaring independence from European theology in a new age of diverse, more global theological conversation. A veritable explosion of novel theological options was tendered in the academic marketplace in response to a new pluralist context for theology and a growing crisis of modern secularism. The Vietnam War, the CIVIL RIGHTS struggle, the nuclear threat of a blistering Cold War, a growing inequality in wealth, feminist and youth revolts, the sexual revolution, and novel forms of popular culture created a new sense of historical threat.

In the early 1960s PROCESS THEOLOGY appeared as another distinctively North American theology. It attempted to deal with a deficit in modern liberal theology with regard to the doctrine of God and attracted deep interest as a new endeavor to conceive God in relation to the modern world. It provided a radical critique of many God concepts in the Christian tradition, but did not discard the best of the classical tradition. Depending on the metaphysics of Alfred North Whitehead, in which neither being nor self but rather "events" or "actual occasions" in a purposive, living cosmos are primary, Charles Hartshorne, John B.Cobb Jr., and Schubert Ogden, the main proponents of Process Theology, set out to depict God as the unifier and envisioner of all possibilities. As the one who gives direction to reality, God experiences all and surpasses all. In experiencing all, God changes, and yet in God's purpose, God remains immutable. Whereas Process Theology often gained a new relevance to modern dynamic views of NATURE, it showed a deficit in the appropriation of the tradition for dealing with evil and suffering.

Revived interest in the theologies of Friedrich Gogarten and DIETRICH BONHOEFFER and a new focus on history and eschatology in the theologies of JÜRGEN MOLTMANN and WOLFHART PANNENBERG gave rise to a theological turn from the individual self to concrete history, society, and politics. North American theology was suddenly focused on the questions of concrete suffering among specific people, and "liberation" emerged as a common theme among many different theologies. In the late 1960s, just about the time Latin American LIBERATION THEOLOGY began, BLACK THEOLOGY arose out of the long struggle of African-American people against the inhumanity of SLAVERY and the ensuing bitterness of racism in all its forms. Working from the new historical context created by the civil rights movement of MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., and the black power movement of Malcolm X, black theologians JAMES CONE, Gayraud Wilmore, and J.Deotis Roberts created a theology that made the suffering of black people the subject of theology. In Cone's theology a Barthian emphasis on God's self-disclosure was now identified with God's revelation

within the liberation of blacks, and the identity of Jesus was inseparable from the fate of the humiliated within an inhuman society.

FEMINIST THEOLOGIES also began to emerge in the 1960s in response to the peculiar denigration and subordination of WOMEN in North American society. These theologies took up the several North American feminist movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and many global intellectual developments that work for the well-being and participation of women in family, church, and society. Some feminist scholars held that the maleness of the Christian symbol-system inevitably named women as inferior and subjected, and should therefore be rejected. Other feminist theologians, such as Rosemary Radford Ruether, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Letty Russell, and SALLIE MCFAGUE attempted, in very different ways, to deconstruct and reconstruct the Christian traditions, texts, or symbols/metaphors for their use in the service of women's liberation.

By the 1980s a new theological movement termed "womanist" sought to show that African-American women suffered a kind of oppression that had not been dealt with by either Black Theology or feminist theologies (see WOMANIST THEOLOGY). Jacquelyn Grant, Kelly Brown Douglas, and Delores S. Williams produced new readings of the Bible, Jesus, and atonement in the context of African-American women. Other theologies of freedom that played major roles in the last third of the twentieth century centered on the specific contexts of oppression among NATIVE AMERICANS, the Hispanic/Latino and Asian-American communities, and gay and lesbian communities (see HOMOSEXUALITY).

Another new horizon for encountering modernity begins in the 1960s with a reconceived hermeneutical theology dealing with the old themes of history, tradition, and interpretation. In depending on the hermeneutic theories of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, these theologians move beyond the perceived devaluation of history and individualism in the Bultmannian approach.

In the last third of the twentieth century there was a growing sense that modernity itself was breaking down and that the liberal tradition did not serve theology well. Postliberal theology and various forms of postmodern theologies radically distinguished themselves from the Schleiermacherian liberal tradition. Postliberal theology is identified with Hans Frei and George Lindbeck of Yale. Following the philosophies of Ludwig Wittgenstein and Alasdair MacIntyre, postliberal theologians developed a view of religion as historical and tradition-shaped. They eschewed unmediated religious experience common to all human beings or any other universal foundation for theology. For them, becoming religious means interpreting the narrative, the language of faith, of a community and entering into the peculiar practices of that tradition's way of life. Stanley Hauerwas developed these perspectives in an ethic of virtue in a community loyal to the fundamental commitments of the Christian tradition.

The Constructive Theology of Gordon Kaufman and others may be mentioned as a late twentieth-century theology that went in the opposite direction of postliberal theology by obviating scripture and tradition in favor of the construction of the doctrine of God out of the best current scientific and moral attempt to confront the life and death questions of our time, such as nuclear armaments and the survival of the environment.

The 1980s and 1990s produced a widespread postmodern consciousness, reflected in the philosophies of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, in the North American

intellectual setting. A number of new theological impetuses thrived in this context, including a wide variety of new, invigorated evangelical theologies (that went well beyond the postwar “new evangelicalism” of CARL F.H.HENRY), the Reformed epistemological theology of Alvin Plantinga and Nicolas Wolterstorff, and the “Radical Orthodoxy,” led by the Cambridge theologian John Milbank, now transplanted to the United States.

A mainstay of the twentieth century was the theology created in the ecumenical movement, in which the American JOHN RALEIGH MOTT was a prime mover as president of the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in Edinburgh in 1910. Ecumenical theology increasingly found its focus in various theologies of mission, and as Western MISSIONS came under more intense criticism, the *oikoumene* by the end of the century found its bearings mostly in liberation, postcolonial (see POST-COLONIALISM), and Third World theologies.

Ecumenical and mission theology made way for a significant increase of theologies of world religions during the last three decades of the century. Unmistakable at the end of the century was the rebirth of the “religious.” Many commentators pointed out that, despite the predictions of secularism at the beginning of the twentieth century, at its end the world was more religious than ever, and, as is ever the case, religion was full of promise and threat for the future of the globe.

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M.DOUGLAS MEEKS

THEOLOGY, WOMANIST

See Womanist Theology

THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION

Implemented for dynastic reasons intended to secure the Tudor Succession, HENRY VIII's celebrated breach with Rome inevitably had doctrinal repercussions. Yet if isolated in Catholic Europe at a time when the Protestant princes who had staged the SPEYER "walk out" would have provided natural allies, the vulnerable English king chose only to flirt with the Lutherans; a commitment to orthodoxy (papal sovereignty only excepted) kept him loyal to the traditional religion of the Western Church.

This observation is fundamental to the historian's consideration of the English articles, if only because it illustrates the diplomatic and political backdrop against which the high drama of doctrinal debate was to play. MARTIN LUTHER'S teaching had secured a considerable following in continental Europe, and carefully codified in the AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530) by the irenic scholarship of PHILIPP MELANCHTHON, much of the Wittenberg manifesto influenced England's Ten Articles when they were drafted in 1536. However, the Bishops' Book (1537) first set out the beliefs reforming prelates pressed on Henry VIII. When treating of justification, the sacraments, and the subordination of church tradition to the authority of the BIBLE, they argued in tones more Protestant than the Ten Articles. Failing to ride Court faction, however, any advantage was short-lived, traditional counselors soon securing the Six Articles; and "the whip with six strings" Henry's regime wielded on heretics at home, the king used to impress rulers abroad as he faced new threats from Pope Paul III. With the accession of that young Josiah, EDWARD VI, the tables turned again, despite the fact that diplomatic considerations still impeded progress toward an English CONFESSION of faith. THOMAS CRANMER'S ecumenical vision had convinced the primate that a "godly synod" would provide the REFORMATION with a real alternative to the resurgence of Roman DOCTRINE urged on the faithful by the COUNCIL OF TRENT. The archbishop thus sought to enlist Melanchthon, JOHN CALVIN, and HEINRICH BULLINGER for the cause while taking great care not to jump the gun with any confessional statements that might conflict with the singular achievement of Augsburg and alienate the Lutherans rather than bringing unity to the cause as a whole. When idealism was obliged to give way to reality and his much cherished solution proved abortive—how could Melanchthon or Calvin possibly be expected to put Reformation itself at risk by traveling to England?—Cranmer tried to regain lost time and make amends. In short, the affirmation of Forty-two Articles, and their subsequent recension as the Thirty-nine Articles set forth under ELIZABETH I, were the result of some twenty-five years of theological uncertainty. However highly prized their biblical and patristic pedigree, the Articles were something of a rushed job.

Forty-two Articles

Altogether different in tone from the Tridentine decisions, Cranmer's Forty-two Articles, with a CATECHISM set out in both Latin and English, were published "by the King's Majesty's authority" (but without the backing of Convocation as was claimed) in June 1553. They constitute a cautious, even idiosyncratic, commitment to present in place a bland kind of Protestantism, as if diplomatic pragmatism still conditioned the king's mind; because if Rome is certainly ridiculed and ANABAPTIST SECTS repeatedly attacked, the evidence suggests that Cranmer took good care to chart a course between Wittenberg and Geneva, particularly in the focus he placed on the key issues "Of the Justification of Man" (XI), "Of Predestination, and Election" (XVII), and "Of the Lord's Supper" (XXIX).

At the same time Cranmer's work showed a clear sense of priorities in framing an English formulary that, if it set forth "the new religion" of Reformation, also consciously chose to counter any charge of innovation. This he achieved by immediate concentration (I-IV) on key clauses of orthodoxy so regularly rehearsed in the creed. As if to dispel any lingering doubts too, Article VII stated that all three creeds—"Nicene...Athanasius...and that...commonlie called the Apostles"—should be "thoroughly received." If there was a lapse, this concerned extended reference to the Spirit of God, an omission Archbishop MATTHEW PARKER later made good (following the Württemberg Confession, 1552) in Article V ("Of the Holy Ghost") in the Thirty-nine Articles.

The Church of Rome, which "hath erred, not only in...living, but also in...faith" (XX), Cranmer indicted in a range of Articles (XII, XIII, XXIII, XXVI, XXIX, and XXXI). Just as the Litany prayed that the Lord deliver his people "from the tyranny of the bishoppe of Rome and all his detestable enormities," so Article XXXVI denied the pope "jurisdiction in this realm of England." Treating "Of Civil magistrates," the same Article is unique to the XLII for its reference to "The King of England" as "Supreme head in earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England, and Ireland." Article XXXVII of Elizabeth's XXXIX simply afforded "The Queen's Majesty...chief power." As for Cranmer's other *bêtes noires* the Anabaptists or "Heretics called Millenarii" (XLI) who do "boast themselves continually of the Spirit" (XIX), they were targeted in as many as eighteen of the Forty-two Articles (II, III, IV, VI, VIII, IX, X, XV, XVIII, XIX, XXIV, and XXXVI-XLII), a sure indication that such sectaries were regarded as a menace to lawful authority in mid-Tudor times.

The Thirty-nine Articles

With the death of Edward VI on July 6, 1553, less than a month after the Forty-two Articles had been promulgated, it seemed that Cranmer's work on both that formulary and Prayer Book revision would die too. For the accession of Mary the Catholic meant not only the restoration of the "Old Religion" but the martyrdom of the Protestant reformers such as HUGH LATIMER, Nicholas Ridley, John Hooper, and above all

Cranmer himself. However, like that of Edward, the new regime was itself to have a limited life, and with the accession of Queen Mary's half sister as ELIZABETH I in November 1558, it was soon clear that England would return again to Reformation faith and order. It was equally evident that any new settlement could not be achieved overnight, just as precedent itself dictated that, granted Henry VIII's constitutional revolution, religion must be "by law established." Determined to be independent too, Elizabeth declined marriage to Philip of Spain, an act that united Catholic Europe against her in a way that demanded she proceed with particular caution in matters like Prayer Book revision and any reissue of the Articles. Nevertheless, to profess faith and inform the clergy, the new primate set out Eleven Articles for subscription in 1559. Archbishop Parker's document, credal in content, thus simply confirmed Trinitarian belief, affirmed the importance of Scripture, the sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline, and in due deference to royal prerogative, repudiated the bishop of Rome.

By 1562 it was time for Convocation to deal with the issues, and the following year, "for the avoidance of diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent touching True Religion," the Thirty-nine Articles made their *debut* as a preliminary revision (set out in Latin) of the Edwardian Articles. Sensitivity toward German Lutheran princes suspended Article XXIX as if to respect *manducatio impiorum* ("of the wicked who do not eat") because Luther's REAL PRESENCE belief had clearly held the reverse to be the case with the result that some critics had even ridiculed the Wittenberg Reformer as but a "new papist." Then too, in a key half sentence, Article XX recognized that Elizabeth's "Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." Unknown to the "Supreme Governor," a parallel bill had been promoted in Parliament, but because of royal fury had been rapidly withdrawn. Accordingly it was not until 1571 that the Thirty-nine Articles (in Latin and English) were finally approved by both Convocation and Parliament to stand as a duly authorized part of the religious settlement and a specifically English confession of Protestant faith.

Matthew Parker's revision dropped seven of Cranmer's original Articles and added four, but the final meticulous and at times ingenious trimming is no mere compromise. After a specifically credal introit resonating well with Cranmer's collect for Advent II in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, Article VI ("Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation") provides a Protestant bedrock for the formulary as a whole. By providing the "names and numbers of the Canonical Books" too, Parker and his Convocation colleagues not only went beyond Cranmer in spelling out detail, but also followed Jerome's respect for the Apocrypha as "books...the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners." In similar vein, respecting the conscientious application of JOHN JEWEL, bishop of Salisbury, who widened the range of Cranmer's Homilies, Article XXXV lists "the several titles" the clergy were convinced "contain a godly and wholesome doctrine...necessary for these times." Homilies 3 and 6, treating respectively "Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches" and "Against excess of apparel" certainly cast rare shafts of light for the social historian.

In their firm biblical base the Thirty-nine Articles constituted a full spectrum of Reformation orthodoxy in both faith and order. Carefully sourced from Protestant confessions like those of Augsburg and Württemberg, roughly a third were drafted in sensitive style that made them at least patient of different interpretations. Down the centuries critics have caricatured this approach with extremist labels, but the fine line

between ambiguity and irenicism endowed the formulary with an enduring quality and no mean respect, before JOHN HENRY NEWMAN started to demolish them in nineteenth-century Oxford. Parker shared Cranmer's zeal for patristic scholarship, as second only to Scripture; this is highlighted in the way the creeds are described as "proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture" (VIII). Various Articles devoted to man's sin and Christ's loving righteousness (IX, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI) deal in language reminiscent of Luther's "rediscovery" of the Gospel, and the wording of Article XI—"We are accompted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings"—is no deviation from the Wittenberg party line. Quite the contrary, given that that same Article made abundantly clear how justification "by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort as more largely expressed in the Homilie."

Following St. Paul, Protestant orthodoxy so embraced the idea of PREDESTINATION that every theologian and all formularies had to gloss over difficult and divisive doctrines. (Calvin's legacy is accordingly to be found in Article XVII, albeit without the "double take" of those Calvinists who distorted the balanced teaching of Geneva's patriarch on the sovereignty of God by directing the elect to life and the reprobate to damnation.) For in language decidedly urbane with every approximation to the scriptural statements of apostolic letters to the young churches at Rome (Romans 8 and 9) and Ephesus (Ephesians 1), the faithful are to take "sweet, pleasant and unspeakable comfort" in the "purpose of God" by whose mercy "they attain to everlasting felicity." To believe otherwise "is a most dangerous downfall" and the work of "the devyll." In short, and especially in an embattled sixteenth-century setting, Article XVII was indebted to Melancthon as much as to Calvin, and extended reference to Articles IX, X, and XI confirm a biblical reference, just as Articles II and XXXI clearly state that Christ died "for all actual sins of men."

Parker sustained the two-pronged attack on the sects and on Rome, a prominent feature of Cranmer's Articles, in the Articles of 1571. Zealots were thus checked (cf. especially Articles IV, VII, VIII, IX, XVI, XVIII, XXXVII–XXXIX) on the one hand, and popery abused on the other. In any case, by the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (February 1570), Pius V had formally excommunicated and deposed Gloriana. As far as the papal see was concerned, any diplomatic deference was now pointless, and the royal "heretic and favourer of heretics" no longer felt the need to tread warily. Governed by the kind of biblical and patristic principles Jewel had rehearsed in his celebrated *Apology* (1562), Rome was singled out for leading the Catholic Church astray, a criticism that fell short of Calvin's denunciation of it as an entirely "false church." Article XIV drew attention to the "arrogance and impiety" of works of supererogation; Article XIX indicated that "the Church of Rome hath erred," but in Article XXI it was also made clear that "General Counsellés" may err "and sometime have erred." If Cranmer had condemned purgatory as an invention of the "Scholeaucthoures," Article XXII held such doctrine "Romishe" and, like pardons, the adoration of images and relics, "a fond thing" not merely "vainly invented" but altogether repugnant to the word of God. Convinced that they had "grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles," Article XXV denied the sacramental status of "Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony and extreme Unction"; and "Transubstantiation," with reservation and any procession or adoration of the consecrated

eucharistic elements, with the “sacrifice of Masses” were all roundly condemned in Articles XXVIII and XXXI.

By contrast, seen as a bond of unity, the Eucharist was afforded pride of place in a Protestant revision that prized the sacrament of the LORD’S SUPPER “given, taken, and eaten...only after an heavenly and spiritual manner...received and eaten” by “faith” (Article XXVIII). Then too, omitted in 1566, as much to appease Rome as the Lutherans, Elizabeth no longer found Article XXIX (a denial of *manducatio impiorum*) politically inconvenient, and in 1571 consented to its restoration. In all, eleven Articles (IX, XV, XVI, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, and XXX) relate to sacramental doctrines, “Baptism and the Supper of the Lord” being “not only badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession: but rather...certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace” (XXV).

From Cranmer’s day, the Articles of Religion provided a litmus test to determine orthodoxy, and an Act of 1571 required the clergy, schoolmasters, and later those entering the universities to subscribe to it. The force of those Articles dealing with consecration and ordination (XXXVI), Civil Magistrates (XXXVII), and the “Christian man’s oath” (XXXIX) proved relevant here. Only in the nineteenth century, largely as a result of Tractarian caricature, was the formulary recognized to be not timeless, but itself very much a tract of Reformation times. Nowadays diluted from a “Form of Assent” to a simple affirmation of the “inheritance of faith,” whence clerks in Holy Orders should find “inspiration and guidance under God,” many Anglican clergy poke fun at “reading in.” Not so the remarkable evangelist Reverend J.R.W.Stott, who as rector of All Souls’, Langham Place, London, publicly read the Articles annually to remind his congregation of their Protestant heritage. His letter to *The Times* (May 30, 1963) is significant for the conviction he expressed that “the widespread ignorance of the reformed doctrines of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND is one of the major causes of its weakness today.”

In the United States, the clergy of the Protestant EPISCOPAL CHURCH have never been required to subscribe to the Articles of Religion, although a revised version of the formulary was published in 1801. In this, Article VIII omits mention of the Athanasian creed; Article XXI (“Of the Authority of General Councils”) was dropped; Article XXXV (“Of Homilies”) suspended until such a time as “obsolete words and phrases” are removed; and Articles XXXVI and XXXVII amended to avoid references to the English Crown, capital punishment, and, strangely, the propriety of bearing arms.

It was WILLIAM WORDSWORTH’S “Solitary Reaper” who sang of “...old, unhappy, far-off things,” and although the Thirty-nine Articles are very much a period compilation, the literary quality of their expression surely affords the formulary a significant place among Christian Confessions. Appropriately paired with the *Book of Common Prayer* itself, the Articles remain a key primary source of the English Reformation and as such a valuable heritage document of the Protestant faith.

See also Anabaptism; Augsburg Confession; Bible; Book of Common Prayer; Bullinger, Heinrich; Calvin, John; Catechism; Church of England; Confession; Cranmer, Thomas; Doctrine; Elizabeth I; Episcopal Church; Henry VIII; Jewel, John; Latimer, Hugh; Lord’s Supper; Luther, Martin; Melancthon, Philipp; Newman, John Henry; Parker, Matthew; Predestination; Wordsworth, William

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PETER NEWMAN BROOKS

THOLUCK, FRIEDRICH AUGUST GOTTREU (1799–1877)

German theologian. Born in Breslau, Tholuck first studied philology, then THEOLOGY in Berlin. As a student he was influenced by Pietistic-revivalistic circles. Although FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER opposed his appointment, he taught Old Testament in Berlin (1820–1826). There he published his best-known work, *Guido und Julius. Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner* (1823). A revivalistic tract in the form of correspondence between two young men, it countered an earlier tract by de Wette that criticized the notion that recognition of one's sinfulness was necessary for a theologian. In 1826 Tholuck became professor at HALLE where, with interruptions for travel and a year as preacher in Rome, he remained until his death. Martin Kähler was his most famous student.

Tholuck was a major figure of the nineteenth-century German REVIVALS. His theology stressed SIN and redemption. He was Lutheran, although he approved the union of Lutheran and Reformed churches and distrusted the growing confessionalism of the time. He also opposed theological and social liberalism. Tholuck's influential biblical commentaries, reprinted many times, sought to counter rationalistic approaches to scriptural interpretation. He affirmed that historical-critical interpretation did not negate biblical truths. In opposition to DAVID F.STRAUSS'S *Life of Jesus* (1835) he maintained the historical authenticity of the gospels. Less well known is his sympathetic scholarly work on the history of rationalism. A gifted linguist, Tholuck's influence extended abroad. He had many international contacts and was active in the Evangelical Alliance.

See also Ecumenism; Evangelicalism; Higher Criticism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Pietism

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MARY JANE HAEMIG

THOMASIUS, CHRISTIAN (1655–1728)

German jurist. Born into a respected academic family in Leipzig, GERMANY, and raised in Lutheran ORTHODOXY, Thomasius studied philosophy in Leipzig and law in Frankfurt/Oder. In 1680 he started practicing law in Leipzig and lecturing at the university. A nonconformist, he lectured (1687) in German rather than in Latin, a step toward the breakdown of unified European academic culture. In Leipzig, a center of Lutheran orthodoxy and Aristotelian thought, Thomasius defended the NATURAL LAW theories of SAMUEL PUFENDORF among jurists and the PIETISM of AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE among theologians. These stances and his acerbic manner led to his move to HALLE (1690), a center of Pietism and the ENLIGHTENMENT.

Thomasius soon was combating what he saw as the authoritarian tendencies of Pietism. His ethical teachings, holding that no pietistic CONVERSION was necessary to practice love toward one's neighbors, led to an edict forbidding him to teach anything but law (1702). Known as an advocate of religious TOLERATION, Thomasius thought true religion was an inner, private matter, not subject to state direction. The state could regulate the outward cult, but uniformity of religion was not necessary in a state. Thomasius opposed witch trials (see WITCHCRAZE) because he believed the state had no right to punish heretics (see HERESY). He believed that individual insight took precedence over received AUTHORITY; law and matters of state were subjects for human reason, not religious authority. Thomasius was concerned with the practical application of juristic and philosophical thought. His teachings led to the separation of law and morality as areas of inquiry.

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MARY JANE HAEMIG

TILLICH, PAUL (1886–1965)

German theologian. Tillich was one of the most influential Protestant theologians of the twentieth century. Born and educated in GERMANY, he fled the Nazi regime and established himself as a seminary professor and religion scholar in the United States, becoming a bridge between European theological currents and the English-speaking world. He became a major spokesman for Protestant progressivism in the public arena and published a number of widely read theological works, most notably the three-volume *Systematic Theology*.

Life and Work

Paul Tillich was born in 1886 in the village of Starzeddel in eastern Germany (now in POLAND), the son of a minister and high official of the Evangelical Union Church of Prussia. Tillich understood his deepest theological roots to be in the Lutheran Tradition (see LUTHERANISM), and he reaffirmed characteristic Lutheran emphases throughout his life. After undergraduate and graduate studies that focused on theology and philosophy at several German universities, Tillich entered the Christian ministry. At the outbreak of World War I he became a chaplain in the German army. After the war—for him a traumatic and transforming experience—he became a professor of philosophy and theology first in Berlin, then Marburg, Dresden, and finally Frankfurt. In the 1920s he was a leading figure in a movement called “religious socialism,” which attempted to offer an ideological alternative to traditionalism and fascism. This affiliation, plus his close association with Jewish scholars and students, brought about his dismissal from his academic post when the Nazis came to power in 1933. Shortly thereafter he and his family emigrated to the United States. After the war he became a professor successively at three distinguished American universities: Union Theological Seminary at Columbia University (1933–1955); Harvard University (1955–1962); and The University of Chicago (1962–1965).

Although Tillich became known principally as a scholar of religion rather than as a churchman, his sermons—often preached in university chapels—were warmly received. During World War II Tillich delivered a large number of antifascist speeches that were broadcast over the Voice of America. After the war he became increasingly influential as an interpreter of the religious dimension of CULTURE, termed by Tillich “the depth dimension.” In the 1950s Tillich gave more attention to psychological and existentialist analyses of the human predicament and to the completion of his systematic theology (see especially *The Courage To Be* and *Systematic Theology*, vols. 1–3). In the late 1950s

Tillich turned from dialogue with Western secularity to dialogue with non-Western religions, an interest brought into focus by his visit to JAPAN in 1960, at which time he engaged in conversations with Buddhist scholars (see *Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions*).

Thought

Tillich gave considerable attention to the history of Protestantism and to its fate in the twentieth century (see *The Protestant Era*). He criticized the pre-Vatican II Roman Catholic Church for a strain of authoritarianism, while valuing much in Catholic thought and experience (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTION TO). This breadth of perspective is captured in his distinction between “Catholic substance” and “Protestant principle.” For Tillich, Catholic sacramentalism reflects the “holiness of being,” the presence of the divine within the world. Without some religious “substance”—some sense of divine presence—Protestantism becomes sterile and empty, but the Protestant principle represents the protest against any tendency toward absolutizing finite symbols of holiness. Without this protest, religion—whether Protestant or Catholic—becomes “heteronomous.” Both emphases are needed for what Tillich called “theonomous” Christianity, which expresses its religious substance but is self-critical of any absolutizing of its own finite forms.

Tillich viewed the Protestant principle as an expression of the REFORMATION Doctrine of “justification by grace through faith.” This DOCTRINE, which criticizes dependency on all humanly devised assurances, was extended by Tillich to apply to intellectual “works” of religious belief as well as to works of moral or sacramental practice. One cannot be justified before God by right belief, said Tillich, any more than by right behavior or right ritual observance. Even while doubting, one can be in a state of reconciliation with God.

Tillich displayed his Protestant personalism by finding his theological starting point in something subjective, in what he called “ultimate concern.” In this he followed the nineteenth-century Protestant theologian, FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER, for whom religion begins with the “feeling of absolute dependence” rather than with a claim of truth content or revelation. God is understood to be the correlate of this feeling. Tillich attempted to counter the charge of subjectivism by asserting that one is “grasped by the power of an ultimate concern”; faith is received ecstatically (in the strict sense of standing beyond one’s ordinary self). All religion is revelatory in this sense.

The philosophical side of Tillich’s thought was nourished by his reading of the nineteenth-century German idealists, who sought to revive metaphysics on Protestant soil after IMMANUEL KANT’S critique. Tillich agreed with Kant that morality is constitutive of human individuality, autonomy, and freedom. Indeed, Tillich put metaphysical as well as moral weight on human freedom (and, linked with freedom, creativity). Following F.W.J.Schelling, Tillich saw freedom as the point where the completion of creation and the “fall” coincide. Tillich thought there was no rational necessity for humanity’s existential predicament (here countering rationalism, but in

accord with Schelling's existentialist successor, SØREN KIERKEGAARD). Nor is there any rational path to SALVATION (or human fulfillment). Human existence rests on incalculable freedom, and all paths to salvation involve the "risk of faith." However, there is for Tillich a power that makes for salvation and reconciliation. The power that reunites is love; in all its forms love *is* reunion, and—as G.W.F. HEGEL taught in his early theological writings—ultimately it is the divine power in all things.

The Christian faith affirms the presence of this reconciling power in "the New Testament picture of Jesus as the Christ" (in Tillich's auspicious phrase). All religions employ symbols that claim to mediate divine power; the distinctiveness of the Christ symbol is that Jesus sacrifices that which is finite in himself that he might point beyond himself to the ultimate power of reconciliation. Herein lies a criterion for a valid religious symbol—that it points beyond itself without making claims of ultimacy for itself. Although rooted in the Jesus of history, the New Testament picture includes mythic elements. Instead of "demythologizing" in the manner of the New Testament theologian RUDOLF BULTMANN, Tillich favored acknowledging the necessary presence of mythic expression. The doctrine of Christ's incarnation is viewed by Tillich as "broken" (that is, acknowledged) myth, subject to interpretation but not to replacement by rationalizing categories.

In embracing the "apologetic" role for Christian theology, reformulating itself so as to provide answers to contemporary culture's most pressing questions, Tillich differed sharply from his Swiss Protestant contemporary, KARL BARTH. Barth rejected all efforts toward a "natural theology" (a theology based on reason, science, or general human experience). Tillich on the contrary reached back to the apologetic tradition found in the early church and in St. Augustine; here Christianity is seen as fulfilling human culture's passionate quest for ultimacy. Tillich contended that different issues become the focus of concern in different cultural epochs. The predominant problem of contemporary life, he asserted, is not finitude and DEATH, or sin and guilt, but emptiness and meaninglessness—this theme derived from much twentieth-century literature. In the face of doubt about the meaning-giving qualities of the traditional symbols (including the theistic, personal God), Tillich reflected on "the God beyond the God of theism." To ground our affirmations of the meaningfulness of finite being, he argued, we are in a time of quest for new symbols.

In his social ethics Tillich can be seen as a precursor of the LIBERATION THEOLOGIES that have come into prominence since the 1960s. Tillich backed away from explicit commitment to socialism in his American years, although he remained a steadfast critic of the excesses of capitalism and of the individualist culture of "self-sufficient finitude." The social ideal of the KINGDOM OF GOD—Christianity's key symbol for the goal of human history—in his view captures the affirmation of the goodness of finite existence along with criticism of the injustices of present societies.

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GUYTON B. HAMMOND

TILLOTSON, JOHN (1630–1694)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Tillotson was born in Sow-erby, Yorkshire, ENGLAND in 1630. After a CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY education, where the CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS taught him tolerance, Tillotson served in PRES-BYTERIANISM but conformed to the episcopally ordered CHURCH OF ENGLAND at the Restoration. He served parishes in rural Hertfordshire and London and became well known as a preacher.

Although his vigorous advocacy of Protestantism (*The Rule of Faith*, 1666) irritated Charles II, he was made dean of CANTERBURY in 1672. When the Roman Catholic James II was replaced in 1688 by his Protestant daughter Mary II and her husband William III, Tillotson helped to secure TOLERATION for Protestant Dissenters. He was appointed dean of St. Paul's, London, November 1689. The archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft, was finally deposed for nonacceptance of the new reign. Reluctantly, Tillotson consented to succeed him in May 1691. He died in November 1694 in London.

Tillotson wrote against SOCINIANISM (1693), and he has often been called Latitudinarian, both for his preference for morals over doctrinal strife and his appeal to reasonable self-interest and natural inclination as motives for CONVERSION. More positively, he called for holiness: "To see God is to be happy; but, unless we be like him, we cannot see him. The sight and presence of God himself would be no happiness to that man who is not like to God in the temper and disposition of his mind" (Sermon VII).

See also Latitudinarianism

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DAVID TRIPP

TINDAL, MATTHEW (1657–1733)

English deist. Born in 1657 in Devonshire, ENGLAND, Tindal is best known for his apology for natural religion, *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730). Son of a High-Church minister, Tindal studied at Lincoln College at Oxford and later at Exeter College. He became a law fellow at All Souls' College in 1678 and earned his doctor of civil law in 1685. Religiously, he moved from the High-Church tradition to a temporary interest in Catholicism to Unitarianism to a later self-professed Christian DEISM.

His early works—for example, *An Essay Concerning Obedience to Supreme Powers* (1693), *The Liberty of the Press* (1698), and *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted* (1706)—are characteristically antiauthoritarian and anticlerical in tone. Tindal aimed, as found in *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, to demonstrate that the “Religion of Nature” is the original and perfect religion to which revelation has nothing to add or subtract. Tindal taught that true religion is natural, universal, and innate within the human soul and that morality is its essence. According to Tindal, natural and revealed religion (i.e., Christianity) have a common source, but the ideas given by reason are more certain than those given by TRADITION or “revelation.” Thus, what is true in Christianity must be “as old as the creation,” and all else is false. Tindal attacked “absurdities” and inconsistencies in the BIBLE (e.g., miracles, immoral stories, anthropomorphisms, and arbitrariness of God) and insisted that the Bible should be read like any other book.

After his death on August 6, 1733, *Christianity as Old as the Creation* came to be known as the “Deists' Bible.” Tindal's emphasis on the primacy and universality of reason, avenues into biblical criticism, and advocacy for natural religion had significant influence on the ENLIGHTENMENT in both GERMANY and FRANCE.

See also Higher Criticism

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G. SUJIN PAK

TING, K.H. (DING GUANGXUN) (1915-)

Chinese theologian. Born in Shanghai, CHINA, K.H. Ting has been China's foremost Protestant leader and theologian since the reopening of churches after the end of the Cultural Revolution era in the late 1970s. He became principal of Nanjing Union Theological Seminary at its founding in 1953, a position that he still holds. He was chair of the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee (TSPM) and president of the China Christian Council (CCC) from 1981 until his retirement in 1997. Ting continues to serve as vice-chair of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, in which capacity he seeks to promote openness and reform in the religious policy of the government.

Ting grew up in a comfortable Christian home, the third of four children. His maternal grandfather was one of China's first Anglican priests, and his father a banker. The greatest influence in his early life was his mother, a devout Christian, who encouraged her son to enter the ministry. Ting received a B.A. from St. John's University in Shanghai in 1937 and a B.D. from its school of theology in 1942. In 1948 he received an M.A. in religious education from Union Theological Seminary in New York. In 1942 he was ordained to the Anglican diaconate and priesthood, and in the same year, he married Siu-may Kuo (d. 1995). They had two sons. In 1955 he was consecrated bishop of the Anglican diocese of Chekiang (Zhejiang).

Ting's experience as a student and priest in Japanese-occupied Shanghai (1937–1945) convinced him of the need to be involved in the struggle for national salvation and freedom from foreign domination. He became one of the many YMCA student workers inspired by Y.T. Wu (1893–1979). Later he served as curate of the Church of Our Savior, and then as pastor of Shanghai's Community Church. In 1945 the Tings went to CANADA, where K.H. had been appointed mission secretary for the Student Christian Movement. In 1948 Ting moved to Geneva to work for the World Student Christian Federation. In this capacity he traveled widely and got to know many men and women in the ecumenical movement and the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

In 1951, against the advice of many friends and colleagues in Geneva, the Tings returned to China with their young son. They were committed to the newly established People's Republic of China, and K.H. became associated with the TSPM. This was the time of the Korean War, when foreign missionaries were being expelled and Chinese churches were severing their connections with Christians overseas. Ting served for a brief time as general secretary of the Christian Literature Society (1952–1953) in Shanghai, before moving to Nanjing where he became principal of Nanjing Union Theological Seminary.

In the 1950s and early 1960s Ting was active in the TSPM, and became a well-known interpreter of the Chinese revolution in the West. He was convinced that Christians should work together with socialists, and in his writings, he attempted to provide Christians with a convincing theological rationale. Conservative and evangelical

Christians in China and in the West tended to disagree with Ting's approach, but he was widely respected among Protestants and Anglicans in the ecumenical movement.

With the intensification of radical political movements in the China of the late 1950s and early 1960s Ting's position became increasingly difficult. He was removed from all his church and political posts at the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. He again came into public view in the early 1970s, and over the next few years met with many overseas visitors.

At the end of the Cultural Revolution era, K.H. Ting emerged as the preeminent leader of China's Protestant Christians and headed both the newly organized CCC (1981) and the reestablished TSPM. He promoted the reopening of churches and other religious institutions, the printing of the BIBLE and religious literature, and increasing contacts with churches in other parts of the world. In 1991 he led the CCC delegation to Canberra when it joined the World Council of Churches. By this time Ting had become a significant voice for the interests of the church on a national level, using his government positions to promote both religious freedom and the rebirth of theology and religious studies.

As China's best-known Protestant theologian, Ting's central theological concern has been love as God's primary attribute, and the importance for Christians to practice love in their ETHICS and in society. His writings have stressed the continuity between creation and redemption; the Cosmic Christ who presides over all human history; and a deemphasis on "justification by faith" in Chinese Protestantism, insofar as it divides Christians from non-Christians. Since retirement Ting has promoted "theological reconstruction" in the Chinese Church, which implies the broadening and opening of Christian faith to the changes taking place in society.

K.H.Ting's contributions to the reemergence of Chinese church life, Protestant THEOLOGY, and the opening of China to the outside world are widely recognized. His views on "theological reconstruction" and the need for working in concert with the government continue to be criticized in some conservative church circles. However, under Ting's leadership, Christianity in China has assumed a higher profile than at any time in its history. He has promoted reconciliation between church and society, Christian and non-Christian, China and the world, and this continues to be K.H.Ting's enduring legacy to Christians in China and to the church universal.

See also Ecumenism; YMCA, YWCA

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PHILIP WICKERI

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE (1805–1859)

French writer. De Tocqueville's fame rests on a single work. For nine months, beginning in May 1831, the young French aristocrat studied the emergent democratic culture in the United States. His classic work *Democracy in America* continues to be seen as a most insightful analysis of American society. In it, he devotes considerable attention to the cultural significance of American Protestantism.

De Tocqueville described Americans as deeply religious and credited their faith for creating a bulwark of republican freedom. Although Catholic by birth and elusive about his own religious beliefs, he applauded the fact that political liberty had multiplied ways of believing in America but had not led to religious skepticism as predicted by ENLIGHTENMENT Philosophers. Such divisions provoked heated theological debates, he admitted, but they could not undermine a prevailing harmony of Christian social purpose.

Harboring deep concerns about the centrifugal tendencies of unbridled DEMOCRACY, de Tocqueville assigned particular importance to the ways Protestants balanced personal spiritual devotion with equal commitment to moral reform, political freedom, and material improvement. Such earthly applications enabled religion to control popular passions and preserve republican order without benefit of formal political power. His sanguine expectations met a far different reality in the 1840s, however, when the SLAVERY issue divided BAPTISTS and METHODISTS along sectional lines, aggravating social tensions that led to the CIVIL WAR in 1861.

Finally, the absence of a clerical establishment in America led de Tocqueville to give WOMEN particular prominence in American political culture. He concluded that this most vitally religious segment of the population made the home a private reservoir of Christian morality indispensable to training citizens committed to the public good.

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MARK Y. HANLEY

TOLAND, JOHN (1670–1721)

English theologian. Toland was born in Londonderry, Ireland, on November 30, 1670, of Roman Catholic parents, and died in Putney, near London, on March 11, 1721. He studied at the University of Glasgow and then at Leiden in the NETHERLANDS. In 1694 he went to Oxford and two years later, in 1696, published his first and most important book, *Christianity Not Mysterious, or a Treatise Showing That There is Nothing in the Gospel Contrary to Reason Nor Above It, And That No Christian Doctrine Can Properly Be Called a Mystery*. In this volume, in the Deist tradition of his time, Toland rejected such external authorities as TRADITION, the Scriptures, and the church. Reason is the only principle of AUTHORITY for the Christian. The criterion for making all religious decisions and for formulating all Christian DOCTRINE must be unimpaired reason. Although the Christian may get information from revelation, that is, Scripture, that information must be confirmed by reason. Therefore, in Christianity there is nothing that is mysterious. Here Toland goes beyond some Deist writers who (see DEISM) taught that there were truths of reason, truths of revelation that agree with reason, and truths above reason. Toland insists that there are not truths above reason, such as the resurrection and the virgin birth. The argument that there are truths above reason is the source of all absurdities in Christianity, usually promulgated by the CLERGY, such as TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Toland insists that what can be known by revelation must as well be understood as any other matter in the world. In this regard reason is superior to revelation, just as a *Greek Grammar* is superior to the *New Testament*, for we make use of the grammar to understand the language and of reason to understand the sense of the BIBLE. Reason is no less from God than revelation; indeed, reason is the candle, the guide within each person. Revelation is never mysterious nor incomprehensible once it is known. There cannot even be the appearance of a conflict between revelation and the gospel. Toland wanted to prove that the essence of Christianity is found in natural religion that all peoples and races have in common. In a sense, Christianity is “sectarian,” that is, a special branch of the real, natural religion.

Toland was convinced that a special revelation was limited to a particular time and a particular people; thus it lacks universality. True religion is universally available and is equally available to all peoples in all times. In *Nazarenus* (1718) he argued that the original simple moral precepts of Christianity as found in the synoptic gospels were corrupted by priests and philosophers.

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DONALD S.ARMENROUT

TOLERATION

Toleration, *tolerantia*, is taken by many to be an overwhelmingly modern virtue. Most associate the idea with the separation of church and state as embodied, paradigmatically, in the constitution of the United States of America. Most look to English philosopher John Stuart Mill's (1806–1873) *On Liberty* (1859) or, at the earliest, to philosopher JOHN LOCKE'S (1632–1704) *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) for its intellectual antecedents. Toleration is, furthermore, taken to be a positive virtue, indicating an acceptance of pluralism and diverse behaviors and beliefs. It is variously interpreted as referring to an array of different acts, individuals, or claims of truth, and a refusal to judge any one position, individual, or claim as beyond the boundaries of a common humanity. Often, as can be perceived, such a position can easily shade off into a shallow relativism, indifference, or alternatively into a skepticism toward all truth-claims and normative desiderata. On the other hand, an attitude of toleration is deemed central to the working of a pluralistic, democratic polity—the prerequisite to any idea of universal human rights. As such, it is central to the changing world order at the turn of the twenty-first century.

The Problem of Toleration

The idea of toleration has a much longer history and is both conceptually and historically a more elusive concept than is commonly held. Taken today as a positive trait, *tolerantia* was, historically, understood as a negative one, a necessity, the lesser of two evils, but not as a positive good. Tolerance, in the medieval period in Europe was understood as restraint, forbearance, and as the ability to suffer and endure what was unacceptable but could not, for all that, be eradicated. In medieval canon law the two primary examples of this restraint involved Jews and prostitutes. In both cases the toleration demanded was a restraint of hatred rather than a command to love. The existence of both in society was taken as a necessary evil rather than as a positive good. The move from treating tolerance as the lesser of two evils to treating it as a normatively desirable state is, in fact, one of the chief differences between medieval and modern positions.

This changing valuation of toleration does, however, enormously complicate many of the problematic and contradictory aspects of the term. Any attitude of toleration immediately raises the question of the limits of toleration, And if, in the modern world, we do not accept the position that any individual can be beyond the boundaries of a shared humanity, certain forms of behavior most certainly can. What then are the limits of tolerance? Can these be framed in a universal language, shared by all societies and

peoples? How can the limits be justified in terms that would benefit from worldwide compliance—if such is indeed a goal. Or, would such a goal in itself be intolerant toward myriad local traditions and practices?

Viewing toleration in a positive light returns us to the very contradictory meaning of the term. Tolerance implies endurance of something we reject as wrong (otherwise we would not need to be tolerant of it). Tolerance is clearly relative to practices and beliefs whose validity or normative status we reject as somehow incorrect, unreasonable, or undesirable. Tolerance does not, moreover, involve coming to accept these beliefs as correct or somehow less wrong. Rather it involves the ability to abide by, to live with those beliefs we continue to think of as wrong or misguided.

Moreover, if one group of people simply hated another we would not demand tolerance of them, but rather that they lose their hatred. We do not ask the racial bigot to tolerate the black, but to lose his hatred of him, or of the anti-Semite to tolerate the Jew (as in the Middle Ages). We do not, furthermore, consider the bigot who, through a vast expenditure of psychological energy refrains from acting on his prejudice, tolerant. This is not to say that toleration does not involve restraint, but it is a restraint of more than action; it is a restraint of thought and a restraint, quite possibly, of judgment. Thus, toleration involves some tension between commitment to one's own set of values and principles or religious edicts, and a willingness to abide by those of others who adhere to beliefs we believe are wrong. Again, the question of boundaries or limits to tolerance arises.

One way modern societies have posited these boundaries has been through the liberal distinction between public and private realms, which thus becomes a distinction in realms and types of toleration; certain beliefs and/or practices are deemed private and so, almost by definition, are to be tolerated. Here then, tolerance is not quite indifference *simpliciter*, but more a principled indifference, for one has no right to intervene in private matters, or even to judge them. In this reading, all conflicting views are reduced to an almost aesthetic realm of different matters of taste (or what are often termed lifestyles). One could, however, query if this is tolerance at all. Principled indifference is not tolerance. The much-vaunted toleration of mod-ern societies may well be more complicated and problematic than we often take it to be, tending, in fact, to constantly be in danger of slipping into indifference and relativism.

Within the experience of most Western European and North Atlantic societies, the development of toleration has been marked by a retreat of religion from the public arena, its privatization, and the general growth of secularization as the defining context of public life. Toleration has come to be associated with pluralism, which, when accepted as a value, implies the ability to exist together with other, competing visions of society and of the cosmos. Pluralism implies tolerance, not solely the toleration of error (what can perhaps be termed tolerance with a small "t"), but tolerance of alternative and competing civilizational visions (tolerance with a capital "T") with their own claims to the public sphere and the organization of communal life.

In Western Europe the development of this form of tolerance has taken a very particular form—that of secularization. That is to say, as society secularized and religion retreated from the public domain, reducing its claims on the public sphere and becoming more and more a matter of the congregant's internal value disposition, there developed, concomitantly, a growing tolerance of other faiths. This change has generally been

identified with the ENLIGHTENMENT and the influence of the FRENCH REVOLUTION. Within Europe, the test case of this type of toleration has been in attitudes toward the Jewish people, from which we also learn that privatized belief in itself is far from sufficient for the development of toleration toward the other. The HOLOCAUST was perpetrated less than one hundred years after Jews were granted full civic emancipation in Western European countries.

Tolerance and Protestantism

The privatization of religious belief as a basis for toleration is very much rooted in the institutionalization of Protestant religiosity. The very circumscription of religious truth claims to the realm of the private rather than that of shared, public culture has much to do with the way sectarian Protestantism developed in England and New England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The epistemological foundations of this orientation were, in part, laid by John Locke, who claimed that because religion was a matter of belief, any coercion of the will would simply not work in enforcing religious conformity, for the structures of belief were not subject to the workings of the will.

While true, such an approach indicates its own particular religious assumptions in its stress on belief as standing at the center of religious consciousness, reflecting, that is, a very particular type of Protestant religiosity. For while belief cannot indeed be coerced, practice, and most especially public practice, certainly can. There are religions where public practices are a good deal more central than the structure of individual belief systems. If we look to Hinduism, Islam, or JUDAISM we immediately see this to be so. No small number of people continue to be engaged in violent, illegal, and often repressive behavior in many parts of the world over issues of religious practice, such as whether coffee houses can be open in Jerusalem on the Sabbath and whether women must go veiled in public or can attend university, and so on.

The path of toleration that eventually led to modern positions on the privatization of belief, freedom of thought, and individual rights is nevertheless rooted in Protestant beliefs in the privatization of grace and the internalization of conscience that developed most saliently among groups of sectarian Protestants—MORAVIANS (see Moravian Church), QUAKERS, BAPTISTS, ANABAPTISTS (see Anabaptism), Collegiants, Socinians (see Socinian Church)—in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such religious thinkers as Hans Denck (1500–1527) and SEBASTIAN FRANCK (1499–1542) played an important role in developing an attitude of toleration, not just of different Christian sects to one another, but to all of humankind. Sebastian Franck's belief in religious freedom, the opaqueness of all ultimate truths, and the common nature of the human predicament continued to be influential much beyond his own lifetime.

The writings of thinkers such as Jean Bodin (1529–1596) and Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) developed less explicitly religious bases for toleration and provided a critical bridge between the explicitly religious discourse of the sixteenth century and the arguments of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, increasingly based on natural law. Pierre Bayle, who himself converted to Catholicism in 1668 and back to

Protestantism less than two years later, was exceptional for his time, extending toleration even to atheists, which neither Jean Bodin nor, later, John Locke was to do. (Locke also refused toleration to Catholics.) Bayle, indeed, anticipated a very modern approach to toleration predicted on individual liberty and freedom of expression. Samuel Pufendorf's (1623–1694) writings on toleration within the context of the early modern natural law tradition (though less radical than Bayle) must also be noted in this context.

Belief in the unmediated access of the believer to the deity, the importance of faith, and the freedom of conscience all contributed to the growth of toleration in early modern Europe. Eventually these beliefs led to the secularization of the ideas of inner light or Holy Spirit, the internalization of the idea of grace and, by the eighteenth century, its secularization into more contemporary notions of morality, civic virtue, and often romantic nationalism as well. Critical here were developments in the thirteen colonies of what became the United States of America. The unique nature of individual rights as expressed in the bills of rights of the different states was the perceived source of these rights in godly dictates rather than in any tradition or customary ideas of inherited privileges. Individual rights and the tolerance that accompanied them were deemed sacred and rooted in the words of the Gospel rather than in the positive law of the state. A direct inheritance of the Puritan migration of the 1630s, it is not clear that such an attitude can be generalized to other religious traditions and cultures.

Toleration and Skepticism

There has, historically, been another foundation posited for toleration, one that for a period shared the stage with what became the modern argument for individual rights, but then retreated to the background; this was an argument based on *skepticism*. Both arguments—that predicated on individual rights and the freedom of conscience, and that predicted on skepticism—emerged out of the Protestant REFORMATION and the wars of religion and the challenge that the Reformation posited for the faith, practices, and criteria of justification of Catholic Europe.

The history of skepticism has been less studied outside the history of science. Here too, though, the Protestant Reformation was critical, most especially in challenging the church's infallibility. For in so doing, Protestant thought challenged existing ideas of certitude as well as the veracity of received truth as proclaimed by church authorities. Consequently, in the debates between Catholics and Protestants over sufficient evidence, the problems of knowledge and faith were joined and ultimately characterized by the failure to justify faith on the basis of knowledge. This led, in turn, to pure fideism on one hand (that is, belief by faith alone) and on the other a sort of mitigated skepticism. It was this latter position that was taken by Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563) in his condemnation of the burning of Miguel Servetus (1511–1553) in the Geneva of JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564)—a reasonable belief that because we cannot be sure of truth, we cannot be sure of the nature of HERESY and hence cannot go to extremes such as the burning of heretics. Tolerance came to be based on a skepticism toward our ability to know ultimate truth.

The debate between Castellio and Calvin took place in an atmosphere characterized by the revival of classical Pyrrhonism (i.e., the doubting of all propositions including those of doubt itself), which was itself called up by the search for justification of an infallible truth via a self-evident criteria. While the Protestants contested papal authority, the Catholics vigorously attacked Protestant belief in the work of inner conscience. Francois Veron (c. 1575–1625) was one of the masters of the Counter-Reformation polemic that showed how (1) the Protestant claim that Scripture was self-evidently clear was manifestly false and in need of interpretation, and (2) predicating interpretation on individual conscience opened the floodgates to endless sectarianism and antinomian potentialities.

One side claimed that the Catholic demand for infallible knowledge led to the discovery that no such knowledge exists and hence to complete doubt and Pyrrhonism, while the other claimed that the very proliferation of opinions that Protestantism led to, ended in complete uncertainty in religious belief and hence to total doubt. That such a position could also be the basis of a deeply felt humanism and widely practiced toleration is best evinced in the life and writings of Michael de Montaigne (1533–1592).

Criticism of biblical narrative in the writings of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and others also contributed to an increasing skepticism of religious truthclaims and a tolerance toward different interpretations of godly edicts and divine commandments. Together with a growing realization of the magnitude of human suffering caused by religious persecution, this contributed to a growing, albeit mitigated, toleration in societies such as Holland and, in the late seventeenth century, in England and New England as well. (In England for example, the Toleration Act of 1689 granted freedom of religion to dissenting Protestant sects but not to Roman Catholics nor to those who denied the Trinity).

Historically, in the countries of Western Europe, the argument for a tolerance based on skepticism was overtaken by two developments: (1) the liberal argument for individual autonomy, and (2) the process of secularization itself, which obviated the very need for religious tolerance. To these was added the Cartesian revolution, which reoriented the whole issue of certitude as well as the position of the knowing subject.

Conclusion

A principled toleration based on skepticism is a difficult position to maintain as it would seem that people have a marked preference for certitude, even if it is of a tremendously circumscribed horizon. To maintain a position of belief while at the same time maintaining a position of skepticism as to its truth-claims—indeed a skepticism so great that one is tolerant of other such claims—is a truly stoic position, but it is one that, first and foremost, rests on some belief, otherwise the whole issue of tolerance becomes moot.

Religious beliefs that have, throughout history, been the cause of persecution and intolerance, have been important sources of toleration as well. From Israelite injunctions of the stranger and fellow-human, to the Sermon on the Mount, to Islamic edicts on the *zakat* (poor-rate), religion has universally provided an openness to the other and an idiom

within which to discuss and mediate differences in a tolerant manner. As societies throughout the world become more diverse and pluralistic, both types of religious attitudes—of intolerance and of tolerance—are surfacing and playing an increasingly important role in the politics of different countries. From Hindu nationalists in India to evangelical Christians in the United States of America and Shi'ite Muslims in Iran, religion has reemerged as a major factor in world politics. With this global reemergence of religious identities and commitments, the problem of tolerance is also reemerging as one of the defining problems of the twenty-first century. Engagement with this challenge demands mobilizing the resources of many idioms and a wide range of traditions: not only the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, but also the pluralism of Islamic Sufi thought, the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on Religious Freedom (*Dignitatis Humanae*), the theology of KARL BARTH (1886–1968), and the injunction of the Torah on the stranger in our midst. All are part of the global language of toleration.

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ADAM B.SELIGMAN

TONGUES, SPEAKING IN

Tongues in the New Testament

“Speak in tongues” is a phrase based on three passages in the New Testament: Mark 16:17, Acts 2, and I Corinthians 12–13 as found in the Authorized (King James) Version of the BIBLE of 1611 and in some other more recent English translations. *Tongues* renders the Greek word *glossa*, used in the New Testament for both tongue (in one’s mouth) and language, but in the English version of the epistle it may reflect the translators’ compromise in dealing with a phenomenon that appeared different from speaking natural languages. Although some interpreters of Paul’s words maintain that he was writing about real languages—but ones that were not known to the participants in a religious event—others believe that the speech was fundamentally different from human language. Translations, therefore, have reflected these two views, based partly on philological and partly on theological grounds: for example, *new*, *unknown*, and *ecstatic* languages.

The linguistic issue is not problematic in Acts 2. The miracle that took place in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, as reported, was that the apostles were able to speak “different languages” that the audience recognized as “their own [ethnic] languages” and were able to understand what was being said about “the wondrous works of God.” This alleged phenomenon—being able to speak in a language one has never learned or even heard—is known as *xenoglossia*, and has been reported in contexts that are not religious at all, being used to defend the belief that there are paranormal phenomena that SCIENCE has not yet been able to account for.

In Corinth, by contrast, it would appear that the speech events were of common occurrence in Christian gatherings, some of which were unruly enough to be criticized by Paul. The speech, moreover, according to some interpretations of the text, was incomprehensible. The utterances were nonetheless considered by Paul in this pastoral letter to be languages in the common sense and the ability to speak in them one of the “gifts” granted by the Holy Spirit. What was more important than uttering something incomprehensible, however, was for it to have meaning, either for oneself or for other believers as well. One was advised, therefore, to pray for understanding of what one had said, but there were also in a fellowship persons gifted in providing the meaning of an otherwise incomprehensible utterance.

The Corinthian speech events have been explained by non-Christians and even by some Christians as having an origin in Greek or eastern cults in which participants sought ecstatic, out-of-this-world (dissociative, altered) states of being, explanations that are considered speculative by serious historians.

Subsequent History

Very little is known—but much speculated—of the subsequent history of the occurrence and distribution of the use of “unknown” languages in Christian communities. Although there are some reports of unusual behavior—sometimes accompanied by gibberish—among fringe groups of Christians, that may in some cases have been concurrent with dissociation (see some of the patristic writings, Montanism, the prophets of Cevennes, and *Les convulsionnaires*, for example), nothing credible can be said about what people were doing from the perspective of scientific linguistics, given the wide range of possibilities for articulatory, psychological, and cultural reasons. These occurrences in any case have been occasional, revealing no continuity whatsoever throughout the centuries, and cannot be corroborated with samples of what was actually uttered, as one must in linguistics. People may have exclaimed in gibberish or produced anything in a rather wide range of verbal (or just oral) phenomena but incomprehensible without having produced pseudolanguage of the recent and contemporary kind. There has, indeed, been no uninterrupted tradition of charismatic religion in canonical and popular Christianity in any of its varieties.

Although emotional behavior is better documented in Protestantism since disestablishmentarianism, the proliferation of denominations and sects, and the emergence of mass popular EVANGELISM, again nothing can be said about the use of speech except that it might be exclamatory or allegedly incomprehensible. In any case, such behavior apparently was idiosyncratic: it had not become part of a community’s TRADITION or dogma; it was not theologized.

Tongues and the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Movements

Speaking in tongues did not emerge as behavior of religious significance until it was associated with the revivalist “second blessing” that had been preached as an advanced stage in one’s Christian maturity: one had to be born again first, and then one had to be filled with the Holy Spirit (although the two experiences might occur concurrently). Although profound piety had been preached since at least the seventeenth century in English-speaking communities, and although seeking it and ostensibly achieving it were frequently emotional in public meetings, it was not until the dogmatization of tongues as the experiential, necessary evidence of being filled with the Holy Spirit that this linguistic phenomenon acquired supreme importance in new communities of Protestants.

Tongues, the phrase now being abbreviated, arose in the UNITED STATES early in the nineteenth century and very soon became the hallmark of the Pentecostal movement, which was most successful at first in rural and lower-class North America. It was preached that one should seek the filling of the Holy Spirit and that one could have it. Large meetings to facilitate this experience were emotional and so frequently characterized by dissociative behavior that the people were called “holy rollers” because of their falling to the floor, “slain” by the Holy Spirit. For many leaders in the movement

such behavior was not sufficient evidence: one had to speak in tongues. Moreover, because of the belief that these were real languages and that languages could be prayed for, Pentecostals of various kinds joined the modern missionary movement with the confidence that they would be able to preach the Gospel in any language.

Reports from the last century by believers and by critics about tongues, although considerable, are too vague to allow a scientific linguist to characterize what must have been a wide range of vocal behavior. It is not until the rise of the neo-Pentecostal (or charismatic) movement, once again in the United States, in the 1960s that we can attest empirically to a single phenomenon that could be studied as one would any unknown language of the world, thanks to the availability of tape recorders. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, given (1) the lively existence of old-fashioned Pentecostals and (2) the doctrinal similarity between the old and the new believers, the new tongues were modeled on the pattern of the old. At the apogee of the charismatic movement internationally, when Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians became involved in large numbers in the 1960s and 1970s, there undoubtedly were several millions of glossolalists—and, of course, many more Pentecostals and charismatics who are not tongues speakers. The number has most certainly decreased because of the waning of the movement and, among glossolalists themselves, disillusionment, disbelief, or disuse.

However, the beliefs of the new charismatics were not exactly like those of the old, partly because many arrived at their own appreciation and critique of their lingual experience. Many, if not most, people believed—as had their predecessors—that they were speaking in real languages (demonic ones, their critics declared). Indeed, reports of a tongue's having been identified as “classic” Hebrew or “perfect” Hawaiian by a native speaker in the assembly spread by word-of-mouth, were proclaimed from the pulpit, or published in the literature. These alleged miracles would be instances of xenoglossia. No reports have been scientifically authenticated. Other neocharismatics, coming from conservative (and even anti-Pentecostal) traditions and being better educated than their predecessors, considered their tongues to be divine gifts for personal use in private events of worship, praise, and intercession. From glossolalists in the ecumenical charismatic movement also came the belief that speaking in tongues was just one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, not the very one that validated a new and better religious experience. Many others believed that they were engaging in “expressive language,” alluding to nonrealistic art.

Tongues as a Linguistic Phenomenon

The serious discussion of glossolalia is facilitated by recognizing all utterances or discourse that fail to meet the criteria posited for natural languages. The fundamental one is that there be a systematic correlation between, on the one hand, phonological units, and, on the other hand, cognitive units (i.e., units of meaning). It follows from this characterization of human language that even before knowing what the meaning of a stretch of language might be, one will identify (a) a restricted set of sounds and (b) sequences of sounds that are distributed in a patterned way, the latter assumed to be

carriers of meaning, like roots, affixes, and words. (Even ancient Mayan hieroglyphics have been decoded on this premise with help from contemporary Mayan languages.)

Although samples of glossolalia can be transcribed from tape recordings as all languages can be, they are exotic (a) in having a limited number of consonants and vowels, which are (b) almost always sounds borrowed from the speaker's native language. Here is one sample simplified of phonetic details, including stress (or accent), typical of standard North American English, pauses being real:

kolamasiando, labokatohoriamasi, lamosiando, labokatahandoria

Words of different lengths could be created with these strings of syllables, but they would be subjective and arbitrary, not being correlated with units of meaning. Also illustrated in this sample is (c) repetition—syllables, for example, being rearranged linearly as if they were blocks of sound: *labo/lamo* and *kato/kata*.

It has been argued linguistically that these characteristics of glossolalia make it possible for a person to improvise a stream of sound that resembles language in superficial ways, drawn profoundly, however, from material learned early in childhood. Everyone who has acquired a language (even—perhaps, especially—children), according to this argument, can produce glossolalic utterances, depending on a willingness or ability to do something out of the ordinary, the reasons for doing so, and the contexts. In this sense, therefore, glossolalia is a perfectly natural linguistic phenomenon while being culturally uncommon in the world through time. (The word “natural” is used as in scientific discourse; theologians might quibble about what is and is not “natural.”)

Learning to Speak in Tongues

Ignoring the linguistic data themselves, others have speculatively suggested different explanations. (1) Only certain kinds of people are able to speak in tongues: (a) the intellectually and socially deprived, and (b) those who are susceptible to the influence of an authority figure. (2) Glossolalia is always an effect of an altered state of consciousness (dissociation, trance, etc.). Such explanations do not satisfy linguists because they fail to demonstrate that these independent variables are necessary (i.e., causal). With respect to these views, critics have demonstrated that some glossolalists learn from each other: many will have heard short or long stretches of tongues in public meetings even before they are “filled with the Holy Spirit.” (There have even been manuals and tape recordings to teach people to speak in tongues.) Many others subsequently and unconsciously adopt bits of what they hear, a regularly meeting prayer group thereby producing its own “dialect.” A favored word has been found in different locations in North America and Europe in slightly varying forms: *shanda*, possibly derived from *santa*.

Tongues Defined

Glossolalia, now, can be narrowly defined as a vocal act believed by the speaker to be language and showing rudimentary languagelike structure but no consistent word-meaning correspondences recognizable by either speaker or hearers, attributed in Christianity to the Holy Spirit (the human being just a channel of communication), who can intervene in its interpretation. Used loosely, however, even by psychologists, anthropologists, and others, the word is synonymous with gibberish, but contemporary glossolalists do not consider poorly articulated vocalizations authentic tongues. Although a wide range of speech that is not typical of human language is found in different cultures, usually in a religious context, contemporary glossolalia is different in kind. In play or pretense, of course, people are at liberty to say what they want of their glossolalic utterances.

Glossolalia, however, is fundamentally similar to certain kinds of vocalizations that appear in English and other languages, as in song, play, spells, chants, and so forth. Thus, *abracadabra* (or *abra ka dabra*) is glossolalic in nature, easily becoming the source of *kabra dabra kakada brakada adaka*.

Because Christians believe that what they utter is a real language, glossolalia is used for different purposes: in PRAYER, song (in a group, each person producing different lyrics), exorcism, and “prophecy,” the latter meaning a “word from the Lord”—at which time a speaker brings a message from God to the gathering, and is considered authentic only if its meaning is given to the others in the human language they have in common.

See also Bible, King James Version; Evangelicalism; Pentecostalism; Revivals

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WILLIAM J.SAMARIN

TORREY, REUBEN ARCHER (1856– 1928)

American congregationalist minister. Torrey, born in Hoboken, New Jersey, played a pivotal role in the development of FUNDAMENTALISM and DISPENSATIONALISM. After graduating from Yale College (1875) and Yale Divinity School (1878) and gaining an introduction to what he considered the troubling field of HIGHER CRITICISM at Leipzig and Erlangen universities in Germany (1882–1883), Torrey pastored several churches and served as superintendent of the Chicago Evangelization Society and the MOODY BIBLE INSTITUTE (1889–1908), and as dean of the Los Angeles Bible Institute (1912–1924). One of Torrey’s foremost concerns was training students for “soul winning service,” and especially for urban missionary work. He supported the HIGHER LIFE MOVEMENT, believing that after CONVERSION inbred sin was progressively subjugated but never eradicated. He interpreted baptism with the Holy Spirit as a distinct second experience that endowed the Christian with power for witness, sacrifice, and service. He wrote more than a dozen books and conducted worldwide evangelistic campaigns, sometimes in conjunction with DWIGHT L. MOODY, in Europe, North America, Asia, and Australia. Torrey supported conservative theology against what he considered the “infidelity” of LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM, MODERNISM, and the SOCIAL GOSPEL, most influentially through his coeditorship of *The Fundamentals*, a twelve-volume series of ninety tracts that championed Biblical inerrancy, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the virgin birth, substitutionary atonement, and the bodily, physical second coming of Christ.

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CANDY GUNTHER BROWN

TOTALITARIANISM

The term *totalitarian* first appeared in 1923, when Benito Mussolini refused to allow his political opponents to present election lists for that year. The term has helped focus debate in Europe and the UNITED STATES on the central issues of the twentieth century. The logic of totalitarianism is designed to counter the modern ideal of emancipation as well as the Protestant concept of freedom.

Totalitarianism is rule by force rather than by consent and has as its goal the eradication of political freedom, democratic process, and legality. Pronouncements of the political leader and party theoretically exercise control over all the institutions of the state and society. Totalitarians also violate freedom of conscience and attempt to politicize all aspects of life, including those that liberalism and Christianity would relegate to the private sphere. Thus totalitarianism can be viewed as an outgrowth of modernity (see MODERNISM) and as countering the anomie that is occasioned by the critical process of emancipation, by the modern rationalization and instrumentalization of culture and society, by the democratization of society (see DEMOCRACY), and by the secularization of daily life.

Totalitarians historically have tried to restore a world of meaning, but have created a dilemma. On the one hand, alienated persons seem temporarily to find a degree of comfort in a totalitarian response. On the other, meaning cannot be restored without reneging on the modern commitment to the freedom and self-determination of the individual in matters of conscience. The political and religious predicament emerging since the FRENCH REVOLUTION revolves around how to establish a sense of spiritual value and of meaningfulness to the world without succumbing to totalitarian tendencies.

Religion and Identity

The persuasiveness of a theological system also hinges on its ability to provide a broad system of relationships to as many as possible in a given community. Religion is supposed to provide an explanation of reality and to establish coherent relationships among the varied elements of human experience. Religion is not exclusively about happiness, but rather about constructing an understanding of diverse realities. In one sense religion and totalitarianism have the same identical goal of creating relationships on a level larger than that of the family. For religion the key task is to provide a satisfactory resolution to the essential problems of the human condition by responding to issues of self-identity and place. Similar to community identity, religion strives to maintain a

continuity between the past and present as well as to develop an interrelationship among those within the religious belief system.

Both religious and political ideologies historically have striven to organize the human world around unifying ideals (see AUTHORITY). NATIONALISM has tried to cement large groups together socially, culturally, and politically, and religious worldviews have also strenuously tried to construct their own integrated worlds. In the twentieth century Protestantism has had to negotiate identity and alienation issues as it has confronted Nazism and COMMUNISM. German Protestantism offers one example of how the church has engaged totalitarianism.

Protestantism and National Socialism

In modern GERMANY, at least until 1945, Protestants continued their ongoing agenda of freeing the “German spirit” from Rome. From this perspective, to be Protestant was to be German. In its anti-ultramontane version, German Protestantism was seen as reinforcing national identity by appealing to an exclusive and marginalizing vision of what it meant to be German. Such Protestant spokespersons as Willibald Beyschlag, for example, imagined German history to be the history of Protestantism and Germany’s future destiny to be the completion of the REFORMATION.

The Nazi Reich and its relationship to Protestantism must be placed in the context of the tension existing between religion and nationalism in the twentieth century. The record of how the churches attempted to use their theological doctrines (see CHRISTOLOGY) to justify political practices is replete with instances of contradiction and ambivalence. Theology itself was all too frequently employed to provide ideological justifications that could nurture the dominant political stances toward societal issues. German Protestant churches were not unique. From the beginning of the twentieth century virtually all of the Christian churches became caught up in organizational and spiritual crises that exerted an impact on how the churches in Germany and elsewhere could respond to the rise of populist totalitarian dictatorships. Protestant theology, for example, had justified nationalistic war efforts in 1914–1918. The theologians depicted the war in spiritual terms and insisted that personal sacrifice could be seen as moral regeneration. The spiritual leadership of Protestants as they demonized their enemies had already been so gravely compromised that the Nazi years really brought few surprises. The teachings of Jesus and the hideous message from the battlefields produced a widespread disillusion that warped European church life for decades (see KARL BARTH).

Facing the chaos in Europe after 1918, the wounded Protestant message could not counter the hatred that kept Europe in turmoil for decades. At least until 1945 the churches lacked a theology potent enough to support a critical stance toward totalitarianism. Christians adapted to Nazism, convinced by the arguments that political cooperation was crucial. Protestants accepted a dualistic worldview, in which “good” could be equated with the völkisch-nationalist agenda and “evil” with JUDAISM, materialism, and liberal internationalism.

Hitler appealed to national unity as well as self-sacrifice and service. He was hostile toward Bolshevism and launched a campaign against political corruption and vice, while promising to uphold Christianity. Through his German Christian Movement (see GERMAN CHRISTIANS), he hoped to create one Reichskirche. Almost immediately, however, a surprising opposition emerged. The CONFESSING CHURCH worked to create its own parallel arrangements, that is, councils of brethren. The BARMEN DECLARATION (1934) reaffirmed that there can exist nothing higher than the power of God, a view that would be foundational for any real resistance against totalitarianism. After 1934 several Lutheran bishops, including Hans Meiser in Munich and Theophil Wurm in Stuttgart, added a more institutional dimension to the controversy. Even though the totalitarian state restricted options, these men and the ecclesial forces that they represented negotiated with and at various levels confronted the regime on the local and national level until 1945. Although some resistance arose, the Protestant churches were not really prepared to prevent or even meaningfully to mitigate the criminal acts of war and the genocidal policies of the Third Reich. Under the Nazi assault the failure of the Protestant churches to articulate standards of moral responsibility became a serious obstacle to Christianity's credibility in the postwar world.

Despite the heroism of MARTIN NIEMÖLLER and DIETRICH BONHOEFFER as well as others in the Pastors' Emergency League, the lack of effective resistance was rooted in the euphoria of 1933, when members of the Protestant churches rejoiced in the expectations for national renewal and regeneration offered by Nazi promises. Protestant theological dissent was often combined with fervent approval of the regime's secular goals of anti-Bolshevism. National renewal and ANTI-SEMITISM can be seen, for example, in the theological work of Emanuel Hirsch. Basically, Protestant church leaders were reluctant to oppose the regime on issues beyond the impinging church struggle that revolved around state interference in church affairs (see CHURCH AND STATE, OVERVIEW). Except for such leaders as Bonhoeffer, their nationalism generally trumped their Christianity. Bonhoeffer, for example, drew attention to the church's adaptations to the nationalist, authoritarian, and militaristic conditioning of the German people.

Even when the ecclesial leaders saw the dangers of accommodation, they possessed no credible theological criteria to deal with politically oppressive policies. They assumed, therefore, a defensive stance resting on an irrelevant past, and could not critically address totalitarianism while trying to preserve the purity of the gospel. This retreat into Protestantism's core milieu was deadly. By limiting those in their community of obligation, Protestants abandoned others, especially the Jews (see HOLOCAUST), to the brutalization of Nazi terror and racist ideology. Such adaptation weakened the Protestant churches that now had to confront communism.

Protestantism and the German Democratic Republic

After its establishment in 1949, the Communistdominated Socialist Unity Party clearly expressed its atheistic hostility to the churches, which were perceived as the outmoded

pawns of both capitalism and Nazism. Communist propaganda and persecution seemed to be a repetition of the oppression that Protestants had suffered under the Nazis. By the end of the 1950s, however, the regime had begun to appreciate that the persecution of the churches was counterproductive and that strategies would have to be changed. Governmental contacts were established with “friendly” churchmen, which were designed to mobilize support for the regime’s goal of the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

For their part, church leaders tried to accommodate to the communist regime in different fashions. Minimal support existed for the idea that the churches should assume the role of watchdogs in the state as they had unsuccessfully attempted during the Third Reich. One attractive approach, therefore, was political neutrality with a commitment to avoiding confrontation with the state, a practice particularly successful in Saxony, and very much in the Lutheran tradition of the Two Kingdoms. Albrecht Schoenherr, bishop of Berlin (1972–1981), supported this notion of the “churches in Socialism.” Some ecclesial leaders appealed for a carefully defined level of critical solidarity with the Democratic Republic. They hoped to integrate Christianity with socialism. The chief exponent of this approach was Heino Falcke, the Lutheran Dean of Erfurt. Impressed by Karl Barth’s reflections, Falcke developed the idea of “improvable socialism.” Other church leaders in East Germany in the 1960s began to seek a more constructive relationship to the Communist state. They rejected giving the state limited and critical support and tried to avoid being enlisted into a Western-sponsored anti-Communist crusade. They adopted a perspective more akin to Bonhoeffer’s theology. Protestantism should relinquish, they insisted, its traditional privileges and its theological justification for militarism and nationalism. The church, they were convinced, should become the “church for others” as a community of service and witness within socialist society, not beside it, and not against it, while avoiding the risk of legitimating the regime.

The events in POLAND, perestroika in the Soviet Union, and economic problems in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) produced in the second half of the 1980s an expansion of the social role of the churches as they mediated between nonreligious groups and the state. Increasingly the CLERGY courageously now concerned themselves with a whole range of HUMAN RIGHTS issues. When Protestantism supported the service of civil society and its concerns, it did so within the accepted framework of socialist reality. It was not the Protestants, however, who spearheaded the peaceful revolutionary movement that would lead to the collapse of the GDR. The sociopolitical forces of society used the church’s means of communication to realize their goal.

The church had sought to serve God in a Marxist land. To do so Protestant leaders had to deal with an ambivalence in modern communist theory as to whether the CHURCH should be seen as an ideological opponent or as a potential partner in building a socialist society. “Progressive” churchmen hoped to construct a theologically attractive CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. More radical leaders sought the freedoms enjoyed by their colleagues in the West. Pragmatic church leaders, however, sought to enlarge the “free space” theoretically guaranteed by the constitution. In the process they also sought to repudiate the long Lutheran tradition of subordination to the state, nationalism, and the capitulation to authoritarian political leaders. Even though in the religious sphere the churches lost membership and support, they paradoxically attracted adherents because

they were the only ideological and political alternative to the regime. By finally seeking to define themselves as “within socialism,” the churches tried to adopt a position of “critical solidarity” toward Communism. The churches upheld a theology powered by democratic impulses and provided a potent support network for opposition groups. They played a pivotal role in the 1989 end of Communism in Europe.

At the time of the *Wende* (1989–1990) the role the Protestant leaders played in the development of democratization and their influence on the masses seemed to suggest that they were the leaders in this upheaval. Within two years, however, revisionist interpretations were introduced. Members of the opposition to the communist state complained that they had not been really supported enough by the church. The opening of the Stasi (State Security Office) archives also convincingly illustrated that the “free” space of the churches was not as extensive as many had thought. Protestant leaders were accused after 1990 of having been co-opted by the regime because their ecclesial offices had been extensively infiltrated by the Stasi. Almost immediately the churches lost the prestige gained in 1990 and were accused of collaboration as well as collusion with the regime. The tentacles of the Stasi had penetrated the church with scores of informers. The churches’ heroic opposition to the regime had to be rethought. Critics thought that the church leaders may even have prolonged the nefarious hold of the regime.

Why did Protestants in the German Democratic Republic seem to learn nothing from the Nazi experiences of their church? What happened to the Protestant tradition of prophetic witness? What conclusions should be drawn about the character of German theology in light of these traumatic experiences? Such questions revolving around the proper relationship between Christianity and totalitarianism have delayed dealing with the Nazi past and critiquing the communist regime in East Germany. The debates on the controversial issue of which political values (see POLITICAL THEOLOGY) are theologically sustainable as Christians face regimes powered by brutalizing and/or secularizing ideologies continue. Protestantism’s former claim to being the sole agent for moral guidance in political and social affairs may no longer be tenable, unless a sensitivity to human dignity as such can now be grounded on a theological foundation capable of engaging the political aspirations that are shaping the political order in the new millennium.

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DONALD J. DIETRICH

TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT

See Oxford Movement

TRACTARIANISM

See Oxford Movement

TRADITION

The place and role of tradition in the life and teaching of the church is crucial to the question of AUTHORITY. Few issues come closer to the heart of Protestantism than that of authority. Authority was ultimately at stake in MARTIN LUTHER'S reform and was endlessly debated in Roman Catholic-Protestant polemic in the centuries that followed the REFORMATION.

Authority questions fall into three groups: dynamics, structures, and sources. The Reformation was concerned with all three. The reformers challenged the way that authority was exercised in the Church (dynamics): they believed that it should be pastoral and fraternal, not dictatorial and oppressive. The Reformers made changes (not always intended) to the structures that mediated authority in the Church. Notably they rejected the jurisdiction of the pope and in some cases awarded oversight of the church to civil rulers (the prince or magistrate). They regarded episcopacy (see BISHOP) as dispensable if the gospel was at stake. More profoundly, the reformers reconstructed the sources of authority—scripture, tradition, and reason—to give uncompromising priority to scripture, to critique tradition in the light of scripture, and to bring the new scholarly methods of Renaissance humanism to bear on both (reason). Our concern here is with Protestant attitudes to tradition, and our main focus is on the magisterial reformers of the sixteenth century (this enables us to include Anglican theology within the category of Protestantism).

Sixteenth-Century Presuppositions

It is important not to read back into the sixteenth century modern concepts of tradition. The reformers did not operate explicitly with the distinctions that have passed into the ecumenical consensus between three senses of the word: "Tradition" as the essential faith or gospel; "tradition" as the living stream of belief, worship, and spirituality that conveys Tradition and elucidates it in the history of the church; and "traditions" as diverse specific practices on which churches differ. The reformers did not use the modern ecumenical language of tradition. This may explain why some standard expositions of Luther's theology have no index entry for tradition.

Some of the animus that the Reformers evinced against tradition should be attributed to the scholar's contempt for outmoded academic methods. The Aristotelian logic-chopping of the universities and the layers of interpretation typical of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, a widely used textbook approach, were equally repugnant to men who had imbibed Erasmus's Greek New Testament and worked with what they believed to be

authentic texts of St. Augustine and other Fathers. Even here, however, we should note that the reformers invoked authentic (original) tradition against more recent corruptions.

Against Oppressive Human Traditions

When the reformers spoke of tradition, the overtones were generally pejorative. Tradition was suspect for them and called for a hermeneutic of suspicion. Matthew 15:6 was ringing in their ears: “for the sake of your tradition you make void the word of God.” The negative tone that the Reformers adopted with respect to tradition should not mislead us: the reference was specific and limited. What they had in mind was certainly not everything that they shared with the Latin church: the canon of scripture, the Our Father, the creeds, and other teachings of the early councils (Luther and the reformers generally insisted that councils could err and had done so), the ordered ministry, the need for structures of worship, and oversight and for church law.

The magisterial reformers (as opposed to the radicals including the ANABAPTISTS) honored the Fathers of the early Church and studied them assiduously, appealing to their authority in confirmation of scriptural arguments or where Scripture was reticent. They regarded them as biblical theologians *par excellence*, as the witnesses who stood closest to the revelation inscribed in Scripture. At the least, as in the case of HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, they employed their authority *ad hominem*, against opponents who relied on them.

The reformers’ polemic against “tradition” or “traditions” is directed at particular human practices (“human traditions”) that the late medieval Roman church had made binding on the faithful. What roused the reformers’ indignation was not the fact that church authorities (such as the pope) made laws or insisted on certain practices: the church was bound to do this in the interests of good order and unity. What they objected to was the imposition of rules on the consciences of the faithful and as necessary to SALVATION. What belonged to human right was elevated to divine right. What belonged in the earthly forum was falsely situated *coram deo* (before the face of God), and what belonged to “things indifferent” (*adiaphora*—making no difference to one’s salvation) was made necessary to salvation.

For the reformers all things necessary to salvation were to be found expressed clearly in the text of Scripture, and the Bible did not need the assistance of tradition to convey its saving message. It nowhere stated that auricular confession to a priest, confirmation, indulgences, obedience to the papacy, and so forth were conditions of salvation. (Luther’s generation did not have to contend with the Council of Trent’s decree of 1546 that appeared to place unwritten traditions on a par with Scripture, twin channels of divine revelation, although JOHN CALVIN among others later attacked it.)

The criterion the reformers applied in this context as elsewhere was that of JUSTIFICATION. The keeping of human rules, rites, and ceremonies could never justify the sinner in the sight of God. On the contrary, some of these requirements could not be kept without committing sin (AUGSBURG CONFESSION XXVIII). In his *Apology of*

the Augsburg Confession (XV, 20–21) PHILIPP MELANCHTHON made this distinction abundantly clear:

Although the holy Fathers themselves had rites and traditions, they did not regard them as useful or necessary for justification. They did not obscure the glory or work of Christ but taught that we are justified by faith for Christ's sake, not for the sake of these human rites. They observed these human rites because they were profitable for good order, because they gave the people a set time to assemble, because they provided an example of how things could be done decently and in order in the churches, and finally because they helped instruct the common folk.... For these reasons the Fathers kept ceremonies, and for the same reasons we also believe in keeping traditions. We are amazed when our opponents maintain that traditions have another purpose, namely to merit the forgiveness of sins, grace and justification.

Melanchthon added on behalf of the churches of the reform in Germany: "We gladly keep the old traditions set up in the church because they are useful and promote tranquillity, and we interpret them in an evangelical way, excluding the opinion that holds that they justify" (38). Such opinions were "doctrines of demons."

Similarly in the *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION* (IV, X) Calvin attacked as "human traditions" various decrees regarding forms of worship that lacked biblical authority, but he made it clear that he supported lawful, useful church constitutions. Where liberty of conscience was flouted and human regulations were made necessary to salvation, "a kind of Judaism" had been introduced. The same point occurs, for example, in Calvin's *The Necessity of Reforming the Church* (1544).

Ambivalence about Tradition

Tradition in its etymological New Testament sense (*paradosis*) means the act of handing on from one person to another for safekeeping, not the act of handing down from one generation or one century to another, like passing on the baton in a relay race. This distinction suggests that the reformers' relation to tradition was marked by a certain ambivalence about historical continuity.

On the one hand, the driving force of the Reformation was the attempt to retrieve in its integrity what had been handed on to the church by Christ and the Apostles. The true gospel in the true church had been rediscovered. It was the true treasure, the pearl of great price, the one thing needful. To safeguard it one must be willing to die a martyr's death. The act of rediscovering, safeguarding, and handing on to faithful men leapfrogged the centuries and had little to do with ideas of succession (although some of the more radical Protestants elaborated an alternative apostolic succession, located in the dissident movements of late medieval Europe). Unbroken continuity was not a virtue in itself. The

received historical structures of papacy, episcopacy, and canon law were dispensable. Saving faith was a timeless moment, so to speak.

On the other hand, the reformers found themselves necessarily involved with matters concerning the handing down of truth, of authority, of forms of church life. They were adamant that they were not setting up a new church. Their aim, on the contrary, was to renew the face of the one church (as Calvin put it). They were not, they insisted, inventing new doctrines, but rather reinstating the apostolic teaching that had been held since the beginning but had become obscured. In sacramental theology and practice they were clear that they were not innovating. In reforming the mass (e.g., giving communion in both kinds: the wine as well as the bread) they were restoring ancient practice. They insisted that authority to minister word and sacrament was not to be seized by the individual but had to be given by constituted authority.

In defending infant baptism the magisterial reformers were of course perpetuating long-standing tradition. Luther and Melancthon claimed that it came down from the Apostles, from the pure time of the church, before the rise of heresies. If infant baptism had not been true BAPTISM, there would have been no church for all those centuries because the church always remains, by the promise of God, and without baptism there is no church. On their own premises Zwingli and Calvin could not appeal to tradition for something as vitally connected with salvation as infant baptism, but found sophisticated biblical warrants for it.

The English Reformation

Like their continental counterparts, from whom they tended to take their lead theologically, the English reformers (whose views are embodied in the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES) held that Scripture contained all things necessary to salvation and that those human traditions that innovated against the teaching of Scripture were to be abolished. Other practices could be maintained on their merits provided they were not imposed on the conscience or made necessary to salvation. These practices need not be the same everywhere; particular (i.e., national) churches had authority to legislate for themselves, but not for others, in rites and ceremonies.

The approach that is typical of the English Reformers is clearly seen in JOHN JEWEL'S *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562) and in his extensive *Defence of the Apology*. Jewel's chosen field of battle, on which he prevailed, was the testimony of the early church to scriptural truth. English reformers such as Jewel felt themselves at one with the primitive church, appealed to the consent of the Fathers, and claimed that the Romanists had forsaken the fellowship of the holy Fathers and blessed martyrs.

ANGLICANISM gives early tradition a place in deciding matters concerning the outward ordering or POLITY of the church, provided that they are "not repugnant" to Scripture. This distinctive theme becomes pronounced in RICHARD HOOKER (1554–1600). Hooker attacked the contention of the PURITANS in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND that nothing could be done in worship and church government that did not enjoy explicit biblical warrant (therefore, e.g., no surplices and no bishops). In place of

“things indifferent” Hooker spoke of “things accessory” (i.e., to salvation). Although what was necessary to salvation was revealed only in Scripture, nothing in the life of the church was entirely neutral.

The role of tradition is only one element in Hooker’s argument: sanctified reason and a sense of what is appropriate to the circumstances also play a part in clarifying God’s will where Scripture does not inform us. Tradition is a rather crude term for what Hooker has in mind: collective practice and experience and the expressed mind of the church together with the consent of its members are all involved. Hooker’s balanced, integrated approach was distorted by some Anglican divines of the next century who took the appeal to “antiquity” to an extreme.

The uniformitarian assumptions of Western culture, unchallenged until the Romantic and historical movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and common to Protestants and Roman Catholics, are evident in these debates. What enjoyed universal consent was right for all times and places. Oldest was best. The golden age lay in the remote past. Therefore Hooker has a prejudice against change, which should always be contemplated reluctantly and only when urgently called for. One could not improve on ancient wisdom and well-tried practice. In his thinking on the scope of tradition, Hooker is not far removed from Luther’s “freedom of a Christian man,” although it is a more urbane, sapiential approach to the considerable area where God has placed responsibility for ordering its own life firmly in the hands of the church itself.

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PAUL AVIS

TRANSCENDENTALISM

Transcendentalism was an intellectual reform movement, centered in the Boston area, during the 1830s and 1840s. Although the term covered a wide range of diverse thought, its fundamental idea was a belief in the superiority of intuitive knowledge over sensory knowledge (the empiricism of the ENLIGHTENMENT). Looking to Plato, IMMANUEL KANT, and ROMANTICISM as spiritual ancestors, transcendentalism began to formalize in 1836 when RALPH WALDO EMERSON published his manifesto of the movement, *Nature*, and ORESTES BROWNSON wrote his social critique, *New Views of Christianity, Society and the Church*. In addition to Emerson and Brownson, the names belonging to this group constitute a hall of fame in U.S. intellectual, cultural, and reform history: WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, Charles Dana, MARGARET FULLER, Nathaniel Hawthorne, THEODORE PARKER, Elizabeth and Sophia Peabody, George Ripley, Henry David Thoreau, and many others.

Many of those who played leading roles in the transcendental movement were Unitarian clergymen who believed that the source of religious truth was not to be found in the BIBLE, the CHURCH, Jesus, or TRADITION, but rather in intuition, which they deemed to be the internal voice of an immanent God. Some of these Unitarian ministers, such as Emerson and Ripley, left the church because they believed the institution was incapable of reform. Others, however, such as Channing and Parker, remained in the church and became instrumental in ecclesiastical change. At first most Unitarians considered Parker to be heretical, although 3,000 people each week came to hear the gifted and controversial preacher. Over time, however, Unitarianism became what Parker advocated, and he is often credited as marking the emancipation of Unitarianism from all semblance of Christian ORTHODOXY.

Because all people were capable of receiving intuitive revelation, all people, regardless of race, ethnic background (see ETHNICITY), or station in life, were to be valued. This caused the transcendentalists to be heavily involved in social reform, opposed to anything in society that devalued human worth and impeded human potentiality. Various transcendentalists emphasized different reforms, which included opposition to intemperance, PROSTITUTION, WAR (especially the Mexican War, which was perceived as an attempt to extend the boundaries of SLAVERY), a corrupt judicial system, and unjust economic practices that caused the rich to become richer and the poor to become poorer. Many transcendentalists were in the forefront to make EDUCATION available to all. The greatest contribution to social reform was the transcendentalists' opposition to slavery. Parker, one of the early American preachers to take an uncompromising stand against slavery, toured many of the northern states addressing the evils of slavery. Thoreau went to jail rather than pay taxes to support the Mexican War and wrote his still famous treatise, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience." Intuition for the transcendentalists was "higher law," a standard that eclipsed judicial and ecclesiastical laws, even the U.S. Constitution.

Although short in duration as a formal movement, transcendentalism has had an enormous impact on American thought. Individuals such as Walt Whitman, EMILY DICKINSON, Charles William Eliot, John Dewey, MARY BAKER EDDY, and MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. have all acknowledged their indebtedness to various transcendentalists.

See also Slavery, Abolition of; Unitarian Universalist Association

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TRANSUBSTANTIATION

According to the Agreed Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine issued by the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (1971), communion with Christ in the Eucharist “presupposes his true presence, effectually signified by the bread and wine which, in this mystery, become his body and blood” (paragraph 6). The word *transubstantiation* occurs only in a footnote: “The word *transubstantiation* is commonly used in the Roman Catholic Church to indicate that God acting in the eucharist effects a change in the inner reality of the elements. The term should be seen as affirming the *fact* of Christ’s presence and of the mysterious and radical change which takes place. In contemporary Roman Catholic theology it is not understood as explaining *how* the change takes place.”

Paschasius Radbertus (c. 790–c. 860) composed the first surviving Latin monograph on the Eucharist: the real presence of the flesh born of Mary, which suffered on the cross and rose from the dead, is miraculously multiplied by divine power, in a spiritual mode, at each consecration. His colleague Ratramnus in the ninth century introduced a distinction between presence *in figura* and *in veritate*.

Berengar of Tours (c. 1010–1088) emphasized the fact of the real presence, acknowledging no physical change in the bread and wine. Lanfranc of Bec (c. 1010–1089) maintained the presence of the invisible body of Christ, identical with the body born of Mary, but hidden under the *species* of bread and wine. Between 1073 and 1078 Guitmond of Aversa wrote of the elements being “substantially transmuted” (PL 149:1467).

An anonymous treatise dated to about 1140, originating probably in Paris and perhaps by the Oxford master Robert Pullen (d. 1146), contains what reads like an innovation: “not a transformation of a quality but, if I may say so, a transubstantio [sic] or transmutatio of one substance into another” (cf. Goering). By 1170 the word is widely used, as a noun as well as in verbal and adverbial forms.

The word first appears in a conciliar text at Lateran IV (1215), in the verbal form: “by divine power bread and wine having been transubstantiated, *transsubstantiatis*, into the body and blood.” This is not, and was not intended to be, a dogmatic definition. Three different understandings of the concept continued to be regarded as orthodox (cf. Jorissen): the substances of the bread and wine *coexist* with the substances of Christ’s body and blood; they are *annihilated*; and they are *converted* into the substances of Christ’s body and blood.

By the 1260s Thomas Aquinas was arguing that the third of these meanings is the only acceptable one. He wanted to secure the presence of Christ’s body and blood in the sacrament *secundum veritatem*, not solely *secundum figuram* or *sicut in signo* (*Summa Theologiae* 3.75.1). He knows that some have held the coexistence position, but argues that it should be avoided “as heretical”: none of his four arguments involves Aristotelian philosophy (75.2). He knows that others held that the substances of the bread and wine

are annihilated and replaced by those of Christ's body and blood: this view is "false," he says, because it depends on a mistaken analogy with local motion (75.3). Citing Eusebius of Emesa (as he thinks), Ambrose, and John Chrysostom, thus deliberately reaching back to patristic authorities, he holds that this *conversio*, unlike all "natural changes," is "totally supernatural, effected by God's power alone"; "can be called by a name proper to itself: transubstantiation" (75.4). In his study of Lateran IV for Giffredus of Anagni (Vives 27:424–438), Aquinas holds that the first view was condemned and the third (his own) defined by the Council.

In 1306/07, in his *Opus Oxoniense*, John Duns Scotus, contending that coexistence and substitution made better sense, concluded nevertheless that Lateran IV had defined the less "reasonable" position: God, after all, was free to effect the eucharistic presence as he willed. Invoking Lateran IV, the Council of Trent upheld transubstantiation against what was understood as MARTIN LUTHER'S doctrine of consubstantiation. Whether this left Aquinas's view as the only alternative is unclear; the substitution view seems to have remained the preferred option for many (cf. Wohlmuth). Luther himself seems not to have objected to any one else holding Aquinas's view, stupid as he thought it was.

Elucidating the miracle of the eucharistic change, Aquinas argues that, after the consecration, the *accidents* of the bread and wine remain (75.5), with no subject in which to inhere (77.1–2). This is Aristotelian terminology; yet Aquinas bases his theory on the first theorem of the Neoplatonist *Liber de Causis*: the first cause can suspend a second cause, and thus keep accidents in existence in the absence of the substance of which they were the accidents (cf. Imbach).

Although John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384) certainly taught a version of the coexistence view ("true bread naturally and Christ's body figuratively"), his principal objection was to the "madness" of the "accidents without a subject" thesis. Again, in article 28 of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND (1563), the word *transubstantiation* is rejected because it is taken to mean a metaphysical explanation in terms of the separability of accidents from substance.

In the seventeenth century and since, Descartes, Malebranche, and others sought to account for the eucharistic change in terms of natural SCIENCE. Such efforts continued in the twentieth century (M.M.De Munynck, A.Mitterer, and B.Krempel since 1928; F. Selvaggi and C.Colombo since 1948). In the 1960s, turning to phenomenology, linguistic philosophy, and so forth, theologians reinterpreted transubstantiation in such terms as transfinalization and transignification (J.de Baciocchi, P.Schoonenberg, E.Schillebeeckx).

According to the authoritative Catechism of the Catholic Church (1992), the mode of Christ's eucharistic presence is "real" inasmuch as it is "a substantial presence by which Christ, God and man, makes himself wholly and entirely present" (§1374). This involves a "conversion of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood," as attested by John Chrysostom and Ambrose of Milan (§1375). Finally, recalling the Council of Trent, "this change the holy Catholic Church has fittingly and properly called transubstantiation" (§1376). In effect philosophical explanations are tacitly set aside, and the word transubstantiation is equated with its patristic antecedents.

See also Catholicism, Protestant Reactions; Lord's Supper

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FERGUS KERR

TRAVELS AND PILGRIMAGES

Travels and pilgrimages have taken many forms in the history of Protestantism, and have often involved varied combinations of missionary activity, cultivation of personal piety, and spiritually motivated use of leisure time. While travel has been viewed as a means of self-improvement, Protestants have tended to be wary of treating particular places as especially holy. Pilgrimage practices carried out by Roman Catholic or Orthodox Christians are sometimes criticized as being idolatrous because they are said to involve worship of specific objects as opposed to submission to an omnipresent and omnipotent God. Sacred journeys are likely to be seen by Protestants as means of cultivating both personally meaningful religious experience and deeper engagement with Scriptures. Pilgrimage has also been viewed in metaphorical ways as symbolizing movement towards salvation and union with the divine.

Reformed and Puritan Origins

Opposition to pilgrimage was an important part of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. Reformers objected to offering prayers to dead saints or going on pilgrimages in order to gain miraculous cures and salvation. These forms of worship appeared to mix the spiritual and the material in ways that were considered to be misdirected, not least because they attempted to confine an infinite God within finite and humanly constructed forms. MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) felt that indulgences (grants of remission of sin), often gained through pilgrimage, reflected the corruption of the church and the papacy. JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) claimed that miracles had ceased at the end of the time of the Apostles. As the scholar Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) had done before him, Calvin attempted to expose the worship of relics and images as both superstitious and naïve. Part of his aim was to move religious focus from physical objects toward the development of an inner piety, thus allowing the Holy Spirit to operate through the Word. The REFORMATION in Europe frequently led to iconoclasm, abandonment of old sites of worship, and even the outlawing of pilgrimage.

Nonetheless, the notion of the spiritual journey took hold as an influential part of Protestant thought. JOHN BUNYAN'S (1628–1688) *Pilgrim's Progress*, first published in 1678, became a classic text for Puritans and has remained an important source of inspiration for Protestants (and other Christians) ever since. Bunyan wrote at a time of personal and political turbulence, in an ENGLAND marked by civil war as well as persecution against nonconformists. His book documents the search for truth and salvation by the central character, called Christian, who overcomes worldly temptation,

doubt, and despair on the long road from a city of destruction to a celestial city. Bunyan drew on biblical and Calvinist imagery, including the constant battle between forces of light and darkness. He combined realistic details of everyday life with religious allegory as he depicted the lonely Puritan struggle with the self as well as the external world. The linking of salvation with sacrifice and self-denial is also emphasized, with Christian running away from his family at the beginning of the story as he cries out his longing for “Life, life, eternal life.”

Similar themes were evident in the thinking of Puritans and Pietists in the early years of settlement in North America. The whole of life could be seen as a symbolic journey, an exile in the wilderness that might ultimately lead to dwelling permanently with God. Existence in the world involved much toil, but was also an inner quest of the individual (located within the church) toward death or perhaps potential salvation. Pioneers learned to view their situation through language and metaphor derived from both the New and the Old Testaments. They sometimes saw themselves as akin to Israelites, close to Zion—the hill where Israel’s altar had been placed, which came in Christian thought to represent the church and the route toward salvation for God’s people. INCREASE MATHER (1639–1723), the leading Puritan theologian of the late seventeenth century, licensed the first American reprint of *Pilgrim’s Progress*, and indeed talked of his own life as a pilgrimage on earth. A folk image of pilgrimage was linked to travel across the new land, and pioneers frequently gave the name Zion to newly founded settlements.

From Mission to Tourism

The sense of Christianizing and domesticating the wilderness was also evident in the actions of sectarian groups such as the Mormons as they moved westward across the landscape in the nineteenth century. Followers of this movement likened themselves to Pilgrims crossing the Atlantic in the Mayflower. They gave the name of Jordan to a river flowing near Salt Lake in Utah, and that of Zion to a nearby canyon. In addition, the pilgrimage metaphor could be adapted for the purposes of missionaries who played an important part in European colonialism. Such evangelical travelers again invoked Bunyan’s text (as well as the wandering imagery derived from Exodus) as they constructed narratives of their own journeys into the wilderness. Thus the apparent savagery of local people in AFRICA, the so-called “Dark Continent,” was juxtaposed with the enlightenment of imperial mission, just as the African landscape could be seen as akin to a biblical desert. Eventually, dissenting black Christians would themselves appropriate biblical imagery of wandering toward a Promised Land as a symbol of potential liberation from colonial bonds.

Improvements in systems of communication and transport evident in the nineteenth century proved to be of benefit to many types of travelers. They were instrumental in the emergence of new forms of leisure associated with journeying, at least among those who could afford to pay for passage by rail or steamship. Often, travel was perceived to be self-improving as well as an opportunity for pleasure, reflecting influences from the European Grand Tour as well as a characteristically Protestant mistrust of mere idleness.

An example of the combining of secular enjoyment with spiritual edification was provided by the development of Laurel Hill Cemetery by the Quaker John Smith (1798–1881). The site not only provided a final resting place for notable figures in the Protestant world, but was also a semirural location, suitable for excursions from nearby Philadelphia. Contemporary guidebooks to the cemetery suggested that visitors might see themselves as pilgrims, and in the absence of a Catholic cult of the saints, the place could prompt meditations on the achievements and exemplary character of those who had passed away.

For more ambitious travelers, the Victorian era saw the development of the package tour and the beginnings of organized movement around the globe. Thomas Cook (1808–1892) had been a preacher and secretary of a temperance society in England before he started to arrange group tours on a commercial basis. Among his many activities, he provided the opportunity for thousands of travelers to visit the HOLY LAND as part of a more extensive tour around the Middle East. Increased British presence in the area, prompted by the weakness of the Ottoman Empire and the desire to maintain a Western presence in important trade routes, meant that access to Palestine was much easier than before. Cook's illustrious customers included Mark Twain and, in 1890, Kaiser Wilhelm, grandson of Queen Victoria, but his main achievement was to provide reliable, safe transport to people of varying economic means.

Many Victorian visitors to the Holy Land were evangelical in outlook. On their journeys they would bring BIBLES and hymn books in order to hold services at holy spots. Visits often confirmed such pious tourists in their assumption that Western culture and Protestantism were superior to other forms of belief, and at times the journey was seen as an opportunity to convert the local populace and even redeem the Holy Land itself. Their visits reflected their religious convictions in other ways. In Jerusalem, Protestants might walk along the Via Dolorosa but would not incorporate the Stations of the Cross as would Roman Catholics. In addition, Protestants were frequently highly suspicious of certain sites as mere tourist traps and fraudulent representations of the Bible. They attempted to avoid any tendency to see special grace or sanctity as being inherent in particular places. The Holy Land was ideally regarded not as holy in and of itself, but as a powerful catalyst for the cultivation of spiritually powerful experiences rooted in the interaction between believer and Bible. Thus the Sea of Galilee was a favorite spot for Protestant visitors, not only because Christ had taught and preached there, but because the site constituted a landscape rather than a church or monastery that had been filled with alien religious paraphernalia. Similarly, the rocky topography of the Garden Tomb allowed evangelicals to imagine that they were viewing a biblical place uncluttered by later distractions. Conviction in the lasting truth of the Bible was reinforced by such visits at a time when the historical validity of Scripture was being placed under question by new techniques of textual analysis and wider forces of secularization evident in the Western world.

The Present

Despite many predictions of the end of religion that have been made since the nineteenth century, both Protestantism and pilgrimage continue to flourish. Volume of travel in general has of course increased dramatically. Although many shrines of medieval devotion did not survive the ravages of the Reformation in Europe, they were often restored in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Today, such sites frequently reflect the ecumenical relations between faiths that are a feature of modern spirituality. Thus in England, the site of Walsingham provides a good example of the complex pluralism evident in much contemporary religion. Situated in the rural county of Norfolk, in eastern England, it contains both an ANGLO-CATHOLIC and a Roman Catholic shrine as well as an Orthodox presence. The site has mythic origins in pre-Norman, eleventh-century England, and the modern restoration of pilgrimage is a revival of links with a past spirituality that was evident before the Reformation. In common with many pilgrimage shrines, a connection is made with the landscape of the Holy Land, as the village is sometimes called England's Nazareth. Visitors include tourists as well as devout representatives of a variety of Christian denominations, while on occasion the site plays host to vocal demonstrations from Protestant evangelicals who accuse high Anglicans of idolatry. The site of Glastonbury in southwest England is equally complex in its historical and contemporary associations. It has become the site of a revival of medieval Christianity alongside the flourishing of New Age spirituality. Pilgrimage badges have been reintroduced by local clergy in an effort to echo ancient tradition, and since 1986 the main Anglican and Roman Catholic pilgrimages have been held simultaneously in order to express unity. As at Walsingham and many other pilgrimage sites around the world, the boundaries between tourism and pilgrimage, secular and sacred travel, have become hard to define. For Mormons, who have spread throughout the world since the nineteenth century, visits to the American "homeland," and Utah in particular, represent the opportunity to combine holiday travel with overtly religious activity.

Protestant evangelicals may shy from the associations of the word pilgrimage, yet they have continued to engage in travel for sacred purposes. Africa and LATIN AMERICA in particular have proved to be fertile missionary fields over the past century and more, and in many cases Protestants have competed with Islamic and Catholic presences in contexts that have received waves of missionary activity over hundreds of years. In addition, travel closer to the pilgrimage model has been evident among such Christians. Pilgrimage motifs can be discerned in North American Protestant rural and kinship-based revivalist gatherings and prayer meetings, as well as annual evangelical gatherings such as "Spring Harvest" in England. Primitive Baptists in the United States have maintained the Calvinist tradition of seeing themselves as pilgrims and strangers in a barren land. The image of the traveling pilgrim fits the actual movements of elders and laity as they move from one church to another. It echoes in many Protestant hymns, including the famous lines "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah, Pilgrim through this barren land." Meanwhile,

the Christian Zionist movement has refocused attention on Jerusalem as a key location for millenarian and apocalyptic predictions of Christ's Second Coming. The International Christian Embassy, based in Jerusalem, organizes annual Feast of Tabernacles pilgrimages to Jerusalem. These occasions are meant to enact the "coming up of the nations to Jerusalem" as described in Leviticus. Drawn from around the globe, Christian Zionists not only visit the sites of Christ's historical life and death, but also see their actions as contributing to the divine redemptive plan for the future of the world.

Other developments in the Protestant world reflect contemporary processes of globalization as well as the ability of Christians to take advantage of new communications technologies. During the 1990s the "Toronto Blessing" entailed many thousands of Protestant charismatics visiting Toronto Airport Christian Fellowship in the hope of gaining access to a large-scale manifestation of the Holy Spirit. The phenomenon of the blessing itself spread through ministries and congregations around the world, and news of its diffusion was relayed by word of mouth, television images, faxes, and the Internet. Some devotees described the journey to Toronto as akin to a pilgrimage experience. Although apparently highly contemporary and specific to a certain branch of Protestantism, the Toronto Blessing revealed characteristics evident in much of the history of Protestant travel and pilgrimage. Specific objects were not deployed as the focus of worship and the locale of the Toronto Fellowship was not considered to be special or holy in itself.

Despite frequently voiced overt opposition to pilgrimage, both literal and metaphorical travel have proved to be important aspects of many forms of Protestantism throughout the centuries since the Reformation. Journeying for pious purposes has provided opportunities for sacrifice as well as spiritual development, spreading of the Word to the unconverted, and furthering personal union with God. In common with many forms of pilgrimage and travel carried out by people of different cultures and faiths, moving temporarily away from home can be seen as a rite of passage that has important effects on individual and collective identity.

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TRIBAL MOVEMENTS (INDIA)

The great majority of Christians in INDIA (90 percent at the time of the 1991 census) were equally divided among three groups: the ancient community of St. Thomas Christians in the southwestern state of Kerala, the dalits (the people formerly identified as outcastes or untouchables) found throughout the country, and the tribals found everywhere in the country but concentrated in the central, eastern, and northeastern regions. The great majority of St. Thomas Christians belong to the Oriental Orthodox and Roman Catholic traditions. The earliest numerically significant responses to the Protestant missionaries who began working in India came from among the dalit peoples of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in the midnineteenth century. The scale of this response led to a new **MISSIOLOGY**. Instead of prioritizing work among the higher caste peoples on the theory that they would then be responsible for the evangelization of the lower classes, Protestant missions began to emphasize work among the marginalized groups. By the end of the nineteenth century this had come to include the tribal peoples. At the beginning of the twenty-first century Christianity was growing more rapidly among the tribal peoples than any other group. Although they represent only 8 percent of the Indian population, they now constitute one third of the Christians.

The first historically significant movement of tribal peoples to Christianity took place in Jharkhand. The Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Mission began work there among the Munda and Oraon tribes in 1850. The legal aid provided by the missionaries to the people who were being dispossessed of their ancestral lands by outsiders led to large-scale movements to Christianity. By the end of the century there were over 50,000 Protestant Christians in this area. At that time they were divided among Lutheran and Anglican churches. A later movement to Christianity led by Belgian Jesuits resulted in the emergence of a large tribal Christian community. The tribes of Jharkhand represent those Indian tribals collectively referred to as “adivasis” (original inhabitants). These tribes are concentrated in an area stretching across the center of India from Orissa in the east to Maharashtra in the west.

Although there are many adivasi Christians, the great majority (approximately 75 percent) of tribal Christians belongs to the Indo-Mongolian tribes of North East India (NEI). Tribals are either in the majority or are significant minorities in the eight states of the region. The Christian movement there was begun by American Baptist and Welsh Presbyterian missionaries in the 1830s and 1840s, first in the Assam plains and then in the hills of what is today Meghalaya. During the nineteenth century Christian communities began to be established by them in Nagaland, Manipur, and Mizoram. There were also significant migrations of Lutherans from Jharkhand. They came to work as contract laborers in the tea gardens of Assam and stayed on as permanent settlers.

The largest church in the region is the Council of Baptist Churches in North East India (CBCNEI), with some 900,000 communicant members distributed through the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, and Arunachal Pradesh. The second largest

Protestant church is the Presbyterian Church of India (PCI) with congregations in Meghalaya, Mizoram, Assam, and Manipur. A constituent member of the PCI, the Presbyterian Church of Mizoram, spends half of its annual income on missionary work outside its own area—including missions in Nepal and Taiwan. These and the smaller Protestant denominations work cooperatively in the North East India Christian Council. The Roman Catholic church began significant work in the region in the third decade of the twentieth century. It began to grow rapidly after the constraints imposed by the British government were removed after Indian Independence in 1947.

Although the rapid growth of Christianity among the tribal peoples of Northeast India is the result of the convergence of a number of different historical developments, the free church Protestantism of the pioneer MISSIONS was an important contributing factor. It was relatively easy to adapt the traditional lay- and village-based polities of the tribes to the Christianity that these missionaries introduced. The Protestant emphasis on the centrality of the BIBLE in the language of the people coupled with the evangelical emphasis on EDUCATION as a means of bringing about religious and social change created effective means for the people to maintain their distinctive identities in the modern world to which they were increasingly exposed. Because the tribal languages had no written form, a written language had to be created for them. Protestants were responsible for putting the languages of over fifty different tribes into written form. The creation of a standard language for an entire tribe, the introduction of the first literature of which first portions and then the whole of the Bible was the most important part, the opening of schools, and the establishment of ecclesiastical organizations brought into existence a new POLITY through which distinctive tribal identities could continue to be expressed.

See also Baptists; Bible Translation; Lutheranism; Missionary Organizations; Presbyterianism

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FREDERICK S. DOWNS

TRIBULATIONISM

Generally, “tribulation” refers to the suffering of God’s people during life on earth. The basic Christian confessions of faith look forward to the return of Christ to judge the living and the dead, bringing an end to this period of suffering, persecution, distress, and trouble.

A more specific use of “tribulation” is found within some Protestant eschatological positions. Jesus’s reference to “great tribulation” (Matthew 24:21; cf. Revelation 7:14) is interpreted by some as a reference to a specific period of time. Perspectives on the tribulation generally are connected to millennial views (see MILLENARIANS AND MILLENNIALISM). Amillennialists and postmillennialists tend to interpret even this language of “tribulation” as a description of the suffering characterizing the present age, perhaps with an escalation in intensity as the return of Christ approaches.

Although agreeing that people of God have always endured suffering, premillennialists expect a period of severe and unparalleled tribulation immediately before the return of Christ. For some this period is of indeterminate length. For others, particularly evangelical Protestant premillennialists, the length of this period is delineated in Daniel’s vision of “seventy weeks” (Daniel 9:24–27). The “weeks” or “sevens” in this vision are interpreted as weeks of years, thus the “seventy weeks” are 490 years. The first sixty-nine years conclude with the death of the Messiah. Then there is an indeterminate gap of time until the fulfillment of the seventieth week, the seven years of great tribulation. Many of these premillennialists take a futurist approach to the Apocalypse described by John, also interpreting Revelation 4–19 as describing this tribulation period.

Evangelical Protestant premillennial eschatological perspectives can also be delineated according to belief in the RAPTURE of the CHURCH in connection with the tribulation. Primarily on the basis of I Thessalonians 4, 1,63,000 many believe that the second coming of Christ occurs in two stages. According to the pretribulation rapture view, before the seven years of tribulation the church will be “caught up” (raptured) to escape this period of divine judgment because God has promised believers deliverance from wrath (I Thessalonians 1:10; 5:9). Other premillennialists hold to a post-tribulation rapture, believing that the rapture occurs after the tribulation, immediately before the second coming of Christ. A variety of mediating views are found among premillennialists, some seeing the rapture at the midpoint of the tribulation or at some other point before the end.

Although differences exist among premillennialists concerning the rapture of the church and the tribulation, all agree that the church age is marked by persecution and suffering and that the blessed hope of all Christians is the return of Christ to establish an eternal kingdom of righteousness and peace (Titus 2:13).

See also Eschatology; Evangelicalism

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G.R. KREIDER

TROELTSCH, ERNST (1865–1923)

German sociologist and theologian. Troeltsch was born near Augsburg in 1865 and studied THEOLOGY in Erlangen, Berlin, and Göttingen. At Göttingen he was impressed by the teachings of ALBRECHT RITSCHL and his attempt to conceptualize Protestantism in terms of modernity. No sooner had he begun to study theology than Troeltsch asked how one could justify adherence to the Christian faith in a world marked by the scientific discourse. Troeltsch taught systematic theology in Bonn from 1892 to 1894 and then in Heidelberg from 1894 to 1915. In 1910 he began teaching in the Arts and Sciences faculty as well. There he encountered MAX WEBER, with whom he developed a true intellectual kinship, and Heinrich Rickert who, after Wilhelm Dilthey, helped to establish the scientific character of cultural studies. Noted theologian, philosopher, sociologist, and intellectual, Troeltsch died in Berlin in 1923.

In 1915 Troeltsch received the professorial chair of philosophy at the University of Berlin, considered at the time the most important professorship in GERMANY. This chair allowed him to pursue his work free of any ecclesiastic constraint. Considered the “theologian of the history of religions school,” one fundamental question permeated his entire work, which is how to reconcile the relativism of historical research with the absoluteness of Christianity. Troeltsch, who was politically and culturally active in the Germany of his time, was a member of the German Democratic Party. As a parliamentary undersecretary of state in the Prussian ministry of culture from 1919 to 1920 he contributed to the formulation of Prussia’s ecclesiastical policy upon the reorganization of Germany in 1919.

The scope of his work went beyond the field of Protestant theology and dealt with the philosophy of history and the sociology of religion. This is why his work involved the social and cultural sciences. Today his thoughts on the confrontation between Christianity and the modern world offer the opportunity to rediscover his ideas. By pointing out that the “European world is made up of Antiquity and modernity” and that Christianity, while setting them apart, unites both legacies, Troeltsch invites the attention of anyone thinking about European culture and the role of Christianity.

In 1912 Troeltsch published a socio-history of Christianity as the account of the social doctrines of Christian churches: *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches). According to him, no Christian era can be considered as normative. Each one has its own relationship with the proclamation of Jesus, which can itself be considered as the first typical period of Christianity. Next came Pauline Christianity, ancient Christianity, medieval Christianity, LUTHERANISM, CALVINISM, and ascetic Protestantism. These typical periods themselves must be linked with three main types of religious organizations: the *Church*, the *Sect*, and the *Mystical*. The *Church* type is an institution that precedes its members and integrates all the faithful, no matter the degree or quality of their religiosity. The religious organization of the *Church* type, established worldwide, maintains positive relations with its

sociocultural environment. The *Sect* type corresponds to the voluntary grouping of believers who are said to be breaking away from society, while the *Mystical* type corresponds to the fluid network of individuals who are sharing their direct religious experience, beyond ritual mediations and dogma. Troeltsch's Christianity itself, by taking the shape of free and pure individual religiosity that fully partakes in the questions of its time, approximates the latter type. His theology may be spiritualistic, as he himself admitted, but his attention to the history and types of religious organizations made him acknowledge the importance of the organization for religious transmission. This typology, similar to the Church/Sect typology of Max Weber, was debated by many sociologists of religions who speak of "Weber-Troeltschian" typology. H. RICHARD NIEBUHR drew from it in his famous study, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929). Besides his interest in the *Mystical* type, Troeltsch's originality is found in his insistence on a "Free-Church" model, an intermediary religious organization that, although having the sectarian characteristics of voluntary groupings of converts, is nonetheless strongly integrated and involved in society.

Troeltsch, like Weber, believed that Protestantism contributed to the rise of the modern world's ideals. While pointing out the great differences between LUTHERANISM and CALVINISM in this relation to modernity, he especially insisted on the ruptures between what he called "old Protestantism" (Lutheran and Calvinist Protestantism at the beginning, which he perceived as still very much limited by medieval culture) and "modern Protestantism." Since the end of the eighteenth century the latter had given up trying to subordinate state and CULTURE to the criteria of revelation. It accepted the existence of an autonomous secular world by its side, thus making religion a matter of personal conviction and personal initiative. According to Troeltsch ascetic Protestantism practiced by Puritans and BAPTISTS embodies this modern Protestantism (see PURITANISM). Along those lines he pointed out its historical importance as creator of civilization as he compared its impact to that of medieval Catholicism.

While demonstrating that, similar to other religions, Christianity was at different times in its history a purely historical and conditioned phenomenon, Troeltsch sought to explain that because it was the "strongest and most intense revelation of a personalist religiosity," it represented the "highest religious truth that we know."

See also Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Sociology of Protestantism

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JEAN-PAUL WILLAIME

TUTU, DESMOND MPILO (1931-)

South African churchman and statesman. Tutu was born in Klerksdorp, Transvaal (now Gautheng), SOUTH AFRICA on October 7, 1931. The son of a teacher, he was greatly influenced as a boy by the missionary priest TREVOR HUDDLESTON. Tutu became a teacher and, while so working, studied for the B.A. degree at the University of South Africa. Thereafter he entered St Peter's College, Rosettenville, to study for the Anglican ministry, being ordained deacon in 1960 and priest in 1961. Further theological study in Britain brought the B.D. and M.Th. of the University of London and parish experience in ENGLAND. He returned to South Africa to teach at the Federal (i.e., ecumenical) Theological Seminary, and then to Lesotho to teach at the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland from 1970 to 1972.

From 1972 to 1975 he was associate director of the Theological Education Fund of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and responsible for grants to universities and SEMINARIES in AFRICA to improve their theological education resources. Before his term with the fund was complete, he was back in South Africa as dean of Johannesburg. He now became one of the most prominent voices in the country raised against the suffering created by the policy of apartheid. This prominence was briefly interrupted by his election as bishop of Lesotho in 1976. By 1978, however, he was back as general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. Under his leadership the Council became one of the most effective legal organs of opposition to government policy. Although trenchant and outspoken, Tutu always spoke in Christian terms and from Christian premises, with emphasis on the meaning of the Cross, never advocating violence, so that it was hard to find grounds to silence him. His public activity continued after his election as bishop of Johannesburg in 1985 and as archbishop of Cape Town and metropolitan of the Church of the Province of South Africa the following year. His reputation abroad, his eloquence, and charismatic presence gave potency to his calls for boycotts of South African exports to Europe and North America and for a ban on investments in South Africa. The personal impact he had was indicated in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.

As apartheid and white minority rule crumbled, Tutu became a mediating figure; the meeting between F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela that inaugurated the new South Africa in 1994 took place in the archbishop's garden. He called for reconciliation based on full acknowledgment of past horrors, repentance, and forgiveness. Before he retired as archbishop in 1996, he had secured the embodiment of these ideas in a national Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which he chaired, taking evidence from those who had suffered and those who had inflicted suffering, and "opening wounds to cleanse them." It is one of the most striking modern examples of the application of Christian thinking in the public sphere. It has been imitated in other areas of endemic violence, but not usually with such rigor or such coherent Christian thinking.

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ANDREW F.WALLS

TYNDALE, WILLIAM (c. 1494–1536)

English reformer. Tyndale can justly be said to be the founder of the REFORMATION in England among the people. In the early sixteenth century the church continued to forbid the reading of even a few words of the BIBLE in English, under the direst penalties (including that of being burned alive). Tyndale set out to give all English-speaking people the whole Bible printed in English, from the original languages of Greek for the New Testament and Hebrew for the Old Testament, instead of the Church's Latin. He did it at the cost of his life.

Initiated by him, the complete English Bible, in various versions owing almost everything to his work, became the most widely read and studied text in the English language. Such new knowledge rapidly revolutionized national religious thinking, removing many of the church's practices and doctrines (such as Purgatory), which were not found in the Bible, and allowing each believer to meet God without any intermediary priest or hierarchy—guided by the entire Gospels and Epistles of St. Paul.

Eighty-three percent of the New Testament in the famous King James Version of 1611 is pure Tyndale, and only a little less in the Old Testament. The global effect of that version is incalculable.

Life

Tyndale was born around 1494 in Gloucestershire, England. As a schoolchild he learned the *new, good Humanist Latin*. He attended the University of Oxford where, after his B.A. and M.A., he learned Greek, then beginning to be taught more widely. He may have gone on to Cambridge, where Desiderius Erasmus had been teaching Greek.

Back in Gloucestershire, as tutor to the children of Sir John and Lady Walsh, he recognized his life's vocation, to translate and print the Bible in English. An ignorant cleric at the Walsh's table had remarked that "we were better without God's law than the Pope's." To this Tyndale famously replied that if God spared his life he would "cause the boy that driveth the plough to know more of Scripture than thou dost."

In 1516 the original Greek New Testament had been printed for the first time by Erasmus. Tyndale in around 1522 sought permission of the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall (a friend of Erasmus), to translate it into English and print it. Tunstall snubbed him, and Tyndale soon left for Germany, where in 1523 MARTIN LUTHER'S first German New Testament (from the Greek) was already a bestseller. In Cologne Tyndale worked with a good local printer, but he was betrayed and fled up the Rhine to the safe Lutheran city of Worms. There in 1526 he produced one of the great treasures of Western

culture, his first English New Testament. Pocket-size, it was smuggled down the Rhine in bales of cloth, and into English and Scottish ports. Within eight years nearly 20,000 copies (with piracies from Antwerp printers) had been bought. Only two of the original survive.

Antwerp

Somewhere in Germany, Tyndale learned Hebrew, which was virtually unknown in England. He moved to Antwerp, a port with thriving trade with England and many printers. In 1530, copies, also pocket-size, of his translation of the Pentateuch (the first time that Hebrew had ever been translated into English) reached English ports and were snapped up. At Creation God was seen and heard to say not *Fiat lux et lux erat*, but “Let there be light: and there was light.”

His printer in Antwerp, Marten de Keyser, produced four or five other books by Tyndale, notably his *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528). This, also smuggled into England, was, like his New Testament and Pentateuch, immediately banned, with copies hunted by the English bishops, and the owners punished (sometimes with death). In *Obedience*, Tyndale countered the lie being put about (principally by Thomas More) that reformers (such as Luther) preached sedition and bloody rebellion. Tyndale showed from the New Testament that a Christian’s obedience was to the ruler, who had also to be obedient to God. King Henry VIII himself, shown a copy by his wife-to-be, Anne Boleyn, approved.

Tyndale revised his New Testament in 1534, this time with prologues to the books (especially Paul’s Epistle to the Romans) and a few explanatory notes. This was also widely read (Queen Anne’s personal copy has survived). He also at this time translated the second quarter of the Old Testament, again the first time the Hebrew text was translated into English.

Tyndale’s enemies were led apparently by the new bishop of London, the ruthless John Stokesley, and were under the banner of the gross attacks on “heretics” by Thomas More (whose treatment of them makes an ugly blot on his reputation) at first in Latin, and then by permission in English. Attacked in print at length by More, Tyndale was again betrayed. He was arrested, charged with heresy, and imprisoned in a dark, dank cell in Vilvoorde Castle, outside Brussels, for sixteen months, without proper clothing or a light. On October 6, 1536, before a large self-congratulatory assembly of churchmen, he was taken out and burned. Because he was a scholar, he was allowed to be strangled as the fire was lit.

Tyndale died ignorant of his tremendous influence. First, the language he had created (unusual for the time) fed into English-speaking consciousness forever after, so that many of his phrases are still in common speech (e.g., “the spirit is willing” and “the powers that be”). Second, his friend John Rogers completed publication of his work, and within twelve months of his death it was licensed by King Henry VIII: this went on to be the basis of all the great English Bible translations that followed, even until today. Third, what he opened has never been shut up.

See also Bible Translation; Bible and Literature; Bible Societies

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DAVID DANIELL

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U

ULSTER

Ulster is the most northern of Ireland's four provinces and the only province in which a majority of the population has ever been Protestant. This was attributed to colonization from Britain, chiefly in the seventeenth century, differentiating Ulster from the rest of Ireland and leading to partition in 1921 when six of Ulster's nine counties remained part of the United Kingdom as Northern Ireland, but with a hostile Catholic and Irish nationalist minority. The identification of religious and political loyalties spawned violent sectarian conflict, and whereas the main churches are committed to reconciliation, popular Protestantism remains notoriously anti-Catholic.

The Reformation in Ireland

Protestantism was never an indigenous growth in IRELAND but a transplant from ENGLAND. Ireland was an English colony from the twelfth century, and the Irish Reformation, establishing the Church of Ireland on the model of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, was an act of state without popular support. It was perceived as an aspect of English colonization, resisted by Gaelic Ireland which was claiming religious legitimacy in the name of Catholicism, supported by the pope and CounterReformation Spain. In the last decade of ELIZABETH I's reign, Ulster's Gaelic chieftains led a nine-year rebellion ending in defeat, leaving Ulster devastated and depopulated, ripe for fresh colonization.

Protestantism in Ulster

Colonists from SCOTLAND and England brought Protestantism to Ulster in the seventeenth century. Many of the Scots were Presbyterians and a religious revival, anticipating similar REVIVALS in colonial America a century later, strengthened their PRESBYTERIANISM. Originally Presbyterians were accommodated within the established Church of Ireland but when CHURCH AND STATE combined to bring the Irish church into closer conformity with the Laudian Church of England, Presbyterians were expelled as nonconformists. NONCONFORMITY was illegal but a Scots army came to Ulster in 1642 in response to a Catholic rebellion in 1641, and its chaplains formed a presbytery in Carrickfergus, beginning the institutional history of Ulster Presbyterianism. During the subsequent Cromwellian interregnum, other Dissenters, including Independents, BAPTISTS, and Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), arrived in Ireland, although their numbers remained small. The restoration of monarchy

and of the established Church of Ireland after 1660 brought difficulties for Dissenters as well as Catholics but the Irish colonial government could not afford to alienate Ulster's Scots settlers completely and TOLERATION was gradually extended to Presbyterians who joined with their fellow Protestants in supporting William III against James II and Catholic Ireland in 1689. From 1690 onward a Synod of Ulster met annually as the Presbyterians' governing body but in the eighteenth century they suffered fresh disabilities under penal legislation aimed primarily at Catholics.

The Eighteenth Century

Presbyterians also suffered conflicts in the eighteenth century between conservative Calvinists (Old Lights) and liberals (New Lights), and the successful advance of New Light brought Presbyterian dissenters from Scotland, Seceders and Covenanters who established congregations and presbyteries in Ulster. Large numbers of Presbyterians, suffering economic hardship as tenant farmers, as well as religious disabilities, emigrated to colonial America in the eighteenth century in the footsteps of Francis Makemie, the Ulster Presbyterian minister who is honored as the Father of American Presbyterianism.

Inspired by the American and FRENCH REVOLUTIONS, Ulster Presbyterians were in the vanguard of a movement to unite Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter in Ireland to establish an independent nonsectarian Irish state. The disastrous failure of their rebellion in 1798 led to the Act of Union in 1801, which replaced the Irish parliament and government by direct rule from Westminster.

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Conflict came in the nineteenth century when the restoration of the Irish parliament, Home Rule, became the political objective of Catholic Ireland and Protestants resisted, insisting the Home Rule would be Rome Rule, following the concession of full civil rights to Catholics. Political tensions were exacerbated by religious friction as EVANGELICALISM inspired a Protestant crusade to evangelize Roman Catholics, provoking their resentment as they experienced their own renewal movement in Ultramontaniam, emphasizing papal AUTHORITY and devotion to Mary. In Ulster evangelicalism exploded in the revival of 1859, intensifying Protestant anti-Catholicism, with Baptists and PLYMOUTH BRETHREN growing in numbers and mission halls and evangelical agencies proliferating.

When Home Rule became an imminent prospect in 1912 Ulster Protestants prepared to resist in arms, with the result that Ireland was partitioned in 1921. The Catholic and nationalist minority in Northern Ireland resented partition and their subjection to its Protestant and Unionist parliament, which regarded them as subversive and discriminated

against them in various ways. A Catholic civil rights movement in the 1960s increased tension, which erupted in violence by extremists on both sides. Protestants and Catholics have been involved in ventures for reconciliation like the Corrymeela Community and Protestant and Catholic Encounter (P.A.C.E.), whereas the Orange Order, Presbyterian (336,891); Church of Ireland, a member of the Anglican family (279,280); and Methodists (59,517), to the Rev Ian Paisley's fundamentalist Free Presbyterian Church (12,363), with a growing but still small number of charismatic churches and fellowships. (Numbers are from the 1991 census.) One Pentecostal church, the Elim church, originated in Ulster in 1915. Although Protestant churches remain strong and influential in Ulster, SECULARIZATION is advancing rapidly, particularly in the twenty to forty-five age group.

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FINLAY HOLMES

UNDERHILL, EVELYN (1875–1941)

English theologian. Born December 6, 1875 and died June 15, 1941, Underhill was based in London throughout her life. She married Hubert Stuart Moore in 1907, and they had no children. As an adult Underhill studied in the “Ladies” department of King’s College, University of London, which made her their first woman “Fellow” in 1927. Although baptized and confirmed, it was not until 1921 that she publicly identified herself as a member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, by which time she had established herself as an independent thinker and writer. She was the first woman to lecture in religion under the auspices of the University of Oxford faculty of theology, and was offered an honorary degree of doctor of divinity by the University of Aberdeen in 1938, a very rare honor for a woman, but which she was too ill to travel to receive. She became a semiprofessional conductor of retreats, to CLERGY as well as LAITY, breaking through ecclesiastical tradition against women’s speaking and teaching theology to do so. She published two major books, both of them now considered classics.

Rather unusually for a Protestant she became an expert on the lives and work of the mystics of the church, prompting much further research in the twentieth century. *Mysticism* (1911; many reprintings) explains her view of the evidence that many persons have experienced such a depth of intimacy with God that they were transformed into persons of exemplary effectiveness. In *Worship* (1936) she revealed her profound appreciation of what was at stake in different forms of WORSHIP. By World War II she had become a pacifist, and exemplified her own high expectations for the laity’s life of PRAYER, especially prayer of intercession. Significant here are such works as *The Golden Sequence* (1932), *The School of Charity* (1934), *The Mystery of Sacrifice* (1938), and *Abba. Meditations on the Lord’s Prayer* (1940).

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ANN LOADES

UNIFICATION CHURCH

The Unification Church can be grouped under the rubric of New Religious Movements. It is thus not altogether clear if it is properly subsumed under the heading of a Protestant tradition. The Unification Church has gone through several incarnations and telling transformations. In spite of vociferous vilifications from many circles, the religious movement continues to be the harbinger of the good news for millions of people all over the world. The Unification Church has been mired in controversy since it was founded by SUN MYUNG MOON in 1954 in Seoul, KOREA. He was born on January 6, 1920 in North Korea. Christianity was practiced in deep secrecy during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Christians met underground for fear of persecution by Japanese authorities. Moon's parents eventually converted to Christianity. Moon claims that in 1935, while he was fervently praying in the mountains, Jesus appeared to him in a vision. Jesus gave him a divine injunction: to complete the assignment of establishing God's kingdom on earth. Moon later developed the "Unification Principle," according to which God established the universe to manifest true love.

According to the Unification Principle, Adam and Eve were meant to develop into a level of perfection. Then they would have been blessed by God in Holy Matrimony and established what is known as the Four Position Foundation of the Ideal Family. In this setting they would have a loving relationship with God, with each other, and as True Parents, with their children. This wonderful vision did not come into fruition because of the diabolical activities of archangel Lucifer. Rev. Moon was given the divine injunction to restore the world to the pristine model originally designed by God.

Moon traces the human predicament to the story of the fall of Adam and Eve. In Moon's theological analysis Eve lost her position and purity because of an unlawful relationship with Lucifer, symbolized as a serpent, and she subsequently seduced Adam. They never achieved the spiritual maturity whereby they could have attained true love. The story will even turn more devastating: their son Cain killed his brother Abel because he inherited a bogus and self-centered form of love from his parents. According to Moon this was how false love has been passed down from one generation to the other. This problem has infected the entire human race.

The family is seen as the basic institution for the growth of God's love in the world. The spiritual and moral teachings within the family structure must prepare people to live for the sake of all others in all situations. However, according to Moon, people do not live according to God's design; personal aggrandizement prevails in interpersonal relationships and in relationships between ethnic groups and nations. Moon proclaims that God commanded him to teach in North Korea, where communist leaders were against all forms of religious organizations. He has survived many arrests, incarcerations, and unsavory conditions. In the 1970s there was a rapid global growth in membership in the Unification Church. Young people put aside their careers, gave up all their possessions, left their families, and dedicated themselves to activities and mission of the

Unification Church. They saw their new religious calling as a blatant rejection of the materialistic worldview, especially in the West.

The Unification Principle of one human family and world peace has been spread through massive international activities reportedly engineered to change the world. Through conferences, seminars, consultations, service projects, and publications the Unification Church has left an indelible mark on the global religious landscape.

An interesting aspect within the Unification Church is the massive wedding ceremonies in which people from all over the world are “matched” by the church or already married couples seeking to dedicate themselves to “live for the sake of others” and ultimately create an ideal world family are blessed by Moon and his wife. Millions of couples have been blessed in public weddings all over the world. Unificationists see these mass weddings as an ideal way to create one human family, with couples from all races and nation-alities being incorporated into God’s plan of true love. Unificationists also believe that couples who are blessed by Moon through the Holy Wine ceremony that precedes the blessing ritual have been purified and cleansed of original SIN and, as a result of this act, their children are free from the burden of original sin.

The entire human history, according to the *Divine Principle*, has been a passionate attempt by God and certain important people to reinstate the world to the state originally designed by God. To accomplish this task, the sins that have been committed in the past need to be “worked backwards” so that bad actions are cancelled out by good actions. These acts of “indemnity” are carried out as a preparation for the only definitive solution to human sin: the coming of a Messiah who will accomplish the role that Adam should have finished by not succumbing to sin. Jesus came as the Messiah, and he lived a great and sinless life. The *Divine Principle* claims that the death of Jesus was not planned by God, but through this ultimate sacrifice, Jesus was able to offer redemption and SALVATION to humankind.

The Unification Church is a movement with a robust theology, philosophy, and social theory. A litany of accusations has been leveled against Moon and his followers. Some of these accusations have been documented by John Biermans in *The Odyssey of New Religious Movements: A Case Study of the Unification Church*. Biermans’s extensive study examines the persecution and struggles of the members of the Unification Church, although young people are still attracted to Moon’s message of love and world peace. One of the central issues that will affect the future of the Unification Church is how the church continues to respond to what Moon describes as “three major headaches of God”: inter-religious conflicts, increasing immorality, and the rise of atheism. The Unification Church has endeavored to address some of these issues through its programs and global outreach.

See also Moon, Sun Myung

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AKINTUNDE E.AKINADE

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

Unitarian Universalist churches claim their origin in theological and doctrinal disputes of early Christianity. Unitarians find an early affinity with Arians and others who resisted the doctrine of the Trinity as it developed in the West after the Council of Nicaea in 325 C.E. Universalists trace their origin to early debates concerning the ultimate destiny of humanity. Universalists affirmed that the love of God is irresistible, that it is not God's will that any should perish and therefore, in the end, all of creation will be restored to harmony with God because an eternity of punishment in hell would constitute an unthinkable frustration and defeat of God's plan.

Although both movements have roots in European religious thought, the Unitarian Universalist movement is largely a North American phenomenon, the result of the 1961 merger of the AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION (founded in 1825) and the Universalist Church of America (founded in 1793). The Unitarian Universalist Association maintains close relations with indigenous Unitarian movements in Romania, Great Britain, and the Kassai Hills of INDIA, with an indigenous Universalist movement in the Philippine Islands and with scattered Unitarian movements in such varied parts of the world as The Czech Republic, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, and SOUTH AFRICA. Recently the Canadian Unitarian Council established itself as independent of, although allied with, the Unitarian Universalist Association, headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts.

Unitarian Universalist churches are creedless and congregational in polity. This has produced a movement theologically diverse, varied in its WORSHIP practices, and significantly distanced from much of Protestantism. Thinking of themselves as religious liberals, Unitarian Universalists are frequently to be found engaged in liberal social and political causes and identify this stance as a religious imperative.

Sociologically Unitarian Universalist churches in the UNITED STATES largely consist of suburban well-educated, middle- and upper-middle-class Euro-American professionals. In recent years the Unitarian Universalist Association has sought ways to break out of this limited demographic and welcome racial, economic, and social diversity.

European Unitarianism

Although Unitarians trace their origins to the Arian CHRISTOLOGY that was rejected by the Council of Nicaea, specific Unitarian churches emerged as a consequence of anti-

Trinitarian thought that was part of the left wing of the Protestant REFORMATION. In the years after the Northern European rebellion against the Roman Church religious thinkers used their new freedom to examine scripture to evaluate and judge the teachings and practices of the CHURCH. This attempt resulted in rejection of infant baptism, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the concept of a state church, thus producing a Protestantism far more radical than that of mainstream reformers.

Unitarians trace themselves to the work of MICHAEL SERVETUS (1511–1533), Spanish theologian, physician, and reformer. While studying law in Toulouse Servetus began a secret study of the New Testament and the writings of the early Church Fathers. He hoped to find a convincing way to explain the doctrine of the Trinity so that Jews and Moors in his homeland might embrace the essential truth of Christianity and escape the persecution of the Inquisition. In the process of his study Servetus became convinced that the doctrine of the Trinity has no real basis in the scriptures or in the writings of the early Church Fathers. Failing to persuade major figures in the Reformation of the accuracy or the importance of his conviction, Servetus produced a book entitled *On the Errors of the Trinity*. The work was received with such hostility that Servetus went into exile, living quietly under an assumed name in FRANCE. Goaded by the publication of JOHN CALVIN'S INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, Servetus produced a second work, *Christianismus Reinstitutio (The Restoration of Christianity)*. His identity discovered, Servetus fled France, was recognized in Geneva, arrested, tried for HERESY, and, in 1553, burned at the stake in Calvin's Protestant Geneva.

Although Servetus did not convince the major reformers, he deeply influenced a number of the radical reformers. As a consequence of his writings three major Unitarian (or proto-Unitarian) movements came into existence on the continent. The shortest-lived of these emerged in Northern ITALY, in and around Venice. By 1550 there were some sixty secret congregations where anti-Trinitarian and Anabaptist views predominated (see ANABAPTISM). Two years later the movement was betrayed to the Inquisition and its members scattered—some to Eastern Europe, some to Protestant Geneva, some to the Moslem East.

A major haven for Italian refugees was the kingdom of POLAND. A large, liberal nation with a weak central government and church, Poland provided a refuge for religious radicals from all over Europe. LUTHERANISM had penetrated the kingdom early and was soon followed by Calvin's Reformed Church. Within the reformed church there was substantial theological fluidity—a situation that provided significant opportunity for refugees from Northern Italy to pursue their anti-Trinitarian agenda. Among them was Georgeo Biandrata (c. 1515–1588), physician to the Italian queen Bona of Poland. Biandrata, a religious radical, invited other Italian radical reformers to Poland and thus moved the Reformed Church in a more radical direction. Eventually the Reformed Church of Poland split over the doctrine of the Trinity.

The anti-Trinitarians were known as the Minor Reformed Church of Poland, or more simply, The Polish Brethren. They are better known to history as the Socinian Church, taking its name from its most influential theologian, FAUSTO SOZZINI (Socinus) (1539–1604), an Italian refugee who had fled to Poland from Italy to escape the Inquisition. Socinus developed a theological system that viewed Christ as an exemplar and denied the traditional doctrines of the Trinity and of ATONEMENT, insisting that SALVATION comes as a consequence of following the example of Jesus. Therefore

correctness of doctrine is less important than correct living. Socinus taught that, although the scriptures contained a revelation from God, those scriptures must be read and interpreted by human reason. Like many groups in the radical reformation, the Minor Church of Poland advocated separation of CHURCH AND STATE, questioned the validity of infant baptism, and placed great emphasis on pious living. Under Socinus's leadership the Minor Church embraced tolerance as a religious value, insisting that people ought not be persecuted because of disputed doctrines.

At its height the Minor Church of Poland counted more than 300 congregations. It had established a press that produced more than 500 titles by 1600, and a school at Rakow, its principal city, that drew students from all over the continent. Shortly before his death Socinus held several synods in which the teachings of the church were consolidated and reaffirmed. In 1605 the church issued the Racovian Catechism, a concise statement of its faith, and began publishing the works of Socinus.

However, a Catholic resurgence in Poland, and the failure of the various Protestant bodies to unite in their own defense resulted in the destruction of the Minor Church and, eventually, of the Protestant movement in Poland. In 1660 the Minor Church of Poland was banned and its adherents forced to convert or go into exile. Many fled to Transylvania, Prussia, or Holland. For several generations some observed their faith in secret, ministered to by clergy who made secret returns to the country. The history of the Minor Church of Poland, however, had come to an end.

Concurrently with the events in Poland a similar movement was emerging independently in Transylvania. About two-thirds the size of the state of Maine, in the sixteenth century Transylvania consisted of the eastern quarter of the kingdom of HUNGARY. After the Turks defeated the Hungarians at the battle of Mohacs (1526), killing much of the Hungarian nobility, a struggle for the Hungarian throne resulted in an independent Transylvania. For a century the Transylvanians maintained independence by exploiting the conflict between neighboring world powers—the Moslem East and the Christian West.

John Zapolya, the first independent ruler of Transylvania, married Isabella, daughter of the queen and king of Poland. Shortly after the birth of their son, John Sigismund (1540–1571), Zapolya died, leaving the throne to his infant son, with Isabella as queen regent. During a period of turmoil after the death of her husband Isabella fled with her son to Poland. When she returned to Transylvania in 1555 she found a nation now predominantly Protestant. In an effort to avoid religious conflict, Queen Isabella issued a decree of religious TOLERATION in 1557, in which she affirmed the right of individuals to follow the faith of their choosing, provided that they bring no harm or injury to others because of differing religious opinion.

Lutheranism had been imported into Transylvania by Saxon elements in the Transylvanian society as early as 1520. The Calvinist Reformed church also established itself in Transylvania and became a focus of theological debate and dispute, particularly around the doctrine of the Trinity.

Two men played a major role in the emergence of Unitarianism in Transylvania. Georgio Biandrata, physician to Queen Bona of Poland, was sent to Transylvania to serve as physician to Bona's daughter Isabella and the young prince John Sigismund. In Transylvania Biandrata quickly became a trusted advisor to the royal family, and once more resumed his work in advocating a radical religious agenda. He found an accomplice

in the person of FERENC DAVID (1510–1579). David, a native of Transylvania, was educated at Wittenberg. He returned to Transylvania and accepted a position as rector of a Catholic school and later as a parish priest. In 1553 he embraced Lutheranism, and by 1557 had been chosen bishop of the Hungarian section of the Lutheran Church. After a series of debates between the Lutherans and the Reformed, David resigned his position and cast his lot with the Reformed Church. Soon after, David was chosen superintendent, or bishop, of the Reformed Churches and was named court preacher by King John Sigismund, who had assumed the throne upon the death of his mother.

In 1563 John Sigismund reissued and extended the original edict of religious toleration. In this tolerant climate Biandrata and David began to examine the doctrine of the Trinity. David, influenced by Servetus's writings, had questioned the traditional teachings while still a Lutheran. He now began to raise questions publicly, both as court preacher and from his pulpit in the Great Church in Kolozsvár (Cluj Napoca) and through printed works produced by a press given to David and Biandrata by the king. As the nature of his questions became public the Reformed church was threatened with dissension and schism. King John Sigismund called for a series of public debates. In March 1558, after ten days of debate, David triumphed over his theological opponents. The king, the court, and the majority of the country embraced David's Unitarian theology. In 1571 the king and the Diet provided legal recognition to Unitarianism, proclaiming Unitarianism, CALVINISM, Lutheranism, and Catholicism the four received faiths of the kingdom.

Two months later John Sigismund died, leaving no heirs to his throne. The subsequent rulers of Transylvania were not favorably inclined to the Unitarian faith. As a condition of their elevation to the throne they were required to swear to abide by the edict of toleration. However, toleration was defined as the religious situation as it existed in 1571. Any deviation from that standard was to be dealt with harshly.

David was dismissed as court preacher, but he was elected superintendent, or bishop, of the Unitarian Churches. A restless spirit, David was not yet finished with reforming the church. He began to preach publicly that prayers to Christ and adoration of Christ were inappropriate because only God is entitled to that devotion. He abandoned infant BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER. He was charged with innovation, tried, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He died in the dungeon at Deva in 1579.

Georgio Bindrata continued as a royal counselor for John Sigismund's successor. He engineered a conservative statement of faith for the Unitarian Church and the selection of an administrator as bishop. Although he may have secured the survival of the church, he earned the contempt of his fellow Unitarians, who saw him as a traitor to the memory and faith of Ferenc David.

Unitarianism continued to exist in Transylvania, despite hostility, pressure, and outright persecution by Catholic, Protestant, Nazi, and Communist rulers. Most of Transylvania is now within the borders of modern ROMANIA, and the oldest Unitarian Churches in the world are to be found there. These churches still identify strongly with their historic Hungarian culture. After the fall of COMMUNISM a new and vital relationship was created between these churches and the Unitarian Universalist Churches in the West. A Partner Church Council arranges relationships between North American congregations and Transylvanian congregations, and facilitates the flow of financial aid and mutual interaction. In recent years the Transylvania Church has revised its

constitution, making its structure more democratic. New leadership, including a significant number of women ministers, has reinvigorated the movement (see WOMEN CLERGY).

Western Europe was influenced by Socinian works from the press at Rakow and to a lesser degree by books from Transylvanian Unitarians. Much of this influence came to focus in Holland after the expulsion of the Socinians from Poland. Earlier the Polish Brethren had provided refuge for Dutch radicals fleeing persecution. The Dutch returned the favor when the Polish Church was exiled. Although no Socinian movement, as such, was established in Holland, it was there that the definitive collection of Socinian works was published—the *Biblioteca Fratrum Polonorum* (*The Library of the Polish Brethren*)—in 1668. Socinian thought was part of the ferment of ideas that ultimately made Holland one of the most religiously tolerant countries in Europe. It was from Holland that Socinian thought entered ENGLAND.

The Reformation in England was originally a political rather than doctrinal issue, as HENRY VIII sought to secure the Tudor dynasty by producing a legitimate male heir to the throne. Henry thought of himself as “defender of the faith,” a title bestowed on him by the pope, rather than as reformer. However, the politics of the situation drove England into alliances with Protestant states, making the island nation a haven for Protestant scholars and refugees and opening it to divergent theological positions, including ANTI-TRINITARIANISM.

One source of theological diversity was The Strangers’ Church, established by Henry VIII in 1550 to serve the religious needs of the more than 3,000 Protestant refugees in London. Despite its theological heterodoxy, the church survived until the reign of Queen Mary. In her effort to return the nation to the Catholic faith, Mary disbanded the Strangers’ Church, although ELIZABETH I reestablished the church in 1560. This institution became a vector through which Socinian influence flowed quietly into England.

This Socinian influence may have “prepared the ground,” although the “father of British Unitarianism” had no direct contact with continental SOCINIANISM. John Biddle (1615–1662), the son of a tailor, was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. His study of Scripture convinced him that the doctrine of the Trinity was unsupported by Scripture or reason. These views brought him into conflict with the authorities. Biddle spent much of his adult life in prison for his heretical convictions. He spent the time in jail writing tracts and treatises outlining his faith and arguing its scriptural and rational basis. In those intervals when he was not in prison Biddle gathered a congregation of like-minded followers for worship and the study of scriptures. After Biddle died, after another lengthy imprisonment, his followers scattered.

Theophilus Lindsey (1723–1808) founded the first permanent Unitarian Church in England, the Essex Street Chapel in London in 1774. Unable to accept the creeds of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, Lindsey had resigned his position as an Anglican priest. Although many sympathized with Lindsey and shared his discomfort with the creeds, few followed his example and the leadership of the nascent Unitarian movement fell to liberal Dissenters. Here and there, across England, congregations of Separatists, BAPTISTS, Independents, and Non-Subscribing Presbyterians moved toward Arian, Arminian, Socinian, and Unitarian theological positions, but there was little sense of a common identity among them.

The man who welded these disparate and independent groups together was JOSEPH PRIESTLEY (1733–1804). Priestley, best known as the discoverer of oxygen, considered himself a clergyman whose hobby was natural science. Priestley served several Unitarian congregations, wrote tracts and books outlining a radical Unitarianism, and published magazines and educational materials, all of which functioned to create a sense of common identity among the dispersed and disparate Unitarian congregations in the country.

After Priestley fled England to escape persecution for his radical religious and political views, the mantle of leadership fell to Thomas Belsham (1750–1829), who continued the work Priestley had begun and gave Unitarianism an institutional form. Under his leadership the Unitarian Book Society was founded and a new version of the New Testament based on recent criticism of the Greek text was published.

In 1825 the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was organized. Bringing together several groups created to secure Unitarian interests, the new organization marked the institutional establishment of the Unitarian Church in England. Throughout its history the Unitarian movement in Great Britain has combined a liberal theological stance with a consistent concern for liberal social causes. Unitarians were instrumental in establishing schools and academies, were active in efforts to abolish SLAVERY, were concerned with women's rights and with the conditions of the poor and the destitute—seeing all of these as religious imperatives. Many of these concerns are reflected in the writing of Charles Dickens, perhaps the best known of the British Unitarians.

As the name of the organization created in 1825 implies, Unitarians in Great Britain maintained relationships with Unitarians in New Zealand, CANADA, and especially in India. The British Unitarian movement continues to be a small but vital part of the religious life of Great Britain.

Unitarianism in North America

In Poland, Transylvania, and England, Unitarianism emerged independently, shaped by the needs and circumstances of specific times and places. The same can be said of Unitarianism in the United States. With the exception of one congregation in upstate New York, which was founded under Socinian influence; and the two congregations founded by Joseph Priestley in Pennsylvania; and Kings Chapel, an Anglican congregation in Boston that became Unitarian in 1785, Unitarianism in the United States is the outgrowth of developments within the Congregational churches of New England. (It should be noted that Canadian Unitarianism, although closely tied to Unitarianism south of its borders, has always maintained a closer identification with British Unitarianism.)

In 1648 the churches of New England, seeking a formal structure of governance, created the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM—a plan that protected the independence of each local congregation, while offering a vision of interdependence in which autonomous congregations might support and strengthen each other. The Platform was programmatic rather than creedal in purpose. Most of the congregations in New England were defined by local covenants rather than by adherence to specific creedal or doctrinal statements.

With no episcopal structure to define, monitor, or enforce **ORTHODOXY**, congregations—under the leadership of strong and long-serving ministers—often drifted into local variations of the **PURITANISM** that had brought them to New England. These differences provoked occasional concern over growing laxity from religious leaders, but there was little to be done to halt the perceived drift toward Arianism, **ARMINIANISM**, and various other forms of heterodoxy.

Theological differences between various churches became a matter of public concern after the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s (see **AWAKENINGS**). The emergence of a highly emotional, evangelical religious movement served to make visible the chasm between the conservative and liberal wings of the Congregational churches of New England. Liberal churches and their ministers found the practices of the Awakening to be little more than emotionalism and fanaticism run rampant. They refused to participate in the groundswell of religious enthusiasm and often closed their doors to itinerant preachers who carried the revival from place to place (see **REVIVALS**). The itinerants responded by denouncing the settled clergy as “dumb dogs, half devils and half beasts, spiritually blind and leading people to hell.”

The Great Awakening created two self-conscious parties within the Standing Order of Congregational Churches in Massachusetts and throughout New England. The conservative party saw itself as defending the faith from forces that would erode it from within and attack it from without. The liberal party argued for latitude in matters of belief—especially doctrines not well supported in scripture like the doctrine of the Trinity—and for a more optimistic view of human potential than the doctrine of original sin would allow.

These two wings of the Congregational Church remained in uneasy relationship through the remainder of the eighteenth century. The final separation came in 1805, in a struggle over whether a liberal or a conservative would be appointed to the chair of divinity at Harvard College and be given responsibility for the education of future ministers. The liberal candidate, Henry Ware, was elected. The conservatives withdrew from Harvard, founded a seminary in Andover, and the Unitarian Schism was under way. In time most of the oldest, wealthiest congregations in eastern Massachusetts became Unitarian.

Early Unitarians were reluctant to adopt a sectarian mantle, preferring to think of themselves as Liberal Christians. In 1819, however, **WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING** (1780–1842), minister of the Federal Street Church in Boston, and the acknowledged leader of the liberal churches preached an ordination sermon entitled “Unitarian Christianity.” This “Baltimore sermon,” quickly reprinted and widely distributed, became the program for the Unitarian Movement in the United States. Unitarian Churches were founded in Baltimore, New York, Washington, D.C., Charleston, South Carolina, and in the new cities of the Midwest. In 1825 the American Unitarian Association was founded for the purpose of publishing Unitarian works and spreading Unitarianism by way of the printed word. From this institution has evolved subsequent denominational structures.

Channing’s Unitarianism was based on a strong faith in reason and the ability of reason to interpret scripture and apply it to a continuous process of self-perfection. This biblically based Unitarianism was challenged by the next generation of Unitarians. In 1838 **RALPH WALDO EMERSON** (1803–1882) addressed the Harvard Divinity School, challenging his listeners to free themselves from slavery to the **BIBLE** and to explore the

sources of revelation in their own lives. Their task, Emerson insisted, was to show that God lives, not lived; speaks, not spake. Reliance on scripture and its miracles blinded people to the living miracles of their own lives. Emerson's Divinity School Address would echo throughout subsequent Unitarian history. In 1841 THEODORE PARKER, one of those who had listened to Emerson at Harvard, delivered an ordination sermon entitled "The Permanent and the Transient in Christianity," in which he suggested that Christianity is but one of the transient forms assumed by Eternal Truth and that true religion consists in serving that eternal truth rather than the forms it takes from time to time.

Over time Emerson's and Parker's influence moved Unitarianism beyond liberal Christianity and toward a radical religious reconstruction. Over the course of the next century Unitarianism would reconceive itself as a religious alternative, centered on ETHICS and moral living rather than on scripture or DOCTRINE. It would open its doors to non-Christians and eventually to nontheists, insisting that unity of spirit and a desire to live an ethical and moral life were more important than unity of doctrine.

This shift would produce a religious body tolerant and diverse in matters of religious faith, and committed to a liberal social vision. Unitarians became strong advocates for public education, child labor laws, prison reform, civil rights, and women's rights.

Universalism in America

Although faith in universal SALVATION was an early element in Christian thought, and was frequently present among radical reformers of the sixteenth century, except for a few sporadic efforts in England, UNIVERSALISM would first take institutional form in the United States in the late eighteenth century. A number of Protestant groups had brought universalist convictions with them to the new world, especially the German Pietists who emigrated to Pennsylvania in the mid-eighteenth century. Dr. George DeBenneville (1703–1790) preached universalism among the German settlers and the indigenous peoples from his arrival in 1741 until his death. Although he influenced many, he left no institutional legacy.

The man who is known as the father of Universalism was John Murray (1741–1815), who became convinced of the truth of Universal Salvation while still a Methodist lay preacher in England. In 1770 Murray came to North America and took up a career as itinerant preacher of the "greater gospel" of Universal Salvation. A sympathetic group in Gloucester, Massachusetts established a church in 1779 and invited Murray to become the settled minister. This was the first permanent Universalist church in the United States, perhaps the world.

Murray served congregations in Gloucester and in Boston, strongly supported by his wife, Judith Sargent Murray, a member of the original congregation, a writer, and strong advocate for Universalism and for women's rights. Under his leadership the movement grew rapidly. In 1793 in Oxford, Massachusetts the New England Universalist Convention was organized—a body that, with several name changes, would continue to

exist until it consolidated with the American Unitarian Association to form the Unitarian Universalist Association in 1961.

Murray's theology was conservative in most aspects, including acceptance of the doctrines of original sin and of the Trinity. More radical ministers who had found Universalism in the frontier country of Vermont and New Hampshire and who were strongly influenced by the rationalism of Ethan Allen challenged his leadership of the movement. The leader who emerged from this group was Hosea Ballou (1771–1852), who published *A Treatise on Atonement* 1805. This work set forth a consistent Universalist theology that affirmed the key role of reason in interpretation of scripture, that subjected the doctrines of eternal punishment, predestination, and atonement to scornful analysis and presented a unitarian understanding of the relation of Jesus to God. Within a decade Ballou's theology had replaced Murray's more conservative views.

Universalism was, from the start, an evangelical faith. Lacking formal education, its itinerant preachers were filled with zeal. They carried the Universalist Gospel to the frontier, establishing hundreds of churches and preaching posts in New York state, and west into the Northwest Territories (see FRONTIER RELIGION). So rapid was its expansion that Universalism was labeled "the reigning heresy of the day."

Universalists eagerly engaged in theological and ethical debate throughout the nineteenth century. In some ways they were so successful that it proved the movement's undoing. By the early twentieth century much of mainline Protestantism had dropped its insistence on the existence of a literal hell and had embraced much of the Universalist gospel (see HEAVEN AND HELL). As a consequence Universalism lost the monopoly on its central message. As demographic shifts brought decline to small-town and rural America—the center of Universalist strength—Universalism began a serious decline.

In response the Universalists began a theological reconstruction, reconceiving their movement as more than a corrective of Christian error, but as a religion for one world—with a message that was larger than Christianity and addressed to a larger audience. They adopted a new symbol for the movement—a off-center cross in a circle, symbolizing that although recognizing their Christian roots, they no longer thought Christianity central to what was being called "the larger Universalism."

Universalism, from its beginnings in the 1790s, combined its wider gospel with a strong social vision. As early as 1790 Universalists in Philadelphia had opposed slavery. Massachusetts Universalists were among the early advocates for separation of church and state. Believing that God never gave up on any of his children, Universalists became early and persistent advocates for prison reform and for the end of CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. They established academies and colleges across the continent, and published a number of papers, magazines, and journals. Universalists were the first to ordain WOMEN with full denominational authority, when Lydia Jenkins was ordained in 1860 and Olympia Brown in 1863. Whitney Cross has said that the impact of Universalists "on reform movements and upon the growth of modern religious attitudes might prove to be greater than that of either the Unitarians or the freethinkers. And their...warfare upon the forces fettering the American mind might be demonstrated to have equaled the influence of the transcendentalist philosophers" (Cross 1957:27).

In 1961, after decades of negotiation, the Universalist Church of America and the American Unitarian Association consolidated into the Unitarian Universalist Association. In subsequent years the movement has continued the heritage of the two preceding

bodies—a commitment to freedom, reason, and tolerance within an open and diverse community, and a strong social justice witness. Unitarian Universalists were strongly represented in the CIVIL RIGHTS and antiwar movements of the mid-twentieth century, in the struggle for women's rights, in the struggle for gay, lesbian, and transgendered people (see HOMOSEXUALITY), and in issues of ecological and economic justice.

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DAVID E. BUMBAUGH

UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

The founding of the United Church of Canada stands as one of the most important and controversial episodes in Canadian religious history. The inaugural ceremony in Toronto on June 10, 1925 brought together the Methodist Church (of Canada, Newfoundland, and Bermuda), the Congregational Union of Canada, and all but one-third of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. A number of local congregations already operating as union churches, most of them in western Canada, were also formally received into the new organization. The United Church of Canada began with approximately 8,000 congregations, 600,000 members, and 3,800 ministers. Since then it has remained the largest Protestant denomination in CANADA.

By bringing together METHODISM and two varieties of the Reformed tradition (Presbyterians and Congregationalists; see PRESBYTERIANISM, CONGREGATIONALISM), the United Church of Canada was the first modern experiment in union across confessional lines in western Christianity. Despite much enthusiasm for Christian unity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this “organic” type of union was rarely consummated in other places. However, it was a model well suited to the Canadian context. Divisions were easier to overcome than in many other countries because the uniting parties had already succeeded in consolidating along denominational lines by the time serious union discussions were underway. The prospect of creating a church that would relate in a special way to the young nation of Canada, which had been confederated in 1867, was an alluring one at a time when national identity was fragile. Church leaders also saw union as the most effective way to take care of the religious needs of new immigrants who were arriving in large numbers. Western Canada was a particular challenge; attempts to reach new settlements in the prairies stretched competing denominational resources.

Even under these propitious circumstances, church union was accomplished only after a long and bitter round of negotiations drawn out over a period of nearly three decades. After hearing exhortations from denominational leaders urging greater cooperation for over a decade, representatives of the three traditions began work on a “Basis of Union” in 1904. Four years later it was ready for consideration by the courts of the three churches and their members.

Support for union among Methodists and Congregationalists was solid, and approval was quickly secured, with only Methodists in Newfoundland voting to reject it. The story was different in the Presbyterian Church, which saw the organization of an effective resistance movement to oppose union at the local level after the General Assembly approved it. Under the provisions of legislation passed in federal parliament in 1924, a congregational vote was held in each Presbyterian congregation to determine whether it would join the new church. A commission was appointed to distribute the general denominational assets. Dissenting congregations who rejected the recommendation of the General Assembly to enter union thus continued to hold property as the “Presbyterian

Church in Canada.” The issue of whether the dissenters could legally carry that name was contested until it was resolved by the Supreme Court of Canada in their favor in 1939.

Religious life in Canada was thus left less united than the founders had hoped. Their anticipation of the 1925 union, as the first of more to follow, has also gone largely unrealized, although the Evangelical United Brethren became part of the United Church of Canada in 1968. Over the years other denominations, notably the Anglicans (see ANGLICANISM), BAPTISTS, and Christian Church (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST) have considered amalgamation, but no such discussions are currently underway. Particularly disappointing was the termination in 1975 of discussions with the Anglicans to create the Church of Christ in Canada. However, the United Church of Canada remains a leader in ecumenical activity (see ECUMENISM), with mutual recognition of ministries emerging as the main expression of its commitment to Christian unity. It provides leadership in ecumenical affairs nationally as well as at the international level. It was instrumental in organizing the Canadian Council of Churches in 1944 and was a charter member of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES in 1948. It retains its relationship with the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES and the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL.

Characteristics

During the controversy over church union, those who objected to forming the United Church of Canada claimed that it was liberal to the point of being apostate and more interested in politics than spirituality. Such charges obscured the importance of its evangelical heritage and the commitment to transformation of both individuals and institutions, which was central to the evangelical piety of the founding traditions.

The articles of faith adopted in 1925 as part of the Basis of Union reflected the liberal evangelical perspective of its early twentieth-century formulation. Those who prepared it regarded it as a statement of the “common faith” of the uniting denominations and an articulation of the theological convictions of their own generation. Because formulation of a CONFESSION of faith in meaningful language for the times was viewed as the ongoing task of each generation, a committee soon began work on the Statement of Faith, approved in 1940. What is referred to as the New Creed has been in use since 1968, with a few modifications over the years. In response to calls for a new confession of faith, the General Council requested in 2000 that the Committee on Theology and Faith begin work on a document that would honor the church’s theological diversity and acknowledge its place in a pluralistic world.

The church also proudly celebrates the influence of the SOCIAL GOSPEL, which was evidenced in its impulse to serve as the “conscience of the nation.” It has claimed that aspect of its heritage when taking positions on political and social issues viewed at the time as risky or controversial. Its theological schools and congregations have been receptive to biblical criticism, an openness reflected in PREACHING and educational projects, notably the New Curriculum introduced in the 1960s. Some decisions, such as its positions on remarriage of divorced persons in the early 1960s (see DIVORCE) and

ordination of gay and lesbian persons in 1988 (see HOMOSEXUALITY), generated controversy at the time but later have been adopted with less fanfare by other denominations. It continues to study, issue statements, and make efforts to influence governments and other agencies responsible for shaping policy on issues such as ABORTION, CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, racial equality, land use, refugees, and poverty.

Being the “conscience of the nation” has not always been a comfortable role. The apology to native peoples issued by the denomination in 1986 was accompanied by an experiment to provide their congregations with greater autonomy and responsibility through creation of the All Native Circle Conference in 1988. The church continues to wrestle with the financial and moral implications of the residential schools set up and supported by those who saw assimilation of native children to mainstream CULTURE as their best hope of inclusion in modern industrial society. This proved to be an experiment with tragic consequences for many native families. The church’s involvement in helping the federal government to operate the schools was an entanglement for which the General Council apologized in 1998.

Leadership

The church’s leaders have set the tone for its work from the outset. One of the memorable moments of the first General Council in 1925 came when former Methodist general superintendent S.D.Chown (1872–1991), the architect of church union and considered the leading candidate for the moderator’s position, stepped aside in favor of George Pidgeon (1892–1971), the principal spokesperson for the uniting Pres-byterians. The position of moderator has since recognized the gifts of distinguished men and women in the church, while providing the church with a way to highlight its mission and ideals in the selection.

Other executive positions have provided the incumbent with opportunities to put the social and spiritual agenda of the church before the public. James Endicott, a missionary to China, caught the attention of the public and gained notoriety as a “public enemy” for his outspoken support for the Communist Revolution. In the early years, the secretaries of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service were particularly effective in using press and pulpit. In the 1950s James R. Mutchmor opposed the three B’s: “betting, beer, and bingo,” while in the 1960s Ray Hord’s condemnation of the Vietnam War and support for draft dodgers created headlines. Medical missionary Robert McClure was an effective public spokesperson for overseas work, and in 1968 became the first lay member to serve as moderator.

The United Church of Canada was the first DENOMINATION in Canada to ordain women (Lydia Gruchy in 1936) and has since elected WOMEN to other prominent positions (see WOMEN CLERGY). In 1980, Lois Wilson became the first woman to serve as moderator, and in 1994, Virginia Coleman was elected as secretary of General Council, the denomination’s chief administrative office.

Structure, Key Organizations, and Publications

The United Church of Canada is organized at four levels: local congregations or pastoral charges; ninety-one district Presbyteries, which exercise oversight of twenty to fifty pastoral charges; thirteen regional conferences that meet annually; and the national General Council, which meets on a biennial or triennial basis to make decisions in areas of program and administration concerning the whole church. The work of the divisions of General Council is supported through contributions from local congregations through the Mission and Service Fund. The four-court structure of the church was reviewed in 2000. The General Council approved a restructuring plan that will be voted on by all presbyteries and pastoral charges and the results considered by the next General Council. The proposed changes would combine the responsibilities and powers of current presbyteries and conferences into a single entity.

The United Church of Canada relates to a variety of educational institutions including thirteen theological schools and programs, five educational centers, and six liberal arts colleges and universities. The educational work of the denomination is also carried on in congregations through organizations for children, youth, and gender-specific associations for adults. Centralized coordination at the national level was evident in the 1940s and 1950s in organizations such as Canadian Girls in Training, which began in 1915 and continued after union, Trail Rangers for boys twelve to fourteen, Tuxis Boys for fifteen and up, an Older Boys Parliament, and the Young People's Society. "As One That Serves" was an idea for a Methodist men's club in Vancouver just before church union, which then spread across Canada. At the time of church union, the VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES organized by women in the nineteenth century emerged as the Woman's Missionary Society and the Woman's Association, which in turn amalgamated in 1962 as the United Church Women (UCW).

Since the 1970s the church's special-purpose groups have experienced loss of membership and dwindling support for volunteer activities. This has spurred a number of efforts to loosen national coordinating structures to see what new forms emerge. The most striking move was a decision in 2000 to adopt the name "Women of the United Church of Canada" to refer collectively to the church's programming for women. Whereas the focus of United Church Women was fundraising, hospitality, and study, the new organization will incorporate UCW units as well as spirituality and support groups that have emerged as alternatives.

The publication of *The Hymnary* (1930) and *The Book of Common Order* (1932) gave definition to the worship traditions of uniting congregations. A new *Service Book* was published in 1969. The *Hymn Book*, published jointly with the Anglican Church of Canada in 1971, was followed a generation later by *Voices United* in 1996, a work that has received a more enthusiastic reception than its predecessor (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). *The United Church Observer* is the official publication of the denomination.

Places It Was and Is Practiced

The United Church of Canada operates primarily in Canada, although a few Methodist congregations in Bermuda comprise a presbytery related to the Maritime Conference. The denomination has also been involved in overseas missions since its founding (see MISSIONS). The churches joined to form the denomination had established missions in such places as Angola, CHINA, INDIA, JAPAN, KOREA, and Trinidad. This work continued and at first expanded after union. The largest mission in the whole of China before the Communist Revolution was its West China Mission. Reflecting a changed concept of world outreach from foreign missions to an emphasis on working with ecumenical partners around the world, the United Church of Canada now works under the direction of indigenous ecumenical partners in overseas countries at the request of churches and agencies, providing funding and personnel for projects.

Expansion or Decline

Since its founding, the United Church of Canada has followed a trajectory similar to mainstream churches in the United States during the same period: it enjoyed something of the status of a voluntary (though never legal) establishment for the first few decades; suffered a decline in membership and financial resources during the depression years; experienced a postwar revival of religious interest that included new congregational development in the suburbs; and has recently seen lower rates of membership and participation with the first reported loss of membership in 1966. Although in 1999 it reported the number of confirmed members as 668,549, the most recent census data (1991) indicate that 3,093,120 Canadians consider themselves to be affiliated with the denomination.

See also Dialogue, Interconfessional

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PHYLLIS D.AIRHART

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

Established in 1957 as the organic union of the Congregational Christian Churches and the EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH, each itself the product of an earlier merger, the United Church of Christ (UCC) is widely recognized as the most theologically and socially progressive among those American denominations historically called “mainline.” The heritage of the UCC is essentially orthodox: its trinitarian presuppositions, its claiming “as its own” the ancient creeds and the reformulations of the Protestant Reformation, its reliance on Scripture, and its recognition of two SACRAMENTS—all affirmed in the denomination’s *Constitution and Bylaws*—place the UCC firmly in the tradition of historic Protestantism.

There are several denominations worldwide that are called “United Church of Christ,” for example, in those in JAPAN and the PHILIPPINES. These groups are not, however, organically related. The United Church of Christ (USA) is not an international body, although it has numerous ecumenical partnerships worldwide.

Multiple Traditions

Congregationalism

The largest and oldest of the UCC’s four constituting traditions is CONGREGATIONALISM, which arose in the late 1500s as a movement of protest against perceived abuses and limitations, both theological and structural, within the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. The Pilgrims, who advocated total separation from the Anglican Church, and the Puritans, who hoped to change and purify it, migrated to New England in the first part of the seventeenth century and there established autonomous, local bodies of believers (see PILGRIM FATHERS; PURITANISM). Gathered by consent and covenant among the presumed regenerate, these congregations—rather than any national or regional body—were understood to define the true church.

Both Pilgrim and Puritan Congregationalists looked to the teachings of Genevan reformer JOHN CALVIN, adapting his ideas to the American environment. In particular, Massachusetts Bay Puritans developed and elaborated a “COVENANT” THEOLOGY, in which (1) the covenant of GRACE was understood as the means by which God works in the human heart and enables saving FAITH; (2) a careful balance between local church autonomy and regional church interdependence was maintained; (3) God was assumed to be in COVENANT not only with individuals, but with the group as a whole; (4) religious homogeneity in church and community was considered essential. Under the leadership of

layman John Winthrop, the MATHER FAMILY, John Cotton, and others, the Puritans anticipated forming a unique godly common-wealth—a “city on a hill”—that would be imitated elsewhere.

Revivals, migration, pressure from other religious bodies, political changes in ENGLAND and America, and, in the early 1800s, a schism that resulted in formation of the AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION: all these gradually altered the nature of historic Congregationalism. Although New England continued to be the primary locus of Congregational churches, post-Revolutionary settlers gathered new congregations in the upper midwest and, eventually, in California and the far west. Between 1865 and 1913 three national gatherings produced a basic denominational structure—albeit one that recognized local autonomy as fundamental—for churches that had previously been essentially unrelated. Theologically, although some members continued to self-identify as Calvinists until the end of the nineteenth century, Congregationalism as a whole had become vastly more liberal. The broadly ecumenical Burial Hill Declaration of 1863 eliminated references to CALVINISM, affirmed the need for social amelioration, and asserted the fellowship of all those who hold “one faith, one Lord, one baptism.”

The Christians

Smallest of the UCC’s four traditions, the Christian Churches (sometimes called the “Christian Connexion”) emerged as an indigenous, populist movement in the early 1800s in rural and frontier America. Arriving at similar conclusions about the nature of church and faith, defectors from three distinct groups—BAPTISTS in New England, Methodists in Virginia, and Presbyterians in Kentucky—gathered small churches of the like-minded. Eschewing creeds, confessions, and the formalities of both church life and traditional theology, they held to the BIBLE alone as the rule of right faith and practice, rejected the divisiveness caused by “sectarian” denominationalism (hence their preference for the simple name “Christian”), and insisted that right action, rather than right belief, is the most important factor in a Christian’s life. These ideas resulted in a widely diverse—and often misunderstood—fellowship that embraced theological positions ranging from unitarian to evangelical. The Christians’ beliefs—and their initial discomfort with the idea of ordination—led them as early as 1815 to accept the validity of women’s preaching and evangelistic activities.

Although the Christian founders had no desire to become a DENOMINATION, renegade ministers and disorders in newly gathered frontier churches quickly led to the establishment of annual conferences for mutual support. Some Christians in the south eventually aligned themselves with Thomas and Alexander Campbell (see CAMPBELL FAMILY), whose similar ideas produced today’s Christian Church (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), with which the UCC has a formal ecumenical partnership. Divided by the issue of SLAVERY in 1850, other northern and southern Christians eventually came together at the end of the century to form a unified, congregationally structured national body that included a number of black churches from the old Afro-Christian Convention of the south (now the largest regional body of African American churches within the - United Church of Christ). An early antipathy toward creeds, confessions, and all rules and regulations that might abridge the right of private judgment continued throughout the

century, and as a group Christians remained committed to the ideal of tolerance for theological diversity. Drawn together by POLITY as well as by common commitments to church unity and theological openness, the General Convention of Christian Churches merged with the National Council of Congregational Churches in 1931 to become the Congregational Christian Churches.

The German Reformed Church

The Reformed Church, second largest tradition in the United Church of Christ, had its origins in the Palatinate area of GERMANY, and was transplanted to America's southeastern and mid-Atlantic region, especially Pennsylvania, as early as 1710. A second wave of immigrants in the 1830s settled primarily in the Midwest. Unlike the Puritans, the Reformed came not for religious reasons nor to undertake a social experiment, but to escape war, poverty, and social unrest in their homeland.

Nurtured in an area where both Reformed and Lutheran influences prevailed, the German Reformed were a people whose lives were shaped by the HEIDELBERG CATECHISM of 1563, with its distinctive ecumenical thrust. Along with the Bible this devotional and educational document enabled them initially to sustain their faith in the absence of formal pastoral leadership, a lack that was not addressed until church planter John Philip Boehm was ordained by the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH in 1728. By this act the Reformed initiated an organizational and supervisory relationship with the Dutch church that lasted until 1793, when the American body became independent.

During the nineteenth century new immigration, as well as issues of ETHNICITY and Americanization, language, and revivalism, caused tensions within the Reformed fellowship, although these continued to be mitigated by the unifying influence of the Heidelberg Catechism. Under the leadership of JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN and PHILIP SCHAFF the influential Mercersburg movement stressed the centrality of LITURGY and sac-rament in devotional life, critiqued the prevailing American ethos of revivalistic individualism, and asserted the essential unity of the Christian Church across history, the latter a "Romanizing" view that was both prescient and, at the time, highly controversial.

Structurally the German Reformed Church was connectional. Governed internally by ministers and "consistories" of elected elders and deacons, congregations were united in regional *classes*, and eventually in larger synods; a national General Synod was formed in 1863, when the name "German" was dropped from the denomination's title. Unlike Congregationalists, the Reformed understood "church" to be most perfectly defined not by individual local congregations, but by the aggregate of many congregations, unified by common worship, practice, and organizing structure.

The German Evangelicals

Youngest of the four traditions, the Evangelical Church represents a second wave of German immigration to America. Beginning in the third decade of the nineteenth century, settlers from northern Germany migrated to the midwestern frontier of Missouri and

southern Illinois, bringing with them a tradition of “unionistic” Protestantism that had flourished in their homeland. Finding neither Reformed nor Lutheran churches in America to their taste, the Evangelicals were influenced not only by their isolation in a frontier setting, but also by Swiss missionaries whose PIETISM emphasized the importance of religious experience rather than acceptance of a confession as the foundation of church membership. With the latter’s help the German Evangelical Church Society of the West (*Der Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens*) was formed in 1840. Reflecting the independent and antiauthoritarian stance of these Evangelicals, the Church Society was at first a loosely organized pas-tors’ conference, with minimal ecclesiastical authority. By the end of the century basic denominational structure was in place, with a national German Evangelical Synod that united churches in the West, Midwest, and Northwest.

Theologically, Evangelicals were independent and open-minded, and like the Christians, they were often indifferent to doctrinal particularities, believing that creeds are “testimonies, not tests” of faith. Nevertheless both a CATECHISM—used with liberty of conscience regarding interpretation—and a CONFESSION were quickly developed, and a seminary was founded by 1850. The motto of that school—now Eden Theological Seminary—articulates the Evangelical perspective, as well as that of today’s United Church of Christ: “In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity.” Strong ecumenical commitments and ties of history and ethnicity among both Evangelicals and Reformed led the General Convention of the Evangelical Synod to unite with the Reformed Church in 1934, becoming the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Other Traditions

In addition to these four constituting strands, other regional and ethnic traditions significantly inform and influence the contemporary United Church of Christ. These include Armenian Evangelical, German Congregational, African American, Hispanic, Native American, Hungarian Reformed, and various Asian and Pacific Island traditions. Although numerically none of these traditions is large, the commitment of the United Church of Christ to become a “multicultural, multi-racial” denomination is evidenced in the highly visible role members of these groups play in leadership.

A New Denomination

Beginning with informal conversations in 1937 the union of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church took twenty years to complete. Although the “Basis of Union with Interpretations” was approved in 1949, a lawsuit filed by the Cadman Memorial (Congregational) Church of Brooklyn, New York questioned the right of the General Council to take such action. At issue were matters of Congregational polity that continue to be debated in the UCC: are agencies of the wider church (such as the General Council or today’s General Synod) accountable to and under

the control of local churches, or are they accountable only to themselves? A court decision in 1953 removed barriers to union, and the merger was consummated June 25, 1957, in Cleveland, Ohio, now the site of denominational headquarters. Two years later a trinitarian Statement of Faith, understood as “testimony rather than creed” and emphasizing God’s saving acts and the church’s call to mission, was adopted. In 1961, four years after merger, a *Constitution and Bylaws* was finalized. Both have been revised and amended regularly. An “inclusive language” version of the Statement of Faith and a doxological version are also official.

The polity of the United Church of Christ contains both congregational and connectional elements. At the insistence of denominational founders from the Congregational tradition, the *Constitution and Bylaws* ensures that “the autonomy of the local church is inherent and modifiable only by its own action.” Thus local congregations are the “basic unit” of the Church, possessing all those things necessary for both spiritual needs and good order: ministry, the Word, sacraments, and structure, as well as property, fiduciary responsibilities, and other legal rights and privileges. Local churches, however—even in the traditions of Congregationalism—were historically bound together, both formally and informally, in relationships of mutual accountability for matters of order, discipline, and mutual nurture. In the United Church of Christ these churches are grouped in presbytery-like Associations, with responsibilities for ordaining, installing, and disciplining CLERGY; receiving (and dismissing) churches; and caring generally for the welfare of local congregations in the area.

Associations are subunits of Conferences, which meet annually and provide services, counsel, and administrative support to churches and Associations within their boundaries. The General Synod, the national representative body, meets biennially. Although it sets missional and financial priorities for the denomination and issues pronouncements about matters of broad social concern, it is understood to speak “to, not for” the churches: it “recommends” and “urges,” rather than “directs.” A major denominational restructure in 2000 changed the composition of the General Synod to include not only elected conference delegates, but also voting members of four “covenanted ministries” (the Office of General Ministries, Local Church Ministries, Wider Church Ministries, and Justice and Witness Ministries), which serve both internal needs and mission. The Executive Council, meeting semiannually, serves as Synod *ad interim*. Use of “covenantal” language in the restructure was deliberate, implying the voluntary but important task of each setting of the church—local, regional, and national—to attend prayerfully to the concerns, actions, and pronouncements of the others. (Internally, the UCC’s polity itself is often described as “covenantal.”) In keeping with the denomination’s commitment to inclusivity, each of the several governance or mission instrumentalities is mandated to include “underrepresented constituencies,” including racial and ethnic minorities, WOMEN, persons under 30, and gays and lesbians (see HOMOSEXUALITY).

Defining Theological and Other Characteristics

Paragraph 2 of the United Church of Christ's *Constitution and Bylaws* reads:

The United Church of Christ acknowledges as its Head, Jesus Christ, Son of God and Savior. It acknowledges as kindred in Christ all who share in this confession. It looks to the Word of God in the Scriptures, and to the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, to prosper its creative and redemptive work in the world. It claims as its own the faith of the historic Church expressed in the ancient creeds and reclaimed in the basic insights of the Protestant Reformers. It affirms the responsibility of the Church in each generation to make the faith its own in reality of worship, in honesty of thought and expression, and in purity of heart before God. In keeping with the teaching of our Lord and the practice prevailing among evangelical Christians, it recognizes two sacraments: Baptism and the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.

This brief statement indicates the denomination's theological ORTHODOXY as well as its liberalism. No other doctrinal test or universally held dogma exists, no systematic or comprehensive theology, nor is there a magisterium from which theological pronouncements are issued. Theological perspectives—often lively and varying widely across the spectrum from evangelical to neo-orthodox—may be found in the widely used Statement of Faith, in occasional papers sponsored by denominational initiatives, in pronouncements of Conferences and Synod, in scholarly writings, on the denominational website, and in the pages of *Prism*, the seminary-sponsored theological journal for the denomination. This theological freedom is a function both of the original need to mediate differences among the four constituent traditions and of existing convictions within these traditions and their inheritors. Commitment to theological openness and diversity is today a widely held and defining conviction for the United Church of Christ.

The United Church of Christ has no "official" ecclesiological statement, and, as with doctrinal matters, perspectives about the essential nature of the church vary widely. However, members generally understand that the church is founded on the acts of God named in the Scriptures and interpreted through the ancient creeds, the writings of the Protestant reformers, and the inspired understandings of each new generation. By confessing Jesus Christ as sole head of the church, they affirm, first, that all human leadership is radically equal, and second, that all who confess Christ are bound covenantally, sharing common Christian experience and responsibility for mission in the world. The church's basic purposes are four: to proclaim the gospel through scripture, sacrament, and witness; to gather and support communities of faithful men and women for celebration and mission; to manifest more fully the unity of church, humankind, and the whole creation; and to work for the furtherance of God's realm of justice, peace, and love.

The latter two purposes are especially significant. Born out of the passionate desire for church unity among its founders, and formed in an era of massive social upheaval that included the struggle of African Americans for civil rights (see CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT) and the Vietnam War, the United Church of Christ is distinctively animated by concerns for the wider church and world. An early commitment to church unity led founders to choose a broadly inclusive name, without historical antecedent—“United Church of Christ”—that signaled their willingness for the denomination “if need be, to die” for the sake of future unions. Today the UCC participates widely in both national and international ecumenical discussions (including the National and World Councils of Churches, Churches Uniting in Christ, and the WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES), and has numerous ecumenical relationships globally. A full communion partnership with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) since 1985 includes periodic joint synodical meetings and the sharing of staff for global ministries. The UCC also is part of a full-communion agreement with the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, USA; the REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA; and the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

The UCC is widely known as one of the most socially active among American Protestant churches, with an unwavering commitment to pursue justice and peace for all persons. Believing that “the love of God in Christ cannot ever be expressed except in a just society,” the denomination has taken strong and often controversial stands and actions against numerous perceived injustices, in particular racism, WAR (the UCC understands itself as a “just peace church”), and economic oppression in its various forms. The General Synod, as well as individual Conferences and local churches, regularly takes action and issues formal pronouncements about dozens of social issues, ranging from accessibility for “differently abled” persons to equitable taxation and the civil rights of all, regardless of sexual orientation. The United Church of Christ is the only Protestant denomination that routinely, if not universally, accepts gays and lesbians into the ordained ministry and other leadership positions. Because ordination is handled by regional Associations, in some areas gays and lesbians may not be accepted for ordination; however, the church in its national setting has strongly advocated regarding this matter, and all seven denominational SEMINARIES admit homosexual persons without reservation into the ordination track. Members typically summarize the warrant for “prophetic” stands that challenge existing practices with the words of Pilgrim pastor JOHN ROBINSON, nearly 400 years ago: “God has yet more light and truth to break forth from his holy Word.”

Like other historically “mainline” denominations, the United Church of Christ suffered significant membership losses in the late twentieth century. Presently it consists of roughly 1.4 million members.

See also Dialogue, Interconfessional; Ecumenism

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ELIZABETH C.NORDBECK

UNITED CHURCH OF INDIA

see North India, Church of; South India, Church of

UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

The United Methodist Church (UMC) was created on April 23, 1968 in Dallas, Texas, when The Methodist Church (MC) and the EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH (EUB) united. Both churches were products of predecessor unions. The MC was formed in 1939 by a merger of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Methodist Protestant Church. In 1946 the Evangelical Church and the Church of the United Brethren in Christ consolidated to become the Evangelical United Brethren Church. At the time of union, the UMC had approximately 11,000,000 members, 40,000 local churches, and 35,000 clergy, making it the largest Protestant DENOMINATION in the UNITED STATES. It also had congregations in AFRICA, Asia, INDIA, and Europe.

The MC and the EUB had historic ties reaching back to their predecessors' earlier years. Jacob Albright (1759–1808), the founder of the Evangelical Association (later Evangelical Church) had a high regard for METHODISM, and following his conversion in 1791 was nurtured in a ME class meeting. Philip William Otterbein (1726–1813), German Reformed pastor and co-founder of the United Brethren, along with a reformed Mennonite, Martin Boehm (1725–1812), assisted at the ordination of FRANCIS ASBURY (1745–1816) at the celebrated Christmas Conference in Baltimore in December 1784 (see BALTIMORE CONFERENCE). Although there were Reformed elements in the theology of both churches, the Evangelicals and United Brethren before their union were heavily influenced by Wesleyan thought and Methodist polity.

Theology

The UMC is basically Wesleyan in its theology although within this broad framework there is considerable theological diversity in the denomination (see WESLEYANISM). At the time of union it was agreed that the denomination's official theological position would include four documents referred to as "doctrinal standards." They include JOHN WESLEY'S (1703–1791) standard sermons, his *Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament*, Articles of Religion sent by Wesley to America in 1784 and based on the Church of England's THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of Religion, and the Confession of Faith of the EUBC. The complete texts of the Articles and Confession are published in the denomination's *Book of Discipline*.

At the 1972 UMC General Conference, the church adopted a document titled "Our Theological Task," the chief architect of which was Albert C. Outler (1908–1989), theologian, ecumenist, and Wesley scholar. The document emphasizes John Wesley's use

of scripture, TRADITION, reason, and experience (referred to by some as the “Wesleyan quadrilateral”) as sources for understanding and practicing the faith. It urges United Methodists to use these sources for their theological reflection. The document is published in the UMC *Discipline*, its principal ecclesiological guide, and has appeared in every *Discipline* since 1972 (although it was revised substantially in 1988). The revised document makes clear that the BIBLE is the primary source for Christian belief and life.

United Methodism has been a leading force in renewing interest in the life and thought of John Wesley, Methodism’s founder, who more than anyone has left his imprint on the theology, structure, and mission of the denomination. The United Methodist Publishing House has regularly published interpretive studies of Wesley’s theology and ministry, and is publishing a critical and authoritative 35-volume edition of Wesley’s works.

Polity

The UMC is governed by a constitution and is organized as a connectional system maintained by a system of conferences. Every congregation is affiliated with a local charge conference. Charge conferences elect delegates to a regional annual conference. Every four years annual conferences choose delegates to attend the denomination’s Jurisdictional (U.S.) or Central (outside the U.S.) conferences and the church’s General Conference.

The General Conference is the supreme legislative body of the church and is the only entity that may speak officially for the church. The General Conference meets every four years and is composed of approximately 1,000 lay and clergy delegates in equal numbers representing various nations, but mostly from the United States. It revises *The Book of Discipline*, which describes the church’s mission and structure, and adopts a number of positions on social issues that are published as “Social Principles” in the *Discipline* and in *The Book of Resolutions*. Legislation adopted by the General Conference provides direction for every level of the connectional structure.

The denomination has an Episcopal form of government in which bishops, elected and assigned by Jurisdictional or Central Conferences, ordain men and women as deacons and elders and generally superintend the church’s work. They preside at the sessions of annual, Jurisdictional or Central, and General Conferences. UMC pastors serve in an itinerant system in which they are annually appointed by a bishop to serve local churches or other ministries. Bishops are assisted in administration and receive advice on appointments from district superintendents who supervise groups of churches in the annual conference.

General agencies composed of several councils, boards, and commissions amenable to the General Conference are an important feature of the connectional system. They provide services and ministries beyond the local church and annual conference in such areas as EVANGELISM, stewardship, social issues, global mission, finance, HIGHER EDUCATION, publishing, and communications. Each agency has voting members who represent the wider church and who employ staff to do the agency’s work.

The UMC uses a carefully defined system of judicial administration described in its *Discipline*. A Judicial Council, constitutionally created, is the denomination's highest judicial body. It determines the constitutionality of legislation and rules on the legality of actions taken by any entity created or authorized by the General Conference.

Worship and Liturgy

Worship practices in local UMC churches vary. Almost all local churches have Sunday services, though they may also have other gatherings for WORSHIP during the week. Some congregations prefer a more formal LITURGY that does not vary much from week to week. Others choose more spontaneous worship allowing for liturgical freedom. In almost all congregations, however, the elements of worship include hymns, prayers, scripture readings, and a sermon. United Methodism recognizes two sacraments, BAPTISM and holy communion, or the LORD'S SUPPER. Baptisms of infants and adults are held occasionally in congregational worship as is needed. Baptism is required for church membership. Celebrations of Holy Communion are usually held monthly, but in some churches weekly.

Worship is guided by hymn books (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS), including *The United Methodist Hymnal*, which was last revised in 1989, and *The United Methodist Book of Worship* (1992), although these resources are not utilized in every congregation. Supplemental collections of hymns and worship materials have also been published, including the African American *Songs of Zion* (1981), the Asian American *Hymns from the Four Winds* (1983), the Hispanic American *Celebremos* (1983), and the Native American *Voices* (1992).

Ministries and Institutions

A wide variety of ministries and institutions are supported by the UMC. Local churches support denominational work in their annual conferences and other parts of the world through a system of giving known as "apportionments." In addition to their apportionment giving, many congregations sponsor scouting programs, soup kitchens, clothing banks, and other ministries pertinent to their local communities. Among the denomination's most important ministries are health and welfare institutions, including hospitals, retirement homes, agencies to aid children and families, and shelters for the homeless.

The UMC and its predecessor denominations have been at the forefront of Protestant educational endeavors. Every local church is expected to have a SUNDAY SCHOOL for training children, youth, and adults. United Methodist Women, the church's principal women's organization, carries on an effective mission education program in local churches and annual conferences. The church is also involved in secondary and higher

education. A network of colleges and universities, including several black colleges, is related to the church. In 1992 the denomination opened Africa University in ZIMBABWE for the education of students across that continent. UMC theological schools in the United States and Europe train its CLERGY and also enroll students from other denominations.

The UMC is a vigorous supporter of ecumenical institutions. At the denominational level it is an active member of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, two of the world's principal ecumenical organizations. United Methodism also provides substantial financial and organizational support to the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL, which links the family of Methodist and related United Churches in more than 100 countries.

Caucuses

UMC denominational life has been significantly influenced by a number of unofficial caucuses, some of which were formed in the years immediately following the church's inception. Among them are four racial/ethnic caucuses that have been effective advocates for racial inclusiveness in the leadership of the denomination (see ETHNICITY). Black Methodists for Church Renewal (BMCR), a national forum of black United Methodists, was founded in 1968. BMCR was especially successful in promoting the establishment of a general agency, the General Commission on Religion and Race, in 1968 to advance the goal of a racially inclusive church. In 1970 the Native American International Caucus was formed, and that same year Hispanics began to form Methodists Associated Representing the Cause of Hispanic Americans (MARCHA). The National Federation of Asian American United Methodists was founded in 1975. Racial/ ethnic people are significantly represented in the membership of the UMC in the United States, and their caucuses have been powerful forces in the choice of denominational leaders, including bishops.

Other caucuses have been voices on theological and social issues. The Methodist Federation for Social Action, which had its origins in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1907, has been an advocate for liberal social change, including racial and GENDER inclusiveness and the complete acceptance of gay and homosexual people in the denomination. Its counterpart, Good News, formed in 1966, is a representative of the evangelical party in the church and advances a conservative theological agenda (see EVANGELICALISM). A caucus of gay and lesbian United Methodists, Affirmation, was organized in 1975. United Methodist charismatics formed United Methodist Renewal Services in 1977. The caucuses, racial/ethnic or otherwise, are well organized and publish newsletters or magazines on a more or less regular basis. Their lobbying efforts are especially visible at the sites of the General Conference.

Issues and Controversies

The UMC struggles with a number of issues that have occupied its attention since its creation. Among these issues are sexism, racism, HOMOSEXUALITY, membership decline, and the global nature of the church.

WOMEN have always been prominent in the life of the denomination. But although women have represented much more than half its membership, it took a considerable time for them to be regularly chosen as delegates to conferences, to serve as clergy in local churches, and to become leaders in the connectional structure (see WOMEN CLERGY). Their situation has changed considerably. In 1972 there were fewer than 300 active female clergy, but by 2000 their numbers had grown to approximately 8,000. In 1980 the UMC elected its first female bishop, Marjorie Swank Matthews (1916–1986). While increasing numbers of women occupy leadership positions in the local church, annual conference, and other levels of the denomination, they still wrestle with gender bias in many areas of denominational life.

Racial diversity has been an issue in the UMC since its inception. While the church affirms commitment to racial inclusiveness, this remains an unfulfilled goal in many areas of denominational life. Racial/ethnic diversity is often represented in annual conference and general church leadership. However, local church memberships generally do not reflect racial diversity, even in communities where the population is multiracial. The denomination has a general agency, the General Commission on Religion and Race, which monitors and advocates racial inclusiveness.

Homosexuality has been a very controversial issue in the denomination. UMC General Conferences have discussed the issue since 1972. Although the church affirms the civil rights of homosexuals, it declares homosexuality incompatible with Christian teaching and prohibits avowed and practicing homosexual people to be ordained and appointed to its ministries. At the 2000 General Conference, the church also took a position that its clergy may not perform ceremonies that celebrate homosexual unions. Many believe that changing the church's position on homosexuality may cause a schism in the denomination.

Declining membership in the United States and Europe has been troubling. In its first three decades UMC membership in the United States decreased approximately 25 percent, dropping it from the first to the second-largest Protestant denomination in the United States. Meanwhile, the church's membership in Africa and the PHILIPPINES, its two other geographical regions increased steadily during the same period. For this reason, African and Filipino United Methodists have asked for a larger role in the denomination's life and ministry. As it becomes more conscious of its international character, the church is working on ways to insure that it does not understand itself as simply a North American denomination.

See also Bishop and Episcopacy; Methodism, North America

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CHARLES YRIGOYEN, JR.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

So closely was Protestantism identified with the early years of America's history that the country was regarded as manifestly a Protestant one in the minds of many. This was particularly true through roughly the first half of the nineteenth century. When immigration patterns shifted dramatically from northern to southern and eastern Europe, heroic efforts to "convert" newly arriving immigrants to Protestantism revealed the depth of the earnest conviction that this was a Protestant nation—and must remain so. By the early years of the twenty-first century, however—and indeed well before—this article of faith could no longer be maintained as pluralism dethroned the Protestant hegemony in virtually every part of the country, although for more than two centuries, Protestant spokesmen saw their denominational and their political loyalties as calling them toward a common goal.

Colonial Foundations

The first permanent English settlement on American soil, Jamestown (1607), saw itself as a mere extension of the mother country and of her political structures and religious institutions. Naming the tiny settlement in honor of the reigning monarch, King James I, pointed to this unquestioned orientation. Where England's flag flew, England's church (ANGLICANISM) must take root. Not until 1619 was the CHURCH OF ENGLAND officially established in Virginia, not because of any hesitation or doubt, but because only then was any legislative body in a position to declare what all had been intended from the beginning.

Bold intentions, however, had a way of running aground onto geopolitical realities that often mocked the earlier visions. The first legislators conceived a Virginia that would recreate modest English towns and cohesive English parishes. A local church would be established (that is, officially supported by tax monies) and a proper clergyman would be imported from ENGLAND. His salary would be paid by the colonial government just as all Anglican clergymen back home drew their income from the state. Then settlers would naturally erect their primitive homes near the church; the town would grow; schools would be built; and soon an English village—hardly distinguishable from one left behind—would miraculously appear.

It simply never happened this way. Virginians, desperately searching for some means of survival and some source of income, found their economic salvation in tobacco. Tobacco, however, required land, large quantities of land, so plantations arose alongside such major rivers as the James and the Rappahannock. These plantations might be only

two or three miles in width, back from the river, but they could be twenty or thirty miles in length. Among such widely scattered plantations, where could one build the town—and the church? In fact, colonial Virginia never had towns of any significant size, and colonial churches there never drew large congregations.

Anglican CLERGY of necessity became itinerants, traveling to outlying plantations, along impassible roads or on the river to be pestered by sudden storms and ever-present mosquitoes. Religious services, particularly christenings, weddings, and funerals, were more often held in homes than in the rural churches, thus giving a special sanctity to the plantation manor and even to the land. So far did the religious life of early Virginia differ from that of the English village that attracting clergy to the colony proved difficult. Some who did come, escaping a troublesome debt or a nagging wife, did Anglicanism no great favor. Nonetheless Anglicanism grew more powerfully in Virginia than anywhere else in America. As it spread well beyond the borders of that one colony, the Church of England by the end of the colonial period had emerged as one of the two great denominational powers in early America.

The other and even more powerful denomination found its base in New England, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Here CONGREGATIONALISM (earlier known as PURITANISM) took deep root, and towns and schools and parish churches did look more like the English villages left behind. The churches were locally “owned and operated” (which is the force of the word “congregational”), but with the blessing and support of the colonial governments. Tax monies built churches and paid salaries for the Congregational churches in Massachusetts just as tax monies did for the Anglican churches in Virginia. In both instances government did all that it could to preserve a religious monopoly for its respective established churches: that is, it actively discouraged any competing DENOMINATION, even resorting to persecution (whips, jails, fines, executions) where deemed necessary.

Not dependent on England for its supply of ministers (Harvard and Yale early served as ministerial training grounds), Congregationalism grew with a steadiness that resulted in New England’s being the most thickly churched area of America by the end of the colonial period. Each parish church provided real cohesion in the town, but beyond that, a theological rigor provided unity in the region as a whole. One can speak of a “New England way” that gave distinctive intellectual character to all the institutions of the area: educational, political, social, and of course ecclesiastical. This cohesion endured not only through the colonial period but well beyond; and as westward migrations later moved across the country, it shaped a good deal of institutional life all the way to the West Coast.

However, Anglicanism and Congregationalism did not divide all of early America between them. Despite efforts to keep all alternative religious options far away, other denominations managed to infiltrate, even in the seventeenth century. BAPTISTS found refuge in Rhode Island, a colony created in reaction against the cozy church-state alliance elsewhere in New England. The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (Quakers) also flourished initially in Rhode Island, but even more dramatically in Pennsylvania, founded in 1682 (so much so that Pennsylvania even came to be called the “Quaker State”). Swedish Lutherans established a tiny and precarious foothold along the shores of the Delaware River, near the present site of Wilmington, Delaware. New York and New Jersey, for two generations under Dutch control (New Amsterdam), was dominated to a fair degree by

the national church of Holland, the DUTCH REFORMED. Even after the English conquered the Dutch in 1664 the national church of the latter continued to give a distinctive cultural coloration to that area. Presbyterians from Scotland, later from northern Ireland (“Scotch-Irish”), migrated to America where they settled chiefly in the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

In their earliest years all these Protestant groups concentrated on their own survival. Nevertheless some efforts to reach out to the NATIVE AMERICANS and the African Americans can be seen. Although tiny in number, Swedish Lutherans translated the catechism of MARTIN LUTHER into the “American-Virginian” tongue to evangelize the Delaware Indians. Much larger in number, Congregationalists in New England established mission stations for the Indians on Martha’s Vineyard and elsewhere; one missionary, JOHN ELIOT, won enduring fame by producing an Indian Bible in 1663 in the Algonkian tongue (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). Hostility often frustrated missionary efforts among the Native Americans, just as SLAVERY limited evangelical inroads among colonial blacks. Some argued on the one hand that “gospel liberty” might undermine the institution of slavery itself, whereas others argued that slaves were subhuman, beyond the reach of Christianity. Not until blacks assumed a major role themselves in the propagation of the Christian religion did African Americans flock in large numbers to the religion of their masters.

Denominational Development

In the eighteenth century Anglicanism had one element working in its favor, but a second element working against it. The SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, founded by THOMAS BRAY in 1702, greatly assisted the Anglican Church in its spread throughout the American colonies. Missionaries sent out from London established their preaching stations with particular force in the middle colonies and in New England, where they met much resistance. The Society paid the salaries, provided books, and offered advice if not assistance in the building of churches. The correspondence flowing back and forth between America and England offers eloquent testimony to the vigor and effect of the Society’s labors.

The missionary labors had their downside as well. The men sent out from London remained English in their loyalties and their affections. They did not normally bring families with them and did not normally set down deep roots in the communities where they lived. In short, they did not become Americans. When tensions began to grow between the mother country and her colonies, notably in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Society’s employees remained largely Loyalist, often vociferously so. By 1776 the position of the missionaries had become intolerable, as Thomas Barton reported from Lancaster, Pennsylvania: “Every clergyman of the Church of England who dared to act on proper principles was marked out for infamy and insult; in consequence of which the Missionaries have suffered greatly.”

One issue in particular roiled the Anglican waters: that is, the matter of Bishops (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY). Anglican church polity, of course, required the presence

of bishops—bishops to ordain, to confirm, to maintain discipline in the church. So why did England decline to send bishops to America? The answer lay in the deep distrust of many Americans, including some Anglicans themselves (especially in the South), of what powerful bishops might do to disrupt the religious scene in America. Memories were too fresh of persecuting bishops and archbishops of the WILLIAM LAUD stripe. Such men, it was widely assumed, would bring not peace but a sword, if allowed to settle on American soil. So inflamed did this issue of episcopacy become that it can be reasonably argued that the anxieties and fears associated with it helped to bring about the American Revolution.

Congregationalism in the eighteenth century continued to solidify its position in New England, although that position had been shaken by the witchcraft episode in and around Salem, Massachusetts, at the end of the previous century (see WITCHCRAZE). It had also been enraged, though not seriously shaken, by the forced introduction of Anglicanism into Boston in 1689. This action was so clearly political and intrusive that it initially made Congregationalism even stronger. Other religious bodies, notably Baptists and Quakers, made slow but steady inroads into New England, although none of these encroachments seriously threatened the strong alliance between church and state in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. Of more concern to the Congregational churches were their internal difficulties in polity or dilutions of piety.

So far as the governance of these churches was concerned, theory called for each church to be autonomous, each congregation invested with the full authority to hire and fire its clergy, to receive or expel its members. This theory when put into practice raised some concerns. Autonomy began to look too much like anarchy, as each local parish ran its affairs indifferent to the interests of the colony as a whole. So in 1705 several ministerial associations in Massachusetts met to consider proposals for tightening the connections between the churches, to create a standing committee “which shall consult, advise and determine all affairs that shall be proper matter for the consideration of an Ecclesiastical Council.” These steps, widely interpreted as a “presbyterianizing” of pure Congregational polity, were successfully resisted in Massachusetts, but more closely followed by Connecticut’s Saybrook Platform adopted in 1708.

On the matter of personal piety, successive generations in New England kept comparing themselves unfavorably with their forebears in the first generation of settlers. A Reforming Synod in 1680, for example, complained of the “visible decay in the power of godliness,” of “sinful hearts and hatreds,” and of a general decline in “public spirit.” Then, in the following century, what came to be called the Half-Way Covenant made it easier for persons to become members of the church without necessarily being able to relate their own experience of divine grace. The denomination’s (and the country’s) greatest colonial theologian, JONATHAN EDWARDS, helped recall New England to a deeper piety. Despite internal quarrels or compromises, Congregationalism continued to thrive and in 1750 had more churches (465) by far than any other denomination in America.

By that same year PRESBYTERIANISM had become a major denominational force, in third place after Congregationalism and Anglicanism. This Calvinist body was especially powerful in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but it also had a significant presence in New York. The creation of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1746 was one measure of this denomination’s growing influence and vigor. Its rapid rise

resulted chiefly from immigrants leaving Ulster and landing at the port of Philadelphia—some 200,000 in the half-century between 1710 and 1760. In this same time period, other immigrants, now from Germany, swelled the ranks of LUTHERANISM and GERMAN REFORMED. Pennsylvania offered these two groups, as it had the Presbyterians, the most fertile soil for settling and maturing.

Two major events of the eighteenth century require notice here: the upheaval of religious revivalism known as the Great Awakening (1720–1770) (see AWAKENINGS), and the outbreak of political passion known as the American Revolution. The Awakening was largely a Calvinist affair, at least in its initial stages. It pervaded the parishes of the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the Dutch Reformed. Baptists, drawn to it in large numbers, turned Calvinist in their theological orientation. Indeed, the great growth of the Baptists dates from roughly the middle of the eighteenth century forward; before that time Baptists were withdrawn, introverted, and not conspicuously evangelistic. After 1750, however, this picture changed dramatically.

The Church of England held itself aloof from the Awakening, this despite the fact that the most powerful preacher of the movement, GEORGE WHITEFIELD, was himself an Anglican. However, the Church of England was being reborn or revitalized from within. Small reforming societies and Bible study groups, associated with the names of JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, strove to bring a higher level of personal piety into England's national church. The Wesleys did not initially envision a rupture with that church, but when the break came, it gave America yet another denomination, METHODISM. This body, not formally organized until 1784, proved to be a powerful evangelistic engine. Methodists, together with Baptists, would in the next century radically change the face of American religion.

The other great public event of the eighteenth century, the Revolution, did not produce new denominations, but it did shift the relative strengths of the religious bodies already present. Some Protestant bodies prospered, some suffered. Anglicanism suffered most. A long American war against the nation of England could not but bring harm to England's church. As noted earlier, Anglican missionaries returned home in droves; those who remained found churches locked against them and liturgies—especially if they included prayers for the king—rudely interrupted. Moves to disestablish this national church began as early as 1776 in Virginia, and soon thereafter elsewhere. By the time the Church of England could reorganize itself in 1789 into the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, this denomination was in total disarray and near collapse (see EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNITED STATES). It would take decades for it to regain some of its footing, although it would never again enjoy the numerical superiority of an earlier day.

Congregationalists and Presbyterians, who shared a close theological connection, supported the Revolution in overwhelming numbers. An American victory was their victory. Despite serious schisms introduced during the Great Awakening, both denominations continued to prosper, with Presbyterians gaining an edge. Profiting particularly from schisms among the Congregationalists, Baptists flourished, even though a good deal of Baptist loyalty could be found in the middle colonies. Pacifist groups (Quakers, MENNONITES, Moravians, and others) suffered some public disdain, especially in Pennsylvania where they were so numerous. In an effort to ameliorate the situation Benjamin Franklin encouraged the pacifists to be conspicuous in their

noncombatant duties: evacuating aged men, women, and children, digging trenches, and carrying “off wounded men to places where they may receive assistance.” The greatest impact of the Revolution, however, lay in the charting of a broad new path to religious liberty.

The New Nation

Delegates from the thirteen colonies, now states, gathered in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 to draw up a new constitution. By 1789 a sufficient number of states had voted (often by quite narrow margins) to ratify the document and bring a new form of government into being. The Constitution itself said virtually nothing about religion, only asserting that “no religious test shall ever be required as qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.” This single declaration about religion reassured some that religious tests would not play the kind of role in America that they continued to play in much of Europe. However, the assertion alarmed others who thought that the office of President, for example, should certainly be limited to Christians, and most likely to Protestants. Still others—a majority, as it turned out—worried that the Constitution carried no guarantee of religious liberty, so they hedged their ratification of the document until receiving assurance that the First Congress would remedy this oversight.

That Congress, gathered in 1789, did just that when it drew up the first ten amendments to the Constitution, these collectively known as America’s BILL OF RIGHTS. The first clause of the First Amendment stipulated that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” It would be too much to declare that these sixteen words made everything perfectly clear in the intersections between CHURCH AND STATE, but it would not be too much to observe that a wide door had been opened to religious liberty on the national level.

What was immediately clear to some denominations, and only gradually became clear to others, was that religion now entered the free market place. Competition would henceforth determine the winners, not state patronage or social position. In that competition, newly invigorated Baptists and newly organized Methodists proved to be the most successful market managers. Neither denomination concerned itself too much over formal educational qualifications or rigorous theological precision; rather, each concerned itself with reaching the people, wherever they were and of whatever background. The chief requisite for the preacher was a “call,” a sense that God had chosen one for the ministry and, if chosen by God, that minister would certainly be blessed by God. With this call came a spiritual certainty and passionate excitement that made the gospel come alive to thousands, then to millions.

On the rapidly expanding western frontiers, Baptists employed, as much by accident as by design, the farmer-preacher model. In any given locality, where neither church nor school might be found, one farmer might feel God’s call. This could result in little more than his taking the initiative to gather a few neighbors together for Bible study, WORSHIP, or some modest homily. Because Baptist POLITY was strictly congregational, no outside AUTHORITY had to approve or oversee or regulate this

activity. This was grass roots religion, and it grew as plentifully as the grasses themselves. African Americans were among those attracted in large numbers to a denomination that demanded no supervising authority, white or black, and to a mode of worship that could be as spontaneous and joyous as one wished. Religious liberty meant not only the freedom to propagate one's faith, but also, within Baptist confines, the freedom to worship largely as one pleased—and it worked. Between 1750 and 1850 the number of Baptist churches in America spurted from 132 to nearly 10,000.

Methodists had a tighter organizational structure, at least in theory. Bishops (or superintendents) did ordain and appoint, but often on the basis of little more than a warm heart. These bishops employed the technique of the circuit rider, with the young nation's most vital Methodist leader, FRANCIS ASBURY, setting the pattern. Methodist CIRCUIT RIDERS covered great expanses of territory, lived with hardship and deprivation, but often were the very first voices of comfort and instruction to be heard on the frontiers. The number of miles traveled, the number of sermons preached, the number of souls touched by the circuit riders stagger the imagination. One might well question the reports as exaggerations or boasts, except that the results cannot be denied. In 1750 Methodists had no churches, but by 1850 they had well over 13,000, surpassing even the Baptists. Although phenomenally successful on the frontier, Methodists also had a major impact back East—notably in Delaware and Maryland. Methodism adapted marvelously to the frontier and its CAMP MEETINGS, but it also adapted successfully to the urban centers, filling any spiritual vacuum that might momentarily appear.

In sparsely settled western lands, new denominations arose, conspicuously the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST (see CAMPBELL FAMILY) and the CHRISTIAN CHURCHES (BARTON STONE). These two groups, merging in 1833, could reach the west because they were of the west. Ohio and Kentucky were early strongholds, but soon the message of a restored New Testament church reached Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and beyond. Restoring primitive Christianity was the vision, adopting only the New Testament and rejecting all man-made creeds was the method. The fond hope, to move beyond all denominational labels and to become simply "disciples," struck responsive chords on the frontier (see FRONTIER RELIGION). However, the movement ended, ironically, in contributing even more denominational diversity to an already crowded American field.

Religious liberty meant, among other things, a freedom to experiment, to create something fresh and new. Utopian adventures sprang up in the first half of the nineteenth century: for example, John Humphrey Noyes and his Oneida Community. Far more successful was MORMONISM, which under the leadership of JOSEPH SMITH moved from a tiny knot of believers in upstate New York to a larger group in Nauvoo, Illinois, and then, under the leadership of BRIGHAM YOUNG, to a utopian success story in Salt Lake City, Utah. Mormons, officially the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, took seriously the millennial teachings of a second coming of Christ, and in this regard, they were far from alone. WILLIAM MILLER, lecturing to large, eager audiences, predicted the end of the world in 1843. When this did not occur, those surviving the Great Disappointment regrouped, none more successfully than the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS who made a name for themselves in medical missions and in the promotion of healthy foods and healthy habits.

Meanwhile, back East, what of the two colonial powerhouses, Anglicanism (now Episcopalians) and Congregationalism? The Episcopalians, still recovering from the weakness resulting from abrupt disestablishment, found themselves losing out to the Methodists, even in such strong centers as Virginia and South Carolina. Congregationalists held on to their establishments, in Connecticut until 1813 and in Massachusetts until 1833. However, they suffered from internal schism in the form of Unitarianism, which divided churches and parishes, especially in eastern Massachusetts. If the American ENLIGHTENMENT had a denominational expression, it would be Unitarianism, a religion that emphasized the role of reason and minimized the place of miracles and mystery. THOMAS JEFFERSON at one point thought that Unitarianism would become the prevailing religion of the new nation. This, of course, did not happen because powerful countervailing forces were at work.

If the Enlightenment seemed to challenge many of the assumptions on which Protestantism rested, the defenders of a "Protestant empire" were not ready to surrender. What has come to be called the Second Great Awakening (1810–1860) constituted the counteroffensive. Its warriors fought back with new agencies, new educational institutions, and new techniques of recruitment.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, a host of voluntary organizations arose to provide whatever was required to Protestantize America. The AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, formed in 1818, provided inexpensive Bibles for a growing population, east and west. Where necessary, it would also undertake translations for Native Americans and for newly arriving immigrants. In 1824 the American Sunday School Union reached children as well as adults, offering Christian instruction and, where required, the fundamentals of reading and writing. As lay institutions, SUNDAY SCHOOLS did not require an ordained ministry; it could therefore utilize the talents of men and women, especially the latter, to be a valued adjunct to the church and, on occasion, an outpost before the church arrived. So also the American Tract Society (1825), the American Education Society (1826), and a plethora of other Protestant voluntary efforts would turn back the tide of French infidelity and frontier barbarism (see VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES).

Although states were taking major steps to provide HIGHER EDUCATION to their citizens, the churches still saw education as falling very much in their domain. Protestant clergymen still served as college presidents, even of state institutions. Denominations such as the Congregationalists and Presbyterians that long had an interest in an educated clergy worked together in a Plan of Union (1801) to create several colleges in the opening West: Western Reserve (1826) in Ohio, Knox (1837) in Illinois, Grinnell (1847) in Iowa, and Ripon (1851) in Wisconsin. Baptists and Methodists, who placed less emphasis on formal ministerial preparation, also busied themselves in founding many schools: the Methodists, with McKendree (1835) and De Pauw (1837) in Indiana, and Ohio Wesleyan (1842); the Baptists, with Denison (1832) in Ohio, Shurtleff (1835) in Illinois, and Baylor (1845) in Texas. These four denominations accounted for about one half of all colleges established before 1860, although such smaller Protestant bodies as Quakers, German Reformed, and Lutherans also founded new institutions. The education of American youth would not be left to the enemies of religion (see CHRISTIAN COLLEGES).

The Second Great Awakening also utilized revivalism as a recruiting technique for new members and a revitalization program for current members CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY of Oberlin College (1833), another of those “presbygational” institutions, emerged in the years before the CIVIL WAR as the leading practitioner of and apologist for revivalism. Revivals worked on the frontiers of the West, but they also worked in the cities of the East. Said Finney: one need not passively wait for a revival to come, like dew falling on the grass. One could labor to promote REVIVALS and reap a harvest of saved souls, just as surely as through appropriate efforts one could reap a harvest of corn. Churches had lost sight of the simple connection between cause and effect, he argued, with the result that “more than five thousand million have gone down to hell, while the church has been dreaming, and waiting for God to save them.”

All of these instruments—the societies, the colleges, the revivals—illustrated what had come to be the guiding characteristic of religion in America: the voluntary principle. In an early treatment of American religion, designed principally for foreign consumption, Presbyterian minister Robert Baird in 1843 rhapsodized about the voluntary principle. By means of this principle, one could defeat immorality, promote TEMPERANCE, abolish slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), even turn away the gods of war. This principle, he wrote, “seems to extend itself in every direction with an all-powerful influence.” For Baird voluntarism stood forth as the essence of evangelical religion, and evangelical Protestantism was, for him, the essence of America.

Protestantism Torn and Challenged

In the 1830s and 1840s two issues threatened the unity of Baird’s evangelical Protestantism: first, the growing presence of Roman Catholicism; second, the intensifying discord over slavery. Immigration chiefly from Ireland swelled the ranks of Catholics in America, so much so that by 1850 America had more Roman Catholics than either Baptists or Methodists. If this trend continued, what would become of the evangelical empire? The Protestant response to this influx of Catholic immigrants was first alarm, then organized resistance and hostility (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS).

In 1840, for example, the “American Society to Promote the Principles of the Protestant Reformation” took shape in New York City, its stated purpose being to call attention to the dangers of “popery” and “to arouse Protestants to a proper sense of their duty in reference to the Romanists.” For members of this society, and for many other Protestants of that era, the principles of the U.S. Constitution and of the Vatican were irreconcilable; if a citizen believed in the first, he or she must in good conscience strongly resist the second. In the 1850s this religious NATIVISM took a political turn in the creation of the Know-Nothing Party whose aim was to elect only Protestants to public office. Although that party was short-lived, the anti-Catholic sentiment on which it was based lasted well into the twentieth century.

Evangelical Protestants could unite in their dread of Catholicism, but they could not unite in their positions regarding slavery. Indeed, the deep and bitter divisions in such

denominations as Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in the 1840s and 1850s pointed to the inevitable divisions in the nation itself that resulted in the tragedy of the Civil War. In 1844 the Methodists were the first to divide into two halves: the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Both sides accused the other of having abandoned the gospel of Christ, the Northerners arguing that slavery was “a great evil” to be eradicated as soon as possible, the Southerners denouncing those who substituted POLITICS for theology and social reform for DOCTRINE.

The very next year the Baptists followed suit, with Baptists in the north arrayed against a SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION. When the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions refused to appoint an Alabama clergyman and a slaveholder as a missionary, Baptists in the south resolved to withdraw from the national body to form their own mission society and, ultimately, their own agencies of every kind. As with the Methodists, both sides appealed for patience and understanding, thinking that once slavery was no longer the issue, the two sides could come together again; however, that proved a false hope. Recriminations and even denunciations made reunion impossible for the Methodists for nearly one hundred years, and for Baptists far beyond that.

Last of the large denominations to divide, the Presbyterians in 1857 separated along lines not theological but geographical. Both sides appealed to the Bible, of course. The North argued that to use the Bible in defense of slavery was to bring ridicule and calamity to Christianity itself; the South argued that to turn the Bible into an antislavery tract was to pervert it beyond recognition. Not only did these denominational divisions anticipate the brutal war to come, they also weakened Protestantism’s public voice. Protestant clergy appealed to the same Bible and prayed to the same God but somehow ended up on opposite sides of the most urgent moral issue of the time. How could this be? Did Protestantism guide the CULTURE, or did the culture determine the direction that the Protestant witness would take?

Protestantism presented no united front on other critical questions in the nineteenth century. Charles Darwin’s *Origin of the Species*, published in 1859, shook both the theological and the scientific worlds on both sides of the Atlantic. Evolution was not a new idea, but evolution as a credible theory if not a scientific proposition was new. The Protestant responses were now not geographical but theological. An eastern journalist and Congregational clergyman Lyman Abbott saw evolution as compatible with Christian understandings. Creation was a process, not a “once upon a time” event of the past. God’s method was growth, development, progress—“What Jesus was, humanity is becoming.” On the other hand, Princeton theologian and professor Charles Hodge saw in Darwin’s hypotheses a direct challenge to everything that Christianity stood for. If chance is king, God no longer sits on his throne. If SCIENCE is the source of all truth, then we might as well, thought Hodge, shelve our Bibles and scuttle our creeds. If the war over evolution seemed noisiest in the nineteenth century, all the smoke of battle had by no means cleared in the twentieth.

Both the institution of slavery and DARWINISM raised questions about how one reads the Bible and what authority the Bible has—not just in religion, but in politics, science, and history. The questions grew more intense as Protestant scholars, first in GERMANY, then in England and America, examined the biblical manuscripts as to authorship, date, editorial revision, and mutual agreement. They also looked to the manuscript traditions to see whether, for example, the King James Version of the Bible

was based on the best and most authentic manuscripts. It was not, and this led to new scholarly translations and biblical editions, the English Revised Version of 1885 being the first in a long line of “modern” Bibles. If Protestantism had cast its lot in the sixteenth century very much on the side of Scripture as opposed to Tradition, then any challenge to the biblical foundation was bound to shake the institutional superstructure—as it did.

Protestant churches also reacted with something less than unanimity to the growing leadership roles exercised by WOMEN. Antoinette Brown Blackwell was ordained as a Congregational minister in 1853, although this was hardly the first rumble of a grand tidal wave. FRANCIS E. WILLARD directed the fortunes of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, organized in Ohio in 1874, giving her and her followers more visibility in public life than women in America had heretofore enjoyed. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, who in 1848 joined with Quaker preacher LUCRETIA MOTT in organizing the famous Seneca Falls gathering on behalf of women’s rights, turned her talents a half century later to the production of *The Woman’s Bible*. All of these nineteenth century efforts did little more than suggest what in the succeeding century would more fully capture the attention of Protestant and political institutions.

Meanwhile, the country continued to grow, with much immigration from eastern and central Europe (Catholic and Jewish), as well as with some immigration from Scandinavia (Lutheran). The country gradually moved from a predominantly rural population to a heavily urban one. Major cities, long a feature of the Atlantic coast, now sprang up in the Midwest: Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Kansas City, and Omaha. Urbanization together with its close companion, INDUSTRIALIZATION, presented Protestant leaders with new circumstances for which their earlier and simpler piety now seemed inadequate, if not irrelevant.

Especially in the northern half of the country, where industrialization had advanced further, Protestant clergy searched for fresh answers to growing problems of slums, poverty, crime, child labor, economic exploitation, rootlessness, and hunger. Protestants developed new institutions, notably the Young Men’s and Young Women’s Christian Associations (YMCA, YWCA) to address some of these concerns, whereas another Protestant entity, the SALVATION ARMY, found its special ministry among the urban destitute and demoralized. Pastors and theologians constructed what came to be called the SOCIAL GOSPEL in an effort to move beyond the issue of personal redemption and personal SALVATION: was it perhaps possible to redeem the social order itself?

Congregational clergyman WASHINGTON GLADDEN of Columbus, Ohio, spoke and wrote widely on behalf of a gospel relevant to labor and capital, civic corruption, and municipal reform. Baptist WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH of Rochester, New York, took his cue from ancient prophets of Israel who overthrew dynasties, condemned SIN in high places, fomented rebellion, and “rebuked to their faces kings who had robbed the plain man of his wife or tricked him out of his ancestral holdings.” Academician Richard T. Ely, first Presbyterian and then Episcopalian, declared that the church must turn its attention from the world to come to the world at hand. “I take this as my thesis,” he wrote in 1899, that “Christianity is primarily concerned with this world, and it is the mission of Christianity to bring to pass here a kingdom of righteousness and...redeem all our social relations.”

In the face of radically new circumstances and inescapable new challenges, Protestantism spoke in different tones and addressed different issues. Protestants also saw

before them a disturbingly different country. When Congregationalist Josiah Strong in 1885 published his *Our Country*, the “our” referred to an Anglo-Saxon way of life and predominantly Protestant culture that he saw rapidly disappearing. He intended to raise enough alarms and order enough redirection to set “our country” again on its proper course, but Protestantism in the decades ahead had even more turbulent waters to navigate.

Protestant Advances, Protestant Retreats

For American Protestantism the twentieth century opened on a daringly optimistic note. Methodist layman and visionary organizer, JOHN R. MOTT, published a book in 1900 whose title spoke to and further invigorated that optimistic spirit: *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation*. The dream was breathtaking, but it was more than an idle dream. Mott himself had organized thousands of college students in the Student Volunteer Movement, starting in 1886, which in the space of only a dozen or so years had, in Mott’s words, “spread from land to land, until it has now assumed an organized form in all Protestant countries.” By the time of World War I, Mott’s organization had sent out more than five thousand volunteers.

The mission dream was even broader than that, however. Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches all had their own mission boards, and the role of women in each case had increased dramatically over the years. Again, by the time of World War I something more than three million American women were involved in the missionary enterprise: as fund raisers, as publicity agents, and often themselves as volunteers abroad in the role of teachers, nurses, doctors, and selfless spouses of officially appointed missionaries. Although World War I interrupted some of these efforts, that international conflict only drove others to greater labors in bringing healing and understanding to injured nations.

In 1919 Presbyterian missionary executive Robert E. Speer sounded every bit as urgent as Mott had in 1900. In his book, *The New Opportunity of the Church*, Speer urged a redoubled effort on the part of the missionary movement, “an agency of righteousness.” Western civilization, Speer readily conceded, had been guilty of great crimes against humanity: the slave trade, the traffic in alcohol and opium, and many others. Against all this, however, the one element in the West protesting man’s inhumanity to man was the missionary enterprise. “As the years have gone by,” Speer wrote, “it alone has represented in many non-Christian lands the inner moral character of the Western world.” Newer denominations such as the Mormons, the Seventh-day Adventists, and JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES displayed equal if not greater vigor in taking their messages to lands far beyond America’s borders.

Of course the “world” was not evangelized in Mott’s generation or in any other. By the 1930s some in the mainline denominations began to question the emphasis on personal conversions, seeing more justification for the enterprise in the educational and medical benefits it brought to needy countries. Some missionaries, notably Methodist E. Stanley Jones, even spoke of MISSIONS as a two-way street: one learned from the host

country (India, in his case) no less than one gave to that country. In a major reevaluation of the whole ambitious effort, WILLIAM E. HOCKING, professor of philosophy at Harvard, chaired a “Layman’s Inquiry” into the previous hundred years of Protestant missions. His report concluded that it was appropriate to give even greater emphasis to Christian service in the form of hospitals, schools, tractors, inoculations, and the like. Personal EVANGELISM was not to be forgotten, Hocking wrote in 1932, but neither should it stand alone.

At least from the time of John Mott, missionaries recognized that denominational labels had little meaning abroad. Often, in fact, they became obstacles to the spread of Christianity. In the first half of the twentieth century, many Protestant clergy concluded that the same was true at home: denominational divisions had become a scandal and a stumbling block. In an effort to reverse the trends toward schism—so evident in American Protestantism—the ecumenical movement got under way in 1908 with the creation of the Federal Council of Churches. Some thirty denominations joined together to give Protestantism a stronger voice, especially when confronted with opposition forces so much better organized than the churches were. Our enemies, said the Federal Council, “so confidently faced a derided Church...because they faced a divided one.” A NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS was born in 1942, bringing greater cooperation among conservative elements not in the Federal Council, and in 1948 the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES appeared on the international scene.

In 1950 the Federal Council was superseded by an even stronger NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE USA, an agency that spoke for a membership of some forty million, although this “speaking” often represented the pulpits more faithfully than the pews. Although largely a Protestant entity, the National Council included some Eastern Orthodox bodies (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN), and invited Roman Catholics to join in its deliberations as “observers.” Then in 1960 a CONSULTATION ON CHURCH UNION explored the possibility of actual union among such Protestant bodies as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists (all branches), Disciples, and Episcopalians. By the end of the twentieth century a good deal of steam had gone out of both of these engines of ECUMENISM; nonetheless, denominational families executed some of the broader ideals of the bodies named above.

The northern and southern halves of Methodism had managed to reunite as early as 1939. This body then absorbed a German Methodist group to become in 1968 the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH. Congregationalism had united with a small entity in 1931 to become the Congregational Christian Church, then merged with an EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH in 1957 to form the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. In 1983 the two segments of Presbyterians, divided over slavery, joined to create the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, USA. Lutheranism, badly separated into national groups—for example, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish—began to transcend those national labels in the 1960s; by 1988 this ecumenical evolution led to the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, by far the largest Lutheran body in the United States. Besides all this merger activity within single denominational families, many serious conversations explored unions that transcended specific ecclesiastical traditions.

Some observers interpreted all of this ecumenical busyness as a sign of weakness rather than of strength, and it is true that among many of these older denominational

families membership in the final decades of the twentieth century had declined. For centuries it had appeared that Protestantism in America knew only one direction in which to move: that is, up—to ever larger memberships, ever expanding budgets, ever more impressive architectural achievements. In many elements of the Protestant community that steady upswing had by the year 2000 clearly changed. Yet other Protestant groups showed no signs of waning energies. Pentecostal and Holiness bodies, for example, continued to surge. Southern Baptists, years after others experienced a decline, also peaked in their steady growth. African American denominations generally did better than their white counterparts, whereas the “electronic church” through TELEVANGELISM introduced another element in church growth that is difficult to measure. Whatever the final figures in any given year, Protestants do not speak as confidently as they once did of “our country.”

In the public square Protestants compete with other religious entities, and even more with secular forces, for their share of attention or influence. Protestant clergy no longer serve as presidents of the major educational institutions of the country, nor do they regularly rate as opinion makers on the national scene, as once men like HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK or REINHOLD NIEBUHR did. In the evangelical community BILLY GRAHAM occupies a unique niche, but it is difficult to see a replacement for him on the horizon.

In the political realm, the conservative religious right received much notice for its active involvement in the final decades of the twentieth century. Earlier, in the bruising and brutal battles between FUNDAMENTALISM and MODERNISM of the 1920s and 1930s, the more conservative forces withdrew from political participation. Thus the “religious right” dropped from public view, only to reemerge rather dramatically one-half century later. Of course the Protestant “religious left” had been much in evidence through most of the twentieth century, although it did not arouse the kind of anxieties and fears often associated, legitimately or not, with the “right.” In the twenty-first century some signs appeared that the “right” was once more reverting to its earlier status of a withdrawn, inward-looking, personal purifying spiritual force.

In the new millennium Protestant churches in America found themselves divided on such major questions as vouchers in private schools, prayers in public schools, women in the pulpit (see WOMEN CLERGY), HOMOSEXUALITY, pluralism, PACIFISM, CREATION SCIENCE, BIBLICAL INERRANCY, LITURGY, ecstasy, and the delicate balance between proselytizing and TOLERATION. Protestants no longer thought of empire, but of witness; they no longer spoke with one voice (if they ever did), but with many voices, sometimes in harmony, sometimes in discord.

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EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

UNITING CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA

The Uniting Church in Australia was inaugurated in 1977, the result of nearly a century of ecumenical reunion plans among Protestant churches in AUSTRALIA, and the direct result of a variety of renewal emphases that swept through those churches from 1940 to 1970. It combined Methodist, Congregational, and many Presbyterians in Australia into a “uniting” ecumenical church structure that seeks to bring about a larger “united” Church of Australia.

Early twentieth-century Church Union efforts in Australia reflected that country’s involvement in larger globalizing movements for international postal, economic, imperial, and other forms of federation. At the same time as the various Presbyterian churches in Australia were negotiating Federation in the 1880s political federation of the various colonies was also being planned. Models were provided for the union by (to name only the models influential on Australia) GERMANY, IRELAND, INDIA (1947), and Presbyterians had also united in SCOTLAND (1929). Missions work on a cooperative basis was occurring around the world, laying the basis for the global strategies of the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE in Edinburgh in 1910, and the rise of formal ECUMENISM in the International Missionary Committee (1921), the Faith and Order (1927), and Life and Work (1925) movements, and eventually the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (1948). For postmillennialists, union seemed the prerequisite for the last great push that would see the world evangelized in this generation. For premillennialists the darkening situation in European and North American cities indicated the need for common action, particularly in the light of the human disaster that was World War I and the rapidity of moral, theological, and cultural change through the 1920s. Close links to the Canadian churches provided models for both negotiation and successful Union and anti-Union activities. The bitterness of the Canadian division inspired Australian Christians to wait for a more auspicious day, and so Union negotiations failed in 1924.

Another Attempt

A number of causes underlay the recommencement of negotiations for Union after World War II: the need for strong church participation in postwar reconstruction; the relativization of denominational differences through common war experiences, declining ethnic homogeneity (see ETHNICITY), and church affiliation, under the pluralizing effects of mass postwar migration; the “moral and spiritual condition of Australia”; and declining public influence of the churches in a period marked by supradenominational

problems (the Cold War, the Korean War, political and economic crises in former missionary-receiving countries, Australia's engagement with Asia, etc.). With the rise of neo-orthodox theology (see NEO-ORTHODOXY) defusing the liberal-modernist debates of the 1920s and 1930s, and Vatican II undermining Catholic-Protestant differences, united action in an urbanizing, pluralizing secular Australia seemed increasingly plausible. "Mission" was the consistent theme amid a plethora of more particular reasons as to why the churches should unite, "the hermeneutical key to the Basis of Union and the most important pointer to the Uniting Church's way of being Reformed" (Dutney 1996:32). Issues of social justice (poverty, women's rights, indigenous rights, human identity, etc.) seemed more important than DOCTRINE or even form. A number of institutions gave form to these ecumenical aspirations: the long-standing Australian Student Christian movement; foundation of a national council of churches in Sydney (1946) mediating the continuing international pressure for increased unity of action through the World Council of Churches (1948); a variety of interdenominational agencies such as the Christian Youth Conference, the Australian Commission for Inter-Church Aid, and Australian Frontier; and the United Nations Organization and its various branches, all provided training grounds for future ecumenical leaders, including people such as K.T.Henderson, Malcolm McKay, Gordon Dicker, Davis McCaughey, Alan Walker, and others.

In the increasingly difficult postwar atmosphere, formal negotiations began again in 1954 leading to the appointment of a Joint Commission on Church Unity (JCCU, 1957), including representatives from all three churches. Negotiations were slowed by divergent traditions and theologies. The Presbyterians were a more strongly doctrinal and polity-based church, and negotiators knew that bringing the various state assemblies into the Union would require carryover of this content at least in name, and a strong Basis of Union. Presbyterian objections to "weak theology" in the JCCU's first report (*The Faith of the Church*, 1961) and proposed episcopacy (see BISHOP AND EPISCOPACY) in its second (*The Church—Its Nature, Function and Ordering*, 1963) slowed the process. After much wrangling a final version of the Basis of Union was published in 1971, which acted as the basis for voting, by congregation in the Congregational Union (about 90 percent for adherence to Union); in the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia (a majority vote requiring 100 percent adherence); and in state assemblies and the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia (leading to a more divided vote, approximately 64 percent of congregations and 69 percent of the membership, choosing to go into Union). The Presbyterian Church of Australia legally reaffirmed its continued existence, and a small number of Congregational churches remained out of the Union in "The Congregational Fellowship." At Union the "new church" (an appellation it denied) and its constituents represented some 12.5 percent of the Australian population. Although figures are difficult to ascertain, census returns suggest that church membership has continued to decline by between 2 and 4 percent every five years, and in 1996 stood at 1,334,900 (7.5 percent of the population). Despite its ethnic congregations, it remains one of the most highly Anglo-Celtic of all denominations, has one of the highest defection rates of youth, and has a comparatively high percentage of its membership over the age of 60 (Bentley and Hughes 1996:ca. 55). Nevertheless there is some evidence that this post-Union shakeout is now stabilizing.

Living with Union

Most partners to union had issues to work through once it was achieved. Property wrangles continued with the PCA for more than a decade, and considerable feeling was generated between old friends and former fellow Congregationalists. It was only with the rise of a post-Union generation that self-definitions that did not rotate around “not being Presbyterian” or “not being Methodist” have begun to arise. The UCA recognized eldership, although not entirely in the form developed among Presbyterians, and the SACRAMENTS of BAPTISM and Communion (see LORD’S SUPPER). Most DEACONESSES of the constituent traditions chose to unite, but access to ordained ministry has since made this order obsolete (see WOMEN CLERGY). The UCA is trinitarian, and the Basis of Union recognized the ancient creeds and the reformational confessions as “instructive,” although not legally binding. It has encouraged equal opportunity at all levels of ministry, as well as supporting links to large Korean, Melanesian, Polynesian, and other ethnic constituencies, and a semiautonomous Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress (from 1985).

Although adopting the polities of its constituent denominations (hence its executive Standing Committee and triennial national Assembly, based on synodal, presbytery, and parish underpinnings) the UCA has worked hard to shift decision making away from parliamentary procedures toward consensus forums developing out of discussion documents. This has been possible only by the establishment of a significant ecclesial bureaucracy, consisting of more than twenty different agencies (commissions, committees, boards, etc.) of Assembly. Membership consists of adherents, baptized members, members in association, and confirmed members, and ministry consists of “ministers of the Word” and “deacons” ordained by the regional presbytery. Ministers are trained at or through state colleges, the largest of which is the United Theological College in North Parramatta, Sydney, and the Uniting Church Theological Hall at Ormond College, Melbourne. Distance education occurs through Coolamon College in Brisbane, and indigenous training through Nungalinga College (Darwin). It has a very large welfare and community services arm, being perhaps the largest provider of nongovernment community and welfare programs in Australia, operating more than 1,000 property centers in operations ranging from Aged Care to schools to drug rehabilitation and community hospitals.

With other ageing denominations, the UCA has wrestled with identity, a state of flux endemic to an open church that some constituents have felt is better at posing questions than answering them. The UCA was designed as an interim structure in which the old traditions would “die to live again” so that all Australian Christian churches might eventually join in a single Catholic church. Dutney points out that there are no doctrines peculiar to the Uniting Church. Its theology has not essentially been doctrinal but an inevitably conciliar process of dialog (captured in the phrase “A Pilgrim People”) over particular issues mediated by the continuance of older traditions (Wesleyan, Calvinist, evangelical, liberal, etc.) within the church at the local level. The emphasis is on the trajectory from the past rather than on the doctrines established by the (particularly Reformed) past of the church’s traditions. This was a “new way of being Church.” “Doctrine divides” was the old catchcry, “service unites,” and subsequently the UCA has

found it easier to provide social services than to come to common understandings on critical issues such as homosexual clergy (see **HOMOSEXUALITY**), drug policy, and other moral issues. Inevitably the teaching ministry of the church has been in tension with its membership, which was described by the Assembly Commission for Mission in 1994 as “largely pre-critical [and] semi-literalist.” The conclusion reflects considerable disillusion within an intellectualist leadership over their “inflexible” constituency, or the “antiintellectualism” of Australians (McCaughy 1997:7). These are not issues isolated to the UCA, however, and in 2001 the church reentered negotiations toward union with the Anglican Church in Australia, indicating the pivotal role the UCA continues to play in Christian reunion in Australia.

See also Congregationalism; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Methodism; Presbyterianism

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MARK HUTCHINSON

UNIVERSALISM

Universalism, “the belief or the hope that the consummation of all things will be the restoration of all intelligent beings to the image and favour of God[,] has found advocates in every age” (according to William Burt Pope, Wesleyan Methodist theologian, in his *Compendium of Theology*, revised edition, 1880, Vol. III, p. 129). Origen of Alexandria in the third century hoped that even Satan would be finally converted, and thus “God will be all in all” would be entirely true. Usually, the issue is confined to the final salvation of human beings.

Although there were Universalist congregations in ENGLAND by 1750, there was no DENOMINATION as such professing universalism until the end of the eighteenth century in the UNITED STATES. Universalist churches, growing out of Congregational and Baptist roots, were committed to the independence of local congregations. Local Associations were loose federations, and the Conventions, which began in 1790 at Philadelphia, were consultative rather than regulatory gatherings, although they developed conditions of association and even Articles of Religion. These Articles underwent continuing adaptation. Universalist declarations increasingly expressed sympathy with humanism. The Universalist Church of America elected as its president in 1951 and its General Superintendent in 1953 Brainard F.F.Gibbons, who in 1949 had addressed the General Convention to the effect that Universalism had now passed beyond Christianity and had disavowed many essential Christian doctrines. Having joined with other liberal churches in the 1935 Free Church Fellowship, and then the 1955 Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian), the Universalist Church of America united with the Unitarians in 1961 to form the UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION.

The Universalist theology, in its variant forms, is probably influential far beyond any church. The Universalist question confronts every person responsible for funerals at least throughout the English-speaking world: in the majority of cases of funerals for the unchurched, the mourners expect to be assured, unconditionally, that the deceased is eternally safe.

The first classic of universalist theology is Chauncey’s *Salvation of All Men* (its later popular title). He begins (Proof 1) with admitting the reality of Original Sin in Adam, but adds that in the New Adam, Christ, all may attain eternal happiness. In Proofs 2 and 3, Christ’s perfect obedience includes his dying for all. For Proof 4, Chauncey argues from the New Testament, especially Romans 5 and Colossians 1, that God’s will is for the full salvation of all creation. Therefore (Proof 5), either in this present state of existence or in the following state, God will finally reduce all things to obedient subjection to the divine will. In Proof 6, Christ’s “mediatory interposition” is all comprehending. This scheme of argument is clearly still markedly biblical, and leans heavily on a Protestant understanding of SIN and redemption. With succeeding writers, especially Hosea Ballou,

Universalists move away from any Trinitarian concept of ATONEMENT or of traditional Protestant or Roman Catholic assumptions about original sin or depravity.

The Universalist issue presents Protestantism with several problems that are inherent in the very essence of classical Protestant tenets: GRACE, freedom, FAITH, salvation, witness. The subject may be set out in a series of questions.

Is there a SALVATION? And a salvation from what? Although Balzac was wrong in saying of Protestantism that it “examines beliefs and kills them,” it is true that the questioning of TRADITION on which Protestantism insists does for some lead to skepticism—for example, doubt whether there is a need for salvation, for anything more than decency and toleration. Such a view is a sort of universalism, because these ideals might be thought to be equally open to all humanity. Classical Protestant ORTHODOXY sees humankind as fallen and in need of redemption, and finds the key to that salvation in divine forgiveness to which access is opened by the sacrifice of Christ.

But how universal is that salvation, and on what terms is it available? The controversy between extreme predestinarianism (that God from eternity created some humans who would be granted saving faith and the rest of humanity, who would not believe and be eternally lost), and ARMINIANISM (that God created all humankind able freely to choose to believe and knew from eternity who would freely believe and who would not) is not dead, even if most specialist theologians avoid it. Classic Protestantism is found in KARL BARTH’S suggestion that in the first archetypal human (Adam), all humans are under condemnation, and that in the second Adam (Christ), all are accepted by God.

If salvation (as Protestantism has classically taught) is by means of faith, is this only faith in the Jesus of Nazareth as found in the Gospels? And what degree of knowledge of the historical or scriptural Jesus is required in such faith? Universalism raises the question of whether all religions are the same, or of the same value? It argues that Christianity is absolute only for Christians. The traditional Protestant exposition of revelation, CHRISTOLOGY, and redemption is challenged by the reality of all religious traditions, although this requirement does not entail any assumption that these are all equal in truth or insight. Some theologians have suggested that in Christianity, in its proclamation of a divine-human Savior, we see a fulfillment of both those religions that center on deity and those that center on the self-realization of humanity. Vernon White and others maintain that all of these concerns are brought together by understanding the work of Christ as the core of a universal restorative work of God.

Universalism is also concerned with the question of whether there can be repentance and CONVERSION after DEATH. Thought on these matters is in the end reflection on the moral character of God; that reflection is in turn informed by human self-perception. A major factor in Universalism is the need not to be selfish about “our” salvation.

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DAVID H. TRIPP

UNIVERSITIES

See Higher Education; Seminaries

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VAN DER KEMP, JOHANNES THEODORUS (1747–1811)

Dutch missionary. A pioneering missionary to the Khoikhoi (Hottentot people) of SOUTH AFRICA, van der Kemp was born in Rotterdam on May 7, 1747. After fourteen years in the Dutch Dragoon Guards he decided to study medicine in Edinburgh, graduating in 1782. In 1791, after the accidental death of his first wife and daughter, van der Kemp underwent a CONVERSION experience. Contact with a MORAVIAN CHURCH congregation aroused his interest in MISSIONS and he was sent by the London Missionary Society to South Africa in 1799. In Cape Town he founded the South African Missionary Society and after moving to Graaff Reinet began work among the Khoikhoi population.

A land grant from the governor of the Batavian Republic in 1803 enabled van der Kemp to establish a missionary settlement called Bethelsdorp. Conflict with the Boers and later, the Batavian government, was precipitated by van der Kemp's antislavery views (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF), his critique of colonial policy, and his illegal education of Khoikhoi and Xhosa children. In 1804 van der Kemp compiled and printed a Khoikhoi CATECHISM—the earliest work printed in an indigenous South African language. Van der Kemp's relationship with the white community deteriorated further upon his marriage in 1806 to Sara van de Kaap, a fourteen-year-old ex-slave.

In 1811 van der Kemp traveled to Cape Town to provide evidence concerning the abuse of the Khoikhoi by white settlers and government administrators. He died there on December 15 after a brief illness, while awaiting the results of the government investigation.

See also Colonialism; Missionary Organizations; Missions, British; Philip, John

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JEFF CROCOMBE

VAN DUSEN, HENRY PITNEY (1897– 1975)

North American educator. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1897, “Pit” Van Dusen received a B.A. from Princeton University in 1919, a B.D. from Union Theological Seminary in 1924, and a Ph.D. from Edinburgh University in 1932. After completing seminary he worked in the student department of the YMCA and was ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of New York in 1924, after surviving a challenge based on his unwillingness as a life-long member of the Episcopal Church to affirm or deny the Virgin Birth, thanks in large part to a statement on his behalf by John Foster Dulles, later to become a member of Union’s board of directors and U.S. secretary of state. After traveling the country for two years to visit and study the practices of other schools, Van Dusen began teaching at Union as an instructor in 1926, became dean of students in 1931, Roosevelt professor of systematic theology in 1936, and was elected Union’s tenth president in 1945. He retired in 1963 at the age of 65.

Leader and Educator

Van Dusen was considered one of the major leaders in theological education in the twentieth century. Under his presidency, Union Theological Seminary experienced unprecedented growth and the greatest expansion in its history. Beginning with a faculty of twenty-two, the school had fifty-four faculty members when he retired, and the student body doubled from 300 to 600. The school’s budget quadrupled, and a number of major building projects were undertaken. Even more significantly, Union attained worldwide significance as a center for theological study, with a faculty that included such seminal twentieth-century theologians as REINHOLD NIEBUHR, JOHN BENNETT, and PAUL TILLICH. Van Dusen’s contributions were praised by Union’s faculty and board of directors in their final tributes. “In the long history of the Seminary,” the Faculty declared, “Van Dusen’s presidency stands out as the high-water mark of its achievement. He...enlarged not only the personal and physical resources of the Seminary, but above all, its spirit and its outreach.” He was described by the Board as “one of the first World Churchmen of our era, a scholar, a statesman, a leader, and—not least—a friend.”

Van Dusen also made contributions to theological education through a two-year presidency of the American Association of Theological Schools and by founding the Boston Institute of Theology after his retirement from Union. He also led the Union Settlement Association. His commitment to general education was reflected in his service as trustee of many institutions, including Princeton University, Vassar College, Smith

College, and The Rockefeller Foundation. His book *God in Education* contributed to the debate on religion and the schools. He received honorary degrees from twenty universities, including Edinburgh University.

In 1953 a new kind of scholarship program for theological education was developed by Van Dusen and Nathan Pusey, president of Harvard University, who believed that the quality of those entering the Christian ministry was declining. To remedy the problem they obtained a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to support a program offering an exploratory year of theological studies for qualified college graduates considering but undecided on a ministerial career. Created in close cooperation with the American Association of Theological Schools, the Rockefeller Brothers Theological Fellowship (also known as the “Trial Year” program) offered five scholarships for the 1954–1955 academic year and forty-six awards the following year. This was the initial program of the Fund for Theological Education (FTE). Scholarships to help African American doctoral students intending to teach in seminaries and other scholarships followed in the years to come.

As one of the driving forces in the ecumenical movement of the early to mid-twentieth century, Van Dusen played a dominant role in the formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, in particular in paving the way for the union of the International Missionary Council with that body. His impact also was felt through his leadership of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia and the Foundation for Theological Education in South East Asia (Dong nan Ya shen xue jiao yu ji jin hui), which was established in 1963 as the successor organization to the Board of Founders of Nanking Theological Seminary, founded in 1937. Van Dusen served as the president of that seminary’s Board of Founders and was the first president of the Foundation from 1952 to 1970.

A Liberal Theology

Van Dusen’s theology was liberal. A student of William Adams Brown, he followed Brown’s christocentric liberal theology. Explaining his belief in the necessity of the Incarnation in an article in *Liberal Theology*, he stated that

if God be thought of in abstract metaphysical categories—infinity, immutability, impassability, substance, essence—incarnation is impossible. But if God be thought of as intelligent, holy, purposeful Personality, he [sic] may become incarnate within the persons of men [sic].... This is the highest if not the only proper meaning of the immanence of God, incarnation.... In Jesus of Nazareth, God himself was present, as fully present as it is possible for him to be present in a truly human life. The identity of Jesus with God was of outlook, of purpose, of will, of compassion. The Christ of Christian history and of present experience should never be thought of except through the clear lineaments of the words, deeds, mind, spirit, [and] faith of the man, Jesus of Nazareth

[who] ever afresh lays constraint upon his Movement in the world, holding it more or less true to his mind and faith, and impelling it to new advances for fulfillment of his purposes. This is the most important fact about the Christian religion as an historic reality.

Van Dusen's personal journey of faith was shaped by a number of influences: the evangelical fervor of his early days with the YMCA, his early interest in the fledgling field of Clinical Pastoral Education (he was a close associate of its founder, Helen Flanders Dun-bar), his deep commitment to the ecumenical movement, and in his daily devotions in the chapel services of Union Seminary.

One of Van Dusen's lesser-known but nonetheless highly influential contributions was his indirect role in the development of the Twelve Steps of Alcoholics Anonymous (A.A.), written in 1938 by the cofounder of A.A., Bill Wilson, based on Wilson's earlier A.A. "Six Steps." Historians of the recovery movement suggest that these Six Steps were themselves based on six points outlined in a 1934 *Atlantic Monthly* article by Van Dusen, where he synthesized the findings of thirty Canadian church leaders who had studied and identified six central assumptions of the Rev. Frank N.D. Buchman's Oxford Group movement (later renamed MORAL REARMAMENT), of which A.A. was the major outgrowth. (Van Dusen's exposure to Buchman came through the work of Van Dusen's Princeton mentor, Dr. Samuel Shoemaker, who worked closely with Buchman from the 1920s through the 1930s and was the primary theological guiding force in the formation of Alcoholics Anonymous.) The six assumptions of the Oxford Group were:

- Men are sinners
- Men can be changed
- Confession is a prerequisite to change
- The changed soul has direct access to God
- The Age of Miracles has returned
- Those who have been changed must change others.

To these six Van Dusen added a seventh point, that "the greatest single secret of the Movement's effectiveness [is] the absolutely central place which 'the Group' holds in its mediation of religion."

Death

Ill since 1970 after a stroke, Van Dusen entered into a suicide pact with his wife, Betty (Elizabeth Coghill Bartholomew Van Dusen), who herself suffered from increasingly painful arthritis. Although neither had a terminal illness, both felt themselves to be on a downward course of increasingly poor quality of life. The suicide ended Mrs. Van Dusen's life immediately and Van Dusen's two weeks later due to a sudden, unexpected, acute cardiac arrest, after he had been physically improving. He died on February 13, 1975 at the age of 77. In a letter the Van Dusens left for their three sons and other relatives and friends, they wrote: "Nowadays it is becoming more difficult to die. We feel

that the way we're taking will become more acceptable as the years pass." They concluded with this prayer: "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace." After the couple's deaths Dr. Cyril Richardson eulogized Van Dusen at Union Seminary as "a man of strong personality and inexhaustible energy" who had "what the Germans call 'Unternehmungsgeist,' the spirit, that is, to engage in large enterprises and never to flag in his devotion to them...[who] gave himself to causes with unstinted vigor, and had an unbending sense of duty, but these were mellowed by a rich heart of Christian compassion and forgiveness."

See also Bennett, John; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism; Moral Rearmament; Niebuhr, Reinhold; Seminaries; Temperance; Tillich, Paul; World Council of Churches; YMCA

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PAUL WILLIAM BRADLEY

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, RALPH (1872–1958)

English composer. Vaughan Williams is generally regarded as England's greatest composer of the twentieth century. Of mixed English and Welsh ancestry, he was born October 12, 1872 in the village of Down Ampney, Gloucestershire, where his father, Arthur, was vicar of the parish church. His mother, Margaret, was related to the Wedgwood and Darwin families. Ralph (he pronounced the name Rāfe) studied at the Royal College of Music and CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, where he studied history. His teachers included some of the finest musicians of his time: Sir Hubert Parry, Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, Charles Wood, and Alan Gray. He also spent some time in Berlin working with Max Bruch and in Paris, where he became a close friend of Maurice Ravel. In 1897 he married Adeline Fisher, the daughter of a prominent lawyer and tutor to the prince of Wales.

After service in World War I, Vaughan Williams was appointed professor of composition at the Royal College of Music. From 1921 to 1928 he was director of the London Bach Choir. The earliest of his several symphonies, *A Sea Symphony*, was first performed in 1910. *A London Symphony* followed in 1914 and *A Pastoral Symphony* in 1922. The 1930s and 1940s were his most prolific decades and saw the premier of a number of symphonies and works for the stage. In 1935 he was appointed to the Order of Merit, the highest honor bestowed by the British monarchy. His wife died in 1951 and two years later he married Ursula Wood, daughter of Major General Sir Robert Lock and widow of Lt. Col. Michael Forrester Wood. His last symphony, No. 9, was completed in 1958. He died in his sleep, without any long illness, on August 16, 1958.

During his school days at the Charterhouse Vaughan Williams had insisted that he was an atheist. Later, as his second wife said, he drifted into a cheerful agnosticism. He was never a professing Christian, and he left an early position as organist of St. Barnabas church in Lambeth because he was unwilling to comply with the vicar's demand that he receive communion (see LORD'S SUPPER). Nevertheless much of his finest work is religious in character. This includes the "Five Mystical Songs" setting of poems by George Herbert (1911); the "Fantasia on Christmas Carols" (1915); a Mass in G Minor (1922); "Sancta Civitas," a choral work based on texts from the Book of Revelation (1926); a Te Deum (1928) and Magnificat (1932); the anthem "O how amiable" (1934); and a Christmas cantata, "Hodie" (1954). He was active in collecting English folk songs and carols, some of which were incorporated in his choral works, and in the compilation of the *English Hymnal* (1905), *Songs of Praise* (1924), and the *Oxford Book of Carols* (1928). His hymn tunes include "Sine nomine" ("For all the saints"), "Down Ampney" ("Come down, O Love divine"), and "King's Weston" ("At the name of Jesus"). Works for organ include "Preludes on Three Welsh Hymn Tunes," one of which is the popular

“Rhosymedre.” His compositions were frequently performed at the Three Choirs Festival and were often directed by the composer himself.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Music; Music, English Church

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STANFORD LEHMBERG

VESTMENTS

Vestments are special clothes worn by religious leaders and liturgical ministers that designate their status in the community and their role in the liturgical assembly. Protestants inherited the clerical garb and liturgical vestments that had evolved in the Western Church during the Middle Ages and had to decide whether to retain this vesture. This article traces the development and types of liturgical vestments in the ancient and medieval church, and reviews which vestments were retained or discarded in the Reformation churches. In the course of subsequent Protestant history further decisions were made by churches with regard to clerical garb and liturgical vestments in response to changing tastes and expectations.

Clerical Attire and Liturgical Vestments in the Ancient and Medieval Church

Dress for Worship

As the offices of BISHOP, presbyter, and DEACON developed in the early church, the bearers of these offices were not at first distinguished from other Christians either in everyday dress or in the liturgical assembly other than their social rank. The first pronouncements in the writings of the church fathers on what to wear to worship applied to all Christians. Clement of Alexandria (d. c. 215) called for clothes that are clean and bright. Jerome (d. 420) stated that "We ought not to enter into the holy of holies in our everyday garments, just as we please, when they have become defiled from the use of ordinary life, but with a clean conscience and in clean garments hold in our hands the sacraments of the Lord" (*Commentary on Ezekiel* 44:17ff.)

The wearing of one's "Sunday best" applied especially to the newly baptized who were to be vested in a clean white garment when they emerged from the pool. The Letter of John the Deacon to Senarius (c. 500) reported that the newly baptized "wear white garments so that, although the ragged dress of ancient error has darkened the infancy of their first birth, the garment of the second birth may symbolize the garment of glory, so that attired in a wedding garment the [newly baptized] may approach the table of the heavenly bridegroom as a new person" (7). In addition to the white garment (*alba*) the newly baptized wore a linen cloth over their heads to symbolize their priesthood in Christ (the later amice). By the fifth century they wore these baptismal robes during the week of white robes after Easter Day when they attended the mystagogical homilies given by the bishops. Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) admonished the newly baptized on the Octave of

Easter not to revert to the old way of the life when they removed their baptismal robes and blended into the congregation.

Clerical Attire

What applied to the LAITY applied all the more to the CLERGY. Origen (d. 253) advised the bishop to wear one set of clothes when performing “the ministry of the sacrifices” and another when going out among the people (*Homily on Leviticus* 4:6). Jerome added that it does not dishonor God if the clergy wear white tunics at the LITURGY more handsome than the rest (*Against Pelagius* 1:4). The Canons of Hippolytus prescribe that clergy and lectors “be dressed in white vestments more beautiful than the rest of the people” (Canon 37).

Two factors affected the development of special clerical garb and liturgical vestments. The first was the legalization of Christianity by the emperor Constantine in the fourth century when the emperor honored the bishops with the status and insignia of civil magistrates. Senatorial sandals, the dalmatic (a sleeved coat worn over the tunic), and the ceremonial pallium (a kind of scarf or stole draped over the left shoulder, around and under the right arm, crossed over the breast and then laid over the left arm, leaving the right arm free) became signs of their office. Second, there was a dramatic shift in the style of men’s clothing during the fifth and sixth centuries when the trousers and short tunics of the Germanic peoples replaced the long, flowing tunics of the Romans. Clergy adapted to the changing styles in their everyday dress but retained the older clothing to wear for the liturgies. As a matter of convenience it became the custom to wear the liturgical vestments over one’s street clothing.

A basic clerical garment worn on the streets, but over which the liturgical vestments were donned, is the cassock. It seems to have derived from the barbarian tunic or coat, open in the front but secured with clasps and reaching down to the knees. As emperors wore longer coats reaching to their ankles, clergy followed suit. Although black remained a basic color of clergy cassocks, they could be in other colors as well. Some colors designated ecclesiastical rank: white for the pope, purple for bishops, red for cardinals. Cathedrals and prominent churches sometimes chose their own color for cassocks. Cassocks were worn by lay choir members, vergers, sacristans, and acolytes as well as clergy.

Over the cassock, clergy of the late Middle Ages who were scholars wore an academic gown. These gowns could function as an overcoat and were often fur-lined. They were worn not only by clergy but by scholars, lawyers, magistrates, and other public functionaries. As universities adopted distinctive academic hoods and scarves, these were also worn with the gown on ceremonial occasions, especially in ENGLAND.

Bishops who rode horses when making visitations of parishes adopted a sleeveless cloak called a chimere (perhaps derived from the Spanish *zamarra*), which would also be worn over the cassock and, in time, over the white tunic also. Doctors of divinity could wear a red chimere, and bishops were usually awarded a doctor of divinity degree because they were teachers of the faith. Hence, the color of the episcopal chimere was red.

Clergy also acquired distinctive headgear for outdoor wear. By the eleventh century the mitre had emerged as the distinctive hat of the bishop. It is so called because of its mitred shape, although it may have originally been a conical cap. Two lappets or fanons hang down the back. Clergy who wore academic gowns on the streets also wore academic caps. Although hats may have been worn indoors for ceremonial purposes, they were removed for prayer.

Liturgical Vestments

The basic liturgical vestment remained the white Roman tunic, or alb. By the eleventh century two developments occurred with the alb. One was that it ceased to be plain and was embroidered with rich apparel around the collar of the amice or neckerchief and on the bottom hem. Second, the wearing of fur or wool cassocks in northern countries required a larger neck opening and slits or billowy sleeves so that it could be donned over the cassock. This style of alb came to be called the surplice, from *superpelliceus* (“over the fur”). It was worn without an amice or girdle (cincture). A still further variant on the alb was the rochet, which was a sleeveless, ankle-length tunic worn up until the thirteenth century by choristers, sacristans, and servers who had to have their arms free. After that it was designated for bishops, cardinals, and canons regular, and the sleeves were added but gathered at the wrist. The close-fitting alb continued to be worn for the celebration of the Eucharist or mass, whereas the surplice or rochet was used as a choir vestment for the prayer offices or occasional services.

The other major item of clothing that survived from Roman times is the chasuble, which originated from the Roman *paenula*. This was a poncholike outdoor cloak actually favored by the lower classes that was made of skins or wools and reached down to the calves. Conically shaped, its folds had to be gathered up over the arms when moving about. The nearly universal wearing of this garment by the clergy reflects the places of liturgical assembly: in the catacombs and cemeteries at night, in processions through the streets, and in the cold churches in the lands north of the Alps. As time went on the folds that would have to be gathered over the arms were cut away to allow the arms to be free for handling books, vessels, and other objects. The chasuble became heavily decorated with a large cross embroidered on the back. The cope was a variation on the chasuble in which the conical shape was retained but cut from the neck to the foot and closed in the front with a clasp. Because it was like a cape worn for ceremonial functions, the cope became heavily embroidered and the hood became a kind of shield hung on the back. Chasubles were worn by the celebrant at the Eucharist or Mass, whereas copes were worn by officiants at solemn prayer offices, in processions, and for occasional services. Whereas any officiant, clergy or lay, could wear the cope, only priests and bishops wore the chasuble. Deacons continued to wear the dalmatic and subdeacons wore a slight variation of the dalmatic called a tunicle.

The origin of the stole is uncertain. It probably derives from the Roman *orarium*, a long towel worn over the left shoulder. The Council of Braga (Spain, 563) associated it with deacons who wore it like a waiter’s towel when preparing gifts for the Eucharist. The Fourth Council of Toledo (633) prescribed the stole to be worn around the neck by bishops just as archbishops would wear the pallium. The Council of Mainz (813)

extended the wearing of the stole to the priests. A similar vestment with a practical origin that acquired a symbolic significance was the maniple (*mappula*), which originated as a ceremonial napkin or hand towel worn over the wrist by officials. It was worn by deacons from the fourth century on to cover their hands when handling eucharistic gifts and vessels. During the early Middle Ages the wearing of the maniple was extended to all major orders of clergy, to be worn from the left wrist only when celebrating the Eucharist.

By the high Middle Ages chasubles and copes, stoles, and maniples were made in various matching colors to symbolically reflect the days and seasons of the church year. A color system was codified for the local Church of Rome by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) that exerted great influence on later liturgical color schemes: white for feasts of the Lord and saints; red for Pentecost, Holy Cross Day, and feasts of apostles and martyrs; black or purple for penitential seasons (Advent and Lent); and green for ordinary days.

Vestments in the Reformation Churches

The Attitude of the Reformers

MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) expressed an indifference toward vestments. In his *German Mass and Order of Service* (1526) he wrote: “Here we retain the vestments, altar, and candles until they are used up or we are pleased to make a change.” In a humorous letter to George Spalatin, the chaplain to the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, who wanted to retain albs and chasubles and processions, Luther wrote that if the elector would allow the gospel and put away superstitious practices, “then in God’s Name, go along in the procession, and carry a silver or golden cross, and a chasuble or an alb of velvet, silk, or linen. And if one chasuble or alb is not enough for your lord the elector, put on three of them, as Aaron the high priest put on three, one over the other.... For such matters, if free from abuses, take from or give to the gospel nothing: only they must not be thought necessary to salvation, and the conscience dare not be bound to them....” In the Lutheran tradition vestments came under the category of ADIAPHORA, or “indifferent things,” matters not of the substance of faith, that could be left free as long as the conscience was not constrained by a required use of them.

The Reformed tradition, on the other hand, took a much more negative attitude toward liturgical vestments and abandoned them entirely, especially those associated with the sacrifice of the Mass. Such vestments were regarded not merely as an object of superstition but had been associated with a sacrilege. In the summer of 1524, partly under pressure from the Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM), HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531) had vestments, along with other costly ornaments, service books, and vessels removed from the churches of Zurich. These iconoclastic actions were replicated in other places where a more radical REFORMATION was implemented, including in England during the Edwardian Reformation.

The Black Gown, Cap, and Scarf

Luther's own practice, when PREACHING, was to wear his doctor's gown (*Talar*). Although much has been made of the fact that he and other reformers were preaching in their street clothes, given that the gown was not a liturgical vestment, it should be remembered that friars and monks in the late Middle Ages customarily preached in their habits. The only change Luther's practice represents, therefore, is from his monk's habit to the university attire. It is likely that when Luther went to the altar he donned liturgical vestments.

At first both Lutheran and Reformed pastors wore the cassock under the gown, which would have been the conventional street attire of the clergy. In the course of time Reformed pastors abandoned the cassock for ordinary lay clothing, but the gown was still worn in the pulpit. In a process similar to that of the ancient church, therefore, ordinary clothing became a vestment. The academic gown emphasized the concern of the Reformation churches for an educated clergy who were capable of studying the Scriptures and church fathers in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

Lutheran clergy did not at first give up wearing the cassock, but during the seventeenth century it was combined with the gown as one vestment in northern GERMANY, DENMARK, and NORWAY. In the seventeenth century it became customary for public officials to wear ruffled collars, and this included clergy. These collars remained a part of clerical attire in Denmark and Norway into the twentieth century. During the eighteenth century in other places, the elaborate ruffs gave way to simpler bands of two strips of white linen (*Beffchen*) hanging from the neck. The bands were worn by all members of learned professions, not only clergy. King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia made the gown with bands the uniform of Protestant clergy in his realm in 1733 and abolished the chasuble and cope. The combination of cassock and gown with bands, three-cornered hat (*chapeau*), scarf (tippet), and buckled shoes became the formal court dress of priests and deacons in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The academic cap went with the academic gown and varied in style from place to place. In Germany it took the style of a circular *beret*. In SWEDEN it took the form of a low-crowned cylindrical cap. In England it was a square cap (the precursor to the mortarboard). Up until modern times these caps often had ear flaps for protection against the cold and could be worn in the churches as well as outdoors.

The academic scarf (tippet) was generally worn only by clergy in England and Norway. In England it was worn hanging around the neck and down the front like a stole, although it is not a stole. In Norway it became a thinner black strip that was sewn onto the cassock-gown. The 1549 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER-recommended also the academic hood as "seemly" for preachers and the 1604 Canons ordered it for all graduate ministers.

Alb, Surplice, and Rochet

The basic liturgical vestment is a white linen tunic in the style of the alb, surplice, or rochet. The close-fitting alb, with amice-collar and secured at the waist with a cincture, was gradually displaced by the knee-length slit-sleeved surplice or the ankle-length

gathered-sleeve rochet in Lutheran use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The latter was favored for use with the chasuble.

The 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* of King Edward VI of England abolished the use of chasuble and cope (permitted in the 1549 Prayer Book) but prescribed that the white linen surplice be worn by officiating clergy at all services. This directive was short-lived because of the death of Edward VI and the return of Catholicism under Queen Mary I (1553–1558), although it returned with the restoration of the *Book of Common Prayer* under ELIZABETH I in 1559. Because the queen as supreme governor of the church demanded conformity in all indifferent matters, Archbishop MATTHEW PARKER published some “Advertisements” in 1566 that were a call to strict conformity. This precipitated the Vestiarian Controversy in which nonconformists (see NONCONFORMITY) within the Church of England protested the binding of consciences by the required wearing of “outwarde apparell.” The Puritans (see PURITANISM) who emigrated to New England discontinued wearing the surplice, but it remained a staple vestment of Anglican clergy worn over cassock or gown with tippet and hood. Bishops wore an ankle-length rochet with sleeves gathered at the wrist by a band over which they wore a red chimere and tippet, which has remained standard Anglican episcopal dress to this day. Cassocks and surplices continued to be worn by choirs in cathedral and collegiate churches.

Chasuble and Cope

Chasubles and copes were retained by Lutherans in northern Germany and in the Nordic countries long after the stole and maniple were allowed to fall into disuse or were officially abolished. This use of alb or surplice and chasuble for Holy Communion (LORD’S SUPPER) and cope for processions survived in northern Germany until the end of the eighteenth century in such local churches as Dresden, Leipzig, Magdeburg, and Nuremberg. In 1733 King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia officially abolished both vestments in his expanded realm, which included Reformed as well as Lutheran populations. In 1740, however, the more tolerant king Frederick the Great permitted their restoration in a number of Berlin parishes, and they were used in St. Nicholas Church until after 1787. By the end of the eighteenth century these vestments were being discarded in favor of the black gown favored by the ENLIGHTENMENT. Chasubles and copes survived, however, in the Churches of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and FINLAND. The 1685 *Rituale* of the church in the united Kingdom of Denmark and Norway directed the priest to vest in a black undergarment, a white vestment, and a chasuble at the altar when the bell tolled for the start of the service and to unvest during the closing hymn. The chasuble was to be removed whenever the pastor left the altar (e.g., to go to the font, the pulpit, or the litany desk). At Ante-Communion the priest would not resume wearing the chasuble after the sermon. The Gothic vestments in use in the fifteenth century, knee-length front and back with material on the side cut away to allow arm movement and with a large gold cross embroidered on the back, continued to be the style in Germany, Denmark, and Norway after the Reformation. The “fiddle-back” style of chasuble favored in Baroque Catholicism was introduced in Sweden by King Gustav III. Swedish and Finnish bishops continued to wear the cope with matching stole and mitre and

pectoral cross as episcopal dress. They also continued to carry a crozier (shepherd's crook) in their own diocese.

In England chasubles and copes, which had been permitted in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, were generally discouraged and were definitively abolished in 1552. Such vestments were either confiscated by sheriffs or remade into paraments for the new communion tables that replaced the old stone ALTARS. Copes were allowed again in 1559 because they were not associated with the Mass, and were probably worn for the Holy Communion as well as the Ante-Communion in some places. Canon XXIV in 1604 ruled that the principal minister of Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches should wear a colored cope over a plain alb.

No Vestments

As a matter of principle the sixteenth-century Anabaptists and seventeenth-century BAPTISTS es chewed all vestments. Few Anabaptist or Baptist leaders were university educated, so not even the black gown was worn by their pastors. As a matter of practicality, those pastors and preachers who tended scattered congregations on the North American frontier on horseback seldom packed gowns or vestments in their saddlebags.

The Revival of Vestment

In Anglicanism

The neo-medievalism of the Cambridge Ecclesiological Movement in England (not to be confused with the more theological OXFORD MOVEMENT) fostered the revival of Gothic architecture as the most appropriate form of church architecture. Allied with the Victorian neo-gothic revival, Ritualists advocated the restoration of the Gothic chasuble with matching stole and maniple for the celebration of Holy Communion. The mass production of these vestments in the late nineteenth century and their marketing by church supply companies promoted their rapid acquisition in parishes as the principles of the Oxford and Cambridge movements made inroads in ANGLICANISM in Great Britain and North America. The solemn celebration of Mass in Anglo-Catholic parishes also led to the restoration of matching dalmatics and tunics for the roles of the deacon and subdeacon. Interestingly, acolytes, crucifers, thurifers, and even choristers sometimes wore the shorter cottas of the Roman style rather than the knee- or ankle-length surplices of northern Europe.

In Lutheranism

The romantic revival did little to affect vestments in European LUTHERANISM. The alb and chasuble never made a comeback in Germany, although surplices or rochets

continued to be worn over gowns in Saxony and in the Slavic countries. The chasubles retained in the Nordic Churches continued to be Gothic-style vestments, although these became more fulsome in the twentieth century and matching stoles were restored.

An interesting evolution occurred in North American Lutheranism. Where vestments were worn at all, they tended to be black clergy gowns, with ruffs or tabs (bands) in the Scandinavian synods. Where choirs were vested, they also wore academic-type black gowns. In Swedish and Finnish congregations pastors wore the knee-length frock coat with white tabs typical of the street wear of their European counterparts. In lieu of a gown they might wear the long black preaching cape also worn for non-Communion services by their European counterparts. By the beginning of the twentieth century colored stoles were being introduced that were worn over the gown, although by the 1920s cassock, surplice, and colored stole began to become popular, and by the middle of the twentieth century this combination had become the most common form of vesture in all branches of American Lutheranism (see LUTHERANISM, UNITED STATES). The use of cassocks also required the wearing of Roman collars. As in Episcopal parishes, choirs and servers in Lutheran congregations were also turning to cassocks and cottas. Albs and chasubles began to appear in a few American Lutheran congregations in the 1950s and 1960s.

In Mainline Protestantism

The conditions of church life in frontier American discouraged the wearing of vestments or even formal clergy streetwear. Still, as churches became more respectable there was an expectation that clergy would wear formal men's attire to conduct Sunday morning services. In the late nineteenth century this meant the Prince Albert coat, which was an old-fashioned cutaway coat with tails, and striped trousers. By the 1920s the black "Geneva gown" (combined cassock and gown) sometimes with tabs (attached to Roman clerical collars) was making a comeback in Presbyterian and Reformed Churches. Methodist clergy (see METHODISM) also wore a black clergy gown, but without tabs. By the middle of the twentieth century many Methodist clergy were wearing colored stoles over their gowns. This became typical also of Congregationalist pastors (see CONGREGATIONALISM), who brought such vesture into the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST.

The Renewal of Vestments

The most remarkable development of the late 1960s to early 1970s was the use of the cassock-alb in those churches in which clergy wore the basic white tunic. This all-purpose vestment was adopted almost overnight by Roman Catholic priests and American Lutheran pastors. A practical vestment, it is usually put on like a coat rather than over the head. The amice as such was discarded, although it survives in the collar of the alb. In an effort to recapture the long flowing character of the ancient Roman tunic,

cinctures were sometimes also discarded. The next development was the chasuble-alb, which was a fulsome vestment worn in place of both with the stole placed over it. In another development, a simple, unadorned, but fulsome chasuble in a lighter version of the liturgical color was worn over the alb but with the stole in the contrasting liturgical color worn on top of it. An attempt to revive the ancient conicle chasuble proved unsuccessful. The more prevalent and traditional use has been to wear the stole under the chasuble, held in place by being slipped through loops in the cincture. Some Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Church of Christ clergy have also adopted the cassock-alb and stole as standard vesture. It has thus acquired a kind of ecumenical appeal. In churches in which the clergy wear the cassock-alb, assisting ministers, servers, and choirs have followed suit.

The Geneva gown is still the preferred vestment in Reformed Churches, although in an age of liturgical renewal in which the celebrative character of Christian worship has been emphasized, there has been objection to its dark, somber color. As a result, it has been replaced with softer-colored academic gowns (e.g., blue or white) with hoods (usually red for a degree in theology). The use of academic hoods and gowns with doctoral bars (because of the prevalence of doctor of ministry degrees) still emphasizes the academic expectations of Reformed clergy. Sometimes in an effort to distinguish preaching gowns from regular academic gowns, crosses are stitched onto the breasts or sleeves of the garment. Choirs have also retained the use of academic-type gowns, but often in bright colors with ersatz satin hoods or stoles, especially in the African American Churches.

In many Protestant traditions the use of vestments for clergy continues to be rejected. Pastors in these churches wear a plain dark business suit in which to lead worship. In churches that offer contemporary worship or SEEKER services (see SEEKER CHURCHES), the pastor might not wear a suit at all, but casual slacks and sport shirt. Nor would the musicians be vested.

The Meaning of Vestments

In the Middle Ages there was a tendency to give an allegorical meaning to all vestments. Those worn at Mass were interpreted in the medieval commentaries on the mass (*Expositiones missae*) in the light of the overall interpretation of the Mass as a dramatic reenactment of the sacrifice of Christ on Calvary. Thus, the chasuble represented the cross, in view of the large crosses embroidered on the back of the chasuble; the alb signified the gown given to Christ after his scourging; the amice symbolized the crown of thorns. This kind of interpretation undoubtedly contributed to the Reformed rejection of all vestments associated with the Mass.

Some symbolic interpretation of vestments that survive from antiquity is inevitable. Perhaps less farfetched than the interpretations in medieval commentaries, but still allegorical, is the symbolism of the alb as the baptismal robe put on by the newly baptized to signify their putting on of Christ and being covered with his righteousness, the stole as the yoke of Christ, and the chasuble as the seamless robe of Christ. However, the basic meaning of vestments is that they signify continuity with the church down

through the ages. This is why if vestments are worn they ought to be those that evoke a memory of the church in its formative age.

Vestments serve to diminish the personality of the minister and to emphasize his or her role in the assembly. This suggests different vestments for different ministers. All ministers, lay and ordained, might wear the alb as the baptismal vestment of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS, but only ordained ministers should wear the stole. Any presiding minister, lay or ordained, might wear the cope in processions or at solemn prayer offices, but only ordained ministers should wear the chasuble at the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. On the other hand, the fact that some ministers do not wear vestments, such as those who serve as ushers or gift-bearers or communion ministers, is also significant because it witnesses to the fact that the divine liturgy remains connected with everyday life in this world. Because vestments cover personality, wearing jewelry, including pectoral crosses, is inappropriate, except for bishops for whom the pectoral cross is a symbol of office.

Vestments serve to indicate the different character of the different services. The tight-fitting alb was worn for the Eucharist or Holy Communion, which requires more preparation. The looser-fitting surplice was worn for the daily prayer offices because the ministers or choir could come from other activities and slip it on more easily than the alb. The chasuble was reserved for wear only at the Eucharist. The stole has become the sign of ordination and therefore it is appropriately worn by ordained ministers for all liturgical functions exercised by the minister of word and sacrament, such as preaching, BAPTISM, CONFESSION, and Communion as well as at MARRIAGE, ordination, and funeral liturgies. However, it need not be worn at liturgical offices that do not usually require ordained leadership, such as the daily prayer offices.

Vestments add beauty, dignity, and festivity to the liturgy. The beauty of vestments derives from their material rather than from lavish ornamentation. Natural materials such as linen, silk, and wool are preferred. Vestments themselves are symbols and do not need other symbols added to them. In view of the association of the chasuble with the mass-sacrifice in the medieval commentaries, Protestants avoid having large crosses embroidered on them—or crowns of thorns, doves, or flames of fire. The plain fabric should have a dignity of its own. The colors of the outer vestments are bold: deep blue for Advent, gold on white for Christmas and Easter, unbleached earthen color or purple for Lent, deep red for Passion Sunday and Holy Week, fire red for Pentecost, and bright green for the time after the Epiphany and after Pentecost.

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FRANK C.SENN

VISSER'T HOOFT, WILLEM ADOLF (1900–1985)

Ecumenical Statesman Visser't Hooft epitomized the tensions in global religious developments during the twentieth century. Born in the Dutch town of Haarlem, Visser't Hooft earned a doctorate in theology from the University of Leiden in 1928 and contributed to the development of global ECUMENISM.

Three influences shaped Visser't Hooft's THEOLOGY. The Dutch Student Christian Movement introduced the dynamics of God's calling on individual lives; JOHN R. MOTT (1865–1955) inclined him toward MISSIONS and global evangelization; and KARL BARTH (1886–1968) contributed a foundation for truth that validated the other two influences in an increasingly relativistic era.

Between 1924 and 1966 Visser't Hooft held numerous leadership positions with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the World's Student Christian Federation, and finally the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. As global ecumenical trends developed, his speaking, lecturing, and travels increased, and his friendship with JOSEPH H. OLDHAM (1874–1969) proved mutually beneficial.

Visser't Hooft affirmed christocentric pluralism for Christian engagement of world religions. He worked to effect a unified Christendom to produce a vital witness of Christ's uniqueness in an increasingly syncretistic world. Effective Christian communication, Visser't Hooft sensed, required Christians to excise the cultural beliefs thrust upon them by their own cultures' assimilation processes, especially in the West, and to proclaim a Christ free from imposed values who exists cosmically for the entire world. He considered this a worthy revitalization of Christian theology.

The antinomy in his thought was to affirm an absolute and unique Christ with the need for global evangelization to stem chaotic religious drift on the one hand, while adopting the dialectical and relativistic theology of contemporary neo-orthodox thinkers on the other. For Visser't Hooft, the Archimedian point of truth he affirmed when he encountered Barthian theology ironically proved to aid naturalistic assumptions regarding cultural determination of religious experience in a closed universe rather than renewing Christ's uniqueness in a syncretistic age.

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KEITH E.EITEL

VOCATION

In Protestant belief and practice, vocation is not limited to the work of the clergy, but includes every activity that fulfills the design of God's creation. All have divine vocations that enables them to live out the calling that comes with BAPTISM.

Before the sixteenth century religious tasks of contemplation and priesthood took a privileged place in society. In the Middle Ages vocation would be ordinarily pursued in places specially set aside for that purpose, and monasteries and convents were the places where religious life was to be lived.

Protestantism expanded the perimeters of the meaning of vocation beyond the walls of religious establishments to include all pursuits of livelihood. Now all jobs came under the category of vocation, inasmuch as they participated in God's care of the created world, whether they were conducted in a bakery, a shop, or a cathedral. One was no longer called *out* to serve God, but was called *in* the world to serve God. Vocation was no longer determined by the service one rendered to the CHURCH, and came to mean whatever one did for a living. It was a way in which God provided the daily bread. Historians commonly attribute this extended meaning of the term "vocation" to MARTIN LUTHER, who formulated the theology of work in terms of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS.

The traditional notion of a higher calling in ecclesiastical duties may have enhanced the AUTHORITY of the church in medieval times, but Luther called the distinction between spiritual estate and temporal estate a church-sponsored deceit. Other Protestant leaders went as far as to caricature it as timorous flight from the world.

JOHN CALVIN added a new dimension to the democratic notion of vocation, as he redefined calling as what the believer chooses to do for the glory of God. One was not simply called to carry out a function ordained for him or her in the society; God's creature was to identify the work through which she or he could glorify God.

Vocation in Relation to Baptism and Ordination

Prior to the sixteenth century, the concept of vocation was associated with either entry into monastic life or ordination to the priesthood. Protestant theology, as it regards lay people's work as valuable in God's sight as that of the CLERGY, has shifted the liturgical context of recognizing vocation from ordination to baptism. In baptism one is called to live a life that builds up the body of Christ, and the baptized pursue their vocation for the well-being and health of the community of faith.

In the actual practice among the Protestants, however, the newly recognized value of the common people's work did not necessarily downgrade the role of religious workers. Most Protestant traditions continued celebrating ordination as a communal event in which the believing community recognized the calling of teaching, **PREACHING**, and preserving the purity of the church, even though none listed it as one of the traditional seven **SACRAMENTS**. Only a few Protestant traditions discontinued the practice of ordination of the clergy, given that the ritual seemed to communicate residual distinction between religious vocations and nonreligious tasks. The Anglican tradition maintained the clear distinction between religious priesthood and everyday work, but have embraced the Protestant notion of vocation and affirmed the value of secular jobs as equal to that of the clergy. In the Protestant theology of work, the ordained office was no longer the only form of vocation, but the clergy's work had a special role in the sense of enabling the members of the body of Christ to fulfill their own form of serving the creator.

As one serves God's calling in what God has created him or her to do in life, **LITURGY** is no longer an event of the sanctuary; rather the entire world becomes the sanctuary. Interestingly enough, the Protestant emphasis of the vocation of people restores the root meaning of the word *liturgy*, which came from a Greek word *leitourgia*, meaning "the public service."

Vocational Ethics

Sociological studies have often linked the Protestant view of vocation with productivity. In the early twentieth century, **MAX WEBER** identified the entrepreneurial **INDIVIDUALISM** of Protestant ethics as a major force behind modern capitalism. Protestantism may have indeed offered an ambience in which capitalism grew in the twentieth century; however, the modern secularized form of entrepreneurialism could not be further away from the Protestant notion of vocation because it defines the value of a person in terms of how much he or she produces. The value of vocation does not lie in production, but in service.

Luther maintained that a Christian person was given freedom to serve all, while being a servant to none but God. Vocation was the context in which one put the freedom of service into practice. Luther displayed a great deal of confidence in the symbiotic relationship of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the earth as two compatible arenas of Christian vocation, but Calvin regarded it necessary for the believer to assess the value of each work that one does in the sinful world. For Calvin, the world was a place that needed God's work of **SALVATION**, and human work had to be evaluated in terms of one's service for the neighbor.

Vocation in the New Millennium

Vocation in Protestantism has the potential of realizing the truly democratic world in which every form of productive lifetime work is valued as God's design and desire, instead of having a certain form of work as divinely privileged. The affirmation of all forms of labor has imparted heavenly meaning to earthly endeavors.

The Protestant THEOLOGY of vocation faces a serious challenge, however, when it is used to support the status quo, as if social locations are part of God's immutable design. PURITANISM has often been cited as an example for a strand in Protestantism that believed each person had a preordained role in his or her post in the community. One was to make austere efforts in order to carry her or his vocation apart from how he or she may feel about it. One was required to be happy about the work God assigned for each member of the community. While the Puritan view envisioned a community of the willing under all circumstances and evoked energy and dedication to work with gladness in hardy places like wilderness, the conservative work ETHICS was not equipped to address issues of institutional exploitation in the world where labor turned into a commodity.

The tendency toward conservatism in the theology of vocation made its most crude appearance in the nineteenth-century hymn of "All Things Bright and Beautiful." Originally it had the following refrain, which has been left out in modern hymnals: "The rich in his castle, the poor at the gate, God made them high and lowly and ordered their estate." In such an interpretation of Protestant vocation one was consigned, or even condemned to his or her social location.

The historical legacy of Protestantism offers a corrective to the misunderstanding of the doctrine of vocation as an endorsement of the status quo because the theology of vocation as originally envisioned by the reformers was meant to bring down the wall of separation of the privileged religious work and the faithful life of service. JOHN CALVIN noted that the faithful practice of vocation seeks justice in God's creation. Labor that pursues God's desire for justice is to be considered in consonance with the Protestant theology of vocation.

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JIN HEE HAN

VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES

Historians and sociologists, echoing the French politician ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE'S (1805–1859) observations during the 1830s, have long recognized the centrality of voluntarism in American religious and cultural life. The separation of CHURCH AND STATE inscribed religious choice in the nation's legal framework, and denominations themselves constitute essentially voluntary organizations. Almost immediately following the adoption of the Constitution, a bewildering array of voluntary societies appeared on the American landscape. Organizations dedicated to distributing Bibles and tracts, reforming morals, establishing SUNDAY SCHOOLS, encouraging TEMPERANCE, supporting missionaries, and promoting myriad other causes emerged in the nation's villages, towns, and metropolises. Although these societies flourished within the UNITED STATES, they actually owed much to a transatlantic evangelical impulse. Many American organizations explicitly modeled themselves on European predecessors, receiving their initial inspiration and funding from abroad. Several matured into enduring national institutions and continue to exert an important influence on religious life. Others rededicated themselves to more secular purposes. By the early twentieth century, voluntary societies constituted a critical component of the nation's charitable and benevolent infrastructure. These organizations increased and diversified as the twentieth century wore on. Evangelicals and fundamentalists (see EVANGELICALISM; FUNDAMENTALISM), often isolated within the established denominations, proved especially successful in establishing a broad range of parachurch agencies to promote their perspectives. Many mainliners followed suit, and some sociologists have argued that special-purpose voluntary associations remain the most important religious groupings in the late twentieth century.

Antebellum Societies

Alexis de Tocqueville's influential and shrewd analysis of American antebellum CULTURE laid much of the framework for later scholarly discussions. Writing in the 1830s, he noted the propensity for Americans of all ages, classes, and dispositions to gather themselves into associations for a variety of social and reformist purposes. De Tocqueville argued that the peculiarities of democratic life, the absence of fixed classes, and the lack of state-supported churches produced a unique environment that stimulated voluntary activity. Citizens gathered together to reform morals, monitor deviance, establish educational institutions, and dispense CHARITY. Subsequent social observers, ranging from English historian James Bryce (1838–1922) to German scientist MAX

WEBER (1864–1920), have echoed these observations and characterized America as a nation of joiners. Historians have often emphasized the quintessentially Protestant aspects of voluntarism, arguing that the heterogeneous and competitive American religious milieu encouraged like-minded people to gather together in societies and denominations in order to promote their particular views. Many studies linked voluntary religion with Protestant revivalism (see REVIVALS), noting the correspondence between intense evangelical activity and the founding of social reform agencies.

Contemporary scholarship has modified earlier assumptions about antebellum voluntary societies and broadened the discussion in several ways. First, the traditional emphasis on the uniquely American nature of voluntarism seriously understated international influences. Recent literature has underscored the extent to which antebellum American evangelicals operated within a well-defined transatlantic context, as people and ideas traveled back and forth between the European and American continents. Many of the most successful early nineteenth-century voluntary agencies explicitly modeled themselves on European precedents. The AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY (1816), for example, copied its constitution, administrative structure, and distribution policies virtually verbatim from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (1804). Sunday school organizers in Philadelphia and Pawtucket during the 1790s drew heavily on the work and philosophy of ROBERT RAIKES (1735–1811) and other British evangelicals. The Young Men's Christian Association (see YMCA, YWCA) actually originated in ENGLAND in 1841, and was only introduced in Boston, New York, and Montreal a decade later. A broadly cosmopolitan outlook and participation in a transatlantic world of business, benevolence, and philanthropy informed the founders and early managers of all of these new national voluntary institutions.

Second, although antebellum societies found fertile ground throughout the entire United States, they appeared especially prolific among individuals and groups affected by the Second Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) and its theological currents. Several community studies that have examined religious life in the evangelically charged region of upstate New York uncovered full-blown association fever in the early 1830s. Dynamic and prosperous cities like Rochester and Albany, thriving canal towns and sleepy villages in Oneida County, and country hamlets in Cortland County all boasted their share of BIBLE, tract, temperance, and moral reform societies. Larger cities proved particularly hospitable venues as well. New York City Christians established independent associations to support Protestant missionary work overseas, distribute Bibles among the poor, circulate religious tracts, combat PROSTITUTION, expose sexual immorality, promote total abstinence from alcohol, advance both the abolition of SLAVERY and the cause of African colonization in LIBERIA, mandate proper observance of the Sabbath, and advocate all manner of social causes. Individuals often participated in several organizations, but each society carefully cultivated its own autonomy. In subtle ways, the voluntary associations sometimes competed with churches for moral influence and monetary contributions, thus fragmenting religious AUTHORITY and encouraging heterogeneity in many communities.

Third, voluntary societies played an important role in the formation of an aggressively activist and increasingly self-conscious middle class. Although reformers rarely achieved all of their goals or satisfied their lofty expectations, membership in voluntary crusades often produced or reinforced transformations in the lives of the participants. Volunteers

typically pledged to uphold the virtues, subscribe to the moral tenets, and exercise the self-restraint that scholars associate with modern middle-class life. Prohibitionists and teetotalers, for example, won few legislative victories in antebellum America, but members of such organizations as the American Temperance Union (1836), Washington Temperance Society (1840), and the Sons of Temperance (1843) publicly proclaimed their own virtues through parades, personal testimonies, and participation in the movement. Voluntary societies offered them the opportunity to assert their piety and institutionalize their values.

Finally, membership in these organizations ranged across the entire social spectrum, but individual societies often remained segregated by class, race, and GENDER. Some organizations catered specifically to working-class whites, while others attracted upwardly mobile country boys who recently arrived in the city. Free blacks established their own institutional infrastructure, and the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (AME) promoted a full range of voluntary societies among its members. Evangelical WOMEN played an especially important role in inventing, administering, and financing many charitable and benevolent organizations. Religious societies provided a socially acceptable outlet for wealthy women wishing to exert and enhance their public influence. Some women's societies functioned merely as auxiliaries and remained subservient to male-dominated benevolent boards. Others exhibited considerable independence and challenged gender roles. In sum, an astounding array of organizations dedicated to addressing specific local problems, reforming broad societal ills, and promoting the spread of Christianity established themselves within American culture by the 1850s.

Disintegration, Institutionalization, and Change

The subsequent histories of these antebellum societies reveal widely varied patterns. Some single-issue associations died out rapidly. The New York Female Moral Reform Society, established by middle-class Christian women in 1834 and boasting auxiliaries in Boston and throughout New England, offers one example. Members organized sidewalk patrols, stationed themselves outside brothels to embarrass potential patrons, supported a Magdalen Asylum designed to rescue prostitutes and train them for work as domestics, and published the names of males who frequented bawdy houses. Despite an initial wave of publicity and popularity, the movement quickly declined and virtually suspended operations by the late 1830s. Prostitutes proved resistant to reform, some religious leaders blanched at open discussion of sexual issues, and surveillance techniques proved more effective in theory than in practice.

Other voluntary societies successfully institutionalized, becoming important and enduring presences on the Protestant landscape. The American Tract Society (ATS), for example, was founded in New York City in 1825 as a centralized federation to coordinate the work of dozens of local and regional organizations. It quickly emerged as one of the largest and most innovative publishing houses in the United States, printing and circulating a diverse product line of moral reform pamphlets, children's stories, and

Christian classics. The ATS implemented the most modern printing technology, replaced volunteer local distributors with a committed corps of traveling paid colporteurs, formalized its managerial structure, centralized its operations, and carefully managed its growing endowment. Despite social strains and periodic tensions within its pandominational coalition, the tract society survived and prospered by altering its mission at key moments. It established a close working relationship with the Freedman's Bureau and produced educational literature for emancipated slaves in the late 1860s, and revived its fortunes again in the late 1940s by forging closer ties with evangelical and fundamentalist Christians. Although its core purpose remained relatively constant, the ATS adapted its practices and procedures to thrive and prosper.

The YMCA pursued a different path, yet also successfully negotiated social change to survive and persist. Initially, the founders promoted a series of moral associations and programs designed to attract a particular audience: anonymous young men from the countryside who flocked to major urban centers in the mid-nineteenth century seeking fame and fortune. YMCA administrators hoped that reading rooms, Christian dormitories, Bible study programs, and street EVANGELISM might counteract the more dubious lures of saloons and morally disreputable boarding-houses. By the late 1860s, YMCA executives believed that they could reach young men most effectively through a structured program of wholesome leisure activity. Gymnasiums, body-building equipment, bowling alleys, and swimming pools soon became synonymous with the urban "Y." The organization founded Springfield College to train YMCA executives and secretaries, institutional theorists invented basketball to promote cooperative values and morally upright recreation, and outdoor camping became a staple of the organization's programs. Christian critics in the late twentieth century complained that institutional administrators had removed the "C" from YMCA, and that evangelicalism had taken a back seat to professionalization within the movement. Clearly, the organization did aggressively cultivate new constituencies among women and non-Protestants, downplay evangelical activities in favor of general social and recreational functions, and emphasize building programs in its effort to influence youths and young men. Some viewed this as diluting Christian intent; others saw it as broadening the institutional mission in response to altered circumstances. The conflict illustrated tensions that often surfaced within voluntary societies as they matured and responded to historical change.

New voluntary societies, often with explicitly charitable and philanthropic purposes, continued to appear throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many responded explicitly to INDUSTRIALIZATION and the widening economic disparities that characterized modern American life. Important broadbased organizations often emerged from somewhat narrower religious roots. The Volunteers of America (VOA) was founded by Maud (1865–1948) and Ballington Booth (1859–1940) in 1896 as a result of familial and institutional schisms within the SALVATION ARMY. Storefront missions that dispensed warm clothes and hearty meals along with the message of personal salvation characterized early VOA relief efforts for the poor. The Booths also hoped to uplift their middle- and upper-class supporters by promoting an ethic of volunteerism and bridging their social distance from poorer Americans. Eventually, the VOA evolved into a more comprehensive agency that focused on providing quality affordable housing, advocating programs for abused and neglected children, offering services for the homeless, and operating nursing facilities and residential assisted-living

complexes. Over 11,000 employees and 300,000 volunteers contributed to an agency whose budget exceeded \$450,000,000 by the turn of the twenty-first century.

Recent Trends

Voluntary societies exercised an even greater influence within late twentieth-century American Protestantism. Special-purpose groups expanded in size and scope, even as many denominations contracted and struggled to maintain their traditional audiences. Several distinctive features of twentieth-century religious associational life deserve notice. First and perhaps foremost, fundamentalist and evangelical movements have established and created many of the most dynamic new societies. Beginning in the late 1920s, the modernist triumph within major mainline denominations caused many religious conservatives to look elsewhere for institutional support (see MODERNISM). Fundamentalists and evangelicals created their own networks of parachurch organizations, independent ministries, educational institutes, youth groups, and missionary agencies that transcended denominational lines. By the 1950s, distinctive evangelical and fundamentalist subcultures existed, grouped largely around these new institutions. Many contained a global focus. A few enduring examples convey the flavor of the movement. WORLD VISION (1950) developed an international evangelization program, supported child sponsorship efforts for Korean War orphans, and eventually created wide-ranging emergency relief programs in AFRICA and LATIN AMERICA. YOUTH FOR CHRIST emerged from a series of independently sponsored rallies into a tightly coordinated program that sponsored Bible clubs and evangelized young people throughout the nation. The BILLY GRAHAM Evangelistic Association (1950) drew unprecedented numbers of supporters, pioneered in developing broad-based Christian crusades, carried out wide-ranging world ministries, sponsored important international conferences, and eventually institutionalized into a powerful and enduring organization that redefined evangelicalism for many Americans.

Second, governmental policies have stimulated contemporary Christians to establish voluntary societies around single issues and crusades. School PRAYER, ABORTION rights, CREATION SCIENCE, the peace movement, environmentalism, civil rights, poverty, women's liberation, and church/state issues all mobilized Protestants. Robert Wuthnow, who has studied special purpose groups in great detail, has argued that members tend to fall into two general clusters. One set of overlapping organizations consists of healing and prison ministries, Bible study groups, charismatics, and Christians concerned with world hunger. A second cluster includes protest organizations, antinuclear coalitions, holistic health enthusiasts, positive thinking advocates, and therapy groups. As denominational loyalties have disintegrated, Protestants divide sharply into these social and spiritual groupings, thus reflecting a new and deep Christian chasm in contemporary America. From the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (1915) through Focus on the Family (1977), such groups exercised a potent political and social influence on twentieth-century American life.

Finally, the philanthropic and voluntary impulse within American Protestantism remains a key component of the nation's independent sector of nonprofit institutions. AIDS ministries, homeless advocacy, soup kitchens, shelters for battered women, substance abuse support groups, and counseling centers in local communities throughout the United States rely heavily on religiously motivated volunteers for staffing and funding. During periods of government austerity such as in the 1980s, religious organizations assumed increasing responsibility for performing vital social service functions. Many receive public funding, thus illustrating the interpenetration and close relationship between the public, corporate, and nonprofit sectors of American life. Perhaps uniquely among Western democratic cultures, Protestant voluntary societies have carved out a highly visible and generally accepted public role.

See also Missionary Organizations; Missions; Philanthropy; Social Gospel

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PETER J. WOSH

W

WALES

Protestant emphases on the priority of scripture and SALVATION by GRACE through FAITH, filtered through Episcopalianism and, more significantly, NONCONFORMITY, have deeply influenced Welsh CULTURE and national identity. During the twentieth century, Pentecostal and charismatic expressions of Protestantism emerged, although it remains to be seen whether any of these groups can contribute to national renewal and stem the tide of decline and secularization that took hold in Welsh religious life after World War II.

Protestantism came to Wales as the result of a political policy after HENRY VIII's break with Rome. There was little zeal for the new form of faith until the reign of Henry's daughter ELIZABETH I, when legislation was passed securing devotional literature in the Welsh language. By 1567 Bishop Richard Davies (c. 1510–1581) and the renaissance scholar William Salesbury (c. 1520–1584) had translated the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER and the New Testament into Welsh, the Welsh BIBLE becoming available in 1588 after the tireless labor of William Morgan (c. 1541–1604). Morgan's Bible, revised by Richard Parry (1560–1623) and John Davies (c. 1567–1644), was the means by which generations of Welsh people learned to read and became familiar with the Christian story (see BIBLE TRANSLATION). The result was a literate and religious populace.

During Elizabeth's reign an ultra-Protestant Puritan movement emerged. Although it did not initially penetrate Wales, one of its prominent representatives and martyrs was the Welshman John Penry (1563–1593). PURITANISM was the antecedent of religious DISSENT, which interpreted the CHURCH as a gathering of believers separate from the government of the state and from pan-ecclesiastical and geographical bureaucracy. The first Independent (Congregational) church was established in Llanfaches, southeast Wales in 1639. Others followed at Wrexham, Cardiff, and Swansea, established by zealots such as William Wroth (1576–1641), Walter Cradock (c. 1610–1659), William Erbury (1604–1654), Vavasor Powell (1617–1670), and Morgan Llwyd (1619–1659). For two generations it was difficult to differentiate between Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and free-communicating BAPTISTS because all could be found worshipping in the same congregations (see PRESBYTERIANISM; CONGREGATIONALISM). Nevertheless, the first Particular (strict) Baptist church was founded at Ilston, southwest Wales in 1649 by John Miles (1621–1683).

Although numerically modest, dissent remained a significant expression of Protestantism for almost a century. It was popularized during the eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival led by the churchmen Daniel Rowland (1713–1790), Howell Harris (1714–1773), and William Williams of Pantycelyn (1717–1791), whose legacy to Welsh hymnody is abiding. METHODISM in Wales was Calvinistic rather than Arminian and created the only indigenously Welsh DENOMINATION, the Calvinistic Methodist Connexion (later Presbyterian Church of Wales) when Thomas Charles of Bala, northwest Wales (1755–1814) ordained men to its ministry in 1811, thus seceding from the Anglican church. Wesleyan Methodism arrived in 1800.

In the Religious Census held in March 1851, 12.7 percent of the population attended the parish churches, whereas as many as 43 percent attended a chapel belonging to one or the other of the Nonconformist denominations. Protestant Nonconformity had thus become a movement of the people. Its CALVINISM was moderated under the influence of men such as the Congregationalist Edward Williams (1750–1813) and the cultured Calvinistic Methodist Lewis Edwards (1809–1887). Its pulpit became renowned for preachers of the caliber of the Baptist Christmas Evans (1766–1838), the Calvinistic Methodist John Elias (1774–1841), and the Congregationalist William Williams of Wern (1781–1840), while a peculiarly Welsh PREACHING style, known as “hwyl,” developed. Nonconformity became associated with the freedom of individual conscience before God and the freedom of the market to be self-regulating. Its political ally was the Liberal Party and ministers such as David Rees (1801–1869) and William Rees—“Gwilym Hiraethog”—(1802–1883) were renowned for their radicalism. Alternatively, laymen such as the Calvinistic Methodist David Davies of Llandinam, mid-Wales (1818–1890) were able to use *laissez-faire* liberalism to amass a fortune from investment in railways, coal, and in the building of Cardiff docks, and to use it in support of religious causes.

While Welsh Nonconformity was consolidating its position among the ordinary people and its political influence through the bourgeoisie of the Industrial Revolution, ANGLICANISM was also undergoing a renewal. Although ostensibly Protestant through its Prayer Book and THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, this rejuvenation stemmed mainly from Catholic emphases and the development of Tractarianism. Its perception as a foreign imposition on a “nation of Nonconformists” gave rise to the bitter campaign to disestablish the Church in Wales, which began in earnest in 1889 and culminated in the Act that was passed on the eve of World War I in 1914, although it did not come into effect until 1920. After disestablishment the Church in Wales developed into a truly national institution whose bishops were at times able to exercise a political as well as pastoral role. Among the more prominent were Timothy Rees (1874–1939), Glyn Simon (1903–1972), and Rowan Williams (b. 1950).

The revival of 1904–1905 and its association with the charismatic, if enigmatic, Calvinistic Methodist layman Evan Roberts (1878–1951) resulted in a short-lived increase in membership of the Protestant denominations and also contributed to the long-term development of international PENTECOSTALISM, particularly in the form of the Apostolic Church whose headquarters remain at Penygroes in southwest Wales. Nevertheless, the twentieth century was marked by relentless decline in religious observance suffered by all the traditional Protestant denominations. Neither the theological liberalism of the early decades, associated with men such as Thomas Rees (1869–1926), John Morgan Jones (1873–1946), D.Miall Edwards (1873–1941), and J.Oliver Stephens (1880–1957), nor the Barthian NEO-ORTHODOXY of the middle years, associated with J.E.Daniel (1902–1962), J.D. Vernon Lewis (1879–1970), and Lewis Valentine (1893–1986), could stem the tide of SECULARIZATION and religious ambivalence. An evangelical renewal associated with the battle for Welsh cultural and linguistic survival achieved some success in the 1970s, as did the HOUSE CHURCHES and charismatic groups in the 1990s, but these were exceptions in a downward trend that has shown no signs of abating.

Protestant understanding and expression of Christian faith offer a vital key to unlocking the mysteries of Welsh history in the modern period, which gives meaning to the past and helps understand the present.

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ROBERT POPE

WALTHER, CARL FERDINAND WILHELM (1811–1887)

German American church leader. Walther was born October 25, 1811 in Langenchursdorf, southeast of Leipzig, GERMANY. At the University of Leipzig, where he studied theology, Walther observed the prevailing rationalism and PIETISM but instead embraced orthodox Lutheran confessionalism. Unhappy with the prevailing THEOLOGY in Germany, he emigrated to the United States in 1839 with 800 other Saxons and settled in Perry County, Missouri, 100 miles south of St. Louis. When the group's bishop, Martin Stephan, was expelled from the church on moral grounds, some questioned whether they remained a Christian church, and urged a return to Germany. Walther, however, championed the position of MARTIN LUTHER that the means of saving GRACE (Word preached and SACRAMENTS of BAPTISM and LORD'S SUPPER) were held by baptized believers as the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS who themselves could put men into the ministry. The Saxons stayed, providing ministers by continuing Concordia Seminary, which they had started in 1839.

Walther was called from his Perry County congregation to St. Louis in 1841 where, along with parish duties, he began to publish *Der Lutheraner* in 1844, a periodical that rallied like-minded conservative Lutheran immigrants in Midwest America. Preliminary meetings led to the 1847 formation of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, with Walther elected president. He is thus known for being instrumental in the founding of what became THE LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD. When Concordia Seminary was transferred to this synod and moved to St. Louis, Walther became its president. Walther met criticism of supposed democratic tendencies in the synod's view of the ministry with the publication of *Church and Ministry*, reasserting Luther's views.

A prolific writer, Walther's major efforts included *The Proper Distinction of Law and Gospel*, *The Congregation's Right to Choose Its Own Pastor*, and numerous sermons and homiletical abstracts. He also edited *Lehre und Wehre (Teaching and Defense)*, a periodical for laypeople.

Walther died in St. Louis May 7, 1887.

See also Lutheranism, United States

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ROBERT ROSIN

WALTON, ISAAC (1593–1683)

English author and biographer. Walton was born in Stafford, ENGLAND in September 1593, son of Gervase and Anne Walton. He was educated in Stafford and in his fifteenth year, he left to be apprenticed to Thomas Grinsell, a linen-draper, in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, London. Between 1608 and 1613 he discovered poets and poetry, finding his way into a literary circle that included Ben Jonson.

In 1618 Walton became a freeman of the Ironmongers' Company, and owned "half a shop" in Chancery Lane. Sometime after 1624 he met and grew friendly with JOHN DONNE—and a number of his circle—when Donne was preferred as vicar to Walton's parish.

In 1626 he married Rachel Floud. They had several children but none survived to adulthood. In addition to these family deaths, Donne died in March 1631. Walton's intimacy with Donne is implied in his involvement with his posthumous publication. In *Poems, by J.D...* (1633) appears an elegy by Walton; in its 1635 edition further verses by Walton appear.

In 1638 Walton published complimentary verses before Lewis Roberts's *Merchants Mappe of Commerce*. In 1640 he became verger at St. Dunstan's in the West, his wife died, and he published his *Life of Donne* as a preface to Donne's work. He was to revise and expand it in 1658, 1670, and 1675. In it he made extensive use of Donne's own written work, artfully juxtaposed and paraphrased to stress the post-1615 "clerical"—and thus exemplary—Donne. Yet his Donne is also passionate and changeable, figured in Walton's prominent use of Augustine in his typology—a performer in pulpit and deathbed. The "Character" with which it concludes is perhaps his finest piece of writing.

An unwavering royalist, Walton is likely to have left London in 1643, although not altogether or permanently. Walton himself says that he saw WILLIAM LAUD'S execution in 1645. In 1642 his complimentary verses appeared before Edward Sparke's *Scintitullula Altaris*, and he probably wrote the preface for Francis Quarles's 1646 *Shepherds Oracles*. He married his second wife, Anne Ken, in 1647. They had three children, two of whom lived to adulthood.

In 1651 *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton* appeared, again as a preface. This is a genial memorial that stresses their common loves for Donne and for angling; it depicts an orderly life whose "Circumference" was "closed up" by a serene and exemplary death. Four more revised editions of the *Life of Wotton* were to appear in Walton's lifetime: in 1654, 1670, 1672, and 1675. He also wrote the preface for Sir John Skeffington's translation of Morales's *Heroe of Lorenzo*, which appeared in 1652.

Walton's third and most enduring work was *The Compleat Angler* of 1653. This pastoral has gone through over 400 editions since its publication in that year. In a manner reminiscent of other poets of the Commonwealth, Herrick or Marvell, the disorder of the present times received muted comment in its scenes of harmony. Walton revised *The Compleat Angler* four times in his lifetime, in 1655, 1661 (there was a second issue in

1664), 1668, and 1676. Its last edition was so much expanded from its first as to be almost a different text.

Walton celebrated the Restoration with a celebratory eclogue printed in Alexander Brome's *Songs and Other Poems* of 1661. The same year he provided verses for Christopher Hervey's *The Synagogue* and joined, belatedly, the flurry of elegists for the conservative William Cartwright (d. 1643). Much later (1676) he was to write dedicatory verses for Cartwright's nephew Jeremiah Rich, promoter of Cartwright's shorthand system.

Walton seems to have had some connection with a number of the Great Tew circle, and most intimately with Bishop George Morley of Winchester, who made Walton his steward. Walton's wife Anne died in Winchester in April 1662 and was touchingly commemorated by her husband. Morley—along with Bishop Gilbert Sheldon—also encouraged him to pen his *Life of Hooker*, which appeared first in 1665, and then in 1666 as a preface to RICHARD HOOKER'S works.

This was essentially a loyalist commission to provide a conservative biographical gloss on Hooker's work. The moderate bishop of Exeter, John Gauden, had published for the first time the fiercely contentious "last three books" of Hooker's *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*. Walton accordingly wrote a biography that characterized Hooker as prophesying the "unity" of the Restoration. The backdrop against which this was drawn was a highly biased parallel picture of the squabbles of the 1580s and 1590s, seen through a filter defined by the Civil Wars (see CIVIL WAR, ENGLAND).

In 1670 the *Life of Mr George Herbert* appeared. This, too, is full of Herbertian paraphrase and quotation. Yet every word is deployed to insist on the essential nobility of the priesthood (particularly the country priesthood) as a VOCATION, and the events are transformed and marked by edifices (the churches GEORGE HERBERT is narrated as restoring, for example). This underscores Walton's belief in the beauty of holiness and transforms Herbert's own handbook, *The Country Parson*, into "factual" example and his poetry into an untroubled version of a spiritual autobiography.

The four *Lives* were issued together in 1670 and 1675, with further revisions and expansion. Walton made some notes, too, for a *Life of John Hales*, another of the Great Tew circle. He produced an anonymous piece of polemic, *Love and Truth* (1680), which in its stress on lay obedience echoed the concerns of the *Life of Hooker*; and finally he was persuaded by Morley into his last considerable work, *The Life of Dr Robert Sanderson*.

Sanderson was a stern Calvinist yet an eminent casuist; he had been chaplain to Charles I, yet was also the last preacher on PREDESTINATION at Pauls Cross in 1627. He was made bishop of Lincoln at the Restoration. Walton had known him; yet the Sanderson he narrates is a pure ceremonialist. It appeared in 1678 and was revised in 1681.

Walton continued authorial work; his letter to John Aubrey on Ben Jonson was written in 1680, and in 1683, the year of his death, he wrote the preface to a verse pastoral, *Thealma and Clearchus*, attributed to John Chalkhill. He died in Winchester on December 15, 1683.

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JESSICA MARTIN

WANG, MING DAO (WANG MINGDAO) (1901–1991)

Chinese evangelist. An independent Chinese Protestant pastor in Beijing, a nationally acclaimed evangelist and church leader, Wang Mingdao's ministry, like that of WATCHMAN NEE, coincided with the most tumultuous years within twentieth-century CHINA history. Born in 1901, educated in missionary schools, Wang became a self-conscious believer in 1920 and received believers' BAPTISM. Beginning a prolific PREACHING career in 1923, Wang promoted the establishment of an independent Chinese Christian church, later establishing one independent congregation in Beijing. He opposed liberal theological groups' critiques of the BIBLE, and later stood adamantly against the Communist-supported Three-Self Movement, although he remained a Chinese citizen.

Wang's teachings circulated by lengthy evangelistic tours throughout the Chinese mainland and by the *Spiritual Food Quarterly*, making him a nationally recognized conservative Christian spokesman. Like MARTIN LUTHER, whose works Wang selectively studied, he refused SECTARIANISM while seeking spiritual purity based on teachings from revealed scriptures and opposing any compromise with secularism. This principled attitude compares with KARL BARTH'S attitude in opposition to Nazism, but without its theological sophistication. Wang's subsequent trials were endured with the belief that "some of God's promises" are written with "invisible ink," becoming understandable only when "placed in the flame of suffering."

Wang's teachings follow three major themes: calling seekers to repentance and CONVERSION; calling Chinese Christians to holy living; and resisting theological MODERNISM and compromised political alignments. Conversion to Christ for Wang comes only by FAITH, and holiness does not require ecstatic confirmation, but both require the miraculous inner work of God the Spirit.

Wang's uncompromising opposition to the ThreeSelf Movement led in 1955 to his being publicly condemned in Beijing as a counter-revolutionary. Suffering lengthy propagandistic self-criticism, Wang later recanted these as being produced under duress and untrue. Consequently he ended up spending twenty-three years in Chinese prisons. Released in 1979, Wang remained a stern opponent of Communist-attached Christian communities until his death in 1991.

See also Communism; Liberal Protestantism and Liberalism

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LAUREN F.PFISTER

WAR

From its beginnings, the Christian church has had to wrestle with questions about war. Historically, Christian attitudes toward war have been classified in an ascending order of violence: PACIFISM, just-war theory, and the Crusade or Holy War. In response to the enormous destruction of World War II and the threat of nuclear war, a fourth ethic has arisen, just-peace-making theory.

Just-War Theory

Just-war theory is explicitly affirmed in several REFORMATION creeds and confessions, including the Lutheran AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530), the CHURCH OF ENGLAND'S THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES (1571), and the Presbyterian WESTMINSTER CONFESSION (1648). MARTIN LUTHER'S Two-Kingdom doctrine restricted the Christian love of enemies, as commanded by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, to individual relations. He followed Augustine in seeing the Christian soldier as motivated by love in using force to restore civil order and peace. JOHN CALVIN presumed that Christians normally would refrain from violence, but that war is justifiable as self-defense against hostile aggression. He appealed to wars fought at God's command in the Old Testament.

As it has developed historically, just-war theory has criteria for discerning the legitimacy of a particular war (*jus ad bellum*). A just war must be fought for a *just cause*—stopping the massacre of large numbers of people, or stopping the systematic and long-term violation of the human rights of life, liberty, and community. The war must be announced by a legitimate authority, the legal authority within a given nation. The devastating nature of war with modern weapons leads many to require checks and balances by the United Nations or widespread international agreement. War must have *just intent*, ending the evil conditions that caused the war and restoring international civil order, rather than revenge, NATIONALISM, or conquest of territory. There must be a reasonable chance of success in meeting the just aims of the war. War must be the last resort after all other means of resolution have been tried.

Jus in bello provides criteria for just conduct once a war begins. *Proportionality* requires that the destruction must not be disproportionate to the good ends to be achieved. This applies to the initial decision to make war and to the tactics used within the war. *Discrimination* requires that war be waged only against military targets. Unintentional killing of noncombatants is allowed (unless the amount violates proportionality), but all reasonable efforts must be made to insure “noncombatant immunity.” Torture or

mistreatment of prisoners, rapes, massacres, and terrorist violence—deliberately aimed against civilians—are ruled out.

Just-war theory requires guarding against an ends-justifies-the-means ethic that focuses only on just cause. It is wrong to kill large numbers of people in the name of a just cause if another alternative, such as negotiation, international intervention, or nonviolent direct action, could bring resolution without war's destruction. War is wrong if the killing will not succeed in achieving the cause, or if it will be waged by unjust means. Churches espousing just-war theory must teach members its principles and prepare them to oppose a war if it is unjust; too few Protestant churches do this.

Crusade or Holy War

Because the medieval Crusades happened before the Protestant Reformation, many have thought the Holy War ethic has had little or no influence in Protestantism. However, Lisa Sowle Cahill has shown that the Puritan revolution in ENGLAND shared many characteristics with the earlier Crusades (see PURITANISM). The post-Reformation Wars of Religion between Catholics and Protestants, and the European colonial wars of conquest in Asia, AFRICA, and the Americas, conducted by both Catholics and Protestants, often took on Holy War characteristics, and the crusade spirit often infects contemporary Protestants.

Roland Bainton and Charles Kimball judge a war to be a “crusade” or “holy war” when it exhibits the following characteristics:

- The war is fought in God's name. In our more secularized era, war may be fought for nontheistic substitutes—DEMOCRACY, freedom, justice, or the nation's good.
- God or righteousness is viewed as completely on one side, whose sins or crimes are downplayed, denied, or excused.
- The enemy is viewed as demonic, of diminished worth, or beyond redemption—described as evil, animalistic, or less than fully human. Common ground is not recognized.
- Unjust tactics—massacres, torture, the deliberate killing of noncombatants—are condoned in order to ensure the triumph of God against the forces of darkness.

Protestants often gave explicit biblical grounding for such attitudes by appealing to Israel's wars of conquest of Canaan, as depicted in Joshua and Judges. In colonial New England, Puritan divines often referred to their colonies as a “new Israel” and to the NATIVE AMERICAN inhabitants as “Canaanites” whose idolatry must be exterminated by either CONVERSION or genocide.

At least since the end of World War II, the holy war model has been nearly universally condemned by Christian ethicists. But the attitude remains and is even preached from some Protestant pulpits (usually without openly acknowledging it), especially in authoritarian circles.

Pacifism

The early Christian Church was pacifist in the first and second centuries, and the early Christian writers taught pacifism as Christian duty. John Howard Yoder has distinguished numerous varieties of Christian pacifism. A minimal definition might be the refusal to use lethal violence against other humans or to participate in or give support to any war. During the sixteenth century, most of the Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM) and many of the spiritualists and evangelical rationalists among the radical reformers espoused pacifism. The SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION of 1527, for instance, relegated “the sword” to those “outside the perfection of Christ.” MENNO SIMONS taught his followers to be pacifist. Later Christian leaders such as Quaker (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) founder GEORGE Fox also renewed the pacifist impulse of the early church. Since the end of World War II, the dramatically increased destructiveness of war, increased knowledge about how to prevent war, and increased attention to Gospel teachings in Christian ethics, have contributed to an increase of pacifism among Protestants.

Just-Peacemaking Theory

In the midst of the nuclear buildup of the 1980s, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, Roman Catholic, and historic peace church denominations wrote substantial official statements on war and peace, calling for a reversal of the buildup. They reaffirmed the need for either pacifism or just-war theory, but recognized their inadequacy for shaping an ethic of active peacemaking for the churches. They called for an active “theology of peace” or “just-peace theory.” Accordingly, twenty-three interdisciplinary and interdenominational scholars, after extensive work and dialogue, developed a consensus on a new ethic: just-peacemaking theory. The ten practices of just peacemaking are taken to be not ideals, but practices that proved their effectiveness in history since World War II in preventing wars and building conditions of peace. They are supported both by empirical political science and by biblical teaching. These ten practices are as follows:

1. Support nonviolent direct action in movements for justice or social change.
2. In situations of tension or conflict, take independent initiatives to reduce the threat to the adversary.
3. Talk with the enemy, using methods of conflict resolution.
4. Acknowledge responsibility for conflict and injustice and seek repentance and forgiveness.
5. Advance democracy, human rights, and religious liberty. The church’s push for human rights has removed causes of war and spread democracy. No democracy with HUMAN RIGHTS directly engaged in war with another democracy in the twentieth century.

6. Foster just and sustainable economic development. Economic deprivation has been demonstrated by political science to be a major cause of intrastate war, and just and sustainable economic development decreases the likelihood of war.
7. Work with emerging cooperative forces in the international system. Empirical political science has demonstrated that the dramatically growing international networks decrease the frequency of war.
8. Strengthen the United Nations and international efforts for cooperation and human rights. Empirical political science research shows that nations actively interacting with UN agencies make fewer wars than nations with unilateralist policies that disengage from UN organizations. Neglect of such international institutions promotes an anarchic international system that makes war more likely.
9. Reduce offensive weapons and the weapons trade. Arms build-ups increase the chances of war, the destructiveness of wars fought, and the economic cost devoted to military expenditures rather than to sustainable economic growth and human need.
10. Encourage grassroots peacemaking groups and voluntary associations. Grassroots groups working for justice, human rights, and peacemaking foster the things that make for peace.

The just-peacemaking ethic is gaining attention both within and beyond Protestant circles. Neither just-war theory nor pacifism can stop the momentum of a determined government to make war. Realism suggests that churches not simply oppose a war, but also point to practices of just peacemaking that have proved effective in achieving resolution without war and that are related more closely to Jesus's teaching on peacemaking. Just-peacemaking theory says that Jesus taught initiatives to prevent war more directly than he taught whether or not to make war.

Just-peacemaking theory is supported by both just-war theorists and pacifists. Just-war theory and pacifism are still needed to judge whether or not a war is moral. But without just-peacemaking theory, pacifists and just-war theorists have difficulty articulating the alternatives to war.

See also Colonialism; Ethics; Peace Organizations; Politics

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GLEN STASSEN AND MICHAEL WESTMORELAND WHITE

WATCHTOWER SOCIETY

See Jehovah's Witnesses

WATTS, ISAAC (1674–1748)

English hymn writer. Watts was born in Southampton, ENGLAND on July 17, 1674. At the time of his birth, his father, a deacon in the Independent (Congregational) Chapel, was incarcerated for his NONCONFORMITY. The boy attended a grammar school run by the local rector, and showed such an aptitude for learning that a group of prominent gentlemen offered to underwrite an Oxford education for a career in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Instead the sixteen-year-old Watts enrolled in a school at Stoke Newington, London, headed by an Independent minister, Thomas Rowe. In 1694 he returned to Southampton and over the next two years wrote the first of his hymn texts for the Independent congregation there.

In 1696 he moved back to Stoke Newington as a private tutor to the son of Sir John Hartopp. On his twenty-fourth birthday, Watts preached his first sermon and shortly thereafter was ordained assistant pastor of the Independent Chapel in Mark Lane, where Hartopp and his family worshiped. In March of 1702 he succeeded Isaac Chauncy as pastor of that prominent congregation; however, Watts's health failed, and in 1703 Samuel Price was appointed to assist him, taking on most of his duties. When the congregation moved from Mark Lane to its new building in Bury Street in 1713, Price was named copastor, and Watts withdrew to the home of Sir Thomas Abney in Stoke Newington, where he continued to write but otherwise lived the remainder of his life as a semi-invalid. The University of Edinburgh conferred the doctor of divinity degree on him in 1728. He died November 25, 1748, at Stoke Newington.

Christian Hymns

Isaac Watts's principal historical significance rests with the approximately 600 hymn texts and psalm paraphrases he published in *Horae Lyricae* (1706), *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707), *Divine Songs for Children* (1715, expanded and reissued as *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* in 1720), and *Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (1719). During Watts's time, such texts were restricted to private devotions. Both the established church and most dissenting groups restricted congregational singing to metrical translations of the psalms, generally taken from the *Tate & Brady Psalter* of 1696, known as the New Version to distinguish it from the earlier Sternhold and Hopkins translation, or Old Version.

Watts's hymns reflected his conviction that congregational praise should be personal and experiential, as exemplified in such well-known texts as "When I survey the

wondrous cross.” Similarly, Watts considered the Old Testament psalms in literal metrical translation inadequate to the needs of New Testament faith and WORSHIP. Accordingly, he maintained that congregational psalmody should be altered to reflect a Christian context, “[in] the language of our Time and Nation [and] the Spirit of the Gospel.” Hence, for example, his similarly well-known paraphrase of Psalm 98, “Joy to the world, the Lord is come.”

Among the Anglicans such texts were dismissed as “Watts’s whims,” even though it had been an Anglican clergyman who first attempted what Watts succeeded so well in doing. As early as 1679 John Patrick had composed Christianized paraphrases of the psalms. Watts not only acknowledged his debt to Patrick, but even went so far as to incorporate passages from Patrick’s work into his own lyric.

Well into the nineteenth century the official position of the established Church of England—and the EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States—prohibited the use in public worship of “hymns of human composure,” as they were termed, including paraphrases of psalms, although among his fellow dissenters, Watts’s texts, both the hymns and psalm paraphrases, quickly gained a measure of acceptance and use in public worship. The EVANGELICALISM of eighteenth-century England as well as the Great Awakening in America (see AWAKENINGS) secured many of Watts’s devotional lyrics and psalm paraphrases a lasting place in Protestant hymnody.

Theological Writing

Watts also authored a number of theological and philosophical studies, as well as didactic religious works for the LAITY. Although these writings have fallen into obscurity for the most part, they were highly regarded during his lifetime and issued in a collection after his death. Watts’s *Logick* (1724) went through numerous printings in England and abroad and was used as a text at English and American universities well into the nineteenth century. *Philosophical Essays* (1733) contained writings spanning some thirty years and demonstrating a clear understanding of such thinkers as JOHN LOCKE and GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ.

Watts’s theological works included such studies as the *World to Come* (1721) and *Essays toward a Proof of Separate States for Souls* (1732); however, it was his speculations on the Trinity that drew the most attention. In his *Christian Doctrine of the Trinity* (1722) Watts attempted to bridge Arianism and ORTHODOXY by speculating that the soul of Christ was created before the world and subsequently joined with the Godhead. He expanded on the position in *Dissertations* (1724), *A Faithful Inquiry* (1745), *The Glory of Christ as God-Man Unveiled* (1746), and *Useful and Important Questions* (1746). Watts also held liberal views on reprobation, maintaining that God creates and maintains the soul as a thinking entity with particular responses to objects and situations. This liberalism, together with the psalm paraphrases, of which he disapproved, provoked COTTON MATHER to dismiss Watts in a diary entry dated January 28, 1726/7 as “a very Disqualified person.” Other writings included a *Catechism* (1730) and *Scripture History* (1732) for children; an *Essay toward the Encouragement of Charity*

Schools (1728), and essays on other subjects that interested him, including astronomy and psychology. Watts's late papers were destroyed by his literary trustees, and comparatively little critical research on him has been published in recent years.

See also Congregationalism; Dissent; Hymns and Hymnals

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JOHN OGASAPIAN

WEATHERHEAD, LESLIE DIXON (1893–1976)

British Methodist minister and apologist. Weatherhead was born in 1893 in London, ENGLAND. He trained for the Wesleyan Methodist ministry at Richmond College, interrupted by war service as an army chaplain, and served in circuits in Surrey and Madras, INDIA, as a missionary. In 1922 he returned, serving three years in Manchester, where his PREACHING and engagement with students marked him out for a significant ministry. He developed an interest in psychology and its relationship with the healing ministry of the church, tackling the impact of Freudian views of religion and the self. From 1925 to 1936 he had an outstanding ministry in Leeds, where he developed a Christian counseling service. He published a groundbreaking book on *The Mastery of Sex through Psychology and Religion* (1931).

In 1936 he moved to the City Temple, a Congregational chapel (see CONGREGATIONALISM), where he became a national figure attracting vast crowds to services to hear his distinctive preaching style. He developed the ideas of his London doctoral thesis in a book *Psychology, Religion and Healing* (1951) where he addressed the paralyzing effect of guilt on individuals, stressing the unconditional unchanging love of God for all. His preaching and winsome personality won over many admirers, although aspects of his ministry and his pacifist stance in the 1930s made him a figure treated with suspicion by others. This “prodigal son of METHODISM” came home in 1955 when the Methodist Conference elected him as its president. His last great book, *The Christian Agnostic*, stirred up more controversy, including attacks on him by Dr. Ian Paisley. He died in 1976.

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TIM MACQUIBAN

WEBER, MAX (1864–1920)

German sociologist and economist. Weber was born in 1864 in Berlin and died in 1920 in Munich. He was professor of economics at the University of Heidelberg, as well as holding other positions, including administrator of hospitals for the German army during World War I. He is considered one of the founders of sociology. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* was part of a larger work, *Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. This work attempted to show how values and psychology, derived from Calvinistic Protestantism, shaped the world, which Weber saw as an “iron cage” driven by capitalism. The Protestant Ethic, Weber argued, derived from an effort to gain some assurance that one was of the elect predestined for salvation. Evidence of such election included ascetic capitalism—that is, work for the sake of work itself as a way of demonstrating that one was serving God’s purpose. Weber argued that the incessant striving and reform deriving from the Protestant Ethic transformed the Western world, in contrast to Asian religions, which either affirmed the status quo (clans in China, castes in India) or offered escape through mysticism. While this so-called Weber thesis is controversial in its specific historical argument, it is influential in diagnosing sources and directions of recent contemporary values and culture, including extensions globally.

Weber’s vast spectrum of writings included a second major work, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Economy and Society), which was more abstract than the above work and provided a framework for social and cultural analysis. This included such concepts as bureaucratic, traditional, and charismatic authority and the notion of “action” (*handlung*), which presume that human behaviors are meaningful, hence to understand them, one must grasp what they mean to the actors. Weber developed methods (e.g., the “ideal types” and “*Verstehen*”) to grasp these, thus creating a stream of thought in social sciences and humanities viable today.

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JAMES L.PEACOCK

WEIGEL, VALENTIN (1533–1588)

German radical spiritualist Lutheran pastor. Weigel was born in Naundorf in Saxony in 1533. He attended university at Leipzig and Wittenberg before being appointed pastor of Zschopau (1567), a post he held until his death. He signed the Formula of Concord (1576) but grew increasingly angry at the oppressiveness of Lutheran CONFSSIONALIZATION. Weigel owed much to late medieval mysticism; spiritualists such as THOMAS MÜNTZER, SEBASTIAN FRANCK, and CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD; and the cosmology of THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS. He was an important conduit of their thought into the seventeenth century, although he was also quite innovative. His pantheistic vision of the universe and his belief that Christ was to be found within all humans as a divine spark would be shared and developed by JAKOB BOEHME. He also employed a thoroughgoing allegorical interpretation of Scripture in support of his teachings. Interestingly, having read most of his sources while at university, his spiritualist vision remained fairly constant throughout his works. Weigel defended his orthodoxy in *A Booklet of the True Salvific Faith* in 1572, but the extent of his departure from Lutheran orthodoxy became clear only with the publication of his other works after his death. His writings enjoyed a wide audience in the seventeenth century among Pietists, Rosicrucians, disciples of Jakob Boehme, and free thinkers of many stripes.

See also Pietism

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R.EMMET MCLAUGHLIN

WELD, THEODORE DWIGHT (1803– 1895)

American abolitionist and educator. Weld, born at Hampton, Connecticut in 1803, early forsook his conservative Congregationalist origins for the tenets of the evangelical revivalist and reformer CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY. Following Finney's advice to study for the ministry, Weld and several reform-minded friends matriculated at Lane Seminary in 1833, where they soon confronted president LYMAN BEECHER and others on the subject of immediate abolition of SLAVERY. When seminary authorities refused to countenance this radical doctrine, Weld and his followers left Lane. This "Lane Rebellion" garnered significant publicity for abolitionism, and greatly strengthened nascent Oberlin College, where many of the rebels subsequently enrolled, making it a hotbed of radical reforms.

After leaving Lane, Weld became an abolitionist orator and writer. His *The Bible Against Slavery* (1837) and *American Slavery As It Is* (1839) were widely read, the latter even providing material for HARRIET BEECHER STOWE'S *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In the early 1840s Weld labored for John Quincy Adams and his allies as they fought gag rules that prevented discussion of slavery in Congress. In 1838 he married fellow reformer Angelina Grimke, a pioneering feminist who shared his passion for immediate abolition (see WOMEN).

In 1844 the self-effacing Weld retired from abolitionist leadership. Becoming an educator in New Jersey, he promoted progressive education that featured liberal Christianity, stimulating academics, and robust physical exercise. He moved to Boston in 1863, where he occupied himself mainly with local and familial affairs, although he did speak out on Reconstruction. He died there on February 3, 1895.

See also Congregationalism; Education, Overview; Education, Theology: United States; Slavery, Abolition of

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DONALD L.HUBER

WESLEY, CHARLES (1707–1788)

Methodist hymn writer. Wesley was the third surviving son of Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, and his wife Susanna Annesley, who was the daughter of Samuel Annesley, a noted dissenting minister (see **DISSENT**). Born prematurely on December 18, 1707 (O.S.), he received rigorous and disciplined training in the home from his mother, despite his somewhat frail constitution. At age eight he went to Westminster School, where his oldest brother Samuel was an usher (teacher). After five years he became a king's scholar, and during his last year in residence, 1725–1726, he was head boy. He then went up to Christ Church, Oxford, where his brother JOHN WESLEY was a fellow of Lincoln College. There Charles received his B.A. degree in 1730 and became a student (fellow) of Christ Church. Before accompanying his brother to the American colony of Georgia in the fall of 1735 he was ordained deacon and priest in two successive weeks in September by the bishop of London.

Oxford

During his early years at Oxford, Charles was, by his own admission, not a serious student, responding to his brother's entreaties with the plea, "would you have me be a saint all at once?" However, sometime in 1728, while John (then a fully ordained priest) was in Epworth assisting their father Samuel with his parish duties, Charles experienced a "reformation of character" that left him desiring to follow John's recently adopted pattern of holy living. He petitioned his brother for suggestions of books to read, habits to develop, and methods to use (especially for diary keeping). By the spring of 1729 he was well into a pattern of study and devotion that impressed John, who returned to the university for a visit in the summer and to resume his duties as a fellow in the fall.

The combination of the two Wesley brothers and one or two other friends extended John's pattern of holy living into the germ of a movement. Within three years the group's public activities, such as visiting local jails, helping widows, and teaching poor children, brought attention to them, along with several epithets such as Supererogation Men, Holy Club, and Bible Moths. By 1732 they were known as Methodists, partly because of their "new method" of theology (a brand of **ARMINIANISM**) and their various "methods" for implementing Christianity in the individual and corporate existence. The name Methodist soon found its way into the national print media and eventually persisted as a denominator for the Wesleyan movement in and beyond the eighteenth century.

John Gambold, a friend of both Charles and John at Oxford, described Charles as being "deeply sensible" of John's seniority—"I never observed any person have a more

real deference for another than he constantly had for his brother.” Gambold felt that Charles imitated his older brother so much that, as he said, “could I describe one of them, I should describe both.” In some cases, chronologically, the older brother John had precedence over his younger brother. In other matters, however, Charles preceded his older brother, such as in his evangelical spiritual experience and his marriage.

Georgia and London

Charles was appointed as secretary to James Oglethorp, founder and governor of the American colony of Georgia. His ordination was intended to allow him to assist his brother John with the priestly duties in Savannah and Frederica. In preparation for his duties Charles copied several of his brother’s sermons while the brothers were sailing to America. Once there, however, Charles appears not to have fared well with either the colonists or their leaders, and within five months of his arrival he returned to ENGLAND, purportedly to recruit help for the religious enterprise in the colony. In that, he was somewhat successful, helping to recruit his friend and younger Oxford colleague, GEORGE WHITEFIELD, who eventually replaced John Wesley in Savannah, beginning in 1738.

Having encountered German Pietists in Georgia, Charles fell under their continuing tutelage in London, especially that of Peter Böhler and John Bray, both Moravians (see PIETISM; MORAVIAN CHURCH). Although Charles was not fully inclined toward their perspective, he experienced a sense of spiritual assurance on Whitsunday, May 21, 1738, which has at times been described as his “CONVERSION.” His description of the moment, “I felt a strange palpitation of heart,” presages his brother’s comment three days later that his heart was “strangely warmed.”

Charles’s experience seems to have inspired his poetic muse. Within days, brother John went through a similar experience and, to mark the occasion, the brothers sang a new hymn that Charles had written to celebrate his newfound faith (either “Where Shall my Wondering Soul Begin” or “And Can it Be that I Should Gain”). Charles noted the first anniversary of this experience by writing one of his most beloved hymns, “Oh for a Thousand Tongues to Sing.” This outpouring of the spirit represented the beginnings of a lifelong habit of letting his spirit sing through his pen.

Hymns and Poems

Charles’s output of poems over the following years is estimated at nearly nine thousand, including some of the most familiar hymns in Christendom, such as “Hark! the Herald Angels Sing,” “Love Divine All Loves Excelling,” and “Christ the Lord is Risen Today.” Of Charles’s hymn “Wrestling Jacob” (sometimes known by its first line, “Come, O Thou Traveler Unknown”), ISAAC WATTS reputedly felt that “that single poem was

worth all the verses he himself had written.” The Wesleyan hymns remain favorites in most Christian denominations and appear throughout their hymnals.

Most of Charles’s poetry was never set to music. His published collections include verses that paraphrase every chapter in the BIBLE, works on the Trinity, and poems for nearly every special occasion in the church year. Many of the publications he jointly produced with his brother John, who usually had the final editorial word. John was not a totally uncritical admirer of his brother’s work. He refused to print the now-familiar “Jesus, Lover of my Soul” in the Methodist collection of hymns in 1780 because it leaned too much in the direction of Moravian sentimentality. On several occasions Charles produced hymn pamphlets independently to avoid his brother’s editorial pen.

Charles’s writings unpublished during his lifetime included poetry that criticized the British military effort during the American Rebellion. A special target was General William Howe, whose actions were summarized in the lines, “His Sovereign basely disobey’d; /His trust perfidiously betray’d;/His Country sold, his duty slighted.” Charles also produced a series of poems that castigated the American “patriots” and defended the colonists who remained loyal to the king. This collection is typified by the poem “Written in October 1782, For the Loyal Americans,” in which Charles gave high praise to those martyrs who “lost their all from Principle” in a place “where Treason and Rebellion reign.”

Methodist Revival and Theology

As the Methodist revival gained momentum in the late 1730s, Charles continued to work with John in spreading the gospel. In fact he also continued to preach some of his brother’s earlier sermons for several years, as his own theology developed. By mid-1739 both Wesley brothers were PREACHING at times to thousands of people: Charles saw this as God having “set his seal on my ministry.”

Although not identical, the THEOLOGY of the Wesley brothers was similar: during this early period John unhesitatingly included Charles’s sermon, “Awake, Thou that Sleepest” (1742) in his own first collection of published sermons (1746). Minor differences on ideas and approaches did arise over the years. In 1766 John suggested to Charles that “in connection, I beat you” but that Charles was better in “strong, short, pointed sentences.” John also encouraged Charles to proceed in the directions that God had “peculiarly” called him: to “press the instantaneous blessings” while John enforced “the gradual work.” As for the process of SALVATION, Charles seems to have had an earlier sense that the “almost Christian,” the one who is struggling with the faith, should be taken seriously as having the “faith of a servant.” John seems to have persisted longer in the sense that the “almost Christian” was no Christian at all. The focus and goal of their messages was in both cases essentially the same—to spread scriptural holiness across the land.

As the movement grew in size and John began to use more lay preachers to provide leadership in the Methodist societies, Charles became concerned about this practice. By the 1750s he tried to force John to rely less on the lay preachers and to be more selective

in his choice of who was “set apart” to preach. In the ongoing dispute over this matter Charles tended to emphasize the need for gifts of intelligence and oratory in preaching, whereas John was more concerned about whether the preachers evidenced the GRACE of God. During the 1750s John appointed Charles as the monitor and examiner of the preachers. Charles took his job seriously, ferreting out the “counterfeiters and slackers” and sending several preachers back to their earlier trades.

Marriage and Family

In the mid-1740s Charles became enamored of Sarah Gwynne, a Welsh woman from a prominent family. Their marriage in 1749, somewhat grudgingly approved by brother John, included an arrangement whereby Charles would receive £100 per annum from the proceeds of the Methodist book trade. In spite of some beginning tensions between the brothers over the matter, Charles and Sally maintained a happy marriage throughout their years together. They survived the sadness of losing several children in childbirth and infancy, holding to the joys that their surviving daughter (also named Sarah) and two sons brought them. Charles Jr. and Samuel (who brought Bach’s music back into view) both became trained musicians and perpetuated the musical heritage of the family into the successive generations (including another Charles Wesley and Samuel Sebastian Wesley, noted organist and composer).

When John decided to marry Grace Murray, Charles intervened in a manner that has often been considered inappropriate and unkind: he hurried his brother’s fiancée off to Newcastle and married her to John Bennett, who was both a previous suitor and one of Wesley’s preachers. Although the brothers were quickly reconciled, the matter left a scar on their relationship that never quite seemed to heal.

The Wesley home in Bristol became a haven to which Charles happily returned at the end of his preaching tours, which became less frequent as time went on. In 1771 Charles moved his family to London, partly to be closer to the headquarters of the movement, partly to enjoy the culture of urban life. He traveled very little around the Methodist connection after this move, but continued to preach in and around London.

Tensions with John

Charles also continued to disagree with his brother over matters that seemed to increase the strain between Methodists and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Charles once said that his brother was a “Methodist first” and then a Church of England man; Charles himself claimed to be a “Church of England man first” and then a Methodist. He banded with other “Church Methodists” and Anglican CLERGY to keep his brother from taking irregular actions such as registering chapels as dissenting, allowing lay administration of the SACRAMENTS, ordaining unqualified preachers, and engaging in other actions that

would bring separation from the church. Charles was not simply a footdragger, but he represented the loyal opposition to some of John's actions that seemed to many to compromise the Methodists' position within the Church of England. At the same time Charles was always the younger brother. John at times exercised a grating control over some of Charles's actions. Nevertheless, Charles was frequently able to forestall several of John's less fortunate inclinations. They constantly inspired and assisted each other in many crucial ways.

When John Wesley took the decisive step after the American Revolution of ordaining ministers for the new Methodist body in the UNITED STATES, Charles considered that John had gone beyond the prerogatives of an Anglican priest, and also blamed THOMAS COKE for wrongly influencing John. He expressed his sentiments about this "pretended Episcopal action" in a couplet that has become a familiar epithet on this matter: "Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,/but who laid hands on him?"

As a result of the many tensions between the Wesley brothers, Charles became less active in the leadership of the Methodist movement. After 1765 Charles did not even attend the annual conference of preachers, in spite of the rhetoric about the conference being those preachers in connection with "the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley," as the title of the document continued to state for several years. In 1785 John Wesley wrote a wrenching letter to him, pleading for at least a show of unity: "Do not hinder me if you will not help," the older brother scolded. "Perhaps, if you had kept close to me, I might have done better. However, with or without help, I creep on."

Death

When Charles contracted what became his final illness John was traveling in the North country. At first, not realizing the seriousness of the illness, John suggested that Charles get more outdoor exercise: "You must go out every day or die." By that time Charles was unable and, in fact, died on March 29, 1788, before John could return to London. In the days immediately after hearing of his brother's death, John was moved to silence and tears when singing his brother's hymn, "Come, O Thou Traveler Unknown" when he came to the words of the third and fourth lines, "My company before is gone, and I am left alone with thee."

Charles was buried in the churchyard at Marylebone Church, his parish church. John, who had established a nonconsecrated cemetery behind the Methodist preaching house on City Road, had earlier mocked Charles's concern about "proper" burial, asking how deep the ground was consecrated and what would happen to the souls of those who might be buried deeper. In spite of the tensions between the brothers during their later years, John missed his brother, who at one point he had assumed would succeed him in the leadership of the Methodist movement.

Why Charles was not more involved in the social mission of the Methodist movement, especially in his later years, is something of a mystery. Nevertheless, his lasting contribution to the hymnody of the age carried these concerns on the wings of music

composed by others. He therefore helped to fix the message and mission of the Wesleyan movement in the consciousness of believers in all ages.

See also Hymns and Hymnals; Methodism; Methodism, England; Methodism, North America; Wesleyan Church; Wesleyanism

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RICHARD P.HEITZENRATER

WESLEY, JOHN (1703–1791)

Founder of the Methodist movement. John was the fourteenth or fifteenth child and second surviving son of Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, and his wife Susanna Annesley, who was the daughter of Samuel Annesley, a noted dissenting minister. His early training in the home was a combination of Puritan discipline (see PURITANISM), high-Church religion, and academic rigor. At age ten he went to Charterhouse School, London (1713–1720), after which he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford University. He received his B.A. degree in 1724 and pursued an academic career, taking the requisite steps in the following four years by being ordained DEACON, receiving a fellowship at Lincoln College, graduating M.A., and being ordained priest.

Oxford

While studying for his ordination exam Wesley embraced holy living in the tradition of Thomas a Kempis, JEREMY TAYLOR, and WILLIAM LAW. His life took on a style that could best be described as a “meditative piety” that focused on the virtues in an attempt to imitate the life of Christ. In this approach he measured his developing spirituality through disciplined self-examination and diary keeping, similar to the method prescribed by Ignatius Loyola in the introduction to his *Spiritual Exercises*. In 1729, upon his return to the university from a short period of service as curate for his father in Epworth, John was joined in this venture by his brother CHARLES WESLEY and two other friends. Within a year one of the friends, William Morgan, suggested adding to their agenda of study and piety a more public program of social service, such as schooling orphans and visiting prisoners. This program of social concern was visible in the town and earned the group a variety of nicknames, including “Godly Club,” “Holy Club,” and “Supererogation Men.” At this point Wesley’s Arminian theology was viewed by some critics, especially Calvinists, as a “new method” of doing theology, and combined with his living strictly by method and rule (there was a method for everything from reading to visiting), his followers became known as “Methodists.” This name became fixed on them by the publication of a descriptive pamphlet, *The Oxford Methodists*, in early 1733.

By the following year the Methodists numbered about four dozen (including Benjamin Ingham and GEORGE WHITEFIELD), in a network of small groups throughout several colleges of the university. At least one associated group met in the town and was led by a woman, Miss Potter. The groups took their pattern of life and thought from the small group of six or eight students that met with John Wesley. This structure of small groups, with subdivisions into even smaller bands, follows the pattern set by his father’s religious society at Epworth at the turn of the century and prefigures the basic pattern of Methodist organization later.

Wesley’s sermons and other writings from this period illustrate his own theological journey, strongly grounded in his Anglican background but influenced by the teachings of the Early Church, the thinking of the Puritans, the discipline of the late medieval and English Pietists (see PIETISM), and the introspection of the mystics. His voracious reading during this period set the pattern for his subsequent theological development; a large proportion of works that he quotes during his later years come from works that he read at Oxford. Some of his distinctive theological ideas, such as prevenient GRACE and Christian perfection (see SANCTIFICATION), have their roots in his thinking and writing during this period. Given the similarities between the organization, theology, and mission of the Oxford Methodists and the characteristics of his later movement, it is not surprising that, in his later historical reflections on the movement, Wesley referred to this Oxford period as “the first rise of METHODISM.”

Georgia

In 1732 Wesley, like his father Samuel earlier, had become a corresponding member of the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. When his father died in 1735, John answered the Society's invitation to become a volunteer missionary to the new North American colony of Georgia, recently founded by his father's friend, colonel James Oglethorpe. Subsequently assigned by the Georgia Trustees and supported by the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, Wesley became parish priest of Savannah, where he served with some limited success. Attendance at Morning Prayers and Communion increased during his tenure, which was marked by a strict adherence to the rubrics of the church. While serving the diverse membership of his parish he also sharpened his language skills in German, Italian, French, and Spanish. In 1737 he published in Charleston *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, the first English hymn book printed in America.

In April 1736 Wesley discovered from one of his fellow missionaries, Benjamin Ingham, that a small religious society was meeting in Savannah, having begun the previous summer under the leadership of the parish clerk, Robert Hows. Although they agreed to support the work of that group, such assistance did not begin until half a year later. In the meantime, in June 1737, Wesley himself began a small society in Frederica along Methodist lines (meeting extracurricular to the church services). Combined with his subsequent association with the growing Savannah religious society, Wesley looked back on this period as "the second rise of Methodism."

Very early in his Georgia venture, Wesley fell in love with Sophey Hopkey, eighteen-year-old niece of the chief magistrate, Thomas Causton. Wesley's High Church inclinations, combined with an inept courtship of Sophey, served to sharpen the edge of his criticism of Causton and Oglethorpe for mismanagement. Accusations flew in both directions. The magistrate finally seated a biased grand jury that indicted Wesley on ten trumped-up charges that led to his hasty departure from Georgia in 1737.

England

Back in ENGLAND, Wesley reported his Georgia experience to the trustees of the colony. He resumed his activities within the religious society movement, especially in London and Oxford. He also continued to pursue his spiritual search for assurance of SALVATION, which had been spurred by his acquaintance with the German Pietists in Georgia, especially August Hermann Spangenberg. His quest was heightened in London by his friendship with a Moravian, Peter Böhler (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), with whom he formed a society in Fetter Lane in May 1738, an event that he later called the "third rise of Methodism." Although he was indeed present on that occasion, in his recounting of the events he tended to portray himself as having a more central role than is evident from other accounts. Nevertheless, with Böhler's departure from London, Wesley soon assumed more of a leadership role within the group.

On Pentecost Sunday of that year, John's brother Charles had an experience of the assurance of faith that the Moravians had been emphasizing as prerequisite to salvation or calling oneself Christian. Charles characterized the moment as causing a "strange palpitation of heart." Three days later, on May 24, John Wesley had a similar experience in a society meeting in Aldersgate Street. In his journal account of the event he claimed that his "heart was strangely warmed" and that he felt "an assurance that Christ had died for me." He then adopted the Moravian stance of saying that he was now a Christian, "justified by FAITH alone," whereas previously he had been trusting in his own righteousness. Although he had been preaching "salvation by faith" since March 1738 at Peter Böhler's suggestion, his PREACHING now took on a new sense of confidence. Little changed in the response to his ministry, however, until a self-proclaimed "new era" in his life began the following year. In response to George Whitefield's suggestion, he started preaching this theology of "faith alone" and "free grace" in the out-of-doors at Bristol in April 1739 to thousands of people at a time. Their positive reaction to this message, seen by him as the action of the Holy Spirit, verified his own experience and stance.

For the next several years Wesley tested and rejected many of the Moravian assumptions that had led him to see faith as the only requirement for salvation. His maturing theology embraced the necessity of both faith and ("in some sense") good works, both undergirded by a pervasive theology of grace. His emphasis on free grace, along with his espousal of the Arminian emphasis on free will, led him also to challenge directly the teaching of the "eternal decrees" (PREDESTINATION) espoused by George Whitefield and other Calvinists (see CALVINISM).

Wesleyan Revival

The Methodist revival was part of a larger "evangelical revival," in America often called the Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS). Not all Methodists were Wesleyans; some of his early friends did not stay within his movement. Whitefield's Calvinist leanings, for instance, led him to associate with Lady Huntingdon's movement, a separate parallel Calvinist Methodist revival. Until the mid-1740s, in fact, Whitefield was the main target of most anti-Methodist literature, his notoriety growing from his exuberant preaching style. Although Wesley's preaching could not match the oratorical mastery of Whitefield, his preaching in the out-of-doors often attracted thousands of listeners. His style was apparently devoid of the bombast one might expect from an evangelist: one eyewitness even observed that Wesley might be mistaken for a talking marble statue if he had not moved one hand to turn the pages of his sermon. However, like JONATHAN EDWARDS, whose writings influenced Wesley, the content of his message moved his listeners far beyond the manner of his preaching.

The spread of the Wesleyan revival entailed in part the amalgamation of several local REVIVALS. The increasing organization of the movement beginning in the 1740s resulted from not only the wide traveling of the Wesley brothers but also the networking of local revivals, often started and led by lay preachers who wanted to associate with the

Wesleyans. By the 1760s the movement had attracted over 20,000 members, and the organization had developed a local and national structure that required annual meetings (conferences) and printed handbooks of doctrine and discipline (minutes). John viewed this movement as a manifestation of divine providence and asserted that God had raised up the Methodist preachers “to reform the nation, especially the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness across the land.”

Doctrine and Discipline

Wesley felt that the proper development of the United Societies of the People Called Methodists depended on uniformity of DOCTRINE and disciplined Christian living (see CHURCH DISCIPLINE). To these ends he called the preachers together for annual conferences to promote doctrinal integrity and uniform practices. The published minutes of these meetings began to provide the handbook of Methodist thought and organization. Although the only requirement for joining a Methodist society was the desire “to flee from the wrath to come and [to be] saved from sin,” Wesley’s “General Rules” outlined the specific ways the members should demonstrate their desire for salvation, by (1) doing all the good they could, (2) avoiding evil of every kind (the main ones listed), and (3) attending to the means of grace. Quarterly examinations of members, with the award of “class tickets” to those who passed muster, enforced these rules. Largely because of this strict discipline, the Methodist movement in England never grew very fast during the eighteenth century. They were a noticeable but small minority: the 72,000 British members at the time of Wesley’s death represented less than one percent of the population.

Unlike Whitefield, Wesley spent as much time organizing his followers into societies as he did preaching to the masses, so that the people would have spiritual fellowship and nurture, and not become “a rope of sand.” The LAITY provided much of the leadership for the societies: preachers, class leaders, band leaders, stewards, trustees, visitors of the sick. For these he not only developed rules and methods for their groups, but also furnished educational and devotional publications for their edification. Wesley published over four hundred books and pamphlets for his people, including a fifty-volume *Christian Library* with abridgements and extracts of what he thought were the most important works of divinity in the history of Christian thought. His eight volumes of published sermons (1787–1788) were largely written treatises on Christian theology, nurture, and edification rather than transcripts of his more anecdotal style preaching; Sir Walter Scott remembered Wesley’s preaching for the stories. His collected *Works* (1772–1774) constituted thirty-two volumes and included some abridgements of other authors. He also published textbooks for history, science, logic, languages, classics, and other subjects that he thought a wellfurnished mind should master. The school he guided at Kingswood, near Bristol, provided a curriculum for children and a course of “academical learning” that he thought surpassed the quality of an Oxford or Cambridge baccalaureate degree.

Although most elements of Wesley’s movement were intentionally designed to renew the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, these same developments gave the Methodists a sense of

distinctive self-identification that eventually led to their separation from the church after Wesley's death. During his lifetime he constantly reiterated his intention "not to separate," but many people, including his brother Charles, read his actions as spelling *de facto* separation by the 1780s. Since mid-century the movement had spread into SCOTLAND, IRE-LAND, and the American colonies. With the revolt of the colonies and the return to England of the Anglican clergy, Wesley ordained his own leaders to provide sacramental services and episcopal leadership for the American Methodists who became organized into a separate church, the Methodist Episcopal Church. He refused to ordain Methodist preachers in countries where the Church of England persisted.

The Methodist "connection," organized around those preachers "in connection with" John Wesley, was an identifiable phenomenon on the religious scene in the early 1740s. Their detractors included not only those, such as Calvinists and Moravians, who disagreed with some of their theology, but also satirical writers whose portrayals of Wesley's ideas and actions fed on popular distrust of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The shortcomings of his private life largely escaped public notice, however, especially his aborted engagement to Grace Murray in 1749 (who his brother Charles married to one of his preachers while John was out of the country), and his failed marriage to a wealthy London widow, Mary Vazeille, in 1752 (who left him after a few years out of jealousy, spite, and perhaps loneliness). His attention was always directed to the work of renewing the church to which he saw God directing him.

Practical Theology

Wesley's theology was forged in the midst of controversy and tempered by his understanding and experience of "the Scripture way of salvation." Although his theological pilgrimage took him through several spheres of influence, including Pietism, Puritanism, mysticism, and the early church, his basic theological framework persistently reflected his Church of England heritage. His attempt to hold divergent positions in tension produced a "mediating" theology, although his occasional forays into controversy led him at times to stress one or another side against a position leaning to the other side of the spectrum. Taking his mature theology as a whole, he can be seen as holding to both sacramentalism and EVANGELISM, free will and free grace, faith and good works, without any inconsistency in his stance. Although he was probably not as unchanging through his lifetime as he sometimes claimed, there is probably more continuity between the young and the old Mr. Wesley than has usually been noticed.

His preaching centered upon what he termed "the three grand scriptural doctrines—original sin, JUSTIFICATION by faith, and holiness consequent thereon." This formulation occasionally varied in its terminology, such as one instance when he refers to the main doctrines of Methodism as (1) repentance, which he called the "porch of religion"; (2) justification by grace through faith, the "door of religion"; and (3) sanctification or holiness, "religion itself." The possibility of experiencing entire sanctification, or Christian perfection, in this lifetime was an essential Wesleyan doctrine that prevented most clergy of the Established Church from joining his revival. This also

distinguished him from the generality of Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM) and many Calvinists. His major theological detractors never seemed to get beyond the terminology to hear his explanation that this doctrine did not assert “perfectionism” or “works-righteousness” but simply claimed as a gift the gracious possibility in this lifetime of loving God and neighbor to the fullest. Additionally, Wesley’s conviction that one could know an assurance of salvation (both forgiveness or justification, and holiness or sanctification) created tension with the clergy, even though it was a lifelong emphasis that shaped his own spiritual pilgrimage. Exaggerated perversions of his doctrines by his own preachers, such as the perfectionists Thomas Maxfield and John Bell, did not help his cause.

Wesley’s use of uneducated lay preachers to supply the pulpits of his connection led him to require that they preach “no other doctrines” than those contained in his collection of published sermons and his commentary on the New Testament. These doctrines, distinctively evangelical but in accord with the Church of England standards of doctrine (THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, and Book of Homilies), were also impressed on the people’s spirits through hundreds of popular hymns written and published by the Wesley brothers (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). The tendency of many evangelical preachers to focus entirely on CONVERSION led Wesley to criticize the popular “gospel preacher,” so-called, whom he saw as but “a pert, self-sufficient animal, that has neither sense nor grace.” Their habit, he pointed out, was simply to “bawl out something about Christ, or his blood, or justification by faith, and his hearers cry out, ‘What a fine Gospel sermon!’” His criticism was grounded in a firm conviction that in overemphasizing grace, these preachers neglected the obligations of the law, which the grace of God in Christ has not totally obliterated but rather has helped us to fulfill. In this sense Wesley always linked justification with sanctification, faith and good works, and love of God and love of neighbor as prerequisites for the Christian life.

Christian practice typically outweighed doctrinal ORTHODOXY, both in Wesley’s thought and in the Methodist ethos. True religion was summed up in the Great Commandment to love God and neighbor. Wesley felt strongly that the gospel was contrary to solitary religion, especially as exemplified in mysticism. For Wesley there is no true holiness but social holi-ness, manifest in the fellowship of believers. An important part of the Christian life within the committed community was the expression of a faith that works through love. He taught that works of piety and works of mercy were both necessary for the Christian and that both represented “means of grace” or channels of God’s active presence and power.

Mission

On this theological base Wesley developed an array of programs to assist his people. He organized schools for both girls and boys, most prominent that at Kingswood, which still functions. At his preaching houses in London, Bristol, and Newcastle he began medical clinics for the indigent. Supported by donors with means, he provided loan funds for small business ventures and furnished subsidized housing for widows and children. He

organized a system of pension funds for “tired and worn out preachers, their widows and children.” For the poor of his societies he collected clothes, food, and money.

The focus of Wesley’s mission remained primarily on the British Isles. When asked by THOMAS COKE in the 1780s to support a mission to the West Indies, Wesley responded that there was more to do at home than they could handle at the moment and that there was no apparent call from God in that direction. The major exception to Wesley’s focus on the British work was his interest in America. In response to a request from New York he began sending preachers to the New World in 1769. For a few years he thought seriously about returning to the colonies himself to supervise the work there. Eventually the leadership of Thomas Rankin and FRANCIS ASBURY convinced him that his personal presence was not needed. The outbreak of the Revolution, which he came to deplore, sealed his inclination to stay in England. His continuing interest in and support of the work in America, providing a plan for a separate organization there after the Peace of Paris, resulted in a significant Wesleyan stamp on the continuing mission of Methodism in the new UNITED STATES.

Wesley’s published *Journal* is a monument to and apologia for Methodism rather than a simple autobiography. Its pages are filled with a description of the developing organization, theology, and mission of Methodism. It is an unabashed propaganda piece for his movement, filled with accounts of pious lives and holy deaths, earthly enemies and divine retribution. Through it all, however, his personal attributes shine forth, at times somewhat exaggerated by his own pen in spite of his aversion to self-aggrandizement. The reader can see in these pages both the evolution of the movement and the growth of Wesley’s own spiritual and theological perspective, in spite of his protests of unchanging constancy. His own habit of broad reading reflects his wide range of interests from theology to poetry, science to philosophy, travel to novels, classics to best-sellers. He became a model of Christian activity; or, as one contemporary Swedish observer, Prof. J.H.Liden, noted, “He is the personification of piety.”

Nevertheless, Wesley was the target of persistent attack, especially during the first generation of the Methodist revival. He did, however, outlive most of his early detractors and became somewhat of a respected phenomenon of human and spiritual energy in his old age. For over half a century he traveled the countryside for an estimated quarter million miles, preaching over 40,000 times, while publishing over 400 items. He was not afraid to challenge government explanations of poverty; he was not slow to attack English support of the slave trade. One of his last letters was to the young WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, M.P., asking him to move Parliament toward abolishing that “vile abomination,” SLAVERY in America (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

Person

In his mature years Wesley became, as one obituary noted, the most famous private person in England. More than one observer during his lifetime noted a “venerableness” in his manner that was heightened in his later years. From age forty onward, he was the subject of many portrait painters, including several Fellows of Royal Academy, such as

Sir Joshua Reynolds, Nathaniel Hone, and William Hamilton. Pottery busts of him were crested by Staffordshire craftsmen Enoch Wood and Josiah Wedgwood. One contemporary, Thomas Haweis, described Wesley as “of the inferior size, his visage marked with intelligence, singularly neat and plain in his dress; a little cast in his eye, observable on particular occasions; upright, graceful, and remarkably active.” From an early age he saw himself as a “brand plucked out of the fire,” but always disclaimed any sense of special destiny. He has often been viewed as an autocratic leader, but his friends recognized his ability to listen. One colleague noted that Wesley possessed a fund of history and anecdote that “rendered his company as entertaining as instructive.”

Wesley’s physical stature was diminutive: height five foot three inches and weight about fourteen stone (about 126 pounds). As a preacher, he was outshined by George Whitefield; as a hymn-writer, he was surpassed by his brother Charles. As a theologian, he was more synthetic than original; as an organizer, he shaped a movement that never included even one percent of the population of his homeland. Nevertheless, the energy that he exhibited well into his eighties, as well as the total impact of his person and message on Great Britain, has given rise to a reputation that belies his diminutive physique and often portrays his influence in nearly epic proportions.

Wesley died in his eighty-eighth year. To avoid a public commotion, his body was buried privately at 5:00 A.M. on the morning of his public funeral service. His obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1791) noted that he was “one of the few characters who outlived enmity and prejudice, and received, in his latter years, every mark of respect from every denomination,” and added that “he must be considered as one of the most extraordinary characters this or any age every produced.”

See also Anglicanism; Arminianism; Methodism, England; Methodism, North America; Wesleyan Church; Wesleyan Holiness Movement; Wesleyanism

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RICHARD HEITZENRATER

WESLEYAN CHURCH

The Wesleyan Church originated in a 1968 merger of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America and the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Both the antecedent bodies had been major participants in the nineteenth-century holiness revival movement within the Protestant churches. This common history in the HOLINESS MOVEMENT became the focus of the union. The church is categorized within Protestantism as a Wesleyan/ Holiness denomination (see WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT).

The failure of METHODISM to respond favorably to the call of abolitionist pastors Orange Scott, Luther Lee, and others for the church to acknowledge the moral evil of SLAVERY and support the reformers' call for its immediate end led to the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist denomination in 1843 (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Many Presbyterian, Congregational, and Quaker abolitionists also joined the new Methodist body. After the CIVIL WAR many of the Wesleyan Methodist reformers returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Others remained with the newer Methodist body and turned their energies and resources more toward EVANGELISM and promotion of Christian holiness and less to continuing reform issues such as equality of the sexes, especially the ordination of WOMEN CLERGY, and prohibition.

When former Methodist Episcopal pastor Martin Wells Knapp and Quaker evangelist Seth Cook Rees founded the Apostolic Holiness Union and Prayer League in 1897, a majority of its members, like the Wesleyan Methodists before them, had deep roots in traditional Methodism. By the end of the century, however, the original nondenominational Union and Prayer League constituents consisted of significant numbers not only of members of Methodist and other established churches, but also of large numbers of nonchurched converts that the movement had garnered from its vigorous revivalism in the UNITED STATES and CANADA and its mission stations around the world. The chief loyalty of these constituents was more to the Holiness movement than to any of the established denominations. Eventually the Pilgrim Holiness Church, as the Union finally became known, became one of a number of new denominations, which provided institutional organization to the Wesleyan/ Holiness revival at the turn of the twentieth century (see CHURCH OF GOD, ANDERSON, INDIANA; CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE; Free Methodist Church; BRETHERN IN CHRIST; SALVATION ARMY). Knapp and Rees had been closely associated with A.B.Simpson of the CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE, and consequently had incorporated his doctrines of divine healing and premillennialism into their Wesleyan/Arminian theology.

The Wesleyan Church emphasizes CONVERSION, holiness of heart and life, belief in divine healing, and the imminent return of Jesus Christ, but does not explicitly define a millennial position. The Wesleyan Church's membership in the Christian Holiness Partnership (formerly the Christian Holiness Association) continues the church's commitment to the Wesleyan/ Holiness movement's doctrinal and experiential

understanding of Christian Perfection (see SANCTIFICATION). The Wesleyan Church's membership in the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL acknowledges its Protestant ORTHODOXY and Wesleyan/Anglican roots. Its membership in the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS represents its biblical and evangelical stance.

Although Wesleyans share a conservative theological stance with other evangelical churches, the more experientially oriented Wesleyan/Arminian theology creates tensions with other evangelicals on several issues. Their expectations of GRACE with its possibilities for personal and social holiness are too optimistic for many in the Reformed tradition. Furthermore, the Wesleyan/Arminian understanding of the freedom of the human will with its implication for the nature of Christian assurance clashes sharply with the classical understanding of perseverance in the Reformed tradition. This is especially true in the Wesleyan/Holiness churches' relation to the fundamentalist movement (see FUNDAMENTALISM) within EVANGELICALISM. The former's application of theological presuppositions to the life and mission of the church often differ sharply with that of the latter. This may be seen especially in the Wesleyan emphasis on Christian experience, the centrality of the Pentecost event, and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in salvation history and the life of the church. At this latter point, less obvious differences distinguish Wesleyan/Holiness churches from other evangelicals in the Pentecostal Movement, especially Pentecostal/Holiness churches. The understanding of life in the Spirit of both groups often runs parallel with the other, but Wesleyans' rejection of PENTECOSTALISM'S affirmation of glossolalia (or speaking in TONGUES) as the unique sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit remains the defining difference between the two movements. Wesleyan teaching also has tended to stress the power of the Spirit to produce a holy life, whereas the tendency in Pentecostalism has been to stress the Spirit's power in the spiritual gifts and miracles.

The church has a total membership of 315,000; 129,000 of these are in the United States and Canada. The North American General Conference shares with the Philippine General Conference and the Caribbean Provisional General Conference in maintaining churches, educational institutions, hospitals, and social agencies in more than forty countries.

See also Arminianism; Faith Healing; Friends, Society of; Methodism, North America; Millenarians and Millennialism; Presbyterianism, Congregationalism

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MELVIN E. DIETER

WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT

The Wesleyan Holiness Movement rose out of a renewed concern for the promotion of Christian holiness and social righteousness in the revivalism of the early decades of the nineteenth century. METHODISM'S doctrine of Christian perfection as taught by JOHN WESLEY became the theological and experiential focus of the movement. It called all Christian believers to consecrate themselves wholly to God and, through FAITH, to seek a second crisis of God's GRACE in their hearts that would cleanse them from their innate bent toward SIN and fill them with a whole-hearted love for God and others by the power of the Holy Spirit. This call to "Christianize Christianity" quickly spread throughout revivalistic Protestantism. Many anticipated a new Pentecostal baptism and dispensation of the Holy Spirit. Toward the end of the century many holiness adherents left their churches to organize new churches and agencies more favorable to the movement's concerns. The continuing growth of these Wesleyan Holiness churches, and other movements rooted in the holiness revival, such as the HIGHER LIFE MOVEMENT, the Pentecostal, and the Charismatic movements, have significantly changed evangelical Protestantism's demographics, theology, and praxis.

History

Through her energetic lay EVANGELISM in parlor meetings, CAMP MEETINGS, and publications throughout the Northeast and Canada, Methodist PHOEBE WORRALL PALMER became the leading voice in the pre-Civil War REVIVALS. By 1839 believers in Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian, Quaker, Mennonite, and other churches also professed to be sanctified wholly. Oberlin College's CHARLES G.FINNEY and Asa Mahan accommodated the Methodist movement's Wesleyan/Arminian understanding of a "second blessing" to their New School CALVINISM and SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM to form a companion HOLINESS MOVEMENT. In 1867 a group of Methodist pastors under John Inskip gave more organized leadership to the movement. Their National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness garnered thousands of supporters for the hundreds of local holiness associations and the flood of holiness publications that kept the revival flourishing throughout the century.

The Holiness Churches

By the closing decades of the nineteenth century, denominational disciplinary restrictions on holiness CLERGY became more common. In response large numbers of pastors and laypersons who supported the revival joined thousands of its unchurched converts to organize more than a dozen new Wesleyan/Holiness denominations and agencies, including several black denominations, whereas other adherents maintained their membership in the older churches but still supported the movement. Out of a series of realignments and mergers the larger of the holiness organizations and agencies are: the SALVATION ARMY, the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, the CHURCH OF GOD (ANDERSON, INDIANA), the WESLEYAN CHURCH, the FREE METHODIST CHURCH, the Evangelical Friends Church, and the BRETHREN IN CHRIST CHURCH. The latter two accommodated the theology and spirituality of the holiness movement revival to their respective Quaker (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) and Anabaptist traditions (see ANABAPTISM) as A.T.Pierson, A.J.Gordon, and A.B. Simpson did to their revivalistic Calvinism. The revival became especially formative in the new Pentecostal and the subsequent Charismatic traditions. In spite of often severe tensions among these children of the revival as they brought the diverse forces of the revival into organized Protestantism, their historic roots in the antecedent ecumenical holiness associations that nurtured and shaped them facilitated their later cooperation in the renewal of twentieth-century EVANGELICALISM. Churches related to the Wesleyan Holiness movement, the Higher Life Movement, and PENTECOSTALISM played a significant role in the organization of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS. The Wesleyan Holiness churches continue to cooperate with one another by their participation in the Christian Holiness Partnership and The Wesleyan Theological Society. Most of them also associate with the National Association of Evangelicals and some with the WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL.

Influence of the Movement

The revival not only both expanded and divided the American churches that gave it birth, but significantly influenced the churches of ENGLAND and Europe through the ministry of Robert Pearsall and HANNAH WHITALL SMITH, prominent in the KESWICK MOVEMENT. They inspired the organization of the Keswick (England) Convention for the Promotion of Holiness, which became a center for holiness adherents in both the established and free churches to reinvigorate evangelical mission agencies and student movements around the world. In GERMANY the Wesleyan holiness message revived the old pietistic centers of the REFORMATION churches and the social concerns of the Inner City Movement. Although the Wesleyan Holiness Movement has always been

theologically orthodox and conservative, significant segments within it were persistent advocates for some of the more radical changes that came to the fore only much later in Protestantism in general. Two of the earliest holiness churches, the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Free Methodist Church, wedded their perfectionism to their call for the immediate abolition of slavery (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). The growing significance of the Pentecost event within the movement supported the public ministry and leadership of WOMEN such as FRANCES WILLARD, CATHERINE BOOTH, and black evangelist Amanda Smith, as well as Palmer, more than half a century before established Protestantism accepted such innovations. The movement also challenged Protestantism to reconsider its theologies of spiritual gifts and of divine healing. Its focus on life in the Spirit and personal and social holiness strongly influenced the spirituality of evangelical Protestantism. The hymns and gospel songs of FANNY CROSBY and other composers within the movement constitute a major segment of evangelical hymnody (see HYMNS AND HYMNALS). Wesleyan/Holiness devotional works such as Hannah Whitall Smith's *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* and Oswald Chamber's *My Utmost for His Highest* have become classics in Protestantism.

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MELVIN E. DIETER

WESLEYANISM

Wesleyanism is the broad term referring to the overall movement that includes most traditions of METHODISM, the WESLEYAN HOLINESS MOVEMENT, and PENTECOSTALISM. Although these traditions represent varying expressions of Wesleyanism, they hold a common heritage in the life, thought, and ministry of JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791).

Although Wesley never saw himself as anything other than a staunch Anglican, he freely incorporated many different influences into his distinctive articulation of Christian faith and practice. In addition to his obvious CHURCH OF ENGLAND heritage, there were strands of inspiration from Eastern Orthodoxy (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN), Roman Catholicism (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS), MARTIN LUTHER, JOHN CALVIN, JACOBUS ARMINIUS, the Moravians (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), and German PIETISM. That is, Wesleyanism represents a wider range of Christian thought than was found in either the continental reformers or the English reformers. However, this is not to say Wesleyanism is simply an eclectic amalgamation of all other traditions. It is, rather, a distinct expression of Protestant EVANGELICALISM that carries certain identifying features. Wesley was willing to glean from all Christian traditions those elements of their doctrines that he understood to be clearly in keeping with scriptural teaching, but never did he see himself as adopting any position that was contrary to official CHURCH OF ENGLAND doctrine.

It is for these reasons that Wesleyanism has sometimes been rejected by a wide range of groups on the one hand, while simultaneously being embraced by an equally wide range of other groups on the other hand. It also helps to explain why there are so many different contemporary expressions of Wesleyanism, ranging from liberal sociopolitical action to holiness revivalism to Pentecostalism. Each lays valid claim to its Wesleyan heritage, although each tends to emphasize different aspects of that heritage. In spite of often contrary appearances, there is a common doctrinal core of Wesleyanism that eventually gave rise to all these expressions.

Basis of Authority

Wesleyan faith and practice are first of all grounded on a foundation of AUTHORITY known as the Wesleyan Quadrilateral. Wesley used this four-point filter to ensure that his theological understandings were thoroughly orthodox. The quadrilateral was composed of scripture, tradition, reason, and experience.

Scripture was the first and primary source of authority. Any doctrinal concept judged to be contrary to scripture in any way was immediately rejected. In spite of his Oxford education and his wide breadth of reading, Wesley considered himself a man of one book. He immersed himself in the BIBLE as the unquestioned source of divine authority. He believed the scriptures were to be read prayerfully and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. He strove to interpret all passages within their context and in their simplest and most obvious sense, unless this approach led to absurd or self-contradictory conclusions. If a theological concept passed the test of scripture, then it was subjected to the remaining points of the quadrilateral.

The filter of TRADITION referred primarily to the first few centuries of the Christian church, which Wesley held in very high regard. He believed the historical proximity of the Early Church Fathers to the New Testament church gave them the most accurate understanding of the pure Christian faith. He also held strongly to his own Anglican heritage, which he believed to be the best representation of scriptural Christianity.

Wesley was a man of his time, and that time was the Age of Reason. He believed orthodox doctrine would always be supported by sound reason. He was aware that reason taken to its extreme was detrimental to religion, but he did not believe reason and religion were inherently incompatible. In fact, he went so far as to assert that religion void of reason was not true religion at all. He insisted that because God is a God of order and logic, religious dogma and practice must pass the scrutiny of sound reasoning.

Wesley's emphasis on reason was, however, balanced out by his emphasis on experience. They were the two sides of the same coin, each dependent on the other. Reason makes DOCTRINE lucid and guards it from abuse, but experience gives doctrine meaning and vitality. His doctrines of assurance, holiness, and lay preachers serve as examples of some of his understandings that were profoundly affected by his willingness to let experience inform reason. Wesley sought to maintain a fine balance between these two points of his quadrilateral.

Concept of Sin

The distinction between SIN as an inherited condition and sin as a personal act is kept clearly in focus in Wesleyan theology. Wesley followed the traditional Christian view that the Fall of Adam had placed within humanity an inherently corrupted nature. He was not overly concerned with exactly how this sinful nature is "inherited" or spread throughout the human family; he simply accepted its presence as fact. Being the practical theologian that he was, he was more interested in the effects of original sin than its mode of transmission. Like Augustine and Calvin before him, Wesley too understood the corruption of inherited sin in terms of total depravity. He saw that it is systemic and universal, affecting every facet of humanity's being. It instilled within humanity an abnormal egocentrism that manifests itself as an irresistible inclination against the Creator and toward evil.

Although Wesley understood that original or inherited sin was the root of humanity's problems, he also understood that it takes personal acts of sin to give shape to the true

face of evil in the world. Original sin in itself does not actually cause hatred, murder, and greed. These and other sins are caused by specific actions and attitudes of people as they give expression to their inherent moral depravity. For Wesley the real problem of sin revolves around the willful decisions of people to commit individual acts of sin. He therefore defined sin as any deliberate violation of God's known law.

The Wesleyan definition of sin is generally more restrictive than the standard Reformed definition. Wesley agreed that the natural limitations of fallen humanity are examples of humanity's inability to live up to the Adamic Law of original perfection. However, he disagreed that these limitations are truly sin. Because of the systemic effects of the Fall on humanity, it is impossible for any post-Fall person to live up to the standard of perfection in which Adam was first created. However, because this state of imperfection is attributed to an inherited condition rather than a personal choice, Wesley could not reconcile himself to see this as sin in the full biblical sense. He believed the only sins for which an individual is held accountable before God are "voluntary sins" (to use his term). That is, conscious awareness and willful intent must be involved for an act or omission to be properly called sin.

Wesley did not see unintentional sins or "involuntary sins" in the same light as voluntary sins. They may be called sin in the technical sense of violating God's law, but because they lack willful intent Wesley did not believe they fulfilled the usual scriptural definition of sin.

Wesley's view of sin is sometimes criticized as being dismissive of the full reality and responsibility of sin. Nevertheless, even though Wesley saw unintentional sin quite differently than intentional sin, he still took it very seriously. He insisted that it still requires the atoning work of Christ. The difference is in how the ATONEMENT of Christ is applied. Wesley believed unintentional sins need divine mercy and intercession, but not necessarily forgiveness because there is no personal culpability attached to them.

Wesleyanism teaches that humanity enjoyed a perfect beginning and an original state of holiness. However, through the Fall of Adam the world was subjected to the universal domination of sin and the total corruption of the human race. Along with Augustinianism and CALVINISM, Wesleyanism takes a pessimistic view of humanity in its fallen state. Wesleyanism does not stop there, however, because it takes an optimistic view of God's response of GRACE.

Grace and Free Will

Wesleyanism affirms that humanity's only deliverance from sin comes from God's grace. Grace is the unmerited mercy that God grants to people. Prevenient grace refers specifically to the grace that God extends even before people ask for it. The Wesleyan understanding of prevenient grace centers on two dimensions—forgiveness and enabling.

Wesley believed God's prevenient grace provided for the forgiveness of original sin. Wesley accepted the prevailing view that the entire human race bore the guilt of Adam's sin. However, he believed this guilt was universally pardoned through God's prevenient grace. Individuals would still need to seek God's forgiveness for their personal acts of

sin, but they would not need to seek forgiveness for the guilt associated with original sin. This was already gone by God's mercy. The debilitating effects of the Fall remained, but the guilt associated with it was cancelled.

The enabling aspect of prevenient grace is seen in the fact that, despite its fallen condition, humanity is now enabled by God to recognize its fallen state and to turn toward God. Wesley maintained that through God's act of prevenient grace human nature was partially renewed to the extent that individuals could hear and respond to God's call. This meant that God had enabled fallen humanity to grasp basic spiritual concepts, to respond to God, and to make a willful choice for or against God.

Wesley accepted the traditional view that sin's introduction into the human experience had rendered the human heart incapable in itself of either knowing or responding to God. He agreed with Augustine's teaching that the Fall had reduced all of humanity to a hopeless state of sin. So thorough was this corruption that humans could not even be aware of God's existence, let alone take an initial step toward God.

This understanding of total depravity, however, presented a logical dilemma. If humanity was so hopelessly lost, how could one account for the fact that some actually do turn to God and are saved? Actually, the dilemma was not that there is a way of SALVATION, but that salvation is only realized by some rather than all. If God had chosen to leave humanity in its sin, then all would remain lost. Likewise, if God had chosen to exercise divine sovereignty over the power of evil by saving the human race, then all would be saved, although Wesley, like Augustine, recognized that neither of these scenarios was the case. Instead, only some are saved and only some are lost. Augustine's solution to this problem was the doctrine of PREDESTINATION. In this he was able to affirm that some are saved while also upholding the cardinal doctrines of total depravity and divine sovereignty.

Wesley also upheld the doctrines of total depravity and divine sovereignty, but he did not believe this led inevitably to a doctrine of predestination. Rather, he looked to the thought of Arminius to bring understanding to the apparent conflict between the doctrines of total depravity and divine sovereignty. The Arminian view of predestination was not that God had chosen some individuals for salvation, but that God had predetermined that all who accept Christ would be saved. What God predestined was the means of salvation, not individual destinies. Wesley embraced the Arminian view that predestination of individuals existed only in the sense that God could foresee who would and would not believe.

Wesley's adherence to the Arminian understanding of predestination meant that he also held an Arminian view of free will. He accepted that fallen humanity had lost the capacity to choose righteousness. After the Fall humanity was capable of choosing only from the options of evil. Choices for good were beyond reach. However, Wesley's ARMINIANISM instilled within him the conviction that the restoration of free will was one of the chief benefits of God's prevenient grace. As an act of divine sovereignty God had restored to humanity the freedom to choose between good and evil, even though the corrupted human nature was still bent toward evil.

Implicit within the Arminian Wesleyan concept of predestination is the conviction that individuals can choose to move between states of belief and unbelief. In other words believers can choose to become unbelievers and thus forfeit their salvation. Wesley rejected the doctrine of perseverance of the saints as taught by Calvin. Wesleyanism does

not teach that one can “lose” salvation through some unknown sin, or even a specific act of known sin, although Wesleyanism does teach that salvation can be forfeited through conscious and deliberate abandonment of faith in Christ.

The Wesleyan concepts of a partially restored human nature and free will often led to charges of Pelagianism. Wesleyanism, like Arminianism before it, has always denied this charge. Arminian Wesleyanism affirms the Augustinian understanding of divine sovereignty, original sin, and total depravity. However, it rejects the conclusion that these doctrines must result in a doctrine of individual predestination. In that sense Wesleyanism may fairly be identified as semiAugustinian. Likewise, Arminian Wesleyanism embraces the Pelagian regard for free will, but utterly rejects the Pelagian denial of original sin. Therefore, because Wesleyanism simultaneously embraces divine sovereignty, human depravity, and human free will, it may accurately be stated that Wesleyanism is neither purely Augustinian nor Pelagian, but is in fact both semi-Augustinian and semi-Pelagian. Wesleyans do not see this as a contradiction, but as a biblical and logical balance between two extremes.

The Wesleyan concept of Christian faith and experience is rooted in its understanding of God’s grace. It is this high regard for grace that allows Wesleyanism to affirm without any sense of incongruence that (1) humanity is lost in sin, (2) humanity is absolutely powerless to save itself in any way, and (3) through the gift of prevenient grace human beings are awakened to God’s presence and enabled to respond.

Christian Conversion

Wesleyanism views the overall experience of Christian CONVERSION in two categories: what happens *to* the believer and what happens *in* the believer—that is, justification and regeneration. When an individual responds to God’s grace by placing faith in the atoning work of Christ and repenting of sin, God extends forgiveness. The new believer is no longer judged by God as guilty of sins committed, but now stands forgiven. Therefore, guilt is removed and the consequences of judgment withdrawn. This is God’s gift of grace to the believer; however, Wesleyanism believes there is more to conversion than mere forgiveness. There is also regeneration, or new birth. The new believer is made new in the image of Christ. Therefore, the new believer is not just viewed differently by God, the believer actually is different. This is the Wesleyan understanding of imparted righteousness.

Wesley did not believe the Reformed teaching of imputed righteousness went far enough. He believed in a type of imputed righteousness, but not in the same way as the reformers. He granted that human salvation was made possible through Christ’s righteousness, but he denied that Christ’s righteousness was merely placed over the new believer. He was not satisfied with the notion that God called the new believer righteous when in fact God knew the believer was not righteous. Wesley believed God viewed the believer as righteous because God had actually made the believer righteous. Whereas justification speaks of a relative change, regeneration speaks of a real change. This is the

sense in which Wesleyanism affirms that the righteousness of Christ is both imputed and imparted in the new believer.

Wesley thought of humanity in three states that he identified as the natural, the legal, and the evangelical. Those who live with no regard to God are in the natural state. Individuals in this state are characterized by their apathy toward God. They may hate God, deny God, or simply ignore God. The legal state refers to those who acknowledge God and have some sense of their need for God. They often desire to live for God, but have not yet realized the need to trust Christ alone for forgiveness and salvation. The evangelical state includes those who have consciously turned to Christ and now belong to him in the full sense.

The early Wesley, under the influence of Peter Bohler, did not believe saving faith existed in degrees. One either did or did not have it. However, the post-Aldersgate Wesley came to see that faith does sometimes come in degrees. He saw this most clearly in the distinction between those in the legal state and those in the evangelical state. He expressed this by indicating that those in the legal state had the faith of a servant, whereas those in the evangelical state possessed the faith of a son. Those in the natural state are unconverted. Those in the legal state may be said to be in the process of conversion. Those in the evangelical state have been fully converted.

Assurance

One of the most important features of Wesley's own spiritual life and one of his greatest contributions to eighteenth-century Christianity was his doctrine of assurance. By assurance he meant the confirmation of the Holy Spirit to the believer of God's acceptance. This sense of assurance comes both directly and indirectly.

Direct assurance is the inaudible communication from the Holy Spirit to the heart of the believer. It is the inner peace that brings confidence of one's acceptance before God. The idea of such intimacy with the Holy Spirit was strongly resisted by most people of Wesley's day. It was widely believed that such personal encounters with the Holy Spirit had ended with the New Testament era. Furthermore, if such experiences were promoted, it was feared that all manner of abuses and excesses would quickly follow. This was the charge of "enthusiasm" that was frequently levied against the early Wesleyans. Although this term was used to imply religious fanaticism or extremism, Wesley maintained that assurance of salvation should be a normal feature of the Christian life. He saw it as neither extraordinary nor extremist, but completely ordinary and biblical.

Indirect assurance comes through practical evidence and rational deductions that the believer is able to objectively evaluate. For Wesley the Fruit of the Spirit (Galatians 5:22–23) was one of the most reliable sources of indirect assurance. Others included corporate worship, private prayers, scripture reading, and the general presence of Christian qualities in daily life. The more rationalistic nature of indirect assurance rendered it much more palatable to the Christian establishment.

Wesley was passionate about the doctrine of Christian assurance. This stemmed in many ways from his own personal struggles for assurance in his earlier life. Just as the

early Wesley thought there could be no degrees of faith, so he also thought there could be no degrees of assurance. He desperately longed for the assurance of God's acceptance, but he was always left disappointed and frustrated because of his faulty concept of assurance. His early expectations were unrealistic, and therefore self-defeating. However, these expectations changed after Aldersgate and Wesley came to see fluctuations in one's sense of assurance as a normal feature of spiritual development. As his understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit matured he was able to gain perspective and insight. He then came to believe that a healthy understanding of assurance was essential to spiritual vitality. So strong was his passion for this doctrine that he was convinced that the promotion of its revival was one of the primary reasons why God had raised up the Wesleyan movement.

Sanctification

The doctrine of SANCTIFICATION, or holiness, is a theological hallmark of Wesleyanism. Wesley saw the sanctification of believers as God's ultimate purpose in salvation. This means not only forgiving sins, but releasing people from the power of sin. God's plan is to free people from sin and thereby restore them to the state of fellowship with God that they were originally created to enjoy.

The specific point at which Wesley created controversy was in his insistence that the biblical commands for holiness of heart and life were intended for the present life. The fact of these commands is not disputed by the different Christian traditions. What is disputed is the exact manner and timing of when the biblical call to holiness is intended to be realized. The main point of disagreement is whether holiness is for this life or for the life to come. Wesley took the holiness mandate in the literal sense of holiness here and now. It is this emphasis on the present call to holiness that has resulted in sanctification being identified as the most distinctive doctrine of Wesleyanism.

Wesleyans readily accept that sanctification is their distinctive doctrine, but they refute any notion that it is a unique doctrine of Wesley's creation. They point to its long history of development all the way back to the Early Church Fathers. Although the focus of the early church was on issues of CHRISTOLOGY, the initial roots of the Wesleyan concept of sanctification were clearly present in such leaders as Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa. Other views compatible with the Wesleyan understanding of the doctrine were later expressed by such varied thinkers as Thomas a Kempis, CASPER SCHWENKFELD, THOMAS MUNTZER, Arminius, PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER, GEORGE Fox, JEREMY TAYLOR, and WILLIAM LAW. Wesley abhorred the very idea of theological novelty. He insisted that Wesleyan teachings be squarely in keeping with traditional orthodox positions and official Church of England dogma. He did not see his concept of holiness to be in violation of that principle. Rather, he saw this teaching as simply a revival of one of the grand old themes of scriptural Christianity and historic Anglicanism.

Perfection

Wesley stirred further controversy through his use of the term perfection. This was a frequent point of misinterpretation among his opponents. Actually, Wesley did not like to use the word, for he fully understood the faulty connotations that could be attached to it. However, he felt compelled to retain the word for the simple reason that it was the biblical term. He thought it better to properly teach it than to ignore it.

To be certain, the Wesleyan understanding of Christian perfection has nothing to do with absolute perfection. Wesleyanism affirms that only God is absolutely perfect and only Jesus lived a perfectly sinless life. Wesley never taught that the biblical commands to be perfect were in any way commands to be what it is impossible to be. In explaining what Christian perfection is, Wesley first described what it is not. He identified five general ways in which Christians cannot be perfect. Perfection does not mean freedom from ignorance, mistakes, “infirmities” (by which he seemed to mean confusion of mind and improper judgments in thinking), temptation, or growth.

What Wesley did mean by Christian perfection was essentially freedom from the bondage of sin and freedom to love God. Freedom from sin means abandonment of the old life of willful sinning. This is made possible by the purifying and empowering presence of the Holy Spirit. This understanding assumes a Wesleyan concept of sin in which intentional and unintentional sins are clearly distinguished. Any attempt to view the Wesleyan concept of Christian perfection through the lens of a non-Wesleyan definition of sin is doomed to misunderstanding. The Wesleyan teaching of Christian perfection remains valid only if it is approached specifically from the Wesleyan understanding of sin. This is often the fundamental point of breakdown in dialogs between Wesleyans and non-Wesleyans on the doctrine of perfection.

Freedom to love is seen by Wesleyanism as essentially the fulfillment of the great command of Moses in the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 6:5; 10:12) and Jesus in the New Testament (Mark 12:30). To love God with all our heart, soul, mind, and strength; and to live out that love toward others is to fulfill the law of love. This is what Wesleyanism means by perfect love. It was also Wesley’s most succinct and consistently used definition for Christian perfection, or holiness of heart and life.

Wesley’s concept of Christian perfection is sometimes cited as proof that Wesleyanism teaches sinless perfection. Here again, the interpretations are largely determined by the presupposed definitions. It may be said that Wesley taught a form of sinlessness, but this is a relative concept that must be understood in the context of his intended meaning. There are two different senses in which it may accurately be stated that Wesley believed in sinless perfection.

First, it was Wesley’s understanding from scripture that all believers are called to forsake the former life of sin and to take on new life in Christ. He understood freedom from willful sin to be the normal pattern for the Christian life. In that sense Wesley would acknowledge teaching sinless perfection, although he would also insist that this is a fundamental teaching of the Bible and of all Christian traditions that merited no opposition.

Second, it was Wesley’s understanding that through God’s work of sanctification in the believer, the sin inherited from Adam’s fall is cleansed from the believer. This too

Wesley understood to be scriptural teaching. This cleansing was not seen as the removal of temptation or the possibility of sin. Rather, it was understood to be the realignment of the human spirit and will back toward God. That is, although sin always remains a possibility, it is no longer a necessity. Again, however, it must be emphasized that Wesley was speaking only of conscious, willful sins. He did not teach freedom from unconscious or involuntary sin, such as “sins” of ignorance, mistake, and human limitation. This is why Wesleyanism can on the one hand embrace a doctrine of relative sinlessness, whereas on the other hand denying any teaching of absolute sinlessness.

Social Responsibility

Wesley carried a profound sense of social responsibility throughout his ministry. This commitment to the welfare of others was not benevolence merely for the sake of benevolence. It was deeply rooted in his theology. Wesley’s evangelical theology was not just a theology of personal salvation; it was a theology of practical love for others. He was especially aware of the link between holiness and social ETHICS. He insisted that Christians are morally obligated to be salt and light, not just to the world as a whole, but more importantly to the particular community where they live. That meant making positive contributions to society rather than making demands of it.

As with several aspects of his theology, Wesley’s true understanding took on a significantly different perspective after his Aldersgate conversion. The focus of Wesley’s social action before Aldersgate was the salvation of his own soul, but after Aldersgate, when he understood the nature of personal salvation differently, he came to see social action differently as well. No longer a means of striving to earn his own salvation, benevolence then came to be an expression of love for God and others; that is, it came to be a practical expression of holiness. The Wesleyan social ethic was transformed from merely doing good to profoundly living out one’s love for God and neighbor.

Throughout his life Wesley carried on a tireless campaign of compassionate ministries to prisoners, orphans, widows, the uneducated, the unemployed, and the sick. He referred to such deeds as “works of mercy.” They included feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, assisting the stranger, visiting the imprisoned, comforting the sick, educating the ignorant, confronting the wicked, and encouraging the faithful. The last letter he wrote before his death was a message of encouragement to the abolitionist WILLIAM WILBERFORCE in his fight against the slave trade (see SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF).

In the two centuries since Wesley’s death Wesleyanism has spread and taken on various forms. The broad spectrum of Methodist, Holiness, and Pentecostal groups that identify themselves as Wesleyan in one way or another gives some indication of the broad appeal and diversity of Wesley’s legacy. Liberal expressions of the movement tend to emphasize Wesley’s social and benevolent concerns. Evangelical expressions tend to emphasize his theology of Christian conversion and holiness. A revival of both scholarly and practical interest in Wesley’s unique contributions to the Christian church has brought many circles of Wesleyanism back to Wesley’s original position of balance between these two variant expressions.

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DANIEL L. BURNETT

WESTCOTT, BROOKE (1825–1901)

English biblical scholar. Westcott was born in Bloomsbury, Birmingham, ENGLAND on January 12, 1825. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and then served as canon of Peterborough (1869–1883) and Westminster (1883–1890). For twenty years (1870–1890) he was Regius professor of divinity at CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. On May 1, 1890 Westcott was consecrated bishop of Durham and served in that position until his death. Westcott, with Fenton John Anthony Hort and JOSEPH BARBER LIGHTFOOT, were known as the Cambridge Triumvirate, the three leading Cambridge scholars of the nineteenth century who stressed the scientific study of the BIBLE, especially the New Testament.

Westcott's major biblical writings were *History of the New Testament Canon* (1855), *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (1860), *History of the English Bible* (1868), and with Hort, *The New Testament in Modern Greek: Being the New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ: Newly Translated Direct from the Accurate Greek* (1881). These volumes brought the critical study of the Bible to a higher level and helped bridge the divide between FAITH and criticism.

Westcott was also an advocate of CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. He helped to found and was the president of the Christian Social Union, which based its social concern on the Incarnation. His belief in the Incarnation was the basis for his desire to work for the brotherhood of man and justice for all God's creatures. He was committed to improving theological education for CLERGY and founded the Cambridge Training School, now known as Westcott House. Westcott died at Durham on July 27, 1901.

See also Higher Criticism; Modernism

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DONALD S.ARMENROUT

WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY

Called by Parliament on June 12, 1643, the Westminster Assembly was a gathering of theologians to address reform of the English church during the CIVIL WAR between royal and parliamentary forces, it produced documents that shaped PRESBYTERIANISM in the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND and throughout the world. These statements included the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION of Faith, WESTMINSTER CATECHISMS (Larger and Shorter), Directory for the Public Worship of God, and Form of Church Government. The thirty lay and 121 minister commissioners began by revising the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the Anglican church. Eight commissioners of the Church of Scotland were received with voice in the Assembly, after the acceptance of the Scottish Solemn League and Covenant by Parliament and Assembly (September 25, 1643). The agenda then shifted to debating a church order with Scriptural warrant, and seeking uniformity with the Church of Scotland. Civil War and national politics formed the background for a “Grand Debate” on the order and government of the church. The Assembly met for 1,163 sessions, and was never officially dismissed; the last mention of Scottish participation was on November 9, 1647.

Members represented diverse views: the majority were conservative Puritans (see PURITANISM), with a minority of Independent Puritans, some Erastians (see ERASTUS, THOMAS), and a small group of Episcopalians who did not participate in the Assembly. The Scots insisted on their Presbyterian views, and the majority of conservative Puritans came to favor a “presbyterian” uniformity against the minority Independents’ stress on gathered congregations of visible saints. Although its church standards were of little effect in ENGLAND, the Assembly had a profound consequence for the future of the Reformed tradition, in the refining of Presbyterian and Congregational ecclesiologies, and by the heightening of issues of uniformity versus tolerance and spiritual versus judicial AUTHORITY in the ministry of the church.

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STANLEY R.HALL

WESTMINSTER CATECHISM

The “Longer” and “Shorter” Catechisms were composed by the Westminster Assembly (1643–1653) to provide theological resources for pastors and LAITY in churches of the Reformed tradition. The CATECHISMS were approved by the English Parliament on September 15, 1648, having been completed a year before. They were part of the Westminster Standards, the documents produced by the assembly of “divines” who were initially gathered to advise the Long Parliament about a religious settlement in ENGLAND and to revise the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES as a doctrinal standard for the English church. A Scottish alliance with Parliament made it advisable to compose a new confession of faith, and so the Westminster Assembly produced the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION of Faith (1646), the Larger and Shorter Catechisms (1647), the Directory for the Public Worship of God with a Psalter (1644), and the Form of Government (1644).

Structure

The Larger Catechism is composed of 196 questions and answers and is basically a restatement of the Westminster Confession in a more didactic form. The catechism is partly based on James Ussher’s *Body of Divinitie* (1645) and was crafted to a great degree by Anthony Tuckney (1599–1670), who was very active in the work of the Assembly. Tuckney is particularly credited with the section on the Law of God in the Larger Catechism and was also the most influential writer of the Shorter Catechism. The Larger Catechism, because of its elaborate answers, functioned especially as a resource for CLERGY in the preparation of sermons.

The Shorter Catechism enjoyed a much wider usage and functioned primarily for the instruction of children. It is composed of 107 questions with much shorter answers. Its usefulness for teaching was enhanced by its method of using answers that included the language of the question and then formed a complete sentence in itself. An example is the famous first question and answer:

Q. 1. What is the chief end of man?

A. Man’s chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever.

This catechism has been widely used by Presbyterians as well as by Congregationalists and BAPTISTS (see PRESBYTERIANISM; CONGREGATIONALISM).

The Larger Catechism is divided into two main parts after a five-question introduction. Part One is “What Man Ought to Believe Concerning God” (qq. 6–90). Part Two is “Having Seen What the Scriptures Principally Teach Us to Believe Concerning God, It Follows to Consider What They Require as the Duty of Man” (qq. 91–196). The overall movement is from theological understanding to Christian action.

Theology

The order of the issues with which the catechisms deal follows that of the Confession of Faith. The THEOLOGY presented is a developing form of CALVINISM, influenced by JOHN CALVIN and also by continental theologians. The Westminster Standards sought to expound a generic Reformed theology that could be accepted by Reformed Christians everywhere. Yet some doctrinal emphases in the catechisms stand out (citations here refer to questions of the Shorter Catechism).

The Scriptures are where the Word of God is contained and “principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man” (2–3). Thus the BIBLE has a theological purpose. God is defined as “a Spirit, infinite, eternal and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth” (4). God issues “decrees” that are God’s “eternal purpose, according to the counsel of his will, whereby, for his own glory, he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass” (7). These decrees are carried out in God’s works of creation and providence (8). A strong DOCTRINE of providence emerges in the catechisms whereby God’s works of providence are his “most holy, wise, and powerful preserving and governing all his creatures, and all their actions” (11). Thus God exercises a divine sovereignty over all of nature and history.

The fall into SIN brought humanity into “an estate of sin and misery” (17). This resulted in humanity’s loss of communion with God and its resting under God’s “wrath and curse,” ultimately bringing DEATH (19). But God has established a “redeemer of God’s elect,” Jesus Christ (21), who through his work as prophet (24), priest (25), and king (26) brings SALVATION to those whom God has effectually called by the Holy Spirit (30–31). They are justified (33), adopted (34), and participate in SANCTIFICATION (35). These theological realities bring believers “assurance of God’s love, peace of conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, increase of grace, and perseverance therein to the end” (36), whereas through the resurrection of Christ believers are “made perfectly blessed in the full enjoying of God to all eternity” (38).

Those who receive the benefits of salvation have as their duty “obedience” to God’s “revealed will” (39). God’s will is revealed through the moral law, summarized in the Ten Commandments (40–41). For each of the commandments, the catechisms ask both what is “required” and what is “forbidden” (45–81). This recognition that the commandments also entail positive duties was a feature of Calvin’s theology as well.

Because humans are incapable of keeping the law of God perfectly, the only path to salvation is through FAITH in Jesus Christ. This faith is “a saving grace, whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for salvation, as he is offered to us in the gospel” (86). The benefits of redemption come through “the Word, SACRAMENTS, and PRAYER, all which are made effectual to the elect for the salvation” (88). These are discussed (88–99) before questions on the Lord’s Prayer (100–107), which is “the special rule of direction” in prayer that “Christ taught his disciples” (99).

The Westminster catechisms made the theology of the CONFESSION of faith memorable and known to pastors and laity. They continue to be used as a means of instruction and a resource for understanding the Reformed faith.

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WESTMINSTER CONFESSION

One of the documents produced by the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY (1643–1653), the Westminster Confession is regarded as a sterling statement of Reformed theology. It has been used continually throughout the world by churches in the Reformed tradition. It features clarity of thought, precise use of theological language, and is a comprehensive statement of theological belief. Because of political circumstances, the Confession—although written for the English church—was never adopted by the established CHURCH OF ENGLAND. It did, however, become the official confession of Scottish PRESBYTERIANISM. Its influence in English-speaking countries has been significant and for over three hundred years it was the sole doctrinal standard of British and American Presbyterianism. It has also had a useful history among Congregational and some Baptist bodies (see CONGREGATIONALISM; BAPTISTS). It formed the basis for the Congregationalist Savoy Declaration (1658) and the Particular Baptist Confession (1677), as well as the General Baptist Orthodox Creed (1678).

Background

The Westminster Confession was written at a tumultuous time in ENGLAND. It was composed by an assembly of “divines” who were called to meet by the Long Parliament in 1643 with the mandate to revise the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of Religion in a more “Puritan” direction (see PURITANISM). The Westminster Assembly was composed of 121 Puritan ministers of the Church of England. The majority were Presbyterian in their views, although some Congregationalists and a small group favoring Episcopal church government also served. Additionally, thirty lay members were present, as well as six Scottish advisors.

When the Assembly reached the sixteenth of the Thirty-nine Articles, the political situation changed with the onset of the English CIVIL WAR. Parliament was at war with King Charles I. The parliamentary forces enlisted the help of SCOTLAND. In return for their support the Scots insisted that the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which Parliament had accepted in 1643 to provide for a Presbyterian church in England, Ireland, and Scotland, be followed. Scottish commissioners were sent to London to advise the Parliament and some of these sat as commissioners to the Westminster Assembly (with the right to debate but not to vote).

For the next several years the Assembly deliberated with an average of sixty commissioners in daily attendance. Eleven men did the majority of writing on the Confession of Faith. Seven were English divines and four were Scottish clergy. The

Confession was completed and presented to Parliament in December 1646. The Assembly also produced a Larger and Shorter Catechism (1647), the Directory for the Public Worship of God (1644) including a Psalter, and the Form of Government (1644). These are collectively called the Westminster Standards. Scripture proof texts were added to the Confession of Faith in 1647, the same year in which the confession was approved by the Church of Scotland. Parliament was purged by OLIVER CROMWELL in 1649, and for the next several years the members of the Assembly met to examine and license ministers. In December 1653, Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector and the Assembly ceased to function, although it was never officially dissolved.

Structure

The Westminster Confession was composed of thirty-three chapters. Its theological views represented the emerging Reformed tradition that looked initially to JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564) as a shaping influence. Although the influence of continental Reformed thinkers was also formative, the immediate sources of the Westminster Confession were the Irish Articles (1615) and *A Body of Divinitie* (1645), both written by James Ussher (1581–1656), archbishop of Armagh and primate of IRELAND.

The confession was structured to deal with nearly every topic of divinity. Its first chapter was on Holy Scripture and like other Reformed confessional statements featured a listing of the canonical books that serve as “the Word of God written” (chap. 1). Chapters two through five dealt with the doctrine of God as the Holy Trinity (2), as the author of divine “eternal decrees” (3), as creator of the world (4), and as involved in and with the world through divine providence (5). Chapter six speaks of humanity’s fall into SIN and its punishment, whereas chapter seven expounds God’s covenants with humanity—found first in a “covenant of works” and then in a “covenant of GRACE.” This sets the stage for discussion of the work of Jesus Christ as “the only mediator” between God and humanity who carries out his work as prophet, priest, and king (8). Further chapters are careful expositions of the way of SALVATION in Christ for those who have lost their “free will” to choose to “will any spiritual good accompanying salvation” (9). God has “effectually called” some (10; the “elect”) and has justified (11), adopted (12), and sanctifies them (13). The way of salvation in Jesus Christ is by “the grace of FAITH” through the work of God’s Holy Spirit (14), which is expressed through repentance (15) and good works whereby believers “manifest their thankfulness” among other things (16). Those “effectually called and sanctified” by God’s Spirit persevere in faith and are “eternally saved,” (17) receiving a certain assurance in this life that they are in a “state of grace, and may rejoice in the hope of the glory of God: which hope shall never make them ashamed” (18). Believers follow the moral law of God, which informs them of God’s will as the rule for their lives—not to gain salvation but to be in obedience to the way God wants them to live (19). From here the confession moves on to consider elements of the Christian life such as Christian liberty (20), WORSHIP and the Sabbath Day (21), oaths and vows (22), the civil magistrate (23), and MARRIAGE and DIVORCE (24). Theological treatments of the CHURCH (25), the communion of

SAINTS (26), the SACRAMENTS: BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER (27–29) are presented before the final chapters on church censures (30), synods and councils (31), the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment (32–33).

Some church bodies that adopted the Westminster Confession have added additional chapters or modified the original 1647 edition. American churches changed the chapter on the civil magistrate to reflect belief in the separation of CHURCH AND STATE. In the twentieth century the two major Presbyterian bodies in the UNITED STATES added a chapter on the Holy Spirit and “Of the Gospel of the Love of God and Missions” (1903 by the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in the United States of America; 1942 by the Presbyterian Church in the United States). These sought to show that the confessions’ doctrine of God’s sovereignty is not in conflict with God’s love for all persons and thus that the church has a missionary imperative. In the 1950s both of these Presbyterian bodies amended the confession’s chapter on marriage and divorce to remove the prohibition of divorce and remarriage (except on grounds of adultery or desertion) and to permit remarriage of divorced persons.

Although the Confession is precise and theologically articulate, nearly two-thirds of the document deal with practical issues of the Christian life rather than speculative theological questions. This reflects the essential convictions of the Westminster divines—and Reformed theology in general—that THEOLOGY is a science focused on Christian existence in its personal and social dimensions rather than on theoretical dimensions only.

Theological Emphases

The Westminster Confession is a transitional document from the REFORMATION era to that of the highly developed scholastic theologies that marked the later seventeenth century. The writings of Calvin were frequently published in England by the end of the sixteenth century and were highly influential among the Westminster Divines. Attributed primarily to the English Civil War, the period of the scientific revolution that marked the beginnings of modern science and that had already commenced on the European continent did not begin in England until the 1660s. This meant that many of the scientific and philosophical questions affecting Continental theologians were not presenting problems to the writers of the confession. In this regard the confession may be seen as moving beyond Calvin in many of its formulations but not as reflecting the highly scholastic theology of later continental Reformed theologians, such as Francis Turretin (1623–1687) for example.

A number of important theological emphases are characteristic of the Westminster Confession as a document illustrating the Reformed theology of Calvin and his successors.

The article on Holy Scripture (1.4) indicates that the BIBLE gains its AUTHORITY from God and not from humans or from any church. Its divine authority is established by “the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts” (1.6). The confession speaks of the “light of nature,” which in the Reformed tradition

refers to the innate knowledge of God implanted in every human but which is suppressed by sin. God's works of creation and providence serve to reinforce this knowledge of God. Because of human sin this knowledge serves only to render humans inexcusable and is "not sufficient to give that knowledge of God, and of his will, which is necessary unto salvation" (1.1).

A hallmark of the Westminster Confession is its third chapter on "God's Eternal Decree(s)." The confession states:

God from all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established. (3.1)

God's decree is God's action, the expression of the divine will. God has willed, through the "decree," for "the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death" (3.3). These statements are the Reformed emphasis on ELECTION and PREDESTINATION. God's election is God's free choice to save those whom God decides to save. Predestination is the expression of election in relation to salvation.

In the broader context of the confession, this decree of God is worked out through God's "effectual call" by the Word and Spirit, "out of that state of sin and death in which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ" (10.1). Predestination is necessary if any are to be saved because according to the confession, humanity's fall into sin has meant that the "original righteousness and communion with God" that human beings were created to enjoy has now been lost. Humanity, through the sin of our first parents, has now become "dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body" (6.2). Humanity's original "freedom and power to will and to do that which is good and well-pleasing to God"—the human condition before the fall into sin—has been lost. This pervasive power of sin means that humans are not by their own strength able to convert themselves or prepare themselves to be converted by God (9.3).

The confession testifies that God has reached out to humans in their sin first by a "covenant of works" whereby humans could obtain life "upon condition of perfect and personal obedience" to God (7.2). Because of the fall into sin, however, humans have made themselves "incapable of life by that COVENANT" (7.3). So God was pleased to establish a "covenant of grace" whereby sinners are offered "life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him, that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe" (7.3). This then is the reason that predestination is key for human salvation: without God's ordaining salvation, no human could ever achieve it. Sin has left humans powerless, by their own will, to turn to God in obedience and live as God desires. Through divine predestination God provides a salvation that is unattainable by human activities or achievements.

The means by which this salvation for God's elect is accomplished is through Jesus Christ. The confession affirms the early church's orthodox view of Jesus as the second person of the Trinity who is fully divine and fully human. This enables him to be the

mediator of salvation. Christ fulfills the offices of prophet, priest, and king. Through his “perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself” he has satisfied divine justice and brought reconciliation between God and the sinner (8).

This redemption is applied to those whom God has effectually called through justification through which God pardons sin and accepts them “by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them.” They receive this righteousness of Christ by faith, “which faith they have not of themselves” but as a gift of God (11.1). SANCTIFICATION is the outworking of the new heart and spirit created in believers and their growth in holiness throughout their whole lives. Believers will never be perfect in this life because there will always remain “some remnants of corruption” in them. However, the sanctifying spirit of Christ enables the saints to “grow in grace, perfecting holiness in the fear of God” (13). Good works done by believers are “the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith” (16.2).

It is in the context of redemption and the assurance of grace and salvation (18) that the law of God is introduced (19). The confession here echoes Calvin’s view that the moral law of God is given as a guide for believers, as “a rule of life, informing them of the will of God and their duty” (19.6). Obedience to the law is not a means of salvation but an expression of God’s sanctifying work in believers that leads them to seek God’s will and obey it.

The confession maintains the Augustinian distinction between the “visible” (outward) church and the “invisible” church (true believers, known only to God; 25). It sees the sacraments as “holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace” (27) and indicates that only baptism and the Lord’s Supper are sacraments “ordained by Christ our Lord in the gospel” (27.4).

The ultimate states of humans after DEATH either are to have their souls “made perfect in holiness” and be “received into the highest heavens” or have their souls “cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day” (22.1). Ultimate judgment belongs to God who has appointed a day wherein “he will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ” (23.1).

The Westminster Confession presents a comprehensive picture of God who in divine providence “doth uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions, and things, from the greatest even to the least” (5.1). Humans are responsible for their actions but in matters of salvation can only look to God’s covenant of grace in Jesus Christ.

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DONALD K.MCKIM

WHEATLEY, PHILLIS (c. 1753–1784)

African-American poet. Born in AFRICA in the early 1750s, transported to North America, and sold to John and Susannah Wheatley in Boston in colonial New England, Phillis Wheatley, a five-year-old African child of unknown origin, became a slave. In the middle to late 1750s, when she arrived in the colony, SLAVERY, although marginal to the regional economy, had become a fixed feature of the colony's labor system. Many slaves like Wheatley worked as household servants.

Wheatley learned English very quickly and benefited from the Wheatleys and their children, who taught her to read and write and exposed her to the classics. She became proficient enough in Latin that she translated Ovid as an adolescent. The family also encouraged her poetic talents and supported Wheatley's publication in 1773 of *Poems on Various Subjects*. Newspapers in both Boston and Philadelphia took note of her book and acknowledged its quality. In several public presentations in America and ENGLAND Wheatley became known and lauded as an able poetess. George Washington, Thomas Paine, John Hancock, and others in Revolutionary America became acquainted with her.

The Wheatleys later manumitted Phillis and she married John Peters, a free black. She died in 1784 in her early thirties.

Writing in the context of the American Revolution, Wheatley's poetry echoed themes that colonists used to explain their revolt against Great Britain. Similarly Wheatley's works showed the same religious influences that affected Lemuel Haynes, Absalom Jones, RICHARD ALLEN, and other black Christian contemporaries. She viewed "Almighty Providence" as the divine master of NATURE and humankind and she saw the soul as divinely directed and free. Although nurtured in the rhetoric of liberty and in scriptural SALVATION, Wheatley still recognized that slave trading had seized her "from Afric's distant happy seat," and she prayed that "others may never feel tyrannic sway."

See also Literature

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DENNIS C. DICKERSON

WHISTON, WILLIAM (1667–1752)

English anti-trinitarian theologian. Whiston was born on December 9, 1667 in Norton-Juxta-Twycross, Leicestershire. Whiston's father and maternal grandfather were clergymen, and his father left provisions in his will for his son's university training to become "an able minister of the New Testament." Whiston enrolled at Clare Hall, Cambridge in 1686, earning a B.A. in 1689 and M.A. in 1693. He became a fellow of the college in 1691. He served as chaplain to Bishop John Moore (1646–1714) from 1694 to 1698, and was parish priest at Lowestoft, Suffolk from 1698 to 1701.

In 1701 he succeeded ISAAC NEWTON (1642–1727) as Lucasian professor of mathematics at CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, but was expelled from this post in October 1710 after publicizing his antitrinitarian views, which came in part from Newton. At the end of 1710 Whiston and his family relocated to London, where he endured four years of intermittent but ultimately inconclusive HERESY proceedings initiated by the Anglican Convocation of Clergy. During this period he published the manifesto of his Arian creed, the five-volume *Primitive Christianity reviv'd* (1711–1712). In London he took up a career as a public lecturer on experiment and astronomy, thereby playing a leading role in the dissemination of the new Newtonian philosophy. He also continued his prodigious output of prophetic, theological, and natural philosophical works. Objecting to the reading of the Athanasian Creed in Anglican liturgy and long an advocate of believers' BAPTISM, from 1747 Whiston worshiped with the General BAPTISTS. He died at Lyndon Hall, Rutland on August 22, 1752.

Through his numerous publications Whiston's influence was felt in several disparate areas of eighteenth-century Protestantism. His first book, *A new theory of the earth* (1696), is an early example of flood geology and one of the first attempts to reconcile the Genesis creation account with science, which for Whiston was Newtonian physics (see CREATION SCIENCE). His *Essay on the Revelation* (1706) is a historicist interpretation of the Apocalypse in the tradition of Joseph Mede and was cited by prophetic exegetes into the nineteenth century. In his 1707 Boyle lectures on the fulfillment of biblical prophecy (published in 1708) and later works, Whiston advocated the use of prophecy as an argument for the divine origin of the BIBLE. Although he set his own mark on the THEOLOGY he obtained from Newton, Whiston played a pivotal part in publicizing the heterodox theology of the secret heretic Newton. He also contributed to the development of Unitarianism. A confident expression of the design argument in Newtonian terms, Whiston's *Astronomical principles of religion, natural and reveal'd* (1717) remains a milestone in natural theology. Although a controversial figure, by pushing the limits of British heresy laws, he also helped advance TOLERATION for antitrinitarian dissent. Whiston's most enduring legacy is his translation of Josephus, a translation that found its way into countless Anglo-American Protestant homes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is still in print at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

See also Anti-Trinitarianism; Deism; Dissent

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STEPHEN D.SNOBELEN

WHITE, ELLEN GOULD (1827–1915)

American church founder. Ellen Gould was born in 1827 near Gorham, Maine and grew up as a Methodist in Portland. In 1840 she accepted WILLIAM MILLER'S teaching that Christ would return in 1843 or 1844. In December 1844 Gould experienced a vision, through which she learned that the Millerites must maintain their faith in Christ's imminent return. While spreading this message, she met James S.White, whom she married in 1846. Soon after, the couple began observing the seventh-day Sabbath.

Conferences in the Northeast during 1848 formulated the doctrines of Sabbatarian Adventism. With Ellen's encouragement James published papers, including the *Review and Herald* (1850), and her first pamphlet in 1851. After the Whites moved from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek, Michigan (1855), Ellen's book *Spiritual Gifts* (1858) was published. The Whites and Joseph Bates, a former Millerite, helped form the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH (1863) with a membership of about 3,000. Ellen also promoted health reform, which led to the establishment of what became Battle Creek Sanitarium (1866), encouraged the creation of Battle Creek College (1875), and urged denominational mission activity abroad, which officially began with the arrival of John Nevins Andrews in Europe (1874).

Among Ellen White's books are *The Great Controversy* (1888), *Steps to Christ* (1892), and *The Desire of Ages* (1898). In the 1890s and early 1900s she promoted changes in the DENOMINATION'S organizational structure, expansion into the American South, and continued international development of educational, health, and PUBLISHING institutions. When she died in St. Helena, California in 1915 the Seventh-day Adventist Church had about 130,000 members.

See also Sabbatarianism

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GARY LAND

WHITE, WILLIAM HALE (ALSO MARK RUTHERFORD) (1831–1913)

Victorian writer. Also known under the pseudonym of Mark Rutherford, White was born in Bedford, ENGLAND, the son of William White, a dissenter and doorkeeper at the House of Commons (see DISSENT). He was educated at the English School, Bedford, at the Countess of Huntingdon's College, Cheshunt, and at New College, St. John's Wood. He was highly influenced by the writings of JOHN BUNYAN, and, while in Bedford, attended the Bunyan meeting as did his father before him. He originally intended to become an independent minister, but changed vocational pursuits because of increasing disillusionment and religious doubt. This decision was solidified by the fact that he was expelled from New College, St. John's Wood, for voicing doubt over the authenticity and inspired nature of the BIBLE.

In 1854 he joined the Civil Service, where he eventually established himself as assistant director of contracts at the Admiralty. Although he wrote various pieces for journals over many years, it was not until 1881 that his literary career came to fruition with the publication of his *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* (1881), followed a few years later by *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance* (1885). In these works one finds a penetrative insight into nineteenth-century spirituality, religious doubt, and disillusionment. Indeed, these works are in large part a record of White's own spiritual pilgrimage through the height of nineteenth-century disillusionment with religion. He never attempted to proselytize for any particular religious position, but rather aimed simply to chart his own religious experience through the life of his pseudonym.

Although it is principally for his first two books that he has earned his place in literary and religious history, he wrote several subsequent works; these include: *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane* (1887); *Miriam's Schooling* (1893); *Catherine Furze* (1893); and *Clara Hopgood* (1896).

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ALEC JARVIS

WHITEFIELD, GEORGE (1714–1770)

English revivalist. The pioneer evangelist in the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century (see AWAKENINGS), Whitefield was born at Gloucester, ENGLAND on December 16, 1714. He died at Newburyport, Maryland on September 30, 1770. The sixth child of an innkeeper, in 1732 he gained a place at Oxford University and there attended the “Holy Club” or “Oxford Methodists,” led by JOHN WESLEY, and experienced evangelical CONVERSION and a sense of forgiveness in 1735. He was ordained to the Anglican diaconate in June 1736.

Whitefield’s subsequent life had two sides, one in America, the other in Great Britain. His American experience began with his appointment as a chaplain to the Georgia Company and his inspiration for an orphan home in Georgia. On his second tour Whitefield’s PREACHING stimulated the so-called First Evangelical (or Great) Awakening. Intense emotion and sharp criticism did not disturb him. Although an Anglican, he associated with prominent Dissenters (see DISSENT) and adopted their CALVINISM. Seven further tours of America took place, and a ritual pattern of revival preaching developed (see REVIVALS). He did much to give American religion its own sense of purpose and character. Whitefield faced huge criticism at various periods, but survived to become an American icon, inspiring even the skeptical Ben Franklin to support him.

Whitefield’s British ministry was also controversial. It was his outdoor preaching near Bristol in 1739 after Anglican churches refused to invite him into the pulpit that forced METHODISM into the popular world. Yet leadership of the new movement was assumed by Wesley, who introduced to it an Arminian theology (see ARMINIANISM). As a result Whitefield led a schism and thereafter associated closely with Welsh and Scottish Calvinists, but remained in cordial contact with John Wesley. Because of his frequent absences he increasingly depended on the sponsorship of a strongwilled aristocrat, Selina, countess of Hastings (see HASTINGS, LADY SELINA). His influence in England was greatest among “New” Dissenters, although he never left the established church.

Whitefield was essentially a preacher. Typically his sermons focused on “the new birth,” communicated in a dramatic preaching style, with personal anecdotes, dramatization of the biblical narrative, and theatrical bodily gestures. He excelled in open-air settings, and was much admired by actors. The journal of his experiences led to accusations of “enthusiasm,” that he was controlled by the dictates of an inner spirit. As he became more Calvinist he became more cautious, but his theology remained pragmatic. Unlike Wesley his weakness was in organization, although this mattered less in America. Moreover, Whitefield evidenced some insecurity in the face of better-bred aristocrats and properly licensed CLERGY. None of these factors inhibited the work in America, where Whitefield’s converts found their place in Congregational and Presbyterian churches.

Recent studies have focused on the conscious way in which Whitefield viewed religion as a commodity, “worked” his market, distributing publicity, promoting himself and his ministry, and stimulating religious debate. Whitefield reveled in opposition, although he appreciated support in high places. Although he failed to found a separate DENOMINATION, his values lie at the heart of modern EVANGELICALISM and made him known as a pioneer evangelist in the eighteenth-century Great Awakening.

See also Congregationalism; Nonconformity; Presbyterianism; Wesleyan Holiness Movement

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PETER LINEHAM

WHITGIFT, JOHN (c. 1530–1604)

Archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift was born in Lincolnshire about 1530, and his career led him from CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY to Lambeth Palace where, as archbishop of CANTERBURY (1583–1604), he was one of queen ELIZABETH I's closest advisors. Whitgift's unwavering conviction that the monarch stood as the sole and rightful head of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND put him in frequent conflict with those who desired reforms beyond those stated in the Elizabethan Settlement.

Whitgift at Cambridge

Whitgift not only received his education at Cambridge University, he also spent a significant portion of his career there. Upon receiving his B.D. in 1563 he was named Lady Margaret professor of divinity, a post he held until he earned a D.D. in 1567, whereupon he was named Regious professor of divinity and master of Trinity College. In 1570 Whitgift became vicechancellor.

Whitgift's time at Cambridge coincided with a period of religious conflict at the university, and Whitgift quickly established himself as a defender of the status quo. When Cambridge became the center of a controversy concerning prescribed clerical VESTMENTS, Whitgift saw those who objected to donning "popish dress" as unjustly challenging the AUTHORITY of the Crown and Canterbury to fix church policy. The conflict between those who supported the establishment and those who argued for limits to royal and episcopal power would prove a recurring issue in Whitgift's career.

One of the most high profile dissenters at Cambridge was THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. Cartwright's name became almost synonymous with PURITANISM, and Whitgift stood as his committed and continuing opponent. When Cartwright gave a series of lectures in which he overtly criticized the ecclesiastical polity of the church, Whitgift joined with other heads of the university to deny Cartwright his degree. Shortly thereafter Whitgift succeeded in getting Cartwright expelled from the university. The two clashed again during a literary debate known as "The Admonition Controversy." The dispute centered on "things indifferent," that is, notions of correct liturgical and ecclesiastical procedures not mentioned specifically in the BIBLE. Whitgift's writings reveal that his position stemmed not from an intrinsic antipathy for Cartwright's PRESBYTERIANISM, but from a conviction that the church's system of governance was necessarily shaped by the larger political system in which it was situated.

Bishop and Archbishop

Not surprisingly, Whitgift's views found favor with Queen Elizabeth, and in 1576 she awarded him the bishopric of Worcester. He stayed until 1583 when Elizabeth nominated him as archbishop of Canterbury. No doubt the nomination was proof of Elizabeth's enduring good opinion of Whitgift, but it also revealed Elizabeth's desire to fill the post with someone who shared her zeal for conformity. Edmund Grindal, Whitgift's predecessor, had displeased Elizabeth mightily when he refused to suppress "prophesyings," that is, meetings where CLERGY rehearsed their PREACHING skills and facility with scripture. Grindal was placed under house arrest, and for the rest of his term was prohibited from carrying out any but the most minor of tasks.

Consequently, when Whitgift became archbishop, the church had been without effective metropolitan leadership for over five years. He rose to the challenge, proving quickly he would tolerate no opposition to the order and constitutions of the church. He issued articles that prohibited prophesyings and other private religious gatherings, allowed no compromise on questions of vestments, and demanded that all ministers of the church acclaim that the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER contained nothing contrary to the word of God. Moreover, he required that all clergy affirm Elizabeth's dominion over all persons in her realm, over and above any other temporal, ecclesiastical, or spiritual power.

Whitgift championed the royal authority and the episcopacy throughout his career as archbishop. He supported RICHARD HOOKER during Hooker's tenure at Temple Church, and helped him acquire a more quiet living when Hooker began to write *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (the fifth volume is dedicated to Whitgift). He succeeded in passing stringent anti-Puritan laws in 1593, and successfully kept those with strong presbyterian leanings from holding important office (see PURITANISM; PRESBYTERIANISM).

Whitgift's unyielding attitude combined with his predilection for the pomp and ceremony of his position earned him many detractors. The Marprelate Tracts, a series of Puritan pamphlets published during the 1590s, labeled him "John Kankerbury, the Pope of Lambeth." Interestingly, despite their disagreement over issues of church POLITY, Whitgift and the Puritans agreed on two significant issues: the need for an educated clergy and the wisdom of the doctrine of PREDESTINATION as explicated by JOHN CALVIN. As archbishop, Whitgift refined a system he had designed in Worcester to put in place a practical and efficient method by which licensed preachers tutored unlearned clergy. Concerning predestination, Whitgift once chided Cartwright for not giving proper weight to this important principle. In 1595 a controversy at Cambridge University prompted Whitgift to form a committee that produced "The Lambeth Articles," nine statements supporting Calvinist tenets. Elizabeth was not apprised of this committee, and evidently expressed her disapproval to Whitgift. The Articles were never formally adopted.

This episode notwithstanding, Whitgift and Elizabeth enjoyed a close relationship to the end. She is said to have referred to him as "her little black husband," and he attended her at her deathbed. Elizabeth died in 1603; Whitgift survived his queen by little less than a year. He lived to crown James I, and to attend the Hampton Court Conference where his

protégé and successor Richard Bancroft championed the conformist position so long defended by Whitgift. Whitgift died February 29, 1604 in London and is buried in Croyden.

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KAREN BRUHN

WICHERN, JOHANN HEINRICH (1808–1881)

German reformer. Wichern was born on April 21, 1808, the eldest of seven children, and died on April 7, 1881. He is generally and correctly considered “the father of the Inner Mission”—although not because he founded many diaconal institutions, but because he brought them together for the first time and because his notion of “Inner Mission” as the primary idea behind social Protestantism in GERMANY has had a substantial impact to the present day.

Wichern came from a modest home. His father was a scrivener for a notary public until he himself became a notary public in 1806 and rose to the bourgeois middle class. He sent the ten-year-old Johann to Hamburg’s Johanneum School, a prominent German high school. But Johann had to leave the school before earning his diploma. His father had died suddenly in 1823 and left behind a widow and seven children without income except what the musically talented Johann could earn by giving private piano lessons and later as a teaching assistant in a Christian school. In the years 1826–1827 he joined an ecclesiastical party in Hamburg that fought against the theological rationalism to which most CLERGY in Hamburg subscribed. Influential politicians supported evangelical religious practice. They encouraged the young Wichern and eventually provided the financial support enabling him to study THEOLOGY.

Wichern completed his theological studies at Göttingen with the professor of practical theology Friedrich Lücke, and then moved to Berlin where he studied under FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER and JOHANN AUGUST NEANDER. In Hamburg in 1832 he failed his first round of exams, and being thirtieth on the list of aspiring clergy at a time when the profession was overcrowded, he had little hope of finding a position in the church. While teaching SUNDAY SCHOOL he seized the opportunity to take over the direction of a newly established Salvation House, a place that provided rootless young men a home and a practical education. Wichern formulated a concept of EDUCATION along the lines of existing models in Weimar, Germany (Johannes Falk), and Beuggen, SWITZERLAND (Samuel Zeller). These models sought to shape individuals into a family-like group structure in which youths could experience love and trust as well as religious instruction in an environment free from repression. As a matter of principle Wichern refused financial subsidies from the state to keep the institution, dubbed the “rough house,” independent of political pressures. Older assistants—soon called “brothers”—led the groups, and Wichern took responsibility for their education in a “brothers’ house.” From this institution evolved the diaconal brotherhood: a female counterpart was established by the diaconal minister Theodor Fliedner in Kaiserswerth near Düsseldorf in 1836.

Wichern’s work in Hamburg was based on his conviction that what alienated the underclasses from Christianity and from the CHURCH was rooted in their social

conditions. Mass poverty in the years before the March Revolution of 1848 had resulted from the collapse of proto-industrialization in Germany and the migration from the agricultural areas of the east to the big cities (Hamburg, Berlin) and to the regions along the Rhine River, the Ruhr valley, and Upper Silesia. These upheavals severed traditional religious connections, and the church did not know how to react effectively. Wichern outlined a program of re-Christianizing the unchurched masses and made social aid for the poor a precondition for the PREACHING of the Word of God. Wichern did not trust the state church of his day to complete the double task of providing social aid based on Christian responsibility *and* of ministering the gospel to the poor. So he set up independent religious unions, which—because of their independence from the church hierarchy and the limitations of individual congregations as were found among regional churches—formed a network of socially engaged diaconic groups. He called this network the “Inner Mission.” In 1848 in Wittenberg, Wichern took the opportunity to present his ideas before an assembly of German Protestantism. Those present welcomed the possibilities in Wichern’s ideas and decided to establish a committee that could coordinate the work in Germany. Out of this came in 1849 the *Central-Ausschuss für Innere Mission* (Central Committee for the Inner Mission) in Berlin, which still exists today as the *Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, with its center in Stuttgart.

Wichern was no social reformer and no promoter of state-sponsored social welfare, although the notion of cooperation in social work between state and independent religious and philanthropic groups goes back to his idea. Above all he aimed to invigorate the church and win back all those classes of society that had become increasingly alienated after the Congress of Vienna. Included among them were not only the “poor” but also the educated and the working middle class. Inner Mission, as the link between social work and the preaching of the gospel, was for him a broad cultural phenomenon that society should embrace. In 1857 he joined the Prussian Ministry of Justice with the task of reforming prisons. He undertook the first attempts toward resocializing prisoners after their release. He was also a member of the supreme council of the Protestant church, the highest administrative body in the Prussian church.

The Inner Mission and its counterpart, the Caritas Union, founded in 1897—together with the big cities and the social-welfare departments of regional states—shaped the German model of the modern social-welfare state that is characterized by a “mixed economy of welfare” (Christoph Sachsse). Independent groups, religious organizations (nongovernmental organizations or NGOs), *and* state institutions serve the social sector together and do so by mutual agreement. The Inner Mission led by Wichern and his followers had an essential role in its development. For its impact and for the reputation of German Protestantism, this remains tremendously important, even to this day.

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JOCHEN-CHRISTOPH KAISER

WILBERFORCE, SAMUEL (1805–1873)

English bishop. Wilberforce was born on September 7, 1805 at Clapham, London, the third son of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, the emancipationist, who was at the time a leader of the CLAPHAM SECT of Evangelicals, and Barbara Anne Spooner. After a private education he was matriculated at Oriel College, University of Oxford, in 1823 as a commoner and, under the influence of his father, began to develop his considerable debating skills. He graduated in 1826 with first-class honors in mathematics and a second in classics, and on June 11, 1828 married Emily Sargent, daughter of the rector of Lavington, Sussex. In the same year he was appointed curate of Checkendon, near Henley, Oxfordshire. In 1830 his father gained him the patronage of the bishop of Winchester who presented him to the rectorship of Brightstone, Isle of Wight where he immediately began to make a name for himself as preacher and writer.

Wilberforce was throughout his career a High Churchman in the sense of holding the CHURCH OF ENGLAND central to English life, politics, and society. His early published works included *Note Book of a Country Clergyman*, an edition of the *Letters and Journals* of Henry Martyn, with his brother Robert he wrote the *Life of William Wilberforce* (1838), and in 1840 the *Correspondence*. These were joined by *Agathos and other Sunday Stories* (1839), *University Sermons* (1839), and *Rocky Island and other Parables* (1840). In 1844 he published *History of the American Church*. However, by 1838 his writing was sufficiently opposed to the Tractarians that JOHN HENRY NEWMAN refused to publish any more of his essays (see OXFORD MOVEMENT). Over the next few years his reputation and influence grew so that in 1839 Wilberforce became archdeacon of Surrey and in 1840, canon of Winchester and rector of Alverstoke, Hampshire. The following year he was made chaplain to Prince Albert and in 1843 the archbishop of York appointed him sub-almoner to the queen. In May 1845 he was made dean of Westminster and then in October 1845, bishop of Oxford, where he stayed for twentyfive years.

At Oxford Wilberforce's career was marked by a devotion to his pastoral duties, particularly the cause of improving clerical education, but was also touched by controversy. The see at Oxford, with its close connections to the university through Christ Church, was something of a poisoned chalice for someone of Wilberforce's politics, who would be attacked on the one side for being too close to the Catholics and by the Tractarians as being too conservative. He was also cordially detested by the Evangelical wing of the church. In 1843 EDWARD PUSEY had been banned by the university from preaching for two years and in 1845 he took Newman's place as leader of the Tractarians, Newman himself just having been received into the Catholic Church. Wilberforce was not helped by the fact that over the next twenty years his brother-in-law, sister-in-law and her husband, his brothers Robert and William, his own daughter, and her husband were all received into the Catholic church.

Wilberforce quickly established himself as a powerful speaker in the House of Lords and it was there that he earned the sobriquet of “Soapy Sam”—a man with a fearsome reputation for debate but almost too clever and slippery a rhetorician. He soon became embroiled in controversy when in 1847 the prime minister offered the Hereford see to Renn Dickson Hampden, Regius professor of divinity at Oxford, whose writing was considered unorthodox by the Tractarians. Pressured by JOHN KEBLE and Pusey, Wilberforce demanded Hampden’s trial if he would not recant his writings, only to be accused of weakness when, a few weeks later, he withdrew the charges thinking Hampden to have been misrepresented.

The Wilberforce-Huxley Debate

SCIENCE and religion come newly into conflict in 1860, first with the publication of the liberal *Essays and Reviews*, several of the authors of which were Oxford colleagues. Wilberforce condemned the book in the *Quarterly Review* and pursued its authors as far as the House of Lords. Then came the event that fixed his name and sealed his reputation forever in the public eye: the so-called Wilberforce-Huxley debate with T.H. Huxley at the University Museum (June 30, 1860). Wilberforce was prominent among the ardent foes of the theories of evolution expounded by Robert Chambers in *Vestiges of Creation* (1844) and then by Charles Darwin in *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859). In this he had a particular ally in Richard Owen, the London zoologist (later first director of the Natural History Museum in Kensington). The University of Oxford had just completed its brand new museum as a monument to natural theology and the British Association for the Advancement of Science held its annual meeting there, with DARWINISM the topic overshadowing all others. Before the assembled who’s who of British science (except for Darwin himself), Wilberforce delivered a comprehensive rebuttal of the theory (the text, showing Owen’s influences, was later published anonymously in *Quarterly Review*). He famously concluded with the rhetorical flourish that he “had been informed that Professor Huxley had said that he didn’t care whether or not his grandfather was an ape.” The myth has been perpetuated over the years that he had demanded of Huxley whether “it was through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed descent from an ape” but that (particularly “grandmother”) would have been far too crude a jibe. Huxley famously ended his response by turning Wilberforce’s rhetoric against him: “If then the question is out to me whether I would rather have a miserable ape for a grandfather or a man highly endowed by nature and possessed of great means of influence and yet employs those faculties and that influence for the mere purpose of introducing ridicule into a grave scientific discussion, I unhesitatingly affirm my preference for the ape.”

Having been passed over for London, in 1869 Wilberforce attained the bishopric of Winchester and devoted much effort to revision of the New Testament. On July 19, 1873 he was killed in a riding accident.

See also Creation Science

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KEITH STEWART THOMSON

WILBERFORCE, WILLIAM (1759–1833)

English politician. Wilberforce was active in Parliament from 1780 to 1825. Converted as a young man to an Evangelical faith, he dedicated himself to campaigns for the moral improvement of the country and, supremely, for the abolition of the slave trade. He was an influential supporter of the various Evangelical causes of his day.

Career

Born in Hull, Yorkshire, on August 24, 1759, Wilberforce lost his father when he was only eight and his grandfather, a wealthy merchant, when he was fifteen. Inheriting a substantial private income, the young man went up two years later to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he became a close friend of William Pitt, later prime minister. In 1780 he was elected member of Parliament (MP) for Hull, and four years later for the vast constituency of Yorkshire, which he retained for twenty-eight years. Although he gave steady support to Pitt in the House of Commons and was considered for government office, he was thought to be too slack in his attention to business. He suffered from persistent ill health and the effects of the opium prescribed for its cure, but in 1797 he married Barbara Spooner, with whom he had four sons. After Pitt's death in 1806, Wilberforce remained loyal to his friend's principles, defending the established Constitution and insisting on the enforcement of measures designed to maintain public order. Although this stance aligned him with those subsequently called Tories, he favored moderate parliamentary reform, full civil rights for Roman Catholics, and the abolition of hanging. In 1812 he left his Yorkshire parliamentary seat because of the pressures of defending it, becoming instead MP for the small borough of Bramber in Sussex until his final retirement from parliament in 1825. He died in London on July 29, 1833 and was buried in Westminster Abbey on August 5.

Evangelicalism and Its Campaigns

The fame of Wilberforce rests on his commitment to Evangelical Christianity (see EVANGELICALISM) and the causes it sponsored. While traveling on the continent during 1784 and 1785, the young politician read Philip Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, which was crucial in making him realize that his faith had been only

nominal, and gradually he emerged from a spiritual crisis as a believer in “vital Christianity.” On the advice of John Newton, the former slave trader who was now an Evangelical clergyman, Wilberforce determined to remain in politics to advance Christian causes. One major preoccupation became “the reformation of manners.” In 1787 he persuaded King George III, through Pitt as prime minister, to issue a proclamation urging magistrates to enforce existing laws against blasphemy, drunkenness, and similar misdemeanors. Wilberforce was a driving force behind the subsequent creation of a Proclamation Society, which stirred supporters into calling for local action against wrongdoing. This campaign has been interpreted as an exercise in social control in the interests of the ruling classes, but Wilberforce was concerned with reform of the whole of society. His *Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians* (1797) censured the upper and middle classes for neglect of their responsibilities. Diagnosing their fundamental weakness as formal rather than convinced adherence to the gospel, Wilberforce commended “real Christianity” to them. The politician’s book achieved a wide readership and contributed to bringing about many conversions similar to his own.

The most celebrated campaign undertaken by Wilberforce was the effort to suppress the slave trade (see SLAVERY; SLAVERY, ABOLITION OF). Although he had shared the growing public aversion to that trade since his youth, the politician drew his inspiration for abolition from his faith. He worked in cooperation with fellow Evangelicals, many of whom formed the group that was in retrospect to be called the CLAPHAM SECT because they lived in the London suburb of that name. In 1789 Wilberforce carried a set of resolutions against the trade in the House of Commons and over the next few years, in the teeth of opposition from planters and merchants, he sustained his humanitarian pressure. In 1806 a bill for partial abolition was carried; in the next year total abolition followed. In the same year he set up an African Institution to promote civilization in the continent, to persuade other countries to suppress the slave trade, and to improve the conditions of the slaves. In 1823 Wilberforce published *An Appeal...on behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies*, although it was not until later years that he supported a younger generation in pressing for the emancipation of the slaves. That was to be achieved in British territories in 1833, the year of Wilberforce’s death.

The politician was able to promote the Evangelical cause in a variety of ways. He supported many of the burgeoning Evangelical societies of the day such as the Church Missionary Society (1799) and the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (1806). He obtained posts for promising Evangelical clergy in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. He defended the Methodists from attempts by the authorities to suppress their activities. In 1813 he led a movement to ensure freedom for missionaries to enter INDIA at the time of the renewal of the East India Company charter. Wilberforce was one of the circle of Anglican Evangelicals who contributed to their periodical, *The Christian Observer*, in the early years after its foundation in 1802, submitting, for example, a critical review of WILLIAM PALEY’S classic statement of the argument from design. Theologically Wilberforce was originally a moderate Calvinist whose CALVINISM gradually became more diluted until it virtually disappeared. His life was a supreme example of the extraordinary energy in good causes unleashed by the Evangelical movement.

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D.W.BEBBINGTON

WILLARD, FRANCES ELIZABETH CAROLINE (1839–1898)

American social reformer. Willard was a TEMPERANCE reformer, a supporter of ECUMENISM, women's suffrage, and women's rights within Protestant churches. She was born in Churchville, New York in 1839. In her youth her family joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Willard was a teacher, an evangelist for DWIGHT L. MOODY, and a founder and the national president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) from 1879 until her death in 1898.

Willard was concerned with reforming the ills of society and encouraged her organization to begin the task. She advocated suffrage as the leader of WCTU and as the editor of their periodical, *Our Union*. In her *Woman in the Pulpit*, she advocated a place for WOMEN within her religious tradition by providing an exegesis of biblical passages that discussed women's religious participation. Many consider Willard the most important laywoman in the Methodist Episcopal Church of the nineteenth century. However, she also caused controversy within her denomination over a "woman's place" when she wanted to address the Methodist General Conference about WCTU, and in 1887 she became an elected delegate to this conference. Willard is an important figure in Protestantism not only because of her support of reform, but also because of her desire to find a place for women in Protestant denominations.

See also Methodism; Methodism, North America; Social Gospel; Women Clergy

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KELLY J. BAKER

WILLIAMS, ROGER (1603?-1683)

Radical puritan and founder of Rhode Island. Williams deserves to be remembered chiefly for his unflinching embrace of religious liberty.

Born in London, probably in the first year of the reign of James I, the young Williams found an invaluable patron in the person of the famed jurist, Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634). With the latter's advice and support, he finished a preparatory education that qualified him for admission to Pembroke College of Cambridge University. Receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1627, Williams stayed on in Cambridge for postgraduate work, then accepted ordination in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in 1629.

Williams quickly identified himself with the Puritan party of that national church, joining others in urging this institution to become more rigorously and consistently Protestant.

Williams and Massachusetts Bay Colony

In the midst of vigorous agitations and intense examinations of both hearts and scripture, many Cambridge graduates resolved to leave ENGLAND and its heavy-handed bishops in order to create a true and purer church in England's lands across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1630 the lawyer JOHN WINTHROP (1588–1649) led a large contingent of Englishmen, women, and children to Massachusetts Bay, where they, in faithful covenant with God, created a holy commonwealth and a New Testament church. Before the decade of the 1630s ended, thousands followed in Winthrop's wake, setting the course for much of America's religious history to come. One of the early followers, Roger Williams, set sail from Bristol late in 1630 arriving, with his new wife, off Nantasket on February 5, 1631.

Much attention had to be given to the demands of survival in a bitterly cold, barren, and unforgiving wilderness, but even in the midst of these basic human challenges, one could neither forget nor neglect the religious urgencies that brought the Puritans to the colonies in the first place. In recognition of his piety, education, and zeal, Williams was asked to lead the newly formed church in Boston. He declined the honor, however, because he recognized that the majority of the congregation still saw themselves as members of the Church of England. They intended to complete their program of reform, unhindered, until they could show England what a model New Testament church looked like. And then, they confidently believed, their mother country would see the light, purify the national church, and be a beacon of a purer Protestantism to all the Western world.

Williams was dismayed by what he regarded as hypocrisy. How could the Puritans radically reform the national church, all the while pretending to still be members of it?

How can one, Williams plaintively asked, build a square house of God on the keel of a ship? The only honest and honorable course to take, Williams asserted, was to scrap all tradition and begin afresh with only the New Testament as a guide. In this way, the cause of Christ would be magnified and the true church would be made manifest.

Williams had other concerns as well that prevented him from finding complete comfort in the civil and ecclesiastical patterns of Massachusetts Bay. The Puritans had rejected bishops, but they had not rejected all mingling of the church and the state. The civil magistrates in Massachusetts continued to enforce religious duties and to punish dissent. They even required unbelievers to swear an oath in court, “so help me God,” which Williams saw as a travesty and a plain violation of conscience. Beyond all this, Williams, who had early studied the languages of the Indians and sympathetically observed their culture, complained that the Massachusetts Bay Colony had done nothing to compensate NATIVE AMERICANS for lands that had suddenly been claimed as the private property of Englishmen.

In the space of a mere four years, Williams had raised enough objections and thrown down enough challenges to completely unnerve the authorities of the Bay Colony. In October 1635, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay passed a sentence of exile against Williams for his “new and dangerous opinions.” He was given six weeks to leave.

Williams and Rhode Island

Williams readily recognized that he could neither remain in Massachusetts Bay nor return to England. His alternatives were limited. The Dutch in New Amsterdam were too far away and might be even less hospitable than his own countrymen. But between the claims of the Dutch and those of Massachusetts, much empty territory lay. Williams set out, with the help of the American Indians, to create a colony of his own, with a line clearly drawn between the civil and the ecclesiastical orders, and with sensitive regard for the tender consciences of all humankind.

Making his way on foot through winter snows, Williams, after some six weeks of not knowing “what bed or bread did mean,” arrived at the headwaters of the Narraganset Bay, where he created a small settlement that he called Providence—“in a sense of God’s merciful Providence to me in my distress.” Slowly and never too surely, the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations gradually came into being. Here Williams spent most of the remainder of his life (returning to England for a time)—nearly half a century—trying to give stability to his colony and life to his vision of a full liberty in all matters of the human soul.

In 1638 Williams joined with twenty other settlers in creating a BAPTIST church, the first on American soil. The distinguishing feature of this church was its rejection of infant baptism, replaced by a “believer’s baptism” extended to those who made a voluntary profession of faith. Religion was viewed as personal, and the commitment to it as necessarily wholly free. Williams did not long remain a Baptist, as he soon concluded that no church could be fully loyal to the New Testament. Williams continued to defend

the Baptists as being the closest that one could come to New Testament Christianity in the present age.

By 1640, with thirty-seven families in residence, the Providence settlers drew up formal articles of agreement. One article made clear the uniqueness of this new urban experiment: "We agree, As formerly hath been the liberties of the Town, so still to hold forth Liberty of Conscience."

To insure the survival of his tiny colony, Williams went to London in 1643 to obtain a charter. This trip enabled him to get some of his writings into print, for Providence did not have a printer and Boston had no interest in promoting his radical views. His first book, *A Key into the Language of America* (1643), proved to be his most popular. A sensitive study of the language, culture, and religion of New England American Indians, this work won an immediate audience in England and an enduring one in America. The situation was otherwise with his second book, *The Bloody Tenant of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience* (1644). This book was burned in London almost as soon as it appeared, and was widely excoriated in America, nowhere more vigorously than in Massachusetts.

The strong message of *The Bloody Tenant* was that the church and the state must be separated for the sake of the church, for the sake of humanity, and for the cause of Christ. Williams argued that the joining of these two institutions, ever since the days of the Emperor Constantine, had resulted not in the purity of religion but in the horror of bloody persecutions and even bloodier religious wars.

Anticipating English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704), and very probably influencing him as well, Williams argued that all civil power comes from the people. The "divine right of kings" was a fiction, a costly myth. Governments "have no more power" than the people "consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with." Churches, on the other hand, had a "divine right" or at least a divine origin. Ordained by God, chartered by Christ, they have a status quite apart from that of the civil order. It therefore made no sense, according to Williams, to put this divine institution in the hands of "natural, sinful, inconstant men, and so consequently (of) Satan himself."

Because England was in the midst of a civil war and had no king, Williams abandoned hope of receiving a royal charter and instead appealed to Parliament for some legal foundation. In March 1644 the relevant Parliamentary committee voted (with two votes to spare) for a "Free Charter of Civil Incorporation and Government for the Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England."

In the late summer of 1644, Williams arrived back home in Rhode Island, where he was soon elected "chief Officer" of the colony, a position he would retain for the next three years. Now he faced the difficult task of demonstrating how religious liberty operated. Some citizens, of course, were ready to treat liberty as a synonym for licentiousness, while others thought the logical corollary of liberty in religion was anarchy in politics. To the end of his life, Williams repeatedly contended with these perversions of a genuine "soul liberty."

Because of continuing quarrels over authority, a second trip to London became necessary. Joining with John Clarke (1609–1676), leading citizen and Baptist pastor in Newport, Williams in 1651 had to leave his family and friends to labor once more on behalf of Rhode Island. Conferring with OLIVER CROMWELL (1599–1658) on theological issues and working with Parliament on political ones, Williams returned

home after two years, leaving Clarke behind to conclude the tortuous negotiations for a new charter. Because the monarchy was restored in 1660, the new charter, granted in 1663, was a royal one, more enduring, more authoritative than a mere vote of Parliament. The charter granted to the people of Rhode Island “a full liberty in religious concerns.”

While in London, Williams published a tender love letter to his wife, encouraging her in her periods of melancholy or spiritual doubt. This small book, called *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health* (1652), reveals Williams’s profound and personal piety—a side of his career too often obscured or forgotten. For him, this life was a mere shadow of the glories to be revealed in the life to come. We should think of ourselves, Williams wrote, as passengers on a ship, destined for a heavenly harbor. When persecuted or defeated or despondent, we must “sometimes warm and revive our cold hearts and fainting spirits with the assured hope of those victories, those crowns, those harvests, those refreshings and fruits...which God hath prepared for them that love him.”

In his old age, Williams rowed from Providence to Newport (about thirty miles) in order to contest against the Quakers, whose theology he rejected. Although he believed firmly in religious liberty, Williams did not advocate religious indifference. He argued for many days trying to convince the Quakers that they were wrong, but would never permit the hand of the state to be raised against them to the slightest degree.

Williams suffered many disappointments, perhaps none so severe as the “Indian uprising” of 1675, known as King Phillip’s War. All of Williams’s years of delicate negotiation, of careful cultivating of friendships, of scrupulous avoidance of forced conversions, came to a brutal end in the furies of New England’s bloodiest war. Williams’s own house went up in flames, as did his dreams of an intercultural harmony between the American Indians and the English. In his last years he also suffered the loss of his wife and one of his six children. With ever deepening sorrow he found himself writing once more to his friends and neighbors in Providence in 1682, begging them to behave as good citizens should and reminding them that “Our Charter Excels all in New England, or the World, as to the Souls of Men.”

The next year, Williams died. The exact date of his death, like that of his birth, is unknown. Instead, America’s commitment to a “full liberty in religious concerns” stands as his enduring monument.

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EDWIN S.GAUSTAD

WILSON, THOMAS WOODROW (1856–1924)

Twenty-eighth president of the United States. Wilson, the twenty-eighth president of the United States (1913–1921), was born in a Presbyterian manse in Staunton, Virginia. Among his ancestors were Presbyterian ministers on both sides of his family, and the family of his first wife, Ellen Axson Wilson, also included Presbyterian ministers. His father, Dr. Joseph Ruggles Wilson, was one of the founders of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America in 1861, and after the CIVIL WAR he became the Stated Clerk and one of the foremost leaders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the southern branch of American PRESBYTERIANISM.

Wilson was raised in the South and imbued deeply the ethos of southern Presbyterianism. Many contemporaries and subsequent biographers have argued that a crucial key to understanding Wilson's personality and politics was his religious faith. "My life would not be worth living," he declared as president, "if it were not for the driving power of religion, for *faith*, pure and simple."

Wilson attended Davidson College for one year and graduated from Princeton University in 1879. He attended the University of Virginia Law School but did not receive a degree, and after briefly practicing law, entered the new Ph.D. program in politics at the Johns Hopkins University. After receiving his degree, he taught at Bryn Mawr College and Wesleyan University and then returned to Princeton. After twelve years on the faculty, he became the university's president in 1902. Amidst the theological controversies in American Presbyterianism, Wilson tried to keep Princeton above the fray, though personally he had little regard for the archconservatives in his denomination.

Wilson resigned and was elected governor of New Jersey in 1910. Quickly establishing himself as a reformer and a progressive Democrat, Wilson was elected president in 1912 and reelected in 1916. In both foreign and domestic policy, he sought to use the power of the state and the influence of the presidency to bring new order to American society and the postwar world. His speeches reflect the missionary spirit of Protestantism; for example, he said America's role in World War I was "to make the world safe for democracy." When he formulated "the Covenant of the League of Nations," the title itself revealed the impact of the covenant theological tradition in Presbyterianism. The philosophical principles of twentieth-century American foreign policy were largely forged by Wilson—with both positive and negative consequences—and the influence of his Protestant and Presbyterian heritage helped shape his assumptions about society and politics.

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JOHN M. MULDER

WINSTANLEY, GERRARD (c. 1609–c. 1675)

English church leader. Winstanley was born near or in Wigam, Lancashire, ENGLAND in about 1609. After he completed his apprenticeship as a merchant-tailor in London in 1637 he struggled in business and went bankrupt during the Civil Wars (1643). Winstanley and his wife, Susan, tried to reestablish themselves in Cobham, Surrey during the 1640s but failed. During this period Winstanley claimed to have had a deeply spiritual experience that led to his involvement with a group called the Diggers.

Winstanley became a leader of the Digger movement in 1649–1650. Forty to fifty people tried to cultivate the common land at St. George's Hill in Walton-on-Thames and then in the neighboring parish of Cobham. Harassed by the local population at both sites, these experiments in communal living failed by Easter 1650. His life afterward is cloudy, but it seems that his first wife predeceased him; he remarried, fathered two sons, and became a corn chandler and Quaker before his death in London in 1675 (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF).

Like most Christians, Winstanley believed that humanity had fallen from its original state of grace. However, little else in his writings is orthodox. He thought private property as well as commerce were negative outcomes of the Fall or perhaps even the cause of the Fall. He thought that Christ would usher in a communal society upon his return, but Winstanley's millenarianism is open to interpretation: did he believe in Christ's literal return or would Christ's Spirit bring about personal and societal regeneration? Winstanley denounced the mainstream Christian churches, their CLERGY, and doctrines as a hindrance to SALVATION. He equated God the Father with Reason; God would help bring the victory of the spirit over flesh. Conversely, the DEVIL was not a separate being but was the spirit of flesh that tried to rule humanity. Winstanley thought God would ultimately save everyone.

Gerrard Winstanley was a radical religious thinker and "communist" who published prolifically from 1648 to 1652. He was heavily influenced by the radicalism of the Protestant REFORMATION and the English Revolution. However, his impact on his own day was minimal and he received little attention from scholars until the end of the nineteenth century. Since then he has increasingly been recognized as a visionary and a gifted socioeconomic theorist, although his works have yielded very different interpretations.

See also Civil War, England; Communism; Millenarians & Millennialism

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CHERYL FURY

WISCONSIN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD

Third largest of the three major Lutheran church bodies in the United States, after the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ELCA) and the LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD (LCMS), the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS) is the most conservative theologically and least involved in interconfessional dialogue. It is not a member of ecumenical organizations, such as the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, or the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION. Organized in 1850 by pastors with roots in the nineteenth-century German AWAKENINGS and in several German mission societies, WELS initially exhibited a relaxed Lutheranism. Influenced by C.F.W. WALTHER and the LCMS, WELS grew increasingly conservative, joining the LCMS and other conservative, confessional Lutheran synods in forming the LUTHERAN SYNODICAL CONFERENCE (LSC) in 1872. When a bitter controversy over PREDESTINATION disrupted the LSC in the 1880s, WELS remained allied with the Missouri Synod in the Conference. In 1917 WELS formally merged with several largely German conservative Lutheran synods in the upper Midwest. Where midwestern WELS and LCMS memberships overlapped, local associations were often jointly formed to create auxiliary institutions, such as high schools and homes for the elderly and for the handicapped.

In 1961 WELS severed its relationship with the LCMS, charging that by moving into closer relationships with the AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, the LCMS had changed and no longer exhibited consistency in doctrine and practice. Because worship, including prayer, with those who are not in full agreement with WELS, including other Lutherans, is proscribed as "unionism," WELS pastors may not serve as military chaplains. WELS prohibits participation in Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, and most fraternal organizations; condemns abortion; and excludes women from the pastorate. The Bible as the inspired, inerrant Word of God and the BOOK OF CONCORD constitute WELS's doctrinal foundation. Since the 1950s WELS has channeled its energies into the development of parochial schools, secondary and post-secondary institutions, and the expansion of domestic and foreign outreach.

See also Biblical Inerrancy; Doctrine; Lutheranism

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JAMES W. ALBERS

WITCHCRAZE

Belief in witchcraft is—like magic and religion—a universal phenomenon, and so is the persecution of suspected witches. In Europe a number of clear-cut definitions have drastically challenged traditional notions of witchcraft. Each of these interpretations is rooted in a specific intellectual environment, and the starting point causes surprise even after centuries: Christian demonology equated black and white magic. Founded on the thought of the church father St. Augustine (354–430), any kind of magic, and even superstitious customs like the wearing of amulets or watching the stars for astrological purposes, was thought to rely on a contract between a human being and a demon, the DEVIL, either explicitly or implicitly, because the magician expected an effect from a ceremony or a thing that in itself could not work. In the wake of the Roman sorcery scares, and inspired by monotheism, *any* kind of magic seemed equal to witchcraft (*De doctrina christiana*, II:30–40). Magicians and witches were seen as allies of the devil; they belonged to the *civitas diaboli*. As offenders of the law, biblical (Exodus 22:18) as well as Roman, they were to be killed.

Witches: Real or Not

In contrast, for theologians of the early and high Middle Ages, like Bishop Burchard of Worms (965–1025), author of an influential penitential, whose formulations would become part of Canon Law, witches were individuals who believed they possessed powers that in reality did *not* exist. Devils were equated with pagan gods, which were not too powerful in comparison to Jesus Christ, and witches were merely considered to be deceived by devilish illusions. They were not to be killed, but corrected and educated (Corrector Burchardi, *Decretorum libri viginti*, in *Patrologia Latina* 140, cols. 491–1090). The rise of heretical movements changed the perspective. Some late medieval theologians, like the Dominican inquisitor Heinrich Kramer/Institoris (1430–1505), author of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (“The Witches’ Hammer”), imagined witches to be members of a conspiracy, directed against Christian society, which was allowed by God to cause immense physical and spiritual hardship. The witches’ power, although supported by the devil with God’s permission, was *real*. Witches therefore had to be physically eradicated, according to both divine and secular law, hammered out by virtually any means because exceptional crimes require exceptional measures (*Malleus Maleficarum*, Speyer 1486).

Opponents of witch-hunting generally disapproved of the atrocities, and equated them with the persecution of Christians in ancient Rome, although it took Johann Weyer

(1515–1588), the court physician of duke of Jülich-Kleve, to find a nonreligious reason. The author of the most influential early modern book against witchcraft persecutions, Weyer was an Erasmian Protestant, who—like presumably his English counterpart Reginald Scot (1538–1599)—became attached to the “Family of Love” and considered so-called witches to be melancholic females who needed leniency, love, and medical care to cure their mental illness. These “witches” were not strong, but weak; not evil, but sick; and they needed help, not punishment. Their killing could not be justified under any circumstances, but was to be seen as a “massacre of the innocents” (*De Praestigiis Daemonum*, Basel 1563, preface).

The European denial of witchcraft is firmly rooted in this pre-Cartesian opposition to atrocity, adopted by the representatives of European SPIRITUALISM, rationalism, and ENLIGHTENMENT. Because they no longer believed in the existence of witchcraft, for them witch killings were an ardent injustice committed by the authorities, “judicial murder.” Only a few decades later, however, when the execution of witches already had moved into the past, a completely new, postrationalist interpretation turned up, inspired by ROMANTICISM. Witches were reinterpreted as personifications of popular CULTURE, or even of popular resistance, emphasizing the important role of WOMEN. Jacob Grimm (1785–1809), the godfather of language and folklore studies, redefined witches as *wise women*, bearers of ancient wisdom, unjustly persecuted by the Christian churches to destroy European national cultures (*Deutsche Mythologie*, Heidelberg 1835). The Romantic Paradigm culminated in the fantasies of the French historian Jules Michelet (1798–1874), who reinterpreted the witches as heroines of folk medicine, victims of feudal suppression, and predecessors of the FRENCH REVOLUTION (*La Sorciere*, Paris 1862).

Rationalism, however, remained the dominant ideology among academics during the period of INDUSTRIALIZATION. Joseph Hansen (1862–1943), the most influential protagonist of the rationalist interpretation and editor of an essential source collection, considered witchcraft to be a *nonexistent crime*, and his interpretation has molded historical research up to the present day. Nevertheless, it must have been evident for everyone reading the trial records that some of the accused had indeed experimented with magic, worked as healers, experienced ecstasies, or even dared to invoke demons, very much like their educated male contemporaries, or witches outside Europe. The European approach to witchcraft over the last two millennia has thus been characterized by “invention of tradition.” Augustine, Burchard, Kramer/Institoris, Weyer, Grimm, and Michelet were founders of distinctive traditions, the latter two, for instance, of feminist and neo-pagan witchcraft. Because of the rise of social theory, the interpretation of witchcraft underwent a leap of abstraction around 1900. Since Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), hidden desires of omnipotence and aggression, suppressed into the subconsciousness, are seen as a driving force of witchcraft fantasies, and witches as objects of projection for anxieties and aggression. Émile Durkheim’s (1858–1917) idea that societies define norms by deviance has molded social anthropology’s doctrine that witchcraft should be considered to be a means of securing norms, and therefore identity. MAX WEBER’S (1864–1920) historical sociology linked the process of rationalization in Europe to complex changes in mental as well as economic structures, leading to a *disenchantment of the world*. Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) interpreted witch fears and antiwitchcraft movements as symptoms of a crisis in society. European rationalism

generally considered magic to be a product of the imagination, a consequence of deficient technology, and lack of insight into the laws of nature in a primitive society.

Protestant Response

Keith Thomas tried to link the rise of witchcraft persecutions in the sixteenth century to the REFORMATION, with its emphasis on the gospel (*sola scriptura*). MARTIN LUTHER'S teachings concerning JUSTIFICATION by FAITH alone, and the Calvinist doctrine of PREDESTINATION, devaluated and indeed forbade traditional and Catholic countermagic. This in turn led to rising fears of bewitching, and therefore to increasing witchcraft accusations. According to Thomas, Protestantism forced its adherents into the intolerable position of asserting the reality of witchcraft, yet denying the existence of an effective and legitimate form of protection or cure. However, the relationship between witchcraft and Protestantism is more complex, and yet difficult to define. Pre-Reformation persecutions, it seems now, were by far more intensive than formerly assumed. Throughout the Middle Ages we can find the burning of witches, with occasional witch panics leading to the execution of groups of evil conspirators, in archaic Northern societies as well as in urbanized centers of Europe. Because of lack of sources, the size of these prosecutions, or persecutions, remains guesswork. Clearly there was an increasing concern about witchcraft from 1400, when witchcraft and heretical conspiracy were amalgamated into a novel supercrime, probably first acknowledged in the "novas sectas," consisting of Jews, heretics, diviners, and sorcerers, mentioned in a papal bull of 1409 for a Franciscan inquisitor in Savoy (ed. Hansen 1900:16f.). During large-scale persecutions with many hundreds of victims in the late 1420s and 1430s in Savoy, the Dauphiné, and the Valais, five contemporary texts report the characteristics of the new heretical sect: apostasy, the contract with the devil, sealed by sexual intercourse between humans and demons, explaining the witches' capacity of evil sorcery (maleficium), of flying through the air, the witches' dance (labeled with Jewish terms, first as "synagogue," later as "sabbat"), shape-shifting, and other supernatural abilities. From then numerous demonologies added substance to these ideas. During a wave of persecution in the 1480s the *Malleus Maleficarum* (Speyer 1486) summarized the knowledge about witchcraft, trying to provide a convincing theological fundament and practical advice to support the hunting of witches, who were now conceived as being primarily female. The *Malleus*, based on Augustinian theology and Aquinas, remained an authority also for Protestant demonologists.

Renaissance opposition to witch-hunting, it is usually argued, brought the burnings to a halt. In Northern Italy the mass burnings did indeed stop in the early 1520s, and papal inquisitors disappeared from Northern Europe. The Reformation made the break definitive and contributed to the decline of witch-beliefs because Protestant theologians attacked magic and supernatural agencies in general. In the eyes of Luther, HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, or JOHN CALVIN, Catholic piety and Catholic rites—the veneration of SAINTS, the expectation of miracles, the mass, the performance of pilgrimages, and the use of sacramentals—were not really different from rural superstitions, and Protestant

pamphlets employed terms like “popish sorcery.” Radical reformers even denied the physical power of the devil, thus questioning the demonological concept of witchcraft altogether. The focus of the debates shifted away from witchcraft in a decade of revolutionary uprisings and world-historical decisions. The flow of demonological literature stopped. The “Malleus,” best-seller of the previous generation with nineteen Latin editions in GERMANY, ITALY, and FRANCE, disappeared from the market. Some contemporaries harbored the hope that the period of witch persecutions was definitively over, and were—like Johann Weyer—appalled to find that they started anew where they had it least expected—in Protestant territories.

It was indeed the hothouses of the Reformation—Wittenberg and Geneva—that were shaken by witch panics. In Wittenberg four people were executed as witches in 1540, and these burnings were part of a first wave of witch-burnings in Saxony. Luther was not involved in any of these trials, but also felt no necessity to curb them. This attitude must have bewildered Protestants as much as similar occurrences in Geneva. Calvin’s Godly City had formerly been part of the witch-ridden Duchy of Savoy, and after its secession in the 1530s, followed by religious Reformation, it remained haunted by all kinds of strange fears, particularly the idea that the plague was being spread by a hidden conspiracy of poisoners, which were gradually transformed into diabolical sorcerers, or witches. Shortly after Calvin’s arrival, several men were burned, and the Reformer himself literally called for the “extirpation” of the “race” of the witches. Likewise there were witch burnings in the Protestant Swiss Cantons of Zurich, Bern, and Basle. The most surprising case was DENMARK, which had gone through a tumultuous period of civil war and rapid political and religious reforms. For the first time in a Protestant territory the panic turned into a large-scale persecution, with peasants hunting witches in the open fields “like wolves,” in the approving report of Peder Palladius (1503–1560), the leading Danish churchman of his age. Neither Luther, nor Zwingli, nor Calvin denied the existence of witches, and Calvinist theologians in particular, like JOHN KNOX or Lambert Daneau, perceived the witches’ pact with the devil as being diametrically opposed to the believers’ covenant with God.

Resurgence of Persecution

After 1560 the large-scale persecution became the decisive new style of witch-hunting, indicating a *shift of paradigm* from medieval “leniency” to the “Malleus” point of view. But why such a sudden change of mind? Researchers have pointed to the hardening of the confessional boundaries after the impact of CALVINISM and, simultaneously, post-Tridentine Catholicism, or COUNTER-REFORMATION. Furthermore, the process of state formation or nation building was speeding up in Europe, allowing for a tighter grip on the religious or superstitious beliefs of the subjects, and state formation and confessionalism were intertwined in the process of CONFESSIONALIZATION. Concerning criminal procedure, the introduction of inquisitorial law was emphasized as one of the most important results of the reception of Roman Law. From then on, a public prosecutor would “*ex officio*” act on behalf of the state, with torture as a legal instrument

to obtain information or confessions from the suspects. This was particularly dangerous in conjunction with the idea of a witches' sabbat because suspects were asked to name their accomplices. However, the social environment also changed dramatically, with more frequent mortality crises, which can be related to the climatic deterioration of the Little Ice Age.

It is telling that within the Lutheran camp a sharp controversy on weather and weather-making witches was conducted during the 1560s, involving major Lutheran reformers like JOHANN BRENZ, Johannes Alber, Wilhelm Bidembach, and Weyer. Full-fledged Protestant demonologies started with the hunger crisis of 1570, partly in reaction to widespread witch panics from Geneva to Zurich, partly resulting from the necessity to reshape the old teachings of the "Witches' Hammer" for Protestant purposes. Zwingli's successor HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504–1575) published the first Reformed demonological advice "On Witches" in 1571. Calvin's successor Lambert Daneau (1530–1596) followed one year later (*Les Sorciers*, 1572), as well as the leading German Calvinist THOMAS ERASTUS (1524–1583) (*Disputatio de lamiis seu strigibus*, Basel 1572). The first Danish demonology was published in 1575 by Nils Hemmingsen, who inspired the demonological writings of King James VI of SCOTLAND (*Demonologie*, Edinburgh 1598) during the king's wedding trip to Copenhagen.

Post-Reformation witch-hunting started within the Protestant camp, but from 1580 massive persecutions in the Spanish Netherlands, in Luxembourg, the Franche-Comté, in Lorraine, and in some prince-bishoprics of the Holy Roman Empire (Trier, Mainz, Cologne, Eichstätt, Würzburg, and Bamberg) clearly outstripped the Protestant territories in terms of witch burnings. All of these territories saw many hundreds of executions, and Cologne, Mainz, Lorraine, and the Spanish Netherlands as many as 2,000 in the decades between 1580 and 1630, when witch-hunting climaxed in Europe. Some Protestant authors sought to use these atrocities and branded them as popish. However promising, this perspective proved unsustainable, given that the most important Catholic countries like Spain and Portugal (including their vast colonies), the papal and other Italian States, France, Austria, and Bavaria executed only few witches. On the other hand, some Protestant countries saw massive persecutions. In Pays de Vaud, subject to the reformed Swiss Canton of Berne, no less than 970 individuals were burned for witchcraft between 1581 and 1620, scattered across ninety-one local jurisdictions. It is quite likely that more than 1,200 people were sentenced to death in the Pays de Vaud in more than 2,000 trials. The Bernese government explained in a decree that the peasantry was "driven by poverty, despair...envy, hatred, spirit of revenge."

Influence of Institutions

Recent surveys have narrowed down the overall numbers of suspects legally killed for witchcraft to 50,000 to 60,000 in Europe between 1400 and 1800, certainly not less, or more. This is by far less than previously assumed, but we must bear in mind that this is the tip of an iceberg, with at least twice as many people tried in court, and even more informally threatened with denunciation or slander. Recent research has arrived at the

conclusion that not confession, but the strength or weakness of (political, legal, social, and religious) institutions determined the treatment of witchcraft during the crucial decades around 1600. Wealthy and powerful countries with established institutions, like ENGLAND, the NETHERLANDS, or the Palatinate, could suppress popular protest and religious zeal, with the exception of brief periods of anarchy, such as during the English CIVIL WAR. To take an example from the Holy Roman Empire, where presumably half of all European witches were killed, the government of the Electoral Palatinate (about 300,000 inhabitants) held a strong grip on the lower courts, which were threatened with immediate punishment for any irregularities. Because the privy councilors in Heidelberg did not believe in witchcraft, much like the members of the law faculty and the medical faculty at the university, they would not permit witch trials. The Palatine Privy Council strictly forbade the use of torture, and ordered the release of the prisoners if there was not sufficient circumstantial evidence—which there rarely was in witchcraft accusations. The result is striking: no witches were executed in the Palatinate.

It is an interesting question whether the Palatine attitude toward witchcraft had anything to do with Calvinism at all, given that the Calvinist clergy fiercely opposed the government's attitude. Erastus as its most eminent member pointed firmly to Geneva and asked for systematic persecutions. On the other hand, some of the staunchest Calvinist opponents of witch-hunting sought refuge in the Palatinate, such as Herman Witekind (1524–1603) and Anton Prätorius (c. 1560–1614), who both denied the existence of witches. What we can learn from the example of the Palatinate is that a number of convenient stereotypes do not really work. Certainly its subjects suffered from the usual crises, and as vine growers they were vulnerable to climatic hardship. The Electorate, politically almost as fragmented as Electoral Mainz, was surrounded by hotspots of witch-hunting. The government's determined attitude, however, made no concessions to either populace or clergy, and managed to avoid the execution of witches. Territories with weak institutions and difficulties in guaranteeing survival in years of hardship, were certainly more likely to be prone to moral entrepreneurs, or to pressure from the populace. Except for Swiss Calvinist Cantons like Vaud and Grisons, this was the case in middle-sized earldoms where state formation had failed, as for instance the various territories of the Counts of Nassau, the relatives of Maurice of Nassau-Orange (1567–1625), where 400 witches were burned. In a similar position were the related counts of Isenburg-Büdingen, with another 400 victims; the counts of Schaumburg and of Lippe, with about 300 witch burnings each; and the Landgraviate Hessen-Kassel, a larger territory with more elaborate structures, which still saw a surprising 250 victims. Scotland was politically consolidated but economically marginal. As in Central Europe, there had been a rising awareness of witchcraft from the early 1560s and a peak in the 1580s; but twice in the 1590s, again in the late 1620s, and once more in the 1660s Scotland was shaken by waves of frenzied witch persecution, with about 1,350 executed in something like 2,300 trials between 1560 and 1700, in a country of roughly 900,000 inhabitants.

If we look at Lutheran Europe, we can again find that states with rudimentary institutions saw many witch trials. The Duchy of Mecklenburg, a territory of roughly 200,000 inhabitants with fragmented jurisdiction, saw close to 4,000 witch trials between 1560 and 1700, with an estimated 2,000 victims between 1600 and 1670, as many in as in the most affected Catholic principalities. In the neighboring Duchy of Pomerania, another

frequently divided territory, there were at least 1,000 trials, and maybe twice as many, with at least 600 victims. Similarly in the twin duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the former under Danish, the latter under Imperial law, there were at least 600 victims. The persecutions in Denmark flared up in the 1570s and again in 1590, remaining endemic after 1600, apparently adding up to about 1,000 victims. For the territories in Thuringia, fragmented between dozens of Saxon lines and other counts and princes, the estimates come to between 1,000 and 1,500 trials, with at least 500 victims, distributed over dozens of independent territories. There were more than 100 burnings alone under the dukes of Saxe-Coburg, famous for their dynastic connections all over Europe. In curious debates the Lutheran clergy tried to stimulate more severe persecutions, pointing to the Franconian prince-bishops as an example, whereas the lawyers referred to Catholic Bavaria in their attempt to restrain the clerical zeal. The superintendent Johann Matthäus Meyfahrt (1590–1642) probably published the most emotional pamphlet against witch trials ever in 1635.

There are only vague suggestions about the extent of the persecutions for some major Lutheran territories, such as the Electorate of Brandenburg, whose ruler adopted Calvinism in 1613, but left the Lutheran orthodoxy intact. The territory's university at Frankfurt/Oder issued about 269 legal opinions in cases of witchcraft. Consolidated, strong Lutheran territories like Electoral Saxony had, despite its harsh laws, a surprisingly low death toll, probably because of a tight supervision of the lower courts by the central government, very much like in the Lutheran Duchy of Württemberg. Although Saxony and Württemberg were larger and more densely populated than other German territories, the number of victims seems to have remained under 300 in both of these states. If it is correct that 350 witches were killed in Lutheran NORWAY and another twenty-two in ICELAND, this could mean that the persecution was by far more intensive there. The persecution was less severe in SWEDEN, FINLAND, and Estonia, and generally ended by the end of the seventeenth century.

English Events

How closely witch scares were connected to extraordinary situations can be seen from the persecutions of the self-appointed *Witch Finder General*, Mathew Hopkins (?–1648), who managed to use the turmoil of the English Civil War to launch the greatest ever witch persecution in England, in a situation where apocalyptic and millennial fears and hopes were mushrooming. This son of a Calvinist minister felt disturbed by the prevalence of witches in his region in the winter of 1644–1645, and his concerns were obviously shared by others, as he outlined himself (*The Discoverie of Witches*, London 1647). The imperfect nature of the surviving records makes any reconstruction difficult, but estimates suggest that at least 250 individuals were tried, and a minimum of 100, but perhaps considerably higher numbers, were executed for witchcraft during these persecutions, which also demonstrate that fantasies of demonic witchcraft were anything but absent from England. There were earlier occasions that had the potential for a large-scale persecution—for instance, the Lancashire trials of 1633–1634, where at least

nineteen witches were executed—whereas another sixty were under suspicion, and some jailed, with several dying in prison. The confessions show the fully developed fantasy of a witches' sabbat, reveal ideas about a permanent meeting point in the forest of Pendle, where the witches flew for feasting and dancing, shape-shifting and having sexual intercourse, where they adored the devil, and practiced harmful magic. This persecution, stopped by the Privy Council, brought to light a remarkable divide between Puritan zealots (see PURITANISM) and Anglican moderates (see ANGLICANISM), reminding us of the fact that all major English demonologies were published by Puritan divines (George Gifford, Henry Holland, WILLIAM PERKINS, James Mason, Alexander Roberts, Thomas Cooper, Richard Bernard), whereas those advocating moderate skepticism after the Restoration, like Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680) and Meric Casaubon (1599–1671), were Anglican ministers, inclined to restore unity and order, and more concerned about atheism than witchcraft. It may be premature to draw parallels to the differences between moderate Lutherans and zealous Calvinists in Central Europe, but it seems psychologically likely that those who aspired to a Godly Republic would be more easily tempted to adopt the role of moral entrepreneurs, whether they were Presbyterian divines like James Carmichael or Catholic zealots like Peter Canisius. For both, the devil's pact was an inversion of the covenant with God and, again for both, witch-hunting served as an instrument to raise attention for their cause.

Because of the diversity of development, it is impossible to say that witch trials stopped earlier in Protestant countries. Certainly in England and the Netherlands, however, the *general* rejection of witch beliefs as a political issue gained momentum during the second half of the seventeenth century and infested the culture of enlightenment all over Europe. Protestant debates on witchcraft, launched by radical denials in England (John Wagstaffe, *The Question of Witchcraft Debated*, London 1669), the Netherlands (Balthasar Bekker, *De Betoverde Weereld*, Amsterdam 1691), and Northern Germany (CHRISTIAN THOMASIIUS, *De crimine magiae*, Halle 1701) effectively terminated witch trials in these areas, and served to curb high-flying churchmen. When witch burnings kept on in Southern Germany, Austria, and even Northern Italy, Protestants consoled themselves that all of these countries were Catholic, and therefore backward by definition. However, these stereotypes, or certainties, were fragile, given that the last legal killings of witches took place in Calvinist Swiss Cantons like the Grison and Glarus. As late as 1782 the scandalous trial of Glarus against the maidservant Anna Göldi (1734–1782) took place. Although her indictment was *veneficium*, this was clearly a witch trial, emphasizing the devil's pact and harmful magic against her employer's children, who served as accusers. Her execution took place on June 18, 1782, and triggered a storm of protest. Protestant intellectuals were horrified. The enlightened Lutheran historian August Ludwig Schlözer (1735–1809) coined the *term judicial murder (Justizmord)* on this occasion (Abermaliger Justizmord in der Schweiz, in *Stats-Anzeigen*, Bd. 2 [1783]: 273–277).

Modern Witchcraze

Disbelief in witchcraft became a marker of the European civilization. Modern skepticism can be traced back to early modern attempts to build on the medieval perception that witchcraft was illusionary. Applied to her colonies in America, AUSTRALIA, Asia, and AFRICA, this European attitude usually caused discontent among indigenous peoples because it seemed as if the colonial authorities were aiming at protecting the evildoers. Throughout the nineteenth century, illegal witch killings were conducted in RUSSIA, and among indigenous peoples in MEXICO and the UNITED STATES. Throughout the twentieth century, before and after decolonization, violent anti-witchcraft movements swept through sub-Saharan Africa, with about 10,000 victims in Tanzania alone. Only recently the “modernity of witchcraft” has been emphasized—the adaptive capacities of witch beliefs to the challenges of a globalized world. Some Protestant sects capitalize on the tremendous fears of witchcraft, as for instance the Zionist Christian Church in SOUTH AFRICA. With witchcraft and related purification rites moved to the center of its activities, “African” churches are gaining ground in the competition with traditional main currents of Protestantism, becoming the fastest growing churches in the world. Witches and witch-hunts are no closed chapter in history, and the witch craze will continue to haunt us in the future.

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WOLFGANG BEHRINGER

WITHERSPOON, JOHN (1723–1794)

Scotch-American presbyterian theologian. John Witherspoon was a notable Presbyterian leader in both Scotland and the United States during the eighteenth century, but he was even more important for the history of Protestantism as an intellectual mediator—first, between ENLIGHTENMENT and Protestant forms of thought, and second, between evangelical Protestant theology and revolutionary whig politics. The complexity of Witherspoon’s eventful life is suggested by the fact that he began his public career as an embattled spokesman for the marginalized “little people” of patronage-ridden Scotland, but by his death on November 15, 1794 he had become an honored founding father of the new United States of America.

Personal History

Witherspoon was born in Gifford, Scotland, a few days before February 10, 1723, the date his baptism was recorded. His father, who was the parish minister, joined his mother Anne (Walker) in training the young Witherspoon in general Christian piety as well as the specific tenets of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. Witherspoon was an eager learner and received an M.A. from the University of Edinburgh when he was only sixteen years old. After further theological study, he was licensed for the ministry in 1743, and in January 1745 began service as the Church of Scotland minister in Beith, Ayrshire. By the time he moved in June 1757 to the larger, more prosperous Laigh Kirk in Paisley, Witherspoon had begun to make a mark in Scottish public life as a champion of the anti-patronage faction in the Church of Scotland. Witherspoon spoke, against those who adjusted Kirk’s historic Calvinism to upper-class social norms and the more secular learning of the Scottish ENLIGHTENMENT, for a “popular party” that sought veto power for local congregations when they disliked the minister selected for them by a hereditary patron. Witherspoon’s best-known work on behalf of the popular party was a satire entitled *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, which ridiculed the moderates for preferring polite respectability to Scotland’s traditional people’s Calvinism. Witherspoon’s other noteworthy polemics included an attack on the stage, a fast-day sermon linking religious uprightness and national prosperity, and an exhortation assaulting clerical meddling in public affairs.

While he was poking fun at the moderates, Witherspoon was also publishing constructive theological works on the relationship between justification and holy living (1756) and on regeneration (1764). Printed sermons also brought him wider attention at home, and soon abroad. A 1753 contribution to *The Scots Magazine*, in which he

defended the reliability of physical and moral perceptions, was the first of his writings to be read in America. In this article, Witherspoon's defense of the common perceptions of ordinary people was close enough to arguments later advanced by Thomas Reid (1710–1796) and other philosophers of “SCOTTISH COMMON SENSE REALISM” to at least partially justify Witherspoon's claim to have anticipated the major principles of their work.

When the trustees of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) were faced with a vacancy as president in 1766, they asked Witherspoon to fill the position. Their hope was that he might revive the fortunes of the college, but also help reunite America's Old Light and New Light Presbyterians, who had divided as a result of the colonial Great Awakening. Almost as soon as he arrived in America in 1768, Witherspoon was an immediate success as educator, churchman, politician, and thinker. At the college he reorganized instruction around lectures and placed fresh emphasis on public speaking. Witherspoon added to a rapidly expanding reputation through the fundraising tours he made to New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, and New England. Soon Princeton was attracting nearly as many students as Yale; in the five years before 1776, it produced more graduates (25 per year) than ever before in its history. The destruction of the CIVIL WAR, with Princeton itself a battle site, delivered a great setback to the college's fortunes, but Witherspoon's reputation guaranteed its survival through desperate days.

As the trustees had hoped, Witherspoon also became a leading figure in the expansion and then reorganization of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. Under Witherspoon's tenure, the number of Princeton students entering the Presbyterian ministry did decline, but Witherspoon still personally trained about one-third of the ministers, who in 1789 created a new general assembly to organize Presbyterian efforts in the new country. In addition, Witherspoon's moderate evangelical theology and his reputation as a patriot won approval from New Lights and Old Lights alike. Witherspoon served on several of the committees that prepared the way for a national general assembly. When that general assembly met for the first time in 1789, he drafted several of the constituting documents and he was selected to preach the opening sermon.

Politics and Religion

For broader Protestant purposes, Witherspoon's leadership in joining Christian interests to the republican foundations of American politics was a major achievement. The Scottish minister who had spoken out against arbitrary ecclesiastical power in his native country soon became a spokesperson against arbitrary political power in his adopted land. James Madison's father, in fact, sent his son to study at Princeton because he was so impressed with Witherspoon's defense of liberty. When, in response to the perception of British tyrannical acts, New Jersey began to organize in defense of its freedoms, Witherspoon was a leader in that process, too. In 1774 he became a member of his local county's Committee of Corre-spondence, and on June 22, 1776, he was selected as a New Jersey delegate to the Continental Congress. Shortly after arriving in Philadelphia to take

that position, he voted in favor of independence and so became the only clergyman to sign the Declaration. Witherspoon remained a representative in Congress for most of the rest of the war, during which time he served on over one hundred committees. On behalf of the Congress he wrote pamphlets attacking the inflationary use of paper money and also penned recantations for two Loyalist printers whom the Congress wanted to silence. After the war he was elected to the New Jersey legislature in 1783 and 1789, and in 1787 was a member of the New Jersey convention that approved the Constitution.

Before military conflict began with the British, Witherspoon had rallied citizens of New Jersey to the patriot cause through newspaper essays. After the start of the war, he preached a memorable sermon on May 17, 1776, which was entitled “The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men.” This sermon praised God for turning British acts of tyranny into good for the colonies; its published version also included a powerful appeal to Witherspoon’s fellow immigrants from Scotland to join the patriot cause. With such efforts, Witherspoon was among the few orthodox or evangelical Christians of the 1770s to emerge as leaders in the patriot movement. (The UNITARIANISM of THOMAS JEFFERSON [1743–1826] and John Adams [1734–1826], or the extreme reticence about expressing personal religious opinions characteristic of George Washington [1732–1799] and JAMES MADISON [1749–1812], were far more common among the major founders.) Yet in the wake of Witherspoon’s efforts, many leaders in later generations would continue his work of linking traditional Christianity to the republican verities of the American founding.

Enlightenment and Theology

For the history of theology, Witherspoon’s importance lay in his reorientation of intellectual activity at Princeton away from the pietistic idealism associated with earlier colonial revivalism toward the commonsense and scientific principles of the Scottish Enlightenment. One of Witherspoon’s first actions as president of Princeton was to banish what he called the “immaterialism” of Irish Bishop George Berkeley (1685–1753) along with the theocentric ethics of American minister JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703–1758), both of whose books were being read at Princeton before he arrived. For his own lectures on moral philosophy and divinity, Witherspoon drew heavily on the ideas of his former moderate opponents in Scotland, especially the moral philosophy of Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), who made the natural moral sense the keystone of his ethics.

As Witherspoon expounded it, the philosophy of common sense became the foundation for useful knowledge of many kinds. Common sense defended the reality of the physical world and so allowed a wholehearted commitment to natural philosophy (i.e., science). It defined human relationships after the model of the physical sciences and so demonstrated the rationality of politics. It drew an analogy between external and internal sensations and so facilitated a science of morals. It pictured theology as dependent upon reason and so paved the way for an apologetic of scientific respectability.

Where the leading Calvinists in colonial America had based true virtue on the workings of divine grace, Witherspoon (at least after arriving in the New World) was

able to find a ground for virtuous behavior in the naturally given moral capacities (the “common moral sense”) of all humanity. Witherspoon’s lectures on divinity assured students that reason contained no inherent criticism of revelation, and that the positive teachings of scripture reflected both sound reason and “the state of human nature.” In his formal lectures Witherspoon seemed as interested in demonstrating the reasonableness of Christianity as in exploring the standard themes of Calvinistic theology.

By providing Princeton with a philosophical basis derived from Scottish moral philosophy and by replacing a New England tradition strongly under the influence of Jonathan Edwards, Witherspoon brought Presbyterians into the mainstream of eighteenth-century British-American theology. From the newer perspective, Witherspoon could demonstrate through reason and science the truthfulness of revelation instead of presupposing revelation as the foundation for science and reason. Witherspoon’s new moral philosophy lacked the harmony of theology, ethics, and epistemology that Edwards had provided, but by compensation Witherspoon avoided the taint of immaterialism carried by Edwards’s intense theocentrism. The fact that Witherspoon championed both divinity and science as compatible forms of truth, and that he was a pious subscriber to the WESTMINSTER CONFESSIO of faith, testified to his links with historic Calvinism. Yet beneath a common commitment to broadly Calvinistic theology, a significant move was occurring from idealism, metaphysics, and conversion to realism, ethics, and morality.

Witherspoon was a key figure in later Presbyterian theological history. His immediate successor at Princeton, Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751–1819; president 1795–1812), carried Enlightenment commitments even further in the direction of a reasonable Christianity. However, Witherspoon had other students, like the influential Philadelphia minister, Ashbel Green (1762–1848), who construed Witherspoon’s influence in more traditional terms. When a faction under Green’s leadership ousted Smith from the College of New Jersey and founded Princeton Theological Seminary (both in 1812), that faction made more of Witherspoon’s Calvinism than of his commonsense rationality. Witherspoon’s combination of commitments to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and to historic Calvinist orthodoxy continued to shape—sometimes confusedly—American Presbyterian theology for more than a century.

Witherspoon was a complex figure. In the Scottish part of his career his piety tended to be apolitical, and his polemical interests made him an opponent of Francis Hutcheson and the era’s new moral philosophy. By contrast, in America he became an eager supporter of a political revolution; in his labors as college teacher and publishing minister he also borrowed liberally from Hutcheson in building his own version of common-sense ethics. The consistency in this career was Witherspoon’s resistance to power (whether the moderate direction of the Scottish church or Parliament’s designs for the American colonies). Witherspoon’s own religious convictions—sincere Calvinism adjusted to his era’s new forms of ethical reasoning—also remained relatively stable throughout his career, even if those convictions played out somewhat differently in America than they had in Scotland. As the only clergyman among the American founding fathers, and as a leader in education, church, and theology, Witherspoon was one of the key bridging figures in a rapidly changing age.

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MARK A. NOLL

WOLFF, CHRISTIAN (1679–1754)

German theologian. Wolff was born in Breslau on January 24, 1679 and died April 9, 1754 in Halle. One of the most influential German philosophers of the eighteenth century, his literary output was immense, with extensive series of books, covering the entire range of philosophical topics in addition to the natural sciences, in both Latin and German.

Wolff studied THEOLOGY, mathematics, and philosophy in Jena beginning in 1699. With the help of GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ he secured a position at HALLE, then a stronghold of PIETISM, teaching first mathematics and then philosophy. Wolff was a moderate rationalist. This means that, although remaining within the bounds of theological ORTHODOXY as he perceived it, he valued the use of reason as a means of defending and elucidating truths that he believed to be amenable to rational inquiry. Although early in his career he held that revelation does not include truths that human reason can discover, eventually he adopted the strategy of separating religious truths into two classes: revealed truths that can be neither discovered nor comprehended by human reason (in his terminology, “pure” revealed truths) and revealed truths that can be discovered and comprehended by reason (“mixed” truths, the subject of natural theology). An example of the first sort is the Trinity. Wolff did not doubt that this DOCTRINE is revealed in the BIBLE; however, the philosopher cannot go beyond acknowledging it as revealed because the doctrine transcends reason’s powers. The second sort of revealed truths have to do with God as creator and preserver and with our moral duties toward God.

This distinction yielded several results. First, Wolff believed firmly in the agreement of reason and revelation. As noted, this did not mean that all revealed truths could be comprehended by reason. In the case of pure revealed truths human reason must, he held, submit to revelation. Nonetheless, although revelation might transcend reason, it would never contradict reason. Pure revealed truths were not, he argued, irrational. Second, this distinction meant that the methods of philosophy and natural theology on the one hand were quite different from those of revealed theology on the other. Wolff was thus careful to establish a firm demarcation between philosophy and revealed theology.

Wolff’s philosophical intent was quite conservative. He had no intention of subverting orthodox theology and in fact sought, where appropriate, to support it philosophically. Certainly many of his students believed his was the best philosophical defense of the Christian faith available. However, his conviction that reason and revelation do not conflict was inevitably taken to mean that human reason functions as the standard by which doctrines are evaluated. Further, his attempt to demarcate philosophy from theology tended to make philosophy an autonomous discipline, loosed from orthodox theological moorings. The possibility of academic philosophy free of ecclesiastical doctrine was disconcerting to many in his day.

Pietist Opposition

Wolff ran afoul of certain Pietist theologians, notably AUGUST HERMANN FRANKE (1663–1627) and Joachim Lange (1670–1744), while at Halle. There were several points of dispute. For one, Wolff understood philosophy to encompass the entire range of essences, that is, of entities insofar as they are logically possible. The Pietists felt that this made philosophy into a more comprehensive and hence more significant science than theology. They also objected to his elevating God's understanding over God's will (because the range of possible being *known* by God is more extensive than the range of actual being *created* by God). Representing God primarily as an understanding mind seemed to suggest too great a similarity between God and the human mind. They were further bothered by the fact that God's omnipotence seemed compromised, given that God's will cannot, in Wolff's view, change eternal truths and the essences of things. They were also disturbed by his view of human good as being centered in happiness instead of in the moral familiar and evangelical framework of SIN and redemption.

Controversy with the Pietist theologians at Halle broke out in earnest in 1719 on the appearance of the German version of his book on metaphysics. Students were warned against attending his lectures and were used as informants to report on his lectures. The situation came to a head in 1721 when Wolff gave a lecture on Chinese ethics. In it he asserted the agreement between the wisdom of the Chinese and his own philosophy, thus arguing for a natural and universal basis of human ETHICS and implicitly denying that ethics rests on revelation. The Pietists went on the offensive and, after a considerable amount of political maneuvering, both inside and outside the university, they persuaded the king, Friedrich Wilhelm I, in 1723 to banish Wolff on pain of death.

Wolff taught at Marburg until 1740. Here he composed a series of philosophical works in Latin parallel to his German works. As a result of his experiences in Halle he became something of a *cause célèbre* and he received numerous invitations to accept teaching positions. Meanwhile the controversy in Halle sparked a debate throughout the German universities about the merits and dangers of Wolff's philosophy. After some initial setbacks Wolff's followers began to win the war of public opinion by presenting Wolff's philosophy not only as orthodox but as a valuable apologetic tool. National pride also entered into the issue because in 1733 Wolff was made a member of the French Academy, the first German since Leibniz to be so honored. At length, after more political maneuvering and a public relations campaign to convince the king that Wolff's philosophy was an important defense against atheism, Wolff was recalled to Halle, and study of his philosophy was made virtually mandatory. In 1745 he was made a prince of the Holy Roman Empire.

Assessment

Wolff is not considered to have been a first-rate philosopher on the order of Leibniz or IMMANUEL KANT. His place in history is secured by two contributions. First, he

created a vocabulary of German philosophical terms and thus contributed to the development of German philosophy. Second, he conveyed to the German academic world the importance of methodological rigor in philosophy. Consequently his importance lies more in his influence than in his ideas. As the most influential German philosopher in the period between Leibniz and Kant, Wolff's moderate rationalism issued a challenge to the assumptions and methods of orthodox theology while providing a rigorous but also conservative alternative to the destructive brand of rationalism found in FRANCE and ENGLAND.

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SAMUEL M.POWELL

WOLLASTON, WILLIAM (1660–1724)

English deist. Wollaston was born on March 26, 1660, at Coton-Clanford, Staffordshire, England. He was educated at Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, where he took an M.A. in 1681, after which he became an Anglican priest. He married into a London merchant family and began to write on moral philosophy. By far his most significant work was *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722), in which he considered the relationship between morality and nature. Wollaston stated that his “fundamental maxim” was “that whoever acts as if things were so, or not so, doth by his acts declare, that they are so, or not so; as plainly as he could by words, and with more reality.” Moral goodness consists in acting in a natural way, whereas immorality is out of sync with NATURAL LAW. To Wollaston, “Truth is but a conformity to nature...” His book was widely read in Britain and the American colonies, and reflects a broader trend in eighteenth-century ANGLICANISM toward theorizing a simpler, more moralistic Christianity that did not rely on special revelation.

Like JOHN TILLOTSON, Wollaston did not deny biblical revelation but hoped that Christians could turn toward a reasonable moralism that would defuse many of the previous century’s church conflicts. Some have labeled Wollaston a deist, and although his work may seem to have deistic implications, he did not directly question any orthodox Christian precepts, nor did his failure to appeal to divine revelation imply a denial of such (see DEISM). *The Religion of Nature Delineated* was published in 1724, and Wollaston died on October 24 the same year. He was buried at Great Finborough, Suffolk, England.

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THOMAS S.KIDD

WOMANIST THEOLOGY

Womanist theology articulates the reality of living in relationship with divinity and humanity as a woman and as a person of color. In broad terms, womanist theology affirms the full personhood and divine image of all humanity and combats oppression on multiple fronts in response to the presence and activity of God in the cosmos. Black LIBERATION THEOLOGY and FEMINIST THEOLOGY provide both conversation partners and earlier, formative space for womanist theology. The combination of the overwhelming majority of male black liberation theologians and predominately white feminist theologians of the 1960s and 1970s failed to consistently and coherently address the spiritual and social reality of black women in the continental UNITED STATES. Emerging in the 1980s, womanist theology is in part a response to sexism in black liberation theology and racism in the feminist movement. Womanist theologians affirm that women of color have a unique perspective of and on human experience and divine matters, which cannot be replicated and without which human consideration of the divine mystery is incomplete and inadequate. Womanist theology is particularly communal, with the primary locus the black church in North America; however, the global church also functions as a site of womanist theology. Womanist theologians are ordained pastors, preachers, and lay church leaders and members, Protestant and Catholic, as well as scholars and community activists. Womanist theologians are concerned with the health and wholeness—spiritual, social, economic, educational, and ecological—of all people of color.

“Proto-Womanism”

Religious and intellectual work of women of color negotiating the intersection of GENDER and ETHNICITY within the context of the divine-human encounter born out of the historic marginalization of women of color in history and society did not begin with the 1980s. Women of color have been reflecting on their spiritual and social circumstances in the world, in Christendom, and in the North American context before they gained regular access to the tools of literacy and eventual admission to institutions of higher education. The black church has been a sustaining shelter for women of African descent since their arrival, by whatever means, on this continent. Even as black women in the Americas and CARIBBEAN sought shelter in the church from inhumane indignities visited upon them in the slave-holding, allegedly reconstructed and Jim Crow South and the less-than-free North with its lack of occupational educational opportunities for black women, they worshipped in a context that adopted, without question in most

circumstances, the gender roles of their oppressors and exploiters. Yet African-American women did not reject the religious component of their historical identity. Prior to the birth of the contemporary womanist movement, black women in America insisted on being recognized as the sole legitimate arbitrators of their knowledge and experiences. Nineteenth-century writers, speakers, and thinkers such as Maria Stewart, Anna Julia Cooper, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and many others, advocated forcefully for the rights and responsibility of black women to form and articulate their identity or experiences without being forced to choose between being a woman and being of African descent.

Womanist/Womanism

The term “womanist” was initially introduced in a 1980 essay “Coming Apart” by Alice Walker, who coined the term in response to the racism, classism, and elitism she found in the feminist movement. Her initial proposition was that womanism was an overarching category that included feminism, which she equated with white women. For Walker, womanists were “pro-woman,” which meant that womanist discourse was intentionally antiracist, anticlassist, antielitist, antiheterosexist, and antidiscriminatory in every particularity. Walker’s subsequent expansion on the definition in *In Search of Our Mother’s Gardens* (1983) is perhaps the most widely cited definition of womanism. This definition has four parts:

1. A womanist is a feminist of color who is responsible and mature, “sassy” and “audacious.”
2. A womanist loves women and men, irrespective of her or their sexual orientation, but has a special love for women’s culture.
3. A womanist is a lover of music, dance, the Spirit, food, all things round including the moon, struggle, the entire community, and herself.
4. “Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender” (Walker 1983:xi).

Womanist thought in general is a broad umbrella under which womanist theology can be understood. Related disciplines include womanist discourses in LITERATURE and ETHICS that can be, but are not always, intentional theological reflections. Katie Geneva Cannon was the first scholar to articulate a theology that was specifically womanist. Her 1985 essay “The Emergence of Black Feminist Consciousness” was a contribution to an anthology on feminist interpretation of the BIBLE. In the section on “Womanist Theology,” Cannon argues that womanist theology is a interpretive practice that uses the reading, writing, and reflecting of black women to engage the systemic effects of white supremacy and sexism that afflict black women in the market, institutional church, academy, and home.

The Union Theological Seminary in New York nurtured the emergence of the earliest published voices in womanist theology. Katie Cannon, Kelly D. Brown, Jacqueline Grant, and Delores Williams articulated womanist theological responses to the liberation theology of JAMES HAL CONE.

Womanist Theology and Black Liberation Theology

As a community-specific response to social, ethical, and moral dimensions of racism, particularly in the Americas, AFRICA, and the Caribbean, womanist theology formally challenged black liberation theologians to account for the inherent paradox in proclaiming divinely mandated liberation to oppressed peoples while at the same time insisting that women were subordinate to men in the home, church, and CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Black women in the church, academy, and political movements identified with the attempts of black theologians to articulate shared understandings of blackness, as well as different and overlapping experiences of class and CULTURE within the construct of blackness. However, they found that the androcentrism of those religious leaders in the academy and the church prevented them from accurately analyzing the oppressive experiences of the entire African-American community and therefore developing inadequate and inappropriate responses to their shared experiences of oppression. Both women and men in the black church and blacks in the academy wrestled with the legacy of slave-holding Christianity as the space in which Africans in the Americas became Christian themselves and the implications for the differing construction of Christian identity that necessarily followed.

The marginalization of women in the black church was identified as a challenge to the long-standing proclamations of liberation issued from the majority of African-American congregations from slavery forward. The contradiction inherent in the vehement insistence that black men be recognized as full members of the human race while black women were required to mediate their experiences with the divine through male hierarchical leadership led some black women to the egalitarian promise of the women's rights movement.

Womanist Theology and Feminist Theology

The feminist movement in North America was rooted in the abolitionist and women's suffrage movements. A white affluent leadership characterized both of these movements; eventually the movements separated, with suffragists abandoning a platform that would have enfranchised black women and men along with white women. African-American women experienced feminist theology as class-privileged and overwhelm-ingly white, even as they identified with feminist discourses that battled the injustice and immorality of sexism in the Western world from the nineteenth century onward. Early womanist theologians critiqued feminist theologians for not addressing the history of race relations between black and white women. Later womanist theologians would identify the vocabulary, class, theoretical practices, and practical objectives that differed between black and white feminists and between white feminists and black womanists.

Early African-American feminists disenchanted with the white supremacist ideologies perpetuated by the feminist movement began to question the methodologies as well as the motivations of the movement. One result was that womanists inherited a wariness of

using the resources of the establishment and strategies conceived in and valued by dominant culture to effect any real change in the status quo. This led to one clear point of demarcation from the feminist movement in general and feminist theology in particular—a deep valuation of ancestral, nonacademic oral discourses, knowledge, and coping skills. Another point of departure is the relationship that womanist theologians have with the institutional church; they are much more likely to critique the church from inside rather than from without.

Methodologies

There is no singular womanist theological creed, canon, or communal practice. Womanist theological thought varies as widely as do the contexts in which women of color live, work, and worship. Some generalities can however, be observed:

1. Womanist theological approaches are regularly multidimensional; they can be interdisciplinary, collaborative, and/or multicontextual.
2. They emphasize and prioritize women's experience in general and the social location of the reader/interpreter in particular.
3. A (if not the) goal of womanist theological discourse is the eradication of all forms of human oppression.
4. The fruit of womanist theological reflection must be accessible to the wider, nonspecialist, worshipping community.

In LATIN AMERICA, *muherista* theology corresponds to womanist theology on the North American and African continents, while *feminista* theology corresponds to North American feminist theology. However, each theology is also a unique response to the unique cultural context from which it emerges. Caribbean and African womanism is in active dialogue with the postcolonial legacy of missionary Christianity and empire building.

Ongoing Conversations

One topic of conversation among womanist theologians is whether or not embracing sexual plurality is a prerequisite for womanist identity. Given that the option of loving sexually or nonsexually either women or men was a key component of the definition and affirmation of womanism, and the fact that sexual diversity has been a pillar of the feminist movement embraced by many womanists, some thinkers question the insistence in many black churches that heterosexuality is the only intimate relational norm, while others celebrate the African-American communal value of monogamous heterosexual MARRIAGE. Another concern is the economic disparity among women of color in the world. Many womanist theologians are published, are tenured, and have adequate health

insurance and child care, whereas the vast majority of women of color throughout the world lack the adequate nutrition, clean drinking water, basic health care, and the basic tools of literacy. There is some concern that the voices that are most frequently heard in womanist theology are not representational of the larger concerns of women of color in the so-called “third world” (better, “two-thirds world”), that those who have access to print, electronic, and digital media are careful to speak with and not for women whose voices have not been heard.

Other contemporary womanist theological concerns include WORSHIP (LITURGY, PREACHING, translation, interpretation and application of biblical texts); EDUCATION (curriculum formation, hiring and tenuregranting processes, canon formation); health and welfare of all people, particularly the destitute; economic inequity; ECOLOGY (stewardship of the environment and natural resources); POLITICS (the domestic and international policies of the United States, globalization, the digital divide, CAPITAL PUNISHMENT); and diversity (cultural, religious, sexual). Changing the world is a womanist agenda.

While Alice Walker’s early definitions of the term “womanist” named all black feminists as womanists, not all black women self-identify as womanists; some, such as bell hooks and Musa Dube, preferentially identify themselves as feminists. Some identify as neither. Additionally, there are black men who center the experience of black women in their work (e.g., Randall Bailey and Peter Paris), as well as white women who privilege the readings of women of color in their work (e.g., Alice Ogden Bellis). The question of whether the term “womanist theologian” discloses personal identity or political affiliation has yet to be answered.

Katie Cannon’s original womanist theology construct wrestled with the role and implication of the Bible in the life of black women. Her current work interrogates the intersection of THEOLOGY and ethics. Other contemporary scholars bringing womanist theological concerns to bear on the scriptures from the vantage of biblical studies include Cheryl Anderson, Clarice J. Martin, Madeline McClenney-Sadler, and Renita Weems. Scholars whose ongoing work claims the space of theology and ethics as the site of womanist reflection include Cheryl Townsend Gilkes and Cheryl Kirk-Duggan. Other celebrated contemporary womanist theologians include Karen Baker-Fletcher, M. Shawn Copeland, Toinette Eugene, and Diana Hayes.

Womanist theologians negotiate the tension inherent in articulating shared identity markers with white women and men of color by affirming arenas of overlapping identity while nuancing difference. Although black male sexism and white female racism and classism delineate an obvious perimeter of womanist discourse, women of color have reflected on their whole identities in relationship with men and other women, children, and adults, within and across culture, social and economic lines for as long as those distinctions have been applied. Womanist theology is one vehicle by which black women engage in “God talk” for themselves and on behalf of others.

See also African Theology; Biblical Interpretation; Education, Theology, United States; Higher Criticism; Homosexuality; Human Rights; Post-Colonialism; Prayer; Preaching; Sexuality; Theology, Twentieth Century; Theology, Twentieth Century, Global; Theology, Twentieth Century, North American; Women; Women Clergy

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WOMEN, UNITED STATES

Throughout almost four centuries of the Protestant experience in the UNITED STATES, women have pushed the boundaries to bring leadership to the churches that had been restricted to men. Women have shaped their own religious space as they moved from the constricted roles allotted them in the home to their rightful lay and clergy positions in the public spheres of religion. The evolution of women's journey in American Protestantism is revealed through an analysis of the ways they claimed their due places and voices alongside men from colonial times to the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Constriction and Liberation: Colonial and Revolutionary Beginnings

The prescriptions for white women in Protestantism throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were basically the same from New England to the middle and southern colonies. Women were given the divinely assigned social role within the home to be wives and mothers. The home was to be a little church or a little seminary in which the husband held primary authority and the wife shared with him the supervision of children, servants, and slaves. She was the primary religious educator of her husband and children, particularly to train the men of the family to be virtuous decision makers and leaders in the public sphere. It was believed that women were given qualities, set forth in scriptures by God, to especially fit them for this function: they were nurturing, sensitive, and subordinate by nature, leading them to be obedient wives, indulgent mothers, and kind and charitable mistresses to the poor and needy.

During the era of the American Revolution, this God-given role assigned to white women became defined as "republican motherhood." Training men in the family in religious and ethical precepts to be worthy public leaders became a political and patriotic function, an increasingly exalted role for women. It gave women a public purpose within the home, al-though they were still meant to be subordinate and submissive to CLERGY and lay male authorities both in the church and household.

From the early colonial days of the mid-seventeenth century, women began to quietly stretch the boundaries of this constricted role. They formed small groups "for women only" that met in their homes to study the BIBLE and raise money for benevolent causes in their churches and towns. By the First Great Awakening of the early eighteenth century, they were even supplying funds for foreign MISSIONS. These women became "Daughters of Liberty" during the American Revolution, gathering to make clothing and medical supplies for patriot soldiers. Besides the good these communities of women did

for others, they created social outlets for themselves and became the first women's support groups.

From the initial colonial settlements, a liberating stream of women in Protestantism ran alongside this mainstream-constricting tradition. Some women read Scripture, such as Galatians 3:28, Titus 2:3–4, and Acts 2:17–18, gaining courage to speak in their own voices in church and society. The consequences were tragic for both ANNE HUTCHINSON and Mary Dyer, two bold New England Protestant women. Hutchinson was banned by church and civil authorities from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 because she claimed the AUTHORITY of the Holy Spirit to interpret scripture and teach men and women together in her home. Dyer was deported and later brought back to be hung in the Boston Commons because she sought to convert others to the Quaker faith (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF). However, they began a tradition of women who, over almost four centuries, have been confident in their God-given gifts and right to freedom of speech.

The revivalism of the First Great Awakening (see AWAKENINGS) also had liberating consequences for both black and white women. Little effort had been made during the seventeenth century to spread Christianity among slaves and to baptize them. White colonists feared that God did not approve of SLAVERY and that BAPTISM would grant slaves full personhood necessary for their freedom. Further, slaves clung to their native beliefs and were not so interested in joining churches that permitted slavery. However, the revivalists held that the immediate work of the Holy Spirit in one's CONVERSION gave the individual power to discern the state of her or his own soul. Intervention by the clergy was not necessary, a doctrine heretical to early PURITANISM. Black as well as white women were particularly drawn to this message that broke down the rigid boundaries constricting white and black women's public role and gave them authority to pray and witness to their faith in groups and services of both men and women.

The True Woman and the New Woman: The Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century, the terms "True Woman" and "New Woman" characterized the evolving constriction and expansion of women's place in the home, church, and society. The qualities defining the "True Woman" were domesticity, purity, piety, and submission to husbands and other males. Most white Protestant women continued to live out this role limiting them to the home, still divinely prescribed and grounded in the theology and experience of colonial America. The corporate nature of these qualities placed on women, holding sway during the first half of the century, was defined by the terms "the Cult of True Womanhood" or "The Cult of Domesticity."

The evangelical dominance during the first half of the nineteenth century, which was promoted by the Second Great Awakening, continued to expand the boundaries of women's lives, even of women who saw themselves faithful to the True Woman's role. Evangelical emphases of personal conversion, fruits of the spirit, religious activism, and social responsibility for the poor and oppressed provided a strong base to encourage

women to pursue their own ministries beyond the spiritual nurture of men and children in their homes. Barriers were broken down, empowering them to share the gospel by going outside their homes to bring persons to Christ and to improve the lives of those in need. Separatist BAPTISTS, Methodists, and New Light Presbyterians were revivalist supporters opening doors for women (see METHODISM, NORTH AMERICA; PRESBYTERIANISM). The Baptist self-governing congregations allowed women to vote and hold positions of elderess and DEACONESS.

Religiously motivated separatist groups of women continued to bring these true women together in their local communities. Missions were the most popular cause of church women. By the 1830s peer groups, determined by age, ETHNICITY, race, and social standing, began to form. Consistent with women's maternal nature and a natural extension of the True Woman, they also provided appropriate responses to Jesus's command to go into all the world and spread the gospel. Within these separatist groups, women took their first steps outside their homes as teachers, evangelists, social workers, physicians, midwives, and nurses.

By the second half of the nineteenth century the New Woman of Protestantism began to appear, first in secular society and then in the churches. Within their denominations, these women claimed public roles, long the sole province of men, as their God-given rights as women, not simply because they possessed extraordinary gifts. The distinction between the True Woman and the New Woman was not always apparent in practice. Most Protestant women did not overtly question their primary functions in the home, but they wanted to expand their lives to find greater purpose and service in wider fields of usefulness. They brought together the rationale of the True Woman with their Christian commitment to make socially needed and personally meaningful contributions to their churches and society.

Expansion of gender-separate societies, particularly for missions, beyond the local scene to regional and national levels was the largest movement bringing together church women outside their homes. The Women's Union Missionary Society, the first national women's mission society in the United States, was interdenominational and began in 1860. However, the interdenominational structure soon broke down, and women's societies were formed in all mainline white Protestant denominations, including the Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, Christians, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Lutherans (see LUTHERANISM, UNITED STATES). African-American women formed strong societies in the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL, AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION, and NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION churches, as did Hispanic women in their Baptist and Methodist churches.

Consistent with the ideology of true womanhood, the women in these missionary societies did not preach in mixed assemblies including both women and men. However, they did break down strictures placed on women's public participation. In their women's organizations, from the local congregation to national levels, thousands of women gained their first experience in leading meetings, administering programs and financial resources, and speaking and praying in public. The women's missionary outreach was designed to bring all persons, men and women, to Christ, but their special emphasis was on women's work for women and children. Their particular concern was to send female missionaries and supplies to countries they deemed heathen and benighted. The

missionaries taught the native women of these countries to read the Bible, improve women's health, and educate and empower women to fight against oppressive customs. They built orphanages, hospitals, and dispensaries, both in North America and in foreign lands, and became evangelistic partners with indigenous women.

By the 1880s most Protestant denominations began to develop orders of deaconesses. The Protestant equivalent of Roman Catholic nuns, in function though not in numbers, deaconesses were single women who took vows to give full-time Christian service, usually in home and foreign mission work, as evangelists, teachers, medical personnel, and social workers. As the first professional women in churches, they were seen by some lay and clergy, who did not approve of ordination, as acceptable substitutes for women who sought a church profession alongside of men. The lines blurred between the true woman and the new woman in the deaconess movement. Lucy Rider Meyer, founder of the Chicago Training School, the first institution for the training of deaconesses in the Methodist Episcopal Church, justified the deaconesses' work by saying that the world needs mothering and her trainees were taking that function to the world's needy. She also described the deaconess as the New Woman of Protestantism, whose field was as large as the world of women and the need of that work.

That same blurring was created in the origins of colleges and SEMINARIES, providing the equivalent of high school training for women after the mid-nine-teenth century. Most female schools for women were initiated by Protestant denominations and, like the deaconess institutions, provided an environment of sisterhood and support among pioneer women teaching and training in HIGHER EDUCATION. Justification for seminary and college training began with the ideology of true womanhood and republican motherhood, to give education to young women leading them to create better home environments. The ideology was easily stretched to sanction the education of the New Woman: rigorous academic study, development of leadership skills, commitment to the Christian faith, preparation to teach in SUNDAY SCHOOLS and public schools, and training to be physicians.

The religious enthusiasm of EVANGELISM in the Second Great Awakening in the first half of the nineteenth century opened the doors for the first time for women to preach at CAMP MEETINGS and REVIVALS, although not at regular worship services. Seeking to preach, but not to be ordained, they claimed that their special and extraordinary abilities given them by God granted them the freedom to do what God called them to do. By the mid-century, in 1853, Antoinette Brown became the first woman to be ordained in the Protestant tradition in the United States. She was ordained by the Congregational Church in South Butler, New York, a single congregation and not a connectional denominational system. A decade later, Olympia Brown and Augusta Chapin were the first women ordained in a connectional structure, the Unitarian Universalist Church (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION). Justification began to shift to ordination as a right because of gender equality of the New Woman of Protestantism by 1880. Resistance was strong, with lone women being identified as ordained by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, National Baptist, and Methodist Protestant churches in the 1880s and 1890s.

Finally, new women of Protestantism, motivated by their religious convictions, moved outside of church structures into social reform movements in the late nineteenth century. Some entered reform movements because they were denied the opportunity to preach and

to be ordained and others because they were not permitted to work alongside men in denominational missionary organizations and other lay governing bodies. Similarly, women first sought to work with men in social reform societies, such as abolitionist and peace organizations, before the CIVIL WAR. Because they were most often denied the opportunity for shared leadership but shunted to form auxiliaries, they began to form women's separatist reform groups.

Growing out of the SOCIAL GOSPEL imperative to bring the KINGDOM OF GOD on earth, the post-Civil War era became the heyday of volunteerism in social service and social justice movements. Women's organizations advanced reforms to improve life for women and children, particularly working conditions, decreasing hours in factories and sweatshops, compulsory education, temperance, and low-income housing. The Young Women's Christian Association (see YMCA, YWCA) and settlement houses were exemplary of women's social reform movements.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union, which became the largest women's organization of the nineteenth century, was representative of the socioreligious nature of Protestant women's work for the Social Gospel. Organized in 1887 it brought women together in a sisterhood of reform to work for TEMPERANCE and a host of other reforms, including peace, the double sexual standard, women's health and dress, ordination, urban problems of poverty, and working conditions for women. Some barriers of religion, GENDER, and class were broken down, enabling women to grow in leadership skills and lay the groundwork for the next generation of women who entered professional life. Lesser gains were made in breaking down barriers of race. Many white women's societies would not admit African-American women, who, in turn, joined together to form the black women's club movement, manifest in such organizations as the National Association of Colored Women and the National Council of Negro Women.

As they worked together to improve conditions for women, children, and society at large, women's reform leaders also sought to reconstruct the ideal of womanhood. They upheld aspects of true womanhood, including their belief in women's higher moral nature and the need to expand the mothering role into society. At the same time, they groomed strong and independent women who would not accept gender limitations to their sphere of action and who developed powerful networks of support and vocational motivation for their sisters.

Legacy for the Future: The Twentieth Century and the Beginning of the Twenty-First

Simultaneous with expansion of women's space in church and society, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also brought a significant loss of women's separate societies in Protestant denominations. National women's missionary organizations were dismantled and merged into larger church agencies, justified as efficient and progressive moves to integrate women and their work into wider church bureaus. Gains by women in building autonomous networks of support, control of financial expenditures, and commissioning of their own missionaries were lost or at least receded in most

denominations. The one exception among denominations was in the UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, where the Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries maintains independence and power today.

Ordination has been the major gain for women in mainline Protestant churches in the twentieth century. By the 1950s, barriers were broken down in most denominations. However, it took longer for women to be ordained in most churches than it did for females to gain the right to vote in national elections. It took seventy-two years, from the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848 to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the national franchise in 1920. Comparatively speaking, the first women sought to be ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1880 and did not gain ordination in the Methodist Church until seventy-six years later in 1956.

Two African-American denominations, the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1948 and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in 1954, ordained women shortly before more mainline, predominantly white denominations did. The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH USA followed in 1955, the Methodists the following year, and two Lutheran denominations, the LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA and the AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, in 1970. The EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNITED STATES allowed diocesan bishops to ordain women at their discretion in 1976, and twenty-one years later mandated ordination in all dioceses. Increasing numbers of women have been ordained in the ten largest Protestant denominations in the last quarter of the twentieth century. However, as late as 1977, only 17 percent of the clergy in these denominations were women. Over 50 percent of the women ordained by then were in Holiness, Pentecostal, evangelical, and militarily styled denominations such as the SALVATION ARMY (see HOLINESS MOVEMENT; EVANGELICALISM).

Greater success came in decentralized denominations in which individual congregations made their own decisions to ordain women. The Congregational Church, predecessor of the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, ordained the first woman in the Protestant Church in 1853. The conservative SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION granted the right to its local congregations in 1964, with over 1,000 women being ordained since then. By 1979, the DENOMINATION became increasingly fundamentalist, discouraged ordination, and refused to approve women in positions of authority.

In the Salvation Army the struggle between emancipation and constriction of women was lively in the early years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Initially women were fully commissioned as preachers, pastors, and administrators, and sent into saloons and other settings that contradicted the traditional norms of feminine behavior. As the century progressed, the concern for continuity of the organization led the Army to restrict women to more socially acceptable scenes.

Three movements in the conservative arm of Protestantism struggled with the same tension between emancipation and constriction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. PENTECOSTALISM, founded in 1906, initially empowered women as "11th Hour Laborers" to exercise their spiritual gifts for conversion of the world and individuals. As the new denomination grew up and concerns for authority and order became predominant, women's work was constricted to the support of male pastors. Openness to women as preachers and leaders has continued in the Trinitarian branch of

the Latino Pentecostal movement, whereas their role has become limited to support of male leaders in the Oneness branch. The same pattern has followed in fundamentalist churches where women were initially accepted as evangelists in the late nineteenth century. However, the antifeminist bias and belief in the divinely ordered hierarchy, prohibiting women to speak in religious assemblies and to exercise authority over men, took hold by the end of the 1920s. Finally, in the Charismatic movement, the natural legacy of Pentecostalism and FUNDAMENTALISM, women outnumbered men by a ratio of ten to one in exercising spiritual gifts of healing and speaking in tongues at its founding in the second half of the twentieth century. Today, in Aglow International, the major women's arm of the movement, women are admonished to submit to husbands and pastors through their gracious choice.

Evaluating the overall position of women at the opening of the twenty-first century, the same tensions are still present that have been at the heart of gender differences in Protestant churches since colonial times. They include spiritual equality vs. social equality, male dominance vs. female submission, and the True Woman vs. the New Woman. Overall the story is more one of breakthroughs for and by women than of constriction.

Today, women have gained their own voices even in conservative denominations such as the Disciples of Christ, where the number of WOMEN CLERGY continues to grow and one-third of the students who are training for ordination in Master of Divinity programs are women. On the far left of the spectrum, Unitarian Universalist women in ordained and lay leadership slightly surpass men and the ratio of women in denominational seminaries is three to one. Steady gains by women in mainstream Protestantism are highlighted by the election of the first female bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 2000 and a woman as moderator of the 211th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church USA in 1999. Further, in the United Methodist Church, eleven women, three of whom are women of color, serve among the fifty-one bishops, and 36 percent of the delegates at the 2000 General Conference were female. Changing demographics in the 243 seminaries in the North American Association of Theological Schools show that 35 percent of the students are women, a gain from 10 percent in 1972. Numbers of women in top administrative positions of presidents and deans have grown slowly, but they are outpaced by greater gains of women in faculty positions.

Women have sought other ways to take responsibility for themselves and to gain support of collegial males to change long-held traditions. Among African-American and Hispanic congregations, women are creating public space to resist cultural domination by predominantly white churches and social institutions. In the radical Hispanic Protestant evangelical movement, women, along with men, are resisting ways of preaching and worship that they believe have been pressed upon them by white churches. Creative new forms of WORSHIP throughout Protestant churches are often the result of feminist interpretations. Further, women have been the strong champions of inclusive language, by transforming the use of words for God and human beings, so that women, persons of color, handicapped, gays and lesbians, and others, who have been excluded by traditional patriarchal patterns, are fully represented.

The gains of greater space and more articulate voices of women over four centuries of American history have been evolutionary, not revolutionary. Both liberation and

constriction are experienced today. However, the breakthroughs have been steady and deep enough that they will not be lost, but will continue to characterize the history of Protestantism in the United States.

See also Congregationalism; Missionary Organizations; Peace Organizations; Sexuality; Tongues, Speaking in; Voluntary Societies

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ROSEMARY SKINNER KELLER

WOMEN CLERGY

Understandings of “clergy” differ dramatically in the history of the CHURCH. Although Protestantism radically changed the nature of priesthood and expanded opportunities for women’s leadership, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that some of the more congregationally ordered Protestant denominations, like Congregationalists (see CONGREGATIONALISM) and Universalists, began ordaining women. Not until the latter half of the twentieth century did more institutionally ordered denominations, like Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians/Anglicans, actually grant full clergy status to women (see ANGLICANISM; EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UNITED STATES; LUTHERANISM; PRESBYTERIANISM). During the same time period, women preachers and evangelists became common in the HOLINESS MOVEMENT, and with the rise of PENTECOSTALISM, many women leaders simply went out and founded their own churches. Arguments for and against women clergy are complex, involving biblical, historical, theological, biological, social, political, cultural, practical, and ecumenical concerns. By the late twentieth century, however, a large number of Protestant denominations affirmed the growing importance of women clergy. Although new FEMINIST THEOLOGY supports women clergy, many Christians in traditional societies continue to resist. Furthermore, as church leaders have worked to reach an ecumenical consensus about ministry, the issue of women clergy has remained a big stumbling block. In the end, Protestants on all sides have simply agreed to recognize their differences and wait for guidance from the Holy Spirit.

Traditions Around Ordination

For more than 2,000 years, Christians have argued about how and who ought to be “ordained”—younger or mature persons, well-educated or especially pious persons, married or celibate persons, males or females, heterosexuals or homosexuals. In these debates, ordination is almost always understood to be more than a functional arrangement to get the work done. Persons who are ordained (known as CLERGY) are acknowledged to be especially gifted by God. After ordination, they carry an “indelible mark” that sets them apart for life from ordinary Christians (known as LAITY). All contemporary understandings of ordained ministry are grounded in the tradition that clergy are “called” by God, as well as the church, to assume “holy” or “priestly” responsibilities, such as sharing God’s message through PREACHING and officiating at the sacramental rites of the church (ministries of word and sacrament). Clergy may have different responsibilities in various denominations, but despite great diversity almost all Christians practice some

rite or LITURGY that sets apart church leadership by PRAYER and laying on of hands. Most traditions call this process “ordination.” It emphasizes the fact that ordained ministry is a sacred trust.

In the early Christian church, before practices and liturgies around ordination were formalized, many types of people held leadership positions. Ancient and medieval church records show that women exercised key responsibilities for oversight, discipline, liturgy, teaching, and service in the emerging Christian community. Gradually, however, as ecclesiastical power consolidated and aligned itself with political and economic forces, and theological judgments were codified around the relationship of SEXUALITY to SIN, the clergy role became the exclusive prerogative of unmarried men. There were women who were revered as leaders of nuns, or mystical visionaries, but no women clergy.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the expanding economic and intellectual climate of west-ern Europe generated new attitudes about women. Renaissance humanists promoted the superiority of women over traditional Christian understandings of women as the source of sin and evil. Soon thereafter, sixteenth-century Protestant reformers challenged prevailing views about ordination, arguing for married and highly educated clergy. These Protestant thinkers insisted that celibacy was actually a problem, and that married clergy were needed to minister to the needs of families. Rather quickly, MARTIN LUTHER and the other reformers, many of whom had been celibate priests, sought out wives and argued for a more holistic view of ordained ministry. They felt that God had blessed MARRIAGE and that clergy would be able to serve Christians more effectively if they were married. At that time, however, few of them even entertained the idea that women should be priests.

Initially Protestantism stressed the intellectual leadership of the clergy. Clergy were not merely sacramental functionaries, they were preachers and teachers. Protestants wore the Geneva gown, worn by professors and students in the university, rather than ornate vestments. Clergy needed to “know” the BIBLE, and only those with scholarly credentials were accepted for ordination. In Protestantism, ministry became a “learned” profession open only to those who completed a rigorous academic program.

Protestantism also changed the relationship between clergy and laity. Although most Protestant denominations continued to have clergy, Protestant theology emphasized the “PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS,” which challenged basic assumptions about the powers of clergy. In Protestantism, ordination ceased to have some of the theological weight that it carried in the Roman Catholic Church. It was no longer a sacrament; it simply recognized gifts and determined who would carry out the functions of ministry. Among Protestants, ordained ministers were not considered more holy than the laity; rather, they were persons recognized as having certain talents and empowered to “function” as religious teachers and pastors for and on behalf of the whole community. Protestants still believed that ordination was a special or “holy” calling. Clergy, however, were accountable to the whole people of God (the priesthood of all believers). Although some denominations retained the ecclesiastical office of BISHOP, most of them did not believe that clergy AUTHORITY was literally conveyed by apostolic succession through a sequence of ceremonies (or hands) linking one ordination ritual to the next one. When Protestant clergy were ordained they made promises to carry on the collective legacy of Christian faithfulness through the ages.

By the seventeenth century, charismatic female leaders were found among many groups in the “left-wing” of the Protestant Reformation. Anabaptists (see ANABAPTISM), the English Puritans and Separatists (see PURITANISM), and later leaders within the eighteenth-century Wesleyan revival encouraged and followed women leaders. Protestant women were revered as martyrs, wives, mothers, and virgins. Grassroots Protestant piety took women very seriously.

The changing understandings of ordination in Christian history, combined with actual experiences of strong women leaders, eventually shaped and reshaped the issue of women’s ordination. By the early nineteenth century, many Protestants wondered aloud: If all persons were called to ministry by their baptism, and if there is neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female in Christ Jesus (Galatians 3:28), why not ordain women? If, as the apostle Paul put it, the Christian community is a royal priesthood carrying out God’s ministries, women are part of that priesthood. If Christian discipleship requires all Christians, female and male, to study the Bible and share their witness and faith with their children, women can do that as well as men. And if every Christian has received the universal promise of a “baptism of the Spirit” or a “second blessing,” then women have received that promise, and therefore women may be blessed with as much power as men to lead others to SALVATION.

Contemporary Protestant denominations still argue over this legacy. Within Protestantism, especially since the 1970s, many groups have changed their practice and now ordain women. At the same time, large Protestant groups, such as the Southern Baptists in the United States (see SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION), continue to cite scripture to defend their refusal to authorize the ordination of women. Officially, the Roman Catholic church remains steadfast in its judgment that women have no claim to the priesthood.

The First Women Clergy

In colonial North America women exercised more political, social, and religious freedom than many European women. The well-known story of a seventeenth-century colonial Puritan woman named ANNE HUTCHINSON, who was tried and condemned for HERESY for holding meetings in her Boston home to discuss the sermons of her pastor, indicates that women’s religious leadership was an increasingly important issue. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Protestant women in the United States discovered new talents, took on new roles, and sought more public visibility and political power. Women from many religious traditions began to challenge their churches to move beyond unexamined assumptions about the maleness of clergy.

The first Protestant groups to ordain women formally were from the so-called “FREE CHURCH” denominations—Protestants that vest a great deal of ecclesial authority in the local congregation. In these denominations, all decision making takes place in local congregations and does not require regional or national approval. Congregations may seek the fellowship and the advice of other congregations or leaders, but they do not need external permission to do what they feel God is calling them to do—such as ordaining a

pastor. In many of these congregationally governed churches, women were allowed to exercise significant lay citizenship privileges by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The Congregationalists (now the UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST), the Universalists (see UNIVERSALISM), the small frontier Christian movement that eventually developed into the Christian Church (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), and the Unitarians (see UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION) were some of the first Protestant denominations to recognize and formally authorize the ministries of women. It was easy for them to move from recognizing female lay leaders, itinerant female preachers, and female educational or medical missionaries, to giving full ordination to women.

But even though women were preaching and teaching in colonial America throughout the eighteenth century, historians believe that the first woman formally ordained to the Christian ministry in a major Protestant denomination in the United States was Antoinette L. Brown (later Blackwell). She was ordained by the Congregationalists in a small church in upstate New York in 1853. Within the next several decades, the Universalists ordained Olympia Brown (no relation to Antoinette) in 1863, the Christian Churches (General Convention) ordained Melissa Timmons (later Terrill) in 1867, and the Unitarians ordained Celia Burleigh and Mary Graves in 1871. Many of these early women clergy were viewed as “exceptions to the general rule.” There was no great support for their ministries, and most “proper women” still considered public preaching of the Gospel unseemly for women. Male clergy jokingly warned their parishioners to “beware of petticoats in the pulpit.”

One of the most dramatic changes in attitudes about ordination occurred among the Society of Friends. An offshoot of English radical Protestantism, the Quakers rejected all titles and class distinctions, arguing that everyone was blessed with the Divine within, and therefore either everyone should be ordained or no one should be ordained. Women exercised major leadership in local Quaker “meetings,” but because Quaker nonliturgical worship was so unusual, Quaker women preachers were usually only called “clergy” by those who were not Quakers. A very famous American Quaker woman, LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT, was formally recorded as a Quaker minister in 1821. Despite the fact that the Quakers did not support any distinction between clergy and laity, Mott was known far and wide as a “lady minister.”

Another sectarian group that refused to make distinctions between male and female leadership was the SHAKERS. Founded by an English woman named ANN LEE, who came to North America at the end of the eighteenth century, the Shakers rejected marriage for men and women alike. Officially, Shakers did not have clergy, but Elders and Eldresses ruled each community of Shakers who lived in communal fellowship waiting for Christ’s second coming. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Shaker communities spread throughout the North American frontier. Many women exercised extraordinary religious freedom and leadership within the Shaker movement.

In Europe a similar pattern emerged, but more slowly. Protestant groups that were organized congregationally, such as Congregationalists and BAPTISTS in Great Britain and MENNONITES in the NETHERLANDS, began ordaining women in the nineteenth century. But most of the Protestant churches in Europe, where church and state are often intertwined, did not debate or grant ordination to women until well into the twentieth century.

Generally speaking, women in more institutionally ordered Protestant denominations like Anglicans, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians did not consider the question of ordination until the end of the nineteenth century or the first half of the twentieth century. It is important to realize that the issue of women's ordination was variously understood. In those denominations where laity are ordained as elders—for example, in some Presbyterian groups—women were ordained as lay elders in 1930. Women in that same denomination, however, were not ordained as teaching elders (clergy) until 1956. Within METHODISM, one denomination actually began ordaining women clergy in 1927. These women were technically “clergy,” but they were not members of the annual Methodist Conference, and therefore they did not have rights and privileges equal to those of male clergy. Full Conference membership in the Methodist Church in the United States was not gained by women until 1956.

Even as European-rooted denominations wrestled with tradition and the ministries of women, numerous new Protestant denominations that emerged out of the Holiness movement of the mid-nineteenth century, and the Pentecostal movement of the early twentieth century celebrated women's leadership and had no problem ordaining women. CATHERINE BOOTH, a key leader in the SALVATION ARMY in the United States, wrote a widely distributed pamphlet titled *Female Ministry: Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel* in 1859. In many of the Holiness denominations, such as CHURCH OF GOD (ANDERSON, INDIANA) and the CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, there were hundreds of ordained women by the 1930s. Unfortunately, as the biblical literalism of the conservative evangelical or fundamentalist movement infiltrated these denominations, the numbers of women clergy declined. Not until the 1980s and 1990s did the ranks of ordained women in many of the Holiness denominations reach levels equal to the 1930s. Within Pentecostalism there was a similar pattern; early in Pentecostalism, women were affirmed as preachers, and even ordained, but later they were ignored.

Arguments For and Against

Arguments for and against women clergy have been debated among Protestants for well over 200 years. Yet it has only been since the mid-twentieth century that a critical mass of ordained women have been authorized by various denominations and a significant body of literature developed to defend their status. Biblical, ecclesial, and cultural issues are all intertwined in the arguments.

Those who believe that women should not be ordained appeal to the authority of biblical texts. They argue that God's creation of women and men in Scripture has made women subordinate to men. They quote the second creation story in the Bible (Genesis 2:18–23) where Eve is created second as Adam's “helper.” Her secondary status is further reinforced by the story of the Fall, where Eve is cast as the weaker partner and the temptress (Genesis 3:1–6). In that text, Eve is punished and condemned to bear children in pain and be ruled over by her husband (Genesis 3:16). This dominate/subordinate ordering of creation is affirmed, goes this argument, by the apostle Paul when he writes to the early church (I Corinthians 11:3–15) that woman's role is to “glorify man.” This

argument supports traditional marriage and upholds historic patterns of male-only leadership in the church.

Those who believe that women should be ordained also appeal to the Bible. They reject the hierarchical assumptions of many biblical texts, arguing that such primitive anthropology does not connect with modern world views. They quote from the first creation story in the Bible (Genesis 1:26–31), where women and men are created together in God’s image and share the inheritance of creation. They argue that Jesus preached about a new creation and that he treated women with great respect. They furthermore note that when the apostle Paul focuses on the power of Jesus Christ to change things, Paul insists that there are no significant ethnic, racial, or gender differences in the Christian church, because “all are One in Christ Jesus.” (Galatians 3:27–28).

In addition to the biblical arguments, Protestant denominations with strong links to the legacy of the medieval church and the historic defense of apostolic succession (i.e., a literal linear connection between contemporary clergy and the life and ministry of Jesus Christ) maintain that because a priest mediates the ongoing presence of Christ in worship, that priest must be male. Jesus was a man, and therefore the male gender of the priest functions as an icon of Christ, the new Adam.

Others insist that the manner in which the priest embodies Christ is through his representative humanity, not through his masculine sexuality. The “persona Christi” may be even better represented by having both women and men, rather than just men, in leadership. Still other Protestants reject the “persona Christi” argument and insist that only the whole community of the church, the gathered faithful, can mediate Christ’s presence. Priesthood represents the community of the faithful and gives expression to the unity of all Christians.

Debates about women clergy sometimes get into arguments about the “nature of women.” God created male and female with complimentary functions and different gifts. The role of priesthood is particularly suited for men, just as the role of motherhood is suited for women. The issue is not one of inequality between women and men, but distinct differences that are grounded in creation and God’s plan for salvation.

Others insist that God has given women and men (especially Christian women and men) equal talents, making them equally capable and equally equipped for ordained ministry. There are biological differences between men and women, but there is only one human nature. Unfortunately, women have been subordinated for years and hindered from fully developing themselves. The church is the poorer. It is time for women clergy to challenge the masculine captivity of the priesthood and enable the church to benefit from the leadership of women.

Arguments about the “nature of women” may also focus on women’s reproductive cycle. In ancient times, women were considered unclean during menstruation and after childbirth. Cleansing rituals were more demanding if they had a female child rather than a male child. These traditions are sometimes still used to argue that it is inappropriate for menstruating, married, or pregnant women to preside at worship.

Beyond the biblical, theological, and biological arguments, there are social, political, and cultural arguments for and against women clergy. Although those opposed are fearful that acquiescing to such arguments will lead to a further **SECULARIZATION** of the church—damaging tradition and corrupting the church’s inner life others insist that new so-called “secular” trends may be calling the church into a new future. Advocates for

women clergy note that modern science has given us all new understandings of GENDER roles. Equality is a basic principle of justice, and the ordination of women embodies that principle. It is time for the patriarchal patterns in the church to be left behind and for Christians to embrace the radical message of the Gospel. In the past, women have been primarily the receivers, responders, and implementers of male power and decision making; now women can help the church reclaim its radical mandate.

Some arguments for women clergy are very pragmatic and practical. In certain parts of the world there is a shortage of male priests. Women are already doing most of the work, so they should be ordained. Women have many of the nurturing, healing, and peacemaking skills that the world needs. Male clergy brought their unique gifts to earlier eras—now it is time for the church to benefit from the leadership of female clergy.

The Ecumenical Movement

Finally, arguments for and against women clergy are being shaped and reshaped by the ecumenical movement (see ECUMENISM). During the early twentieth century, as various Protestant denominations sought reunion and tried to build new bridges to Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN; CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS), the issue of women's ordination surfaced again and again. At the founding meeting of the Faith and Order movement in Lausanne, SWITZERLAND in 1927, there were only seven women among the 400 delegates. The women graciously argued that the place of women in the church and in the councils of the church needed to be in the "hearts and minds of all." In 1948, when the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC) was organized in Amsterdam, it was decided that the issue of women's ordination needed further study. "The churches are not agreed on the important question of the admission of women to the full ministry. Some churches for theological reasons are not prepared to consider the question of such ordination: some find no objection in principle but see administrative or social difficulties; some permit partial but not full participation in the work of the ministry; in others, women are eligible for all offices in the Church" (Parvey 1985). This judgment eventually led to the establishment of a WCC Commission on the Life and Work of Women in the Churches and a report titled *The Service and Status of Women in the Churches* (Bliss 1952).

During the last half of the twentieth century, the ordination of women has remained a volatile issue. From the 1950s through the 1970s, many major Protestant denominations in all parts of the world officially opened the way for the ordination of women. Feminist theology provided theological support for the practice. The percentages of women in theological studies increased dramatically. At the same time, many conservative evangelical Protestants continue to reject the idea of women clergy, and social and cultural values in more traditional societies keep women in the younger churches of AFRICA, Asia, and LATIN AMERICA from serving as clergy. Yet growing numbers of women are serving the churches. Around the world, surveys and interviews of women

leaders (many of whom are clergy) support this fact, even as considerable resistance remains.

Ecumenical debates keep the issue alive. Many Protestant denominations active in the WCC and members of the Faith and Order Commission (which includes an even wider range of Protestants and Roman Catholics) look deeply into the nature of all Christian ministry and conclude that Christians will continue to differ on the issue of women clergy. The *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* document (a product of fifty years of ecumenical work on three crucial issues that divide Christians) states that “some churches ordain both men and women, others ordain only men. Differences on this issue raise obstacles to the mutual recognition of ministries.... Openness to each other holds the possibility that the Spirit may well speak to one church through the insights of another. Ecumenical consideration, therefore, should encourage, not restrain, the facing of this question” (1982, par. 54). On the one hand, the ordination of women seems literally to threaten the unity of the church. Christians believe that when some churches ordain women, they diminish the possibility of Christian consensus around the mutual recognition of ministries. Others argue that any consensus about ministry that fails to embrace the fullness of male and female ministry is unacceptable anyway. Each is willing to admit, however, that the Spirit may well speak to one church through the insights of another.

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BARBARA BROWN ZIKMUND

WOOLMAN, JOHN (1720–1772)

American Quaker clergy. Born October 19, 1720, in Northampton, New Jersey, Woolman spent his early life on his family's plantation in the Delaware valley. One of thirteen children, Woolman attended Quaker school and learned to read very early "through the care" of his parents. Woolman left the plantation in 1740 to work as a store clerk and began his ministry soon afterward, making the first of many missionary trips in 1743. Often these journeys were extremely long and difficult: on one trip into the South in 1757 he rode on horseback more than 1,100 miles in two months. The difficulties were not simply physical. Woolman found himself greatly uneasy when enjoying hospitality made possible by slave labor, distressed at the way slaveholding prevented "sound uniting" between Southern Friends and himself, and appalled both at the condition of the slaves and by the institution itself.

Woolman opened his own shop in Mount Holly in 1748, and according to his *Journal*, had both an inclination for, and success in, the business. However, just as "the road to large business appeared open," he "felt a stop" in his mind. After prayer and resignation to the "holy will" of God, Woolman gave up his business, in part to avoid participating in an economy where the pursuit of superfluities by some caused a burden of labor for others that he felt was greater than God intended for his creatures. In 1761 Woolman gave up dyed clothing because he was convinced that indulgence in luxury oppresses labor and encourages the "spirit of self-exaltation and strife," a spirit Woolman links in his *Journal* specifically to war.

Woolman married Sarah Ellis in 1749, and the following year the couple had a daughter, Mary. A son, William, died in 1754 at three months of age. After the French and Indian War, Woolman became an advocate for the rights of Native Americans, whose villages he had visited in western Pennsylvania. He died of smallpox on October 7, 1772, in England where he had gone to preach.

Best known for his abolitionism and his advocacy for the poor, Woolman frequently appears in American literary studies as a precursor of the Transcendentalists or an early representative of the libertarian conscience. Such interpretations tend to obscure the scriptural and Christological emphases of Woolman's thought. Woolman's *Considerations on Pure Wisdom* (1768) grounds wisdom and what he called "the Light" clearly in Christ and the Scriptures. The pure wisdom from above derives from such "true obedience" that one comes to a "state of inward purity" in which he "may love mankind in the same love with which our Redeemer loveth us." Without singleness of eye directed to Christ, "selfish desires, and an imaginary superiority, darken the mind; hence injustice frequently proceeds; and where this is the case, to convince the judgment, is the most effective remedy." For Woolman the Light is not simply a principle of inner judgment and inspiration, roughly equal to the Transcendentalists' intuition or soul, as is too often implied by American studies that treat the Quakers as forerunners of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman. Inseparable from Christ, the Light, as Woolman conceives it, acts to search

out our motives and strivings, revealing these, more often than not, to be the results of self-will.

The *Journal* is Woolman's account of his attempt to live in radical obedience to God. Early in the work he suggests the movement of his heart as he "lived under the cross": "While I silently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to it nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation and an awfulness covered me; my heart was tender and often contrite, and a universal love to my fellow creatures increased in me." Love and justice are rooted, for Woolman, in awe before creation and a sense of absolute dependency. No doubt remembering his vivid childhood experience of wantonly killing a robin, Woolman now understands "that as by [God's] breath the flame of life was kindled in all animal and sensitive creatures, to say we love God as unseen and at the same time exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him, was a contradiction in itself." It is difficult not to distort Woolman's thought by addressing him through the classically American paradigm of the individual versus the collective. Woolman understands himself always as a creature living in mutual and reciprocal dependency with other creatures in a world created by God and redeemed through the cross.

Woolman's sense of humanity's shared creaturely dependency on God provides the theological basis for his abolitionism and commitment to peace. Isaiah's language of eschatological gathering and Christ's "tasting death for every man" led to a deep sense in Woolman of community with people of color as well as inspiration for prophetic criticism of social arrangements, such as slavery, so obviously at odds with the universalizing pressure of Scripture. Peace is a fruit of the regeneration of the person in Christ. For Woolman Quaker nonviolence is grounded in the work God has done "in sending his son into the world" to "repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression that his kingdom might come and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The Spirit has "set up" a "spiritual kingdom...which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever." Friends, Woolman continues, should thoroughly acquaint themselves with the truth and the "safety, stability, and peace there is in it," as to "be qualified to conduct [ourselves] in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession." Woolman's peace witness is a way of living out what God has accomplished in the cross and resurrection: the overcoming of the powers of the world, the logic of violence and coercion, and the need to secure and justify our own lives.

See also Peace Organizations; Slavery; Slavery, Abolition of; Society of Friends in North America; Transcendentalism

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FRITZ OEHLSCHLAEGER

WOOLSTON, THOMAS (1670–1733)

English deist. Born in Northampton, ENGLAND in 1670, Woolston is best known for his attack on the literal reading of biblical miracles. He was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge and elected a fellow there in 1691. Ordained and known as a scholar of the early church fathers, he wrote *An Apology for the Christian Religion* (1705) in which he argued that biblical miracles should be understood allegorically rather than historically. Woolston was quickly silenced by his colleagues, but he resumed his attack on biblical literalism in 1720, which led to his dismissal from the college in 1721.

From 1720 to 1729 Woolston released numerous polemical works attacking the CLERGY (e.g., *Four Free Gifts to the Clergy*, 1722–1724), whom he held responsible for the perversion of Christianity and the historicity of biblical miracles. Woolston's *A Moderator between an Infidel and an Atheist* and *Supplements to a Moderator* (1725) provoked Bishop Edmund Gibson to bring blasphemy charges against him, but these were dropped for fear of winning him sympathy. Woolston's most notorious publication was a series of six discourses *On the Miracles of our Saviour* (1727–1729). In his characteristic scathing satire, he denounced the miracles of Jesus through his rhetorical tools of insult and ridicule. Woolston argued that one cannot use miracles as proof of the Messiahship of Jesus, which is what Jesus claimed; instead, he aimed to provide a rational foundation for Christianity independent of superstition and supernaturalism. Woolston's method advocated allegorical interpretation of biblical miracle stories, using in support the allegorical interpretations of early church fathers.

Woolston's assault on the resurrection of Christ again brought on charges of blasphemy, for which he was put on trial on March 4, 1729, and sentenced to a fine and one-year imprisonment. Thomas Woolston died of stomach cancer on January 27, 1733.

See also Deism; Higher Criticism

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G.SUJIN PAK

WORDSWORTH, WILLIAM (1770–1850)

English poet. Few poets have been hailed as profound religious thinkers with so many misgivings as Wordsworth. For many Victorians he, above all, had shown how head and heart, science and emotion, rationality and belief could be integrated into a satisfactory personal synthesis. Yet many of those whom he had most helped—John Stuart Mill, for instance, or Matthew Arnold—were most critical and skeptical of his philosophy and the kinds of religious experience he was credited with. As Mill reveals in his *Autobiography*, it was Wordsworth who had given him back a sense of wholeness and meaning to life after his disastrous adolescent breakdown in 1828. Yet Percy Bysshe Shelley, he argued, was the greater poet because he expressed “pure feeling”—which is what a poet should do. Although the *Immortality Ode* contained some “grand imagery,” it was nevertheless “bad philosophy.” Arnold, although more sympathetic to Christianity, was equally unsympathetic to Wordsworth’s religion *and* his philosophy: “we cannot do him justice until we dismiss his formal philosophy.... However true the doctrine may be, it has...none of the characters of poetic truth, the kind of truth we require from a poet...” (Arnold 1888:149–150).

Yet for many other Victorians Wordsworth was *preeminently* a religious poet. From natural dissenters like George MacDonald and Mark Rutherford (see WILLIAM HALE WHITE); to Christian Socialists (see SOCIALISM, CHRISTIAN), like CHARLES KINGSLEY, J.M. Ludlow, or John M.F. Hughes; nonparty men like FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE; Americans like RALPH WALDO EMERSON; and through JOHN KEBLE (perhaps the greatest Wordsworthian of them all) to the whole OXFORD MOVEMENT, including EDWARD B. PUSEY and JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, Wordsworth’s poetry reached out to every sector of the nineteenth century’s otherwise divided religious life. If Arnold assured readers that Wordsworth’s influence was already waning after his death mid-century, others repeatedly assumed that Wordsworth’s great affirmations of value in NATURE also reveal a transcendent God who was all-powerful, loving, and moral.

Twentieth-century criticism has been no less contradictory. Although some have continued to find in him religious inspiration, others have seen in him at best a vague pantheism, or even little that can be described as “religious” at all. A few have even suggested that his love of Nature led not to the love of humanity, but its rejection. Wordsworth, it is darkly hinted, took refuge in the pieties of conventional ANGLICANISM only to avoid the path of the Marquis de Sade (Ferry 1959; Hartman 1964). According to this view, having *failed* to find the solace he sought in Nature, Wordsworth flees *from* it to religion in disillusion and even terror.

There is nothing new in such diverse attitudes. His greatest contemporary admirers, WILLIAM BLAKE, SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, John Keats, or (later) MacDonald, were all uneasily aware of what seems to be curious contradictions in Wordsworth’s thought. In 1826, on reading *The Influence of Natural Objects in calling*

forth and strengthening the Imagination..., Blake scribbled in the margin of his copy of *Poems 1815*: “Natural Objects always did and now do weaken, deaden and obliterate Imagination in Me. Wordsworth must know that what he Writes Valuable is Not to be found in Nature.” Later he told Crabb Robinson that reading the Introduction to Wordsworth’s *Excursion* had made him ill. Nevertheless, he added, Wordsworth was “the greatest poet of the age.” On page one of the *Poems* he wrote “I see in Wordsworth the Natural Man rising up against the Spiritual Man Continually, & then he is No Poet but a Heathen Philosopher at Enmity against all true Poetry or Inspiration.” By the concluding essay (on p. 341) he concludes wearily, “I do not know who wrote these Prefaces: they are very mischievous & direct contrary to Wordsworth’s own Practise” (Blake 1966:783). If elsewhere Blake had feared Wordsworth was no Christian but a heathen Platonist, now his fear was that he was no Platonist either, but a mere worshipper of Nature (Robinson 1938:1, 327).

Blake’s puzzled reaction may stand for many. Was Wordsworth a “naturalist,” finding values inherent in Nature itself? Was he a Platonist, perceiving through the fleeting appearances of Nature shadows of eternal supernatural values? Was he a Pantheist, finding not a personal God, but an impersonal divinity distributed throughout the universe? Was he an orthodox Christian, seeing even in fallen Nature vestiges of the divine love that had animated all Creation?

Relation to Church

Wordsworth himself had originally intended to become an Anglican clergyman—although never with great enthusiasm. His stay in FRANCE in the early 1790s seems to have been to learn French to become a clergyman-tutor in some wealthy family. His support for the early days of the Revolution, together with his love affair with the Catholic and royalist Annette Vallon, which resulted in an illegitimate French daughter, also meant a profound revolution in his own sense of VOCATION. After a period of near despair (later movingly memorialized in *Tintern Abbey*) Wordsworth emerged with strengthened sense of the healing power of Nature and his poetic vocation to record that recovery. His subsequent theology and even relationship with his own church was to baffle both critics and sometimes his own family. “I would die for the Church of England,” he once remarked on passing Grasmere Church. His sister Dorothy replied that he would die if he ever went inside one. “That,” said the poet, “is because the Curate is usually drunk.” According to another authority Wordsworth’s aversion to his local church was because two of his children were buried in the graveyard there.

Wordsworth himself, who was an inveterate reviser of his own work, clearly had no problems with the poem that offended Blake, incorporating it into the 1850 version of *The Prelude* unaltered:

Wisdom and Spirit of the universe!
 Thou Soul that art the eternity of thought,
 That giv’st to forms and images a breath

And everlasting motion, not in vain
 By day or star-light thus from my first dawn
 Of childhood didst't thou intertwine for me
 The passions that build up our human soul;
 Not with the mean and vulgar works of man,
 But with high objects, with enduring things—
 With life and nature, purifying thus
 The elements of feeling and of thought,
 And sanctifying, by such discipline,
 Both pain and fear, until we recognise
 A grandeur in the beatings of the heart.

[*Prelude*, 1805, 1, 427–40]

The problem begins with the language itself: is the overtly religious vocabulary—“spirit,” “soul,” “sanctifying,” and so forth—metaphorical, metonymical, or literal? Similar imagery occurs later in *The Prelude*, when Wordsworth has reached the summit of Snowdon by moonlight and stands looking out over a “sea of mist” concealing the lower part of the mountain—including the route (at once spatial and historical) to that point of vision:

Meanwhile, the moon looked down upon this shew
 In single glory, and we stood, the mist
 Touching our very feet; and from the shore
 At distance not the third part of a mile
 Was a blue chasm, a fracture in the vapour,
 A deep and gloomy breathing-place, through which
 Mounted the roar of waters, torrents, streams
 Innumerable, roaring with one voice.
 The universal spectacle throughout
 Was shaped for admiration and delight,
 Grand in itself alone, but in that breach
 Through which the homeless voice of waters rose,
 That deep dark thoroughfare, had Nature lodged
 The soul, the imagination of the whole.

[*Prelude*, 1805, XIII, 52–65]

The word “soul,” paralleling that key Romantic word “imagination,” appears to come from a very different mental set. However, what appears the loose conjunction of religious and aesthetic terms here provides something new—an image that is *neither*, but primarily *psychological*. This “image of a mighty mind” (1.69) provides one of the earliest, and certainly one of the most graphic models of the unconscious in all literature: a mountain whose summit is illuminated by moonlight but whose roots, beneath the mist,

are shrouded in darkness. Even Wordsworth's own term for this, "an underpresence" (1.71), uncannily anticipates later psychoanalytic terminology.

Any apparent disjunction between "soul" and "imagination" results more from fractures in our own mental maps than from the intellectual climate of the period. It had been the total integration of the spiritual and the psychological in the scheme of Wordsworth's mentor, David Hartley, that had appealed to many Romantics. Yet the two words are not tensionless synonyms; both have semantic baggage and belong to markedly different historical contexts.

The Romantic attempt to integrate feeling and thinking was more than a quest for internal unity. Starting with human subjectivity Wordsworth believed that we actively reshape—"half-create"—our perception both of the external environment and individual identity, affecting past as much as present. Autobiography was for Wordsworth an integral part of understanding his identity as a poet. Past and present were creative acts of consciousness—expressions, as it were, of becoming "a living soul" in this new sense. Telling "the story of the man, and who he was" is not confined to the major poems, but is central in some way to all his lyrics. This new inwardness, characteristic of the Romantic idea of the soul, stressing imagination, empathy, and feeling as adjuncts to personal integration, was both distinctively Protestant and essential to the Romantic consciousness of history.

For Wordsworth the description of Snowdon completes what has amounted to nothing less than the struggle *for* his soul. Retelling his life's story through its significant "spots of time" reaches its climax with that final image of the mist-covered mountain, and only *after* that do we see the full significance of the earlier meditations:

Oh mystery of man, from what a depth
Proceed thy honours! I am lost, but see
In simple childhood something of the base
On which thy greatness stands—but this I feel,
That from thyself it is that thou must give,
Else never canst receive. The days gone by
Come back upon me from the dawn almost
Of life; the hiding-places of my power
Seem open, I approach, and then they close;
I see by glimpses now, when age comes on
May scarcely see at all.

[*Prelude*, Book XI, 1805, 328–337]

If the mountain is the self, with mist allowing only tantalizing and fragmentary glimpses of the past, the rift in those clouds, "that deep dark thoroughfare" where conscious and unconscious meet, locates the soul. But there is also a historical dimension to this retrospective survey of the psyche. As much as childhood experiences, Wordsworth's poetic consciousness had been shaped by the turmoil of the French Revolution and its aftermath. If, as he invites us, we read his story in terms of moral conflict, the experiences in France, and his subsequent despairing return to ENGLAND, provide the central conflict eventual triumph.

Perception of History

Although Wordsworth's own private sense of history was always part of a broader public sense of history-in-the-making in the Revolution, affecting in different ways Edmund Burke, Fanny Burney, William Hone, Richard Price, Charlotte Smith, and others including, later, Thomas Carlyle, what makes this passage significant is *neither* its role in the construction of Wordsworth's poetic identity, *nor* its direct relation to the world of public events, but rather the author's very Protestant sense that this "soul," whether considered as integrating power or as moral identity, is not a free-floating and autonomous faculty but (in a wholly unconscious parallel with FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER) something related *both* to immediate perception *and* to past events—and is thus very much part of the historical process. Moreover such perceptions are at once both subjective and creative—or, to use a later terminology, the poetic process is also by its very nature a *hermeneutic* activity.

For previous generations, the meaning of history lay in past events themselves. However militantly secular DAVID HUME and Edward Gibbon might be, they, like their religious predecessors, regarded the writing of history as an exemplary activity. Whether demonstrating the just wrath of God or the complex natural laws of human behavior, history held a discoverable and universally valid meaning. For the Romantics and post-Romantics, however, including Wordsworth, history was concerned less with deducing objective meanings (whether divine or natural) from the past as with the nature of our understanding of the material itself. Wordsworth is central to this shift from an exemplary to a hermeneutic mode of understanding.

Yet there is another element to Wordsworth's vision from Snowdon that, however allied with this sense of history, seems almost to contradict it, so that he seems torn between asserting the subjectivity of his insight and simultaneously proclaiming its universality. At one moment we find Nature compelling not just the poet to understand her meaning, but even "the grossest minds must see and hear/And cannot chuse but feel" (*Prelude*, Book XIII, 1805, 1.71–83). Only a few lines later, however, we find the same certainties being attributed not to "Nature" but to the creative—and even divine—subjectivity of poets themselves:

They from their native selves can send abroad
 Like transformation, for themselves create
 A like existence, and when'er it is
 Created for them, catch it by an instinct.
 ...They need not extraordinary calls
 To rouze them—in a world of life they live,
 By sensible impressions not enthralled,
 But quickened, rouzed, and thereby made more fit
 To hold communion with the invisible world.
 Such minds are truly from the Deity...

This is the most overtly religious confession to be found in Wordsworth's poetry to that time. Clearly his discovery of the divine is closely associated with his perception of self, and the growth of personal self-consciousness. This, at times almost solipsistic personal religion, certainly constitutes an extreme Protestantism—although always tempered by his artistic vocation and the need to communicate. Yet Wordsworth himself often seems unsure how to square the contradictions of his own argument, and it is probably symptomatic of his dissatisfaction with it that, of all the key spots of time in *The Prelude*, this Snowdon section was the most heavily revised for the 1850 version—with increasing emphasis on its theology. Here, in its most acute form, is the classic Romantic dilemma: how to claim universal validity for perceptions that are both historically conditioned and personally subjective? This, the central problem of Protestant ROMANTICISM, was eventually to drive Newman from Anglicanism to the Catholic Church, and then to attempt to remake that institution to conform to his own answer.

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STEPHEN PRICKETT

WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) is a worldwide fellowship of over 200 national churches with roots in that part of the sixteenth-century REFORMATION that was centered in Geneva, a reforming movement led by JOHN CALVIN and his colleagues in many European countries. Most of these churches today are called Presbyterian, Reformed, or Congregational; collectively they are called the Reformed family of churches. The Alliance also includes some churches, like the Waldensians in ITALY with their daughter churches abroad and the Czech Brethren, which originated in reforming movements prior to the sixteenth century but later allied themselves with the Reformed family. Also included in the Alliance membership are many united churches stemming from unions of Reformed churches with those of other traditions, such as the CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA. This broad Reformed family represents more than 75 million Christians in over 100 countries; about three-fourths of the member churches are located in the countries of the southern hemisphere. The WARC was formed in 1970 in Nairobi, Kenya as a union of the former Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian Order and the International Congregational Council.

General Councils of representatives of all the member churches, held about every seven years, govern the WARC. The General Councils elect an executive committee that directs the work between General Council meetings. The headquarters with the general secretariat is located in Geneva at the Ecumenical Center.

The Department of Theology fosters theological work in the Reformed tradition, reflecting on the meaning of Christian faith in the many cultural contexts in which Reformed churches live. The Department also carries responsibility for ecumenical dialogue and work for Christian unity (see ECUMENISM). Since the 1960s the Alliance has been in dialogue with all the world Christian communions and with some traditions that are not organized as world communions, seeking mutual understanding and collaborative relationships. Working relationships of the WARC with the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION have become intentionally close since 1989.

The Department of Cooperation and Witness focuses on the role of the church in promoting human rights, emerging democracies and civil society, economic justice, and ecological sustainability. The Department of Partnership of Women and Men promotes full partnership in church and society and seeks to eradicate sexism in theology and practice.

There are also regional councils of the WARC in Europe, the CARIBBEAN and North America, LATIN AMERICA, Southern Africa, and Northeast Asia.

Alliance of Reformed Churches (ARC)

Irish, Scottish, and American Presbyterian initiatives brought about the formation in London in 1875 of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System (later, Presbyterian Order). The first General Council met in Edinburgh in 1877 with an Alliance membership of forty-nine churches from the British Isles, America, Europe, SOUTH AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, Ceylon, and the New Hebrides. Beginning with that first meeting the Alliance has worked periodically on the question of a common CONFESSION of faith. The Alliance has also been concerned with world mission and Christian unity, stressing the need for cooperation, not only among Reformed churches, but with all Christian churches, and also the need to help newly established churches become truly indigenous and self-governing members of the Alliance as quickly as possible. A third constant theme is the concern for HUMAN RIGHTS. The Alliance monthly journal, *The Catholic Presbyterian*, from 1879 called for aid to Waldensian pastors and to the exploited laboring classes and protested inhumane treatment of NATIVE AMERICANS in the UNITED STATES. A general secretary, Rev. Dr. G.D. Mathews, was appointed in 1888. He traveled widely in Europe, the Middle East, RUSSIA, and South Africa, especially in support of “younger churches” and religious freedom for minority churches. These concerns continued, most notably in World Alliance’s deep engagement with the movement against *apartheid* in South Africa.

Leaders of the Alliance worked for the establishment of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and early gave leadership in it. Since its beginnings the Alliance has tailored its structure to collaborate ecumenically wherever possible.

International Congregational Council (ICC)

From the 1870s on there were discussions among British and American Congregationalists about bringing together the whole Congregational family in an international council, including churches in the colonies and mission fields. The first Council meeting in London in 1891 and four subsequent Councils between 1899 and 1930 discussed the life and theology of CONGREGATIONALISM, its relation to the state and to social problems, its relation to other Christian traditions and the unity of the church, and its worldwide mission. Representation from ENGLAND and America was heavier than had been originally planned, with fewer delegates from the colonies and the mission fields. Beginning with the second Council meeting, a few women were present and occasionally were among the speakers. There was little activity between the meetings of the Councils.

Close cooperation between British and American Congregational churches during World War II and excitement about the planning for the inauguration of the World Council of Churches in 1948 spurred fresh thinking about the role of a confessional body like the ICC in the ecumenical movement. A planning committee decided in 1947 to

establish an international office in London and to appoint as its first secretary Dr. Sidney M. Berry, acting moderator of the Council and the secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The sixth Council at Wellesley, Massachusetts in 1949 confirmed a permanent international organization with a full-time “Minister and Secretary,” Dr. Berry, and adopted a constitution.

Between 1953 and 1966 four more councils were held, and the connection between the ICC and the Alliance of Reformed Churches grew steadily. In 1957 the Alliance officially proposed talks between the two world bodies about areas of agreement, leading to close working relationships and a decision in 1968 to unite. In Nairobi in 1970 both bodies voted to merge as The World Alliance of Reformed Churches (Presbyterian and Congregational), joining in an act of Covenant.

See also Calvinism; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Presbyterianism

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WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The World Council of Churches (WCC) was formally established August 23, 1948 in Amsterdam with 351 delegates, representing 147 church bodies from forty-four countries and all continents participating. This culminated a long process to create a structure that would promote unity and cooperation among Orthodox, Anglican, and Protestant churches. A group of Roman Catholic observers was invited to this first assembly, but the Vatican forbade their attendance. From the beginning the WCC has been headquartered in Geneva, SWITZERLAND.

Background

When the WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE met at Edinburgh in 1910, leaders were aware of the growing church outside the West. Unfortunately, the historical and theological divisions that marked the churches in the West were being transferred to the churches in Asia, AFRICA, and LATIN AMERICA. Bishop Charles H. Brent, Episcopal Church in the Philippines, addressed the WMC on the urgent need to mitigate these historic divisions and foster Christian unity.

World War I (1914–1918) temporarily interrupted efforts toward an ecumenical organization. The founding of the League of Nations at the urging of President WOODROW WILSON in 1919 offered a model for international cooperation. In 1919 the Holy Synod of the Church of Constantinople issued an encyclical proposing that all Christian churches form a “League of Churches” to promote Christian union. Also in 1919 Archbishop NATHAN SÖDERBLOM of Uppsala proposed that an ecumenical council be founded. In 1920 JOSEPH H. OLDHAM, secretary of the Continuation Committee of the 1910 World Missionary Conference, submitted a memorandum to a group of missionary leaders at Crans, Switzerland outlining a structure for the International Missionary Council, although he predicted that it would soon “give way to something that may represent the beginnings of a world league of Churches.”

In addition to well-established international Christian organizations such as the YMCA, YWCA (see YMCA, YWCA), and World Student Christian Federation, in the 1920s new initiatives were carried forward along three lines: International Missionary Council (IMC), Faith and Order, and Life and Work. The need for an “International Christian Council” was evident but the time was not yet ripe. Gradually it became clear that these multiple parallel and overlapping organizations were impediments to structural unity. William Adams Brown of Union Theological Seminary in New York, chair of Life and Work, took the lead in 1933 to convene leaders of international Christian

organizations to discuss how coordination might be achieved. An Ecumenical Consultative Group was appointed to take extensive soundings of the churches.

In July 1937 the Committee of Thirty-Five met at Westfield College, London to develop a proposal to be laid before Life and Work meeting in Oxford later that month, and Faith and Order in Edinburgh in early August, concerning the future of the ecumenical movement. Four men were delegated the task of drawing up a plan: Archbishop WILLIAM TEMPLE, Oldham, Samuel McCrae Cavert, and William Adams Brown. Cavert, general secretary of the U.S. Federal Council of Churches, suggested the name "World Council of Churches." Life and Work, and Faith and Order would be integrated into the new structure immediately. (The relationship of the IMC to the WCC would be worked out later.) Equally important, the proposal established the principle that the WCC should not have the power to legislate for the member churches. The Council could propose, but decision making rested with member churches. The work of the Council would be conducted through a General Assembly to be held every five to seven years and a Central Committee that met annually. The Committee of Thirty-Five also recommended appointment of W.A. VISSER 'T HOOFT, World Student Christian Federation, as general secretary of the new World Council of Churches.

The Oxford and Edinburgh conferences responded favorably and appointed seven members each to implement the plan. The next step was to conduct consultations with the constituent member. The main sticking point was the constitutional question of the relation of the Council to its member bodies. Archbishop Temple clarified this point: "It is not a federation as commonly understood, and its Assembly and Central Committee will have no constitutional authority whatever over its constituent churches. Any authority that it may have will consist in the weight it carries with the churches by its wisdom." Equally important was the theological basis of membership in the Council. It was agreed: "The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of Churches which accept the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour." This formulation did not prove to be satisfactory and finally in 1960 was revised to say: "The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

In spite of mounting international tensions, preparation for launching the WCC went forward and the first Assembly was scheduled for August 1941. The growing threat of war forced an indefinite postponement. During World War II the World Council of Churches (in Process of Formation) maintained offices in Geneva, London, and New York and its leaders played an active role on behalf of member churches throughout the war years by seeking to maintain communications with all regardless of their political situation. The end of the war brought a flood of new work. In addition to emergency relief and reconstruction in war-torn areas of Europe, the WCC was concerned with reconciliation among the churches, especially in relation to GERMANY, as well as opening the way for the churches of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to become full participants.

Nature of WCC and Basis of Membership

The provisional committee met in 1946 and 1947 to complete preparations for the inaugural assembly in 1948. One question that had to be settled was the ecclesiastical status of the Council and the basis of membership in it. It was agreed that the WCC was not a “world church” or “super church.” Indeed, it was not a church; rather it was an instrument that enabled member churches to “bear witness together...and cooperate in matters requiring united action.” It was acknowledged that unity arises from God’s action in Jesus Christ rather than at the initiative of the church. Each church is bound to Jesus Christ and thus to all others who make up the body of Christ. The Amsterdam Assembly declared: “Christ has made us his own, and he is not divided. In seeking him we find one another. Here at Amsterdam we have committed ourselves afresh to him, and have covenanted with one another in constituting the World Council of Churches. We intend to stay together.” The WCC Constitution states the *raison d’être* succinctly: “The primary purpose of the fellowship of churches in the World Council of Churches is to call one another to visible unity in one faith and in one eucharistic fellowship, expressed in worship and common life in Christ, through witness and service to the world, and to advance towards that unity in order that the world may believe.”

The WCC understood itself to be a means by which member churches would discover and realize more fully the unity of the whole body. The first of repeated attempts to clarify the nature and role of the WCC was made by the Central Committee at Toronto, CANADA in 1950. The Toronto Statement emphasized that the WCC “deals in a provisional way” with the ecclesiastical and theological differences that exist between the churches. It is not the responsibility of the WCC to espouse any particular theory or view of the church nor “to negotiate union between churches.” All such matters were to remain the responsibility of the churches.

With regard to the basis of membership, it was finally agreed that only autonomous churches were eligible for membership. National councils of churches that had been organized in various parts of the world after Edinburgh 1910 were recognized as affiliates. Similarly, organizations representing confessional families could not be members of the WCC. The WCC was to be a council of *churches*.

Organization

The WCC organization has been revised periodically to fit changing needs. In 1948 the new organization consisted of twelve departments: Faith and Order, Study, Evangelism, Laity, Youth, Women, Interchurch Aid/Refugees, International Affairs, Ecumenical Institute, Publications, Library, and Finance. At the Evanston Assembly in 1954 the structure was changed. Four divisions were established with program departments under

each. Then in 1961 the International Missionary Council was integrated with the WCC and the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) set up. In 1972 a plan systematically to internationalize the WCC staff in Geneva was instituted more adequately to reflect the constituent churches. This included a uniform pay scale.

That same year a substantial reorganization was instituted with three program units replacing the five program divisions. Each program unit was mandated to carry out specific areas of work through subunits. This pattern had the advantage of allowing new subunits to be added as new needs arose and WCC program continued to expand into the 1980s. This organizational pattern was kept intact until the 1990s when another round of restructuring was instituted.

Finance

As of the 1990s, some 75 percent of WCC income came from member churches and their mission and service agencies. However, 96 percent of these monies came from thirteen countries in the West. The Council has no fixed membership fee. Although each member church is encouraged to make an annual contribution to the WCC according to their ability, one-third of the members contribute nothing. With its support coming from various countries, the WCC is acutely affected by fluctuations in the international money markets. The continuing decline in membership of many churches in Europe and North America, traditionally strong supporters of the WCC, has meant declining revenues for these churches with adverse consequences for causes they have supported in the past.

Assemblies

WCC assemblies take place approximately every seven years. Eight have been held since Amsterdam 1948: Evanston 1954, New Delhi 1961, Uppsala 1968, Nairobi 1975, Vancouver 1983, Canberra 1991, and Harare 1998. Constitutionally the general assembly is “the supreme legislative body” of the World Council of Churches. Practically speaking such a group is too unwieldy to serve as an effective decision-making body. Much of the work of an assembly is done by sections or work groups that meet for intense deliberations of draft statements that have been prepared by unit members and staff. These drafts are then brought to the full assembly for plenary debate and approval.

At Amsterdam 1948, the 147 member churches were represented by 351 delegates. This number has grown over the past fifty years. By 1991 the number of member churches had reached 317, with 842 delegates. At the Harare 1998 Assembly the 355 member and associate member churches were represented by 991 delegates.

WCC assemblies serve an important symbolic purpose. The coming together of several thousand Christians from all over the world to spend two weeks in worship and deliberations creates a statement. Frequently WCC assemblies have been accompanied by

controversy when WCC leaders have spoken out on sensitive political or social issues or interest groups have tried to bring their concern into the assembly.

In addition to general assemblies, the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, in the tradition of the IMC, continued to hold assemblies every five to seven years. WCC program units have sponsored numerous consultations over the years.

Impact

For fifty years the WCC has been a symbol of ecumenical efforts to promote unity among Orthodox, Anglican, and Protestant churches. Since Vatican Council 2, 1962–1965, cooperation between the WCC and Roman Catholics has grown greatly.

Rather than being an instrument for negotiating church unions, the WCC's role has been to keep alive the vision of a united body of Jesus Christ. This has stimulated theological and ecclesiological explorations of the meaning of *koinonia* and how it is to be actualized in the life of the church at all levels.

The WCC has sometimes been called an “ecclesiastical United Nations.” The WCC came into existence amid war and international conflict. From its beginning the WCC has taken a strong interest in social and political issues that impinge on church and society and has maintained a staff with expertise in international affairs. Throughout the Cold War the WCC had to walk a fine line. It had member churches located in the Soviet bloc as well as in the West. Many Christians in Asia, Africa, and Latin America did not want to be identified with either bloc—Western or Soviet.

J.H.Oldham, a principal architect of the WCC, insisted that the Christian movement had to enlist the help of “first-class” minds in the study and interpretation of the most important issues of the day. From the beginning the WCC has placed a priority on study and publication. This has created a climate of openness to issues and trends that will influence the future of the church as well as society. For example, the WCC created a Programme to Combat Racism in the early 1970s aimed specifically at regimes in SOUTH AFRICA and ZIMBABWE where minority white governments were denying equal rights of citizenship to black citizens. This proved to be a highly controversial initiative but was consistent with the view that Christians ought to be proactive in addressing injustice. It was during this time that the Unit on Dialogue was established to study and promote dialogue with people of other faiths.

The WCC has continued to address a range of political and social issues. At the 1998 Harare Assembly the report on “Issues of Current Global Concern” included draft sections on international debt, globalization, child soldiers, the status of Jerusalem, and a draft statement on human rights. United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan addressed the assembly by video to enlist continued support by the churches for the human rights movement.

The WCC has experienced persistent tension with two ecclesiastical traditions, the Orthodox and conservative Protestants. On the one hand, Conservative Protestants, including many from churches that are constituents of WCC as well as those that reject such membership, have criticized what they perceive as the WCC's ambivalence toward

the Christian mission. Contrary to expectations in 1961 when the WCC absorbed the International Missionary Council, mission and EVANGELISM appear not to have been treated as a priority. On the other hand, the Orthodox Churches have criticized what they see as the WCC's eroding commitment to its original christological basis. In his message to the Harare 1998 Assembly, the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople urged that the WCC address basic theological issues and return to a consideration of the meaning of *koinonia* in Christ.

See also Ecumenism

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WILBERT R. SHENK

WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL

Heir to the Oecumenical Methodist Conferences, which met at roughly ten-year intervals from 1881, the World Methodist Council (WMC) was founded as a permanent institution in 1951. Its membership consists of some eighty denominations of Methodist origin or, in the case of united churches, having Methodist participation; these denominations include about 70 million adherents worldwide. The Council meets in full session every five years; representation is allotted according to a combination of historical, geographical, and numerical factors. The Council has no legislative authority over the member churches, which retain an autonomy exercised through their own "conferences." It serves mutual consultation and support in theological and practical matters, with standing committees in the areas of ecumenism, education, evangelism, family life, social and international affairs, worship, and youth; it facilitates the short-term exchange of pastorates across national and cultural lines. The Oxford Institute of Methodist Theological Studies meets regularly under the Council's aegis, and other affiliated organizations are the World Federation of Methodist and Uniting Church Women and the World Methodist Historical Society.

At its Rio de Janeiro meeting in 1996, the WMC adopted a statement of "Wesleyan Essentials of Christian Faith," consisting of a concise description of "our beliefs," "our worship," "our witness," "our service," and "our common life." The Council appoints the commissions for bilateral doctrinal dialogue with other world Christian communions and receives their reports. "The Church: Community of Grace" (1984) provided a framework for Lutheran and Methodist churches in several countries to enter into fellowship of word and table. "Together in God's Grace" (1987) assured Methodists and Reformed that their theological differences were not sufficient to justify ecclesial division between them. "Sharing in the Apostolic Communion" (1996) has not so far led to unity between Methodists and Anglicans. The most sustained dialogue is that since 1967 between the WMC and the Roman Catholic Church, which has produced significant statements on the Holy Spirit (1981), the Church (1986), the Apostolic Tradition (1991), Revelation and Faith ("The Word of Life," 1996), and Teaching Authority ("Speaking the Truth in Love," 2001).

The general secretariat of the WMC, with minimal administrative staff, is housed at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina.

See also Anglicanism; Catholic Reactions to Protestantism; Dialogue, Interconfessional; Lutheranism; Methodism

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE

Commonly called the EDINBURGH MISSIONARY CONFERENCE OF 1910, the World Missionary Conference (WMC) met at Edinburgh, SCOTLAND June 12–23, 1910. It was attended by more than 1,200 delegates, including seventeen Asian representatives. Most were sent as delegates of missionary societies. The WMC was not the first such missionary conference but marks a watershed in the modern mission movement. It brought into focus issues raised by earlier conferences, took steps to address the need for more permanent structures, and set in motion actions that would shape the nature and direction of Protestant MISSIONS for much of the twentieth century. Until 1900 British missions dominated the mission movement by virtue of their experience, number of missionaries, and financial resources. Edinburgh 1910 marked the transition from British to American dominance. Around 1907 the total number of American missionaries serving overseas surpassed the British. The American missionary statesman JOHN R. MOTT was a key initiator of the conference, chaired the planning committee for Edinburgh 1910, and presided at most of the sessions.

Background

From the beginning Protestant foreign missions were characterized by a lack of centralized direction. Missionary initiative typically came from highly motivated individuals or groups without benefit of official sanction. Once they arrived in the field, missionaries quickly discovered the need to cooperate with one another, regardless of DENOMINATION. Missions therefore became a primary engine of Christian unity.

A seminal initiative was the movement called the Concert for Prayer first introduced by a group of clergy in Scotland in 1744. The American theologian JONATHAN EDWARDS took up the idea in his book, *An Humble Attempt To Promote Explicit Agreement And Visible Union Among God's People, In Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion, And the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom On Earth* (1747). Edwards's book had widespread influence on both sides of the Atlantic well into the nineteenth century. It stimulated the formation of local prayer groups in support of missions through united Christian action.

Several streams of influence came together in the WMC. First, intermission conferences began to be held on the Continent, starting in Basel in 1837, setting a pattern that would be followed elsewhere. The second stream starts with the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE (EA) that was organized in 1846 and met periodically thereafter. The EA fostered cooperation and fellowship across denominational lines but did not advocate

structural unity. The Union Missionary Conference took place in New York May 4–5, 1854 with famed Scottish missionary Alexander Duff as the main attraction. One hundred fifty-six men were present. Later that year a similar conference was held in London. The Liverpool Conference on Missions in 1860 was better prepared than the previous conferences and the proceedings led to policy recommendations that would guide the administrators of missions for the next generation. This conference laid out a comprehensive agenda concerning the missionary enterprise that future conferences largely followed.

The 1888 London “Centenary Conference” was the first truly international missionary gathering. Approximately 1,600 people attended. Two important ideas resulted. First, it was proposed that a system of comity be introduced that would govern intermission relations in the field to avoid overlap and foster cooperation. Second, the delegates urged that an international missionary conference be held every ten years; however, no mechanism was set up to implement this recommendation.

The New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference in 1900 was seen as a response to this request. It was designed, however, as a public demonstration of support for missions. Held in Carnegie Hall, New York 1900 attracted some 200,000 people between April 21 and May 1. The speakers included former U.S. President Henry Harrison, President William McKinley, and Governor Theodore Roosevelt, along with mission leaders such as John Mott, Sherwood Eddy, and Robert E. Speer. Missionary leaders from Europe participated, but Americans dominated. It was geared to promoting missions rather than grappling with the issues of the day. The Protestant international missionary movement still lacked an organization that might provide continuity by planning regular meetings, working at policy issues, and coordinating joint programs.

Field conferences held in INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN, INDONESIA, AFRICA, and LATIN AMERICA constituted the third stream. In India these conferences were held in North India starting in 1855 and from 1858 in South India. In addition, the India-wide Decennial Conferences were introduced in 1862. These field conferences stimulated awareness of the need for coordination among the missions and helped focus the theological and policy issues that missions were facing.

The fourth stream of influence was the surging Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) that was attracting young people to missionary service in North America, Europe, and Asia. Although some Europeans objected to the SVM slogan, “The Evangelization of the World in this Generation,” it galvanized an entire student generation to missionary action, and Edinburgh 1910 was seen as contributing to fulfillment of this vision.

Conference Organization

The first formal proposal that a major missionary conference be held in 1910 came from William Henry Grant, secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, when he laid the proposal before British mission secretaries in late 1906. Responding with dispatch, in January 1907 the Scottish group agreed to host such an event. Mott and JOSEPH H. OLDHAM, who were already acquainted through their staff positions in the

SVM, quickly became the main architects of the conference, with Mott as chairman and Oldham as secretary of the steering committee. It was agreed that this conference should not follow in the path of New York 1900. Instead, this would be a working consultation based on “masterly” documents prepared from field surveys that would become the basis of concrete action. The planners faced a Herculean task. To accomplish this goal required that a research program be launched immediately to gather data from a broad range of sources. The international steering committee agreed on eight topics and set up commissions to oversee the work of preparing a study volume for each one. A recognized authority in that particular field headed each commission. The process required canvassing widely among missionaries and scholars who possessed expert knowledge in a given topic, getting written responses, distilling key findings, and then writing a synthesis. All of this had to be completed to allow a published volume to be ready for purchase by May 1, 1910, six weeks before the start of the conference.

The eight subjects selected were: Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World; The Church in the Mission Field; Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life; The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions; The Preparation of Missionaries; The Home Base of Missions; Missions and Governments; and Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity. These became the titles of the eight preparatory volumes of Edinburgh 1910. Although the WMC has been characterized as focusing primarily on the means of carrying out the missionary mandate, this is not an entirely fair assessment. Edinburgh 1910 put the focus on the *church* more than on *missions*. The second report declared that “The Church in the Mission Field” is “itself now the great mission to the non-Christian world.” This brought a theological breadth to the theology of mission hitherto lacking. The report went on: “The whole world is the mission field, and there is no church that is not a church in the mission field.” This theme would be picked up with new urgency at the International Missionary Conference (IMC) at Madras in 1938.

The fourth preparatory volume, *The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions*, devoted chapters to five different religious traditions: Chinese, Japanese, Islam, Hindu, and animistic religions. To treat the latter theme, replies to an extensive questionnaire from twenty-five missionaries, representing several continents, were analyzed and summarized by a committee of three experts. The replies fell into five discrete models. The quality of the material demonstrates the intellectual engagement of field missionaries with their contexts. Analysis also shows the way a missionary’s ecclesiastical heritage, theological tradition, anthropological theory, facility in the language of the host culture, and intellectual interaction with cultural issues shaped theory. The general conclusions to this volume emphasized “we have here much that casts light on the New Testament period and on the early centuries of the Christian Church.” Consequently, it was argued, these findings are essential to an understanding of “the inner course of the New Testament thought.” In other words, the West stood in need of the insights to be gained through intercultural studies.

Three of the preparatory volumes spoke to the theme of Christian unity and contributed to the emergence of the conciliar movement. The first report emphasized the fact that the missionary mandate was as yet unfulfilled and that a united response was called for. The second report drew attention to “a growing spirit of love and unity among Christians” and the imperative to “seek fellowship with all Christians.” The eighth report

was devoted entirely to a review of relations among missions and churches and in the conclusion noted that the "Church in the mission field" may be leading the way in healing the divisions of the church in the West. Bishop Charles H. Brent, of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines and a delegate to Edinburgh 1910, was deeply impressed with the need to work for Christian unity and urged that a conference on Faith and Order be convened to guide the churches toward this goal.

The outstanding quality of these reports provided, for the first time, a reliable basis for decision making concerning the future of the missionary enterprise. This accounts for the impact these reports had on the conference as well as their long-term influence. The process also established a model for future ecumenical consultation and formulation of common issues.

One hundred fifty-six mission societies from fourteen countries sent delegates to Edinburgh 1910. Fifty-nine American societies were represented. The International Committee encouraged societies to include in their delegations some of their "leading missionaries" as well as "one or two natives" if practicable. No discussion of doctrinal questions was to be allowed and the word "ecumenical" would not be used because it was subject to misinterpretation and might divert attention from the basic purpose of the conference.

Edinburgh 1910 stood in the line of missionary conferences that had been held since 1854, but it broke new ground. This conference was limited to societies that had missionaries at work in the field among non-Christian peoples. (This excluded missions sending workers to Europe, the Middle East, and Latin America.) Representation was proportional to the size of budget of each society. By this time many of the leading mission societies were either a part of their denominational structures or closely related. This gave the conference a strong ecclesiastical dimension.

One Indian delegate was present at the 1860 Liverpool Conference and made a contribution to the theme of BIBLE TRANSLATION. Several Asians attended subsequent conferences, but not as official representatives. By contrast seventeen Asians came to Edinburgh 1910 as delegates and exerted influence out of proportion to their numbers. Especially memorable was the address by Bishop V.S. Azariah, who pleaded for a new basis of relationship between the emerging churches of Asia and Africa and the Western churches.

Significance and Results of Edinburgh 1910

The World Missionary Conference was a seminal event. Earlier conferences were devoted to discussion of common issues and educating the Christian public. This conference was probably the most comprehensive ecclesiastical gathering to date. Earlier meetings had been influenced by their relationship to the Evangelical Alliance, whereas Edinburgh 1910 attracted the full spectrum of Protestants engaged in foreign missions. It was consultative and geared to formulating a possible common course of action in the future. It brought into focus themes and issues that had been raised by previous

international missionary conferences, dealt with them in some depth, and then decided on further steps. The specific results fell into three groups.

First, it was agreed to establish an international coordinating council. The first step was to elect a Continuation Committee, with John Mott as chair, to develop a proposal. Significantly, three of the committee members were Christian leaders from India, China, and Japan. It was anticipated that such a council would sponsor continuing study and research into missions practice. Although the International Missionary Council was not formally organized until 1921—delayed in part by World War I—the *International Review of Missions* was launched in 1912 with Oldham as editor. Oldham was the ideal person for this role. He possessed a wide-ranging intellect, keen perception of the leading issues, and a wide network of contacts. He used the IRM to encourage scholarly exploration and discussion.

The second outcome was clarification of the principle on which such an international body would operate. It was determined that this council would serve the member bodies without requiring that they surrender their own integrity and relationships to their constituent churches. The principle, proposed by the Americans and Germans, was that a council is servant of its member bodies; and operating policies are determined by each of the members. The council's work would depend entirely on the wisdom and resources brought to it by its member bodies and reflected back in the form of policy positions and recommended actions. The council could not compel compliance; it could only commend for consideration.

A third outcome of the WMC was the important impetus Edinburgh 1910 gave to the creation of the infrastructure of the Protestant conciliar movement. Between October 1912 and May 1913 Mott traveled to Asia where he held eighteen regional and three national conferences in Burma [Myanmar], Ceylon [Sri Lanka], China, India, Japan, KOREA, and Malaya [Malaysia]. Both national church leaders and missionaries were included in these consultations. These "situation conferences" were designed to highlight the issues being faced by the churches in that nation or region, encourage indigenous responsibility, and identify issues that affected comity, cooperation, and unity among Christian groups. Although the momentum Mott's visits had generated was interrupted by World War I, ultimately he laid the groundwork for the organization of Christian councils in most of these countries. These would be indispensable in the development of the conciliar movement.

Subsequently the Life and Work (1925) and Faith and Order (1927) movements were also organized. In 1948 several of these strands were brought together in the founding of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. In 1961 the IMC was integrated into the WCC and renamed the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism.

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WILBERT R. SHENK

WORLD VISION

World Vision is a Christian humanitarian organization whose mission is “To call people to a life-changing commitment to serve the poor in the name of Christ.” World Vision was founded in 1951 by Dr. Bob Pierce as an effort to help children abandoned in the Korean War. It was in this early stage of development in 1953 that World Vision initiated its first child sponsorship program in KOREA. The sponsorships program invited Americans to provide necessary financial support for the education, health assistance, and nutrition for the child. In the 1990s World Vision began a family sponsorship program. Both child and family sponsorships have also been operating in other Asian countries and in LATIN AMERICA and AFRICA.

World Vision also began incorporating vocational and agricultural training for families into its sponsorship efforts, and parents began learning to farm and earn money through small enterprises. These efforts to affect self-sustainable change evolved into World Vision’s community development efforts. Long-term development has proven central to bringing lasting hope to the people. After meeting immediate survival needs, World Vision works with communities to help them move toward self-reliance. While communities work toward self-sufficiency World Vision often provides fresh water wells and sanitation facilities, supplemental food, farming tools and seeds, loans for small businesses, and medicine. Local leaders actively participate in determining the future of their communities. In this way dignity is restored and a new cycle of hope inspires communities in their efforts for a better future. Most of World Vision’s financial support for these efforts come from the UNITED STATES. In an effort to reach more resources, and to expose more individuals to the needs of others, World Vision formed World Vision International (WVI) in 1980. Today this partnership oversees sponsorship, relief, rehabilitation, and community development projects in 103 countries.

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MAUREEN KELLY

WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

The World's Parliament of Religions of 1893, a part of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, was hailed as the greatest interreligious assembly in history. During its seventeen days, about 170 religious leaders representing some twenty-five Christian sects and denominations and ten different religious traditions presented 200 papers, sermons, and speeches, addressing philosophy and theology, race issues, the role of women in religion, the future of world missions, and the prospects for universal human progress. For several years, the parliament generated controversy as concerned parties attempted to discern in it the signs of the time. By the opening of the twentieth century, however, the event had been largely forgotten, except by those who warmly recalled the roles played there by prominent Buddhist and Hindu delegates from Asia. In the 1980s the approaching centennial of the parliament renewed interest in it, leading to a large-scale commemoration of the event, once again in Chicago, called a Parliament for the World's Religions.

Anglo-American Protestants played a key role in conceiving and organizing the original parliament. Charles Carroll Bonney, a Chicago lawyer and Swedenborgian, conceived of it as capstone of the World's Congress Auxiliary, a series of international conferences devoted to humanities, sciences, law, medicine, business, and other professions. John Henry Barrows (1847–1902), pastor at Chicago's First Presbyterian church, led the auxiliary's Department of Religion. Under his direction, fourteen local Protestant ministers, a Chicago rabbi, and the diocesan Catholic archbishop coordinated meetings for some forty denominational, interdenominational, and special interest groups, all of which were designed to culminate in the parliament.

Issues articulated by Protestants also set the tone for the gathering. Henry Harris Jessup (1832–1910), a Presbyterian missionary, succinctly expressed the ethnic, geopolitical, and theological foundations for America's domestic and global missions, a recurrent leitmotif at the Parliament. The discussion of women's contributions to religion was much noted, but of the eighteen women present, fifteen represented Protestant denominations or movements. George Dana Boardman, an American Baptist, closed the assembly on a powerful postmillennial note, capturing a progressive and visionary current that ran throughout the assembly.

Religious Liberalism Ascendant

Infused with an optimistic mood contemporaries called “the Columbian spirit,” the parliament often masked conflict with consensus rhetoric. Within Protestantism itself, there was ample evidence of growing tensions between progressives and conservatives that would soon lead to the liberal-fundamentalist schism. The much-noted presence of New England celebrities such as Edward Everett Hale (1822–1909), Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823–1911), and Julia Ward Howe (1819–1910) led some conservatives to dismiss the parliament as a Unitarian affair, but Lyman Abbott (1835–1922), Theodore Munger, and WASHINGTON GLADDEN (1836–1918; Congregational), Charles Briggs, (1841–1913; Presbyterian) and Richard T.Ely (1854–1943; Episcopalian) lent the proceedings an authority both religiously liberal and specifically Protestant Christian. Conservative Protestants, among them Joseph Cook (Congregational) and James Dennis and George Pentecost (1842–1920; Presbyterian), also gave forceful presentations, but their remarks, while warmly received in many quarters, did little to correct the impression that the parliament signaled the ascendance of Protestant liberalism.

This ascendance was underscored by presentations made by Jews and Catholics who echoed the liberalism of Protestant speakers. Emil Hirsch (1851–1923), Kaufmann Kohler (1843–1926), and Isaac Meyer Wise spoke for the progressive spirit of Reform Judaism, while Archbishop John Gibbons and Bishop John Keane, two leading “Americanizers,” represented forms of Catholic liberalism that would subsequently draw criticism from Rome. While Jews, Catholics, and Protestant liberals emphasized theological and institutional propositions unique to their respective traditions, their friendly rivalry at the parliament anticipated the “triple-melting pot” popularized by Will Herberg in the 1950s.

The parliament’s liberalism gained additional strength from the prominent role played by the emergent field of comparative religion. European scholars such as F.Max Müller, J.Estlin Carpenter, and Jean (1794–1861), and Albert Réville (1826–1906) sent papers promoting it as a new science and introducing a humanistic interpretation of religion into discussions at the assembly. As importantly, comparative religion was invoked by many delegates in the form of an applied science supporting the idea that Christianity was the most highly evolved of all religions and, as such, fulfilled other traditions. This “fulfillment thesis” was a powerful apologetic tool favored by liberals who scorned the more conservative, exclusionary approach that dismissed non-Christian religions outright, especially those from Asia.

An Enduring Legacy

With good reason, the parliament became identified with the well-received presentations by Asians such as Protap Chunder Majumdar and Vivekananda (1863–1902) (Hinduism) and Anagarika Dharmapala (1864–1933; Buddhism). By casting their traditions in a modernist, progressive mode, they underscored the liberal spirit of the parliament. More importantly, they set into motion the Hindu and Buddhist missions to the West, which eventually resulted in the broad interest in interreligious dialogue and in Asian religions, which marked the twentieth century.

The Asians' success, along with the prominence of Jews and Catholics at the parliament, was a source of great concern to many conservative Protestants who saw the assembly as an assault on evangelical America, one fostered by liberal coreligionists. They also saw in the parliament an incipient alliance of new forces they feared would redefine the American religious mainstream in the twentieth century. The World's Parliament of Religions was an important event in its day and remains of symbolic importance to American Protestantism and American religion generally. It marked the rise to prominence of religious liberalism and of interreligious dialogue and the growing complexity of America's religious landscape. It also recalls a time when Anglo-American Protestantism confidently defined the American religious mainstream.

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RICHARD HUGHES SEAGER

WORMS, DIET OF

The most celebrated of the long series of imperial diets held at Worms, at which MARTIN LUTHER defended his teaching before emperor Charles V, took place from January 27 to May 25, 1521. After his coronation in Aachen, Charles V had announced on November 1, 1520 his first diet to be convened in Worms on January 6, 1521. The emperor arrived in Worms on November 28, 1520, but the diet did not open until January 27, 1521. At its conclusion, the imperial assembly was one of the most significant in the history of the empire in the sixteenth century.

In his announcement for the diet, the emperor proposed an agenda that included the maintenance of law and public peace, public and constitutional order, regulations for the execution of imperial affairs in times of the emperor's absence, financial assistance for the emperor's journey to Rome, and the recovery of lost imperial territories. These topics reflected, in the view of the German territorial ruler, the hope that power and responsibilities would be reallocated in the empire. The emperor, meanwhile, professed the monarchical character of his rule and endeavored to strengthen his authority and centralize power. The ensuing deliberations of the diet were affected by the growing conflict between Charles V and FRANCE, the tensions between Charles and Pope Leo X, the renewed Turkish threat, the Comunero uprisings in Spain, general considerations regarding the governance of those territories bound to Charles through personal fealty, and, finally, by the "Luther affair."

On May 26 the emperor promulgated the recess of the diet with provisions pertaining to governmental administration, judicial procedures, public order, and an imperial tax authority for financing the emperor's formal journey to Rome as well as the support of governmental administration and the courts. The new judicial procedures and the imperial taxation registration proved to be permanent institutions. Regulations pertaining to safety and public order did not come into being because no agreement could be reached on central economic questions. In its results the diet of Worms ended the imperial reform movement and strengthened the emperor's power and authority through various compromises. For example, the longstanding demand for an imperial governance structure involving the estates was honored only with respect to times when the emperor was absent; this structure, moreover, was to be presided over by the emperor's representative, the archchancellor of the empire, the archbishop of Mainz. The decisions of this Imperial Regiment (*Reichsregiment*) on key issues had to be approved by the emperor.

The papal legate Girolamo Aleander arrived at Worms on November 30, 1520 and put the case against Luther forward on February 13, 1521. The "Luther case" (*causa Lutheri*), which originally had not been a matter for consideration, was placed on the agenda at the insistence of the Saxon Elector Frederick III (called "the Wise"), who had support from the estates. On February 19, 1521 the estate refused to approve an imperial mandate against Luther and discussions began about giving Luther a hearing before the diet.

Luther was subsequently granted safe passage to Worms. The assembled members of the diet were scarcely aware that, with the official declaration of the centrality of conscience of one individual, the course was set for the division of Western Christendom into various confessions. Luther arrived in Worms on April 16. On April 18 he declared his final refusal to recant his teachings, according to an early but unreliable tradition. Charles V announced the following day his resolve to take firm measures against him. After additional discussions with him, Luther departed from Worms on April 26. Later the “EDICT OF WORMS” against Luther and his followers, dated May 8, was signed by Charles V on May 26, 1521. This edict, which was not part of the formal recess of the diet, had been drafted by the papal legate Aleander but had been reworked by the imperial court with the intent of strengthening the authority of the emperor and claiming authority for the German rulers.

Another agenda item at Worms was the discussion of grievances against Rome and the church (*gravamina nationis germanicae*) as advocated especially by Duke George of Saxony. The estates had threatened—in case these grievances were not considered—to ignore the emperor’s wishes and to block the recess. The difficulty lay in the fact that the emperor’s advisers, headed by Chièvres and Gattinara, were influenced mainly by foreign-policy concerns, whereas the estates were chiefly motivated by political and legal considerations regarding ecclesiastical affairs, but also by their concern over the possibility of a mass movement in support of Luther.

Luther’s statement and refusal to revoke during the hearing of April 17–18 proved to be the reason that the diet took on world-historical significance. With his appearance at the diet of Worms, the question of AUTHORITY was no longer an inner ecclesiastical dispute but a question that touched the basis of late medieval church and society.

See also Lutheranism; Reformation

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WORMS, EDICT OF

With the edict of Worms, the ecclesiastical and secular process against MARTIN LUTHER formally came to an end. The papal bull “*exsurge Domine*” of June 15, 1520 had called on Luther to obey the church and to revoke forty-four incriminating sentences. Although the Wittenberg theologian refused to do so and publicly demonstrated his resistance by burning the papal document together with other books of ecclesiastical law and a scholastic handbook, Pope Leo X (1513–1521) excommunicated him January 3, 1521 with the bull “*Decet Romanum pontificem*.” Following the routine of late medieval law against heretics, the secular authority had to step in and execute the sentence. Thus the papal legate, Girolamo Aleander, arrived at Worms on November 30, 1520 to convince the emperor and the territorial rulers to pass an edict against Luther and his followers.

The Luther case (*causa Lutheri*) originally had not been a matter for consideration of the diet. It was placed on the agenda because the ruler of Saxony, Frederick III (“the Wise” [1486–1525]) hindered the routine process and forced the emperor to give Luther a hearing at Worms, a notion supported by many German estates. On February 19, 1521 the estates refused to approve an imperial mandate against Luther. Luther was subsequently granted safe passage to Worms and arrived in Worms on April 16. On April 18 he refused to recant his teachings, unless convinced by the testimony of Scripture, and, according to an early but unreliable tradition, by the logical evidence of reason. Charles V announced on the following day his resolve to take firm measures against Luther. In a formal statement that was read in French to the rulers he offered both a pious statement of his catholic belief and a public declaration of his future politics with regard to the reform grievances. He claimed AUTHORITY for the whole of Christianity (*corpus christianorum*), whose unity must not be destroyed by a single individual.

Luther departed from Worms on April 26. A few days later the draft of an edict against Luther and his followers, dated May 8, was introduced to the assembly in Worms by Girolamo Aleander. Because of the resistance of several German estates including Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, this draft statement did not become part of the formal recess of the Diet. Instead it was reworked by the imperial court in the direction of strengthening the authority of the emperor and claiming authority for German rulers. Charles V signed it belatedly by May 26, 1521. In it he claimed authority as the protector of the Christian faith in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and referred extensively to the history of Luther’s process. Partially the edict reformulated passages of Charles’s confession and the speech of the papal legate Aleander of February 13, 1521. The edict also noted the united forces of ecclesiastical and secular authorities as prescribed in medieval law against heretics.

Because many German estates did not accept the edict, it was executed only occasionally and did not thwart the reform in Wittenberg or electoral Saxony. On the contrary; even though it was the strongest means for the persecution of reformers in the

German Empire for the emperor and his followers, it was not successful. The estates used their resistance to reach compromises in financing the imperial administration and the war against the Turks. Charles V did not want to battle against the estates, but the unity of the Holy Roman Empire had been disrupted. Thus the elector of Saxony asked Charles V not to bother him with the edict of Worms. It seems that the emperor heeded his request. The question of religion focusing on the edict of Worms came on the agenda of future diets. The final solution came in 1555 at the diet of Augsburg and was strengthened nearly a century later by the Peace of Osnabrück in 1648.

See also Lutheranism; Reformation

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MARKUS WRIEDT

WORSHIP

Christian worship is addressed to the triune God. It is the objective articulation in ritual form of the beliefs or confession of a particular group of Christians, and it is also the subjective enactment or embodiment of the faith that is believed. The theologies of worship of the Protestant denominations show different nuances and emphases, yet most emerge from the identifiably Christian theological markers established by the ecumenical creeds. Worship practices may vary by DENOMINATION and even within a particular denomination, because theological and confessional perspectives help shape the structure, content, and style of worship, as do, to at least some extent, cultural context and local dynamics. Even from the early days of the REFORMATION, it was clear that there would be divergences in the theologies and practice of Protestant worship: the thirteenth of the Marburg Articles (1529) acknowledged that “what is called tradition or human ordinances in spiritual or ecclesiastical matters, provided they do not plainly contradict the word of God, may be freely kept or abolished in accordance with the needs of the people...” Protestants regard Scripture as the principal AUTHORITY for their worship, although a range of interpretations exist on precisely what does and does not “contradict the word of God.”

What Worship Is

In reaction to what has been perceived as the human “work” of the Catholic mass, Protestants have preferred to emphasize worship as an act of faith offered in grateful response to the generous GRACE and mercy of God. God grants the gift of FAITH by which worship is made possible; and consequences of worship include the growth and strengthening of faith as well as a deeper union with God. This dialogue in worship, discernable as a pattern of “call” and “response,” MARTIN LUTHER recognized in the German word for worship, *Gottesdienst*, which can simultaneously mean God’s service to us and our service to God. God speaks, especially in and through scripture, but also by the entire history of SALVATION. Christians then speak to God in their common language with praise, PRAYER, and sometimes, lament, by the aid of the God’s own Spirit (Romans 8:26). God is the first actor in worship, who in turn expects a reply. Worship is thus not only a conversation, but also an encounter with the living God.

By God’s grace, faith is instilled in the individual and in the assembly called the CHURCH, resulting in an outpouring of worship. Indeed, some Protestants would claim that God created human beings and the church for worship, and that worship therefore is their principal reason for existence. Humanity’s chief and highest end, says the

Westminster Shorter Catechism (1647) (see WESTMINSTER CATECHISM), is “to glorify God and to enjoy him forever.” According to JOHN CALVIN in his Commentary on Psalm 33:1, God made the church by adoption “for the express purpose that his name may be duly praised by witnesses suitable for such a work.” The “more closely and diligently” God’s people consider God’s works, remarked Calvin on Psalm 33:3, “the more will they exert themselves in his praises.” Numerous Protestant doctrinal statements and CATECHISMS over the generations have defined the church mainly in terms of worship. The AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530/1540) that would influence Lutheran congregations and other Protestant bodies identified the church as “the congregation of saints [the assembly of all believers] in which the Gospel is rightly taught [purely preached] and the SACRAMENTS rightly administered [according to the Gospel].”

Who Is Worshipped

Protestants have regarded the first and second commandments of the Decalogue (or Ten Commandments) as definitively restricting worship to God revealed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Neither worship nor invocation is to be made to angels, any other creature, or SAINTS; Christ alone is mediator and intercessor. “We love [the saints] and also honor them; yet not with any kind of worship but by an honorable opinion of them and just praises of them” (Second HELVETIC CONFESSION, 1561). Exemplary Christians who have gone on to the nearer presence of God may, however, serve as models for faith and charitable works, and in some Protestant communities, both the faithful and newcomers are explicitly invited to imitate them.

Alliance is given to the triune God through prayer formulations, by, for example, the classical and broadly Christian offering of prayer to the Father, through the Son, and in the Holy Spirit and by trinitarian doxological ascriptions (e.g., the “Gloria Patri”). Eucharistic prayers sometimes take on a trinitarian shape and content, such as those prayers produced since the mid-twentieth century that are based on fourth-century Antiochene models. However, some denominations in their worship may give emphasis to one particular person of the Godhead. Although Protestants in general recognize that “at the name of Jesus every knee should bend” (Philippians 2:10) and that worship is made “in the name of Jesus,” some independent evangelical denominations interpret that al-most Christomonistically. Other groups, notably Pentecostals (see PENTECOSTALISM) and quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF), wait on the outpouring of the Spirit as the defining feature of their worship.

Time for Worship

Like other Christians, Protestants organize their times for worship according to daily, weekly, and annual cycles. Following the instruction of the fourth commandment in the

Decalogue, Protestants have determined to “remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy.” The vast majority have observed the first day of the week (Sunday), the day of resurrection, as the Lord’s Day or Christian Sabbath and regarded it as the primary occasion for congregational worship. To varying degrees of intensity, and less so overall among more recent generations, Protestants strove to reserve this day for the Lord alone. The fifty-sixth of the Irish Articles of Religion (1615) instructed, “the Lord’s day is wholly to be dedicated unto the service of God; and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both public and private.” The Church Order of the Free Reformed Churches of North America (2003) called for assembling on the Lord’s Day for “at least” two worship services in which the Word of God is preached. Sabbatarians (see SABBATARIANISM) in different times and places have tried to enforce ecclesiastical and civic laws to preserve the sanctity of the Lord’s day, with the Puritans of England and New England (see PURITANISM) perhaps among the best known.

A handful of denominations, among them the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS, have preferred to worship on Saturday on account of their understanding Exodus 20:8 to mean that the seventh day, not the first, is the biblical Sabbath commanded by God.

Because of the biblical injunction to pray without ceasing, and because Christians believe that they ought to avail themselves of every opportunity for meeting with God and with other faithful, Protestant Christians have always advocated worship during the course of the week in the congregation, in small groups or societies, in families, and individually in private. Some Reformation churches from their origins took up portions of the Roman Catholic LITURGY of the hours in formal rites, and, after periods of decline, rediscovered the rhythm of prayer throughout the day. THOMAS CRANMER, for his BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, conflated five offices to produce the services of morning prayer (from Matins, Lauds, and Prime) and evening prayer (from Vespers and Compline) that became the standard for later revisions across the Anglican communion (see ANGLICANISM). As a result of the twentieth-century liturgical renewal, new interest in structured texts for prayer at different times of day arose in denominations with no or a weak tradition of formal daily offices. Yet even in those denominations lacking authorized ritual texts for daily prayer, morning and evening prayer was strongly encouraged, particularly in families. To aid family and private devotions, guides or models or prepared texts for prayer were published by private authors and denominational presses, even in denominations that ordinarily frowned on the use of printed prayers in corporate worship and preferred instead “spirit-led” extemporaneous or spontaneous prayer.

For many Protestants, historically and more recently, weekly corporate prayer outside of the main Sunday service has often taken the shape of an informal gathering on Sunday night or midweek. Prayer meetings may be led either by CLERGY or LAITY, and can comprise all-comers or be divided by some criteria, most often age, gender, or spiritual maturity. Evangelical Protestants in particular have found great benefit from these gatherings and from extended prayer and preaching or testimony sessions called “REVIVALS” or protracted meetings. Stories abound from the American frontier on how prayer meetings helped to both Christianize and civilize an unruly population.

With the Protestant Reformation, yearly temporal calendars for the liturgical days and seasons and sanctoral (saints’) calendars were either modified (e.g., Lutherans and

Anglicans) or expunged (e.g., Anabaptists and some Reformed). Early Lutherans kept festivals and fasts that had a christological dimension and that highlighted persons and salvation events portrayed in Scripture. The Scottish *Book of Discipline* (1560), on the other hand, forbade the observance of “papist” and unscriptural holy days, including Christmas. Such extremes in perspective have continued across Protestantism, though some denominations that previously deplored the liturgical calendar have come (sometimes with hesitation) to embrace it. Protestants, especially Reformed and “FREE CHURCH,” have been much more reticent in introducing saints’ calendars, though in the twentieth century some denominations began to do so. The UNITING CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA (a union in 1977 of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists) included in its first worship book a “Calendar of Other Commemorations” that listed ninety-five names, among them biblical figures and apostles and Christian thinkers, reformers, pioneers, and witnesses with representatives from the early church to the end of the twentieth century. Free church Protestants in some places have been more willing instead to integrate denominational or congregational observances (e.g., Bible Sunday, “blanket Sunday,” or the yearly revival) as well as civic festivals (e.g., Mothers’ Day) into an annual cycle.

Places for Worship

Protestants, it seems, have always been opportunists regarding places for worship, because of the conviction that the worship of God does not require a particular location or structure. Sixteenth-century Protestants did not immediately worry about church construction; they simply occupied already available ecclesiastical edifices or met in private buildings or homes. The CHURCH OF ENGLAND was confronted for the first time with a demand for buildings following the great fire of London in 1666 that destroyed sixty-seven parishes churches and St. Paul’s Cathedral; the architectural skills of Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN were then engaged for reconstruction. As new Protestant denominations or communities emerge, they meet in whatever space is available to them: foundries, warehouses, storefronts, boats and docks, schoolhouses, courthouses, barns, open fields, brush arbors.

Despite the view that the worship of God cannot be limited to a particular space, the physical configuration of the place for worship is extremely important and directly shapes and gives meaning to what occurs there. Typically as a denomination becomes more established, it seeks a more “churchly” venue (however defined) set apart for its worship. A group’s theology of worship plays a direct role in the configuration of a worship space: a simple meeting house and an ornate, high-ceilinged Gothic structure convey different perspectives on the human encounter with the divine. Popular architectural trends in the wider society also impact the construction of Protestant places of worship, positively and negatively. CHURCH ARCHITECTURE thus signals a definition of worship as well as a group’s self-understanding within the wider culture, including its economic viability. Changes in theology of worship or self-perception may create conflicts with an already existing space and may require renovation of the premises or a completely new building.

For example, the spatial location of reading desk (ambo or pulpit), altar table, and baptistery or baptismal font in relationship to each other and to the gathered congregation has changed as perspectives on worship have changed, leading sometimes to a reconfiguration of the space.

Because of the emphasis on the word of God and PREACHING, across Protestantism the reading desk has usually been given a central location within the space. The reading of the BIBLE and its exposition may occur at a single furnishing, or the two actions may be carried out at separate desks identified as pulpit (for preaching) and lectern (for scripture reading and other liturgical readings). The altar table (see ALTARS) carries the double meaning of a place of sacrifice (*altaria*) and place of fellowship (*mensa*); Protestants have differed on which meaning is to receive the most emphasis. The sacrament of the LORD'S SUPPER is celebrated at the altar table, which may be located centrally near the congregation or placed at the far end (historically the east end) of the space. The size and location of the baptistery or baptismal font depend on the theological interpretation given to BAPTISM and on the mode of baptism that is preferred. Those denominations that build an indoor facility for immersion or submersion baptism have pools long and deep enough to accommodate an adult. These pools may be located at one end of the building or, as in the case of some English Baptist structures, in the floor near or underneath the pulpit (and covered with boards when not in use). Late twentieth-century experiments with baptisteries often located them on a sight line with the reading desk and altar table, sometimes offset at the side or at the entrance to the worship space as a sign of entry into the community of faith.

The placement of the congregation in the space identifies a denomination's understanding of the role of the people in worship. Protestant buildings usually have been configured either as a single room for laity and clergy or as a divided room in which the people and the worship leaders (clergy and choir) are separated by a high barrier (e.g., the rood screen in Gothic and Gothic revival churches) or low barrier. The people may be seated in chairs, pews, or even enclosed box pews. Some denominations have a history of pew rentals by which persons paid for the privilege of sitting in a specified location, thereby generating income for church coffers. Seating may be arranged to allow the people to see one another, but more typically Protestant congregations have sat so that the eyes are directed toward the reading desk and the altar table. When choirs and musical instruments are used to assist congregational singing, their location in the space most often has been the result of visual and acoustic considerations.

Other furnishings may be used depending on the denomination and the particular congregation. In general, Protestant worship spaces have included at least one cross, more typically the bare cross rather than a crucifix. Candles may be found in communities where they are not deemed "too Catholic." Among the more well-to-do, stained glass windows may be present; the latter provide a device for teaching as well as a memorial to the faithful dead. The tablets of the law (Ten Commandments) may be posted on one wall as a reminder of the necessity of Christian obedience to God. An altar rail may surround the altar table, and it has been the preferred place of evangelicals for prayer, repentance or confession, and recommitment (see EVANGELICALISM).

Components of Protestant Worship

Protestants have disagreed on what are essentials in Christian worship and what rites or ceremonies fall into the category of ADIAPHORA or “things indifferent.” The Formula of Concord (1577) was adopted as a means of resolving the Lutheran adiaphoristic controversy of 1548, and concluded in the tenth article that while churches have the right to change ceremonies for the sake of edification, taking care not to offend persons or jeopardize the consciences of the weak in faith, yet “in times of persecution, when a clear and steadfast confession is required of us, we ought not to yield to the enemies of the Gospel in things indifferent.” While Lutherans were more willing to permit in worship those things both commanded and not explicitly forbidden by God in Holy Scripture, the Reformed sought to conform their worship more fully to that alone which God had provided. John Calvin, in his *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION* (IV.x.30), noted that

because God did not will in outward discipline and ceremonies to prescribe in detail what we ought to do (because he foresaw that this depended upon the state of the times, and he did not deem one form suitable for all ages), here we must take refuge in those general rules which he has given, that whatever the necessity of the church will require for order and decorum should be tested against these.

Two of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES approved by the CHURCH OF ENGLAND in 1562 appear to show that church’s attempt to strike a middle ground on this issue; the Twentieth Article on the church’s authority states that the church has the power to decree rites and ceremonies that are not “contrary to God’s Word written,” and the Thirty-fourth Article concedes that because traditions and ceremonies “may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men’s manners, so that nothing be ordained against God’s Word” and “every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man’s authority, so that all things be done to edifying.”

Echoing the WESTMINSTER CONFSSION of Faith (1646), the 1689 London Baptist Confession recorded, “the reading of the Scriptures, preaching, and hearing the Word of God, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in our hearts to the Lord; as also the administration of baptism, and the Lord’s supper, are all parts of religious worship of God, to be performed in obedience to him, with understanding, faith, reverence, and godly fear.” Despite the various avenues that Protestants might take to determine what is essential to worship, in practice most Protestant services will invariably include those components named in the Baptist Confession, although prayer should be added and the sacraments may not be a standard feature.

Because *sola scriptura* was the watchword of the Reformation and remained a key Protestant concept, it is not surprising that the reading of scripture has been a key component of Protestant services of worship. However, different theological understandings of Scripture’s function may be operative: emphasis may be on “hearing”

God's word, on the "readings" for catechesis or thoughtful reflection, or on the "text" for the sermon. The amount of Scripture read in a single service differs widely. At one end of the spectrum, selections from the Old Testament, Book of Psalms, Epistles, and Gospels all may be set forth, sometimes in accordance with the design of an established lectionary (in one-, two-, or three-year cycles) that links the readings thematically, usually based on the Gospel. Rather than a lectionary, continuous readings from beginning to end throughout a book, letter, or Gospel may be used (*lectio continua*). At the other end of the spectrum, some communities read a single verse preceding the sermon, most often from the Gospels; others have no separate reading, but interweave direct quotations from Scripture throughout the preaching.

In *Concerning the Order of Public Worship* (1523?), Luther claimed that the worst abuse of the medieval church was that "God's Word has been silenced," with the result that "faith disappeared." The remedy, he maintained, was that a "Christian congregation should never gather together without the preaching of God's Word and prayer." With a few exceptions, Luther's medicine has been duly applied; preaching is a staple of Protestant liturgical practice and is certainly present in the principal weekly service, although it may not appear at prayer services. The history of Protestant preaching chronicles developments in theological interpretations of the role of the sermon and the preacher, changes in biblical exegesis and hermeneutics, and trends in rhetoric and elocution. Who may preach has been a subject for debate across the years. In some evangelical groups during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women were given the opportunity to preach in public; some, however, were permitted only to exhort, to give testimony, but not to "take a (Scripture) text." Women came to have a more prominent role in preaching, although in some denominations their opportunities for public speaking (and leadership) remain more circumscribed.

The reading of Scripture and the preaching there-upon are understood to be an ordinary means by which God communicates with the community of faith and offers salvation. How is God's Word effectual? According to the one hundred fifty-fifth question of the Westminster Larger Catechism (1648), the

Spirit of God makes the reading, but especially the preaching of the Word, an effectual means of enlightening, convincing, and humbling sinners; of driving them out of themselves, and drawing them unto Christ; of conforming them to his image, and subduing them to his will; of strengthening them against temptations and corruptions; of building them up in grace, and establishing their hearts in holiness and comfort through faith unto salvation.

Although prayer has been indisputably present in services, there have been disagreements within the Protestant family about whether prayers can be scripted in advance or should be left to the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Even the Lord's Prayer, regarded as the "perfect" prayer dictated by the Lord himself and quoted regularly in services of worship, is seen by some denominations as too formulaic and hence inappropriate for recitation, although it may serve as a model for prayer. One of the reasons that the English Puritans challenged the "scriptural" quality of the *Book of Common Prayer* from 1549 onward was that the printed prayers were deemed to lack a "spiritual" quality, they

were “read” rather than “prayed,” and they did not reflect the changing circumstances of local congregations. In answer to Puritan objections, JOHN WESLEY’S revision of the 1662 Prayer Book (*The Sunday Service of the Methodists*, 1784) allowed for both written prayers and extemporary prayer. Many Protestants before and after Wesley have embraced both these approaches to prayer.

The prayers used in a given service of worship may be of different types and may be organized in a particular sequence congruent with the desired theological and liturgical shape of the service. Prayers of adoration focus on the qualities and majesty of the triune God. Prayers of CONFESSION acknowledge the sinfulness of the one (personal confession) or ones (general confession) praying. Examples of prayers of confession abound in Scripture, and Psalm 51 often finds a place in worship as a confession, particularly during the season of Lent. Prayers of petition ask God for something that is desired. Of petitions, supplications are requests for one’s self, and intercessions are for others. Corporate and personal expressions of gratitude for God’s goodness are framed in prayers of thanksgiving. All of these types may be found in a single service and even in a single “long” prayer.

Following the scriptural injunction that Christians are to sing psalms, HYMNS, and spiritual songs (Ephesians 5:19; Colossians 3:16), Protestants from the time of the Reformation almost uniformly have been avid supporters of congregational singing. There has not been consensus, however, on whether harmonized singing is permissible, whether choirs may also be used in corporate worship, and whether singing may be bolstered by the accompaniment of musical instruments (and if such is possible, there is a range of opinion on which instruments may be used). Differences are also evident in regard to what may be sung in worship: most narrowly, only that which God has provided, namely, psalms and scriptural canticles set to old and new melodies associated exclusively with the church, or, most broadly, texts from Scripture and even of “human composure” sung to secular or popular tunes. Such variation in opinion and performance existed in the sixteenth century and continued into the twenty-first. Typically a Protestant service of worship includes multiple opportunities for a congregation to offer praise and proclamation in song. British Methodists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries structured their Sunday service, dubbed a “hymn sandwich,” around five congregational hymns considered normative components for their worship.

Most Protestants celebrate baptism and the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion out of the conviction that the Lord himself established these as sacraments or ordinances. Baptism may take place in the congregation’s usual location for worship if there are appropriate facilities present for the mode or method desired, and occurs as need requires. The Lord’s Supper may be a regular component of a congregation’s weekly service, or it may be offered less frequently according to denominational or local custom. In a unique configuration, the DISCIPLES OF CHRIST (Christian Church) from their founding have practiced believer baptism by immersion and served Holy Communion each Sunday, sometimes administered by a lay leader of the congregation. A minority of Protestants at times in their histories, among them certain BAPTISTS, BRETHREN, MENNONITES, Moravians (see MORAVIAN CHURCH), and Pentecostals, have given foot-washing (see FEET, WASHING OF) a status of ordinance or sacrament.

The giving of alms for the poor and the collection of monetary offerings for the upkeep of the congregation’s building and ministries found a place in many Protestant

services of worship as an ethical expression of service to God and as a practical opportunity. The action could be subtle, as with the private placement of monies in a box or vessel, or it might be dramatic and public, such as the passing of a receptacle from person to person or the procession or dance of individuals and their gifts (as in some African-American congregations) to a place where they are received.

Services of Worship

The components of worship may be shaped in myriad of ways depending on the operative theological, liturgical, evangelical, and cultural factors. Fear of formality may prompt a more spontaneous sequence of actions, although over time these may take on a stable or familiar pattern. Some denominations have sought to find an order for worship delineated within Scripture itself; Isaiah's vision in the temple (Isaiah 6) has sometimes been given as warrant for a sequence of adoration and praise, confession and pardon, the hearing of God's word, and commitment to discipleship. Others have recognized a primitive paradigm in the narrative of the Emmaus encounter (Luke 24:13–35) for the unity of word ("he interpreted to them the things about himself in all the scriptures") and sacrament ("how he had been made known to them in the breaking of the bread") and have striven for a weekly practice of preaching and communion. Orders of service and standard texts may be codified in a denomination's liturgical resource to which church law requires adherence to greater or lesser degrees, or a pastor and congregation may be free to develop a service according to local needs.

Certain occasions for worship may necessitate some variation in the standard or familiar pattern of worship. Formal and informal services (or rubrics in a worship directory) for life-cycle events may address the circumstances of infertility and stillbirth, birth and adoption, adolescence and maturity, MARRIAGE, sickness, advancing age and infirmity, and DEATH. Other events may call for special services, such as the laying of a cornerstone for a building or the installation of a new pastor.

Theological, philosophical, and ideological trends may impinge on the shape and content of worship among those groups bound up with or sensitive to the climate of the wider culture. LUTHERANISM in Europe and elsewhere during the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, for example, experienced shifts as a consequence of the successive influences of rationalism, PIETISM, revivalism, and ROMANTICISM. Not only was the substance of worship affected, but the design of the space in which worship was held was also affected. In the twentieth century, ecumenical and liturgical movements helped to widen the theological and liturgical dialogue among Protestants, but beyond that to Catholics (see CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANT REACTIONS) and Orthodox (see ORTHODOXY, EASTERN). Shared conversations and the recognition of common resources in historic and scriptural materials resulted in striking similarities within the liturgical texts of some Protestants that also showed affinities with Catholic texts produced after Vatican II.

Advances in technology impact worship as well. Protestantism from the outset reaped the benefits of moveable type, and over the years has been willing to adopt new

innovations for use with worship (e.g., electric lighting, mimeograph printing on site, and multimedia equipment) while at the same time recognizing the capacity of such inventions to distract or deter persons from worship attendance. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, numerous Protestant groups experimented with electronic and Internet communications as a means of EVANGELISM to the unconverted and spiritually uniformed but technologically literate. Such methods kept the historic Protestant emphasis on faithfully proclaiming the word of God while considering the needs of the people.

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KAREN WESTERFIELD-TUCKER

WREN, CHRISTOPHER (1632–1723)

Architect. Wren was born into a prominent clerical family on October 20, 1632. His father, Christopher Sr., was rector of the parish of East Knoyle, Wiltshire, and later dean of Windsor and registrar of the Order of the Garter. His uncle Matthew also held significant positions, serving ultimately as bishop of Ely. The whole family had close contact with the court of Charles I (these Royalist, High Church associations remained with Wren, although he personally never suffered much because of them). Wren received his Bachelors degree from CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY in 1650. Three years later he earned his Masters and was made a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

As a scholar Wren was interested in all facets of mathematics and science, and turned that fascination into practical results. He translated mathematical texts into Latin. He was a pioneer in anesthetics, blood transfusion, and intravenous injections. He devised a language for the deaf and mute using hands and fingers. He invented a device for writing with two pens at once, as well as a “way-wiser” (an early precursor to the odometer). He was fascinated by the heavens, puzzling over the problem posed by Saturn’s rings. He constructed a “Lunar Sphere” for Charles II, showing the surface of the moon in relief. This work in astronomy resulted in Wren’s appointment as professor of astronomy at Gresham College in 1657, and, three years later, as the Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. During these years Wren and many of his friends (including astronomer Seth Ward and scientist ROBERT BOYLE) formed the “Philosophical Society of Oxford,” which in 1661 received its charter from the king as the Royal Society.

These years also saw Wren’s interests extend to the theoretical and geometric bases of architecture, including its classical roots, of which there were few examples in England; thus in 1665 Wren went to Paris, where he met with Gian Lorenzo Bernini and, possibly, François Mansart. It was in Europe that Wren was introduced to the dome, of which there were no examples in England. Shortly after his return to England, however, came the event that possibly “made” Wren as England’s preeminent architect: the Great London Fire of September 1666. The five-day conflagration destroyed the Royal Exchange and the Guild Hall, eighty-seven churches (including St. Paul’s Cathedral), and 13,000 private houses; little was left except the Tower of London. Wren quickly produced a brilliant plan for rebuilding the city. The design allowed for twenty-four parish churches, each to be conspicuous, many on major thoroughfares. He clearly wanted to restore the spiritual life of a destroyed London, as well as meet the material needs of the people. Although the king favored the proposal, the City Corporation needed a quick restoration and rejected the plan as too time-consuming. Wren, however, was soon appointed Surveyor of the King’s Works (1669) and was given the task of rebuilding the city’s churches, including St. Paul’s Cathedral.

St. Paul’s (completed in 1708) was Wren’s architectural masterpiece. The building process was not without controversy because the final product did not exactly match any of the original plans or models. “Deception,” as some contemporaries charged, also

describes some of the cathedral's most important architectural features—and Wren's most significant achievements. From the exterior, for example, the viewer is deceived into assuming that the massive walls remain vertical without the help of flying buttresses; in fact, the upper portions of the exterior walls are false, hiding the buttresses. The dome, visible for miles, appears effortlessly to support the great stone lantern at the top—it too is a deception. Within the outer thin shell is a brick cone, situated over an internal dome (visible from within the cathedral); it is the brick cone that supports the lantern.

Although St. Paul's somewhat represented Wren's thinking about a different architecture required by the CHURCH OF ENGLAND'S BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, the other fifty-two churches of rebuilt London are better examples of Wren's response to this relatively recent religious sensibility. Before the REFORMATION, worship was characterized by active participation of the CLERGY and passive participation of the LAITY; its focus was on the ALTAR. Reformed worship, on the other hand, was centered on the pulpit. *Prayer Book* worship was different still, requiring both active lay and clergy participation, and with dual foci: altar and pulpit.

What were Wren's architectural ideals? Because worshippers were expected to pay attention to the service, ensuring that everyone could both see and hear became paramount. The congregation was expected to have in hand the *Prayer Book*; light was necessary for its reading, so windows and lanterns were abundant. Ideally no one should be more than fifty feet away from the preacher; benches should replace pews if possible; pulpits should be elevated; screens, if used at all, should be very open; optimal sizes of congregations would be small (St. Paul's, as a cathedral, necessarily was an anomaly). There would be no liturgical "center." The resulting "auditoriums" that Wren designed conformed to two basic types, depending on the available site (oblong buildings with nave and aisles, and squarish buildings arrayed variously); beyond that, there was little structural consistency. Most of the churches were relatively small. Indeed, many were identifiable as churches only by their carefully designed spires (the walls, on the contrary, were mostly continuous masonry, not much divided by piers or columns). Those churches that have survived wars and reconstruction remain, therefore, a lasting legacy to Wren's brilliant solutions to both the constraints of site and the demands of Church of England liturgy.

Sir Christopher Wren was knighted in 1673 and died in London on February 25, 1723. He is buried in St. Paul's, where his epitaph reads (in Latin): "Reader, if you seek his monument, look around."

See also Architecture, Church

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GARY R.BROWER

WU, Y.T. (WU YAO-TSUNG, WU YAOZONG) (1893–1979)

Chinese pastor. Born in Guangzhou (Canton) CHINA in 1893 to a non-Christian family, Wu became a Christian through his reading of the Sermon on the Mount and was baptized in Beijing in 1920. He left his lucrative job in the customs service and joined the work of the YMCA (see YMCA, YWCA). Subsequently, Wu studied at New York's Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University, where he received an M.A. degree in 1927. Upon his return to China he was active in the YMCA movement in China and internationally.

Wu gradually abandoned the PACIFISM of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and became increasingly committed to progressive and patriotic causes. In 1947 he wrote "The Present Day Tragedy of Christianity in China," an essay that foreshadowed LIBERATION THEOLOGY in its social and political critique of Christianity for its identification with capitalism and imperialism. Y.T.Wu began to advocate the support of Christians for the Chinese revolution and was the principal author of the 1950 "Christian Manifesto," which called on the Protestant churches to sever their links with Western imperialism.

Wu was the leading spirit behind the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) from its formative period in 1950. In 1954 he became the Chairman of the TSPM Committee at the First Chinese National Christian Conference and remained in the movement until his death, after the end of China's Cultural Revolution era. He died in Shanghai in 1979.

Through the power of his personality, his commitment to Christian social involvement, and his writings, Y.T.Wu inspired the men and women who were to become the core leadership of the TSPM for the next fifty years. However, he remained a controversial figure in the churches because of his unwavering support for the program of the Communist Party in China. Y.T.Wu leaves an important legacy for Christianity in China, but a thorough evaluation of his life and thought has yet to be written.

See also Asian Theology; Colonialism; Communism; Post-colonialism

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PHILIP L. WICKERI

WÜNSCH, GEORG (1887–1964)

German ethicist. Wunsch was one of the first theologians of social ethics in GERMANY. From 1931 to 1945 and then from 1950 to 1955, he held the professorial chair of social ethics at Philipps University, Marburg, the first ever position in social ethics at a department of evangelical theology in Germany.

ERNST TROELTSCH and Johannes Weiß were decisive influences on Wunsch's later interest in social-ethical questions. Troeltsch focused his understanding of theology's relationship to (social) reality; Weiß and the history of religion school provided Wunsch with the principle of an eschatological hope transcending all reality that Wunsch adopted for the cause of radical change.

Beginning in 1912 Wunsch served as a Protestant minister in Baden, Germany. He understood THEOLOGY as the task of shaping the world out of a sense of ethical responsibility, and he was an advocate of unqualified support for the marginalized and weak members of society. After World War I he joined the religious socialists, gave up his position as pastor in 1921, and soon thereafter received his doctorate from the University of Marburg. In 1931 the faculty of theology at Marburg elected him to the newly created position of professor of social ethics. By the time he published *Evangelische Wirtschaftsethik (Protestant Economic Ethics)* in 1927 he had already written a significant body of work on ETHICS and values.

Although a social democrat, Wunsch fell in with the National Socialists with astonishing speed. Not without some opportunism, he began to combine socialist ideas of community taken from both left-wing and right-wing ideologies. In 1936 he published *Evangelische Ethik des Politischen (The Protestant Ethic of the Political)*, a work filled with national socialist content that led to the temporary loss of his university position after the war.

Wunsch is credited with establishing social ethics as a special discipline within theology. The question remains whether one can trace his entanglement in National Socialism to his theological ideas or whether his involvement was a result of individual error. However, the fact of his association with National Socialism did limit the impact of his work.

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JOCHEN-CHRISTOPH KAISER

WWJD

WWJD—the acronym for “What Would Jesus Do?”—gained prominence after an evangelical youth group adopted it as a slogan in the 1990s. However, the underlying question predates the creation of the acronym by nearly 100 years, having been popularized in the late nineteenth century by the pastor and novelist CHARLES M.SHELDON.

Sheldon (1857–1946) was born in Wellsville, New York into the family of a respected Congregationalist minister (see CONGREGATIONALISM). After completing his education at Boston University and Andover Newton Seminary, he became a Congregationalist minister in Topeka, Kansas. Sheldon’s brief novel, *In His Steps*, was written in 1896 and is most remembered for its provocative ethical question: “What would Jesus do?” In Sheldon’s novel, as in his activist life, Jesus was assumed to promote the social causes of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century progressive Christianity. Sheldon was active in the TEMPERANCE movement, antiwar campaigns, child labor issues, and struggles against racism and poverty. In spite of the novel’s tremendous sales, Sheldon retained no legal rights to royalties from the book’s sale because of a copyright error. (When a few publishers voluntarily paid Sheldon royalties, he donated the money to charity.) Ironically, publishers’ wide-scale pirating of the book promoted both the book’s sales and Sheldon’s literary reputation.

Sheldon published over twenty books and edited a periodical, *The Christian Herald*, but only *In His Steps* (which sold 23 million copies in his lifetime) enjoined soaring popularity during his lifetime and in subsequent generations. After his death Sheldon’s novel was “rediscovered” in 1950 when Glenn Clark published a volume on a new generation’s discovery of *In His Steps*. Such rediscoveries occurred regularly throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. The most important rediscovery of Sheldon’s novel occurred in the early 1990s and coincided with two other events in popular CULTURE: the emergence of the World Wide Web and the popular advertising slogan “Just do it.”

A youth group at Calvary Reformed Church in Holland, Michigan read Sheldon’s novel and created the acronym WWJD as a countercultural Christian alternative to the secular advertising slogan “Just do it.” The youth group began producing and distributing cloth bracelets emboldened with the WWJD acronym. The bracelets were popularized through several Web sites (by 1999 over 50,000 Web sites were offering WWJD merchandise and promoting related discussions). Zondervan Publishing, an evangelical publisher in central Michigan, began promoting and extending the WWJD phenomenon with a full line of complementary products, including a study BIBLE, devotional and inspirational books, T-shirts, board games, SUNDAY SCHOOL curricula, calendars, and jewelry. By 1999 over 14 million WWJD bracelets had sold.

The evangelical WWJD movement has deemphasized the socially progressive Christian agenda promoted by Sheldon and thus incurred criticism from some non-Evangelicals for usurping Sheldon's theological agenda.

See also Evangelicalism

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WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS

Founded in 1934 by William Cameron Townsend, the Wycliffe Bible Translators (WBT), with approximately 6,000 members worldwide, is now the largest nondenominational Protestant missionary organization in the world. The WBT originated with the vision of Cameron Townsend to undertake indigenous language ministry in all the Indian tribes of LATIN AMERICA. Today the WBT is an organization of linguists dedicated to translating the Scriptures into every language of the world. The WBT and its field organization, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), have completed the translation of the New Testament into almost 500 languages with linguists working in 1,100 others. The WBT was founded as a “faith mission” that, in the twentieth century, overtook denominational boards as evangelical missions of choice. Townsend’s new approaches, including indigenous language ministry, linguistic education for missionaries, contracts with host countries, and the use of airplanes in jungle travel, dramatically altered the faith mission enterprise.

Townsend in Guatemala

In 1917, bored with college and inspired by his membership in the Student Volunteer Movement, Townsend went to Guatemala as an itinerant evangelist for the Bible House of Los Angeles. Townsend spent the next fifteen years in Guatemala, first with the Bible House, but primarily with the Central American Mission (CAM). Townsend’s traveling companion during his year as a colporteur was Francisco Díaz, a Cakchiquel Indian. Díaz convinced Townsend that the Indians of Central America had been overlooked by American missions, which carried on their work in Spanish, a language little understood by the Indian tribes that made up the majority of the region’s population. When Townsend joined the CAM, he determined to focus his work on Díaz’s tribe. He created a Cakchiquel department within the CAM complete with schools for Indian children, conducted his ministry in the Indian language, and translated the New Testament into Cakchiquel. At every point he fought established mission policy that, along with current governmental policies, sought to incorporate the Indians into the broader political life of the republic by teaching them only in Spanish.

The Founding of the Summer Institute of Linguistics

Eager to pioneer where no other missionary had gone before, Townsend soon turned his attention to the small Indian tribes deep in the jungles of Amazonia. He envisioned an “Air Crusade to the Wild Tribes” in which “hydroplanes” would fly missionaries to isolated tribes. When the CAM would not support his scheme, he left, intending to devote himself to his “Air Crusade.” His project, however, also required missionaries trained in linguistics who could create written languages where none existed and then translate the Scripture. To meet this need he opened the first “Camp Wycliffe” in 1934. From a rather crude beginning Townsend’s summer linguistic training camp, along with a “Jungle Camp” that provided experience in rugged frontier living, helped to revolutionize evangelical missionary training. Before the creation of Townsend’s school, missionaries entered faith missions with little more than a high school education and a year or two of Bible school. Townsend, however, sent his best students to earn advanced degrees in linguistics. As they returned to teach at what became known as the SIL, they demanded more from the new recruits. Today it often requires several years beyond college for recruits to complete the rigorous training provided by SIL. Where once typical WBT recruits were fervent young missionaries who chose a linguistic focus to win converts, typical WBT recruits are now well-educated linguists who choose missionary work as an avenue for uniting their career goals with their sense of Christian calling.

The Summer Institute in Mexico

Townsend was initially deterred from his goal of an “Air Crusade” to Amazonia by the suggestion of Leonard Legters, a barnstorming preacher and crusader for Indian causes, that the Indian tribes in MEXICO were both larger and easier to reach. In 1935 Townsend took his first group of SIL translators to Mexico. (The WBT was not actually incorporated until 1942, when the SIL had grown so large that the missionaries needed an organization in the UNITED STATES to manage their home affairs.) There Townsend forged a close friendship with Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas who, despite his own government’s antireligious agenda, permitted Townsend to bring in as many workers as he could recruit. Townsend’s experience with Cárdenas, as well as WBT’s status as an academic missionary organization, led to the mission’s unique approach to government relations, whereby WBT/SIL seeks to operate under a contract with the host country. SIL provides the host country with linguistic analysis of the languages of indigenous groups, and in turn is permitted to use its knowledge to translate the Scriptures into those languages.

To Peru and Beyond

In 1943 the Peruvian government asked the WBT to undertake linguistic work with its indigenous groups. In Peru Townsend finally realized his vision of an “Air Crusade” when he founded the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service (JAARS) in 1948. The use of airplanes bypassed weeks of hard travel through the jungle and, together with radios, made the daily life of missionaries much safer.

From Peru WBT entered Guatemala in 1952; Ecuador and the PHILIPPINES in 1953; Bolivia in 1955; then Colombia, BRAZIL, and INDONESIA in rapid succession. By the end of the twentieth century, WBT linguists operated in virtually every country of the world. In addition to attracting many members from developed countries outside the United States, the movement has spawned indigenous Bible translation organizations. In some countries WBT linguists operate only as consultants to national Bible translators.

Controversy

As a very high-profile Protestant mission in the twentieth century, the WBT has often been a lightning rod for criticism. In addition to battles with anthropologists over approaches to indigenous cultures, the mission’s access to and perceived influence over isolated tribal groups has led to accusations that the mission is in league with American business interests or government organizations, such as oil companies or the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The organization has rejected these accusations, and no direct evidence of such complicity has come to light. Townsend, at least, supported Mexican national interests against those of the United States during the Cárdenas administration (Townsend was investigated by the FBI because of his loyalty to Cárdenas), and throughout his life insisted that the U.S. government and business not interfere in Latin American affairs.

In addition the mission has often been accused of deceiving governments about its true intent, posing as a scientific organization rather than a missionary one. The use of two names for what is essentially one organization, and government contracts that call obliquely for the translation of “works of high moral content” have tended to support this suggestion of duplicity. There is some truth to this charge, in that before the SIL became a groundbreaking academic training organization, many WBT recruits could only marginally be called linguists. The accusation, however, assumes the ignorance of host governments, most of which investigated the WBT before extending their invitations and knew that SIL linguists entered their countries with missionary intent. The governments themselves, which, especially in Latin American countries, were often beholden to the Catholic Church, tried to slip SIL in “under Catholic radar.” Ironically in the 1970s and 1980s, when several WBT contracts were severely contested by academics and nationalist groups, it was at times the Catholic Church, which over the years had grown to appreciate SIL’s linguistic help as well as passage to its own mission stations on JAARS airplanes, that worked behind the scenes to preserve SIL’s status.

See also Bible Translation; Missionary Organizations; Missions, North American

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Y

YMCA, YWCA

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) both began in London and quickly spread internationally, both reaching their largest membership numbers in the UNITED STATES. George Williams founded the YMCA in London in 1844 as a prayer group for young men new to the city. Likewise, the YWCA resulted from the union of two London-based women's organizations, both devoted to encouraging evangelical Protestant virtues. Although the YMCA and YWCA have continued to consider their official missions to be based on Christian principles, their specific connection to Christian churches have lessened as they opened their doors to members of all religious traditions and encouraged interfaith dialogue. The missions of the YMCA and YWCA have expanded over time to include issues of human justice, racial relations, HIGHER EDUCATION, physical fitness, and war relief.

Beginnings of the YMCA

The YMCA was founded in London in 1844 by George Williams, the son of a farmer, and eleven of his friends. Williams and his friends wanted the organization to serve men who were new to the city, by helping them to feel God's GRACE. The founders of the association were evangelical Protestant and early activities included PRAYER and study of the BIBLE. To join the YMCA young men had to either belong to a Christian church or show evidence of being converted to Christianity.

Other YMCAs were quickly established throughout ENGLAND with the aim of protecting respectable young men from the vices of the city, and the movement soon began to spread internationally. By 1850 the movement had reached AUSTRALIA. In Paris in 1855 all of the national associations combined to form the World Alliance. Their headquarters are now located in Geneva, SWITZERLAND. Five thousand associations were established in twenty-four countries by 1905.

In 1851 at the World's Fair in London, Americans were first exposed to the YMCA, and the first North American club was founded in Montreal later that year. On December 29, 1851 sea captain and missionary Thomas Valentine Sullivan introduced the YMCA to the United States, forming the first U.S. YMCA in Boston at the Old South Church. By 1852 there were organizations in New York; Washington, D.C.; Buffalo; Detroit; and Springfield, Massachusetts. At these YMCAs activities included prayer meetings, Bible class, and lectures. In addition the YMCAs often provided libraries and reading rooms for their members.

As early as 1856, student YMCAs were organized at universities in Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin. By 1900 there were 628 student YMCAs that served 32,000

students. In addition the YMCA founded colleges and schools throughout the United States, and by 1950 there were twenty YMCA colleges in Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, and other cities (see CHRISTIAN COLLEGES). For instance, Golden Gate University began in 1881 as a night school operating out of the San Francisco YMCA, and Northeastern University grew out of a series of informal law courses offered by the Boston YMCA in 1897. After World War II most of the colleges founded by the YMCA became freestanding institutions, but two universities—Springfield (Massachusetts) College and Aurora (Illinois) University—have retained their affiliation.

When the national YMCA in the United States convened in 1869 in Portland, Maine, the delegates adopted the Portland Basis/Test to establish the requirements for membership. At this time membership was extended only to members of evangelical Christian churches. Although this move upset people who felt that it was too exclusionary, it did signal that the YMCA would not attempt to establish a separate Christian church. Although the policy was not always followed by individual YMCAs, it was not officially changed until 1933, when individual YMCAs were given the freedom to open their membership as they saw fit.

Beginnings of the YWCA

The YWCA resulted from the merging of two Christian organizations in London. These organizations, both founded in 1855, were the Prayer Union, founded by Emma Roberts, and the General Female Training Institute, founded by Mary Jane Kinnaird. In 1877 Roberts and Kinnaird met over tea and combined their organizations to establish the YWCA. From the beginning, they emphasized practical social action as an outgrowth of religious belief. In 1884 the organization adopted its first constitution.

In the United States the YWCA was also a result of various movements that eventually combined under one name. The religious REVIVALS in the eastern United States in 1857–1858 helped to pave the way for these women's organizations. Women in big cities recognized the need for safe housing for single young women and by 1860 residences were set up in New York and Boston. These young women, new to the city or without family ties, often turned to churches for help, and these Christian residences were a natural solution.

In 1866 thirty women met in Boston to write the constitution for their new organization, which they called the YWCA. This group was concerned not just with women's housing, but also with job training and physical recreation. In the 1870s a YWCA in New York established the first typewriting instruction for women, the first sewing machine classes, and the first employment bureau for women. In response to the growth of student YMCAs, a student YWCA was established at Normal University in Normal, Illinois in 1873.

The YWCA encountered some problems that parallel YMCAs did not. In particular, many people were reluctant to donate money to the YWCA because they doubted the organizational skills of women. However, the YWCAs succeeded, in part because of the strong conviction by many of these women that Christian women were obligated to help

others, including in their spiritual development. The YWCA acted as an outlet for women to help other women and provide whatever service was needed in the community. Part of the particularly Christian motivation of the YWCA was to win souls for Christ, but the members saw the YWCA as the “handmaiden” of the church, not as an organization directly tied to the church.

YWCA's were growing throughout the world, not just in England and the United States: 1894 saw the formation of the World YWCA. Recognizing their commonalities, the YWCA's of England, the United States, SWEDEN, and NORWAY organized in London. Their headquarters were later located in Geneva, Switzerland.

Finally, in 1906, the various local branches and student branches in the United States combined to create a national YWCA. At this time the YWCA had 186,000 members, 22 percent of whom were students. Their first president was Grace Dodge, who was also one of the founders of the Columbia Teacher's College and a member of the Women's Labor Council. The organization established a national board and hired a staff. The first executive director—then called “secretary”—was Mabel Cratty.

Urban Culture and Physical Development

From their beginnings, the YMCA and YWCA were envisioned as urban organizations, designed for the benefit of young men and young women who felt lost in the city. The industrial revolution drove people from their farms and small towns into the cities to work in factories. This transition could often be very difficult, and the YMCA and YWCA were developed to help ease this change, both by providing valuable services, such as housing and job placement, and by providing a Christian community where young adults could feel at home.

From the 1860s YMCAs in the United States offered hotel-like rooms as housing opportunities for young men who were new to the cities, until they could find more permanent housing. Chicago's Far-well Hall—the first YMCA dormitory—was erected in 1867 with forty-two rooms, although it burned down three months later. From the early twentieth century until the late 1950s dormitory rooms were designed into every YMCA building. Emergency dormitories for the unemployed and homeless were also an occasional feature of YMCAs. By 1940 YMCAs offered more rooms than any hotel chain of the era, at 100,000 rooms.

Scholars have suggested that the same conditions that provided security against corruption for young Christian men new to the city—especially the anonymity and personal freedom—also allowed for the flourishing of an underground gay culture there. The all-male culture of YMCA residences was a place of fertile sexual experimentation from the 1980s onward. Although the YMCA's establishment as a “home away from home” was meant at least in part to protect young men from sexual immorality and encourage self-restraint and celibacy, what actually occurred in the YMCAs was at odds with that vision. Gay cruising at public places was often subject to police surveillance, but at the YMCA such regulation was relatively rare. The YMCAs may have been safe from police raid because of the public perception that such activities could not occur at a

Christian institution, especially once the YMCAs expanded to suburbs and became known as catering to families. Although the YMCAs were known throughout the gay male community as an ideal place to cruise, not all of the men who participated in sexual activities at the YMCA identified as homosexual or associated themselves with gay community institutions.

In addition to their concern about the spiritual wellbeing of young men and women, middle-class Protestants also worried about the physical health and development of these young Christians in cities. Whereas working on farms had provided physical exercise for these young workers, their new jobs and long hours in factories prevented this exercise. By 1869 YMCA buildings with gymnasiums had opened in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and New York. Robert J. Roberts of the Boston YMCA developed “body building” classes in 1881. By the 1890s physical fitness had been officially established as an essential component in YMCA work. This association between the YMCA and physical fitness was a response to contemporary debates over the relative benefits of “brain work” versus physical exercise. Whereas some physicians prescribed relaxation therapy to cure exhaustion, others believed that what middle-class people, especially men who were occupied in sedentary work, needed was physical exercise to complement their mental work. The YMCA took the latter view and championed a philosophy of “Muscular Christianity,” wherein physical development was essential to Christian salvation. “Muscular Christianity” also developed in response to fears that muscular southern and eastern European immigrants would steal jobs from the physically weaker white Protestant middle class.

A number of SPORTS owe their existence and development to the YMCA. Among these, the most well known may be basketball. In Springfield, Massachusetts, students at the International YMCA Training School enjoyed playing rugby and football during warm months, but they were not as pleased with their indoor winter sports options, among them leapfrog and tumbling. To rectify this situation, the school’s director, Luther Gulick, asked teacher and minister James Naismith to develop an indoor game for the students to play. The resulting game was basketball, which was then played with hanging peach baskets. In January of 1892 Naismith published the rules of the game and the game quickly spread among young men and women. Naismith never made any money from his invention, even refusing compensation for his public speaking about the sport. Many inventors of other YMCA sports followed Naismith’s example, giving their sport to the participants without remuneration. Other YMCA inventions include volleyball, group swimming lessons, lifesaving classes, and racquetball.

Race and Ethnicity

In 1853, just two years after the YMCA came to the United States, the first black YMCA was opened in Washington, D.C., by former slave Anthony Bowen, and the annual YMCA convention included African American delegates as early as 1867. However, it was not until 1890 that the national YMCA office opened its “Colored Men’s Department” and appointed William Hunton, son of a slave, to serve the African

American community. In part this delay can be explained by considering that before the CIVIL WAR many African American men were slaves and thus not free to join the YMCA. Once the slaves were liberated, they were encouraged to join on a separate-but-equal basis. Ohio black minister Jesse E. Moorland, who joined Hunton in 1898, encouraged the growing class of black businessmen to join the association and benefit from the focus on developing the body, mind, and spirit.

African American men involved in the YMCAs had a very particular understanding of how to implement racial uplift, contra Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. History professor Nina Baym has suggested in her work that black YMCA leaders stressed an ideal of "true manhood" that united Victorian gentility with muscular Christianity. Thus, these black leaders encouraged the same virtues that white Christian men at the time were espousing, with the belief that individual African Americans could advance in society by displaying masculine virtues. Urban middle-class black men who were not accepted fully as men in society could express their masculinity at the black YMCAs to which they belonged.

As was the case with the nation as a whole, the YMCA long remained segregated, but by the mid-1920s there were 128 black college chapters of the YMCA and fifty-one city YMCAs, with membership totaling 28,000. Although early black YMCAs had some difficulty raising funds, the black YMCAs in the 1920s usually cooperated with white YMCA boards and received some financial support from them. Individuals such as George Foster Peabody, John D. Rockefeller, and Julius Rosenwald also contributed to the cause.

By 1946 YMCAs were encouraged to eliminate discrimination, and they officially desegregated in 1967. During the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of the 1960s leaders of the movement met at black YMCAs. Leaders, such as Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., Rev. Andrew Young, Vernon Jordan, and U.S. Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall grew up involved with their local YMCAs.

Although the YWCA in the United States was early populated with African American women, especially in its black student organizations, the official leadership of the YWCA did not always encourage and support its black members. It was not until 1914 that a secretary for the advancement of African American women in cities was added to the YWCA structure. The cause of African American women was further advanced in 1919 when the first YWCA building designed specifically for black women was opened in New York, offering the separate-but-equal facilities that the YMCAs had been offering for men.

For the women of the YWCA the debate over whether to include African American women was theological in nature. The mission of the YWCA was specifically designed to extend to all women of the same Christian faith who wanted to provide service to other women throughout their communities. However, black women were excluded from many of the social institutions of the time, and the YWCA may have had less success in accomplishing its mission without the money and social support that could have been difficult to attain if they included black women in their organization. In some ways the separation between black and white YWCAs may reflect this difficulty.

Although the black-white divide was perhaps the most salient racial divide in both the YMCA and YWCA in the United States (perhaps because African Americans were more likely than some other racial groups to be Protestant), African Americans were by no

means the only racial groups involved in the movements. NATIVE AMERICANS were one of the earliest groups to become involved in both the YMCA and the YWCA. The YMCA foray into work with Native Americans began in 1879 in the Dakota Territory. Chief Little Crow's son, Thomas Wakeman, organized the first Sioux YMCA. Eventually, there were sixty-six Sioux associations, with membership reaching 1,000. The YMCA also worked with other tribes in the United States, especially in the areas of EDUCATION, health, and Christian development.

The YWCA first began its work among Native American girls in 1897 at the Haworth Institute in Chilocco, Oklahoma, and other associations for Native American girls soon followed. At least in part the women of the YWCA wanted to help these Native American girls to adjust to new situations, especially when placed on reservations and in government schools. By 1930 the YWCA was operating in forty-one schools and serving 2,600 girls. The YWCA and YMCA worked together and closely with the government in their work with Native Americans both on the reservations and off.

Like African Americans, Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans also founded YMCAs separate from the white YMCAs, especially in San Francisco. The first Chinese American YMCA was founded in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1871, with the name *Ki-Tuk Yau Hok Ching To Ui* (Young Christians Learning Upright Doctrine Society). Because of the prevalence of gambling among the Chinese of the community, one of the most strictly enforced rules was the stricture against playing games like dominos or chess. A Japanese branch of the San Francisco YMCA opened in 1918, but because of a more dispersed population and difficulties raising money, the Japanese were never as successful in their YMCA efforts in San Francisco as were the Chinese. There were also separate "Oriental" branches of the YWCA in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The YWCA also provided services for Japanese Americans in relocation camps during World War II, which may have helped familiarize them with the YWCA.

War Relief

In 1865 the YMCA of the United States began working with soldiers of the Civil War, especially in the North. The U.S. Christian Commission, designed to aid soldiers on the battlefield, was created by the combination of fifteen northern YMCAs and eventually included 5,000 volunteers. In part these numbers reflect a recruiting effort spurred on by a meeting with President ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Volunteers in the Christian Commission, forty-three of whom lost their lives in the war, wrote letters, delivered supplies and food, and kept a record of the dead. Although the Northern YMCAs were hurt by the war, they fared better than the southern YMCAs, and only two Southern YMCAs remained after the war.

YMCA volunteers helped American soldiers from the first days of World War I. Small voluntary contributions by YMCA members to the war work totaled \$235 million. Praised by U.S. Commanding General John J. Pershing, the YMCA volunteers provided morale and welfare services to the troops and operated 1,500 canteens in the United States and FRANCE. In addition the YMCA volunteers, ninety-three of whom died

during their service, set up 4,000 huts—many on the front lines—for recreation and religious service. It was mainly through the efforts of these YMCA volunteers that baseball, basketball, and volleyball were first given mass exposure in Europe. The YWCA also operated canteens during World War I and mobilized women for war work.

During World War II both the YMCA and the YWCA helped the soldiers. Once President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had declared a state of emergency, six national organizations—including the YMCA and the YWCA—joined forces to form the United Services Organizations for National Defense (the USO), which was formally incorporated on February 4, 1941. YMCA volunteers also worked with six million prisoners-of-war held in thirty-six foreign countries and several thousand prisoners-of-war held in the United States. World War II brought changes to the lives of women irrespective of whether they went to the front lines to help. Many women who stayed in the United States had to leave their homes and work in factories to produce goods for the war, and the YWCA provided housing and support for women who had difficulties in the transition.

Later Developments

At the Sixth World Council of YMCAs, which met in Kampala, Uganda in 1973, one of the major concerns was to determine how best to retain the Christian character of the YMCA. The membership and leadership of YMCAs throughout the world has expanded to include a broad political and religious spectrum. The YMCA in Jerusalem, which opened in 1933, for instance, is considered to be one of the few places in that city where Christians, Jews, and Muslims are able to mingle peacefully. However, many people within the organization fear that it will be difficult to retain the Christian nature of the association if YMCA leaders, especially full-time directors, are no longer required to be committed Christians. The Kampala Principles, established during this conference, give new interpretation to the nature and mission of the World Alliance. It was decided by the delegates that, although it is important to reaffirm the Christian ideals of the 1855 “Paris Basis,” open membership—regardless of faith, age, sex, class—is also a fundamental principle of the YMCA. Local YMCAs were encouraged to review their own policies in relation to this new interpretation of the ecumenical character of the YMCA.

Although the world YMCA is concerned with its Christian character, the YMCA of the United States has increasingly moved away from Christian activities. In 2001 the YMCA celebrated 150 years in the United States, and they reaffirmed that their mission, although based on Christian principles, was applicable to people of all faiths, both men and women. With half their membership under the age of eighteen in 2001, YMCAs continued to work with youth, serving one in ten teenagers and working especially with teens in high-risk communities. The focus on youth could be seen especially in camping programs, which began in 1867. Summer camps began in the United States with a YMCA trip in 1885, and by 2001 the YMCA claimed 1,600 day camps that served 500,000 children each summer. With half their population over the age of eighteen, however, YMCAs could not focus solely on youth. With the development of Jazzercise

and dance exercise classes in the late 1960s the YMCA helped to pioneer the exercise craze that served adult members. Many YMCAs even included special programming for senior citizens, focusing on serving the physical and social needs of the older members.

After delegates to the World Council of the YWCA held the annual conference in Cairo in July 1999, they released their resolutions and recommendations. Their chief issues, in keeping with the mission of the World YWCA, included justice, peace, and the environment, and the ways in which women's leadership could contribute to the solutions. At that time the key goals of the YWCA Global Campaign included encouraging the continuation of current programs, raising awareness of the YWCA movement, and establishing funds for leadership development programs for women and girls. By 2003 the World YWCA included 25 million women from at least 100 different countries.

In August of 2000 the YWCA of the United States, which then numbered 316 local associations, released a report entitled "A Century of Change." According to the report the advocacy issues on which the YWCA planned to focus included childcare, violence prevention, women's health, and voter outreach. Annual events had included a YWCA Week Without Violence, and a YWCA National Day of Commitment to Eliminate Racism, which included a Racial Justice Awards Dinner and a Race Against Racism.

See also Evangelicalism; Gender; Homosexuality; Voluntary Societies; War; Women

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KELLY THERESE POLLOCK

YOUNG, BRIGHAM (1801–1877)

American church leader. Young was born in Whittingham, Vermont on June 1, 1801, the eighth of eleven children of John and Abigail (Nabby) Howe. He died August 29, 1877 in Salt Lake City, Utah from an abdominal disease then called cholera morbus.

The Young family moved to Western New York in 1804 and relocated several times during Brigham's childhood. His mother died when he was 14 years old. In 1817 Brigham apprenticed himself in Auburn, New York, to learn carpentry, painting, and glazing. He did carpentry work at the local prison, the local theological seminary, and at private homes.

In 1823 Young moved to Bucksville (later called Port Byron) on the Erie Canal, where he again worked as a carpenter and helped organize the Bucksville Forensic and Oratorical Society. He married Miriam Angeline Works (1806–1832) in 1824, and they settled in Aurelius, New York until early 1828 when they moved to Oswego. Later that year they moved to Mendon, where a number of his family had already located.

Brigham grew up in a devoutly religious Methodist family. His brothers Phinehas and Joseph served as Methodist ministers. As a youth Brigham listened to the preaching of CIRCUIT RIDERS and attended Methodist CAMP MEETINGS. In 1824 Brigham and Miriam joined the Methodists, apparently attracted by their emphasis on GRACE, free will, the witness of the Spirit, Christian perfectionism, and rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of ELECTION. Local people remembered Young for his "deep piety and faith in God."

Events in 1830 changed the Youngs' lives. In 1830 JOSEPH SMITH of Palmyra, New York published the *Book of Mormon* and founded the Church of Christ, later renamed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The church is not Protestant in the narrow sense of that word, but members, who are often called Mormons or Latter-day Saints (LDS), believe their religion to be the restoration of primitive Christianity.

In April 1830 Samuel H. Smith, a brother of Joseph Smith, came to Mendon where he gave Phinehas Young a *Book of Mormon*. Phinehas read the book and passed it on to the remainder of the family. In April 1832, Brigham, Miriam, and eleven other family members were baptized into the LDS Church. Young began preaching in Western New York and in CANADA.

In MORMONISM Young and his family found answers to troubling questions. The Latter-day Saints believed in continuing revelation, Christ's ATONEMENT, universal SALVATION, and priesthood ordination for all righteous men. They rejected infant BAPTISM and original SIN.

Early in their marriage Young's wife Miriam contracted tuberculosis, from which she died in 1832. Her disability left Brigham to care for the household and children while continuing to work as a carpenter and farm laborer. In the fall of 1833 Brigham moved to Kirtland where Smith had established the LDS church's headquarters. There, Young worked as a builder, and he continued preaching. On February 18, 1834 he married Mary

Ann Angell (1803–1882), who helped rear his two children by Miriam and bore six other children.

Brigham joined Zion's Camp, an expedition organized by Smith on May 5, 1834, to travel to Jackson County, Missouri to restore Mormons to homes from which mobs had driven them. The expedition failed, but participants developed a close relationship with Smith and with each other.

In February 1835, at age 34, Young was called as a member of the original Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Smith assigned the Twelve to preach throughout the world and to preside outside the seat of the First Presidency. At first Young and others in the Twelve preached in Ohio, New York, Ontario, and New England. Young also worked on the construction of the Kirtland Temple of the Latter-Day Saints, and he participated in temple ordinances and in Pentecostal experiences such as singing, prophesying, and speaking in tongues.

Shortly thereafter a number of prominent members of the Kirtland temple rebelled against Joseph Smith. Young rejected the dissenters and supported Smith, although fearful of personal injury. Young left for the Mormon settlements in Northern Missouri in late December 1837.

After most Mormons had settled in Missouri, conflicts between them and other Missourians led to the defection of a number of prominent Mormons and the killing of apostle David Patten. By late 1838 these events had made Young the senior apostle. Missouri officials imprisoned Joseph Smith, and Young helped organize the Mormon exodus from Missouri to Illinois.

Young moved his family to Montrose, Iowa in 1839, and then, with most of the Twelve, left on a mission to Great Britain. The Twelve converted hundreds of people before their return to the Mormon settlement of Nauvoo, Illinois in April 1841.

In the spring of 1844 Smith announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. Young and others went to the northeastern United States to proselytize and campaign. While there they learned of Smith's assassination. In a special conference in Nauvoo on August 8, 1844 the members voted to accept Young and the Twelve as their leaders.

Continued internal and external conflict led the Mormons to abandon Nauvoo early in 1846, and Young led the exodus. After wintering on the Missouri, the Mormons moved to Utah. Young arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847. He designated the site for Salt Lake City on July 28, then returned to Council Bluffs, Iowa in August 1847. In a conference at Council Bluffs in December 1847 the members elected him church president and prophet, seer, and revelator. Young returned to Utah in 1848 and remained there the rest of his life.

In presiding over the church, Young recognized no division between the secular and sacred. He directed the establishment of nearly 400 settlements in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada, Washington, and California. To preside over ecclesiastical and secular work in the settlements Young called bishops with two counselors to lead each congregation, called a ward. Young organized the wards in each county into units called stakes, presided over by a stake president, two counselors, and a twelve-man stake high council. People in the settlements carried out normal tasks such as apportioning land and constructing irrigation works.

Young also presided over the economic development of the territory. He called people on missions to mine gold, iron, lead, and coal. He supervised the establishment of a telegraph line, cooperated in building the transcontinental railroad, directed the construction of local railroads, and founded cooperative stores. In the 1870s he supervised the organization of communitarian United Orders.

Elected governor of the provisional State of Deseret in 1849, he was appointed governor and superintendent of Indian affairs of Utah Territory in 1850. He remained in the position until his removal in 1858. As governor he directed the resistance to an invasion by federal troops in 1857–1858.

Meetinghouses were constructed in the various settlements. To provide for sacred ordinances, Young began the construction of temples in Salt Lake City, St. George, Manti, and Logan, Utah and an endowment house in Salt Lake City. He dedicated the endowment house in 1855 and the St. George Temple in 1877. In the late 1860s Young reestablished the women's Relief Society, which Joseph Smith had inaugurated in Nauvoo. He also organized an auxiliary for young women called the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association, and he approved a general SUNDAY SCHOOL organization.

He continued the practice of plural marriage, which Joseph Smith had instituted in Nauvoo. Young married at least twenty-three women in addition to his first two wives, Works and Angell. By fourteen of them he fathered forty-nine children.

Young promoted the organization of the Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir, encouraged painting and sculpture, and supervised the erection of the Salt Lake Theater.

His principal accomplishments include extensive and successful proselytizing activity, maintaining the integrity of the LDS Church after Joseph Smith's death, supervising the settlement of a large region of the American West, and promoting Christianity, economic development, and a spirituality among the people.

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THOMAS G. ALEXANDER

YOUTH FOR CHRIST

This evangelistic organization targeting teenagers emerged during World War II, when young preachers like Torrey Johnson in Chicago and Jack Wyrzten in New York began to hold youth rallies that featured upbeat music, testimonies from servicemen, and sermons tied to current events. By the end of the War “Victory” rallies drew 20,000 to Madison Square Garden in New York and 70,000 to Soldier Field in Chicago, prompting favorable comment in the national press. BILLY GRAHAM was associated with Youth for Christ early in his career. Leaders sold the organization to adults as the solution to juvenile delinquency. They conveyed to teenagers that CONVERSION to Christ held the secret to a fun and fulfilling life. Like their peers in the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS, YFC leaders worked closely with a wide variety of churches and Christian businessmen in an attempt to escape the negative reputation and charge of separatism that lingered from their roots in FUNDAMENTALISM. The organization was international from the beginning, achieving a presence in 100 countries by the early twenty-first century.

In the 1950s YFC leaders experimented with high school BIBLE clubs, Christian films, games, skits, popular music styles, talent contests, and Bible quiz competitions. In the 1960s and 1970s they added ministries to juvenile offenders, urban youth, and teen mothers. YFC provided a training ground for prominent leaders of EVANGELICALISM such as Billy Graham and Bob Pierce who founded WORLD VISION, an international relief organization. YFC pioneered the use of popular culture styles to communicate a traditional evangelistic message and helped popularize such techniques in the larger evangelical movement.

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THOMAS E.BERGLER

Z

ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country located north of SOUTH AFRICA, east of Zambia and Botswana, and west of Mozambique. San hunter-gatherers, who arrived from the North c. 8000 B.C., were absorbed by Bantu invaders after 500 A.D. The Shona (Bantu) word “Zimbabwe” means “houses of stone” and dates from the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Munhumutapa kingdom. The Great Zimbabwe, an impressive collection of stone buildings, began to rise on a site in central Zimbabwe in the eleventh century after the gold-mining, cattle-ranching Bantu groups had begun to arrive from the north. Great Zimbabwe was a trading center, fortress, and shrine to the preeminent god Mwari. In the fifteenth century Great Zimbabwe’s control over the region began to decline and centers of political and economic activity became more diverse.

Before the 1890 arrival of Cecil Rhodes’s British South Africa Company (BSAC), the Shona and Ndebele, a Zulu subtribe that migrated from the south, ruled Zimbabwe. Portuguese traders and Catholic missionaries visited the area from Mozambique.

British rule began in 1890 and ended in 1980. The BSAC (1890–1927) defeated the Ndebele and put down a Shona-Ndebele rising (Chimurenga) in 1896. Rhodes detested African culture and stole African land and minerals. The British government ceded political control to Rhodes. Although the BSAC came for gold, not god, Protestant MISSIONS followed the Union Jack into “Rhodesia.” Rhodes allowed white farmers and miners to rule while he aggrandized wealth.

The British termed the blessings and curses they brought to Africa “Western Civilization.” This included capitalism, imperial rule, and the Christian faith. As the BSAC gained wealth, Rhodes allowed missions to supply Western “Christian” culture in schools, clinics, and churches. For these purposes he provided land grants to mission societies and stipends for missionary teachers and doctors. Christian culture meant not only religion, but also Western dress, marriage customs, English language, and deference to whites. Anglo-Americans christened virtually everything African as “heathen” and referred to almost everything Western, including capitalism, as Christian, as they attempted to form a little England in the heart of Africa. The BSAC, British government, and Protestant missions married acquisition of wealth to imperialism and faith.

The London Missionary Society (LMS) was the first Protestant mission in Ndebeleland. In 1859 ROBERT MOFFATT acquired land from Ndebele King Mzilikazi. Mzilikazi’s son Lobengula gave the LMS a second site, although the LMS did not make a single convert in three decades. Land acquisition and friendship with kings were the LMS’s achievements. In 1885 CHURCH OF ENGLAND Bishop George W. KnightBruce from South Africa visited Ndebeleland and gained King Lobengula’s permission to establish a mission. In 1891 South Africa’s DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH set up a mission at Morgenster, and British Methodists and the SALVATION ARMY arrived at Fort Salisbury in Mashonaland. In 1893 the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS opened a station at Mount Selinda. SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS founded a station at Solusi in 1894. In 1898 Bishop

J.C.Hartzell's American Methodist Episcopal Church opened Old Umtali Mission, and the BRETHREN IN CHRIST founded Matopo Mission.

In the late 1890s other Protestants scrambled into Rhodesia, including the South African General Mission; Church of Christ; Presbyterian Church of South Africa; Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland; Church of Sweden; Swedish Free Church Mission; Free Meth-odist Church; and South African Baptist Missionary Society. Jesuits had set up the first Catholic mission at Empandeni in 1885.

Historian C.J.M.Zvobgo argues that Christian missions in Mashonaland and Ndebeleland shared two understandings between 1859 and 1898. First, as a result of early London Missionary Society and Jesuit experiences, they believed that success depended on breaking Ndebele power in Rhodesia by force. Second, they were indebted to Rhodes for land on which to set up their stations. By 1925 the BSAC had given missions 325,730 acres. The missions purchased an additional 71,085 acres, much of it without the permission of African chiefs or people.

No mission succeeded with the rough white South African miners whose interest was material, not spiritual gain. Thus most missions readily accepted work among Africans, especially when BSAC land grants accompanied their cooperation. Few missionaries raised issues of land confiscation and denial of franchise to Africans with European or American mission boards. Few sought advice of Africans on church policy. Paternalistic notions held that Africans were incompetent in matters of church management. On the whole, deaths of missionaries were seen as "martyrdom" with no connection to land theft or denial of rights.

In 1923 white settler government replaced BSAC rule. In 1965 the settlers declared their independence from Britain to avoid majority African rule. African guerrillas fought a twelve-year war for independence to gain one-person-one-vote democracy. United Nations sanctions, support from a WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' (WCC) Program to Combat Racism, and the work of other international humanitarian agencies, as well as weapons from Communist states, helped bring majority rule under Robert Mugabe's government in 1980.

Protestants divided over the war. The Salvation Army, Irish Presbyterians, and South Africa's Reformed Church broke with the WCC over grants to "Marxist" insurgents. The Salvation Army, Zimbabwe's fourth largest church, had ninety-eight percent African members who supported independence. However, a 1978 killing of two of its missionary teachers turned its American branch against the WCC. After a brutal war against Nkomo's Ndebele, Mugabe sealed an alliance between Shona and Ndebele that held through the late 1990s turmoil over Mugabe's increasingly autocratic rule.

Zimbabwe's population of eleven million is 71 percent Shona, 16 percent Ndebele, 11 percent other African, and 2 percent Asian and white. The predominant religion is Christian, including African Christian sects. African religions persist, led by shamans who contact ancestors for advice and healing. Christianity has an African flavor in missionary sects and those founded by Africans.

See also Africa; Colonialism

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NORMAN H.MURDOCH

ZINZENDORF, NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON (1700–1760)

Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) was a theologian and leader of the renewed MORAVIAN CHURCH (*Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*) and one of the most original thinkers in eighteenth-century German Protestantism.

Background

Born in Dresden, Saxony, as a descendent of Austrian Protestant nobility, Zinzendorf was raised by his grandmother Henriette von Gersdorf on pietistic principles, and showed early on a lively interest in religious matters. In 1710 he entered the famous *Paedagogium* of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) at HALLE, closely observing Francke's missionary and pedagogical projects. In 1716 he was sent to the university, the center of Lutheran ORTHODOXY, to study law. His grand tour (1719–1720) took him to the NETHERLANDS and FRANCE and brought him into close contact with other confessional groups, including Roman Catholicism, through a friendly acquaintance with Cardinal Louis de Noailles. Having entered a position at the Saxon Court, he purchased the Berthelsdorf estate in Upper Lusatia in 1722 and married Erdmuth Dorothea, countess of Reuss (1700–1756).

Herrnhut

Decisive for Zinzendorf's life and theological development was his founding of HERRNHUT in 1722, when Protestant refugees from Moravia sought shelter on his estate. The growth of Herrnhut into a vibrant Pietist colony called for his leadership and gave his evangelistic impulse a specific focus. From 1727 on, when Zinzendorf quit his government post in order to devote himself fully to the Herrnhut community, his career became closely intertwined with the colony's development as an interdenominational renewal movement and mission church. Eager to maintain his ties to the Lutheran confession, Zinzendorf passed a theological examination in 1734 at Stralsund and then assumed the status of a Lutheran minister at Tübingen. Continuing conflicts with Lutheran orthodoxy led to his banishment from Saxony from 1736 to 1747. He spent the following years organizing Moravian communities throughout Europe, was ordained a

Moravian bishop in 1737, and traveled to the West Indies (1739) and to Pennsylvania (1741–1743) in order to support the Moravian missionary effort and to evangelize among the Pennsylvania Germans. The newly built Herrnhag settlement near Frankfurt, model for all subsequent Moravian settlement congregations, became the center of Zinzendorf's activities between 1743 to 1749, and saw the most exuberant but also most controversial period of his theology. He lived in London from 1750 to 1755 and spend his last years at Herrnhut. After the death of his wife Erdmuth Dorothea in 1756, he married Anna Nitschmann (1715–1760) in 1757, the eldress of the Moravian single sisters. In 1760 he died at Herrnhut.

Living at the dawn of the modern era, Zinzendorf developed his theology in critical response to Lutheran orthodoxy, ENLIGHTENMENT rationalism, and moralistic PIETISM. The core of Christian faith, according to Zinzendorf, is to know the wounded Christ in one's heart as Lord and Savior. This view combines the emphasis on intuitive and emotional spirituality ("heart-religion") with a christocentric focus on the atonement at the cross ("blood and wounds theology"). God can only be known through the crucified Christ, who is both the creator of human souls and their heavenly bridegroom. At the same time, Zinzendorf stresses Christ's full earthly humanity and suggests that his incarnation has sanctified all human states and experiences, including sexuality, insofar as marital relations reflect and anticipate the mystical union between Christ and the church. This nuptial imagery is complemented with allegorical references to the Trinity as "divine family" and to the Holy Spirit as "mother."

While it is often said that Zinzendorf was not a systematic theologian, his purposeful way of organizing the Moravian communities suggests very precise notions at least in some areas. His concept of the church, for example, distinguishes between the heavenly Communion of Saints, the historical denominations, and the possibility for true believers to come together in interdenominational fellowship. The Moravian community is intended as just such a fellowship, uniting within itself members of many different denominational backgrounds. Denominations, for Zinzendorf, are designed to lead people to God according to their specific insights. This understanding enables him to value the established churches for their particular traditions while maintaining a vision of Christian unity beyond denominational boundaries. A second example is the Moravian mission work, which illuminates Zinzendorf's eschatological emphasis on "first fruits" (cf. Revelations 14:10). Because Christ is Lord over the whole earth, the Moravians are called to go to the most remote and neglected places and sow the seeds of the gospel in preparation for his second coming. The goal is not to convert the masses, but only to make a beginning among those whom the Holy Spirit has prepared as "first fruits" for their people.

Zinzendorf's significance for the Protestant world goes far beyond his leadership among the Moravians. His pioneering efforts in Christian MISSIONS, ECUMENISM, and EDUCATION have long been recognized, and his contributions in other areas—for example, Trinitarian theology, liturgical AESTHETICS, and biblical interpretation—are attracting increasing attention. Zinzendorf had a direct influence on English cleric JOHN WESLEY'S (1703–1791) religious development and paved the way for German theologian FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER'S (1768–1834) concept of religious intuition. In addition, Zinzendorf has often been regarded as a stalwart defender of MARTIN LUTHER'S (1483–1546) theology of the cross against the theological

dogmatism and moralism of his time. Just how much his theology really represents Luther's position, however, remains a matter of scholarly debate.

See also Herrnhut; Moravian Church; Lutheranism

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PETER VOGT

ZION CHURCHES

See African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches

ZÖLLNER, JOHANN FRIEDRICH (1753–1804)

German theologian. Born in Neudamm/Neumark on April 24, 1753, Zöllner studied theology and philosophy in Frankfurt/Oder. He lived first as an independent scholar, becoming connected with the baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz, who was later the leader of the *Erweckungsbewegung* (revival movement) of Berlin. In 1779 Zöllner quickly began a prominent church career. First as pastor at the Charité in Berlin and the *Marienkirche*, he was appointed in 1788 as senior pastor (*Propst*) of the *Nikolaikirche* and *Oberkonsistorialrat* by King Frederick William II. His most important fields of work, engaged on behalf of the king with whom he had close contact, dealt with questions of reform of the public educational system and of the aims of education (*Ideen über Nationalerziehung*, 1804). Zöllner died in Berlin September 12, 1804.

Two influences determined Zöllner's thinking: the ENLIGHTENMENT and the religiousness of the free-masons. In 1779 Zöllner became a member of a free-masons lodge, and he later became a grand master of the freemason movement in Berlin. Zöllner considered himself a philosopher of Enlightenment, and as a pastor and writer he promoted IMMANUEL KANT'S philosophy (*Über spekulative Philosophie*, 1789). He was criticized particularly by the theologian Johann Christoph Woellner (1732–1800), whose work *Religionsedikt* in 1788 was directed against the theology of the Enlightenment.

In addition to his theological, philosophical, and educational work, Zöllner published travel descriptions and popular writing on scientific topics. In Berlin he was a member of the Academy of Sciences (*Akademie der Wissenschaften*) and the society of nature-exploring friends (*Gesellschaft der naturforschenden Freunde*).

See also Education, Overview; Freemasonry

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NORBERT FRIEDRICH

ZWINGLI, HULDRYCH (1484–1531)

Swiss theologian. When Zwingli arrived in Zurich in December of 1518, he was an Erasmian humanist. Soon thereafter he came to an evangelical understanding of the Christian message and became the reformer of Zurich. Although Zwingli's fully developed THEOLOGY included similarities with MARTIN LUTHER'S theology, the two men differed on several important doctrines. Zurich was the cradle of Reformed Protestantism, and Zwingli's theology was its foundation. Zwingli's theology continued to influence the Reformed tradition throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.

Early Life

Zwingli was born January 1, 1484, into a well-to-do peasant family in Wildhaus, in the high Toggenburg valley, east of Zurich, Switzerland. He began his university studies at Vienna in 1498, but transferred to the University of Basel in 1502, where he received his bachelor and master of arts degrees in 1504 and 1506. Zwingli's very traditional university education was grounded in the *via antiqua*—the Aristotelian tradition of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus.

During the next decade Zwingli became an accomplished humanist. After his ordination as a priest in September 1506 he became pastor at Glarus, not far from Wildhaus, where he taught himself Greek, read widely in the classical and patristic authors, and corresponded with humanist friends. In 1516 Zwingli met the Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536), and that same year he was appointed priest at the Benedictine Abbey at Einsiedeln in Schwyz, south of Zurich. There, he continued his humanistic studies, engaging in an intensive study of the Greek New Testament and learning Hebrew.

From Humanist to Reformer

The influence of Erasmus and biblical humanism was evident when Zwingli arrived in Zurich to assume his new responsibilities as common preacher (*Leutpriester*) at the Great Minster (*Grossmünster*). In his first sermon, on January 1, 1519, he began to preach consecutively through the Gospel of Matthew, and then through Acts and Paul's epistles to Timothy. In these sermons he focused on the moral purity of the church during the

early years of Christianity. However, because he suffered a severe bout with the plague and because his opponents began to criticize his preaching, Zwingli's Erasmian optimism soon began to fade. During the year 1520 Zwingli moved beyond Erasmian humanism and came to a Pauline understanding of human nature and divine grace.

Zwingli claimed that his evangelical understanding of the Christian message began to develop in 1516, but it appears that the crucial process of change from an optimistic humanist to a realistic reformer did not actually begin until late in 1519. Although Zwingli viewed Luther as a fellow humanist in attacking indulgences, tithes, and invocation of the SAINTS, he was unaware of Luther's new distinctive doctrines, such as JUSTIFICATION by faith, until late 1520. Zwingli's new evangelical theology ensued from his own study of the Gospel of John and the writings of Paul and Augustine. There is no evidence that Luther was a profound influence.

When several people broke the Lenten fast by eating sausage during the Lenten season of 1522, Zwingli made his first step toward becoming a reformer. Zwingli did not participate, but he did preach a sermon defending those who broke the fast. He proclaimed that ecclesiastical rules on fasting cannot overrule Christian freedom and that according to Scripture, Christians are free to fast or to eat. Then, in July 1522 Zwingli and ten other priests petitioned the bishop of Constance to abolish CELIBACY, asserting that the ecclesiastical rules on celibacy were fallaciously based only on ecclesiastical authority and had no basis in Scripture. Zwingli himself had already publicly married Anna Reinhard. In August Zwingli publicly rejected the authority of the hierarchy of the church over matters of DOCTRINE and church order, and he condemned the bishop for opposing reform. In September Erasmus wrote a letter to Zwingli, severely criticizing him for his attack on the authority of the church hierarchy.

In each of his attacks on ecclesiastical regulations Zwingli appealed to biblical authority; however, he did not fully explain his position on Scripture until September 1522 when he published *On the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God*, where he affirms the exclusive authority of Scripture, which became a hallmark of Protestantism. Although he does not deny the usefulness of church fathers and councils, he clearly states that they cannot add to the authority of Scripture, but only confirm it. The BIBLE is God's word and can be understood correctly only when the believer is taught by God through the Spirit.

Late in 1522 Zwingli was accused of HERESY and treason by the Diet of the Swiss Confederation. Consequently, the Zurich council convened the First Zurich Disputation on January 29, 1523, where Zwingli summarized his theology in the *Sixty-seven Articles*, or conclusions, which he had prepared for the disputation. The council absolved Zwingli of the charge of heresy and gave him permission to continue his PREACHING from the Bible.

Zwingli the Reformer

In mid-July 1523, Zwingli published his *Exposition and Basis of the Conclusions*, which expanded on and defended his sixty-seven articles. This comprehensive statement of his

reformed theology demonstrates that Zwingli was no longer an Erasmian. He clearly states that the Scripture, inspired by God, stands on its own authority and that the individual needs the Holy Spirit to interpret it. He asserts that one finds SALVATION through faith in Christ, by divine grace. He sees the Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER) as a memorial of Christ, a view that became a distinctive doctrine within Reformed Protestantism. In another distinctive doctrine of the Reformed tradition, Zwingli declares that the moral law is a revelation of God's will and has never been abrogated. Finally, asserting that the church exists both as a spiritual body of all the faithful and as local congregations, he contends that the civil government is sovereign over the local Christian community and that it includes everyone, even infants. This is Zwingli's doctrine of the "single sphere" that became a distinctive feature of later ZWINGLIANISM.

Two weeks later Zwingli published *On Divine and Human Righteousness* to demonstrate that his views were neither politically nor socially subversive and to justify the authority of the Christian magistracy. Zwingli asserted that divine righteousness, as expressed by the love commandment, concerns only the inner person, because humans are incapable of fully loving their neighbors as themselves. For that reason God gave other commandments, the moral law, which is expressed in the laws of the civil magistracy. This is human righteousness, a "poor weak righteousness," which concerns only the outer person. Everyone is obliged to obey these commandments and laws of the Christian government. Nonetheless, Zwingli urged the government to bring its laws (human righteousness) into harmony with the law of God (divine righteousness) as much as possible.

In late October of 1523, because many of the LAITY were dissatisfied with the pace of reform, the council convened a Second Disputation to meet to discuss images in the churches and the essence of the Mass. The council decided to keep images in the churches and to maintain the Mass for a period of time, until it was clear what should be done. Some of Zwingli's more radical followers now began to deny that the government had any authority over the church; images should be removed and the Mass abolished immediately. Zwingli, however, true to his doctrine of the single sphere, asserted that the civil magistrate is responsible for the implementation of reform measures. Finally, in June 1524, the council ordered the removal and destruction of pictures and images from the churches, although the reformed Lord's Supper did not replace the Mass until Easter week 1525.

In March 1525 Zwingli published *A Commentary on the True and False Religion*, a crucial work in which he contends that the true religion—as opposed to the false religion of the church of Rome—is derived from Scripture. Zwingli rejects monastic vows, purgatory, and the invocation of the saints, and he denounces the pope as the ANTICHRIST. Moreover, he accepts only BAPTISM and the Eucharist as sacraments. Furthermore, he clearly states his evangelical doctrine of salvation by faith through God's grace and specifically rejects the semi-Pelagianism of Roman Catholicism. Finally, Zwingli assures the reader that the true religion does not promote civil disorder, but rather supports a godly ruler. In short, this treatise touches on all of the basic points that became an enduring part of Reformed doctrine.

During the year 1525 Zurich became a reformed city and canton, when the council secularized the monasteries and created a new marriage court to replace the bishop's

court in Constance. Zwingli, now the acknowledged reformer of Zurich, defended the right of the civil government to implement the reform at every step.

The radicals, however, completely rejected the doctrine of the single sphere when they asserted that the Bible did not support infant baptism and expressed their ideal of a congregation of committed Christians, separate from the state church and free of governmental control. Baptism, they said, symbolizes the faith and commitment of adults. Early in 1525 they challenged Zwingli's status as a reformer by baptizing each other as adults and forming their own self-disciplining congregation. In May 1525 Zwingli denounced ANABAPTISM and defended his own understanding of baptism in *On Baptism, Anabaptism, and Infant Baptism*. He declares that baptism is a sign or a symbol that the infant belongs to God; it is a sacrament of the new COVENANT, which has replaced circumcision, the sacrament of the old covenant. Again, in 1527, he rebutted the Anabaptist teachings' point by point, in his *Refutation of the Tricks of the Anabaptists*. Clarifying his doctrine of the covenant, he asserts that the new covenant with Christians is simply the renewal of the old covenant that God made with Abraham. Throughout his writings against the Anabaptists, Zwingli stresses the authority of the Christian government over the Christian community. Zwingli conceived of his doctrine of the covenant in conjunction with HEINRICH BULLINGER (1509–1575), who succeeded Zwingli as leader of the Zurich church. Bullinger further developed the doctrine that became an integral part of the theology of Reformed Protestantism.

In the midst of his confrontation with the Anabaptists, Zwingli also became involved in a controversy with Luther over the Eucharist. Zwingli held a symbolic view of the Eucharist: the bread and the wine signify the body and blood of Christ, but Christ is not physically present in these elements. Nor is the Eucharist itself a means of grace; rather, it is a sign pointing to salvation. In February 1526 Zwingli specifically attacked Luther's teaching of the real presence in his *Clear Explanation of the Supper of Christ*. He also explained that Christians celebrate the Lord's Supper as a communal meal in memory and thanksgiving, much as the Jews observed the Passover Feast in the old covenant. This publication resulted in a bitter controversy, waged in print, between Zwingli and Luther concerning the proper interpretation of the Eucharist. Early in October 1529 the two men met in person, for the first and only time, at the MARBURG COLLOQUY, to discuss the theological issues of the day. Although they were able to come to an agreement on fourteen doctrines, Zwingli and Luther could not resolve their differences on the Eucharist. This event marks the genesis of the Reformed tradition within Protestantism. It was the initial division of Protestantism into confessional parties.

The Final Years

After Marburg, Zwingli wrote three important treatises: *Account of the Faith* (July 1530); *On the Providence of God* (August 1530); and *Exposition of the Christian Faith* (July 1531). All of these works are intensely anti-Lutheran, particularly in their treatment of the Eucharist. Zwingli also unequivocally disagreed with Luther on the matter of gospel and law. Zwingli did not oppose gospel and law, as Luther did; nor did Zwingli believe

that the moral law has been abrogated for Christians. Rather, he asserted that the moral law is the revelation of the will of God for the Christian. Zwingli included the law within the gospel; he tied faith and works together and taught that the law continues to inform the Christian of the duty to live according to God's will. The Christian, justified by faith, must evidence faith through the new works of faith. Zwingli's close connection between gospel and law informed Reformed Protestantism well into the seventeenth century.

In the treatise on providence, Zwingli dealt with PREDESTINATION, asserting that only the elect will come to Christ through faith. Faith is a sign of ELECTION; without election faith is impossible. Because children of Christians are in the covenant, they must be seen as elect persons until they evidence lack of faith. Moreover, according to Zwingli, children of believing parents who die as children are of the elect. Zwingli even included virtuous pagans—such as Socrates—among the elect because God is sovereign and his election is free. When discussing predestination Zwingli always stressed election over reprobation. He did not develop a doctrine of “double predestination”; he spoke only of the decree of election to salvation. This moderate view of single predestination was one of the doctrines that later distinguished Zwinglianism from CALVINISM within Reformed Protestantism.

Political tensions were high within the Swiss Confederation in June of 1529 when war between the Catholic and Reformed states was narrowly avoided. By that time several other Swiss states, including Bern and Basel, had joined Zurich in the Reformed faith. However, when the Catholic Swiss states did declare war on Zurich on October 9, 1531, none of the Reformed states came to Zurich's aid. The Catholic forces attacked at Kappel, south of Zurich, on October 11, and in less than an hour the Reformed forces were defeated. Five hundred Zurichers were killed, including Zwingli, himself a combatant.

Even though Zwingli died, Zwinglianism continued to thrive under the leadership of Bullinger. As Zwingli's successor at Zurich, Bullinger fostered and cultivated the Zwinglian doctrines of the single sphere, the covenant, the Eucharist, the moral law, and predestination.

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ZWINGLIANISM

Reformed Protestantism began with Zwinglianism, named after the Swiss theologian HULDRYCH ZWINGLI (1484–1531). Nevertheless, Zwingli's successor HEINRICH BULLINGER was equally responsible for the development of Zwinglian THEOLOGY. Zwinglianism spread from Zurich to other Swiss states and to most areas in Europe, but it was particularly influential in ENGLAND and the NETHERLANDS. The Zwinglian doctrines on the COVENANT, the Eucharist (or LORD'S SUPPER), and the moral law became part of the established theology of Reformed Protestantism; however, by the early seventeenth century, the Zwinglian positions on PREDESTINATION and the relationship of the church to the state were, for the most part, overshadowed by orthodox CALVINISM.

The Formation and Spread of Zwinglianism

The death of Zwingli and the defeat of Zurich in the battle of Kappel in 1531 were severe setbacks for Reformed Protestantism. However, Zwinglianism entered a second phase when Bullinger was chosen to replace Zwingli as the leader of the Zurich church. Bullinger's great influence in the spread of Zwingli-anism beyond the Swiss Confederation was attributed to his voluminous correspondence (more than 12,000 extant letters) and his prodigious publications (119 separate works in German and Latin). His Second HELVETIC CONFESSION—published in Latin in 1566 and translated into German, French, English, Dutch, Italian, Polish, and Hungarian—is a manifestation of his widespread importance. However, Bullinger's most crucial work for the spread of Zwinglianism was his *Decades*, a collection of fifty didactic sermons arranged topically into five groups of ten sermons. First published in Latin from 1549 to 1551, the *Decades* went through six additional editions in Latin by the end of the century, including one published in London in 1587. Moreover, the *Decades* was published in four German, three French, three English, and ten Dutch editions. Many of Bullinger's other works were also translated into French, Dutch, and English.

In these works, Bullinger clarified the theology of Zwinglianism. One of his first endeavors as leader of the Zurich church was to defend Zwingli's orthodoxy, which was being challenged by both Catholics and Lutherans. Against them, Bullinger declared that Zwingli died as a MARTYR and a prophet, not as a heretic; military defeat did not imply false DOCTRINE. Throughout his long tenure as leader of the Zurich church, Bullinger maintained that he was continuing the work of Zwingli, but, in reality, Bullinger

established his own interpretation of Zwingli. Therefore, the term Zwinglianism encompasses the thought of both Bullinger and Zwingli.

Distinctive Doctrines of Zwinglianism

Five distinctive Reformed doctrines emerged from the theology of Bullinger and Zwingli. First and foremost, the concept of the covenant became a key doctrine in Reformed Protestantism. Zwingli used the doctrine of the covenant in his writings against ANABAPTISM, but he did not develop it as thoroughly as Bullinger did. Bullinger made the covenant a pervasive doctrine in his theology; he was the father of Reformed COVENANT theology. Bullinger maintained that there is only one covenant in human history, which was first made with Adam, then renewed throughout Old Testament times, and, finally, renewed and fulfilled by Christ. This is a mutual, bilateral covenant, in which God promises to be all-sufficient. The covenant conditions for humans are faith and love of one's neighbor. For Bullinger the entire Scripture is the record of the covenant.

A carefully stated doctrine of single predestination was the second distinctive teaching of Zwinglianism. Both Zwingli and Bullinger affirmed God's ELECTION of those who will have faith, although neither of them developed a doctrine of reprobation. Bullinger taught that the offer of the gospel is universal and that those who reject God's grace do so willingly and freely. Those who have faith are the elect; they are saved by God's free grace. For Bullinger election means inclusion in the people of God, in the covenant, but it does not threaten exclusion. Bullinger never acceded to JOHN CALVIN'S doctrine of "double predestination," which became the generally accepted point of view in Reformed Protestantism by the early seventeenth century.

The third distinctive doctrine of Zwinglianism was its doctrine of the Eucharist. Zwingli and Bullinger viewed the Lord's Supper as a remembrance of the sacrificed body and blood of Christ. They taught that both the Eucharist and Baptism as sacraments are visible signs of God's invisible grace and reminders to God's people of their responsibilities to fulfill the covenant conditions. BAPTISM enrolls the infant into the covenant and obligates the individual to keep the conditions of the covenant, just as circumcision did in the Old Testament. The Eucharist is a spiritual, sacramental eating, through faith, in memory of the single sacrifice of Christ, reminding the individual of the responsibility of living a pious life and loving one's neighbor. Bullinger and Calvin were initially at odds on the Eucharist, but they were eventually able to forge an agreement in the Zurich Consensus (*Consensus Tigurinus*) of 1549. There, they concurred that the Lord's Supper is not simply a simile for the spiritual meal; rather, the sacrament functions as the external sealing of an inner, invisible work. Without admitting that he had done so, Bullinger thus relinquished Zwingli's position because Zwingli never would have agreed to such a connection between the external and the internal.

The Zwinglian affirmation of the continuing importance of the moral law in the life of the Christian was its fourth distinctive doctrine. Bullinger agreed with Zwingli's teaching that the moral law is God's will for the Christian, but Bullinger made a more direct

connection between the moral law and the conditions of the covenant. The moral law, as stated in the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, is a paraphrase of those conditions; the Love Commandment is a summary of the Decalogue and thus a concise statement of the covenant conditions of faith and love of one's neighbor. Therefore, the moral law continues to play an active role in the life of a Christian. This Zwinglian emphasis on the continuing importance of the moral law became a fundamental feature of Calvin's theology and within Reformed Protestantism generally.

Finally, Bullinger built on Zwingli's doctrine of the single sphere. There is a single Christian community—the church and the civil community are coterminous. At baptism an individual becomes a member of the covenanted community, which is ruled by the civil magistracy. The pastors, like the Old Testament prophets, make the conditions of the covenant (God's will) known to the people. Similarly, the rulers, like the Old Testament kings, enforce the conditions of the covenant. Calvin, however, held to the two kingdoms theory, distinguishing between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions and maintaining that CHURCH DISCIPLINE must be put in the hands of a CONSISTORY made up of pastors and elders.

The breach between Bullinger and Calvin over predestination and the nature of the Christian community ensured a rift over these issues between Zwinglianism and Calvinism throughout the sixteenth century.

The Struggle over Discipline

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the differences between the Zwinglians and the Calvinists over the nature of the Christian community began to become apparent. In 1553 the Genevan city council confronted Calvin over the role of the Consistory, insisting that only the council had the right to excommunicate and rejecting the claims of the Consistory to that right. Calvin sought Bullinger's assistance, and, despite his aversion to an independent ecclesiastical court, Bullinger came to Calvin's aid by convincing the Zurich city council to give support to Calvin. In their letter to the Genevan authorities, the Zurich magistrates judged that, given the circumstances in Geneva, Calvin's form of church discipline was not utterly improper.

The issue of church discipline soon erupted again, in the Vaud, which had been conquered by Bern in 1536. In 1558 THEODORE BEZA attempted to establish an autonomous Calvinist Consistory at Lausanne, but the Bernese magistrates, who embraced the Zwinglian doctrine of the single sphere, would not allow a discipline separate from governmental control. Consequently, Beza left Lausanne and joined Calvin in Geneva. After Calvin's death Beza remained committed to the idea of an independent church discipline in the hands of a Consistory.

One particularly important struggle over discipline involved both Bullinger and Beza. In 1563 Friedrich III, elector of the Palatinate, aligned his church with Zwinglianism with a Zwinglian type of church discipline. The Calvinists, however, agitated for a church court with independent powers of discipline, and in 1568 a public debate over the issue

took place. The Calvinists were victorious when a new system of discipline, including a church court, was introduced in 1570.

During the controversy THOMAS ERASTUS (Lüber) was the leading defender of the Zwinglian doctrine of the single sphere. Erastus prepared a treatise attacking the Genevan two kingdoms theory and sent a copy both to Bullinger and to Beza. In reply, Beza defended the Calvinist two kingdoms theory. Although Bullinger fully supported Erastus, in the interest of peace he persuaded both Beza and Erastus not to publish their treatises. Nonetheless, in 1589, six years after Erastus's death, his treatise was published in London, and it continued to influence Reformed Protestantism, especially in England.

Zwinglianism in England

Zwinglianism had an early and continuing impact in England. In the early 1530s, during the reign of HENRY VIII, WILLIAM TYNDALE was among the first to be influenced by Zwingli's teaching on the Eucharist and by Bullinger's doctrine of the covenant. In 1541 MILES COVERDALE translated two of Bullinger's writings, *The old fayth* and *The Christen state of Matrimonye*, into English.

John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester and Worcester under Edward VI, spent two years in Zurich absorbing the Zwinglian doctrines of the single sphere, the covenant, and the Eucharist. Hooper's Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist is reflected in the *Second Book of Common Prayer* (1552). Several prominent English churchmen, including JOHN JEWEL, bishop of Salisbury under ELIZABETH I, had sought refuge in Zurich during the reign of Catholic Queen Mary. Moreover, Elizabeth's second archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, was converted to Reformed Protestantism by the writings of Bullinger.

Hundreds of letters were exchanged between Bullinger and the leaders of the Elizabethan church, and a total of forty English editions involving twenty of Bullinger's works were published between 1538 and 1587. During the 1570s and 1580s the English version of his *Decades* (three editions: 1577, 1584, and 1587) became required reading for the theological education of many English ministers.

By the 1590s the Zwinglian view of the single sphere was well known in England, but the competing Genevan two kingdoms theory—expressed by the Presbyterians—was also a powerful factor in England by the end of the century. JOHN WHITGIFT was the principal apologist for English Erastianism against PRESBYTERIANISM. Hundreds of times in his writings, he invoked the words of Zwingli, Bullinger, and other Zwinglians to buttress his own arguments.

Whitgift was the patron of RICHARD HOOKER, whose *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* also show evidence of the influence of Zwinglianism. The Erastians in the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly during the 1640s were similarly influenced by Zurich. Finally, THOMAS HOBBS'S *Leviathan* shows that the sixteenth-century Erastians were his forebears as well, although he departs from the earlier Erastians when he states that religious truth is whatever the civil sovereign determines it to be.

Zwinglianism in the Netherlands

Zwinglianism had a profound influence in the Netherlands. Bullinger's *Decades* first appeared in Dutch in 1563 and soon became one of the most widely read devotional books in the Netherlands. The *Decades* was also used by preachers in the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH and was even read from the pulpit along with biblical passages. Furthermore, beginning in the early seventeenth century, the chaplains on the ships of the Dutch East India Company were required to read from Bullinger's *Decades*, thus making it a basic source for Christian education in the Dutch colonies.

However, sixteenth-century Dutch thinkers—forerunners of the REMONSTRANTS, who taught a conditional covenant in tandem with either a doctrine of single predestination or outright universalism—also appealed to the *Decades*. Early in the seventeenth century, the Remonstrants declared that Bullinger was in complete agreement with them and that he disagreed with Calvin's doctrine of double predestination. However, the Counter-Remonstrants disagreed, claiming that Bullinger's doctrine of predestination was in complete accord with Calvin's doctrine. In 1618 Johann Jacob Breitingering, the leader of the Zurich church, addressed the Synod of Dort, arguing that Bullinger agreed fully with Calvin on predestination. Although Bullinger himself would not have agreed with either side at Dort, his name was nonetheless sullied by the Remonstrants and his influence in the Netherlands dwindled. Of the forty-four different editions of Bullinger's works published in the Netherlands, only seven were published after Dort—one in 1619, four in 1621 and 1622, one in 1645, and one in 1665.

The Remonstrants and Calvinists also disagreed on the relationship of the church with the government. The Calvinists insisted on an independent church discipline by a Consistory to ensure that only true Christians would partake of the Lord's Supper. The Remonstrants desired a comprehensive church, under the authority of a Christian government, with the Eucharist open to all who wished to participate. They thus followed the Zwinglian model, in keeping with the thirty-sixth article of the BELGIC CONFESSIO, which gave the magistrate authority over the church. As a consequence of the Calvinists' triumph at Dort, Calvinism became the official religion and was favored politically and economically by the government. Nonetheless, the civil authorities, who argued that the Reformed church now existed under a Christian government, continued to exercise authority over the church in the Netherlands.

Conclusion

The Zwinglian doctrines on the Lord's Supper and the moral law endured as characteristic doctrines in all Reformed churches. The Zwinglian doctrine of the covenant also persisted in Reformed theology, as evidenced in the WESTMINSTER CONFESSIO of Faith (1647), Scottish covenant theology, and the covenant thought of JOHANNES COCEJUS. Moreover, the new federal political theory of JOHANNES ALTHUSIUS was founded partially on Zwinglian covenant theology. Even the

Zwinglian moderate view of predestination endured as a Reformed alternative to orthodox Calvinism in the thought of such men as Moise Amyraut. However, the Zwinglian doctrine of the single sphere was replaced in the Reformed tradition by the two kingdoms theory of Presbyterianism and CONGREGATIONALISM.

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APPENDIX

Statistics of Global Protestantism in a Variety of Contexts

- Table 1. Worldwide adherents of all religions by six continental areas, mid-2000.
Table 2. Religious adherents in the United States of America, AD 1900–2000.
Table 3. Protestant-affiliated church members in the world’s 238 countries and six continents, in the context of the five other major Christian traditions.
Table 4. Organized Protestantism and its core global membership ranked by its 27 ecclesiastico-cultural major traditions or families, AD 1970–2025.
Table 5. Statistics describing each of the 45 ministries of evangelism.

Sources: All data in the statistical tables are courtesy of David B.Barrett and Todd M.Johnson, Center for World Evangelization Research and Center for the Study of Global Christianity, Richmond, Virginia. Tables 1 and 2 are reprinted from the *Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year 2003*, with permission. All data in Table 3 may be seen in wider and fuller contexts and formats in D.B.Barrett, G.T.Kurian, and T.M.Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001; and *World Christian Trends, AD 30-AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001.

Definition of “Protestants”: As explained in this Encyclopedia’s article “Statistics,” there are two usages of the term. (1) The more common usage accepted by most observers restricts the term “Protestants” to those denominations and confessions using the term to describe themselves. In the aforementioned article we describe them by the term “Core Protestants.” (2) A less common but still widespread usage includes Anglicans, Independents, and Marginal Christians as Protestants although these three reject the term; for clarity, we describe all four as making up “Wider Protestants.” The four tables in this Appendix use only this first usage of “Protestants” and for rapid access all their statistical lines and columns are given here in boldface type. Readers wanting totals of “Wider Protestants” can readily obtain them by adding all four categories (columns 3, 4, 5, and 6 in Table 3).

Table 1. Worldwide adherents of all religions by six continental areas, mid-2000

	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin America	Northern America	Oceania	World	%	Number of Countries
Christians	360,232,000	312,849,000	559,643,000	481,102,000	260,624,000	25,110,000	1,999,560,000	33.0	238
Affiliated Christians	335,116,000	307,288,000	536,832,000	475,659,000	212,167,000	21,375,000	1,888,437,000	31.2	238
Roman Catholics	120,386,000	110,480,000	285,978,000	461,220,000	71,035,000	8,228,000	1,057,327,000	17.5	235
Protestants	89,001,000	49,967,000	77,529,000	48,132,000	69,978,000	7,392,000	341,999,000	5.6	233
Orthodox	35,304,000	14,113,000	158,105,000	558,000	6,342,000	706,000	215,128,000	3.6	135
Anglicans	42,542,000	727,000	26,637,000	1,090,000	3,244,000	5,409,000	79,649,000	1.3	166
Other Christians	86,268,000	157,218,000	29,288,000	46,301,000	90,769,000	1,966,000	411,810,000	6.8	223
Unaffiliated Christians	25,116,000	5,561,000	22,811,000	5,443,000	48,458,000	3,735,000	111,124,000	1.8	236
Non-Christians	424,213,000	3,369,701,000	169,244,000	38,036,000	49,007,000	5,283,000	4,055,484,000	67.0	238
Atheists	420,000	121,945,000	22,922,000	2,757,000	1,680,000	365,000	150,089,000	2.5	161
Baha'is	1,733,000	3,475,000	130,000	873,000	786,000	110,000	7,107,000	0.1	218
Buddhists	134,000	354,651,000	1,547,000	647,000	2,701,000	301,000	359,981,000	5.9	126
Chinese folk religionists	32,000	383,408,000	255,000	194,000	854,000	64,000	384,807,000	6.4	89
Confucianists	0	6,264,000	11,000	0	0	24,000	6,299,000	0.1	15
Ethnic religionists	96,805,000	128,298,000	1,263,000	1,288,000	444,000	268,000	228,366,000	3.8	142
Hindus	2,351,000	805,120,000	1,416,000	768,000	1,327,000	355,000	811,337,000	13.4	114
Jains	66,000	4,145,000	0	0	7,000	0	4,218,000	0.1	10
Jews	214,000	4,429,000	2,527,000	1,142,000	6,024,000	97,000	14,433,000	0.2	134
Mandeans	0	39,000	0	0	0	0	39,000	0.0	2
Muslims	317,374,000	832,879,000	31,566,000	1,672,000	4,450,000	301,000	1,188,242,000	19.6	204
New-Religi	28,000	100,639,000	158,000	623,000	842,000	66,000	102,356,000	1.7	60

onists									
Shintoists	0	2,699,000	0	7,000	56,000	0	2,762,000	0.0	8
Sikhs	53,000	22,421,000	239,000	0	528,000	18,000	23,259,000	0.4	34
Spiritists	3,000	2,000	133,000	12,039,000	151,000	7,000	12,335,000	0.2	55
Zoroastrians	1,000	2,463,000	1,000	0	78,000	1,000	2,544,000	0.0	24
Other religiousists	5,092,000	611,262,000	107,076,000	16,026,000	29,079,000	3,306,000	771,841,000	12.7	76
Non religious	5,024,000	608,594,000	106,841,000	15,928,000	28,473,000	3,298,000	768,158,000	12.7	236
Total population	784,445,000	3,682,550,000	728,887,000	519,138,000	309,631,000	30,393,000	6,055,044,000	100.0	238

Continents. These follow current UN demographic terminology, which now divides the world into the six major areas shown above. See United Nations, *World Population Prospects: The 1998 Revision* (New York: UN, 1999), with populations of all continents, regions, and countries covering the period 1950–2050. Note that “Asia” now includes the former Soviet Central Asian states and “Europe” now includes all of Russia extending eastward to Vladivostok, the Sea of Japan, and the Bering Strait.

Countries. The last column enumerates sovereign and nonsovereign countries in which each religion or religious grouping has a numerically significant and organized following.

Adherents. As defined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a person’s religion is what he or she says it is. Totals are enumerated for each of the world’s 238 countries following the methodology of the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (2001), using recent censuses, polls, literature, and other data.

Christians. Followers of Jesus Christ affiliated with churches (church members, including children: 1,888,437,000) plus persons professing in censuses or polls to be Christians though not so affiliated. Figures for the subgroups of Christians do not add up to the totals in the first line because some Christians adhere to more than one denomination.

Other Christians. This term in the table denotes Catholics (non-Roman), marginal Protestants, independents, postdenominationalists, crypto-Christians, and adherents of African, Asian, Black, and Latin American indigenous churches.

Atheists. Persons professing atheism, skepticism, disbelief, or irreligion, including the antireligious (opposed to all religion).

Buddhists. 56% Mahayana, 38% Theravada (Hinayana), 6% Tantrayana (Lamaism).

Chinese folk-religionists. Followers of traditional Chinese religion (local deities, ancestor veneration, Confucian ethics, Taoism, universalism, divination, and some Buddhist elements).

Confucianists. Non-Chinese followers of Confucius and Confucianism, mostly Koreans in Korea.

Ethnic religionists. Followers of local, tribal, animistic, or shamanistic religions.

Hindus. 70% Vaishnavites, 25% Shaivites, 2% neo-Hindus and reform Hindus. **Jews.** Adherents of Judaism. For detailed data on “core” Jewish population, see the annual “World Jewish Populations” article in the American Jewish Committee’s *American Jewish Year Book*.

Muslims. 83% Sunnites, 16% Shi’ites, 1% other schools. Until 1990 the Muslims in the former U.S.S.R. who had embraced communism were not included as Muslims in this table. After the collapse of communism in 1990–91, these Muslims were once again enumerated as Muslims if they had returned to Islamic profession and practice.

New-Religionists. Followers of Asian 20th-century New Religions, New Religious movements, radical new crisis religions, and non-Christian syncretistic mass religions, all founded since 1800 and most since 1945.

Other religionists. Including 70 minor world religions and more than 10,000 national or local religions and a large number of spiritist religions, New Age religions, quasi religions, pseudoreligions, parareligions, religious or mystic systems, and religious and semireligious brotherhoods of numerous varieties.

Nonreligious. Persons professing no religion, nonbelievers, agnostics, freethinkers, or dereligionized secularists indifferent to all religion.

Total Population. UN medium variant figures for mid-2000, as given in *World Population Prospects: The 1998 Revision*.

Table 2. Religious adherents in the United States of America, AD 1900–2000

	Year 1900	%	1910				Annual change, 1990–1995				2000			
			mid-1910	%	mid-1910	%	Natural	Conversion	Total	Rate (%)	mid-1995	%	mid-2000	%
Christians	73,270,000	96.4	191,182,000	91.0	217,719,000	85.7	2,218,400	-245,000	1,973,400	0.89	227,586,000	85.2	235,742,000	84.6
Affiliated Christians	54,425,000	71.6	153,299,000	73.0	175,820,000	69.2	1,791,400	-107,000	1,684,400	0.94	184,242,000	69.0	191,828,000	68.8
Roman Catholics	10,775,000	14.2	48,305,000	23.0	56,500,000	22.2	575,700	-532,700	43,000	0.08	56,715,000	21.2	58,000,000	20.8
Protestants	35,000,000	46.1	58,568,000	27.9	60,216,000	23.7	613,500	-151,700	461,800	0.76	62,525,000	23.4	64,570,000	23.2
Anglicans	1,600,000	2.1	3,196,000	1.5	2,450,000	1.0	25,000	-26,000	-1,000	-0.04	2,445,000	0.9	2,400,000	0.9
Orthodox	400,000	0.5	4,163,000	2.0	5,150,000	2.0	52,500	11,900	64,400	1.22	5,472,000	2.0	5,762,000	2.1
Independents	5,850,000	7.7	35,645,000	17.0	66,900,000	26.3	681,600	527,000	1,208,600	1.74	72,943,000	27.3	78,550,000	28.2
Marginal Christians	800,000	1.1	6,126,000	2.9	8,940,000	3.5	91,100	21,300	112,400	1.23	9,502,000	3.6	10,080,000	3.6
Multiple affiliation	0	0.0	-2,704,000	-1.3	-24,336,000	-9.6	-248,000	43,200	-204,800	-0.83	-25,360,000	-9.5	-27,534,000	-9.9
<i>Evangelicals</i>	<i>32,068,000</i>	<i>42.2</i>	<i>31,516,000</i>	<i>15.0</i>	<i>37,349,000</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>380,600</i>	<i>12,400</i>	<i>393,000</i>	<i>1.03</i>	<i>39,314,000</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>40,640,000</i>	<i>14.6</i>
<i>Evangelicals</i>	<i>11,000,000</i>	<i>14.5</i>	<i>45,500,000</i>	<i>21.7</i>	<i>87,656,000</i>	<i>34.5</i>	<i>893,100</i>	<i>267,100</i>	<i>1,160,200</i>	<i>1.29</i>	<i>93,457,000</i>	<i>35.0</i>	<i>98,662,000</i>	<i>35.4</i>
Unaffiliated Christians	18,845,000	24.8	37,883,000	18.0	41,899,000	16.5	426,900	-137,900	289,000	0.68	43,344,000	16.2	43,914,000	15.8
Non-Christians	2,725,000	3.6	18,929,000	9.0	36,357,000	14.3	370,400	245,000	615,400	1.64	39,434,000	14.8	42,915,000	15.4
Atheists	1,000	0.0	200,000	0.1	770,000	0.3	7,800	28,200	36,000	4.29	950,000	0.4	1,150,000	0.4
Baha'is	3,000	0.0	138,000	0.1	600,000	0.2	6,100	10,300	16,400	2.60	682,000	0.3	753,000	0.3
Buddhists	30,000	0.0	200,000	0.1	1,880,000	0.7	19,200	34,800	54,000	2.72	2,150,000	0.8	2,450,000	0.9
Chinese folk religionists	70,000	0.1	90,000	0.0	76,000	0.0	800	-600	200	0.26	77,000	0.0	78,000	0.0
Hindus	1,000	0.0	100,000	0.0	750,000	0.3	7,600	28,400	36,000	4.40	930,000	0.3	1,032,000	0.4
Jews	1,500,000	2.0	6,700,000	3.2	5,535,000	2.2	56,400	-43,400	13,000	0.23	5,600,000	2.1	5,621,000	2.0
Muslims	10,000	0.0	800,000	0.4	3,560,000	1.4	36,300	16,700	53,000	1.45	3,825,000	1.4	4,132,000	1.5
Black Muslims	0	0.0	200,000	0.1	1,250,000	0.5	12,700	17,300	30,000	2.29	1,400,000	0.5	1,650,000	0.6
New-Religionists	0	0.0	110,000	0.1	575,000	0.2	5,900	17,100	23,000	3.71	690,000	0.3	811,000	0.3
Sikhs	0	0.0	1,000	0.0	160,000	0.1	1,600	4,800	6,400	3.71	192,000	0.1	234,000	0.1
Ethnic religion	100,000	0.1	70,000	0.0	280,000	0.1	2,900	18,500	21,400	6.69	387,000	0.1	435,000	0.2

nists														
Other religi onists	10,000	0.0	450,000	0.2	757,000	0.3	7,700	1,100	8,800	1.1	801,000	0.3	1,141,000	0.4
Nonreli gious	1,000, 000	1.3	10,070, 000	4.8	21,414, 000	8.4	218,200	129,000	347,200	1.57	23,150, 000	8.7	25,078,000	9.0
Total popula tion	75,995, 000	100.0	210,111, 000	100.0	254,076, 000	100.0	2,807, 000	129,000	2,936, 000	1.00	267,020, 000	100.0	278,657, 000	100.0

Methodology. This table extracts and analyzes a microcosm of the world religion table. It depicts the United States, the country with the largest number of adherents to Christianity, the world's largest religion. Statistics at five points in time across the 20th century are presented. Each religion's *Annual change* is also analyzed by *Natural* increase (births minus deaths, plus immigrants minus emigrants) per year and *Conversion* increase (new converts minus new defectors) per year, which together constitute the *Total* increase per year. *Rate* increase is then computed as percentage per year.

Structure. Vertically the table lists 27 major religious categories. The major religions (including nonreligion) in the U.S. are listed with largest (Christians) first and Other religionists and Nonreligious last. Indented names of groups in the "Adherents" column are subcategories of the groups above them and are also counted in these unindented totals, so they should not be added twice into the column total. Figures in italics draw adherents from all categories of Christians above and so cannot be added together with them. Figures for Christians in 1970, 1990, and 1995 are built upon detailed head counts by churches, often to the last digit. Totals are then rounded to the nearest 1,000. Because of rounding, the corresponding percentage figures may sometimes not total exactly 100%. Figures for AD 2000 are projections based on current trends.

Christians. All persons who profess publicly to follow Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. This category is subdivided into **Affiliated Christians** (church members) and **Unaffiliated** (nominal) **Christians** (professing Christians not affiliated with any church). *See also* the note on Christians under Table 1.

Evangelicals/evangelicals. These two designations—italicized and enumerated separately here—cut across all of the six Christian traditions listed above and should be considered separately from them. **Evangelicals** are Protestant churches, agencies, and individuals that call themselves by this term (for example, members of the National Organization of Evangelicals); they usually emphasize 5 or more of 7, 9, or 21 fundamental doctrines (salvation by faith, personal acceptance, verbal inspiration of Scripture, depravity of man, Virgin Birth, miracles of Christ, atonement, evangelism, Second Advent, et al.). The **evangelicals** are Christians from all traditions who are committed to the evangel (gospel) and involved in personal witness and mission in the world.

Independents. Members of churches and networks that regard themselves as postdenominationalist and neo-apostolic and thus independent of historic, organized, institutionalized, denominationalist Christianity.

Marginal Christians. Members of denominations on the margins of organized mainstream Christianity (Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Science, Religious Science).

Non-Christians. Followers of non-Christian religions or, in the case of **Nonreligious**, no religion.

Jews. Core Jewish population relating to Judaism, excluding Jewish persons professing a different religion.

Other categories. Definitions are as given above under Table 1.

Table 3. Protestant-affiliated church members in the world's 238 countries, in the context of the 5 other major Christian traditions

This table gives a worldwide overview of Protestantism in all countries of the world, arranged as follows: column 1=*short name of country*, in English; column 2=*population* of country in AD mid-2000; column 3 (shown in bold type)=total *Core Protestants* in country (Protestantisms' total Christian community, being total affiliated church members including their children and infants; in many cases, total baptized community; column 4=total *Anglicans* (affiliated, including children); column 5=total *Independents* (affiliated church members and children; including Postdenominationalists and independent Charismatics); column 6=total *Marginal Christians* (adherents and members of nontrinitarian or antitrinitarian churches, defining themselves as outside or on the margins of mainstream Christianity); column 7=total *Orthodox* (affiliated to Orthodox patriarchates, including their children); 8=total *Roman Catholics* (all baptized members including children).

1 <i>Country</i>	2 <i>Population 2000</i>	3 <i>Protestants</i>	4 <i>Anglicans</i>	5 <i>Independents</i>	6 <i>Marginals</i>	7 <i>Orthodox</i>	8 <i>Roman Catholics</i>
Afghanistan	22,720,416	2,000	100	3,000	200	100	1,497
Albania	3,113,434	20,000	0	17,000	12,000	500,000	521,390
Algeria	31,471,278	3,400	200	65,000	200	1,800	20,277
American Samoa	68,089	35,800	190	1,780	8,000	0	9,470
Andorra	77,985	140	0	80	450	0	69,535
Angola	12,878,188	1,930,238	4,000	880,000	120,000	0	8,000,000
Anguilla	8,309	4,126	2,650	0	100	0	310
Antigua	67,560	21,000	22,613	1,200	1400	0	7,800
Argentina	37,027,297	2,295,000	19,000	2,050,000	500,000	158,000	33,750,000
Armenia	3,519,569	12,000	0	28,000	1,200	2,752,493	160,000
Aruba	102,747	7,500	750	1,350	1,300	0	84,341
Australia	18,879,524	2,630,000	4,060,000	840,000	220,000	700,000	5,400,000
Austria	8,210,520	413,570	3,100	73,000	65,000	155,000	6,200,000
Azerbaijan	7,734,015	1,400	0	3,600	0	345,302	7,500

Bahamas	306,529	167,171	27,300	19,000	5,000	380	48,000
Bahrain	617,217	5,100	3,000	27,058	40	2,500	25,000
Bangladesh	129,155,152	160,490	0	536,000	90	160	235,000
Barbados	270,449	85,158	77,300	17,500	5,600	300	11,000
Belgium	10,161,164	125,000	10,800	40,000	72,000	48,500	8,222,396
Belize	240,709	39,500	10,500	5,200	5,000	0	136,939
Belorussia	10,236,181	130,000	0	110,000	8,000	4,986,077	1,350,000
Benin	6,096,559	230,000	0	175,000	13,000	0	1,266,195
Bermuda	64,590	19,500	24,200	7,000	1,650	0	10,384
Bhutan	2,123,970	3,200	0	5,849	0	0	600
Bolivia	8,328,665	530,000	1,100	145,000	135,000	3,100	7,350,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,971,813	2,700	0	750	1,300	700,000	681,135
Botswana	1,622,220	178,000	10,500	498,253	4,200	120	60,000
Bougainville	198,495	22,650	0	14,000	280	0	148,401
Brazil	170,115,463	30,200,000	125,000	25,500,000	1,420,000	170,000	153,300,000
Britain	58,830,160	5,050,000	26,278,000	2,140,000	550,000	370,000	5,620,000
British Virgin Is	21,366	9,792	2,800	1,000	600	0	700
Brunei	328,080	6,000	4,592	8,300	100	0	5,600
Bulgaria	8,225,045	95,000	0	580,000	6,500	5,886,450	90,000
Burkina Faso	11,936,823	799,000	0	54,000	2,000	0	1,129,078
Burundi	6,695,001	800,000	500,000	23,000	900	1,400	3,827,541
Cambodia	11,167,719	21,500	40	74,708	150	0	22,000
Cameroon	15,084,969	3,120,000	900	590,000	60,000	1,200	3,989,401
Canada	31,146,639	5,350,000	820,000	1,680,000	450,000	580,000	13,017,945
Cape Verde	427,724	15,500	0	12,800	4,800	0	417,000
Cayman Islands	38,371	20,690	500	4,050	380	0	200
Central African Rep	3,615,266	520,800	0	418,000	5,560	0	664,639
Chad	7,650,982	782,756	0	152,000	1,100	0	502,158
Channel Islands	152,898	10,500	67,511	0	270	200	22,300
Chile	15,211,294	382,000	12,000	3,820,000	420,000	23,750	11,800,000
China	1,262,556,787	640,000	23,000	80,708,347	29,000	55,000	7,500,000
Colombia	42,321,361	1400,000	3,600	535,000	275,000	7,200	40,670,000
Comoros	592,749	900	0	400	10	0	5,751
Congo-Brazzaville	2,943,464	500,000	0	370,000	11,300	400	1,451,178
Congo-Zaire	51,654,496	10,485,000	440,000	12,050,000	360,000	8,100	26,300,000
Cook Islands	19,522	14,200	100	60	1,650	0	3,650
Costa Rica	4,023,422	330,000	1,600	108,000	75,000	0	3,660,000
Croatia	4,472,600	26,000	0	11,386	9,000	250,000	3,960,000
Cuba	11,200,684	190,000	3,600	135,000	125,000	1,400	4,367,909
Cyprus	600,506	4,600	3,300	400	8,200	525,294	9,800
Czech Republic	10,244,177	320,000	1,200	270,000	32,000	60,000	4,135,936
Denmark	5,293,239	4,639,710	4,800	36,000	36,000	1,400	33,200 ,
Djibouti	637,634	240	0	200	0	18,900	8,854
Dominica	70,714	11,200	1,320	2,100	750	0	56,300
Dominican	8,495,338	360,000	4,400	130,000	60,000	0	7,522,305

Republic							
Ecuador	12,646,068	240,000	1,600	225,000	185,000	1,800	11,900,000
Egypt	68,469,695	550,000	2,500	225,000	900	9,317,066	225,000
El Salvador	6,276,023	530,000	400	710,000	110,000	0	5,723,000
Equatorial Guinea	452,661	15,200	0	18,000	1,200	0	391,000
Eritrea	3,850,388	22,000	0	7,800	0	1,774,558	130,000
Estonia	1,396,158	240,000	0	46,000	8,000	230,000	5,875
Ethiopia	62,564,875	8,510,000	800	860,000	12,500	22,837,859	450,000
Faeroe Islands	42,749	38,860	0	400	200	0	130
Fiji	816,905	375,000	8,300	86,000	15,000	0	85,000
Finland	5,175,743	4,635,000	170	77,700	38,000	55,900	6,400
France	59,079,709	910,000	13,200	1,325,000	330,000	660,000	48,600,000
French Guiana	181,313	7,000	90	1,700	5,500	0	145,000
French Polynesia	235,061	110,000	0	4,800	25,000	0	100,000
Gabon	1,226,127	233,000	0	180,000	7,500	0	745,000
Gambia	1,305,363	3,670	2,800	8,950	90	450	31,238
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Prote</i>	<i>Anglicans</i>	<i>Indepe</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>Ortho</i>	<i>Roman</i>
	<i>2000</i>	<i>stants</i>		<i>ndents</i>	<i>ginals</i>	<i>dox</i>	<i>Catholics</i>
Georgia	4,967,561	24,000	0	42,000	1,000	2,886,814	55,000
Germany	82,220,490	30,420,000	27,000	728,000	540,000	680,000	28,700,000
Ghana	20,212,495	3,360,000	250,000	2,920,376	210,000	1,600	1,925,000
Gibraltar	25,082	380	1,900	0	240	0	21,200
Greece	10,644,744	21,400	3,600	228,000	40,000	9,900,000	62,000
Greenland	56,156	38,880	0	120	240	0	110
Grenada	93,717	19,100	14,400	3,700	1,400	0	52,700
Guadeloupe	455,687	22,500	0	1,120	19,700	0	433,000
Guam	167,556	17,500	900	2,900	4,300	0	139,400
Guatemala	11,385,295	1,450,000	1,800	1,030,000	160,000	0	9,600,000
Guinea	7,430,346	69,182	1,400	43,000	740	0	117,000
Guinea-Bissau	1,213,111	9,500	280	31,000	70	0	141,000
Guyana	861,334	168,636	77,000	27,000	6,100	8,800	86,500
Haiti	8,222,025	1,440,000	105,000	430,000	50,000	0	6,520,000
Honduras	6,485,445	425,000	6,000	180,000	70,000	7,200	5,590,000
Hungary	10,035,568	2,560,000	0	165,000	40,000	90,000	6,330,000
Iceland	280,969	250,459	0	11,000	900	0	2,900
India	1,013,661,777	16,826,000	0	34,200,000	50,000	3,100,000	15,500,000
Indonesia	212,107,385	12,125,000	3,400	8,436,000	48,000	100	5,752,358
Iran	67,702,199	13,800	1,200	80,000	300	202,290	16,400
Iraq	23,114,884	1,400	200	315,547	30	139,485	268,000
Ireland	3,730,239	31,500	134,000	19,000	9,500	1,550	3,159,896
Isle of Man	79,166	11,200	33,588	210	640	0	6,800
Israel	5,121,683	19,000	2,200	85,000	1,000	46,878	140,000
Italy	57,297,886	446,000	10,600	415,000	420,000	91,000	55,680,000

Ivory Coast	14,785,832	760,000	0	1,373,000	18,000	20,000	2,182,882
Jamaica	2,582,577	643,413	103,000	232,000	30,000	3,300	110,000
Japan	126,714,220	570,881	60,000	1,600,000	720,000	26,000	460,000
Jordan	6,669,341	9,822	7,200	77,000	170	131,330	48,000
Kazakhstan	16,222,563	25,000	0	650,000	5,000	1,401,803	510,000
Kenya	30,080,372	6,375,000	3,000,000	6,607,000	30,000	740,000	7,000,000
Kirgizstan	4,699,337	30,000	0	70,500	500	363,065	1,600
Kiribati	83,387	37,000	50	1,300	1,700	0	44,100
Kuwait	1,971,634	1,100	200	64,000	50	7,000	175,185
Laos	5,433,036	34,400	200	45,613	350	0	32,000
Latvia	2,356,508	560,000	0	115,000	2,500	555,000	490,000
Lebanon	3,281,787	20,000	200	118,000	8,000	535,000	1,395,000
Lesotho	2,152,553	279,000	102,000	254,000	3,800	0	806,529
Liberia	3,154,001	430,000	34,500	538,500	8,000	0	150,000
Libya	5,604,722	4,500	150	14,000	60	106,642	45,000
Liechtenstein	32,843	2,520	0	40	110	0	24,381
Lithuania	3,670,269	44,000	0	32,000	4,300	114,000	3,105,000
Luxembourg	430,615	7,500	600	2,200	3,000	1,100	407,000
Macedonia	2,023,580	7,000	0	8,192	1,400	1,200,000	70,600
Madagascar	15,941,727	4,090,000	320,000	510,000	27,500	4,400	3,662,363
Malawi	10,925,238	2,140,000	230,000	1,830,000	130,000	4,400	2,697,860
Malaysia	22,244,062	660,000	205,000	178,000	4,000	2,300	721,889
Maldives	286,223	258	0	20	0	.0	80
Mali	11,233,821	82,000	0	16,300	500	0	125,565
Malta	388,544	1,000	1,100	750	900	130	367,501
Marshall Islands	64,220	67,431	0	8,100	2,500	0	5,250
Martinique	395,362	23,700	0	4,349	8,000	0	366,000
Mauritania	2,669,547	600	0	1,700	10	0	4,216
Mauritius	1,156,498	110,000	5,000	3,400	2,500	0	310,000
Mayotte	101,621	350	0	160	100	0	1,256
Mexico	98,881,289	3,280,000	187,800	2,900,000	1,950,000	100,000	92,770,000
Micronesia	118,689	47,000	0	1,700	3,300	0	74,578
Moldavia	4,380,492	78,000	0	670,000	27,000	1,950,558	73,000
Monaco	33,597	681	330	0	0	90	30,000
Mongolia	2,662,020	21,573	0	10,000	70	1,400	350
Montserrat	10,629	5,500	3,100	1,050	130	0	1,400
Morocco	28,220,843	4,100	450	147,000	110	740	22,076
Mozambique	19,680,456	1,750,000	110,000	1,422,033	68,000	500	3,110,000
Myanmar	45,611,177	2,511,664	58,000	575,000	6,800	0	590,000
Namibia	1,725,868	820,000	31,000	187,000	5,000	0	306,211
Nauru	11,519	5,840	320	380	40	0	2,920
Nepal	23,930,490	14,561	0	551,000	1,000	2,500	7,000
Netherlands	15,785,699	4,238,853	8,600	490,000	88,000	7,400	5,450,000
Netherlands	216,775	23,000	2,550	2,100	6,400	0	150,862

Antilles								
New Caledonia	214,029	30,000	160	11,000	4,500	0	116,019	
New Zealand	3,861,905	931,219	825,000	190,000	115,000	6,000	495,000	
Nicaragua	5,074,194	590,000	8,300	155,000	51,000	0	4,320,000	
Niger	10,730,102	13,000	0	25,000	600	0	19,670	
Nigeria	111,506,095	14,050,000	20,070,000	23,975,000	600,000	3,100	13,400,000	
North Korea	24,039,193	10,000	0	432,413	2,800	0	55,000	
Northern Cyprus	185,045	0	0	2,236	0	13,870	0	
Northern Mariana Is	78,356	6,500	0	6,660	1,870	0	69,300	
Norway	4,461,033	4,200,000	2,000	136,000	24,000	1,600	45,000	
Oman	2,541,739	5,700	2,800	43,916	0	16,500	53,000	
Pakistan	156,483,155	1,796,000	0	850,000	1,245	0	1,165,000	
Palau	19,426	5,600	0	4,100	650	0	8,600	
Palestine	2,215,393	3,900	3,500	103,349	1,400	48,140	28,000	
Panama	2,855,683	340,000	23,500	73,000	42,000	1,400	2,210,000	
Papua New Guinea	4,608,145	2,610,000	308,000	270,000	15,400	400	1,380,000	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Country</i>	<i>Popu- lation 2000</i>	<i>Prote- stants</i>	<i>Ang- licans</i>	<i>Indepe- ndents</i>	<i>Mar- ginals</i>	<i>Ortho- dox</i>	<i>Roman Catholics</i>
Paraguay	5,496,453	200,000	17,600	70,800	26,000	2,000	4,950,000
Peru	25,661,669	1,480,000	2,000	456,000	330,000	5,500	24,550,000
Philippines	75,966,500	3,775,000	120,000	14,330,000	670,000	0	62,570,000
Poland	38,765,085	195,000	0	330,000	200,000	1,030,000	35,743,059
Portugal	9,874,853	135,000	3,050	277,000	98,000	1,200	8,970,000
Puerto Rico	3,868,602	505,000	12,400	249,000	95,000	1300	2,900,000
Qatar	599,065	4,000	8,000	10,235	0	1,300	36,100
Reunion	699,406	31,500	0	700	6,000	0	611,000
Romania	22,326,502	2380,000	450	290,000	150,000	19,000,000	3,237,000
Russia	146,933,847	1,630,000	3,300	7,800,000	200,000	75,950,000	1,500,000
Rwanda	7,733,127	1,619,822	600,000	165,000	8,000	2,000	3,942,000
Sahara	293,357	0	0	347	0	0	140
Saint Helena	6,293	520	4,412	160	200	0	40
Saint Kitts & Nevis	38,473	22,270	9,700	1,500	510	0	4,850
Saint Lucia	154,366	20,500	4,400	3,239	1,400	0	116,000
Saint Pierre & Miquelon	6,567	70	0	0	40	0	6,465
Saint Vincent	113,954	33,854	19,715	13,300	1,500	70	10,000
Samoa	180,073	128,000	450	2,000	17,000	0	39,500
San Marino	26,514	0	0	0	270	0	23,509
Sao Tome & Principe	146,775	5,450	0	15,500	600	0	110,553
Saudi Arabia	21,606,691	38,000	2,000	85,000	110	36,000	625,875
Senegal	9,481,161	9,800	160	14,000	2,300	0	441,031

Seychelles	77,435	1,950	5,200	50	270	0	70,000
Sierra Leone	4,854,383	171,000	25,000	165,000	2,700	610	169,140
Singapore	3,566,614	126,536	34,000	94,000	4,000	1,400	143,000
Slovakia	5,387,191	600,000	0	23,000	20,000	21,000	3,660,186
Slovenia	1,985,557	32,000	0	31,000	2,800	12,000	1,659,006
Solomon Islands	443,643	159,000	169,503	22,500	4,200	0	48,000
Somalia	7,264,500	1,100	30	5,500	0	91,753	200
Somaliland	2,832,677	330	320	3,300	0	4,400	31
South Africa	40,376,579	12,410,000	2,660,000	18,500,000	190,000	150,000	3,350,000
South Korea	46,843,989	8,870,000	110,000	7,700,000	850,000	5,000	3,700,000
Spain	39,629,775	120,000	12,000	320,000	200,000	2,250	38,080,000
Spanish North Africa	130,000	650	0	800	0	0	102,874
Sri Lanka	18,827,054	102,000	55,000	331,120	7,000	0	1,260,000
Sudan	29,489,719	796,000	2,320,000	150,000	900	155,000	3,148,593
Suriname	417,130	71,334	800	2,800	4,400	0	93,000
Swaziland	1,007,895	153,200	40,000	460,000	5,500	0	54,000
Sweden	8,910,214	8,420,000	2,880	60,000	56,000	120,000	175,000
Switzerland	7,385,708	3,040,000	13,300	160,000	122,000	26,000	3,260,000
Syria	16,124,618	30,040	4,000	100,000	400	798,269	325,000
Taiwan	22,401,000	400,000	1,650	451,093	27,000	0	300,000
Tajikistan	6,188,201	17,000	0	15,000	200	93,000	4,412
Tanzania	33,517,014	5,530,000	2,650,000	638,000	18,000	12,500	8,283,000
Thailand	61,399,249	303,000	450	778,717	8,000	0	255,000
Timor	884,541	47,000	0	0	0	0	796,000
Togo	4,629,218	480,000	0	110,000	36,100	0	1,122,995
Tonga	98,546	42,320	660	20,798	14,350	0	13,900
Trinidad & Tobago	1,294,958	179,000	154,000	42,000	14,500	8,500	397,865
Tunisia	9,585,611	670	100	30,413	50	270	19,000
Turkey	66,590,940	32,500	2,100	78,000	2,400	227,655	30,500
Turkmenistan	4,459,293	2,800	0	19,000	400	74,583	2,100
Turks & Caicos Is	16,760	8,112	2,000	2,000	400	0	750
Tuvalu	11,719	12,000	0	250	290	0	95
Uganda	21,778,450	596,000	8,580,000	815,000	6,000	32,000	9,130,000
Ukraine	50,455,980	1,340,000	0	8,500,000	135,000	27,400,000	5,578,901
United Arab Emirates	2,441,436	12,800	8,600	47,000	0	70,000	124,345
USA	278,357,141	64,570,000	2,400,000	78,550,000	10,080,000	5,762,000	58,000,000
Uruguay	3,337,058	110,000	1,200	52,500	95,000	26,500	2,608,000
Uzbekistan	24,317,851	44,000	0	120,000	1,400	188,934	40,000
Vanuatu	190,417	102,254	34,500	16,500	1,400	0	29,400
Venezuela	24,169,722	500,000	600	350,000	300,000	27,000	22,816,000
Viet Nam	79,831,650	580,000	3,100	640,000	24,000	0	5,320,822

Virgin Is of the US	92,954	40,000	13,800	12,800	1,500	0	29,000
Wallis & Futuna Is	14,517	40	0	0	45	0	13,936
Yemen	18,112,066	4,476	180	8,000	0	12,000	6,000
Yugoslavia	10,640,150	99,000	400	185,000	8,600	6,046,000	546,557
Zambia	9,168,700	2,705,000	220,000	1,580,000	375,680	6,400	3,070,000
Zimbabwe	11,669,029	1,440,000	320,000	4,700,000	64,000	6,000	1,120,000
*11 minicountries	23,079	5,343	2,128	730	520	779	4,598
Africa	784,445,039	88,999,928	42,541,902	83,840,642	2,426,550	35,304,168	120,386,235
Antarctica	4,500	970	300	700	0	30	1,400
Asia	3,682,550,093	49,969,501	727,212	154,732,021	2,485,605	14,113,465	110,480,013
Europe	728,886,951	77,528,973	26,637,479	25,723,708	3,563,880	158,105,154	285,977,773
Latin America	519,138,048	48,131,716	1,089,611	39,706,358	6,595,300	557,500	461,220,001
Northern America	309,631,093	69,978,450	3,244,200	80,237,120	10,531,930	6,342,000	71,034,904
Oceania	30,393,391	7,392,067	5,408,938	1,504,858	456,965	706,400	8,227,767
Global Total	6,055,049,115	342,001,605	79,649,642	385,745,407	26,060,230	215,128,717	1,057,328,093

Notes to table.

* 11 Minicountries. Smallest countries with population each under 5,000 are: Antarctica (4,500), British Indian Ocean Territory (2,000), Christmas Island (3,424), Cocos (Keeling) Islands (726), Falkland Islands (2,255), Holy See (5,000), Niue Island (1,876), Norfolk Island (2,075), Pitcairn Islands (47), Svalbard & Jan Mayen Islands (3,676), Tokelau Islands (1,500).

Table 4. Organized Protestantism and Its Core Global Membership Ranked by 27 Ecclesiastico-Cultural Major Traditions or Families, AD 1970-AD 2025

Tradition Code	Name	Congs 1995	Adults 1995	Affiliated		Denominations				Countries Count
				1970	1995	1970	1995	2000	2025	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
CORE		947,000	195,757,000	210,037,000	318,027,000	5,621	8,844	8,973	9,490	231
PROTESTANT										
P-Adv	Adventist	34,000	5,966,000	4,189,000	11,011,000	195	214	218	233	199
P-Bap	Baptist	125,400	31,520,000	27,726,000	48,133,000	266	313	322	360	163
P-CBr	Christian Brethren (Plymouth Brethren; Open only)	16,700	1,341,000	1,535,000	2,798,000	120	124	125	128	113
P-Con	Congregational, Congregationalist	11,500	1,385,000	1,893,000	2,438,000	81	85	86	89	55
P-Dis	Disciple, Restorationist, Restorationist Baptist, Christian	6,700	1,053,000	2,455,000	1,919,000	13	17	18	21	18

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P-Dun	Dunker (Tunker), Dipper, German Baptist, Brethren	2,100	322,000	465,000	603,000	10	10	10	10	7
P-EBr	Exclusive Brethren (Plymouth Brethren, Closed, Strict)	2,500	107,000	175,000	211,000	20	20	20	20	18
P-Eva	Anglican Evangelical, Indepen dent Evangelical	20,100	2,842,000	1,824,000	5,482,000	112	138	143	164	89
P-Fun	Fundamen talist	2,600	122,000	67,000	211,000	13	16	17	19	14
P-Hol	Holiness (Conser vative Methodist, Wesleyan, Free Methodist)	43,600	3,978,000	4,111,000	7,387,000	283	339	350	395	117
P-LuR	Lutheran/ Reformed united church or joint mission	10,800	11,626,000	18,525,000	15,041,000	23	24	24	25	22
P-Lut	Lutheran	81,900	39,853,000	54,717,000	60,696,000	231	249	253	267	122
P-Men	Mennonite, Anabaptist (Left Wing or Radical Reform ation)	9,500	1,166,000	1,117,000	2,009,000	99	123	128	147	59
P-Met	Methodist (mainline Methodist, United Methodist)	89,500	13,860,000	21,933,000	22,902,000	113	121	123	129	108
P-Mor	Moravian (Continental Pietist)	1,200	302,000	478,000	582,000	27	29	29	31	27
P-Non	Nondeno minational (no church or anti- church groups)	11,800	1,938,000	886,000	3,434,000	166	191	196	216	76
P-Pel	Oneness- Pentecostal or Unita rian- Pentecostal: Jesus only	11,600	1,326,000	939,000	2,463,000	57	80	85	103	74

P-Pe2	Baptistic-Pentecostal or Keswick-Pentecostal	232,000	30,284,000	12,006,000	49,420,000	311	382	396	453	174
P-Pe3	Holiness-Pentecostal: 3-crisis-experience	28,800	3,219,000	2,322,000	5,650,000	167	233	246	299	118
P-PeA	Apostolic, or Pentecostal Apostolic (living apostles)	11,500	762,000	706,000	1,597,000	29	31	31	33	30
P-Pen	Pentecostal (pluralist)	20	1,000	0	3,000	0	1	1	2	1
P-Qua	Friends (Quaker)	4,900	222,000	348,000	403,000	50	53	54	56	43
P-Ref	Reformed, Presbyterian	97,700	26,318,000	33,121,000	43,902,000	269	295	300	321	141
P-Sal	Salvationist (Salvation Army)	14,100	1,467,000	2,910,000	2,378,000	79	85	86	91	84
P-Uni	United church (union of bodies of different traditions)	50,300	12,348,000	13,608,000	22,266,000	49	53	54	57	45
P-Wal	Waldensian	200	31,000	37,000	41,000	2	2	2	2	2
P-com	Community church or union congregation	50	12,000	19,000	20,000	20	23	24	26	18

Meaning of columns.

1–2. Each's major constituent ecclesiastical traditions, listed in their codes' alphabetical order. First comes a 4-letter code then the full name of each tradition.

3–4. Congregations (worship centers) and adult church members (all referring to the year 1995).

5–6. Affiliated church members (total Christian community) in 1970 and 1995.

7–10. Denominations. A denomination is defined as an organized aggregate of worship centers or congregations of similar ecclesiastical tradition within a specific country; i.e. as an organized Christian church or tradition or religious group or community of believers, within a specific country.

11. Countries. Number of countries (out of 238) where this tradition exists.

**Table 5. Statistics Describing Each of the 45
Global Ministries of Evangelism**

45 Modes of Evangelism	Evangelism hours originated per year	Media factor	Total offers received per year
1. Intercession	17.2 billion	1	17.2 billion
2. Inner renewal/spirituality	19.5 billion	1	19.5 billion
3. Christian lifestyle	18.3 billion	1	18.3 billion
4. Audiovisual ministries	3 billion	25	76 billion
5. Plays/concerts/ operas/shows	2.4 billion	20	48.7 billion
6. Jesus films	548 million	100	54.8 billion
7. Audio scriptures	18 million	1,000	18.3 billion
8. Scripture leaflets/ selections	4.1 billion	5	20.5 billion
9. Every-home campaign visits	160 million	50	8 billion
10. New Reader Scriptures	76 million	50	8 billion
11. Braille Scripture	2 billion	5	10 billion
12. Signed/deaf Scriptures	600 million	5	3 billion
13. Christian suffering	260 million	10	2.6 billion
14. Personal evangelism	59.1 billion	3	177.4 billion
15. Martyrdoms	1.6 million	1,000	1.6 billion
16. Full-time home church workers	3.7 billion	2	7.5 billion
17. Foreign missionaries	307 million	20	6.1 billion
18. Evangelists	110.5 million	100	11.1 billion
19. Short-term missionaries	146 million	10	1.5 billion
20. Part-time evangelizers	5.8 billion	2	11.7 billion
21. Mission agencies	21 million	100	2.1 billion
22. Portions/Gospels	808 million	6	4.8 billion
23. Near-Gospels	480 million	6	2.9 billion
24. New Testaments (300 pages)	3.6 billion	8	29 billion
25. Near-New Testaments	1.4 billion	8	10.8 billion
26. Bibles (1,300 pages)	7 billion	10	69.9 billion
27. Near Bibles	1.2 billion	10	12 billion
28. Lingua franca Gospels	200 million	3	600 million
29. Lingua franca New Testaments	1.4 billion	4	5.6 billion
30. Lingua franca Bibles	3.0 billion	5	15 billion
31. Denominational materials	1.9 billion	1	1.9 billion
32. Local church output	3.8 billion	1	3.8 billion
33. Outside Christian literature	10 million	10	100 million
34. Church-planting output	58 million	10	600 million
35. Institutional	1.8 billion	1	1.8 billion

ministries/records			
36. Christian books (100 pages)	35 billion	2	70 billion
37. Christian periodicals (30 pages)	150 million	10	1.5 billion
38. Tracts (2 pages)	2.5 billion	1	2.5 billion
39. Other documentation	1.2 billion	1	1.2 billion
40. Programmed training	180,000	10,000	18 billion
41. Christian radio programs	1 million	50,000	50 billion
42. Christian TV programs	200,000	100,000	20 billion
43. Urban media (cable TV, etc.)	450,000	12,000	5.4 billion
44. Christian-owned computers	98.1 million	350	34.3 billion
45. Internet/networks/e- mail	2 billion	30	58.5 billion

This table provides the statistics discussed in the article “Evangelism, Overview.” (Article begins on page 715.)

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